ASIATIC SOCIETY.
PPN.

JOURNAL AND PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

New Series, Vol. XXI.

1925.

PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS.
PUBLISHED BY THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

CALCUTTA.
1927.

S. 75

No J 005608

9391

DATES OF PUBLICATION.

No. 1 (Philological)	pp.	1–232	Sept.,	1926.
,, 2 (Official)	,,	i–ccii	Nov.,	1925.
,, 3 (Philological)	,,	233–324	Nov.,	1926.
,, 4 (Anthropological)	,,	325–506	May,	1927.
,, 5 (Historical)	,,	507–502	July,	,,
,, 6 (Numismatic)	,, N.	1–N. 48	,,	,,

(Volume complete in 6 issues.)

DIRECTIONS FOR BINDING.

The pages of the Journal should immediately follow the Title, List of Contents, and these directions, in the following sequence: Nos. 1, 3, 4 and 5. Then follow the Proceedings contained in the Official Number (No. 2), with separate page-numbering in Roman numerals. The separate title-page and list of contents for these Proceedings should be prefixed to it. Next follows the Numismatic Supplement for 1925, No. XXXIX (No. 6), with separate title-page and list of contents, and page-numbering marked with the letter N (Numismatics).

Plate	1 to face	page	75.
,,	2 ,, follow	,,	220.
Plates	3–7 ,, ,,	,,	332.

There are four plates in the Numismatic Supplement; these are separately numbered:

Plate	1 to face	page	7.
,,	2 ,, ,,	,,	11.
,,	3 ,, ,,	,,	14.
,,	4 ,, ,,	,,	17.

The Index to be bound at the end of the volume

CONTENTS

INDEXES AND SYNOPSES

	Page
Article 23. Stocks	
Contents, in front of the number	325
Index to tales	483
Official No.	
Contents, in front of the number	
Numismatic No.	
Contents, in front of the number	

PAPERS

[JOURNAL AND PROCEEDINGS]

ABDUL AZIZ, MOHD.

The Deccan in the 15th century 549

'ABDU'L WALI

A Bengali book-written in Persian script 191

ANNANDALE, N.

Lieut.-Col. H. H. Godwin-Austen, 1834–1923 clxxvii

AYYANGAR, SRINIVAS R.

Coins of Raja Raja Chola .. .. .. N. 35
Padmatankas of some of the Yadava kings of Devagiri .. N. 6
Rupees of Shah 'Alam II, struck at Akarwan .. .. N. 20
Some Moghul gold coins .. .. .. N. 33
Some South Indian gold coins .. .. .. N. 32

BESCHI, FR. C. J. *See* HOSTEN, H.

BHATTASALI, N. K.

Attribution of imitation-Gupta coins N. 1

BODDING, P. O.

A plea for a standardized system of writing the Munda or Kolarian languages 9

BUCKNILL, JOHN A.

Supplementary observations upon the coinage struck for the British East India Company's settlement of Penang or Prince of Wales' Island, 1786 to 1828 .. .. N. 23

CHRISTIE, W. A. K.

Dr. T. O. D. Dunn. 1881-1924 .. clxxvi

JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

New Series.

Vol. XXI.—1925.

Notes on the Use of the Cases in the Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā.

By SUKUMAR SEN, M.A., *Calcutta University.*

The complete text of the Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā was edited and published for the first time by Dr. Leopold von Schroeder between 1900 and 1910. The first book, or the **Iṭimikā** as it is called, came out in 1900; the second book or the **Madhyamikā** in 1909, and the third book, the **Orimikā**, together with the supplementary book on Aśvamedha, in 1910. As Delbrück's *Altindische Syntax* was published much earlier, in 1888, he could not utilise the Kāṭhaka text. After its publication no scholar, except Prof. Keith, has treated the syntactic aspect of the text. Prof. Keith has treated briefly the syntax of the tenses and moods only of the first book of the Saṃhitā.[1] As the text shows marked difference in language and idiom from other Vedic prose texts I make the following attempt at briefly discussing the Syntax of the Cases.

I. NOMINATIVE.

The predicative nominative with reflexive forms of the verbs **brū** 'to call oneself as,' **man** 'to think oneself as' and **vad** 'to call oneself as' does not occur in KS.[2]; **man** is here invariably construed periphrastically with **iva**, as in the classical Sanskrit: **athendro' dhṛtaḥ śithila ivāmanyata** 'then Indra thought himself as unstable and loose' (10.2; 11.1); **prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ sṛṣṭvā sa riricāna ivāmanyata** 'P. having created

[1] JRAS., 1909; pp. 149–54.

[2] KS. = **Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā**; cf. Delbrück, **Altindische Syntax**, p. 104.

offspring he thought himself empty' (22. 1; 26.9), cf. PB.[1] 9.6.7; 21.11.2. The pred. nom. however occurs twice with **vac** 'to call oneself as': **taṃ jāhi ya eṣa kṛcchre hantāvocathāḥ** 'kill him who called himself one who strikes in the danger' (25.2); **taṃ āhara ya eṣa kṛcchrād ahartāvocathāḥ** 'bring him who called himself one who brings (something) from the perilous' (25.2). cf. TS.[2] 6.2.4: **durge vai hantāvocathāḥ** 'thou art called he who smites in the stronghold.' In the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā and in the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa the verbal phrase **rūpaṃ kṛ** (= **bhū**, to become) takes pred. nom. But in KS. this idiom is absent. The Kāṭhaka text has simple pred. nom. with **bhū** when the corresponding passages in the Taittirīya texts show pred. nom. with **rūpaṃ kṛ**; thus: **agner vai medho' pakrāmat kṛṣṇo bhūtvā** 'lustre of Agni departed becoming an antelope' (31.10), cf. **so'gneḥ kṛṣṇo rūpaṃ kṛt vodāyata** 'it departed from A. taking the form of a black antelope' (TS. 5.2.6); so also in 8.2; 8.5 (twice); 23.3; 24.1 (= TS. 7.1.6). The phrase however occurs twice in the form of **etadrūpaṃ kṛtvā: apsaraso vā etā etadrūpaṃ kṛtvā patnyo bhūtvāmuṣmin loke yajamānam upaśerate** 'these A. indeed taking this form and becoming wives lie with the sacrificer in yonder world' (21.2); **etadrūpam** is here probably a compound, as in the following instance: **siṃhīrūpam iva hi tan mahiṣīrūpam iva bhūtvāntarātiṣṭhat** 'taking the form of a lioness and a she-buffalo it stood between' (25.6), cf. ŚB.[3] 6.7.3.1: **etenātmanā parjanyo rūpam abhavat** 'with that self he became like Parjanya.'.

Impersonal verbs: **tān abhivyaucchat** 'it dawned to them' (10.7); **amuto varṣati** 'it rains from above' (13.7); **atha varṣati** 'then it rains' (11.10); **yarhi varṣati** whenever it rains' (11.10); **yadi varṣet** 'if it rains' (11.10); **varṣet** 'if it rains' (22.12); **sidhyaty asmai** 'it succeeds to him' (24.10).

There is a clear instance of the nominative absolute (*ἀνακολουθίαι*): **ādityā vai svargaṃ lokam yantas te' ṅgiraso' muṣmin loke saha yajñena pratyauhan** 'when the Ādityas were going to the world of heaven the Aṅgirasas pushed back with the sacrifice in yonder world' (28.3), cf. PB. 12.6.12.

Elliptic construction[4]: **teṣāṃ bṛhaspatiśca padenānvaitām** '(Prajāpati) and Bṛhaspati followed in their footsteps' (10.11), cf. TS. 2.4.4.

2. Accusative.

Accusative of Goal: **manasā devān gaccha** 'approach the gods with (thy) mind' (5.3); **imam aham dhṛtarāṣṭram vaicitravīryaṃ gamiṣyāmi** 'I shall go to this Dhṛtarāṣṭra, son

[1] PB. = Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa.
[2] TS. = Taittirīya-Saṃhitā.
[3] ŚB. = Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.
[4] Delbrück, op. cit. p. 84.

of Vicitravīrya' (10.6); **tāṃ hūto' dhāvat** 'being called he went to her' (23.4).

Acc. of Time: **tasmād ṛtuṃ ṛtuṃ varṣati** 'whence it rains in every season' (19.5); **na tāṃ samāṃ varṣati** 'it does not rain that year' (22.12).

Cognate accusatives are not so numerous and varied as in other prose texts. Still, the Kāṭhaka shows some peculiarity in cognate accusatives; **vāryaṃ vṛṇāmahai** (for **varaṃ vṛṇāmahai**) 'let us choose a boon' (24.7); **ūrg ūrjayati** 'receives strength' (20.7; 23.4); **tasmād rājā saṃgrāmaṃ jitvā nirājaṃ nirajate** 'whence the king, having won a battle, takes whatever is to be taken' (28.3); **te marutaḥ krīḍīn krīḍato 'paśyan** 'they saw the Maruts playing games' (36.10).

Intransitive verbs compounded with prepositions used as transitive: **adhi-krīḍ**, 36.10; **pari-krīḍ**, 36.10; **ati-car**, 8.7; 13.2; **abhi-car**, 10.6; **vi-dīv : gāṃ ghnanti tāṃ vidīvyante** 'they kill a cow and they gamble it' (8.7)[1]; **prati-nand : sarvā vā etaṃ prajāḥ pratinandanti** 'all creatures rejoice at him' (37.1); **sam-sad, manuṣyān eva saṃsīdasva** 'sit among the people' (19.4); **pra-snā : samudraṃ vā ete prasnānti** 'they bathe in the sea' (33.5), cf. PB. 5.8.5. The verb **upa-jīv** is intransitive as well as transitive: (trans.) **dānam imāḥ prajā upajīvanti** 'these creatures subsist on gift' (8.1). **tasmāt pṛthivīṃ prajā upajīvanti** 'hence creatures depend on earth for subsistence' (31.10); (intrans.), **amutaḥ pradānād dhi prajā upajīvanti** 'people live on the gifts (from above' (36.1).

Double accusative: **rudram eva paśūn niryācyātmane karma kurute** 'asking Rudra for cattle he works for himself' (19.2): **sā kadrūḥ suparṇīm ātmarūpam ajayat** 'Kadrū excelled Suparṇī in personal beauty' (23.10).

Acc. with the verbal noun: **pari-bhū : vāg vā anuṣṭup sarvāṇi chandāṃsi paribhūḥ** 'Vāk, the Anuṣṭup, encompasses all the metres' (19.3)[2]; **adāyin : yat purā dhanam adāyi syāt** 'if at first he be not a giver of wealth' (6.6[3]); nouns ending in **-uka**[4]: **varuṇa enaṃ grāhuko bhavati** 'Varuṇa is apt to seize him' (23.6); 24.5; 19.10; **purā rudraḥ paśūn aghātuka āsīt** 'Rudra was not apt to kill the cattle' (27.6.7); 30.5,10; **nirdāhuko 'syā agniḥ prajā bhavati** 'Agni is apt to burn down her offspring' (32.4); **tasmād etam āpaḥ prahārukāḥ** 'whence the waters are apt to carry him' (22.9); **veduko vāso bhavati ya evaṃ veda** 'he is apt to get clothing who knows thus' (19.5 = TS. 5.1.5); **upasthāyukā enaṃ paśavo bhavanti** 'cattle are apt to attend on him' (7.4); with nouns ending in **-aka** (this does not occur elsewhere in Vedic prose or verse): **ghātako 'sya paśūn rudro bhavati** 'Rudra is apt to destroy his cattle' (8.6); **aghātako**

[1] Delbrück, op. cit. p. 178. [2] Delbrück, op. cit. p. 181.
[3] Delbrück, op. cit. p. 182 and foot note.
[4] Delbrück, op. cit. pp. 181-82.

'sya rudraḥ paśūn bhavati 'Rudra is not apt to destroy his cattle' (8.6). One prepositional adjective governs the accusative: **abhikā enam paśavo bhavanti** 'cattle have longing for him' (7.7.8).

Acc. in apposition to the sentence[1]: **tām anukṛtiṃ manuṣyarathasya raśmī vihriyete** 'as a counterfeit the reins of man's chariot are held apart' (27.1); 19.12. This very idiom obtains in AB.[2]

3. Instrumental.

Instrumental of Means, (i) with a person: **yaḥ kāmayetānena rājñā vā gramāṇyā vedaṃ sasyam ādadīyeti** 'who desires thus, "with this as the king or the leader I shall obtain this crop"' (10.3); **tvayā mukhena vṛtraṃ hanāma** 'with thee as leader we would slay Vṛtra' (27.3); 13.3; 35.20; (ii) with a thing: **krandataiva hy anasā vahanti** 'they carry in a crying (i.e. creaking) cart' (19.12);

Instr. with verbs: **añj,** 37.16; **arpay,** 19.5; **jan,** 9.14; **pra-jan,** 5.1; **krī,** 2.6, etc.; **vi-krī,** 21.1, etc.; **vi-ṛdh,** 12.10; **grāhay,** 12.13, 13.4; **car: pāśena vā eṣa carati yo yācati** 'he moves in fetters who begs' (10.3); **jīv: tena jīva** 'live on that' (11.7); **sam-gam,** 6.9, etc., **ud-bhū, pra-bhū: ut prajayā pra paśubhir bhavati** 'he thrives in progeny and in cattle' (6.7); **sam-bhū,** 8.16, etc.; **yātay: yan mithu brūyāt priyatamena yātayet** 'if he speaks false he would be afflicted in him who is dear' (36.5)[3]; **vi-ji: tena vijayate** 'becomes victorious over him' (10.10), **uttamām ēva vijitiṁ asurair vyajayanta** 'he won a great victory over the Asuras' (10.10), **uttamām eva vijitiṃ bhrātṛvyeṇa vijayate** 'wins a great victory over his rivals' (10.10), cf. **ayaṃ saṃgrāmo na vijayeta** 'this battle cannot be won' (13.5); **vi-pu: pāpmanaivainaṃ vipunāti** 'purges him of evil' (14.8); **sam-paś: sam ūrjā māṃ paśyata** 'see me with strength' (7.1); **sam-pṛc,** 37.18; **vi-bādh: tena vibādhate** 'fights with him' (10.7); **sam-vad: patnyā saṃvadate** 'converses with (his) wife' (14.8); **vidh,** 12.13[4]; **vi-vṛt: vi papmanā vartate,** 'is separated from evil' (8.6; 12.11 = PB. 2.1.4)[5]; **vi-ā-vṛt: na pāpmanā vyāvartate** 'is not separated from evil' (8.6; 12.11); **vi-ā-vartay,** 19.6; **abhi-sic** 12.10; **sam-sṛj,** 19.5; **sthā: yat kiṃcāsurāṇāṃ vāmaṃ vasu tena tiṣṭhati** 'he stands by what is the desirable wealth of the Asuras' (25.2); **vi-pṛc,** 37.18; **spardh,** 10.10 (twice).

Instr. with verbal nouns and adjectives: **ūna,** 8.11; **pūrṇa,** 8.11; **prajaniṣṇuḥ prajayā ca paśubhiś ca bhavati**

---

[1] Cf. Gaedicke, Accusativ im Veda, p. 171; Keith, Ṛgveda-Brāhmaṇas, Introduction,

[2] AB. = Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa.

[3] Delbrück, op. cit. p. 131.

[4] Cf. ŚB. 5.3.2.2.

[5] Cf. TS. 6.2.6; 7.1.10; 7.4.5.

'he becomes prolific in offspring and cattle' (9.15); **vyardhuka**, 11.1; **sadṛś**, 10.7; **samyañc**, 19.5.

Elliptic instrumental absolute: **tasmād garbheṇāvijñātena bhrūṇahā** 'whence, the foetus being indeterminate, one becomes the slayer of embryo (when one associates with her)' (27.9). cf. **tasmād ātreyyā yoṣitānasvī** 'one becomes guilty by (intercourse) with a woman who has just miscarried' (ŚB. 1.4.5.13).

4. Dative.

Dative with verbs: **ah: karṇo hi karṇāyāha** 'ear speaks to the ear' (19.2); **arātīy**, 2.5 etc; **klp**, 20.9; **ā-gur: tānyasmā ā ca gurasva** 'accede them to him' (19.13); **kṣam: tato vai tebhyo'kṣamata** 'then he yielded to him' (10.7; etc.); **abhidās: ya enam etābhyo digbhyo 'bhidāsati** 'if any one pursues him to these quarters' (7.9); **sam-jñā**, 11.3 (twice); **druh**, 24.1; 24.9; **namasy**, 7.4; **śrad-dhā**, 37.7; **namas-kṛ**, 23.3; **anubhā: evaṃ vā agnihotriṇe . . svargo loko 'nubhāti** 'thus the world of heaven shines to the Agnihotrin' (6.6); **bhū**, 6.2; **upa-rudh**, 8.6; **ā-labh**, 12.13; **brū**, 12.2; **vac**, 7.8. etc; **vad**, 14.1; **vah**, 9.16; **prati-vah**, 8.7; **nir-vap**, 10.4; **ā-śās**, 1.8; **sthā: āpo hi pratiṣecanāya tasthire** 'waters submitted for being sprinkled again' (6.3; 16.7; 24.9); **pra-sthā**, 36.9; **svad**, 6.5; **upa-hṛ**, 6.6.

Dative with nouns and Adjectives: **avasa**, 21.7; **alam** (with **kṛ** and **bhū**), 8.11, etc.; **kam**, 22.7; **dānakāma**, 11.4; **vaṣaṭ**, 19.5; **śiva**, 19.5; **suhṛdayatama**, 11.6.

Dativus commodi: **agnicite'mutra yathākāmaṃ varṣati** 'there it rains at pleasure for the Agnicit' (22.6); **indram evāsmai janayati** 'begets an Indra for him' (9.14); **sa mahyaṃ gṛhān kariṣyati** 'he would build me a house' (10.6); **yad vai purohito brahma śṛṇoti tad rājñe** 'the prayer which the priest recites is for (the benefit of) the king' (27.9).

Dativus incommodi: **vyṛdhyate 'smai** 'it does not thrive for him' (8. 15).

Dativus finalis: **brahmavarcasāyaivaiṣa mathyate** 'he is churned for Brahmavarcasa' (8.12); **sainaṃ rājyāya pariṇayati** 'she leads him to the kingdom' (13.3); **devā vai somāyābhiṣutāya pātraṃ nāvindanta** 'the gods did not find any pot for (holding) pressed Soma (-juice)' (27. 2).

Temporal dative[1]: **samvatsarāyaiṣa samamate** 'for a year he allies himself' (13.3 = MS.[2] 2.1.2); **saṃvatsarāyaitaṃ pariġṛhṇanti** 'they take it for a year' (10.3).

A most remarkable feature of the Kāṭhaka text is the absence of a single unequivocal instance of the dative feminine form in **-ai** used for the genitive (as well as for the ablative), which is quite common in other Vedic prose texts.

[1] Delbrück, op. cit. p. 149. [2] MS. = **Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā**.

5. Ablative.

Ablative with verbs: **i**, 19.8; **ud-i**, 23.9; **krī**, 12.11, etc; **jan**, 6.2; **pra-tras**, 13.12; **pra-nud**, 13.3; **pā**, 37.16, etc; **nī**: **yadi mā somān neṣyasi** 'if thou leadest me away from Soma' (26.9); **chid**, 27.1; **adhi-pra-nī**, 19.5; **nir-bādh**, 19.11; **bhī** 7.7; **ud-bībhats**: **annaṃ vai manuṣyebhya udabībhatsata** 'food recoiled from men' (23.5), **nir-bhaj**, 21.6; **abhi-sam-yā**, 22.6; **ā-labh**, 11.4; **pari-vṛj**, 24.5.

Ablative of comparison: **pāpīyān asmād bhrātṛvyo bhavati** 'the rival becomes inferior to him' (7.6).

Ablative with adverbs: **ṛte**, 6.8; **tiras**, 7.10.

Ablative with the preposition: **adhi**, 10.9, etc.

Causal ablative: **te vidur amutaḥ pradānād vā ihājāgāmeti** 'they knew, he has come here for giving in yonder world' (9.12); also 36.1.

6. Genitive.

Genitive with verbs: **īś**, 13.7, etc; **adhi-i**: **yasyaiva nādhīyanti** 'of whom they do not think' (12.6); **aś**, 11.5; 11.10, etc; **āmay**, 11.5; 12.1; 12. 8; 16.13, etc; **tṛp**, 28. 2; **tarpay**, 27.1; **āp**: **tasyāptvā** 'getting of it' (36.10); **dā**, 31.8; **ā-jān**, 8.7; **as**, 8.10; **api-as**, 10.11; **vap**, 20.3 = TS. 5.2.5; **sū**: **so'pyāraṇyāṇāṃ paśūnām asūyata** 'he prevailed even on the animals of the forest' (37.4).

Dative genitive: **gāyatrībhir brāhmaṇasya saṃvapet** 'should recite in Gāyatrī for a Brāhmaṇa' (19.4): **tayā rājanyasya krīṇīyāt** 'should buy for a Rājanya with her' (24.1); **yo maitasyā diśo 'bhidāsati** 'who pursues me to that quarter' (7.2).[1]

Ablative genitive: **varuṇagṛhīto vā eṣa yo' nyasyādadāna upaharamāṇaś carati** 'seized by Varuṇa is he who goes taking (things) and stealing from others' (10.4); **mattasya na pratigṛhyam** 'nothing should be accepted from an intoxicated person' (14.5); **tasya na pratigṛhyam** 'nothing should be accepted from him' (14. 5).

Genitivus materiae et originis: **yo vṛkṣaḥ phalagrahis tasya kuryāt** 'it should be made of the tree that bears fruit' (19.1; 23.4); **tasyāraṇī ādāya** 'making two fire-sticks of it' (8.10); **so'gnaye rudravate** ' **ṣṭākapālaṃ niravapat kṛṣṇānāṃ vrīhīṇām** 'he offered (the pap) of black rice cooked in eight potsherds to A. with R.' (10.6), cf. **śuklānāṃ vrīhīṇām** (10.6): **svayam avapannāyā aśvatthaśakhāyāḥ pātraṃ bhavati** 'the pot is made of Aśvattha branch that has itself fallen down' (15. 5).

Genitive of comparison: **tasmād eṣa paśūnāṃ bhārabhāritamaḥ** 'hence it is the best carrier of burden among the beasts' (19.5); **kaniṣṭhas tasya putrāṇām ardhuko bhavati**

[1] See under Dativo, above.

'the youngest of his sons becomes prosperous' (6.4); **tasmāt savyo hastayos tapasvitaraḥ** 'hence of the two hands the right is the more active' (20.13).

Genitive absolute[1]: **teṣām adyamānānām syūmaraśmir ṛṣir aśvaṃ prāviśat** 'when they were being eaten up the sage S. entered into the horse' (8.5); **prajāpater vai prajāḥ sisṛkṣamāṇasya tasyendrāgnī prajā apāgūhatām** 'when P. created offspring Indra and Agni concealed them' (9.17).

7. Locative.

Locative of person: **mayīdam astu** 'let it be in me' (10.10); **asureṣu tarhy amṛtam āsīc chuṣṇe dānave** 'Amṛta was with the Asuras, with Śuṣṇa the son of Danu' (37.16); **vīryaṃ vā idaṃ mayy asti** 'this power which is in me' (12.3); **nava vai puruṣe prāṇāḥ** 'nine are the vital breaths in man' (9.16); **asmāsu śraddhābhūt** 'there was reverence in us' (33.1); **tāvad etasminn eno bhavati** 'that much of sin is in him' (36.5); **sa rohiṇyām evāvasat** 'he lived with Rohiṇī alone' (11.3); **sarvāsv eva samāvad vasātha** 'dwell equally with all' (11.3).

Locative of time: **saṃvatsare khalu vāva reto hitaṃ prajāyate** 'in a year, indeed, the seed poured is born' (7.15; 33.8).

Loc. with verbs: **iṣ: tasmin devā apitvam aicchanta** 'the gods wanted a share from him' (14.5); 6.2; 9.12; 23.4; **āji i: tasminn āji ayuḥ** 'they had a contest for it' (14.5). **devā vā oṣadhīṣu pakvāsv āji ayuḥ** 'the gods held a contest of the ripe herbs' (12.7; 14.7); **praśnam i: tasmin praśnam aitām** 'they two went to question him' (13.3); **ṛdh**, 9.17, 19.11, **adhi-ās**, 32.6; **sam-ṛcch: devatāsu vā ete saṃṛcchante yeṣām somau saṃṛcchete** 'they meet the gods, whose two Soma-sacrifices coincide' (10.7); **parā-kram: anayor eva parākramṣta** 'showed his might on them two' (37.16); **ava-gamay**, 11.6; **car: so'sureṣv acarat** 'he moved among the Asuras' (13.5); **vi-abhi-car**, 6.4; **cālay**, 28.4; **jan**, 13.3; **nāth**[2]**: so 'gnau caiva some cānāthata** 'he found protection in A. and in S.' (10.2), **tasmin nāthasva** 'find protection in him' (10.6), 11.1, 3,4; 13.2, 4, also 27.4; **adhi-nī**, 10.10; **nirbādhe kṛ**, 11.1; **anu-vivāśay**, 11.4; **anu-ni-yuj**,, 29.9; **mantray: tasmin savitā cāmantrayatānne** 'about it (*i.e.* gold) and food S. deliberated' (11.2); **sam-jñā: tasya gṛhe sam eva jānate** 'they agree as to his house' (11.3); **mīmāṃs: yam udake vā patre vā vivāhe vā mīmāṃseran** 'regarding whom they may have doubts as to (admitting him to) common drinks, meals or to marriage' (25.3),

[1] Delbrück, op. cit. pp. 389-90.

[2] Cf. TS. 2.4.1, which is the only other occurrence in Vedic prose literature.

27.2 (there is a misprint in the published text here: **pātreṇa** should be **pātre na**); **abhi-bhū,** 12.12; **adhi-vi-yātay,** 29.9; **rohay,** 12.13; **sam-rādhay,** 6.6; **sam-vad : devā vai brahman sam avadanta** 'the gods discussed about Brahman' (30.10); **pra-sic,** 6.2; **ā-sáṃs** 13.3 (twice); **adhi-sthā,** 13.3: **spardh : aṅgirasaś ca vā ādityāś ca svarge loke' spardhanta** 'Aṅgirasas and Ādityas disputed over the world of heaven' (9.16).

Elliptic construction: **avatsāyā dugdhe bhavati** 'it is (cooked) in the milk of a cow, that is without her calf' (36.11).

Locative absolute[1]: **tasmād gardabhe pramīte bibhyati** 'hence people are afraid when an ass dies' (19.5)[2]; **tasmād brāhmaṇa āhārya āhṛte hastā avanenījitā** 'whence a Br. should wash his hands when food is served' (13.5); **āhutyām udyatāyām,** 6.2: **saṃgrāme saṃyatte,** 9.14[3]; **tasmin pacamāne,** 10.6.

From the above discussion it is apparent that the text of the Kāṭhaka is younger than the texts of AB., PB., TS. and TB. The following are the chief points (when considering the case-syntax) which show its posteriority to the other texts: (1) very restricted use of the predicative nominative, (2) absence of variety in the use of the cognate accusative, (3) absence of the feminine genitive forms in **-ai,** (4) very frequent use of the locative with the verb **nāth,** (5) rather limited use of the cases in connection with verbs, and (6) use of the accusative with verbal nouns in **-aka.**

[1] Delbrück, op. cit. pp. 387-89. [2] Cf. TS. 5.1.5.

[3] Cf. TS. 2.1.8.

A plea for a standardized system of writing the Munḍa or Kolarian languages.

BY P. O. BODDING, *Mohulpahari, Santal Parganas.*

The Asiatic Society of Bengal has adopted a system of transliteration for the Devanagari and related alphabets, as also for the Persian and Hindustani alphabets. India has a large number of languages for which no system of transliteration has been fixed, or properly speaking can be fixed, because the languages in question have no system of writing of their own. people trying to write in such languages following any system that recommends itself to their mind. Those who read will naturally give the written characters the value they themselves are accustomed to apply to these characters, or imagine that ought to be applied, the inevitable result being that all are more or less uncertain as to the correct pronunciation of the languages.

Among these languages are the Munḍa languages (or as they are otherwise called, the Kolarian or Kol or Kherwar languages, the last name being what the Santal traditions say was the common name of the ancestors of these peoples before they were divided into separate peoples).

The writing of these languages is to some extent quite arbitrary, partly because there has been no fixed standard. I believe it would be of great value, both to science and to those who daily use these languages, if the Asiatic Society of Bengal would lend its authority to fix a system for writing these and demand this to be used in its publications.

I have a proposal and shall mention this below; before doing this I crave permission to say a little concerning the necessity and value of a fixed standard of writing.

I shall not enlarge on the value of the knowledge of a language to the student of the ethnology of the people speaking this particular language. It is often impossible to be correct without such knowledge; those who furnish the materials for study must know it. It is curious to see, how linguistic mistakes breed other mistakes and are carried on by others and ultimately deemed to be facts. Instances of this may be observed also in connection with the Munḍa languages, due to lack of accurate knowledge.

The Munḍa peoples belong to the oldest inhabitants of India. They have played a rôle in India, however small and insignificant it may have been. Much found in the lowest strata

of the present day Hindu society of North India is the common property of these and the Munda peoples, a fact raising several interesting problems waiting to be solved.

During the last three decades or so the question of the relationship of the Munda peoples with a number of other races living outside India has been tackled, especially from the linguistic side; the linguistic relationship seems undoubted, but a great many questions remain unanswered.

These facts show that from the point of view of the student of philology, ethnology and also of comparative religion these peoples are of greater interest than might at first be thought. To get the materials for study a knowledge of the language is necessary.

I shall then turn to the languages of these peoples. The Munda languages were not written, until foreigners, especially missionaries, commenced to make use of them. Some of them apparently have nothing written as yet.

To one who has for many years been living among one of these peoples and who has endeavoured to learn to know both the people and their language it is a great pleasure to see that younger men, more especially Indian scholars, are taking up the study of these peoples. I am glad that the Asiatic Society of Bengal has lately done so much to further these studies; personally I have much cause for gratitude.

There is in this connection one fact that should not be lost sight of. These peoples and their languages are exposed to constant extraneous influences, and these are making themselves more and more felt. I am afraid the time is not very far distant when it will be difficult to get hold of what is pure and unalloyed. Their customs are changing and sometimes are already changed; their languages are being mixed up. It is of some importance that these subjects are studied before it is too late. I might give several examples of things lost or on the way to become lost among the Santals.

To be able to ensure as far as possible the correctness of the materials collected for study it is, as already said, necessary to be able to use the language of these peoples. If one cannot do this, much information will be necessarily dressed up; the narrator or informant may at best not be able to give the plain facts in a language not his own; he may not fully understand what he is asked about; he may try to explain what he feels is not properly understood, or he may not attempt to do so at all; he may also think that it does not matter so long as he says something that he understands pleases his interrogator. Many peculiarities, perhaps really essential matter, are entirely eliminated, and much information will necessarily be second hand.

I shall not here enter on details; anyone who has done any research work of the kind here referred to will know how difficult it is to get hold of the reality, and how much questioning

and testing and retesting is necessary to ensure correctness. To be able to do such work properly not a smattering, but a full and correct knowledge of the language concerned is a *sine quâ non*. The language is the means by which the mind expresses itself; many peculiarities of the mind or mode of thought are revealed through the language itself, and often only to be observed through the language expression.

Apart from the needs of the ethnologist we have in connection with the Munḍa languages some features of particular philological interest. The grammatical structure of these languages is peculiar. The influence on these of the surrounding Aryan or Dravidian languages, both as to vocabulary and as to grammar, is noticeable; the possible influence of the Munḍa languages on some of the Aryan ones is a matter of great interest, but very little studied, if studied at all. Further, the place of the Munḍa languages among the languages of the world, their possible relationship with other languages found in the East, the problems of the so-called Austric languages, are all matters that are being taken up by scholars in different parts of the world. To furnish the materials for a thorough study of all these subjects a full knowledge of the languages is an indespensable necessity, and a faulty knowledge of the phonetics concerned may lead astray and has done so.

To acquire a thorough knowledge of any language a knowledge of its phonetics is essential. The Munḍa languages show certain phonetic peculiarities that must be known, if one is not to expose oneself to mistakes and misunderstandings. With an imperfect system of writing it is not possible to solve some of the existing problems; and some of these will not present themselves for being solved at all. The results of philological investigation will of necessity be meagre and perhaps erroneous.

To write the Munḍa languages several methods have been adopted or attempted. For Muṇḍari and Ho the Hindi characters are mostly used; Bengali characters have been attempted for Santali. The Roman alphabet has been used, sometimes without, generally with diacritical marks of sorts.

The alphabets derived from Devanagari have many advantages and are preferable to the Roman alphabet without diacritical marks. They have separate characters for many sounds of the Munḍa languages not represented in the Roman alphabet. Still the use of these leaves much to be desired. The Munḍa languages have a number of sounds for which the Devanagari has no signs. To show these (and to avoid confusion this is necessary) one would have either to make new characters or to use diacritical marks, but to this the Devanagari-derived alphabets do not readily lend themselves.

From a scientific point of view the use of the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association would naturally be preferable, although even for this a few new characters would

have to be designed; any one using this would be understood by scholars all over the world. I am, however, afraid that this alphabet would, at the present time, be too elaborate for anything but pure scientific purposes. What is needed is something that without being perfect will satisfy the needs of practical purposes, at the same time being accurate enough to serve also science, a system that may be used by others than phonetic experts.

Many have, as said, used the Roman alphabet. To employ this without diacritical marks leads to curious misunderstandings and errors. The Roman alphabet has altogether too few characters, and these have not all one constant value each; some characters have different values in different languages, and even inside the same language the same letter may represent two or more different sounds.

Now a person having a language for his mother tongue, or a person having acquired a full and intimate knowledge of a language, may be able to read what is written, however faulty or imperfect this writing may be, and will know what sounds are to be pronounced. But it would be most difficult, not to say impossible, for any one else to find this out. Such writing is of little value to the student of languages who lives away from the places where the languages are used; it makes the comparative study of languages liable to mistakes that are entirely unnecessary; at best it takes time, that might be otherwise profitably used, to ascertain what is meant, if the whole is not given up as hopeless.

The use of diacritical marks is a nuisance; but if we want to use the Roman alphabet—and for all scientific (and practical) purposes this is, for the present anyhow, the most advisable, as the Roman alphabet is known to and used by more people than any other alphabet—it is unavoidably necessary to use diacritical marks to distinguish the different characters, besides fixing the sound value of all characters used. It might be added that it should not be necessary to show all phonetic niceties or shades of pronunciation or variations of pronunciation of the same sound, within certain obvious limits.

Among the Munda languages the most important is unquestionably Santali. Santali is spoken by twice as many people as the speakers of all other Munda languages counted together. So far as I am able to judge, it is also grammatically and phonetically better preserved than the other Munda languages.

Those who first attempted to reduce the Santali language to writing (the first printed work I know of was 'An Introduction' to the language by the Rev. J. Phillips, in 1852) employed the Bengali characters. These were, however, soon given up, although there are even now some who use these, the reason given being that they (i.e. missionaries) wish to enable Santals who have learnt to use the Bengali characters for Bengali, to

read their own language without having the trouble of learning the Roman alphabet. I may add in a parenthesis that Santals who have learnt to follow our system of writing scarcely ever use the Bengali characters for their own language, although they may be just as, and perhaps often are more, accustomed to use these last ones.

All missions working among the Santals very soon adopted the Roman alphabet with diacritical marks, some using more of them, others only a few, intentionally leaving it to the reader to find out what is what. There has been a deplorable long 'war' between the interested parties about some of these marks. Some 27 years ago representatives of the three principal missions working among the Santals came to an agreement, with a few modifications adopting the system of writing first introduced by the late Mr. Skrefsrud. It seems, as if some of the younger people are backing out of the agreement, openly acknowledging that they do not care, so long as the Santals themselves are able to find out of it. It is an old fight in a new phase.

It does not come inside the ambition of such people to acquire a full and proper use of the language, and the results are rather curious. They say or may say 'good dog' instead of 'good morning,' call a 'mosquito' a 'chain,' speak of a 'tuber' when they mean 'water' or 'rain,' and say 'machinery' when they mean 'to send,' or vice versa; instead of 'become' they say 'shave,' and so on, and so on.

The lack of correct diacritical marks is apparently responsible for several mistakes where they ought not to be found. E.g., P. W. Schmidt has in his well-known work *Die Mon-Khmer Völker* attempted some comparative studies where the Munda languages are called in. He has many mistakes, partly, although apparently not wholly, due to insufficiently accurate writing in the materials he used. Even Dr. Campbell in his Santali-English dictionary has mistakes due to lack of discrimination between vowels, written with one character, but pronounced in two ways.

In parenthesis I may mention that Dr. Campbell himself told me that he had not distinguished between the open and the closed vowel sounds in his dictionary or other writings, because his ear was not sufficiently sharp to distinguish these vowel sounds.

What has been already said will show how easily mistakes may be made, or—avoided. More examples will follow below.

As referred to above, it seems to be a fact that the study of the Munda peoples and their languages is being taken up, more especially by younger Indian scholars, but also more and more by European *savants*. To further these studies and to make the published results valuable and reliable, particularly also for comparative purposes I believe it would be most desirable and useful, if the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

would recommend for use in its publications and elsewhere a system of writing that will be a guide and (within limits) leave nothing to be guessed at.

To show what is needed I give here below the characters we use in writing Santali. Our system of writing may leave something to be desired by the science of phonetics; but it serves most practical purposes admirably well.

We use the following vowels:

a, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*
ę, *ǫ*
ą, *ǫ*

All the vowels may be nasalized, the sign to show nasalization being the circumflex above the vowel (~), thus: *ã*, *ẽ*, *ĩ*, *õ*, *ũ*, *ę̃*, *ą̃*, *ǫ̃*. All vowels may form part of a diphthong.

We have the following consonants:

Glottal:	*h*						
Velars:	*k*,	*kh*,	*g*,	*gh*,		*ṅ*,	*ḱ*
Palatals:	*c*,	*ch*,	*j*,	*jh*,	*y*,	*ñ*,	*ć*
Cerebrals:	*ṭ*,	*ṭh*,	*ḍ*,	*ḍh*,	*ṛ*,	*ṇ*	
Dentals:	*t*,	*th*,	*d*,	*dh*,		*n*,	*ť*
Linguals:					*r*,	*l*.	
Labials:	*p*,	*ph*,	*b*,	*bh*,	*v*,	*w*, *m*,	*ṕ*
Sibilant:	*s*						

With reference to these characters the following may be noted: all characters agreeing in form with those adopted by the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for transliterating the Devanagari and related alphabets are for all practical purposes identical in sound with these, with the reservations made below.

The *r* stands for the cerebral sound and not for the Sanskrit vowel, as in all modern vernaculars.

The differences are as follows:

The long and the short vowels are not distinguished. The vowel quantity in Santal words varies in the same word with the mental state of the speaker, often to a remarkable degree. It might naturally be possible to show the comparative length of vowels; but it would involve an immense amount of work, and it would likely in many cases be difficult, to say the least, to show what is correct, that is to say, in every day writing. If for scientific work it should be found necessary to mark quantity, there is always the possibility of using one or the other of the systems in use for this purpose, a stroke above the vowel (¯), as used in practically all systems of transliteration of the Devanagari and related alphabets, or the colon (:) after the vowel, as used by the International Phonetic Association, or one or more inverted full stops after the vowel, according to length of vowel

described (˙, ¨, ⃛, etc.), as used by many and accurate phoneticians.

Whilst the system adopted by the A.S.B. for transliterating Devanagari, etc., shows long and short vowels; it does not distinguish between the open and the closed *e*- and *o*-sounds. The Devanagari alphabet does not distinguish these vowels; but the sounds are found in some of the modern vernaculars. We have in Santali found it necessary to distinguish these sounds. Why, will be seen below. We have besides in Santali some vowel sounds called resultant, that also need separate characters. We have consequently in ordinary writing four vowels not shown separately in the transliterated Devanagari.

As to the consonants, we do not need three of those found in the Devanagari alphabet; but we need four not represented there, and Santali has the *w*, found in Persian, etc., but not represented in Devanagari.

As all who have had to do with phonetics know, the vowels are the most difficult to tackle. Most languages have a large variety of vowel sounds, very many more than the Roman or any other alphabet have characters for. Dr. Sweet in his Primer of Phonetics shows in a table 'seventy-two elementary vowels.' It would naturally be impossible to have separate characters for writing all these; and there are certain near related vowel sounds that conveniently may be shown by one character; but there are more classes than we have vowel characters, and experience has shown the necessity of separate signs for these. The European languages have tried or found different ways out of the difficulties, none of them perfect. French and English, to take two representatives of one system, have attempted to supply what is wanted by a variety of vowel combinations. German and the Scandinavian languages, to mention these representatives of another system, have introduced a number of diacritical marks.

The Munda languages, and I believe particularly Santali, have a large variety of vowel sounds; there is no difficulty in distinguishing some twenty-five different vowel sounds. Although some of these may, without causing difficulty, be rendered by one common character, it stands to reason, that the vowel characters of the Roman alphabet are not sufficient to render all these sounds.

Santali has a series of vowel sounds called resultant, because they are due to an *i* or an *u* being or having been inside the same stress-unit as the vowel affected. As to the nature and pronunciation of these peculiar Santal sounds I may refer to my work *Materials for a Santali Grammar, I*, pp. 16 ss. and pp. 161 ss. It is necessary to mark at least some of these vowels, partly because it is not always possible to decide, without hearing these sounds, the limits of the stress-unit, partly and especially because these particular sounds

are used even when the cause of them have been eliminated in present day speech, and partly also to distinguish words that without a diacritical mark would look alike. The lack of anything to distinguish these vowels means mistakes and mispronunciation.

These vowels we show by a dot below (.). Any vowel may become resultant in Santali; but in ordinary writing only two are marked (*ạ* and *ọ*). A few examples will show the need: *dal*, to strike, *dạl*, split peas: *dan*, a gift, *dạn*, a witch, *dạn*, a heap, *dạn*, a pole; *kol*, to send, *kọl*, the Indian cuckoo, *kọl*, machinery, engine; *ọl*, to write, *ọl*, fusty, musty, and so on.

The dot below is easy and does not clash with other vowel marks. All who mark these vowels in Santali use this dot below.

As to the vowels *ẹ* and *ọ* there does not seem to be any doubt as to the necessity of showing them in some way. They are in our writing of Santali meant to show the open vowel sounds, *ẹ* the *lin* or the *lin* sounds, something like the vowel sounds in 'air' or 'man', and *ọ* the *lbur* or *lbur* sounds, something like the vowel sounds in 'law,' and 'not.'

The omission of distinguishing marks is responsible for much wrong pronunciation and errors with those who learn the language and also with those who ought to know better.

Besides the above mentioned *kol* and *kọl*, *ọl* and *ọl* the following examples will show the need of distinguishing these vowels: *ẹr*, to sow, *er* (an interjection), *ẹrako*, they will sow, *erako*, the wives; *heṛak̄*, speckled (colour), *heṛak̄*, what is pared off; *se*, louse, *sẹ*, foam; *dāṛẹ̄*, sacrificial animal, *daṛe*, strength, *dare*, tree; *họṛọ họṛọ*, individually, each, *hoṛo*, paddy, *horo horo*, (carry anything away carefully keeping it) up against the stomach; *ocok̄*, be caused to, *ọcọk̄*, remove; *hoyok̄*, become, *họyọk̄*, be shaved; *jorok̄ kanae*, he is warming himself at a fire, *jọrọk̄ kana*, it is leaking; *lọ*, burn, *lo*, draw (water, etc.), and so forth.

The only question to be decided here seems to be how these vowel sounds might be best shown. If the diacritical marks could be substituted by something better it would be well.

When the late Mr. Skrefsrud adopted the dash below the *e* and the *o*, it was not his own invention; he followed the recommendations of Dr. Lepsius in his Standard Alphabet. This is now an old work; at the time it was one of the very few works attempting to tackle the problem of an orthography of foreign languages.

Acknowledging the need of separate signs the Linguistic Survey of India has for the Munda languages used *ä* for *ẹ*, and *å* for *ọ*; *ä* is the German and the Swedish character for this sound; *å* I do not remember to have seen used for this sound in any language practically. In Swedish *å* is used for the same

sound as *o*. In Norwegian and Danish *æ* is used for the *ɛ* sound, and *aa* for the *ɔ*.

The International Phonetic Association has introduced the Greek *ε* for the same sound as the Santali *ɛ*, and an inverted *c* (*ɔ*) for the sound corresponding to the Santali *ɔ*. People accustomed to Greek may possibly, to start with, feel some difficulty in using *ε* for a long vowel.

I have often been tempted to use the Greek *ε* for *ɛ*, but have not been able to hit upon anything as a practical substitute for *ɔ*. If the dash below (‿) is kept for one, it might also be kept for the other of these two sounds. The *ä* and the *â* of the Linguistic Survey may possibly sometimes show the etymological origin of the sound; but with the needs of a sign for nasalization these characters have a tendency to become cumbersome and very complicated (the Linguistic Survey has or might have characters like *ã̈* and *ã̂*); they might also not fit the changes in sound due to the laws of harmonic sequence influencing the language.

All in all I am inclined to recommend *ɛ* and *ɔ*, until some practical new characters are found.

When we get to the consonants there is, with the exceptions referred to above, no difference between the way in which Santali is written and the system adopted by the A.S.B. Santali has not, as mentioned, all the sounds represented by the Devanagari characters and consequently no need for characters rendering sounds not met with in the language. As pointed out, Santali has the *w* found in Persian and Hindustani, but not represented in the Devanagari alphabet.

We write two of the nasals in a way different from that of the system of the A.S.B., our characters having been introduced some years before the Society fixed its system. When *ṅ* was used instead of *ŋ*, the reason is the liability of *ŋ* being confused with *y* in practical writing (the Royal Asiatic Society uses *ṅ*, so also does the Linguistic Survey for the same sound). And when *ñ* is used instead of *ñ*, this had two reasons; one was that the palatal *c* was originally with us written *ć*, and the palatal nasal was naturally shown in the same way by (˜); the other and principal reason was the liability of getting the *ñ* in practical writing mixed up with the nasalized *ũ*. The *ñ* is possibly used in deference to the Spanish character.

The International Phonetic Association has for these two sounds adopted *ŋ* for *ṅ* and *ɲ* for *ñ*.

Santali has further four peculiar checked consonants, one velar, one palatal, one dental and one labial, consonants without the off-glide. These sounds are fully described in *Materials for a Santali Grammar, I.*, paras 103 ss.

There has been a many years' controversy over these sounds, especially over two of them, due to the inability of some to recognize the nature of these as checked conso-

nants. Even now a few are met with who instead of the checked *k* write an apostrophe (’), such as *seta’* for *setak* (morning, *seta* means dog); and in stead of the checked *ċ* they use the colon (:) or (*i*:). All writing Santali now-a-days are, however, agreed that *k*, *ċ*, *ṭ*, *p* should be used. The late Mr. Skrefsrud, who was an excellent phonetician, was the first to recognize the nature of all these checked consonants and he introduced the characters here shown.

These peculiar sounds are found in all Munda languages, in some of the smaller languages spoken in the Himalayan regions, in a number of the languages found on the Malay Peninsula, and possibly in a number of other eastern languages, so far as it is possible to judge from the not very adequate descriptions given. The late Mr. Skrefsrud found a large number of similar checked consonants in the Mech language (see his *Grammar of the Mech or Boro Language*). These sounds are sometimes described as checked vowels (so *e.g.* in Skeat and Blagden's *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, and even in Rev. J. Hoffmann's *Mundari Grammar*).

Some twenty years ago I had an opportunity of examining a number of the Munda languages (for the Linguistic Survey of India); I paid particular attention to their phonetics. I came to the conclusion that all the languages I investigated had these sounds, but that some of them did not pronounce them so distinctly as the Santals always do. I remember I had some difficulty once in hearing whether it was an *k* or an *ċ* when preceded by an *i*; but I had no difficulty in finding out the proper sound by applying certain tests. It is a mistake to call these sounds checked vowels; taking them to be checked vowels explains how the Rev. J. Hoffmann can say in his grammar: "it is, I believe, quite impossible for any foreigner to acquire a perfectly correct pronunciation of the peculiarly checked vowels which occur so frequently in Kholarian languages." However much they may be worn down, some remnant of the old original consonant is there, and the non-recognition of this accounts for the impossibility alluded to.

In certain verbal suffixes these checked consonants are now-a-days given up for the corresponding full voiced consonant. This is especially observed with people who have been to school or are in the habit of much using a foreign language. In Santali these sounds are otherwise in full evidence. They are perhaps not quite so distinct in Mundari which, strangely enough, has been much more influenced, even grammatically, by Hindi than is the case with Santali.

These sounds must be shown; from a scientific point of view it is a pity, that these sounds that possibly may be lost in the course of time are not properly shown. In the Munda languages they are the four stops mentioned, without the off-glide. The apostrophe above or just to the right of the top

of the character that shows the first part of the sound is easily applied to all the characters in question.

To sum up: the Munda languages have, except for two sibilants and the cerebral l, the same consonants as the Devanagari alphabet, and in addition four checked ones peculiar to these and some other languages; further a *w* not different from the sound generally rendered by this character.

As regards the vowels there is some difference. the Munda languages needing characters for sounds not represented in the Devanagari alphabet.

* * *

My object in writing this has been, as said, to urge on the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal to sanction a certain way of writing the sounds of the Munda languages, *viz.*, that the system of transliteration used for the Devanagari and related alphabets should (possibly with two exceptions, for the velar and palatal nasals) be employed for the corresponding sounds of the Munda languages, with the addition of certain characters necessary to show four peculiar checked consonants and to distinguish certain vowels.

The reasons for my suggestion have been stated above; a few more characters are needed. If a kind of standard system is adopted, this will be of great and real service and value, to the students of phonetics and philology in India and elsewhere, and also to the students of ethnology. It would also be of service, directly and indirectly, to those who in utter ignorance of phonetics strive as best they can to give these aboriginal peoples something in their own languages.

As it now is, every one does what is right in his own eyes, often with not very satisfactory results; a practically applicable system of writing would be a splendid guide and help and would, it is to be hoped, make the many mistakes now met with not so unavoidable in the future.

I am sure it is unnecessary to say more about the need of what is here proposed. The system of writing that we have and that has stood the test of many years' use may serve as a basis, if the Council of the Society will take the matter up and submit a system to scholars for their opinion.

Before closing I have one remark to make. As said, diacritical marks are a nuisance; but until new characters are designed they seem to be unavoidable, and in time one may be so accustomed to the use that one forgets the idea of having to do with a diacritical mark, as I suppose is the case with us when dotting our i's and crossing our t's.

A Santal writing to another Santal, to give an example, might also without risking being misunderstood omit some of the diacritical marks, although I do not think it is wise from an educational point of view to have characters of an uncertain

value. However that may be, I think much might be gained, if a fairly phonetic system of spelling were insisted on in all that is printed.

My plea is that the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, within the scope of which this matter surely comes, and which is the oldest authority on matters connected with the modern scientific study of philology in India, will be pleased to work out a system of writing the Munḍa languages, and when having done so will insist on, or, to use its own expression in connection with the system adopted for transliterating the Devanagari alphabet, will particularly request authors to adhere to the system in their contributions to the Society's publications.

If this is done I fancy others will follow suit.

Indian Origins.

By H. BRUCE HANNAH.

In his book on HINDU POLITY Mr. K. P. Jayaswāl of Patna tells us that many of the data on which he bases his views regarding the existence of numerous Republics in post-Vedic India are to be found in the *Artha-Śāstra* of Kauṭilyā, whose period he fixes at approximately B.C. 300. But he further says that the *Artha-Śāstra* cites some 18 or 19 earlier authorities. There are also others—for instance. *Āditya*. Moreover, Mr. Jayaswāl refers to the *Mahābhārata*, which mentions another authority, *Gaura-Śiras*. This last, says Mr. Jayaswāl, is possibly later than Kauṭilyā, *i.e.*, more recent than B. C. 300. Hence, the *Mahābhārata* would seem to have been written after that date. Of course, however, the Mahābhārata War was much more ancient than the Epic which purports to record it. The events of that great struggle are usually placed in what are called "Vedic times," and these are popularly supposed to have been exceedingly remote. If what I have to say presently about the *Pāncha-Janāh* is eventually established. it would seem possible to arrive at some fairly definite conclusion regarding the approximate period of the Mahābhārata War. In legend it is said to have been fought between the *Kūrūs* and their "cousins" the *Pāndavas*. But, putting mere legend aside, and having regard to what the name *Pāndavas* probably really connoted, the concrete historical protagonists appear to have been the *Kūrūs* (*i.e.*, the *Dasyūs* and their followers), on one side and the *Pāncha-Janāh* on the other. As regards the *Pancha-Janāh*, my suggestion is that the Pūrūs or Pauravas, Yādūs or Yādavas, Tūrvaśas, Ānūs and Drūhyūs of whom they consisted, and who are all mentioned in the *Rig-Veda*, were, as a matter of fact, 4 concrete communities of Western Asia—Pūra-Setiū (People of Pūra, or Pūla, *i.e.*, Philistines of Keft or Kilikia), Amorites of Yādai, Yāhūdeh, or Jāudi, in Nāharin, certain broken Hittites who "dressed like the Tūr," and a seemingly Phallus-worshipping folk, called "The People of the Pillar," from Ān, Ānū, or On (Hēliopolis), in Deltaic Khem, who, about B.C. 1156, had belonged to the invading forces from the North, defeated in battle somewhere in Syria by Pharaoh Rāmēsēs III, and had afterwards plunged off eastwards as fugitives. I further suggest that, bringing with them the idea of the "Rivers'-land" from Nāharin (which means "Rivers'-land"), a Syrian script which eventually developed into *Brāhmi*, divers Hittite expressions (known at Boghaz-Kyōi and in B.C.

14th century Mitanni) which in India were subsequently transmuted into the divine names Indra (at first Indara), Mitra, Vāruṇa, and Nāsatyau, and a *drūj*-folk (afterwards the Drūhyūs whom the others had met and incorporated somewhere in or near Gāndhāra-land), they ultimately arrived on the banks of the Indus, and settled in the Punjāb, or *Śapta-Sindhavāḥ*. There—already in possession of the country—they found a multitude of more or less rudimentary aborigines, or *Niśādas* (seated ones), perhaps mostly black and of Dravidian or even earlier stock, but many of them yellow, *i.e.*, of Mongoloid, or other Northern stock. Also, they found a very different dominant race of Dark-Whites (or possibly semi-Dark-White, semi-Mongoloid), called the *Dasyūs*. These, I maintain, were simply the diffused representatives, east of the Indus, of a widespread and exceedingly ancient Central Asian folk, denizens for the most part of wilderness Airyo-Tūrān, and known to the old Rosy-Blond Airyānians of Airyavo-Vaējo (practically later Bactria and the country round about) as the *Dahyūs*, or *Tokhs* (People of the Snowy Uplands), *i.e.*, descendants of the archaic and barbarous Kūśa race once called the *Wolf-Folk* (*Vehrkavo-Danghavo*), of what the Babylonians and Assyrians styled *Nūm-Mā*, and the Hittites styled *Si-Nim* (Wolf-Lands)—the country stretching vaguely east of say the Zagros and as far as say Lob-Nor. Though thus of barbarous stock, these Dasyūs of Sapta-Sindhavāḥ dwelt in cities, or *pūras*, and were not uncivilized. Possibly the recent discoveries in Sind and Mohenjo-Daro are vestiges of their material civilization. The finds are said to resemble the objects lying in certain strata of the old "Sūmerian" civilization. What they really resemble are some of De Morgan's finds at Sūsa and elsewhere. This seems not unnatural; as these and the civilization *matérial* of the Tokhs, or Dahyūs, of remotely ancient Central Asia were probably very similar and of almost equal antiquity. Amongst these *Dasyūs* and *Niśādas* of Śapta-Sindhavāḥ the newly arrived *Pāncha-Janāḥ*, or 5 communities, from Western Asia, settled. At that time they were confederates; but a special bond seems to have subsisted between the Yādai Amorites (afterwards the Yādūs) and the Hittites (afterwards the Tūrvaśas). Having regard to Syrian history in the 12th century B.C., this too would be only natural. Possibly, also, all 5 communities were then Republics, *i.e.*, *Ganāḥ*. Professor Monier Williams (and Professor Fleet after him) appear to have thought that *Gaṇa* meant "Tribe," or "Community." In this they would have been wrong; but they may have confused *Gaṇa* with *Jaṇa*, which last word *has* that meaning. Should it turn out that the *Dasyūs*, of the Punjāb, in ancient times, were the diffused representatives in India of the old Central Asian *Tokhs*, or *Dahyūs*, further developments in the history of Northern India follow, almost as certainly as night follows day. For instance,

I suggest that the *Dasyūs* were very ambitious, and aimed at acquiring the hegemony in Śapta-Sindhavāḥ. First, I take it, they ingratiated themselves with the strongest amongst the 5—the Pūra-Setiū, or Pūrūs—and eventually succeeded in concluding matrimonial alliances with them. All the time they were assimilating the culture of the 5. Passing from friendly tolerance by the 5, and especially by the Pūrūs, to social equality with them, and from that to a pretence at and assertion of superiority, the Dasyūs eventually became openly aggressive; and, having organised, and placed themselves at the head of, the Niśādas, they actually made war on the 5, and in course of time forced them to abandon Śapta-Sindhavāḥ. This, I suggest, was probably the period of the Mahābhārata War—possibly B.C. 1000—and the combatants were later known as the "Bhāratas," an expression round which much ambiguity, if not suspicion, has gathered. In their retreat, the 5 went eastwards, and the Dasyūs and Niśādas pursued them as far as Prayāg (Allāhabād) on the banks of the Jumna (Yamunā). There, the two sets of combatants dug themselves in, and faced each other—the Dasyū-Niśādas to the west, and the *Pāncha-Janāḥ* (perhaps Ganāḥ) to the east. Out of this position, in course of time, developed what is known as *Kūrū-Pānchāla*, and that territorial centre of originally complex, but eventually amalgamated, ethnoi and civilizations which is known as *Madhyādesha*, *i.e.*, the Middle-land—at first monarchical. In other words, Force having failed, the Dasyūs, in their desire for hegemony in every respect, tried something else. They were an astoundingly able and astute folk, and their plan of operations henceforth became exceedingly subtle. Moreover, in course of time, it was crowned with complete success. As Dasyūs—an eastwardly diffused branch of the ancient and widespread Wolf-Race, Tokhs, or Dahyūs, of Central Asia—they were a community of more or less petty, more or less superior, *khāns*, *melcks*, or "chiefs." In this connection it is interesting to note certain words in the Hittite language, which appears to be more or less akin to the speech once current amongst the old Wolf-Race of *Nūm-Mā*. These words are *Kūrū*, meaning "Overlord" (from *Kūr*, "Lord"), "Propitious," "Glorious Appearance," and the like. It is really a compound of *Si*, "Place," or "Country," and *Ud*, or *Ut*, "Sun," "Star," "Brightness," etc.; but in cuneiform it has the sound *Kūrū*. Also *Kūr*, "Mountain," "Country." Also *Khū*, "Prince." Another meaning of this is "Bird." Another is "Illustrious." But, as an Eagle is a bird, and is also the cognizance of a King, a Prince, or other illustrious person, it mainly signifies "Prince." Also *Kūrūkhū*, "Prince of the Land." Now, the Dasyūs were very conscious that the associations surrounding that name (linking them with the barbarous Dahyūs) were exceedingly undesirable in view of their new

ambitions. They therefore decided to discard the name *Dasyūs*, to obliterate all associations therewith, and to adopt some other name with which the Niśādas and the *Pāncha-Janāḥ* were unfamiliar. The name they chose was *Kūrūs*. For outsiders this sufficiently veiled their Wolf-Race origin; at the same time, to the initiated, it told its own tale. As Kūrūs, therefore, they became the inhabitants of *Kūrūland—Brāhmavarta*; and their design was nothing less than to create a new race, a new cult, a new tradition, a new language, in short, a new world, in Northern India—with themselves as its leading spirits. Culture they acquired, partly from the *Pāncha-Janāḥ*, partly from the neighbouring *śūkla* Airyānians of Airyavo-Vaējo. At that time the Warrior-classes (*Kshatriyās*) of either the Airyānians or the *Pāncha-Janāḥ* were custodians of a wonderfully lofty and spiritual doctrine (probably the original of what has since been called "The Ancient Wisdom"), the substance of which was the profound mystery of the essential identity of the Supreme Subsistential Self, Universal Principle of Life, or *Paramātmaṅ*, and the *Ātmaṅ*, *Jīvātmaṅ*, Individual Soul, or Principle of Dependent, Evolving Existence. The Dasyū-Kūrūs were absolutely non-spiritual; but they possessed marvellous metaphysical acumen and worldly-mindedness. These served their purpose, which was entirely temporal and practical. They could not appreciate or assimilate the esoteric truths of which the Kshatriyās were guardians, but they possessed themselves somehow or other of an exoteric form of them; and out of that they evolved the doctrines that ensouled what came to be known as Historical Brāhmanism and Caste. On these lines they worked for an ostensible amalgamation of the Kūrūs and the *Pāncha-Janāḥ* (these latter henceforth becoming known as the *Pānchālas*), they themselves retaining practical and undisputed ascendancy as a hierarchy into which they erected themselves under the name of the *Kūśika Brāhmans*. After that amalgamation, Kūrūs and Pānchālas of course became "cousins." As regards this name *Kūśika*, the actual origin is probably this. As ethnically Daeyūs, the Kūrūs belonged to the Kūśa Race. In other words, they were *Kauśika*. When, however, the Kūrūs decided to obliterate all evidences of their real identity, this name *Kauśika* was artfully metamorphosed into *Kūśika*, the associations of which are very different, and much more comfortable. Later, the Niśāda-world was incorporated. Furthermore, all the historical records, traditions, etc., and literary treasures of Northern India were taken in hand, and so confused and manipulated as to render them utterly unreliable, except for the purposes of the dominant hierarchy, who retained all authority and control over them, and interpreted them as best suited their own ulterior designs. Moreover, for the purposes of literary enshrinement, they fashioned what is known as *Sanskrit*—an artificial, highly polished language, of exceeding flex

ibility, richness, scope, and subtlety, and based on the living speech of the Airyānians of neighbouring Airyavo-Vaējo. Finally, from these Airyānians was filched their racial status, traditions, and name—and on these lines generally was promulgated the idea of "Indo-Āryanism." And all—up to date—with phenomenal success! Even Scholarship (*i.e.*, English Scholarship) has been gulled into accepting it all as gospel truth! Whether *Teutonic* Scholarship was so "gulled," may be doubted. Yet another point demands notice. Much of the building-material used for the erection of this extraordinary edifice of Indo-Āryanism was really obtained from what have come to be called Drāvidian sources. In course of time, however, this fact has been practically forgotten. According to established Indian literature and tradition, "India" means Northern India and Āryanism.

All this is, of course, theory—a view of the past as I conceive it to have actually existed, as distinguished from popular and even scholarly beliefs and teachings. Nevertheless, it rests on actualities. I submit that it is worth looking into and testing—a vast and intensely interesting field of research upon which such of the Society's members as may be specially interested in these things can profitably enter. Cf. the folk-tale of Visvamitra in the "Cow of Plenty."

I even go farther. I submit that it is very probable that, perhaps about B.C. 4000—at any rate ages before the Pūrūs, Yādūs, Tūrvaśas, Ānūs, and Drūhyūs arrived in Śapta-Sindhavāh from the West—Dahyūs from Central Asia had entered India in force—most likely coming in across the Indus, like the *Pāncha-Janāḥ*, and then spreading down southwards, along the western coast, and finally settling in the extreme South, where they amalgamated with the aborigines, and so, in course of time, produced what has come to be known as the *Drāvidian Race*. On the way they may have thrown off the Brāhūi communities and the Dasyūs of Śapta-Sindhavāḥ. I suggest that these aborigines of ancient Southern India were once autochthons of *Lemuria*. Not the Lemuria of the theosophists, which is alleged by the latter to have preceded Greater Atlantis; but the Lemuria out of whose northern half was formed India and all north of India up to the Karakoram range—the long, narrow, bean-shaped islo-continent which was once an integral portion of that mighty continental land-mass of the Southern Hemisphere, known as "Gondwānaland," spoken of in their *Text-Book of Geology* (1920) by Messrs Pirsson & Schuchert. I suggest that the word *Tamilakam*, which, as it stands, means "Tamil Abode," is really an ignorantly-rendered form of *Lemuria*. Ptolemy, the Greek geographer, writing about A.D. 140, spoke of Southern India as *Limyrike*, which, of course, is nothing but *Lemuria*. Southern Indian writers rendered this *Tamilakam*. Obviously, they had confused Greek Λ and Δ,

and, taking Ptolemy's *A* for Δ, had rendered it by D and eventually T. Moreover, as with them *r* and *l* were interchangeable, they rendered Ptolemy's *r* by l,—whence the curious form *Damirike*, and ultimately *Tamilakam*! In his *Early History of India*, at p. 396, the late Vincent A. Smith thought Ptolemy's *Limyrike* was "unmeaning." But obviously Ptolemy intended to write it just so—a deliberate rendering on his part of *Lemuria*, *i.e.*, Lemur-*ike*. In the circumstances, it is *Tamilakam*—not Ptolemy's *Limyrike*—which is "unmeaning"! Hitherto, in discussions on the subject of ancient India, we have heard a lot about Indo-Āryanism, (though just now stress seems to be laid on the Sumerians), but very little—almost nothing—about Drāvidian Civilization and Tamilakam and its origins, ethnical or cultural. It is about time this ceased; for not only was Southern India probably more highly civilized than the so-called "Āryans," when they first arrived in "Vedic times," and not only does Northern India owe a vast cultural debt to Southern India, but Southern India is full of evidences of the past which only await investigation, and has also a very fine literature of its own.

It is reported in the newspapers (23-5-25) that quite recently a vast collection of very ancient Sanskrit works has been discovered—older, it is said, than Tūtānkhamen. As far as I can make out, his regnal period was the 14th century B.C. Should this statement be established, so much of the above theories as relates to the invention of Sanskrit by the Kūrūs at some date more recent than say B.C. 1000 will, of course, have to be rejected. Meanwhile, however, it may be doubted whether these Sanskrit works are as old as report says.

CALCUTTA,
8th February, 1925.

Father Manoel da Fonseca, S.J., in Ava (Burma) (1613-1652).

Translated by the late REV. L. BESSE, S.J. *Annotated and Edited by the* REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

On September 1, 1916, the late Rev. Fr. L. Besse, S.J., Superior of the Madura Mission, presented me, on the occasion of his visit to Bengal, with some notes on the old Jesuit Missions in Burma, a subject on which I had published some information for *The Voice*, Rangoon (1914). His notes, translated by himself into French from the MS. Annual Letters of the Cochin or Malabar Province, were translated by me into English and annotated in 1917. They form an unknown chapter in the history of our Catholic Missions in Burma, and we trust that they will prove of permanent interest, not only in Burma, but in other parts of India as well.

H. HOSTEN, S.J.

St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling,
June 27, 1922.

Pegu was evangelised by the Jesuits at the end of the 16th century. In the beginning of the 17th century, the Catalogues and Annual Letters mention two Fathers of the Malabar or Cochin Province, as working in that Mission. In 1613, they were Fathers Diogo Nunes and Manoel da Fonseca.[1]

[1] In *List of Portuguese Jesuit Missionaries in Bengal and Burma* (1576–1742), by Revs. L. Besse, S.J., and H. Hosten, S.J., in *J.A.S. Bengal*, 1911, pp. 15–35, we find for the first time in 1610 "the house of Pegu with one residence only." But the Jesuits had been there several years already; they had been there off and on from 1599. In 1610 there were two Fathers: Manoel Pires and our Manoel da Fonseca; in 1611: John Mary Greco and Manoel da Fonseca. In 1613, two Fathers are spoken of (anonymously) in the 3rd catalogue as at Pegu; and the 1st catalogue gives us a short biography of the two:—

5. Fr. Emmanuel da Fonseca: from the town of Cabeça de Vide, in the Diocese of Elvas; mediocre strength; aged 35: 18 years of Society: studied Philosophy; nearly completed his Theology; has now been over one year Superior in Pegu.

7. Fr. Didacus (Diogo) Nunes: from Monte Mor o Novo, in the Diocese of Evora; aged 31: 15 years of Society; studied Philosophy; Theology during 4 years; taught Grammar during one year and a half.

Our cartographer, Father L. Carrez, S.J., in his *Atlas Geographicus Societatis Jesu*, Parisiis, 1900, Map No. 43, places a Jesuit Residence at Ava (1616-17), a Residence at Siriam (1616), a College and Residence at a town called Pegu (no date given). All this is very unsatisfactory, as

The same year, the port of Siriam, where the two Jesuits were, was taken by the King of Ava, who massacred a great number of the Portuguese and of the native Christians, and dragged the rest into captivity to the interior.[1] Among the prisoners were the two Religious. The Superiors remained without any news about them for about two years.

The Annual Letter of 1615 says :—

"Last year [1614], we wrote to Your Paternity[2] that a visitor had been sent to Bengala for the express purpose of taking information about the two Fathers who were present at the capture of the Fort of Siriam in Pegu, and about whom we have no news.[3] He had been told to do everything possible to deliver them. After arriving in Bengala, he did his utmost. Through some ships, come from Pegu, we have learned that Father Diogo Nunes had died, not at the capture of the fortress, as had been written, but on the way to Ava, whither he was being led a prisoner. His companion, Father Manoel da Fonseca, is a prisoner in Ava, where he endures great privations and suffers greatly, without any hope thus far of his being set free, unless peace is made with this barbarous King. But Portugal does not think of entering into negotiations with him. We also know that the Father's presence is a source of

---

we shall see. I have always considered Siriam as synonymous with the Jesuit Residence of Pegu.—*H.H.*

Father Balthasar Sequeira, S.J., laboured also in Pegu. Born about 1550, and admitted into the Society in 1565, he had come to India in 1578. In 1605 he was at S. Thomé, Mylapore; in 1606, in Pegu, whence he went to Siam. After a captivity of nearly three years he obtained leave to return to Pegu, but died on the way, surrounded by pagans, and was buried at the foot of a tree (1609). (*Annual Letter of 1611.*)—*L.B.*

The *List of Portuguese Missionaries, op. cit.*, p. 17, gives November 1609 as the year of his death, and the place as between Siam and Tenasserim.

We hear sometimes of Missionaries detained in captivity. The meaning at times is that the king did not allow them to leave the country without his permission; yet, they were honourably treated. He would act in the same way towards other foreigners. It was the case in Arakan several times, also in Mogor. Some of our native kings prided in having at their court and in their service many foreigners, especially Europeans.—*H.H.*

[1] At the time of the capture of Siriam, there were in the town not only Jesuits, but Dominicans and Franciscans, and secular priests. The Dominican Frei Manoel Ferreyra was run through with a lance at the taking of the town. Frei Gonçalo, nicknamed *O Grançe*, another Dominican, was carried off into captivity. Cf. Luis de Cacegas' *Terceira parte da Historia de S. Domingos ... reformada ...* por Fr. Luis de Sousa, Lisboa, 1767, p. 355, or *The Voice*, Rangoon, 1914, Supplt. for July, p. 33.

[2] The General of the Society of Jesus is addressed as his Paternity; a Provincial, as his Reverence.

[3] Fr. H. Josson, S.J., *La Mission du Bengale Occidental*, Vol. I (1921), p. 66, shows there were two Jesuit Fathers in the island of Sandwip at the mouth of the Meghnā, where Sebastian Gonsalves was king. The Visitor was Father Andrew Pereira, later Superior of the Mission of Bengal. He had arrived in Bengal from Cochin on October 7, 1614.

inexpressible consolation to the other captives. It seems he must have written to us himself, but his letter has not yet reached us. Letters have been sent to him from all sides; they try to come to his help in every possible way."

We read in the Annual of 1617 :—

"Father Manoel da Fonseca, who during the last five years has endured at Ava all the rigours of the most cruel captivity, belongs to that Mission [of Bengala]. This Father wrote as follows to the Viceroy of India on the 29th of December 1616 :—

"'I wish to make known to Your Excellency, in all truth, and for the good of the Government of India, the ruin of the town of Pegu and the captivity to which the Christians are subjected. Five thousand Christians are here detained as prisoners. The King of Jagoma must be considered lawful King of Pegu: for by hereditary right he received from his father the administration of the kingdom. It was with his help that Philip de Britto built the fort of Siriam: for the King of Ava had no title to the supreme power, as he was but an illegitimate son of the King. Indeed, a custom scrupulously observed is that an illegitimate son can in no wise succeed to the throne. This King [of Ava] complains without reason that Philip de Britto assisted the King his father: for the latter is the friend of the Portuguese, and he lent them timely help against the Mogo King [of Arakan] by sending foodstuffs by sea and troops by land. The complaints formulated against Philip de Britto anent his having succoured the King of Tongo [1] must not be admitted; for this King had entered into an alliance with the King of Portugal, and that is why he had done everything he could to come to the rescue of Siriam. No attention must be paid to all the complaints of that King, considering that, during the last eight or nine years, he would never agree under oath to keep the promise he had given of living in peace.

"'Philip de Britto tried to compel him to it by the reasons and threats which he ordered his envoy Anthony Soares to represent to him, but he did not heed that embassy in the least, and did not answer a word in writing. When he saw in the town of Tongo those of our people who had fallen into his power, and had been made prisoners, he kept in shameful servitude Paschal Martins, who had been sent by the General to effect the ransom of the prisoners; and, faithless to his word, he pushed the siege of Siriam by land and sea until the place was taken. He began by investing the town of Tongo, and set fire to the crops which the King of that city had ordered to get sown in greater quantity, so as to furnish food to our army.

[1] Taungu.

"'While we were all shut up in the fort of Siriam together with the King of Tongo, owing to the cowardice and inactivity of the commandant of the town, he laid siege to it, which urging with great vigour from the 20th of February 1613 to the 27th of March of the same year, he treated us with the utmost inhumanity. During the siege, Philip de Britto sent him an ambassador, so as to gain time through the negotiations and allow the reinforcements he expected to reach him. But, after the first embassy, at dead of night, on the 28th of March, the King of Pegu, at the head of a body of soldiers by land, his fleet supporting him by sea, assaulted the town, applied ladders to the walls, and fought till day. But, seeing several thousands of his soldiers out of action, and fearing the destruction of the whole of his army, he withdrew with the intention of returning the next day with greater forces. Warlike material failed us. We had no powder left, and all were obliged to surrender. The Prince of the Pegus importuned me with the request that I should myself effect the capitulation, by delivering to the enemy the keys of the citadel. However, he would not force me. I answered him, 'I had rather die within the walls of the citadel of my King than be guilty of such cowardice and infamy.'[1]

"'The capitulation completed, the King declared with the greatest severity that we were all of us his slaves. As for myself and Father Diogo Nunes, who amidst all this anguish exchanged the miserable thraldom of this life for the blessed freedom of glory, we were cast into chains and treated with extreme barbarity. In cold or heat, we were left in complete nakedness by day; at night the bare ground was our pallet and mattress. For food they gave us a porringer of rice a day. It often happened that the soldiers, to please the King, and before the people, slapped us in the face and struck us with their fists, because we had been opposed to the capitulation.

"'Having arrived at last in this town, half dead with hunger and thirst, we were subjected to a savage and barbarous

[1] Salvador Ribeiro de Sousa, Captain of the native troops at Arakan, at the end of the 16th century, had with him Philip de Britto Nicote, a Portuguese of French origin, born at Lisbon, and the nephew of Nicot, the French ambassador of Francis I, at Lisbon. In 1600, de Sousa founded a factory at Siriam. Nicote, wishing to offer it to Portugal, set out for Goa, leaving de Sousa at Siriam. The King of Arakan, vexed at this, because Siriam and Pegu then belonged to him, expelled all the Portuguese from his estates, and went to lay siege to Siriam with 40,000 men and a fleet of 1,200 ships, but he was forced to raise the siege. Full of admiration for de Sousa, the inhabitants of Pegu offered him the crown. He accepted and reigned several years over Pegu. At the return of Nicote, who had been appointed Captain-General, de Sousa abdicated in his favour and retired to Portugal.

Nicote, defeated and captured by the King of Ava (*c.* March 28, 1613), was impaled.—*L.B.*

slavery. The women, noble or plebeian, beg for alms from door to door. The wives have not the consolation of being with their husbands, nor the children of being with their father and mother. Trusting in the help of God, we all hope that God will restore us to liberty However, the King of this town is so cruel that oftentimes he throws into chains his own wives, his relatives, and the nobles of his kingdom. Hence, should the Portuguese undertake to wage war against him and give us back our liberty, this war will be for us the occasion of intolerable sufferings and will give us the death-blow. Neither war nor arguments will succeed in bringing him to reason.

"'After these considerations, it is not without hesitation and anxiety that I offer to Your Excellency an alternative, which I have maturely considered, and which, all well examined. I regard as the most useful to ourselves and the most agreeable to God. All the inhabitants of this kingdom are so strongly incensed against the King that they await only an opportunity for putting him to death. The town is of little extent; on the riverside, it is surrounded by a low laterite wall, of no great thickness. There are guns, but of small range; riches abound, owing to the pearl-fishing which is very productive there,[1] and the considerable booty taken on the enemies. The whole country is cut by rivers. In the month of August, galleys with two benches of oars, and *jaleas* easily come up to the town. It is the time when small ships and boats traverse the country, and the land is sown.'

"Such was the Father's letter to the Viceroy. We think we must pass under silence many other things of the same kind. The Portuguese in captivity at Ava are so destitute of everything that the Brethren of the Misericordia,[2] moved with pity at the reading of this letter, have appointed four of the noblest among them to go and collect alms from house to house, so as to give some relief to so much misery. Last year, the King of Ava sent to the Viceroy of India an ambassador, who, having come inopportunely (*mal à propos*) and not being well understood, received an answer little in keeping with his wishes. However, it is thought that, on his return, the King will be inclined to compassion and mercy towards us. From Cochin and San Thomé a pecuniary succour is being sent to the captive Father. This year, sacred vestments and everything necessary for saying Mass have been sent him, so that the Father and the faithful may be armed with the strength from on high and endure courageously so many evils." (*End of the extract from the Annual Letter of 1617.*)

[1] The Annualist at Cochin seems to have misunderstood an allusion to the ruby mines.

[2] At Cochin.

Extracts from a letter of Father Anthony Rubino, S. J., to the Assistant of Portugal (from San Thomé, Nov. 29, 1617).

"The preceding Lord Viceroy [1] had designated me to go to Pegu to ransom 6,000 Christian souls, who, with one of our Fathers, are prisoners in the hands of the King of Ava; but his successor has now arrived [2] and I do not know what this new Viceroy will do in the matter. As for me, I am ready for everything which holy obedience may order me to do."

The project ended there.

* . . . .

Extract from the Annual Letter of 1620.

Kingdom of Pegu.

"Let me end this Annual with a brief relation of the continual labours, the extraordinary trials, and the privations undergone with admirable courage by Father Manoel da Fonseca, who for so many years is a prisoner in Ava.

"In that captivity he reaps such rich fruits among the five thousand Christians whom he takes care of that, were he not the companion of their slavery, the honour of the Company would demand that he become a voluntary slave, thereby to remain with them and provide for the salvation of those souls so persecuted by the infidels, so tried by the climate, and so utterly forgotten by all who might bestir themselves for their deliverance. Verily, to prevent that their faith falter and that the honour of the Portuguese name be sullied by the defection of any of them, a service most agreeable to God would be to offer oneself to God Our Lord for the sake of sharing their labours and their sufferings, bearing hunger and thirst, and thus strengthening in the faith and consoling so large a number of souls. It is what the Father does to the satisfaction of all, to the honour of the Christian religion and of our Company. He is respected by the infidels, revered by the grandees of the kingdom, and regarded as a saint by his fellow captives.

"Father Provincial found a means to send to the Father a fine big picture of Our Lady to be placed in a small Church which he has had constructed with the permission of the heathen Governors called Talapoins.[3] The picture reached its destination, and the Father put it up in the Church with all possible solemnity, so that the sight of it may console him and his companions in the midst of their painful captivity. Thanks to Our Lady, he says, the trials are easy to endure, and sufferings

[1] Don Jeronimo de Azevedo, Viceroy from Dec. 15, 1615, to Nov. 18, 1617.

[2] Don João Coutinho, Count of Redondo, Viceroy from Nov. 18, 1617, to Nov. 10, 1619, the date of his death.

[3] Talapoins are Buddhist priests. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v.

are devoutly wished for. Such is the esteem which the grandees of Ava feel for him that, although a prisoner, they come and visit him and ask him to be shown the image of the Blessed Virgin. Moors and pagans are so taken up with her beauty that they can scarcely tear themselves away. They went so far as to add their offerings to those of some Christians in order to get made an altar screen wherein to place the image.

"I wished to finish this relation with the recital of this captivity that Your Paternity may know the sufferings borne by that Father and grant us your holy blessing, so that all of us, the members of this Province, we may be ready to endure similar evils, and yet greater ones.

"Cochin, the 20th of December 1620.

"Valentine Pinheiro."

Father da Fonseca had been a prisoner in Ava for over 26 years when it pleased God to send him a companion. We read in the Annual of 1640:—

"*Mission of Pegu.*

"This is not a Mission, but a captivity. One goes thither without hope of ever returning. Father Manoel de Azevedo, on taking charge as Provincial, sent to Pegu Father Denis Antunes, a good theologian and a distinguished labourer in the Missions.[1] He accepted courageously this being sent to exile, or rather to slavery; and, for the love of God and the good of souls, he preferred a life of captivity among the Christians to life in the Colleges and Residences, where the pulpit and the confessional bring more lustre. Giving him this order, Father Provincial wished especially to give some consolation to Father Manoel da Fonseca, who has been a prisoner over there for more than 26 years. On account of his advanced age, his infirmities, and the want of a confessor, he urgently entreated the favour of coming over to die in the midst of his dearly beloved Fathers and Brothers; for he well knew that the King would give him leave, and that the Christians, seeing him at the end of his career, would not oppose his going.

"This request appeared quite legitimate, as it came from so fervent a Religious, one who has so well deserved of the Company, and has so much suffered in that long and painful captivity. Father Denis Antunes left, to remain in his place and take charge of the numerous Christians, who, like the children of Israel in the captivity of Egypt, are not all of them

[1] Our *List of Portuguese Jesuit Missionaries in Bengal and Burma*, *op. cit.* p. 23, says of him under 1644: from Lisbon; robust; aged 46; 22 of Society; after studying Philosophy, taught Grammar 1 year; studied Theology 2 years; employed 11 years in the work of conversion; is now in the Mission of Pegu. Not in Franco.

together in one place, but live scattered here and there throughout the kingdom.

"Father Antunes' voyage to Pegu came very opportunely. When Father Manoel da Fonseca heard of it, he thought an angel had been sent him from heaven for the consolation of the Christians and his own. He wrote to the Father Provincial in these terms :—

"'The words fail me to acknowledge the very great charity you have had towards me and the Christians by sending us, Father Denis Antunes. But, as I cannot find the words, I kiss your feet in union with all the Christians, who are inexpressibly happy at the Father's arrival.'

"The intention in sending this Father Antunes to Pegu was, we said, to deliver Father Manoel da Fonseca and allow him to come here [Cochin], as he had asked. But such was his spirit of zeal, such the perfection of his virtue and of his love for the Christians, that he refused to be set at liberty so long as they should remain captive.

"Accordingly he wrote :—

"'I thank Your Reverence with all my heart for the permission you have given me to return by this ship. But I have not the heart to leave alone the Father who, four days ago, arrived to keep me company, and has become a captive for God's sake and mine. It is not becoming that I should leave, and thus give a bad example to my Brethren, who so generously offer themselves to sufferings and exile for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. Besides, what made me especially wish to get away from here was not the desire of escaping from sufferings, however great and heavy, but rather my desolation at finding myself without a confessor for 30 years. Well, now that I have one, now that God has sent me one through Your Reverence, I declare it is here that I wish to labour till death.'

"This is truly a letter worthy of a genuine son of the Company, and it affords not a little matter for confusion to those who pass their life in the Colleges, and who, solely not to lose their comfort, show repugnance or, at least, little eagerness for the exile and privations of painful Missions. With remarkable piety did he make in Father Antunes' hands his profession of the four vows, which 26 years ago Rome allowed him to make, but for which all these many years no favourable occasion had offered itself.[1]

"At once after his arrival, Father Denis Antunes began to do great things for the service of God. As he is young, vigorous,

[1] Our *List, op. cit.*, shows that the catalogues mention Father da Fonseca in 1627, 1628, 1634, as a professed of the four vows; but the only thing the Superiors at Cochin can do is to ring the changes on the number of years he has been in captivity.

and full of fervour, he started travelling to the different parts of the kingdom where the Christians are dispersed, confessing, baptising, and consoling by his instructions and preachings: for the secular priest who had been there some time as Vicar *da Vara* had died before having been able to visit those countries or even to say Mass there.[1] This Mission had become a regular thicket, and the Christians savages, or little less. Almost all the children were unbaptised. Thanks to the Father, they were baptised, and the rest instructed in the things of God.

"The upkeep of the two Fathers is not secured by any fixed revenue; they are not in receipt of any salary, but depend entirely on the alms given them by the Christians, especially at the rice harvest. When any one dies, he takes care, without being asked or in any way reminded of it, to leave alms for the maintenance of the Fathers. Moreover, the Christians give them white cloth (*toile*) to make shirts with, or black cloth for their soutanes, oil for the Church, and wax for the altar, so that nothing is wanting to them; they have even some surplus, not a small favour from God, Who thus wishes to make us feel with our finger how nothing fails him who forsakes everything for His sake: *nihil habentes et omnia possidentes*, as the Apostle says. And I do not speak of the abundance of graces with which He constantly floods their souls."

Annual Letter of 1613.

"*Pegu.*—There are in the kingdom of Pegu and Ava seven or eight Churches of our Company, where the usual ministrations are performed among the Christians, who are kept there in captivity since the capture of Siriam [*c.* March 28, 1613], their descendants, their slaves, and some new converts. The sufferings endured by two of our Fathers baffle description. One of them, however, has had the time to get accustomed to them. More than 30 years ago, he was taken with the Christians, and all that time he has lived in captivity, full of joy and consolation. The other went to join him five or six years ago.

"If in our Colleges of Europe there are found Fathers and Brothers of our Company, who, full of fervour, desire in

[1] This is one of the many surprises we meet amid the darkness of that early period of our Burmese history. How did that Vicar *da Vara*, a sort of dean, come there? His position would show that there were other secular clergy. He must have kept mostly to the sea-board. Syriam had probably resumed some of its commerce with Europeans, and a new settlement of Portuguese Christians and other foreigners would have sprung up. This Vicar *da Vara* would have been sent by the Bishop of Mylapore or the administrator of the Mylapore Diocese.

imitation of St. Paul to live crucified to the world, there is no need for them to go and seek the cross in Japan or in China. Let them come merely to this Province of Cochin, where they will find a perpetual cross in the exile and slavery of Pegu. There, life is spent in the midst of countless venomous snakes, and tigers so bold that they are not afraid to enter the houses and seize the inmates. And, failing the company of wild beasts, they may be sure to have that of men more dangerous than serpents and crueller than tigers, men who are accustomed to acknowledge the good done them by persecuting, or giving false witness against their benefactors.

"If this prospect does not tempt those noble and generous hearts, there is, near Pegu, the kingdom of Bengala, which is inhabited by a white race, the noblest of the East, that of the Mogols. The climate there is delicious. There are not wanting there pagans to convert, or even Christian sinners worse than pagans. There too they will find all the tortures of the Japanese, sharp arrows, acerated daggers, etc.

"If they think this Mission too old, our dear Brethren in Europe will find, not far from there, Boutan, the daughter of Bengala, as it is called, because it is by way of Bengala that I discovered the two gates by which one penetrates into that high mountainous region. There a vast field lies open for preaching to an intelligent race of white people, who much resemble the Poles in their features and carriage.[1]

[1] Father Simon de Figueiredo, who signed the letter of 1643, had been many years in Bengal. Our *List*, *op. cit.*, shows him in Bengal in 1619, '20, '23, '27, '28, '32. When he mentions the acerated daggers of Bengal, he speaks from personal experience. In *The Catholic Herald of India*, Calcutta, 1909, pp. 804-05, I published a document, translated by Father L. Besse, S.J., on the foundation of the Jesuit Mission of Patna (1620). Father Figueiredo accompanied from Hugli the Superior of the Mission, and, when the latter withdrew, he was left in charge. The Annual Letter of Cochin for 1621 tells a tragic story of how Father de Figueiredo was attacked by an infuriated young Muhammadan noble, a zealot for his religion, received five wounds and was about to be killed outright when the assassin's hand was seized. His catechist Gonçalo had been killed, and Amador, the Bengali door-keeper, had received eight wounds. The murderer was executed, trampled on by an elephant. Cf. the whole passage translated in my *Jesuit Annual Letters from Goa and Cochin* in *The Examiner*, Bombay, 1912, pp. 117-119.

It was evidently during his stay at Patna that Father de Figueiredo heard of the two Dwāras (Duārs) or gates leading to Tibet. One of the roads was through Khātmāndū, doubtless; the other, probably the one through Kuch Bihār, which the Jesuits of Cochin eventually followed between 1626 and 1632, while the Jesuits of the Goa Province had penetrated into Tibet *viâ* Srinagar (Garhwāl). Another gate to Tibet would have been by the Jelep La Pass, through the present Darjeeling District. But I do not know that our Missionaries, even the Capuchins of Patna, a century later, ever followed that road.

I think there are earlier texts in which the Jesuits compare the Tibetans to the Poles. 'Buttan' was a very loose term; it applied to the whole Himālayan region, from what we now call Bhutān to Simla, and did not exclude Tibet.

"Finally, if they feel no attraction for this Mission, because very high mountains covered with snow are to be ascended, they can obtain in this Province of Cochin the Mission called of Madura, which extends over several kingdoms, and where the Company has three kinds of labourers, wearing different habits, the better to win souls to God."

. . .

Extract from the Annual of 1644.[1]

Christianity of Pegu.

"From the port of Mailapur, or city of San Thomé, an eight days' navigation to the east, bending somewhat to the north, brings you to the port of Siriam, the chief town of the kingdom of Pegu. The King of Ava, having waged war against the King of Pegu, conquered the whole kingdom, captured the fortress which was in the port of Siriam, carried away with him into his kingdom of Ava a great number of Portuguese and of native Christians, and ordered that in the kingdom of Pegu the fields should not be sown for the space of seven years. This order was carried out. Having reached the town of Ava, which gives its name to the kingdom, the King scattered all the Christians, whites and natives, throughoue his dominions, for fear of them. Prisoners with them were one of our Fathers and a secular priest. This priest having died, the Father remained alone with all the work to his charge.[2]

"From Siriam, a seaport, the chief town of Pegu, whence the Christians were carried away, to Ava, there are 170 leagues. The journey can be performed by land, or by water on a river called Ganga, an arm of the Ganges.[3] For the space of 30 years there were in that Mission not more than three Churches. But, five years ago, a Father, who went to stay with the Father already there,[4] built five more, the better to cultivate the Christians. These contribute to some extent

---

[1] We add this extract from *A short account of the Missions under the charge of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus of the Malabar Province in the East Indies, written to the Most Reverend the Father General of the Society in the year 1644* (Trichinopoly, 1909), pp. 32, 33. Translator: the Rev. Fr. L. Besse, S.J.—Author of the account: Fr. Andrew Lopez, S.J.

[2] This secular priest might be the Vicar *da Vara* mentioned in the Annual of 1640 as having died; but from what we hear of him, he could hardly have been present at the capture of Siriam in 1613.

[3] The maps of Arakan and Burma were still very defective in 1644; nay, till more than a century later. The river of Cosmin (Baasein, Burma), *i.e.*, the Irawaddy, becomes the Karnaphuli of Chittagong in several maps of the time, even till Father Guy Tachard, S.J. (1711). A collection of these early maps used to be seen along the walls of the Imperial Library, Calcutta.

[4] Fr. Denis Antunes. Cf. A.D. 1640.

to the upkeep of their Churches and to the support of the Father, and they are asking him for more Churches. The Fathers there are held in high esteem both by Christians and Gentiles. But among the latter very few ask for baptism; the cause of it may be the want of Fathers residing habitually in the Churches around which the pagans themselves dwell.

"The area which these two Fathers have to travel over, for the administration of the Christians is about 70 leagues. Both reside in Ava, and visit the Christians in turn. The Churches they have in their charge are scattered as follows:—

"At *Ava*, the patron is Our Lady of Hope, and with good reason, because they hope to have many conversions in that kingdom, the chief town of which is Ava, the headquarters of the present king: 150 Christians within a space of one league.

"To the south of Ava, is *Nabaca*, a distance of 30 leagues; Patron: St. John the Baptist; 300 Christians living all together.

"Seven leagues to the north of Nabaca is *Latora*; Patron: the Assumption of Our Lady; 400 Christians all together. They have a House of Mercy (*Misericordia*) and a Procurator (*proveedor*).

"From Latora to the north, 50 leagues distant from Ava, is *Tababayam*;[1] Patron: Our Lady of the Rosary; 400 Christians in a district of two leagues.

"From Tabayam, 20 leagues to the east is *Machobo*: Patron: the Holy Cross; 70 Christians together.

"From Machobo, 4 leagues further to the east, is *Allam*; Patron: Our Lady of Guadelupe; 60 Christians together.

"From Alam, 4 leagues further to the east, is *Sikim*; Patron: Our Lady of Amparo or Succour; 200 Christians in a district of 2 leagues.

"From Sikim, 5 leagues to the south, is *Singuem*; Patron: St. Francis Xavier; 50 Christians together.

"From Singuem to Ava, the distance is 20 leagues.

"Total of the Christians of that Mission, 1,730, although the Father writes just now from there that they exceed 2,000."

.

The Annuals of the next years are missing, or they do not mention the Fathers of Pegu. We read in Father E. de Guilhermy, S.J., *Ménologe du Portugal*, Vol. I, p. 376, that Father Manoel da Fonseca was restored to liberty after 38 years of captivity, therefore about 1651 or 1652. According to Franco, he had come to India in 1599,[2] and the

[1] *Sic*, for Tabayam (?), two lines lower.

[2] Our *List*, *op. cit.*, p. 17, *n.* 3, says: One Emmanuel da Fonseca came to India in 1599, not yet a priest (*Franco*); '*humanista*,' writes da Camara Manoel. The age of our hero is given in 1613 as 35, with 18 years of Society; in 1648, as 68, with 51 years of Society. In

catalogues show he was 72 years old in 1652. He died at Goa, I do not know in what year.

Father Manoel da Fonseca is still mentioned in the Catalogue of 1652. Father Denis Antunes' name is found for the last time in that of 1648.

Finally, we read in the Catalogue of 1655: "In Pegu, Father Simon Rodrigues." He had been there since 1652, no doubt to take the place of Fathers da Fonseca and Antunes.[1]

Father Peter Espagnac was in Siam about 1702. Taken prisoner at Siriam with some other Frenchmen, he was conducted into the interior of the country, a four days' journey from Ava, and died there of misery at the end of one year.[2]

. . .

(*Here end Father L. Besse's notes.*)

. . .

We find still in Father Fernão de Queyroz some very curious information about Fathers da Fonseca and Antunes, as also about a Franciscan, who had come from Portugal with the intention of going to Japan. Instead, he was sent to Pegu. Passing through Cochin in 1642, he consulted the famous Brother Pedro de Basto, S.J., who foretold him that he would come back "ingloriously, ingloriously, ingloriously."

"Father Frey Francisco das Chagas went to Pegu, and was at Ava, the Court of the King, in the company of our Religious, especially Father Manoel da Fonseca, who, having been made a prisoner at Siriam and having lived 38 years in that kingdom, was allowed by the King, who kept him captive with those who had survived the siege, to return here to Goa, where he ended his life, full of days and merits. He told me that Father Frey Francisco, in his zeal for the faith, wanted to set fire to a varela, or chief pagoda, of the King's, and he

1652, he would have been some 72 years old. In fact, we find 72. *ibid.*, p. 24, under 1652: "55 years of Society; already 39 years of captivity in the kingdom of Ava; twice appointed Provincial of this Province [of Cochin], but the choice did not take effect, because of his absence."

[1] Our *List*, *op cit.*, p. 24, mentions him still (as in Pegu?) in 1659. "Fr. Simon Rodrigues: from Batalha, in the diocese of Leiria (*Liriensis*): good health; aged 47; 23 years of society; has been working many years for the conversion of Pegu." Not in Franco.

[2] Can more details be obtained about him? Sir A. J. Phayre's *History of Burma*, London, 1883, which is mostly based on the native chronicles, and Bishop Bigandet's *Outline of the Catholic Burmese Mission* (1720–1887), Rangoon, 1887, are both defective for the period here considered. Neither speaks of this incident.

was in great danger of losing his life, being able to escape only through the good offices of our Religious. The King was satisfied with his leaving the country, which he did with Father Denis Antunes."[1]

We may conclude that the return of Father Antunes took place in 1648 or 1649, and that, as Father Manoel Simon Rodrigues is mentioned in Pegu in 1652, when Father Manoel da Fonseca's name drops out of the Cochin Catalogues, Father da Fonseca withdrew in 1652. He went to Goa and died there, as Father de Queyroz tells us.

It is surprising that the Annual Letters we have quoted make no allusion to the visit of this Franciscan. Neither did we hear in them of the visit of an Augustinian to Ava in 1635. "In 1634, when the galley of Don Antonio Sotomayor was set on fire in an engagement with the Dutch fleet, Father Fray Agustin de Jesus displayed his great charity on behalf of the soldiers, who escaped in a small vessel to the port of Caranganon [Cranganore], near Cochin. In 1635, during his voyage with Diego Leite Pereyra, he endured great hardships; but, no sooner had he reached the harbour [of Siriam] than he followed the bank of a river up to the kingdom of Abá [Ava], the Court of the King of Bramá [Burma], where he found many Portuguese in slavery, and more than four thousand Christians, all of whom had been taken prisoners at the fortress of Syriam, 25 years before.[2] He administered to them the Sacrament, of which they had been deprived all that time, and saved others from the blindness of their idolatry."[3]

The portion in Father Lopez' Annual Letter of 1644 was republished by me in *The Voice*, Rangoon, 1914 (Supplement for June, pp. 17–19), and my appeal to the Missionaries of Upper Burma for the identification of our Ava Churches in 1644 did not remain unheeded.

The Very Rev. Father E. Luce (*ibid.*, p. 20) identified at once Nabaca with Nabeck or Nabet, Myinma P.O., Sagaing District; Catholic population: 340; with out-stations: 710.

Tabayam, he thought, was the place designated by Bishop Bigandet as Tabaring; Machobo was probably Schwebo, and Alam was Ahlong; Singuem was probably Singu or Nat-Singu.

Father J. Faure followed up the investigation (*ibid.*,

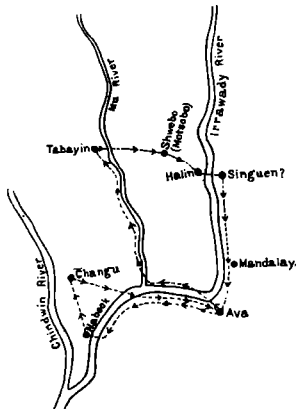
---

[1] Cf. for the fuller passage Fernão de Queyroz, S.J., *Historia da vida do Ven. Irmão Pedro de Basto*, Lisboa, M. Deslandes, 1689, pp. 206–208, or my translation in *The Voice*, Rangoon, June 1914 (Supplt.), pp. 14–16.

[2] It was only 22 years before, if this visit was in 1635.

[3] Cf. Fray José Sicardo, O. S. Aug., *Christiandad del Japon*, Ch. III, pp. 17–37 (Madrid, Francisco Sañz, 1096). If the Jesuits forget to mention the Augustinians, here is an Augustinian forgetting the Jesuits. The Friar did not long remain in Ava; soon after he is found visiting the Bengal Missions as Vicar General; next he goes to the court of the Great Mogul.

July, 1914, pp. 224–225, reproduced again under August, 1914, p. 255). "The so-called village of Latora cannot be any other than the present Chaung-Oo. Chaung-Oo is, as a matter of fact, distant by seven Burmese leagues north of Nabeck. The patronal feast is still the Assumption of Mary. One must know that Chaung-Oo is an agglomeration of 10 villages (*follows a word in Burmese characters*) and that the village inhabited by the first Christians was, through contempt, called the village of slaves, *i.e.*, (*follows a Burmese word*), which Italian Missionaries would write indifferently Sabaukroa or Saboroa.[1] *S* must



have been taken for *L*, and *b* for *t*, and thus Saboroa became Latora, which has no similitude whatever to any Burmese expression."

Father Faure returned to the discussion (*ibid.*, October, 1914, pp. 322–323) with a map and the following interesting notes: "I hold for certain the identification of the following localities: Nabeck, Chaung-U (Latora), Tabarin, Motsobo, and Halin. The first three are beyond question. Likewise, Motsobo is surely the present Schwebo, known under that name before Alaungpara. When the latter made it his capital,

[1] Our Missionaries were Portuguese. I find, indeed, the two spellings Sabau-kroa and Sabau-roa in Father Luigi Gallo's work, to be quoted presently.

he called it Yatana-thengo, or else Yan-Gyi-Aung, in memory of his victory over the Talains. Schwebo seems to have been the poetical name for Motsobo, as Schwe-Va and Schwe-Man are the poetical names for Ava and Mandalay respectively. Later, the poetical name of Schwebo became the common one. Halin, on the North-East of Schwebo, is the Alam of Father Lopez' letter. Italian Missionaries made light of aspirations, and that is why Alam is written without an aspirate *h*. There is in that locality a tradition that, in former days, *kalas* dwelt among them, and they were very tall, at least six feet high. There remain Sikim and Singuem, about which I have no information at all, nor do I know any place of that name. They are located on the map according to the orientation and distance given in the letter referred to. I cannot say on what bank of the Irawaddy they were situated, neither can I vouch for their existence.

"Another observation. The Christian villages enumerated by Father Lopez are not mentioned at random, but cited in the order of the Missionary's visitation tour. Thus the Missionary would start from Ava, and thence by boat to Nabeck, and by cart to Chaung-U (Latora). Then, returning to Ava, he would start afresh for the villages of the north, sailing down the Irawaddy to go up the Mu to the height of Tabarin, thence by land to Motsobo, Halin, Sikim, Singuem, and therefrom back again to Ava."[1]

It is interesting to note how little the Burma Missionaries of the 18th century have to say about the circumstances in which the earliest Christian settlements of Ava originated. Father Luigi Gallo, of the Congregation of the Oblates of the Virgin Mary, in his *Storia del Cristianesimo nell' Impero Barmano*, 3 vols., Milano, 1862,[2] knows of St. Francis Xavier's designs on Pegu (letter of January 20, 1548), of Antonio Ferreira de Bragança's commanding 1000 Portuguese in the service of the King of Burma (1556), of Mendez Pinto's adventures in Pegu, of the Franciscan Peter Bonfer's stay in Cosmin (Bassein),[3] of the Capuchin Father Ephrem de Nevers' intended visit to Pegu (1642), of the violent death of Messrs.

[1] I have no recollection that the subject was further discussed.

[2] I have to thank Fr. H. Colli of Bezwada for the gift of these three volumes, a souvenir of my short stay at his residence in January 1921.

[3] We published a pretty long account of him in *The Voice* (Rangoon), February Supplt., 1914, pp. 7–9. A. Polanco, S.J., *Chronicon Soc. Jesu* (in *Monum. histor. S.J.*), Madrid, Vol. V (1897), p. 723, clearly refers to the French Cordelier, Peter Bonfer, though without giving his name. Under the year 1555 we read: "And from the city of S. Thomé another religious of St. Francis left for the kingdoms of Pegu and Syam, which are also near to the Sinae, to see whether he might reap there some fruit for Christ." This information must have been given by Fr. Cypriano, S.J., then at S. Thomé (Mylapore): for we know from du Jarric that Peter

Genoud, a Swiss, and Joret, a Burgundian (1693);[1] but of the capture of Siriam in 1613 and the consequent captivity in Ava of several thousands of Christians he does not appear ever to have heard.

Not till more than 100 years later, when the connection between the Society of Jesus and Burma had long ceased, do the place-names of Father Lopez' letter of 1644 again turn up under Father Luigi Gallo's pen. When they are again mentioned, it seems clear that there is question of old Christian establishments. We expect, therefore, that soon after 1722, when the Barnabites came to Burma, the Christians of Ava were again provided with pastors. How the gap between 1652 and 1722 was tided over by the Ava Christians we know not.

Sabau-kroa or Sabau-roa is mentioned as evangelized by Father Sebastiano Donati and Father Pio Gallizia, both of whom were buried there (II. 20, 22). The former died there on January 20, 1761, aged 31; the latter died at Monla on February 11, 1763, but was transferred for burial, at his request, to Sabau-roa (II. 25).

Monla (on the left bank of the Mu), which may perhaps represent one of Father da Fonseca's Christian villages, was evangelized in 1765 by Father Giovanni Maria Percoto, the future Bishop (II. 48). In 1766 he wrote from Nabeck

Bonfar met Cypriano at Mylapore. Bonfer left Pegu in 1557, according to du Jarric (*Hist. des choses* . . . . II. (1608). Bk. II, ch. 23, p. 612 sqq.).

There are, however, traces of earlier Christians, even in pre-Portuguese times, which have since come under my notice.

Thus we read in the travels of Hieronimo di Santo Stefano that, when his comrade Hieronimo Adorno died in the city of Pegu in 1496, he buried him "in a ruined Church frequented by none." (Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, I.p. CI *n.* 1, quoting Major's *India in the Fifteenth Century*.) We should think that Hieron. di S. Stefano buried his friend in a ruined Christian church, not in a ruined pagoda. Revolutions were so common in Burma, the North fought so often against the South that, if Christians had congregated at Pegu and built a Church, it may have proved of short duration. We have but to judge by what happened to our Churches at Pegu in the 17th and 18th centuries. The ruined church of 1496 may have been one built by the Armenians or Arameans (Syrians), colonies of whom were settled at that time on the Coromandel Coast (Paleacate), in Malabar, in Siam, at Malaca (?), and in Java (?). The ruined church at Pegu in 1496 may have been built a century or more earlier by the Dominicans. Cf. Fr. André-Marie [Meynard], *Missions Dominicaines de l' Extrême Orient*, Bauchu, Paris, 1865, t. I, pp. 52–53, claiming for the Dominicans of pre-Portuguese times (on what authority?) missions not only in India, but in Siam, Cambodia, Cochinchina, and even Japan.

[1] A reference to the death of two French Missionaries who had come from Siam is found in Griffini's *Della Vita di Monsignor Percoto*, Gallici [Udine, 1781], p. 89, col. 1. A copy of this life, acquired by the Goethals Indian Library, Calcutta, in 1925, bears the *ex-libris* of Sir R. C. Temple, and of Mgr. J. Balma, O.B.M.V., Bishop of Ptolemais and Vicar Apostolic of Ava and Pegu, with the date 1853.

that he had 13 villages of Christians at great distances from one another (II. 52). On November 3, 1769, he wrote again that he had visited Ava, Nabeck and Sabau-roa. This visit was followed by another to Monla (II. 68–71).

One of the villages near Monla, with a large number of Christians and a Church dedicated to the Divine Saviour was Redana, a few miles west of Monla (II. 84). We hear also of a Christian of Riva, or of the Kiandegà of Redana, who wrote a letter to the Supreme Pontiff (II. 85).

At a later date, Sabau-roa was under Father Filiberto Re (died at Rangoon, 18th June, 1786), and Nabeck under Father Ambrogio Miconi (left for Italy, 1781).

In 1781, there were Christians in Ava at the following places: Nabeck, Sabau-roà, Monlà, Redanà, Kianda-roà, Elet-to-roà, Kiun-dò, Padoen, Lepanghi (III. 41).

As late as 1833 we hear of the Church of St. John the Baptist at Nabeck (III. 32); but we seek in vain for Sikim and Singuem.

Moccobu (Father Lopez' Machobo ?) was a royal city which was abandoned in 1766 (II. 22).

The capture of Siriam in 1613 was a well-known fact. Sir Arthur J. Phayre has the story in its bare outlines, through Faria y Sousa, in his *History of Burma*, pp. 124–127, and Bishop Bigandet, who refers to it in his *Outline of the History of the Catholic Burmese Mission*, pp. 6–7, has some pages admirable for sagacity on the European origin of the earliest Christians in Upper Burma (pp. 3–11). How the venerable old man would have welcomed for his history the materials now for the first time made public!

One point greatly puzzled the Bishop, and it puzzles us too. It would seem that the Babylonian captivity of the Portuguese of Siriam in 1613 was not the first one on record. Bishop Bigandet, during his pastoral tour in 1861, questioned the oldest and best informed men of the Christian villages in Ava. In all these villages he found a tradition. All gave the year 999 of the Burmese era as the epoch when their ancestors had come to Ava. Some of the ablest had been kept at Ava to teach the Burmese what they knew of the military profession, or had been entrusted with the management of the guns: the others had been removed to villages of the distant provinces of Shaaybo (Schwebo), Tabaring and Ahlong (our Alam), between the rivers Mu and Khyindouin (pp. 3, 7). Now, why should they have given the year 999 of the Burmese era for the date of the event? The year 999 would correspond to A.D. 1580. As there is a difference of 32 years between the year 999 of the Burmese era and 1613, Bishop Bigandet tried to account for it by supposing that the year 1580 might indicate the beginning of de Britto's appearing in those parts. The suggestion, unlikely in itself

is unsatisfactory. Siriam of the Portuguese did not begin before 1599, and till then de Britto was in Arakan. There may have been earlier deportations: yet, as none equalled the wholesale one of 1613, the date 999 remains a puzzle.

There is no doubt, however, that the advent of large numbers of Portuguese into Burma was much older. Already in 1545 do we hear of considerable numbers of them moving about in the service now of one king, then of another. The numbers are startling, though not incredible.

The chief witness is Fernão Mendez Pinto, whose veracity on the events in Burma between 1545 and 1552 can hardly be doubted. He shows too intimate a knowledge of the history, geography, customs, and language of the country, and must have been present, as he asserts, at much of what he relates. His chronology may at times be at variance with that of the native historians, but this ought not to astonish us when we reflect that he wrote from memory long after the lapse of 21 years of a most eventful and romantic career in the East. Nor are the native historians always to be trusted implicitly for their chronology.

Now Pinto speaks in 1545 of 700 Portuguese in the service of the 'Brama', then besieging Martaban, and there were some others fighting on the side of the King of Martaban. (Cf. *Voyages and Adventures of F. Mendez Pinto*, London, Fisher Unwin, 1891, H. Cogan's translation, pp 294, 305, 313.) Among the 36,000 foreigners of 42 different nationalities in the Brama's army there were Portuguese, Venetians, Greeks, Janissaries, Jews, Armenians, Abyssinians, Arakanese, etc. (p. 302). Five hundred Portuguese were killed in the attack on Prome, about May, 1545; another 62, before the Brama reached Ava on October 13, 1445 (pp. 321, 328). And yet, not long after, we are told that among the battalions of foreigners in the service of the King of Pegu there were 1,000 Portuguese (p. 366). We hear again of 280 Portuguese killed in the battle before Pegu between the army of the Brama and that of the Xemindoo on November 16, 1548 (p. 423), and of another 83 killed by the Xemin de' Satan, after he had killed the King of Pegu (p. 427). Burma, according to Pinto, was the most attractive country of the East for European adventurers like himself.

Some forty years later, thanks to a letter from a Dominican Friar, we get a glimpse of the doings of the Portuguese in Pegu.

[*P. 240*] "A briefe relation of the great magnificence of rich traffike of the kingdome of Pegu beyond the East India, written by Frey Peter of Lisbon, to his cousin Frey Diego of Lisbon, from Cochin.

"I received your letters in the harbour of Damaon by a

caravell of advise that came from Malacca, which brought shot, powder, and other provision for the furnishing of foure gallies and a great gallion, which are now in building, to keepe our coast for feare of great store of men of warre, being Moores, which trouble us very sore. At that instant when I received your letters I was newly come from the kingdome of Pegu, where I had remained one yeere and an halfe, and from thence I departed to the city of Cochin in October 1587. The newes which I can certifie you of concerning these countreys are: That this King of Pegu is the mightiest king of men and the richest that is in these parts of the world: for he bringeth into the field at any time, when he hath warres with other princes, above a million of fighting men: howbeit they be very leane and small people, and are brought unto the field without good order. He is lord of the Elephants, and of all the golde and silver mines, and of all the pearles [*P. 241*] and precious stones: so that he hath the greatest store of treasure that ever was heard of in these parts. The countrey people call him The God of trueth and justice. I had great conference with this king and with the head captaine of the Portugals, which is one of the countrey. They demanded of me many questions as touching the law and faith of Jesus-Christ, and as touching the Ten Commandements. And the king gave his consent that our Order should build a Church in his countrey, which was halfe builded, but our perverse and malicious Portugals plucked it downe againe: for wheras it is a countrey wherein our nation gaine very much by their commodities, they fearing that by the building of this Church there would be greater resort thither, and so their trade should be impaired, if their great gains should be knowen unto others then those which found this countrey on first, therefore they were so unwilling that the building of this Church should go forward. Our Portugals which are here in this realme are woorse people than the Gentiles. I preached divers times among those heathen people; but, being obstinate, they say that, as their fathers beleeved, so they will beleeve: for if their fathers went to the devill so they will. Whereupon I returned backe againe to our monastery to certifie our father provinciall of the estate of this new found countrey. It is the best and richest countrey in all this East India; and it is thought to be richer than China.

"I am afraid that the warres which His Majesty hath with England will be the utter undoing and spoile of Spaine: for these countries likewise are almost spoiled with civill warres, which the Moores have against the Gentiles: for the kings here are up in armes all the countrey over. Here is an Indian which is counted a prophet, which hath prophesied that there will be a Dragon arise in a strange countrey, which will do great hurt to Spaine. How it will fall out, onely God

doth know. And thus I rest: from the monastery of Cochin the 28th of December 1589.

"Your good cousin and attused friend,
"frier Peter of Lisbon."[1]

In 1609, Father Frey Francisco d'Annunciação, a Dominican, went to the King of Taungu to negotiate friendly relations with Siriam. "Here he ransomed many sons and daughters of ancient Christians who had already become gentoos."[2]

Bishop Bigandet considered that the Christians of Upper Burma are descended chiefly:—

(1) from the Portuguese and natives of Western India taken at Siriam in 1613. The native Christians taken at Siriam would have belonged rather to Pegu, according to me.

(2) from other foreigners of different nations who were added at different later periods, *e.g.*, several Dutch and French who were taken with the Englishman Thomas Samuel at the capture of Zimmay;[3]

(3) from other captives, chiefly French and Dutch (why not also Portuguese?), taken at Siriam in 1758 (pp. 11, 18).

To these were added some Siamese Christians taken captive at Juthia in 1768 (p. 19).

The marriages with the women of the country, and the intermarrying of Burmese Christian converts with the mixed descendants of the different strata of foreigners have not effaced altogether the primitive European cast of features. They have lost their family names, all of them; many have apostatized; but their features still betray them.

They are called *kalas*, or Western foreigners, and, to distinguish them from the Muhammadans, foreigners also, they are given the additional name of Firingis, originally the name by which all the Franks or Europeans in India were designated. The name *kala* is still given also to those of them that have apostatized, and the addition *piet*, 'lost', 'spoiled', is not a compliment. As for the new Burmese converts they

[1] *The Principall Navigations, Voyages and Traffiques of the English Nation*, by Richard Hakluyt, Vol. IV, London, J. M. Dent & Co. (*Everyman's Library*, edited by Ernest Rhys), pp. 240–241.

About 1600, when the Jesuits considered they had been first in the field as Missionaries in Pegu, the Dominicans contested the claim. The letter above would show that in some sense the Dominicans were right: they do not appear however to have made any permanent stay, or to have left behind monuments showing that they had taken possession.

[2] Cf. Fr. Luis de Cacegas' *Terceira parte da Hist. de S. Domingos*, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

[3] Not in 1716, as Mr. Bigandet (*op. cit.*, p. 9) has it, but about 1616. Cf. Sir A. J. Phayre, *Hist. of Burma*, p. 132, *n.* 1; and Anderson's *English intercourse with Siam*, Trübner, 1890, pp. 49, 54, 62. The date 1616 is too early for 'many' French.

are likewise nicknamed *kala*.[1] With barbarians religion and nationality were always synonymous.

It would be interesting to know more about these *kala* communities of Ava, their traditions, their customs, physiognomy, language, and numbers. Least of all in Burma would one have suspected the existence of Christian communities, the descendants of Europeans, relegated far into the interior and parked off from the coast more than three hundred years ago.

[1] I suppose this is the Hindustāni word *kālā*, black.

A letter of Father Francisco Godinho, S.J., from Western Tibet.

(*Tsaparang, August* 16. 1626.)

Translated and edited by the REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

The letter which we publish here both in French and in an English translation was not utilised by the Rev. C. Wessels, S.J., in his *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia (1603–1721)*, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1924.

It is found in: *Advis/certain,/ d'vne plvs/ ample descov-/ verte dv Royavme/ de Catai, Auec quelques autres particularitez/ notables de la coste de Cocincina,/ & de l' antiquité de la Foy Chre-/ stienne dans la Chine.* Tirées des lettres des PP. de la Compa-/gnie de Iesvs, de l' année 1626. / A Paris, / Chez Sebastien Chappelet, ruë/ Sainct Iacques, au Chapelet, M.DC.XXVIII./ In 8vo; pp. 28, all counted.

The description of this edition is taken from H. Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica*, IV (1907–1908), col. 2900, where we find also that a copy of it exists in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, under the mark o_3^2m. In the Paris edition of 1628, Father Godinho's letter is at pp. 4–11.

The late Father E. M. Rivière, S.J., *Corrections et additions à la Bibl. de la C. de Jésus, Supplément au " de Backer-Sommervogel* (Toulouse, 7 Rue Boulbonne), fasc. 2 (1912), col. 240, fasc. 3 (1913), col. 481, knew of this edition, indicated its whereabouts and library mark in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and noted that the letter by 'François Godin,' of whom the translator said that he was a Portuguese, was at pp. 4–11. Rivière made, however, the mistake of placing the *Advis certain* under Sommervogel's No. 1 of de Andrada, instead of under his No. 4.

The Paris edition of *Advis certain* was not unknown to FRS. Auguste and Aloïs de Backer, S.J., (*Bibl. des écrivains de la C. de J.*, I (1853), p. 17); but their description of it is imperfect.

C. Sommervogel refers to two other editions of the letter:—

1. *Advis certain d'vne plvs ample descovverte dv Royavme de Catai, Auec quelques autres particularitez notables de la Foy Chrestienne dans la Chine.* Tirées des lettres des PP. de la Compagnie de Iesvs de l' année 1626 Bourdeaux, 1628; in 8vo.

Though Sommervogel does not refer to this edition for Godinho's letter, we should expect that his letter is contained therein, as the book appears to be a reprint of the Paris edition or *vice-versa*.

2. *Extrait des lettres addressees av R. P. General de la Compagnie de Iesvs, contenant ce qui s'est passé de plus memorable depuis 1621. iusques à 1626. ès Indes au grand Mogor, et principalement [sic] en Ethiopie, av Royaume de Tibet et en la Chine.* Av Pont-a-Movsson. Par François Gavnavlt, M.DC.XXVIII. in 8vo; pp. 242; without Gaunault's dedication to Mr. de Lairvelz, Abbé de Sainte-Marie Majeure.

This contains (p. 200 sqq.) Fr. de Andrada's letter to the General, evidently the Annual Letter of Aug. 15, 1626, which Godinho alludes to in his letter of Aug. 16, 1626; it contains also Godinho's letter at p. 232, as shown by C. Sommervogel, III. 1521.

We should expect that, as de Andrada's Annual Letter of 1626 and Godinho's letter were both written at Tsaparang within a day's interval of each other, they reached Europe simultaneously, and that, therefore, Godinho's letter should be found in print together with de Andrada's in editions other than French. Such, however, does not appear to be the case. The Spanish edition of 1627, and the Italian edition of Rome. Corbelletti, 1628, both of which I have seen, are without Godinho's letter; as for the Portuguese editions of de Andrada's letter, there did not exist, known to bibliographers, any complete text till Sr. F. M. Esteves Pereira's *O descobrimento do Tibet*. Coimbra, 1921. Fr. Franco's *Imagem da virtude* (1717), and Fr. Manoel da Veiga's *Relaçam geral* . . ., Lisboa, 1628, are both very incomplete. Esteves Pereira published the Portuguese text of de Andrada's Annual Letter of August 15, 1626, from rotographs. It is strange that no complete Portuguese text should have been published in 1627.

There are two difficulties to be settled about Father Godinho: his nationality, and the length of his stay in Tibet.

Sommervogel (III. col. 1521) calls him François Godin, and gives the following particulars about him: "Born at Mons in 1583; entered the Society on Nov. 29, 1600; taught philosophy; was applied to preaching and left for Thibet. According to a note communicated to me, he seems to have left the Society and to have died in Savoy in 1633."

C. Wessels, *op. cit.*, p 72 *n.* 2, writes: "Francis Godinho was born at Evora (Portugal) in 1596, entered the Novitiate in 1615, and sailed for India in 1619. Owing to ill-health, he remained only one year in Tibet, and after two years spent at Agra he definitively returned to the mission-district of Goa, where he was engaged at Daman, Diu, Goa and Bassein. He died at Goa, January 30, 1662. Sommervogel (III. 1521) confuses this missionary with a certain Francis Godin of Mons (Belgium), who never was in Tibet."

Franco's list of Jesuit Missionaries who left Lisbon for the East between 1541 and 1723 (*Synopsis Annalium Provinciae Portugalliae*. Augustae-Vindelicorum & Græcii. M.DCC.

XXVI) gives, indeed, a "Franciscus Godinho, Lusitanus" as having left Lisbon for the East in 1619. He was not yet a priest, and appears to have been, as Fr. C. Wessels concluded, our Tibetan Missionary. The portions sent me from the *Advis certain* of Paris, 1628, do not contain the reflection alluded to by Fr. Rivière, viz. the statement by the translator that François 'Godigny' was a Portuguese; however, 'Godigny's' letter of Aug. 16, 1626, speaks of Guge as bigger than "our Portugal."

To determine his nationality and stay in Tibet further, I have examined a number of Jesuit MS. letters from Tibet and Mogor (1624–28), of which I have rotographs in my possession: a laborious piece of work, but which made me jot down at the same time whatever movements of the Mogor and Tibet personnel I could discover. In 1910 I tried to make up similarly for the gaps in the Jesuit Catalogues of Mogor for 1624–41 by consulting some of the letters in my collection for 1631-37. Cf. *J. and Proc. A.S.B.*, N.S., vol. VI (1910), pp. 531–532.

The result of my examination this time may prove useful to others than myself.

1. From an account by Fr. Gonçalo de Sousa (*Brit. Mus. Addl. MSS.*, 9855, foll. 46*r*–51*v*).

Fr. Gonçalo de Sousa left Goa for Mogor with Fr. Andre Boves, the new Superior of the Mogor Mission, on Febr. 15, 1620.

2. Letter of Fr. Francisco Corsi to Fr. Virgilio Cepario (Sāmbhar, Sept. 17, 1624.)

Corsi left Rome for India 27 years before and has been nearly 25 years in the Mogor Mission. After more than 10 years at the King's Court and in his suite, he enjoys since 1624 the quiet of Sāmbhar, as Chaplain to Mirzā Zū-l Qarnīn. Fr. Antonio de Andrada is the Superior of the Mogor Mission.

3. Letter of Fr. Antonio de Andrada to the Provincial of Goa, from Tsaparang (Western Tibet), Sept. 10, 1625, enclosed in an Annual Letter from Goa, dated Febr. 20, 1626.

The Annual Letter states that, after his return to Agra from his first expedition to Tibet, de Andrada had applied to Goa for helpers. He had been told that Missionaries would be sent him; but, as they could not reach him in time for the expedition planned for 1625, he was asked to take with him Fr. Gonçalo de Sousa, who was on the spot.

de Andrada's letter begins thus: "Father Gonçallo de Souza has to his account to give to your Reverence[1] a fuller report about this journey of ours and our arrival in Tibet, and therefore I do not do so at length. We left Agra for this country by the shortest route existing, so that, having started from Agra on the 17th of June,[2] we entered this first city of

[1] The Provincial of Goa. [2] 1625.

Tibet,[1] on the 28th of August,[2] the feast of St. Augustine." Further: "I expect to send still this year to Your Reverence sundry news from here..... To those who will come I shall send an itinerary..... I shall write to Your Reverence still this year what will be settled on this point.[3] Until Ours come, I am alone with two little boys whom I took from here to Agra and brought back with me this time. They are company enough for me; for I am not without the company of the Holy Angels, as I trust in the divine goodness."

This solemn way of speaking clearly shows that on Sept. 10, 1625, de Andrada was alone. What had become of Fr. de Sousa? Had he gone back almost immediately after his arrival at Tsaparang? Had he to give to the Provincial a full report in writing from some place like Agra, or orally at Goa? As for Brother Manoel Marques, de Andrada's companion on the journey to and from Tibet in 1624, there is not in this letter nor in any other the slightest allusion to a journey by him to Tibet in 1625. He had barely escaped death during a serious illness contracted on the journey in 1624. Moreover, de Andrada's letter from Tsaparang, Aug. 15, 1626, says: "We, two Fathers, left Agra in the beginning of June, 1625."

4. Letter of Fr. Joseph de Castro to Fr. Joseph Baudo, S.J., Turin (Kābul, Aug. 24, 1626).

This year three Fathers and a Brother went to Tibet, "a distance of a month's journey from Agra."

5. Letter of Fr. Francisco Corsi to the Assistant (?), Rome (Dinduana, 'terra do governo do Mirza,' Oct. 15, 1626).

The Fathers who went to Tibet had brought for Mīrzā Zū-l Qarnin's chapel candlesticks, a silver cross, a chasuble, etc.; also a chalice of massive gold with precious stones, which with the work had cost at Goa 3,750 xerafins, equal to little less than Rs. 4,000 of Mogor money. On Oct. 12 [1626], on leaving for the Court, the Mirzā had given the chalice to Fr. Corsi. The names of the Fathers who went to Tibet, their number, the time when they met Corsi and the Mīrzā are left out; in fact, we are not sure that they visited Corsi. Dinduana is not in the Atlas and Index of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, nor in Johnston's *Royal Atlas*.

---

[1] Tsaparang, the capital of Guge. [2] 1625.

[3] The way to be followed. The King of Tsaparang wanted the new Fathers who were expected to come by another route than that twice followed, in 1624 and 1625, by de Andrada, *i.e.*, the Srinagar (Garhwāl)—Badrināth—Mānā Pass—Tsaparang road; his own men would go to Jahāngīr's territory through the lands of a neighbouring Rāja with whom he was making arrangements, and would bring the Fathers up all the way on horseback. This corresponded perhaps to the present Simla-Poo-Shipki route. Another road from Agra, longer than the one by the Mānā Pass, but easier, would have taken the Fathers through Almorā. We should then hear of Lake Mānsarowar and Mount Kailās, which is not the case, though we are told they crossed Kumaun.

6. Letter of Fr. Antonio de Andrada to the General (Tsaparang, Aug. 15, 1626).[1]

" In this letter I intend giving to Your Paternity a brief relation of this Mission of Thibet, which five of us, of the Company, have entered." The date of the arrival of the new-comers and their names cannot be fixed from this letter; but it follows from our No. 3 that, as four had gone up in 1626, Fr. Gonçalo de Sousa had come down, in 1625.

7. Letter of Fr. Francisco Godinho (Tsaparang, Aug. 16, 1626), *i.e.*, the letter published below.

The journey to Tsaparang had taken eight months. Not a word about the starting-point, or the names of his companions. The addressee was probably the Provincial of Goa, who did not require any information on these points, and who may have been informed by other letters, not known to us now, about the date of the arrival of the party in Tibet.

Fr. C. Wessels, *op. cit.*, pp. 71–72, gives the names of the new-comers as: Frs. João de Oliveira, Alano dos Anjos, and Francisco Godinho. We shall find that this is correct. The Brother with them was Manoel Marques, as we learn from later letters (Nos. 11, 13).

8. A joint letter of Frs. Antonio de Andrada, João de Oliveira, and Alano dos Anjos[2] (Tibet, Aug. 29, 1627).

There were three members of the Society in Tibet; the year before, they had written to the General, announcing that they had sent from Tsaparang 6,000 cruzados given them by the King of Tsaparang.[3] This sum was to be forwarded to Europe and invested there, for a permanent endowment of the Tibet Mission.

We conclude from this letter that Fr. Francisco Godinho and Bro. Manoel Marques had left.

9. Letter of Fr. Antonio de Andrada to the General (Tibet, Sept. 2, 1627).

They were three of the Society at Tsaparang in 1627. At Christmas 1626 they were four Fathers, but one of them presently left for Hindustan. One of the Fathers had been very ill, and on the point of death. de Andrada's two companions had been with him for " not more than a year."

We gather from this letter that Brother Marques had left before Christmas, that Fr. Godinho had left after Christmas, and that it was apparently he who had been so very ill. The wonder is that a man, who had just recovered from illness, was

---

[1] Fr. C. Wessels, *op. cit.*, has been somewhat unfortunate with the date of this letter. He writes: Aug. 16, 1626 (p. 74 *n.* 4, 5; p. 76 *n.* 2); Aug. 14, 1626 (p. 92); Aug. 15, 1726 (p. 71 *n.* 1); Aug. 15, 1626 (p. 71 *n.* 2). It should be Aug. 15, 1626.

[2] His real name was Alain de la Bauchère.

[3] This letter to the General is not in my collection of rotographs.

allowed to cross the mountains in the very heart of winter. It follows, too, that de Oliveira and dos Anjos, de Andrada's companions in 1627, as shown at last by our Nos. 10, 11, 13, had arrived in 1626.

10. Letter of Fr. Antonio de Andrada to the General (Goa, Dec. 20, 1631), covering the next three to be quoted.

de Andrada introduces the three letters (Nos. 11–13) by stating that, when they wrote, Frs. João de Oliveira and Alano dos Anjos had been a year and a half in the Mission, and that Fr. Antonio Pereira had newly arrived.

At the end of the three enclosures we have the signatures of: Fr. Antonio de Andrada, the Provincial, and of his consultors: Frs. Antonio Mendez, Alvaro Tavares, Joam de Valasco, and Dos Pra [Domingos Pereira].[1]

11. Letter of Fr. Alano dos Anjos to the Provincial of Goa (Tibet, Nov. 10, 1627).

He had been about a year and a half in the Mission. The Brother had gone to Agra only to take down the gold sent by the King of Tsaparang for the endowment of the Mission. Speaking of presents given to the King since the time of his arrival in Tibet, he says:

"And first, immediately on our arrival, the *saugate*[2] which we offered him was a pair of *espingardas*[3] which he had asked for; after that, the same year, on Easter-day,[4] which was the day when he laid the first stone of the Church and house, the Father,[5] wishing to acknowledge what he was doing for us, invited him with the Queen, and the Prince,[6] and other people, and he came, showing the great affection he has for the Fathers, the fact being that he never goes outside[7] except to his Brother's." And so, while he was in our house, the following articles were offered him, to wit: a Reliquary of gilt copper sent to our Father Superior by our Reverend Father General; a four-barrelled pistol (*de quatre canos*), made in Salsette, and worth ten Xrs,[9] an Ambre *piela*,[10] which I went to buy with Bro. Marques before we came (value: 10 xarafins), and a Malavar *traçado*,[11] sent by Fr. Andre Palmeiro, then Visitor. And these are the pieces which I saw given from the time I have been here; and they may amount to some 40 or 60 xarafins," whereas the King had given Rs. 8,000, not counting the house for the Fathers

---

[1] A 'Father' John Valasco, a Castilian, came to India in 1611; a Domingos Pereira, a Portuguese, came to India in 1593; another of the name, also a Portuguese, in 1611 (neither a priest yet); "Father" Alvaro Tavares came to India in 1630. Cf. Franco's list, where Antonio Mendez does not appear.

[2] Present. [3] A kind of matchlock. [4] April 12, 1626.

[5] de Andrada, no doubt: the Superior.

[6] The King's only son, 14 years old. [7] To eat.

[8] The Abbot of Toling. [9] Xerafins.

[10] *Piyāla* (Pers.): cup. [11] *Terçado* = a short broad sword.

and the Church, both of which he had built at his expense, and other help daily bestowed on them.

We gather then from this letter that Bro. Manoel Marques had come up in 1626, and that his party was at Tsaparang some time before April 12, which is very surprising, as it was not the usual time for crossing the mountains.

12. Letter of Fr. Antonio Pereira to the Provincial of Goa, [Tibet], Nov. 12, 1627.

He had not been in the Mission as long as his companions; on his arrival, presents worth Rs. 20 had been given to the King.

13. Letter of Fr. João de Oliveira to the Provincial of Goa (Tsaparang, Nov. 16, 1627).

Fr. Francisco Godinho had written to de Andrada that by order of the Provincial he had informed him (the Provincial) of the prospects of the Mission. On the occasion of the arrival of Bro. Manoel Marques and Fr. Antonio Pereira, some small presents had been given to the King, the Queen, and the Prince. The Brother had taken down to Hindustan Rs. 8,000 worth of pearls (*aljofre*), gold, and wool, given by the Rāja for the endowment of the Mission.

"From a letter of Fr. Godinho we learned that they also blamed Fr. Antonio de Andrada by saying that, after writing the Annual Letter which he sent yonder to Goa last year,[1] he made another on the sly, without our knowing about it, because we wrote it; and now I think Your Reverence will still find in Goa some one who knows the writing of Fr. Francisco Godinho and mine, as it was we who wrote it,[2] and, if Your Reverence should catch hold of this lie, as I am sure you will, we should all esteem it a favour that Your Reverence give the satisfaction which this matter and the rest require. I do not know for what purpose Fr. Superior should have taken the trouble of writing two letters." He adds that, as he ends his letter, Fr. Alano dos Anjos has received the news that he is called away to go and report to the Provincial about the state of the Tibetan Mission.

We shall come back further to the question of the writers of the Annual Letter of 1626.

14. Letter of Fr. Francisco Corsi to the Provincial of Goa (Ajmer, April 13, 1627).

After writing his letter, Fr. Francisco Leão had arrived, and

---

[1] 1626.

[2] The accusation was utterly unfounded; the MS. of the Annual Letter of Aug. 15, 1626, a '1a via' or first copy, was signed by de Andrada. If Godinho, de Andrada, and Oliveira had remembered this, would it not have been sufficient to point this out, and to add that it was clearly enough composed by de Andrada, and that Godinho and Oliveira, as the writings showed, had been merely the copyists?

he (Corsi) had shown him his letter. The date of the letter follows this announcement.

15 Letter of Fr. Francisco Corsi to the General (Ajmer. Sept. 8. 1627).

Fr. Francisco Leam is the new Superior of Mogor.

16. Letter of Fr. Joseph de Castro to the Assistant of Portugal, Rome (Kashmīr, July 26. 1627).

They had had a Christmas crib at Lahore, after he had returned with Jahāngīr from Kābul (therefore. on Dec. 25, 1626). Jahāngīr had given for it 1000 cruzados. His painters had come to the Church to copy the ornamentations of the Church, as an illustrated description of the crib and of the rest in the Church was desired for insertion in the royal Chronicles. Jahāngīr himself had come to the Church. walking from the palace to the Church under a dais carried by five European Catholics. The next Christmas they expected to do better. The Provincial was going to send Bro. Joseph Dias, an artist, and the new Superior had brought new instruments and players.

"Two months ago, there arrived here Fr. Francisco Godinho, who returned from Tibet. because he was ill there: we are two now. more consoled *in Domino*."

Is it likely that. between December 25, 1626, and the middle of May 1627, Godinho had come to Kashmīr by Tsaparang–Mānā–Badrināth–Agra-Lahore? Had he not gone straight to Kashmīr from Tsaparang?

17. Letter of Fr. Joseph de Castro to Fr. Claudio Septalio of Como (Kashmīr, August 15, 1627).

At Christmas [1626] there were two Fathers at Lahore: Fr. Joseph de Castro. and another in charge of the Church.

18. Letter of Fr. Francisco Corsi to the General: Agra. May (*sic*) 1628.

Corsi had been sent to Mogor in 1599. and had entered it in February 1600; in 1625 he was Superior of the Mogor Mission a second time, his first term as Superior having fallen between that of Fr. Antonio Machado, who had died at Agra, and that of Fr. Andre Boves.

19. Letter of Fr. Francisco Corsi to the Provincial of Goa, relating events of the end of 1627 to June 13, 1628.

Fr. Francisco Leam was at Lahore at the end of 1627; with Fr. Joseph de Castro he had come to Agra, where were Frs. Matthew de Payva and Antonio Pereira. (The latter's stay in Tibet had therefore been of very short duration.) During the Holy Week of 1628, Corsi, de Castro, de Payva, Leam. and Pereira were at Agra; they were still there on May 21, and probably too on June 13; at any rate, the first four were.

20. Letter of Fr. Francisco Leam to the Provincial of Goa (Agra, October 6, 1628).

This letter, a copy in Fr. Francisco Corsi's writing, is headed with a note by Fr. Corsi, stating that Fr. de Andrada,

the Superior of the Tibet Mission, who had power thereunto, deposed Fr. Francisco Leam from his superiorship, and that a similar order of deposition had come from the Provincial of Goa. In his letter Fr. Francisco Leam tries to exculpate himself.

The reasons for the severe measure against Fr. Leam are set out in No. 18. Fr. Leam had given much offence by mixing himself up in a lawsuit about property between Andre de Sousa, a Goa-born Portuguese, and husband of the widow of Pietro Gradenigo, who had died in Sind, presumably at Tatta, and three Venetians: *viz.*, Bardanim [Bernardine] Maffei, the new King Shāh Jahān's physician, and a relative of the Jesuit historian Fr. Peter Maffei; Jeronymo Veronco, the goldsmith, and future architect of the Tāj; and Angelo Gradenigo, merchant, musician, cook, and self-styled gun-founder, the brother of Pietro Gradenigo. Among those who had tried to bring about an amicable settlement was 'Henrico Vapor,' a Dutch Protestant, and a great friend of the Fathers. During these difficulties the Mirzā was at Agra.

I have no letters for 1629 and 1630, neither did Fr. Wessels find any. It is, therefore, all the more matter for regret that a volume of MS. letters, formerly in the Archives of the Provincial of Goa, and presented by W. Marsden to King's College, should not now be forthcoming. Cf. my article on *The Marsden MSS. and Indian Mission Bibliography* in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, E. C. 2, Vol. III, Pt. 1, 1923, p. 139, where the contents of the volume are described thus: "Letters written by Portuguese Missionaries from Ajmir, Agrah, etc., during the years 1626 to 1668; also from Antonio d' Andrade, in Tibet, to the Mission in Cashgar; with an Account of political and military transactions during the reign of the Emperor Akbar. Small 4to."

The Librarian of the School of Oriental Studies, Mr. O. Murray Browne, informed me on June 19, 1924, that this MS. volume "does not appear in the British Museum list which Dr. Ross quotes in our Bulletin, Vol. II, Pt. 3, pp. 516 seq., nor was it ever received by us from King's College. The authorities there have recently sent us word that they can find no more manuscripts, and it has therefore to be assumed that quite a number out of the whole collection have somehow or other been lost." More probably, the MS. is not lost, but hiding. It may have tempted some former 'research-worker.'

About the 'Mission in Cashgar' we have no other information but the bare mention in the description of the above MS. If de Andrada wrote to them from Tibet, he must have done so before 1630, as before that date, according to Fr. Wessels (*op. cit.*, p. 75), he was recalled from Tibet to become Provincial. After that he became Rector of the College, a second time, and died on March 19, 1634. The trend of events in Mogor and Tibet, as far as known to us till the end of 1628, is not of a

nature to make us forestall a Mission in Kashgar (Turkestan). We can only guess how a Mission was sent or established there. Perhaps an effort on Kashgar was made by Jesuit Fathers in Persia. But were there any Jesuits yet in Persia before 1634?

21. Letter of Fr. Nuno Coresma to the Provincial of Goa (Agra, December 14. 1635), after his return from Tsaparang with Bro. Manoel Marques, when the Tibet Mission was a first time abandoned.

On arriving at Agra on December 11,1635,he had found in the house of the Fathers only Fr. Alano dos Anjos. The Rector and Fr. Machado were 80 *kos* away, in the *laskar* or camp of Mirzā Zū-l Qarnīn. Fr. de Oliveira was at Lahore, selling some houses which Shāh Jahān had ordered to return to the Fathers. He himself was going to leave for Damão, as soon as he had the permission of the Rector of the 'College.'

22. Letter of Fr. Antonio Mendez to the General (undated, but with the year '1636' added by an archivist).

Fr. Gonçalo de Sousa had been appointed to Cafraria some 15 or 16 years before, but had shown such repugnance to go there that he had been sent to Mogor; after some years there, he had returned, and the Provincial, Fr. Valentim Carvalho, was going to make him a Superior, when he died a few days after his return.

Fr. Francisco Godinho had left the Mission *dos Galeças*, and that of Tibet and Mogor "in the way which was written to Your Paternity, and, though he lived with little satisfaction in the Colleges of the North,[1] where he was since his coming, yet Fr. Provincial let him make his profession and made him Rector, as must have been written; both the one and the other succeeded so little that he is in the state in which the same Fr. Provincial—perhaps to his chagrin—will write to Your Paternity."

The Provincial had acted differently with Fr. Alano dos Anjos, though he had not run away from Tibet like the others. It was said that Fr. Coresma had sent him back from Tibet to Mogor. "Fr. Antonio[2] d' Oliveira told me that Fr. Provincial much resented his coming and sent him the order of going back to the Mission with all haste. Fr. Provincial did not act with the Portuguese Fathers as he did with that Frenchman."

This must settle the question of Fr. Francisco Godinho's nationality, since de Souza, Godinho, and dos Anjos are mentioned in succession. Fr. Antonio Mendez, an old man, one of the Provincial's consultors in 1631, describes Godinho as a Portuguese. Besides, as Godinho was alive in 1636, when Mendez

[1] Such places as Damão, Diu, Chaul, Bandora, Salsette near Bombay, etc.

[2] Probably, João de Oliveira, who had been in Tibet.

wrote, he cannot be the François Godin who "seems to have left the Society and to have died in Savoy in 1633."

Summarising our results, we can reconstruct the Catalogue of the Mogor and Tibet Missions, at least partially, thus :—

1619.—At the death of Fr. Antonio Machado (on which see my *Mirzā Zū-l Qarnīn* in *Mem. A.S.B.*, Vol. V (1916), p. 136 *n.* 1) Fr. Francisco Corsi becomes Superior a first time.

1620.—Add Fr. Andrew Boves, as Superior of the Mogor Mission, to my list in *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VI (1910), p. 530. Sommervogel was right in bringing him to Mogor proper.

Fr. Gonçalo de Sousa left Goa for Mogor on February 15, 1620, together with Fr. Andre Boves ; he must have been in Mogor and Tibet from 1620 to the end of 1625 at least.

1621.—Fr. Andre Boves was probably still in Mogor until Fr. Antonio de Andrada came as Visitor and Superior in 1621 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 530). de Castro, Corsi, and Matthew de Payva must have been in Mogor in 1621-24.

1624.—For the personnel in Mogor in January 1624 cf. *ibid.*, p. 531. Our Letter No. 2 shows how quickly their status was modified. Corsi went to Sāmbhar and J. de Castro replaced him in the King's suite. Corsi wrote from Sāmbhar on September 17, 1624.

Go to *Tibet* and come back to Agra (March 30—beginning of November, 1624) : Fr. Antonio de Andrada and Bro. Manoel Marques. Corsi was Vice-Superior during de Andrada's absence.

1625.—In *Mogor*, the personnel remains apparently much the same as in 1624 : viz :—

Fr. Matthew de Payva ;
Fr. Joseph de Castro, in the King's suite ;
Fr. Francisco Corsi, as Vice-Superior (probably with the Mirzā at Sāmbhar) ;
Bro. Manoel Marques.

Go to *Tibet* : Fr. Antonio de Andrada and Fr. Gonçalo de Sousa ; departure : June 17, 1625 ; arrival at Tsaparang : August 28, 1625. de Sousa returns the same year (before September 10), and is not heard of again in the Mogor letters examined above ; however, the catalogue of the members of the Society of Jesus for 1627 mentions the Mogor Mission as his place of residence; his name drops out of the catalogues in 1633. Cf. Wessels, *op cit.*, p. 70 *n.* As he died almost at once on reaching the Colleges of the North, he may have stayed in Mogor till 1631 or 1632.

1626.—In *Mogor*, the personnel seems to have comprised only :—

Fr. Francisco Corsi, as Vice-Superior, with the Mirzā at Dinduana (October 15, 1626) and at Sāmbhar (?) ;

Fr. Joseph de Castro, in the King's suite, at Kābul (August

24); at Lahore, on Christmas day (1626) with another Father (perhaps, Fr. Gonçalo de Sousa).

There must have been another Father at Agra: probably, Fr. Matthew de Payva.

In *Tibet*: at Tsaparang. Fr. Antonio de Andrada who wrote thence the Annual Letter of August 15, 1626.

Go to *Tibet*, from Goa or from the West Coast, passing apparently through the place where was Fr. Corsi: Frs. João de Oliveira, Francisco Godinho, Alano dos Anjos. They were joined by Bro. Manoel Marques, probably at Agra, since their journey lay through Kumaun. They arrived before Easter, which in 1626 fell on April 12. Fr. Francisco Godinho wrote on August 16, 1626. Bro. Marques left Tsaparang for Agra before Christmas with Rs. 8,000 from the King. After Christmas, Fr. Godinho left Tibet.

1627.—In *Mogor*: Fr. Francisco Corsi at Ajmer, whence he wrote on April 2 and September 8.

Fr. Francisco Leam, the new Superior, was at Ajmer on April 13; at Lahore at Christmas.

Fr. Joseph de Castro with the King in Kashmīr, whence he wrote on July 26 and August 15; at Lahore at Christmas.

Fr. Francisco Godinho, back from Tibet, was in Kashmīr from about the middle of May, and was still there on July 26.

Bro. Joseph Dias was expected at Lahore for making the Christmas crib.

Fr. Matthew de Payva must have been at Agra.

In *Tibet*: at Tsaparang, Frs. Antonio de Andrada, João de Oliveira and Alano dos Anjos. Letters of the first: August 29 and September 2; of the second, November 16; of the third, November 10. On November 16, 1627, dos Anjos is called away from Tibet to the Provincial to give an account of the Mission.

Go to *Tibet*: Bro. Manoel Marques and Fr. Antonio Pereira. They arrived at Tsaparang before November 12, 1627, when Fr. Pereira wrote a letter.

1628.—In *Mogor*: Fr. Francisco Leam (the Superior) and Fr. Joseph de Castro, who came from Lahore to Agra. At Agra they met:

Fr. Matthew de Payva;

Fr. Anthony Pereira (back from Tibet);[1]

Fr. Francisco Corsi, who had apparently accompanied the Mīrzā to the Court, as the Agra *darbār* of Shāh Jahān's inthronisation, early in February (cf. V. A. Smith's *Oxford History of India*, 1919, p. 392) must have necessitated the Mīrzā's presence at Agra. All five were at Agra for the Holy Week. The first was still there on October 28, 1628, when he wrote a

[1] It is not likely that there were two of the name: one in Tibet, and one at Agra. Fr. Leam was greatly displeased with Antonio Pereira of Agra. Had he come away from Tibet without orders?

letter; by this time he had been deprived of his office of Superior. The 2nd, 3rd, and 5th. and apparently too the 4th, were at Agra on June 13, when Fr. Corsi wrote.

In *Tibet*: Fr. Antonio de Andrada, with—to all appearances—Fr. João de Oliveira and Bro. Manoel Marques. Fr. Alano dos Anjos must have gone to the Colleges of the North or even to Goa in 1628.

1635.—See letter No. 20 above. Fr. Joseph de Castro was in Mogor till his death (December 15, 1646); Fr. Francisco Corsi died on August 1, 1635.

To return to Fr. Francisco Godinho of 1626. We were told above (No. 13) that he and Fr. João de Oliveira wrote the Tibet Annual Letter of August 15, 1626. My rotographs of the original letter, a '1ª via,' show three different writings: (A), that of Fr. Antonio de Andrada, whose writing, bad enough when he wrote to his Provincial at Goa, might have given rise to a '*miramur*' in Rome; accordingly, he merely signed the letter, though its composition is, without any doubt, his; (B), the writing of another member of the Mission, which comparison with a letter of November 16, 1627, shows to be Fr. João de Oliveira's; (C), the writing of a third member, which for want of similar signed specimens we could not have identified, but for Fr. João de Oliveira's unexpected revelation. (C), who wrote by far the greater part of the long Annual Letter of 1626, his writing being in the usual superior style of Portuguese penmanship, was Fr. Francisco Godinho. This explains how, as he wrote only one day after dating the Annual Letter of 1626 (August 15), most of his reflections on Tibet in the letter published below coincide with de Andrada's.

I need add only that Godinho's letter of August 16, 1626, kindly copied for me by Mr. C. Petillon, was carefully collated by M. l' Abbé A. de Becdelièvre (August 23, 1924). To both I tender here my very sincere thanks.

Text of the letter and translation.

[*N. B.*—I have divided the text into paragraphs, numbered for easier reference.]

SUMMARY: *1. Date of letter: Tsaparang, August 16, 1626;—2. Eight months spent on the way; general description of the journey through the snows of Kumaun;—3. Rocky summits; rivers and marshes; porters; vegetation; the Ganga;—4. Ugly types in Kumaun; low mentality; vile eating;—5. Little Tibet recently become Muhammadan; beliefs, supposed to be Christian, in Great Tibet; the Triune God, Angels, Heaven, Hell;—6. Guge greater than "our Portugal"; the Sopô at war with China; Ladakh; Utsang; the ancient city of Cathay; Guge and religiousness of its people;—7. Lamas; Om mani padme hum; de Andrada's meaning for it; the Annual Letter of August 15, 1626; Lama practices;*

their book studied by the Fathers;—8. Eagerness for baptism; a mosque pulled down by the Abbot of Toling in 1625;—9. The king lays the foundation stone of the Jesuit Church of Tsaparang, Easter, April 12, 1626; the ceremony; erecting crosses on hill-tops; one erected on August 15, 1626; reverence for the cross a proof of the ancient religion of the country.

1. [P. 4, l. 7] Voicy ce que ledit P. Godigny en escrit de la ville de Chaparangua, size au Cataï ou grand Thibeth. en date du 16. d'Aoust 1626.

2. La bonté divine qui nous auoit inspiré le dessein du voyage de Cataï, autrement le grand Thibeth, nous y a conduits heureusement. Ce n'a pas esté sans faire beaucoup de chemin: car nous auons mis huict mois entiers en ce voyage, à cause qu' il nous a fallu passer tout le long de l' Empire du grand Mogor; au sorty duquel nous sommes entrez dans vn autre Royaume qui est vn peu plus petit, & se

1. [P. 4. l. 7]. This is what the said Father Godigny writes about it from the town of Chaparangua[1], situated in Cataï or Great Thibeth, under date of the 16th of August 1626.

2. The divine goodness, which had inspired us the design of the journey to Cataï, otherwise called Great Thibeth,[2] has led us to it happily. It was not done without much travelling: for we spent eight full months on this journey, as we had to cross the whole Empire of the Great Mogor: on issuing from which, we entered another Kingdom, which is a little smaller,[3] and is called Comao:[4] however, we had

---

[1] Tsaparang, the ancient capital of Guge, Western Tibet; on the Sutlej.

[2] Nowhere in 1624-1626 does de Andrada identify Great Tibet with Cathay. His Annual Letter of August 15, 1626, says that Guge, Ladākh, Mariul, Rudok, Utsang, and two other kingdoms to the East of it, as also Sopo, form Great Tartary.

[3] A great deal smaller.

[4] Kumaun now comprises the districts of Almorā, Nainī Tāl, and Garhwāl. If the present meaning of Kumaun applied to these same parts in 1626, we should conclude that the party of 1626 followed the same route as de Andrada in 1624 and 1625. But there had been question of another itinerary to be followed by the new party, as we have shown above, and in 1581 we find Fr. Antonio Monserrate, S.J., applying the name of Kumaun Mountains to the snow-capped mountains sighted between Thānesar and Ambāla. Moreover, if the travellers had come by the Badrināth-Mānā Road, could they have spoken of the absence of idols on the way? In 1624, de Andrada wondered at the number of little shrines along that road. Neither does de Andrada allude in 1624 and 1625 to porters carrying travellers, or to marshes. The mention of the 'Ganga' in 1626 is not conclusive, as the name, which merely means 'river,' is often applied in a loose sense. From Agra, *viâ* Delhi, the Simla Hills and Chini, the travellers would have found probably that easier road by which the horses of the Rāja of Tsaparang might have brought them up all the way. The very early arrival of the party of 1626 also militates in favour of a new road. In 1624 and 1625, by the Mānā Pass, de Andrada could

nomme Comao : mais neãtmoins nous auons eu plus de peine à le trauerser, pource que nous auons esté contrains de voyager continuellement sur de tres hautes montagnes, qui semblent que la Nature a choisies pour estre les tresors de ses Neiges, tant elles y sont entassées ; & ce qui acheue d'incommoder à l'extremité les voyageurs, c'est que ces monceaux de Neiges qui affoiblissent vos yeux & vos pas, ne [P. 5] semblent vous esblouyr ny vous faire glisser, qu' afin que vous tombiez dans des effroyables precipices, qui pendent aux deux flancs de ces rochers.

more trouble in crossing it, because we were obliged to make our way continually on very high mountains, which Nature seems to have chosen for the treasuries of her snows, so high are they piled up there ; and what inconveniences travellers exceedingly, is that these heaps of snow, which weaken your eyes and your progress, seem [P. 5] to dazzle you and to make you slip only to make you fall into awful precipices yawning on both sides of those rocks.

3. Nous auons donc marché, ou plustost grimpé et roulé par des cimes de Rochers qui s'entretiennent, voyãt tousiours de part & d'autre au fonds des abysmes de grandes rivieres escumantes, qui font vn bruit de torrent entre les pierres & les cailloux. Apres quoy nous n'eusmes gueres meilleur marché des fleuues & longs marests qu'il nous fallut aussi passer ; Mais pourtant Dieu a voulu que deux choses allegeassent les peines de ces chemins : la premiere, c'est qu'il y a des gẽs du pays qui vous portent comme les ra-

3. So then, we walked, or rather climbed and tumbled across continuous tops of Rocks, our eyes plunging all the time on both sides to the bottom of the abysses of big foaming rivers, which flow between stones and on pebbles with the noise of a torrent. After that, we found it hardly easier to manage rivers and long marshes, which we had also to cross. However, God granted that two things should alleviate the hardships of those roads : the first is that there are people of the country who carry you, like the sledge-

not reach Tsaparang before the end of August, as the Mānā Pass did not open before the end of July. On the other hand, no horses are mentioned in 1626, and Fr. de Castro says that three Fathers and a Brother had gone to Tibet, "a distance of a month's journey from Agra." In 1625, de Andrada calls the Agra-Badrīnāth-Tsaparang road the shortest existing. Besides, what had been unfeasible in 1624 and 1625 may have been relatively easy in 1626, if the Fathers had at their disposal all the means which the Rāja of Tsaparang could set in motion. How is it, for instance, as we are told in a covering letter from Goa (February 20, 1626), that between November 1624 and June 17, 1625, the worst time for travelling in the Himālayas, the Rāja of Tsaparang had 'fusilladed' Fr. de Andrada at Agra with requests for his return ?

masseurs des Alpes, à grand marché, & fort à l'aise: L'autre, que d'aucunes de ces Montagnes sont reuestuës d'vn vergay fort agreable aux yeux, & se tapissent de Tulipes & de diuerses fleurs, si tost que les neiges s'escoulent en quelque part. Tout le pays est entrecouppé de fleuues, de ruisseaux, & de fontaines en fort grand nombre, dont les eaux sont non seulement belles & claires, mais encore bonnes & fort salubres. Le Roy de tous ces fleuues, est le Gange, que les Naturels appellent *Ganga*. Il rase les pieds de ces montagnes, auec tant [P. 6] de vitesse qu'il effraye les voyageurs, principalement à cause que le feste des rochers où est le chemin, n'a pas plus d'vn grand pam de largeur. Neantmoins comme i'ay dit, on y passe, & ce sont les chemins ordinaires des gens du pays, qui leur sont plus agreables que les plaines des campagnes ou des prairies.

4. Aussi diroit on à voir ces pauures Indiens, que ce sont des singes et des gueunuches, tant ils sont laids à voir. Et veritablement ie puis meshuy dire, depuis que i'ay quitté l'Europe où la Nature fait moins de fautes és visages, que i'ay veu des difformitez de toutes façons: mais les plus monstrueuses faces, ce sont celles de ce Royaume: & ce ne sont pas les boëttes de Socrates qui enfermoient tant de belles et bonnes choses sous des arabesques, & grimaces de Satyres;

drivers of the Alps, fast and very conveniently; the other, that some of those Mountains are clothed with verdure which is a great pleasure to the eyes, and that, as soon as the snow melts anywhere, they get decked with Tulips and divers flowers. The whole country is intersected with rivers, brooks, and springs, in very great number, and their water is not only beautiful and clear, but also good and very wholesome. The King of all these rivers is the Ganges (*Gange*), which the Natives call *Ganga*. It sweeps past the foot of those mountains so [P. 6] rapidly that it frightens the travellers, chiefly because the top of the rocks, where the road is, is not more than a good palm broad. However, as I have said, one goes along it, and they are the ordinary roads of the people of the country, who find them more agreeable than the level paths of plains and meadows.

4. Now,[1] judging from the looks of those poor Indians, one might think that they are monkeys and she-monkeys, so ugly are they. And truly I can now say that, after I left Europe, where Nature makes fewer mistakes with people's faces, I have seen difformities of all sorts; but the most monstrous faces are those of that Kingdom; and they are not the boxes of Socrates, which contained so many fine and good things under the arabesques and gri-

[1] Am I right in translating *aussi* by 'now'?

mais comme és sacs des charbonniers le dedans est encore plus noir que le dehors, ces pauures ames qui habitent des corps si mal faicts, sont des monstres de vice; elles ne respirent que le ventre; & toute leur Divinité, est le Manger. Aussi cette nation est si materielle & brutale qu'elle ne cognoist point d'esprit superieur ny n'est pas seulement capable de se forger des Idoles. Ie ne serois pas creu si ie disoy ses ordures, & i' offenceroy vos yeux [P. 7] de les depeindre. En vn mot, ils mangent les animaux tout cruds, deuorãs les boyaux & les intestins, quoy qu'il y ait dedans; sans faire aucune difference du bon ny du mauuais. Tout ce que Dieu leur a laissé pour marquer en eux de l'humanité, & empescher qu'on ne les prit pour des Guenons, c'est qu'ils ayment grandement les hommes, mesmement les voyageurs & estrangers, car ils les accueillent auec des tesmoignages de ioye & de bien-veillance extraordiñaire.

5. Nous auons donc passé ces costes, de montagnes pointuës tout le long du Comao, iusqu'au grand Thibeth: car il y a vn autre Thibeth, qui s'appelle le petit, qui changea n'aguerres l'idolatrie en la

maces of Satyrs;[1] but, as with the bags of charcoal-burners the inside is still blacker than the outside, those poor souls, tenanting such ill-shapen bodies, are monsters of vice; they think only of the belly, and their only God is Eating. Moreover, that people is so material and animal-like that they do not know of a superior spirit[2] and are not even able to fashion for themselves Idols.[3] You would not believe me if I spoke of their filth, and I should offend your eyes, [P. 7] were I to depict it. In one word, they eat animals quite raw, devouring the guts and intestines, whatever their contents, without making any difference between what is good and what is bad.[4] The only thing God has left them to mark them as humans and to prevent one from taking them for Monkeys, is that they are very fond of men, even travellers and strangers; for they receive them with tokens of extreme joy and kindness.[5]

5. So then, we passed along the sides of those steep mountains, all across Comao, up to Great Thibeth: for there is another Thibeth, called Little Thibeth,[6] which not long ago trucked its idolatry for the

1 The face of Socrates is here called a box, as I understand. "His ugly physiognomy excited the jests both of his friends and enemies, who inform us that he had a flat nose, thick lips, and prominent eyes, like a Satyr or Silenus." (W. Smith, *Classical Dictionary*, 10th edn., 1886, p. 173, *s.v.* Socrates). Godinho would have been clearer if he had said: "Their boxes (heads) are not like the one of Socrates ..."

2 Exaggerated remark.

3 Other exaggeration. Yet, Godinho had been in India from 1619.

4 This is more correct.

5 This proves them to have been very human, indeed.

6 Baltistãn, and other parts of Kashmîr.

superstition de Mahomet, & tomba de fieure en chaud mal. Les peuples de ce grand Thibeth ne sont pas idolatres: car nous auons trouué qu'ils recognoissent l'Vnité & Trinité adorable du vray Dieu, ils sçauent qu'il y a trois Hierarchies d'Esprits Angeliques, diuisés en neuf choeurs, selon les differences de leurs excellences & dignitez. Qu'il y a vn Enfer qui attend les meschans, & vn Paradis pour la recompense des bons. Mais parmy ces veritez, il s'est meslé tant de nuages d'erreur, que le voisinage des Payens leur a faict prendre par contagion, [P. 8] qu'il faudrait les appeler Payens, si leur bon naturel & rare piété ne les rendoit tres-dociles à quitter tout le mal qu'ils ont puisé du gentilisme.

superstition of Mahomet, and fell out of the frying-pan into the fire. The peoples of this Great Thibeth are not idolaters: for we have found that they acknowledge the adorable Unity and Trinity of the true God; they know there are three Hièrarchies of Angelic Spirits, divided into nine Choirs, according to the differences of their excellencies and dignities: that there is a Hell which awaits the wicked, and a Paradise for the reward of the good.[1] But these truths have become mixed up with so many clouds of error, which through the neighbourhood of the Pagans has spread to them like a contagion, [P. 8] that one should call them Pagans, were it not that their good disposition and rare piety renders them very docile to surrender all the evil they have drawn from heathenism.

6. Ce Royaume, d'où ie vous escris celle-cy, est plus grand que nostre Portugal. Il tient ceste mesme Religion que ie viens de dire, comme font aussi beaucoup d'autres Royaumes, encore bien plus amples & opulens, qui confinent auec celuy-cy. Le nom du plus puissant & estendu est *Sophos*: car il tient depuis la Chine iusqu'en Moscouie, & fait maintenant teste à la Chine, demeslant par les armes diuers differens qu'ils ont en-

6. This kingdom, whence I write this letter, is bigger than our Portugal.[2] It professes that same Religion which I have just said, as do also many other kingdoms, much bigger and more opulent still, which border on this one. The name of the most powerful and vastest is *Sophos*:[3] for it stretches from China up to Muscovy, and it is at present opposing China, settling by force of arms divers differences they have together.[4] If you want

[1] The same reflections on these points of the Tibetan creed are in de Andrada's Annual Letter of August 15, 1626.

[2] A comparison not found in our earlier letters.

[3] In the Annual Letter of 1626, twice "o Sopo" "que confina por hũa parte com a China, e por outra com Moscouia." Once, "monarcha dos Sopos." [Sopo and China.

[4] The Annual Letter of 1626 does not refer to any war between the

semble. Que si vous en voulez voir quelque peinture assez auenante à la verité, regardez le dessus de la Tartarie vers le Septentrion dans vos chartes de Cosmographie imprimées en Europe, car elles ont assez bien rencontré en cecy. L'autre Royaume s'appelle *Laduca*; le troisiesme *Vsang*; aupres duquel est ceste fameuse & ancienne Cité de Cataï, le nom de laquelle on a donné à tous ces Royaumes. Ie suis en l'vn d'iceux nommé *Oque*, les Naturels duquel sont estimez par deça les plus vitieux & corrompus de tous les deux Thibeths. & cependant ie puis deposer que de tous les Indiens du Leuant, ie n'en ay point encore pratiqué qui ayent tant de probité [P. 9] d' esprit, ny d' inclination aux choses diuines & éternelles. En vn mot, il est tout certain qu'ils ne sçauent pas seulement les noms de l'impureté, ny de ces autres enormités que la ruse & la malice ont produites.

to see of it a rather truthful picture. look at the upper portion of Tartary towards the North in your maps of Cosmography printed in Europe, for they are pretty well correct in the matter. The other kingdom is called *Laduca*;[1] the third, *Usang*,[2] near which is that famous and ancient City of Cataï, the name of which has been given to all these Kingdoms.[3] I am in one of these, called *Oque*,[4] the Natives of which are considered to be beyond[5] the most vicious and most corrupted of both Thibeths; yet I can assert that, of all the Indians of the East, I have not met any having so much uprightness [P. 9] of mind or so much inclination for things divine and eternal. In one word, it is quite certain that they do not even know the names for impurity, nor for those other enormities which cunning and malice have produced.[6]

[1] 'Ladaca' in the Annual Letter of 1626; Ladākh.

[2] U-Tsang, comprising Lassa.

[3] If we had only this letter to go by, we might think that this ancient city of Cathay was Lassa; but the Annual Letter of 1626 shows there is question of a mysterious city. "What they call Catayo is not a particular kingdom, but a great city, called Katay, the capital of a province very near to China, of which they say that the great Monarch of the Sopôs is lord." (Annual Letter of 1626). We do not find the name of Lassa in de Andrada's letters of 1624–26, though 'Utsang' occurs several times.

[4] A curious spelling for Guge. The Annual Letter of 1626 has 'Coguê,' which F. M. Esteves Pereira (*O descobrimento do Tibet*, 1921, p. 80) read 'Coquê.' I dispose of rotographs of the very MS. rotographed for F. M. Esteves Pereira, and I make it out to be 'Coguê.'

[5] *Par deçà*. To render by 'beyond' should we not have *par delà*? To render it by 'less' (vicious) would, however, defeat Godinho's next assertion. Besides, further, we have again *par deçà*, where the meaning clearly is 'away from here,' 'yonder,' 'beyond.'

[6] Nowhere in our letters of 1624-26 does de Andrada speak on this point with the assurance of our new-comer. "Of polyandry Azevedo says nothing; in fact, none of the Tsaparang missionaries mentions this pernicious Tibetan practice, which is spoken of at length by Desideri. One practice

7. Ces Royaumes ont beaucoup d' Ecclesiastiques ou personnes dediées particulierement au seruice de Dieu, ils les appellent *Lamas*. Ce sont des ames nourries dans l' oysiueté, mais pourtant assez blanches & nettes de mal, d'autant qu'ils s'occupent fort à la priere vocale. La plus frequente d' icelles est coprise [*sic*] en ces paroles *Om mani pat mem ri*, Paroles qu'ils n'auoient iamais entenduës iusques à la venuë du R. P. Antoine Andrade qui a faict la premiere descouuerte de ces Terres neuues, & qui leur dit qu'elles signifioient *Con io sumb dic Patrom ro*, c'est à dire, *Seigneur Dieu pardonnez nous nos pechez*: de sorte que maintenant ils les disent & plus volontiers & plus deuotement en ce sens.

7. These kingdoms have many Ecclesiastics, or persons specially dedicated to the service of God. They call them *Lamas*. They are souls bred in laziness; yet. very white and free from evil, seeing that they are much given to vocal prayer.[1] Their most frequent prayer is contained in these words: *Om mani pat mem ri*,[2] words which they had never understood till the arrival of the Reverend Father Antonio Andrade, who made the first discovery of these new Lands, and who told them that they meant: *Con io sumb dic Patrom ro*, that is, *Lord God, forgive us our sins*;[3] so that they say them now more heartily and more devoutly with this meaning.

which Azevedo mentions is *a ius primae noctis*." (C. Wessels, *op cit.*, p. 100). This is correct, so far as the letters thus far found go; but a great deal more of the literature on the Tsaparang Mission must be still in hiding.

[1] The remark is incongruous.

[2] The Annual Letter of 1626 has, as read by F. M. Esteves Pereira and myself, "Om mani patmeonri." See his *O descobrimento*, pp. 102–103, where the formula occurs four times. Godinho has: "Om mani pat mem ri." I hesitated about the *mem* of my copyist; but M. l' Abbé A. de Becdelièvre has rewritten the word: a clear *mem*. Why the ending *ri* instead of *hum*?

[3] As none of the Lamas could interpret the "Om mani patmeonri," de Andrada told them to give to the formula the meaning here stated. They were so much addicted to the formula that it was hopeless to make them abandon it, we are told.

"*Conjò sumbo ga dipá ta e Rò*" in the Annual Letter of 1626, as copied by Senhor F. M. Esteves Pereira in his *O descobrimento*, p. 103; but "*Conjoe sumbo gà dipá ta em Ro*," *ibid.*, p. 137. I read: "*Conjá sumbo ga dipa tá é* [?] *Rô*," which de Andrada translates: "Lord, pardon me my sins" (*Senhor, perdoaime meus peccados*). We now get from Godinho: "*Con io sumb dic Patrom ro*, that is, *Lord God, forgive us our sins*."

M. Sylvain Lévi (*O descobrimento*, p. 137) suggested the following: "*Conjoe, dkon mchog*, means 'precious;' *sumbo, bsum-bo*, 'master;' *ga, na* (*nga*), 'I'; *dipa ta, sdigpa dag*, 'the sins'; *em* must correspond to the word 'pardon;' might it be *dbyen*, 'to put aside,' 'separate'? It is more than doubtful. *Ro* seems to be the word *rogs*, 'help,' which is used to form the respectful imperative in the spoken language."

Can we get nearer to correct Tibetan with de Andrada's specimen of one-year-old Tibetan studies?

Les mœurs & vsages de ces peuples sont descrits au long dans les Annales que nous auons adressées à N. R. P. General. Le principal office de ces Ecclesiastiques, est de mettre les mains sur tous ceux qu'ils rencontrent, disant qu'ils ont vne vertu speciale d'attirer sur eux de grandes faueurs du Ciel. Ils sont fort ignorans, & il n'y a point [P. 10] d' autre differẽce entre eux & le peuple que celle de la robbe : car on ne les ordonne auec autre ceremonie qu'auec l'inuestiture d'vne longue tunique, comme vne de nos robbes de chambre, & on leur met vne mittre close sur la teste. Ils ont vn liure qui est le depositaire de tous leurs secrets & sciences : & ils s'en fient tellement à ce Code, qu'ils se contentent d'y sçauoir lire pour s' estimer honnestes gens. Nous estudions ce liure pour penetrer leurs mysteres, & maximes.

8. Quoy qu'ils ont desia conceu tant d'opinions de nous & de la Foy Catholique, qu'au lieu qu'és autres regions nous pressons les peuples de se faire baptiser ; icy, nous leur differons ce Sacrement pour en aiguiser le desir & accroistre l' estime par le delay. Il y en a vne infinité qui nous sollicitent de leur departir

The manners and customs of these peoples are described in detail in the Annual Letter which we have addressed to Our Reverend Father General.[1] The chief work of these Ecclesiastics is to lay their hands on all those whom they meet, and they say that they have a special virtue to draw on them great favours from Heaven. They are very ignorant, and there is no [P. 10] other difference between them and the people than their dress ; for the only ceremony with which they are ordained is that they are invested with a long tunic, like one of our dressing-gowns, and a closed mitre is put on their head.[2] They have a book which is the repository of all their secrets and knowledge ; and they trust so much in this Code that, if they can read it, they are satisfied and esteem themselves honourable people. We are studying this book to learn their mysteries and maxims.[3]

8. Although they have already conceived such a high opinion of us and of the Catholic Faith, yet, whereas in other countries we urge the people to get themselves baptised, here we postpone that Sacrament to whet their desire and increase their esteem for it by the delay. An infinite number of them request that

[1] The Annual Letter of August 15, 1626, a day earlier than Godinho's letter.

[2] The Annual Letter of 1626 also describes this mitre as "closed at the top."

[3] De Andrada had hopes of opening up U-Tsang, "which I trust will be next year, when the Fathers who have now arrived will have well learned the language, which they are studying now with great fervour and consolation to me" (*O descobrimento*, p. 111, in the Annual of Aug. 15, 1626).

ceste faueur. Nous en receuons peu & ne refusons personne. Les esprits de ce païs ordinairement sont aigus, et perçans, capables de toutes sortes de sciences. Les mœurs & inclinations tres-bonnes & honnestes, la haine des Idoles y est parfaicte, comme aussy celle des impostures de Mahomet dont ils abhorrent les Mosquees Le frere du Roy qui est *Lama* en fit desmolir vne l'an passé.

9. Et le Roy nous a faict bastir cette année 1626. dans sa ville de [P. 11] Chaparangua vne Eglise qui est à la verité petite, mais tres-belle, & tres-riche, & dõt la structure respond aux frais & despenses Royales que sa Maiesté y a voulu faire. Elle fut commencée le propre iour de Pasques, auquel iour le Roy luy mesmes y voulut porter & poser la premiere pierre, auec beaucoup d' or qu'il espancha sur les fondemens. Apres luy la Reyne Mere, & tous les Princes, & les *Lamas* de la cour en firẽt de mesme. L' Eglise est dediée à nostre Dame d' Esperance.

we should impart to them this favour. We receive few, and turn away no one. The mind of the people of this country is generally sharp and penetrating, and able to take in every kind of knowledge. Their manners and inclinations are very good and virtuous; their hatred of the Idols is perfect, and so is their hatred for the impostures of Mahomet, whose Mosques they abhor. The King's brother, who is a *Lama*, had one of them demolished last year.[1]

9. And the king has had built for us this year 1626, in his town of [P. 11] Chaparangua, a Church which, though small indeed, is very pretty and very rich,[2] the building corresponding to the Royal outlay and expense which his Majesty was willing to make for it. It was begun on the very day of Easter, on which day the King himself condescended to carry and lay the first stone, and he scattered much gold on the foundations.[3] After him, the Queen Mother, and all the Princes, and the *Lamas* of the Court did the same.[4] The Church

[1] We know from de Andrada that the Kashmīrī and other Muhammadans were not allowed to settle within the town of Tsaparang; but not that they had a mosque anywhere in Guge.

[2] On August 15, 1626, the Fathers were still actively at work covering the whole of it, inside, with interesting paintings, chiefly scenes of the New Testament: in the sanctuary, eight panels depicted scenes of Our Lady's life; the reredos of the altar had five panels, not counting the crucifix and the image of Our Lady and Child, both these sculptured (*de vulto*); scenes of Our Lord's life were to be painted round the nave.

[3] The Annual Letter of 1626 describes the ceremony of the preparations on Holy Saturday, and the laying of the first stone on Easter-day. "The King first threw under it [the foundation stone] a good quantity of gold," says the Annual Letter; hence, we may conclude that others imitated him.

[4] The Annual Letter does not mention the presence of the Queen-

On voit pardeça force Croix que nous auons plantées sur des mõtaignes. La premiere que nous dressames ce fut le iour de l' Assomption de la saincte Vierge. Le Roy en fait faire beaucoup d'autres qui seront posées sur des hautes et belles Pyramides: car l'vsage en est frequent icy, mesmes sur les sepulchres. Il ne se peut dire combien ils cherissent & reue-

is dedicated to Our Lady of Hope. One sees yonder[1] plenty of crosses which we have planted on mountains. The first one which we erected was on the day of the Blessed Virgin's Assumption.[2] The King is having many others made, which will be placed on fine high Pyramids: for the use of it is frequent here, even on the tombs.[3] It is impossible to

Mother, *i.e.*, the King's mother. She did not live at Tsaparang. We may conclude from the Annual Letter that the Queen was present, and we are distinctly told that the King's grandmother (*mother de seu avó*) lived at Tsaparang and was wholly devoted to the Fathers. By 'princes' we must understand the King's son, a boy 14 years old, and three nephews and two nieces of the Queen, her brother's children. The Lamas of the Court surprise us more; but, though they were rather hostile at Toling, those of Tsaparang were less so; during the building of the Church, "Lamás of a certain temple outside the city sent a good quantity of tiles" for the Church, and even carried them all the way on their shoulders.

[1] *Par deça.* In the sense of *lá-bas?*

[2] A strange way of speaking, if the ceremony had taken place only the day before writing. And when had the many other crosses been erected, if the first was erected only the day before?

A wooden cross covered with damask had been planted on the site of the foundations of the Church on Holy Saturday, April 11, 1626; but, speaking of the erection of open-air crosses in his Annual Letter of August 15, 1626, de Andrada does not count it as one of them. "And, as we had not yet erected any cross, the King himself bethought himself of the top of this mountain whereon to put the first. It is considerably high, the city rising only half-way up; from all four sides one sees very far. And for people coming from outside the first thing to be seen is the Holy Cross planted there on the top, whence it seems to forebode the conquest of this whole kingdom; it is of wood, but covered all over with latten. We shall put the second cross on the Church, which is also on a height, whence it is seen from very far." (Cf. *O descobrimento*, p. 116.) I suspect there is something wrong about Fr. Godinho's feast of Our Lady's Assumption: for, if both de Andrada and Godinho speak of the same cross as the first, why does Godinho writing on August 16, not speak of "yesterday?" The Annalist or the copyist of the Annual Letter, writing on August 15, would naturally have said "to-day," even if he did not mention the feast; moreover, we should conclude that, after writing about this first cross at his p. 37, the Annalist finished his letter the very same day, August 15, at p. 40. It looks as if Godinho, still full of the celebrations of the feast of Our Lady's Assumption, the day before, had written 'Assumption' instead of 'Visitation,' the Visitation falling on July 2. Between July 2 and August 15, other crosses mentioned by Godinho, might have been erected.

[3] This reference to 'fine high pyramids' is valuable. Could anyone have expected that, as late as 1912 or nearly three centuries later, a wooden cross should be found at Tsaparang lying athwart its 'fine high pyramid'? Yet, such is the case. In 1912, Mr. G. Mackworth Young was good enough to go out of his way on his return from Gartok and visit Tsaparang. He finishes his most valuable report on his journey by this

rent la Croix : comme c'est la plus belle marque de leur ancienne religion, aussi est ce la chose qu'ils honorent

say how much they cherish and revere the Cross : as it is the best proof of their ancient religion,[1] so is it what they

extremely interesting remark "For the casual visitor, if another ever visits Tsaparang, there is, or was, a solitary object from which fancy may conjure a relic of the mission. A row of whitewashed chortens stands near the Dzongpon's house. One of them, some forty feet high, towers above the rest; and on its summit there lies horizontally a weather-beaten cross of wood. It may be that chorten was being built while the Lamas were demolishing the Church close by; and that some one, carelessly, or perhaps thinking to lay up treasure for himself in two heavens, planted the rejected emblem on the Buddhist tomb. In all else the work of destruction was complete, and nothing is left to remind men that a Christian once reigned in Tibet." Cf. *Journ. Punjab Hist. Soc.*, VII (1919), p. 178. Alas! though so near to the kingdom of heaven, the king of Tsaparang was never baptised by the Missionaries. Revolutions, captivity, and imprisonment at Ladākh prevented it. The favour shown to the Missionaries cost him his throne.

In the shorter account of his journey which, at Sir Edward Maclagan's request, Mr. G. Mackworth Young wrote at Sir Edward's residence, Armadale, Simla, on July 24, 1912, I find the following: "The windows of the Jongpon's house—admittedly an ancient building—are much larger than any I have seen in Tibetan houses, considering that they face outwards, and not into a courtyard, and they seem to have something of an European appearance. But there is no other sign of the mission, unless it be found in a wooden cross poised horizontally on the summit of a chhorten thirty feet high, and quite inaccessible. I have never seen such an ornament on any other chhorten; they are usually crowned with representations of the sun and moon. The wood of the cross is dry, and not painted or decorated in any way. It is just possible that it was found lying about some time after the dissolution of the mission, and placed, without any particular object, on a newly-built chhorten."

That wooden cross on a chorten thirty or forty feet high may have been one of those which the king was going to erect on fine high pyramids, especially as Mr. Young suspects that the Dzongpon occupied the old house of the Fathers. Chortens are tombs or memorials to the dead, and, if the pyramid, with the cross lying across it, is a real chorten, it would follow that the king did have crosses erected "even on the tombs," as he intended doing. The punctuation of Fr. Godinho's sentence, but for the discovery of this cross on a chorten, would have suggested that, before the Fathers came, crosses were frequently found on tombs. Most of us would have met this with a shrug, and would have blamed Godinho for taking (say) swastikas for crosses. The fact is that, though de Andrada saw a mysterious cross on a book at the Toling monastery, in 1625 or 1626, and another, equally mysterious, in a painting at one of the Tsaparang monasteries, at a date later than Godinho's letter, he and the other Fathers never speak of the *prevalence* of the cross in Guge before their arrival. Therefore, "for the use of it is frequent here," can hardly mean more than that, after de Andrada's arrival, many people, including the members of the royal family wore on their breast or on their caps the medals and crosses given them by de Andrada. By "even on the tombs" I understand that the King intended placing crosses on the tombs.

[1] Does Godinho mean that the reverence for the cross shown by the people was like an instinct born of their ancient profession of Christianity, profession proved by the beliefs he had previously adduced? He cannot mean less. The people's eagerness for crosses and medals, chiefly that of the soldiers going to the wars, was indeed surprising. He may however,

vniquement; le Roy et les grands en portent chacun vne penduë au col. Pour le peuple nous ne leur permettõs pas pour encore cette saincte & precieuse enseigne, mais leur en faisans esperer le bien, nous le leur faisons ainsi desirer plus ardemment.

honour solely. The King and the grandees wear each one hanging from their neck. As for the people, we do not yet allow them this holy and precious token; but we make them long for it more eagerly by making them hope for its blessings.

mean more, if he regarded swastika signs and such other forms of crosses as do occur in Tibet, on woven fabrics, on the mitres of Lamas, etc., as originally Christian. Moreover, he had copied the passage of the Annual Letter about the mysterious cross of Toling. "About the manner of death of the Son of God they have certain things which differ [from ours]. They say that he died giving his blood, which, because of the many nails put into his body, flowed from it. But of the Holy Cross they know little or nothing. It is true that they have it in their book, and they also paint it with a triangle in the middle and certain mysterious letters which they cannot explain." (Cf. *O descobrimento*, p. 96.)

To comment on this fully ought to take me very far. I have collected of late a large number of facts, mostly not noticed before and coming from Tsaparang, Lassa and other parts of Tibet, also from Nepāl and Bettiah (Champāran), which, after much scepticism on my part in this matter in former years, have now led me to think that there is in various parts of India a great deal of embedded Christianity, the origin of which goes back to the first centuries of Christianity. The explanation of it would lie in the fact that the Yueh-chi, who invaded Western Tibet in the first centuries of our era are to be identified with the Getae, by the Romans identified with the Goths, and presumably identifiable with our Jāts. Allied with the Jāts are the Gujrs or Guzrs of Gujarāt and the Panjāb. In these I recognise the Georgians (Gurz or Guzr in Persian, or Gurg), *i.e.* the Hyrcani, possibly the Chur-che of China, nay the Gurkhas of Nepāl. Kennedy, ere this, had attributed to the wandering Gujars the spread of the Krishna stories which are traceable to the Gospel stories, genuine or apocryphal. I go a step further by identifying the Gujars with the Hyrcani, who, before Christ, may have been largely permeated with Jewish beliefs, and through them and the allied tribe of the Alani in China I link up India with China, Manchuria and Corea for all such traces of Christianity as are found in India and the further East.

The theory will appear less bold, if I show that tribes once Jewish lived on, as late as 1627, in what was once the common home of the White Huns, to whom the Getae or Jāts, the Guzrs, nay the Rājputs generally, would have belonged.

Fr. Antonio Monserate, S.J., wrote from Kashmir (August 15, 1627): "This year some peoples offered to become Christians, which are neither gentiles nor Maumettans; they say that, several years [*parechi anni*: many years?] ago, their ancestors were brought here from other parts; until now they have kept their law, which they say is that of Abram, although it is full of errors.

St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling,
September 22nd, 1924.

Portrait of Fr. Antonio de Andrade, S.J., the founder of the Jesuit Mission in Tibet (1624–30).

A Letter of Fr. A. de Andrada, S.J. (Tibet, Aug. 29th, 1627), and of Fr. Gaspar Diaz, S.J. (Annam, 1627).

Translated and edited by the REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

The British Museum possesses a published Spanish letter by Fr. Antonio de Andrada, of Tibet fame, which Fr. C. Wessels, S.J., does not mention in his newly published *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia* (The Hague, M. Nijhoff, 1924), probably because he did not know of its whereabouts. Fr. C. Sommervogel, S.J., in his *Bibl. de la C. de J.* (*s.v.* Andrada, A. de, No. 5), mentions the title,[1] but without showing where a copy could be found. Happily, H. Cordier (*Bibl. Sinica*, IV. 2902) noted that a copy exists in the British Museum, marked $\frac{4783}{6}$ f.[2]

De Andrada's letters from Tibet are regularly written in Portuguese. The text of the letter in the British Museum is not, however, known to have been made public in any languages other than Spanish. The translator published with it, also in Spanish, another letter by Fr. Gaspar Diaz, about Cochinchina, Tonquin, Cambodia, and Siam.

The two letters cover 2 folio leaves only; they are unnumbered, and bear no indication of place or date of printing. The date of printing was probably 1629, since the letters reached Europe in 1629, apparently before the middle of the year: for the Goa ships had generally left India for Europe by the end of February.

De Andrada's letter is undated, and its provenance omitted. There is no doubt, however, that it emanated from Tsaparang, in the Province of Guge, Western Tibet. In fact, I have lying before me rotographs of the very letter in Portuguese[3] which the Spanish translator utilized. The original letter is dated Tibet, August 29, 1627. It is addressed to "Fr. Valentine Carvalho, Provincial of the Company of Jesus in the Province of Goa," and is signed by Fr. Antonio de Andrada and his two companions in the Mission, João de Oliveira and Alano dos Anjos (Alain de la Bauchère), both Priests. It appears to be in Fr. de Oliveira's writing. In the interests of edification, this letter could not then be made public in its

[1] See, below, the italicized portion heading the Spanish text of the two letters.

[2] Somehow, the rotographs sent me, a few days ago, have been given by the photographer the number 9156.

[3] MS. belonging to the Society of Jesus.

entirety; it was an answer to certain unfounded rumours against the Tibet Mission which had spread among members of the Society in Mogor and Goa. Under the circumstances, the translator made the best use he could of the letter, a conscientious piece of work.

The letter was apparently not sent from Tibet till after November 12th, 1627: for we have several other letters—all MS.—of the members of the Tibet Mission between August 29th and November 12th, 1627.[1] A belated despatch of de Andrada's letter of August 29th, 1627, would explain how it missed the ships leaving for Europe in 1628, and was forwarded only by the fleet of 1629. A similar fate may have overtaken Fr. Diaz' letter of 1627, which seems likewise to have reached Portugal only in 1629.

Fr. A. Franco. S.J., in his catalogue of Jesuit Missionaries sent to the East *viâ* Lisbon (1541–1723), mentions only one "Fr. Gaspar Dias," a Portuguese, who left Lisbon in 1597. Cf. *Synopsis Annalium Portugaliae*.[2]

St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling.
July 26th, 1924.

[P. 1]

RELACION NVEVA Y CIERTA QVE ESCRIue el P. Antonio de Andrada Religioso de la Compañia de Iesus, en cartas/que llegaron este año de 1629. con la Nao de la India Oriental, dando auiso de todo lo que passa en el gran Catayo, y Reynos del Tibet, y Co- chinchina, Tonquin, Camboia, y Sian.

Reliable new Relation written by Fr. Antonio de Andrada, a Religious of the Company of Jesus, in letters received this year 1629 by the East India Ship, and containing news of whatever goes on in the Great Catayo, and the Kingdoms of Tibet,[3] *and Cochin-china, Tonquin, Camboia,*[4] *and Sian*[5]

[1] Wessels, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[2] Apparently bound up with the two letters, and rotographed by mistake by the photographer, are three pages, numbered 162, 163, 164, which the photographer has marked 9160. The recurring title at pp. 162, 164 is: *J. Lipsii et virorum eruditorum*; at p. 163: *ad eumdem epistolae*. The first letter (p. 162), incomplete, is addressed to a "Reverende in Christo Pater," and is dated Lovanii, V. Kal Febr. ɔɔ. IOC.V.; next comes Epistola DCCCCXXXV. D. Franciscus Quevedo J. Lipsio Lovanium (pp. 162–163): no date, no name of place; next: Epistola DCCCCXXXVI. D. Franciscus Quevedo J. Lipsio Lovanium (pp. 163–164); date: Pintiae. 22 Novem. ann. 1604.

[3] When de Andrada went to Tibet a first time in 1624, he may still have had hopes of discovering the ancient Christians of Marco Polo's Cathay; what attracted him was the information that beyond the Himālayas, *vid* Badrināth, were to be found people whose religion was in many ways similar to Christianity. Neither he nor the other Fathers who continued in Tibet till 1640 ever stated that they had found Cathay. They went no further than Tibet and called the country Tibet. It is the editors of their letters in Europe who must be made responsible for identifying Tibet with Cathay.

[4] Cambodia. [5] Siam.

El Padre Antonio de Andrada superior de aquella mission, escriue a su Prouincial que reside en Goa. lo que de nueuo obrò Dios por medio suyo, y de otros dos Padres sus compañeros, que de Goa se le embiaron, como refirio en las cartas del año passado. Dize, que el credito de las cosas de nuestra santa fè, es todo lo que se puede desear, porque el Rey y Reyna, y todos los grandes señores no cessan de desacreditar a sus Eclesiasticos, y de alabar y engrandezer la bondad y pureza de nuestra santa Ley, y dizen muchos bienes de nuestras oraciones, ayunos, zelo de las almas, y modo de Proceder.

Deste animo nace el grande respecto que tienen a los dichos Padres de la Compañia, y les han dado mano y libertad para que prediquen en todas partes la ley de nuestro señor Iesu Christo, ni ay quien se atreua a ponerles impedimento algùno.

Y porque solos los Eclesiasticos lo pudieran hazer, por el grande poder y credito y numero que ay dellos, dio este buen Rey, sin que passasse

Father Antonio de Andrada, Superior of that Mission, writes to his Provincial, residing at Goa, what God has anew wrought by means of himself and two other Fathers, his companions, who, as he related in the letters of last year, were sent him from Goa.[1] He says that the esteem for the things of our holy faith is all that can be desired: for the King and the Queen, and all the great lords cease not to discredit their Ecclesiastics, and to praise and extol the goodness and purity of our holy Law; and they speak much in praise of our prayers, fasts, zeal for souls, and manner of proceeding[2]

From this disposition proceeds the great respect they have for the said Fathers of the Company, and they have given them a free hand for preaching everywhere the law of our Lord Jesus Christ, and there is no one who should dare to put any hindrance in their way.

And, as the Ecclesiastics alone would be able to do so, owing to their great power, influence, and their number, this good King gave to understand,

[1] Cf. his long letter from Tsaparang, Aug. 15, 1626, in F. M. Esteves Pereira's *O descobrimento do Tibet*, Coimbra, 1921, p. 86. Their names are not given there; but in their letters of Nov. 1627, Fathers João de Oliveira and Alano dos Anjos state that they had then been one year and a half in the Mission, which fixes their arrival in Tibet in May or June 1626. (Cf. Wessels, *op. cit.*, p. 71, *n.* 3.) However, de Andrada's letter of Aug. 29, 1627, says that his two companions had been only one year in the Mission.

[2] Cp. with the Portuguese of the joint letter of Aug. 29, 1627: "Está o credito das cousas de nossa s^ta fee em tal estima q' naõ sabemos q' mais se possa dezejar; os gr^des como ElRey, a Raynha, etc., alem da grande estima (q' parece naõ pode ser mais) que fazem de nossas cousas, naõ cessaõ a esta conta de desacreditar as dos seus ecclesiasticos, dizendo

por la imaginacion a los Padres, en que los ha de extinguir, diziendoles algunas vezes, que sin falta tendrian por orden dellos grandissimos encuentros si perseuerauan en la autoridad y poder que al prezente.

Para que se entienda esto mejor se deue presuponer, que los Lamas, y los Sumbas Eclesiasticos destos Reynos; y en la forma que se declaro en las cartas del anno passado, sõ muchissimos, y tan respetados del Pueblo, que no ay Familia que no pretenda tener entre ellos alguno ò algunos de su Casa, y tanto que quedandose con el hijo primero, es infalible que el segundo y tercero, si los ay, han de ser dellos, y assi rara es la familia que no tenga hijos ò hermanos ò tios Eclesiasticos, a los quales no solo estiman los seglares por la autoridad de su habito, mas tambien por el deudo que tienen con ellos.

without the Fathers' even thinking of it, that he will suppress them, telling them at times that, if they [the Lamas] continued to have the influence and power they now had, they [the Fathers] would without fail meet with very great opposition at their command.[1]

To understand this better, one must know that the Lamas and the Sumbas [are] the Ecclesiastics of these Kingdoms; and, according to what was said in last year's letters, they are very many, and so much respected by the People that there is not a Family but tries to have among them one or more of the household, so much so that, if it keeps the eldest son, the second and the third, if such there be, will infallibly join them; and so, rare is the family which has not, belonging to the Ecclesiastical state, sons, or brothers, or uncles; and the seculars respect them, not only for the honour due to their cloth, but also for the ties they have with them.[2]

grandes e excessiuos louuores de nós, da bondade e pureza da s^{ta} ley, de nossas orações, jejũs, zello das almas, modo de p'ceder, etc."

[1] "Donde nace terẽnos muy grande respeito e amor, e darẽnos ampla liberdade cõ m^{to} gosto seu p^{a} prégarmos en todas suas tr^{as} a ley de Christo sem auer quem ouze a nos encontrar cousa algũa nesta parte. E porq' o impedimento total q' a s^{ta} fee podia ter nestas tr^{as} saõ os Ecclesiasticos q' nellas ha em grande numero, deu este bom Rey sem nos o imaginarmos em os extinguir, dizendo nos por uezes q' sem falta teriamos gr^{des} encontros p' sua via delles se tiuessẽ o poder e authorid^{e} en q' ate estes tempos viueraõ; e pera q' V. R. saiba mais de raiz o q' passa deue presupor o seguinte."

[2] "Os Lamãs e Sumbãs (que saõ os Ecclesiasticos) saõ m^{tos} em numero porq' como tem p^{a} cõ o pouo grande credito e authorid^{e}, naõ ha familia q' naõ pretenda ter algum, ou algũs de sua caza; pelloq' tirado o primogenito he infalliuel q' o seg^{do} e 3º filho quando os ha uaõ p' via Ecclesiastica, donde nace q' alem do respeito e reverẽcia q' lhes tem p' serem Ecclesiasticos, fiquem tambem poderozos pello parentesco q' tem cõ as

Considerando el Rey esto, y temiendo que por ser muchos y poderosos, y tan aliados con los seglares, podrian ser causa de la ruyna de nuestras cosas, y de nuestra santa ley, tan fauorecida y autorizada aora en sus Reynos, tratò de hazerlos seglares a todos.

El primero con quien lo emprendio fue con su hermano, que es Lama mayor y cabeça de todos los Eclesiasticos del Tibet. Priuole luego de varias tierras y rentas, y quedò con el en tal forma, que jamas los pudieron concertar. El motiuo que para esto tomò, fue auer su hermano recebido el año passado, a ciento y treinta Lamas en vn dia, y dezia el Rey, que procediendo su hermano deste modo, quedaria su Reyno sin soldados, siendole tan necessarios para la guerra.

Hecho esto con su hermano, embiò luego varios capitanes por sus tierras, con orden de quitar los habitos a los Eclesiasticos, y hazerlos seglares: y queda esto ya execu-

Considering this, and fearing that, with their number, power and close relationship with the laity, they might be instrumental in destroying our things and our holy law, which is so much favoured and enjoys so much credit now in his Kingdoms, the king thought of making them all return to lay estate.[1]

The first one whom he took in hand was his brother, who is the grand Lama and head of all the Ecclesiastics of Tibet. Presently he deprived him of sundry lands and revenues, and he remained disposed towards him in such a way that it was never possible to reconcile them. The reason he [the King] put forward for this, was that, last year, his brother in one day admitted one hundred and thirty Lamas, and the King said that, if his brother continued to act thus, his Kingdom would be left without soldiers, much as he needed them for the war.[2] Having done this to his brother, he sent forthwith several captains through his dominions, with orders to deprive the Ecclesiastics of their habit and make them

familias seculares, de sorte q' rara se achará, en q' naõ aia, ou tios, ou irmaõs, ou filhos."

1 "Isto presuposto determinou este bom Rey de os enfraquecer, temendo como era muy evidente, aleuantam[tos], q' podiaõ ser de ruina nestas tr[as], assy pella multidaõ dos ditos Ecclesiasticos, como pella liança de sangue, q' tem cõ os seculares, se uiisẽ entrar nossa s[a] ley taõ florente nesta tr[a] como ia imaginauaõ."

2 "E assy a pr[a] pessoo com quẽ o dito Rey entendeo foi seu proprio irmaõ, q' he ecclesiastico e cabeça dos mais nestes seus Reynos, e assy lhe tirou varias terras e rendas, e quebrou cõ elle em forma q' naõ ouue ia mais poderẽsse concertar, dando p' rezaõ q' o anno passado fizera o dito seu irmaõ só em hũ dia *cento e vinte* Lamãs, e q' p'cedendo nesta forma lhe diminuya em grande parte os q' poderaõ seruir na guerra de soldados."

tado con todos los Sumbas, que erã en mayor numero y oy no se hallaran ciento dellos en todos estos Reynos, y a todos hizo casar, y viuen como seglares.

De los Lamas estan ya seglares grande parte, y a los que repugnarõ mandò viuir en vnas montañas metidos en cuebas, en las quales no tienen que comer, mas que lo que piden de limosna, y no gozan de la libertad que de antes: y como esta vida es tan aspera para ellos, piensa el Rey que presto bolueran y obedeceran a sus mandatos.

Con esto se espera que presto quedaran todos con tan poco poder, que no puedã aunque quieran estoruar nuestra santa ley, ni impedir la conuersion.

Estando todo esto compuesto y quieto, esperamos que el Rey se baptizarà, y el assi [P. 2] lo dize, aunque dessea que sepamos primero de rayz los errores de su libro, para refutarlos en Iuntas que pretende hazer con los mas doctos de sus Eclesiasticos. Assim-

seculars; and this has now been done in the case of all the Sumbas, who were more numerous, and not one hundred of them will now be found in all these Kingdoms: he made them all marry, and they live like seculars.[1] Already a great part of the Lamas are seculars, and those who resisted were ordered to go and live in certain mountains, confined to caves; there they have nothing to eat, except what they beg as alms, nor have they the liberty they had before; and, as this sort of life is so hard for them, the King thinks that they will soon come back (?) and obey his orders. In this way it is hoped that all of them will soon be left with so little power that they will not be able, even if they wish, to hamper our holy law or hinder conversions.[2]

When all this is settled and everything is quiet, we hope that the King will receive Baptism, and he says he will, though he wishes us first to know thoroughly the errors of their book, in order to refute them in Meetings which he intends having with the most

1 "Apoz isto entendeu cõ os demais Ecclesiasticos mandando p' suas tr^{as} varios capitaes, que os fizessè despir os habitos, e tomar o secular, o q' se tem executado em quazi todos os sumbas q' oraõ mais em numero, de sorte q' ia destes se naõ acharaõ cento em todos estas terras, *sendo pr^{o}, segundo se diz, sinco ou seis mill*; fez, e fallos cazar e viuer como seculares e cazados."

2 "Os Lamãs em parte estaõ ia seculares, a outros q' m^{to} repugnaõ o tal estado pellas cõmodidades en q' viuè nelle, mandou morar nalgũas serras em couas, onde nè tem q' comer, mais q' o q' uaõ pedir de esmolla, nẽm occasiaõ de viuer taõ á larga como pr^{o}, e como este termo he taõ agro esperasse q' m^{to} çedo uoltem todos. Neste termo se p'cede cõ os ecclesiasticos, e esperamos na divina bondade que em breues mezes fiquè cõ muy pouco poder, e nos p' conseg^{te} sem o sobrosso q' nos auia õ de causar."

smo [*sic*] determina q' primero se baptize la Reyna con toda su gente, y dize que luego el con el Principe su hijo hara lo mismo. De la otra gente se han conuertido muchos, y recebido la agua del santo bautismo.

Es muy particular el amor que tiene a los Padres y les ha hecho grandes mercedes, vsando con ellos de grande liberalidad, por mas que lo procuran estoruar, y no es posible que reciba algo dellos, aunque se lo ofrezcan como lo haze de la otra gente, y dize que es pecado recebir de los ministros del Euangelio, y que es muy deuido que el les dè quanto tiene.

Esto es lo que breuemente se puede dezir desta mission, dexando lo demas para la relacion general de aquellas partes

Antonio de Andrada.

learned of his Ecclesiastics. He also wants the Queen and all her people to be baptized first, and he says that he and the Prince his son will at once do the like.[1] Many of the other people have been converted, and have received the water of holy baptism.

Towards the Fathers he entertains a very special affection, and he has granted them great favours, showing himself very liberal towards them, however much they tried to dissuade him; and he will not by any means receive anything from them, as he does from the other people, even should they offer, and he says that to receive from the ministers of the Gospel is sinful, and that it is for him very becoming to give to them whatever he has.

This is in brief what can be said of this Mission.[2] The rest is reserved for the general relation of those parts.

Antonio de Andrada.

[1] "Compostas estas cousas esperamos se converta este Rey sem demora, e elle assy o pratica, postoq' dezeja saibamos pr° de rais os erros do seu liuro, p^a^ os poder confutar em juntas dos seus mais doutos, q' determina fazer. Assy mais tem dito e determinado se bautize pr° a Raynha cõ sua gente, e q' apoz isso elle com o Principe seu filho fará o mesmo."

The last sentence of this paragraph in the Spanish letter is not in the Portuguese text of this letter. A search in the other letters of 1627 might show on what authority it was inserted in the Spanish text.

The Prince was 14 years old in 1626.

[2] "Naõ ha p^a^ q' escreuamos a V. R. o grande amor q' nos tem e mostra, as m^tes^ e continuas charidades q' nos faz, o m^to^ q' nos tem dado m^to^ á força sem lhe podermos ir á maõ, como pretendemos, e isto sem respeito a interesse p'prio, q' he ponto de m^ta^ consideraçaõ, dizendo q' he pecado receber nada dos P^es^, e muy deuido dar lhe a ellos q^to^ tem.

"Isto he m^to^ em breue o q' passa nesta missaõ."

Of the King's liberality towards the Fathers there is proof sufficient in the MS. letters. Since de Andrada's return to Tibet in 1625, he had spent on the Fathers more than Rs. 10.000.

Siguese la del Padre Gaspar Diaz.

El Reyno de la Cochinchina es vna punta que corre del Reyno de Tonquin hasta el de Champa. Tiene seis ò siete Prouincias. No renta el Rey mas de vn millon, y paga tributo al de Tonquin, como vasallo suyo, por no ser tanto està siempre con las armas en las manos contra el de Tonquin, temiendo que le pida mas, y por esta causa huelga de tener los Iapones en su Reyno, y desea mucho a los Portugueses, y para obligarlos los dio tierra en que edifiquen ciudad, y auentajada a la de Macan; con la qual tiene grande correspondencia y trato, y se presentan cosas de entrambas partes.

Llaman los Chinas a este Reyno Annan, los Iapones Cochin, y los Portugueses Cochinchina. Tiene de largo por la costa del mar cien leguas, y de ancho por la tierra solas cinco y seis, y a vezes dos. Diuidese con vnas

Follows the letter of Father Gaspar Diaz.

The Kingdom of Cochinchina forms a strip of land which runs from the Kingdom of Tonquin up to that of Champa.[1] It comprises six or seven Provinces. The King gets a revenue of not more than one million and pays tribute to him of Tonquin, as his vassal. Being less strong, he is always on a war-footing against him of Tonquin, lest he should ask him more: and for this reason he is glad to have the Japanese[2] in his Kingdom, and he is very anxious to have the Portuguese; and to lay them under obligation he gave them land where to build a city, a better one than that of Macan,[3] with which he has much intercourse and trade, both sides exchanging things.

The Chinese call this Kingdom Annan, the Japanese Cochin, and the Portuguese Cochinchina.[4] It has a length along the coast of one hundred leagues, and a breadth across country of only five or six, and at times two. It

[1] *Champa*: the extreme S.E. of Indo-China; the Bint-Thuān province of Cochin-China is still called by that name. The original Champā was a city and kingdom on the Ganges near the modern Bhāgalpur. Cf. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, s.v. Champa.

[2] Most of these Japanese appear to have been Catholics. Had they fled from persecutions at home? Very likely. About this same time there was a colony of Japanese Christians, with a quarter and a Captain of their own, at the Capital of Arakan. Fr. G. Diaz' letter tells us of a colony of Japanese Christians in Annam, of another in Cambodia, and of a third in Siam. It would be interesting to hear of other such colonies at this time, and what became of their descendants. The colony of Arakan disappeared eventually without leaving any trace that we can follow up.

[3] Macao.

[4] *Cochin*. *Kuchi* in Malay; *Kuu-chōn* in Annamite; *Kiu-Ching* in Chinese; *Kau-Chen* in S. Chinese: the ancient name of the province of Thanh'-hoa, in which the city of Hue has been the capital since 1398. Yule, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* Cochin-China.

sierras de los Mynois, que viuen de la otra parte, y no tienen Rey, y son tenidos por barbaros, aunque no dexan de ser capazes del Euangelio.

La tierra de Cochinchina es muy fresca y apacibla, por las muchas vegas y rios que la riegan. Tiene muchas perdizes, gallinas brauas, y mucha variedad de aues de mar y tierra, que cantan suauemente; grande abundancia de pescados, y los mas sabrosos de todo Oriente. Carnes pocas, y poco arroz, mas mucha plata que le traen los Japones; grande cantidad de Bufalos, y de gallinas domesticas, no assi de vacas.

Los cavallos son pequeños, mas muy fuertes, y tan ligeros que andan como postas. Sus sedas no son finas, y la pimienta no tan buena, como la de la India, mas es estimada de los Chinas, por lo mucho que enciende.

Las casas son de madera cubiertas de paja, y solo el Rey y los pagodes las cubren con teja. Cogen algun menjoin. Ay muy altas y espesas

is separated by certain mountains from the Mynois,[1] who live on the other side, and have no King; they are considered to be barbarians, although they are not unfit for the Gospel.

The country of Cochinchina is very cool and pleasant, owing to the many meadows and rivers watering it. There are many partridges, and wild fowls, and a great variety of sea and land birds, which sing sweetly; there is great abundance of fish, the daintiest in the whole Orient. There is little flesh-meat and rice, but plenty of silver, which the Japanese bring into the country;[2] there are great numbers of Buffaloes and of domestic fowls, but not of cows. The horses are small, but very strong, and so fleet that they run like post-horses. Their silks are not fine, and the pepper is not as good as that of India, but the Chinese esteem it for its great pungency.

The houses are of wood, covered with straw; only those of the King and the Pagodas are covered with tiles. They gather some menjoin.[3] There

[1] L. Carrez, S.J., *Atlas geographicus S.J.*, Parisiis, G. Colombier, 1900, Map 45, places the 'Muongs' in the mountains separating Laos from Tonquin. Taranātha's (Tibetan) *History of Buddhism*, by Schiefner, p. 202, speaks of the realm of Munyang. Cf. Yule, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* Champa. The Muongs are related to the Laotines. In Annam there are also the Moïs, called Puongs in Cambodia. Khas in Laos, etc. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.*, VII, 766 *a*.

[2] This seems to be the meaning, rather than: 'take away.' There is some silver in Tonking; but I do not find there is any in Annam worth speaking of. Japan, on the contrary, is exceedingly rich in minerals. In 1908 it produced 3,439,143 yen of silver. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.*, VIII, 321 *a*.

[3] *Menjoin*. Spanish forms: *benjuí*, *menjuí*. Cf. Yule, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* benjamin, benzoin: a kind of incense derived from the resin of the

arboledas de Aguila y Calambà; y los que entran por ellas van ronpiendo con trabajo, y no saben boluerse sin mirar al sol, y a ciertos passos que dexan notados, el Calambà vale en Trellez a treinta y a quarenta ducados la libra.

are very high and thick groves of Aguila[1] and Calambà;[2] and those who penetrate into them advance with difficulty, and they cannot get back without consulting the sun and noting certain traces which they leave behind: the Calambà is worth from thirty to forty ducats a pound at Trellez.[3] They get it from the same tree as the Aguila, and the only difference is that the Calambà is the driest part of the tree, that which has been most refined by the rays of the Sun.[4] They discover it by its smell, but it costs them much trouble: for there is danger from divers very fierce animals, such as bears, tigers, *badas*,[5] big monkeys, and others, which attack the people and kill them, when they do not know how to defend themselves against them.

Sacanle del mismo arbol que la Aguila, y solo se diferencia en que el Calambà es la parte del arbol mas seca, y mas refinada con los rayos del Sol. Descubrenlo por el olor, y cuestales grande trabajo, por el peligro de varios animales muy fieros, como ossos, tigres, badas, monos de grandes cuerpos, y otros que acometen y matan la gente, quando no se saben guardar dellos.

Los Cochinchinas crian el cabello como los Chinas, mas no los prenden sobre la cabeça como ellos, traenle suelto sobre los ombros, delante o derras [*sic*] de la cara, tapan la mi-

The Cochinchinese grow their hair like the Chinese, but they do not tie it on the head like them; they wear it loose on the shoulders, in front of them or behind: they cover

styrax benzoin (Dryander). Cf. also Mgr. S. R. Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, II, 112, *s.v.* boijoim, benjoim.

[1] *Aguila*. See Yule, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* aloes and eagle-wood, the "odorous wood" mentioned by Camões in connection with Champa: used as incense. (Malayal., *agil*: Hindī, *agar*; Skt. *aguru*, *agaru*; Malay, *gahāru*, *gāru*; hence in English: eagle-wood, garroo-wood, agla-wood, agger- and tugger wood.) See also Dalgado, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* águila, áquila.

[2] *Calamba*. Cf. Yule, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* calambac: the finest kind of aloes wood.

[3] *Trellez*. Perhaps, Treliez in the printed copy. The rotograph is not clear at this place. Not identified.

[4] Fr. A. Cardim, S.J., says of Tonquin: "E vn albero istesso, alto assai, che se si taglia essendo giouane, deuiene *Aquila*; se si taglia essendo il tronco antico, riesce *Calamba*." (*Relatione della Provincia del Giappone*, 51, quoted from Dalgado, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* calamba.)

[5] *Bada* or *abada*: rhinoceros in general, in spite of the feminine gender in Portuguese. Cf. Yule, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* abada; Dalgado, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* abada.

tad de la cabeça a la parte del celebro, para parecer mejor, tiñen los dientes de negro. Los nobles dexan crecer las vñas de las manos, y traen las de los pies cortadas y muy polidas, andan descalços toda la vida, sino es el Rey y algun Mandarin viejo. Sõ de cuerpos altos y bien hechos, el color mas blanco que moreno, las facciones buenas, las narizes chatas algun tanto, y largas. Son de buenos naturales y llanos. No vsan de muchas ceremonias, en las quales son enfadosos los Chinas, y los Iapones.

No temen como [P. 3] los Chinas. En la catana, mosquete, y artilleria son muy diestros, y preciãse de soldados. No tienen la arrogancia de los Iapones, ni estiman sus cosas en mas que la delos otros; aman a los forasticros, y se pagan mucho de qualquiera cosa suya.

Pierdense por los de color blanco, y con gusto miran a sus caras, manos y pies, y los descubren los braços para verlos mejor. Toda la vida andan vendiendo y comprando de tierra en tierra, y las mugeres mas que los hombres, ellas sustentan a sus maridos, vendiẽdo en sus casas por las las [*sic*] calles, y en las plazas, aun las mas honradas.

Todos los dias ay mercado

half the head on the side of the brain, for the sake of beauty, and dye their teeth black. The nobles let grow the nails of their hands; but they cut their toe-nails, and keep them highly polished; all their life they go barefoot, the King and some old Mandarino excepted. They are tall and well-formed; their complexion is white rather than swarthy; their features are pleasing; their nose is slightly flat, and broad. They are good-natured and gentle. They do not use much ceremony, the Chinese and the Japanese being repelling in this matter. They are not timorous like the Chinese. They are very dexterous in using the *catana*[1] and the musket, and in handling artillery, and they pride themselves on being soldiers. They have not the arrogance of the Japanese, nor do they value their own things more than those of others; they are fond of foreigners, and they take much pleasure in having any of their things. They are extremely fond of white-skinned people; they take pleasure in examining their faces, hands and feet; they uncover their arms to see them better. All their life they go from place to place, selling and buying, the women even more than the men; the women maintain their husbands by selling at home, in the streets and the squares, even the most respectable of them. Every day

[1] *Catana*: a short sword, like the *alfange* (scimitar), from the Japanese *katana*. Cf. Dalgado, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* catana. The Spanish dictionaries give *catan*; the Portuguese, *catana*.

publico de todo genero de mercaderias Comen con vnos palitos, y comen mucho y beuen poco, aunque sea vino. No son viciosos, y es la gente mas honesta de todo Oriente. Tienen muchas mugeres, aborrecen mucho el pecado nefando, y espantanse si lo oyen dezir de otras naciones. Visten Cabayas de Tonquin, y las mugeres como las mas honestas de Europa

En este Reyno residen an [*sic*] este año de 1627. quinze Religiosos de la Compañia, onze Sacerdotes y quatro Hermanos, vno dellos estudiante Iapon. Todos estan ocupados en la conuersion desta gente repartidos en tres casas. La primera y principal en Fayso, Corte del Principe, y en ella estan cinco Padres y dos hermanos. Es muy copioso el fruto que se haze, y con el fauor del Rey crece cada dia, y con las conuersiones de algunos Grandes deste Reyno.

Otra Casa està en vna poblacion de Iapones Christianos, y con ellos vn Padre y vn hermano, a esta acuden los Mercaderes Iapones, assi Gentiles como Christianos, y con todos se haze grande fruto, en esta ay sermones de la passion en los Domingos y viernes de la quaresma, y se

there is public market for all sorts of merchandise. They eat with a kind of small sticks; they eat much, but drink little, even though it be wine. They are not inclined to vice, but are the most decent people of the whole Orient. They have many wives, but abhor greatly the abominable sin,[1] and they are shocked to hear of other nations that they are addicted to it. They wear Tonquin Cabayas,[2] and the women dress like the most modest in Europe.

This year 1627, there reside in this kingdom fifteen Religious of the Company, eleven Priests and four Brothers, one of them being a Japanese student. All are busy with converting this people. They are distributed in three houses. The first and chief house is at Fayso, the Prince's Court.[3] Here there are five Fathers and two Brothers. Great is the fruit gathered here; and, thanks to the King's favour and the conversion of some Grandees of this Kingdom, it increases daily. There is another House in a settlement of Japanese Christians. There is with them a Father and a Brother. It is frequented by the Japanese Merchants, both Heathen and Christian. Much fruit is made with all of them. Here there are sermons on the Passion on the Sundays and

[1] Sodomy.

[2] *Cabaya.* In India a long tunic of muslin. Cf. Yule and Dalgado, *s.v.*

[3] *The Prince.* In the Portuguese parlance of the period the word means the heir-apparent, as still in England.

cantan las letanias, y ay disciplina general. Aqui se celebraron los Oficios Diuinos en la semana santa, con tanta solemnidad, como si fuera la ciudad toda de Christianos, jũtarõse para esto ocho Sacerdotes de la Cõpañia, y dos hermanos, y vn Sacerdote seglar con algunos Cãtores, acudierõ a ellos todos los Christianos destas Aldeas, y de la Corte del Principe, que ya son en grande numero, y muchos Gentiles de diuersas partes; y todos adoraron el santissimo Sacramento, que se puso en vn monumento con grande ornato, acompañaron todos la procession que se hizo el Domingo de la Resureccion antes de amanecer, por vna calle de Iapones vezina desta Casa, con grandes muestras de alegria.

Otra Casa està en el fin del Reyno, enfrente de la Isla de Pulocambi a la parte de Champà.

Fridays of Lent, and they sing the litanies, and there is general discipline. Here during the Holy Week, the Divine Offices are celebrated with as much solemnity as if the city consisted entirely of Christians. For the occasion there assembled eight Priests of the Company and two Brothers, and a secular Priest, with some singers; all the Christians of these Villages, and of the Prince's Court, who are many already, flocked to those services, as also many Gentiles from various parts; and all adored the Most Holy Sacrament, which was placed with much splendour on a repository;[1] on the Sunday of the Resurrection, before dawn, all accompanied with great demonstrations of joy the procession, which made its way through a street of Japanese, next to this House.[2] There is another House at the extremity of this Kingdom, opposite the Island of Pulocambi, towards Champà.[3]

[1] *Un monumento*, which we translate by repository: an altar, often resembling a sepulchre, and even called so, which is used in Catholic Churches on Maundy-Thursday.

[2] On Easter-day 1908, while at Hazāribāgh, I was awakened before dawn and for a time much mystified by the singing of hymns and carols, at times faint, at times quite near. It was a procession of Indian Christians belonging to the Dublin Mission.

[3] L. Carrez, *op. cit.*, Map No. 45, places in front of Pulo-Cambir (*sic*) (or the Island of Kou-lao-chan) Dinh-Phoan (Ranran) and Phuyen.

Before the suppression of the Society, the Jesuits had in Annam (Tonquin and Cochinchina) mission-stations at: Ké-cho (Hanoi), Ké-nẻ, Ké-sat, Kien-lao, Van-ninh, Domea, Hien (Hé-an), Cua-bang, Anvuc, Cua-civa, Cua-thai, Ké-hoa, Bo-chinh, Dinh-cat, Sin-hoa (Huế), Tourane, Fai-fo [*read*: Faiso], Cacciam, Poulo-Canton, Baubom, Nuoc-man, Quinhon, Ran-ran (Dinh-Phoan), Poulo-Cambir; in Cambodia, at: Bien-hoa, Baria, Pinhalou, Thonol, Oudong, Ravecca (Lovek); in Siam, at: Ayuthia, Louvo, Bangkok, Mergui, Tenasserim. Cf. L. Carrez, *ibid.*

The Jesuit Mission in Indo-China began in 1618. Between 1627 and 1630 Frs. Alexander de Rhodes and Antonio Marquez converted over 6,000, including many bonzes.

El traje ordinario de los de la Compañia en este Reyno, es traer el cabello crecido, la corona abierta. la barua sopre peyne, vna loba como la que traya el santo Francisco Xabier, los pies descalços quando caminã, ò con alpargatas. El mayor fruto desta mission. demas de los muchos que se conuierten a nuestra santa Fè, es el grande descredito que tienen de sus Pagodes, y de los ministros dellos, los quales no se atreuen a tratar de sus sectas. En vno destos Templos auia grande numero de Idolos dorados, y aora no se hallan tres, y estos sin manos y sin narizes, y porque no se atreuieron los Christianos a derriuarle, le quitaron el tejado, para que llouiesse sobre los Idolos, y oayesse el Pagode totalmente, y enfrente del edificaron vna Iglesia del Saluador. Tienen los Christianos aquel comedimiento y blandura de los Chinas, y como la tierra no es de muchas delicias. proceden con tan buenas conciencias, que a penas tienen de que confessarse.

Vno llamado Lorenço sanò a muchos enfermos desauciados de la vide, cõ la agua bẽdita y cõ la señal de la Cruz que fazia sobre ellos quando se la daua a beuer.

In this Kingdom the usual dress of those of the Company is to let their hair grow long, to wear the tonsure, and the beard slightly trimmed,[1] and a gown like that worn by St. Francis Xavier; when they travel, they go barefoot, or wear sandals.[2] Besides the many converted to our holy Faith, the best fruit reaped in this Mission is the great disregard of the people for their Pagodes and the ministers of them, who do not dare treat about their sects. In one of these Temples there was a great number of gilt Idols, and now you do not find three of them, and these too without hands and noses; and, as the Christians did not dare to pull it down, they removed the roof, so that it might rain on the Idols and that the Pagode might fall down completely; and in front of it they built a Church of the Saviour. The Christians have the politeness and delicacy of manner of the Chinese, and, as the country does not afford much luxury, they live in such purity of conscience that they have hardly matter for confession. One of them, called Lawrence, cured many sick people, whose life was despaired-of,[3] by means of holy water and making on them the sign of the Cross when it was given them to drink.

[1] The Spanish dictionaries give *sobrepeine* (m.): the act of cutting the hair but slightly.

[2] Alpargatas (in Portuguese) are shoes or sandals made of hemp.

[3] *Desauciado*: not found in my Spanish dictionaries. An old Portuguese dictionary (Vieyra Transtagano's) says it is a Spanish word, which the Portugusee could well spare, since they have the word *desconfiado*.

Tratarõ otros de dar de palos a vn Christiano, por auer hurtado vna cosa de poca monta, y dauan por razon, que no era conueniente que se pudiesse dezir que la ley de los Christianos era ley de ladrones. Otras cosas semejantes se pudieran referir, y se remiten a las cartas generales.

Bautizaronse en este año mil y dozientas [*sic*] y treinta y seis adultos, fuera de los niños, casaronse algunos Principales despues de hechos Cristianos, los quales pueden ayudar mucho a la conuersion, y vno destos dixo publicamãnte, que la Fè y la ley de los Portugueses, por ser la de Christo era la verdadera.

Others gave a drubbing to a Christian for having stolen a thing of little value, and the reason they gave was that it was not proper that people should be able to say that the law of the Christians was a law of robbers. We might relate other similar things, but they are held over for the general letters.

This year there were baptized, exclusive of the children, one thousand two hundred and thirty-six adults, and some leading persons were married, after becoming Christians; these latter can much promote the work of conversion; and one of them said publicly that, as the Faith and the law of the Portuguese was that of Christ, it was the true one.

[P. 4]

Deste Reyno passaron al de Camboia vn Padre Iapon, y vn hermano Portugues para ayudar a los Iapones que alli viuen, y tratar de la conuersion de aquellos Gentiles. Este año se hizo vna casa de la Compañia en Caohan (?) Corte de aquel Rey. Edificola en las suyas con grande gusto vna Christiana llamada Iuana. Estan en ella tres Padres y vn hermano, y dos Catequistas. Bautizose vna Orãcaya, que es lo mismo que muger pequeña del Rey ya difunto, y otra persona

A Japanese Father and a Portuguese Brother went from this Kingdom to that of Camboia in order to assist the Japanese living there, and to further the conversion of the Heathen there. This year a house of the Company was built at Caohan,[1] the Court of that King. A Christian woman, called Juana, had much pleasure in building it within her houses (?). There are in it three Fathers and a brother, and two Catechists. There was baptized an Orancaya,[2] which means 'little wife' of the late

[1] Perhaps, 'Cachan.' The rotograph is not clear here. Carrez has no Mission at such a place in Cambodia. He marks, however, Can-cao, a part in Cambodia.

[2] *Orancaya*: a Malay noble, from the Malay *orang kaya*, 'a man of wealth or power.' Cf. Dalgado, *op. cit.*, p. 192. No writer quoted by Dalgado assigns to the word the meaning of 'little wife.'

principal con reputacion de nuestra santa Fè, y de los Ministros del Euangelio. Lo mismo hizo Iuan Pablo muy conocido por su nobleza, y por la Embaxada con que fue al Rey de Sian. Conuertiose otra mucha gente, y cada dia esperamos la conuersion de muchos otros.

Tambien passaron a Pulocamby otros tres Padres, y vn Hermano, y se hizo vna casa para tratar de la conuersion de aquella gente. Ayudò mucho a esta Casa vna hija del Gouernador passado, que fue grande bienhechor de los de la Compañia que alli viuia. con que creciò el numero de los Christianos.

A Tonquin fueron dos Padres de la Compañia en vn nauio de Portugueses, y como aquel Rey deseaua mucho tener Padres de la Compañia en sus tierras, viẽdoles allà, pidioles q' se quedassen. Los naturales por la fama de lo q' ellos hazen en la Cochinchina, desean oir las cosas de nuestra santa Fè, y no se duda que la recebiran, por ser gente que trata mucho de la otra vida. Quando llegaron los Padres estaua el Rey de partida para la guerra contra el Rey de Cochinchina, porque no le pagaua tanto de tributo quãto el pedia. Mando a los Padres que le aguardassen hasta la buelta; en tanto predicaron los Padres el Santo Euangelio, y se bautizaron

King. and another influential person, .which redounded to the honour of our holy Faith and of the ministers of the Gospel. John Paul, a man well-known for his noble rank and the Embassy with which he went to the King of Sian. was also baptized. Many other people were converted, and every day we expect the conversion of many others.

Three other Fathers and a Brother went also to Pulocamby, and a house was built, with a view to the conversion of the people there. This House was much helped by a daughter of the former Governor, a great benefactor of those of the Company, who lived there,[1] whereby the number of the Christians increased.

Two Fathers of the Company went to Tonquin on board a Portuguese ship, and, as the King there was very anxious to have in his lands Fathers of the Company, he, on seeing them there, asked them to remain. The natives, having heard what the Fathers do in Cochinchina, wish to hear the things of our holy Faith, and there is no doubt that they will accept it, as they are people who are very solicitous about the life to come When the Fathers arrived, the King was about to start on a war against the King of Cochinchina, because he did not pay him as much tribute as he wanted. He ordered the Fathers to await his return. Meanwhile, the Fathers

[1] Perhaps: *que alli viuiã*, 'who (*plur.*) lived there'; or: *que alli veniã*, 'who (*plur.*) came thither.'

mas de trecientos, y arbolaron algunas Cruzes. Claro pronostico de q' ha de reynar la Ley de Christo en aq'l Reyno.

Boluio el Rey vencido del de Cochinchina, no teniendo este la decima parte del poder del de Tonquin, que es grandissimo Monarca. Quedo con este sucesso muy desacreditado, y como los hechizeros son muchos, y la gente es muy sujeta a guerras, temese mucho del sucesso que tendran aquellos Padres despues de la buelta del Rey, mas aun no ay auiso dello.

Deste Reyno passaron a los Laos, que es camino de dos meses, y la gente es amiga de Pagodes.

En el Reyno de Siam residen aora tres Padres de la Compañia. y el Rey les muestra grande beneuolencia, y gusta de tenerlos en su Reyno. Mas como no saben aun la lẽgua de la tierra, no ay mas que esperanças de la conuersion. Tienen cuydado de los Iapones que viuen en aquel Reyno, y de los que a el acuden en su comercio.

Gaspar Diaz.

preached the Holy Gospel, baptized more than three hundred persons, and erected some crosses: a sure sign that the Law of Christ will flourish in that Kingdom. The King came back, defeated by him of Cochinchina, although the latter has not one-tenth of the power of the King of Tonquin, who is a very mighty Monarch. His defeat greatly impaired his reputation, and, as the sorcerers are many and the people are much exposed to wars,[1] there is much doubt about the success which those Fathers will have after the King's return; thus far, there is no news about him. From this Kingdom they[2] went to the Laos, a two months' journey; the people there are strongly attached to the Pagodes.[3]

In the Kingdom of Siam there now reside three Fathers of the Company; the King shows them great goodwill, and is pleased to have them in his Kingdom. But, as they do not yet know the language of the country, there are as yet only hopes of conversion. They take care of the Japanese living in that Kingdom, and of those who go thither for their commerce.

Gaspar Diaz.

[1] If the Spanish were: *sujeta a agüerros*, we should translate by 'addicted to omens.' The ill-success of the expedition might have been attributed to the foreign Missionaries.

[2] The two who had gone to Tonquin?

[3] There was a Jesuit Mission in Laos in 1642-48, at Langione (Lang Chang) or Vientian (Vieng-chang). Fr. J. B. Bonelli died in 1638, going to Laos; Fr. Giac. Hurando, about 1645, when returning from Laos. Cf. Carrez, *op. cit.*, Map 45.

ADDENDUM.

A PORTRAIT OF FR. A. DE ANDRADE, founder of the Jesuit Mission in Western Tibet (1624–29).

In answer to a letter to the Viscount d'Oleiros (Portugal), I have received a photograph of a portrait of Fr. Antonio de Andrade, which was said to be in the Viscount's possession. Senhor J^e^ Antunes Pinto (Lisboa, R. do Salitre 164–2°) forwarding it to me on August 13, 1925, writes that the portrait had passed into the hands of the Viscount's grandson, Senhor F. Rebelo d'Albuquerque, a descendant of the de Andrade family, who had presented it to the Lisbon *Academia das Sciencias*.

The original picture is less damaged than I was made to understand from Senhor J^e^ Antunes Pinto's letter. The inscription on the figure's proper right can be made out with tolerable accuracy.

ANTONIVS·DE ANDRADE·
SOCIETATIS·IESV·PROVINCIÆ·
GOANÆ·17° PROVINCIA·
LIS MISSIONIS·THIBE
THENSIS PRIMVS·EX
PLORATOR·ET FVNDA
TOR·OBIIT·ANNO·DOMINI·
1634· 14 CHALENDAS. APRI
LIS ÆTATIS·SV.Æ·53·

"Anthony de Andrade, of the Society of Jesus, 17th Provincial of the Province of Goa, the first explorer and founder of the Thibeth Mission, died on the 14th before the Kalends of April (March 18) in the year 1634 of the Lord, aged 53."

A flower precedes the first letter of the first line. The capital *i's* are dotted; 17° in the third line mixes Portuguese with Latin. N and I in DOMINI (*l.* 7) are joined.

The lettering as read by me differs in several details from the reading in Pinho Leal's *Portugal antigo e moderno*, tomo VI, Lisboa, 1875, p. 222, as reproduced by Senhor F. M. Esteves Pereira in his *O descobrimento do Tibet pelo P. Antonio de Andrade*..... Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1921, p. 137 (Publications of the Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa).

The Father appears vested in the black soutane and mantle of his Order, as worn in his time. His thick moustache and close-cut beard are black, as is his hair, which age has not otherwise affected. His right hand hangs down and seems to hold some object between the thumb and index-finger. His left hand, extended and open on his breast, holds a rosary, three beads of which are visible round the thumb.

Considering that Fr. de Andrade came to India in 1600 at the age of 20 and died at Goa on March 19, 1634, we should

think that the portrait was executed at Goa, where alone a faithful reproduction of his appearance might have been attempted with success.

A MS. Tamil Grammar by Fr. C. J. Beschi, S.J.

By the REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

On January 26, 1925, Mr. Johan van Manen, the Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, wrote to me: "I have found in our Library a MS. (anonymous) dated 'Idibus 7 bris 1730,' with title as follows:

"Grammatica Latino-Tamulica vbi De Elegantiori Linguae Tamulicae Dialecto' தூய தமிழ். [*Sen Tamil*] Dicta Cui adduntur Tamulicae Poëseos Rudimenta ad usum Missionariorum Soc[i]s Jesu."/

"The MS. is in excellent condition. Would you like to see it? If it is unpublished, we might exhibit it in our Annual Meeting next week."

I guessed easily enough, and Mr. van Manen had guessed too, that the MS. was one of Beschi's works Immediately after the title quoted above, we read: "Religiosis Jesu-Ch'i Missionariis C.J.B. salutem in Domino," where the initials C.J.B. are those of Fr. Constantius Joseph Beschi, whom Sommervogel. erroneously calls Joseph Constantine.

The MS. is written very neatly from beginning to end; but the orthographical mistakes, not over-many, soon convince one that it is not an autograph. The date of Beschi's preface is "Idibus 7 bris 1730."

Was it published? I consulted Sommervogel and found under Beschi (Vol. I, col. 1405, No. 15) (1) *Clavis humaniorum Litterarum Sublimioris Tamulici idiomatis*, published by the Rev. K. Ihlefeld, Tranquebar, 187(6); (2) a translation by Babington: *A Grammar of the high dialect of the Tamil language termed Shen Tamil, to which is added an introduction to Tamil poetry*, Madras, 1822; (3) a *Compendium Grammaticae de elegantiori dialecto* added to Beschi's *Grammatica latino-tamulica, in qua de vulgari tamulicae linguae idiomate* ..... (a Tamil word) *dicto fusius tractatur*, Pondicherry, 1843.

Sommervogel's supplement and Rivière's *Additions et corrections* did not show any other editions in Latin of Beschi's grammars of High Tamil.

I borrowed from the Imperial Library Beschi's *Clavis*, edited by Ihlefeld and printed for A. Burnell, who purchased from Babington's library a copy, once belonging to F. W. Ellis, which Beschi himself had corrected.

On comparison I saw that the MS. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was a different work.

It had to be different too from the Pondicherry *Compendium*, which has only 28 pages.

Comparison with Babington's *Grammar of the high dialect of the Tamil Language* showed that Babington's translation corresponded to our MS., but closer examination proved that Babington did not always understand the Latin.

Was the Latin text still unpublished ? Only on returning to my books in Darjeeling would I be able to answer the question. I find, as I suspected, that this is the text first published, as late as 1917, by my friend the late Fr. L. Besse, S.J., from a MS. without title, author's preface and index. Fr. Besse obtained a copy of the preface through a friend in Paris from one of the MSS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Father Besse's edition is described in his *Father Beschi of the Society of Jesus : his times and his writings*. Trichinopoly, 1918, p. 217 :—

" Constant Joseph Beschi, S.J.—A Grammar of High Tamil : Latin text published for the first time by L. Besse, S.J.,—Trichinopoly, St. Joseph's Industrial School Press, 1917. XV. 102."

Fr. Besse published also at the same press in 1917 another edition (8vo. 149. vii) containing the Latin text and Babington's English translation of 1822. The idea may have been to correct Babington by means of the Latin text.

St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling.
25-8-1925.

A Forgotten Hero of Marwar.

By SRI RAM SHARMA, M.A., M.R.A.S.

The history of Rajputana can never repay its debt to Todd. What little is popularly known of it is through the delightful account preserved in his pages. Yet critical research is now unearthing many new treasures of the history of Rajputana and its students have now and again to undertake the task of modifying in detail or in essentials his view of events. It is in no spirit of carping criticism that they undertake that task. Colonel Todd was a picneer in the field, and like many such workers, has left many a patch unfurrowed. His greatest claim is that he preserved and made public the traditional account of the history of Rajputana.

One of the fondest traditions handed down in his pages is that of the fierce struggle that Rana Pertap was engaged in against Akbar's imperial designs. The impression created by a cursory perusal of his pages is that Rana Pertap was the only man who thus defied the great emperor. The following lines are written with a view to show that love of independence was not at an end among other Rajput princes and that there were others besides Rana Pertap who carried on an unflinching war against the great Mughul.

When Akbar ascended the throne in 1556, Rao Maldev was ruling Marwar. He had extended the boundaries of his state by the help of his 'fifty thousand Rathor blades' so much so that in 1542 he was the only man who could have disputed Sher Shah's right to the imperial sway. The two came face to face in 1543 when Sher Shah attacked Marwar. He came very near losing his throne and was only saved that ignominy on account of his employing a strategem. All the Persian historians; Abbas (History of Sher Shah in Elliot, Vol. IV, page 40), Abul Fazal (Ain-in-Akbari. Vol. II, pages 271, translated by Jarret), Ferishta (translated by Briggs, Vol. II, p. 121) agree in testifying to the peril of Sher Shah and Abbas quoted Sher Shah himself as saying that he came very near losing his empire for a handful of millets. But this great principality was, like most other things of the same kind, ill gotten. This greatness had been piled at the cost of the ruin of many other neighbouring princes. When Akbar came to the throne he or rather his regent Bairam Khan could play upon that factor. Before Maldev died on November 8, 1562, Akbar had nibbled off a large portion of the con-

quests of Maldev. But the Marwari chief was as yet safe in his ancestral home.

The succession proved to be a troublesome affair. He had disinherited his first two sons and it was the third son Chandar Sen who was on the spot who succeeded him. The two disinherited brothers, Rao Ram and Rao Udey Singh, were not ready to take the decision lying down and a civil war ensued. Rao Chandar Sen was however well supported by his nobles and emerged triumphant from this arbitration of the sword. Yet the contest had been very fierce especially in the battle of Lohavat (20 miles south-east of Phalodi) and Chandar Sen therefore succeeded to a diminished military strength. What was worse still, disappointed in his hopes, Rao Ram turned to that general dispenser of high favours, Akbar. Under Ram's guidance a Mughal attack on Jodhpur was organised in 1563. The imperial intervention succeeded in getting for Rao Ram the district of Sojhat and for his imperial supporters an indemnity. This was never paid and brought on the second invasion of Jodhpur next year in March. After a tiring siege of ten months when the Rajputs were on the point of starvation they vacated the fort and were allowed to march away unmolested.

Jodhpur was now in the hands of the Mughals. Chandar Sen however was still at large in a neighbouring district and when he married his daughter to Rana Udey Singh in 1561 Akbar's suspicions were roused. He moved on to Nagore by way of hostile demonstration. Here three claimants to the throne of Jodhpur preferred their claims before him. Rai Kalyan Mal of Bikaner, the head of the younger branch of the Rathors, was there ready to offer his daughter's hand to Akbar in marriage. Udey Singh, the second elder brother of Chandar Sen, was there to bow his head before the emperor. Chandar Sen also repaired to the imperial presence on November 15, 1570, with a contingent of 500 horse. It seems that of the three claimants Chandar Sen was the most unbending. The matrimonial alliance between Kalyan Rai of Bikaner and Akbar gave the ruler of Bikaner an advantage. It is possible that Udey Singh, to match the Bikaneris, consented at this time to the marrying of Raksha Bai, a daughter of Maldev, born of a slave girl, to Akbar. Chandar Sen had poor chances against the two and some coarse jokes of Akbar settled his mind against the emperor. He left the presence smarting under a sense of humiliating disappointment and vowed never again to think of bowing his head before the mighty emperor.

Chandar Sen's position was now desperate. His ancestral home was in the hands of the Mughals; the junior branch of the Rathors was in ascendance; his own elder brothers were in Mughal service. He took refuge in Bhadrajun but was soon expelled from there. He now sought protection behind

the friendly walls of the fort of Shivana. There was a chance that he would be left severely alone if he did not on his own side pick up quarrels with the Mughal. He was, however, not the man to sit still. He raided the Mughal camp Asarli (6 miles to the east of Jetaran) and then took the Bhil settlement of Betai. But he offended Akbar most by his presence at the coronation ceremony of Rana Pertap on February 23, 1572. There was again the danger of a combination between the Rathors and the Sassodias which Akbar could ill afford to overlook. But a still more serious cause for offence was given when Chandar Sen allied himself to his nephew Kalla, a younger son and successor of his eldest brother Ram who died in May, 1573. Kalla had been to Akbar for being recognized the lawful heir and successor of his father, but somehow offended Akbar and orders were given to arrest him. He had however made himself scarce and was back in Sojhat. Kalla and Chandar Sen now held Sojhat and Shivana between them. Rai Singh of Bikaner so represented matters to Akbar that it was at last decided to take the reduction of these two Marwari chiefs in hand. Shah Quli Khan and Shamal Khan were sent to lead the Mughals in the war.

The war that followed may truly be termed a war of independence. It abounds in all the thrills that form such a remarkable feature of the Rajput wars of the day. Sojhat was attacked in 1574 and after a strenuous battle Kalla was defeated He now made good his escape and made his second stand at Sivari, 18 miles south of Sojhat. The fort was burnt down but Kalla had already escaped to Koranba (?). Here he was finally defeated and induced to submit. Chandar Sen's following now began to diminish and when the Mughals took Mahoba, (present Barmer) he was practically left alone, Rawal Meghraj of Mahoba crossing over to the imperial side.

The fort of Shivana however could not be easily captured. It stands on a precipitous rock and ascent is very difficult. Here Chandar Sen made his final stand. The siege was not a success at first. Rai Singh of Bikaner who had now joined the imperial command had to return to Ajmeer and request Akbar to send reinforcements. These were sent accordingly. Meanwhile Chandar Sen had made his own arrangements. He sent his harem to the friendly state of Sarohi and made over the command of the fort to Patta, a brave general of his. He himself crossed over to Rampur farther in the mountains. The Mughals were baffled. They left the siege and followed Chandar Sen who was defeated in the battle of Kanoja. Chandar Sen, however, had again escaped. The Mughal commanders tired of the chase returned to Agra where they fell in disgrace having returned without subduing Chandar Sen or reducing Shivana. Rai Singh and Shamal Khan were still before Shivana. In 1576 Akbar found out that they had not

been much successful. Reinforcements were now sent under Shahbaz Khan. Kalla had now again joined Chandar Sen. Shahbaz Khan first defeated Kalla at Degore (Dungranas in the district of Sojhat) and took the garrison prisoner. Encouraged by this victory, the imperialists now turned to Dunara, a fort, 28 miles to the east of Shivana. The fort was undermined and taken. Now came the turn of Shivana. Regular siege was laid to the fort, mines were dug and they duly exploded. In March, 1576, after a siege of full two years the garrison capitulated. But Chandar Sen who had returned to assume the command had again escaped.

Had Chandar Sen desired his stubborn resistance might have procured easy terms for him. He preferred hard liberty to easy indulgence in submission, and spent the next two years at Sarohi. From this as his base he never gave the Mughals any rest whenever he could get them at a disadvantage. He appeared even before the walls of Ajmere on March 10, 1580, and gave the Mughals a thorough fright.

In January, 1581, he set out to punish a rebellious chief in Sojhat who now added treachery to his rebellion. Making a show of submission he invited Chandar Sen to a feast and there poisoned him. He lies cremated with his five spouses at Saran, 14 miles south of Sojhat. A slab with dated inscription is the only memory of this brave Rathor.

Chandar Sen was one of the members of the Rajput trio that defied Akbars' might as well as his allurements. Maharana Pertap, Rao Surtan of Sarohi and Rao Chandar Sen have carved out a name for themselves in the history of Rajputana which will not easily die. For full ten years he defied Akbar's might and during that period never allowed an opportunity of harassing the Mughals go useleesly. He was a lion of battle and the Rajput chronicles record 47 actions in which he was personally engaged. His two attempts at securing united action with the Sasodias display a breadth of vision not common to the Rajputs of those days. The generations that came after were reared in the lap of luxury and submission; naturally they refused him his place. The ruling family did not consider it in keeping with its later imperial traditions to erect a single stone to his memory and not a single portrait of his has been handed down in their portrait gallery. His modern successors owe it to him to revive his memory as that of a great and dauntless warrior, a patriot imbued with a spirit of independence and as an organiser. Of course Maharana Pertap was greater both in his achievements and in his privations, but here is a story which Rathors should never forget.

[The above account has been written with the help of Akbar Nama, Vol. III; Ain-i-Akbari Vol. II; Tabkat-i-Akbari in Elliot, Vol. V; Muntkhib-ut-Tawarikh of Badayuni, A.S.B., Persian text; Vol. II; Ferishta's History of India in Briggs;

Doctor Tessitori's History of Phalodi in the Progress Report of the Preliminary work of the Historic and Bardic Survey of Rajputana [his account in one essential is not reliable]; Mehnota Nensi's Account of Jodhpur, (MS. 12 of Dr. Tessitori's catalogue of the Prose Chronicles of Jodhpur, also described at a greater length by the present writer in the *Modern Review* for April, 1923); Kaviraj's Chronicle, as well as Mundhyar Chronicle, (written in Marwari in the reign of Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur [died 1676 A. D.] and described by the present writer in the *Modern Review* for April, 1923, under the heading Three Chronicles of Marwar.)]

D. A.-V. College,
Lahore.

The Predecessors of the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj.

By N. B. SANYAL, M.A., *Rajshahi*.

The rule of the Imperial Pratihāras terminated about the year 1020 A.D. and the Gāhaḍavālas under Chandradeva rose into prominence about the close of the eleventh century A.D. As more than half a century intervenes between these two events, the question naturally arises which was the dynasty that immediately preceded the Gāhaḍavālas in the sovereignty of Kanauj.

In this connection the evidence supplied by a Buddhist inscription from Set-māheṭh[1] dated V.E. 1176, *i.e.* A.D. 1118, cannot be ignored. It records that one Vidyādhara established a *vihāra* for Buddhist monks at the site where the inscription was originally found, and further tells us that Vidhyādhara's father Janaka served Gopāla, the ruler of Gādhipura, *i.e.* Kānyakubja as his minister (*sachiva*), and that Vidyādhara himself served Madana, 'the forehead gem of kings.' Though the panegyrist does not reveal what the actual relationship was between Gopāla and Madana, yet the manner of his description indicates that both of them belonged to the same ruling dynasty and probably the latter was the former's successor.[2] Now Madana's date is about 1118 A.D., the date of the Set-māheṭh inscription. Gopāla, therefore, must have flourished towards the last quarter of the eleventh century A.D., and thus about the time when the Gāhaḍavāla Chandradeva made himself master of Kānyakubja. As he is called the ruler of Gādhipura, he must have been so before the rise of Chandradeva because the latter was followed by an unbroken series of kings who all belonged to the Gāhaḍavāla family. It is significant that in the Set-māheṭh inscription Gopāla is described as the "Lord of Gādhipura." but no such title is given to Madana. As Gopāla flourished just before Chandradeva it is reasonable to assume that it was from him that the latter acquired the sovereignty of Kanauj.

Now, who is this Gopāla and to what dynasty did he belong? No king of this name is met with in Kielhorn's

[1] Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 63, Hoey, *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LXI, pt. I, Extra No., p. 60 ff. and Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 176.

[2] Kielhorn at first took Madana to be a successor of Gopāla, but later on he changed his opinion and identified him with the prince of that name of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty in view of the correct reading of the date 1176 proposed by Dr. Hoey.

"Synchronistic Table for Northern India"[1] for eleventh and twelfth centuries. There is, however, one record edited by Kielhorn which mentions not only a Gopāla but also his son and successor Madanapāla. This is an inscription found at Badaūn[2] (Vodāmayūtā) in U.P. belonging to a line of Rāshtrakūta kings. They ruled over a tract of land close to Kānyakubja and as such we should consider whether Gopāla and his son Madanapāla of this family are identifiable with the princes of those names mentioned in the Seṭ-māheṭh inscription. The genealogy as found in the two records is given below.

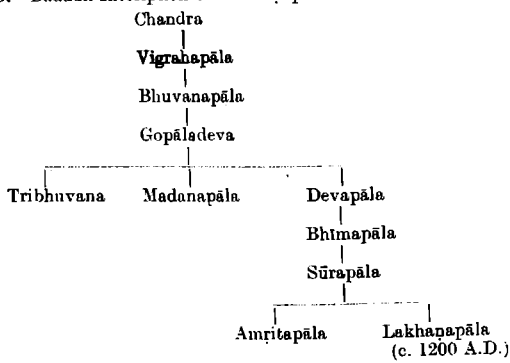
A. Seṭ-māheṭh Inscription :

Janaka (contemporary of king Gopāla).

|

Vidyādhara (1118 A.D., contemporary of king Madana).

B. Badaūn Inscription of Lakhaṇapāla :



Now, as regards the date of the Badaūn inscription. It appears that the inscription was originally dated but owing to its damaged condition Prof. Kielhorn was unable to ascertain what the date actually was. On palaeographic grounds, however, he assigned its characters to about the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D. The latter[3] appeared to him as a more probable date for the inscription. We are thus assured that the inscription is by no means earlier than the twelfth century A.D. The record shows that at the time it was engraved Badaūn was

[1] Appendix to *List of Northern Inscriptions*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 61 ff.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, App., p. 82, n. 11.

still a city ruled over by Hindu rājās. Now as Badaūn was conquered[1] by Kutbuddīn Aibak in 1202 A.D., and was conferred as a fief[2] upon Shamsuddīn Iyaltimish, the record could not have been possibly incised later than date. In all probability, therefore, the inscription belongs to the last quarter of the twelfth century A.D.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Lakhanapāla whose great-grandfather Devapāla was the younger brother of Madanapāla and son of Gopāladeva. Gopāla and Madana of the Set-māheth inscription flourished about 1118 A.D. (the date of that inscription). It is also quite possible to maintain from internal evidence supplied by the Badaūn record that the kings Gopāla and Madanapāla mentioned in it flourished near about 1118 A.D.

Regarding Madanapāla, the Badaūn inscription says that 'in consequence of the distinguished prowess of Madanapāla there never was any talk of Hambīra's coming to the banks of the river of the gods,' *i.e.* the Ganges.[3] Hambīra, of course, means the Muhammadan raiders. The passage probably records an encounter of Madanapāla with these raiders and their ultimate defeat. To which invasion does this refer? Between the invasion of Sultan Mahmūd in 1018 A.D. and the invasion of Muhammad-i-sam in 1191 A.D., the only noteworthy Muhammadan expedition that penetrated to the other side of the Ganges, far into the interior of India, was the one sent by the Ghaznivide king Sultan Masūd (1090–1115 A.D.) According to Muhammadan historians the army "crossed the river Gang, in order to carry on holy war in Hindustan, and penetrated to a place where, except Sultan Mahmūd, no one had reached so far with an army before."[4] They captured Kanauj,[5] 'the capital of Hind.' Probably this invasion is referred to in the Sarnath inscription of Kumaradevī,[6] queen of the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindachandra (1114–1154 A.D.) in which the latter is represented as having protected Benares from the Turushka army. Though the precise date of this invasion is not known, still as we know the date of Sultan Masūd (1090–1115 A.D.) it is quite reasonable to infer that it must have taken place some time in the first part of the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D. The reign of Madanapāla of Badaūn thus also falls in the same period and it is not unlikely that, probably as a vassal of the Gāhaḍavālas, he assisted Govindachandra in warding off the Muhammadan raiders. His father, Gopāladeva

[1] Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 232.
[2] *Tabakāt-i-Nasiri*, Raverty's Transl., p. 530.
[3] *Yat-paurusāt-pravarataḥ· surasindhutīra-Hamvī(mbī)rasaṅgama kathā na kadāchid-āsīt*, l. 4.
[4] *Tabakāt-i-Nasiri*, Raverty's transl., p. 107.
[5] Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 526.
[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 324.

therefore should necessarily be assigned to the last quarter of the eleventh century A.D.

Now, as the dates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Madaṇapāla and his father Gopāladeva of the Badaūn inscription synchronise respectively with those of Madana and Gopāla of the Seṭ-māheṭh inscription and as Badaūn and Kanauj lie in close proximity to each other, we are justified in identifying the kings mentioned in one record with those of the other. It has already been shown that the immediate predecessor of Chandradeva on the throne of Kanauj was king Gopāla. The identity of this Gopāla with one of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings being now established, it is natural to suppose that it is this dynasty that ruled over the 'far famed capital of mediaeval India,' prior to the rise of the Gāhaḍavāla power.

Postscript.

Since the above had been written my attention was kindly drawn by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar to a passage in the Surat grant of Trilochanapāla of 1050 A.D. (H. H. Dhruva, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 201; Hoernle, *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 10), which refers undoubtedly to a Rāshṭrakūṭa family of Kanauj having matrimonial relations with a Chaulukya dynasty of Gujarat. In interpreting this passage Hoernle stated that there was "no ground for believing that Rāshṭrakūṭa (Rāthor) kings of Kanauj ever existed". This view, however, is no longer tenable, as will appear from the preceding pages.

Data from the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka.

BY DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.

Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Medalist, Cal. University.

Character and scope of the work.

The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī is the famous commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya, written by the celebrated Buddhist exegete Buddhaghosa at the request of the Saṅghathera Dāṭha. It is rich in historical information and folk-lore and it abounds in narratives which throw a flood of light on the social, political, philosophical and religious history of India at the time of the Buddha. A vivid picture of sports and pastimes, geographical position of countries, etc., of ancient days has been given in it. The whole work has been printed and published in Burma. Two of its sermons in two parts have been published in Ceylon. The book gives us a glimpse of the erudite learning of Buddhaghosa who flourished in the fifth century A.D. Its language is not so confused as that of his other commentaries.

An attempt has been made in this paper to present from the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī some interesting materials for the study of ancient Indian life which I believe, have not yet been noticed by anybody.

Before dealing with the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī it is necessary to have some idea as to the contents of the Dīgha Nikāya and its genesis.

Sections of the Dīgha-Nikāya — their genesis.

The Dīgha Nikāya is divided into three parts: (1) Sīlakkhanda, (2) Mahāvagga, and (3) Patheya or Pāṭikavagga containing thirty-four suttas. Of these suttas Brahmajāla was the first. Let us see here how the first sutta originated. Suppiya was a disciple of Sañjaya the paribbājaka. He followed the Buddha with his pupil Brahmadatta. On the way Suppiya was speaking ill of the Buddha while his pupil Brahmadatta was praising him. Suppiya said that the Buddha was a propounder of non-action, annihilation and self-mortification. He further said that the Buddha was of low birth and he did not possess any super-human knowledge. Brahmadatta was of opinion that he should not follow his teacher in performing evil deed. He said that if his teacher worked with fire, he should not do so; if his teacher played with a black-snake, he should not do so, etc. He further said, "All beings enjoy the fruits of their karma, karma is their own, father is not responsible for his

son's deeds and son is not responsible for his father's deeds. So also mother, brother, sister, pupil and others are not responsible for each other's action. Three jewels (Tiratana) are abused by me. To rebuke an ariya is a great sin." Brahmadatta spoke highly of the Buddha with the words beginning with "The Buddha is the Blessed one, an arahat, supremely wise, etc." Brahmadatta spoke highly of the Dhamma and the Saṅgha. Thus Suppiya and his pupil Brahmadatta were holding contrary views and followed the Buddha and the bhikkhus. In the evening all of them arrived in the garden of the king named Ambalatthika. In that garden the king had a beautiful garden-house. The Buddha took his residence at that house for one night. Suppiya also took shelter in the garden. At night bhikkhus were seated surrounding the Buddha calmly and without the least noise. In the first watch of the night the bhikkhus sat in the maṇḍalamāla (sitting-hall) of the house. The Buddha went to the spot and asked them the topic of their discussion. The bhikkhu told him that they were discussing the contrary views of Suppiya and Brahmadatta and the endless virtues of the Buddha who solved their topics of discussion by the long discourse known as the Brahmajāla Suttanta (S.V., pp. 26–44).

Tradition regarding the recital of the Dīgha Nikāya in the First Council.

It was recited by Ānanda in the First Council of the Buddhists. One week after the parinibbāna of the Buddha, at the sālavana of the Mallas near Kusināra, on the full-moon day in the month of Vaiśākha, a monk named Subhadda who took ordination in old age spoke thus, "Friend, you need not lament, you need not grieve. We are free from the Mahāsamaṇa who used to trouble us by asking us to perform this or that act." Hearing this Mahākassapa thought that in order to save the monks from such people and to save the saddhamma from destruction, it was necessary to hold a council. He addressed the assembly of monks to rehearse the Dhamma and Vinaya. On the 21st day after the Buddha's parinibbāna, five hundred theras who were all arahats and possessed of analytical knowledge were selected.

The people worshipped the dead body of the Buddha with incense, garland, etc., for a week. It was placed on a funeral pyre but there was no fire for a week and on the third week since his death, his bones, etc., were worshipped in the Mote-hall and the relics were divided on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Jaiṣṭha. At the time of the distribution of relics many bhikkhus were assembled among whom five hundred were selected. The five hundred bhikkhus were given time for 40 days to remove all their hindrances in order to enable them to take part in the proposed rehearsal. Mahākassapa with the five hundred bhikkhus went to Rājagaha. Other Mahātheras with their own retinue went to different places. At this time a Mahāthera named Pūraṇa with 700 bhikkhus consoled the people of Kusi-

nārā. Ānanda with five hundred bhikkhus returned to Jetavana at Sāvatthī. The people at Sāvatthī seeing Ānanda coming there thought that the Buddha would be in their midst; but being disappointed in this and learning the news of the Master's parinibbāna they began to cry. Ānanda worshipped the Gandhakūṭi where the Buddha used to dwell, opened its door and cleansed it. While cleansing the Gandhakūṭi, he cried saying, "The Blessed one, this is the time of your taking bath, preaching, instructing the bhikkhus, this is the time of your lying down, sleeping, washing your mouth and face." He went to Subha's house for alms where he preached *Subha-suttam* of the Dīgha Nikāya. After leaving the bhikkhus at Jetavana, he went to Rājagaha to take part in the proposed rehearsal. Other bhikkhus who were selected to take part in the rehearsal, also came to Rājagaha. All the selected bhikkhus observed uposatha on the full-moon day of the month of Āsādha and spent the rainy season. The bhikkhus approached Ajātasattu and requested him to repair eighteen mahāvihāras of Rājagaha. The king had them repaired. He also built a beautiful and well-decorated pandal near the Vebhāra mountain at the foot of Sattapaṇṇi cave, for them. This pandal was like that built by Vissakammā in heaven. Five hundred seats were prepared in this pandal for five hundred bhikkhus. The seat of the President was on the south facing the north. In the middle there was a dhammāsana in which Ānanda and Upāli took their seats and preached Dhamma and Vinaya. Then Dhamma and Vinaya were repeated simultaneously by the five hundred bhikkhus. The question arose as to the competency of Ānanda to take part. He was not an arahat. Hearing this Ānanda became ashamed and after strong exertion he acquired saintship at night. All the theras were present while Ānanda's seat was vacant. Some said that Ānanda came to the spot after coming through the sky and some were of opinion that he came through the earth. Mahākassapa declared the attainment of arahatship by Ānanda by shouting "Sādhu, Sādhu." Mahākassapa asked whether Dhamma was to be rehearsed first or the Vinaya. The opinion of the assembly was that Vinaya should be rehearsed first as the existence of the Buddhasāsana depended on Vinaya. The question arose as to who would answer the questions of Vinaya. It was decided that Upāli would be the first person to answer such questions. Mahākassapa taking the consent of the assembly asked him where the first pārājikā rule was enacted. The reply was that at Vaiśālī it was enacted concerning Sudinna Kalandakaputto on the subject of methunadhamma (sexual intercourse). All the questions were put to Upāli who answered them and all the bhikkhus repeated and remembered them. The question arose whether Ānanda was competent to answer the questions on Vinaya. In the opinion of the assembly Ānanda was competent but Upāli was selected because the

Buddha gave him the first place among the Vinayadhara bhikkhus. Ānanda was selected by the assembly to answer the questions on Dhamma. The Digha Nikāya of the Suttapitaka was taken up first for rehearsal. The Brahmajālasutta was first rehearsed by Ānanda and the assembly recited it in chorus. All the Suttas of the five Nikāyas were rehearsed one after another (S.V., pp. 2-25).

Kinds of suttas.

Buddhaghosa says that there are four kinds of Suttas :—

(1) Attajjhasayo, i.e., sutta delivered by the Buddha of his own accord ; (2) Parajjhasayo, i.e., sutta delivered to suit the intention of others; (3) Pucchāvasiko, i.e., sutta delivered in answer to the question of the Supremely Enlightened one ; (4) Atthapattiko, i.e., sutta delivered in course of delivering other suttas.

The examples of each class are given below :—

(1) e.g., Mahāsatipatthāna, Akani-kheyya suttam, Vatta-suttam, etc., (2) e.g., Cūlarāhulavāda. Mahārāhulavāda. Dhammacakkapavattana, etc., (3) e.g., Mārasaṁyutta, Devatāsaṁyutta, Sakkapavihasuttam, Sāmaññaphala sutta, etc.; (4) e.g., Dhammadāyāda. Cullasthanāda. Aggikhandupama, Brahmajāla-sutta (S.V., pp. 50–51).

History of the composition of the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī.

In the introductory verses to his Sumaṅgalavilāsinī or the commentary on the Digha Nikāya, Buddhaghosa makes the following reference to the history of the composition of his commentaries. Thus he observes :—

"Through the influence of serene mind and merit which are due to the salutation of the Three Refuges and which put an end to obstacles, in order to explain the meaning of the Digha Nikāya containing long suttas, which is a good āgama, described by the Buddhas and minor Buddhas, which brings faith, the atthakathās have been sung and afterwards resung from the beginning by five hundred theras, and are brought to the island of Laṅkā by the wise Mahinda and put in the language of the island of Laṅkā for the welfare of its inhabitants. Discarding the Sinhalese language and rendering the atthakathās into a good language which is like *tanti* and which is free from faults and not rejecting the explanations of the theras who are the dwellers of the Mahāvihāra, who are the lamps of the group of theras and who are good interpreters, I shall explain the meanings, avoiding repetitions, for the delight of the good men and for the long existence of Dhamma."

Here also Buddhaghosa refers to his Visuddhimagga (S.V., p. 2) thus : "I shall not again discuss what has been well told in the Visuddhimagga. Standing in the midst of the four āgamas, the Visuddhimagga will explain the meaning which has been told there, this being done, you will understand the mean-

ing of the Dīgha Nikāya taking it along with this Aṭṭhakathā (i.e. Sumaṅgalavilāsinī).

A bhikkhu's daily life.

The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī furnishes us with some information regarding a bhikkhu's daily life. In the day time a bhikkhu should purify his mind from all obstacles by walking up and down and sitting. In the first watch of the night he should lie down and in the last watch he should walk up and down and sit. Early in the morning he should go and cleanse the space surrounding the cetiya and the Bodhi tree. He should give water to the root of the Bo-tree. He should keep drinking water and water for washing. He should then perform all his duties towards his teacher. After finishing ablution, he should enter his own dwelling place and should think of Kammaṭṭhāna after sitting on the ground. At the time of going for alms, he should sit up from meditation, and after taking alms-bowl and garment he should first of all go to the Bodhi-tree and after saluting it he should go to the Caitya and after saluting the Caitya, he should enter the village for alms and after having finished begging for alms he should give religious instruction to many persons so desirous of hearing it. Then he should return to the vihāra (S.V., pp. 186-187).

Account of the Buddha Gautama.

The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī informs us that the Buddha is called the Tathāgata for the following reasons :—

(1) He has come in the same way.
(2) He has gone in the same way.
(3) He is endowed with the sign of Tatha (truth).
(4) He is supremely enlightened in Tathadhamma (truth) as it should be.
(5) He has seen Tatha (truth).
(6) He preaches Tatha (truth).
(7) He does Tatha (truthfully).
(8) He overcomes all.

Detailed explanations.

(1) As previous Buddhas, e.g., Vipassin, Sikhi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Konāgama, Kassapa, came, as the previous Buddhas obtained Buddhahood by fulfilling ten pāramitās (perfections), e.g., dāna (charity), sīla (observing precepts), by sacrificing body, eyes, wealth, kingdom, son and wife, by practising the following kinds of cariyas : lokatthacariya, i.e., exertion for knowledge ; Buddhatthacariya, exertion for Buddhahood, four sammappadhānas, (four kinds of right exertion) four iddhipādas (four miracles), five indriyas (five senses), five balas (five potentialities), seven bojjhaṅgas (seven supreme knowledges), and the noble eightfold path (ariya aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo).

(2) The Buddha Gautama walked seven steps towards the north just after his birth as Vipassi, Kassapa and other Buddhas did. He saw all round by sitting under a white umbrella and made the following bold declaration :—

"I am the first in the world, I am the chief in the world, I am the most prominent in the world. This is my last birth, there is no future birth to me." The Buddha Gautama destroyed desire for sensual pleasure by renunciation, destroyed hatred by non-hatred, sloth by idea of light, torpor by steadfastness, doubt by the analysis of Dhamma, ignorance by knowledge, etc., like the former Buddhas, e.g., Vipassi, Kassapa.

(3) The Buddha fully realised the true characteristics (tathalakkhanam) of four elements, sky, consciousness, forms, sensation, perception, confections, discursive thought, decisive thought, joy, happiness and emancipation.

(4) The Buddha realised four sublime truths known as Tathadhamma, suffering, origin of suffering, cessation of suffering and the path leading to the cessation of suffering. He also realised dependent origination.

(5) The Buddha saw all the forms which include four elements which are produced by the combination of four elements in human world as well as in the world of gods. He heard, knew, touched, tasted and thought of all that were in existence in the human world as well as in the world of gods.

(6) From the time of his enlightenment by conquering Māra till the time of his parinibbāna, what he preached, was complete and perfect in meaning, in exposition and to the point and leading to the destruction of passion, hatred and delusion and was true.

(7) His bodily action was in agreement with his action and speech and *vice versa*. He did what he said and *vice versa*.

(8) He overcame everything commencing from the highest Brahmaloka to the Avīci Hell and endless lokadhātus all around by sīla (precepts), samādhi (concentration), paññā (wisdom), and vimutti (emancipation). There was no equal to him and he was an unsurpassed king of kings, god of gods, chief of all Sakkas and chief of all Brahmās. (S.V., pp. 59-68).

The Buddha had to perform five-fold duties: (1) Duties before meal, (2) Duties after meal, (3) Duties in the first watch, (4) middle watch and the (5) last watch of night.

(1) Duties before meal are: Ablution early in the morning, sitting alone till the time of begging, at the time of alms he used to robe himself, tieing his waist with belt and taking his alms-bowl he used to go for alms sometimes alone, sometimes surrounded by bhikkhusaṅgha in the villages or towns, sometimes in natural posture and sometimes by showing miracles, e.g., wind cleaning the street which he was to traverse.

After collecting alms and partaking of them he used to preach to the dāyakas (alms-givers) according to their intelligence.

After hearing religious instruction, some of the dāyakas used to take refuge in three gems, some used to establish themselves in five precepts, some used to attain fruition of the first, second and third stages of sanctification and some after re-

nouncing the world used to attain arahatship. After preaching the dhamma he used to return waiting for the arrival of the bhikkhus from begging-tour. After they all returned, he used to enter gandhakūti.

(2) Duties after meal: His attendant used to prepare seat for him in the gandhakūti and he after sitting on it, used to wash his feet. Standing on the step of the staircase of a gandhakūti, he used to instruct the bhikkhus to perform their duties diligently. He told thus, "the appearance of the Buddha is rare, it is difficult to be born as human being, good opportunity also is difficult to be obtained, ordination as bhikkhu is also difficult to be had and the hearing of the Saddhamma is also difficult to be obtained." Some of the bhikkhus used to ask his instructions in Kammatthāna (object of meditation). The Blessed One used to give instructions in the Kammatthāna suitable to their nature. The bhikkhus used to return to their dwelling-place or to the forest after saluting the Buddha. Some used to return to the Catummahārājika Heaven or to the Paranimmitavasavatti heaven. After giving instructions, the Blessed One used to enter into gandhakūti and lie down on the right hand side. He used to see the world with his eye of wisdom after refreshing himself. He then used to give instructions to the people who used to assemble in the preaching hall with scented flowers, etc., and then the people after listening to the religious instructions, used to return saluting the Buddha.

(3) In the first watch of the night if he desired to bathe himself, he used to get up from his seat and enter the bath-room and bathed himself with water supplied by the attendant who made ready the seat for him in the gandhakūti. The Blessed One used to put on red coloured under-garment tieing his waist with his belt. Then he used to put on the upper garment keeping one shoulder open and then he used to sit on his seat alone in a mood of meditation. The bhikkhus used to come from all sides to worship him. Some bhikkhus used to ask him questions, some used to ask his instructions in Kammatthāna, some used to request him to give religious instructions. The Buddha used to satisfy the bhikkhus by fulfilling their desires. Thus he used to spend the first watch of the night.

(4) Duties in the middle watch: After the bhikkhus had left him, the devatās used to come from 10,000 lokadhātus (world-cycles) and the Blessed One used to spend the middle watch in answering the questions of the devas.

(5) Duties in the last watch of the night:

The last watch of the night was divided into three parts He used to spend the first part by walking up and down, the second part by lying down on the right hand side in the gandhakūti and he used to spend the last part by seeing, with his eyes the person who acquired competency in knowing dhamma on

account of the acquisition of merit by serving the previous Buddhas (S.V., pp. 45–48).

The Buddha performed double miracles at the gate of the city of Sāvatthī in the seventh year after his enlightenment at the foot of a Gaṇḍambaka tree, e.g., fire is burning on the upper part of the body and water flowing down from the lower part, fire coming out of one of the pores of the skin of the body and water of six colours coming out of another pore of the skin of the body, six kinds of rays coming out of the body of the Buddha and illuminating all the ten thousand Cakkavālas.

Buddhaghosa describes the Buddha's fulfilment of ten perfections (pāramitās) during four asaṅkhakalpas and 100,000 kalpas. He renounced the world at the age of twenty-nine, took ordination on the bank of Anomā river. For six years he exerted simultaneously. On the Vaiśākha full-moon day he took honeyed rice-gruel offered by Sujātā at Uruvelā and in the evening he entered the Bodhi terrace by the south gate and thrice went round the asvattha tree. Going to the north-east side of the tree he spread a seat of grass and seated on it cross-legged facing the east and keeping the Bo-tree at the back, he first of all meditated upon mettā (friendliness, love).

At dusk he defeated Māra and in the first watch of the night he acquired the knowledge of remembering previous births, in the middle watch he acquired celestial insight and in early morning he acquired the knowledge of dependent origination and attained the fourth stage of meditation on inhalation and exhalation. Depending on the fourth stage of meditation, he increased insight and successively acquired all the qualities of the Buddha (S.V., pp. 57-58).

The Buddha used to take two kinds of journey—tarita (quick) and atarita (slow). In order to convert a fit person who was at a distance he used to travel long distance within a short time as we find in the case of the Buddha going to receive Mahākassapa who was at a distance of three gāvutas, in a moment. The Buddha also took tarita journey for Ālavaka, Aṅgulimāla, Pukkusādi, Mahākappina, Dhaniya and Tissasāmaṇera, a pupil of Sāriputta.

The Buddha daily used to take short journey in order to do good to the people by preaching to them and accepting their offerings, etc. This was known as atarita journey. The atarita journey was divided into three maṇḍalas, e.g., mahā, majjhima and antomaṇḍalas. The mahāmaṇḍala was extended over an area of 900 Yojanas, majjhimamaṇḍala 600 yojanas and antomaṇḍala 300 yojanas. He had to start on the day following the Mahāpavāraṇā (i.e., last day of the lent); if he had to undertake the mahāmaṇḍala journey he had to start at the beginning of agrahāyaṇa and in case of antomaṇḍala journey, he could start at any time suitable to him (S.V., pp. 239–242).

Buddha's contemporaries.

Jīvaka Komārabhacca: He was reared up by Abhayakumāra, one of the sons of Bimbisāra. so he was called Komāra-bhacca. Once Bimbisāra and Abhayakumāra saw from the roof of the palace. Jīvaka lying down on the floor at the gate of the palace surrounded by vultures, crows, etc. The king asked, "What is that?" He was replied that it was a baby. The king asked, "Is he alive?" The reply was in the affirmative. Hence he was called Jīvaka (S.V., p. 133).

Once Jīvaka caused the Buddha to take some purgative. When the Buddha became all right in health, Jīvaka offered the Buddha a pair of valuable cloths. The Buddha accepted his offering and gave him suitable instructions with the result that he was established in the fruition of the first stage of sanctification. He offered his mango-garden to the Buddha for his residence with his pupils, as Jīvaka thought that it would be difficult for him to go to the Veluvana where the Buddha used to live for attending on him and which was far from his house. In the mango-garden Jīvaka prepared rooms for spending day and night for the Buddha and his bhikkhus. Wells, etc., were built for them. The garden was surrounded by a wall and a gandhakūṭi (perfumed house) was built for the Buddha in the mango-garden (S.V., p. 133.).

Tissasāmaṇera: Once Sāriputta wanted to go to his pupil. The Buddha expressed his willingness to go with him and ordered Ānanda to inform 20,000 bhikkhus who were possessed of supernatural power that the Blessed One would go to see Tissa. Buddha with Sāriputta, Ānanda and 20,000 khīṇāsava bhikkhus traversed the path of 2,000 yojanas through sky and got down at the gate of the village where Tissa was and robed themselves. The villagers received them all and offered them rice-gruel. After the Buddha finished his meal, Tissa returned from alms-begging and offered food to the Buddha, which he (Tissa) received on his begging tour. The Buddha visited Tissa's dwelling place.

Pokkharasāti: His body was like the white lotus or like the silver gate of Devanagara. His head was very beautiful and popular. At the time of Kassapa Buddha, he was well versed in three Vedas and in consequence of his offering charity to the Buddha, he was reborn in the devaloka. As he did not like to enter the womb of a human being, he was reborn in a lotus in a big lake near the Himavanta. An ascetic used to live near the lake who reared him up. The ascetic made the son learn the three Vedas and he became very much learned and he was regarded as the foremost Brahmin in the Jambudīpa. He showed his skill in arts to the king of Kośala. The king being pleased with him gave him the city of Ukkaṭṭha as Brahmottara property (i.e. the property offered to the Brahmin) (S.V., pp. 244-245).

Ambaṭṭha: He was the chief disciple of Pokkharasādi or Pokkharasāti. He was sent to the Buddha to see whether the Buddha deserved the praises offered to him. He attempted in various ways to defeat the Buddha but in vain. He also expressed his opinion that no samaṇadhamma could be practised by living in such a vihāra. He came back to his teacher after being defeated (S.V., p. 253).

Geographical information supplied by the commentary.

The commentary supplies us with some new interesting geographical information which is given below :—

Aṅgesu: On account of the beauty of their body, some princes were known as Aṅgas. The place was named Aṅga because those princes used to dwell there (S.V., p. 279). Not far from the city of Aṅga, there was the tank of Gaggarā, so called because it was dug by a queen named Gaggarā. On its banks all around, there was a great forest of Campaka trees decorated with flowers of five colours, blue, etc. This account of Campā has, however, hardly any geographical value. Buddhaghosa also gives us his own interpretation of the term Aṅga. According to him, it is so called because of the beauty of the princes of the country. The explanation seems to be rather fanciful (S.V., p. 279).

Dakṣiṇāpatha or Deccan: Buddhaghosa defines Dakkhinapatha or the Deccan as the tract of land lying to the south of the Ganges (S.V., p. 265). Many ascetics used to live there and one of the forefathers of Ambaṭṭha went there and learnt ambaṭṭhaviṭṭā by the influence of which the weapon once raised could be brought down. He came to Okkāka and showed his skill and secured a post under him (S.V., p. 265).

Ghositārāma: In the past there was a kingdom named Addila. In this kingdom a poor man named Kotuhalika while going to another place at the time of famine, being unable to carry his son, threw him on the way. The mother out of affection went back and brought the child and went to the village of Gopālas (cowherds) who gave them milk-rice to take. Kotuhalika could not digest the milk and died at night of cholera and was reborn in the womb of a bitch. The young dog was a favourite of the head of the cowherds, who used to worship a paccekabuddha, who used to give a handful of cooked rice to the young dog which followed the gopālas to the hermitage of the paccekabuddha. The young dog used to inform the paccekabuddha by barking that the rice was ready and used to drive away wild beasts on the way by barking. As the young dog served the paccekabuddha, he after death was reborn in heaven, named Ghosadevaputta who fallen from heaven was reborn in a family

at Kosambī. The banker of Kosambī being childless bought him and when the legitimate child was born to the banker, he attempted to kill Ghosa seven times but on account of the accumulation of merit, Ghosaka could not be killed but with the help of another banker's daughter, he was saved and then he married her. After the death of the banker who attempted to kill him, he succeeded him and was known as Ghosakasetthi. At Kosambī there were two other bankers named Kukkuṭa and Pāvāriya. At this time five hundred ascetics came to Kosambī and the three bankers, Ghosaka, Kukkuṭa and Pāvāriya built hermitages in their respective gardens for the bankers and supported them. Once the ascetics while coming from the Himalayan region through a forest, became very much hungry and thirsty, and sat under a big banian tree thinking that there must have been a powerful devatā residing in the tree who would surely help them. The presiding deity of the tree helped them with water to quench their thirst. The deity when asked as to how he acquired such splendour, replied that he was a servant in the house of the banker Anāthapiṇḍika who supported the Buddha at Jetavana. On a sabbath day, the servant went out to walk in the morning and returned in the evening. He enquired of the other servants at the house and learning that they had accepted uposatha, he went to Anāthapiṇḍika and took precepts. But he could not observe the precepts fully and in consequence of the merit accumulated due to the observance of half the uposatha at night, he became the deity of this tree endowed with great splendour. They went to Kosambī and informed the setthis of this matter. The ascetics went to the Buddha and acquired ordination and arahatship. The setthis afterwards went to the Buddha and invited the Buddha to Kosambī. After returning to Kosambī, they built three hermitages and one of them was known as Ghositārāma (S.V., pp. 317–319).

Kosala: The Porāṇas say that prince Mahāpanāda did not laugh after seeing many dramas, etc. The father of the prince promised to decorate the person with various kinds of ornaments, who would be able to make his son laugh. Many men and even the cultivators after giving up their ploughs came to make the son laugh. They tried in various ways but in vain. Sakka, the chief of the gods, sent a theatrical party to show him a celestial drama to make the prince laugh. The prince laughed and men returned to their respective abode. While they were returning home, they were asked on the way, "Kacci bho kusalam, Kacci bho kusalam" (are

you all right?). From this word kusalam, the country came to be known as Kosala (S.V., p. 239).

Rājagaha.: A name of the town in which Mandhātā and Mahāgovinda took their abode. At the time of the Buddha it was a town and at other times it was empty (S.V., p. 132).

Glossary.

Adinnadāna: It strictly means accepting that which is not given. It also means stealing the property of others, the thing which can be used by others according to their wish and by using which they are not liable to be punished if that thing be taken with the intention of stealing it, then he is guilty of theft; if the thing stolen be of greater value, then the offence will be greater and if it is of less value, the offence will be less. If the thing stolen belongs to a person of greater quality, the offence will be greater and if it belongs to a person of less quality, the offence will be less.

One will be guilty of theft if the following conditions be fulfilled:—

(1) the thing stolen must belong to others;
(2) the thief must be conscious at the time of stealing that the thing which he is stealing belongs to others;
(3) he must have the intention to steal;
(4) he must make effort to steal and that effort must bring about the theft of the thing belonging to others (S.V., p. 71).

Musāvāda: It means application of word or bodily deed to bring about dissension. Consciousness due to the application of word or bodily deed with the intention of bringing about dissension is called speaking falsehood. Another meaning is this: Musā means—

(1) the thing not happened before,
(2) untrue thing.

Vāda means making known a thing which is untrue to be true and a thing unhappened before to have happened.

Musāvāda is nothing but consciousness of the person who is willing to make known a thing which is untrue to be true and an unhappened thing to have happened.

The other details are the same as before.

Buddhaghosa cites some examples in this connection.

If a witness gives false evidence, he will be liable to greater fault and if a bhikkhu makes exaggeration humourously, he will be liable to less fault and if a bhikkhu says that he has seen a thing not seen by him, that he has heard of a thing unheard by him, he will surely be liable to greater fault.

One will be guilty of falsehood if the following conditions be fulfilled:—

(1) His subject or object must be false.
(2) He must have the intention of creating disunion or dissension.
(3) He must have the effort created by that intention.
(4) His act of creating disunion must be known to the parties concerned. He must commit the offence himself. Buddhaghosa is of opinion that if a person instigates others to commit falsehood and instigates others to do the offence by letters or by writing on walls, etc., and if he himself commits the offence in all these cases, the nature of offence must be the same (Ibid. p. 72).

Pharusāvācā: According to Buddhaghosa, pharusāvācā really means intention to wound the feelings of others. It means harsh word (S.V., p. 75). According to him, a thoughtless speech should be pleasing to the ear, producing love, appealing to the heart and agreeable to many (S.V., pp. 75-76).

Pisunāvācā: The person to whom the word is spoken takes a favourable view of the speaker but unfavourable view of the person about whom it is spoken. It is nothing but consciousness of the person who speaks to make himself closely acquainted with the person to whom the word is spoken and the person about whom it is spoken. The other details are the same as before.

One is guilty of pisunāvācā if the following conditions be fulfilled :—

(1) He must have the intention of creating dissension and making himself friendly.
(2) He must have the effort to carry out his intention.
(3) The act of creating disunion must be known to the parties concerned.
(4) The persons before whom the dissension is created, must be in existence (S.V., p. 74).

Sports and Pastimes.

Aṭṭhapadaṁ: Dice.
Ākāsaṁ: A kind of pastime which is played after imagining a kind of dice-board in the sky.
Caṇḍālaṁ: Sporting with an iron ball.
Ghaṭikāṁ: A sport in which large sticks are beaten by short ones.
Vaṁsaṁ: Sporting with a bamboo which is turned in various ways.
Parihārapathaṁ: A kind of sport which is played on the ground on which many paths having fences are prepared to puzzle the player (S.V., p. 8).

Various kinds of seats.

Āsandiṁ: A big seat.
Goṇakaṁ: A carpet with long hairs.
Koseyyaṁ: A silk seat bedecked with gems.

Kuttakaṁ : A kind of woollen seat in which sixteen dancing girls can dance together.

Pallaṅkaṁ : A seat having feet with figure of deer, etc.

Paṭalikā : Thick woollen seat with various designs of flowers.

Paṭikā : Woollen seat.

Vikatika : A seat having the figure of lion or tiger.

A ceremony among the southern Indian people.

Dopanaṁ : It is a ceremony among the southern Indian people who wash the bones of their dead relatives after digging them out and after having besmeared them with scents and collecting all the bones in one place. On a certain auspicious day they eat up various kinds of food and drink collected for the occasion while crying for their departed relatives (S.V., pp. 84–88).

Miscellaneous.

A person is called *Puthujjano* because various kinds of sins are committed by him. His view is that the body which is soul is not gone. He is called Puthujjano because he follows many teachers. He is so called because he is merged in various kinds of ogha (floods); because he is burnt by various kinds of heat. As he is attached to five kinds of sensual pleasures and as he is covered by five hindrances and as he does innumerable low deeds, so he is called puthujjano. As he is separated by the Ariyas from the sīla (precept), suta (learning), etc., he is called puthujjano (ibid. p. 69).

Rājā : He is so called because he pleases (rañjeti) his subjects.

Sīlas. : Porāṇas say about sīlas that sīla (precept) is the ornament of a Yogī and sīla is the object of decoration of a Yogī. The yogis being adorned with sīlas have acquired perfection in matters of decoration. One should observe sīlas just as a kiki bird protects her egg. One should observe sīlas properly just as one-eyed man protects his only eye (S.V., pp. 55-56). Buddhaghosa says that all good deeds are based on sīlas just as all the trees and vegetables grow on the earth. (S.V., p. 56).

Cullasīla : Pāṇātipātā means slaughter of life. Pāṇā ordinarily means living-beings but in reality it is vitality. The thought of killing vitality is what is called pāṇātipāta. To kill a lower animal which is devoid of good qualities and a small being, brings small amount of sin and to kill big creature full of good many sins, brings large amount of sin because a good amount of effort is needed to kill a big animal whereas to kill a small animal, little effort is required. To kill with great effort a creature having good qualities brings about much sin whereas to kill with the same effort a creature having no quality or having quality not of great amount brings about less sin. If the body and the quality possessed by it be of equal standard, there will be a difference in the acquisition of sin according to greatness or smallness of kilesa (sin).

One will be guilty of life-slaughter if the following conditions be fulfilled :—

(1) there must be a living being;
(2) the killer must be conscious at the time of killing that he is going to kill a living being;
(3) he must have the intention to kill;
(4) then he must have the effort to kill;
(5) the effect of that effort must lie in the death of the being living.

The six kinds of efforts are :—

Sāhattika (killing by own hand), āṇattika (order to kill), nissaggika (throwing with the intention that living being should die), vijjamaya (killing by magic), iddhimaya (killing by miracle), thāvara (killing by instruction written on immovable pillars, etc.) (S.V., pp. 69–70).

Gautama Buddha and the Paribrājakas.[1]

By DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., F.R. HIST. S.

Four stages of life of a Hindu according to Manu and Yājñavalkya.

Hindu sages divide life into four stages, viz., (1) education in the prime of life and self-restraint in adolescence, (2) householder's life including the performance of yajñas (sacrifices) in adult age, (3) forest life in advanced years, and (4) to wander about for salvation in old age. (Manu, Ch. VI, Yājñavalkya, Ch. III.). When people having religious trend realised that the worldly life was full of sorrows and sufferings and that everything secular was transitory, they renounced household life though their family might be in affluent circumstances and kept aloof from human affairs. They were wanderers and were content with leading secluded lives of continence. They practised asceticism and often subjected themselves to extreme forms of self-mortification. They were not moved by honour or reproach, though their fame spread far. They used to strive hard to know the truth and did not deem it a disgrace to be destitute. The rulers treated them with respect and could not make them come to court (Watters on Yuan Chwang, Vol. I. pp. 160-161).

Life of the wanderers.

Two classes of paribrājakas in the Pāli-Buddhist literature.

According to the Buddhists, a paribrājaka means a wandering religious mendicant. The Pāli-Buddhist literature speaks of two classes of paribrājakas or paribbājakas :—(1) Brāhmaṇa paribbājaka and (2) Aññatitthiya paribbājaka. A Brāhmaṇa paribbājaka is one who was at first a Brāhmaṇa but who later on became a wandering religious mendicant; and an Aññatitthiya paribbājaka means a paribbājaka who belonged to a group of heretics other than the Brāhmaṇa paribbājakas. The paribrājakas were prohibited from killing living creatures. Harmlessness, honesty, restraint, non-acceptance, purity of mind, contentment, simplicity, theism, sacred study, impartiality, patience, mildness, serving the *guru*, reverence, forgiveness, continence, meditation, spiritual knowledge, abstemiousness, prāṇāyām (a peculiar breathing through nostrils as a religious austerity), prayer, and indifference to the consequences of deeds done are the virtues of a paribrājaka. A

[1] It is a supplement to my article, "Wandering Teachers in Buddha's time," J.A.S.B., New series, Vol. XIV, 1918.

paribrājaka who is indifferent to worldly attachments deserves salvation.

Difference between a paribrājaka and a bhikkhu.

The paribrājakas must not be confounded with the Bhikkhus. The sīlas (precepts) mentioned in the Vinaya Pitaka[1] must be observed by a bhikkhu but they are not to be observed by the paribbājakas. The paribbājakas practise asceticism (e.g., should not speak, should not accept invitation, should not accept alms from a pregnant woman, should live on one handful of rice, should live on vegetables, leaves, etc., should cut off the hairs of the head, beard, etc.) while a bhikkhu follows the middle path which lies midway between asceticism and luxurious and easy life. The paribrājakas spend their time either in holding religious discourses or discussions or in meditation. It is to be noted that it is not compulsory for the paribbājakas to shave their head or beard. Their dress is quite different from that of a bhikkhu. Various kinds of dress are used by a paribbājaka while three robes only are prescribed for a bhikkhu.

Sir Charles Eliot's view criticised.

We agree with Sir Charles Eliot when he says that the paribbājakas were not householders but wanderers and celibates. Often they were ascetics and addicted to extreme forms of self-mortification. They used to perform sacrifices. But we do not agree with Sir Charles when he says that they did not study the Vedas. We know on the authority of the Mahāvastu that Asthisena, a paribrājaka, studied the Vedas and was acquainted with the Śāstra of the paribbājakas.

At the time of the Buddha the Aññatitthiya paribbājakas did not receive respect and honour from the people nor did they get their requisites from them (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. II., p. 119).

The Pāli literature contains some valuable information about several paribrājakas who held discussion with the Buddha on topics, ethical, moral and religious.

Account of the paribrājakas in the Nikāyas.

A paribrājaka named Poṭṭhapāda used to live in a hermitage named Mallikārāma with 300 paribrājakas. One day in the forenoon the Blessed One went out for alms. He went to Poṭṭhapāda at Mallikārāma. At that time Poṭṭhapāda was engaged in holding a loud conversation with his disciples. He saw the Buddha coming and asked his disciples to be silent as the Buddha was in favour of silence. He received the Buddha well and informed him that in an assembly of heretical monks, there was a talk about cessation of perception and he told the Buddha of the various opinions

[1] The Pārājikā, Pācittiya, Mahāvagga and Cullavagga of the Vinaya Pitaka deal with the sīlas which are collected and summarised in the Pātimokkha.

about the matter. The Buddha said, "There is the cause of origination and cessation of perception. By learning precepts, etc., perception is originated and destroyed." He then spoke of samādhi (meditation) and its stages, and nirodhasamāpatti or attainment of cessation (Digha N., I. pp. 178 foll).

At Anupiya there lived a paribrājaka named Bhaggavagotta. Buddha went to his hermitage. He received the Buddha well and told him that a Licchaviputta named Sunakkhatta came to Bhaggavagotta and told him that he was no longer a disciple of the Buddha whom he had left. The Buddha said that Sunakkhatta had left him. Sunakkhatta told Bhaggavagotta that the Buddha did not show him miracles and that the Blessed One did not point out to him the supreme knowledge (Digha N., III. p. 1. foll.)

Buddha dwelt at the Gijjhakūta at Rājagaha. At that time a paribrājaka named Nigrodha was dwelling in a paribrājaka hermitage. Once a householder named Sandhāna was going to see the Buddha at noon. In course of his journey he visited Nigrodha's hermitage as it was too early to see the Buddha. Sandhāna saw the paribrājaka holding a loud conversation with his disciples. The paribbājaka saw Sandhāna coming and told the disciples to remain silent as the disciple of Gautama was coming. Sandhāna told the disciples, "You are whiling away your time by vain talks while the Buddha is engaged in meditation in a lonely forest, where there is no sound, no noise, which is calm and quiet." Nigrodha asked him thus, "With whom the samaṇa holds discussion? His wisdom is confined to an empty house. He does not come to any assembly and he does not know how to talk. He lives alone." Nigrodha told the householder that he would defeat Gotama by putting to him one question if he would ever care to come to him. The Buddha heard of this with his divine ear and went to the hermitage of Nigrodha. Nigrodha asked Gotama, "what is the Dhamma which Gautama teaches his disciples and by learning which one becomes consoled?" The Buddha replied that he being a heretic would not find it easy to understand the Dhamma of the Tathāgata and he told him to ask questions regarding his own doctrine. Nigrodha asked the Buddha, "How is asceticism fulfilled and how is it not?" The Buddha explained the various stages of asceticism which were accepted by Nigrodha. The Buddha further pointed out to him that asceticism is the cause of increase of sins (upakkilesa). Buddha explained that in order to remove sins one should practise sīla (precepts), samādhi (meditation) and paññā (wisdom) (Digha N, III, 36 foll).

A Brahmin named Jāṇussoṇi met a paribbājaka named Pilotika on his way from the Buddha. He asked the paribbājaka as to wherefrom he was coming. The paribbājaka told him that he was coming from samaṇa Gotama. The paribbājaka when asked said that he was incapable of measuring the extent

of the Buddha's knowledge as he was not equal to him. The Brahmin asked the paribbājaka why he was thus praising the Buddha. He replied that after seeing the four qualities of the samaṇa Gotama, he became convinced that the samaṇa Gotama was the exalted Buddha. The Khattiya pandits used to worship the Buddha and give him offerings, so also did the Brahmin gahapati (householder) and samaṇa pandits (Majjhima N., I, pp. 175–177).

The Blessed One was dwelling at the Kūṭāgārasālā near Vaiśālī. A paribbājaka named Vacchagotta used to live in a paribbājakārāma in Ekapuṇḍarika. One forenoon the Buddha in his begging tour came to the ārāma. The paribbājaka welcomed him cordially. He asked the Buddha whether the samaṇa Gotama was all-knowing, all-seeing, possessed of wide knowledge and ready wit. The Buddha replied that those who held this view were mistaken. The samaṇa Gotama, the Buddha said, was endowed with three kinds of knowledge. The paribbājaka questioned the Buddha whether there was any one who put an end to suffering after the dissolution of the body without destroying the bonds of household life. The Buddha answered it in the negative. Again he questioned the Buddha whether any one had gone to heaven without destroying the bonds of household life. The Buddha answered it in the affirmative. He further questioned the Buddha whether any Ājīvika had put an end to suffering after the dissolution of the body. He answered it in the negative. Another question was put by the paribbājaka to the Buddha whether any paribbājaka had gone to heaven after the dissolution of the body. The Buddha answered that as far as he remembered, only an Ājīvika had gone to heaven before the 91st kappa (world-cycle) from the present moment as he was a Kammavādi (believer in Kamma). The Buddha said, "The religion of the titthiyas (heretics) is empty." The paribbājaka admitted this to be true. (Majjhima N., Vol. I, pp. 481–483).

In the Saṁyutta Nikāya we read that Vacchagotta again went to the Buddha and questioned him why wrong views arose in the world, e.g., whether the world is permanent and limited, whether the body and soul are the same or not, whether being is reborn after death or not, etc. The Buddha replied that on account of ignorance of form (rūpa), origin of form, destruction of form, and the path leading to the destruction of form, the wrong views arose. So also the Buddha spoke of vedanā (sensation), saññā (perception), saṁkhāra (confections) and viññāna (consciousness). (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. III, pp. 257 foll.)

Once again Vacchagotta paribbājaka went to the Buddha and told him that in the past the heretical teachers assembled in the Kūṭāgārasālā and discussed that Pūraṇa Kassapa was one of the teachers who could say where a disciple of his was reborn

after death. Makkhali Gosāla and other heretical teachers could say so and the samaṇa Gotama used to say where a disciple of his was born after death but he did not say where among his disciples the person who had got the highest attainment was reborn after death. The samaṇa Gotama used to say that he put an end to desire and suffering and removed the ties. Vacchagotta was doubtful as to the Buddha's knowledge of Dhamma. The Buddha said that his doubt arose as to the right point. The Great Teacher said that one is not subject to rebirth whose desire is uprooted. (Saṁyutta Nikāya. Vol. IV. pp. 398–400.) Vacchagotta asked the Buddha as to where attā exists. The Buddha remained silent. (Ibid., p. 400).

There was a paribbājaka named Aggivacchagotta. One day he approached the Buddha and asked him, "Do you say that the world is eternal or not? Do you say that the world is limited or unlimited? Is the body soul or not? Is soul different from body and *vice versâ*? Is a being born after death or not?" The Buddha answered these questions in the negative. The paribbājaka asked him that by seeing what evil effect he came to hold these wrong views. The Buddha replied. "These wrong views bring sufferings, mental agonies, etc. All these do not lead to nibbāṇam." The paribbājaka questioned him, "Is a bhikkhu who does not hold these wrong views born after death?" No direct answer was given by the Buddha. The paribbājaka being greatly pleased with the Buddha was converted into Buddhism. (Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. I. pp. 483–489).

There was another paribbājaka named Mahāvacchagotta who went to the Buddha and requested him to preach kusala and akusala. The Buddha said, "Lobha, dosa, moha are the akusalas and alobha, adosa and amoha are the kusalas." He further said, "Killing creatures, stealing others' property, enjoying sensual pleasures, speaking falsehood, backbiting, using harsh words, holding vain talks are the akusalas and the opposite of these, kusalas." He further said, "Avarice, hatred, wrong view are akusalas and their contrary are the kusalas." (Majjhima N., Vol. I. pp. 489–497).

A paribbājaka named Dīghanakha said to the Buddha that he held that he could bear everything. The Buddha said, "This is your false belief. This false belief will be dispelled when you will be able to realise that this will bring about disorder, quarrel, wound, disgust, etc." He further said, "There are three vedanās (sensations), sukha (happiness) dukkha (pain) and adukkhamasukha (neither pain nor happiness). When you feel one sensation, other sensations do not arise. These Vedanās are impermanent. Therefore a learned ariyasāvaka becomes disgusted with these vedanās. Then gradually his mind becomes free from all sins." The paribbājaka became pleased

with the Buddha and became one of his disciples (Majjhima N., Vol. I. 497–501).

A paribbājaka named Māgandiya met the Buddha when he was among the Kurus. He spoke ill of the Buddha because he saw a bed of straw spread for him by the side of a fire-place of Bharadvājagotta who was a Brahmin sacrificer. The paribbājaka was asked by the Brahmin not to speak ill of the Buddha as he was much respected by the learned Brahmins, Khattiyas, householders and monks. The paribbājaka said that according to their śāstra, the Buddha was a Bhūnahu (i.e. killer of embryo). The Buddha heard with his celestial ears what Māgandiya said. The Buddha went to him and said, "Eye takes delight in form but the eye of the Tathāgata is restrained. The Tathāgata instructs others to restrain eye. Hence the Tathāgata may be called the Bhūnahu." The Buddha said that the Tathāgata had all other five senses restrained and he instructed others also to restrain them. The Buddha told Māgandiya that he had given up sensual pleasures after renouncing the household life. The Buddha was happy and blissful after being free from desires. Māgandiya requested the Buddha to instruct him in the dhamma by which he could obtain sight. The Buddha complied with his request. Māgandiya became his pupil and attained upasampadā (ordination). Later on he became an arahat. (Majjhima N., Vol. I. pp. 501–513).

A paribbājaka named Sandaka received Ānanda in his ārāma near Kosambi. Sandaka was spending his time with his disciples in a vain talk. Ānanda was requested to give a discourse on Dhamma as instructed by his teacher He spoke of the four kinds of brahmacariya which should not be followed by a wise man. The four kinds of brahmacariya are the following: (1) the first one teaches annihilation. (2) the second one teaches that there is neither sin nor merit by killing a creature or doing other sinful acts or by giving charity, etc., (3) the third one teaches that there is no cause of merit and demerit. (4) the fourth one teaches that there are seven permanent things, e.g., earth, water, fire, wind, happiness, suffering and soul. Ānanda also spoke of another four kinds of brahmacariya which should not be followed by a wise man: (1) One should not practise brahmacariya under the teacher who brags that he is all-knowing, all-seeing and possessed of endless knowledge; (2) One should not practise it under the teacher who says that such and such a thing occurs in the Piṭaka and such and such a thing is handed down from generation to generation; (3) One should not practise brahmacariya under the teacher who is a disputant and practises dhamma by disputation; (4) One should not practise brahmacariya under the teacher who is a fool and having very little knowledge evades answering questions. The brahmacariya which is full of hope, safe and leads to an end of suffering should be practised. The paribbājaka asked his disciples to

practise brahmacariya under the samaṇa Gotama but he said that he would not go to him on account of gain and fame that he was receiving. (Majjhima N., Vol. I., pp. 513–524.)

A paribbājaka named Potaliputto went to Samiddhi, a pupil of the Buddha. The paribbājaka said to Samiddhi that he had heard from the Buddha that kāya and vacikammas (actions in body and speech) are void. Only manokamma (action in mind) is true and also there is a samāpatti (attainment) by acquiring which one does not feel anything. Samiddhi said that the Buddha had not said thus. The paribbājaka asked Samiddhi when he had received upasampadā. Samiddhi said, "only three years ago." The paribbājaka said that a newly ordained bhikkhu was trying to conceal the fault of his teacher and what to say of the elder bhikkhus. The paribbājaka questioned Samiddhi thus, "Doing anything by body, speech and mind knowingly what does the doer feel?" Then Samiddhi replied, "He suffers for doing anything by body, speech and mind knowingly." The paribbājaka did not approve of this and left Samiddhi. (Majjhima N., III, p. 207.)

Annabhāra, Varadhara, Sakuladāyī and many other well-known paribbājakas used to dwell in a paribbājakārāma near the bank of the river Sappinī. The Buddha went to them and told them that the four dhammas were excellent, e.g., absence of avarice, absence of malice, right recollection and right concentration. These samaṇas and brāhmaṇas must possess the four dhammas. If any person challenges these dhammas he must be blamed. (Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. II, 29–39). On another occasion the Buddha went to the paribbājakārāma and told them that he realised the four truths of a Brahmin. The Master further said, "All beings are enveloped in ignorance, all the sensual pleasures are impermanent and full of misery and all existences are subject to change. Nothing belongs to me and I belong to none." (Ibid., pp. 176-177.)

Many famous paribbājakas were dwelling in a paribbājakārāma at Moranivāpa in the Veluvana. They were Sakuladāyī, Anugāra, Varadhara and many others. Once the Buddha went to Sakuladāyī who said that many teachers, e.g., Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajitakesakambali, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta, Niganṭha Nāthaputta and samaṇa Gotama were dwelling at Rājagaha. Of these teachers who were greatly respected by his disciples? Sakuladāyī said that amongst the teachers the Buddha was greatly respected by his disciples. The Buddha asked, "Why is he so saying?" Sakuladāyī said, "The Blessed One is living on little food and he instructs others to eat little. He remains quite content with the poor garments he gets. He is content with little alms, ordinary dwelling and sleeping place and he lives alone and instructs others to live alone. This is the reason why the Blessed One is so much respected by his disciples." The Buddha

admitted it to be true and mentioned other reasons for which he was so much revered by his disciples. (Majjhima N., Vol. II, pp. 1–22.)

On another occasion the Buddha when met by Sakuladāyī was requested by him to give religious instruction. The paribbājaka said, "There is the visible path to the attainment of absolute joy." The Buddha said, "The path referred to by the paribbājaka is the five stages of meditation (jhāna) and what the paribbājaka says is not correct." Sakuladāyī became pleased with the Buddha and requested him to give him ordination. (Majjhima N., Vol. II, pp. 29–39.)

A paribbājaka named Uggāhamāno, son of Samaṇamaṇḍika used to live at Mallikā's ārāma with a big paribbājaka retinue. An engineer named Pañcakaṅga went out of Srāvastī to see the Buddha. On his way the engineer went to the paribbājaka who said that he called him the samaṇa who was endowed with four qualities and who obtained good attainments. The four qualities were :—(1) not committing bodily sins, (2) sins by speech, (3) not cherishing evil thoughts and (4) leading a pure life.

The engineer then left him and went to the Buddha and told him everything about what the paribbājaka said. The Buddha refuted the theory of the paribbājaka. (Majjhima N., II. 22–25.)

A paribbājaka named Vekhanasa met the Buddha and they had a talk exactly similar to the one held between the Buddha and Sakuladāyī paribbājaka. Vekhanasa became pleased with the Buddha on hearing that rūpa, rasa, sadda, gandha and phottabba are the objects of sensual pleasures and one enjoys the sensual pleasures after enjoying these objects. The Buddha told him, "You are a heretic and you do not realise kāma and kamma." Hearing thus he became angry and spoke ill of the samaṇas. The Buddha gave him instructions and pointed out his folly. He afterwards became a disciple of the Buddha. (Majjhima N., Vol. II. pp. 40–44). Sarabha was at first a bhikkhu. Later on he became a paribbājaka and in an assembly at Rājagaha he was telling that he knew the dhamma of the Buddha and knowing it fully well he renounced it and became a paribbājaka. The bhikkhus informed Gautama about it and he at once went to Sarabha's hermitage where he asked Sarabha about the matter but the paribbājaka remained silent. The Buddha then addressed the followers of the paribbājaka that none would be able to point out any defect in the Buddha's dhamma and the dhamma which would lead to the attainment of the wished-for-object. None would be able to point out sin present in the Buddha. Sarabha became ashamed of his conduct and his parisā (assembly) became disgusted with him. (Aṅguttara N., Vol. I, pp. 185–188.)

Potaliya paribbājaka went to the Buddha who asked him

about the puggala whom he liked. The Buddha mentioned four kinds of puggalas, e.g., (1) He who blames the blameworthy; (2) He who praises the praiseworthy; (3) He who neither blames the blameworthy nor praises the praiseworthy; (4) He who blames the blameworthy and praises the praiseworthy. The paribbājaka was in favour of the third kind of puggala. The Buddha was in favour of the fourth. The paribbājaka was afterwards led to accept the view of the Buddha. (Aṅguttara N., Vol. II, pp. 100-101.)

Moliyasivako paribbājaka went to the Buddha and said to him, "How is the dhamma to be realised by one's own self?" The Buddha, said, "Do you realise that you have avarice when it is present and do you also realise that you have no avarice when it is absent?" The paribbājaka replied in the affirmative. The Buddha then spoke of dosa (hatred) and moha (delusion). The Buddha showed the way to realise the Dhamma. Moliyasivaka became pleased with him and became his disciple (Aṅguttara N., Vol. III, pp. 356-357.)

The paribbājaka again asked the Buddha, "Does one, on account of past deeds, feel three kinds of sensation, e.g., sensation of happiness, pain and neither happiness nor pain?" The Buddha said, "All these sensations are the outcome of bile, phlegm, wind and the mixture of all these three, change of weather, indigestion, pain caused by external agency and the effect of kamma and in spite of these those who hold the above view are wrong." He afterwards accepted the Buddha's discipleship. (Saṃyutta Nikāya, Vol. IV, pp. 230-231.)

Sutavā paribbājaka went to the Buddha and heard him saying that it was improper for the disciples of the Buddha who became arahats to perform five kinds of act:—(1) Not to kill any creature willingly or knowingly; (2) Not to accept that which is not given; (3) Not to indulge in sexual intercourse; (4) Not to speak falsehood knowingly; (5) Not to enjoy things being duly accumulated. The paribbājaka asked the Buddha as to the propriety of his speech. The Buddha said that he was right in saying so and mentioned four more things which are not possible to be done by an arahat:— (1) Partiality in doing justice; (2) Not to do anything under the influence of anger; (3) Not to do anything under the influence of delusion; (4) Not to do anything under the influence of fear. (Aṅguttara N., Vol. IV, pp. 369-371). The Buddha had a similar discourse with a paribbājaka named Sañjho. (Aṅguttara N., Vol. IV, pp. 371 foll.)

A paribbājaka named Sāmaṇḍaka went to Sāriputta and asked him, "What are suffering and happiness?" He replied, "Birth is suffering and non-birth is happiness. When a being comes into existence, he is subject to cold, heat, hunger, thirst, etc., and when a being does not come into existence he is not subject to these." The paribbājaka accepted this to be true.

Again he went to Sāriputta and said, "What are suffering and happiness according to the Buddha?" The Buddha replied, "Dislike of the Buddhasāsana is suffering and liking for it is happiness. No happiness is obtained in sitting, lying, walking etc., if a person dislikes the Buddhasāsana." (Aṅguttura N., Vol. V, pp. 120–122.)

The paribbājakas named Uttiya and Kokanuda went to the Buddha and asked him whether the world is eternal or not, infinite or not, whether a being is reborn after death or not, etc. The Buddha replied, "I do not like to give any opinion about these." They questioned him as to what he explained. The Buddha replied, "The Dhamma which I have realised is taught to my disciples, which will purify beings, remove their grief and lamentation, pain, bodily and mental, and lead to Nibbāṇaṁ." The paribbājakas then questioned him, "Will the whole world be led, or half or one third by the means pointed out by him?" The Buddha remained silent. Ānanda answered this point by saying that those who would tread the right path must go by this way. (Aṅguttara N., V., 193–198.)

At the time of the Buddha, Uttiya was born at Sāvatthī as the son of a Brahmin and leaving the world, he became a paribbājaka. One day he came to the Buddha when the latter was preaching and entered the order. The Buddha taught him a lesson. Uttiya accepting the lesson called up insight but he fell ill. In his anxiety he exerted much and attained arahatship. (Psalms of the Brethren, pp. 34-35.)

A paribbājaka named Ajita went to the Buddha and told him that a brother brahmacārī named Paṇḍita could think of five hundred thoughts and thus the heretics were greatly satisfied. The paribbājaka heard Gautama preaching to the bhikkhus that dhamma and adhamma, attha (welfare) and anattha (non-welfare) should be realised by the bhikkhus and realising these they should practise the true law and do what would bring good. (Aṅguttara N., Vol. V., pp. 229–231.)

A paribbājaka named Timbaruka went to the Buddha and questioned him, "Are happiness and suffering self-created or not, or created by others or not? Are they neither created by one's self nor created by others?" The Buddha answered them in the negative. The paribbājaka then questioned him, "Do happiness and suffering exist?" The Buddha answered it in the affirmative and spoke of the middle course which is the paṭiccasamuppāda (dependent origination). (Saṁyutta N., II, 22-23.)

A paribbājaka named Susīma dwelt at Rājagaha with a paribbājaka retinue. The followers of Susīma requested him to go to the Buddha and listen to his instructions and inform them. They would obtain respect and honour from the householders by preaching what they would learn from Susīma. Susīma went to Ānanda and both of them went to the Buddha and Susīma

received upasampadā (ordination). At this time many bhikkhus declared their attainment of arahatship before the Buddha. Susīma hearing this went to the bhikkhus and asked them whether they had acquired supernatural power, power of knowing the thoughts of others, power of remembering previous births, power of knowing birth and death of beings, whether they had acquired arūpasamāpatti (meditation on formlessness). The bhikkhus answered these in the negative. The bhikkhus said that they were freed from sins by meditation on paññā (wisdom). The paribbājaka went to the Buddha for the explanation of paññāvimutti which the Buddha explained. Susīma begged pardon of the Buddha for his misconduct towards the bhikkhus and the Buddha pardoned him. (Saṁyutta N., II, 119–128.)

A paribbājikā named Sucimukhī went to Sāriputta and questioned him whether he used to take food with his head downwards, with his head upwards, by looking towards all directions or by looking to the corners. Sāriputta answered them in the negative. Sāriputta said thus, "The samaṇas who earn their livelihood by telling the good and evil effects of the foundation of a building are said to take their food with head downwards; those who earn their livelihood by astrology are said to take their food by raising their heads upwards; those who earn their livelihood by being messengers are said to take their food by looking to all directions and those who earn their livelihood by foretelling good or evil by examining the signs of the body are said to take their food by looking to their corners." Sāriputta said that he did not lead any such livelihood. Sucimukhī being delighted proclaimed that the Sākyaputtiya samaṇas used to earn their livelihood by the right means and therefore the people should give them offerings. (Saṁyutta N., III, 238–240.)

Nandiya paribbājaka went to the Buddha and asked him as to how many dhammas if meditated on and developed would lead to Nibbāṇaṁ. The Buddha said, "They are eight in number, e.g., Sammādiṭṭhi (right view), Sammāsaṁkappa (right determination), Sammāvācā (right speech), Sammākammanto (right action), Sammāājīva (right living), Sammāvāyāma (right exertion), Sammāsati (right recollection), and Sammāsamādhi (right concentration). (Saṁyutta N., V, p. 11.)

Kuṇḍaliya paribbājaka went to the Buddha and said to him thus, "I frequent the hermitage and attend the assembly of people and I hear there that some samaṇas and brāhmaṇas are praising the religious tenet handed down from generation to generation and I also hear that some samaṇas and brāhmaṇas are talking of various subjects." He asked Gautama as to what he liked. The Buddha replied, "I speak highly of Vijjā (knowledge), vimutti (emancipation), and phala (fruition of the noble path)." The Buddha also narrated the means of fulfilment of vijjā and vimutti. The paribbājaka became pleased with him and became his upāsaka. (Saṁyutta N., V., 73–75.)

In the Theragāthā and its commentary.

Sāmaññakāni was born as the son of a paribbājaka at the time of the Buddha Gautama. He was converted to the religious life when he saw the Buddha performing the twin miracle. He attained arahatship through jhāna. A paribbājaka named Kātiyāna whom he knew as a layman lost all support from the laity when the Buddha arose. This paribbājaka came to Sāmaññakāni and asked him the means of obtaining happiness in this life and the next. Sāmaññakāni told him about the noble eightfold path by which one may obtain salvation. (Psalms of the Brethren, p. 40.)

Pavittha was a wanderer at the time of the Buddha Gautama. He went to the Buddha, heard his teaching, put faith in him and was ordained. Very soon he realised arahatship. (Ibid., p. 82-83.)

Migasira was reborn at the time of the Buddha Gautama in a Brahmin family at Kosala. He having acquired the Brahmin culture, practised the skull-spell so that when he muttered the spell and tapped the skull with his nail, he would declare, "This person is reborn in such a sphere, even with regard to those dead three years. He hated the domestic life, became a paribbājaka and through his art won favour and respect. He went to the Buddha and told him, "I can tell the destiny of dead persons." He was asked, "How do you tell it?" He let a skull be brought, and muttering his rune and tapping it with his nail, he asserted purgatory or some other place to be the place of rebirth. A skull of a bhikkhu was brought and he was asked to tell the destiny of the dead bhikkhu but he failed to do so. Migasira was struck dumb and was perspiring. He was afterwards ordained. He was well established in jhāna and abhiññā and he practised insight. He soon won arahatship (Psalms of the Brethren, 138-139.)

At the time of the Buddha Gautama, there lived in Sāvatthī a son of the valuer of the king of Kosala. He was known as Māluṅkya's son. When he grew up he left the world and became a wandering ascetic. He heard the Teacher teach, entered the Order and in due course won sixfold abhiññā. He was persuaded by his relatives when he came to see his home out of compassion, to lead a household life but in vain. (Psalms of the Brethren, 212-213.)

A certain paribbājaka went to the Buddha and put to him some questions which were answered by the Buddha who in return asked him, "Eka nāma kiṁ (what is one?)" The paribbājaka fled away not being able to answer the question.

In the Dhammapada commentary.

A paribbājaka named Sañjaya used to dwell at Rājagaha with a large assembly of paribbājakas at the time of the Buddha. Kolita and Upatissa, sons of the headmen of Kolita and Upatissa villages being disgusted with the world, each went with

five hundred followers to Sañjaya. Both of them took ordination from Sañjaya with five hundred followers. Since the time of their ordination Sañjaya acquired great gain and fame. Both of them acquired as much knowledge as Sañjaya possessed. Sañjaya admitted this fact. It is to be noted that Kolita and Upatissa abovenamed were no other than Sāriputta and Moggallāna, first disciples of the Buddha Gautama (Dhammapada Commentary, Vol. I, pp. 88–90). From the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī we learn that Suppiya was one of the disciples of Sañjaya (Vol. I, p. 35).

In the Sutta Nipāta Commentary.

In the Sutta Nipāta Commentary we read that there lived at Sāvatthī a paribbājaka named Pasūra who was a great disputant. He planted a branch of a jambu tree declaring that he would be able to hold discussion with him who would uproot it. Sāriputta did uproot it. Pasūra had a discussion with Sāriputta about sensual pleasures and eye-consciousness with the result that the paribbājaka went to Jetavana in order to be ordained by Sāriputta and to learn Vādasattam (i.e. art of disputation). He met Lāludāyī at the Jetavanavihāra. Thinking that this Lāludāyī must be greatly wise, he took ordination from him. He defeated Lāludāyī in disputation and made him a paribbājaka even while he was wearing the dress of a bhikkhu. Pasūra again went to Sāvatthī to hold discussion with Gautama but he was defeated. The Buddha then gave him instruction and he was converted into Buddhism. (Sutta Nipāta Commentary, Vol. II, pp. 538 foll.)

Sabhiya was the son of a paribbājikā who was the daughter of a Khattiya. He was called Sabhiya because his mother gave birth to him in a sabhā or assembly. As he grew up he became a paribbājaka and studied various arts and sciences. He became a great disputant. He wandered all over Jambudipa and found none equal to him in disputation. He built his hermitage at the city gate and taught sippa to the Khattiya princes. Sabhiya was given some questions by a suddhāvāsa Brāhmaṇa, [e.g., who is a Buddha ? Who is a Sārata (who has his sins removed) ?] with the request that he would accept ordination from him who would be able to answer them properly. Afterwards Sabhiya received satisfactory answers to the questions from the Buddha and accepted ordination from him. (Sutta-Nipāta Commentary, Vol. II, pp. 421-422, cf. Psalms of the Brethren, p. 177.)

In the Jātakas.

The Jātakas contain some account of the paribbājikās and paribbājakas. The daughters of a couple of Nigaṇṭhas became paribbājikās. They were instructed by their parents that if defeated in arguments by a layman, they should become his wives and if by a recluse, they should become his pupils. Sāriputta defeated them in arguments and made them bhikkhunīs under the guidance of Uppalavaṇṇa: (Jātaka III, pp. 1-2.)

A paribbājaka named Palāvi went to the Buddha at Jeta-

vana being desirous of holding discussion with him but he fled away from the Buddha being afraid of him. (Jātaka. II. 216.) Once again, he went to the Buddha who was then engaged in preaching dhamma to a large audience. Listening to his discourse, the paribbājaka fled away from him being convinced of the fact that he would be defeated by the Buddha in argument and disputation. (Jātaka, II. 219.)

In the Tibetan Dulva.

The Tibetan Dulva records that Subhadra was a paribbājaka who had seen many things during Buddha's life. When he heard that the Buddha was about to pass away he went to see him and questioned him about the truth of the doctrine of Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla and others. The Buddha replied, "He who does not know the sublime eightfold path is not a true samaṇa and he who professes the doctrine and discipline in which lies the sublime eightfold path is a man of saintliness.". It is to be noted that Subhadra paribbājaka used to live in Kuśīnārā. He was old, well-stricken in years, decrepit and hundred and twenty years of age. He afterwards became an Arahat. (Rockhill. Life of the Buddha, p. 138.)

In the Mahāvastu.

At Rājagṛha a paribrājaka named Sañjayī, son of Vairaṭi used to dwell in the hermitage of paribrājakas with five hundred disciples. Śāriputta and Maudgalyāyana went to the hermitage of the paribrājakas and accepted paribrājaka prabrajyā from Sañjayī. Śāriputta learnt the paribrājakaśāstra in a week and Maudgalyāyana did so in a fortnight. (Mahāvastu. III. 59.)

In the past at Benares the prince had a friend named Asthisena, son of a chaplain. Asthisena accepted the paribrājaka prabrajyā. He soon learnt the Vedas and the paribrājakaśāstra. The prince after having received the kingdom asked Asthisena to pray for something, but he did not pray for anything. (Mahāvastu. III, 419.)

Aṅga and Campā in the Pāli Literature.

By DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, Ph.D., M.A., B.L.

Mr. Nanda Lal Dey in his paper, "Notes on Ancient Aṅga or the district of Bhāgalpur" (J.A.S.B., new series, Vol. X., No. 9, September 1914) has failed to draw the reader's attention to the following facts regarding Aṅga and Campā. The materials collected here from the Pāli books have been presented for the first time and chronologically arranged in this paper.

Aṅga was the country of Bhāgalpur. Its capital was Campā which was situated at a distance of sixty yojanas from Mithilā (Jātaka, VI. p. 32). It was extensive in area and full of food, drink and other enjoyable things. (Ibid. p. 271.) It was a prosperous country containing many merchants (Vimānavatthu Commy., p. 337.) It is evident from the Vimānavatthu Commentary that the people of Aṅga used to go to trade with many caravans full of merchandise to Sindhu-Sovīradesa. They had to pass through a desert and once they lost their way but they were afterwards saved by a god named Serīsaka (p. 332). It was one of the Mahājanapadas of Jambudīpa and it contained seven kinds of gems. It had an abundant quantity of wealth (Aṅguttara N. I. 213, Ibid. IV. 252, 256 and 260). There were 80,000 villages in the kingdom of Aṅga and Campā was one of them (Vinaya Piṭaka, Vol. I. p. 179). It was at Campā that the Buddha was compelled to prescribe the use of slippers by the bhikkhus (Ibid, I., p. 179 foll.). Campā was built by Mahāgovinda as the Mahāgovinda Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya tells us. (Dīgha Nikāya, II., p. 235.) At the time of the Buddha, Campā was a big town and not a village as stated above and the Master was requested by Ānanda to obtain Parinirvāṇa in one of the big cities, e.g., Campā, Rājagaha (Ibid. p. 146). It was once ruled by Asoka's son, Mahinda, his sons and grandsons. (Dīpavaṁsa, p. 28.) Aṅga was visited by well-known heretical teachers, Pūraṇakassapa, Mokkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesakamvali, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belatthiputta and Niganṭha Nāthaputta (Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. II. p. 2). We know on the authority of the Majjhima Nikāya that the Aṅga rājā was very charitable and he daily used to give alms to the bhikkhus to the value of 500 Kahāpaṇas (Majjhima Nikāya, II., p. 163). It is interesting to note that in Buddha's time the people of Aṅga and Magadha used to make themselves merry by partaking of fish, meat and wine just at the border of the two kingdoms (Ibid., II, p. 211). It was at Aṅga that a Yakkha named Puṇṇaka, nephew of Vessavana Kuvera, came

through the sky (Jātaka, VI., p. 271). Mention is made of another Yakkha who was an inhabitant of Aṅga and who came to the kingdom of Koravya to play at dice (Ibid., pp. 273-274). We know that Magadha was brought under the sway of Aṅga rājā (Jātaka, VI., p. 272). We are informed by the Jātaka book that there was a river between Aṅga and Magadha which was inhabited by a nāga rājā who helped the Magadha king to defeat and kill the Aṅga rājā and to bring Aṅga under his sway. In Buddha's time Aṅga and Magadha were constantly at war and their hostility lasted long. Once the Magadha king was defeated by the Aṅga king. While flying on a horse he was followed by the army of the Aṅga king. When he was about to be seized, he jumped into the river Campā and was received by the Nāgarājā who entertained him with every possible care for seven days. The Nāgarājā was told everything of the hostility between Magadha and Aṅga. He promised to help the Magadha king in a way that would make him the king of both Magadha and Aṅga. Accordingly on the seventh day Nāgarājā espoused the cause of the Magadhan king and attacked the kingdom of Aṅga, defeated and killed the king of Aṅga and placed Aṅga under the sway of the Magadhan king. Since then the Magadhan king had a great friendship with the Nāgarājā. Every year the Magadhan king used to pay due homage to the Nāga king with various offerings on the bank of the river Campā and the Nāga king too used to come to the bank with a big retinue to accept offerings. (Jātaka, Vol. IV., pp. 454-455.) Again we read that king Manoja of Brahmavarddhana (another name of Benares) with the help of his purohita's son named Nandakumāra who possessed great miraculous power, conquered Aṅga and Magadha in course of his expedition (Jātaka, V., pp. 312–316). Reference is made to the queen of king Ariṭṭha-Janaka of Mithilā who took shelter in Campā when the king was killed by his younger brother (Ibid., VI., p. 31 foll.). Buddhaghosa records in his Sumaṅgalavilāsinī that the princes of Aṅga janapada were very beautiful and their dwelling place was known as Aṅga (pt. I., p. 279). Near Campā there was a tank which was dug by the queen Gaggarā of Campā. Hence it was called Gaggarā pokkharaṇī. On the bank of the river there was a garden which was full of five kinds of Camapaka flowers (Ibid). Besides, an account of Gautama Buddha's activities in Aṅga and Campā is given in the following pages.

References to Aṅga and Campā in the Mahāvagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka.

The Mahāvagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka tells us that a bhikkhu named Kassapagotta was excommunicated by some other bhikkhus as he was unable to supply food to the stranger bhikkhus. He went to the Buddha who was at Campā, the capital of Aṅga and related the matter to him. The Buddha told him that their act of excommunication was illegal. The Bhikkhus who excommunicated

him went to the Buddha who told them that they were not justified in excommunicating Kassapagotta (Vinaya Piṭaka by Oldenberg, Vol. I, pp. 312–315).

The same work further narrates that the bhikkhus of Campā were in the habit of performing some acts which were contrary to the rules of Vinaya, e.g., excommunicating a particular bhikkhu or two bhikkhus or more (Ibid., p. 315 foll.). At the time of the Buddha Campā was ruled by king Bimbisāra. A son of a setthi of Campā named Soṇakoḷivisa was asked by the king to see him with other setthis because the king was informed that Soṇakoḷivisa was so tender that hairs appeared in the palms of his legs. Bimbisāra noticed them and asked all the invited setthis to go to the Buddha. They went to the Buddha who preached dhamma to them. Soṇakoḷivisa after listening to his preaching became so pleased that he accepted ordination from him. Soṇakoḷivisa was exerting and used to meditate always by walking up and down. This caused hurt to his tender legs. Hence Buddha was compelled to prescribe the use of slippers by the Bhikkhus. Soṇa afterwards became an arahat (Ibid., Vol. I., pp. 179 foll.).

In the Dīgha Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka.

The Dīgha Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka informs us that the Blessed one was sojourning amongst the Aṅgas and went to Campā and took his abode in a vihāra on the bank of the tank Gaggarā. A Brahmin named Soṇadaṇḍa who was a great influential teacher and who used to enjoy the property given by the Magadhan king Bimbisāra, went to the Buddha with other Brahmin householders of Campā. At this time 500 Brahmins of different quarters living at Campā for some business tried to induce Soṇadaṇḍa not to go to the Buddha but in vain. Soṇadaṇḍa went to the Buddha who asked him about the qualities of a true Brahmin. Soṇadaṇḍa replied, "One is a true Brahmin who is pure in birth and who is a teacher, vastly learned in manta and well versed in three Vedas with their branches, who is beautiful, virtuous, intelligent and well-read." The Buddha said that he was the possessor of all the qualities of a true Brahmin and was not in any way inferior to a Brahmin. Soṇadaṇḍa afterwards became a devotee of the Buddha (Dīgha, I, pp. 111–126). The Buddha was dwelling in a vihāra on the bank of the tank Gaggarā at Campā with 500 bhikkhus. Sāriputta delivered a sermon named Dasauttarasuttanta to the bhikkhus in the presence of the Buddha (Dīgha, III. pp. 272, foll.). The Majjhima Nikāya furnishes us with the following pieces of information. The Buddha was once dwelling among the Aṅgas in a city named Assapura in the kingdom of Aṅga. He preached the Mahāassapurasuttanta to the bhikkhus, which preaches virtues which make one a true samaṇa and a true Brāhmaṇa (M.N., I, pp. 271 foll.). On another occas-

In the Majjhima Nikāya.

sion the Buddha who was among the Aṅgas in a city named Assapura in the kingdom of Magadha preached the Cullaassapura suttanta to the bhikkhus (M.N., I., pp. 281 foll.). The Buddha with a large assembly of bhikkhus was sojourning in a vihāra near the tank Gaggarā in Campā. Pesso, son of an elephant trainer and Kaṇḍaraka, a paribbājaka went to the Buddha. Kaṇḍaraka said to the Buddha that his pupils were well trained and in future the bhikkhusaṅgha would also be trained. The Buddha approved of his saying. Pesso said to the Buddha thus, "His preaching of the four satipaṭṭhānas is sufficient for purity of human beings, destruction of suffering and realisation of nibbānam. (M.N., I., pp. 339 foll.)

In the Saṁyutta Nikāya.

The Saṁyutta Nikāya relates that the Blessed One was dwelling in a vihāra near the tank Gaggarā in Campā. With him there were 500 bhikkhus, 700 upāsakas, upāsikās and many gods. The Buddha was the foremost in beauty and in fame. Vaṅgīsa who was one of the famous disciples of the Buddha and who was a great poet, uttered a stanza in praise of the Buddha (S.N., pt. I., pp. 195-196). The Buddha while he was among the Aṅgas in the town of Āpana, asked Sāriputta thus, "Can a noble disciple who is very much pleased and devoted to the Tathāgata cherish any doubt about him or his doctrine?" Sāriputta answered in the negative. (S.N., pt. V., pp. 225-226.)

In the Aṅguttara Nikāya.

The Aṅguttara Nikāya records some interesting information. The Blessed One was in a vihāra near the tank Gaggarā in Campā. One day many upāsakas of Campā went to Sāriputta and requested him to induce the Buddha to deliver a sermon to them as they did not hear him for a long time. They as advised by Sāriputta came to the Buddha who preached a sermon to them on dāna (charity) (A.N., pt. IV., pp 59 foll.). The Buddha was at Campā in a vihāra near the tank Gaggarā. At this time the good bhikkhus pointed out faults of bad bhikkhus who being offended abused the good bhikkhus. This was reported to the Buddha who instructed the bad bhikkhus to follow the good bhikkhus and not to be angry with them as they pointed out their faults (A.N., pt. IV., pp. 168 foll.). When the Buddha was there, an upāsaka named Bāhuna went to him and asked him about the dhamma (things) to which the Buddha was not attached. The Buddha replied that the Tathāgata was detached from rūpa, vedanā, saññā, saṅkhāra, viññāna, jāti, jarā, maraṇa, dukkha, and kilesa. (A.N., pt. V., pp. 151-152). Again when Buddha was at Campā, a householder named Vajjiyamāhita went out early in the day to meet him. He first of all went to the hermitage of heretics who asked him whether the Buddha discarded all ascetic practices. The householder replied in the negative and he further held that the Buddha was a vibhajjavādī and hence he used to praise those who were praiseworthy

and blame those who were blameworthy. A heretic said that the Buddha was in favour of destruction and did not point out anything substantial. The householder replied that the Buddha delivered a discourse on Kusala, Akusala and advised people to destroy Akusalas and to increase Kusalas. The heretics afterwards were struck dumb by his arguments. The householder then went to the Buddha and related the matter to him who praised the householder very much (A.N., pt. V., pp. 189 foll.).

In the Thera-therī-gāthās.

The Theragāthā which is one of the books of the Khuddaka Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka informs us that Soṇa who was the foremost of all in the kingdom of Aṅga put an end to all sufferings (Theragāthā, P.T.S., p. 65). It was a great gain to the people of Aṅga and Magadha that they had the fortune of offering alms, garments and requisites to a thera named Sopaka (Ibid, p. 50). Jambugāmika was born at Campā as a son of the chief of the village of Campā. He was named after his father. While he was a novice, he used to dwell at Sāketa. His father gave him a verse to explain, to test him whether he would stick to the order or not. After reading the verse he acquired sixfold abhiññā and subsequently attained arahatship (Psalms of the Brethren, pp. 32-33). Nandaka was born in the family of a burgess at Campā. He and his younger brother became bhikkhus when they heard that Soṇa Koḷivisa who was so delicate in body became a bhikkhu. They afterwards acquired sixfold abhiññā and attained saintship. (Ibid., pp. 134-136.)

The Therīgāthā narrates that a Jain bhikkhunī named Bhaddā took ordination in the Buddhasāsana and in course of her journey went to Aṅga. She afterwards became a therī (Therīgāthā, P.T.S., p. 134).

Four Himalayan sages came to the city of Kālacampā in the Kingdom of Aṅga to enjoy cooked food. Four householders of Kālacampā fed them to their satisfaction in their houses as long as they lived there (Jātaka, vol. VI., p. 256). Many sons of householders of Aṅga and Magadha followed the Buddha in course of his journey from Rājagaha to Kapilavastu. They all were his disciples (Jātaka, vol. I., Nidānakathā p. 87). The Dīpavaṁsa which is an extra canonical work mentions that the people of Aṅga and Magadha were making preparations for a big sacrifice but the three Jaṭila brothers thought that they would be deprived of their gain if Samaṇa Gotama be present there. The Buddha came to know of this and went to the Kurudīpa (Dīpavaṁsa, p. 16).

In Buddhaghosa's commentaries.

The commentaries of Buddhaghosa mention the following facts. The chaplain of king Mahākosala, father of Pasenadi of Kosala, named Aggidatta gave up household life. With him many people gave up their household life and became his disciples. He used to live with them in the midst of

Aṅga-Magadha and Kuru country. He instructed his disciples in getting rid of their thought of sensual pleasures. The people of Aṅga-Magadha used to offer charities to Aggidatta and his disciples. Aggidatta instructed the people of Aṅga-Magadha to take refuge in mountains, trees, and ārāmas to remove their sufferings (Dhammapada Commy, III, pp. 241 foll.). When the people of Aṅga-Magadha and Kuru country came with a large quantity of offerings to worship Aggidatta, they found Aggidatta and his disciples seated there in the garb of bhikkhus along with the Buddha. They were under the impression that Aggidatta made Buddha a bhikkhu. In their presence Aggidatta worshipped the Buddha and declared himself to be his pupil (Ibid., III., pp. 246-247). The people of Aṅga-Magadha were also under the impression that an ājivika named Jambuka made the Buddha a bhikkhu seeing him seated by the side of the Buddha in the garb of a bhikkhu. The ājivika afterwards worshipped the Buddha and declared himself to be his disciple (Ibid., II., pp. 61-62). When the Bodhisatta came to the Pāṇḍavapabbata at Rājagaha, Bimbisāra went there. The king asked him to enjoy wealth in the kingdoms of Aṅga and Magadha but the Bodhisatta refused to comply with his request (Sutta Nipāta Commy. pp. 383-384).

In the commentaries of Dhammapāla.

The commentaries of Dhammapāla contain the following information. The Blessed One was at Campā in a vihāra near the tank Gaggarā. When the Buddha was preaching, a frog was attentively listening to the sound of the Buddha's preaching. At this time it was killed by a cowherd and it was reborn in heaven (Vimānavatthu Commy, pp. 217-219). The Buddha converted Bimbisāra with many Brahmin householders of Aṅga and Magadha (Petavatthu Commy, p. 22). A bhikkhunī named Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā in course of her journey went to Aṅga (Therīgāthā Commy. p. 106).

Jail Administration in Ancient India.

By AMARESWAR THAKUR, M.A.

The mention of jail and of the sentence of imprisonment is found in such early records as the Pali Jātakas. We do not know, however, from these records how the prisoners were kept in prisons and how the period of imprisonment was apportioned in accordance with the gravity of offence. The Sutano Jātaka represents the king as having unbounded authority over the prisoners—their life and death were in his hands. The king in order to save his life from a *yakkha* promised to send to him one man daily as his food. His ministers encouraged him saying *'mā cintayittha bahu bandhanāgāre manussā'ti'*— 'Be not troubled about the number of men to be sent, for you already have many prisoners in the jail.' The king forthwith began to send one prisoner daily and the result was that the jail gradually became empty. In such ancient law treatises as Gautama, Vasiṣṭha, Āpastamba and Viṣṇu we meet with the term *baddha*[1] (prisoner), though, curiously enough, the mention of imprisonment as a mode of punishment does not occur in any of them. In Manu and Yājñavalkya punishments are said to be of four kinds,[2] *viz.*, *vāgdaṇḍa*, *dhigdaṇḍa*, *dhanadaṇḍa* and *vadhadaṇḍa*. *Vāgdaṇḍa* is the punishment by way of admonition,[3] *dhigdaṇḍa* is the punishment by way of reproof,[4] *dhanadaṇḍa* means the punishment of fine and *vadhadaṇḍa*[5] means corporal punishment, and not the sentence of death. Nārada divides[6] punishments into two classes—corporal punishment (*śāriradaṇḍa*) and fines (*arthadaṇḍa*). The corporal punishment, as expressly stated by him, includes imprisonment.[7] The *smṛitichandrikā* and the Parāśara-

[1] Gau XVII, 17-18, Vas XIV, 2-3, Āp I. 18, 18, 22-26. Vi. LI, 9.
[2] Manu VIII, 129, Ya I. 367.
[3] न साधु कृतवानसि, मा पुनरेवं कार्षीरिति. Medhātithi, न साधु कृतवानसि नैवं भूयः कार्षीरित्येवम् वाङ्निर्भर्त्सनम् Kulluka.
[4] धिग् आत्मनाऽवद्यानिमे पापस्य भूयादित्येवनादि. Kulluka; धिग् धिनादिशब्दैः कृत्यम् ; Medhātithi.
[5] ताडनाद्यङ्गच्छेदरूपं न मारणम्, Kulluka, अङ्गच्छेदनादि न मारणमेव. Medhātithi.
[6] शारीरश्चार्थदण्डश्च दण्डस्तु द्विविधः स्मृतः, Nārada pariśiṣṭā Sl. 53.
[7] शारीरं संनिरोधादिः, Nārada pariśiṣṭa, Sl. 54.

dharmasamhita support this view.[1] A clear reference to the sentence of imprisonment is, however, found in another verse of Manu where he enjoins three kinds of punishment for thieves,[2] *viz.*, *nirodha*, *badha* and *bandha*. *Nirodha* as occurring in this verse has been explained by Kulluka, the commentator, as meaning *kārāgārapraveśa*;[3] *i.e.*, throwing into prison.

A somewhat detailed information about the sentence of imprisonment and administration of jail can be gathered from Kautilya's Arthaśāstra. Here for the first time we meet with some specific cases in which the offenders were liable to be punished with imprisonment. According to Kautilya those of the king's family who actually rebel against him or are of rebellious disposition are to be thrown into prison.[4] Brihaspati supports him in this view.[5] The prince who being the only son of the king and thus naturally dear to him shakes off worldly attachment is also to be imprisoned according to Kautilya.[6] Kautilya further says that persons guilty of stealing minerals[7] or of strolling in the public streets at the dead of night[8] deserve this sentence. Kātyāyana holds that a debtor who is unable to pay off his debts is to be made to work for his creditor, but if the state of his health does not allow him to do so, he is to be imprisoned.[9] Āpastamba prescribes this sentence for a person who abandons the customs of his family and caste or is a perpetrator of atrocious crimes[10] and, according to Nārada, it is to be inflicted on the pupils who forsake their teachers though they are faultless.[11] From all these it is evident that the sentence

[1] एवञ्च बन्धनाङ्कनरोधकर्मकरणबन्धनागारप्रवेशनताडनरूपाः शारीरदण्डभेदाः पञ्चविज्ञेयाः, Sm. Chandrikā, p. 293. वञ्चविधस्य बन्धनाङ्कनरोध-कर्मकरण-बन्धनागारप्रवेशनताडनरूपस्य शारीरस्य विद्यमानत्वात्, Parāśara, p. 205.

[2] VIII. 310.

[3] निरोधनेन कारागारप्रवेशनेन। [4] I. 13.

[5] स्वल्पापराधे वामदण्डो धिगदण्डः पूर्वसाहसे। मध्यमे त्वर्थदण्डस्तु राजद्रोहेषु बन्धनम्॥ Sm. Chandrikā, p. 295.

[6] विराजं प्रियमेकपुत्रं वा बन्धीयात्. I. 10.

[7] खेचमलिङ्गोपजीविनश्च षडं कर्म कारयेत् II. 12.

[8] रात्रौ राजद्वाधिकाञ्चभीतः सारमस्य चरे निचिष्यापनच्छेत्। एवं बन्धनागारञ्जो याचेत। III. 64.

[9] धनदानासहं वृद्धा स्वाधीनं कर्म कारयेत्। चलन्तो बन्धनागारं प्रवेश्यो राजचाहते॥ Sm. Ch., p. 292.

[10] II. 10. 27. 19.

[11] शिष्यबन्धनदुष्टं च चाचार्यं संपरित्यजेत्। वक्तव्यासचितव्यः स्याद्धनवन्धौ च मोक्षति॥ V. 18.

of imprisonment was imposed in ancient India in cases of certain offences, but we do not know from any of the sources mentioned above as to the period for which an offender was to be imprisoned in accordance with the seriousness of his offence. The Śukranītisāra which is certainly a much later work throws some light on this subject. Here it is stated that when the offence committed is not so grave or when it is committed for the first or the second time the sentence of imprisonment should not be awarded; the punishment of fine is quite sufficient to meet the ends of justice.[1] The purport of this opinion is that the sole aim of punishing an offender is to correct him, and if this can be effected by lighter punishments, the heavier ones need not be applied. The term of imprisonment may be one month, three months, six months, one year, or the whole life according to the seriousness of the offence.[2] Śukrācārya's view regarding the caution to be taken regarding the award of the sentence of imprisonment can be traced to a very early period. For we find it stated in some of the inscriptions of Aśoka[3] that the officers-in-charge of the administration of justice had to be very careful and had to take many circumstances into consideration in punishing an offender with imprisonment. That the award of this sentence required serious consideration is clear also from an injunction of Brihaspati, and the explanation put on it by Mitra Miśra the author of the Viramitrodaya. The injunction of Brihaspati simply is 'the king should inflict punishments.'[4] Mitra-Miśra explains it as follows: "the two heavier punishments, *i.e*, fine and corporal chastisement which in its turn includes imprisonment are to be awarded by the king himself, while the lighter punishments, such as admonition and reproof, may be administered by judges."[5]

The jail is to be constructed according to Manu by a public thoroughfare.[6] The purpose is obvious. The sight

[1] प्रथमं साहसं चादौ मध्यमं तदनन्तरम् । यथोक्तं द्विगुणं पश्चादवरोधं ततः परम् ॥

चादौ प्रथमापराधे प्रथमं साहसं, तदनन्तरं मध्यमं साहसं पश्चात् तदनन्तरमपि अपराधे यथोक्तम् उत्तरूपं द्विगुणं दण्डं ततः परम् अवरोधं कारानिरोधनरूपं दण्डम् अर्हतीति शेषः . Commentary. IV. l. 78.

[2] मासमात्रं त्रिमासं वा षण्मासं वापि वत्सरम् । यावज्जीवं तु वा कश्चित् न कश्चिद् वधमर्हति ॥ IV. l. 92.

[3] *See* the Kalinga edicts. [4] स्मृतिः शास्त्रा, Viram, p. 42.

[5] स्मृतिः शास्त्रेति यदुक्तं तदर्थं दण्डवधदण्डयोः राजकर्तृकत्व नियमार्थम् । वाग्दण्डधिग्दण्डौ तु प्राड् विवेकेनापि कार्य्यौ । Viram, p. 43.

[6] बन्धनानि च सर्व्वाणि राजमार्गे निवेशयेत् । दुःखिता यत्र दृश्येरन् विकृता पापकारिणः ॥ IX. 288.

of the prison and the life and hardship of the prisoners is intended to serve as a deterrent. Thus explains Kulluka[1]: 'the jails should be built by the main road in order that the prisoners chained, overpowered with hunger and thirst, with long beard, nails and hair may be seen by persons of evil propensity, and that they may thus be deterred from perpetuating further crimes.' The official in charge of constructing jails is named *sannidhātā* by Kauṭilya.[2] Kauṭilya lays down that the rooms for men and women in a jail are to be separate and well guarded.[3] A prison is to be furnished with privies, wells, bathrooms, means of averting fire and poison and of worshipping the gods.[4] It is further stated that when a convicted person is to enter the jail, the Superintendent is to declare to him the offence which has caused his imprisonment; failing to do so the Superintendent is to be fined with the first amercement.[5] Both Kauṭilya and Śukrāchārya tell us that the repairs of roads, sowing seeds on crown lands and such other menial works are to be done by prisoners.[6] Kauṭilya further says that if the Superintendent of a jail overworks any prisoner or makes him work more than what his strength permits, then the former becomes liable to be fined.[7] We know from the Śukranīti that the caste distinction was duly observed in jails too,[8] for we find it stated there that the work special to the caste to which a prisoner belonged had only to be done by him. We may also gather from Kauṭilya that proper care was taken by the authorities of jails as to the food and drink given to prisoners and any officer acting contrary to these elementary laws or depriving a prisoner of these comforts was punished with fines. Kauṭilya bears evidence to the heinous practice that prevailed in older days of receiving bribes from the prisoners by officers of jails who, of course, were not free from control from higher official authorities. We know further that prisoners were often sub-

---

[1] बन्धनागाराणि सर्वजनदृश्ये राजमार्गे कुर्य्यात्। यत्र निगडबन्धनाद्युपेताः क्षुत्तृष्णाभिभूता दीर्घकेशनखश्मश्रवः पापकारिणोऽन्यैरकार्य्यकारिभिरकार्य्यमिदृच्यं दृश्येरन्

[2] II. 5.

[3] विभक्तस्त्रीपुरुषस्थानं सुगुप्तकक्षं बन्धनागार कारयेत् II. 5.

[4] सर्वेषां शस्त्राग्न्युदपानवच स्नानस्थाग्निविषवारणमाल्यांश्च II. 5.

[5] बन्धनागाराध्यक्षस्य संक्रुडकमनाख्याय चारयतश्चतुर्विंशतिपणो दण्डः, IV. 9.

[6] बद्धरज्जुपरिक्लिष्टायां स्वभूमौ दासकर्मकर दण्डप्रतिकर्तेभिर्वापयेत्. II. 41. ततः संरोधनं नित्यं मार्गसंस्करणार्थकम् IV. 1. 85. and द्विगुणं त्रिगुणं पश्चात् संरोधनौचकर्म च। IV. 81.

[7] कर्मकारयतो द्विगुणः IV. 9.

[8] तत्तज्जात्युक्तकर्माणि कारयेत्न च नैर्ऋतः। IV. 1. 109.

jected to unjust torture and transferred from one jail to another without any apparent reason and that the officer responsible for such deeds was duly punished.[1] An officer obstructing a prisoner in such of his daily avocations as sleeping, sitting, eating or excreting was fined.[2]

It is rather strange to see that Kautilya who propounded such humanising laws should have held that for beating a prisoner to death an officer should be punished with only a fine of 1000 panas.[3] What led him to consider the life of a prisoner so cheap is beyond comprehension. We cannot also congratulate Kautilya for his prescribing a mere punishment of fine for an officer who commits rape with a woman in lock-up.[4]

Those who were not imprisoned for life were released as their terms expired and it is too natural that they should have felt extreme happiness on regaining their freedom. The expression *nikkhamanakālo viya hoti* occurs in the Mugapakkha Jātaka to give an idea of the pleasures a man felt on a certain occasion. The Kusa Jātaka indicates that the system of releasing prisoners on festive occasions, such as marriage in the royal family, etc., prevailed at a very early age. Okkāka, King of Kusāvati, gave orders by means of drums for the release of all prisoners when the marriage ceremony of his son was settled—*Okkāka Kusāvatim gantvā sabbabandhanāni mocāpetvā kusarājassa ānā'ti bherin' carāpesi.* We learn from the Arthaśāstra as well that the prisoners who were young, old, diseased or helpless were usually set free on the days on which the birth star of the king was assigned as well as on the full-moon days.[5] Whenever a new country was conquered, when an heir-apparent was installed on the throne, or when a prince was born to the king, all prisoners were released. Persons of charitable disposition could liberate prisoners by paying an adequate ransom. Prisoners could also be released if they did the work given to them in jail satisfactorily or if they could pay ransom money themselves. Release was possible also if they preferred to enter into an agreement with a person probably to serve him after coming out of the jail in lieu of the ransom money paid by the latter.[6] The fifth rock edict of Aśoka also bears unmistakable

---

[1] स्नानान्नलं गमयतोऽल्पपानं वा बध्नतः वधनिर्देष्टः। परिक्लेशयन उत्कोचयतो वा मध्यमः साहसदण्डः। IV. 9.

[2] बन्धनागारोच्छ्वासनभोजनोच्चारसञ्चारं रोधबन्धनेषु विपर्ययकरा दद्युः कर्मकारयितुश्च। IV. 9.

[3] क्षुतः साहसः IV. 9. [4] संवहितानभिचरतः पूर्वसाहसदण्डः। IV. 9.

[5] बन्धनागारे च बालवृद्धव्याधितानाथानां च ज्ञातिजनपौर्णमासीषु विसर्गः।

[6] पुण्यशीलाः समयानुबद्धा वा दोषनिष्क्रयं दद्युः। कर्मणा कायदण्डेन चिरव्या-

evidence to the practice of granting amnesty to prisoners under special circumstances.

Punishments as conceived by the Indian law-givers were meant not only as a retributive but also as a corrective measure. It is expressly enjoined in the Arthaśāstra and the Śukranīti that the king after punishing the guilty should make them pure and teach them how to live rightly.[1] It is further enjoined by Kautilya that once a day or once in five days prisoners are to be purified.[2] The intention of punishment was thus evidently to reclaim offenders as useful members of society. Śukrāchārya's injunction 'prisoners should be given insufficient and bad food'[3] should be regarded as referring to a disciplinary measure temporarily adopted against those of the prisoners who proved refractory. A reference to unruly prisoners is found in Kautilya. The officer who helped such prisoners or let them out after breaking the jail made himself liable even to a sentence of death.[4]

In Kautilya's opinion a man being imprisoned loses his right of giving evidence in courts.[5] The social position of those who were sentenced to imprisonment was not also enviable. Manu, Vaśiṣṭha, Gotama, Āpastamba, Viṣṇu and Yājñavalkya declare that the food given by such persons is not pure and forbidden to a Brāhmaṇa.[6]

Jail and imprisonment are two of the indispensable elements in all forms of government either as a means of coercion or correction. A government without these cannot be effective either as a machinery for protection of rights and public safety or for administration of justice. In the history of every nation on earth the conception of law as a preventive measure shows an earlier development than the conception of law as a corrective one. In this paper a very humble attempt has been made to bring together just a few facts from the works on polity and law as well as from some of the old Indian folktales as preserved in the Buddhist birth stories

---

नृपदेव वा। अपूर्वदेशाधिगमे युवराजाभिषेचने। पुत्रजन्मनि वा मोक्षो बन्धनस्य विधीयते। Kan. II. 36.

[1] स्वमर्यचरान् पूर्वं राजा दण्डेन शोधयेत्। शोधयेयुश्च मुद्राक्षे चौरजानपदान् दमैः॥ Kautilya दण्डयित्वा तु सन्मार्गे शिक्षयेत्तान् नृपः सदा॥ Śukra-nīti IV. 1. 110.

[2] दिवसे पञ्चरात्रे वा बन्धनस्थान् विशोधयेत्।

[3] मार्गं संस्करणे योज्याः कदन्यन्यूनभोजनाः। IV. 1. 108.

[4] बन्धनागारान् सर्वस्वं वधश्च. IV. 9.

[5] III. 11.

[6] Manu IV. 210, Vas XIV. 2-3, Gotama XVII. 17-18, Āp I. 18, 18, Vi. LI 7-9. Ya I. 161.

that throw some light on prison life and jail administration. Though the light that is thrown by them will appear rather dim, it is bright enough to show that there was behind or beyond the Hindu science of Polity a philosophic consideration of men's freedom as a natrual birth right and of his shortcomings and potentialities. At exactly what period the Hindus had reached such a high stage of advanced political theories, it is far beyond our scope to prove. But judging by the evidence to hand, one can safely assert that Kautilya's Arthaśāstra and Aśoka's edicts clearly show some degree of humanisation of criminal justice.

The Vrātyas and their sacrifices.

By BRAJA LAL MUKHERJEE, M.A.

I.

Pañcha Viṃśa Brāḥmaṇa.

(24. 18.).

This chapter treats of a Yagna which had been performed by Daiva Brātyas (24. 18. 1). The manner of performance was recorded in this work and the performance itself was subsequently recommended by the Ṛṣis, and their followers performed it. This was a 61 day sacrifice, which consisted of the following Yagnas:

Atirātra	..	1 day
Prāyaṇīya	..	1 day
Abhiplava	..	18 days
Pṛṣṭha	..	6 days
Abhijit	..	9 days
Viśvajit	..	6 days
Abhiplava	..	6 days
Āyu	..	1 day
Gauḥ	..	1 day
Dwādaśāha	..	10 days
Mahāvrata	..	1 day
Atirātra	..	1 day
		61 days

This 61 day sacrifice consisted of sacrifices which were the ordinary Yagnas of the Vaidik people and was a form of the Soma Yagna. The text says "tadetadekaṣaṣṭirātraṃ daivānāṃ brātyānāṃ" Sāyaṇa explains this as follows:—etadekaṣaṣṭirātraṃ brātyānāṃ saṃghātmakānāṃ vasvādīnāṃ sattraṃ daivānāmiti svārthika staddhitaḥ. Mark that the word in the text and the commentary is Brātyaḥ. Brātyā devāḥ are explained as collective gods; for instance, The Vasavaḥ, The Rudrāḥ, The Marutaḥ, The Viśvedevāḥ. Here Vrātya is assumed to mean a collection of persons. Daiva is assumed to mean devasambandhi. If however this is correct, then how did the Vasus who were *devas* come to be styled daiva? Sāyaṇa anticipated this difficulty and added "svārthika staddhitaḥ" Deva eva Daivaḥ. Therefore according to Sāyaṇa, the gods who lived in company performed the 61 day sacrifice, in order to reach heaven.

Daivā vai brātyāḥ sattramāsata budhena sthapatinā (24. 18. 2). The Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa says "divyā vai vrātyā vrātyāmadhāvayan budhena sthapatinā[1].

We may quite reasonably assume that the word "daivā" of P. B. has the same meaning as "divyā" of the J. B.; and that "brātyāḥ of P. B. is also the same as" vrātyāḥ of J. B. They performed a sacrifice. In the performance of this sacrifice, the sacrificers 'vrātyāmadhāvayan.' According to Caland. "Die göttlichen Vrātyas fürhten ein Vrātya leben."

The P. B. says

te ha vā anirvyāchya varuṇam rājānam devayajanandidīkṣustān ha varuṇo rājānuvyājahārāntaremi vo yagniyād bhāgadheyānna devayānaṃ panthānaṃ pragnāsyatheti tasmāttebhyo na havirgṛhṇanti na graham (24. 18. 2).

Compare Jaimini: ta ete vrātyā ārchannimaṃ vaiva yovaṃ pavata iśānaṃ va devaṃ tān yajnasyārtyāvidhyat te svargaṃ lokaṃ na prājānan[2].

The common story is that these divyā or daivā brātyāḥ or vrātyāḥ performed a sacrifice, but an offence was caused. The P. B. describes how the offence was caused but the J. B. is silent on this point. The J. B. says that the performers were pierced by the thunderbolt of the Yagna. Some god was offended. This was either the one who here blows (i.e. Vāyu) or Iśāna deva (the great god). The name of this Iśāna deva is Varuṇa as stated in the P. B.; the god who is known as Varuṇo Rājā. According to Vaidik rules and practice, permission had to be first obtained from Varuṇa to use a piece of land for the performance of a Yagña and the usual mantra, i.e. prayer for the grant was "deva varuṇa devayajanannodehi."[3] The Brātya gods omitted to recite this mantra, and the result of the omission was that they toiled in vain and did not find success. It was only after they had acknowledged that the recitation of this mantra was necessary, that they succeeded in their Yagna. Therefore, it was the wilful departure from established rule which constituted the idea conveyed by the words 'vrātyām pravasanti.'

Reference is also made to divyā vrātyāḥ in J. B. (97)

Pṛthur ha vainyo divyān vrātyān papracchha

Yagñasya dhāma paramaṃ guhā san
nirmitaṃ mahato-ntariksāt।
kasmād yanti pavamānāḥ parānchaḥ
kasmād ukthyāḥ punarabhyākanikratti॥
devā anyām vartanim adhvarasya
mānuṣāsa upajīvanty anyām।

---

[1] Caland, Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa, 146.

[2] J. B. II, 222 (Caland 146).

[3] Ap. Ś. S. 10. 2. 9, 10. Baudhāyana Somaprayoga III, E. 234 MS., A.S.B. yakṣye iti saṃkalpya devayajanamadhyavasyati.

tasmād yanti pavamānāh parānchas
tasmād ukthyāḥ punar abhyākanikratīti ‖

ha pratyūchuḥ

The plain meaning of 'divyān vrātyān' is the Vrātyas amongst the gods. The opinion of these heavenly Vrātyas is asked for, about a point relating to the pavamānastotras and the ukthyas. Divyān vrātyān could not possibly mean in this connection, 'saṃghātmakān devasambandhi janān.' This would be senseless. The question could not have been put to them simply because some of them lived in company. Sāyaṇa's interpretation therefore must be rejected.

(Ch. 17)

devā vai svargaṃ lokamāyaṃsteṣāṃ daivā ahīyanta vrātyāṃ pravasantaḥ x x x daivā would mean the descendants or the followers of the devas or those who were somehow or other connected with the devas, or those who were almost devas. . Ahīyanta would mean 'became alienated.'

hīnā vā ete hīyante ye vrātyāṃ pravasanti na hi brahmacharyyaṃcharanti na kṛsinna vaṇijyāṃ ṣoḍaśo vā etat stomaḥ samāptu marhati (1. 2).

Sāyaṇa.

ye puruṣāh vrātyāṃ vrātyatāṃ vihitākaraṇa pratiṣiddhaniṣevana rūpāmprāpya pravasanti ete hīnā nikṛṣṭāḥ santo hīyante nikṛṣṭatamā bhavanti x x x.

Weber.

" sehr trübe nämlich geht es denen, die nomadisch leben " (Ind. Stud i.33)

Charpentier's.

" als (hinter anderen) Zurückstehende werden die fürwahr zurückgelassen, die ohne Riten ferne wohnen (W Z K M XXV. 360)

In the above text, certain characteristics of vrātyā pravasanam, or as Apastamba has it " vrātyānāṃ pravāsam[1] are set out. Those who become alienated are mean; they become degraded. If a Brāhmaṇa does not follow brahmacharyya, he is said to be in vrātyā.

According to Sāyaṇa, those men who do not perform their prescribed duties or do what is forbidden, are in a Vrātya state. In the text, the word Vrātya is not explained, but sufficient indications are given to explain it. The idea of a nomadic life (Weber) is foreign to the text. In Charpentier's translation there is an implication that they do not perform rites. This I am afraid is much too wide. 'They do not perform brah-

[1] Śr Ś 22. 5. 4.

macharyya,' does not imply that they do not perform rites. On the other hand, the passages from the 24śh Chapter of the P.B. shew that they did perform sacrifices, and one of these sacrifices took 61 days or nights.

Neither in the commentary nor in the translations have the words of the text been strictly followed. The first statement is ' na hi brahmacharyyamcharanti.' This plainly means that they do not perform brahmacharyya, that is to say, they do not adhere to the Vaidik rules of brahmacharyya which principally bears the idea of prosecuting studies and residing in the houses of their teachers, and begging of alms and following other rules prescribed by the Vedas for students.[1] There is nothing to shew that amongst those people there were no students; and on the contrary, Lātyāyana speaks of persons amongst them as 'adhyayane abhikrāntitamah.[2] To explain this more clearly, let us refer to another chapter of Gautama.[3] He says that the principal duty of a Brāhmana is adhyayana. He may add teaching or add Krsi and vānijya.[4] If he adds krsi and vānijya, he must employ somebody to do these for him, i.e. to say he must not personally engage in these pursuits. These passages of Gautama shew us how brahmacharyya krsi and vānijya have been brought together in the passage of the P.B. above quoted.

Therefore it is clear that in this passage, reference is made to Brāhmanas who do not perform their studies in manner prescribed by the Vedas.

(19)

garagiro vā ete ye brahmādyamjanyamannamadanti

Sāyana :

ete vaksyamānā garagiro vai garalasya visasya bhaksayitārah ye vrātyāh brahmādyam brāhmanairbhojyam janyam janapada sambandhi annamadanti brāhmanārthaparikalpitamannam valātkārena bhunjata ityarthah.

Weber :

sie essen alle möglichen, auch verbotene, Speisen.

Charpentier :

Gift verschlucken die, welche da die Brahmanenspeisen des Landes verzehren.

There is no word in the text conveying the idea of force suggested by Valātkārena.

I prefer to take ' Garagiro va ete ' separately from the rest of the sentence. The Vaidikas had two drinks namely Soma

---

[1] Gautama Dh. S 2. 11–47. [2] Śr. S 8. 6. 1.
[3] Dharma Sūtra Ch 10. [4] 10. 5.

and Surā; that is, Bhāng[1] and spirituous liquor respectively. Soma was considered as pure and Amṛta, and Surā was impure and poison. But the Vedas declare Surā as proper to be offered to the Pitris.[2] Surā is declared to be food and it may be taken after it is purified.[3] Therefore garaḥ becomes pure by Vaidik direction. The Vrātyas drank Surā without caring to purify it; and herein lies the difference. The followers of Vaidik Law admitted the ordination that Surā could be offered and drunk if purified, but those who did not care for this Vaidik precept, were considered to be living in a Vrātya state.

I am unable to follow Weber. How does 'alle möglichen', come in and so also 'verbotene Speisen'? Charpentier makes a closer approach but how can 'Brahmanenspeisen *des Landes* represent the idea conveyed by brahmādyaṃ janyaṃ annam? Brahmādyaṃ janyamannaṃ means food prepared in the market place which are proper to be eaten by Brāhmaṇas after purification; for Bodhāyana says.—

trīṇi devāḥ pavitrāṇi brāhmaṇānāmakalpayan adṛṣṭamadbhir nirniktaṃ yaccha vāchā praśasyate[4]

and he adds ....:

Parokṣamadhisritasyānnasyāvadyotyābhyukṣaṇam(1)tathāpaneyānāṃ cha bhakṣyāṇām[5]

Brahmādyaṃjanyamannam is food proper for Brāhmaṇas after purification. Therefore, those who partook of such food before purification in utter disregard of the Vaidik rule to that effect, were in a Vrātya state. There is no question of forcible snatching away of food, but the state of mind depicted in the text is, that of disregard and disobedience to Vaidik rules.

Aduruktavākyaṃ duruktamāhuḥ

Sāyaṇa:

Ye cha aduruktavākyaṃ śobhanārthapratipādakaṃ vākyaṃ duruktaṃ duṣṭamāhuḥ.

Weber:

leicht verständliche Worte nennen sie schwer verständlich [bezieht sich dies etwa auf die schwierige Aussprache der Consonantengruppen? liebten sie etwa Assimilation, die cerebralen Laute u. dergl. den prakritischen Sprachen eigene Gesetze?]

Charpentier:

die da leicht aussprechbare Worte schlecht aussprechen.

There is nothing to be said about Sāyaṇa's commentary except this, that the original word adurukta is in the negative but his suggested explanation is an affirmative idea. The original has

[1] J.R.A.S. April 1921, see also my pamphlet on Soma and the articles on the subject in the Bhāratavarṣa.
[2] Śat. Br. V. 5. 4. 27 et seq. [3] Śat. Br. XII. 7. 3. 8.
[4] Dharma Sūtra 1. 5. 56. [5] Dharma Sūtra 1. 5. 61.

a negative sense and the commentary ought to bring out the negative idea fully. The vākya according to the text must be 'not-durukta' that is to say an exact contradiction of durukta. The text does not mean that the vākyam was śobhanārthapratipādakam: what was considered to be durukta and what not, has not been discussed by Sāyaṇa. Weber's translation is not accurate; because 'durukta' has strictly speaking nothing to do with the understanding of the Vākya. The note which he appends to his translation throws out a valuable suggestion and is worth careful consideration. But where does āhuḥ come in? Āha does not refer to pronunciation. Charpentier also believes that there is a reference here to pronunciation. The meaning therefore according to these learned scholars is, that those who pronounce hard what is easy to pronounce, live in a vrātya state. The text does not say duruktavākyam aduruktamāhuḥ. Therefore this passage cannot be taken to imply that vrātyas spoke in Prākrit. What then are we really to understand out of this passage? And why should mere peculiarity in the pronunciation of words be deemed to cause sin? Is there any text in Vaidik literature condemning the pronunciation of soft sounds as hard ones? And does the present passage imply an innate defect or wilful departure in pronouncing soft sounds as hard ones? These questions naturally arise and an attempt must be made to answer them, as the reply is likely to help us in identifying the Vrātyas. Duruktavākya means a term of abuse or a term conveying an obscene or indecent idea. Expressions which to Vaidik people were, according to Vaidik direction, not obscene or not indecent, were declared by the Vrātyas to be obscene and indecent. There is an illustration of this in Lātyāyana 4. 3.

sā brūyāddusścharitiṃ nabakīrninniti dhikkājālmi pumścharī grāmasya mārjanī puruṣasya puruṣasya śiśnapraṇejanīti brahmachārī.

The words here are certainly indecent but the Vaidik would still recite the conversation, simply because there was a Vaidik direction for its use. The Vrātyas however would not recite it, in spite of the direction. This conversation formed part of a Yagna, that is to say the conversation must be repeated or recited in the performance of the Yagna. This language and these words were adurukta by reason of the fact that they were to be recited in the Yagna by direction. These were adurukta by direction. Those who did not obey this direction, would call these words durukta. Therefore those who did not obey this direction, were Vrātyas.

adaṇḍyandaṇḍena ghnantascharanti

Sāyaṇa:

tathā-adaṇḍyaṃ daṇḍānarhaṃ janandaṇḍena ghnanto himsantaścharanti

Weber:

sie bestrafen Unschuldige

Charpentier:

die da solche strafen, die keine Strafe verdienen

We find that Brāhmaṇas are adaṇḍya by direction. Gautama banishes from heaven for 100 years, a man who in anger strikes a Brāhmaṇa.[1] The idea is that they do not scruple to strike a person who according to direction must not be struck. Brāhmaṇas are adaṇḍya by ordination. Those who defy this ordination of the Brāhmaṇas are said to live a Vrātya life.

adikṣitā dīkṣitavācham vadanti

Sāyaṇa:

Tathā svayamadīkṣitāḥ akṛtadikṣāḥ dīkṣitaiḥ prayojyām vācham

Weber:

obwol nicht brahmanisch geweiht, reden sie doch dieselbe Sprache mit den brahmanisch Geweihten

Charpentier:

und, ohne geweiht zu sein, die Reden der Geweihten führen.

According to Vaidik rule, the dīkshita has to restrain speech[2] and consequently has to speak falteringly; parihvālam vācham vadati.[3] This rule therefore does not apply to a man who is not consecrated. The purport of this clause is that the people to whom it refers restrain their speech in spite of the fact that they are not dikṣita; that is to say, that they do not take consecration before performing a Yagna.

(17. 2.)

This section speaks of the Yagna to be performed by those who were considered as living in a vrātya state, being nṛśaṃsa and nindita. For instance, the slaughter of an animal was under Vaidik direction a non-cruel, and not-odious act (in a sacrifice for the devas or for an atithi) but was considered to be a cruel and odious act if made for selfish purposes only. Again, in the act of cutting, the mantra 'svadhite mā himsīḥ' must be used. If you use this mantra, the cutting is no longer a cruel act, but if you do not use this mantra, then the cutting is a cruel act.

[1] Dh. S. 21. [2] Kātyāyana Śr. S 7. 106.
[3] Śat. Br III. 2. 2. 27.

(17. 3.)

This section speaks of those who in their childhood neglect or disregard their religious duties; for instance, do not take the sāvitrīdīkṣā although competent[1] under Vaidik rules. These are called patita sāvitrīkāḥ.

(17. 4).

This section speaks of those who have not cared to follow Vaidik rules and precepts for sexual intercourse and have lost virility. For instance, Āpastamba says: 'pravachanayukto varṣāsaradam maithunam varjayet mithunibhūya cha na tayā saha sarvām rātrim śayita.[2] A man who does not follow this rule comes within the purview of this section.

In the four chapters, we have four specimens of vrātya pravāsa; namely (1) Disregard of Vaidik rules in regard to education and avocation, (2) Disregard of Vaidik rules as to performance of Yagnas, (3) Disregard of Vaidik rules by youngsters, (4) Disregard of Vaidik rules by elders.

All this shews a secession; a want of conformity with old order, and consequently, an appearance of disorder which the steady people dreaded as being ruinous to society. Even the demi-gods had once seceded and lived in disorder, and they also had thereafter repented, and performed a sacrifice which put them on an equal footing with the gods. The Maruts had created disorder by demanding a share of his dinner from Indra,[3] and then they had to repent. They performed a sacrifice the Vrātyastoma, and they became equal with the gods.

The P. B. does not speak of Vrātyas. It speaks of Vrātyastomas, as Yagnas to be performed by those who 'vrātyām pravasanti.' In plain Sanskrit, it is like this 'ye vrātyām pravasanti teṣām stomaḥ vrātyastomaḥ which must be analysed into vrātyānām stomaḥ and then we get ye vrātyām pravasanti te vrātyāḥ. This is supported by Āpastamba[4] who says vrātyānām pravāse 'vrātyastomāḥ.'[5]

The vrātyastomas fall within the Ekāha class of Somayagnas. The vrātyas having been divided into four classes, there are four vrātyastomas,[6] of which the first is for those who are described in the first section of chapter XVII of the P.B., the second being for the nṛśaṃsāḥ ninditāḥ described in section two; the third being for the Kaniṣṭhāḥ mentioned in section three; and the fourth being for the jyeṣṭhāḥ mentioned in section four.

The form of the Ekāha Somayagna is the Agniṣtoma, and

---

[1] Gobhila II. 10, 1; 7. See also Gautama Dh. S 1. 14. Āpastamba Dh. S 1. 1. 19. Bodhāyana Dh. S 1. 2. 8, 13.
[2] Dh. S 1. 32. 1; 2. [3] R. V. 1. 116. 5.
[4] Śr. S. 22. 5. 4. [5] Śr. S. 22. 5. 4. [6] Katyāyana Sr. S. 22. 123

the second form is the Ukthya. According to Āpastamba[1] all the four vrātya-stomas are Ukthyas and the Rathantara sāma is used. He also suggests that the second vrātyastoma may be an Agniṣṭoma. According to Kātyāyana, numbers one, three, and four are Agniṣṭoma, and number two is an ukthya. According to the P. B. all the four are Agniṣṭoma. The usual rule is that the Bṛhat tune is used in the Pṛṣṭha stotra in the mid-day pressing; but according to Apastamba, in the Vrātyastoma ukthya, the Pṛṣṭha stotra should have Rathantara sāma. In the Agniṣṭoma form, the Rathantara is used for the Pṛṣṭha stotra. According to P. B. the very last tune to be sung must be Yagnāyagniya tune applied to the Ṛk beginning with devo vā draviṇodā.[2]

In the Mādhyandina pressing, the Brahma sāma should be in the dyautāna tune applied to Ṛk adhāhimdra girvaṇa.[3] The parokṣamānuṣṭubham chhandaḥ[4] must be used. This refers to the use of the following mantra:—

viśvo devasya neturmarto vurita sakhyaṃ
viśvo rāya iṣudhyati dyumnaṃ vṛṇita puṣyase.[5]

All anuṣṭubh verses have 32 syllables, but this one has 31 syllables; notwithstanding this, it is still considered to be an anuṣṭubh. Therefore this is referred to as parokṣa anuṣṭubha. The J. B. says anuṣṭup pratipad bhavati;[6] and about this mantra it is said viśvo devasyeti pratipattṛchasyādyaḥ.[7]

This mantra is ordinarily used in the Soma sacrifice[8] and this is also used in the Vrātyastoma. In connection with the Vrātyastoma, the propriety of using the chhanda is that the man with a defect becomes whole. Man has 10 fingers, 10 toes, 10 vital airs and the thirty-first is the body. Therefore thirty one makes the man whole.[9] Therefore, a mantra with 31 syllables must be used. The above is the argument in ordinary cases, but in the case of Vrātyastoma the argument is that the chhandaḥ here is disorderly; therefore it should be used.

The soḍaśa stoma is also prescribed. Stomas are combinations of sāmas. They are distinguished by their number as trivṛt stoma, pañchadaśa stoma, saptadaśa stoma and so on. Take for instance, a stanza of a piece of poetry. The stanza is the Rik. Sing it; the song is the sāma. Take three sāmas. We can combine them or permute them in various ways intending to produce a certain sum-total; but only some of the

---

1 Āpastamba 22. 5. 4.
2 Bibl. Ind. Sāma Veda V. 28. 3 S. V. III. 193.
4 P. B. 17. 1. 1. see also P. B. 4. 8, 15. 9. 15 and Nidāna 3, 4.
5 R. V. 5. 50. 1; V.S. IV. 8.
6 Caland, Das Jaiminiya Brāhmana in Auswahl 146.
7 Āśvalāyana Śr. S. 7. 6. and Sāyaṇa on R. V. 5. 50.
8 Śat. Br. III. 1. 4. 18 etc.
9 S. B. III. 1. 4. 23.

possible combinations are allowed.[1] Let a, b, and c be sāmas; and let the sum-total of the sāmas to be produced be nine. Then take

1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1b	1c
1b	1c	1a or	1b	1b	1b or	1a	1b	1c
1c	1a	1b	1c	1c	1c	1a	1b	1c

In a pañchadaśa stoma, the following combinations have to be taken :—

3a	1b	1c	3a	1b	1c	1a	1b	1c
1a	3b	1c or	1a	1b	1c or	1a	3b	1c
1a	1b	3c	1a	3b	3c	3a	1b	3c

The next stoma in the regular line is not the ṣoḍaśa stoma but it is the saptadaśa stoma which is as follows :—

3a	1b	1c	3a	1b	1c	3a	3b	1c
1a	3b	1c or	1a	3b	1c or	1a	1b	1c
1a	3b	3c	3a	1b	3c	1a	3b	3c

3a	1b	3c	3a	1b	1c	1a	1b	1c	3a	3b	1c
1a	1b	1c or	1a	1b	1c or	1a	3b	1c or	1a	3b	1c
3a	1b	3c	3a	3b	3c	3a	3b	3c	1a	1b	3c

How will the ṣoḍaśa stoma come in? The J.B. acknowledges that this was not one of the stomas ordinarily used by the Rishis,[2] and adds the following statement :—

tadu vāvāgastyaḥ x x x sa etaṃ ṣoḍaśaṃ stomamapaśyat x x x anuchara ivaiṣa stomānāṃ yat ṣoḍaśastasmādvagastayo bahirdheva kurupanchalebhyo bahirdheva hyeṣa stomebhyo yat ṣoḍaśaḥ.

Agastya is said to have discovered the ṣoḍaśa stoma. We may be permitted to guess that Agastya was the first man to suggest a penance for those who were beginning to alienate and create disorder. This created a strong feeling against Agastya and he was treated as if he was outside the Kurupāñchālas. Was not his stoma outside the ordinary stomas? Agastya was a revered sage, and had composed a large number of verses some of which namely the Āprī hymns[3] had been included in the Yagnas. His wife was a seer.[4] His son's wife was a warrior-queen. He is referred to with great respect by the sons of Vaśiṣtha[5]. He could not be neglected, nor could he be outcasted; and the followers of law and order accepted the stoma which he discovered. He had lauded the Marutas, sometimes indirectly preferring them to Indra.[6]

---

[1] P. B. 2. [2] Caland 145. [3] R. V. 1. 188.
[4] R. V. 1. 179. [5] R. V. 7. 33. [6] R. V. 1. 165.

P. B. 17. 1. 3.

Marutststomo vā esa

The Vrātyastoma is a marutstoma, that is to say it is a Yagna which is performed by friends or brethren.[1]

17. 1. 4–6.

Kakubhaṃ prāchīmudūhati [2] atha yadesā dvipadā kakubho loke kriyate rūpeṇaivaināṃstat samardhayati (1) adhāhīndra girvaṇa iti viṣamaṃ chhando viṣama iva vai vrātaḥ sarvānevaitān samān karoti (1) tāsu dyautānam.

This refers to the use of the trcha [3] beginning with adhāhīndra girvaṇa that is to say :—

(1)

adhāhīndra girvaṇa upatvā kāma imahe sasrgmahe |
udevagmanta udabhiḥ‖..... (a)

(2)

vārṇatvāyavyābhirvardhanti śūrabrahmāṇi |
vavṛdhvāṃsaṃ chidadrivo divedive ..... (b)

(3)

yuñjanti harī iṣirasya gāthayo rauratha
uruyuge vacho yujā |
indravāhā svarvidā‖..... (c)

The metre of the first is kakubh as it consists of 8 + 12 + 8 = 28 syllables (kakubusṇik). The second is deemed to consist of 8 + 8 + 12 = 28 syllables (parā-usṇik). The third consists of 12 + 12 + 8 = 32 syllables (Kṛti anuṣtup). It will be observed that the correct reading of the Ṛk is as given in the Rig Veda [4] 12 + 8 + 8 = 28 syllables (Pura usṇika). The text notes that there is want of uniformity as regards the metre of the three mantras. It also points out that there is want of uniformity amongst the people forming the group performing the sacrifice. There is similarity (appropriateness) in respect of want of uniformity between the collection of mantras and the collection of men performing the sacrifice. Therefore the trcha is appropriate. Again, in this disorder of mantras we find that they make a complete whole ; these three form one trcha. therefore the persons in the congregation using the trcha become one. The Ṛk trcha adhāhīndra is the composition of Rishi Nṛmedha who has himself set it to tune called Nārmedha and

[1] Lāt. Śr. S 9. 4. 25.
[2] Cf. J. B. I. 158. 159.
[3] Sāma Veda (Bibl. Ind. III 190)
[4] R. V. 8.98.9.

the same Ṛk has been set to tune probably by Rishi Dyutāna the composer of another hymn of the Rig Veda.[1] Dyutāna māruta who is said to be the gṛhapati of the daivā vrātyāḥ is certainly a mythical being and by help of the similarity of the name of the man Dyutāna with the word Dyutāna in R.V. 6. 15. 4 a myth has been created for the purpose of clothing with authority the direction for the use of the dyautāna sāma. The Dyāutāna Sāma ends with the syllables

2 ||||
ā au 3 ho 2345[2]

According to some, the sāma should end with the syllables
ā indrā[3]

The Nidāna admits that there is a difference of opinion, in this respect.[4]

The Vrātyas were required to admit the superiority of Indra and thus originated the practice of loudly chanting the name of Indra. The last mantra used at about the end of the sacrifice contains the word 'devaḥ' and this is used also as an acknowledgment of the superiority of the ancient god Indra.

As in all other Yagnas, certain articles have to be secured for the performance of a Vrātyastoma. In a Soma Yagna also, various articles are required as will appear from a short description of the Yagna.

South of the Ahavantya fire, the sacrificer spreads two black antelope skins which are stitched together along their edge. He then sits behind the two skins touching them at a place where the white and black hair join, and mutters a mantra. He then girds himself with a rope. The girdle is made of hemp or some other material and is intertwined with a shoot of reed. He tucks up the end of his nether garment and then he wraps up his head. The guiding priest then hands to the sacrificer a staff for driving away evil spirits. It is made of Ficus glomerata (udumbara). It reaches up to his mouth. After some other ceremonies there is an offering with a piece of gold. Then the sacrificer follows a cow stepping into seven footsteps of hers. Round the seventh foot print he sits, places the piece of gold in it and makes an oblation. Then he takes up the wooden sword and draws lines round the foot-print and the dust of the foot print is given to the sacrificer's wife. Then a soma cloth and a soma wrapper, that is, a piece of cloth for a nether garment and a piece of cloth for the upper garment of soma are called for, as well as well as a head-band for soma. On going to a stall in the market place where soma is sold, the sacrificer places an ox-hide on the ground, and spreads the cloth over it with the fringe towards the east or north. He then

[1] R. V. 8. 96.
[2] Sāma Veda (Bib. Ind.) III. 75. 193.
[3] Upagrantha Sūtram 3. 8.
[4] Nidāna (Sāmaśrami's edition) 6.11.

chooses out and bargains and places the soma on the car or cart. It is placed in the middle of the cart. Then the soma is covered by the wrapper. There are two shafts on the sides of the cart, which are tied together near the yoke which crosses them. This is similar to the ordinary bullock cart of the present day.

When the cart is at rest, the pole of the cart with the shafts being the lighter side of the cart goes up and the back of the cart rests on the ground. In the cart which is here described there is an empty space between the shafts and the driver stands on the ground between the shafts and drives soma to the place of sacrifice.

All the articles or things named in P.B. 17. 1. 14, 15 are required for the performance of the Yagna and that is the reason why they have been set out in the form of a list. At the same time, we observe that there are differences in the forms of the articles mentioned in the list from those required in a regular Soma sacrifice. Instead of the regular daṇḍa, we have here the pratoda. Instead of the wooden sword, we have the jyāhnodaḥ, and instead of the cart we have the horse-driven gig. Instead of a piece of gold, we have here a piece of silver.

The rule is that all things used in the performance of a Yagna must be distributed amongst the officiating priests. In the Vrātyastoma however, according to Lāṭyāyana,[1] these things should be given to those who continue in their vrātya state or to a brahmabandhu or to a māgadhadeśīya meaning thereby low and disorderly man. The effect on the recipients is that they also become pure.[2]

II.

The dharma Sūtras.

The Dharmasūtras also speak of Vrātyastomas. Gautama says,[3]

atha khalvayaṃ puruso vāpyena karmaṇā lipyate yathaitadayājyayājanamabhakṣyabhakṣaṇamavadyavadanamaṣiṣṭasyākriyā pratiṣiddhasevanamiti x x x x punaḥstomenesṭvā punassavanamāyantīti vijnāyate vrātyastomaiścheṣṭvā.

Man is affected by blameable acts, for instance, (1) sacrificing for persons for whom sacrifices should not be performed, (2) eating what may not be eaten, (3) saying what may not be said, (4) not performing prescribed duties, (5) doing what has been forbidden. These are instances of blameable acts. By performing punaḥstoma the doer of any of the said acts again joins in the savana; so also by performing the vrātyastomas. This passage implies that the doing of any of the said acts is accompanied by a cutting off from the savana. In plain

[1] Lāt. Śr. S 8. 6. 28. [2] P. B. 17. 1. 16.

[3] Dh. S. 19. 2—9.

language, it means that such a man was not allowed to enjoy the fruits of the yagna. He would not be invited to the dinner. But if such a man had performed the punahstoma he would be allowed to join in the Yagna. He would also be allowed to do so after the performance of the vrātyastoma. In naming the punahstoma, the author uses the singular number; but in naming the vrātyastomas, he uses the plural number. Therefore, we are justified in making the inference that either the one or the other of the four vrātyastomas must be performed, —and that again according to the quality of the offence, as prescribed by the P.B. The P.B. does not put forward avājya-yājana as an illustration of an act to expiate which the vrātyastomas have to be performed. Abhakṣyabhakṣaṇa (Gautama) is very much wider than brahmādyamjanyamanan-namadanam. Avadyavadanam (Gautama) is also wider than or probably different from the idea conveyed by the expression aduruktavākyam duruktamāhuḥ and adīksitā dīksitavācham vadanti (P.B.) In all the cases, the general pervading idea is, a departure from practices prescribed for people who have taken or who are competent to take sāvitrīdīkṣā.

The Āpastambiya Dharmasūtra does not mention Vrātyas, or the Vrātyastomas.

Vasiṣtha does not use the word vrātya, but simply mentions that persons who have not taken the sāvitrīdīkṣā within the time prescribed for the purpose, are patitasāvitrīkāḥ, and says that they should undergo the Uddālaka vrata or should perform avabhṛtha bath or perform the Vrātyastoma. He uses the word vrātyastoma in the singular.

There are essential points of difference between the P.B. and Gautama; and further differences between Gautama and Vasiṣtha. The Vrātyastomas in the earliest known times were meant for a larger variety of persons than in later times. In course of time, the variety had decreased and still later, there was a further reduction both in the variety of the vrātyas-tomas and the variety of people for whom the Yagna was meant and finally there was only one kind of performance and one class for whom the same was meant.

Next, we come to read varṇasaṃkarādutpannān vrātyānā-hurmanīṣinaḥ.[1]

And Baudhāyana does not prescribe the Vrātyastoma or any other performance for them. They were according to Baudhāyana born of disorder.

Manu knows only one class of vrātyas, namely sāvitrīpatitas and their descendants.[2] For sāvitrīpatita persons, Yāgnavalkya allows a vrātyastoma.[3] Viṣnu does not expressly mention the penance.[4]

[1] Baudh Dh. S. 1. 9. 15.
[2] Manu II. 39-40; x. 20-23. [3] 1. 37 et seq. [4] 27. 27.

Vrātyastoma is, therefore, as I have suggested a social or religious penance for those who have in some manner or other defied or neglected religious law and order.

III.

The Mahābhārata.

(Karṇaparva)

Karṇa speaks of the characteristics of the Vāhīkas.[1] The Vāhīkas were neither non-Hindus nor were they nomads. They worshipped the god Agni by the name of Bhava.[2] They were not Śūdras. Some of the general characteristics of the Vāhīkas are as follows :—

dhānā gauḍyāsavaṃ pītvā gomāṃsaṃ laśunaiḥ saha
āpūpamāṃsamadyānāmāśinaḥ śīlavarjitāḥ

These kinds of food may be taken either for performance of a Yagna or after purification, as above stated. If they are taken in contravention of the rules, such eating causes pātitya.[3] Therefore a man who takes such food or drink without following the prescribed rules is called a vrātya.

anāvṛtā maithune tāḥ[4]

This is a contravention of the Vaidik rule which is mentioned in the Ś. B. 6. 4. 4. 19

vrātyāḥ parvasvasaṃyatāḥ

This is a contravention of another Vaidik rule viz :— (parvasu) na māṃsamaśnīyānna striyamupeyāt[5]

The description of the Vāhīkas supports my suggestion namely that men originally belonging to the Vaidik community but becoming alienated and neglecting or defying Vaidik precepts and creating disorder were called vrātyas.

1 Karṇa 44 2 Ś. B. 1. 7. 3. 8.
3 Ap. Dh. S. 1. 21. 14. Gautama 17. 28, 35.
4 Cf. Herodotus, Thalia 101. 5 Baudhāyana 1. 11. 36.

The Word 'Vrā' in the Rig Veda.

By BRAJA LAL MUKHERJEE. M.A.

Sāyaṇa and the translators have given this word a variety of meanings. Let us discuss the texts in which the word appears.

1. 124, 8.

Kakṣīvān Uṣā

Svasā svasre jyāyasyai yonimāraigapaityasyāḥ pratichakṣyeva | vyuchhaṃti raśmibhiḥ sūryyasyāṃjyaṃkte samanagā iva vrāḥ |

Commentary.

vrā vrātāḥ vidyut saṃghā iva | xxx | ta iva vrā vrātāḥ saṃghībhūtāḥ | xxx | vrāta ityatra takāralopaśchhāṃdasaḥ |

Translations.

Wilson: "The sister has prepared a birthplace for her elder sister, and having made it known to her, departs. Ushas, dispersing the darkness with the rays of the sun, illumines the world, like congregated lightnings".

Griffith: "The sister quitteth, for the elder sister her place, and having looked on her departeth. She decks her beauty, shining forth with sunbeams, like women trooping to the festal meeting.

Langlois: A son lever, les rayons du soleil, ornent son cortège tels que les compagnes (d'une jeune mariée) (R.V. I. 307).

Ludwig: aufleuchtend mit der sonne stralen ziert sie mit schmuck die gleichsam zu festlicher zusammenkunft gehnden scharen. (R.V. I. 14).

Notes.

Sāyaṇa *assumes* that vrāḥ = vrātāḥ without ascribing any reason and without pointing to authority or literary usage. His only reason seems to be that vrā may be derived from vrātaḥ by elision of ta. This clearly shows that he hunted for the meaning of the word in its derivation. If he had referred to vocabularies he would have found a different meaning altogether. In attempting to solve the meaning of the word by a grammatical process, he has had to assume the meaning of another word the meaning of which was equally unknown. The translators have followed Sāyaṇa's idea, without independent enquiry and therefore the translations do not call for remarks.

In order to support his view that vrā means a congregation, Sāyaṇa again wades through his grammar and resolves as follows :—

Kimiva | samanagā iva | samyagamanahetava āpaḥ samanāḥ | tā gachhantīti samanagā vidyutaḥ | xxx | yadvā samyagamanāya gachhantīti samanagāḥ sūryyaraśmayaḥ ||

His grammar unfortunately does not render him any assistance in his attempt to make sense out of the text. The sense he gives to the text is, that 'she with the rays of the sun having dispersed the darkness, manifests the world like congregated lightnings.' We note the difference between manifestation caused by the sun's rays and a manifestation caused by lightning. A Vedic poet could not possibly have made a mistake in noting the difference.

Now, let us try to explain the passage with the help of literary usage and vocabularies.

Yāska : vrāḥ = lubdhakādayaḥ (hunters).

Samanam = Saṃgrāmam (close contact between two ; for instance, wrestling, fighting, hunting).

Therefore, samanagāḥ would mean those who are going to fight.

Therefore, samanagāḥ vrāḥ would mean hunters going to hunt, or running after their prey. Then the passage would mean 'she with the sun's rays manifesting (disclosing or discovering) like hunters going to hunt.' This passage therefore relates to the sudden appearance of the world when the sun suddenly springs up from below the horizon and discloses the world, exactly as hunters all on a sudden discover their prey. This I think makes some sense. And if it can be established that the same meaning applies to the word wherever the word appears, then we are bound to accept the meaning as the correct one.

1 126, 5.

Kakṣīvān Bhāvayavyaḥ

Pūrvāmanu prayatimā dade
vastrīnyuktām aṣṭāvaridhāyaso gāḥ |
subaṃdhavo ye viśyā iva vrā
anasvaṃtaḥ śrava aiśaṃta pajrāḥ ||

Commentary.

vriyaṃta iti vrā vrātāḥ | takāralopaschhāṃdasaḥ | viśāṃ vrātā yathā parasparamanurāgavaṃtastathāite-pītyarthaḥ |

Translations :

Wilson : 'I have accepted a prior grant, for you : three and eight harnessed chariots and cattle of incalculable value : may the kindred Pajras, like well-disposed relations, be desirous of acquiring renown by their abundant offerings.

Griffith: An earlier gift for you have I accepted, eight cows, good milkers, and three harnessed horses Pajras, who with your wains with you great kinsman, like troops of subjects, have been fain for glory.

Langlois: Mais en premier lieu j'ai reçu pour vous trois chevaux et huit vaches de prix. Les Padjras, qui sont mes bons parents, montés sur leurs chars, ont voulu, comme par un cortège populaire, honorer ma gloire (I. 311).

Ludwig: nach der ersten schenkung empfieng ich für euch, drei angespannte wagen, acht starkmelkende kühe; | ihr Pajra's, die ihr mit gutemverwandten mit karren ausziehend wie scharen der viças ruhm anstrebtet (II. 662).

Notes.

The paraphrase of the passage according to Sāyaṇa is as follows:—subaṃdhavaḥ viśyāḥ vrā pajrāḥ anasvaṃtaḥ śravaḥ aiśaṃta. In this paraphrase, we miss, '*iva*' and 'ye' of the text. Here also he does not acknowledge the existence of the word vrā, apart from the word vrātaḥ. Therefore Sāyaṇa's explanation cannot be deemed to be correct. Wilson's translation does not follow either the text or the commentary. I fail to find how 'viśyāḥ' can possibly be translated as 'well-disposed'; nor do I find how 'vrāḥ' can be translated as 'relations.' Nor does Griffith try to make any sense out of the passage, or keep the grammatical relations between the different parts. Sāyaṇa notes that viśyāḥ and vrātāḥ are in the plural; and therefore, he speaks of human companies; but he cannot make me believe his statement by way of bhāvārthaḥ that viśāṃ vrātāḥ' are necessarily parasparamanurāgavaṃtaḥ. Langlois probably finds the inconsistency, and says 'commepar un cortége populaire. And after all, what sense does this make? Ludwig leaves viśyāḥ vrāḥ as it is; disposing of it simply by translating it as 'Scharen der viças' and without clearing up the sense of the text.

Let us however try Yāska's suggestion. Viśyāḥ vrāḥ would mean human hunters or hunters amongst men, as opposed to divine hunters; and I would paraphrase the passage in the following manner namely, ye subaṃdhavaḥ anasvaṃtaḥ pajrāḥ viśyā vrā iva śrava aiśaṃta. The sense of the text would therefore be that the Pajrāḥ may compete, as hunters compete amongst men for renown.

IV. I. 16.

Vāmadeva Agni

Te manvata prathamaṃ nāma dheno striḥ sapta mātuḥ paramāṇi viṃdan | tajjānatīrabhyanūṣata vrā āvirbhuvadaruṇī ryaśasā goḥ ||

V. L. (Sāma Veda)

(Bibl. Ind. IV. 289)

Te manvata prathamaṃ nāma gonāṃ
triḥ sapta paramannāma jānan |
tā jānatirabhyanūṣata kṣā
āvirbhuvannaruṇīr yaśasā gāvaḥ ||

Commentary (Rig Veda).

Vrā ityuṣo nāma | uṣasobhyanūṣata | astuvan | tato goḥ sūryyasya yaśasā tejasā sahāruṇīraruṇavarṇoṣā āvirbhuvat ||

Commentary (Sāma Veda).

te gonāṃ nāma prathamaṃ amanvata | triḥ sapta paramaṃ nāma jānan | tāḥ jānatīḥ kṣāḥ abhyanūṣata | yaśasā aruṇīḥ gāvaḥ āvirbhuvan ||

Translations.

Wilson: They first have comprehended the name of the kine, knowing the thrice seven excellent (forms) of the maternal rhythm; then they glorified the conscious dawns, and the purple dawn appeared with the radiance of the sun.

Griffith: The milch-cow's earliest name they comprehended; they found the mother's thrice seven noblest titles.

This the bands knew, and sent forth acclamation; with the Bull's sheen the Red one was apparent.

Oldenberg:—(S.B.E.) They have devised the first name of the milch-cow; they have found the three-times seven highest (names or essences) of the mother. The hosts, understanding this acclaimed. The red one became visible through the brilliant (milk ?) of the cow.

Langlois: Ils ont inventé les premières formules d' adoration. Ils ont imaginé les vingt et une (mesures) qui plaisent à la vache, mère du sacrifice. C'est en entendant ces accents que s'est levé le troupeau (lumineux du matin); c'est alors que l'Aurore s'est montrée avec la glorieuse splendeur de (l'astre) voyageur. (II. 104.)

Ludwig: die gedachten zuerst des namens der kuh, die dreimal sieben fanden sie die ausgezeichneten der mutter; | das wissend sangen dazu die scharen; sichtbar ward die röte der kuh mit (ihrer) herlichkeit. (I. 351.)

Grassmann: Sie nahmen wahr der Milchkuh ersten Namen, die dreimal sieben herrlichsten der Mutter. Erkennend dies, frohlockten laut die Scharen, und hell erschien durch Glanz der Kuh das Frühroth.

Notes.

Sāyaṇa here assumes 'vrā ityuṣo nāma, without stating why he does so. As to Kṣāḥ, Sāyaṇa says Kṣiyanti uṣaḥkālaṃ prāpayanti tāḥ; therefore according to Sāyaṇa, vrāḥ and kṣāḥ

mean different things. According to the Nighaṇṭu, kṣāḥ means the worlds. If Sāyaṇa wanted to reject meanings of words recorded in the Nighaṇṭu or by Yāska, he should have recorded his reasons for doing so.

This Ṛk is sung in two modes, but in the same tune which is called gavām vratam. In the first of these modes, certain words are added which do not appear in the text of the song namely :—

Hā u | 3 | gāvo hā u | 3 | vṛsabha patnīr hā u | 3 | vairāja patnīr hā u | 3 | viśvarūpā hā u | 3 | xxxxxxxx | gāvo vṛsabha patnīrvairāja patnīr viśvarūpā asmāsuramadhvā 2345 m |

This shows that milch cows were not meant. The 'go' or 'dhenuḥ' referred to in the text must be vṛsabhapatnī and at the same time vairāja patnī and viśvarūpā. Therefore, the paramāṇi nāma and the sapta mātuḥ paramāṇi are not the names of the milch-cow. There is no word in the text which may mean 'the maternal rhythm.' This is an idea which has been assumed on the basis of Sāyaṇa's commentary. If vrāḥ is assumed to mean 'dawns,' then jānatīḥ vrāḥ may mean as Wilson puts it 'conscious dawns' which is, I am afraid, senseless. Then again 'tat' is not taken into account at all.

Griffith does not follow the rules of grammar in translating tajjānatīrabhyanūṣata vrā and he assumes that Vrāḥ means bands. He does not try to put sense into his translation nor does he care to find out whether the author wrote sense or meaningless jargon. Oldenberg takes vrāḥ as hosts, and he does not connect the passage in question with the first portion of the stanza. The first portion of the passage speaks of the knowledge of the Uṣijas, that is to say, that they knew the names; but in the second portion the hosts acclaim. I shall be willing to accept Oldenberg's view if it can be proved that no yagnas could be performed except by a large number of persons and further that the address to Uṣā early in the morning must be recited by many persons together. Oldenberg points out that Bergaigne (Quarante Hymnes p. 14) and Pischel (Ved. Studien II. 121 seq) give to the word vrā the meaning, woman (Bergaigne: femme, particulièrement femme en rut; femme amoureux). I must say that there is no authority to support the suggestion. Oldenberg observes that the seven names of the cow are mentioned also in R.V. I. 164.3. As a matter of fact, however, the names are not at all mentioned; but they are only referred to in that stanza. In VII. 87. 4 also, the thrice seven names are not mentioned at all, but they are simply referred to. Langlois's translation is open to most of the objections already pointed out and tajjānatīrabhyanuṣata vrāḥ is not equivalent to 'C'est en entendant ces accents que s'est levé le troupeau (lumineux du matin)'. 'Das wissend sangen dazu die scharen' (Ludwig) does not recognise the grammar of the passage. Ludwig has taken vrāḥ as if it were in the accusative, while some other translators have taken

it as nominative. Moreover 'sangen' does not convey the idea of abhyanūṣata and like many other translators he fails to explain who or what these 'scharen' are. I believe that the following suggestion would be acceptable. 'Dhenoḥ nāma te prathamaṃ amanvata', they have first remembered the name of dhenu. Dhenu here must be the same as Uṣā. The dhenus symbolise Uṣā. The stanza is addressed to Agni and the Ṛsi in beginning his sacrifices with Agni, remembers the name of Uṣā. Next comes a very important passage.

Triḥ sapta mātuḥ paramāṇi vimdan: For sapta mātuḥ compare R.V. 10.107, 4, where saptamātaram has been taken to mean agniṣṭomādi saṃsthāḥ, which belongs to and heads the list of somasaṃsthāḥ. Yagñas are divided into three classes namely Pāka Yajñas, Haviryagñas, and Somayagñas, and each class includes seven Yagñas.

Seven Pākayagñas.	Seven Haviryagñas.	Seven Somayagñas.
(1) Aṣṭakā	(1) Agnyādheyam	(1) Agniṣṭomaḥ.
(2) Pārvaṇam	(2) Agnihotram	(2) Atyagniṣṭomaḥ.
(3) Śrāddham	(3) Darśapurṇamāsau	(3) Ukthyaḥ.
(4) Śrāvaṇi	(4) Chāturmāsyāṇi	(4) Ṣoḍaśī.
(5) Āgrahāyaṇi	(5) Āgrayaṇeṣṭiḥ	(5) Vājapeyaḥ.
(6) Chaitrī	(6) Nirūḍhapaśubaṃdhaḥ	(6) Atirātraḥ.
(7) Āśvayugī	(7) Sautrāmaṇi	(7) Aptoryāmaḥ.

For performing the sacrifices, three fires are necessary. These are called the Gārhapatya, the Dākṣiṇa, and the Āhavanīya. The three fire-places are the three paramāṇi of yagnas. Then the passage will read 'sapta mātuḥ triḥ paramāṇivimdan,' they found the three places for the Yagnas. Sāyaṇa does not show the propriety of assuming that the triḥ sapta mātuḥ paramāṇi means the twenty-one chhandas, nor does he show how Agni comes to be the devatā of the stanza, although he is not thought of in it. Taj̃jānatīrabhyanūṣata vrāḥ, means 'Then the knowing hunters hallooed'. The knowing hunters are Rishis who either singly or in company perform sacrifices, and who find that the time and place for performing sacrifices have arrived; and therefore they make a joyous shout (they begin their prayers) like hunters about to find their prey. And as they shout, there appear the steeds of Uṣā with the glory (halo) of the sun. The meaning of the stanza suggested by me is fully supported by the next preceding ones.

VIII. 2, 6.

Medhātithi
Priyamedha } Indra

Gobhiryadīmanye asmanmṛgaṃ na vrā mṛgayaṃte | abhi tsaramti dhenubhiḥ ||

Commentary.

xxx | vrā vartāro jālādibhirupāyair nirundhānā vyādhā mṛgaṃ na. |

Translations.

Wilson: Whom others pursue with offerings of milk and curds as hunters chase a deer (with nets and snares) and harass with (inappropriate) praises.

Griffith: While other men than we with milk chase him as hunters chase a deer, and with their kine inveigle him.

Langlois: De même que les chasseurs guettent le gibier, d'autres que nous (recherchent Indra), en lui présentant leurs offrandes. Ils viennent à lui avec les vaches (du sacrifice) (III. 190).

Ludwig: [selbst] wenn andere als wir mit milch ihn wie ein wild mit umstellung | beschleichen mit den milchgebenden kühen. (II. 172.)

Notes.

Sāyaṇa here admits that vrā means hunter. Yāska had said mṛgaṃ na vrā mṛgayante mṛgamiva vrātyāḥ praiṣāḥ (5.1,3) We shall discuss the word vrātyāḥ later. Sāyaṇa does not quote this passage. He does not even refer to it. Durgā says: 'vrāḥ-iti śabdena śabdhakā uchyante'. All the translators have taken up Sāyaṇa's suggestion.

X. 123, 2.

Vena Vena

Samudrādūrmimudiyarti veno
nabhojāḥ pṛṣṭhaṃ haryyatasya darśi |
ṛtasya sānāvadhi viṣṭapi bhrāṭ
samānaṃ yonimabhyanūṣata vrāḥ ||

Commentary.

There is a lacuna in the important part.

Translations.

Wilson: The cloud-born Vena sends the water from the firmament; the back of the azure (sky) is beheld. He shone on the summit of the water in heaven; the troops praised their common abode.

Griffith: Vena draws up his wave from out the ocean: mist-born, the fair one's back is made apparent, brightly he shone aloft on Order's summit; the hosts sang glory to their common birthplace.

Langlois: L' amoureux Véna, enfant de l'Air, tire ses flots

s fleuves de la mer (céleste). Il présente son (large) dos à otre vue. Il brille au séjour supérieur de Rita, et ses compa nes font retentir de leurs clameurs le sein qui les renferme outes. (IV. 412).

Ludwig: Vena macht steigen aus dem meere die woge, der er wolke entstiegene rücken des schönen ward sichtbar, | auf des n ordnung sich bewegenden weltalls,rücken erglänzte er auf ho- em orte; ihrer gemeinsamen geburtstätte sangen zu die scharen 1. 167).

Charpentier: Aus dem Meere (der Wolken) erhebt der Vena eine Welle, der aus ihren Wolken Geborene blickte auf des Glan- zenden Rücken: auf des ṛta Rücken, auf dem höchsten Gipfel glänzte er, um ihre gemeinsame Heimstätte (oder etwa: Kind) schrien auf die Scharen. (W.Z.K.M. 25.302.)

Notes.

We must read this stanza with the next preceding one.

Ayaṃ venaśchodayat pṛśnigarbhā
jyotirjarāyū rajaso vimāne |
imamapāṃ saṃgame sūryyasya
śiśuṃ na viprā matibhī rihaṃti || (X. 123. 1).

Ayaṃ venaśchodayat pṛśnigarbhāḥ prāstavarṇagarbhā āpa iti vā jyotirjarāyurjyotirasya jarāyusthānīyaṃ bhavati jarāyur- jarayā garbhasya jarayā yūyata iti vemamapāṃ cha saṃga- mane suryyasya cha śiśumiva viprā matibhī rihanti lihanti stuvanti vardhayanti pūjayantīti vā śiśuḥ śaṃsanīyo bhavati śiśītervā syāddānakarmaṇaśchiralabdho garbha iti | (Nirukta X.4,2.).

Yāska introduces this section by saying "veno venateḥ kāntikarmaṇastasyaiṣā bhavati | I am not sure that this is the true meaning of the word. It is founded on etymology[1]. Langlois has followed this idea and has translated the word vena as 'L'amoureux vena' and adds that the word means 'amant' He translates vrāḥ as 'compagnes'. Ludwig and Charpentier also think that vrāḥ means Scharen. In the text vrāḥ is in the nominative case, but some scholars do not admit it. The translators have taken vrāḥ as 'companies' without any investigation.

In the passage in question, Vena must mean the same thing as in the next preceding one. The difference between the two stanzas is in the form in which Vena shews itself. In the former one, Vena impels and in the subsequent one Vena draws. Both are forms of the sun. From the sea, Vena draws up the billows. Nabho jāḥ; Vena is born in the sky. The sun is born in the sky, the billows are drawn upwards (towards him). The

[1] The meaning of this word has been discussed by Charpentier, W.Z.K.M. 25.290.

back of the beautiful has just appeared, or appears. Darśi means exactly what 'dekhā gelo' means in Bengalee. Bhrāt is also in the aorist, and means 'has just shone', or 'has just commenced to shine'. In heaven, on the top of the waters (or near the waters) Vena has just commenced to shine (or has just shone). The use of the word Ṛta is significant. Ṛta invigorates. Ṛta causes to wake and make bright (Nirukta 10. 4. 4). The hunters shout out their prayers to the common birthplace. Those who shout out their prayers joyfully as the Dawn is approaching, are compared to hunters, who shout out when they are about to find their prey. As to Samānaṃ Yonim compare Nirukta 10. 4. 2 quoted above. The stanza describes what is seen in the distant horizon. The sun is just seen on the horizon and the billows are seen rising. At the meeting of the sun and the water there appears an effulgence, and worshippers are beginning to pray aloud. We may conclude that Vena must have been looking at the approaching sunrise over the sea.

It will be observed that samānaṃ pūrvīḥ of stanza 3 and mṛgasya ghoṣaṃ of stanza 4 support the view I have taken of the meaning of the word vrā.

1. 121. 2.

Kakṣīvān — Viśve devāḥ or Indra

Stambhīddha dyāṃ sa dharuṇaṃ pruṣāyad
ṛbhurvājāya draviṇaṃ naro goḥ |
anu svajāṃ mahiṣaśchakṣata vrāṃ
menāmaśvasya pari mātaraṃ goḥ.||

Commentary.

Mahān suryyarūpīndraḥ svajāṃ svasakāśādutpannāṃ vrāṃ | vṛṇoti tamasā sarvamāchhādayatīti vrā rātriḥ | yadvā | prakāśena vṛṇotīti vrā uṣāḥ ||

Wilson: He verily, upholds the heaven: he, the brilliant, the leader of the (stolen) herd, pours forth the flowing (water) for the sake of food the mighty Indra manifests himself after his own daughter, (the dawn); he made the female of the horse unnaturally the mother of the cow.

Griffith: He established heaven; he poured forth, skilful worker, the wealth of kine, for strength, that nurtures heroes. The Mighty one his self-born host regarded, the horse's mate, the mother of the heifer.

Langlois: Ce maitre puissant, voulant pourvoir à notre nourriture, amène ce riche troupeau de vaches (divines); le ciel en est assiégé. Le souverain (des dieux) contemple ces ténèbres qu'il a fait naitre, et l'épouse du courier devient la mère de la vache. (I. 242.)

Ludwig: er hat den himel gestüzt, er liesz hervorquellen der Ribhu den den helden zu krafttat erhaltenden besitz des rindes; | der stier sah nach der selbstgebornen schar [dem rosse (dem himel) und] dem weib des rosses der mütterlichen kuh. (II. 36).

Notes.

Sāyaṇa's explanation of goḥ naraḥ makes no sense. 'Goḥ nanibhirapahṛtasya gosamūhasya vajrasyodakasya kiraṇasamūhasya vā naro netā | Does either the one or the other alternative make any sense? As to svajāṃ vrāṃ he says svasakāśādutpannāṃ vrāṃ. A false mythology is thus created through ignorance of the true meaning of a word. Vrā he does not explain. He tries his grammar, and finds it may mean light or darkness, and many things besides; vṛṇoti āchhādyati iti vrā rātriḥ prakāśena vṛṇoti iti vrā uṣāḥ; vriyaṃta iti vrā vrātāḥ, vrā ityuṣo nāma, vrā varītāraḥ. According to Devarāj, vrāḥ is derived from vṛṇg varaṇe which same root will produce the word vāḥ (waters). The next point in the commentary requiring notice is the introduction of a false mythology to explain the last pada. The mythology is that 'kadāchidindro lilayāsvāyāṃ gāmutpādayāmasa'. Sāyaṇa adds tadatra pratipadyate mantrāntare chendravākyarūpa etad vispaṣtamavagamyate. I have unfortunately failed to trace this story. I need not enter into a discussion of the translations as they mainly follow Sāyaṇa's views. The only point which calls for a remark is in Ludwig's translation where he puts mütterlichenkuh for mātaraṃ goḥ. He probably wants to change the reading of the text into mātaraṃ gāṃ.

The devatā of this stanza is a single person, therefore it cannot be the viśve devāḥ. Dyāṃ stambhīddha; he has supported the sky. The implication is that it was raining but that the rain had just ceased and Indra the sun had just appeared. The sky was about to fall during the rain. Note the Bengali phrase. ākāsh bhenge parchhelo'. The disappearance of the clouds and the simultaneous appearance of Indra the sun causes an impression that the sun had just supported the sky from falling down. Ṛbhuḥ dharuṇaṃ pruṣāvat,—Ṛbhu has just sprinkled water (Ngh. 1. 12. 24) Goḥ naraḥ draviṇaṃ vājāya pruṣāyat. Goḥ naraḥ means stotrapatiḥ (Indraḥ) (Ngh 3. 16, 7) Indra has indeed sprinkled wealth for sustenance. Mahiṣaḥ svajāṃ vrāṃ anu chakṣata | Vrā means hunter. Svajā means either water-born or sky-born. In connection with Mahiṣa the word svajā must mean water-born. The Mahiṣa is fond of water and is an object of prey. It is darkness. The Mahiṣa may be a buffalo, or a boar, or some other fierce dark animal fond of water, and the hunter is also water-born. In the first place, the Mahiṣa is looking at the hunter from behind; in the next place, the Mahiṣa regards the hunter from all sides. This is a beautiful description of the disappearance and reappearance of light and

darkness. Aśvasya menām and goḥ mātaram apply to svajām vrām. The general effulgence of light which appears between the departing and the subsequently approaching clouds and which also appears at dawn, is the wife of the Aśva, the sun. Goḥ mātā is the mother of the stotārah (the worshippers). The word vrā therefore means hunter and does not mean troop or host.

Atharva Veda. Kāṇda XV.

By BRAJA LAL MUKHERJEE, M.A.

I have shewn in a former paper that the word vrātya means a disorderly person; that is to say, a person who does not follow Vaidik precepts of Law and Order. In Kānda XV of the Atharva Veda the word stands for the spirit of Disorder. The author here enunciates that it is a law of nature that out of Disorder evolves Law and Order; and further states that although originally there was religious disorder everywhere. Vaidic precepts and rules were evolved out of religious disorder according to inscrutable laws of nature; and that these precepts, rules, yagnas, and chants constituted true principles of law and order. It says vrātya āsīt or according to the Paippalāda, "vrātyo vā ida agra āsīt." The passage therefore means "Disorder was" or "at the beginning a spirit of disorder existed." This is as much as to say that 'the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep.'[1] All the translators have added an article before the word vrātya. Such addition is not authorised by the text, and we should translate the text without prefixing any article. Then follow the words Iyamāna eva meaning 'moving about,' indeed.'

sa prajāpatiṃ samairayat

The spirit of Disorder moved Prajāpati, the Lord of the Universe.

sa prajāpatiḥ suvarṇamātmannapaśyattat prājanayat

He saw in himself beautiful colour and generated it. He contemplated and saw light (pleasant colour). Tadekamabhavat, That became one. Here is the first step in the evolution of Law and Order out of unrule and disorder. "And God said, 'Let there be light': and there was light. And God saw the light, that it was good."

Tallalāmamabhavat: That became the sign. Charpentier has not translated the word lalāma. Aufrecht takes it as "glanzvoll." Whitney translates it as "star-marked." I am inclined to think that lalāma is the sun which is referred to in the Bible as a sign. That became great and superior and extensive (Brahma) and warmth, and immutable. By that he generated. He became great (mahān); he became Mahādeva

[1] Genesis 1. 2.

or Mahān Devaḥ. There is clearly a pun here; sa mahān abhavat sa mahādevo-bhavat. Similarly, in the next passage it is said "sa devānāmīśām paryyait sa īśāno-bhavat." That spirit became great. The spirit became a great god. He pervaded and permeated through the laws of the gods and he finally became ruler. Disorder prevailed and ruled the gods. Disorder became greater and greater till it affected the gods themselves, and finally became ruler, īśāna.

sa ekavrātyo bhavat; he became Disorder sole. Er ward der eine vrātya (Aufrecht)[1] Er wurde allein vrātya (Charpentier)[2] He became the sole vrātya (Whitney).

sa dhanurādatta tadevendradhanuḥ Disorder took the bow. This was the rainbow. This is in conformity with what has preceded (suvarṇamātmannapaśyat). It is said that the bow was indeed Indradhanuḥ itself, i.e., the rainbow in the sky; the rainbow in which the mind of man takes delight as the fore-runner of law and order. "And god said, this is the token of the covenant which I make between me and you and every living creature that is with you, for perpetual generations: I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth. And it shall come to pass, when I bring a cloud over the earth, that the bow shall be seen in the cloud."[3] The bow is used to drive away unrule and disorder.[4] Blue and red are the colours in the rainbow which are the most plainly visible; blue being inside the bow and red on the outside. So says the text:—

Nīlamasyodaraṃ lohitaṃ pṛṣṭhaṃ nīlenaivāpriyaṃ bhrātṛvyaṃ prṇoti lohitena dviṣantaṃ vidhyatīti brahmavādino vadanti |

Inside the bow is blue, the blue covers the cousin who is not dear. The red pierces him who hates us. Disorder is caused in society by dislikes. These are controlled according to the abhichāra rules by blue and red colours. Thus, the rainbow quells all disorders.

Disorder spread to the east, south, west and north; and wherever disorder reached, there subsequently appeared symptoms of Law and Order; that is to say, the appropriate chants, and deities. The text says that a man who is himself a Vrātya but admits the correctness of the above principle, must not be reviled and it states further that he who reviles such a Vrātya, offends against law and order and he who knows this, is the dear abode of the gods. When order takes the place of disorder, the attendants also change their names and forms; for instance, Śraddhā appears in the place of the disorderly puṃśchalī.

[1] Ind. St. 1. 130. [2] W. Z. K. M. 25. 377.
[3] Genesis 9. 12-14. [4] Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 11. 1. 5. 10.

	East.	South.	West.	North.
Sāma ..	Brhat and Rathantara	Yagnāyagniya and Vāmadevya	Vairāja and vairūpa..	Śyaita and Naudhasa
Gods	Ādityas and Viśvedevas	Yagña, Yajamāna and paśavaḥ	Āpaḥ & Varuṇo Rājā	Saptarṣayaḥ,Somo rājā
Female attendant ..	Śraddhā	Uṣā	I 3rā ..	Vidyut
Male attendant.. ..	Mitra (mantra ?) ..	Mitra (mantra ?) ..	Hasaḥ ..	Stanayitnuḥ
Dress ..	Vigāānam ..	..	..	
Uṣṇīṣam	Day ..	..	..	
Hair ..	Night ..	..	.... ..	
Pravartau ..	Haritau ..	..	.... ..	
Maṇiḥ ..	Kalmaliḥ ..	.... ..	.... ..	
Pariṣkandau (two footmen)	Past and future ..	Amāvāsyā and pourṇamāsi.	Day and night ..	Śruta and viśruta
Vipathaḥ (chariot) ..	Mind ..	..	.... ..	
Steeds of the Vipatha ..	Mātariśvā & pavamāna	..	.... ..	....
The driver ..	The wind ..	..	.... ..	
The goad	The whirlwind		..	
The forerunners	Kīrti and Yaśaḥ ..		..	

About the chants. named in the table it will be observed that they are named in couples. They form Mithunas, so that they may become fruitful and make complete. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa says tau vyaitāṃ nāvarsanna samatapatte pañchajanā na samajānata tau devaḥ samanayaṃstau saṃyantāvetaṃ devavivāhaṃ vyavahetāṃ rathantarenaiveyamamūṃ jinvati bṛhatāsāvimāṃ naudhasenaiveyamamūṃ jinvati śyaitenāsāvimāṃ.[1]

The Chhāndogya Upaniṣad says etad bṛhadādityε protaṃ[2] etad rathantaramagnau protaṃ.[3] The sun in the sky and fire on earth are one. and therefore there is an union. The bṛhat and the rathantara represent the mind and speech and they check disorder and bring about order.[4]

The Yagnāyagnīya is established in the body[6] and the Vāmadevya is established in the union of bodies.[6]

The vairūpa sāma is established in the cloud[7] and the vairāja sāma in the seasons.[8] The A.B. says yadvai rathantaraṃ tad vairūpaṃ yad bṛhat tadvairājaṃ.[9]

The Śyaita and Naudhasa bring about order, inasmuch as

5

the nidhana of Śyaita is vā 234 su and the same nidhana belonged to the naudhasa sāma in more ancient times. The word vasu is effective for bringing about order.[10]

These couples of chants bring about rule and unity or uniformity.

Next, as to the deities. The naming of ādityas and viśve devas together reminds one of the connection of the ādityas with the śastra in relation to the viśve devas known as vaiśvadeva śastra in the evening feast. The ādityas (gods) and the vaiśvadeva śastra make a union.[11] They bring about order when it is dark; that is to say, when disorder prevails. The yagña, the Yajamāna, and the paśavaḥ that is, the sacrifice, the sacrificer and those which are instrumental to the sacrifice, make a complete or orderly whole, and they bring about order. The Yagnas are the common bond of union amongst the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, and without yagnas there would be no order. Āpaḥ and King Varuṇa appear in the west. The heavenly and terrestrial waters fructify the earth and Varuṇa the god of Justice or God Justice bring about law and order and so also saptarṣayaḥ, the seven rays of the sun and somo rājā the moon on which the rays fall. As to the gods who bring about order in different quarters, I concede that there may be a reference to the prayāja gods.[12] But in that case,

---

[1] A. B. 4. 4. 5 cf. J.B. 1 145, 146, P.B. 7. 10. 8. [2] Chh. Up. 2. 14.
[3] Chh. Up. 2. 12. [4] A.B. 4. 4. 6 J.B. 1, 128, 129, 135, 136.
[5] Chh. Up. 2. 19. [6] Chh. 2. 13. [7] Chh. Up. 2. 15.
[8] Chh. Up. 2. 17. [9] A.B. 4. 2. 7. [10] J.B. 1, 145, 146. P.B. 7. 10.
[11] Ait Br. 3. 3. 5 Ś B. 4. 3. 5. 1 [12] A.B 1. 2. 2.

soma would not mean the moon but would mean the God Soma of the northern mountains, the King of the Oṣadhis; and saptarṣayaḥ would mean the saptarṣis in the sky. Upon order being established, that which was pumschalī in time of disorder, takes in the east the form of śraddhā. Faith; in the south the form of u ì ṣāḥ the Dawns, when all sacrifices and order commence or in the west that of the i 3 r ā, which is the nidhana (the last portion) of a large number of chants or vidyut, when light appears out of darkness. King Disorder must needs have a dissolute (disorderly) male attendant. When order is brought about, then in place of the false applause of the dissolute minstrel, we hear in the east and the south the regulated mantras; in the west the hasaḥ and in the north the stanayitnu, or the piercing sound of lightning.

Śraddhā alone is unfruitful. It must be accompanied by recitation of mantras, so that the combination may produce and bring about order. So also, in the case of Uṣā; the appearnce of Uṣā by itself is not productive of law and order but it becomes so, when it is accompanied by recitation of mantras. I 3 rā and hasaḥ are a couple (mithuna); one is feminine and the other masculine. They are found as nidhanas of chants in the āraṇyagāna, of the Sāmaveda. In the wilderness, I 3rā, and hasaḥ bring about order. In the North, the flash and the crackling make a complete whole. The mountains are high and dark and look as if life there was extinct. The flash drives away darkness and the crackling enlivens the stillness. These two together bring about a normal state of things. Disorder rested on a seat composed of the Vaidik elements of Yagnas that is to say, the proper times of performance, the chants, the Riks, the Yajus, and everything else necessary for the performance of Yagnas. Disorder was arrested by Order which was maintained by the different quarters, the seasons and appropriate chants. The following table shews the details :—

The Quarters.	The Guardians.	The Attendants.
The eastern region ..	the spring months ..	bṛhat and rathantara.
The southern region ..	the summer months ..	Yagnāyagnīya and vāmadevya.
The western region ..	the rainy months ..	vāirāja and vairūpa.
The northern region ..	the autumn months ..	śyaita and naudhasa.
The lower region ..	the winter months ..	bhūmi and agni.
The upper region ..	the cool months ..	the sky and the āditya.

This state of things was supported by the elements and gods. The gods Bhava and others attended on Prajāpati when he was resting on Vaidik form. I may say in passim, therefore, that Bhava and the other gods were necessarily different from and other than the person who was being guarded. The text says :

Tasmai prāchyā diśo antardeśād bhavamiṣvāsamanuṣṭhātāramakurvan | bhava enamiṣvāsaḥ prāchyā diśo antardeśādanuṣṭhātānutiṣṭhati nainaṃ śarvo na bhavo nośāno nāsya paśūnna samānān hinasti ya evaṃ veda ||

Disorder having been arrested and having been shaped into order and placed on a throne, attendants or guards were placed to protect such order. On a comparison of the statements made in this text with a passage in the Śat. Br., we find that these guards are the elements namely the clouds, the waters, the sun and others, who are given names. One who knows that Bhava, the archer protects order in the east, is protected from injury to himself, his friends and his cattle which befalls from or is caused by Śarva, Bhava and Iśāna. In plain words, the idea is that if you know that Bhava is a protector in the east then he and Śarva and Iśāna will be your protectors. To understand this fully, we must remember that Bhava, is the spirit of the Waters, Śarva is the spirit of the Earth and Iśāna is the spirit of the Sun Therefore Bhava, Śarva and Iśāna together constitute the earth and sky. The sentence, therefore, means that the man who acknowledges Bhava in the East, is protected from earthly and heavenly harm. Therefore Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra deva, Rudra, Mahādeva and Iśāna are protectors of Order. If we turn to the Śat. Br. we shall find that these names were given to the child of Prajāpati and Usā who was seeking for protection in names.

So-bravīdanapahatapāpmā vā asmyahitanāmā nāma me dhehīti | tasmāt putrasya jātasya nāma kuryyāt pāpmāna mevāsya tadapahanti (Ś. B. 6. 1. 3. 9)

Prajapati's son was guarded or protected by eight names. In the text under discussion we find Prajapati protected by seven of the same names. This is due to the fact that Aśani has no place in the quarters. Therefore, Prajapati (according to the A.V.) or Prajapati's son (according to the Śat Br) has eight names. These names (or gods) do not and cannot represent disorder. It is plain also that they are gods, who protect order in all quarters.

The quarters (According to A. V.).	The attendants (names) According to A. V. & Ś. B.	The attendants (forms) (1) (According to Ś.B.)
The eastern regions ..	Bhava	The clouds.
The southern regions ..	Śarva	The waters.
The western regions ..	Paśupati	The plants.
The northern regions ..	Ugra	The wind.
The lower regions ..	Rudra	The fire.
The higher regions ..	Mahādeva	The moon.
All regions generally ..	Iśāna	The sun.

Disorder actuated under the feet that is to say, Disorder appeared under the feet. The earth and Agni and the oṣadhis and vanaspatis and vānaspatyas, and vīrudhas gave him a shake. We remember that under certain circum-

stances Rudra (Agni) was protecting Order under the feet. Then it follows that if there was disorder at any place when Rudra was on guard, it was his duty to arrest it (or him ?) and he did so with the fire and the Osadhis and others in whom (or in which) fire was latent; that is to say, in which Rudra was existent. These are the products of the earth. All nature goes forth to arrest disorder when it appears on earth. When Disorder appeared in the upper regions he was given a shake by Ṛta, Satya, Sūryya, Chandra, and the Nakṣatras; that is to say, by everything found in the skies. Ṛta would mean righteousness, Rechtschassenheit. Ṛta and satya means righteousness and truth. In very early periods of development, the mind of man took a very general idea of right and truth for instance, in early Egyptian, maāt would include right, justice, truth and so on. In the passage in hand, ṛta and satya would mean righteousness and truth. which are competent to bring about order. The sun, the moon and the stars also bring about order by regulating the seasons and periods of sacrifices. Disorder being driven away, fled and caused disturbance in the farther upper regions, and there again the Ṛchaḥ Sāmāni, Yajūmṣi, and brahma (the mantras) drove him out. He then disturbed the wide expanse and he was driven away by the itihāsa, the purāṇa, the gāthā, the nārāśaṃsī. Then disorder went to the farthest regions and he was there dogged by the Āhavanīya., the gārhapatya the dākṣiṇāgni, the Yagña. the Yajamāna, and the paśavaḥ. These constitute the body of Yagna. He then went to the undetermined regions and was followed and hunted by the Ṛtavaḥ (seasons) Ārtavas (all that related to the seasons) the lokas (the psychic zones) the lokyas (all those that pertained to the psychic zones) and the months and the half months and the days and nights. These drove out Disorder and it (he ?) reached the bourne from which there is no return (anāvṛttān, Whitney). Then Diti and Aditi and Indrāṇī pursued him and he spread himself out further and was hunted down by Virāṭ puruṣa and all devas and devatāḥ The distinction between devas and devatāḥ, is a matter of speculation. Then he penetrated the interspaces and was followed by Prajāpati and Parameṣṭhī and all ancestors.

Majesty (Disorder) becoming lame, went to the end of the earth. It became the sea. The word which I have translated as lame is sadruḥ, which is equivalent to sad + ru, and is governed by the rule dādheṭ si śad sado ruḥ[1] 'Śadru' means 'having the quality of going; 'sadru,' means having the quality of sitting. Whitney's translation by 'sessile' is inaccurate, being derived from 'sedere.' The sense must carry with it the idea of going, in order to give the full sense

[1] Pāṇini 3. 2. 159.

of the text. Therefore the word lame (or halting) would shew the full sense of the word. It carries the sense both of 'sadru' and 'agachhat'. On sadruḥ, Aufrecht's note is as follows: 'sadrur scheint als etymologische Spielerei mit Beziehung auf samudra gesetzt zu sein, so wie in VIII arajyata zu rājanya." He translates the passage as follows. "Seine Grösse, sich in Bewegung setzend, kam an das Ende der Erde, er ward zum Meere." 'Sich in Bewegung setzend,' might probably have been defended if the word in the text had been śadruḥ, meaning 'gamanaśīlaḥ'; but even then we must remember that the text reads sadrurbhūtvā. Charpentier translates the passage as follows: Diese Grösse nun wurde glänzend, sie ging bis zum Ende der Erde; (sie) wurde das Meer'. I fail to understand how glanzend can possibly represent any of the senses which the word sadru has. The meaning of the sentence as I construe it is that Disorder with his halting gait, reached the extremities of the earth, and then took the shape of the sea. Disorder becomes identified with the Ocean, and there it is pursued by Prajāpati, Parameṣṭhī and father and grand-father, and āpaḥ and śraddhā becoming rain. Out of the sea or ocean which now is troubled by Disorder arises moisture which is converted into rain which brings about order and prosperity on earth. Then it is said "tam śraddhācha yagñaścha lokaśchānnam chānnādyam[1] cha bhutvābhiparyyāvartanta," which passage I think means that śraddhā, yagña, and loka having become anna and annādya bring about an orderly state of things. We have seen that śraddhā has now become converted into or identified with rain. This idea is followed up, and the author says that this rain brings about order, as it becomes converted into or becomes identified with anna and annādya, that is to say, the principal food and all other foods partaken of in the yagnas or wheat, barley, rice, and the osadhis and vanaspatis and dhānā and karambha, apūpa, purodāśa and all other yagniya food.

In order to understand the conception of the Vaidik people as to the effect of Disorder, reference must be made to the chapter of the Śat. Br. on the building up of the Fire-altar. Prajāpati became relaxed and water passed out of him, and he sank down. This closely approaches the idea contained in the words sadrur bhūtvā agachhat. Because he āviśat, therefore there are twenty (Viṃśati) bricks. This same Prajapati who was relaxed is Agni who will be built up. These bricks are laid down with mantras, and the text shews the propriety of recitation of these mantras. These mantras shew

[1] Taitt Sam (Harvard) 1, 143n: The word annādya can hardly mean food-eating (Whitney) or Genuss der Speise (Aufrecht) or Essen der Nahrung (Charpentier).

that the bricks are being laid in water in its various forms. It is conceived that the way of the waters is Vāyu, the swell of the waters is the plants, the ashes of the waters are the foam. the light of the waters is the lightning, the path of the waters is this earth, the flood is the breath. And then comes an important passage; samudretvā sadane sādayāmīti | mano vai samudro manaso vai samudrādvāchābhriyā devāstrayīm vidyām nirakhanan | Out of the ocean (Disorder), appeared the vedas, that is to say all order.

The author then discusses the operation of the above principle in other departments. Disorder became big, and produced Rājanya (Royalty). Royalty stood up against the people with their allies, and anna and annādya; that is to say, Disorder affected royalty which affected agriculture and trade and the fruits of agriculture and trade. It stirred up the people and the result was that the meetings and committees and the army and drink arose out of disorder and gave it a shake. Royalty is bound by this law of nature, and it knows that if it creates disorder by unlawful acts or oppression or otherwise on the people he will be set right by the principles of order generated out of Disorder, of which the external expression is meetings and committees and the military force, and so on. Royalty recognises this principle and externally expresses its belief in this principle by actual ackowledgment of the fact that an atithi who is cognisant of this principle, even though he himself does not follow the rules of law and order (evam vidvān vrātyaḥ) is superior to and is entitled to respect from a king. If a king should do this, he will not offend against dominion; that is to say, he will not lose sovereignty.

Then the author discusses the effect of paying overmuch respect to a vrātya atithi having a particular knowledge. Whatsoever his qualifications may be, a Vrātya atithi is still a Vrātya. The Brahma and the Kṣatra the exponents of Law and Order, rose up and asked "Whom shall we enter? If all respect, nay, reverence is paid to exponents of disorder then what is to become of the exponents of law and order? The answer was:

bṛhaspatimeva brahmapraviśatvindraṃ kṣatraṃ tathā vā iti * * * iyaṃ vā u pṛthivī bṛhaspatirdyaurindraḥ ayaṃ vā u agnirbrahmāsāvādityaḥ kṣatram.

Let the exponents of law and order be not anxious. They will keep their own places They remain as they are, and are not affected in any way. According to the author, the recognition of the principle laid down by him, does not affect the principles of law and order, and it is obvious, that he is logically correct. The claim of disorder to attention is not to be neglected, as out of this disorder, come forth the elements of law and order. The underlying secret of the theory is that when a

Vrātya recognises the principle laid down herein he perforce admits the claim of law and order; and therefore he ceases to be a Vrātya, and becomes a true follower of law and order. The Apastambiya Dharma Sutra contains a chapter on the duties of kings and the people, when an atithi approaches them. Apastamba says rājānam chedatithirabhyāgachhechchhreyasī masmai pūjāmātmanaḥ kārayet.[1] This text does not shew that the direction was meant for shewing respect to a qualified vrātya atithi but it applied in general to any atithi. The Atharva veda also contains a chapter on atithi-worship.[2] This is an essay or a treatise by somebody on the religious aspect of atithi worship and contains words and phrases which are also found in the Dharma sutras. This fact by itself is not conclusive evidence that the writer of the verse 9. 6 borrowed from Apastambiya Dharma sutra. Some of the phrases and sentences of Ath. V. Chap. XV also appear in Ap. D. S. 2, 7. This again by itself does not authorise us to conclude that the writer of the former borrowed from the writer of the latter. Apparently the ideas contained in Ap. D. S. 2. 7. 12 and Ath. V. 15. 10. 1 are different. The next paragraph of the text under discussion is as follows; tadyasyaivam vidvān vrātyo-tithir gṛhānāgachhet svayamenamabhyudetya brūyād vrātya kvāvātsīrvrātyodakam vrātya tarpayantu vrātya yathā te priyam tathāstu te nikāmastathāstviti | Compare with this the following: āhitāgnim chedatithirabhyāgachhet svayamenamabhyudetya brūyāt vrātya kvāvātsīriti vrātya udakamiti vrātya tarpayamstviti.[3] It appears therefore that the same address is to be offered under two different circumstances (1) on the approach of a vrātya who has a particular knowledge (A.V. 15.11) and (2) on the approach of an atithi before an āhitāgni (Ap. D. S. 2.7,13) It will be noted that the address in both cases is exactly the same The address vrātya kvāvātsīḥ is quite consistent when a vrātya is actually addressed. If the address is offered to *any* atithi then the address becomes rather difficult to explain. If the word vrātya is applicable to all atithis then all atithis are vrātyas. If all atithis are vrātyas, then reverence must be paid to all vrātyas without any qualification and all the eulogy in Ath. V 9, 6, becomes applicable to all vrātyas. Then the words 'evam vidvān vrātyaḥ' lose all significance and meaning. The only solution seems to me to be this; namely, that the word vrātya had changed in meaning, and etymology helped the change. In Ath. V. 9, 6, and also in Ap. D. S. 2, 7, the word atithi implies as it ordinarily means and implies, an atithi who followed and respected the vaidik rules of law and order. In the text under discussion, the atithi is not an actual follower of Vaidik law and order but all the same, he acknowledges or recognises

[1] Dh. s. 2, 7, 12.
[2] A. V. 9, 6.
[3] Ap. D. S. 2. 7. 13.

such law and order. The atithi of the Ap. D. S. 2, 7, 13, etc., and also of Ath. V. 15, 10 et seq are addressed as vrātya. The term vrātya is here honorific, as Haradatta points out; vrate sukṛte sādhur vratyaḥ sa eva vrātya iti pūjābhidhānam. A man who does not actually follow Vaidik law and order (vrātya in its older sense) is addressed as vrātya (honorific, in the later sense) if he recognises and acknowledges Vaidik law and order. The same words of respect are applied to such vrātyas, in as much as they are deemed to be as good as those who actually follow Vaidik law and order. This idea is followed out in the subsequent sections. On the approach of an atithi who follows law and order, and also on the approach of a person who does not follow but who recognises law and order permission should be obtained from him by a householder when he is about to make his oblations. It is clear beyond doubt that these two persons are put on an equal footing. The author then makes the following interesting statement; atha yasyāvrātyo vrātyabruvo nāmabibhratyatithirgṛhānāgachhet karṣedenaṃ na chainaṃ karṣet. Here the term avrātya is used. It clearly means a vrātya who does not come within the meaning of the phrase evaṃ vidvān vrātyaḥ. Therefore, such a man is merely a vratyabruvaḥ (included in one or the other of the types mentioned in the P. B.) an exponent of disorder The Ap. D. S. similarly says asamudetaśchedatithirbruvāna āgachhet; these words refer to an atithi of the law and order class, but not properly educated in principles of law and order, and therefore an atithi in name only. He is not to be offered the same reception as the one who is educated in the principles of law and order. As to the treatment of the vrātyabruva, the Ath. V. directs karṣedenaṃ na cha karṣet. He is a person who deserves to be insulted, but in practice he should not be insulted or maltreated. When such a man appears, he should be offered a reception by presenting him with water and other customary things while the householder should contemplate that such offerings are being offered to the true spirit whom the man resembles in outward appearance only. Similarly, in the Ap. D.S. on the appearance of 'atithirbruvāṇaḥ' the householder should contemplate that the offering is being made to a śrotriya.

Disorder was transformed into order. He took names and forms according to the quarters where he appeared, as is set out in the following table :—

The regions and objects which disorder penetrated.	The names under which order appears	The forms in which order appears.
The Eastern regions ..	The Company of Marutas	Mind.
The Southern regions ..	Indra	Strength.
The Western regions ..	King Varuṇa. ..	Water.
The Northern regions ..	King Soma ..	Āhuti offered by seven Rishis.

The regions and objects which disorder penetrated.	The names under which order appears.	The forms in which order appears.
Under foot ..	Viṣṇu ..	.. Virāṭ.
The Paśus ..	.. Rudra ..	.. The oṣadhis.
The Pitris ..	.. King Yama	.. Svadhā.
The Men ..	.. Agni ..	.. Svāhā
Above the head	.. Bṛhaspati ..	.. Vaṣaṭ.
The devas ..	.. Īśānaḥ ..	.. Manyuḥ.
The people ..	.. Prajāpatiḥ ..	.. Prāṇa.
All intermediate quarters	Parameṣṭhi	.. Brahma.

When disorder becomes regulated and appears as Order it divides itself into seven Prāṇas, seven apānas and seven vyānas. These take names and forms as shewn in the table below :—

The Prāṇas.

Seven airs.	Their names.	Their forms.
1 ..	.. Ūrddha ..	.. Agni.
2 ..	.. Prauḍha ..	.. Āditya.
3 ..	.. Abhyūḍhas	.. Chandramā.
4 ..	.. Vibhu ..	.. Pavamānaḥ.
5 ..	.. Yoni ..	.. Imā Āpaḥ.
6 ..	.. Priya ..	.. Paśavaḥ.
7 ..	.. Aparimitaḥ	.. Imāḥ prajāḥ.

The seven Apānas.

1. Paurṇamāsī
2. Aṣṭakā
3. Amāvāsya
4. Śraddhā.
5. Dīkṣā.
6. Yagñaḥ.
7. Dakṣiṇaḥ.

The seven Vyānas.

1. Bhūmi
2. Antarikṣaṃ
3. Dyauḥ.
4. Nakṣatrāṇi.
5. Ṛtavaḥ.
6. Ārtavaḥ.
7. Saṃvatsaraḥ.

The author then proceeds to state that order is tied to disorder and revolves round it. Regulated succession appears out of disorder.

A Bengali Book written in Persian Script.

Exhibited at the Monthly General Meeting, on 2nd November, 1925.

By MAULAVI 'ABDU'L WALI (KHAN SAHIB).

The two villages—Mihirpur [1] and Gobindpur—are contiguous, and lie on the left bank of the river Kabatak in the Kesabpur police station of Jessore district. Three generations ago there lived in Mihirpur, a man who is said to have been the writer or scribe of this Bengali book in Persian characters, probably written some time before the Indian Mutiny of 1857. The manuscript was given to a deceased friend of mine of Gobindpur, from whose sons I obtained it in September last. Each page contains 13 lines of 9 × 6¼ in. written on common Indian paper, in Nasta'liq-Shikasta character. I have compared the MS., with the printed Bengali copy of the same [2] and find that five pages from the beginning and 14 pages from the end of the printed copy, equivalent to three and six folios respectively of the MS. copy are missing. Also one or two folios are missing from other parts of the MS., which is otherwise well preserved.

Bengali works copied in Persian script are very rare. The script written from right to left is quite different from Bengali, written from left to right. It is also difficult to transcribe accurately in Persian characters the Bengali words. In spite of such difficulties, it is a wonder how well a village Munshī of Bengal has executed the task. Specimens from the manuscript and the printed book are given—which will also show the variants, and the liberty taken by the printers.

Bengali, so far as my knowledge extends, was not a written language. It had hardly any literature in pre-Baisnava or Muslim times. It was, I am told, through the patronage of certain Muhammadan nobles and grandees that Hindu Bengali Pundits, and in rare cases, Muslims wrote one or two books in Sanskritic Bengali verse. Paragal Khan and Chhōtē Khan, during the time of 'Ālāu'd-Dīn Husayn Shāh, and 'Alāul during the Viceroyalty of Shah Shujā', are cited as instances. Barring such rare instances no documents or books in pre-Plassey days, actually written by a Muhammadan of Bengal, can be traced. In the first flush of victory, the Muslims as a community did not much

[1] The village Mihirpur, correctly Mihrpur, is so called after a Muhammadan saint, Shah Mihru'd-Dīn, whose tomb is in the village. Around the saint's tomb I was told certain Nawabs and grandies of Mirzānagar, the old capital of the Faujdars of Sarkar Jasar (Jessore), were buried.

[2] Octavo, Siddiqi Electric machine Press: Calcutta. 1322 B.S.

care for the language of the native races. But military temper does not continue long. Emigrants and exiles from Hindustān as well as military deserters had mutual dealings with the Bengali. Common interests—political, social and administrative of the conquerors of many races and tongues, and the aboriginal and Aryan natives of diverse colour and complexion—produced by-and-by a mixed language, which was called "*the Musalmani Bangla*." This language was the natural outcome of the contact of the two alien peoples. As "rekhta" in Upper India, and the Deccan, so the Musalmani Bengali of the Lower Provinces, were the result of the amity and fellow-feeling of the conquerors and the conquered. Dr. Gilchrist of the "College of Fort William" noticed in Upper India that while the Muhammadan gentry wrote in Persian they talked in Hindustani. Similarly the Muhammadan gentry of Bengal, too, wrote in Persian and spoke in Hindustani. But the common folk, who were not educated, carried their conversation in a mixed *patois*—a combination of non-Sanskritic Bengali, the common tongue of the masses, and Persian. The first generation of new comers learnt to speak only a few words and phrases of Bengali; the second generation, a bilingual tongue—Urdū and Bengali, the latter indifferently. The third and subsequent generations spoke the language well but with a foreign accent. The natives of Bengal also learnt Persian and Hindustani to ingratiate themselves to the favour of their Muhammadan masters.[1]

It was, I daresay, when they came under the sway of a foreign rule, that both Hindus and Muslims were looked upon by the English with the same eyes, *and both were considered as natives* of Bengal. But it was not till Persian was abolished from British Courts and Offices in 1837 that the Muhammadans came to realise their peculiar situation. The modern educational policy was again instrumental in disseminating Bengali books and encouraging Sanskritic Bengali literature. No voice was raised against this new policy, as the Ulama, like Brahmans of yore, were averse to Bengali, whether Musalmani or Sanskritic. The

[1] A Maulavi was reading Bharat Chandra's "Vidya sundar" with a Pandit. There were passages and, words of Persian origin in the poem, which the Maulavi had to explain to the Pandit. Mahamahapadhya Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri told me that in a Bengali book written by his great-grandfather, so much as half the words used were Persian or Urdu.

More strange than this is the ballad, composed (about 1825), by Pandit Ram Nath Vidyabhusan of Sherpur town in which the leniency of the Magistrate in releasing the Pāgalpanthis of Sherpur Pargana, in the District of Mymensing, is resented. It is in pure Urdu :—

Hākem hō kar aisā kiyā	[You a judge this wrong have brought
Ham bōlē tom riẖwat khāyā.	I tell you that you have been bought.]

Vide Bengal : Past and Present, Vol. XXVIII, Part I, Serial No. 5. *July–Sep.*, 1924. *By Jamini Mohan Ghosh.*

In Lord Cornwallis' days, writes Rev. J. Long, Bengali gentlemen wrote, even on domestic affairs in Persian.

Muslim gentry too had also no sympathy with their humble co-religionists in the latter's *putois*. A Muhammadan gentleman about 1215 B.S. enjoined in his death-bed that his only son, should not learn Bengali, as it would make him *effeminate*. The above circumstances—the abolition of Persian as a court language, the introduction of Sanskritic Bengali in schools and courts, the lukewarm support or discouragement of the Muslim Ulama and gentry to acquire Bengali and English—combined to make the Mahammadans linguistically dependent for the first time on another race for the acquisition of the latter's vernacular, which hastened their decadence.

The MS. which I am discussing, and which is exhibited at this general meeting of the Society is, so far as I am aware, unique at present.[1] There exists in Persian a voluminous work called Qissa-i-Amīr Hamza, or the Romance of Amīr Hamza, written, by whom, can not definitely be said. Popularly it is supposed that it was written by Faizī for Akbar in imitation of the Ramayan[2]; this is incorrect. But its authorship is otherwise ascribed to Mulla Jalal Balkhi. The romance exists in various forms and recensions—some bulky, some small in size. It is called Qissa, Dastān or Jangnama of Amīr Hamza. Manuscripts of the story are very rare. It was printed many years ago, I understand, in Tihran, Bombay and Lucknow, but now these editions are unobtainable. Munshi Newal Keshore's Urdu translation is available now.

The Bengali *puthi*, of which this is a transcript, was versified in Musalmani Bengali by one Shah Gharibullāh of Hafizpur, Pargana Balia, near the Bargachhia station (of Howra-Amta Light Railway). Gharibullāh rendered into verse the first book of the story, called Naushirwān-Nāma, from Persian.[3] It was continued and completed by another poet, Saiyad Hamza of the village Udna, Pargana Bhurshut,[4] about six miles from Champadanga Railway station. Both Hafizpur and Udna are situated in the Hugli District, not very far from each other.

[1] According to Mr Dinesh Chandra Sen Alāul's "Padmavati" composed in Sanskritic Bengali has been preserved by the Muhammadans of Chittagong in Persian Script.

[2] The *story of Hamzah* was represented in twelve volumes and clever painters (of Akbar's Court) made the most astonishing illustrations for no less than one thousand and four hundred passages of the story—Āin 34 (The arts Writing and Painting) from Abu'l-Fadl's Āin-i-Akbarī, as translated by H. Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 108.

[3] আমির তাজার গড়ে করেন আরাম
কেতাব মাণিক বাত হইল তামাম
গরিব কহেন যারা মেজাজের পায়
কেতাব মাণিক এতা দুর হৈল সায়—p. 119.

[4] ছৈএদ হামজা কহে উদুনাতে ঘর—p. 236.
ছৈএদ হামজা কহে মোরসেদ ভাব না
অনাথের ঘর জান ভুবন্তর পরগণা—p. 199

They were situated within the District of Burdwan when the poets wrote.

Gharibullah, who calls himself Gharib Faqir or Faqir Gharib was the son of Shah Dundi.[1] He eulogises Shah Nizām—who might be his spiritual guide or the great Nizamud-Din Auliya of Dihli. Hamza not only admires Gharib's versification, but tries to imitate him. He calls him *raushan-dil* or clairvoyant, a true poet, a saintly person under the protection of Ghazi Shāh Baré-Khān. According to Hamza, Gharib could not proceed with the remaining story for want of a complete manuscript of the original work. But people having read the portion already versified by him in Bengali, became so charmed with the romance that they walked long distances to enquire from the educated Muslims as to the further exploits of the hero, the Amir-i-Arab. Owing to the taunts of the people, Hamza, the second poet, undertook to versify the remaining part of the romance. He apologizes to his predecessor for venturing to put his verse by the side of the Diwan's (saint Gharibulla's) work. My verses, says Hamza, are not equal to the task, which the previous poet has executed so admirably.[2]

---

1 , গরিব কহেন সাহা দুন্দির ফরজন্দ—p. 16.

2 Saiyad Hamza, in the Introductory Chapter of the poem (vol. II, p. 129), writes as follows :—

মদ্দমি জাহের জার আছে জাহানেতে
তাহার লাগাত কেচ্ছা আছে পুথুকেতে
আমার মকবুল সাহা গরিবুল্লা নাম
বালিয়া হাফেজপুর জাহার মোকাম
আছিল রওসন দেল সাএরি জবান
জাহাকে মদন গাজি সাহা বড়ে খান
সাএরি করিলেন পুথি আমীর হামজার
না ছিল কেতাব কুজু তামাম কেচ্ছার
তামাম কেতাব জদি পাইতেম দেওান
গাথিত কবিতাহার মুক্তার সমান
জতো দুর আছে তার কবিতার হার
দেখিয়া শুনিয়া লোগ হয় জার জার
কেচ্ছার পরেলা আরা শুনিয়া আলম
আখেরি কেচ্ছার তরে করে বড়াগম
না জানি কেমন কথা আছে আখিরিতে
কোন খানে আমির লড়িল কার সাতে
এমনি তরাস লোগ করে জেথা সেথা
কাহিল করিয়া কেহ না করে কবিতা
কামেল ফাজেল লোগ জত কারিগর
কেহ না করিল কবি আখেরি কেচ্ছার
লোগের খায়েস দেখে ভাবি মনে মনে
আখেরি সায়েরি পুথি হইবে কেমনে

Hamza, the second author, almost finished the story in Magh 1199 B.S., but for want of two pages of the Persian text at the end, he had to stop abruptly for a while. These he procured some months later, and brought his epic—up to the martyrdom of Amir Hamza—to conclusion, in 1201 B.S. or 2nd April 1794 A.D. equivalent to 1st Ramazān 1208 H. The date when poet Gharibullah had finished his part of the poem is not known. Taking a decade to be the interval that had elapsed between the time when Gharib had laid down his pen, and Hamza had finished the book (1199 B.S.), it is safe to say that the first poet had completed the first part of the romance about 1189 B.S., equal to 1783 A.D. Hamza, writes that he has no objection to his poem being printed—a printing press then being set up by Mr. Halhead and by the Serampur Missionaries—provided care were taken not to distort rhyming of the verses.[1]

আমি অতি মূর্খ মতি কিছু নাহি জানি
কেমনে করিব কবি আখেরি কাহিনি
না পারিনু এড়াইতে লোগের নেহেরা
এ পাত্তরে কবিতার খাহেস হৈল মেরা
আপনার আক্কেল মাফিক জাহা কিছু জানি
করিনু কবিতা আমি আখেরি কাহিনি
আমার তকছির মাফ করিবেন দেওান
তবেতে সাএর মেরা পায় জাঁউ দান
পির সাহা গরিবুল্লা কবিতার গুরু
আলমে উজালা জার কবিতার সুরু
আমার সাএর নয় কেতাব সমান
কেবল বুঝিবে লোগ কেচ্ছার বয়ান
আগে আগে জত জঙ্গ করিল আমির
সাহা গরিবুল্লা তাহা করিল জাহির
তার পিছে জত জঙ্গ করে নেক জাত
হামজার গোলাম হামজা কহে এই বাত

[1] At the conclusion of the book, p. 322, Saiyad Hamza says:—
না করি বারণ কারে পুথি ছাপিবার
না ছোটে ওজন জেন দোহাই আল্লার।
খোরহানার মাতারি যে আরবের বিচে
ওতরিয়া ছিল বিবী পাহাড়ের নিচে।
সেই হদ্দ সায়েরি হইয়াছিল আগে
এগার সও নিরাণ্ডই সাল মাহা মাঘে।
না ছিল ওরক দুই কেতাব আখেরি
এ খাতিরে আখেরি করিতে হইল দেরি।
বার সও এক সাল বাঙ্গালার শেসে
কেতাব মিলিল মুঝে বহুত কোশেসে।
করিনু সায়েরি পুথি আখেরি কেচ্ছার
লেখা গেল সাহাদত আমির হামজার।

It appears that the poem written by Diwān Shah Gharibullah was immediately copied and continued to be so, long afterwards by readers before it was printed, and the present MS. in Persian characters is one such copy. . The Muslim copyist copied the poem in Persian Script, because while he could speak Bengali, he could not write Bengali script. I have seen several Muhammadan men and women, who could read printed Bengali *puthis*, but could not write a letter of Bengali script. Till lately Muhammadans of good family like Anglo-Indians and Eurasians of to-day speak, but did not cultivate writing Bengali.

Hamza (the hero of the poem) son of 'Abdu'l-Muttalib and uncle of the prophet, was a valiant soldier. His valour has been alluded to by Maulana Jalālu'd-Dīn Rumī, in his famous Masnavī. This shows that the story of Hamza's adventures existed, in some form or other, in his time, though there is very little historical basis for the same. But the story invented to gratify the reader is fictitious. 'The narrative deals at great length with Hamza's adventures.' He fights or makes peace with the chiefs of Madain (misspelt *Madina* in Bengali), Qubad and his son Naushirwan and others. His expeditions against the giant king of Sarandip, the Qaisar of Rum, the Aziz of Misr, and numerous Jins and Deos are recorded. Some of the persons with whom Amir Hamza deals are—Khwaja Bakht Jamāl, Buzur Chemehr, Alqash, the Wazir, and the latter's son Bakhtak, who was the wazir of Naushirwan.

The story is most entertaining; but it is not yet written in Hindu Bengali. If the Urdu version prepared by the Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, could be rendered into modern School-book Bengali, I daresay, it might replace many romances of our time.

In the first Chapter (below) Persian has one verse less than Bengali; there being no corresponding verse in Persian-script for verse No. 5 in Bengali. Similarly in the next Chapter verse 8 is wanting in Persian. Besides these two, all other verses correspond, and are printed one after the other, *viz.*, Persian first and Bengali next—each marked with a common numeral.

The word *afrit* (correct *'ifrīt*, a demon) is incorrectly written in Persian as *akrit* throughout. There are minor variants in several verses.

বার সও এক সাল আথেরি হেসাবে
বার দিন ছয় মাস হেসাবেতে হবে।
চাঁদের তারিখ আজি পহেলা রমজান
রোজার পহেলা রোজা রাখে মোসলমান।
তারিখ করিমু বন্দ বুঝে ভাল দিন
আল্লা আল্লা বল ভাই তামাম আমিন।
ছৈএদ হামজা বলে নবি পরওয়ার
আল্লা মহম্মদ বিনে গতি নাহি আর।

A Chapter of the poem in Persian and Bengali script.

Pages. 101-102 *of the printed book.*

রাগ পয়ার।

1 امیـــریـــر حکـــم پـــائیـــا دوے جونے
اونا ریلو تخـــت کهـــان دیکهیـــا باگانے

1 আমিরের হুকুম পাইয়া দুই জনে
উতারিল তক্ত তার সেইত বাগানে।

2 امیـــر ارام دیـــل ٹـــوپے ســـرے دیـــا
بـــاگان بیچیتے مـــرد رهیلـــو شوئیـــا

2 আমির আরাম করে ছেরে টুপি দিয়া
বাগান বিচেতে মর্দ্দ রহিল শুইয়া।

3 دونو پري ساتے چهیلـــو دیکهیتے نپاے
چاري دیگے ڈهونڈیه امیـــر حمـــزاے

3 দোন পরি সাথে ছিল দেখিতে না পায়
চারি দীগে ঢুড়ে ফেরে আমির হামজায়।

4 ٹوپے سرے دیا هوتا شویـــاچهے آمیـــر
نا دیکهے ساتیـــر پرے ٹوپیـــر خاطیـــر

4 টুপী ছেরে দিয়ে হোতা সুয়েছে আমির
না দেখে সাতের পরি টুপির খাতির।

(5 Missing in Persian transcription.)

5 চারা নাহি রহে পরি তক্ত আগলিয়া
দেওএর লস্কর হোতা পৌছিল আসিয়া।

6 دوی هزار دیـــو ساتے اکـــزیـــر بیٹـــا
باگانے دو پرے پیـــا بندهیا مارے سونٹا

6 দুই হাজার দেওসাতে আফরিতের বেটা
বাগানেতে পরি পেয়ে বেন্দে মারে শোটা।

7 کار تخـــت کهـــو پرے ائے تـــو باگانے
مـــارونیـــر ڈرے پرے کهیلـــو نیـــدانے

7 কার তক্ত কহ পরি এইতো বাগানে
মরণের ডরে পরি কহিল নিদানে।

8 امیـــر عرب جاے ائیے تخـــت پرے
اما دونو ریک مـــرد گیچھے پہر بیـــارے
8 আমির আরব জায় এই তক্ত পরে
আমা দোন রেখে মর্দ্দ গেছে ফিরিবারে।

9 شونیـــا خبـــر دیـــو اگ ایســـا جلے
باپیـــر دشمنے میـــرا یتـــو دینے میلے
9 সুনিয়া খবর দেও আগ এয়ছা জলে
বাপের দুস্মন মেরা এতদিনে মেলে।

10 غصا ھوٹیا مارے (دیو) پری دوي جونے
اپـونـــار دری دیـــو روھیلـــو شیکھـــانے
10 গোস্বা হৈয়া মারে দেও পরি দুইজনে
আপনার দোন দেও রাখে সেই খানে।

11 کہیلـــو تہارے تہاکو تخـــت اگولیـــا
دیکھیلے امیـــر تارے لیبے تـــو باندیـــا
11 কহিল তোমরা থাক তক্ত আগুলিয়া
দেখিলে আমির তরে লিবেক বান্দিয়া।

12 نہیتـــو یکھـــانے پیـــا کرے ڈالو خون
امیـــر حمـــزہ میـــرا باپیـــر دشمـــن
12 নহেত এখানে পাইলে কোরে ডাল খুন
আমির হামজা মেরা বাপের দুস্মন।

13 پریکے توڑیتے امـي جـــائي شارستـــان
ماریبے دو دیو تـــورا امیـــر پہلـــوان
13 পরিকে ঢুড়িতে আমি জাই সহরস্থান
মারিবে হামজাকে তারে পাইলে নিদান।

14 یہـــا کوریا دیـــو لیـــا شارستـــان گیلـــو
ھتـــا شے امیـــر مـــرد جاگیـــا اوٹیلـــو
14 এহা কহি দেওলিয়া সহর স্থানে গেল
হেতা সে আমির মর্দ্দ জাগিয়া উঠিল।

15 دیکھیلو دري پري کیرے روبا چھے موریا
اوتاریلو ٹوپے مرد ماتھاے تہاکیا

15 দেখিল সাতের পরি রয়েছে মরিয়া
ওতারিল টুপি মর্দ্দ ছেরেতে থাকিয়া।

16 دونو دیو دیکھے دھائي امیر حمزارے
امیر کہے دیا دبیا دھرے تارے

16 দুই দেও দেখে ধায় আমির হামজারে
আমির খড়ম দিয়া দেবে ধরে তারে।

17 جیو راکھو جیو راکھو دیو کہ بات
حکم بردار ہویا رہو تیرا سات

17 জীউ রাখ জীউ রাখ দেও কহে বাত
হুকুম বরদার হৈয়া রব তেরা সাত।

18 امیر مہر دیل ہویا تارے پوچھے
پونچھائیتے پارو مچھے شارستان بیچھے

18 আমির মেহের দেল হৈয়া তারে পোছে
পোছাইতে পার মুঝে সহর স্থান বিচে।

19 دیو بلے ائیکام کتو بڑ داے
کہڑے چارے بیچے لیا پونچھا بو شتاے

19 দেও বলে এই কাম কত বড় দায়
ঘড়ি চারি বিচে তুঝে পোছাব সেথায়।

20 امیر خوشال شونے تخت پرے بشے
دونو پري تخت کہاں دھرے دونو پاشے

20 আমির খোসাল শুনে তক্ত পরে বৈসে
দুই দেও তক্ত তার ধরে দুই পাসে।

21 دریار طرف اوڑے چلے دیو ذات
امیر ٹھیکانہ نہیں پیا پوچھے بات

21 দরিয়া তরফে উড়ে চলে দেও জাত
আমির ঠেকানা পাইয়া পুছে তারে বাত।

22 بوجھیلو دیلیک بازي دیو دغا باز
تلوار ماریا دیو مارے تخت ماز
22 বুঝিনু দিলেক বাজি দেও দাগাবাজ
তলওার খুলিয়া মর্দ্দ মারে তক্ত মাঝ।

23 گیرِیلو در دیو تخت باو بہرے کہورے
تیں روز پر چورا بالو پر گیرے
23 মরিল দুদেও তক্ত বাও ভরে গেরে
তিন রোজ বাদে পড়ে চরাবালু পরে।

24 پانون بند دو ھویلو مرد زور کرے جتو
چھاتي بھر گاڑا گیلو چورا بالو یتو
24 পাও বন্দ হৈল মর্দ্দ জোর করে যত
ছাতিতক গাড়া গেল চরাবালু এত।

25 دوکھر نہیں کو اور پیا سیر جالا
جیبھو تک نیا گیلو پڑیا چھیلا
25 দুক্ষের নাহিক ওর পিয়াসের জ্বালা
জিহ্বা তক গাড়া গেল পড়িয়া চেহেলা।

26 ایاذ الہي بینے ار نہیں مورے
ھتاشے حیران پرے پھرے بونے بونے
26 ইয়াদ এলাহি বিনে আর নাহি মনে
হেথা সে হয়রান পরি ফেরে বনে বনে।

27 اکرتو دیویر بیٹا اشیا شارستان
بھاگائیلو پري پھیرے ھویا پریشان
27 আক্ষরিতের বেটা সে আসিয়া সহর স্থান
ভাগাইল পরিকে করিয়া পেরেসান।

28 ارزق پریر شہا کہیں لشکرے
فقیر غریب کے مصلت شے کرے
28 কহেন আরজক সাহা আপন উক্তিরে
ফকির গরীব কহে আল্লা জাহা করে।

Another Chapter in Persian and Bengali script.

Pages 104-105 *of the printed book.*

ত্রীপদী।

1 خواجه خضر پیات کے امیر سات
شنو بابا امیر پهلوان

1 খোওাজ খেজের বাত কহেন আমির সাত
শুন বাবা আমির পাহালওান

2 الهي بغیر آر کیهو نهین چهیلو تار
نهین چهیلو تمام جهان

2 এলাহি বেগর আর নাহি ছিল কেহ তার
নাহি ছিল তামাম জাহান।

3 الهي جانیتو شبي اپونار نور نبي
پهیلا پیدا شے کویلو تار

3 এলাহি জানেন সবি আপনার নুরে নবি
পহেলা পয়দা করিল তাহারে

4 تارے چهاپا ناهي کام محمد تهوئیلو نام
تا پرے بڈوي پیار

4 তারে ছাপা নাহী কাম মহাম্মদ মোস্তফা নাম
তার পর বড়ই পেয়ারে।

5 الهي مهر بشے تار نور دیا شبئے
پیدا کویلو چؤدا بهوبن

5 এলাহি মেহের হৈয়া তার নুর সবে দিয়া
পয়দা কৈল চৌদা ভুবন

6 فرشته مانوش آر حور پري شبها کار
تار نورے کویلو سر جون

6 ফেরেস্তা মানুস আর হুরপরি সবাকার
তার নুরে করিল শৃজন।

7 افتـــاب مہتاب ادی پہـــاڑ پربـــت نـــدی
رات دین کہیـــو کتیـــک
7 আফতাব মাহতাব আদী পাহাড় পর্ব্বত নদী
রাতদিন কহিব কতেক

(8 Missing in Persian transcription.)

8 تامام نبیر تیرے پیدا کیل تار سورے
تار سورے پیدا پاس جتیک ।
8 তামাম নবির তরে পয়দা কৈল তার সুরে
তার সুরে পয়দাস জতেক ।

9 ایســـہ نـــور محمد کفـــرے کرپنے ضبط
بہیجیلـــک الہـــی اپانے
9 এয়ছা সুর মহাম্মদ কুফরে করিতে জব্দ
ভেজিলেক এলাহি আপনি

10 تہـــار خاطیـــر پرے الہی بہیجیلو تورے
تـــار نومی اگیـــرا بطـــاے
10 তাহার খাতের পরে এলাহি ভেজিল তোরে
তেরা পরে বড়া মেহের বানি ।

11 توڑیبے کفـــر دیـــو انٹیتے نا پیبے کیـــو
جتـــو دیو کوہقاف ملوکے
11 ভুড়িবে কুফর দেও আটিতে নারিবে কেও
জত দেও আছেত মুল্লুকে

12 رسولیـــر دعا ہویتے شب ٹہاین تیرا فتح
الہـــی بہیجیلـــو اے پاکے
12 রছুলের দোওা হৈতে সব ঠাই তেরা ফতে
এলাহি ভেজিল এই পাকে ।

13 رسولیـــر بـــات شونے امیـــر خوشال مونے
یقیـــداے انیلـــو ایمـــان
13 রছুলের বাত শুনে আমির খোসাল মোনে
একি দায় আনিল ইমান

14 خواجہ خضـــر بلے جیکہـــانے زمین تلے
دوہوبی اوٹے پارتو نشـــان
14 খোওাজ খেজের বলে জেখানে গাছের তলে
দুই গুড়ে পাওত নেসান ;

15 شنو بابا تجھے کوے زمین تہکیا اوٹے دھوین
دیوتا اشئے زمین نیچے
15 সোন বাবা তুঝে কই জমি থাকি ওঠে ধুই
দেও জাত সেই জমি নিচে

16 میرا ٹہاین لیہو رشي اوپرے باندھو پھانشي
رشی دھرے جاے گاڑا بیچے
16 মেরা ঠাই লেহ রসি উপরে বান্ধিয়া ফাসি
রসি ধরে জাবে গাড়া বিচে।

17 دیو پاے زمین تلے ایسے پاتال گیلے
دیو توڑے کرو کہان ؟
17 দেও পাবে জমি তলে এয়ছাই পাতালে গেলে
দেও তুড়ে কর খান ?

18 مہر حمزار پرے رشي دیا کوے تارے
خواجہ خضر چلیا جان
18 মেহের হামজার তরে রসি এক দিয়া তারে
পোওাজ খেজের চলে জান।

19 امیر سلام کویلو خواجہ غیب ہویلو
دھیر ؟ چلیلو امیر
19 আমির ছালাম কৈল পোওাজ গায়েব হৈল
ধিরে ধীরে চলিল আমির

20 دیکھیلو باگان اگے گیلو مرد شے دیگے
کہے کبے غریب فقیر
20 দেখিলে বাগান আগে গেল মর্দ্দ সেই বাগে
কহে কবি গরিব ফকির।

Mede and Madra

By HARIT KRISHNA DEB.

The Medes, when they first appear in history, namely, in Assyrian records of the 9th century B.C., are designated *Amadai*, no doubt because in their country flowed the river known as *Amardus* to classical geographers, conformably to a common Iranian custom of naming a people after a river.[1] Later, they are referred to as *Madai*, with the prosthetic *a* left out, a process to which we have many Iranian analogies. Mela Pomponius (1st cent. A.D.) mentions the *Amardi* as a nation near the Caspian Sea. Clearly, therefore, there was an *r*-element in the name which we have not found in Assyrian renderings; and we should take the Assyrian *Madai* as equivalent to *Ma(r)da* which is sufficiently near to Sanskrit *Madra* to justify enquiry as to whether they can be identified.

For the early history of the Medes, the leading literary authority is Herodotus (I. 95 ff.). His account describes the Medes as revolting from Assyrian domination about 1700 B.C. when they "dwelt in scattered villages without any central authority." There was a judge in every village; but every judge was not as just in his judgments as Deioces who managed so to increase his reputation as an upright man that he was soon chosen by his neighbouring villages chief arbiter in their disputes. Deioces, when he felt himself indispensable, withdrew from his position whereupon lawlessness prevailed. With a view to end the state of "anarchy," the Medes assembled from all quarters and elected Deioces as their king. His son Phraortes succeeded him and extended Median rule over Persia but perished in an attempt to conquer the Assyrians who, although now possessing a shrunken territory with no allies, were internally as flourishing as ever, with their headquarters at Nineveh. After Phraortes came Cyaxares who was of a still more warlike disposition. He engaged in war with Lydia but was overawed by a solar eclipse to conclude peace.[2] He was called back from his first campaign against Nineveh by a great Scytho-Cimmerian invasion against which, however, he could not hold his own. For 28 years, out of the 40 assigned to his reign, the Scythians dominated Asia, till at length he got rid of them by a treacherous trick and not only recovered his lost dominions but extended his empire and destroyed Nineveh.

---

[1] *e.g.* India (Hapta-Hindu); Margiana, etc.

[2] Identified with that foretold by Thales (28th May 585 B.C.).

The accuracy of this account is tested by some inscriptions. That Cyaxares, and not Deioces, was the real founder of the Median monarchy is proved by the fact that, in the time of Darius, as attested by his Bahistân inscr. (col. 2), a Median usurper Fravartes, as well as a Sagartian usurper Chitratakhma, pretended to be the offspring of Cyaxares (Uvakhshatra). The historicity of Deioces is proved by a reference which Sargon makes to Dayukku, a Median chief whom Sargon claims to have deported to Syria (713 B.C.). Sargon's inscrs. further confirm Hdt.'s assertion that the Medes at that time "lived, like the Greeks, in small states, each of which obeyed a 'city lord' of its own."[1] Deioces' position apparently was due to his reputation for honesty, as related by Hdt.; so that virtue must have been regarded by these Median city states as the primary qualification for office. Phraortes seems to have been, like Deioces, nothing more than a republican head; and Hdt.'s statement regarding the occasion of his death, which must be placed towards the close of the reign of Assurbanipal, although incapable of direct verification owing to paucity of epigraphic records of the period, is indirectly corroborated by what we know of the splendour of Nineveh at that period.

Sargon and his successors down to Assurbanipal represent the Medes as tributary to them; and, when they withheld their "tributes," they were regarded as "rebels." We must remember however that, in their inscriptions, the Assyrians are notoriously prone to magnify their own achievements; and what we find denominated "tribute" may have been merely some payment for freedom from molestation. The Medes who joined hands with Cimmerians and other tribes against Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal were, to all appearance, independent and could be reckoned as rebels only from the standpoint of Assyrian vanity. They presently became rulers; for, as epigraphic testimony indicates, Cyaxares destroyed Nineveh in 606 B.C. and established the Median monarchy. The monarchy, however, was short-lived. Astyages, son of Cyaxares, was the last of the race and was supplanted by Cyrus about 550 B.C.[2]

There is a controversy as to the propriety of applying the designation *Mada* to the Median kings who are designated *Manda* by Nabonidus. Prof. Sayce believes that the Mandas were different from the Madas, the former being monarchical and the latter republican in their constitution.[3] Prof. Meyer takes the Mandas to be a nomadic Median tribe in the desert. The controversy need not detain us. It is enough for our pur-

[1] The quotation is from Sayce.

[2] Cf. Meyer's arts. 'Media,' 'Persia,' 'Cyaxares' in Encyclo. Britt. (11th edition.)

[3] Probably, *Māda* (of Darius) and *Manda* (of Nabonidus) are side-forms of an original *Marda* (="the right," in Medic) through the form *Madda*; see Bertin, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, pp. 28, 82.

pose if we know that from Deioces to Cyaxares (c. 700-625 B.C.) the Medes, i.e. Ma(r)das lived under a republican government.

Arrian states in his *Indica* (I.1-3) that "the Indians between the rivers Indus and Cophen (Kabul) were in ancient times subject to the Assyrians, afterwards to the Medes, and finally submitted to the Persians and paid to Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, the tribute that he imposed on them." Prof. Jackson[1] has brought forward corroborative evidence so far as Cyrus' dominion over this region is concerned. It will therefore be hardly a hazard to take Arrian's assertion on trust so far also as it makes the same region subject to the Medes before the Persians and subject to the Assyrians before the Medes. And, since the Medes established themselves by revolting from Assyria, Median rule over this area may be held to have begun about 700 B.C.

Let us turn now to the Indian evidence concerning the Madras. Our earliest references to the tribe occur in the latter portion of the Aitareya Brâhmana and in the Bṛhadâranyaka Upanisad-texts assigned by Vedic specialists to the period 700–600 B.C.[2] In the Ait. Br. (VIII.14) five forms of earthly government are described as obtaining in five different localities; and it is stated that, in the north, beyond the Himalayas, dwell the Northern Kurus and the Northern Madras among whom the "peoples" (*janapadâh*) are consecrated to rulership, the form of government being denominated *vairâjya*, whereas in every other region the "kings" (*râjânah*) are spoken of as being so consecrated. The enumeration being strictly symmetrical, the employment of the word *janapada* for *râja* must signify, as was first pointed out by Martin Haug,[3] that *vairâjya* was a kind of non-monarchical government. This inference is borne out by a passage[4] in the Kautilya Arthaśâstra (VIII.2) wherein is cited the opinion of pre-Mauryan political thinkers favouring *vairâjya*, on account of its dependence on popular approval and a consequent liability to enjoyment by rulers and ruled alike. Kautilya, of course, monarchist as he is, disapproves of this form of government and pictures the miseries of a people living under *vairâjya*, no doubt of a degenerate variety. Etymologically, the term has been explained variously. Sâyana, commenting on the Ait. Br. text, explains it in one place as *viśeṣeṇa râjatvam*, and in another place as *itarebhyo bhûpatibhyo vaiśiṣṭyam*. Martin Haug, K. P. Jayaswal and R. C. Majumdar[5] equate it with "kingless government." R. Shamasastri[6] takes it to mean "foreign rule." If however we look to Vedic uses of *vi-râj*, we get at its primary meaning, "to shine, to be illustrious." That this meaning is appropriate to the text we are discussing[6] follows from Rigveda, I. 188,

[1] Cambridge Hist. of India, p. 332.
[2] Ibid, pp. 113, 149, 697.
[3] Transl. Ait. Br., p. 518.
[4] The passage is found first in Shamasastris 2nd ed. of the K.A. (1919): *vairâjyamtu prakṛticittagrahanâpekṣi yathâsthitam anyair bhujyate.*
[5] Corporate Life in Anc. India, p. 89.
[6] Transl., K.A.

4-6: prācīnam barhir ojasā sahasravīram astṛṇan | yatrādityā *virājatha*‖ (4) *virāṭ* samrāḍ bibhvīḥ prabhvīr bahvīś ca bhuvaśiś ca yāḥ | duro ghṛtāny akṣaran ‖ (5) surukme he supeśasādhi śriyā. *virājatah* | ūṣāsāveha sīdatah ‖ (6) Here we find the terms *virāṭ*, *samrāṭ*, etc., associated with *vi-rāj* denoting "to shine, to be illustrious"; and the same meaning should be applicable to the text of the Rigvedic Ait. Br. (VIII) wherein *virāṭ*, *samrāṭ*, etc., are spoken of together, and the form of government pertaining to the *virāṭ* receives the designation *vairājya*. *Vairājya*, therefore, denotes primarily a form of government in which the ruling element rules by reason of its shining or illustrious character – an *aristocracy*, as the earlier Greek philosophers would call it; the authority, however, was ultimately derived from the *janapada* or the body of the people; and this representative or universal character of the rule finds its analogue in the parallel conception of the All-pervading Universal Virāṭ figuring in the famous *pūruṣa-sūkta* (Rigveda, X, 90).

The Northern Madras, therefore, lived about 700 B.C. under a republican form of government like what we find prevailing among the Medes or Ma(r)das about the same time. The location of these Madras "beyond the Himalayas" agrees exactly with Arrian's location of the Medes "between the rivers Indus and Kabul"[1]; for the Himalayas terminate here on the other side of the Indus.

Sufficient as these indications may appear for the identification of Mede with Madra, they may be supplemented by what we know of their religion and philosophy. In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (III, 7), Uddālaka Āruṇi is represented as going to the house of Patañcala Kapya in the land of the Madras in order to study sacrifice; and in a story given in the Śāṅkhāyana Śrāuta Sutra (XVI. 27, 6), Śvetaketu, son of Uddālaka, reproaches his father for his excessive devotion to sacrifice, to the detriment of his own interests. Uddālaka replies, forbidding his son to speak like that: for he had learnt the true method of sacrifice which it was his ambition to discuss with every Brahmin by caste (*brahmabandhu*).[2] The Madras, therefore, were considered adepts at sacrifice; and Uddālaka's reference to 'Brahmins by caste' seems to indicate that sacrificial ceremonies were at a low ebb among the Brahmins of inner India, so that it was necessary to proceed to the land of the Madras to learn sacrificial method. Recalling the resemblances between the sacrificial rites of Indians and Parsees, and remembering that

[1] The *Vedic Index* places the N. Madras a little too far east, under long. 76°, together with the N. Kurus. The N. Kurus dwelt, as Ait. Br. VIII. 23, testifies, in a somewhat inaccessible region; not so the N. Madras who were connected with the Kambojas who in their turn, adjoined the Gandhāras.

[2] Cf. *Kṣatrabandhu* (JAOS, 42, p. 196).

the Persians derived these largely from the Magi who were, according to Herodotus (I, 101), a Median tribe, we can scarcely wonder at Uddālaka's visit to the "land of the Madras" or Medes who were settled "between the rivers Indus and Kabul." The mention of Kabandha Āthravaṇa in connexion with this visit fits in with the identity of Vedic *ātharvana* with Iranian *āthrava*. Both Uddālaka Āruṇi and his son Śvetaketu are prominent teachers of the later Vedic period and often figure as authorities on questions of ritual and philosophy; and it is possible that they owed something to the Madras for their training in these matters.

We have seen that the Medes adopted monarchy about 625 B.C. Quite in harmony with this, we find the Madras living under monarchy in the Buddhist Jātakas; and Bimbisāra of Magadha, a contemporary of Buddha, marries a Madra princess who probably becomes the mother of Ajātaśatru. Madra princesses were renowned for their beauty in the early Buddhist period; and Madra women are characterized as "white" in the Mahābhārata (VIII)[1]

This is a definite indication of their distinctive nationality, specially since the reference to the whiteness of their complexion is made not by way of conventional compliment but in course of Karṇa's diatribe against the Madras. The adverse remarks convey some valuable hints. The Punjab, designated the "Āraṭṭa" country, is pictured as a land of the heterodox, to be shunned by all good people. It is described as inhabited by Madras (or rather, Madrakas) and Vāhīkas. The former are made out to be foreigners (*Mlecchāḥ*) in chapter 40, while the latter are assigned an indigenous, though mythical, origin in chapter 44. The Madras are declared to be devoid of all goodness: they possess no redeeming feature. This attitude stands in striking contrast with that of Pāṇini (2.3.73; 5.4.67) who associates Madra with what is good (*bhadra*) and auspicious (*maṅgala*). Pāṇini belonged to the Taxila region; and if, when he was writing his grammar, the Punjab had already been under the heels of the Madras as foreign settlers, the grammarian would hardly have bestowed praise on them. In fact, his admiring reference to the name Madra connects him rather closely with the period of Śvetaketu. We must imagine a Madra settlement in the Punjab, after Pāṇini's time, in such force as to render the land heterodox. It looks as if this was the direct result of the Indian expedition of Darius (c. 500 B.C.). The Hindus, it seems, applied the designation *Madra* or *Madraka* to the Persians of the Achaemenian period, in the same way as the Greeks used to call them either "Persians" or "Medes." The other period of foreign domination, namely, that beginning with the advent of Demetrios (c. 200 B.C.), is not to be thought of because, in that

[1] Cf. H. C. Ray in J.A.S.B., 1922, p. 257ff.

case, a Yavana settlement would be indicated in these chapters of the Mahābhārata. But no such indication exists. Not that the Yavanas are ignored. They are mentioned, just as the Kośalas, Māgadhas and others living outside the Punjab are mentioned, for comparison with the Madrakas. And these Yavanas are praised for their wisdom, for their attachment to their own laws. This argues only some acquaintance with Grecian culture such as was quite natural about the time of Darius' invasion. Pāṇini's allusion to the Greek script as *Yavanānī* (*lipi*) attests a similar knowledge.

That the Madras of the Mbh. (VIII) are Persians ("Medes") follows also from the reasons adduced by Duryodhana for his choice of Śalya, the Madra prince, as charioteer to Karṇa (Mbh., VIII, ch. 32). Duryodhana persuades Śalya to accept the position of charioteer by a flattering reference to Śalya's hereditary regard for truth, to his particular skill in archery, to his exceeding ability in horsemanship. Śalya's other name *Ārtāyani*, disclosed in this connexion, has, significantly, an Iranian look.[1] And Hdt. informs us that the education of a Persian child consisted principally in learning to ride, to shoot and to tell the truth.

[1] A genuine old-Indian proper name beginning with *Ārta-* (as conn. with *ṛta* = 'truth') may be said not to exist. The *Vedic Index* knows only one name with *Ārta-* as its first element, viz. Ārtabhāga Jāratkārava in Bṛ. Ār. Up. (iii. 2, 1. 13), the designation Ārtabhāgī-putra applied to a pupil of Śaunḡī-putra in the genealogical list of the same Upaniṣad being a derivative of Ārtabhāga. Curiously enough, here also the epithet associated with the name Ārtabhāga is a derivative of a name (*Jaratkāru*) appearing to possess Iranian affinities, being comparable to the name *Zarathuštra*. The origin of this latter name is not yet settled; but philologists confidently assume that *-uštra* is present as its last element (see *Enc. Britt.*, 11 ed., s.v. 'Zoroaster'). That leaves *zarath-* or *zarat-* as the previous element; and analogously, we may split up Jaratkāru into *jarat-* and *-kāru*. *Zarat* may not be unrelated to *zar*, the Persian word for 'gold'; so that *zarathuštra* may mean "golden camel," and *jaratkāru* may signify "gold-artisan" or "goldsmith." The activities of Zoroaster connect him closely with Bactria, a land of golden-hued camels. A peculiar legend centres around the name Jaratkāru in the Mbh. (I) where he is said to have married a homonymous wife, the sister of Vāsuki, the "Serpent," and whom he deserted when she was with child by him. This child, Āstika by name, afterwards induced Janamejaya to abandon the Serpent-sacrifice. The story of Vyuṣitāśva, father of (the eponymous) Madra, given in Mbh. I. 121, just before the story of Uddālaka, seems to be connected with the Persian Vishtasp.

When Kurus Fought Pandavas.

By HARIT KRISHNA DEB.

That the Great War between the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas which forms the central theme of the Hindu Epic, the Mahābhārata, was an actual historical event is acknowledged by most earnest students of Indian history. Attempts have, from time to time, been made by a number of scholars to arrive at a precise date for this event. But these attempts have only resulted in the development of views so divergent from each other that even an approximate date conforming to the different data cannot be deduced. Nor is this difficulty an incident of modern scholarship. Erudite scholars from at least the fifth century A.D. have found reasons for variance on the point. Nevertheless, these ancient estimates furnish some chronological clues which it would seem to be worth while to investigate.

Broadly speaking, there were current, in the 5th-6th century A.D., three views concerning the date of the Great War. Aryabhaṭa (b. 476 A.D.) places the event in the 32nd century B.C. Varāha Mihira (d. 587 A.D.) assigns it to the 25th century B.C. The Purāṇas which contain an account down, as we shall see, to 425 A.D., date the War in the 15th century B.C. We observe here a very large cleavage of opinion on the question already in the 5th-6th century when, we should think, the Indians had more reliable data to go upon than what we possess to-day. Whence this cleavage? One thing that strikes us at a first glance is that, while Āryabhaṭa and Varāha Mihira give the dating in their astronomical treatises, reckoning apparently by astronomical data, the Purāṇas claim to derive the date from the reign-periods of successive monarchs. Why, then, do Āryabhaṭa and Varāha Mihira differ between themselves? To answer this question, we shall have to see what astronomical data they possessed for working out the dates.

To begin with Āryabhaṭa. Research has shown that the so-called Kaliyuga era of B.C. 3102 has a purely astronomical origin and, originally, had nothing to do with any actual historical event.[1] Nor is it of very ancient descent. It was devised by Hindu astronomers not long before A.D. 400 when, as a result of Grecian influence, they realized that they required a definite date from which to reckon the movements of the sun, the moon and the planets. In the earlier period, they had been content to calculate, for the purposes of astronomy as

[1] JRAS, 1911, pp. 479-96, 675-98.

well as of astrology. the movements of only the sun and the moon, and were not interested in the movements of the planets. Now, however, by calculating backwards upon the basis of the then known mean values of planetary periods, with slight adjustments, they arrived at a certain date, namely, the 18th February, Friday, in B.C. 3102, when, according to these calculations, the sun. the moon and the five planets would have been in conjunction at the beginning of Mesa. Āryabhaṭa designates the day preceding this day as "the Bhārata Thursday" which is explained by his commentator as meaning the day on which Yudhiṣṭhira and the others laid aside their sovereignty and went on their great journey.

The underlying assumption is that Yudhiṣṭhira laid aside his sovereignty just before the sun. the moon and the five planets were believed to have come together on a particular day in B.C. 3102. Such an assumption could only have been made after the advent of Grecian astrology and astronomy. The planetary periods, the signs of the zodiac, the week-days, all of which enter into the calculations, are demonstrably of Grecian origin. The fact that. on the given date B.C. 3102, there was actually no such conjunction, nor even a near approach to such a conjunction, proves the date to have been derived by back-calculation.

It is no wonder that such an artificial reckoning did not commend itself even to an astronomer like Varāha Mihira who, coming shortly afterwards, assigned a different date to Yudhiṣṭhira. Kalhaṇa, writing in the 12th century A.D., definitely rejects Āryabhaṭa's dating and avows adherence to the dating favoured by Varāha.

We however can have no such confidence in Varāha's dating. He places Yudhiṣṭhira 2,526 years before the Śaka era.[1] But the beginning of the Śaka era does not correspond to the gauge-year of Varāha. His gauge-year is 427 Śaka and is taken over from the Romaka Siddhānta.[2] There is thus an interval of 2,953 years between Varāha's date for Yudhiṣṭhira and the gauge-year of the Romaka which is also his own gauge-year. The number 2,953 is suggestive: it is exactly 100 times the number of days (29·53) in a lunar synodic month. The author of the Romaka, belonging as he did to the Alexandrian school of astronomy, may be presumed to have known the Hipparchian (and also. Ptolemaic) estimate of precession which works out to 1 day in 100 years. Consequently, if there was reason to believe that the equinoxes and the solstices had been occurring in Yudhiṣṭhira's time exactly one lunar month (or 29·53 days) later than in 427 Śaka, it might be inferred that a period of 2.953 years had intervened between Yudhiṣṭhira and 427 Śaka. It will be shown that there was reason for such a belief.

[1] *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* 13,3. [2] JASB, 1884, p. 288.

Varāha Mihira gives, in his Pañcasiddhāntikā, rules for the calculation of aharganas, according to the Romaka Siddhānta, and states that the initial point for the calculations is Caitra śukla 1 of 427 Śaka, "when the sun had half set in Yavanapura" (Alexandria). The last detail shows that Alexandrian astronomy was at the basis of the fixation of Caitra śukla 1 of 427 Śaka as the starting-point of Varāha Mihira as well as of the Romaka. And, as this fixation was bound up with a new determination of the vernal equinox rendered necessary by observed deflection in the equinoctial position, it is legitimate to connect, as I have proposed to do above, this fixation with the Alexandrian estimate of precession. The statement in the Pañcasiddhāntikā shows further that the spring equinox was held to be occurring on Caitra śukla 1 in 427 Śaka.

Let us turn now to the state of affairs exhibited in the Mahābhārata.[1] Bhīṣma is lying on his bed of arrows, waiting for death. Being a virtuous man, he cannot die except in uttarāyaṇa, that is, the half-year following the winter solstice. He has to wait till the 8th day after the winter solstice—a particularly auspicious day still celebrated in India as Bhīṣmāṣṭamī and marked as such in Hindu almanacs. On that day, Bhīṣma perceives that, the lunar month Māgha being already on, uttarāyaṇa had arrived, and it was already the eighth day of the lunar month. This story, according to Winternitz,[2] formed no part of the original account. But he recognizes that the philosopher Śaṅkara speaks of Bhīṣma's death in uttarāyaṇa, so that the story of Bhīṣma's death as described in our present Mahābhārata must have found place there already in the 8th century A.D. The fact that Śaṅkara takes it as part of established tradition, and not as a recent incorporation, shows that it was found in the Mahābhārata which lay before Varāha Mihira as well as the author of the Romaka Siddhānta (6th century). And the story must have indicated to them that, in the days of Bhīṣma—in the year of the Bhārata War—the winter solstice coincided with Māgha śukla 1.

Comparing the two positions—vernal equinox on Caitra śukla 1 in 427 Śaka, and winter solstice on Māgha śukla 1 in the year of the battle of Kurukṣetra—the inference was drawn that the equinoxes and the solstices had been occurring in Yudhiṣṭhira's time exactly one lunar month (29·53 days) later than in 427 Śaka; and the Hipparcho-Ptolemaic rate of precession being availed of, the interval was calculated as one of 2,953 years.

A dating derived in this way, on the basis of what we know to-day to be a wrong value of precession, can have no claim to our acceptance.

[1] Anuśāsana-parva, ch. 67.

[2] Geschichte der Indischen Litoratur, vol. 1, p. 307.

There now remains for our consideration the Puranic dating which has the effect of placing the Great War in the 15th century B.C. To be more exact, the Purāṇas posit a period of 1,015 or 1,050 years between the birth of Parikṣit and the coronation-year of Mahāpadma. I have elsewhere[1] given reasons for assigning this latter event to B.C 413. Briefly, my argument is as follows. The dynastic account in the Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas is brought down just to the end of the 836th year after Mahāpadma's coronation; and, immediately afterwards is added an exposition of the Saptarshi reckoning. It is reasonable to suppose that the object of this juxtaposition was to indicate that the Saptarshi era had been used here—that, in fact, the 836th year after Mahāpadma's coronation fell in, or coincided with, the last year of a Saptarshi centennium. That the use of some era was necessary to make the Puranic chronology intelligible could not fail to have been recognized by the Puranic compilers who mention the Andhra dynasty as having gone by and allude to eighteen successive Śaka rulers, thus betraying their late age. The allusion to the *number* of the Śaka rulers implies that the Śaka dynasty also had come to an end. This Śaka dynasty could only have been that founded by Caṣṭana which came to an end about 400 A.D.; and we actually find, from dated coins and inscriptions, that there were, in this line, 18 *mahākṣatrapas* who issued coins dated, of course, in the Śaka era.[2] On the other hand, the Matsya version, which is earlier than the Vāyu, ends the dynastic enumeration with a bare reference to the Vākāṭaka dynasty of Berar which flourished between about 300 and 500 A.D., without, however, any allusion to the number of its rulers, showing that the dynasty had not yet come to an end. The Matsya compilation should therefore be assigned to the 5th century A.D. No compiler of such a late age could ignore the necessity of mentioning an era to which his "836th year after Mahāpadma" was intended to correspond. It was a year well known to him; for, even by a rough estimate, the 836th year after Mahāpadma falls somewhere about the 5th century A.D. Of the various eras then in use, the Vikrama, the Śaka, the Kalachuri and the Gupta eras had political associations which rendered them unsuitable for adoption in historical chronology. Moreover, the Vikrama era had been for four centuries largely superseded, in popular use, by the Śaka era; and, the Śaka dynasty being recently overthrown, the use of the Śaka era could not readily be thought of. Nor had the Gupta or the Kalachuri era met with general acceptance. The Mandasor inscription of

[1] *Trans. First Oriental Conference* (Poona, 1919), Poona, 1922, pp. 351ff. The date should be B.C. 412.

[2] Rapson, *Cat. of Coins of Andhras &c.*, p. cliii: I exclude Nahapāna and Īśvaradatta, neither of whom belonged to Caṣṭana's dynasty, and Nos. XVII and XXI of whom no coins are known.

Bandhuvarman mentions Kumāragupta as reigning but employs the Vikrama era to express the dates (437 and 473 A.D.) The Kaliyuga era of B.C. 3102 was also known; but, as it was, in its origin, connected with the *beginning* of the Kaliyuga, its use, if it were availed of by the Puranic compilers, would be in connexion with the period of Pariksit, not in connexion with the 836th year after Mahāpadma. But it could not be so availed of, even. The Puranic compilers could not possibly harmonize their own chronology with such an early date for Yudhisthira which would have the effect of placing such recent events as, for instance, the fall of the Andhra dynasty several centuries B.C. Besides, it is not unlikely that the Puranic compilers were aware of the artificial character of the Kaliyuga era and could not on that account subscribe to the view that Yudhisthira flourished anywhere about the 32nd century B.C. The Saptarshi era, on the other hand, is also known as the *śāstra-saṁvatsara* or the *laukika-saṁvatsara*. These names indicate that the era must have been employed in *śāstras* requiring the use of an era and was well known to common people (*laukika*). And the only *śāstras* which required imperatively the use of an era are *śāstras* of the Puranic order, setting forth historical chronology. The Purāṇas, also, are literature of the *laukika* type, being meant for the masses. Kalhaṇa, writing his Rājataraṅgiṇī in the 12th century A.D., uses the Saptarshi era in preference to the Śaka era, as soon as he is able to give, no doubt from older records at his disposal, any definite dates for definite historical events. This shows that the use of the Saptarshi era in historical chronology had already become traditional long before the age of Kalhaṇa; and the only way in which it could have attained that status would be by its exclusive use in literature of the Puranic order. Its use, therefore, in Puranic compilations of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. is just what we may expect from what we know of its later history.

The 836th year after Mahāpadma, which is the last definite date mentioned in the Matsya and the Vāyu Purāṇas, thus fell in, or coincided with, the last year of a Saptarshi centennium.[1] It is easy to see which centennium is meant: it corresponds to 325–425 A.D. An earlier centennium or a later one would conflict with Graeco-Indian synchronisms furnished by Aśoka's inscriptions. Moreover, as I have shown above, the Matsya compilation, where this date is given first, belongs to the 5th century A.D.; so that, it would naturally be to the centennium ending in 425 A.D. that the last date in the compilation would refer.

A second set of data confirms this conclusion. The dynastic account in the Purāṇas pertains to the three Ages—the Tretā-,

[1] The Saptarshi era is reckoned by centuries. A century began in A.D. 1925, and the next century will begin in A.D. 2025.

the Dvāpara- and the Kali-yugas—occupying altogether a period of (3,600 + 2,400 + 1,200 or) 7,200 years. The beginning of history is identified with the commencement of Tretā; and it is explicitly stated, at the end of the dynastic account, that the Kaliyuga (of the 28th *caturyuga*) had "gone by." The 836th year after Mahāpadma thus fell in or coincided with the last year of the Puranic Kaliyuga; consequently if that year be equated with 425 A.D, the commencement of Tretā or the beginning of the historical period would have to be dated 6776 B.C. We possess the evidence of Megasthenes, thanks to Pliny and Solinus, that this was also the date assigned in Puranic literature of the 4th century B.C. to the beginning of Indian history.[1] That is a striking corroboration. Yet another confirmation is available.

At the close of the dynastic account, just before the statement regarding the interval between Mahāpadma and Parikṣit, there is a couplet in the Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas, indicating the use of the Jupiter cycle as helping to define the closing year of the dynastic account. The couplet runs thus:

yadā candraśca sūryaśca tathā tiṣya-bṛhaspatī
ekarāśau sameṣyanti tadā kṛtayugam bhavet

Translation.

"When the moon, the sun, and likewise Tiṣya and Bṛhaspati, will be together in the same sign (*rāśi*), then will Kṛtayuga be."

Fleet, commenting on the verse, which occurs also in substantially the same form in the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva, ch. 190), remarks: "The verse does not exactly assert what is technically known as a conjunction: it only says that the sun, the moon, Jupiter and Tiṣya 'will come together or will be (together), in one sign.' But a conjunction is obviously implied; because otherwise the occurrence will be too common. Jupiter spends nearly one year out of every twelve in Karka; and, on each occasion while he is there, he will be in conjunction with Tiṣya, and the sun and the moon will be in conjunction with each other in that same sign once if not twice; but it is only at very long intervals that all the four will be in conjunction." It is unnecessary, however, to travel, with Fleet, beyond what is exactly asserted in the verse, the object of which is not to give an absolute date for the beginning of the Kṛtayuga but to define more precisely the year *in* which this Kṛtayuga was to begin. As Fleet himself was puzzled to observe, it must have been only about the beginning of the Hindu summer solstice that the state of things described in the verse (viz. the sun in the 'sign' Karka) would belong; whereas the beginning of Kṛtayuga, as indeed of every one of

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, VI, p. 250. Arrian's figures are inutilisable.

the four Yugas, is required to coincide with a vernal equinox. The contradiction does not exist ; for what the verse asserts is that Krtayuga will begin—of course, at vernal equinox—during a *Tiṣya-saṁvatsara* of a Jupiter cycle, the *saṁvatsara* commencing with an *amāvasyā*. The use of the word *rāśi* ("sign") in the expression *eka-rāśau* shows that the Twelve-year cycle of the mean-sign system is here employed. And A.D. 424 (Nov. 20)–425 (Nov. 16) conforms to this requirement.

This use of the Jupiter cycle for the purpose of indicating a particular year in the 5th century A.D. is not surprising, because the cycle is known to have been much in vogue in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D., as inscriptions and astronomical books testify.[1] It is worth noting that, in the inscriptions, it is seldom used alone but almost always appears joined to a date expressed in some other era ; so that its introduction was made not so much to give an absolute date as to provide a clue to the determination of the era expressing the date. In fact, it was just because, in some inscriptions, the Jupiter cycle had been used in conjunction with dates expressed in the Gupta era, that Fleet was able to demonstrate the initial point of that era.

One other point needs notice in this connexion. How comes it that the Jupiter cycle used here belongs to the mean sign system, and not to the heliacal rising system ? The latter system is found to occur in the several Northern Indian inscriptions hitherto known ; and it is also the older system, having a larger number of votaries among the early astronomers. For an explanation, we may point to the occurrence of the mean-sign system alone in the astronomical treatises of Āryabhata of Kusumapura (Patna) and Brahmagupta of Bhillamalla (Bhinmal), and also to the fact that, in Mārwād and among Mārwādi settlers in other parts of India, the mean sign system obtains. Moreover, the years of the heliacal rising system are of unequal duration, not convenient for employment in historical chronology ; and its use in inscriptions was probably commended by the circumstance that its years, commencing from actual risings of Jupiter, had, in the eyes of the people, an air of reality which the mean sign system lacked.

There can thus remain no doubt that the 836th year after Mahāpadma's coronation ended in the Tiṣya-saṁvatsara of the Jupiter cycle corresponding to 424-5 A.D. which overlapped the last year of a Saptarshi centennium and the terminal year of the Puranic Kaliyuga. We are thus entitled to assume that the year of Parikṣit's birth, that is, the year of the Great Battle of Kuruksetra, is, according to the Purāṇas, 1427 or 1462 B.C. (1,015 or 1,050 years before Mahāpadma). These intervals of so many years before and so many years after Mahāpadma,

[1] Fleet, *Gupta Inscrs.*, App. III (by S. B. Dikshit). Cf. Fleet's Art. 'Hindu Chronology' in Enc. Britt. (11th ed.).

profess to be based, as already observed, upon reign-periods of successive monarchs. And, just as astronomical eras—at first the Saptarshi era, and later, the Jovian era—are referred to in connexion with the closing year of the account (424-5 A.D.), so an astronomical detail, also connected with the Saptarshis, or stars of the Great Bear, is furnished with reference to "the period of Parikṣit." The detail is thus expressed:

saptarṣiṇāṁ tu yau purvau dṛśyete uditau niśi
tayor madhye tu nakṣatram dṛśyate yat samaṁ divi
tena saptarṣayo yuktā jñeyā vyomni śataṁ samāḥ
nakṣatrāṇāṁ ṛṣiṇāṁ ca yogasy-aitan nidarśanam
saptarṣayo Maghāyuktā kāle Pārikṣite śataṁ
brāhmaṇās tu caturviṁśe bhaviṣyanti śataṁ samāḥ [1]

Translation.

"Those two of the Seven Rishis which are the first (among them) to rise at night—the nakshatra which is seen to lie between them equally in the heavens—with that (nakshatra) are the Seven Rishis reckoned to be conjoined for a hundred years. Here is an illustration of the conjunction of nakshatras with Rishis: the Seven Rishis were joined to Maghās for 100 years in Pariksit's time; and the Brāhmaṇas (Rishis) will be for 100 years in the 24th (nakshatra)."

Then follows the statement that "thenceforward this whole world will be in trouble," introducing details of miseries reserved for the *sandhyāṁśa* period—or the last two centuries—of the Kaliyuga (225–425 A.D.).

Śridhara Svāmī, commenting on the Bhāgavata version of this passage (which omits ll. 4 and 6), remarks: "that the constellation, consisting of seven stars, is in the form of a wheeled carriage. Marīchi, he observes, is at the extremity and next to him, Vasiṣṭha in the arched part of the yoke; and beyond him Aṅgiras: next to whom are four stars in a quadrangle: Atri at the north-east corner; south of him Pulastya; next to whom is Pulaha: and Cratu is north of the last. Such being their relative position, the two stars, which rise first, are Pulaha and Cratu; and whichever asterism is in a line south from the middle of those stars, is that with which the Seven Rishis are united; and they so remain for 100 years. A similar passage is found in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, and a similar exposition of it is given by the commentator Ratnagarbha."[2]

The attached diagram (Plate 2) illustrates the position depicted by the commentators for an observer in northern latitudes. A similar stellar disposition is also described by Varāha Mihira Br. S., ch. 13): there is only a slight difference,

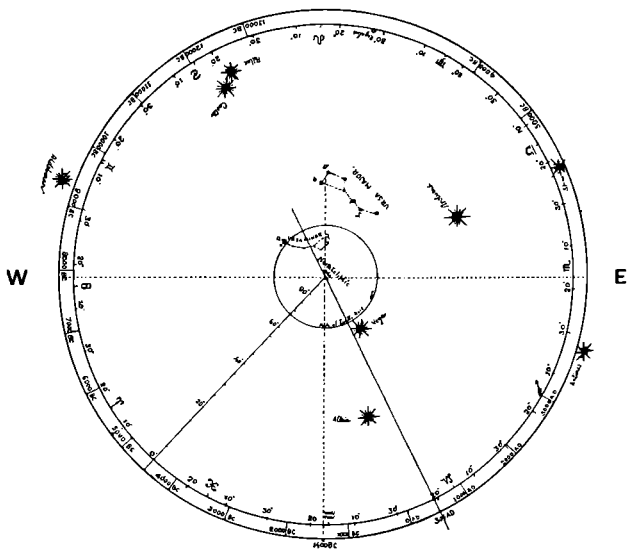
[1] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 60-61.
The Matsya version is cited here. [2] Colebrooke, *Essays*, II. 357.

the names Atri and Pulastya being interchanged, which, however, does not affect the stellar *disposition*. Varāha Mihira, citing from Garga, speaks of the Great Bear rising in the north-east, Marīci being the easternmost star, with Vasiṣṭha to its west. In both accounts, an evening aspect is contemplated, since both speak of the 'rising' (*udaya*) of the stars; and Śridhara makes the meaning explicit, so far at least as the Puranic account is concerned, when he speaks of Pulaha and Kratu 'rising first.' Moreover, it is obvious that the evening or sunset of a particular day in the year must be intended—a particular day, besides, which was so well known to astronomers as not to require specific mention. In other words, the observation was meant to apply to the moment of sunset of an equinoctial or a solstitial day. That the spring equinox only can be intended follows from the fact that the heavens, at sunset, could have presented such an appearance only about spring-time. We may consider, also, in this connexion, the fact that astronomers of that period reckoned only from vernal equinox as the starting-point of every yuga; and the Purāṇas are concerned here with the starting-point of its 29th *caturyuga*, (=the ending-point of the 28th *caturyuga*) which, as I have explained above, was held to coincide with vernal equinox in 425 A.D. Finally, the years of the Saptarshi era which has been used here are Caitrādi lunar and consequently start from the vernal equinox. It follows from all these considerations that the disposition of the Great Bear as described in the Purāṇas pertains to the moment of sunset on the day of the spring equinox. On that day the sun rises due east and sets due west, and the solstitial colure cuts the observer's horizon at the north and the south points. What, therefore, the Purāṇas understand by the statement that "the Seven Rishis were joined to Maghās in the time of Parikṣit" is that, in the days of Parikṣit, the solstitial colure passed midway between the stars Pulaha and Kratu (α and β Ursa Majoris) and intersected the Maghās nakṣatra (of which the principal star is Regulus). That is why Śridhara speaks of Maghās having been, at that time, on a line drawn south from the middle of these two stars.

Calculating with the now well-ascertained rate of precession (50·2″ a year), we can realize (see Plate 2) that this was actually the position about 1400 B.C.—approximately the period to which Parikṣit is assigned by the Puranic chronology based upon dynastic lists and reign-periods. It might seem that this is no confirmation, but a coincidence due to the Puranic chroniclers themselves having worked back at a known rate of precession. But such cannot have been the case, since the modern value of precession was not then available and is indeed not found in any Hindu book. The closest approximation to such a value, viz. 54″ a year, is met with for the first time in an interpolated chapter of the Sūrya Siddhānta (*c.* 1000

A.D.) and is unknown to Āryabhaṭa, Varāha Mihira and Brahmagupta. Varāha Mihira notes, it is true, the fact of precession. Indeed, he gives prominence to the fact by mentioning if at what we may regard as substantially the commencement of his treatise, the Brhat Saṁhitā (ch. 2). But he omits to give the rate of precession as anything like 54″ a year. On the other hand, as I have shown above, he works back himself or accepts from the Romaka a working back to the age of Yudhiṣṭhira at the Hipparcho-Ptolemaic rate of 36″ a year. Supposing even that the rate of 54″ a year was known to the Purāṇic chroniclers of the 5th century A.D., a back-calculation on that basis would yield a different position for the solstitial colure for the date they assigned to Parikṣit, the difference amounting to something like 2 degrees; so that, with such a calculation, the colure would be represented to have passed, not midway between α and β Ursa Majoris but considerably nearer to the latter. We are thus obliged to concede that the position of the colure as defined in the Purāṇas for "the period of Parikṣit" is not the result of a back-calculation adopted with the object of providing any specious astronomical confirmation for their historical chronology, but is based upon genuine tradition of actual observation made about 1400 B.C. when the colure actually passed midway between α and β Ursa Majoris.[1] And, as the Puranic date of Parikṣit, based upon an altogether different set of data, namely, the reign-periods of successive monarchs, tallies with the astronomical evidence, we may safely infer that the Kurus fought the Pāṇḍavas about 1400 B.C.

[1] The position described ("*mid-way* between Pulaha and Kratu") implies great accuracy of observation,



Adapted, to a certain degree of approximation, from Plate I, Art. CONSTELLATION in the *Encyclopædia Brittanica* (11th edition). Drawn by Kumar Suhrid Sinha.

The seven stars of Ursa Major, counting from α, β, onwards, are named: Pulaha, Kratu, Atri, Pulastya, Aṅgiras, Vasiṣtha and Marīci. According to Varāha Mihira, the star γ is Pulastya, and the star δ is Atri.

The five-yearly yuga and the Saptarshi cycle.

By HARIT KRISHNA DEB.

Modern research has established beyond reasonable doubt that Hindu Astronomy[1] as represented by Āryabhata, Varāhamihira, Brahmagupta, etc, is the consequence of a Renaissance brought about by contact with Greek Astronomy as cultivated with special care at Alexandria in Egypt. The greatest Alexandrian astronomer was Hipparchus (c. 150 B.C.) who borrowing largely from Chaldaean lore, fixed the chief data of Greek astronomy. He discovered the precession of the equinoxes by comparing the position of the star Spica in his own time with its position as recorded about two centuries earlier. The consummation came, however, with Ptolemy when he wrote his Almagest about 150 A.D. Ptolemy's work remained for several centuries, the last word in Western astronomy.[2] Hindu Renascent Astronomy, it may be observed, omits to take notice of the modifications proposed by Ptolemy on some theories of Hipparchus;[3] so that the inflow of Grecian ideas would seem to have taken place before the composition of the Almagest.

The principal characteristics which differentiate the Newer from the Older Hindu Astronomy are:

1. The five planets—Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn—with their periods are taken account of and classified together with the sun and the moon, under the designation *graha*.

2. The unit of time known to us as the *week*, consisting of seven days named after the sun, the moon and five planets, is introduced under the designation *saptāha*, and its constituent days named after the sun, etc., in the same order as is found in the Grecian reckoning. This is why Hindu weekdays are to this day identical with the European weekdays.

3. The twelve signs of the (solar) zodiac, Aries, Taurus, etc., are adopted with their Greek denominations translated as Meṣa, Vṛṣa, etc., and designated each as a *rāśi*. The earlier Indian practice was to divide the same space into 27 or 28 parts, called *nakshatras* or lunar mansions, the moon remaining in each mansion for one day, completing her sidereal course in

[1] The best short essay on Hindu Astronomy in a European language from the European standpoint is *L'astronomie indienne*, by Prof. Vermeire, S.J. (*Révue des questions Scientifiques*, Louvain, 1925. For a fuller treatment, see the monograph *Hindu Astronomy* by G. R. Kaye (*Mem. Arch. S. Ind.*, 1924).

[2] *Encycl. Britt.* (11th ed.), art. 'Astronomy.'

[3] Cf. Colebrooke, *Essays* II, p. 400.

a little over 27 days. The nakshatra-system was not wholly supplanted by the rāśi-system, but both continued in use.

4. The earlier *yuga* of five years =67 sidereal months=62 synodic months=1,830 days, which considered the 'conjunction' (*yoga*) of only the sun and the moon is abandoned in favour of a *yuga* which considers the conjunction of not only the sun and the moon but of all the *grahas* in the newer acceptation of the term.

The five-yearly yuga assumes that (i) 67 sidereal revolutions of the moon=1,830 days; (ii) 62 synodic revolutions of the moon=1,830 days; (iii) five years=1,830 days. For example, if on a particular date it is new moon—that is, sun and moon are in conjunction—and the moon stands, say, at the beginning of the nakshatra Maghās, then, after 1,830 days, it will be new moon again with the sun and the moon standing again at the beginning of Maghās.

It is obvious that such a yuga must have been derived, on the one hand, from observations of the moon's positions relative to the nakshatras on successive nights, and, on the other hand, from repeated observations of the period of time between one new moon and the next. A co-ordination of the two series of observations resulted in the formulation of what may be described as a *tithi-nakshatra yuga*, according to which, after a period of 1,830 days, the *tithi*[1] and the *nakshatra* pertaining to the initial time of observation would recur in combination, the moon having completed her sidereal course 67 times over and her synodic course 62 times over. And, since the sidereal period of the moon is based upon her position relative to the stars, while the synodic period is based upon her position relative to the sun—the difference between the two periods being due to the sun's motion relative to the stars—it was inferred as a corollary that, in 1,830 days, during which the moon had accomplished 67 sidereal revolutions as well as 62 synodic revolutions, the sun must have performed five (67–62) complete revolutions among the stars.

Thus, the five-yearly yuga was primarily based upon observations of the moon, and it was only by inference that the duration of the solar year (366 days) was derived. In other words, it is primarily a *tithi-nakshatra* yuga, and only secondarily a *ravi-candra* (luni-solar) yuga. It differs therefore from the luni-solar cycles of the Greeks whose primary object was to make a whole number of lunar months correspond to a whole number of solar years, without any consideration of the moon's position relative to the nakshatras. This was because the Greeks had no nakshatra-system, while the Hindus concerned themselves,

[1] A *tithi* is the 30th part of a lunar synodic month. More accurately, it is the time during which the difference between the longitudes of the sun and of the moon is increased by 12°.

before the advent of Greek astronomy and astrology, principally with the tithis and the nakshatras.

The five-yearly yuga was not very accurate. Not only was the length of the solar year over-estimated, but the lunar periods, both sidereal and synodic, were under-estimated. Of course, the wrong value of the solar year was due to wrong estimates of the lunar periods. Whether these wrong estimates were themselves due to faulty observation or to a deliberate adjustment of better-ascertained data, with the object of evolving a yuga convenient for practical purposes, is more than we can say. The practical advantage of the yuga is apparent. It is of moderate length. The number of days (1,830) is a whole number, and contains a whole number (67) of sidereal months, giving the nakshatras; it also contains a whole number (62) of synodic lunar months, giving the tithis; it can likewise be resolved, moreover, into a whole number (61) of calendar months. It comprises, finally, a whole number of years, and consequently a whole number of seasons. To combine all these factors, adjusted data might well be employed.

Nevertheless, there is error in these estimates: and there was bound to be discrepancy between calculation and observation. Actually, as we know now, 67 sidereal revolutions of the moon require 1830·56 days; 62 synodic revolutions are accomplished in 1830·88 days; and five solar years occupy 1826·25 days, approximately. The largest deviation is in the last detail; and if no correction were applied, the solstices and the equinoxes would be shifting through the seasons and would be automatically restored to their proper places in about every 500 years. Possibly, for purposes of the civil calendar, no need was felt for a correction as regards the solar year: just in the same way, Hindus have been neglecting for fifteen centuries the shifting of the solstices and the equinoxes due to precession, so that they have now a true and a nominal vernal equinox, a true and a nominal summer solstice, and so on. The various corrections applied from time to time to the Western calendar, from the days of Julius Caesar down to Pope Gregory, show that, just before these corrections were applied, there had been considerable discrepancies between the civil and the astronomical reckonings which called forth these corrections. In India, a year of 366 days may have been considered good enough for ordinary purposes; and, so long as there was no large inaccuracy in the determination of the tithis and the nakshatras which it was the primary object of the five-yearly yuga to determine, it would be no great inconvenience if the years began at a nominal instead of a true solstice. The actual positions of the solstices and the equinoxes must have been observed about 1400 B.C.[1] The Kauśītakī Brāhmaṇa (XIX. 55), with the same period in view,

[1] See my paper "When Kurus fought Pāṇḍavas," *ante*, pp. 219-20.

places the winter solstice on a definite day of the year—the new moon of the month Māgha; the same position is contemplated in the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga: while the Sūrya Prajñapti, coming several centuries later, presents a different picture, making the summer solstice coincide with full moon in Abhijit in evident conformity with ocular testimony.[1] But, since the Sūrya Prajñapti is content to use the five-yearly yuga, with its "years" of 366 days each, it seems that the Hindus had not, in the long experience between the Jy. V. and the Sū. P.,—a period apparently devoid of direct observation of the solstitial positions.—felt very gravely inconvenienced by the use of the over-estimated year. In fact, their tenacious adherence to the scheme of the five-yearly yuga for such a length of time shows that the yuga met their needs well; and a special merit of the scheme must have been that it enabled an easy and, at the same time, a fairly accurate method of calculating the tithis and the nakshatras.

But even here some error existed. Accurate observation would have revealed that 67 sidereal periods of the moon occupy not 1830 but 1830·56 days, and 62 synodic revolutions are accomplished not in 1830 but in 1830·88 days. An observer who believed in the quinquennial yuga-scheme, commencing his observations when the moon was (say) at the beginning of the nakshatra Maghās, would expect to find her, in exactly the same position after the lapse of 1830 days. Renewing his observation after exactly 1830 days, he would find that, contrary to his expectation, the moon stood not at the beginning of Maghās, but somewhere within the preceding nakshatra Aśleṣā. What should have taken 1830 days would thus appear to take 1830·56 days. Suppose now that our observer commenced his observation with a new moon. After the lapse of 1830 days, when, according to his expectation, the sun and the moon should be together again it would actually not yet be new moon. What should have taken 1830 days would thus appear to take 1830·88 days.

Relying on the scheme of the quinquennial yuga, therefore, it might seem necessary to ascribe to the stars themselves a slow motion from west to east. The rate of this retrograde movement of the stars would be calculated at ·56 degrees in 1830 days, from accurate observations of the moon's sidereal period. And the rate would work out to ·88 degrees in 1830 days, from accurate observations of the moon's synodic period. Of the two periods of the moon, however, the sidereal seems to have been better observed than the synodic, in the early ages. In the first place, Abhijit is introduced as a 28th nakshatra already in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā (ii. 13, 20); and Thibaut has shown[2] that its introduction is the consequence of an improved knowledge of the moon's sidereal period. In the

[1] JASB, 1880, p. 114. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

second place, Vedic literature, from the Rigveda downwards, teems with references to the difficulty of ascertaining the *month* which, of course, was based on the moon's synodic period. We may presume, therefore, that the rate of retrogression of the stars would be estimated by our observer at a figure nearer to ·56 degrees than to ·88 degrees in 1830 days.[1] It would hence be a "correction" of some value to combine with the quinquennial yuga-scheme the notion that the nakshatras were moving from west to east along their own circle at the rate of something like 11 degrees in a hundred years. The space of a nakshatra being a little over 13 degrees, it would certainly be a very convenient formula to imagine that, in a centennium, the stars of each nakshatra would move into the position occupied by the succeeding nakshatra, the entire nakshatra-series accomplishing a complete revolution round the Pole in 27 centuries.

Such a formula is actually found to underlie what is known as the Saptarshi reckoning. The idea is that the Seven Rishis, Marīci and others, were translated to the skies and became the Seven stars of the Great Bear (Ursa Majoris), for which reason this constellation is known as *Saptarsayah*. These Rishis are said to remain in conjunction, for 100 years, with each of the 27 nakshatras, completing a cycle in 2700 years. The statement, it should be noted, is not made as a scientific expression of an astronomical fact, but is mixed up with mythic matter. A similar astronomical myth relates how Dhruva, a son of Uttānapāda—that is, of the star β Ursa Minoris—wishing to sit on the lap of his father, was rudely turned away by his stepmother and thereafter, having prayed the Seven Rishis with success, attained a unique position in the skies, the position of a Pole-star. This is typical of the way in which the ancient Hindus were in the habit of "mixing up scientific questions with religious traditions," as the Arab scholar Alberuni complains while discussing the Saptarshi cycle in his treatise on India (ch. 45). Not seeing his way to a solution of the Saptarshi myth, he first tries to connect it with the phenomenon of precession, and, having failed at that (for the rates vary), he rejects the entire notion as absurd. Such an attitude is pardonable on the part of Alberuni. Hindu commentators themselves have been puzzled to explain it.[2] Nor have modern scholars, European or Indian, met with greater success. This is because the myth-element in the conception is not yet recognized. We must not take it too literally. No one in his senses will assert it as a fact that the stars of the Great Bear are going round from

[1] Or, actually, a mean might be taken, in which case the rate would work out to about 14° in a hundred years. For every 1° of stellar motion W. to E., the Sun has to spend about 1 day more than if the stars were at rest, the Sun's motion relative to the stars being about 1° per day, W. to E.

[2] Colebrooke *Essays* II, pp. 355ff.

one nakshatra to the other, performing a complete revolution in 2700 years. That must be an inverted way of stating that the nakshatras themselves move along the nakshatra-circle and *around the Seven Rishis*, so as to accomplish one complete revolution in 2700 years. For the expression "around the Seven Rishis" we can substitute the words "around the Pole," because the stars of the Great Bear are very near the Pole and were nearer still in the earlier period, so much so that the Arabs, according to Alberuni (*op. cit.*, ch. 22), called the Great Bear "the Pole." From this proximity to the Pole arose the early importance of the Great Bear, in astronomy as well as in navigation. Just in the same way we speak to-day of stars, in their nightly course, circling round Polaris, a star in Ursa Minoris (Little Bear) which is now not exactly at the Pole but at some distance from it. The Hindu conception of the *dhruva* or pole-star also is that it does not remain absolutely fixed at precisely the pole but that it is itself moving round that point and is causing the other stars to follow its lead.[1] That is why Varāha Mihira, while describing the Saptarshi cycle, speaks of the Great Bear "dancing according to the directions of the leader, Dhruva (*dhruvanāyakopadeśāt*)." The diurnal motion of the nakshatras round the pole could thus be described as being either around the *dhruva* or pole-star situated near the pole or around a prominent constellation situated in the same region such as the Great Bear. But, whereas the diurnal motion is from east to west, a complete revolution being effected in about 24 hours, the motion attributed to the stars according to the Saptarshi cycle is from west to east, a complete revolution being effected in 2700 years,—precisely what, we have seen, would constitute a convenient "correction-formula" for the error in the lunar period inherent in the quinquennial yuga.

But, we may be asked, what reason is there to connect the Saptarshi cycle with the five-yearly yuga? It is easy to reply. In the first place, we see that the yuga continued in use for several hundred years despite the fact that it involved an underestimate of the lunar period. In course of time, a discrepancy between calculation and observation must have inevitably forced itself on even a casual observer of the heavens, who could not fail to notice that the moon was not coming to her appointed nakshatra at the appointed hour. Appreciation of this discrepancy could not be very long delayed, the moon being an object whose heavenly course among the stars could be easily observed night after night. Under these circumstances, a protracted adherence to the yuga-scheme must necessarily have been combined with the notion that the nakshatras themselves were subject to a retrograde (west to east) movement round the Pole—that is, round the *dhruva* or pole-star

[1] *Matsya Purāṇa*, ch. 125: etc.

or round the most prominent constellation in the same region, namely, the Great Bear. In the second place, the rate of the retrograde movement assumed in the Saptarshi cycle corresponds very nearly to the error involved in the lunar period of the yuga-scheme. In the third place, we have an astronomical myth in the Purāṇas to the effect that the Seven Rishis re-appear recurrently at fixed intervals in order to revive the Solar and the Lunar dynasties, keeping company with both. The story occurs in the Matsya Purāṇa (ch. 273) and in the Vāyu (ch. 99), just after the dynastic enumeration has come to an end and an exposition of the Saptarshi cycle given. It is difficult to avoid reading into this account the meaning that the Saptarshi cycle was devised with a view to bring into harmony with fact an inherently incorrect lunisolar yuga such as the five-yearly yuga undoubtedly was.

The question arises: When was the correction applied? The nature of the correction shows that it must have been devised prior to the advent of Grecian astronomy. From the standpoint of Grecian astronomy, it would hardly be a correction. Error was in fact not admitted; only, the discrepancy between calculation and observation was recognized, and a corresponding retrograde motion of the nakshatras imagined, in order to account for the discrepancy. Had the Hindus been already conversant with Alexandrian science, they would have readily seen that the fault lay not in the stars' possessing a retrograde motion, but in the moon's period being inaccurately valued in the five-yearly yuga-scheme. In fact, anything like the movement contemplated in the Saptarshi cycle was quite foreign to Greek conception; and its introduction into Indian astronomy is inconceivable after the Hindus had begun to acquaint themselves with Western lore.

The earliest references to the cycle are met with in some of the Purāṇas. Of these, the Matsya preserves the oldest version, the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa come next, with the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata following. Their relative sequence has been established by Mr. Pargiter;[1] but he assigns the series to a period I consider too early by a century and a half. The Matsya version should be assigned to the first half of the fifth century A.D., the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa a century later. The next earliest reference occurs in the Bṛhat Saṁhitā of Varāha Mihira (*c.* 550 A.D.). The starting-point of the Saptarshi cycle is taken, in the Purāṇas as well as in the Bṛhat Saṁhitā, to have been the Great Kuru-Pāṇḍava War,[2] "when the Seven Rishis were situated in the nakshatra Maghās." What the Purāṇas understand by this is, as I have shown in my paper "WHEN KURUS FOUGHT

[1] *Dynasties of the Kali Age.*

[2] There is a slight difference: the Purāṇas speak of "the time of Parikṣit" while V. M. speaks of "the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira." The difference is one of ± 35 years.

PANDAVAS," that the solstitial colure passed, in the days of Pariksit, midway between the stars α and β Ursa Majoris and intersected the nakshatra Maghās. This happened closely about 1400 B.C.; and the Purāṇas, in giving this detail, provide an independent confirmation of the date which their dynastic chronology assigns to the period of Pariksit. To about the same period belongs the observations recorded in the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga and in the Kauśītaki Brāhmaṇa We may assume therefore, that the heavens were in fact subjected to close observation about the period to which the events related in the Mahābhārata chiefly belong. The Saptarshi cycle is thus held to have been devised, according to the Puranic tradition, during the same period of astronomical activity. The five-yearly yuga is provided, and, as it appears, very properly provided,—with a corresponding starting-point in the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga. The fact that nakshatra-centuries of the Saptarishi cycle are, in the Purāṇas, enumerated from the Kṛttikās onwards shows that, at the time it was devised, the vernal equinox had not yet, owing to precession, shifted away altogether from the Kṛttikās; assuming, of course, that, as maintained by Jacobi, Tilak, Bühler and others, the choice of the Kṛttikās as the first nakshatra was due to the vernal equinox having, at the time of that choice, taken place in that nakshatra, which was the case between *c.* 2350 B.C. and *c.* 1400 B.C.

Exception, however, has been taken to this explanation of the leading position assigned to the Kṛttikās, it being considered unlikely that the sun had, in the earlier period, anything to do with the nakshatras which were doubtless originally conceived as lunar mansions. There is an *a priori* reason for doubting the validity of the objection. The nakshatras, it is true, were originally conceived in order to mark off the position of the moon in the heavens, night after night, but the fact that the moon's path in the heavens practically coincided with the sun's path must have been noticed, and the utility recognized of referring the sun's motion to the nakshatra-subdivisions of the ecliptic. Then, again, the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga describes the solstitial positions with reference to the nakshatras, proving an early application of the lunar zodiac to solar motion. Finally, the Vāyu Purāṇa (ch. 50) expressly records, as an ancient saying, that the *vishuvan*, or equal day and night at the vernal and the autumnal equinoxes, would happen when the sun would be in the Kṛttikās and again when he would be in Viśākhā. It is interesting to see how the Matsya Purāṇa, in its corresponding chapter (ch. 124), defines the equinoctial positions with reference to the *vithīs* which consist of groups of nakshatras. Nine vithīs are enumerated; the first three, consisting of the nine nakshatras from Aśvinī onwards, constitute the Northern Way (*mārga*); the second three, consisting of nine nakshatras from Maghās onwards, constitute the Middle Way; and the remaining

group constitutes the Southern Way. The position of Aśvinī, as beginning the Northern Way, shows that, when this arrangement was formulated, the vernal equinox was taking place within the nakshatra Aśvinī, that is to say, somewhere between *c.* 450 B.C. and *c.* 500 A.D. That the scheme pertains to a period considerably earlier than 500 A.D. may be presumed on more than one consideration. In the first place, ch. 50 of the Vāyu refers to the *rāśis*, whereas there is no such reference in ch. 124 of the Matsya. The rāśi-system, definitely derived from the Greeks, was already well-established when Āryabhaṭa wrote (499 A.D.). Varāha Mihira characteristically refers to this system when defining the solstitial positions for his own period, and contrasts the older positions determined with reference to the nakshatra-system (Br. S., ch. 2). Secondly, the Matsya arrangement of the vithīs is alluded to by Varāha Mihira as one of the several ancient arrangements; and his commentator Utpala cites verses from Devala and Kāśyapa showing that these authorities favoured such an arrangement. Other alternative groupings are alluded to by V.M. including one traced by his commentator to Garga to which we shall now turn our special attention

Utpala cites from Garga verses to show that according to that astronomer, the Northern Way began with Bharaṇī. Garga's grouping, therefore, was devised when the vernal equinox was taking place, not in the nakshatra Aśvinī, as asserted by Devala and Kāśyapa and also in ch. 124 of the Matsya Purāṇa, but in the nakshatra Bharaṇī, that is to say, somewhere between *c.* 1400 B.C., and *c.* 450 B.C. Garga therefore lived between these two chronological limits. That he lived nearer the earlier limit follows from the circumstance that he reckoned, according to Utpala, the first vithī as beginning with the Kṛttikās. The verse quoted by Utpala from Garga, in this connection is: *Kṛttikā Bharaṇī Svāti nāgavīthi prakīrtitā.* If the equinox had shifted considerably away from the end of the Kṛttikās and well into Bharaṇī, we might expect a mention of Bharaṇī first in this verse. It appears therefore that, in Garga's time, the vernal equinox was falling at the end of Bharaṇī, near to the Kṛttikās, which was the case shortly after 1400 B.C.[1]

This dating of Garga has an important bearing on the origin of the Saptarshi cycle. We have seen that Puranic evidence places Parīkshit *circa* 1400 B.C., and to about the same time also the starting-point of the Saptarshi cycle is referred in the Purāṇas. The starting-point of the cycle is practically the same in Varāha Mihira (Br. S., ch. 13); only the period of Yudhiṣṭhira is conceived by him to have lain, not in the 15th, but in the 25th century B.C. This aberration of about a millenium I have explained, in my above-mentioned paper, as having been due

[1] This argument is adapted from an excellent Bengali monograph on Hindu Astronomy written by Rai Bahadhr Yogeśacandra Rāyṇ.

to a calculation backwards at the Greek—and the wrong—rate of precession, (1° in 100 years instead of 1° in 72 years). What is worthy of special remark is that Varāha Mihira professes to set forth his narration of the Saptarshi-cycle "according to the view of Vṛddha Garga." The origin of the cycle is therefore attributable to Vṛddha Garga; and, the period of its origin being referable to about 1400 B.C. on the Puranic evidence, the date we have derived for Garga upon independent evidence fits in admirably.

The assumption made here is that Garga and Vṛddha Garga are one and the same person. There is evidence to support this identity. Kern[1] has shown from a MS. of a so-called Gārgī Saṁhitā in his possession that, although the opinion of "Vṛddha Garga" is sometimes cited against that of "Garga," the same person is meant; the difference of opinion being between the two treatises named respectively "Garga" and "Vṛddha Garga." I find also, from the citations made by Utpala in his commentary on the Bṛhat Saṁhitā, that Utpala had before him two treatises, one named Garga and the other named Vṛddha Garga. When commenting on Bṛ. S. 5.17, Utpala quotes verses from both: these verses are identical in sense, but somewhat different in wording, the difference being such as to suggest that either Garga improved upon Vṛddha Garga (meaning thereby the two *books*), or they both borrowed from a common source which may have been the original Gārgī Saṁhitā. A similar inference must be drawn from the comment on Bṛ. S., 11.7, where the verses cited from Garga and Vṛddha Garga agree in great measure, in sense as well as in phraseology, the last half-verse being the same in both. A sharp difference of opinion is, on the other hand, noticeable on the question of the origin of earthquakes (Bṛ. S. 32. 1-2). It may be observed in this connexion that Utpala quotes more frequently from the book called Garga than from the book called Vṛddha Garga; and it might perhaps be inferred from this circumstance that the first was more elaborate than the last. Kern's MS. probably contains chapters from both these treatises, since some of its chapters end with the statement: *iti Gārgīye Jyotiṣaśāstre* while others end with the statement: *iti Vṛddha-Gārgiye Jyotiṣaśāstre*. The same is also the case with Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's MS, obtained at Patan[2]; but this differs from Kern's MS. in contents. All these circumstances serve to illustrate the fact that the original Gārgī Saṁhitā has not come down to us, so that we cannot say that the Saṁhitā must have been composed shortly after the Yavana invasion of India under Demetrius and Menander, because that is one of the last events alluded to in its chapter

[1] *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*, ed. Bib. Ind., Introd.
[2] *Report on Skt. MSS.* (1883-84), pp. 370-1.

entitled "Yuga purāṇa." The original had already been recast twice over, once as Vṛddha Garga (Saṁhitā) and again as Garga (Saṁhitā), before Utpala, and most probably also before Varāha Mihira who cites from Garga and Vṛddha Garga, apparently with discrimination. Both these editions of the original Gārgi Saṁhitā betray acquaintance with the Yavanas. That however is no reason why we should place Garga himself later than his position determined by his dispositions of the vīthis and the mārgas, as worked out above: an older stratum of thought has evidently survived the revisionists who probably did not see the bearing of these dispositions upon the equinoctial positions. Varāha Mihira himself confesses his confusion (Br. S., 9, 7) upon the question why the older authorities including Garga had proposed such variant arrangements of the vīthis and the mārgas; and that he too did not realize their connexion with the equinoxes or the solstices follows from the fact that he introduces an account of them in his chapter on the planet Venus, and not in any context relative to the sun's motion. In fact, V. M.'s attitude here stands in striking contrast with his attitude when speaking (ch. 2) of the positions of the solstices. There he appeals to ocular testimony, not as disproving statements made by earlier writers (such as Garga, says the commentator), but as showing that, the solstices having shifted, those statements no longer held good. Here he is more timid and tides over the difficulty created by statements made in earlier literature (including Garga, as his commentator says) by siding with the majority.

The foregoing investigations make it highly probable that, about 1400 B.C. Garga enunciated the Saptarshi cycle in order to account for the discrepancy between observation and calculation according to the scheme of the five-yearly yuga.

Rustic Poetry in the Dialect of Khorasan.

By W. IVANOW.

Although a number of specimens of Persian popular poems have been collected and published by different students of the dialects of Western Persia,[1] almost nothing is known about the unwritten rustic poetry and the local dialect of the province of Khorasan, and generally of Eastern Persia.[2] The present article offers a collection of specimens of songs from the villages of that province, with a summary of the peculiarities of its rustic language.[3]

The materials published here were all collected in 1918 and 1919, in the district of Sabzawar.[4] This arid and thinly

[1] Almost all earlier students did not make any difference between the poetry of the lower classes of the city population and the real rustic songs. The two groups however have nothing to do each with the other, neither in contents, form, nor language. The largest collections (although much smaller than the present one) were given by the late V. Zhukovski, in his "Lullabies and lamentations of Persian villagers and nomads" (St. Petersburg, 1889), and "Specimens of Persian popular poetry" (ibid. 1902), but they contain comparatively few of the real rustic poems, and are, besides, given in Arabic characters, so that do not give much to phonology. Far better are the different specimens in his "Materials for the study of Persian dialects," vols. I–III (1888 and 1922), where they are also given in phonetical transcription. Other works are: Kégi Sándor, "A persza nepdal: Értekezések a nyelv- és szeptudományok köréből." XVII, 3, pp. 111–155; D. C. Phillott, "Some lullabies and topical songs collected in Persia" (J.A.S.B., vol. II, 1906, pp. 32–53); O. Mann, "Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen, Abt. I, Die Tajik-Mundarten der Provinz Fars," 1909, and "Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme im südwestlichen Persien," 1910; A. Christensen, "Le dialecte de Semnan" (Kobenhavn, 1915). The old works are: A. Chodzko, "Specimens of the popular poetry of Persia" (Or. Transl. Fund, 1842), and his "Grammaire persane" (Paris, 1852); E. Berésine, "Recherches sur les dialectes musulmans" (Casan, 1853).

[2] As far as I understand the only specimens of Khorasani quatrains which have been published so far were those given in my article "Specimens of Persian popular poetry" (in Russian) in the "Zapiski of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society, vol. XXIII, 1915, pp. 45–52, or Nos. 17–49. They were collected along the Yazd-Khorasan caravan road and in the district of Turshiz, in 1914.

[3] It must be noted that all these materials in the present article deal only with the *Persian* rustic population of Khorasan. Besides Persians in the same province there are Turks, Kurds, Baluchis, Timuris, Arabs, Hazara (Barbaris), Gypsies, etc. See my article "Notes on the Ethnology of Khorasan" in the "Geographical Journal," vol. LXVII (1926, February), pp. 143–158.

[4] Originally more than 400 specimens were collected, but some of them are merely variants, others are fragmentary; a number of notes, in pencil, became illegible, others were rejected being indecent, or un-

populated corner of Persia is comparatively less subjected to the influence of large cities, than others, and therefore the style of life in it, with the language and the rustic poetical art, remains much the same as it was centuries ago. As there is but little difference in these matters in the many districts of the province, wherever they appear in their original form, this collection may be regarded as representing all the typical features of the Khorasani rustic poetry. The Sabzawari idiom also gives a good idea of Khorasani dialect in general. In order to give this collection completeness and intrinsic individuality, the specimens included are those belonging only to the district of Sabzawar; it may in fact be treated as the typical *répertoire* of an average Sabzawari peasant.

All specimens offered here are given in a phonetical transcription—(which will be explained further on)—just as they have been heard from the different people who dictated them to me at Sabzawar. Their ideas are quite simple and the language is not difficult to understand, if only the peculiarities of the idiomatic phonology are properly taken into account. But in order to make them quite clear to every Persian student a paraphrase in literary Persian is added after each poem. It is composed in such a way that every word in the song is replaced by its usual literary equivalent, and as few changes as possible are introduced into the order and structure of the sentence.

It must be clearly understood that the original and authentic form of every specimen here is only that given in the *phonetical transcription*. The paraphrases are only an artificial device to facilitate a comparison between the dialectic and the ordinary literary form of the same passage. Usually these paraphrases are *not poetry* at all, but prose, because the metre and the rhyme of the original disappear as soon as the brief and much syncopated dialectical forms are replaced by the longer ones, of the literary language.[1]

The summary of the characteristics of Sabzawari, and those of Khorasani in general, which is added here, is based chiefly on the rustic colloquial speech; the language of the majority of the poems is always more refined and careful than the "negligent" diction of ordinary conversation.

---

interesting. I may add here that during my prolonged residence in Khorasan I collected a very large number of specimens, especially in the South, in the districts of Qain and Birjand (more than 600), in 1912 and 1913. All these will be published at the first opportunity.

[1] For instance, the words making a good rhyme : *āftiyā—kurdi·y·ā*, when replaced by the literary forms, become افتاده - کردی است; such an instance, as will be seen in these specimens, is very frequent.

I. The Character of the Persian Rustic Poetry.

1. *The Form.*—The great majority of the rustic songs are composed in the form of quatrains,[1] and only rarely poems of other types are used. The typical tetrastich of this kind has four lines, eleven syllables in each, the first, second and the fourth rhyming similarly. There are however a great variety of deviations from this typical form, due to the natural "wear and tear" of the poems, which are circulating amongst the illiterate and not very musical peasants. The most usual defect of the poems is the different number of syllables in each line, 10, 12 even 14, especially in the third line. This is usually due to an unskilled replacement of the original word by a new one; such alteration may not strike anybody's ear in singing—and the songs are never recited, but only sung—when it is masked by the tune. More noticeable are alterations of a quatrain into a tristich, due to one line being forgotten (usually the first or the third one). Sometimes two quatrains, originally having similar rhymes, and connected in their contents (or being variants) may be combined in such a way as to form a song of six lines, or more.[2] Rarely they receive an increment after each line (become what in the traditional theory of composition is called *mustazād*), but more often a refrain is introduced after every two lines.[3] The rhyme, which normally may be put in a formula like *aaba*, often becomes *aaaa*, *aabb*, rarer *abcd*.

It is unnecessary to mention that these quatrains have nothing to do with the traditional theories concerning composition and metre of the *rubā'ī*. Whenever the rustic quatrain is so worded as to allow the principles of the traditional prosody to be applied to it, it appears to be usually following the metre *hazaj*, not the *rubā'ī*.[4]

In singing, these quatrains form a chain, each following the other without any order as they turn up in the memory of the singer. The tunes vary greatly; some are old; a few purely rustic melodies struck me as being really beautiful, although the majority are monotonous and unattractive, while those introduced from the cities are simply unbearable for a foreigner.

The songs which are not quatrains, or composed of them, are comparatively rare. They may be of any length; the lines usually contain 8 syllables; those of 7 are rare. An addition, usually a refrain, may be of 5 or 7 syllables. Sometimes there are songs consisting of lines having 21 syllables (i.e.

[1] The form of quatrain is very popular not only amongst Persians but also Turks of Persia and Central Asia.

[2] Cf. Nos. 197–202.

[3] These refrains are either simply exclamations (cf. No. 214), or form a short sentence (cf. Nos. 202, 215).

[4] The *hazaj* in question consists of three feet to a *miṣrā'*:—

‖— ⏑ — | — — ⏑ — | — — — ⏑ ' مفاعيلن مفاعيلن فعولن

7 + 7 + 7), but they may be regarded as combinations of tristichs of 7 syllables to a line. The lullabies and other primitive compositions usually have 8 syllables to a line, and also show traces of division into groups of three, four, or five lines.[1] The majority of the songs of this kind show traces of city influence.

The terminology of the rustic songs is very poor. The term *rubā'ī* is applied only to real literary *rubā'ī*.[2] The rustic quatrains are usually called *chārbāyti* (چهار بیتی), i.e. songs of 4 *bāyts*, or lines.[3] Very often also the term *sarbuni* (شتربانی) is used, i.e. the songs of camelmen.[4] Also *sarsaut* (سر صوت), i.e. the song, sung "at the top of the voice" (loudly). Poetry in general is called *bāyt*, or *ghazal*, rarer *shīr* (شعر). The term *tasnīf* (تصنیف), employed in the cities, seems not to be in use in Khorasan.

The songs not belonging to quatrains apparently have no general term by which they may be known to everybody. As they are rare, each one is known after the first line, by the name of the hero, or after the contents.

It is necessary to mention also that the villagers seem to be fond of composing facetious parodies of the literary poetry. These poems are indeed purely popular, and do not follow the traditional prosodical rules although they have a continuous rhyme in the alternate lines.

2. *The origin.*—The authors of rustic quatrains are very rarely known, and only under special circumstances their identity can be established. Usually, however, especially in the case of the most popular and universally known songs, there are no ways to ascertain their origin. The usual process,

[1] Cf. O. Mann, Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme in südlichen Persien (Kurdish-Persischen Forschungen, Abt. III), pp. xxxiv–xxxviii. The 8-syllable line (as in Nos. 203–207 and 209, 217, 218), is exactly the one which is used the most in the poetry of the Kurds in Khorasan (whose songs are chiefly in the form of tristichs), like in: *zha ben ma dho konyo kaskā*; the 7-syllable line is much rarer: *kerosi swir bo la ta*. The caesura which is always clearly felt in the Kurdish lines, in the middle, seems not to be present in the Persian rustic songs, especially in the quatrains, although rarely there are traces in the 8-syllable verses, like in Nos. 209, 217, 218, splitting them into 5 and 3 syllables.

[2] In some localities, like in Gilan, these popular quatrains are still called Palevi, i.e. Fahlawiyyāt (فهلویات) (cf. A. Chodzko, Specimens of the popular poetry of Persia, etc., Oriental Translation Fund, 1842, p. 454), i.e. just in the same way as they were styled in the 13th century of our era by Shams-i-Qays, see his *Al-mu'jam fi ma'āyiri ash'āri'l-'ajam* (Gibb Memorial Series, vol. X, 1909, pp. 80–82 and 142–147).

[3] In popular language the term *bayt* is often used, instead of *misrā'*, for a hemistich.

[4] Although the term *sarbuni* always means a quatrain, it seems that originally it belongs not to this particular class of poems, but to the odd tune to which they are sung.

as it can be traced in the present village life, is as follows: a quatrain is improvised by a peasant, and, if it seems attractive to others, it may be learned and sung by his fellow-villagers.[1] The few poems which for some reason or other acquire popularity, may travel quite long distances. Some of them appear to be known practically all over Persia; and they must have been wandering for a long period of time.[2]

These wandering poems undergo unceasing alterations during their long journeys. Generally speaking, the "younger" a poem is, the more valuable it is from the philological point of view, because it contains the greater number of local dialectical peculiarities. In oral transmission every "link" adopts it to his own dialectical forms, or, in accordance with the general tendency of the rustic poetry of all nations and all times, he will try to give it as literary and refined an aspect, as he can. Therefore the older wandering songs gradually attain a great degree of polish, and are not rarely attributed to some eminent poet.

The language of a rustic poem is therefore of no value as a criterion of its age or place of origin. As the poems are almost exclusively lyric, and deal with love matters, there would be no chance of dating them, were it not be possible to find in a few exceptional cases allusions to different historical persons or events.

In the present collection these may be enumerated as follows: No. 173 contains a word Qizilbâsh (nowadays almost entirely forgotten in Persia), which may be a survival of a period as early as the 16th or 17th century, the wars of the Safawides with Turkey and Turkistan. Nos. 174 and 175 allude to the Uzbeg inroads, also of the same period, because later on the term Uzbeg was replaced by that of Turkman. No. 176 expresses grief for the position of the Shah and appeals to Nadir Shah, still called Sardar, for his assistance. It will be scarcely a misapprehension to think that the events alluded to are those connected with the Afghan invasion in 1135–1142/1722–1729.

It must be remembered that the form of a quatrain with 11 syllables to a line (4+7), is of great antiquity in Persian literature, and goes back as far as the Gathas.[3] All the early

[1] The most important conditions in which new quatrains come into existence are festive gatherings on Nauruz, other big holidays, or weddings and also, in more patriarchal villages, during the evening assemblies of the young people of both sexes, when real contests often take place. Poetry in the village is generally the occupation of the young. The adults, and especially old men regard it as being beneath their dignity to take interest in such "childish nonsense."

[2] The distances which some poems travel are really amazing if the great difficulties of communication in Persia are taken into consideration. In this collection every case in which it is possible to trace variants in different provinces will be specially noted.

[3] Cf. C. Salemann und V. Schukovski, Persische Grammatik (Porta

hagiological works containing many descriptions of the life of the middle and lower classes of Persia, show that at the dawn of Persian literature quatrains were extremely popular. Every account of the Sufic assemblies (سماع), where songs were sung by professional bards (*qawwāl*, قوال), almost invariably quote quatrains only (or Arabic poetry) as specimens of some particularly striking example of their art.[1]

On the whole it seems highly probable that the rustic quatrains, or rather their original prototypes, surviving in numberless variants, are very old, and probably those widely known all over the country have been in circulation for centuries. If this is admitted, it explains the high degree of uniformity and the quite fixed general features of the technique in the rustic songs all over Persia.

3. *The Technique.*—The general usages of the rustic artists recall those of epic poems in many nations. In a difficult form of a poem like that of a quatrain many technical details of composition have become standardised. Not only are there permanent epithets, stereotyped metaphors, etc., much in use, but even the majority of poems are similarly composed on the same plan. The first line is usually occupied with a picture of nature, or the beauty of the sweetheart is described, giving as if a mere background to the emotions of the author: "Field, and sprouts of wheat on it,"[2] or "Wind, wind, unceasing wind,"[3] or "The moon rose, and stars after it."[4] etc.

Another usual device is the repetition of the second and third lines, which are the same except for a slight change at the end of the third.[5] There are a great number of epithets which have become customary with different words. Reading a few specimens will give a sufficient idea about them.

The language used in these poems is by no means the same as the ordinary rustic speech. Every peasant tries to make it as refined and resembling the "good" language of the educated as possible, and only his ignorance prevents him from using pure literary Persian. Even lullabies are not exempt from this rule. This is probably due to the universal psychology of poetical and rhymed compositions: their language must not be the same as that used in ordinary life, but solemn and refined.

Linguarum Orientalium), Berlin, 1889, pp. 101-102, where its identity with the metre of the Speñtamainyu Gatha is established, as 4 + 7 syllables.

[1] These *qawwāls*, or minstrels, apparently were more remarkable for their melodious voices than for their learning. Often they appear in narratives as young lads. Therefore it will be perhaps not quite baseless to think that their *répertoire* chiefly consist of popular poems, and that they correspond on the whole to the "*lūtis*" of the present Persia, perhaps a little more specialised in Sufic songs.

[2] *Bidbu da bidbu balke gandum.* [3] See No. 98.

[4] *Ald mdh buland-ā sitārā dimbōl.*

[5] Cf. Nos. 2, 7, 16, 17, 27, 51, 52, 55, 56, 160, etc. Another way in Nos. 92, 93, 96, 132, etc.

4. *The Contents.*—Rustic poetry is almost entirely lyrical, and consists either of love songs, or of elegies. Rarely it gives place to satire. Epic songs, even on the modest lines as they exist nowadays amongst Kurds, Afghans, Baluchis, etc., are apparently unknown in the *répertoire* of the Persian peasant.[1]

Love songs give the whole scale of love proceedings, except perhaps the motives of forcible elopement, fights or vengence, these being too unusual to the peaceful and unwarlike Persian. The unsuccessful lovers prefer to threaten their enemies with the punishments after death, or are content with a few strong words.[2] All these being a produce of so-to-say the "mating period" in the life of the peasant, have marriage as an ultimate goal. After it the people become harrassed by other things and cannot think about songs, and therefore the subjects connected with the married state, motherhood, etc., are scarcely ever spoken of in the poems.[3]

In spite of the absence of the gender terminations in Persian grammar it is possible to see that there are quite a great number of poems obviously belonging to female authors. A special class is formed by the songs of camelmen, dealing with the subjects connected with caravan journeys.

Amongst the songs which do not belong to the quatrain type the majority deal with a peculiar form giving a detailed description of the limbs either of a sweetheart, or of an animal, a sort of a parody of the literary poems called "*Sarāpā*." The imitations of the literary poetry are also mostly a parody, and the songs of city origin are invariably grossly indecent. Songs connected with customs, ceremonies, divination, etc., are very rare.[4]

I may add here a few words about dramatic improvisations, closely connected in their nature with the popular art. As far

[1] Topic songs, however, are very common, being associated with some event, like the one given at the end of this collection. Cf. another topic song in my Specimens, etc. ("Zapiski," 1915, p. 54), about some local troubles at Kazerun, in Fars.

[2] The strong expressions, often attributed in the popular poems not only to the stronger sex, but also to the fair ones, are merely an "ornament" of speech, not connected with any special moral looseness. The Oriental woman of the lower classes has much fewer "tabu" expressions, or subjects not to be discussed openly, than her European sister. In fact, the Persian women when excited use invariably a much more indecent language than the men.

[3] Although married men are shy about singing in public, they are persistent and *loud* singers when they are alone, when working in the fields, or walking along their caravans at night.

[4] It is peculiar that although the life in Khorasan villages usually is much more patriarchal than in Fars, the songs of this kind are better preserved in the latter. A number of them have been published by V. Zhukovski in his "Specimens, etc.," 1902, pp. 127-140. In 1914, visiting Fars, I also collected a dozen of these songs near Kazerun and in Siwand. Some of them are the same as those collected by Zhukovski (see my article in the "Zapiski," 1915, Nos. 57-70).

as I understand, nothing has appeared in the press on this subject. They are called *shab-bāzī* (شب بازي), pronounced *shäwbäzi*, or even *shäwbäyzi* (sic!), i.e. plays undertaken at night, the time when the people rest after a working day. I am not quite sure if these shows are enacted in remote villages; usually they can be seen in the vicinity of towns. A small square place between fires at the corners is cleared and the actors appear from the crowd to give the performance after which they sometimes collect money. Although the subjects of the plays are known, the actual dialogue is never fixed, and the play therefore invariably is an improvisation, of the most obscene nature. Participation in these plays is regarded as degrading, and the actors are almost exclusively the professional "*lūtīs*," opium smokers and rarely soldiers. The chief and almost inevitable hero is, for some reasons which I cannot explain, a miller; others are: a fool, an old woman, and a barber. The vicinity of large cities invariably causes introduction of other "dramatis personae," chiefly a European doctor (*ḥakīm-i-Ferengī*), his servant, a Tehrani "lady from the street," and others.

In conclusion it may be added that there are traces of some lengthy stories, in which an important part is attributed to the rustic quatrains. In spite of careful search I could find a fragment of only one story of this kind, about 'Ārif, or Āruf, and could not ascertain its origin. Observing its great popularity in all parts of Khorasan one may think that it must be fairly old. But it appeared impossible to find anyone who knew the story from beginning to end.

In order to facilitate the handling of the collection, the poems are here arranged approximately according to their contents, or according to the class to which their authors belong. This appears to be better than a mere alphabetical series; besides, in the phonetical transcription the same letter of the Persian alphabet may be rendered by different signs.

A.—QUATRAINS.

I.—Love songs (Nos. 1–100):

1. Love songs of general contents (Nos. 1–53).
2. Courting married women (No. 54–57).
3. Love punished (No. 58–63).
4. Faithfulness and perfidy (Nos. 64–78).
5. Love unsuccessful (Nos. 79–90).
6. Separation and longing (Nos. 91–100).

II.—Marriage (Nos. 101–131):

1. Choice of a mate (Nos. 101-102)
2. Consent of the bride (No. 103-104).

3. Service for the bride (Nos. 105–108).
4. Refusal of marriage (Nos. 109–120).
5. Disappointment in marriage (No. 121–125).
6. Complaints on remaining unmarried (Nos. 126–128).
7. Respect for marriage (Nos. 129–131).

III.—Different subjects (Nos. 132–196):

1. Songs of women authors (Nos. 132–148).
2. Poverty (Nos. 149–157).
3. Sickness (Nos. 158–161).
4. Songs of camelmen (Nos. 162–172).
5. Varia (Nos. 173–183).
6. "Begging for a kiss" (Nos. 184–192).
7. Poems of Ḥusaynā (Nos. 193–196).

IV.—Expanded quatrains, on different subjects (Nos. 197–202).

B.—Songs of Different Metres.

I.—Lullabies (Nos. 203–207).

II.—Wedding songs, play songs, etc. (Nos. 208–215).

III.—Miscellaneous subjects (Nos. 216–220):

1. On rustic topics (No. 216).
2. Songs of camelmen (Nos. 217–218).
3. Parodies of literary poetry (Nos. 219–220).

C.—Dramatic Pieces (Nos. 221–225).

D.—A Story composed of Quatrains (Nos. 226–233).

E.—Topical Songs (No. 234).

II. Peculiarities of the Khorasani Dialect.

The language spoken by the Persian population of Khorasan is almost uniform; the local differences are not very prominent, so that it is rather inappropriate to speak about subdialects. This language, if the inevitable vulgarisation, the phonetical "wear and tear," may be taken in consideration, appears to be the nearest spoken dialect to literary Persian. Thus it probably deserves to be considered the most typical representative of what O. Mann calls the South-Western group of dialects,[1] but what may more suitably be styled the Eastern. It is singular that while there is an enormous variety of dialects (mostly belonging to the North-Western type) in many districts of Western Persia, in Khorasan apparently there are no villages of any considerable size in which an independent idiom is used.

[1] O. Mann, Die Tajik-Mundarten der Provinz Fars, 1909, pp. xiv–xxvi.

It is tempting, therefore, to suppose that the Khorasani language is the direct descendant of the dialect from which literary Persian originated. Khorasan, historically, was the birth-place of Persian literature. It was the centre of early Muhammadan Persian civilisation during a considerable period. What are the principal provinces of Persia nowadays, Ray, Isfahan and Fars, were at the time mere rustic borderland, sparsely populated.

There is, however, another and quite different explanation of the general uniformity of Khorasani and its close connection with literary Persian, which may also be suggested. It is a well-known fact that cities and commercial centres exercise great influence upon the surrounding country, forcing it gradually to adopt a kind of "suburban" civilisation. Khorasan was the province in which city life attained its highest development. That these towns had a great effect on the rustic population seems to be quite obvious. The endless series of wars, invasions, devastations, famines, plagues, etc., undoubtedly caused great changes in the ethnical and linguistical characteristics of the population. And to these must be added numberless local peasant migrations from one district to the other, determined by economical causes, chiefly by increase or failure of irrigation. Migrations of this kind are still a powerful factor in the village life of Persia.

One thousand years of these continual changes are indeed more than sufficient to render the language of the province uniform, and to obliterate many traces of possible original differences in local dialects.

Therefore, even if a dialect which completely coincided with "bazari" Persian, or, later, with the literary language, ever existed, for reasons stated above its easy identification with present-day Khorasani is impossible, in spite of the apparent resemblance of the two.

In so complex a matter as Persian linguistical archæology there are so far almost no reliable historical documents; therefore conclusions based on what in reality may be quite accidental phonetical similarity in isolated expressions should be unsafe. For these reasons the present summary is devoted only to a description of the principal features of the dialect and deviations from the literary language as they are observed nowadays.

A.—Notes on Phonology.

1. *General remarks.*—The chief factor which influences all phonetical phenomena in Khorasani is a strict physiological economy in pronunciation, i.e. a tendency to spare every avoidable effort of the organs of speech. There are no emphatic sounds, and articulation mainly occurs at the front part of the mouth. This leads to some important consequences:—

(*a*) There are almost no clearly "coloured" vowels, and the ideal sounds of *a, e, i, o, u*, are heard only in their shadings, except under particularly favourable conditions. Their real tone is difficult to describe because it varies not only in the pronunciation of different speakers, but also in the speech of the same individual.

(*b*) Similarly, all consonants are pronounced with the minimum of effort and easily undergo different changes.

(*c*) A considerable influence is exercised by "synvocalising" tendencies such as occur in Turkish and Mongolian languages, especially so with regard to labialisation.

(*d*) Much irregular syncopation of sounds or syllables is introduced.

2. *Description of vowels.*—As in the great majority of Persian dialects there is in Khorasani no division of vowels into short and long. Traditional prosody, based almost entirely on the principles of a quite different language, Arabic, and artificially cultivated by literary poets, was probably always foreign to the rustic poetical art. Shams-i-Qays, writing in the beginning of the 13th century of our era, even then found difficulty in reconciling the versification of popular songs with the rules followed in literary poetry.[1] The idea that one long syllable is equal to the duration of two short ones—according to scholastic theories—is, in fact, purely fictitious. In the ordinary colloquial language, and in songs, not only is there no such difference, but often the so-called short syllables are longer than the supposed long ones.

For these reasons this artificial division is completely abandoned in the present article.

The vowels in Khorasani are as follows:—

a—a guttural sound, appears very rarely, usually in combination with guttural consonants.[2] It may be either short or long, as the result of a syncope, as, e.g. in *shār* (شهر); *kāt* (قحط), etc.

ä—is the normal, rather indefinite form of *a*, pronounced as

[1] Al-mu'jam fī mu'ayīri ash'āri'l-'ajam, Gibb Mem. Series, vol. X, pp. 80-82, 142-147. Probably the division of vowels—into short and long ones—depends entirely on the orthographical tradition, which is artificial in its nature. It is singular to notice that the Iranian languages in which the orthographical tradition is not so strong do not make any difference between these two classes of vowels; such are Kurdish (cf. A. Socin's grammar in the Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie, vol. I, 2, p. 265), and Pashtu (cf. W. Geiger's grammar, in the same Grundriss, p. 208).

[2] Much depends on the general timbre of the voice of the speaker, but, as Persians rarely possess harsh voices, it is but seldom that a harsh guttural *a* is heard.

a middle whole-mouth vowel. Depending on the particular conditions, it tends either to resemble the pure guttural *a*, or the indifferent vowel *e*.

e—is a vowel between *i* and *ä* (rather like the sound in "bird"). Apparently it may be regarded as an indifferent sound, a "vowel in the shadow," and therefore is never pronounced long. Whenever emphasised, it "clears" into *ä* or *i*.

i—is the same sound as in "fit," "seen," etc., and may be short or long; occasionally it may be dull, pronounced as *ị*.

ä—or *o*, is the same sound as in "all," "awe," etc., or as the Scandinavian *å*, Russian and Italian *o*.[1] It is marked here as *ä*, and not as *o*, merely to conform to the traditional orthography. It is a whole mouth sound, pronounced through "slack," or indifferently rounded lips, and may be either short or long; if accentuated it sounds like a pure *o*. It often becomes "dulled," and may be reduced to a sound like a dull *e*, or perhaps like the German *ö*, especially before the consonants which necessitate shutting the lips (e.g. *äftew*=آفتاب). Occasionally it may even appear as a very dull *i*. Immediately before a nasal (but not a guttural *n*), especially at the end of a word, it becomes a clear *u*, *nun*=نان; *num*=نام, but *bung*=بانگ, never *bung*.

u—is a short or long vowel varying in its timbre, but mostly the same as in "full," "good." Occasionally it may be pronounced like *o*, as e.g. *bogo*=بگو. This *o* differs very little in pronunciation from *ä*.

w—is not entirely a consonant, and often may be treated as a short *u*.

2. *Description of the consonants.*—All the consonants are articulated without special efforts. Their scale is as follows:—

pure guttural: *h*.
gutturo-velar: *kh*, *k*, *g*, (*q*).

[1] The stories current in India that this sound must be pronounced like the harsh guttural ā of Indian vernaculars, and that only in India has this "correct pronunciation been preserved," belong indeed to the purest fiction. That this sound was pronounced like *o* in the XVIth century is clear from transcribed quotations given by an early European traveller (cf. P. Horn, Grundr. d. I. Philol., vol. I, 2, p. 21). Besides, an important indication may be found in the fact that in the provinces (now speaking Turkish dialects) in which the population was formed through the gradual mixture of Turks with Persians, the same sound is always *o*, which is preserved against the phonetical rules of Turkish idioms. What is taken for the "long" duration of this vowel, is perhaps its peculiar nature similar to the so called "falling tone" in Chinese. It would be extremely interesting to investigate the whole question in a scientific way, with the necessary instruments, etc., leaving aside all the superstitions and prejudices of the traditional orthography and prosody. I was very glad to see that Sir George Grierson (in his paper in the Journal of the R. As. Soc., 1920, pp. 475–479) admits the existence of "tones" in Indo-Iranian languages.

middle palatal : *y, r, l, sh.*
front palatal : *zh, ch, j.*
upper dental : *z, t, d.*
lower dental : *s*, (*th*), (*dh*).
labio-dental : *f*, (*v*).
naso-dental : *n.*
labial : *w, p, b.*
labio-nasal : *m.*
gutturo-nasal : *ŋ.*

Their peculiarities must be noted :

h—is very soft, often inaudible. It has a tendency to be articulated like *y* (examples will be given further on).[1]

k—and *g*—are sometimes slightly emphasised as *k* and *ġ*, with the flattened tongue touching the side of the teeth, giving them the sound of groups *ky* and *gy*, in which the element of the *y* is very slight in pronunciation. The deep *q* is rarely heard in Khorasan, although common in the Western provinces. *Gh* (غ) apparently does not exist at all. In Persian and Arabic words in which it occurs its place is usually taken by *q*, *g*, or *k*.

t—and *d*—usually are articulated in a lower pitch than in English Rarely, however, they are pronounced like a cerebral *ṭ*. *Th*—and *dh*—may be rarely heard instead of *sh* and *z*, as a peculiar defect of speech.

f—and *v*—are practically the same sounds as in English.

ŋ—does not exist independently. Its guttural character is always the result of the *k* or *g* before which it stands.

3. *Accentuation, etc.* Accentuation is much less marked than in many European languages. Instead of raising the voice Khorasanis prefer to slow the tempo of speech.

A hiatus is very common, but it is not emphatic. The two sounds between which it occurs follow each other with great ease, without any pronounced gap or intermediary sound. Sometimes however, *y* or *w* are used to avoid a hiatus between two vowels of a similar timbre.

As in vulgar forms of almost every language there are many slang-like alterations, such as a development of corresponding *media* after the nasals, etc. : *hambun*=حمام ; *fārākhurd*=فراخور ; etc.

Transpositions of sounds are numerous and very irregular, often without any apparent necessity, as the common *aski*=عکس ; *sikd*=صدق ; *gidā*=دیگر ; *suhbe*=صبح ; and even *mun*=نام (very common in Qain and Birjand).[2]

The *Sandhi* seems to be more effective when occurring

[1] At the end of numerals, or some particular words it sounds rather hard, approaching *kh*.

[2] Cf. Mann, op. cit., p. 19.

between separate words than between sounds in the same word, like *āsyām*, for *āsyāb*, if the next word begins with an *m*.[1]

Many villages have their peculiar habits of pronunciation, or perhaps defects of speech. So, e.g., the inhabitants of the village of Arishk almost always pronounce *th* instead of *sh*: *thidew*=شدة.

4. *Alterations of sounds, as compared with the standards of the literary language.*

A. Vowels.

1. *a*, *ä*, (*e*) sometimes correspond to the sound in literary Persian:

ā—e.g. *dārum* for دارم; *nämzä* for نامزد; *khināli* for خون آلود.[2] Some suffixes undergo similar change almost always: *-änä* for -انه: final *äw*, *ew* for *-āb*, -اب; similarly, the particle of the obl. case *rā* usually becomes *rä*. After a word ending with a vowel it may become even *-r*, as in *mur*=مرا, *därchär* درچهار, etc.[3] Also irregularly, like in *kujä*, *unjä*, etc. (also *kuji*, *kuj*, *unji*, etc.), for آنجا ،کجا, etc.

i—as in *kuchak*=کوچک, etc.

u—as in *ndzäk*=نازک; *bälän*=بلند; *käni*, etc.=کند, etc.

2. *e* (an indifferent sound), is used irregularly, and in pronunciation of various individuals takes the place either of *ä* or *i*. Sometimes also in isolated cases, like that of *gelām*=غلام.

3. *i* (or *e* in unaccentuated syllables) may take the place of:

ā—as *irmu*=آرمان; *ārim*=آرام; *firig* فارغ; *ishig*=عاشق; *tiwistu*=بستان; etc.

a—as *zimi*=زمین; *mirdim*=مردم; *nämifihmidum*=نمیفهمیدم, etc.

i—apparently combined with the "shortening" of the long vowel of the stem, as *berez*, *rekhti*[4]=ریز، ریختی, etc.

u—very often, as *dinyā*=دنیا; *dimbāl*=دنبال; *diri*=دروغ; *zilf*=زلف, etc.

ū—pronunciation of the literary *ū* as *i* is the rule here, especially in the old-fashioned and unrefined forms of the langu-

[1] Ibid., p. 18.

[2] Ibid., p. 8; Geiger, Grundriss, I, 2, p. 384; Lorimer, Gabri dialect, p. 429, also his Bakhtiari Phonology, p. 22.

[3] Sometimes this suffix sounds like *ri*. Gypsies of Qain who usually speak the roughest form of local language, also pronounce it as *ri*.

[4] Sometimes, like in the dialect of Siwand, in Fars, it is pronounced *rukhtä*, e.g., *rukhtāyum* rhymes with *pukhtāyum*, cf. W. Ivanow, "Specimens of Persian popular poetry," in the "Zapiski of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society, vol. XXIII, 1915, p. 58.

age. e.g., *di*=دود; *ti*=طوط; *ri*=رو (also روز); *si*=سو; *khi* (or *(khin)*=خون; *biri*=بيرون; *heni*=هنوز; etc.[1]

4. *o*—which is pronounced sometimes nearer to *u*, but also often as a dull *ä*. It may correspond to the literary :

u—*rokhstr*=رخسار; *bogo*=بگو, etc.

ū—*rodü*=رودء (208)[2]; *bogo*=بگو; *shor*=شور, etc.

uw—*qom*=قوم, *rogun*=روغن, etc.

5. *u* may correspond to the sounds in the literary language:

u—*gudäi*=گدائي; *guli*=گلو; *kunär*=كنار, etc. It is especially frequently used as an equivalent for *a* in verbal forms.[3]

ā—which becomes *u* before every nasal (except the guttural *ṅ*). At the end of words nasals are indistinctly pronounced, and therefore syllables ـان ,ـام may become simply *u*. Examples are superfluous.

i—*judä*=جدا; *tulä*=تلا; *nusf*=نصف; *durāz*=دراز; *äshuki*=عاشقي; *äruf*=عارف; etc.

B.—Consonants.

1. Gutturals :

h—appears in some irregular cases of "vulgarisation," as in *biwukuh*=بيوقوف or *haylāq*=بيلاق, etc.

kh—often takes the place of *q* in such Arabic words as *wakh*=وقت; *khel*=قيل, etc. The sound *h*, if emphasised, often is pronounced as shading of *kh*.

q—often appears instead of the original *gh* (غ), e.g. *qam*=غم; *qulām*=غلام; *qora*=غورء, etc.

k—frequently takes the place of *q* or *gh*. Apparently dialectical and not phonetical is the form *sak* for *sag* سگ. As another instance of irregular changes may be given *pāchuku*=پاچوكان, Plural of *pāchub*=پاچوب, meaning the wooden sandals worn by shepherds. It may be also a syncope of پاچوبكان.[4]

2. Palatals :

y—chiefly takes the place of the final *h*, as in *dey*=ده:

[1] Cf. Mann, op. cit., p. 7; Geiger, op. cit., p. 384 (§ 161); Lorimer, Gabri dial., p. 430, and Bakhtiari Phonol., p. 26; A. Christensen, "Le dialecte de Semnan," Mémoires de l'Academie Royale des Sciences de Danemark, Copenhague, 1915, 7-me série, S. des Lettres, t. II, p. 236. This seems to be an almost universal phonetical law of "vulgarisation" in Iranian dialects, cf. in Kurdish, A. Socin, op. cit., p. 266, or in Baluchi, Geiger, Gr. d. I. Ph., I, 2, p. 235.

[2] Figures in brackets refer to the numbers of the specimens in which the expressions occur.

[3] Cf. Lorimer, Bakhtiari Phonology, pp. 30-31.

[4] This seems to be an isolated case of alteration of this kind, but in the dialect of Khur-i-Biabunak and Mihrijan initial *b* of literary Persian becomes *g*, e.g., *god*=*bād*, *goru*=*bārān*, *gerho*=*bacha*, etc.

piy=پیه, etc. Once having been dropped it probably never reappears as in *rây*=راى, *râyät*=راهت; *siyâ*=سیاى, *siyâyät*=سیاهت, etc.[1] Very frequently *y* takes the place of *d*, e.g. *piyär*=پدر; *marwâriyâ*=مرواریدها; but especially in the verbal forms, e.g. *diyum*=ددم; *eftiyä*=افتاده; *istiyä*=ایستاده; *bopursiyä*=پرسیده; *dâyä*=داده, etc.[2] Another alteration, especially in the South, is *g*=*y*, e.g. *äyär*=اگر; *diyä*=دیگر, etc.[3] As an irregular case may be mentioned *teyfik*=توفیق (91).[4]

j—in the South occasionally appears for *z*, e.g. *jisht*=زشت.[5]

ch—takes the place of *k*. e.g. *Cherim*=کریم; *chir*=کیر; *chinisht*=کنشت, etc.[6] In the North often one hears *benchi*, *benchust* for بنشست ، بنشین.

3. Liquida:

l—and *r*.—are substituted frequently for each other, e.g. *zil*=زور; *wazil*=وزیر. Sometimes at the end of a word these sounds become mute. Peculiar alterations are: *kalir* for کلید: *Khalir* for خلیل.[7]

4. Dentals:

t—takes the place of *d* in isolated cases, e.g. *bete*, *metum*, *miti*, *mite*, etc. for بده ، میدهم ، میدهی ، میدهد.[8] This alteration may also be observed in groups, e.g. after *kh*: *zänäkhtân*=زنخدان or in *säbäntu*=اسفندان; also in *Kurt*, *Kurtestu*=کرد ، کردستان.[9] Both *t* and *d* may form a phonetical increment after the final consonants of different classes, e.g., *bälisht*=بالش; *fârâkhurd*=فراخور (cf. above). Quite peculiar are the frequent expressions *hamsädâ*=همسایه‌ها, or even *hamsidhâ* (!).

5. Labials:

[1] Cf. Mann, op. cit., pp. 17-18; Geiger, op. cit., p. 387; Lorimer, Gabri dialect, pp. 437-438.

[2] Cf. Mann, ibid., p. 18; Geiger, ibid., p. 386; Lorimer, ibid. p. 435, and Bakhtiari Phonology, p. 50; Christensen, op. cit., p. 13.

[3] Cf. Mann, ibid., p. 11; Lorimer, Bakht. Phonology, p. 49.

[4] Cf. Lorimer, Bakht. Phonology, p. 50.

[5] Rare in Khorasani, like in the dialects of Fars (cf. Mann, op. cit., p. 12), although common in Gabri (cf. Geiger, p. 385, and Lorimer, Gabri dialect, p. 434).

[6] It is peculiar that this form of slang is often used by Turks when they speak Persian.

[7] Cf. Mann, op. cit., p. 16, bottom.

[8] Cf. ibid., p. 15.

[9] It is very often that a final *d*, especially in groups, sounds very closely to *t* in Khorasani, but D. Lorimer's objections (Bakhtiari Phonology, p. 52) seem to be correct, and in verbal forms one rarely hears a clear *bit* for *bid* (بود), etc.

f—or perhaps in reality *v*, from which it does not differ in pronunciation, takes the place of *w*, e.g. *difal*=دیوار, *mitfânum*=میتوانم.

w—which is an indifferent labial sound, may take the place of all sounds of the labial group, i.e. *p,b,m,f*, when they are not clearly pronounced. Peculiar, or probably dialectical is *giw*=گو. The labio-nasal *m* is often very difficult to distinguish from *n* at the end of words. It often also becomes mute.

B.—Notes on Morphology.

I. NOUNS. 1. *Numbers and cases.* The suffixes of the plural are two: *u*, rarely *un* (literary ـان), and *â* (literary ـه -).[1] Both are used indifferently. Very often the plural is not expressed by any special suffix as in *shutur*, etc. On the contrary, it is sometimes used in a peculiar manner with the names of material, stuff, etc., like in *mastâ* (for ماست, a kind of sour milk), or *âba* (for آب, water); *sâfântu* (for اسفندان, isfand-grass, 73); *pambâhâ*, *charbiyâ* (209); etc. Occasionally the plural suffix (or, at least another one very similar to it) is added to form a sort of abstract: *arusu* for عروسی, wedding; *churâgu*, for چراغی, evening (the time when lamps are lit), etc.

The termination of the oblique case ی, which is pronounced as *rä*, or simply *r* after the vowels, follows the same rules as in the literary language.[2] Very rarely there appears something like the accusative suffix *ä*, *u*, as in some Western dialects; it is very difficult to be sure about its existence.[3] A man who is heard to use it, being asked to repeat the word, invariably "corrects" himself, and the suffix disappears. It may be also merely euphonic.

The Dative case is expressed very occasionally by the addition of the suffix *rä*. It is more frequent with the prepositions *be*, *bä*, *wär*, *bär*, etc., and especially *dä* (*dar*).

The Genitive case is chiefly formed by the use of the *iḍâfa*, pronounced *e,i,u,ä*.[4] The same *iḍâfa* is used as in the literary

[1] Apparently suffixes of the Plural: *gal*, *yal*, *chal*, etc., are never used in Khorasani.

[2] In Khorasani the use of *rä* is not as much avoided as it is in many Western dialects. If accentuated, this *rä* sounds as *rá*.

[3] Cf. Mann, op. cit., pp. 19-20, and Geiger, ibid., p. 390. It seems, although I am not certain, that it is simply an indistinct *rä*, in which *r* vanished, or became inaudible, due to a difficult combination of consonants. In No. 136, *pâytâwashâ* most probably is *pâytâwash-rä* in which *r* became assimilated, or disappeared, on account of the difficulty of the group *shr* for pronunciation. The examples given by Mann may be explained in the same way. Besides, this may be a parallel to the Kurdish determinative suffix *a*, *e*.

[4] It is really remarkable how frequently the *iḍâfa* may be omitted;

piy=پیه, etc. Once having been dropped it probably never reappears as in *ray*=ری, *rayät*=راهت; *siyä*=سیاه, *siyäyät*=سیاهت, etc.[1] Very frequently *y* takes the place of *d*, e.g. *piyär*=پدر; *marwäriyä*=مرواریدها; but especially in the verbal forms, e.g. *diyum*=دیدم; *eftiyä*=افتاده; *istiyä*=ایستاده; *bopursiyä*=پرسیده; *dayä*=داده, etc.[2] Another alteration, especially in the South, is *g*=*y*, e.g. *äyär*=اگر[3]; *diyä*=دیگر, etc.[4] As an irregular case may be mentioned *teyfik*=توفیق (91).[4]

j—in the South occasionally appears for *z*, e.g. *jisht*=زشت.[5]

ch—takes the place of *k*, e.g. *Cherim*=کریم; *chir*=کیر; *chinisht*=کنشت, etc.[6] In the North often one hears *benchi*, *benchast* for بنشین ، بنشست.

3. Liquida:

l—and *r*.—are substituted frequently for each other, e.g. *zil*=زور; *wazil*=وزیر. Sometimes at the end of a word these sounds become mute. Peculiar alterations are: *kalir* for کلید; *Khalir* for خلیل.[7]

4. Dentals:

t—takes the place of *d* in isolated cases, e.g. *bete*, *metum*, *miti*, *mite*, etc. for بده ، میدهم ، میدهی ، میدهد.[8] This alteration may also be observed in groups, e.g. after *kh*: *zänäkhtän*=زنخدان or in *säbäntu*=اسفندان; also in *Kurt*, *Kurtestu*=کرد، کردستان.[9] Both *t* and *d* may form a phonetical increment after the final consonants of different classes, e.g., *bälisht*=بالش; *färäkhurd*=فراخور (cf. above). Quite peculiar are the frequent expressions *hamsädä*=همسایه‌ها, or even *hamsiähä* (!).

5. Labials:

---

[1] Cf. Mann, op. cit., pp. 17-18; Geiger, op. cit., p. 387; Lorimer, Gabri dialect, pp. 437-438.

[2] Cf. Mann, ibid., p. 18; Geiger, ibid., p. 386; Lorimer, ibid. p. 435, and Bakhtiari Phonology, p. 50; Christensen, op. cit., p. 13.

[3] Cf. Mann, ibid., p. 11; Lorimer, Bakht. Phonology, p. 49.

[4] Cf. Lorimer, Bakht. Phonology, p. 50.

[5] Rare in Khorasani, like in the dialects of Fars (cf. Mann, op. cit., p. 12), although common in Gabri (cf. Geiger, p. 385, and Lorimer, Gabri dialect, p. 434).

[6] It is peculiar that this form of slang is often used by Turks when they speak Persian.

[7] Cf. Mann, op. cit., p. 16, bottom.

[8] Cf. ibid., p. 15.

[9] It is very often that a final *d*, especially in groups, sounds very closely to *t* in Khorasani, but D. Lorimer's objections (Bakhtiari Phonology, p. 52) seem to be correct, and in verbal forms one rarely hears a clear *bit* for *bid* (بود), etc.

f—or perhaps in reality *v*, from which it does not differ in pronunciation, takes the place of *w*, e.g. *difál*=دیوار, *mitfánum*=میتوانم.

w—which is an indifferent labial sound, may take the place of all sounds of the labial group, i.e. *p,b,m,f*, when they are not clearly pronounced. Peculiar, or probably dialectical, is *giw*=گو. The labio-nasal *m* is often very difficult to distinguish from *n* at the end of words. It often also becomes mute.

B.—Notes on Morphology.

I. NOUNS. 1. *Numbers and cases.* The suffixes of the plural are two: *u*, rarely *un* (literary ـان), and *à* (literary ها -).[1] Both are used indifferently. Very often the plural is not expressed by any special suffix as in *shutur*, etc. On the contrary, it is sometimes used in a peculiar manner with the names of material, stuff, etc., like in *mástá* (for ماست, a kind of sour milk), or *ába* (for آب, water); *sáfántu* (for اسفندان, isfand-grass, 73); *pambáha*, *charbiyá* (209); etc. Occasionally the plural suffix (or, at least another one very similar to it) is added to form a sort of abstract: *arusu* for عروسی, wedding; *churágu*, for چراغی, evening (the time when lamps are lit), etc.

The termination of the oblique case ی, which is pronounced as *rá*, or simply *r* after the vowels, follows the same rules as in the literary language.[2] Very rarely there appears something like the accusative suffix *á*, *u*, as in some Western dialects; it is very difficult to be sure about its existence.[3] A man who is heard to use it, being asked to repeat the word, invariably "corrects" himself, and the suffix disappears. It may be also merely euphonic.

The Dative case is expressed very occasionally by the addition of the suffix *rá*. It is more frequent with the prepositions *be*, *bá*, *wár*, *bár*, etc., and especially *dá* (*dar*).

The Genitive case is chiefly formed by the use of the *iḍáfa*, pronounced *e,i,u,á*.[4] The same *iḍáfa* is used as in the literary

[1] Apparently suffixes of the Plural: *gal*, *yal*, *chal*, etc., are never used in Khorasani.

[2] In Khorasani the use of *rá* is not as much avoided as it is in many Western dialects. If accentuated, this *rá* sounds as *rá*.

[3] Cf. Mann, op. cit., pp. 19-20, and Geiger, ibid., p. 390. It seems, although I am not certain, that it is simply an indistinct *rá*, in which *r* vanished, or became inaudible, due to a difficult combination of consonants. In No. 136, *páytáwashá* most probably is *páytáwash-rá* in which *r* became assimilated, or disappeared, on account of the difficulty of the group *shr* for pronunciation. The examples given by Mann may be explained in the same way. Besides, this may be a parallel to the Kurdish determinative suffix *a*, *e*.

[4] It is really remarkable how frequently the *iḍáfa* may be omitted;

language, with the adjectives, etc. Its more particular use is instead of the conjunction *wa*,-*u*. The Possessive is expressed almost exclusively by the preposition *āz*. The expression *māl-i* ... is only in use in educated colloquial speech.[1] The Locative is often expressed without a preposition.[2]

There is nothing peculiar in the use of Adjectives, Numerals, etc. All follow the rules, common to the literary language, phonetical changes being allowed for.

The Pronouns are more idiomatic:

The personal Pronouns:

	I p.	II p.	III p.
S. Nom.	*mu* (*mān*).	*tu, te, ti, teu.*	*u, i* (*ish*).
Obl.	*múrā, mur, mārā, túrā, tur*, etc.		*úrā, ur, ishrā, ish.*
Pl. Nom.	*mu, ma* (*māhā*).	*shumā, shumeu.*	*unā, ind,*[3] *ishu, eyshu.*
Obl.	*múrā, mārā.*	*shumārā.*	*unārā*, etc.

The personal pronominal suffixes are *-um, -ū* (*-ūt*), *-ā* (*-āsh, -ish*), *-mun, -tun, -shun.*

The demonstrative pronouns have the forms: *u* (او) and *amu* (همان), *i* (این) and *ami* (همین), for the latter, *i, ish* (این اش), is often used if standing alone. The interrogative and relative pronouns are *ki* (if accentuated) and *ke* (if not accentuated), and *chi* and *che*, similarly.[4] کدام becomes *kudu*; *chan* (چند) is used in the sense of "which, what," "what short of."[5]

The oblique case with *rā* is never used with the relative *ki* and *chi*.

Amash (همه) all; *amake* (همه کس) all, everybody (also *amāgi*) are preferred to the simple همه.[6]

---

after ی - and ۀ - when it should be marked, thousands of Persian MSS. belonging to different provinces and periods, show great irregularity in its use. This may suggest that an omission of the *iḍāfa* takes place more frequently than is foreseen by scholastic grammarians. Cf. also Geiger, op. cit., p. 390, bottom.

[1] *Mál* in the rustic speech almost exclusively means a pony, or a riding animal generally, i.e., mule, donkey, etc.

[2] Not only meaning "to..." (222; *raf dsyd*), but also "in..." (*khuna shishtā*).

[3] I never heard in Khorasan *iyu* which is given by Mann (op. cit., p. 20), or *iye, vīā*, etc., as in Gabri (Geiger, op. cit., p. 392; Lorimer, Gabri dialect, p. 447).

[4] There is another *chi* meaning "something," which in reality is *chiz* (چیز), Plur. *chizā* or *chizun*. "*Chi chi ā*," which one so often hears, is چه چیز است. Similarly, *hichche* (or *hichchi*) is هیچ چیز; *amachi* is همه چیز.

[5] *Bā chan kār* (به چه کار) usually means "what for."

[6] Cf. Geiger, op. cit., p. 394; Lorimer, Gabri dialect, p. 453. In Khorasan *kas* also is never employed as a substantive meaning a "person," "some one of importance."

II. VERBS. 1. *Moods, tenses and participles.* On the whole, the verb in Khorasani strictly follows the grammatical rules of the literary language, except for phonetical variations. The construction is generally active, the use of the Passive being rare, and chiefly met with in the language of the educated people.[1]

There is nothing special in the tenses; they are formed in a regular way, and used with the modal particles *bi* and *mī*.[2] These particles may be also added to the Perfect and Pluperfect. In these tenses the auxiliary verb is often dropped, or amalgamated with the last syllable of the participle, as in *guftä* for *guftä ä* (*st*), etc. Some, especially the so-called irregular, verbs undergo unexpected phonetical changes. Some have two parallel forms, e.g. *mukna* and *manna* for میکند. Preference for this or that form depends on the local custom, both in the North and South. A list of the principal irregular verbs will be given further on.

There are peculiar periphrastic expressions, especially those formed by the so-called "apocopated infinitive," transitive as well as intransitive: *gurukht kärdum*=گریختم; *did kunum*=ببینم, etc. The forms with *-äni* (which often may be called the future participle), are much in use. The forms with *-ägi* probably have rather a Passive meaning.

The Past Participle is extensively used, but the Present Participle seems to be confined to the "educated" language, or appears as an ordinary Adjective.

Prefixes and prepositions have become so much a part of the verb that they often are combined with the participles.

Probably real traces of dialectical peculiarities may be observed in various irregular alterations of the verbal stems, as in *därum*=دارم; *diyum*=دیدم; *rezum*=ریزم;[3] *benchi*=بنشین; *shishtä*=*nishasta* (نشسته), etc.

2. *Inflection.* The suffixes of the present and past tenses are the same as in the literary language, with phonetical variants only. They are:

Sing. I— *-um*, (occasionally an indefinite sound *e*, possibly a shortened *-em*).[4]

[1] Almost all these passive forms are impersonal, cf. Mann, op. cit., p. 31.

[2] The prefix *ha-*, or *a-*, common in the north-western dialects, apparently does not exist here. It seems that *ma-*, *mu-* are often in fact phonetically modified prefix *bi-* or *be-*, *bu-*.

[3] See further, the list of irregular verbs.

[4] Occasionally there are personal terminations which sound the same as those used in some North-Western dialects. This is probably due chiefly to the inaudibility of the final nasal, e.g., *bepurse*=بپرسم (50); *benshini*=بنشینم (54); *bar drä*=بر آرم (168), etc.

II— *-i* (*ä, e, ey.* very rarely).
III— *-a.-ä,-e.*

Plur. I— *-um* (*im*). There is much confusion with regard to the use of this suffix of the first person of both numbers in conversation. It is always used as a humility-plural.
II— *-ey* (*i. id*, in refined expressions).
III— *-ä,-än,-a.-an,-e,-en*, rarely *-änd.*

In the South (the districts of Qain and Birjand) the third pers. Sing. often has a suffix *-di*, as in *mayedi* میگوید; *maredi* میرود, etc. It is not clear whether this is added to forms other than to the third pers. Plur.[2]

Quite peculiar, and apparently 'syncopated' are forms like *muftake*=می افتد; *mistake*=می ایستد, etc.

The Singular of the Imperative mood often has the suffix *-i*: *äri* (آر), *kuni* (کن), *begärdä* بگرد (112). The Precative apparently is used only in borrowings from the literary language. A strange form is found in 54: *käni*, which may be an equivalent of کناد.

The moods are distinguished very indefinitely by the use of the particles *bi* (pronounced as *bu, bo, be, bä, ba, wä, we*, etc.), and *mi* (pronounced as *mu, ma, me, mä, mo*). These particles are inseparable from the verb, but in the negative forms one occasionally hears *bene-*, or *mine-*. The 'suffix of duration,'[3] *-i*, is probably never used.

3. *Auxiliary verbs.*—The substantive verb is as frequently used as it is omitted. In the Perfect and Pluperfect tenses, it may be 'diluted' by phonetical variations. Its forms are the same as the suffixes of the Present tense of an ordinary verb, except that in the third pers. Sing. it often sounds like *äs*, or rarely *äst.*

The forms *hastam, hasti*, etc., of the literary language are occasionally heard in the forms of *astum, asti, äs*, etc., the initial *h* being omitted.

The √*bw* appears here differently: the usual form is that of the Preterite: *budum, budi, bu*, etc.; the Present tense apparently is not used, or is mixed with the altered Preterite as *biyum, bi, bi, biyum, bi* (*bid*), *bi.* The form *bidä*, or *biyä*, is extremely rare.[4]

[1] This suffix also sounds in some cases like *e* or even *ä*, cf. *tu biwä räwä*=تو بیو روی (54); *bar ärä*=بر آری (168). This may be due to an involuntary synvocalisation.

[2] Cf. Mann, op. cit., pp. 25-26, where similar phenomena are observed in the Papuni and Somghuni.

[3] Cf. W. Ivanow, Tabaqat of Ansari, J.R.A.S., 1923, pp. 349-352.

[4] Cf. the table given by Geiger on p. 898. This *i* in *bidä*, etc., is not

The *-bâsh* is quite regularly used; in the Present tense it is often equivalent to "is," as in *i chi bâshâ* (or *mibashâ*)—what is this?

The verbs *shudan*, *khwâstan*, etc., are used in the same way as in the literary language. In the same sense as *shudan*, but in an old-fashioned way, two other verbs are employed—*raftan*, and *âmudan*, in the sense "to become," cf. Nos. 54, 126, 204, 228, etc. The inflection of these verbs, which are irregular, will be given in the list of the verbs of this class, further on.

Common to colloquial speech all over Persia is the use of the verb *dâshtan*, in the Present tense for an action in progress: *dârü mukniî*—he is now doing.[1]

4. *Irregular verbs.*—Their irregularity is mainly due to the considerable phonetic alterations which occur as the result, probably, of repeated simplification and syncopation, so that the verb is changed more and more from its original form. The changes, which are found, chiefly are caused by certain synvocalising efforts, frequently not identical, in the combinations with *bi* or *mî*.

The following is a list of the most important irregular verbs, in the alphabetical order of their literary Persian equivalents.

افتادن *Pr.*: muftum, mifti, muftä, *etc.*: buftum, bifti, buftä, *etc.* *Imp.* (*3rd p. Pl.* bar uftä, 175, 182). *Pret.*: eftiyum (uftiyum, äftidum), efti (eftidi), efti, *etc.* *Past part.*: eftiyä, eftidä.[2]

آمدن *Pr.*: äyum, åyi, åya, *etc.* (*or* äyum, äyi, äyä); miyum (miâm), miyi, miyä, *etc.*; biyum, biyi, biyä. *Imp.*: biâ. *Pret.*: umädum, umädi, uma, *etc.*: miumädum, biumädum, *etc.* *Past part.*: umädä, ämiyä.[3]

انداختن *Pr.*: bändåzum (bändäzum), *etc.*; mändåzum, *etc.* *Imp.*: bändåz. *Pret.*: ändåkhtum, ändåkhti, ändåkh, *etc.* *Past part.*: ändåkhtä.[4]

آوردن *Pr.*: årum, åri, årä, *etc.*; biårum, *etc.*; miårum, *or* miyårum, *etc.* *Imp.*: biår, biyär, biyä. *Pref.*: åwurdum, åwurdi, åwur, *etc.* *Past part.*: åwurdä.[5]

ایستادن *Pr.*: mustum (mistum), misti, mistä (mastä), mustum, mistey, mistän; bistum, bisti, bistä, *etc.* *Imp.*: beis, wâis. *Pret.*: istidum *or* istiyum, isti, isti, *etc.* *Past part.*: istidä, istiyä.[6]

---

accentuated, contrary to what one hears in some dialects spoken near Isfahan (as in Mahallât). The form *bu* is preferred, but it often undergoes phonetical influence from the words which precede or follow it, like in *chiwi* or *chiwe*=چه بود.

[1] Cf. Lorimer, Gabri dialect, p. 442.
[2] Cf. Mann, op. cit., p. 36.
[3] Ibid., p. 34.
[4] Ibid., p. 35.
[5] Ibid., p. 36.
[6] Ibid., p. 36.

بردن *Pr.*: mubrum, mibri, mubrä, mubrum, mubrey, mubren; bubrum (bobrum, *etc.*), bubri, bubrä, *etc.* *Imp.*: bubur. *Pret.*: burdum, burdi, bur, *etc.* *Past part.*: burdä.[1]

خواستن *Pr.*: khåum, khåi, khåa, *or* khua, *etc.* (*this is chiefly used for the formation of the future tense*); mukhum, mikhi, makhaa *or* mikhåa, *etc.*; *or* måyum, mikhi, måyä, måyum, mikhi, måyän; bukhum, bikhi, bukhåa, *etc.* *Imp.*: (*rare*) khåh. *Pret.*: khåstum, mukhåstum, bukhåstum, *etc.* *Past part.*: khåstä.[2]

خوردن *Pr.*: mukhrum, mukhri, mukhrä, *etc.*; bukhrum: *or* bokhrum, *etc.* *Imp.*: bukhur, bokhor. *Pret.*: khurdum, khurdi, khur, *etc.*; mukhurdum, bukhurdum, *etc.* *Past part.*: khurdä.[3]

دادن *Pr.*: mitum (mite ?), miti (mite ?), mite (mata), mitum, metey, mitan (mätan); betum, beti, bete, *etc.* *Imp.*: bedey, bete, te.[4] *Pret.*: dådum, dådi, då, *etc.*: midådum, bedåyum, *etc.* *Past part.*: dådä, däyä.[5]

داشتن *Pr.*: därum, däri, dårä (därä ?), därum, dårey (?), dåren. *Not used either with* bi *or* mi. *Pret.*: dåshtum, dåshti, dåsh, *etc.* (*or* díshtum, dåshti, dish, *etc.* ?) *Past part.*: dåshtä (díshtä ?).[6]

دیدن *Pr.*: binum, bini, binä, *etc.*; miwinum, miwini, miwinä, *etc.*; bewinum, bewini, bewinä, *etc.* *Imp.*: bewi. *Pret.*: diyum (*or* didum), di (?), di, *etc.*; midiyum, bediyum, *etc.* *Past part.*: diyä, didä.[7]

رفتن *Pr.*: räwum, rewe, räwä, *etc.*; murum, miri, mara (marae), murum, merey, maraen; burum, biri, barae, burum, biri, baraen. *Imp.*: rú, buru. *Pret.*: raftum, rafti, raf, *etc.*; baraftum, barafti, bäraf, *etc.* *Past part.*: räftä, raftä.

زدن *Pr.*: zunum, zäni, zana, zunum, zaney, zanan; muznum, muzni (mizi), muzna (mazna, mazana), muznum, muzney, muznan (maznan); buznum, bäzni, *etc.* *Imp.*: bäzu (mäzu), *Pret.*: zädum, zädi, zä, *etc.* *Past part.*: zädä, zeyä (?).[8]

شدن *Pr.*: shum, shi, shä, shum, shey, shen; mushum, mishi, mushu (mishä), mushum, mishey, mushun (mishen); bushum (beshem), bishi, beshe, bushum, beshey, beshen. *Imp.*: shu, shi, bushu, bishi. *Pret.*: shudum, shudi, shu, *etc.* *Past part.*: shudä, shidä, shidhä, shiyä, *etc.*[9]

---

[1] Ibid., pp. 36-37. [2] Ibid., p. 39. [3] Ibid., p. 40.

[4] Cf. further on, specimens, No. 189.

[5] Cf. Mann, op. cit., p. 40. It seems as if the forms *ddyum*, *ddyi*, etc., are used in the sense of the present tense, as in Kurdish.

[6] Ibid., p. 41. [7] Ibid., pp. 41-42.

[8] Ibid., pp. 43-44. In rapid speech *mizi* and *bezi* may be heard instead of the usual *muzni* and *bezni*.

[9] Ibid., pp. 42-43.

کردن *Pr.*: känum, käni, kunä, kunum, kuney, kunän; muknum, mukni, muknä, muknum, mukuney, muknän (*or, mostly in the N.W.*): mannum, manni, manna, mannum, manney, mannan; buknum, bukni, buknä, *etc.* *Imp.*: beku (mäku), bukney, *etc.* *Pret.*: kärdum, kärdi, kär (ke), *etc.*; mukurdum, mikerdi, mike, *etc.*; bekerdum, *etc.* *Past part.*: kärdä.[1]

گرفتن *Pr.*: mugrum, migri, mugrä, *etc.*; begirum, *etc.*; *Imp.*: begir, beyir, beyer, begrey. *Pret.*: giriftum, girifti, girif. *Past part.*: giriftä, guruftä.

گرختن *Pr.*: gurizum, gurizi, gurizä, *etc.*; mugrizum, migrizi, mägrizä, *etc.*; bugrizum, begrizi, *etc.*; *Imp.*: bugriz. *Pret.*: gurikhtum (gurukhtum), gurukhti, gurukh, *etc.*; mugrukhtum, *etc.* *Past part.*: gurukhtä, gurikhtä.

گفتن *Pr.*: guyum, guyi, guyä, guyum, guyäy, guyen; (1) mugum, migi, miǧä, mugum, migey, miǧän; (2) mayum, miyi (migi), mayä, mayum, mayey, mayän[2]; bugum, begi, bigä, bugum, bigey, biǧän. *Imp.*: bugu, bogo, buguyay. *Pret.*: guftum, gufti, guf, *etc.*; muguftum, buguftum, *etc.* *Past part.*: guftä.[3]

نشستن *Pr.*: shinum, shini, shinä, shinum, shiney, shinän; mishinum, mishi (mishini), mishinä, mishinum, mishiney, mishinän; bishinum, bishi (bishini), bishinä, *etc.* *Imp.*: beshi, beshin. *Another form (rare)*: *Pr.*: minchinum, minchini minchinä, *etc.*; benchinum, *etc.*; *Imp.* benchi. *Pret.*: *First form*: shishtum, shishti, shas, shishtum, shishtey, shishtän; menshastum, menshasti, *etc.*; benshastum, benshasti, *etc.* *Second form*: benchastum, benchasti, *etc.*; menchastum, *etc.* *Past part.*: shishtä, benshastä, benchastä.[4]

III. INDECLINABLES. 1. *Adverbs.*—Adverbs are mainly the same as in the literary language, but are sometimes disguised by their phonetic variations: *chunu* چنان, *chini* چنین, *kuji* کجا, *inji* اینجا, *chitew* چه طور *chan, bechan* چند، بچند. Peculiar is *ajâsh*, meaning "entirely, completely" (از جا اش ?); *partew* (برته ?), "below, at the bottom" (*partew ku*—throw it, spread it, etc.). This is used probably in Qain and Birjand only. In the N.W. there is another, not used in the South, *kallepä*, meaning "downwards."

2. *Prepositions.*—These are the same as in the literary language: *da, dä* (در), *wa, we, wä* (به), *war, wör* (بر), etc. Of more peculiar use may be mentioned: *si, sine* (سوی),

[1] Ibid., pp. 46-47.

[2] This form, *mayum, mäyum, moyum*, etc., must be distinguished from *mâyum* which is=میخواهم.

[3] Ibid., p. 48.

[4] Ibid., pp. 49-50.

"towards" (chiefly in the South). *Khud, khod, khot* (خود), "with," etc.[1]

3. *Conjunctions.*—As mentioned above, the usual conjunction *wä, wu, -u* (و) is often indefinitely pronounced, due to a tendency to synvocalisation, and sounding as *a, e, i*, so resembling the usual *idāfa*. Probably it is the last mentioned, peculiarly employed. *Ke* (if unaccentuated), or *ki* (if accentuated), is often used pleonastically.

4. *Interjections.*—They are the same as in literary Persian, except a few, such as the Sabzawari equivalent for "yes"—*hu*. There is indeed a large number of ejaculations, such as those used for calling animals, compelling a camel to kneel or to rise, etc., but they vary in different parts of Khorasan and are of no special interest.

A list of some Khorasani idiomatic expressions:

arrast (onomat.), braying of a donkey (25).
dwräw, a culvert or hole in a wall, part of an irrigational channel (19).
bar ändākhtän, to unload, to alight.
bär uftädän, to die, to perish (175, 182).
benich, cradle.
bezengänä, porcupine
bibutä, useless, good for nothing.
bik, fresh pretty (?). Cf. Kurdish, Luri and Bakhtiyari *bihik, buk*, bride, young woman.[1]
boludä, a knave, wicked fellow.
bulwäya, a swallow (lit. *bālwāya*).
chärshdnä, stout, strong.
chärqat, a kerchief with which women cover their heads (218). [(75).
chärukh, a sort of footwear, like American mocassins
chugha, a warm cotton cloak, worn by men.
dargawä, knave.
dilengu, hanging, suspended (in Qain).
dishinä, yesterday (lit. *dūsh*).
dulākh, dust, thin sand.
farad, weaving loom.
fit (onomat.), whispering, whistling.
ǵan, teasing, mocking (213).
gar, bald. [197).
gardidän, (*bä qurbuni*....), to be sacrificed for (1, 6, 84,
gekun, small.
gigi (in Qain), a lamb.
gilǵa, the pit in which the weavers place their feet when sitting at the weaving loom (4).

[1] Cf. Geiger, op. cit., p. 402; Lorimer, Gabri dialect, pp. 479-480; also Ivanow, Tabaqat of Ansari, J.R.A.S., 1923, p. 33, note 2.

giläw, giddiness.
giw (lit. *guh*), dung (25).
gurdä, a leap.
gurjik, smoothed undulating hillocks, usually foot hills (20).
istäg, see *ustuq*.
jiq, shriek; also a measure of distance, a furlong, or the distance up to which a man's voice may be heard (very indefinite).
jiji, hedgehog (lit. *jāj*).
kachak, lock of hair (8, 40).
käl, a river-bed, wädi, nullah (110, 198, 199).
kälisk^{ä}, the band, by which the *chärqat* (q.v.) is fixed on the head.
kallepä, downwards (in Sabzawar).
kelut, undulating ground.
khänäginä, store room behind the house, godown.
khishtak, seam.
khurrast (onomat.), snoring (25).
khushär, auspicious, bringing good luck.
kif, owl.
kinä, hind.
kurmäkur, emphat. for *kür*, blind, short-sighted, etc., (117).
lang kürdän, to halt on a journey (169).
lanjä, a special wooden or metallic utensil for oil (lit. *dabba*).
likitäw, hanging down (in Qain); cf. Kurdish *liqin*, to hang.
lisk, naked, unloaded (animal) (in Qain).
mäshu, sieve.
näkhinak, finger-tip-full, a minute quantity; *n. zadan*, to dig in, to taste by little doses.
näli, bed-sheet.
ney tabaq, a sort of flat basket, made of reeds.
nowoli, wicked, vile, naughty (نالائی).
nus, nose.
owri, naked, undressed (lit. *ärī*).
paftalu, rubbish (in Qain).
partäw, fallen, spread (in Qain).
pistun, store room, the same as *khänäginä*, q.v.
purmä, *purmäw*, proud, arrogant.
purmechäl, faded, dried (flowers, grass).
shiyra, main road (lit. *shähräh*).
shurmäshur (emphat. from *shür*), troubled, excited (117).
sumenji, reward for bringing good news.
tarmätär, disturbed, unarranged, scattered.
tichidän (?) (10, *betichä*), to drip.

tumbä, a wooden bar used for locking the doors.
usmä, a sort of ointment for the eyebrows (*wasma*).
ustâq, fresh, flourishing, healthy (181).
winǧast (onomat.), buzzing of flying insects (25).
zanândä, headman of a village, *katkhudâ*.
zichu, a food made of dried curd, called in Southern Khorasan *qurud*, and in Western Persia *kashk*.

III. Specimens of Rustic Poems.

A. Quatrains.

I. Love Songs.

1. *Love songs of general contents.*

1. Se tâ dukhtär wä ri gaudâl miraf
yäki jelow yäki dimbâl miraf
bä kurbune sare jelow begärdum
(ki) mâhe chârdäh äz dimbâl miraf.

سه تا دختر به روی گودال میرفت، یکی جلو یکی دمبال میرفت،
به قربان سر جلو بگردم (شوم)، که ماه چهارده از دمبال میرفت،

2. Wär i kichit bä daw daw[1] murâwum man
bärâye gushte kaftar murâwum man
bärâye gushte kaftar jân nechändun
bärâye buse dukhtär murâwum man.

بر این کوچه بدو دو میروم من، برای گوشت کبتر میروم من،
برای گوشت کبتر جان نچندان، برای بوس دختر میروم من،

3. Yârum da därc därwâzä jâsh-ä
Nizâmi sauze Kâshâni bä pâsh-ä
bä del guftum ki panj busäsh begirum
bä läw khandid bä äbru guf ne jâsh-ä.

یارم در در دروازه جایش است،
نظامي سبز کاشاني به پایش است،
به دل گفتم که پنج بوسش بگیرم،
به لب خندید به ابرو گفت نه جایش است،

[1] With noise, or with a song.

4. Sare gilgä[1] wå Khadijä nishastum
du sinäye nowanår uma bä dastum
bä dil guftum panj busäsh begirum
piyaresh uma (mu) wä päy nishastum.

سر گل گه با خدیجه نشستم، دو سینهٔ نو انار آمد بدستم،
به دل گفتم که پنج بوسش بگیرم، پدرش آمد وا پی نشستم،

5. Nämåze shum ki gåw bä jängäl uma
Nesâ khånäm bä gåw dukhtäu âma
ki chashmäsh bä män u dastäsh bä gåwdush
ki gåwdush beshkast u ri bär mün åma.

نماز شام که گلوبه گاو خانه آمد،
نسا خانم به گاو دوختن آمد،
که چشمش به من و دستش به گاو دوش،
که گاودوش بشکست و رو بر من آمد،

6. Shabe mähtåw gurgun miberän mish
biâ jånå ki dä pishum käsi nis[2]
bägärdum daste ustâde nämädmål
nämäd tang äs u jâyi dilbärum nis.

شب مهتاب گرگان میبرند میش، بیا جانا که در پیشم کسی نیست،
بقربان دست استاد نمدمال شوم، نمد تنگ است و جای دلبرم نیست،

7. Biâ bâlâyi bum shumät biârum
käwâbe kauge beryunät biârum
käwâbe kauge beryunät nebâshä
bärum siwe Sifâhunät biârum.[3]

بیا بالای بام شامت ببارم، کباب کپک بریانت ببارم،
کباب کپک بریانت نباشد، بروم سیب اصفهانت ببارم،

[1] A special pit, in which the weaving loom is often placed, so that the foot pedals can be manipulated by any one sitting on the floor.

[2] Cf. A. Chodzko, Grammaire persane, Paris, 1852, p. 114, a Gilani song, beginning with:

اشب قارهٔ که گرگان میبرند میش، سیاه زلفت حمائل کن بیا پیش،

[3] The apple is the principal item in the peculiar system of love symbolism, and is very often used in love messages. Other articles used in this code are: the sweet pea (*māsh*), ماش با من باش; a cardamon nut (*hel*): هل میدهم دل; a walnut means: سر بدست تو سپارم; a hair

8. Da pushte kala bâr ändâkhtä Zäynäb[1]
kachakâr tärmätâr ändâkhtä Zäynäb[2]
khabar bobrä bä bâbâye räshidäsh
du tâ sib âshikâr ändâkhtä Zäynäb.[3]

در پشـــت قلعـه بار انداختـــه زینب،
کچکما (زلفها) را تارومار انداخته زینب،
خبـــر ببـــرنـد بـــه بابای رشیـــدش،
دو تا سیب عاشقانـرا انداختـــه زینب،

9. Da pushte bune zärgär khâbum âma
äz u busäyi dukhtar yâdum âma
äz u busäyi ki dä pushte kala
har wakh yâdum âma bitâbum[4] uma.

در پشـــت بام زرگر خوابم آمد،
از آن بوســـهٔ دختـــر یادم آمد،
از آن بوسهٔ که در پشـــت قلعه،
که هر وقت یادم آمد بیتابی ام آمد،

10. (D.)[5] Ägär yâre män-i bishin bä khânä
bärum äwät biyârum äz dähânä
(P.) hamu âwi ki äz zilfät bätichä
hamäsh märwâriyâyi yäkädänä.

اگر یار منی بنشیـــن به خانه، بـــروم آبت بیـــارم از دهـــانه،
همان آبی که از زلفت بچکـد، همـــش مرواریدهای یکیک دانه،

wrapped in a piece of silk means: در فراق تو چون موی شدم, etc. Almost all fruits have their peculiar code meaning, varying in different districts.

[1] *Bär andâkhtan*, particularly in the language of camelmen, means to stop, to halt. Here it may mean staying a long time.

[2] For a woman to leave her hair uncovered is a sign of disrespect, and generally of immodesty.

[3] About the apple see the note to the preceding quatrain.

[4] Probably instead of *bitâbim* or *bitâbi'm* (بیتابی هم). But it may also be بیتابو ام, i.e., with the suffix -u forming abstract nouns in Khorasani (cf. above, notes on the grammar).

[5] In the quatrains which have the form of a dialogue between a boy and a girl the letter D. is used to show that the speaker is the girl (*dukhtar*) and P.—that it is the boy (*pusar*).

11. Buguftum dukhtarak bugufti hu junum
buguftum buse mâyum gufti läwunum
buguftum jâye delwar da kujâ-y-ä
bugufti dä mine didägânum.

گفتم دخترک بگفتي بلی جانم، بگفتم بوسي میخواهم گفتي لبانم،
بگفتم جای دلبر در کجا ست، بگفتـــي در میـــان دیـــدگانـــم،

12. Deli man dâgh darä dâgh därä
hamu khânä ki där äz bâgh dârä
säräghät miduhum gär näshenäsey
siyâh chashmi ki chashmâyi zâgh dârä.

دل مـــن داغ دارد داغ دارد، همان خانه که در از باغ دارد،
خبـــرت میدهـــم گر نشناسي، سیاه چشمي که چشمهای زاغ دارد،

13. Siâ chashmi ki mu imruz didum
nä där Ayd u nä där Nowruz didum
nä dar Ayde nä dar Nowruze amsâl
bä gulchidäne (*sic*) miune bâgh diyum.

سیاه چشمي که من امروز دیدم، نه در عید و نه در نوروز دیدم،
نه در عید نه در نوروز امسال، به گل چیدن میان باغ دیدم،

14. (D.) Bä kurbune khate arkhâlukät yâr
miyune sad juwun âshikät yâr.
(P.) Miyune sad juwun kärdi ashârat
bä pushti bum bumurdum äz khajâlat.

به قربان خطّ ارخالوقت یار، میان صد جوان عاشقت یار،
میان صد جوان کردی اشارت، به پشت بام بمردم از خجالت،

15. (P.) Biâ bâlâyi bum jâ ku filâni
arusirä tämâshâ ku filâni.
(D.) ägär mâ wâ turä bâ ham begirän
mu bugrizum tu hâshâ ku filâni.

بیـــا بالای بام جا کن فلاني، عروسي را تماشـــا کن فلاني،
اگر ما بـــا تورا باهم بگیرند، من بگریزم تو حاشا کن فلاني،

16. Katät äz dur mibinum filâni
näzarät mikunum äz nâgumâni
näzarät mikunum märdum uedânän
neguyän âshike zâr äs filâni.

نظرت از دور میبینم فلاني، نظرت میکنـــم از نا گماني،
نظرت میکنم مردم ندانند، نگویند عاشق زار است فلاني،

17. Ustârä da åsmu shumurdum sad u bis
parhan alâchä zäwun tulâ dukhtäri ki's
parhan alâcha zäwun tulâ yâre khodum
shäw dä baghalum ki suhbe nämidunum ki's.

ستاره در آسمان شمردم صد و بیست ،
پیراهن الاچه زبان طلا دختر کیست ،
پیراهن الاچه زبان طلا یار خودم ،
شب در بغلم که صبح نمیدانم کیست ،

18. Tu zulfune siâ kärdi muhârum
shutur kärdi käshidi zire bârum
mu ki harfe bäde wâ tu neguftum
märâ käshidi burdi bä Irâq'um.

تو زلفان سیاه کردی مهارم ، شتر کردی کشیدی زیر بارم ،
من که حرف بدی با تو نگفتم ، مرا کشیدی بردی به عراق هم ،

19. Ägär yâre män-i bar shaw biyâyi
mesâle khar kenâre jäu biyâyi
ägär dushmän bägirä sare râyät
mesâle kuti äz âwräw biyâyi.

اگر یار منی هر شب بیا ، مثال خر کنار جو بیا ،
اگر دشمن بگیرد سر راهت ، مثال سگ از آبرو بیا ،

20. Dä mine käukähä (*sic*) mu käuke mast-um
dä mine gurjikä del wä tu bastum
hamä kaugâ nehâdän ru bä kuhsâr
mune meski giriftâre tu hastum.

درمیان کپکها من کپک مستم ، درمیان تپه ها دل به تو بستم ،
همه کپکها نهادند رو به کهسار ، من مسکین گرفتار تو هستم ،

21. Nägâre nâzänin hastum gelâmät
berez chinäki murgânä bä dâmät
hamäyi murgâ gurizânän zi dâmät
mäne meskin giriftârum bä dâmät.

نگار نازنین هستم غلامت ، برنز چینهٔ مرغانه بدامت ،
همهٔ مرغها گریزان اند ز دامت ، من مسکین گرفتارم بدامت ،

22. Dä mine miwähâ mu nâr mâyum
dä mine dukhtärâ Fâtmä mâyum
dä mine dukhtärâ Fâtmäye khuw
bälän bâlâyi shâl tirmä mâyum.

در میان میوه ها من نار میخواهم ، در میان دختر ها فاطمه میخواهم ،
در میان دختر ها فاطمهٔ خوب ، بلند بالای شال ترمه میخواهم ،

23. Läwum bä läwunät kum därä
chi färzändi ki hawâye mâr dârä
chi färzändi ki u nokhurdä äz shir
ki bishiri urä bitâw dârä.

لبم به لبانت قوم دارد ، چون فرزندی که هوای مادر دارد ،
چون فرزندی که او نخورده از شیر ، که بیشیری او را بیتاب دارد ،

24. Arakchine kalamkâre tuyum man
dä deh Beynum giriftâre tuyum man
ägä ' ruzi du sad bârät bäwinum
häniz mushtâke didâre tuyum man.

عرق چین قلمکار تو ام من ، در ده بینام گرفتار تو ام من ،
اگر روزی دو صد بارت ببینم ، هنوز مشتاق دیدار تو ام من ،

25. Äz ishke tu dä khâw khurrast [1] muzunum
äz khäw ki milkhizum misle khar ârrast muzunum
ägär shâkhäyi nähât girum biyâyä [2]
misâle khar-magas bä dowre giw wingas muzunum.

از عشق تو در خواب خرست میزنم ،
از خواب چون میخیزم مثل خر ارست میزنم ،
اگر شاخک نبات پیدا میشود ،
مثال خرمگس به دور گُه وِنگست (صدا) میزنم ،

26. Alâ dukhtar (ki) da bâghe shumâ-y-um
mäzu harfe ki mu bä tu âshnâ-y-um
mäzun harfe wu riyäträ mägärdun
ki mu (äz) qome khishune shumâ-y-um.

الا دختر که در باغ شما ام ، مزن حرفي که من با تو آشنا ام ،
مزن حرفي و رویت را مگردان ، که من از قوم خویشان شما ام ،

[1] Cf. JRAS., 1923, p. 27.

[2] *Bä gir dmädän* is used in Khorasan in the sense of بیدا کردن ، یافتن ؛

27. (P.) Bälän bälayi Kermâni läbät kan
bâhâye busâyät käymat bugu chan.
(D.) Bâhâye busâyum käymat nedârâ
Räy u Rum u Bukhârâ wu Samarqand.[1]

بلنـــد بالای کرمانی لبـــت قند، بهای بوسه ات قیمت بگـو چند،
بهـــای بوســـه ام قیمـــت ندارد، ری و روم و بخارا و سمـــرقند،

28. Alâ dukhtar tu shâhi dukhtärân-i
gule dä gunchäyi Mâzändärân-i
häniz ki gunchäy-i panj bus bä mu te
ke fardâ gul shäwi äz digärâni.

الا دختـــر تـو شـاه دختـــراني، گلـــي در غنچـــهٔ مازندراني،
هنوز که غنچهٔ پنج بوس به من ده، که فردا گل شوی از دیگـــراني،

29. (P.) Alâ dukhtär ki bâbâyät gudâ-y-ä
du chashme närgisät kâre küjâ-y-ä.
(D.) Chi kâr däri ki bâbâyum gudâ-y-ä
di chashme närgisum kâre Khudâ-y-ä.[2]

الا دختر که بابایت گدا است، دو چشم نرگست کار کجا است،
چه کار داري که بابا یم گدا است، دو چشم نرگـــم کار خدا است،

30. Däri khunäyi bibi di däri-y-ä
arakchine sarät Läylâ zäri-y-ä
ägär hamsiähâ nämidânän bädânän
ki Läylâ dukhtäre hure päri-y-ä.

در خانهٔ بیبـــي دو دری است، عرقچیـــن سرت لیلا زرین است،
اگر همسایها نمیدانند بدانند، که لیلا دختر حور و پري است،

---

hichche bägir niyuma—هیچ پیدا نه شد. Also simply with *gir*: *äz jäu gir nemiyä*—جو یافته نمیشود.

[1] Cf. Zhukovsky, Materials, vol. I. p. 35 (No. 15), a variant from Käshä.

[2] This is a "wandering" quatrain, cf. its parallel from Gilan (A. Chodzko. Grammaire persane, Paris, 1852, p. 18):

بیـــا دختـــر که باب تو گدایه، دو چشـــم نرگست کار کجایه،
چه کار داري که باب من گدایه، دو چشـــم نرگسم داد خدایه،

31. Kate sawrä Elâyum kham nägärdä
dile shâdä bä doure gham nägärdä
munâjât mukunum da har mäzâri
ki sâyät äz sare mu kam nägärdä.

قدّ سروت الهـم خـم نگـردد، دل شادت به دور غـم نگـردد،
منـاجات میکنـم در هر مزاری، که سایه ات از سر موکم نگردد،

32. Se muskâle tulâr dâdum bä zärgär
bäsäzä gushwârä bäräye tu dukhtar
äyär gushwârä da gushät nägunjä
shäwum hayrun u sargärdun u muztar.

سه مثقـال طلا دادم به زرگر، بسازد گوشواره برای تـو دختـر،
اگر گوشواره در گوشت نگنجـد، شوم حیران و سر گردان و مضطر،

33. Arakchine sarät simkash kunum man
duâzdah tâ kerun pishkash kunum man
duâzdah tâ kerun wây dânä dânä
bäre riyät bewinum qash kunum man.

عرقچین سرت سیمکش کنم من، دوازده تا قران پیشکش کنم من،
دوازده تـا قران ولی دانه دانه، بر رویت ببینم غشـی کنم من،

34. Mâhe shaw chârdärä be mune tu kunum
permi wu setärä kulâme tu kunum
suwkât feristum bä zärgärune Bâshtin
sar sikä zänum awal bä nume tu kunum.

ماه شب چهاردهم به نام تو کنم، پروین و ستـاره غـلام تو کنم،
سوقات فرستم به زرگران باشتین، سر سکّه زنم اوّل به نام تو کنم،

35. Arakchine sarät dinâr dinâr
bä pâyät makhmal u rängät gule nâr
Elâhum chashme dushmän kur gärdä
bäräye tu nämästänä kafshe bulghâr.

عرقچیـن سرت دینـار دینـار، به پایت مخمل و رنگت گل نار،
الهم چشـم دشمـن کور گردد، برای تو نمیتانند کفش بلغار،

36. Arakchine sarät gul tirmä bâdâ
däwâmi manzilät sar chäshmä bâdâ
hamu busi ki dâdi dä arusi
be shiriniyi maghze pistä bâdâ.

عرقچیـن سرت گل ترمه بادا، دوامي منزلت سر چشمـه بادا،
همان بوسي که دادی در عروسي، به شیرینـی مغز پسـته بادا،

37. Chirâ äz panjalä sar mikäshi yâr
qalam bâlâyi daftar mikäshi yâr
nämitärsi zi färdâye qiyâmät
har dami surmärä tar mikäshi yâr.

چرا از پنجره سر میکشی یار، قلم بالای دفتر میکشی یار،
نمیترسی ز فردای قیامت، هر دمی سرمه را تر میکشی یار،

38. Chäshmune siyâyät surmä bä muskâl bäbur
äbruye chäpät dilumrä äz kâr bäbur
u husne jämâle ki Khudâ dâdä bä tu
hushe sare bächâye shir-khor bäbur.

چشمان سیاهت سرمه به مثقال ببرد،
ابروی چپت دلمرا از کار ببرد،
آن حسن و جمالی که خدا داده به تو،
هوش سر بچه‌ای شیر خور ببرد،

39. Alâ dukhtar tänâbe bästä däri
bä zire châdirät guldastä dâri[1]
äz u guldästähâ yakäsh bä mu te
Khudâwändâ tu dukhtar bä mu te.

الا دختر تناب بسته داري، به زیر چادرت گلدسته داري،
از آن گلدستها یکش به من ده، خداوندا تو دختر به من ده،

40. Bä kurbune kächäkâyi lulä mastät
tu kelyu châk näku misuzä dastät
tu kelyun châk näku war mu harâm-ä
khodum châk kunum kurbune dastät.[2]

بقربان زلفای لوله مستت، تو قلیان چاک نکن میسوزد دستت،
تو قلیان چاک نکن برمن حرام است، خودم چاک کنم قربان دستت،

41. Näye kelyun deräz-ä män deräz-um
miunäsh näz bä näz-ä män chi säzum
tu tämbâku biyâr män âtäshi tâq
bärâye yâre chârdäsâlä säzum.

نی قلیان دراز است من درازم، میانش ناز به ناز است من چه سازم،
تو تنباکو بیار من آتش داغ، برای یار چهار ده ساله سازم،

[1] Cf. V. Zhukovsky, Materials, vol. I. p. 31, l. 8, a variant from Käshä.

[2] A "wandering" quatrain. I heard it in 1914 in Palewgine, a village near Kazerun, cf. W. Ivanow, Specimens, etc., "Zapiski," 1915, p. 42. Cf. also Zhukovsky, Materials, vol. I, p. 40 (No. 28), a variant from Käshä.

42. (P.) Zäynäw dil bä khubu dâdi
dä khunäye gâw murä bä käygu dâdi
(D.) khudät gufti ki käyk dändu nädârä
(P.) äz har jâ war känä därmu nedârä.

زینب دل به خوبی دادی، در خانهٔ گاو مرا به کیکان دادی،
خودت گفتی که کیک دندان ندارد، از هر جا برکند درمان ندارد،

43–44. (P.) Tu där bâlâyi bum-e sawze rahnâ
säräträ kham ku busi befarmâ.
(D.) tu ki pâine bum-i chakmä dar pâ
tu das dä kisä ku puli befärmä.
(P.) ki das dä kisä wu kisä da khurji
ki bâre ushtur-ä räftä ba Kazwi.
(D.) ki busä bä läb u läw bä zär äkhtân
ki mâle showhär äs raftä bä Kermun.

تو در بالای بامی سبز و رهنا سرت را خم کن بوسی بفرما،
تو که پائین بامی چکمه در پا، تو دست در کیسه کن پولی بفرما،
که دست در کیسه و کیسه در خرجین، که بار اشتر است رفته به قزوین،
که بوسه به لب و لب به زنخدان، که مال شوهر است رفته به کرمان،

45. Bäläṉ bâlâ dä bäländi mundäyum mu
baghal wâ ku särmâ khurdäyum mu
bagal wâ ku tängum da bagal gir
hamu yâre konâyum mu.

بلند بالا در بلندی مانده ام من، بغل وا کن سرما خورده ام من،
بغل وا کن تنگم در بغل گیر، همان یار کهنه ام من،

46. Shawe mehtâw da khâbum kuni yâr
da ruyi sinä dä khâbum kuni yâr
da ruye sinäye surkh u safidä
mesâle bächä bidârum kuni yâr.

شب مهتاب در خوابم کن یار، در روی سینه در خوابم کن یار،
در روی سینهٔ سرخ و سفیدت، مثال بچهٔ بیدارم کن یار،

47. Äz i bâdgir där u bâdgire yârum
dä mine shäw malwâred beyârum
ägär kâme dilumrä bar näyâri
hamu dan daste reswâyi guzârum.

از این بادگیر در آن بادگیر یارم، در میان شب مروارید بیارم،
اگر کام دلم را بر نیاری، همان دم دست رسوای گذارم،

48. Khadijä nāle kafshätrā telâ ku
bä hambun miräwi käniz rähâ ku
bä hambun miräwi pâye piâdä
biâ pâ da rikâbe aspe mâ ku.[1]

خدیجه نعل کفشت را طلا کن، به حمام میری کنیز رها کن،
به حمام میروی پای پیاده، بیا پا در رکاب اسپ ما کن،

49. I bâgh kuj-äs in dāre bâgh kuj-äs
gul dä chaman u chaman där i bägh kuj-äs
bâghbun bä sare azize khu râs bägu
yak shâkhe bänäfshäyi där i bâgh kuj-äs.

این باغ کجاست این در باغ کجاست،
گل در چمن و چمن در این باغ کجاست،
باغبان به سر عزیز خود راست بگو،
یک شاخ بنفشهٔ در این باغ کجاست،

50. Se pan ruz-ä buye gul neyuma
sädâ chächäve bulbul neyuma
bärum äz bâgebune gul bäpurse (*sic*)
chirä bulbul bä säyle gul neyuma.

سه پنج روز است بوی گل نیامد، صدای چهچههٔ بلبل نیامد،
بروم از باغبان گل بپرسم، چرا بلبل به سیر گل نیامد،

51. Sitârä sar zad mârâ begirä
chi Yusäf ki Zuläykhârâ begirä
chi Yusäf ki Zuläykhârâ nechandun
chi Hasan ki Räbäbärä begirä.

ستاره سر زد ماه را بگیرد، چون یوسف که زلیخا را بگیرد،
چو یوسف که زلیخا را نچندان، چو حسن که ربابه را بگیرد،

[1] A "wandering" quatrain. I heard it in the district of Turshiz, in 1914 (see "Zapiski," 1915, p. 46). The expression *kaniz*, and the mention of a saddled horse, stirrups, suggest this song being of an early origin. The Turshiz variant is as follows:

Allâ dukhtar'ki muhâyi tu bur-ä
bä hamum miräwi râhi tu dur-ä
bä hamum miräwi zude biyâyi
ki kâre âshuki khäyli zelur-ä (i.e. *darūr-ast*).

52. Khudâyå äshik-um åshiktärum ku
zi Läyli wu zi Mäjnu bäytärum ku
zi Läyli wu zi Mäjnun' um nechandun
bäråye åshuki khåkistärum ku.

خدایا عاشقم عاشقترم کن، ز لیلی و ز مجنون بهترم کن،
ز لیلی و ز مجنون هم نچندان، برای عاشقی خاکسترم کن،

53. Shawe mähtåw abre pärä pårä
shirâbe kishmishi [1] mäy dä pidlä
räfikun jam räwid mäyrä bänushi
Khudå käy midähäd umre du bârä.

شب مهتاب ابر پاره پاره، شراب قشمشی می در پیاله،
رفیقان جمع شوید می را بنوشید، خدا کی میدهد عمر دو باره،

2. *Courting married women.*

54. Qam dä deläkät [2] asar käni inshâlâ
shiye tu zäne digär kunä inshâlâ
tu biwä räwä (*sic*) [3] wä mu azab benshini (*sic*)
biwä u azab behandigär räsän inshâlâ.

غم در دلکت اثر کند ان شاء الله،
شوهر تو زن دیگر کند ان شاء الله،
تو بیوة شوی و من آزاب بنشینم،
بیوة و آزاب بهمدیگر رسند ان شاء الله،

55. Sarumrä sar-sarak Särdâr burdä
delumrä yak zäne shidâr burdä
delumrä yak zäne shidâr nechandun
kam-kam bä kunâre chåh burdä.

سرم را سر سرک سردار برده، دلم را یک زنی شوهر دار برده،
دلم را یک زنی شوهر دار نچندان، کم‌کم به کنار چاه برده،

[1] The term *qishmish* is not common in the district of Sabzawar, the grapes are called *miwiz*. The term *shirāb* usually is applied only to real wine; the dried grapes spirit is called *'araq*. The term *may* apparently is never used except in poetry.

[2] Diminutives often convey the shading of contempt.

[3] Probably for *räwe*, under the influence of synvocalism, cf. No. 168.

56. Sarumrä sar-sarak Särdâr burdä
dilumrä murchäyi pärdâr burdä
dilumrä murchäyi pärdâr nechandun
dilumrä pir zane qerdâr burdä.

سرم را سر سرک سردار بردهٔ ، دلم را مورچهٔ پردار بردهٔ ،
دلم را مورچهٔ پردار نچندان ، دلم را پیر زن پر باد بردهٔ ،

57. Ustârä da âsmu yakesh galtân-ä
buse zäne mardum bulâyi jân-ä
har kas boguyä âshuki âsân äs
kâfar näbina darde bi därmân äs.

ستاره در آسمان یکش غلطان است ، بوس زن مردم بلای جان است ،
هرکس بگوید عاشقی آسان است ، کافر نبیند درد بی درمان است ،

3. *Love punished.*

58. Nämäk shur äs bä zakhmum tâzä mändâz
märâ kushti bä shär âwâzä mändâz
märâ kushti wu khunum kärdi halâl
tu näshum bä däre darwâzä mändâz.

نمک شور است به زخم تازه میانداز ،
مرا کشتی به شمر آوازه میانداز ،
مرا کشتی و خونم کردی حلال ،
تو نعشم به در دروازه میانداز ،

59. Däre kaläyi Alyakrä[1] da bastän
se tâ chube anâr bär ham shikastän
mu ki harfe bade bä tu neguftum
märâ bar dâle kusâwi da bastän.

در قلعهٔ علیک را در بستند ، سه تا چوب انار بر هم شکستند ،
من که حرف بدی به تو نگفتم ، مرا بر دار قصابی در بستند ،

60. Dasmâle sare daste tu bädnumum kär
darughä shunuf da bande zendunum[2] kär
dä gushäyi zindu bä Khudâ nâlidum
bädnum shäwäd käsi ki bädnumum kär.

دستمال سر دست تو بدنامم کرد ، دروغه شنید در بند و زندانم کرد ،
در گوشهٔ زندان به خدا نالیدم ، بدنام شود کسی که بدنامم کرد ،

[1] Alyak is a village, 12 miles North of Sabzawar. It is an allusion to some real events which took place several years ago.
[2] A high-flown expression: usually *dastākh* or *dastāq*.

61. Chashmä bär däre därwâzä uftâd
jämâlum bär jämâle nämrzä uftâd
häniz dästum bä dastäsh näräsidä
dä Sauzäwâre kharâw âwâzä uftâd.

چشمه بر در دروازه افتاد، جمالم بر جمال نامرد افتاد،
هنوز دستم به دستش نرسیده، در سبزوار خراب آوازه افتاد،

62. (P.) Negâre näzänine rizä dändun
märä äz ashke tu burdän bä zindun.
(D.) ägär panj bus khuri äz kad bulandun
nä darde sar bini nä darde dändun.[1]

نگار نازنین ریزه دندان، مرا از عشق تو بردند به زندان،
اگر پنج بوس خوری از قد بلندان، نه درد سر بینی نه درد دندان،

63. Har ki âshik äs bäyäs nätärsä
mard äz kundä wu zendu nätärsä
dele âshik bä gurge gushnä mânä
gurg äz häyhäye chopu nätärsä.

هر که عاشق است بایست نترسد، مرد از چوب و زندان نترسد،
دل عاشق به گرگ کرسنه ماند، گرگ از هی هی چوپان نترسد،

4. *Faithfulness and perfidy.*

64. Dare khânat biyâyum gul berizum
ägär shämshir bäbärät bar näkhizum
ägär shämshir bäbärä misäle zhälä
ki tâ panj bus negirum bar näkhizum.

در خانه ات بیایم گل بریزم، اگر شمشیر ببارد بر نخیزم،
اگر شمشیر ببارد مثال ژاله، که تا پنج بوس نگیرم بر نخیزم،

65. Ägär äz dar zäni äz bum biyâyum
ägär har shäw zäni har shum biyâyum
bä arrä gär buburän dastepâyum
bä zänu gär neyâyum biwäfâyum.

اگر از در زنی از بام بیایم، اگر هر شب زنی هر شام بیایم،
به اره گر ببرند دست و پایم، به زانو گر نیایم بی وفایم،

[1] A variant from the South of Khorasan (cf. "Zapiski," 1915, p. 39):
(D.) chirâ ghain mukhuri äy yâre nâdun
de tâ gushwârä dârum mâle diwun.

66. (P.) Kalamfur [1] bär sare däsmâl däri
bä margi mu bugu chan yâr däri.
(D.) Bä margi tu bä june yak bärârum
bä ghayr äz tu digär yâre nedârum.

کلمفر بر سر دستمال داری، به مرگ من بگو چند یار داری،
به مرگ تو به جان یک برادرم، بغیر از تو دیگر یاری ندارم،

67. Biâ äy biwäfâ bä mû bäfâ ku
ägär tarkät kunum lânat bä mu ku
ägär tarkät kunum äz biwäfâyi
bäkash khanjar särum äz tan judâ ku.

بیا ای بی وفا با من وفا کن، اگر ترکت کنم لعنت به ما کن،
اگر ترکت کنم از بی وفائی، بکش خنجر سرم از تن جدا کن،

68. Bä pushte bum nämugzârum kadamrä
digä bâwar nädârum quale zanrä
ki lânat bär jun u bär qaule zän bâd
bä yak lahzä khurä sisad kasamrä.

بپشت بام نمیگذارم قدم را، دیگر باور ندارم قول زن را،
که لعنت بر جان و بر قول زن باد، به یک لحظه خورد سیصد قسم را،

69. Gule surkhum chirâ äz mu rämidi
mägär harfe bade äz mu shinidi
mu ki harfe bade wâ tu neguftum
chirâ mihre muhubaträ buridi.

گل سرخم چرا از من رمیدی، مگر حرف بدی از من شنیدی،
من که حرف بدی با تو نگفتم، چرا مهر و محبت را بریدی،

70. Dukhtar dukhtar käwâb kärdi tu märâ
män kora budum shirâb kärdi tu märâ
män bachä budum chizi nemifihmidum
sawdâgäre Kandahâr kärdi tu märâ.

دختر دختر کباب کردی تو مرا، من غوره بودم شراب کردی تو مرا،
من بچه بودم چیزی نمیفهمیدم، سوداگر قندهار کردی تو مرا،

[1] The dried cloves. This old fashioned cosmetic is now gradually giving way to cheap scents and scented soap.

71. Gär mâ räwi nazar bä riyät näknum
gär qiblä räwi säjdä bä siyät näknum
gär dastäyi gul shäwi âyi bäre mu
war därum u bugzârum buyät näknum.

گر ماه شوی نظر به رویت نکنم ، گر قبله شوی سجده به سویت نکنم ،
گر دستهٔ گل شوی آیی بر من ، بر دارم و بگذارم بویت نکنم ،

72. Labe bun âmadi rukh minämâyi
sare gärdän bä âshik menämâyi
sare gärdäne tu aybi nedârä
hamu aybi ki däri bi wâfâ-y-i.

لب بام آمدی رخ مینمائی ، سر و گردن به عاشق مینمائی ،
سر و گردن تو عیبی ندارد ، همان عیبی که داری بی وفائی ،

73. Säbäntuyi râhe aydgâh dunä kärdä
ghame Sughrä märä diwunä kärdä
khabar bobrän bä kowmunake[1] Sugrä
Sugrâ showhare bigânä kärdä.

اسفندماي راه عیدگاه دانه کرده ، غم صغرا مرا دیوانه کرده ،
خبر ببرند به قومانک صغرا ، صغرا شوهر بیگانه کرده ،

74. Bä yâr bugo ki mu digä yâr (-i tu) niyum
tu äshwä mäde ki mu kharidâre tu niyum
tu kisäyi hambun-i bä daste hamä kas
män kisä khar u kisä furush niyum.[2]

به یار بگو که من دیگر یار تو نیم ، تو عشوه مده که من خریدار تو نیم ،
تو کیسهٔ حمامي بدست همه کس ، من کیسه خر و کیسه فروش نیم ،

75. Du chashmunät bä chäshme jagnä munä
bare ruyät bä châruk̲he[3] konä mâmä
hamu chashme siyâye ki tu däri
bä chashmune sake gilä munä.

دو چشمانت به چشم جغنه ماند ، بر رویت به چاروخ کهنه ماند ،
همان چشم سیاهی که تو داري ، به چشمان سگ گله ماند ،

[1] Diminutive for expression of contempt, cf. above Nos. 54. 151, etc.
[2] Cf. Zhukovsky, Materials, vol. I, p. 35 (No. 14), a variant from Käshä.
[3] A sort of footwear, of the same pattern as the American *mocassins*, made of one piece of leather each.

76. Dare järchâr da basti Khadijâyi gul
dele murä shikasti Khadijâye gul
där i chan gâ ki dä pishät näbudum
tu bâ ki menshasti Khadijâye gul.

در و درچهارا در بستي خديجهٔ گل ، دل مرا شكستي خديجهٔ گل ،
در اين چندگاه كه در پيشت نبودم ، تو با كه مينشستي خديجهٔ گل ،

77. Du zulfune siâh rekhti wa pâyi gush
kerâ didi zi mu kärdi färâmush
bä haqqe shire mâdär (ki) khurdä-i yâr
mäku yâre kadimirä fürâmush.

دو زلفان سياه ريختي به پي گوش ، كرا ديدي زمن كردي فراموش ،
به حق شير مادر كه خوردهٔ يار ، مكن يار قديمرا فراموش ،

78. Bä pushte bume zärgar khâbum uma
äz u busäyi dukhtar yâdum uma
äz u busäyi ki dä kunje äywun
bä mâdär gufti wu rahmât neyuma.

به پشت بام زرگر خوابم آمد ، از آن بوسهٔ دختر يادم آمد ،
از آن بوسهٔ كه در كنج ايوان ، به مادر گفتي و رحمت نيامد ،

5. *Love unsuccessful.*

79. War kichä ruwum kichä durâz-ä
bä mächit merawum wakhte nämâz-ä [1]
bä mächit berawum Kurân bukhunum
ki buse âshuki bä altemâs-ä.

بر كوچه روم كوچه دراز است ، به مسجد ميروم وقت نماز است ،
به مسجد بروم قرآن بخوانم ، كه بوس عاشقي به التماس است ،

80. Khadija âshike zärum tu kärdi
dirakhte gul budum khârum tu kärdi
derakhte gul budum da bâghe shâhun
bä khâke kichä hamsânum tu kärdi.

خديجه عاشق زارم تو كردي ، درخت گل بودم خارم تو كردي ،
درخت گل بودم در باغ شاهان ، به خاك كوچه همسانم تو كردي ،

[1] Cf. Zhukovsky, Materials, vol. I, p. 39 (No. 24), a variant from Käshä.

81. Du das da shâkhäyi bâdum dârum
nä shaw khâb u nä ruz ârim dârum
siyâ châshmun miyâyän gilä gilä
siyâchashme khodumrä gum dârum.

دو دست در شاخهٔ بادام دارم، نه شب خواب و نه روز آرام دارم،
سیاه چشمان می آیند گله گله، سیاه چشم خودم را گم دارم،

82. Sitärä sar zad bidär budum
bä pâye rakhnäye diwâr budum
setâra sar zad u subh'um tulu kär
heniz da intizâre yâr budum.[1]

ستاره سر زد بیدار بودم، به پای رخنهٔ دیوار بودم،
ستاره سر زد و صبح هم طلوع کرد، هنوز در انتظار یار بودم،

83. Shabe mehtâw mehtâbum neyuma
neshastum tâ sahar khâwum neyuma
nishastum tâ sahar kälyun käshidum
keyâmat âmad u yârum neyuma

شب مهتاب مهتابم نیامد، نشستم تا سحر خوابم نیامد،
نشستم تا سحر قلیان کشیدم، قیامت آمد و یارم نیامد،

84. Zämin busum ki unje yar gäshtä
zämin äz buyi yär gulzär gäshtä
begärdum âfetâbe wu zäminrä
chi murgâne hawâ bi bäl gäshtä.

زمین بوسم که آنجا یار گشته، زمین از بوی یار گلزار گشته،
قربان شوم آفتاب و زمین را، چو مرغان هوا بی بال گشته،

85. Nametfânum qamät bär därum äz del
nametfânum bäsâzum dur manzel
nametfânum dame bi tu neshinum
ke pâyum tâ bä zânu mundä da gel.

نمیتوانم غمت بر دارم از دل، نمیتوانم بسازم دور منزل،
نمیتوانم دمی بی تو نشینم، که پایم تا به زانو مانده در گل،

[1] This is one of the most familiar quatrains, known all over Persia.

86. Läbät busum dähân buye hel âyat
murä äz tu jedâyi mushkil âyat
murä guyan jedâyi ku judâyi
judâyi gar kunum khun äz del âyat.

لبت بوسم دهان بوی هل شود، مرا از تو جدائي مشکل شود،
مرا گویند جدائي کن جدائي، جدائي گر کنم خون از دل آید،

87. Sarum dard u sarum dard u sarum dard
nämidânum chirâ rängum shudä zard
hamä guyän zä garmâye zämin-ä
khodum guyum zä eshke nâzänin-ä.

سرم درد و سرم درد و سرم درد، نمیدانم چرا رنگم شده زرد،
همه گویند ز گرمای زمین است، خودم گویم از عشق نازنین است،

88. Delum mikhâs äz u kelyun äz u näy
äz u jämi ki delbar mäkhurä mäy
delum mekhâs äz u shabhâyi mäkhtâw
bäbusum ruye delbärä päyâpäy.

دلم میخواست از آن قلیان از آن نی، از آن جامي که دلبر میخورد مي،
دلم میخواست از آن شبهای مهتاب، ببوسم روی دلبر را بپایي،

89. (D.) Ägär âhi zunum âlam busuzä
Khalirâbâd u Šarmanzal[1] busuzä
ägär âhi digär äz del bar ârum
zämine shor u nam pâk busuzä.

90. (P.) Ägär âhi zunum âlam busuzä
awal mâr u diyum dukhtar busuzä
ägär âhe digär äz del bär ârum
dare dashte biâbu pâk (bu) suzä.

اگر آهي زنم عالم بسوزد، خلیلاباد و سرمنزل ببوزد،
اگر آه دیگر از دل بر آرم، زمین شور و نم پاک بسوزد،
اگر آهي زنم عالم بسوزد، اول مادر و دوم دختر بسوزد،
اگر آه دیگر از دل بر آرم، در و دشت و بیابان پاک بسوزد،

[1] Two villages in the Kūhmish range, on the road to Turshīz district.

6. *Separation and longing.*

91. (P.) Sarät bär dår tá riyät buwinum
bä ghurbat miräwum shâyäd bämirum.
(D.) Bä gurbat miräwi sâat sälâmat
bä täyfike Khudâ bâz khâi amad.

سرت بردار تا رویت ببینم، به غربت میروم شاید بمیرم،
به غربت میروي ساعت سلامت، به توفیق خدا باز خواهي آمد،

92. Tu ki dur-i khate äz dur befres
sukhänhâye khushe maqbul befres
sukhänhâye khushät yak yak bä kâgaz
bä daste bâd bedey u zud befres.

تو که دوري خطی از دور بفرست، سخنهای خوش و مقبول بفرست،
سخنهای خوشت یک یک به کاغذ، به دست باد بده و زود بفرست،

93. (D.) Sare kuhe Näshâpire watan ku
du das da gärdäne nâzäk badan ku.
(P.) Du das äz gärdäne nâzäk badan bär dâr
sare kuhum bas-ä ru bä watan ku

سر کوه نیشاپور وطن کن، دو دست در گردن نازکبدن کن،
دو دست از گردن نازکبدن بردار، سر کوهم بس است رو به وطن کن،

94. Ustârä da âsmu bäland äs amshäw
bä bakhte bädum falak dä jang äs amshäw
har shäw sare zilfe yâr bâlinum bi
bâline mane fakir sang äs amshäw.

ستاره در آسمان بلند است امشب،
به بخت بدم فلک در جنگ است امشب،
هر شب سر زلف یار بالینم بود،
بالین من فقیر سنگ است امشب،

95. Dä mine kundäyi khurmâ bäkhâbum
dar i shabhâye durâz tanhâ bokhâbum
Khudâ tu märâ murge hawâ ku
dä ruye sinäye dilwar bokhâbum.

در میان نخلستان خرما بخوابم، در این شبهای دراز تنها بخوابم،
خدا تو مرا مرغ هوا کن، در روی سینهٔ دلبر بخوابم،

96. Se pän ruz-ä ki äz yârum judâ-y-um
Khudâ dânä bä margum rizâ-y-um
Khudâ dânä wu khalkäsh'um bedânä
mesâle khisht äz kâleb judâ-y-um.[1]

سه پنج روز است که از یارم جدا ام ، خدا داند به مرگـم رضـا ام ،
خدا داند و خلقش هم بدانند ، مثال خشت از کالـب جدا ام ،

97. (D.) Chununki miräwi ru bä Muqisä
du tâ däsmâl bäfristum bâ du kisä.
(P.) Du tâ dasmâl u kisä kurbiyät nädârä
khodum pishwâz biyâyum äz Muqisä.

چنانکه میروي رو بـه مغیثـه ، دو تا دستمال بفرست ام با دو کیسه ،
دو تا دستمال و کیسه قربیت ندارند ، خودم پیشـواز بیایم از مغیثـه ،

98. Halâ bâd u halâ bâd u halâ bâd
khabar äz mu bäbar bä Sultânâbâd
du tâ shunä feristum äz chube shamshâd
te bar zilfät zäni märä kuni yâd.[2]

هلا بـاد و هلا بـاد و هلا بـاد ، خبر از من ببـر به سلطاناباد ،
دو تا شانه فرستم از چوب شمشاد ، تو بر زلفت زني مرا کنـي یاد ،

99. Dishäw da bâgh budum jâ-ät khâli
bä gul mushtâq budum jâ-ät khâli
chi pärwânä wä doure bâgh gashtum
serâghe tur nädârum jät khâli.

دیشب در باغ بودم جا ات خالي ، به گل مشتاق بودم جا ات خالي ،
چو پروانه بـه دور باغ گشتـم ، خبـر از تو ندارم جا ات خالي ،

100. Kubâre doure diuyâ kam nämishä
dile âshik dami bi gham nämishä
dile âshik bä nune kâk munä
bä âwe hawze Kausär nam nämishä.

غبـار دور دنیـا کم نمیشـود ، دل عاشق دمي بی غم نمیشـود ،
دل عاشـق به نان کاک ماند ، به آب حوض کوثر نـم نمیشود ،

[1] Cf. a variant, from the district of Turshiz, "Zapiski," 1015, p. 48 (No. 31).

[2] Cf. Zhukovsky, Materials, vol. I, p. 43 (No. 37), a variant from Käshä.

II. Marriage.

1. *Choice of a mate.*

101. Ägär man yâr girum bachä girum
kämär bârik u chârdä sâlä girum
ägär man yâr girum äz buzärgu
safetrâ wâ guzârum sabzä girum.

اگر من یـار گیرم بچـــه گیرم ، کمر باریک و چهارده ساله گیرم ،
اگر من یـار گیـــرم از بزرگان ، سفید را وا گذارم سبـــزه گیرم ،

102. (P.) Chirâ har dam âtäsh zäni bä jânum
mägär män yâräki ti mihrewân-um.
(D.) Ägär sad sâl där (i) khunä bämânum
zäne dallâk u âhängar nemishum.

چرا هردم آتش زني بـــه جانم ، مگر من یارک تو مهـــربان ام ،
اگر صد سال در این خانه بمانم ، زن دلاک و آهنگـر نمیشـــوم ،

2. *Consent of the bride.*

103. Allâ dukhtar tu'um yäk ġape bogo
ägär râzi nishi pish yäkä bogo
ägär râzi nishi tu äz del u jun
beyâ benshi wu pishe mârät bogo.

الا دختـــر تو هم یک گپي بگو ، اگر راضي نمیشوی پیش یکّه بگو ،
گر راضي نمیشوی تو از دل و جان ، بیا بنشین و پیش مادرت بگـــو ،

104. (P.) Turä moyum turä moyum chi migi
chirâ bâ kawme khishunät nämigi
säwâ ki kasidum pishät biyâyä
jäwâbe kaside mu tu chi migi.
(D.) Mu ki bä kawmu khishunum buguftum
murä wâ tu nämitan tu chi migi.[1]

ترا میگویم ترا میگویم چه میگوئي ، چرا به قوم خویشانت نمیگـوئي ،
فردا که قصیدم پیشـت بیـــاید ، جواب قصید من تو چه میگوئي ،
من که به قوم خویشانـم بگفتم ، مرا به تو نمیدهند تو چه میگوئي ،

[1] Cf. "Zapiski," p. 39. In that version the two middle lines are omitted.

3. *Service for the bride.*

105. Biâ ây Fâtimâ nukârât yâr
se sâl khidmat kunum bâ piyarât yâr
se sâl khidmat kunum muzde negirum .
muwâjibâye mu sugdâyi sarât yâr.

بیـــا ای فاطمـــه نوکرت یـــار، سه سال خدمت کنم به پدرت یار،
سه سال خدمت کنم مزدی نگیرم، مواجبهای من صدقهٔ سرت یار.

106. Chununki mirâwi hampâyi tu bâshum
chi pâbande tulâ da pâyi tu bâshum
chi pâbande tulâ u guyi nukrâ
kulâme khâsâyi bâbâye tu bâshum.

چنانکه میروی همپـــای تو باشم، چو پابند طلا در بای تـــو باشم،
چو پابنـــد طلا و گوی نقـــره، غـــلام خاصـــهٔ بابای تـــو باشم،

107. (P.) Delum mikhâs dâmâde tu bâshum
gulâm bâshum da pishe tu bâshum
gulâm bâshum man du das bâ sinâ
gulâme piyar u mâre tu bâshum.

دلم میخـــواست داماد تو باشم، غلام باشم در پیش تو باشم،
غلام باشم من دو دست به سینه، غـــلام پدر و مـــادر تـــو باشم،

108. (D.) Gulâmi kârdi wa gulâm hasti
bâfâ dâri ki du pâye neshkasti
hamâ i kârâ taksire mâdare mi
taksire piyar ki da gur piyar mi.

غلامی کردی و غـــلام هستـــی، وفا داری که دو پای نشکستـــی،
همـــه این کارها تقصیر مادر من، تقصیر پدر که در گور پدر من.

4. *Refusal of marriage.*

109. Bâ shalwârât shumurdum putâhârâ
bâ dil guftum begirum mu shumârâ
ilâhe mardumâne bad bâr âftân
ki bar ham mizânân sâwdâye mârâ.

به شلوارت شمـــردم بوتـــه‌هـــارا، به دل گفتـــم بگیرم من شما را،
الاهی مردمان بد بـــر افتنـــد، که برهم میزننـــد سودای ما را،

110. Bä pushte kâl âyum näzdik bä rabât
hastum âshike dukhtare Abbâs
Abbâs bemirä mâläsh begirum
dä u dinyä yakhanäsh begirum.

به پشت کال (رود خانه) آیم نزدیک به رباط،
عـتـم عـاشـق دختـر عبـاس،
عبـاس بمیـرد مـالـش بگیـرم،
در آن دنیـا بخنـش بگیـرم،

111. Sarum dard mukunä zânu nädârum
bämira mâdärät irmu nädârum
bä un daste ki mikärdum ashkrät
bä i daste digä färmu nädârum.

سرم درد میکنـد زانـو ندارم، بمیـرد مادرت آرمان نـدارم،
به آن دستي که میکـردم اشارت، به این دست دیگـر فرمان ندارم،

112. (P.) Sare sängi ki mu dârum ki dârä
dile tange ki mu dârum ki dârä.
(D.) Elâhe pusärä k wâ päy bägardi
piyare nange ki tu dâri ki dârä.

سر سنگین که من دارم که دارد، دل تنگي که من دارم که دارد،
الاهـي پسـرک وا پي بگـردد، پدر ننگي که تو داری که دارد،

113. Alâ dukhtar ki märe tu nunwâ-y-ä
mârät khub âdam äs piyarät bälâ-y-ä
mu ki äz mârät geläyi nedârum
piyare nâmardät pur muddaâ-y-ä.

الا دختـر که مادر تو دانوا است،
مادرت خوب آدم است پدرت بلا است،
من کـه از مـادرت گلـهٔ ندارم،
پـدر نامـردت پر مدعـا است،

114. Alâ dukhtar ki charkhät bi sidâ-y-ä
tänâbäsh nukrä wu dikäsh tulâ-y-ä
mu ki äz mârät geläyi nädârum
piyare jâkashät ki pur muddaâ-y-ä.

الا دختر که چرخت بی صدا است، طنابش نقره و دیکش طلا است،
من که از مادرت گلـهٔ ندارم، پدر جاکشت که پر مدعا است،

115. Alâ dukhtar mârat murdâ binum
kulun bä dastum kabräsh kandä binum
kulun bä dastum kabräsh da näyästu
näyästunrä bä åtäsh burdä binum.

الا دختـــر مادرت مردهٔ بينـــم، کلنگ به دستم قبرش کندهٔ بينم،
کلنگ به دستم قبرش در نيستان، نيستـــان را به آتش بردهٔ بينم،

116. (P.) Där i kär ki mâr'um takhsir nedârä
piyarät'um ki khabar nädârä
Elâhe har di tä unâ bämirän.

(D.) Chi kâr kunum ki jibät pul nädârä.

در اين کار که مادر هم تقصير ندارد، پدرت هـــم کـــه خبـــر ندارد،
الهي هر دو تا آنهـــا بميـــرند، چه کار کنم که جيبت پول ندارد،

117. (P.) Elâ dukhtar (ki) äbruhât pur-ä
ki chashmune mädärät kurmekur-ä
Elâhe mâdare kurät bämirä
miyânäyi mu wu tu shurmeshur-ä.

الا دختر کـــه ابروهايت پر است، که چشمان مادرت کورمکور است،
الهـــي مـــادر کـــورت بميـــرد، ميانهٔ من و تو شورمشور است،

118. (D.) Alâ pusar (ki) kaddi tu beland-ä
ke mâdäre tu'um khäyli kashang-ä
Elâhe mâdäre kashangät bämirä
ki piyare nämarde tu'um nang-ä.

الا پســـر که قد تو بلند است، که مادر تو هم خيلي قشنگ است،
الهي مـــادر قشنگـــت بميـــرد، که پدر نامرد تو هم ننگ است،

119. Alâ dukhtar ki Fâtmä num dâri
tu âshike muyi murä bädnum dâri
Elâhe mâdäre badät bämirä
berâye tu nämzä kâd nemärä.

الا دختر که فاطمـــه نام داری، تو عاشق منـــی مرا بدنـــام داری،
الهـــي مـــادر بـــدت بميـــرد، برای تـــو نامرد قحط نميشـــود،

120. Läbät kaymâqu dändunât pänir-ä
du sinâye nowanärät kabzegir-ä
Alâhu mâdäre pirät bemirä
turä bä mu namite yâr chi gir-ä.[1]

لبت قيماق و دندانهايت پنير است، دو سينهٔ نو انارت قبضه‌گير است،
الهـــي مـــادر پيـــرت بميـــرد، ترا بمن نميدهد يار چون پيدا شود،

[1] Cf. a variant in my Specimens, Zapiski, p. 47 (No. 27).

5. *Disappointment in marriage.*

121. Ägär man yâr girum yâr kam nis
ägär man gul bächinum khâr kam nis
gule mâyum ki dä sâyäsh neshinum
ägär nis sâyäyi difâl kam nis.

اگر من یار گیرم یار کم نیست، اگر من گل بچینم خار کم نیست،
گلي میخواهم که در سایه اش نشینم، اگر نیست سایهٔ دیوار کم نیست،

122. Sitâräyi âsmu khäyli beland-ä
Khudâ dânä ki nâmzädum kashang-ä
Khudâ dânä ki nämzädum bä mâh munä
mesâle mâhi ki dä däryâ nahang-ä.

ستارهٔ آسمان خیلي بلـــند است، خدا داند که نامردم قشنگ است،
خدا داند که نامردم به ماه مانند، مثال ماهي که در دریا نهنگ است،

123. Dwis man tukhme talkh kâshtum dä Kuchu
ajab yâre giriftum hast nâdu
rafikâ mu giriftum shumâ mägirey
awal âshik äs diyum pâshäymun.

دوش من تخم تلخ کاشتم در کوچان،
عجب یاري گرفتـــم هست نادان،
رفیقهـــا من گرفتم شما مگـــیرید،
اول عاشـــق است دوم پشیمـــان،

124. Gule da gunchärä da shishä kärdi
qami yak ruzärä sad sâlä kärdi
Elâhum khunäye âkhun bäsuzä
mane bichârärä dä nämzä kärdä.

گل در غنچه را در شیشه کردی، غم یک روزه را صد ساله کردی،
الهـــم خانهٔ آخونـــد بســـوزد، من بیچـــاره را در نامرد کردی،

125. Näkärdum bâghwâni bâghwâni
duâyi mu bä nimzädum räsâni
bugu nemzäde tu äz daste tu raf
biyâ nâmard gär kâri mituâni.

نکـــردم بـــاغبـــاني بـــاغبـــاني، دعای من به نـــامردم رسانید،
بگـــو نامرد تو از دست تو رفت، بیا نامرد گـــر کاري میتـــوانی،

6. *Complaints on remaining unmarried.*

126. Säräṇdâzrâ tu pâyändâz kärdi
mu turä khâstum tu bar mu näz kärdi
bä harfe mârät kärdi neshasti
kulâg rafti wu tarke bâz kärdi.

سر انداز را تو پای انداز کردی، من ترا خواستم تو بر من ناز کردی،
بـه حرف مادرت کردی نشستی، کلاغ شدی و ترک بـاز کردی،

127. Zimistu wu tiwistu châr wâdâr-um
bä khunä mirâwum yâre nädârum
piyar dârum dä fikre pisar nis
mädär dârum migä wakhte zänät nis.

زمستان و تابستان چارواداریم، بـه خانـه میـرویم یـار نداریم،
پدر داریم در فکر پسر نیست، مادر داریم میگوید وقت زنت نیست،

128. Dirakhtâ sâyä dârän mâ nodârim
rafikâ nemzä dârän mâ nädârim
rafikâ mirâwän ru bä wilâyät
hamä guldästä dârän mâ nädârim.

درختها سایـه دارند ما نداریم، رفیقـان نامـرد دارند ما نداریم،
رفیقـان میـروند رو به ولایت، همه گلدستـه دارند ما نداریم،

7. *Respect for marriage.*

129. Delum mikhâs bärum bä nemzäbâzi
Khudâ dânä nekärdum das derâzi
kälire bâghe jannat daste [1] mu bu
negâh dâshtum bä ruzäyi [2] särfärâzi.

دلم میخواست بروم به نامرد بازي، خدا داند نکـردم دست درازي،
کلید باغ جنت (در) دست من بود، نگاه داشتـم به روزهای سر فرازي،

130. Näkhurdum nâr bär junum bälâ shud
näkärdum kâr bar mu mubtälâ shud (*sic*)
näkärdum khâbe râhat da kunârät
âwâzäyi khâbe mu dä kichähâ shud.

نخـوردم نار جانم بلا شد، نکردم کار بر من مبتلا شد،
نکردم خواب راحت در کنارت، آوازهٔ خواب من در کوچها شد،

[1] So usually in colloquial language.
[2] *sic.* Perhaps a case of shortening of the suffix ها i.e. for روزهای.

131. Bare ruye turâ didum raftum
bä bâlinät näkhâbidum raftum
misâle sâyäyi awre buhâri
kärdum jäwlu näbâridum raftum.

بر روی تـرا دیدم رفتم، به بالینت نخوابیدم رفتم،
مثال سایهٔ ابر بهـاری، کردم جولان نباریدم رفتم،

III. QUATRAINS DEALING WITH SPECIAL SUBJECTS OR BELONGING TO SOME SPECIFIED CLASS OF AUTHORS.

1. *Songs of women authors.*

132. Chununki miräwi wâ gard nägâ ku
gerehi dä dilum eftiyä wâ ku
gerehi dä delum ranje tu därä
dele ranji därä äz khud rezâ ku.

چنانکه میروي باز گرد نگاه کن، گرهي در دلم افتـاده وا کن،
گرهي در دلم رنـج تو دارد، دل رنجی دارد از خود رضا کن،

133. Dirakhte ärkäwu pâye kamar bi
tänäsh firuzä wu shâkhäsh shäkär bi
där i chan gâh ki yârum da safar bi
khuråke mu hamash khune jigar bi.

درخت ارغوان پـای کمـر بود، تنش فیروزه و شاخش شکـر بود،
در این چندگاه که یارم در سفر بود، خوراک من همش خون جگر بود،

134. Beyâ benshi awal yâde watan ku
bä har mäjlise ki rafti yâde man ku
bä har mäjlise ki rafti bâ buzergun
awal benshi diyum yâde man ku.

بیا بنشیـن اول یـاد وطن کن، به هر مجلس که رفتی یاد من کن،
به هر مجلس که رفتي با بزرگان، اول بنشیـن دوم یاد من کن،

135. Khudâyâ par bede pärwâz girum
dare därwäzäye Shiräz girum
bärum äz [ham] rafikâne khud bäpursum
serâghe yâre khud da Kandahâr girum.

خدایا پر بده پرواز گیرم، در دروازهٔ شیـراز گیـرم،
بروم از رفیقان خود بپرسم، خبر یار خود در قندهار گیرم،

136. Äz u bâlâ miyâ kâfilä sangi
hamu yâre khodum pâytâwä[1] rängi
pâytâwashe[2] wâ kunum rishä bä rishä
bä dastäsh bäduhum kelyune shishä.

از آن بالا می‌آید قافلهٔ سنگیـــن، همان یار خودم پای تابه رنگین،
پای تابه اش وا کنم ریشه به ریشه، به دستش بدهم قلمان شیشـــه،

137. Setäri midäwä mâhe man ku
rafike hamdame hamrâhe man ku
rafike hamdamum raftä bä säwdâ
(ägär säwdâgar-i säwkâte man ku).[3]

ستاره میـــدود ماهٔ من کو، رفیـــق همدم همراهٔ من کو،
رفیق همدمم رفته به سفـــر، اگر سوداگری سوقات من کو،

138. Yak dâste gule safet pichum yâ ne
dä ahde wäfâye tu neshinum yâ ne
äy pistäye khandun jäwâbum hefres
mu lâyeke mäjlise tu hastum yâ ne.

یک دسته گل سفید پیچم یا نه، در عهـد وفای تو نشینـــم یا نه،
ای پستهٔ خندان جوابم بفرست، من لائق مجلس تو هستم یا نه،

139. Arakchine sarät tirmäye Rashti
khabar uma ki äz Teyru guzäshti
nä khud âyi nä päygâme firisti
mägär hâkim shudi bär takht nishästi.

عرقچیـــن سرت ترمه رشتـــي، خبر آمد که از طهـران گذشتي،
نه خود آئي نه پیغامي فرستي، مگر حاکم شدی بر تخت نشستي،

140. Khodum injä wu yârum dä Shikästä
arak dä kunje chashmäsh shishä bästä
Alohum kowme khishumun bämirä
ki yâre mu kujä wu ham Shikästä.

خودم اینجا و یارم در شکستـــه، عرق در کنج چشمش شیشه بستـه،
الهم قوم خویشـــانمـــان بمیرند، که یار من کجا و هم شکستـه،

---

[1] Homespun puttees, usually with a coloured stripe at the fringed edge.
[2] Probably instead of *pâytâwâsh. rä.*
[3] The last line apparently belongs to a different quatrain.

141. Khudum inja wu yårum däriwgål
arak da kunje chashmäsh dunäy når
Khudåwändå tu hawårä säyä gärdun
ki yårum jåhil äs näkärdä i kår.

خودم اینجـــا و یارم دراوگار، عرق در کنج چشمش دانهٔ نار،
خداوندا تو هوا را سایه گردان، که یارم جوان است نکردهٔ این کار،

142. Äz u bålå miyå chårshånä yårum
siyä chugha äz ashkät biqärår-um
siyä chugha biyå fikrumrä bar dår
ägär nä sar da kuhå mugzårum.

از آن بالا می آید چار شانه یارم، سیاه چوغه از عشقت بی قرارم،
سیاه چوغه بیا فکرم را بر دار، اگر نه سر در کوهها بگذارم،

143. Sare kuhe bälande panj panjäye shir
khabar uma ki yårum khurdä shämshir
piälärä pur kunum äz åwe änjil
bärizum jå bä jå bar zakhme shämshir.

سر کوه بلند پنج پنجهٔ شیـر، خبر آمد که یارم خورده شمشیر،
پیاله را پر کنم از آب انجیر، بریزم جا به جا بر زخم شمشیر،

144. Shäw tå bä sahar rugune gul sukhtäyum
tå parhanäke nåzäke tu dukhtäyum
tu mur guftäy di bekhya galat kärdä bi
khayåt nebiyum bä ishke del dukhtäyum.

شب تا به سحر روغن گل سوخته ام، تا پیراهنـک نازک تو دوختـه ام،
تو مرا گفتهٔ دو بخیه غلط کرده بود، خیاط نبودم به عشق دل دوخته ام،

145. Pisär ami kabåyat malla malla
badar ku tå bushurum da mahala
ägär åwe tu mahala'um näyåyä
bä åwe didä wu sahbune Makka.

پسر عمو قبایت مهله مهله، بدر کن تا بشویم در محله،
اگر آب به محله هم نیاید، به آب دیده و صابون مکه،

146. Pisar ami bä påyät sukhtum mu
kabåye äz mälåmat dukhtum mu
kabåye äz mälåmät ruye dowlat
bä båzåre qamat bäfrukhtum mu.

پسر عمو به پایت سوختـــم من، قبای از ملامت دوختـــم من،
قبـــای از ملامت روی دولت، به بازار غمـــت بفروختـــم من،

147. Pesar amu telâpushät kunum mu
näzâra bä sare dushät kunum mu
tu ki tâqate zän kürdän nädâshti
mesâle khar dii âgushät kunum mu.

بسر عمو طلا پوشت کنم من ، نظارهٔ به سر و دوشت کنم من ،
تو که طاقت زن کردن نداشتی ، مثال خر در آغوشت کنم من ،

148. Bälan bâlâ bäländirä tu däri
zäwune murge mâhirä tu däri
zäwune murge mâhi wu setârä
peshânäye pâdeshâhi tu däri.

بلند بالا بلندي را تو داري ، زبان مرغ و ماهي را تو داري ،
زبان مرغ ماهي و ستاره ، پيشانهٔ پادشاهي تو داري ،

2. *Poverty.*

149. Ziwistu wu täwistu khar nädârum
bä khunä mirâwum nämzä nädârum
miune jâhilu yäkä neshinum
nädârum nämzäyi man gussä dârum.

ز مستان و تابستان خر ندارم ، به خانه ميروم نامرد ندارم ،
ميان جوانان تنها نشينم ، ندارم نامردي من غصه دارم ،

150. Zämânäyi bi wäfâ muflisum kar
tulâ budum wärâwar bä misum kar
kabâyi now nädârum ki bopushum
kabâyi kona khâre mäjlisum kar.[1]

زمانهٔ بی وفا مفلسم کرد ، طلا بودم برابر به مسم کرد ،
قبای نو ندارم که بپوشم ، قبای کهنه خوار مجلسم کرد ،

151. Namadrä mikäshän bâlâye qâli
bä dästät midehän kelyune khâli
ki har kas i kelyurä châk kärdä
Elâhum dastäkunäsh[2] khushk gärdä.

نمد را میکشند بالای غالي ، به دستت میدهند قلیان خالي ،
که هرکس این قلیانرا چاک کرد ، الهم دستکانش خشک گردد ،

[1] Variants of this quatrain are given by V. Zhukovsky, Specimens, p. 241, and in my article, Zapiski, p. 52.
[2] Diminutive of contempt, cf. Nos. 54, 73 above.

152. Därakhte ärkäwu bäkandä bådá
jäwun khub-ä labäsh pur khandä bådä
jäwune ki nädârä mâle dinyâ
bämirä behtar äz (äs?) ki zindä bädä.

درخت ارغوان بکنده بادا، جوان خوب است لبش پر خنده بادا،
جوانی که ندارد مال دنیا، بمیرد بهتر است که زنده بادا،

153. Ajab rasmi-s rasmi ädämizâd
garib äftidärä käy mikunän yâd
garib äftidä misle murdä munäd
ki khâke murdärä käy mibärä bâd.

عجب رسمی است رسم آدمیزاد، غریب افتاده را کی میکنند یاد،
غریب افتاده مثل مرده ماند، که خاک مرده را کی میبرد باد،

154. Kalamrä sar kunum äz pämbä dunä
näwisum nâmäyi bobrän bä khunä
hamu mulâyi ki nâmärä bäkhunä
ki war darde delum hayru bämunä.[1]

قلم را سر کنم از پنبه دانه، نویسم نامهٔ ببرند به خانه،
همان ملای که نامه را بخواند، که بر درد دلم حیران بماند،

155. Deli mu bä chandin qam nedârä
zakhmum tâqate malham nedârä
bärâye zakhme mu pumbä kam âri
k'âtäsh dushmäni bä pumbä dârä.

دل من به چندین غم ندارد، زخم طاقت مرهم ندارد،
برای زخم من پنبه کم آرید، که آتش دشمنی با پنبه دارد،

156. Delum äz dude tämbâku siyâh äs
ägär bâwar nedâri näy gäwâh äs
ägär bâwar nedâri näyrä bäshkâf
dilum hamchi miune näy siyâh äs.

دلم از دود تنباکو سیاه است، اگر باور نداری نی گواه است،
اگر باور نداری نی را بشکاف، دلم همچو میان نی سیاه است،

[1] Variants of the same quatrain are given by Zhukovsky, Specimens, p. 222, and in my article (from the district of Turshiz), Zapiski, 1915, p. 47.

157. Bäzän näyrä ki qam dârä deli mu
bäzän näyrä ki dur äs manzeli mu
bäzän näyrä mäqâme näy negärdun
hamu taure mikhâa deli mu.[1]

بزن نې را كه غم دارد دل من، بزن نيرا كه دور است منزل من
بزن نې را مقام نې نگـــردان، همـان بهتر ميخـــواهد دل من

3. *Sickness.*

158. Sarum dard mukunä tâ hade gärdän
ajal muhlat bede da wakhte murdän
ajal muhlat bede ki nowjewân-um
miune nowjäwunun bi khânemân-um.

سرم درد ميكنـــد تا حـــد گردن، اجل مهلت بده در وقت مردن
اجل مهلت بده كه نوجوان ام، ميان نوجوانان بې خانمـان ام

159. Sarum dard mukna hâli nädârum
shudum bimâr u qamkhâr nädârum
durâziyi shâw äz bimâr pursän
mu ki bimâre shabhâye dirâz-um.[2]

ســرم درد ميكنـــد حالي ندارم، شدم بيمـــار و غمخـــوار ندارم
درازئ شب از بيمـار پرسـند، من كه بيمـــار شبهاى دراز ام

160. Sarum dard mukna hâli nädârum
khabar äz pire päygâmbar nädârum
khabar äz pire päygâmbar nechandun
ajal mibinum u bâwar nedârum.

ســرم درد ميكنـــد حالي ندارم، خبـــر از پيـــر و پيغامبـــر ندارم
خبر از پير و پيغامبـر نچندان، اجـل ميبينـــم و بـــاور نـــدارم

161. Chinu hâlum khärâb äs gär bädâni
jigar bandum käbâb äs gar bädâni
sare pule Selât u ruze nashar
qiyâmat' um hesâb äs gär bädâni.

چنان حالم خراب است گر بداني، جگر بندم كباب است گر بداني
ســر پول صـــراط و روز نشـــر، قيامت هم حساب است گر بداني

[1] This is one of the most widely known quatrains.
[2] A variant from Turshiz is given in my article, Zapiski, p. 4[illegible].

4. *Songs of camelmen.*

162. Nämâze shum ki da houze Kuli-y-um
säwâre luke zarde kâkuli-y-um
ägär mardum nämidunän bedânän
âshike dukhtare Hazrat-Kuli-y-um.

نماز شام که در حوض قلي ام، سوار لوک زرد کاکلي ام،
اگر مردم نميدانند بدانند، عاشق دختر حضرت قلي ام،

163. Bägar[1] pushta[1] räsidi bâr bändâz
[bä] dare har châdiri yak nâr bändâz
[b] dare har châdiri yak nâre shirin
bärâye dukhtare khâldâr bändâz.

بگرد پشته رسيدي بار بينداز، [به] در هر چادري يک نار بينداز،
[به] در هر چادري يک نار شيرين، براي دختر خالدار بينداز،

164. Shämâle bâd khub-ä bâd khub-ä
katâre lukrä râhe dur khub-ä
katâre luk u bârash kaushi Gurji
ki säwdâ bâ zane maqbul khub-ä.

شمال و باد خوب است باد خوب است، قطار لوک را راه دور خوب است،
قطار لوک و بارش کفش گرجي، که سودا با زن مقبول خوب است،

165. Shämâle dam bä dam âyäd ämshow
ajab buyi watan miyâyä ämshow
khabar bobrän bä nämzäde räshidum
ki yârät äz safar miyâyä ämshüw.

شمال دم به دم آيد امشب، عجب بوی وطن می آيد امشب،
خبر ببرند به نامزد رشيدم، که يارت از سفر می آيد امشب،

166. Näye kelyun bälän ku umadum mu
bärow khudrä kashan ku umadum mu
bärow jâye khudrä mästânä bändâz
hami ki nusfe shäw shu umadum mu.[2]

ني قليان بلند کن آمدم من، برو خود را قشنگ کن آمدم من،
برو جلی خود را مستانه بينداز، همان که نصف شب شد آمدم من،

[1] Foot-hill, or generally a small hill.
[2] A variant, from Turshiz, see Zapiski, p. 50.

167. Shabe shämbä äz Kermu bår kardum
se mänzilrä bä näzdi yår kardum
se mänzilrä åmadum yårä nädidum
nishastum güryäyi bisyår kardum.

شب شنبه از کرمان بار کردم ، سه منزلرا بنزد یار کردم ،
سه منزلرا آمدم یار را ندیدم ، نشستم گریهٔ بسیار کردم ،

168. Zimistu ki barf zikre bohår ku
bugu jåhil bä chan tu chårwådår ku (*sic*)
ägär jåhil bä chan åhe bär årä (*sic*)[1]
bäräw gudåyirä tu akhteyår ku.

زمستان که برف (است) ذکر بهار کن ،
بگو جاهل برای چه تو چارواداری کنی ،
اگر جاهل (ای) برای چه آه بر آری ،
برو گدائی را تو اختیار کن ،

169. Setåra sar zad u máh bä dimbål
Khudåyå kåfilä käy mikunä bår
Khudåyå kåfila yak shäw kunä lang
safar dä pish därum del wä dimbål.[2]

ستاره سر زد و ماه به دمبال ، خدایا قافله کی میکند بار ،
خدایا قافله یک شب کند لنگ ، سفر در پیش دارم دل بدمبال ،

170. Setåra sar zäd u mâh'um bä dimbål
Khudåyå piyarum käy mukna bår
Khudåyå piyarum imshäw bämunä
ki kårum balkum bäknä tämåm.

ستاره سر زد و ماه هم بدمبال ، خدایا پدرم کی میکند بار ،
خدایا پدرم امشب بماند ، که کارم بلکی هم بکند تمام ،

171. Shämåle båd äz i chahrä miyåyä
zi ruye kasre jununä miyåyä
jelowdårun jelowäshrä mägirid
bäråye mäne bichårä miyåyä.

شمال باد از این چهره می آید ، ز روی قصر جانانه می آید ،
جلوداران جلوش را مگیرید ، برلی من بیچاره می آید ،

---

[1] Cf. above, No. 54.

[2] This is one of the most popular quatrains all over Khorasan. Cf. also Zhukovsky, Materials, vol. i, p. 48 (No. 4), a variant from Zäfrä.

172. Buhâr uma ki mu maste buhâr-um
chi luke maste särdâre katâr-um
kamchi lukâ ki sad man bâr dârän
mune miskin feråqe yâr dârum.

بهار آمد که من مست بهار ام ، چو لوک مست سردار قطار ام ،
همچو لوکها که صد من بار دارند ، من مسکین فراق یار دارم ،

5. *Varia.*

173. Arakchine sarât dâdum bä naqqâsh
nämidânum Turk-i yâ Kizilbâsh
ägär Turk-i bä Turkistâne khud bâsh
Kizilbäsh-i biâ mehmûne mu bâsh.[1]

عرقچین سرت دادم به نقاش ، نمیدانم ترکی یا قزلباش ،
اگر ترکی به ترکستان خود باش ، قزلباشی بیا مهمان من باش ،

174. Ustâra dä âsmu belande bâlâ
si âläy-um yâr nedâdän märâ
Uzbäk bebrä kawne (*sic*) khishune märâ
urâ ki delum khâs nädâdän märâ.

ستاره در آسمان بلند و بالا ، سی ساله ام یار ندادند مرا ،
اوزبک ببرد قوم خویشان مرا ، آنرا که دلم خواست ندادند مرا ،

175. Bä dimbâlät biyâyum tâ bä Khiwâ
giriftâre tu-y-um äy zane biwä
Elâhe biwukuh yak yak bar uftä
ki gushe mur buridän[2] bä shiwä.

بدمبالت بیایم تا به خیوه ، گرفتار تو ام ای زن بیوه ،
الهی بیوقوف یک یک بر افتند ، که گوش مرا بردند به شیوه ،

176. Mäzinu war sare râhe Erâq äs
dile râyat berâye shâh kâbâb äs
khabar bobrä bä särdâre Nâdil-Shâh
ki kâre Sawzewâr amsâl kharâb äs.

مزینان بر سر راه عراق است ، دل رعایت برای شاه کباب است ،
خبر ببرند به سردار نادر شاه ، که کار سبزوار امسال خراب است ،

---

1 Zhukovsky, Materials, vol. i, p. 31, l. 11, a variant from Kâshâ.
2 *Gûsh buridan* means 'to deceive.'

177. Mashadrä jun Mashad wây täwun guf
Mashadrä jâyi Âghâ[1] mituwân guf
ägär äz daste Âghâyum näbâshä
Mashadrä kâfiristu mituân guf.

مشهد را جان مشهد وای توان گفت،
مشهد را جای آقا میتـــوان گفت،
اگـــر از دســت آقایـــم نبـــاشد،
مشهد را کافرستان میتـــوان گفت،

178. Mashad yâdät kunum diwânä gardum
bä dowre sundukät[2] pärwânä gardum
ägär Âghâ murâdumrä bär ârä
kalandarwâr da bäyrunä gardum.

مشهد یادت کنم دیوانه گردم، بدور صندوقت پروانـه گردم،
اگر آقـا مرادم را بـر آرد، قلنـــدر وار در ویرانه گردم،

179. Rabäte Zafäräni num därä
hazâre nuhsad u nuh[3] bum därä
räwâtäsh näguyä shahrüsh beguyä
ki dukhtarhâye khub bä num därä.

رباط زعفـــراني نـام دارد، هزار و نه صد و نه بام دارد،
رباطش نگویند شهرش بگویند، که دخترهای خوب با نام دارد،

180. Azizun châdire Kurtâ siyâh äs
zane bächäye Kurt mânändi mâh äs
ägär yak shäw bä Kurtestu bäkhâbum
beh äz sad sâle takhte pâdeshâh äs.

عزیزان چادر کردها سیـاه است، زن و بچـــهٔ کرد مانند ماه است،
اگر یک شب به کردستان بخوابم، به از صد سال تخت پادشاه است،

181. Nämâzi shum bä haylâqum räsâni
bä mâste shir u qaymâqum räsâni
bä mâste shir u qaymâqe neobandun
bä dukhtärhâye ustâqum räsâni.[4]

نماز شـام به بیلاقـــم رسانیـد، به ماست و شیر و قیماقم رسانید،
به ماست و شیر و قیماق نچندان، به دخترهای اسـتاقم رسانید،

[1] The popular name for Imām ʿAlī b. Mūsā ar-Riḍā, buried at Mashhad. [2] i.e. the shrine, or tomb.
[3] Probably for 999, obviously ironically, since there are not more than 50–60 houses, and apparently never were.
[4] Cf. a variant, Zapiski, p. 51.

182. Ajab rasmi'st i rasmi zämunä
ki gushkäsh åmädä bålåye khunä
Elåhum gushkäshu yak yak bär uftä
khabarrä mibäräη khunä bä khunä.

عجب رسمیست این رسم زمانه ، که گوشکش آمده بالای خانه ،
الم گوشکشان یک یک بر افتند ، خبر را میبرند خانه به خانه ،

183. Chunuηki miräwi ru bä Fädishä
täråshum mideyi bä zarbe tishä
täråshum mideyi kelyun bäsåzäη
ki åtäsh äz sarum suzäd hamishä.

چنانکه میروی رو به فدیشه ، تراشم میدهی به ضرب تیشه ،
تراشم میدهی قلیان بسازند ، که آتش از سرم سوزد همیشه ،

6. "*Begging for a kiss.*"[1]

184. Husäynå gär kushi gär mugzåri
näkärdum bi rizåyi tu hich kåri
beråye khåtere ruyi Husäynå
bädådum busäyi bä rähguzåri.

حسینا گر کشي گر میگذاری ، نکردم بی رضای تو هیچ کاري ،
برای خاطر روی حسینا ، بدادم بوسهٔ به راه گذاري ،

185. Ajab ajab dukhtare dårä nämädmål
ki khurshide jehunrä kärdä påmål
ägär mihre Ali bar sinä dåri
märä hamchi namad bär sinä mål.

عجب عجب دختری دارد نمد مال ، که خورشید جهانرا کرده پامال ،
اگر مهر علي بر سینه داري ، مرا همچو نمد بر سینه مال ،

186. (P.) Sarum bar dår sarbande sarät ku
dilum bushkåf chåke parhanät ku
ägär mehre Ali bär sinä dåri
murä yak shäw bä jåye showharät ku.

سرم بردار سربند سرت کن ، دلم بشکاف چاک پیراهنت کن ،
اگر مهر علي بر سینه داري ، مرا یک شب به جای شوهرت کن ،

[1] Begging for a kiss for religious motives, as an act of devotion, seems to be a survival of ancient customs and beliefs, perhaps ultimately connected with some pre-Muhammadan religious customs like "sacred prostitution."

187. (D.) Sarät bär dâr sarbande kharum ku
dilät bäshkâf pardäye kharum ku
ägär mihre Umar bär sinä dâri
sare rishä bä kune showharum ku.

سرت بر دار سر بند خرم کن ، دلت بشکاف پردهٔ خرم کن ،
اگر مهر عمر بر سینه داري ، سر ریشت به کون شوهرم کن ،

188. (P.) Dare khânat beyâyum bä gudâyi
lä sharte unki bä mâ ru nemâyi.
(D.) Churâghe ki miune khunä suzä
bäbiri käy dehäd u rushänâyi.

در خانه ات بیایم به گدائي ، به شرط آنکه به ما رو نمائي ،
چراغي که میان خانه سوزد ، به بیرون کی دهد او روشنائي ،

189. Di tâ dukhtar där i khunä bädidum
bä yak gurdäyi bä unâ räsidum
buguftum dukhtarak panj bus bä mu te
bäguf äy källä khor[1] ki tur nädidum.

دو تا دختر در این خانه بدیدم ، به یک گردهٔ به آنها رسیدم ،
بگفتم دخترک پنج بوس به من ده ، بگفت ای کله خور که ترا ندیدم ،

190. Alâ dukhtar ki hamsâyä shumâ-y-um
bedey panj bus ki mu äz tu rezâ-y-um
bedey panj bus u ruyäträ mägardun
Khudâ dânä ki färdâ shaw kujâ-y-um.

الا دختر که همسایهٔ شما ام ، بده پنج بوس که من از تو رضا ام ،
بده پنج بوس و رویت را مگردان ، خدا داند که فردا شب کجا ام ،

191. (P.) Alâ dukhtar da bume shumâ-y-um
kunum pärwâze bä khunäyi shumâ-y-um
bedey panj bus u riyäträ negardun
Khudâ dânä ki färdâ shaw kujâ-y-um.

الا دختر در بام شما ام ، کنم پرواز به خانهٔ شما ام ،
بده پنج بوس و رویت را نگردان ، خدا داند که فردا شب کجا ام ،

[1] i.e., a beggar, a man who lives on the parts of the slaughtered animals, like heads, which are disliked by better classes.

192. (D.) Kabâye tärtäräni da bärät ku
kulâhe barrägirä da sarät ku
tu ki war mäniyi harfät näkhurdi
zäbunäträ bä kusa mâdärät ku.

قبـــای نوتراننـــی در برت کن، کـــلاه برّکـــي را در سرت کن،
تو که بر معنيِ حرفت نخوردي، زبانت را به کـــس مادرت کن،

7. *Poems of Husaynā.*

193. Husäynâ äz injâ muknum bâr
Sefâhun muruwum tâ semâte Lâr
Sefâhun muruwum injâ nemustum
miyune duste dushmän ġashtäyum khâr.

حسینـــا از اینجـــا میکنـــم بار، اصفهـــان میروم تا سمـــات لار،
میان دوست و دشمن گشته ام خوار، اصفهان میـــروم اینجا نمي ایستم،

194. Husäynâ khordänät bulghur bâdâ
tanc bighayräti dä gur bâdâ
zämine hamägi yak shur di shur[1]
zämine mâ nâshur nâshur (bâdâ).

حسینا خوردنت بلغـــور بادا، تن بیغیـــرتي در گور بادا،
زمین همگي یک شور دو شور، زمین ما ناشور نا شور بادا،

195. Alâ dukhtar bas hilä nämidi
Husäynâr kudake nâdun bädidi
labe pâin bä dändunât kabul-ä
labe bâlâ bä dändun käy gäzidi.

الا دختـــر بس حیله نمیـــدهی، حسینـــا را کودک نادان بدیدی،
لب پائین به دندانها ات قبول است، لب بالا بـــه دندان کی گزیدی،

196. Husäynâ guf bä kuye Chil-Mäzâr-um
miyune bâgh u gulhâ lâläzâr-um
äz u gulhâ bächinum dastä dastä
äz u gulhâ näyâyä buye yârum.

حسینا گفت به کوه چهل مزار ام، میان بـــاغ و کلها لاله زار ام،
از آن گلها بچینـــم دسته دسته، از آن گلهـــا نیـــاید بوی یارم،

[1] i.e., one or two saline spots.

IV. Expanded Quatrains, on Different Subjects.

197. Sarät gardum äz därchâ bädar bi
muyä gardum halkäsh tâ kamar bi
sarät gardum sar-sar mikuni yâr
mesâle barrä war-war mikuni yâr
mesâle barräyi shir-khur u shir-mast
har dam yâde mâdär mikuni yâr.

سرت گردم از درچپا بدر بود ، مویت گردم حلقش تا کمر بود ،
سرت گردم سر سر میکني یار ، مثال برۀ ورور میکنـــي یار ،
مثال برۀ شیر خور و شیر مست ، هر دم یاد مادر میکنـــي یار ،

198. Gilä da käl u mu dä pushte kâl-um
gilä charkh muzna mu bikärâr-um
gilärä täw bete bar jâye dinä
zänum zânu bä zânuyi Säkinä
gilärä täw bete bä jâye ha ruz
zunum zânu bä zânuyi Gulfäruz.

گله در رود خانه و من در پشت رود خانه ام ،
گله چـــرخ میـــزند من بی قـــرارم ،
گله را تاب بدهـــم بـــر جای دینـــه ،
زنـــم زانـــو بـــه زانـــوی سکینـــه ،
گله را تاب بدهـــم به جای هـــر روز ،
زنـــم زانـــو بـــه زانـــوی گلفـــروز ،

199. (Gurg uma wu räsi bä chopu) :
(G.) Siyâhi shäw âyum dä bare mard
bägirum barräyi äz marde nämard.
(Ch.) Surâghät midehum sange pelakhmun
ki war sinät khurä chun tire pärun.
(G.) Khudät pir-i saket dändu nädärä
häy-häy kärdänät färmu nädärä.
(Ch.) Chini häybat zunum wä riye pushtä...
(G.) nädâni ka sakäträ bukushtä...
(Ch.) chini häybat zunum war sake numdâr...
(G.) gulishä mu bägirum dä taho kâl.

(گرگ آمد و رسید به چوپان) :—

سیـــاهي شب آیـــم در بر مرد ، بگیـــرم بـــرۀ از مـــنزد نامـــرد ،
جوابت میدهـــم سنگ پلخمـــان ، که بر سینه ات خورد چون تیر پران ،
خودت پیری سگت دندان ندارد ، هی هی کردنت فرمـــان ندارد ،
چنین هیبت زنم به روی پشته ، ندانـــي که سگـــت را بکشتـــه ،
چنین هیبت زنم بر سگ نامدار ، گلوش را من بگیرم در ته رود خانه ،

200. Alâ dukhtar ki dastät da khamir-ä
ashârät ku ki sak tu mu nägirä
ki yâre mu nishastä da bâlâyc juy
gule äz âw giriftä mikäshä buy
gule äz âw giriftä buyi nädârä
khudum gul mibâshum yârum ki shabbuy.

الا دختر که دستت در خمیر است ، اشارت کن که سگ تو مرا نگیرد ،
که یار من نشسته در بالای جوی ، گل از آب گرفته میکشد بوی
گل از آب گرفته بوی ندارد ، خودم گل میباشم یارم که شب بوی ،

201. Arakchine sarät dä bukchä därum
bä Nowruz-gâh mirim u gusä därum
bä Nowruz gâh miri zide biyâyi
aqallan yak sawkât biyâri
aqallan chizi sawkât nebâshä
aqallan ruye shalwâr beyâri
aqallan ruye shalwâr nebâshä
khabar äz marge piyar u mârät biyâri.

عرقچین سرت در بغچه دارم ، به نوروز گاه میروم و غصه دارم ،
به نوروز گاه میروي زود بیای ، اقلاً یک سوقات بیاري ،
اقلاً چیزی سوقات نباشد ، اقلاً روی شلوار بیاري ،
اقلاً روی شلوار نباشد ، خبر از مرگ پدر و مادرت بیاري ،

202. Muhamad guf kafshät khâ'um âwurd
jurâwe pashmi sawzät khâ'um âwurd
jurâwe pashme sawzât wu kafshi Gurji
ki har che del bäkhâ'a khâ'um âwurd.
Halây halây halây Gulchehrä Bânu
Shilitât[1] kirmizi tâ pushte zânu.

محمد گفت کفشت خواهم آورد ، جراب پشم سبزت خواهم آورد ،
جراب پشم سبز و کفش گرجي ، که هر چه دل بخواهد خواهم آورد ،
هلای هلای هلای گلچهره بانو ،
شیلیت قرمز است تا پشت زانو ،

B. Songs of different metres.

I. LULLABIES.

203. Se tâ giläyi buz däräm
se tâ chupune duz däräm
se tâ giläyi mish däräm
se tâ chupune khish däräm

[1] A sort of female dress, a coat without sleeves.

se tâ gilâyi gâw dâräm
se tâ chupu da khâw dâräm
turä dâräm chi gham dâräm
se tâ kutâre luk dâräm
se tâ chupune khub dâräm
tärä dâräm chi gham dâräm.

سه تا گلهٔ بوز دارم، سه تا چوپان دزد دارم،
سه تا گلهٔ میش دارم، سه تا چوپان خویش دارم،
سه تا گلهٔ گاو دارم، سه تا چوپان در خواب دارم،
ترا دارم چه غم دارم،
سه تا قطار لوک دارم، سه ته چوپان خوب دارم،
ترا دارم چه غم دارم،

204. Lâlâ lâlâ gule bâdyu
säwâr rafti kurä mâdyu
dar en mäydu dâdi jowlu
beyâ nâzâk mu-guli mu
beyâ kharmune guli mu.
Lâlâ lâlâ gule khâshkhâsh
murä bogzâr bebar befrush
bä yak mä nun u si sir gush
bokhur bia benshi khâmush.
Lâlâ lâlâ lâlâsh näkni
sädâ näkni bâbâsh näyâ
lâlâ lâlâyi gush da gush
äy nänä ju benshi khâmush.
Lâlâ lâlâ gule zirä
chirâ khâbät nämigirä
chirâ khâbe safar girä
ki mârät dardi sär girä

لالا لالا گل بادیان، سوار رفتی کرهٔ مادیان،
درین میدان دادی جولان، بیا نازک مو گل من،
بیا خرمن گل من،
لالا لا گل خشخاش، مرا بگذار ببر بفروش،
به یک من نان و سی سیر گوشت، بخور بیا بنشین خاموش،
لالا لالا لالاش نکنید، صدا نکنید باباش نیاید،
لالا لالای گوش در گوش، ای ننه جان بنشین خاموش،
لالا لالا گل زیره، چرا خوابت نمیگیرد،
چرا خواب سفر گیرد، که مادرت درد سر گیرد،

205. Lâlâ lâlâ däri bägh-ä
särät zulfe pare zâgh-ä
biâ nâziik mu-guli mu
biâ kharmune guli mu.

لالا لالا در بـاغ است، سرت زلف پرزاغ است،
بیـــا نازک موگل من، بیـــا خرمن گل من،

206. Räsidum śare di râyi
Khudâwändâ Tu âgäh-i
där i râh yâ där u râh-ä
beyâ nâzak mu-guli mu
beyâ kharmune guli mu.

رسیـــدم سر دو راهي، خداوندا تـو آگهـــي،
در این راه یا در آن راه است،
بیـــا نازک موگل من، بیـــا خرمن گل من،

207. Lâlâ lâlâ gule gändum
aspe tir kujä bändum
miyunäyi jäw u gändum.

لالا لالا گـــل گنـــدم، اسپ ترا کجـــا بندم،
میانهٔ جو و گنـدم،

II. Wedding songs, play songs, etc.

208. U chunguke murge mâ—u mikrâze khayâtâ budä—
näbudum unjâ
u damâghe murge mâ—u didkäshe hambunâ budä—
näbudum unjâ
u murgake mâ shaghâl burdä—taksire hamsâdâ
budä—näbudum unjâ
u kâkule murge mâ—u châdire khânemâ budä—
näbudum unjâ

u gärdäne murge mâ—u kämune halâjâ budä—
näbudum unjâ.
u bâläye murge mâ—u bâdzäne âghâbâ budä—
näbudum unjâ
Yâr murgake mâ shakâl burdä—u taksire hamsâdâ
budä—näbudum unjâ
u päruyi murge mâ—u belishte bebihâ budä—näbudum
unjâ
u pustake murge mâ—u abâyi âkhundâ budä—
näbudum unjâ

u pâhâye murge mâ—u chârshâkhe dchkunâ budâ—nâbudum unjâ
u rodâye murge mâ—u mândile âkhundâ budâ—nâbudum unjâ
Yâr murgake mâ shaqâl burdâ—i taqsire hamsâdâ budâ—nâbudum unjâ
u jigare murge mâ—u pishâware nukârâ budâ—nâbudum unjâ
u chindune murge mâ—u sufrayi ushturâ budâ—nâbudum unjâ

u dumbake murge mâ—u jeriye arisâ budâ—nâbudum unjâ
u junâhâye murge mâ—u shunâye pirnârdâ budâ—nâbudum unjâ
u tukhmâyi murge mâ—u lukmâye pirzânâ budâ—nâbudum unjâ
u guhake murge mâ—u dawâye chashkurâ budâ—nâbudum unjâ
Yâr murgake mâ shaqâl burdâ—i takhsire hamsâdâ budâ—nâbudum unjâ.[1]

۱ آن چنگک مرغ ما - آن مقراض خیاطها بودهٔ - نبودم آنجا،
آن دماغ مرغ ما - آن دودکش حمامها بودهٔ - نبودم آنجا،
آن مرغک ما شغال بردهٔ - تقصیر همسایها بودهٔ - نبودم آنجا،
آن کاکل مرغ ما - آن چادر خانمها بودهٔ - نبودم آنجا،
۵ آن گردن مرغ ما - آن کمان حلاجها بودهٔ - نبودم آنجا،
آن بالهای مرغ ما - آن بادزن آقاها بودهٔ - نبودم آنجا،
یار مرغک ما شغال بردهٔ - آن تقصیر همسایها بودهٔ - نبودم آنجا،
آن پران مرغ ما - آن بالین بیبی ها بودهٔ - نبودم آنجا،
آن پوستک مرغ ما - آن عبای آخوندها بودهٔ - نبودم آنجا،
۱۰ آن پاهای مرغ ما - آن چار شاخ دهقانها بودهٔ - نبودم آنجا،
آن رودهای مرغ ما - آن مندیل آخوندها بودهٔ - نبودم آنجا،
یار مرغک ما شغال بردهٔ - این تقصیر همسایها بودهٔ - نبودم آنجا،

[1] This song exists, in different variants, in many parts of Persia. Cf. a fragment which is given in A. Chodzko's Grammaire Persane, 1852, p. 87 (from Gilan):

همان مرغک من خوراک مولاها بود، همان چشمک مرغکم آینهٔ عروسها بود،

The idea of the song obviously is bewailing the departure of the bride, who has been 'stolen' from the house.

آن جگر مرغ ما - آن پیش آور نوکرها بوده - نبودم آنجا،
آن چیندان مرغ ما - آن سفرهٔ شترها بوده - نبودم آنجا،
آن دنبک مرغ ما - آن جاروب عروسها بوده - نبودم آنجا،
آن جناحهٔ مرغ ما - آن شانهٔ پیر مردها بوده - نبودم آنجا،
آن تخمهای مرغ ما - آن لقمهٔ پیر زنها بوده - نبودم آنجا،
آن گهک مرغ ما - آن دوای چشم کورها بوده - نبودم آنجا،
یار مرغک ما شغال برده - این تقصیر همسایها بوده - نبودم آنجا،

209. Kaftâri bi kaftâri bi
kaftâri jijä dâri bi
Ali Murâde pambäzan
âtesh girif hä pumbähâsh
gurbä räsi bä charbiyâsh
mâre pirä war jähi
guze äz kunäsh dar jähi.

کبتری بود کبتری بود، کبتر جوجه داری بود،
علی مراد پنبه زن،
آتش گرفت به پنبه هاش، کربه رسید به چربیهاش،
مادر پیرش برجهید، گوزی از کونش در جهید،

210. Oy Khudâ ju nâr-ä nimras nâr-ä nimras
ki yâre mu giriftän zurum äz das.[1]

ای خدا جان نار است نمیرس نار است نمیرس،
که یار ما گرفتند به ظلم از دست،

211. Imru Nowruz-ä khânum
färdâ Nowruz-ä khânum
piyâläye mäyrä pur ku (khânum)
dunyâ panj ruz-ä khânum.

امروز نوروز است خانم، فردا نوروز است خانم،
پیالهٔ می را پر کن خانم، دنیا پنج روز است خانم،

[1] This and the preceding songs are also bewailing the bride, and are probably only small fragments.

212. **Maskä u mâs kärdä äz shir-ä**
mu ki rishe safit shu pir-ä
yak zane bä Nishâpir bezâyä
wa khabar pisar därä yâ dukhtar.[1]

مسکه و ماست کرده از شیر است، من که ریش سفید شد پیر ام،
یک زني به نیشا پور بزاید، با خبر پسر دارد یا دختر،

213. **Dukhtärâ sar dast esfan mukunä**
da dahane jâhilâ gan mukunä
ku chunu yak jâhele mastânäye
tâ kunä äz bahre mu jununäye.

دخترها سر دست اسفند میکنند، در دهان جاهلها خنده میکنند،
کو چنان یک جاهلي مستانهٔ، تا کند از بهر ما جانانهٔ،

214. **Dukhtärâ kärdän äz jâhel altimâs**
husne riyumrä bewi khurshido khâs
säbzä u shiri jununä
tu mast-i u mâ diwânä.

دخترها کردند از جاهل التماس، حسن رویم را ببین خورشید خاص،
سبزه و شیرین جانانه، تو مستی و ما دیوانه،

215. **Läylâ Läylâve hänâban**
khodät dä kuhe Alwan
särä da pishe mu ban.

Läylâ mârâ bâlâ de
busähâr shemärä de
zilfe khor käsâlä de
sarwe kharâmun
ru bä biâbun.

لیلا لیلای حنابند، خودت در کوه الوند،
سرت در پیش ما بند،
لیلا ما را بالا ده، بوسها را شمارده،
زلف خود را کساله ده،
سرو خرامان، رو به بیابان،

[1] This song is used as a riddle, in a play. It is often offered by a crowd of girls to another crowd of lads.

III. Songs of Different Subjects.

1. *Rustic motives.*

216. Da hawâläyi khud hâsil kâshtum
äz margi kharum khabar nädâshtum
i khar näbi khar khezun bi
i tukhme khare Mâzändärân bi
i khar näbi bärârum bi
farzande azize akbarum bi
unjä ki khare mu râh miraf
khiyâl kärdi ki Nâdil shâh miraf
unjä ki khare mu shâsh mikär
khiyâl kärdi ki nâkhud wä âsh mikär
raftum wä täbila jâ'ät khâli
pâlune tu mundä bä yâdgâri
khare mu khare pire mu
tu cherâ bemurdi.

در حوالای خود حاصل کاشتم، از مرگ خرم خبر نداشتم،
این خر نبود خر خزان بود، این تخم خر ما زندران بود،
ایـن خـر نبـود برادرم بود، فـرزنـد عزیـز اکبـرم بـود،
آنجا که خر ما راه میرفت، خیال کردی که نادر شاه میرفت،
آنجا که خر ما شاش میکرد، خیال کردی که نا خود به آش میکرد،
رفتم بطویلـه جـا اتْ خالي، پـالان تـو مانـده به یادگاری،
خر ما خر بیـر ما، تـو چـرا بمـردی،

2. *Songs of camelmen.*

217. Äbruye kämände usinä dâr—injä nämimânum
bogzâr bewinä chârwâdâr—injä nämimânum
sirat säfide surkhä dâr—injä nämimânum
bogzâr bobusä chârwâdâr—injä nämimânum
sinäye säfide dukinädâr—injä nämimânum
bogzâr bä mäyle chârwâdâr—injä nämimânum
dästâye kuchake hänädâr—injä nämimânum
bogzâr begirä chârwädâr—injä nämimânum
pâhâye kuchake hänädâr—injä nämimânum
bogzâr war dävä chärwâdâr—yak shawe miymân-um
kusak säfide dowredâr—yak shawe mihmân-um
bogzâr borufä chârwâdâr—yak shaw u ru miymân um.[1]

[1] Cf. D. C. Phillott, Persian Lullabies, etc., J.A.S.B. II, 1906, pp. 42-45, where a song of a similar type is given.

ابروی کمنـــد وسمـــه دار - اینجـا نمیمانم ،
بگـــذار ببینـــد چـاروادار - اینجـا نمیمانم ،
صورت سفیـــد و سرخه دار - اینجـا نمیمانم ،
بگـــذار ببـــوسد چـاروادار - اینجـا نمیمانم ،
سینـــهٔ سفیـــد و دکمه دار - اینجـا نمیمانم ،
بگـــذار بمیـــل چـــاروادار - اینجـا نمیمانم ،
دستهـــای کوچک حنـــا دار - اینجـا نمیمانم ،
بگـــذار بگیـــرد چـــاروادار - اینجـا نمیمانم ،
پاهـای کوچـک حنـــا دار - اینجـا نمیمانم ،
بگـــذار بـردارد چـــاروادار - یک شبی مهمانم ،
کـــک سفیـــد و دوره دار - یک شبی مهمانم ،
بگذار بروند چاروادار - یک شب و یک روز مهمانم ،

218. U sar i sar bâzâr—injä nämimânum
luke sivâve sar katâr—injä nämimânum
chârkate[1] qors u puta dâr—injä nämimânum
wâsat bäkharä chârwâdâr—injä nämimânum
kafshâve sauze pishnâdâr[2]—injä nämimânum
wâsat bäkharä chârwâdâr—injä nämimânum...

آن سر این ســـر بازار - اینجـا نمیمانم ،
لوک میـــاه سر قطـــار - اینجـا نمیمانم ،
چارقت قرص و بوته دار - اینجـا نمیمانم ،
واسطه ات بخرد چاروا دار - اینجـا نمیمانم ،
کفشهای سبز پاشنه دار - اینجـا نمیمانم ،
واسطه ات بخرد چاروا دار - اینجـا نمیمانم ،

[1] Head kerchief, used by peasant women. It is a square, about two feet each side, of white or blue colour, and is fixed on the head with the help of a tie, called *kâ'iska*. Formerly the latter were often embroidered with gold and silver, silk, etc.

[2] *Pâshnâ* usually is a bone heel piece, set into the slipper, often bearing a peculiar ornament of brass nails.

3. *Parody of literary poetry.*

219. Bä häzârun dâde khelân dâde âh
lâkepusht burdä näzde pâdeshâh
pâdeshâ guftä ki un bâshäd adas
i yake guftä hamhun-ä wu bas
bä häzârun dâde khile dâde zil
lâkepusht burdän bä pishe wäzil
wäzirak guf ki i kiylâni-y-ä[1]
i yake guftä ziräyi Kermuni-y-ä.

با هزاران داد و قیل و داد و آه، لاکپشت بردند نزد پادشاه،
پادشاه گفته که آن باشد عدس، این یکی گفته حمام است و بس،
با هزاران داد و قیل و داد زور، لاکپشت بردند پیش وزیر،
وزیرک گفت که این کیلانی است، این یکی گفته زیرۀ کرمانی است،

220. Dä mine bâghu dä tarfe chaman
bulbule bä jufte khu guf i sukhan
mâ zä zämânäye zimistu jästäyum
del bä umide Khudâwand bästäyum
da dahâne bulbulak bu i sukhan
bâshäqi chu dar rubud i dar dahan
dar dahâne bâshäka[2] guf bulbulak
umerhâ kutäh umidâ belan.

درمیـــان باغان در طرف چمن، بلبلی به جفت خود گفت این سخن،
ما ز زمانۀ زمستان جسته ایم، دل به امید خداوند بسته ایم،
در دهان بلبلک بود این سخن، باشقی چون در ربود او را در دهن،
در دهان باشق گفت بلبلک، عمرها کتاه امیدها بلند،

C. *Dramatic pieces (shab-bāzi).*

221. Äz kuji miyi nänä ?—Äz âsyâm mium nänä.—Keylu mekshi nänä ?—Sinä nädârum nänä.—Nune mukhri nänä ?—Dändu nädârum nänä.—Aris'um miri nänä? —Akhtevâr däri färzänd.—Zäne mellâ nämishi ?—Bale nämishum.—Wallâ bishi billâ bishi kur'am mishi.—Kâre ki mulâ muknä väklârâ dilâ muknä.—Zane kâzi nämishi ?—Bale nämishum.—Wallâ bishi billâ bishi kur'am mishi.—Kâre ki kâzi muknä hamärä râzi muknä.—Zane tupchi nämishi ?—Bali nämishum.—Wellâ bishi billâ bishi kur'am mishi.—Kâre ki tupchi mukunä däräshrä kulukh-chi mukunä.

[1] A meaningless expression. [2] This *a* must be simply euphonical.

از کجا می آئی ننه - از آسیاب می‌آیم ننه - قلیان میکشی ننه - سینه ندارم‌ننه - نان میخوری ننه - دندان ندارم ننه - عروس هم میشوی ننه - اختیار داری فرزند - زن ملا نمیشوی - بلی نمیشوم - و الله بشوی بالله بشوی - کور هم میشوی - کاری که ملا میکند یک لا را دو لا میکند - زن قاضی نمیشوی - بلی نمیشوم - و الله بشوی بالله بشوی کور هم میشوی - کاری که قاضی میکند همه را راضی میکند - زن طوپچی نمیشوی - بلی نمیشوم - والله بشوی بالله بشوی کور هم میشوی - کاری که طوپچی میکند درش را کلوخچین میکند ،

222. Raftum däre khunä—diyum khânum junä—chäsh-munäsh garyun-ä—guftum khânum jâna—chirä chäshmunät gäryân-ä ?—Guf äy mard ârt nis dä ämbunä.—Mard raf gandum kar miune ämbunä—raf âsyâye yak dändunä—guf âsyâye âsyäwun.—Guf bale belunä ?—Guf äz i gandum chan muz migiri chan shâgirdânä ?—Guf nusfäye khäki nusfäsh pâki har che mun shâgirdânä.—Guf Khudâ piyarät biyâmurzä—chish bobrem wâstâyi khânum jânä ?—Ämbunä ändâkh tuy shânä—raf âsyâye du dändunä—guf âsyâye âsyâwun.—Guf bale belânä ?—Guf äz i gandume mu chandäsh muz migiri chandäsh shâgirdânä ?—Guf nusfäsh khâki nusfäsh pâki har che mun shâgirdunä.—Guf dayus u kurum sâq che bobrum wâsteyi khânum jânä ?—Ämbunä ändâkh tu shunä—raf âsyâye se dändunä—ârde kar mesâle pämbedunä—ârte ändâkh ruy shunä.—uma da bâlâ khunä—di ki Abdurahmân bâ khânum jânä—dä baghale tange ham khâbidä.—Guf mu ägär lakad muznum unâ zitar mitäpunä.—Uma wu nâle kafshe Abdurahmane bâ khânum jânä war kand—uma wu raf hä shahre furukh dâd bä mimiz.—Uma bä khunäsh guf—arisak mälâlät näbâsha—chizake bä khiyâlät näbâshä—amshaw falakät meshkinä—kâfar bä hâlät nerässä.

رفتم در خانه - دیدم خانم جانه - چشمانش گریان است - گفتم خانم جانه - چرا چشمانت گریان است - گفت ای مرد آرد نیست در انبانک ، مرد رفت گندم کرد میان انبانک - رفت آسیاب یک دندانه - گفت آسیاب و آسیا بیان - گفت بلی بلانه - گفت از این گندم چند مرد میگیری چند شاگردانه -

گفت نصف خاکي نصفش پاکي هرچه ماند شاگردانه - گفت خدا پدرت بیامرزد - چه اش ببرم واسطهٔ خانم جانه - انبانک انداخت توی شانه - رفت آسیاب دو دندانه - گفت آسیاب و آسیاب بان - گفت بلی بلانه - گفت از این گندم من چندش مزد میگری چندش شاگردانه - گفت نصفش خاکي نصفش پاکي هرچه ماند شاگردانه - گفت دایوس و کرمساق چه ببرم واسطهٔ خانم جانه - انبانک انداخت تو شانه - رفت آسیاب سه دندانه - آرد کرد مثال تخم پنبه - آرد انداخت روی شانه - آمد در بالا خانه - دید که عبد الرحمان با خانم جانه - در بغل تنگ هم خوابیده - ... آمد و نعل کفش عبد الرحمان با خانم جانه بر کند - آمد و رفت به شهر فروخت داد به موبز - آمد به خانه اش گفت - عروسک ملالت نباشد - چیزک بخیالت نباشد - امشب فلکت میشکند - کافر بحالت نرسد ؛

223. Raf da sare mäydu—kudum mäydu ?—hamu mäydu—sabze mäydu—ki Hasu baqâli dârä—ki Husäyn bäzzâzi dârä—ki Ahmad allâfi dârä.—Däre khunä mu Bâlâkhiâbun-ä—kälir mikhi tu äywun-ä—isme nänäm Zäräfshun-ä—isme bâjiyum Khânum jân-ä.

رفت در سر میدان - کدام میدان - همان میدان - سبزه میدان - که حسن بقالی دارد - که حسین برازی دارد - که احمد علافي دارد - در خانهٔ من (در) بالا خیابان است - کلید میخواهي در ایران است - اسم ننه ام زرافشان است - اسم خواهرم خانم جان است ؛

224. Raftum khunäye nuri[1]—kudum nuri—hamu nuri.—Arak âwur nushidum—lahâf âwur khâbidum—jändä âwur gäyidum—sämâwâr âwur pâsh nishastum—pistä âwur shikastum—panj timân khâs nädâshtum—panj häzâr[2] khâs nädâshtum—yak kerun khâs nädâshtum—nim kerun khâs nädâshtum—ängushte kunum kar birunum kar.—Amâne äz daste nuri—amân äz sinä buluri.

رفتم خانهٔ نوري - کدام نوري - همان نوري - عرق آورد نوشیدم - لحاف آورد خوابیدم - جنده آورد گائیدم -

[1] *Nûri*=barber. [2] *i.e.* 5 *qrâns* (each *qrân* contains 1000 *dînârs*).

سماوار آورد پا اش نشستم - پسته آورد شکستم - پنج تومان
خ است نداشتم - پنج هزار خواست نداشتم - یک قران خواست
نداشتم - نیم قران خواست نداشتم - انگشتي در کونم کرد بیرونم
کرد امان از دست نوري - امان از سینه بلوري ؛

225. Män täryåqiy-um mäyle bä ängur nädårum—därum hawâye kharbezä wu pul nädårum—Bärâw kharbezä bästun—zä dar darwâzäy bästun—äz un jâhilake maqbulake näwtâzä bästun.—Wakhte ki wâstun âwur guf bad äs pasäsh bede—pule märâ bästun—ägär pule wânämästuni—arak näbu furush kuni—hizum näbi âtäsh kuni—dukhtar näbi ki war däri—bugzâri mâchâsh[1] kuni.

من طریاقي ام میلی به انگور ندارم - دارم هوای خربزه
و پول ندارم - برو خربزه بستان - ز در دروازه بستان - از آن
جاهلک مقبولک نو تازه بستان - وقتي که بستاند آورد گفت بد
است پس اش بده - پول مرا بستان - اگر پول وا نمیستاني - عرق
نبود بفروش - هیزم نبود اتش کن - دختر نبود که بر داري -
بگذار ماچش کن ؛

D. Story in prose and popular quatrains.

The story of Arif or Aruf (عارف) a hero, who falls in love with a king's daughter. The quatrains chiefly embody the dialogues between Aruf and the princess. Or Aruf addresses in them his horse :

226. Aruf Aruf bä chi kår åmädä-y-i
teshnä shedä-y-i yå bä shikår åmädä-y-i ?
Nä teshnä shedä-y-um nä bä shikår åmädä-y-um
åshik shidä-y-um didäni yår åmädä-y-um.

عارف عارف بـه چـه کار آمدهٔ ؛ تشنه شدهٔ یا به شکار آمـدهٔ ؛
نه تشنه شده ام نه به شکار آمده ام ؛ عاشق شده ام دیدن یار آمده ام ؛

227. Hålå aspe saman yulgår yulgår[2]
lujumät nukrä wu tange tu bulghår
hålå aspe saman yålät beland-ä
bäräw äy asup dä mänzile yår.

عالا اسپ سمنـد یرغـه یرغـه ؛ لجامت نقره و تنـگ تو بلغار ؛
عالا اسپ سمند یالت بلند است ؛ بـرو ای اسپ در منـزل یار ؛

[1] *Mdch kardan* is the same as the literary *bûsîdan*, to kiss. [2] Ambler.

228. Halâ aspe saman yâlät bänâzum
bäräye gärdanät touqe bäsâzum
ägär touqä pärä räwä
khudum ustâ ruwum äz now bäsâzum.

هلا اسپ سمند یالت بنازم ، برای گردنت طوقی بسازم ،
اگر طوقت پاره شود ، خودم استاد شوم از تو بسازم

229. Halâ aspe saman yulghâr yulghâr
lujumat nukrä wu tauge tu bulghâr
nämâze shum märä bä yâr räsâni
tu jäw beshki mu bus äz lawe yâr.

هلا اسپ سمند یرغه یرغه ، لجامت نقره و تنگ تو بلغار ،
نماز شام مرا به یار برسان ، تو جو بشکني من بوس از لب یار ،

230. Arif ki tu-y-i Arif junum ki tu-y-i
shäw âmädä-y-i mu chi dânum ki tu-y-i.

عارف که توئي عارف جانم که توئي ، شب آمدهٔ من چو دانم که توئي ،

231. Gär marg nädehäd Khudâyi khud bugzârum
panj ruze digar zi pâm band bär dârum
imshäw ki hawâ mesâle chäshmune man-ä
färdâ ki shäwäd shâh be farmune man-ä.
(ämshäw ki hawâ mesâle chashmune man-ä
färdâ ki shäwäd rukhsate shâhe man-ä).[1]

گر مرگ ندهد خدای خود بگذارم ،
پنج روز دیگر ز پایم بند بر دارم ،
امشب که هوا مثال چشمان من است ،
فردا که شود شاه به فرمان من است ،
(امشب که هوا مثال چشمان من است ،
فردا که شود رخصت شاه من است) ،

232. Arif Arif delät zi mu sir shudä
ängushte mui fakir dare zir shudä.

عارف عارف دلت ز من سیر شده ، انگشت من فقیر در و زیر شده ،

[1] The last two lines are intentionally changed in the narrative.

233. Arif Arif ki piâlä nush näku
äz kärdä gunâye khu färâmush näku
khu dâni ki dushmänät bisyâr-ä
da sâyä fil khâwe khargush näku.[1]

عارف عارف که پیاله نوش نکن، از کرده گناه خود فراموش نکن،
خود داني که دشمنت بسیار است، در سایهٔ فیل خواب خرگوش نکن،

E. Topical songs.

234. A topical song dealing with the hardships of the famine of 1897, said to have been composed by a Sabzawari woman:

کل دنیا د شور و نشور امیه خله،
مگي قحطی به خراسو به ظهور امیه خله،
بسر میدو برفتوم و تماشا کردوم،
که گدای د همه جا مثل خلور امیه خله،
میشت پول بدایم و یک ته نو وستنغم،
ور سرم رفتن و بردن که ضرور امیه خله،
داد بیداد زیم هیچکي جوابوم ز ندا،
گفتم امسال مگر کار بزور امیه خله،
که پول یتم و نو واستنم و بخرم و بابرن همه ر،
ای د کوچ گفته مرة کفر کفور امیه خله،
د مین بخچه د شوشاخ د تنور منزن،
مزنن او کس رکه چشمش به تنور امیه خله،
فیدة ندرة اینا که بگی تو با مو،
هرکه گندم ر درة حال بفروز امیه خله،

Paraphrase.

کل دنیا در شور و نشور آمدة خاله،
میگوئي قحطي به خراسان به ظهور آمدة خاله،

[1] *Fil ki hamarâ mukhra.* The elephant is the most voracious beast which devours all others. All wild animals are powerless against it except the *karkadân* (کرکدان), or rhinoceros, which succeeds in hitting the elephant in the abdomen and lifting him in the air. This, however, is fatal to both, for the rhinoceros is afraid to throw his prey on the ground lest it should revive. He keeps it hanging on his horn all the time till the pus from the carion infects his eyes and causes his death by blood poisoning.

بسر میدان رفتم و تماشا کردم ،
که گدای در همه جا مثل خروار آمده خاله ،
مشت پول دادم و یک تا نان ستادم ،
به سرم رفتن و بردن که ضرور آمده خاله ،
داد و بیداد زدم هیچکس جوابم نداد ،
گفتم امسال مگر کار بزور آمده خاله ،
که پول بدهم و نان بستانم و ببرند همه را ،
این کجا گفته میشود کفر کفور آمده خاله ،
درمیان یخچاله بشب شاخ بتنوره می اندازند ،
میزنند آنکس را که چشمش به تنوره آمده خاله ،
فائده ندارد این که بگوئی تو بمن ،
هرکه گندم را دارد حال بفروز آمده خاله ،

P.S.—I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Mrs. C. de Beauvoir Stocks and Major T. H. Bishop for their revision of my English in this paper.

CALCUTTA,
The 6th March, 1926.

A European parallel to the Durgāpūjā.

[A lecture delivered to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.]

By STEN KONOW.

In a learned paper in the Journal Asiatique the famous French scholar, Professor Sylvain Lévi, has discussed the question of pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian elements in Indian civilization. He has tried to show that a series of Indian local names are formed according to principles which are foreign to Aryan and Dravidian languages, but which are well known from various tongues belonging to what Pater Schmidt has called the Austric family of speech. In previous papers he has further drawn our attention to several facts which point to the conclusion that, in a remote past, there existed a wide-spread civilization comprising not only India but also the continents and islands bordering on the seas round India's coasts. And to all appearances the so-called Kolarian tribes are the last remnants of the Indian population which shared in that ancient civilization.

M. Lévy's view is not absolutely new. Similar opinions have been held by other scholars as well, but to him belongs the honour of having laid a solid foundation for further research, and his paper cannot fail to essentially further our understanding of ancient Indian history, and to lead to a clearer conception of numerous questions connected with India's development through the ages.

It is a well-known fact that the ancient Aryan conquerors of India had to fight tribes and nations, which had long ago developed a not inconsiderable civilization. In a paper on the Aryan gods of the Mitani people in the Publications of the Indian Institute of the Norwegian University I have attempted to show cause for assuming that some of these tribes must have been of Kolarian stock. And in the first part of the third volume of the Linguistic Survey of India I have drawn attention to certain linguistic features, which seem to make it likely that Kolarian tribes were once settled over a vast area in Northern India. The existence of the Kurku tribe in the heart of India seems to point to the conclusion that peoples of a similar descendancy have occupied a large territory in the central parts of the country, and probably also in the Dekhan. If such be the case, this state of things cannot but influence our conception of numerous important questions. I may mention such an important field of research as Indian folk-lore. It should be remembered that the various recensions of the *Pañcatantra* and

also the Bṛhatkathā are in Indian tradition referred to the Dekhan, to Dakṣiṇāpatha, and if the ancient population there was of Kolarian extraction, we should naturally expect to find a Kolarian element in ancient folk-tales. We should, to take an example, be inclined to think of the ancient pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian peoples in such tales where sea-voyages to distant continents play a rôle, for that ancient population was, as shown by M. Sylvain Lévi, well acquainted with the sea.

Other problems connected with the history of Indian civilization may also have to be examined from a similar point of view: Indian art, Indian philosophy, and Indian religions. I shall not make any attempt at entering into details. I shall only remind you of the fact that the later development of religious thought in India has usually been considered to be the result of numerous cross-currents, some of the strongest of which seem to take their rise with non-Aryan peoples.

More especially there is one deity which has usually been thought to be of un-Aryan origin, the consort of Śiva, the goddess with the many names and the many faces. Nor can there be any doubt that more than one ancient deity has contributed to the complex of ideas brought together under the head of Kālī, Umā, Vindhyavāsinī or whatever name is used to denote the terrible and mighty goddess, and that several of them are of un-Aryan or pre-Aryan origin.

It would, however, be a mistake to think that there are no ancient Aryan conceptions in the physiognomy of Śiva's consort. And what I want to do to-night is to draw your attention to some peculiar features which, in my opinion, show that we can, in Kālī and Kālī's worship, find some traces which point to the existence of an old, not only Aryan, but Indo-European goddess, whose worship is continued in an unbroken line in the Durgā-pūjā of the present day. In other words: Kālī is in her origin also an Indo-European deity, with numerous foreign accretions, it is true, but also with distinct features which take us back to the times when the Indian and European tribes were one people, with a common language and common religious conceptions.

There was a time when the learned world was inclined to explain almost every feature in Indian religion as an inheritance from Indo-European times. At the present day, no scholar is apparently prepared to hold such views. On the contrary, there is a strong tendency to minimize the Indo-European element, and this tendency will certainly be strengthened through the facts so ably discussed by M. Lévy. It is possible that the pre-Aryan theory may be carried too far, as was formerly the case with the Indo-European one. I therefore think that it may be useful to utter a word of warning. We must never forget that the Aryans were the principal promoters of civilization in India, and that their contribution was never overshadowed, however much they may have borrowed from the old inhabitants.

The Indo-European theory was chiefly derived from literary sources, and in the first place based on the Vedas. Everything which was found in the Ṛgveda was thought to be an inheritance from the Indo-European period. We do not think so any more. On the other hand, we have to reckon with the possibility that more than one modern conception or popular cult of the India of to-day may have its roots in Indo-European civilization. And, as I have already stated, I think that such is, to some extent, the case with the worship of Kālī.

In order to show how I have arrived at this result, I shall have to ask you to accompany me far away from India, to Northern Europe, to my own home.

In his well-known Germania Tacitus writes in ch. 40 about seven Germanic tribes: Reudigni, Aviones, Anglii, Varini, Eudoses, Suardones and Nuithones, and says:

"There is nothing else to be remarked about these individually than that they all worship Nerthus, *i.e.*, Mother Earth (*terram matrem*), and believe that she takes a hand in human matters and mixes with people (*invehi populis*). There is on an island in the sea or sacred grove (*castum nemus*), and within that a consecrated carriage covered with a cloth. The priest alone may touch it. He understands when the goddess is present in her retreat (*penetrali*), and with great veneration he accompanies her, when she drives out drawn by cows. Then follow merry days and feasts at all places which she deigns to visit. They do not begin war, they do not take up weapons, all iron is shut up (*clausum omne ferrum*). Peace and quiet are the only things which they care about, until the same priest takes the goddess back to the temple, when he understands that she has got enough of the company of mortal beings. Then the carriage and the cloth and, if you will believe it, the goddess herself are abluted in a hidden lake. Slaves are in charge, and they are drowned in the same lake. Hence the vague terror and the pious ignorance as to what it may be that can only be seen by people who must die."

That is about all what we know about the Germanic worship of Nerthus. In Norway there are some local names containing the base Njord, the Norwegian form of Nerthus, and we can see that a sacred lake on an island has played a rôle in the worship of Njord, who has in Norway become a male deity. It has, moreover, long been recognized that we have the same ancient cult before us in the worship of Frey, whose image in Upsala in Sweden was provided with a huge liṅga (*cum ingenti priapo*). And attention has been drawn to the fact that we are, in both cases, faced with a divine couple. Nerthus has her priest, who has been explained as her husband, and Frey has his priestess, who is said to be his wife.

What we have before us is evidently a kind of ratha-yātrā, connected with feasting and merry-making and concluded by a

ceremonial bath, the image or symbol of the deity being immersed in sacred water. From the attribute of Frey, the liṅga or phallos, we may further draw the conclusion that we have, in reality, to do with rites of fertility, wherefore Nerthus has been explained as an old goddess of fertility or some sort of chthonic divinity, and some popular ceremonies and festivals in Germanic countries have been thought to be reminiscences of her worship.

The name Nerthus itself is not connected with such rites, and, on the whole, it does not seem to have been much used.

Nor has it been possible to find a satisfactory etymological explanation of the word. It has been compared with Greek *νέρτερος*, nether, which is also used about the dead and the nether world, but here *tero* is a suffix and the base is *ner*, while in Nerthus the base seems to be *nert*. Other scholars have therefore tried to connect Nerthus with Irish *nert*, force, power, might; Kymric *nerth*, fortitudo, viz., valentia, robur. Nerthus would accordingly mean power, divine power, and further, the powerful one.

I do not think that this explanation is satisfactory. Irish *nert* is an *o*-base, formed from the same theme which is found in Sanskrit *nṛ*, a man, *narya*, strong, heroic. Nerthus, on the other hand, is an *u*-base, and even if we consider *thu* as the suffix, it is a little difficult to imagine how the name of a female deity should be directly derived from a base meaning "man."

If we further bear in mind that the name Nerthus itself seems to be extremely rarely used, we become inclined to agree with the Swedish scholar, Jöran Sahlgren,[1] who thinks that Nerthus was not the proper name of the goddess at all, but only a metaphoric designation. The real name was, he thinks, tabu, it could not be uttered, and therefore Nerthus, "the strong one," was used instead, in order to indicate the mighty one. Every student of Indian religion is conversant with this idea, that it is forbidden to pronounce the name of a deity. It is a feature which is well known, *e.g.*, from the worship of Śiva. The name is the key to the person bearing the name and to all the forces and faculties belonging to him, it is, so to say, an image, a picture, and as such essentially identical with the person pictured. It is, therefore, quite natural that it was considered to be a dangerous thing to name a mighty and terrible deity, because in doing so one might have to face its whole terror and wrath. But the theory of the name-tabu, is apt to be exaggerated. We must not overlook the fact that the names of ancient Indian gods were, properly speaking, only designations derived from the faculties and powers represented by the individual gods. Mitra was the pact, the contract, and the mysterious force behind; Indra, Śakra, was "the strong one"; Rudra, perhaps

[1] Namn och bygd VI, p. 22 ff.

"the howler," and so forth. In hymns and invocations, therefore, it was natural to use not a general name, but a designation of the quality or force which was needed for the special purposes of the worshipper, and it is evident that the dangerous and frightful forces were rarely invoked.

If we accept this view of the matter, we should have to look for an explanation of the name Nerthus in some feature which was displayed at the special form of worship which is connected with the goddess. And even if we abstract from the difficulty which I have already mentioned of explaining the name of a goddess from a word originally meaning "man," there is no indication to show that the idea of force and valour was connected with the festivals and merry-makings met with in Tacitus' description. We simply hear about a procession and certain ceremonies in connection with it. We should, therefore, not be surprised if the name Nerthus did not in reality denote anything else than the rôle the deity plays at the procession.

The formation of the word Nerthus is clear enough. The *th* as well as the corresponding spirantic *d* of the old Norse word shows that the sound following after *r* is derived from an Indo-European *t*. This *t* does not seem to belong to the suffix, but to the base, which is accordingly *nert*, or, in Sanskrit *nart*. There is, from the point of view of phonology, no objection whatever to identifying this base with the well-known root *nart*, *nṛt*, to dance, to act. This root itself is probably no primary root but a derived one, and it seems likely that it is formed from the same base which is found in the word *nṛ*, a man. There are several instances in the Ṛgveda where the base *nṛt* is used in connection with words derived from *nṛ*, so that we have the impression that the Kavis have intended to bring together the ideas covered by the two words. Thus, Indra is seen *nṛmṇāni nṛtamānaḥ*, dancing manly deeds. Now, it is a well-known fact that *nṛt* does not simply mean "to dance," but rather "to act," "to represent through gestures," "to mimic." The Prakrit form of the base is *naṭ*, and from *naṭ*, is formed *naṭa*, an actor, *nāṭaka*, a play. The term *nāṭaka* is certainly old, older than the classical Indian drama, and borrowed from the art of the naṭas, the wandering dancers and players, who went about singing, dancing and acting, and we know that it was not only used in connection with the drama, but also with the most different attempts at representing earthly and heavenly happenings through gestures and movements of the body and the various parts of the body, and even in connection with pictures illustrating some event.[1] When Indra is said to be *nṛmṇāni nṛtamānaḥ* that does not, therefore, mean that he was actually dancing or singing, but that he was representing, acting. The Kavi fancied that he could see him before his eyes as a naṭa.

[1] cf. my book Das indische Drama, p. 27.

We know that the art of the naṭa is old in India. Handbooks teaching his craft were known to Pāṇini and probably belong to Vedic times. But then we would naturally infer that the naṭa played a rôle at the Vedic sacrifice. It might even be said that the whole yajña was a nāṭaka, an imitation, a representation of eternal *ṛta*, which was, so to say, reproduced and realized through the sacrifice, because the picture, the representation is, to the primitive mind, identical with the thing itself. The priest or his assistant, who imitated, represented, some event which he wanted to take place, actually brought it into existence. The Vedic Aryan had certainly often enough seen such acting before his eyes, and when he fancied to see Indra himself performing his valorous deeds, he would sometimes picture him in the shape of the priest, the powerful expert, who was able to "act," and thus to bring about the desired effect. *Nṛmṇāni nṛtamānaḥ* consequently means "acting, *i.e.*, performing manly deeds."

The original meaning of *nṛt* can very well have been "to act as a man, as a hero," but very early it must have acquired the general sense of acting, representing, and the secondary meaning "to dance" signified the pantomimic dance and not what a present-day European would call to dance.

Now we have an old word derived from the base *nṛt*, *viz.*, *nṛtu*, fem. *nṛtū*, which is almost identical with Nerthus, the only difference being that Nerthus shows the guṇa form of the base, and consequently must be considered to have a more durative sense, while *nṛtu* presents the weakest form. I think that the similarity between the two words is so striking that I do not hesitate to connect them. Nerthus is not the name of a deity but a designation of the image or symbol "acting" at the Nerthus procession, and in this connection it is worth while recalling the fact that the Uṇādivṛtti gives the meaning "earth" for the female *nṛtū*, just as Tacitus explains Nerthus as meaning Mother Earth. We are naturally led to think that we have before us traces of an old Indo-European deity, whose inherent power was manifested in Earth and who was worshipped by means of a pantomimic show.

It seems to me that this explanation is so evident that it must have been made before by some comparative philologist, and I have consulted my learned friend, Professor E. Lidén, who has not, however, been able to trace any such etymology. I cannot, therefore, quote other scholars in support of my view and shall have to shoulder the responsibility myself.

The words *nṛtu*, *nṛtū* belong only to Vedic language. They seem to have had reference to an ancient ritual, for which there was little or no scope at the sacrifices to the great gods, who were viewed in the likeness of powerful kings and could, to some extent, act independently on the eternal forces and powers at work in the universe. The words probably belonged rather to the more popular worship of the Aryans and to such rites which

aimed at making the earth bear fruit, the cloud give rain, and so forth. The base *nṛt* itself and numerous derivatives have lived on in Indo-Aryan languages, and are also used in connection with symbolical acts belonging to religious rites. Thus the temple assistant who is possessed by the deity and utters prophetic words in Himalayan serpent worship is said to *nācnā*.[1]

The ideas covered by the base *nṛt* seem to have been especially connected with one Indian god, with Śiva. He is the *mahānaṭa*, *naṭeśvara*, and he and his consort are the inventors of the pantomimic dances, which they themselves also act, perform. We would, therefore, naturally look to them and their worship in order to find Indian traces of the ceremonies connected with Nerthus in Germanic countries.

Śiva, or Rudra as he is usually named in the oldest times, does not play a prominent part in the sacrificial hymns of the Rgveda. The other Vedas and the later religious literature of India, however, clearly indicate that his position was much more important than can be inferred from the occurrence of his name in the oldest Veda. His place was not so much in the sacrifice aiming at winning the favour of the heavenly gods as in the numerous magic ceremonies and in the orgiastic rites. He and his consort, Kālī, Durgā, Gaurī, etc., are masters of death, disease, ailments and horror, but they also grant life, health and progeny, and as the *liṅga* is the symbol of Śiva, the *yoni* is often considered as the emblem of Kālī.

The two are in reality representatives of one primeval force, they are one, and this unity is symbolically represented in the images of Ardhanārīśvara. And the philosophical theory, which teaches that God is without sex, without activity and without change, nevertheless holds that, in order to be realised and worshipped, he emerges from static transcendency as *śakti*. This śakti becomes manifested in Kālī, the great Mother, from whom the universe is evolved, but who also leads it back to the eternal reality in God, with whom she is one, after the entire Karma has been worn out. This theory is adduced in order to explain a complicated ritual, with magical and partly obscene ceremonies, aiming at producing fertility and the like, which is certainly much older and more primitive than the philosophical theory.

No wonder that Śiva plays a much less prominent part in all such rites than Kālī, his consort. She is, above all, the great Mother, of the same kind as numerous chthonic deities and demons of fertility and vegetation which are met with all over the earth. And in my opinion she has preserved more of the original features of such deities than similar figures elsewhere. For when for example Tacitus speaks of Mother Earth, terra mater, the original idea is not that the earth is a mother. In

[1] cf. Vogel, Acta Orientalia II, pp. 306 f.

that case it would be more natural to speak of mater terra. What is meant is that the mother, *i.e.*, the apparently abstract idea of motherhood, of fertility and generation manifests itself in Earth. And such is in reality the fundamental conception in ancient India, and it is no doubt an inheritance from the Indo-European period. In the Indo-European languages abstract ideas were not simply the products of analysing thought, but rather self-existing entities, forces, powers, with their own independent life and activity. They belonged to the universe just as much as man, the animals, the trees, and so forth. It is therefore the same force, the same śakti, which causes women to bear children and the earth to bear fruit. It is a kind of fluid which comes into action wherever fertility is manifested. Kālī is therefore also Mother Earth, and in the famous hymn *bande mātaram* she is the motherland, but Earth is only one among the numerous manifestations of the almighty mother, and she is also present, as maintained by Rāmakṛṣṇa, in every woman.

I therefore think that we shall have to turn to Kālī, if we want to look for Indian traces of the ancient worship which Tacitus mentions in connection with Nerthus. And we shall not look in vain.

The Durgāpūjā is too well known to you to make it necessary to go into details. I shall only remind you of some few features.

In autumn, when the new year sets in about the autumnal equinox, Kālī is worshipped all over India, and in such worship images of Śiva and especially of Kālī play a considerable part.[1] We learn from comparatively ancient sources that the first ten days of Āśvina are taken up with Kālī festivals. To begin with there are several preparatory ceremonies, and only in the evening of the sixth day the goddess is awakened and the image is consecrated. On the seventh day several ceremonies are performed in the house, and a stanza in the Kālikāpurāṇa informs us of the fact that the worship is directed to Kālī in her manifestation as Earth. Then follow, during the two ensuing days, lustrations, sacrifices, singing, music and pantomimic performances. On the tenth day the image is carried or driven out with great festivity and merry-making, singing, dancing, and mimicking. And at last the image is immersed in water.

Similar ceremonies are described by Tod in his account of Udaipur.[2] Images of Gaurī and Śiva are made from earth. Then follow several indoor ceremonies which are only known to the initiated, and during these days everybody talks about the impending festival. At last guns are fired, and everybody knows that the goddess is on her way down to the lake. The

[1] cf. inter alia B. A. Gupte, Ind. Ant. 35, 1906, pp. 60 ff.

[2] Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan. Ed. by William Crooke, II, pp. 665 ff.

whole town is astir, the king at the head, and from the palace and down to the lake every available space is occupied. At last the procession is seen, the image being richly adorned and surrounded by singing women. The king and the chiefs rise from their seats, and when the goddess has at last been placed at the shore, they go out into boats. The women encircle the image and dance round it in certain *pas*, beating time with their hands, and singing hymns to the goddess of abundance. This goes on for hours, and during this time the goddess is supposed to bathe. No man is allowed into the circle. He who would try was, according to Tod, formerly punished with death. And in the end the image is taken out of the water and brought back to the palace.

Several of these features remind us of the picture drawn by Tacitus. There are traces of a divine couple, or perhaps of a deity which comprised the male as well as the female element. The goddess is sometimes stated to represent Earth, and when she is carried out, there are all sorts of fun and merry-making. Her image is bathed in the lake, and this ceremony is tabu in so far as the man who happens to see it must die, etc.

If we add that the name Nerthus seems to be formed from a base which is of frequent occurrence in connection with Śiva and his consort, it seems to me to be necessary to infer that the worship of Nerthus on the one hand and that of Kālī on the other are derived from one and the same source, which must have taken its rise in the Indo-European period. The goddess Kālī has, no doubt, in the course of time, assimilated many local deities, partly of non-Aryan origin, but she still retains traces of being an Indo-European goddess, who was, to all appearances, thought to manifest herself in her quality as the life-giving mother, in Earth, and who was worshipped with processions and ceremonial baths. She stood for the idea of motherhood, for the eternal force which produces progeny, trees, plants, and crops, the ideal fertility and generation, and she was coupled with a male duplicate.

We have no means for finding out the old name of this primeval goddess. Nerthus is no proper name, and the various Indian designations are certainly of later origin. It is not even probable that she had a name. Indo-European worship was not chiefly directed towards real gods, in the usual sense of the word, but towards eternal forces and potencies, and the potency of generation and fertility is exactly such a divine power. The conception of them has been modified by the different Indo-European nations, and they have often been viewed under the image of personal gods. But behind these gods we can usually still discover the primeval force, and therefore the names and designations may change, not only from people to people, but even within the same nation, but it is still possible to compare the new branches of the old tree

and see their origin from the same root. Just as the English word god, which is identical with Sanskrit *hutam*, Greek χυτόν and originally denotes the libation and the mysterious powers brought into action through it, gradually has assumed the sense of a divine person ruling over and regulating the eternal forces, in the same way the idea of motherhood and fertility which was worshipped by the primeval Indo-Europeans, has been developed into more or less personal goddesses, whose worship has survived till the present day. But we can still feel the original conception in designations such as Kālī Mātā.

If my view is right, it is of some importance for our attitude towards the problems of Aryan and Indo-European religious history. The attempt at reconstructing the religious belief of our ancestors from the most ancient literary sources has failed. And it was bound to fail, because the sacred writings of the various religions do not give us a full picture of religious belief. They are more or less concerned with public worship, and they are mixed up with ideas and conceptions which have been gradually developed in the course of the history of the different peoples, and enriched and overlaid by poetical fiction, by tales and traditions. The trend of the deepest religious feeling is more easily apprehended in the daily ceremonies of the individual, or in such rites which aim at instigating and utilizing the primeval forces of the universe. Such rites and ceremonies are inherited from generation to generation, and in spite of numerous changes and accretions they preserve the connection with primeval belief. They must therefore be considered and utilized, with the utmost care and caution, if we can hope to reconstruct the conceptions of our Indo-European ancestors. There are numerous pitfalls on our way, but that is no reason for despairing of the final result. Our position is much safer than in the days of Max Müller and his school. We have a wider range, much more numerous facts and indications than the old school. We do not only work with literary sources, but draw our inferences just as much or even more from the huge treasury of popular beliefs and customs, and some day we shall, no doubt, be able to draw a much fuller picture than to-day. We shall be able to understand the deeper meaning of many a custom, many a ceremony, which we must to-day be content to register. And we shall probably find that primeval ideas and even formulas may still survive in what appears to be comparatively modern. Such is perhaps the case with the solemn invocation at the conclusion of the bathing of the Kālī-image at the autumnal festival: O divine Durgā, mother of the world, go to thy place after having been worshipped. When the year is at an end, thou must return to us. Dive into the water, O goddess, terrible, incomparable, resplendent; I have placed thee into the water for the increase of my progeny, my life and my wealth.

Folk-lore and Customs of the Lap-chas of Sikhim.

By C. DE BEAUVOIR STOCKS.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page
Preface	327
Introduction :	
1. Sikhim, a brief note on the geography and history of ..	329
2. The Lap-cha or Rong folk, their ethnical type and language	332
3. A summary of both tours in Sikhim	333
I. Folk-lore :	
1. Mythology and religion of the Lap-cha as reflected in their tales	335
2. An analysis of their folk-tales	341
3. Tales :	
A. Creation myths	344
B. Zoological myths	360
C. Heroic tales	387
D. Varia	435
II. Lap-cha customs: (*a*) family life; (*b*) birth; (*c*) marriage; (*d*) death and burial; (*e*) miscellaneous observances ..	461
Index	483

PREFACE.

Very little authentic information can be gathered from the literature that is extant on Sikhim and its original inhabitants, especially with regard to the folk-lore, religion, customs, or indeed regarding any other race in the Himalayas. The present work is the result of research on these particular lines of Lap-cha life. It was undertaken with the intention of getting more exact information, and the materials which are here published were collected in Sikhim itself during the greater part of 1925. Although it would be impossible to expect an exhaustive study of these subjects, even after long years of residence in the country, it may be safely said that the present paper presents a correct idea of Lap-cha characteristics, while it is hoped it also gives an accurate account of their folk-lore.

Many obstacles stand in the way of an anthropologist, who undertakes the study of a small and scattered tribe like that of the Lap-chas. They possess no indigenous literature, and but few educated men. The greatest difficulty is the language, which would require several years of preparatory study to acquire sufficient fluency in the Lap-cha idiom required, in order, not only to follow the conversation, but also to be able to write down the tales when they were dictated by these people, the *Rong*-folk. Therefore, if no specialization on this particular race be undertaken, the student must rely on the services of an interpreter.

These are not easily procurable, especially among the Lap-cha, and although on the whole an accurate translation is given by them which is quite sufficient for the purpose of anthropological research work, it would be beyond their ability to transmit "rhythm" correctly, to give the stylistical peculiarities of the original diction or to use antiquated expressions, etc.

This leads to another difficult question on which the student has to make a decision. The English which is spoken all over India, and which interpreters use, harmonizes little with the primeval matters discussed in these tales, or with their primitive psychology. It seems however, that it would be wrong to attempt to introduce quite arbitrarily some antiquated expressions. There are a great number of examples showing how unsuccessful this can be, unless it is in the hands of a really talented writer or poet. And in order to avoid this evident note of artificiality, the present tales have been left as far as possible in the form they were heard from the interpreters, except for the necessary correction in diction.

A comparative study of Lap-cha folk-lore with a definition of its real position in regard to its chief cause of influence, etc., is still not possible. The folk-lore of almost all the neighbours, even including the Tibetans, the most important among them, is completely unknown. This circumstance is of still greater importance when we consider that the Lap-cha is living much intermixed with the people of Nepal, Northern Bengal, Bhutan, etc., and is naturally much exposed to their influence, which is considerable when it is remembered that these people belong to a state of much higher culture than the Rong-folk.

The books to which references have been given are chiefly those dealing with information in all its branches, and are therefore, of an encyclopædical nature. These will give guidance to a student in bibliographical matters. They are Hastings' "*Encyclopædia of Religion*," J. Frazer's "*Folk-lore in the Old Testament*," and a few others such as Gubernatis's "*Zoological Mythology*," etc.

I shall feel very glad if this small contribution will be of any use to those interested in anthropological research work, and especially should some student think it worth while continuing a study of the Lap-cha and other Himalayan peoples.

In conclusion, I have to express my thanks to Major F. M. Bailey, the Political Officer in Gangtok, for his great help and kindness, and to Mr. W. Ivanow for his valuable suggestions concerning the technique of this paper. Also to Paul Babu who organized my first tour, and to Dora Guest, the wife of the *lama* Ate in Tumun, who was with me for seven months, and to all the numerous Lap-cha *kazis*, *mandals*, *lamas*, compounders and peasants who assisted me in my work, and who made my visits to Sikhim so enjoyable.

DARJEELING, BENGAL: C. DE B. S.
March, 1926.

INTRODUCTION.

1. A BRIEF NOTE ON THE GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF SIKHIM.

Just a concise account will be given first of all denoting the general position with the natural boundaries of Sikhim. This small State is under British protection, and lies on the North of Bengal in the East Himalayas. It is bounded on the West by Nepal, on the North and East by Tibet, with a small part of the South-East end touching Bhutan. A clear explanation of both the physical features and of the events of the country are given in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXII, New Edition (Oxford, 1908) from which work the following quotation was obtained (p. 365) :—

"The main axis of the Himalayas, which runs east and west, forms the boundary between Sikhim and Tibet. The Singalila and Chola ranges, which run southwards from the main chain, separate Sikhim from Nepal on the west, and from Tibet and Bhutan on the east. From the eastern flank of the Singalila range rise the great snow peaks of Kinchinjunga (28,146 feet). It throws out a second spur terminating at Tendong. The Chola range which is much loftier than that of Singalila, leaves the main chain at the Dongkya mountain; it is pierced by several passes, the most frequented of which are the Tangkar La (16,000 feet), Natu La (14,200 feet), and Jelep La (14,390). Over the last named comes practically the whole trade between Bengal and Tibet. From the north-west face of the Dongkya mountain an immense spur takes off, and runs first west and then south-west to Kinchinjunga, forming the watershed of all the remote sources of the Tista river. These basins have a southward slope, being broad at the top where they leave the watershed, and gradually contracting like a fan from its rim to its handle, in the Tista valley near Pashok. The rivers are very rapid, and generally run in deep ravines, the ascent from the bank for the first few hundred feet being almost precipitous."

It will be noticed that a great many of these mountains and rivers are mentioned in the Lap-cha mythology, and appear in the Creation myths, whilst they are also spoken of in numerous folk tales (see tales, Nos. I, II, III, V, VI, VII, XXXI, etc.).

The Lap-cha or Rong-folk, being but a small tribe, and having only a very primitive state of civilization, do not possess written records. Allusion some day may possibly be found in connection with them in Chinese annals or in some

Tibetan legends, but so far, they remain unstudied. References regarding Sikhim do not appear earlier than roughly—150 years ago. The following is another quotation from the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (p. 367) giving some of the historical events:—

"Sikhim was known to early European travellers, such as Horace della Penna, and Samuel van de Putte, under the name Bramashon, while Bogle called it Demojong. Local tradition asserts that the ancestors of the Rajas of Sikhim originally came from the neighbourhood of Lhasa in Tibet. About the middle of the seventeenth century, the head, of the family was named Puntso Namgyal; and to him repaired three Tibetan monks, professors of the Nyingmapa (or 'red cap' sect of Buddhism), who were disgusted at the predominance of the Gelukpa sect in Tibet. These lamas, according to Mr. Edgar's Report, succeeded in converting the Lepchas of Sikhim to their own faith, and in making Puntso Namgyal Raja of the country. The avatars of two of these lamas are now the heads, respectively, of the two great monasteries of Pemiongchi and Tassiding (p. 368). In 1788 the Gurkhas invaded Sikhim in the governorship of the Morang, and only retired in 1789, on the Tibetan government ceding to them a piece of territory at the head of the Koti pass. But in 1792, on a second invasion of Tibetan territory by the Gurkhas, an immense Chinese army advanced to the support of the Tibetans, defeated the Gurkhas, and dictated terms to them almost at the gates of Katmandu.

On the breaking out of the Nepal war in 1814, Major Latter at the head of a British force occupied the Morang, and formed an alliance with the Raja of Sikhim who gladly seized the opportunity of revenging himself on the Gurkhas. At the close of the war in 1816, the Raja was rewarded by a considerable accession of territory which had been ceded to the British by Nepal. In February 1835, the Raja granted the site of Darjeeling to the British, and received a pension of Rs. 3,000 per annum in lieu of it."

To this may be added that according to Lap-cha tradition the following kings reigned apparently at the same time in different parts of the country, Tur-ve, Tur-ayek, Tur-sangpono, and Tur-sung. The Rong-folk history is very obscure, and it was only when these four had died, their places were taken by treasurers, secretaries, and headmen. At the present day, all villages are governed by a '*kazi*.'[1] He is the man who ranks next to the Maharaja, and is a land-owner, then next to him comes the '*mandal*,' the village headman.[2]

According to another legend which I heard at Kabi, a

[1] From 'qādī,' an Arabic term.
[2] A Khasura term (see *Imperial Gazetteer*, p. 372).

village in the Lap-cha reserve, the first Lap-cha chief was of divine origin; and Tikung-tek was the sixth in direct descent. He performed the duties of a *Bong-thing*, his wife Nikong-gnal being a Mun.[1] During the life-time of Je-khyé-bumen or Ket-boomse, who was an influential Tibetan, he lived at Namphyn, daily working at Ringchum. One day, Je-khyé-bumen passing through Sikhim on his way south, sought Tikung-tek, and praying to him, asked for the gift of children. Swearing eternal amity, Tikung-tek promised him three. After they were born, Je-khyé-bumen returned to give thanks to Tikung-tek. At Karbi, near Gangtok, nine stones were erected to mark the place where they held their covenant.[2] A Chinaman was decapitated, and an oath was sworn over his blood, that the Tibetans and the Lap-cha should never fight, and that Je-khyé-bumen's second son, Mi-tpon-rab, the 'leader of men' would be the head of the family of the future Sikhim rulers. The alliance is said to have been formed chiefly because Je-khyé-bumen had the conversion of the Rong-folk to Buddhism in prospect.

On the fifteenth day of the ninth month (by the Tibetan calendar) the Lap-cha worship at Karbi, offering *chi*, the national drink, rice (*zo*), Indian corn (*ta-fa*), fish (*gnu*), birds (*fo*), sugar-cane (*mut pa-am*), and flowers (*rip*). These offerings are placed on plantain leaves (*kur-dong nyom*) resting on a bamboo carpet in front of the altar to the north of the nine stones facing the Himalaya Mountains. They are the representation of the Lap-cha crops, and it is believed this ceremony will entail good harvests, and bring plentiful hunting and fishing. This service is held by all the Rong-folk, whether they go to Karbi or not. Even the present Maharaja, H.H. Sir Tashi Namgyal, holds the service outside his palace at Gangtok, he being a descendant of De-jong.Gyalpe or Chogel-Penche-Namgyal.[3]

The Sikhim Maharajas are therefore Tibetan, and though the early kings in that country are said to have come of an Indian origin, no real history of Tibet was written previous to the seventh century. The first Sikhim Raja, Puntso Namgyal is descended from Zhal-nga-guru-Tasche, whose son Jekhyé-bumen was the man who consulted Grandfather Tikungtek and who, with his wife Nikong-gnal, are the first two ancestors the Lap-cha claim as their forefathers.[4]

Some of the Maharajas' wives, Maharanis, as they are termed, have been Lap-cha. Deba-sam-serpa, a Lap-cha, from Tinki-jong in the N.W. was the second wife of Tensung Namgyal, whilst the young nun whom Gyurme Namgyal, the

[1] See note 7 to *Folk-lore*, I.
[2] Called Long-chok, i.e. the Standing Stones.
[3] See note 4 to *Creation Myths*, IV.
[4] Genealogical Tree showing descent of the Sikhim Maharajas:—

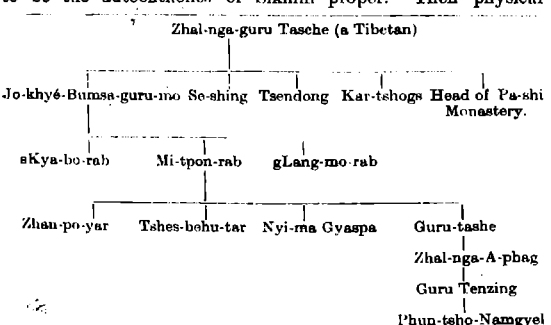
fourth Sikhim Raja, married, belonged to the Tak-chungtar family at Sing-Jyang near Dubde.

Tikung-tek and Nikung-gnal are said to be still living in the Yahaun valley which lies under the slopes of the Kong-chin-chu. The Lap-cha believes that were everything destroyed by another flood, these two would only have to be visited in order to create all in the world again.

Though the Lap-cha is very loyal, I have heard him say, "we Rong-folk have no ruler as the Maharaja in Gangtok is in reality a Tibetan."

2. The Lap-cha or Rong-folk, their ethnical type and language.

An anthropological study of the Lap-cha[1] tribe has never been undertaken. In this respect few of the Himalayan tribes are known, and it is impossible to define the Lap-cha's original home, or to give his relation with his neighbours. The *Imperial Gazetteer* contains more complete information on this subject than any other work, and this is contained in the following few lines: "The Lepchas claim to be the autochthones of Sikhim proper. Their physical



For further information, see Gazetteer of Sikhim (Calcutta: 1894), pp. 1-38.

[1] The local pronunciation is Lap-cha or Lap-che (never Lepcha, which one hears so often pronounced), and is of a Nepalese derivation. Lap-cha is derived from a word in the Parbatiya dialect of Nepal, meaning 'lap'—*speech*, and 'cha'—*unintelligible*, i.e. the *unintelligible speakers*, a contemptuous term referring to the tribe not adopting the Parbatiya language.

The term '*Rong-pa*' is often used meaning the *dwellers in the steep country*, whilst they also use the term '*Mong-pa*' which means the *dwellers in the lower country*. See *Gazetteer of Sikhim*, op. cit., p. 39.

Pa-lit—a Lap-cha. Kasseon (N. Bengal).

The *Na-ju-mo's* husband—a Lap-cha. Kalimpong (N. Bengal).

Chyangay—a 'Sharabu'—(hunter). Lang-dang (Sikkim).

Gynda—a Lap-cha forest officer. Lang-dang (Sikkim).

Full Lap-cha dress. Gangtok (Sikkim).

The *Kazi* of Mangen's Wife and Sister in Tibetan dress (note doll).

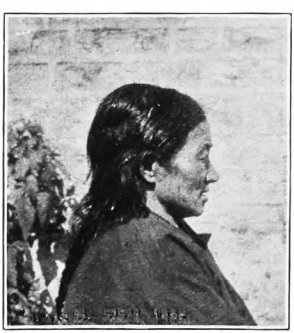
De-lau. Rinchenpong (Sikkim).

A "*na-ju-mo*" is the Lap-cha female exorciser who inspired by dancing predicts.
Kalimpong, Bengal.

A young Lap-cha girl. Mangen (Sikkim).

A Lap-cha woman.

Tumun (Sikkim).



Pa-sen (*De-bies* wife).

Rinchenpong (Sikkim).

characteristics stamp them as being members of the Mongolian race, while certain peculiarities of language and religion render it probable that the tribe is a very ancient colony from southern Tibet. (The language they speak belongs to the Tibeto-Burman family. To this also belong the languages of Bhotia, Limbu, Murmi, Mangar, Khambu and Newar.)".

The Lap-cha has but a very limited literature, consisting almost entirely of translations from Tibetan religious books. The alphabet was invented in the seventeenth century, few people knowing it at the present time, the language not being taught in all the local schools. A grammar was written by General Mainwaring,[1] but a proper definition of its affinity to other branches of the same order cannot be clearly established till the local dialects have been investigated, and more is known about Himalayan philology, which is still at present, a matter of the future.

Later, I hope to publish a paper giving an analysis of the head and height measurements of the various people whom I found in different parts of Sikhim, comparing the Lap-cha race with others.

3. A Summary of both tours in Sikhim.

April 15th–June 3rd, 1925. First Tour.

From Kalimpong.

April 15th	..	Rissisoum.
April 16th–18th	..	Kasseon.
April 19th-20th	..	Rhenock.
April 21st	..	Pakyong.
April 22nd–24th	..	Gangtok.
April 25th-26th	..	Dickhu.
April 27th–May 3rd	..	Mangen.
May 4th–6th	..	Lang-dang.
May 7th–9th	..	Ling-them.
May 10th–17th	..	Sindhik.
May 18th-19th	..	Toon.
May 20th	..	Sindhik.
May 21st-22nd	..	Dickhu.
May 23rd	..	Phodang.
May 24th-25th	..	Phensang.
May 26th	..	Kabi.
May 27th–30th	..	Gangtok.
June 1st	..	Pakyong.
June 2nd	..	Rhenock.
June 3rd	..	Kalimpong.

[1] Mainwaring, A Grammar of the Rong (Lep-cha) language, Calcutta, 1876.

November 9th–December 16th. Second Tour.

From Kalimpong.

Nov. 9th	.. .. ..	Lopchu.
Nov. 10th–12th	.. .. ..	Darjeeling.
Nov. 13th	.. .. ..	Badamtan.
Nov. 14th–15th	.. .. ..	Namchi.
Nov. 16th	.. .. ..	Chakung.
Nov. 17th-18th	.. .. ..	Rinchenpong.
Nov. 19th-20th	.. .. ..	Pemiongchi.
Nov. 21st-23rd	.. .. ..	Kewsing.
Nov. 24th	.. .. ..	Temi.
Nov. 25th-26th	.. .. ..	Song.
Nov. 27th–Dec. 4th	.. .. ..	Tumun.
Dec. 5th–9th	.. .. ..	Dickhu.
Dec. 10th–13th	.. .. ..	Gangtok.
Dec. 14th	.. .. ..	Shemdong.
Dec. 15th	.. .. ..	Rungpo.
Dec. 16th	.. .. ..	Kalimpong.

I. FOLK-LORE OF THE RONG-FOLK.

1. The Mythology and Religion of the Rong-folk as reflected in their tales.

Tibetan lamaism was introduced into Sikhim three centuries ago and is now regarded as the official religion. There have been many attempts to study this and to give a brief summary of its doctrine; the reader may be referred to the literature given below for information.[1] It is difficult to determine the extent Buddhist influence has had on Lap-cha psychology, but it is clear that the pre-Buddhist religion is not entirely dead: a collection of tales, like those at hand, give sufficient evidence to this effect.

The most difficult task is to separate the pure Lap-cha beliefs from the "loan-myths." In this country, not only Tibetan Buddhist ideas are disseminated, but with them probably the motives of Tibetan folk-lore have also spread. To these must be added the natural borrowings of tales from the peoples of Bhutan and Nepal, with whom the Lap-chas have now much mixed. Perhaps some of the ideas were imported from India, directly or indirectly, and of late, Christian missionaries even can be ranked among the contributors. A clear idea of what can be called the original Lap-cha religion will probably be only possible when an exhaustive study of all the tales and customs of the different races inhabiting this corner of the Himalayas is taken, including the Rong-folks, immediate neighbours. Till this is done, the only possible way to deal with the Lap-cha tales is to treat them as being entirely original—with the exception of those that bear obvious traces of Buddhist or foreign influence.

In these stories, one can trace two distinct phases of Lap-cha mentality. What probably belongs to an earlier period, or to some species of more primitive culture absorbed by the Lap-cha, is the atmosphere of animistic beliefs. Humans occupy here only a secondary position, and the animals, insects, and

[1] See L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet* (London, 1895): also his articles in the *Gazetteer of Sikhim* (Calcutta, 1894), *Lamaism in Sikhim*, pp. 241–392, also Hastings', *Encyclopædia of Religion*, vol. VII, pp. 784–789 and Ronaldshay, *The Land of the Thunderbolt* (London, 1924).

Though these works by no means exhaust the subject, they give sufficient information for the elementary idea of research work among the Lap-cha. In my collection there are several stories that were obviously inspired by the pupil of some missionary; one of them (heard at Mangen) gives the Genesis version of the story of Adam and Eve. The other, told by Dorjejimbo lama at Kewsing repeats the same but with still more detail.

plants receive the whole attention of the narrator. The second phase belongs to a culture of a much more advanced group, and deals chiefly with heroes and demons. Both elements are prominent, and it would be unfair to treat the more primitive ideas as being merely the incidental survivals of an earlier state of Lap-cha mentality.

1. *The cosmogony*, as gathered from the creation myths and heroic tales, appears to be simple. The earth, like an earthen pot, floats on a space of infinite water (VI), or is supported by a tortoise (IV). Beneath the water there is a region of fire, and under that there is a world of wind, in which the spirit of the earthquake lives (I, i). The process of creation is not detailed, and apparently Lap-cha psychology takes more interest in the creation of plants, animals, and spirits than in the origin of the universe.

There is no explicit mention of the world under the earth being associated with the Hell of Christianity; this latter idea seems to be absent, and demons settle on the earth. *A-nok* (XXIV, 12) is mentioned but its meaning is not clear.

The sky receives much more attention. We have the story of its gradual adornment by clouds (I, 10). Originally there were two suns (IX, i; XXVI, 4), but one of them was killed by a toad (IX, 3).[1]

Above the sky there is the *Rum-lyang*, the country of the Gods, the ancestral spirits, etc., who are known as the *Rum* (*lyang* means country). In this Olympus or Walhalla (not a Paradise in the Christian sense), life is experienced in the usual way: there are families of kings amongst others, many animals, and there is plenty of rivalry, envy and treachery (cf. the story of *Ati-azyak*, XXVI). The *Rum* do not seem to be fond of staying there eternally, the chance of being re-incarnated on the earth stirs up quite a lively competition among the brothers of *Ati-azyak*. The *Rum* often look down to the earth (V; XXVI, 2; XXVIII, 2), etc. In order to be re-born on the earth one must die leaving the *Rum* country, (XXVI; XXVIII). The

[1] This motive is also found in the stories of other races, e.g. the Meiteis who tell of a slave, becoming exhausted through continual day and night work, and having no rest, kills one of the suns (Hastings' *Encyclopædia*, vol. VIII, p. 78). The Malays also believe there were three original suns—a husband with a wife and child (ibid.), one of which devours the other two. At Pemionchi, Gensay Potet explained that the sun and moon were regarded as a brother and sister (they are usually identified with the deities Takbo-thing and Nazong-gnyu), but there is some difference of opinion as to which is the male or female; it appears however that it is to the sun that the feminine sex is usually attributed. According to some tales heard at Darjeeling and at Pemionchi there were originally seven, or even eight suns and eight moons, and the water-frog (instead of the toad) shot all of them except one. At Namchi it was mentioned that the figure which is seen in the moon is a red-oherry tree, under which two orphan children are living, a boy and a girl.

hero descends either in the form of a hail-stone (V; XXVI), which is swallowed by a woman and impregnates her, or some animal, in which case it is swallowed as a hail-stone by a female creature of the same species (XXVI, 2; XXVIII, 2).

Strange is the belief that men and animals can fly up to the *Rum* country from the earth without dying (see: *Ati-azyak* with his wives, XXVI, 13; his horse, XXVI, 13; and the squirrel, XX, 6).

It is also interesting to note that there is the additional idea of an intermediate country that lies between the earth and the *Rum-lyang* (I, 12; XXVI, 2; XXVIII, 1). It is sometimes called *Tiamtan*. *Sari-rung-dong-chen* or *Siri-nong-dong-chen*. Most probably this simply refers to the idea of the outside world—beyond the insignificant limits of the Lap-cha geography.

2. The conception of *gods* is vague, and apparently it had not attained maturity when it was superseded by Buddhism. As the cosmological myths are almost silent on this point, it is difficult to form any clear idea. Added to this, the original names have probably been forgotten; some of these are purely descriptive, like '*It-mo*,' "the ancient mother," others are of a Tibetan origin, the name *Tashey-takbo-thing* being the name which is applied to Padmasambhava, the apostle of Buddhism, and which in more modern circumstances is also applied to the Christian God-Creator.

It appears that there were five original deities: *It-mo* and her husband *Pa sandi*[1]; their children *Nazong-ngyu* and *Takbo-thing*,[2] and *Tashey-thing* the son of the former (VII, 1). In these creative power is attributed to the female deities, *It-mo* and *Nazong-ngyu*. Most probably these family relationships are simply the primitive expression of the conception of the deities' 'attributes' or 'aspects.' The mother *It-mo* in her chthonic state is probably the same as *Nazong-ngyu* or *Nikung-gnal* in their aspect of the living force of vegetable or animal nature, or as a solar deity.

The idea of the primeval 'father' is not clearly expressed. Here we probably have to deal with the idea of the 'ruler' of the world, whose duty it is to maintain the order of things after their creation. Nothing can be said about the nature of the Creator-father *Pa-sandi*; in one of his aspects, he is known under many different names; he may have been known as a

[1] The latter is only mentioned once (II, 1), and as apparently there is much confusion between the functions of him and his son, Takbo-thing, it would be difficult to establish his real nature.

[2] In his different aspects, or perhaps re-incarnations, he is also known as Tikung-tek, Foog-rong (VII, 1), Pudung-thing (VI) Sometimes he is regarded as the first man, or at least as the progenitor of the Lap-cha (VI). Most probably it is he and his wife Nikong-gnal who appear as the 'Grandfather' and the 'Grandmother' in the heroic tales (XXIV).

lunar deity.[1] But the most popular form of the same male principle is *Tashey-thing*.

This latter is often therianthropic, he appears as a fox (XXVII), or as the husband of a she-boar (VIII), when he is probably represented in the same form; he is also represented as the husband of a partridge or a quail (VII). These particular animals are used in the folk-lore of many nations as the impersonation of the corn-spirit.[2] But *Tashey-thing* is connected more with animals than plants, probably on the account that hunting formerly was the chief source of subsistence among the Rong folk. It is he who establishes fish sacrifices (IV, 2; VIII, 4), those of a pig (VIII, 3), and those of fish and fruit during the sowing and harvest times (IV, 3), etc., which obviously have nothing to do with Buddhism as this latter has no blood-sacrifice. According to more modern beliefs, probably under Buddhist influence, *Tashey-thing* has no father or mother and rises, like all Hindu gods from a flower. His idols are made of brass or copper, in the form of a man having a big body, and holding a stick in his left hand, his right hand being uplifted. He has a moustache and wears a pointed cap. The Lap-cha believes he is now flying over the snow mountains.

One of the most noticeable points in this primitive religion is the conception of the *Bong-thing*, who might be called a shaman, a medicine man or an exorciser. He was, in the first place, believed to be the son of a goddess who was sent to relieve the humans from the tortures of the demons, and to be an intermediary between the *Rum* and the humans (I, 11). Quite in agreement with animistic ideas, the Lap-chas make the Creator send a variety of plants and insects for this purpose. These are not satisfactory, and eventually the real *Bong-thing* descends from above, though it is not clear if he is in human form or not. The adventures of this Saviour are not a success also; he finds the *Mung* or evil spirits so numerous that they occupy most of the trees and mountains and rocks, etc. (I, II). And far from overpowering them, this representative of the deity has to beat a hasty retreat, and being caught by the demons has to agree to rather humiliating terms: he makes a covenant with these evil beings that they will leave the humans in peace as long as they are propitiated by blood-sacrifices (I, 12).[3]

[1] See above, note 1.

[2] Cf. *Golden Bough*, vol. vii, pp. 295-303.

[3] When a man is ill, a *Bon-thing* is called who at once burns incense to know whether it is the *Rum* or the *Mung* who are troubling the sick person. Then by counting his rosary and throwing dice, he discovers what is troubling the patient, and sacrifices. In the case of a woman being ill, a *Mun* is called, a woman who sings and who calls up the *Rum*. The severity of the illness indicates the form of sacrifice, sometimes it seems only necessary to propitiate the evil demon with a basket filled with

3. *Demons.*—This is all that need be said about the gods, but much more must be mentioned in connection with evil spirits. From their fantasy and psychology every race creates its supernatural beings, and it is remarkable to notice that the Indians and Tibetans between whom the Lap-cha lives, possess such an unrivalled and inexhaustible stock of demons, monsters, evil and vile spirits, witches, devils, etc., compared with whom the deities pale into insignificance.

The same 'mother' or 'mothers' of the universe appear to be indefatigable in giving birth to spirits of illness, and misfortune, demons, etc. The heroic tales are filled with demoniacal beings, ogres, etc. The unhealthy jungles with dangerous animals, the frightening natural phenomena, etc., receive the attentions of a particular demon in every locality, each of whom it would be impossible to mention individually.[1] Demons abound everywhere, the world in its original state seems to be full of evil. There seems also to be no trace of the idea of the supremacy of the good, the forces of evil are kept in subordina-

---

small bamboo stems containing rice, millet seeds, and grain. I found one like this in the jungle near Tumun, and also heard a girl say, who was describing her illness to a friend: "Yes, I was very bad, it cost us two bullocks..." The exorcisers who dance as well as falling into a trance, and praying are (1) a man who is termed a *Pau*, and (2) a woman who is called a *Na-ju-mo*. They both find out which demon it is who is troubling the invalid by throwing four or eight eggs on the ground, pronouncing the name of a demon while they throw rice on the broken eggs. Should the rice be covered, it is the demon's name they have just then been pronouncing, and they know it is he who has to be propitiated. I have not been able to find out if her name *Na-ju-mo*, is the same as the word used for the Lap-cha goddess of Pre-creation, *Na-zong-nyo* (who is evidently the same as the goddess called Nazong-ngyu in the Creation myths); *Nun-zong-nyo* or *Na-grong-nyo*. I saw this ceremony at Kalimpong last September. The *Na-ju-mo* erected an altar, on which she placed bowls of food for the various gods. It was also decorated with many rice 'mandala cones' as they are termed in the *Gazetteer of Sikhim* (see pp. 274–320), but which the Lap-chas exhibit as a phallic offering. The *Na-ju-mo* started singing in Tibetan after she had whirled round, and then repeated while in a trance what the spirits had said to her. She only gave an hour's demonstration, and then stopped as she said that *Mut-li* (the god of fortune) was cursing her.

[1] The *Rot-mung* was said to haunt Mt. Tendong, and to take a toll of two lives every year. The demon is represented as having a hooked beak. I also passed a cascade falling over a rock from Tumun to Dickhu, and was told it was where the *Rung-nyo-ung-dut* lives. He is known to have caught people with an invisible chain and they die soon after. Where the Rung-nyo river meets the Dickhu river, on a rock, I once saw an offering to the *Rung-si-mung*, a demon who worries children and makes them cry out at night. Her form was made of mud, sitting amongst the gifts of eggs, rice, grain, etc., in a basket made of plaited bamboo. She is a demon who is always represented with an umbrella, which is depicted by small bamboo stems that are joined together with pieces of coloured threads. There is a great variety of different species of malignant beings; the generic name seems to be '*mung*,' but there are also the '*dut*' demons, while the female demons are '*sa-mu*.'

tion rather by magic than by the 'sacredness' of any religious act.

4. *Man.*—The creation of man, his position in the universe, and his relation to the gods and the demons, all remain without definite description. There are several accounts in which the first man appears either as the offspring of a supernatural mother (a fairy, cf. V), and a deity in animal form, or the first husband traps his wife like a bird (I, 13; IV, 1). This animal ancestry may be a survival of ancient totemistic ideas, just like the astonishing number of sacred insects and plants (especially different bamboo species, which are all prominent in the magical rites of resuscitation and rebirth, XXIV, 23; XXVI, 12).

Soon after his appearance, mankind multiplied to such an extent that he overcrowded the earth, and their number was reduced by the great flood (VI; VII). The Lap-cha has also a parallel of the story of the Tower of Babel (VII, 2). Both these myths appear however without any ethical comment Ethical matters, in fact, are not a strong point of the Lap-cha, and it is difficult to get even the principal features of their moral code.

The religious duties appear only in the form of sacrifices. No mention of temples or other places of worship is made, or of idols, etc. In these tales many references to religious details appear to be taken from Buddhism, and are given possibly as substitutes for earlier terms.

5. *Natural Myths.*—The Lap-cha universe is remarkably small, and their geography is limited. It seems as if they never dared leave their narrow valleys to view the outside world. The myths which are the most prominent seem to be connected with the solar or lunar theories. Numerous too, are the heroic legends.

Undoubtedly solar origin may be given to the myth of Nazong-ngyu and her brother-husband Takbo-thing (I, 3–7, 9; II). Parallels of this tale may be found in the different stories of many primitive nations. Its natural sequence is the story of the Cloud demon who is the son of *Nazong-ngyu* (II), who sits on the *sa-nyol*-tree growing out of *Nazong-ngyu*'s bracelet which she takes off at night (probably symbolising the disc of the sun).[1] This demon is shot by arrows (lightning), is dismembered and scattered.

In heroic tales (like that of the divine twins, XXIV), although the original myth became obscured or forgotten in them, natural symbolism has clear traces. The same may be said about the story of the hero who travels far to fetch the luminous flowers (XXVII), or the tale of Ga-bu's horse (XXV).

[1] Cf. Hastings' *Encyclopædia*, vol. 12, p. 68, where similar myths occur. The Eskimos, Cherokees, etc., are referred to. Many who were questioned in different parts of Sikhim said that Nazong-gnyu and Takbothing were the sun and moon.

The same solar myth appears also in the animal stories (IX). The lunar myth, separately from the solar, appears in the stories of killing the tiger who is celestial[1] (X). His skin is stretched from sunrise to sunset, and his flesh is scattered. Another story tells us how the celestial tiger is frightened by a toad, who is looked upon possibly as the animal who causes eclipses (XI).[2] The same celestial tiger is also frightened by an ass, probably another solar symbol, etc.[3]

In the heroic tales, Ati-azyak seems to be the most complete impersonation of a lunar deity. He fights the demons of darkness, until the fiery peacock of the day begins its dance and burns them. He is connected with two nymphs, Zer-yong and Konyong, the palace of the former is on the side of the sunrise, while the second one has it on the side of the sunset. The small detail is remarkable showing the double nature of these two nymphs: they are shown as both being benignant and demoniacal. Zer-yong appears not only as a beautiful maiden, but also as a monster having long tusks, one outstretched to the sky, and the other touching the earth, and long breasts, one hanging down, while the other is thrown over her shoulder (XXVI, 11). With these two, Ati-azyak disappears as soon as the demons of darkness are subdued, and his successor, miraculously born from a bamboo stem, takes charge of the world.

As releasing and stopping waters, killing the Serpent King, *Paril-bu*, etc., are parts of this story, this tale may have been connected with the flood-legend (VI), where these acts are performed by the King Yong-li. Mythology may have given some remote reflection to the female '*dramatis personæ*' of these heroic tales, especially in regard to the tale of the twins. But having only the materials of the present collection, it would be impossible and risky to enter the boundless fields of hypothesis.

2. An Analysis of the Lap-cha Folk-tales.

If taken as a specimen of folk-lore in general, these Lap-cha tales are remarkable in one sense—they are almost devoid of anything original. This is surprising when we consider the secluded life these people lead, who, up to a few decades ago, lived entirely isolated from the rest of the world. In these

---

[1] The waning of the moon (as I heard at Pemionchi) is explained by this satellite being eaten by a tiger who eventually swallows it. But *Takbo-thing*, the lunar deity, cut him in two, so that the moon emerges after having been swallowed through the gap half-way through the tiger's body. In a tale I heard at Namchi it was told that the sun had borrowed money from the tiger, which he could not repay, and that in anger, the tiger swallows him.

[2] The Karens of Burma believe eclipses are caused by frogs clipping the moon. Hastings' *Encyclopædia*, vol. i, p. 492.

[3] Cf. ass in the tiger's skin. Gubernatis, op. cit., vol. i, p. 378.

tales not only ideas, but separate motives may be traced elsewhere.

This phenomenon however, can hardly be explained as occurring without foreign influence. The want of originality may be due to the result of Indian and Tibetan influence for many centuries. And India, although creating very few fresh ideas, has always had a supply of folk-lore, full of new patterns from the more western countries, from the Persian conquerors, from the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom, from the Central-Asian invaders, and finally even from the Muhammadans. This is probably the reason why, in a small collection of Lap-cha tales, so many familiar motives and themes can be noticed that are common to the folk-lores of European and other nations.

It would be better therefore, to mention the most typical and important motives only—those which bear traces of having been composed to suit the local surroundings. The most interesting of these is undoubtedly the Lap-cha hero.

The birth of a hero or merely the hero's animal is attributed to the swallowing of a hail-stone (XXVI, 2; XXVIII, 2). The heroes are born in some particular way (XXVI, 3; XXVIII, 2); or as twins (XXIV, 5); and almost invariably they are exposed in some way to the danger of destruction, they are buried or thrown away, etc. In some cases the *Rum* or the parents watch the fate of the child from Heaven and make plans to save him (XXVI, 3; XXVIII, 2). Or this is done through a bitch (XXIV, 11); and two peasants, a 'Grandfather and a Grandmother' bring them up.

The hero's equipment, like those of many European tales, is a magic sword, a golden hat (helmet?), an invisible hat, and a bow and arrow. Sometimes (XXVIII, 6) magical arrows are used, also other enchanted implements, such as a rope and stick (XXIV, 17). On one occasion a sling is mentioned (XXIV, 15).

The hero's mount is always a horse (although he is known in many cases to have walked). These horses are as wonderful as their masters, and must have originally belonged to the solar myth (XXV; XXVI).

The hero starts his career very early, when he is but a child, and according to the *Rong* custom, is still feeding at his mother's breast. If not a re-incarnated *Rum*, he invariably appears as an orphan boy.

Marriages of the hero are related in the style which characterizes the Lap-cha looseness. Most of them return from their adventures with a considerable collection of wives (XXVI; XXVII). Surplus wives may be presented to a friend of the husband (XXVI, 12). They are sometimes the object of gambling (XXI). In the case of the prolonged absence of the husband, the wife may be sold by relatives as 'unclaimed property' (XXVIII, 5).

The adventures of the hero are usually undertaken as the

result of obeying the orders of a king, who is ill-advised by some intriguing individual, who has a demoniacal character. All the exploits are of a fantastic nature, and very rarely is there a note of reality. It is not courage or bravery but cunning and plotting that bring success to the hero, and his magical powers bring him tremendous luck.

'Helpful Animals' are not so prominent here as is usually common in folk-lore, though they are mentioned in the zoological myths (XIV; XX; XXI; XXII). Instead of this help however, the hero always has at his disposal animals with magical powers. This motive is often repeated in the stories of the decisive gambling of animals, in cock-fights, and is also mentioned in the contests of other quadrupeds (XXI; XXVI). Demons are not only partial to this, but arrange it on a larger and more elaborate scale (XXVI). The metamorphosis of a hero is not mentioned frequently; once only we are told that *Ling-gyaso* turns into a flea (XXVIII).

The supernatural beings assisting the heroes are chiefly fairies, the wives or the sisters of demons, serpents, or ogres, etc. They reveal the hiding place of the external soul of their husband or brother (XXV; XXVI; XXVIII) or give generally useful information. Sometimes the helpful being is also a demon (XXVI).

The hero of a tale never becomes wounded or sick, though he is killed falling from a height. Thus dies one of the twin-heroes, after marvellous flights through the skies. One of them is also killed on another occasion when he is wrestling with his brother on the roof. Or the hero may be dismembered by a magic process (XXVII). In both cases he is resuscitated either by magic yaks' tails that are black and white, or by waters that are of the same colour (XXIV; XXVII). But his normal ending—so to say—is ascension into Heaven where he flies up with all his family, and favourite animals (XXVI). There is never any mention of a burial.

It is strange that the hero is always moving about alone—we never hear of a crowd of admiring followers or attendants. There is instead, only the figure of a 'king,' a ruler who cooks his own dinner (XXIV), and who gambles with his subjects for a wife, and there are only occasional vague mentions of court-servants and advisers.

These are the features of the heroic tales, other stories follow these details, though the object to be reached is different. An element of fun is present, not only in the animal stories (which are told simply to create amusement) but also in the tales about a fool or a liar (XXIX; XXX).

As purely humorous are the stories about the tricks of the jackal (XIII); the bat evading taxes (XVI); and the adventures of a flea (XVIII). Others have apparently a moral inclination, like the tale of the cat with the rats (XVII). The

majority are reflections of a mythological nature however, and have been discussed above.

In the stories in which not only animals are actors, but also humans and demons, there are many familiar motives: the story of the crab (XIX), a parallel of 'Puss in Boots' in the form of a squirrel (XX), the tale of a fairy disguised as a black puppy by night, and resuming her form of a maiden by day (XXI), which probably gives the meaning of the solar cycle.

Variants of the same motive appear in the next two tales (XXII; XXIII); in which a maiden comes out of the sacrificial sheepskin which is given to an orphan boy as alms, and in the other a king is disguised as a goat's tail.

Other motives that may be mentioned are the following:—(1) the version of the familiar story about a step-daughter who is depressed by her step-mother (XXXV); (2) the details of a tree on which the hearts of the dead are hanging, and which resembles the Muhammadan idea of the tree of predestination (XXXV).

It is indeed strange to notice how similar in detail is the creative power of man's imagination, and how identical the motives of popular tales may be that are told in the Himalayas, to those that are repeated in western countries thousands of miles away.

3. Tales.

A. Myths of Creation.

I. The Story of Creation.
(1) The children of *It-mo*, (2) The children of *Na-zong-nyo*, (3) *Takbo-thing* and *Na-zong-nyo* descend upon the earth, (4) *Takbo-thing* and *Na-zong-nyo* expelled. (5) The separation of the pair. (6) *Na-zong-nyo* pursues *Takbo-thing*. (7) *Na-zong-nyo* gives to a human being. (8) Miscarried message of immortality. (9) *Na-zong-nyo* finds *Takbo-thing*, but is rejected by him. (10) The sky is ornamented. (11) The Creator sends a *Bong-thing* (12) The covenant with the *Mung*. (13) The first man *Tarbong-mu*. (14) *Narib-nom's* kinsmen interfere. (15) The story of the '*chi*' ferment. (16) The *Matli-mu's* revenge. (17) The *pa-vin-bu* snake tries drinking '*chi*.' (18) The *Rum's* decision.

II. The Birth of the Cloud-demon.

III. The death of the Cloud-demon.

IV. The first Man and the first Sacrifice.
(1) The first man. (2) The first sacrifice. (3) The revolt of the parts of *Tashey-thing's* body.

V. The Progenitor of the Lap-chas.

VI. The Flood and the Serpent-king.

VII. The Flood and the Great Tower.
(1) The flood. (2) The tower.

I. The Story of Creation.

(Told by Tooget Sharap Dorje. a lama, at the Ling-them monastery, who through illness was unable to finish it. May 8th–May 12th.)

1. *The children of It-mo.*

In the beginning the *Himalayas* were created, and two of these mountains, the *Tang-sheng* and the *Narem* were husband and wife. The *Anden-chu* is their son, for he is a snow mountain, and lying at his feet just below, is a table-land called the *Sabur-ancho* where the first man and woman lived. (A great many of the Rong-folk who are derived from that place call themselves *Sabur* to this day.)

The Himalaya mountains are the elder brother and sister to every other land and river afterwards created, the next brother lives in the *Rum-lyang*.[1] He has only one eye, he watches over everybody and holds a pair of scales in his hands with which he weighs their balance.[2]

The next elder sister is called the *Fyong-tulyada*. She is a lake lying in the mountains at the source of the *Marmu* river that runs into the *Rung-nyo*[3] at *Dikchu*. She is over three miles in length, and her colours are black, white and red. She can be seen five miles away, but no one has ever been there—for there is no path.

Next to her comes a son, he is the Spirit of the Earthquake (the Mut-li-tyu), his mouth is very very long. He lives in the world below the earth where there is a great wind. Above that there is a region of fire, and above that again an expanse of water which supports the earth. When anything great in this world occurs, be it good or evil, he is known to move.

Next to him comes a daughter, a lake called *Laksom* near *Tassiding*, and below this in the *Bhutan* territory is another son, he is the mountain called *Miduk-cho*. Below him again there is a lake in the Himalayas who is a sister, and her name is *Charla*. But these are only some of the brothers and sisters for all of *It-mo's*[4] children could never be given.

---

[1] *Folk-lore of the Rong-folk.* I also heard another story about the *Rum-lyang*, the country of the gods, which runs as follows:—The *Rum* country is flower-like, the people inhabit the calyx during life (*rid-adek*), while it is on the petals that heaven lies. Time is so long on earth, that a hundred months of our time equals one day. Everyone is good there on the petals, drink is equal to '*chi a-rok*,' the Spirit of '*chi*.' (When this drink runs down to earth, it becomes water, and when it goes down still lower to Heli (*a-mok*) it turns into poison (*ma-ro rip sak*). The people in that place, we are told, lack water, the country is wretched and sorrowful, and when they spit their spittle is licked up by those who are within reach and very thirsty.

[2] In none of the other tales is there any mention of this 'Angel of Fate,' and therefore more detailed characteristics cannot be obtained.

[3] The *Rung-nyo ung* is now known under its Hindu name as the *Tista* river.

[4] See above, p. 337

2. *The children of Nazong-ngyu.*

The two last to be born were *Takbo-thing* and *Nazong-ngyu*, and although these were brother and sister, they became husband and wife and had many children.

The first was the Evil Spirit of Small-pox (*rum-du-mung* and *rurn-du*), the second was the Evil Spirit of Leprosy (*dom mung*), the third was the Evil Spirit of misfortune (*arot-mung*), while the fourth was the Evil Spirit causing mothers to die in child-birth, and is also the Evil Spirit causing the death of unborn children (*asor-mung*). The fifth was the Evil Spirit of Hate and Discord (*mik-jit*), whilst after this many snakes were born (*bu*), among them being the black snake that is not poisonous (*pa-mol-bu*) and many cobras (*pa-hryuk-bu*).

Nazong-ngyu hid all these births, and threw them away without feeding them from her breast. Later, lizards (*sa-mung*) were born, also the smaller kind of lizard (*ta-glot*) and many kinds of different caterpillars (*tun-nyom*), but these were also thrown away.

3. *Takbo-thing and Nazong-ngyu descend upon the earth.*

Then *Takbo-thing* and *Nazong-ngyu* came down to the earth and reached the tableland of *Tarkol-partam* (and this can be seen on clear days from *Ling-them*). When it became night, and they went to sleep, *Nazong-ngyu* took off her bracelet which was called *Pandur* as it was hurting *Takbo-thing's* neck, and placed it on the pillow by her side. The next morning they found it had grown into a tall sago-palm (*sa-nyol-kun*), and it was so high that it reached the sky.[1]

4. *Takbo-thing and Na-zong-ngyu expelled.*

Now when these children grew up the *Rum* country heard about them, and finding *Nazong-ngyu* had given birth to a great many children, they asked her who the father was. This, however she would not divulge.

The *Rum* then decided they would give a reward to anyone who would tell them who the father of *Nazong-ngyu's* children was, but for a long time no one ventured.

At last the dog spoke who lay on her doorstep:—"If you give me the reward I want," he said to the *Rum*, "I will tell you who the father of the children is." The *Rum* asked the dog what he wanted, and he replied that he wanted all the scraps of food he could get from human beings. To this request they agreed and the dog said:—"I am *Nazong-ngyu's* door-keeper and

[1] More about this mythical tree, which apparently is nothing but the Cloud tree in the mythology of many nations, is given later. See tales No II and III.

saw *Takbo-thing* go in to her, he stepped over me, and it is he who is the father of all these creatures."[1]

As he was speaking, *Nazong-ngyu*, who was spinning cotton became angry with the dog, and cursing, threw the ball of thread at him and hit him. Then the *Rum* told *Takbo-thing* and *Nazong-ngyu* they had done great wrong and would have to separate.

5. *The separation of the divine pair.*

When these two parted, they divided all their goods, their gold and their silver, *Takbo-thing* putting all his in many bags, but *Nazong-ngyu* hid all hers in the folds of her dress (*dum-pin*).[2] As for the cattle, *Takbo-thing* tied all his up, but *Nazong-ngyu* let hers loose. The fowls they also divided, *Takbo-thing* put his in safe places, in *Yahar*, the white plain towards India, in *Gyanock* the black plain towards China, and in the *Pot-lyang* which is Tibet.[3] But *Nazong-ngyu* let all hers loose and they flew into the jungle. (That is why all the neighbouring countries are so rich and why this country is so poor—some animals are found in the jungle, but they all are *Nazong-ngyu's* which she let loose.)

6. *Nazong-ngyu pursues Takbo thing.*

Now after parting from *Nazong-ngyu*, *Takbo-thing* ran away and made his Palace in the Peacock Mountain. (This is a snow-peak and can be seen from Ling-them on a clear day.)

Nazong-ngyu followed him but could not climb to the top of the high mountain where he lived, so she became very sorrowful and wept bitterly. Giving up any hope of ever meeting him, she cut off one of her plaits of hair and threw it to the top of the mountain.[4]

After that, she called her children, the grasshoppers including all the locusts, and told them she was going to build a stair-case with her necklaces in order to reach the top of the mountain, and that they were to hold on to it firmly.

---

[1] Should *Takbo-thing* be in reality a lunar deity, the betrayal by the dog is quite a typical part of the myth—dogs are known to bark and howl at the sight of the moon. Cf. A. de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, London, 1872, vol. ii, p. 19 (footnote).

[2] The end a Lap-cha woman makes in her cloth dress and tucks into her waist.

[3] All these safe countries, extending in all directions from Sikhim, are obviously nothing but the sky, and the herd, or stars, themselves. The symbolism of the moon being a shepherd of the Celestial herd is quite common in folk-lore.

[4] The Lap-cha woman used formerly to cut off one of her plaits when she became a widow (usually they have two). The symbolism of this story probably alludes to the first ray of the morning sun catching the high peaks of the mountain.

I have also heard it mentioned that when a wife committed adultery formerly, for a punishment she had her nose cut off and one of her plaits.

But most of them became greedy, and wanted to steal their mother's precious stones, and they forgot their promise to her and went away with as much as they could carry. But two did not run away, these two were daddy-long-legs, *Namgel* and *Ma-un-gnyu*, who never left the stair-case. (This is the reason why all grasshoppers die within three months, they are still punished and have to die; it is the daddy-long-legs who is the only insect who lives for a long time, in fact they only die when man kills them, and their legs grew to the enormous length they now are owing to the fact that they had to hold on so long to the stair-case.)[1]

7. *Nazong-ngyu gives birth to a Human Being.*

When *Nazong-ngyu* almost reached the top of the mountain, she gave birth to a human being, a son whom she loved and fed from her breast. Her other children seeing this became jealous, and through their hatred and jealousy the child died.

So *Nazong-ngyu* built two tombs, one was called *Re-bu* and was meant for a *Mung*, while the other was called *Sheng-bu* and was meant for a *Rum*.[2]

8. *Miscarried Message of Immortality.*

Then she sent two birds, the *rakchum-fo* and the *ran-fon-fo* up to *Takbo-thing* to fetch the two waters, the one that gives life, and the one that takes it.[3] He asked the two messengers what they had come for and they replied :—"*Nazong-ngyu* has borne you a son in the world, but he has died and she sent us to fetch the two waters."

Takbo-thing gave them to the two birds and instructed them to pour the one that gave life over the *Rum's* tomb, while the one that took life they were to pour over the *Mung's* tomb.

As the two birds were flying back to *Nazong-ngyu*, they talked this over, and thought if they obeyed *Takbo-thing's* directions the *Rum* would have only one life—he would never die to be re-incarnated while if they gave the water that took life to the *Mung*, he would die to be re-incarnated and would increase and fill the world.

So when the two messengers came down from the sky and alighted, they poured the water that took life over the *Rum's*

[1] The idea underlying the treacherous behaviour of the grasshoppers and the locusts is apparently an allusion to the hiding of these insects with the arrival of dawn.

[2] The symbolism of these two tombs is not clear. Nothing is said about the appearance of the *Mung*, perhaps these two were twins ?

[3] For references to the water of life and water of death, see further on-tale No. XXVII. These liquids are said to be of a black and white colour. Cf. J. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, xi, pp. 114-115.

tomb, while the one that gave life they poured over the *Mung's* tomb. So it happened the *Rum's* life would never be endless, he would die to be born again, and he would increase and fill the world, whilst the *Mung* would only live once.[1]

9. *Nazong-ngyu finds Takbo-thing, but is rejected by him.*

After this *Nazong-ngyu* went up still further and nearly reached *Takbo-thing*, only he refused to see her, and she built a separate palace to live in. (This palace can still be seen from *Ling-them* on a clear day, and we the Rong-folk believe *Takbo-thing* and *Nazong-ngyu* still live there, and we offer them sacrifices, for were they not our first father and mother ?)

10. *The Sky is ornamented.*

This was the commencement of creation, but the sky was quite empty for there was no sun or moon, it was only blue and had no ornaments, so the Creator decorated it with many stars. Still the sky did not show all its beauty, and the Creator ornamented it with clouds so that the mountains were sometimes shaded, and he saw it was good.

11. *The Creator sends a Bong-thing.*

Everything was nearly completed, but a *Bong-thing* was required as a mediator to speak between the *Rum* and the Humans.[2]

So from Heaven (the *Rum-lyang*) *It-mo*, the Creator sent a bamboo (the *prong*), but he only went to the top of a mountain where he planted himself and spread and did not do the work of a go-between.

Then a beetle (the *tang-dare*) was sent, but he too neglected the work of a go-between, and only planted a species of mimosa (the *sus-gryonkun*).[3]

So the Creator sent another beetle (the *la-gyok*), but he also started planting a species of Batula (the *sus-li-kun*) and a

[1] For the parallels to this story of the miscarried message of immortality, see J. Frazer, *Folklore of the Old Testament*, vol. I, pp. 47–52.

[2] The *Bong-thing* is nowadays a sort of *shaman*, i.e. a medicine man, an exorciser who cures the sick. Details of his office were given me by *Pasang*, a *Bong-thing* at *Badamtam*, who had counted his beads to know whether it would be propitious coming to see me or not. Nov. 13th. When a man is sick he first burns incense to know whether it is the *Rum* or the *Mung* who are troubling the patient. By counting his beads, chanting from a book, and throwing dice, he finds out what is to be done. Then he falls into a trance, and speaks the words that rise to his lips whilst he continues to burn incense.

[3] Divine mission and special sacredness are attributed to different kinds of beetles in most folk-lore, cf. Gubernatis, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 195, 209.

tree called the *sus-lok-kun*, and he was of no use as a go-between. (He is the beetle who sings "*trem-trem-yeng-yeng*" or just "*yeng-yeng-yeng*" every night during the fourth month of the year till the eighth month, by the Tibetan calendar, and then he dies).

Then the Creator sent a grasshopper[1] (the *thenum-jit-nyom*). He came and planted the bamboo called the *mat-lo* from which arrows and darts are made, and also the elephant grass that grew later with *Tashey-thing's* pony's teeth-marks on them.[2]

So he was of no use, and the Creator sent a black cricket (the *num-brit*). He cries loudly like this at night—*ti-re-re-re*, but he did no work and only kept going in and out of holes all night.

Then there was only one child of the Creator's left, and he didn't wish to leave home (*li*), but the Creator who loved him like a mother told him he ought to go and see his brothers and sisters, the Himalaya Mountains, the lakes and all the rivers in order that he might become a *Bong-thing* to help the humans with the evil spirits.

And the child asked *It-mo* what would be the best things to take with him, and the Creator gave him some ginger (*salep*), some garlic (*paki-mun-gu*), and a tree—the fruit of which he could place on a stick and burn slowly like a lamp (the *safi-kun*). And all these things are used externally and internally by the *Bong-thing* to-day, and from all these plants and bulbs medicine is made.

Taking all these bulbs the son came to the *Lung-tan-parten* table-land in the Himalayas, but he found the *Mung* had already come to that place, indeed they had spread over the whole country, they were in all the mountains, in all the trees and in all the caves. So he said to them:—"I was sent to go round the world, but you seem to have been everywhere before me so I will return to the Creator."

12. *The Covenant with the Mung.*

But when he turned and was leaving, the *Mung* caught hold of him saying:—"On one condition we will do everything you command, when we worry the human beings with disease and illness, we will go away and leave them in peace if, in return, you will give us something, fowls, eggs, pigs, or any other animal."

The *Bong-thing* said:—"You force me to do this, only swear

[1] The grasshopper's importance is very great in folk-lore. Amongst the African Bushmen he appears as the creator, see Hastings' *Encyclopædia* vol. i, p. 490.

[2] In story No. XXV, these marks are attributed to the steed of *Gabu*—not to *Tashey-thing's* horse.

you will leave all human beings in peace. I will call my brothers the *Sakbri-bu* and the *Sahnang-bu* to act as witnesses."

To this they all agreed, and at *Partam Sakber* the *Mung* swore that when they worried a human person with illness they would agree to leave the sick person in peace were the *Bong-thing* to attend to the patient, and propitiate them, the *Mung* by giving an offering of a cow, a pig, or several goats.

To make doubly sure, the *Bong-thing* asked the *Mung* to swear by spitting[1] on a rock there which they did, and the oath was so great, it shattered the rock to pieces. And again he asked them to swear and spit in the lake, which they did, but the oath was so great, it caused the lake to dry up. Yet once more he asked them to swear spitting on a tree, which they did, but the tree could not bear the weight of the oath and it fell.

This was the covenant between the *Bong-thing* and the *Mung*, and we the Rong-folk believe this was the origin of the *Bong-thing*.

And the *Bong-thing* was satisfied and planted for us, Rong-folk, the plantain (*tuk-blo*) that bears big fruit, many kinds of bamboo (the *po*), and the yam (*sun-than*), while for the *Lum*, the native in the Plains, he planted the tree-fern, for those in *Bhutan* and *Gya-nok* (China) he planted a species of Amomum (*pa-la*), and for the Tibetan (the *Pat-mo*), he planted the elephant grass (the *pa-shor*).

And when he had done this he went up to Tiamtan where he built a palace, and we the Rong-folk believe he still lives there. It is a country that lies midway between Heaven (the *Rum-lyang*) and earth.[2]

13. *The First Man, Tarbong-mu.*

After the *Bong-thing* another son was born to the Creator, *Tarbong-mu*, and the child, after sucking the breast, wished to see his brothers and sisters and came up to this world.

He arrived first of all at the *Minduk Cho*, his snow-mountain brother in *Bhutan*, and from there he went to see his elder sister, the *Charla* lake. Then he went to see his elder brother, the *Kang-chhen* mountain, and from that "highest curtain of snow" he looked well all round, but could see nothing. At last he looked towards the *Dinzyong-lyang*, and saw in the middle of the table-land a tree (*pa-lit sampyer*) bearing many kinds of fruit. It had a great many birds sitting on its branches, the *kal-het* was there, the *ka-dong*, the pheasant, the

[1] Spitting in water and swearing on a stone and a tree are still common in Sikhim. It is common among various primitive races, cf. Hastings' *Encyclopædia*, vol. 4, p. 208. A similar oath is described in the stories of Nos. XX, 2; XXVI, 8.

[2] Cf. above, p. 337. Also called *Sari-rung* or *Siri-nong-dong-chen*.

blue-horned pheasant, the great barbet, another kind of pheasant and many others.

Tarbong-mu thought he would catch all these birds and give them to his mother as a present. So he wove a net from a creeper (*ta-kli*) and caught a great many. These he carried down to his mother who was very pleased, and as she wished for some more he came up once more to the world.

The following day he went to see how many birds he had caught but to his surprise he only found pieces of wood, and watching, discovered that a fairy from the *Rum* country had been placing them there. She was so beautiful that her beauty cannot be described, her name was *Narib-nom*, the daughter of *Lha-mayen*. He told his mother that he had fallen in love with her and would come up to the world to try and catch her. When he saw her the next day at sunrise, he darted upon her and caught her. They struggled and came to the *Sa-ryum* mountains, there he defeated her and making her his wife, she became fruitful.

14. *Narib-nom's kinsmen interfere.*

This fact came to the notice of the *Rum* brothers who met and consulted, but they could not decide what they should do to *Tarbong-mu* and *Narib-nom*. They were so uncertain that they prepared to make '*chi*,' and to think it over whilst they sipped it. They had the millet but no ferment.

15. *The story of the 'chi' ferment.*

Then the wasp who lives in a mud nest (*ta-lyam*) told the *Rum* if they would give him a present, he would find out *Mat-li-mu's* abode and fetch it for them. What he wanted were the remains of the butter in the closely-woven basket that was kept for that purpose (*mor tok*), and the *Rum* promised him this. (Ever since that day the basket should always be kept in a safe place, else that wasp will make a hole and take his share.)

So he went down to the *Mat-li-mu's* land which was below the earth, and found she was a very old woman. He lived with her as her grandson, and fetched and carried for her, and worked so hard that at last she grew to love him.

Once she even made '*chi*' from some millet, but at the time of putting in the ferment, she covered the wasp up in a closely-woven basket (*tun-gar*). He cried out at once loudly that were she to cover him up like that he would be able to see the whole world including herself. The old woman asked him what she should cover him with in order to make him blind, and he told her to place him in a big basket with a wide mesh (*tun-dyon*). Believing him, the old woman put him inside one, and he saw her take the ferment from the nape of her neck

which she put in the '*chi*.' Then he asked to be taken out quickly as he was suffocating.

Later one day he asked if he might hunt for lice in her hair, and as he searched, the old woman fell asleep. The wasp took the ferment from her neck, and flew back to the world of the humans again.

16. *The Mat-li-mu's revenge.*

He had nearly reached there when the old woman woke and cried out :—"You have stolen my ferment, if you only know how to use it, you would be able to offer the '*chi*' to the *Rum*, but now you will find that it always excites you, it will cause you all to quarrel, it may, even perhaps, kill you."

But the wasp started to make '*chi*' as he had brought the ferment back, and all the *Rum* came, but no one dared taste it, as they did not know what would happen to the first one who drank.

17. *The pa-vin-bu snake tries drinking 'chi.'*

Then the *pa-vin-bu* volunteered to try it first (and he is the snake who springs from trees) As soon as he had drunk a little, he became mad, and commenced to fly, and some of his friends went to look after him. They found, however, he was not dying, and another snake—one that is black, the *pa-mol-bu*, drank, also became mad. He went into a cave, and some of his friends went in too to look after him, but they found he was only snoring.

Then a third snake—one that is poisonous, the *pa-hlyok-bu*, volunteered. He drank the '*chi*', and went away vomiting, and ever since that day he is more poisonous.

Then a fourth offered to taste it—the hornet that has a red head and a black body (*tik*). She had some and only ran away drunk.

After that came another snake—the *pa-zyob-bu* who only lives in the hills—and when he had gone everyone thought they might try as the poison had by now all gone.

18. *The Rum's Decision.*

And the *Rum* came to the conclusion that *Tarbong-mu* and *Narib-nom* ought to be married, and the fairy started cultivating millet in order to celebrate the wedding, whilst *Tarbong-mu* went up to *Tibet* (*Pot-lyang*) to fetch silk, cloth, and many valuable clothes. On his return he visited the Plains (*Tin-lyang*), so that he could fetch a pig, and it was then that *Narib-nom* cut the millet. They killed the pig, put on the new clothes, and the wedding ceremony commenced.

This is the origin of '*chi*' and how it came to be used by the *Rong*-folk.[1]

II. The Birth of the Cloud-demon.

(*Told by Shupa at Lang-dang, May 6th.*)

In the beginning the father *Pa-sandi* and the Creator-mother *It-mo* had a son and daughter who were called *Takbo-thing* and *Na-zong-ngyu*.

Takbo-thing slept on the *Naho-da* lake while his sister was on the *Nathar* lake. Now one day she made a golden staircase from her lake to her brother's, and thus he was tempted, came one night to his sister and slept with her.

During the night the bracelet she was wearing hurt her brother's neck, so she took it off and placed it beside her pillow. The next morning it had grown up into a sago palm tree (*sa-nyol-kun*).[2] Later it flowered, and the flowers became snow and hailstones when they fell on the earth.

Then *Na-zong-ngyu* gave birth to a son who was called the *Laso-mung pono*. He lived on the top of the sago palm and his after-birth was known as the *Mara-mung*.[3] If you care to see them, you must climb the hill and look at the *Sa-nyol* mountain where you will see a big opening at the foot of the petrified trunk where the *Mara-mung* is hiding. He flies about at night sometimes looking like fire.

III. The Death of the Cloud-demon and the Origin of Kings.

(*Told by Apon at Pakhyang, April 28th.*)

Now in Sikhim, a country lying in the Himalaya mountains, there was a big tree called the sago palm (*sa-nyol*). The demon *Laso-mung-pono* used to live on it, and he gave so much trouble to the people of the *Densyong-lyang* that they decided to cut down the tree.

---

[1] '*Chi*' is the local intoxicating drink. It is made from the millet plant, whose nutritious seeds are dried in the sun for three days when they are ripe. Three compressors are used. The seed is first boiled in an earthenware pot which is covered with a loose bamboo mat (the *tang-gryon-fuk*) which is covered by another larger vessel. Over that another pot is placed round which plantain bark and mud is wrapped. The large pot is filled with water and dropped into the small pot. When the seeds have fermented but little, and the drink is sweet, it is much sought after by women; it is after several days' exposure to the sun when the grain has thoroughly fermented that it becomes very strong.

[2] The sago-palm tree is frequently seen in Sikhim and in Bengal. It is said to attract flies greatly, and for this reason people are said to cut it down when found in their compounds.

[3] Cf. the belief of the Baganda who regard the after-birth as a twin of the child; it is buried under a tree and regarded as a ghost. See Hastings' *Encyclopædia*, vol. xii, p. 500, who also quotes Roscoe, *Baganda*, pp. 52, 54.

When they had cut it down, the demon flew away. A gush of water came out from the spot the tree had stood on, becoming the source of the *Rung-nyo-ung* or the *Tista* river. The demon, however, kept following the people, and sat on the *singli-sang-lok*[1] tree which was crushed by his weight. Then he moved to the *sichem*[2] tree, which although small, bore his weight.

There the people shot at him with their bows and arrows, and at last slashed at him with their knives (*ban*).

Those who came and stood near him as he was dying were the *Aden-mu* (the *Adinpuso* ?) a family of kings. As he was breathing his last, a family called the *Luksom-mo*, second only to the family of kings stood near him, later came the family of *Sanut-mung*. More than a hundred families helped to cut him up, and out of his pieces of flesh many kinds of wasps sprang up, some of them being the hornet (*tik*), the yellow wasp (*ta-lyo*), the *ta-lyam*, another species of wasp and the *sum-myar* a large wasp, with many kinds of the common black fly like the *sum-bryong*. The demon's bones were thrown into the air becoming mosquitoes (*sait*).[3]

IV. The First Man and the First Sacrifice.

(Chanted by Karma Cayodek at Dickhu, April 25th.)

1. *The First Man.*

In the beginning there was only sea, and the Creator, *Tashey-takbo-thing*, made two kinds of fish, *ngo* was the common kind, while the *ngo-yang* had a serpent form.

From the sea we believe that a tortoise supports the world, and on it *Tashey-takbo-thing* created the birds and animals.[4]

Then he tried to make a form of man from butter, but it would not stand up, as whenever he made it, it melted. (Had the butter only remained firm, we should all have been very beautiful).[5]

Then he made a human form of earth and mud, and wind came into this resemblance of man and life was created. Then *Tashey-takbo-thing* made blood out of water which he put in it.

---

[1] This is a big tree, very tall, that grows in tropical countries.

[2] This is a tree growing in tropical countries near water, a species of elm.

[3] This is an interesting parallel to the ancient idea that the origin of bees is from a dismembered solar or lunar deity, as in the myths of Dionysus or in the Biblical legend of *Samson and his lion*, cf. Gubernatis, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 217-218.

[4] This is a story that is similar to one told by the *Santals* of Bengal in a much more detailed form. See J. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, vol. i, pp. 19-22.

[5] The different conceptions arising about the creation of man have been admirably summed up in J. Frazer's *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, vol. i, pp. 3-44 (as quoted).

and the bones he created from stone. Then he moved away to see whether the creature he had made could answer him, and speak, but as he had no veins or nerves he was unable to. So *Tashey-takbo-thing* picked a great many creepers from the jungle and from these which he spread all over the form it spoke.

Thus was the first male created, but as there was no female, he was lonely, and could not reproduce himself.

One day as he was catching birds with his snare in the jungle, *Tashey-takbo-thing* entangled a woman in one for him to catch.

So the man caught her, and took her to his home, but at first they could not marry as there was no go-between to help them talk over the marriage matters. But at last the *Rum* decided to send the owl (*tam-bun*) down to the Country of Creation (*It-lyang*).

2. *The First Sacrifice.*

Then *Tashey-takbo-thing* wished to make his first sacrifice to the *Rum*, and called the *gno* and the *ngo-yong*. These two argued who should go, and decided at last it should be the one who was able to jump over the water-fall. *Gno* tried, but failed as he was dragged under by the water. *Gno-yong* however, succeeded and that is how we Rong-folk know that they can go up all rivers while the *gno* have to stay in the Plains.

3. *The Revolt of the Parts of Tashey-takbo-thing's Body.*

At the offering time the hands and feet of *Tashey-takbo-thing* quarrelled with his belly saying:—"We work very hard the whole time, but you, the belly, do nothing." And the belly replying said:—"Very well then, as you believe that, for two or three days I shall do really nothing. I will rest and shall not eat anything."

Then the hands and feet became so weak they could do nothing, and were soon unable to move. And the belly said:—"If you find me something to eat, you will find you regain strength and vigour," and as he ate a little, the hands and feet planted strength and they knew they were defeated. So they regained sugar-cane, (*mut pa-am*) pine-apples (*bor-pol*) and all kinds of fruit which grew abundantly.[1]

And *Tashey-takbo-thing* took a supply of all these fruits with many fish from the rivers and sacrificed them. This was the commencement of all offering. It took place a long time before Buddhism was introduced into his country, and even now, we

[1] The rebellion of parts of *Tashey-takbo-thing*'s body has probably been introduced into this tale of the first sacrifice by mistake—it has no logical connection with it.

the *Rong-folk*, hold sacrifices twice a year at the harvest and sowing times.[1]

V. The Progenitor of the Lap-chas.

(Told by Topden of Panang at Ling-them, May 8th.)

At the foot of the *Himalaya* mountains there lies a lake called the *Rimband*, and a rock the *Kong-lahab* hangs over it.

In the beginning the fairy of the lake made that rock her loom and wove. Whilst she was weaving, one of the *Rum* gods looked down and saw her and desired her. He turned himself into a monkey, and coming down to that lake he made her his wife.[2]

A son was born to them whom they called *Sangel*, and when he was older he also married a fairy of that lake.

And we the Rong-folk believe we are descended from him.[3] For we still offer sacrifices on that rock in the month when we harvest the rice. Every year we give fish (*gno*), game (*fo*),

---

[1] The *Rong*-folk have told me in many different villages, including those of *Lang-dang*, *Ling-them*, *Kabi*, etc., that they hold sacrifices twice a year, at harvest and sowing time to ensure good crops, and that the Maharaja also holds them. The first ceremony takes place in September, while the second, which commences on the 12th of December, I had the honour of attending in the Palace grounds at Gjangtok, through the kindness of H.H. Sir Tashe Namgyal, the Maharaja of Sikhim. Both ceremonies illustrate stories that are sung to the accompaniment of a lamas' dance. The first one is a celebration of the War-dance, and is held to 'celebrate the Worship of the Spirit of the *Kangchen-Dzod-Nga* (*Kinchinjunga*, the *Rong*-folk name being the *Kong-chin-chu*), who is shortly called *Dzod-nga*, meaning the five treasures. He is believed to be the God *Kuvera* (*rNam-sras-mDung-dMar-chah Kuvera* with the red spear). He is represented as the War God in Sikhim, and has to be worshipped periodically. He is believed to belong to that class of spirit called *Yakashas* by the Hindus (*Tib-gNop-sByins*). In this ceremony the sacrifice to the Spirit of the *Kong-chin-chu* group seems to have changed to a War-dance instituted as 'a physical exercise to counteract the effects of the sedentary life of the lamas.' The second ceremony that is now held was originally the Lamas' 'devil dancing cult for exorcising malignant and human enemies. The lamas altered the motive of the play to hang upon it their own sacerdotal story for their own glorification and priestly gain.' This will show how Buddhism is sweeping away the old Lap-cha religion. I hold the translated descriptions of both ceremonies.

[2] Cf. other parallels of the monkey being the progenitor of mankind. See J. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, vol. i, p. 35. This myth recalls in some degree the well-known Hindu tales of the *Ramayana*, concerning Sita and Hanuman. The northern equivalent of the monkey, the bear, is often connected in folk-lore of different European nations, with the motive of marrying a human wife who gives birth to a half-man and half-bear. *Cf.* Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 116–118.

[3] The only story I heard from a Lap-cha of monkeys being degenerated men was from the *Achen mandal* at Lopchu (Bengal). He told me that some of the Rong-folk believed that once upon a time a man started making a shelf for a fire-place (*pang-tok*), but cutting the wood he became angry, and running into the wood, the handle of the knife became his tail and he turned into a monkey.

rice-*chi* (*mor-chi*), beaten rice (*ta-la*), and ginger (*himg*). These are put on banana leaves and are offered at *Shara* near the *Tulung* monastery.

VI. The Flood and the Serpent-King.

(Told by Topden of Panang at Ling-them, May 8th.)

In the beginning, the world was all water, and there were no living creatures. Then the Creator made an earthenware pot that floated on the water, and this was land that floated on the sea. Like a human body that is made of flesh and bone the earth is made of rock and soil.

In the lowlands the Creator planted the bamboo, and the *sisin-nambyong*. After that he made the *Lang-chuk Lung-dal* that are now known as the Himalaya Mountains, and he created the *pa-song pumun* bamboo which grows at the foot of these hills. And then he created *Pudung-thing* and *Nazong-gnyu* who were the first male and female, and it is from these two that the human-beings have spread over the entire world. Then there was neither birth nor death, but this was created later to suit the world.

The seeds of all these crops were given by *Pudung-thing* and *Nazong-gnyu* to all their children who cultivated the land and lived on the production.

When these two were made, birth so multiplied that there was not enough room in the world. Then *Paril-bu*, who was the Serpent-King dammed the rivers by lying in them, and they overflowed and rose to a great height and reached the sky.[1] Everyone fled to the top of *Kong-chen-chu*, the highest peak in the Himalayas, but only two people were saved. The place where they stood is called *Mayak-kyong* to this day. While the flood was raging, *Tashey-thing* sent a hero down into the world called the *Yong-li-pono* to kill the serpent who was blocking the rivers. The hero cut the serpent in pieces, thus making the waters run down into the Plains, and we, the Rong-folk believe the Blue Mountains (that can be seen from the valley of the *Rangpo Chu*) are the remains of the cut body of the serpent.[2]

[1] It is characteristic here to note the idea of the serpent causing the flood by damming the rivers. We see in the folk-lore of many nations, and in the *Avesta* and Hindu mythology, that the serpent was very prominent in the act of stopping waters, and to get rid of him a deity or hero is sent to kill him. The Rong-folk believe the *Paril-bu* lives in the *Kong-chin-chu* and that he descends from the mountain fastnesses to cause rain. He is said to be of gigantic proportions and to have a red crest. See Gubernatis, vol. ii, pp. 390–395.

[2] Apparently the serpent of gigantic stature is referred to in the story of *Ati-azyak*'s adventures (No. XIX) where we are told of the killing of a monster, although it is not in connection with the flood (stopping the waters is mentioned in the same story however, but connected with another demon). The story of the great flood as it is given in the folk-lore of

When the world was dry once more, *Tashey-thing* sent down two rivers from the Himalaya Mountains guided by a Serpent-King called the *Paril Patong*, and a quail, the *Ko-hun-fo*, and these were the *Rung-nyo* and (the *Tista*) and the *Rung-nyit*.

He also sent *Pudung-thing* and *Nazong-gnyu* down to the world from the height of *Mayal Kyong*, giving them the name of *Tikung-tek* and *Nikong-gnal*. These two are the first Grandfather and Grandmother of the Rong-folk. As they had no king, *Tashey-thing* sent them down *Gyabo-chaya-dor-tulku* from *Mayal Kyong*, and he is the Grandfather (ancestor) of the present Maharaja.

VII. The Flood and the Great Tower.

(Told by David Macdonald at Kalimpong, April 22nd.)

1. *The Flood.*

In the beginning *Foog-rong* and *Nazong-nyo* lived, our first Grandfather and Grandmother (ancestors). Then the flood came and nearly every human creature perished, only two who ran to the summit of Mount *Tendong-lho* were saved.[1]

Now *Takbo-thing*[2] was the father of *Tashey-thing* who had married the partridge (*ko-hom-fo*), and she put some '*chi*' in a large leaf (*tung-fyum-nyom*) which she offered to her father-in-law, saying if he only would, he could stop the flood. And *Takbo-thing* looking down from the country of the *Rum* saw that the world was flooded, and that his daughter-in-law was praying to him and offering him '*chi*,' and he took up his walking stick (*pa-tung*) and struck the world so that the water sank in. But the partridge spilt some of the '*chi*' on her breast. (The mark can be seen to this day, she is called the *tung-fyum* because of it.) So the world became dry once more, and the trees and bushes commenced to grow again, and the world was re-peopled.

2. *The Tower.*

When the world was full of people once more, some of the *Rong*-folk, a tribe called the *Na-cng* or Ignorant Persons prepared to ascend to the *Rum* country, and they began building a tower of earthen pots. They piled them so high that the *Rum* country was only one pole away. Then the Creator thought they were becoming too eager and zealous and that it was not good for them.

---

different nations is summarised in J. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, vol. i, pp. 104-361.

[1] The name given by the Rong-folk to their *Mount Ararat* varies in different parts of the country, most probably the original tradition is lost.

[2] If *Takbo-thing* is really a lunar deity in one of his aspects, his causing the flood to cease at the end of the monsoon rains is quite a clear allusion.

So he thought he would create confusion, and make them all speak in different tongues, so that they would misunderstand one another. The man at the top shouted "*Kok vim yang tale*" (*Hand up the pole with the hook*), while the men at the bottom heard the words "*Chek tala*" (*cut it down*). These wondering greatly shouted up to ask the man at the top whether he really meant it. This time they heard the words "*ak. ak*" (*yes, yes*). And they at once cut the tower down, which falling killed many of the *Na-ong*, and those that remained had to separate on account of their not being able to understand one another.

And even to this day, broken earthen pots are found on that plain which is called *Dalon Partan*.[1]

B. Zoological Mythology.

VIII. *Tashey-thing* and his wives.
(1) *Tashey-thing* marries a she-boar, who attempts to kill him. (2) *Tashey-thing* is saved by a monkey. (3) *Tashey-thing* pursues the boar and kills her. (4) He marries a fish.

IX. The Two Suns.
(1) The toad kills one of the two suns. (2) The bat makes the hidden sun smile. (3) The toad punished for killing the sun.

X. The Tiger Hunted by Wind and Lightning.
(1) The wind and lightning search for a wife. (2) They decide to kill the tiger who is the husband of their sister. (3) The tiger is killed and his flesh scattered.

XI. The Tiger and the Toad.
(1) A tiger and a toad lick each other. (2) The tiger, alarmed at the toad, runs away. (3) The toad and the crow.

XII. The Tiger and the Ass.

XIII. The Tiger and the Jackal.
(1) A jackal finds a dead elephant and invites a tiger to share his food. (2) The tiger plots to kill the jackal. (3) The jackal causes the tiger's death. (4) The jackal tries to become a hunter.

XIV. A Jackal tries to Steal a Hen.

XV. The Monkey and the Stork.

XVI. The Bat evades paying Taxes.

XVII. The Cat and the Rats.
(1) Some rats injure a lama's clothes. (2) The lama prays for divine help, and a cat arrives. (3) The rats get killed one by one.

XVIII. The Flea and the Louse.
(1) The flea and the louse go to fetch firewood. (2) The flea hits his wife and calls a priest to cure her. (3) The turtle-dove devours the louse.

---

[1] For parallels to this story—see J. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, vol. i, pp. 362-387. The present story seems to be substantially the same as the Tibetan (in which the element of the confusion of languages does not appear however). The *Mikirs* also have a version of this. Cf. *Census and Reports of Assam*, 1902, p. 47.

Kumar Polden now owns the plain *Dalon Partan* whom I had the pleasure of meeting at Pakhyong on April 20th.

XIX. A Crab and a Water-wag-tail Hunt a Stag.
(1) A crab and a water-wag-tail kill a stag, but a giant comes and snatches away the body. (2) These two kill the giant's wife. (3) The giant catches the crab who pretends to be dead.

XX. The Services of the Black Squirrel.
(1) The orphan boy spares the life of the squirrel and accepts its servitude (2) The squirrel procures a Chinese princess as a bride for the orphan boy. (3) The squirrel comes to a cow-shed, and declares it to be the property of his master. (4) They come to the palace of the seven demons, whom the squirrel slays. (5) The orphan boy's sister is brought by the squirrel. (6) The squirrel returns to the *Rum* country.

XXI. A Fairy Disguised as a Puppy.
(1) An orphan boy spares the life of a big fish. (2) He receives a puppy as a reward and brings her home. (3) The king sees the puppy-wife and desires her.

XXII. The Food-producing Skin.
(1) An orphan boy is given the magic skin as charity. (2) A demon attempts to steal the skin. (3) The skin is dropped into the river but recovered.

XXIII. The Last Goat's Tail.
(1) A woman saves the tail of the last goat in the herd. (2) The tail is saved from being cooked by promising its labour. (3) The tail goes to kill bullocks. (4) The tail steals the three bullocks killed by the two princes through a trick. (5) The tail undergoes an ordeal and is ordered to steal guarded treasure. (6) The tail arranges three dances and appears in human form.

VIII. TASHEY-THING AND HIS WIVES.

(Told by Dang-dang at Rhenock, Sikhim, April 19th.)

1. *Tashey-thing marries Mon-tsu-mot the wild boar who attempts to kill him.*

Once upon a time *Tashey-thing* made friends with *Mon-tsu-mot*, a wild she-boar whom he married, and with whom he lived happily for ten years.

Not far away from their home there was a great rock hanging over a precipice where a rock-bee (*vot*) had its hive, and *Tashey-thing* wished to bring the honey home one day himself.

It was a very dangerous task to reach the rock even with the aid of a rope, and *Tashey-thing* who was being helped by many animals and insects, made them all swear to hold the rope firmly and not to let it go. But his wife *Mon-tsu-mot* was not faithful, and wished to get rid of *Tashey-thing*.

Koeng was one of the beetle rope-holders, for it was the time of year when he lives and sings for three months; the *bak-dyol* was another beetle who also comes out at this time, whilst the *dyang-dyang* (another beetle) was also alive, so he came too. So did *Neprik-nyom*, the grasshopper and lots of other insects all helped *Tashey-thing* who started climbing down the rope.

But almost immediately *Mon-tsu-mot* cut it, and all the animals and insects became so frightened that they ran away at once.

Tashey-thing saved himself by holding on to the rock by one of the hairs from his moustache—and we *Rong*-folk believe to this day that the leaves from the bush we find hanging down from dry rocks, which has a grey colour like the tint of the thatching grass, and which is soft like hair, originates from the one hair that saved his life.

2. *Tashey-thing is saved by a monkey.*

He was wondering how he would release himself from his peril, when a monkey happened to pass, who asked him what he was doing.

Tashey-thing told him he had come down to take some honey from the rock, but his wife *Mon-tsu-mot* with some animals and insects who had promised to help him, had played a nasty trick, and had cut the rope they had been holding.

So the monkey took him off the rock, and putting him on his back told him he was to keep his eyes closed until he knew by the sound that he, the monkey, was walking; he was on no account to open them especially when they were rustling through leaves.

Now when *Tashey-thing* was put down in a safe place, he told the monkey for a reward he would give him gold, silver or anything he asked for.

But the monkey did not want gold or silver "Give me" he said "a blessing instead, that will help me to have the first fruits of every field in harvest-time."

And *Tashey-thing* gave him the blessing.

But he cursed the rock-bees, saying much trouble had come to him through them, and that it would be no sin were the Rong-folk to take their honey away in the future.

3. *Tashey-thing pursues the boar and kills her.*

Then *Tashey-thing* planted a species of bamboo (the *bling*) and when it had grown big enough he made a bow from it, and then he planted another bamboo (the *pa-song*) from which he made an arrow. Then for three years he followed the foot-prints of *Mon-su-mot*, and passing through nine countries and crossing nine ranges of mountains, he found the wild boar at last sleeping in a lair she had made of dry leaves. Then he aimed with his arrow, and killing her, he collected firewood and commenced to burn her. Whilst he was roasting her some hot fat fell from her body, and a drop falling on his thumb made him lick it off.

Then he cursed all wild boars, saying it would be no sin henceforth if the Rong-folk were to kill and eat them. So we the Rong-folk believe from that day, we can eat the flesh of the wild boar, which we never did formerly when she was *Tashey-thing's* wife. It was also then that the bow and arrow were invented.

4. *He marries a fish.*

Then being a widower, *Tashey-thing* married *Gnyul-chul* who was a fish, and said once as they came to a river he would carry her across on his back. *Gnyul-chul* did not like the idea, and told *Tashey-thing* he ought to make a bridge. He made a bamboo one and just as they were nearly across, knowing she would annoy him, *Gnyu-chul* tumbled off his back and dropped in.

Then *Tashey-thing* became angry, and running down-stream he placed a bamboo fishing-net (a *yet*), in the middle of the river. Catching her on the third day, he found that the arms and legs of *Gnyu-chul* had become fins, whilst the rest of her body was still that of a woman.

The moment *Tashey-thing* had caught her he made a fire and burnt her. Some fat fell from her body, and dropped on his thumb which he licked off, and he cursed fish saying from that day it would be no sin for a human-being to kill and eat them. So we the *Rong*-folk believe from that day we can catch and eat fish, which we did not do when a fish was the wife of *Tashey-thing*.

So he was once more a widower, and he blessed us the *Rong*-folk, and said we should be as abundant as the bushes and trees in the jungle, and that until the monkey died out there, we should not die out.

And after blessing us, *Tashey-thing* returned once more to the country of the *Rum* (Heaven).

IX. The two Suns.

(Told by Sonan-richen at Kasseon, April 17th.)

1. *The toad kills one of the two suns.*

Once upon a time, there were two suns who were brothers. One rose at daybreak, the other took his turn at night, thus darkness was never created. The world, however, suffered a great deal from the tremendous heat, as it was always light; human beings and creatures could get no sleep. So they all took council together, deciding that one of the two suns should be killed.

The edible toad (the *tuk-blota-luk*), volunteered to kill the sun. He made an arrow from the red cockscomb plant (the *ka-nam*), shooting the eldest brother with it. He died at once, his youngest brother becoming very sad, covering himself with a black cloth (the *chya-look-dum*).

It so happened then that the whole world was dark, one sun being dead and the other covered.

It became so black that the wooden pestles (*ta-ling*) turned themselves into snakes, the wooden mortars becoming Tigers (*tak-*

cham), and darkness is the cause of most of the evil in this world.[1]

The fire-flies (*tak-pit*) tried to lighten the darkness, but their light was not sufficient. A tree (*num-bun*) turned its leaves over, which were of a white colour underneath, but their light was not sufficient either. Half the human beings were killed by the snakes and tigers, so they and all the creatures implored the sun to take his cloth off, but it was of no avail.

And at last, even the *Rum* entreated the sun to uncover himself, but he would not listen to them either.

2. *The bat makes the hidden sun smile.*

Then the bat thought he would persuade the sun to uncover himself. He armed himself with a bow and arrow, hanging on to one end of the bow by his feet, while he placed the other end in his nose, saying to the sun in a nasal tone :—"If you remain covered much longer, through the intense cold the entire world will perish."

The sun became most anxious to see the speaker, for he reflected that out of the many who had come to see him, there had not been one who had spoken through the nose.

He looked down, and saw the bat hanging on to his bow upside down, so that he couldn't help smiling. As he did so, it became so hot that the bat lost his balance falling down to the earth. He fell on some stones, breaking many bones. That is why his feet are so different to any other bird or animal and why his nose is turned up.

3. *The toad punished for killing the sun.*

From that day, the sun shone. All the creatures took council in order to decide what should be done to the toad. They arranged that they would cut off his thumbs, and put him in a cold place. Unless this had been done, the sun would not have been pacified, and would never have given warmth to the world. In memory of the dead sun, names were given to the months.[2]

---

[1] Some tribes in Brazil believe that the night was sent to this world in a nutshell, and spread over the world causing darkness and misfortune when the shell was opened by mistake. Wicker baskets are then said to have turned into jaguars.

[2] The Lap-cha months are calculated by moons, of which they allot the usual twelve to the year. The month or moon is called '*laval*,' but the name of a month or period is '*nyom*.' The Lap-cha year is called a '*nam*,' and the new year starts in March. The new year '*nam-bu*' varies according to the date of the new moon, and according as the period is altered by the addition of an intercalary month, '*la-vo nyet*' or '*la-vo sho*' which is added about once in three years to regulate the lunar with the solar time. The names of the months are : (1) *ayit nyom* (March);

The dead sun became the moon, and in every seventh, eighth, or ninth month, the real sun sets very early, as he says he is tired. But the real reason is that during those months, the red cockscomb plant grows to its full height, and that he is afraid of being shot!

X. The Tiger hunted by Wind and Lightning.

(Told by Chyung-gay at Lang-dang, May 5th.)

1. *The wind and the lightning search for a wife, but are always refused.*

Once upon a time, there were two brothers whose names were *Yong-rumbo* and *Yok-gnibu*, who were both hunters (*sharabu*). Their sister's name was *Naremnom*. She was married to a tiger (*sa-thang*) who was called *Tung-bo*, and he had a brother called *Ren-lok-bu*.[1]

Now the tiger-brothers killed many human beings. *Tung-bo* used to fry their nails, and always gave them to *Naremnom* to eat which she enjoyed, but everybody began to hear of this.

Yong-rumbo and *Yok-gnibu* were travelling right round the world searching for a wife, but no one wished to give them their daughter, knowing *Naremnom*, their sister, was a man-eater, and thinking that one day, these two brothers might eat their wives.

They continually said they were not man-eaters, but people always told them to return and visit their sister.

So one day they found her, and saw that she was eating something. This they snatched away, and discovered them to be human nails. Thus they knew she was a man-eater, and became very angry.

2. *They decide to kill the tiger-husband of their sister.*

They said:—"You are a human but you are eating man's flesh, where is your husband, for we would like to see him?"

The sister told them he had gone out hunting, but one of them turned into lightning while the other became the wind and they rushed about looking for him. At last they found him in the high mountains. They asked a bamboo (*payong*) who was near by to sit on *Tung-bo's* trail, but he at once asked them what his reward would be, were he to act as they asked. The two brothers told him that as his reward he would be allowed to take part in the ceremony of their sacrifice to the *Rum*.

---

(2) *ra-nyom* (April); (3) *mar nyom* (May); (4) *kur-nyil nyom* (June); (5) *kur-song* (July); (6) *thon nyom* (August); (7) *sam nyom* (September); (8) *num-team nyom* (October); (9) *blung nyom* (November); (10) *nun-kum nyom* (December); (11) *pur-vim nyom* (January); (12) *glu nyom* (February).

[1] A snake which is found in the rocks.

So the bamboo sat on the tiger's trail, while the two brothers began to drive him. *Tung-bo* could not escape but followed the track which the bamboo guarded.

3. *Tung-bo killed, skinned, and his flesh scattered.*

When the tiger saw the bamboo bush in his way he asked him why he was sitting in his path, and asked him to move on one side quickly else he would be crushed. The bamboo did not move, so the tiger jumped on him, the stem of the bamboo piercing and killing him.

Then *Yong-rumbo* and *Yok-gnibu* came and skinned him, scattering his flesh in all directions, and the skin they carried with them towards the sunrise and the sunset in order to dry it.

And *Naremnom*, the tiger's wife, became very sorrowful when she heard of the death of her husband, and turning into a bird flew into the jungle weeping, to look for him.

And we Rong-folk believe she still lives, and can hear her weeping '*hoo-hoo*' in the jungle; and when we hear her at night we know that some calamity is going to fall on us.

XI. The Tiger and the Toad.

(*Told by Kam Sharap at Kasseon, April 17th.*)

1. *A tiger and a toad lick each other.*

Once upon a time, a tiger made friends with a toad, and as they always liked being together they went up one summer to the hills. When they came there, they rested near the bank of a lake, and the tiger hunted for lice on the back of the toad. However he could not find any, and at last the toad said:—

"Let me see if I can find any lice on you."

And the toad, finding many, commenced to lick the tiger's hairs in spite of them. At last he stopped and the tiger said:—

"Now let us vomit and see what we have eaten the last few days."

He vomited, but only small pieces of green leaves and white mud came up. When the toad vomited however, lots of tigers' hairs appeared. As the tiger saw this he was alarmed and thought: 'Now I am a flesh-eater, but I haven't brought up a single hair, the toad must be a tiger-eater.'

2. *The tiger, alarmed at the toad, runs away.*

So being frightened he ran away to the plains, and only stopped when he met a jackal, who asked him where he was going so hurriedly. The tiger told him he was running away from a toad, who had turned out to be a tiger-eater. The jackal could not believe this and said:—

"Do show me the toad, I would like see what he is like."

But the tiger was too nervous to think of returning, till the jackal said:—"Fasten this rope round your waist, and tie the other end round my neck, then we shall always be together, and you won't be frightened."

When the tiger had done this, he, with the jackal, returned to the hills, and they found the toad sitting on a stone, watching for them, as he thought the tiger would come back to see him. He nodded his head when he saw the jackal too saying:—

"It is three years since I sent you to find me some tigers, and now after all this time you return with only one! Come nearer and talk it over with me."

On hearing this the tiger became still more frightened, and ran down towards the plains dragging the jackal after him. When he arrived he found the jackal was dead as he had dragged him down by the neck the whole way. And that is the reason why tigers and jackals are never found in the hills to-day, but are always in the plains.

3. *The toad and the crow.*

At that time the toad became an enemy to the crow, who had once darted down on him, and had tried to kill him. One morning he caught him, but the toad said:—

"You ought to take me to the top of a hill, you know, if you want to kill me."

Accordingly the crow did as he was told, but when he set him down, and was ready to kill him, once more the toad said:—

"I am so very very thirsty, do find me some water before you kill me."

So the crow obligingly carried him to a pond, and after he had given the toad some water, he was going to eat him, when the toad cried:—

"As you are a priest (*yuk-nun*) you must say grace and thank God before you eat." And as that was true, the crow cried "Caw, caw," in prayer, leaving the toad. And whilst he was praying, the toad leapt into the pond and saved himself, and that is why we always find toads in ponds to-day.

And so we learn that a toad may frighten a tiger, but that he himself has to run away from a crow.

XII. The Tiger and the Ass.

(Told by Aden at Gangtok, May 28th.)

Once upon a time, the tiger, who used to come up to the Himalayas and kill and eat every animal he could find, met an ass.

The tiger asked him whether it would be possible for him to write—like he did on water—on the top of the *Kong-chhen* mountain.

The ass said however, he could on water only, and not on land.

They came to a river, and the ass commencing to breathe and snort on the water, made most intricate and wonderful ripples, which the tiger tried his best to copy, but could not.

Then he asked the ass to come on still further with him, and wanted to know if he would cover the place for him where the herd of wild cows (*kyong-bik*) would break through the jungle, as he was going to hunt them. The tiger started to drive a herd he found, but it so happened it ran away quickly, and one of the wild cows fell over a precipice, rolling down to the spot where the ass was waiting at the foot.

The ass placed his foot on the dead body, which the tiger noticing thought he had killed.

"If he is able to kill such a big animal," he said to himself, "he could easily slay me!" And so he ran away again towards the plains, and from that time, he always stays away from the hill-country, and it can be noticed that though he often kills a pony or a mule, he never touches an ass.

XIII. The Tiger and the Jackal.

(*Told by Chhylo-tabo of Santok at Sindhik, May 14th.*)

1. *A jackal finds a dead elephant and invites a tiger to share the food.*

Once upon a time a jackal, who was wandering about came to a place where he found an elephant lying dead. He tried to eat the flesh, but could not tear the skin, so he passed in through the entrails and began eating. He couldn't find his way out however, though he had gone in easily, and hearing the sound of someone walking fast in the jungle, he cried out:—"If that is you, Brother *Sathong* (a tiger) come over here where the elephant is lying, and I will give you some of his flesh to eat." Brother *Sathong* came over, and tearing open the elephant's flesh he made an opening through which the jackal managed to crawl out.

Later he often went to the tiger's house, asking for the turn which was his due, though he was always careful to go when the tiger was himself out so that he need only bother the wife.

Now the tiger used to come home daily with meat which the jackal always took away, and the tiger's children having nothing to eat, grew thinner and thinner.

2. *The tiger plots to kill the jackal.*

At last Brother *Sathong* asked his wife if they had not sufficient meat. She replied they hadn't nearly enough as the

jackal came everyday when he was away in the Plains, and took what he said was owed him. Then the tiger said:—

"If that be so, you must call him in to feed but I will hide."

That day the jackal came as usual, and Brother *Sathong's* wife asked him in to eat something.

"I will come in," the jackal said, "but I must sit with my tail hanging down between the bamboo stems."[1] The jackal managed to find a crack over which he could sit with his tail hanging down, and Brother *Sathong* rushed on him from his hiding place, but the jackal was too quick for him, and making a gap through the bamboo stems, he jumped down and ran away, the tiger following.

3. *The jackal causes the tiger's death.*

When the tiger was quite close to the jackal he ran up inside the hollow trunk of a tree. The tiger followed, but being too big for the hollow of the tree he stuck there, and after a few days he died. Meánwhile the jackal stayed up in the tree thinking the tiger was waiting down below for him, but when he became cold after death, and therefore much thinner, he fell down from the inside. Then the jackal came down, saw what had happened, and performing over the corpse of the dead tiger, he went back and told everything to his widow. She, however, would not believe him, so they went to find the dead body together. When they came to the spot the tiger's wife saw her husband lying dead, and said that as he—the jackal—had killed him, he would have to fetch meat for them all.

4. *The jackal tries to become a hunter.*

The jackal said he would do his best, and becoming the father of that house, he went out hunting everyday. But he could never catch anything, so collecting ants (*tuk-gnyom*) he gathered these up and brought them back.

The food, however, was not sufficient for the household, so the tiger's widow used to go out with the jackal hunting.

When they came to a big cowshed where there were many cows, she asked the jackal to kill them a calf. But he could not catch one, and ran about wildly from one to the other.

The tiger's widow asked him what he was doing, and he replied that he was looking for the fattest calf.

At last she herself was obliged to kill a cow, and she asked the jackal to help her to carry some of it, but he could not

[1] A '*basti*' is always built several feet above the ground supported by stone pillars. The floor is made of bamboo stems that are thrown loosely across horizontally.

even carry the cow's lungs without trailing them behind him on the ground.

When they came to a stream, the jackal could not cross and ran up and down the banks, till at last the tiger's widow cried:—"What are you trying to do?"

"Can't you understand," he said, "that I am looking to see which is the shallowest part?"

The tiger's widow, not knowing he dare not cross, went on with her children, believing him to be looking for the shallowest part of the river. When he jumped in later, the current caught hold of him, and he was carried away with it.

XIV. A Jackal tries to steal a Hen.

(Told by Shang-lui of Santok at Sindhik, May 15th.)

Once upon a time, there was a jackal living near an orphan boy. Now the orphan boy kept a hen, which the jackal wanted to steal. So early in the morning he came to him, and asked him where he was going to spend the day.

The orphan boy told him he was going to a field in the valley (a *dang-gnyol*), but instead of going there he went up into the mountains taking his hen with him.

The jackal ran down to the valley hoping he would be able to steal the hen, but he could not find it, and the next day he again came to the orphan boy, and asked him where he was going.

This time the orphan boy told him he was going up into the mountains, but he went with the hen instead to the valley. But one day he forgot to take the hen with him, and the jackal came and stole her, and when the orphan boy came home, he could find the hen nowhere.[1]

Meanwhile the jackal started to prepare his meal, and the orphan boy thought he would go and search for his hen in the jackal's house. On the way there he met a ripe *do-lom*, which is the fruit of the egg-plant, who asked him where he was going. He told him the jackal had stolen his hen and that he was going to find her, and the *do-lom* said he would accompany him, so they went on together. Then they met a needle who also asked them where they were going, and who followed them. They also met some cow-dung who ended by accompanying them.

When these four had arrived at the jackal's house, they found him dozing before the fire. The *do-lom* jumped into this, the cow-dung sat on the door-step, whilst the needle stood upright at the bottom of the steps.

[1] Cf. somewhat similar motive in Russian folk-lore. In this tale a cat appears instead of the orphan boy, a cock takes the place of the hen, and instead of the jackal, its northern equivalent the fox is given. See Gubernatis, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 59.

The *do-lom* burst suddenly, making the jackal jump. He started up, and after slipping on the cow-dung in the door-step, he fell on to the needle which pierced him to death.

So the orphan boy, and the hen escaped safely, and lived happily together for ever after.

XV. The Monkey and the Stork.

(Told by Kam Sharap at Kasseon, April 17th.)

Once upon a time, a monkey met a stork (*ka-dong-fo*). These two made great friends, they both climbed to the top of a tall tree, while the monkey said :—"Let us see who can shout the loudest," and hoping to frighten the stork he cried out loudly :—"*Kutsch-er-ik, kutsch-er-ik*"!

But the stork was not frightened at all, and only told the monkey to hold on to a branch when he screamed "*Kok-ko.*" He shouted, but the monkey not being at all alarmed, made him try again, so he called very loudly : "*Ko-ko-hang, ko-ko-hang,*" and the monkey in great fright let the branch go and fell down into the mud right up to his shoulders and found that he could not rise. Seeing a leopard who was passing at that moment he cried out :—"O! leopard come and pull me out of the mud, for I cannot rise, if you put me on a stone I shall dry, and then you can eat me."

The leopard stopped, took the monkey out of the mud, washed him and was going to eat him, when the monkey cried :—"Don't eat me yet, do heat the stone first, I shall taste so much better if you fry me."

Whilst the leopard was heating the stone, the monkey cried :—"*Pari-na-gu-gu, pari-na-gu-gu,*" which is the Lap-cha monkey language for calling the wind.

The leopard asked him whom he was calling, and the monkey answered that he was shouting to him to make haste and warm the stone. Near by stood a bamboo tree, whose top was bending and which came nearer the monkey with every puff of wind. The third time he called, the bamboo branch was blown quite close towards him, and he caught hold of the stem and climbed up to the highest part of the tree. So he managed to escape, and cursed the leopard. And these two are enemies to this day, and we can see how furious a leopard always is whenever he sees a monkey.

XVI. The Bat evades paying Taxes.

(Told by Chyope at Dickhu, April 25th.)

Once upon a time there was a bat (*bryan*) from whom the birds demanded a revenue. When *Nun-bong-pono-ong-fo* (the king of the birds) demanded his tax, he showed his teeth, and

snarled saying he was not a bird, but that he belonged to the family of rats (*ka-lok*) and would not pay any tax.

So *Komayi-pono* (the king of the rats) came to the bat with the queen saying :—"As you belong to the rat-tribe, you must pay taxes to me." But the bat replied that he was not a rat and did not belong to his tribe. "Look," he said, "I have wings so I belong to the birds."

Then *Nun-bong-pono-ong-lo* (the king of the birds) and *Komayi-pono* (the king of the rats) held a council and wondered if they should kill the bat as he would pay tribute to neither.

Hearing he was to be killed, the bat came out very early the next morning, and hung down on the corner of the thatched roof (*tum-kyan*) saying :—"The king of the birds and the king of the rats are going to kill me, they will shed my blood, so that means after my death you people will have a day of rest (*chyam-nyol*).[1] They mean to kill me, but I have a great many relations. My youngest brother is still at school, *Kan-thok-sang-po*, but there are seven others who are in the service of *our* king who will come and avenge me, I am sure."

Then he flew into the house again. When the king of the birds and the King of the rats heard these words, they became very angry, and fought together, but they made friends soon after, and spoke to each other on the following day saying :—"The bat must die, for he is a scoundrel."

The bat came out again then and repeated what he had said the night before, flying into the house once more.

Then the two kings flew and ran away deciding to leave the bat in peace, as he seemed to have so many friends who would all come and avenge him.

So that is why the bat is free from all taxation. Everybody in the world pays some sort of revenue, even we human-beings, but the bat is free and doesn't. That is why he always hides in the day time, and flies at night.

This is what we Rong-folk believe about the bat.

XVII. The Cat and the Rats.

(Told by Chyope of Dikhu, April 25th.)

1. *Some rats injure a Lama's clothes.*

Once upon a time there was a lama who was living in seclusion. At that time when the lama was in the dark, a rat came (*ka-lok*) and gnawed through all his clothes at home, and ate everything he could find in his larder (*chi-chhom*).

When the lama came out of seclusion he caught hold of the

[1] A day of mourning, *chyam*, vb., to shut, to close. *Nyet*, n., field, lit. to stop work in the fields.

rat, and asked him why he had so harmed him. But the rat denied having torn his clothes and eaten his food.

So that night, the lama set a trap, and found he had caught the rat when he went to look at the trap next morning. So to punish him, the lama cut off his whiskers and his tail, and then threw him into the gutter. And the rat said :—

"Although our king has many harsh laws, no one is ever condemned to lose his whiskers, and though there may be a severe religious law, no one's tail should ever be cut off. But you, a lama, have done both these things to me that are against the rules of either law, and so my people, and I declare war on you, and will come and do you much harm."

The lama replied :

"Very well, but if you do so, I will pray to the people in Heaven (the *Rum-lyang*) to defend me."

2. *The Lama prays for Divine Help, and a cat arrives.*

Then he prayed to the *Rum*, and they dropped him a cat (*a-lyu*) down from Heaven that was wrapped up in a covering of dough (*a-pok*). As for the rat, he collected so many friends that in that part of the world there seemed to be nothing but rats.

Now a family of rats lived near the lama's house (*lee*) and they gave advice to this rat whose tail had been cut off and said :—"Listen, though you may harm lots of people you must never gnaw a lama's robe, or eat the things you find in his larder, for you will have much trouble, see if you dont!" But the rat answered them saying :—

"O nonsense! a hundred of your words are not equal to one of mine, go and sit in the sun, and hunt for each other's lice!"

Then the army of rats came to the lama's house where they found him sitting in his usual place, and the head-rat said rudely :—

"You are in my way, get out, I wish to go to the other side of the room to see some more of my people, move!"

The lama moved quietly away, but the cat was starting to work.

3. *The rats get killed, one by one, all except the last one.*

The cat was, like the lama had been, in seclusion, and made the rats work for him, and bring him food. They went to him each in turn, one brought water, another carried firewood and they all waited on him. But they never returned, as the cat caught each in turn which he ate. Many of the rats thought it odd that none of the workers ever came back. They noticed the cat was becoming fatter. In fact it all looked very suspicious.

So it happened that all the rats were eaten except one. But one he could not catch, and it is from him all the rats are descended. If the cat had eaten him too, he would have gone up into Heaven but then, we should have had no rats.

And should a cat ever be killed, we, the Rong-folk believe it to be a very great sin as he came from Heaven. And it can be seen that though he is a flesh-eater, he tries to say his prayers when purring in his leisure hours.

XVIII. The Flea and the Louse.

(*Told by Abli Chyupan at the Ling-them Monastery, May 9th.*)

1. *The flea and the louse go to fetch firewood.*

Once upon a time, there lived a flea and a louse who were husband and wife. They purchased some butter, but couldn't light a fire when they returned home as they had no firewood. The flea said they would both go and fetch some, and whoever came back first should have the butter. They made themselves ready to fetch it, but the louse was so long shutting the door, that the flea was the first to get out.

When she reached the place in the jungle where she could pick wood, the flea had already found some, and was returning. But he has fastened the bundle to his back, and with every jump he took the rope broke and the bundle fell off, so that he lost a lot of time in re-binding it.

The louse came back quietly, long before the flea, and as they had arranged, she ate the butter, then after her long walk she felt tired, and went to lie down.

2. *The flea hits his wife, and calls a priest to cure her.*

When the flea returned and found the butter eaten, and saw that the louse was lying down, he became so enraged that he struck her on the body with a burning stick that he pulled from the fire. He did this only in anger, but the louse became so ill that he had to go and fetch a priest. The first traveller he met was a toad (*ta-luk*), who asked him where he was going. He said :—" My wife is very ill, so I am fetching a priest."

The toad said that he could do the work of a priest, and when the flea asked him to read so that he should hear the sound of his voice, he cried :—" *To-ak, to-ak.*"

But the flea did not like the sound of his voice, and walked away.

He next met a pheasant (*ta-ryok-fo*) who also asked him where he was going. The flea replied as before " My wife is very ill, and I am fetching a doctor."

The pheasant said that he could perform the duties of a priest, and when asked to pronounce some words, cried :—" *Ko-ko-chir, ko-ko-chir*, I read like this."

But the flea did not like the sound of his voice and walked on still further.

He next met a turtle-dove, who asked him where he was going, and to whom he replied as before.

When the turtle-dove said he could do the work of a priest and was asked to show a rendering of his service, he cooed :— "*Koo-yoo-koo, koo-yoo-koo.*" The flea was delighted saying :— "Your voice is the best I have heard," and took the turtle-dove home putting him in the most comfortable corner. He gave him '*chi*' to drink, and food to eat, placing the sick louse in front for him to look at.

3. *The turtle-dove devours the louse.*

The turtle-dove felt the day was very hot, and started pecking at the food, and drinking the '*chi*' which the flea had placed before him. At last he roused himself from his doze and asked for the patient.

The flea at once became rather worried as he remembered having placed the louse in front of the turtle-dove many hours before. He looked everywhere for his wife, but she was nowhere to be found. So, becoming very frightened and crying :— "*a-zi, a-zi,*" he hopped away jumping on to the human head of a man who happened to be passing.

From the top of the head he jumped to the nose, but thinking that the bridge of the nose was too high a mountain, he jumped into the mouth. Here he was frightened of the teeth that seemed to him a lot of huge stones, so he jumped to the belly where he thought the navel would be a good place to rest in. However many things fell on him here, and he thought that he would stay on the body no longer, so seeing a dog, he jumped on to its body, liking it much better.

So he stayed there, and that is the reason why fleas are always found on a dog's body to-day.

XIX. A Crab and a Water-wag-tail hunt a Stag.

(*Told by Chyanghe of Santok at Sindhik, May 14th.*)

1. *A crab and a water-wag-tail kill a stag, but a giant comes and snatches the body.*

Once upon a time, there was a crab and a water-wag-tail who made great friends (*ta-hi* and *sa-hem-fo*). One day as they were hunting, they met a pair of pheasants (*ka-hryak-fo*). The water-wag-tail thought they might hunt these two birds, but the crab said :—"No, let us wait until we find bigger animals." So they went on, meeting a deer with a fawn.

The water-wag-tail again asked the crab if they should not hunt these two, but he replied he wanted to find still bigger

animals. So they went on again and met a large stag (*sa-ci*). The crab then covered the gap in the hedge which the stag would break through, while the water-wag-tail went into the wood to hunt him out.

As soon as the stag tried to escape through the gap, the crab caught hold of his neck and killed him. Then he took the skin off and offered it to the *Rum*. But a giant came to the spot, and snatching way the stag's flesh, he ate as much as he could, making the crab and the water-wag-tail carry the remainder to his house.

2. *These two kill the giant's wife.*

When they showed the meat to the giant's wife, she seemed very greedy, and the two friends said :—

"Shut your eyes and open your mouth wide."

But instead of giving her the stag's meat, they put stones into her mouth, crushing them down with a wooden pestle.

Soon after she died, and when the giant himself returned and asked them where the meat was, they told him that his wife had eaten it all up, and that she now lay dead.

The giant became so angry that he kicked the dead body, and the two friends ran away, but the giant followed them.

The toad came across a pond in which he at once hid, but the giant caught the water-wag-tail. He however prayed for his life, saying he would work for the giant, who let him go free, hoping to find the crab.

3. *The giant catches the crab who pretends to be dead.*

He was hiding in the water so the giant was not able to catch him, and he started to drink up all the water from the pond, first corking himself.

When he had nearly drunk the pond dry, the water-wag-tail darted down from the sky, and pulled the cork out, so that the pond once more filled up, and the giant was unable to find the crab.

Once more the giant started to drink, this time putting on a piece of sticking plaster.

The pond was nearly dry, but the water-wag-tail flew down again from the sky to remove the plaster. He stuck there however so the giant managed to catch the crab. He pretended to be dead, and the giant going home at once put him over the fire-place[1] where he was going to cook him.

The water-wag-tail found some cheese which had gone bad (*sal-dem*), and to pretend that the crab was high, he smeared him with it asking the giant to come and smell him.

[1] *Thop*—one of the three trays over a Lap-cha hearth.

The giant bent down to smell the crab, who grabbing him by the neck, pinched it till he died.

So the crab and the water-wag-tail took the place of the giant and his wife and lived happily ever after.[1]

XX. The Services of the Black Squirrel.

(*Told by Kanchyon of Har at Sindhik, May 18th.*)

1. *The orphan boy spares the life of the squirrel, and accepts its servitude.*

Once upon a time, in the *Lyang-bar* country, there lived two orphans, a brother and a sister. They lived in a shed which they had made from the tall green artemisia plant (*tuk-nyil*). and they had nothing to eat but the birds the boy caught by setting snares in a tree. Lots of these birds were caught by a black squirrel, and then on those days they would have nothing to eat.

One afternoon they were very hungry, and the boy saw the squirrel take a bird that was caught in one of his own snares on the tree. He drew out his knife (*ban*), and followed as closely as he could. Without letting him out of his sight he ran up and down three mountains until he came to the banks of a big river. There he caught the squirrel up, who was so tired he could not move. The squirrel implored the boy to spare his life; if he did not kill him, he would work for him all his life. The boy spared the squirrel's life who became his slave from that day.

2. *The squirrel procures a Chinese princess as a bride for the orphan boy.*

One day the black squirrel asked his master to travel towards the sunrise (the *tsuk-car*).

On their way to the country in the East, they passed the river where the Chinese Princesses (*Gyanogk*) bathed. Just then she had left her clothes on the bank. When the black squirrel was some way off, he noticed this, and he asked his master to wait a few moments.

He wanted to take all the princess's clothes away, but she implored him not to. The black squirrel wouldn't at first listen, but at last said to her if she would only listen to what he had to say, and give her consent to it, he would give her the clothes he had found, otherwise he would run away with them. She promised she would and then he said:—"With me there is a young man, will you run away with him? If not—."

[1] It is singular to notice that in Greek folk-lore, the crab, the stag, and the nightingale are usually associated together, they are mentioned in magic cures, etc. (cf. Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 338–359).

The princess wanting her clothes back, consented immediately, but the black squirrel said :—"Promising is good, but not sufficient, swearing is better, put one of your hands in the river and swear you will accompany us, and will not return to your palace." She put both her hands in the river, and the oath was so great the river dried up. But the black squirrel was not satisfied, and he told the princess to swear with her hand on a tree. This she did, and the oath was so great that the tree withered. Still the black squirrel was not content, and he told her to swear putting her hand on a rock. So the princess put her hand on a big rock that was standing near by, and swore, and the oath was so great that the gigantic rock split in two. Then the black squirrel returned the clothes to the princess, who put them on and returned with him to the orphan boy. He went on ahead carrying her box full of ornaments and saying :—"Master and mistress, follow my footprints."

3. *The squirrel comes to a cow-shed, and declares it to be the property of his master.*

The black squirrel went on uphill until he came to a cow-shed where he put the box on the ground, and rested asking for some water crying :—"O-hoo-o-i," and asked for some water.

The cow-boy invited him to have some refreshment and to drink '*chi*,' but he answered that he was in a hurry, or he wouldn't be panting in the manner he was. So the cow-boy only gave him water to drink, and the black squirrel said :—"The King of *Lyang-bar* is coming, so don't be unprepared, you must put everything in readiness for him."

On hearing this, the cow-boy made the shed tidy, and made sitting-places for the two when they should come. When the orphan boy and the princess arrived and sat down, the black squirrel said to them :—"This is my master's cow-shed."

They stayed there for one night, and on the following morning, they prepared for their journey again, the black squirrel asking them to follow his footprints.

4. *They come to the palace of the seven demons, whom the squirrel slays.*

The black squirrel went on up the hill until he came to a large building looking like a palace (*dee*). In it seven demon brothers lived (*Dut*), who were called the *Anchkentobo*. In front of the palace he once more put down his box crying :—"O-hoo-o-i," and asking for some water. The seven demon brothers asked him in to have some refreshment, but he replied he was in too great a hurry to eat, and just wanted some water. They gave him some and then he said :—"You seven demon brothers have given so much trouble to all the human beings,

and to all the animals, that the *Lyang-bar* king is coming to kill you with all his army. I come to tell you of this as I am your friend."

On hearing this the demon brothers became restless, and started looking for hiding places, but the black squirrel said :— "You won't be able to hide yourselves anywhere because his soldiers are like an army of ants and will hunt you out anywhere. Only follow my advice and perhaps I shall be able to help you."

He asked some of them to dig a big hole, some to make a three stone hearth, some to fetch water, and the remainder to collect fire-wood.

When they had all done their work, the black squirrel advised them to hide in the big hole they had made as the army was soon coming. They all jumped in, and as they were crouching down hiding, and the fire-wood they had collected had made the water boil, the squirrel threw it over them, killing them all.

After doing this he went inside the palace, and removed all the dead bodies of the human beings he found in the larder which showed that the demons were cannibals. Then he made all the other rooms comfortable in the palace, and soon after his master and mistress arrived.

First of all the black squirrel led the princess to the larder telling her it was all his master's meat she saw. Next he showed her the wardrobe and he told her all the clothes she saw were his master's. Then he showed her the gold and silver rooms, and all the cooking vessels, and told her that everything belonged to his master.

When she saw all this the princess was very astonished as she had no idea the black squirrel's master possessed so much property and wealth. She was pleased and excited, and they lived in the palace whilst the black squirrel cooked for them.

5. *The orphan boy's sister is brought by the squirrel.*

One day he told the princess he was going to fetch his master's sister who lived all alone a long way off, and had only a few cows to look after in the *Lyang-bar* country. Taking some of the clothes from the wardrobe, and some food, he arrived at the shed, and found his master's sister dying of hunger. But he managed to bring her back to the palace where he introduced her to the princess, and told them they should live happily together.

6. *The squirrel returns to the Rum.*

So twelve years passed and the black squirrel had been his master's slave the whole time.

"I have served you all this time" he said, "but I am from the *Rum* country, and must now return, give me permission to leave."

But his master wouldn't let him go, and he stayed for another three years. And though he repeatedly kept asking for leave, they kept him for another four years when he said he would have to leave. But even then they tried to prevent him escaping, so he sent them to sleep knowing they would dream and prayed saying:—"Should the clouds separate when I ascend to the *Rum* country, we shall know that we are all to meet once more on this earth. But if they remain closed, we shall know we are only to meet in Heaven (*Rum-lyang*)."

The black squirrel was then wafted up to the blue skies, and as he was taking off all his earthly elements entering into Heaven, the three he had left awoke.

They were searching everywhere for the black squirrel in vain, when they cast their eyes heavenwards and saw him being swept upwards. They watched him until he was covered by dense clouds, and then they knew from their dream they would not meet in this world again, and they wept. But after their time of mourning they lived happily ever after.[1]

XXI. A Fairy disguised as a Puppy.

(Told by Yanku-sarang Mandal at Kasseon, April 18th.)

1. *An orphan boy spares the life of a big fish.*

Once upon a time there was an orphan boy who had nothing to eat but the fish he caught. One day he happened to catch a very big fish, and as he was dividing it up in his mind's eye into equal portions for several days, it spoke. "Don't kill me," it entreated him, "come with me to my father and mother instead." The orphan boy said:—"But how can I go with you into the water?"

The fish told him he would have to hold on to his tail very tightly, and jumped with him into the river swimming until they came to his father and mother who were sitting on golden and silver thrones. The fish explained he had been caught, but the orphan boy had been merciful. The father and mother fish told the orphan boy they were happy and grateful, and would give him as a recompense anything he desired.

2. *He receives a puppy*[2] *as a reward, and brings her home.*

The orphan boy noticed a wee puppy lying in a corner of the hearth, and asked them to give him this. He brought it back to his cottage, and tied it up in a corner.

---

[1] A variant to "le chat botté," see Gubernatis, vol. ii, pp. 60-61.

[2] The parallel motive of a fairy assuming the form of an animal, such

As usual he went out every day, but when he came back every evening he found everything was ready for him. His food was always cooked and waiting for him, though he never knew who worked. One day he hid himself in a corner to see who would come in. He saw a beautiful girl, who appeared when the dog took off its skin. She was made of gold from her head downwards, and from her waist downwards she was made of silver. She started to cook but the orphan boy came out from his hiding place, took hold of the puppy's skin and tearing it into pieces, scattered it everywhere. Gold and silver flowers sprang up where it fell.

But the girl said:—"Alas! my time has not yet come," but the orphan boy would not listen to her entreaties and from that day they lived together in that cottage.

3. *The King sees the puppy-wife and wants to have her.*

One day the King of that country saw the beautiful girl, and taking a great fancy to her, he desired her for his own. "Alas!" cried the girl once more to the boy, "if you had only listened to me and waited—now much trouble will fall on us."

The King said to the orphan boy:—"Let us have a cock-fight, and whoever wins shall gain your wife."

When the orphan boy heard this he wept, and said to the girl:—"I am but a poor man and haven't a bird fit to fight the King's cock." But she said:—"Do not worry but go to my father and mother's place in the river, and ask them to give you the medium-sized cock."

So the orphan boy went to the girl's parents in the river, and returned with the medium-sized cock. The next morning at sunrise the cocks were let loose on the playing ground, and when they fought it so happened the King's cock was killed.

"This time," he said, "you have won, now to-morrow we will have a bull-fight."

When the orphan boy returned home, he wept again, saying to his wife "But where can I get a bull?" But she told him to go to her parents and ask for the medium-sized bull. He went down to the stream, swam and came back with the bull. The next

---

as a frog, puppy etc. is very common in folk-lore. Cf. Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 26, 377–383.

The motive of a contest between the King and one of his subjects with animals is a favourite subject in the *Lap-cha* tales. In another story heard at Kasseon by *Sharap lama*, (April 19th) the King tries by similar means to take the wife of one of his subjects. This time she is not a fairy, but she was "so beautiful, that if she were placed in the sun she would melt, or if she were placed in the shade, she would freeze." But the contest this time is of a different kind. They arrange to try the effect of food on their digestion, and also attempt to resist the unusual secretion of saliva at the sight of the opponent eating sour fruit. The 'orphan boy' inevitably wins, apparently without any supernatural help, and 'lives happily ever after.'

morning at sunrise the bulls started fighting, and the King's bull was slain.

The King became very angry at both his cock and his bull being killed, and said that for the third time they would fight themselves with armies.

This time the orphan boy wept louder than ever, as he was all by himself, and had no army, but the beautiful girl told him to go once more to her parents, asking for the medium-sized box. He received it, and on the next morning as he saw the King coming towards him at sunrise with a big army, he opened the box. Lightning flashed out of it, killing the King with all his men.

Then the orphan boy became King in his place, and lived happily with the beautiful girl ever after.

XXII. The Food-producing Skin.

(Told by Gyaten Tachung at Phensang. May 25th.)

1. *An orphan boy is given the magic skin as charity.*

Once upon a time there was an orphan boy who wandered from village to village, and from town to town. Once he found that the inhabitants of one of the villages had killed a sheep, and he asked for and obtained the skin which he kept in his shed. Every day he went out to work. When he returned home, he found everything was always prepared for him: his meals were cooked, while drink was also provided.

Just then it happened that his rice crops which were ready for harvesting had been destroyed by monkeys and rats. He hunted these and managed to catch a monkey and a rat, which he was going to kill, only they both cried out:—"Have mercy on us and spare our lives for one day, we shall be useful to you." So the boy spared their lives, and went away to the river. There he raised the traps he had put in the stream to catch some fish, but in the place of any fish he only found a big toad. This he was going to kill when it cried:—"Have mercy on me, and spare my life, for one day I shall be useful to you."

2. *A demon attempts to steal the skin.*

Near by there lived a demon who had 18 heads, and when he heard there was an orphan boy in the village who had a skin which could produce any food required, he swore he would get it from the boy, so one day he went to the cottage and stole away the skin.

When the boy returned to his shed, and discovered his loss, he called the monkey, rat and toad, and said he now required their help to try and get his skin from the demon who had stolen it. The monkey, taking the rat and toad on his shoulders, went

to find the skin, and they found the demon who was near it, asleep.

The skin was hanging up on a rope, but the rat ran up the rope which he bit with his teeth just above the skin, so that this fell to the ground. Then the monkey started carrying them all on his shoulders,—the rat, the toad and the skin.

3. *The skin is dropped into the river, but recovered.*

They came to a big river, but the monkey thought if they were careful not to talk, he would be able to swim across. He put the skin in his mouth, and telling them to be sure and be quiet he commenced swimming.

Midway, both the rat and the toad began to ask the monkey questions These he took no notice of, but at last the rat bit his ear, and he had to open his mouth and speak so the skin fell down to the bottom of the river. It went down, they think till it reached the other world.

The toad said:—"I think I shall be able to help you, but you must go on until you meet a woman with her spinning rod. Once you get this, I shall be able to start working."

The monkey went on till he met a woman spinning, and she readily gave up her spinning rod when the monkey asked her for it. The toad asked his friends to wind the thread round his body, and to hold on to the other end of it the whole time.

They led the toad down to the very bottom, and he found the skin which he brought to the bank of the stream Then they arrived at the orphan boy's shed, the monkey carrying them as before.

They gave the skin to him, and as they put it down on the floor a lovely girl stepped out.

She told the orphan boy to shake the skin inside and outside the shed. Wherever he did this, gold and silver coins sprang up out of the ground. Many guards and servants appeared, so that the orphan boy found himself very rich, and he and the lovely girl lived happily ever after.

So we learn the *Rum* (who are the gods who cause happiness) won, while the *Mung* (who are the evil demons who cause sorrow) were defeated.[1]

XXIII. The Last Goat's Tail.

(Told by Sata Penlok at the Phensang Monastery, May 25th.)

1. *A woman saves the tail of the last goat in the herd.*

Once upon a time there was an old man and an old woman who had 100 goats, which the old man used daily to herd.

[1] The Lap-cha words that always end a story.

Once the old woman asked her husband how many goats they had, and he answered they had about five times twenty. In some days more she again asked him how many there were, and he answered "Four times twenty." Later she again asked him and he replied :—"Now we have three times twenty." When she asked for the fourth time, he said there were only twice twenty, and when she asked him for the fifth time he said :—"Now we have only twenty." The next day the old woman went to see the goats, but to her grievance there was only one. Asking her husband the reason, he told her they had been eaten up by a leopard. The old man thought the best thing to do would be to kill the remaining goat, but his wife disagreed, and protected it holding on to the tail which she held in both her hands until the old man had severed it from the body.

This she placed in a box and returned home leaving the old man who stayed behind to eat the goat.

2. *The tail is saved from being cooked by promising its labour.*

When he came home too, he asked her whether she had eaten the tail. It replied itself however from the box saying where it was. The old man went to the box, and taking the tail out tried to place it on the fire. It however spoke again, and asked him to have mercy on it, and said that later it might be of use to him.[1]

The next day the tail asked for a bamboo water-vessel (*pa-dam*), and although it was small it filled up all the other vessels. Then he asked for a bamboo basket (*tung-jang*), and brought it the next day full of fire-wood (*schang*). Though it was small and carried little, it completely filled up the shelf where the fire-wood was kept. The next day he said :—"Now I am going to kill some bullocks, the King of *Lyang-bar* has left for you in the jungle."

3. *The tail goes to kill bullocks.*

When the tail went out, he found the sun so hot that he sat down in the shade of a mushroom. Two Princes happened to pass by, one was of the sunrise and called *Tsuk-lat*, while the other was of the sunset and was named *Tsuk-that*. They thought they would use the mushroom as a target, and they

[1] The *Garos* treat the tail of a goat as the most essential part of the sacrifice. It is placed on the top of a plate of rice, and is soaked in the blood of the victim. (*Gazetteer of Assam*, X, p. 32.) The idea has apparently the same meaning as that of the last sheaf in the field. This is always regarded as the refuge of the spirit of the corn. In this case it is probably the spirit of the herd. Cf. J. Frazer: *The Golden Bough*, vol. vii, p. 308, and vol. viii, pp. 10, 43.

nearly hit the tail who cried out:—"O! you two nearly had me, I am just resting here." Then the two Princes went to see who was calling, and they found the tail who asked them where they were going.

The Princes replied they were going to hunt the three bullocks in the jungle belonging to the *Lyang-bar-pono*. The tail told them he was also going on the same errand, and suggested they should all go on together, and as they came near the cattle-shed the tail went on alone. Hiding beneath the tails of the bullocks he cried out making the cowherd come out three times before he went to sleep to see if anyone was about. Then the two Princes came up, and killed all the bullocks which they carried between them, as the tail was only able to carry some of the blood in a bladder. The tail then told the two Princes if he shouted they would have to run away, and as they would be pursued it would be better were they to leave their load behind them.

4. *The tail steals the three bullocks killed by the two Princes through a trick.*

When they drew near the tail's home, he shouted as loud as he could, so that the two Princes ran away leaving their loads behind. Then the tail went in to the old man and woman, telling them he had brought a present, but it was so big he had had to leave it outside, and that they had better go at once to fetch it in. He asked them to boil the meat on the stove, and to fasten the heads on the roof, meanwhile he would go to fetch the *Lyang-bar-pono*.

Then the tail called at the Palace, and the King asked him why he had come. And the tail said:—"I wish to pay my respects, and ask you to come to a meal in our humble home." Then the King went back with the tail and had a fine feast. As he was eating, he looked up and saw the three bullocks' heads on the roof. Then he realized they had been stolen from him, and that he had eaten his own meat.

The tail noticing his upward glance said:—"You keep things you never want, and I am only showing you how you may benefit others."

5. *The tail undergoes an ordeal, and is ordered to steal guarded treasure.*

The King said:—"If you are able to remove my treasure (*serdong-pa-tek*) from its box this evening, I will do nothing, and should you remove it, you may marry my daughter, the Princess, but should you find you are unable to do this, you will have to replace my three bullocks."

That evening the King ordered his Palace to be well guard-

ed, and placing four guards at each corner, he said no one should enter after sunset. At night the tail came, and noticed the guards were all sleeping, so he let the hounds loose, replacing them by sheep, and he placed sticks in the guards' hands instead of their bows and arrows. He entered, to find some more men sleeping in the kitchen, and stole into the bed-chamber of the King. He found he had not slept all night, but was holding the treasure in his hands. Once when he went into another room, he handed it over to the Queen, saying she would have to be very careful with it as that night the tail would probably come and steal it.

As soon as the King had left the room, the tail entered and said that after all the Queen had better hand him over the treasure as he thought it would be safer with him. The Queen thinking it was the King, handed the treasure over; and when the *Lyang-bar-pono* returned and asked for it, she said :—"But you took it just now as you left the room." So the King guessing the tail must have the treasure shouted to the guards, who found they had no arms, and when they wanted to let the hounds loose, they found they had only sheep.

The tail managed therefore to get away with the treasure, which he showed the next day to the King, who was obliged to give him the Princess as he had promised.

6. *The tail arranges three dances and appears in human form.*

One day the tail asked the Princess and the old woman to go to a dance the *Lyang-bar-pono* was holding on the top of the hill near by. He told them, going up, they were to take the short cut, but on returning they were to use the zig-zag track. As they left, the tail followed, and though he took the longer zig-zag path he arrived first. It was he who was holding the dance though the Princess and the old woman didn't know, and as he returned quickly by the short cut whilst they took the long zig-zag track, they found him at home when they returned.

The Princess and the old woman went thus three times to the dance, but on the third time the Princess suspected the tail and hid herself in the cottage.

She saw the tail become a King, and leave the cottage with many followers.[1] So picking up the tail which she found lying on the floor, the Princess threw it on to the fire. The smell of its burning reached the King, who returned home hurriedly. He told the Princess his time had not yet come, and that she had done wrong in burning the tail so soon, but she had better shake the remains of it quickly in every corner of the cottage. Wherever the Princess shook the tail, the whole place was filled with

[1] Cf. a somewhat similar motive of a goat-husband's metamorphosis. Gubernatis, vol. i, pp. 410-411.

gold and silver, numbers of men, horses, and herds of cattle sprang up out of the ground, and the place became equal to the Palace of the *Lyang-bar-pono*.

C. Heroic Legends.

XXIV. The *Golden Knife* and the *Silver Knife*.

(1) A King's unsuccessful hunting. (2) The King dozes and misses the stags. (3) The King marries the youngest daughter of the *Lung-da* ruler. (4) The King brings his bride home. (5) The King starts on a journey, and during his absence the twins are born. (6) The plot of the witches to destroy the twins. (7) They do much mischief in the palace. (8) The return of the King. (9) Execution of the twin's mother. (10) The hungry dog. (11) The grandfather unearths the twins. (12) The miraculous building of the palace by the twins. (13) The King summons the twins, sending messengers to fetch them. (14) The twins are sent to fetch the golden and silver flutes from the demon. (15) The twins go to the demon's home, promising to return in nine years. (16) The golden boy climbs up and steals the flutes. (17) He hits the tusk with a stone from the sling. (18) He is pursued by the demon. (19) The *Golden Knife* falls dead but is resuscitated. (20) The demon is also resuscitated. (21) Exchange of magical instruments. (22) The heroes return home. (23) The twins reveal the mystery of their birth, and punish their witch-sisters. (24) *Ramit-pandi* resuscitated and the witches executed. (25) The two boys wrestle, are killed and resuscitated.

XXV. *Ga-bu* and his horse.

(1) *Ga-bu* makes friends with the wife of the demon. (2) *Ga-bu* plots the destruction of the demon. (3) *Ga-bu* is poisoned by the demon's wife. (4) *Ga-bu* and his horse fly up to the *Rum* country.

XXVI. The adventures of *Ati-azyak*.

(1) The King asks the diviner to pray for a son. (2) The deities decide which of their sons has to be re-incarnated as the King's son. (3) The birth of *Ati-azyak*. (4) *Ati-azyak* with his six brothers go to marry the seven daughters of the king of *Lung-da*. (5) *Ati-azyak* visits the sea-serpent. (6) *Ati-azyak* comes before the serpent-king. (7) *Ati-azyak* starts on his errand with the help of the serpent's wife. (8) *Ati-azyak* comes to the land of the seven demons with whom he has a contest. (9) *Ati-azyak* plays Hide and Seek with the seven demons. (10) *Ati-azyak* contests with the demons—using fighting animals. (11) *Ati-azyak* with the two queens starts on his return journey. (12) *Ati-azyak* punishes his brothers and kills the demon. (13) *Ati-azyak* returns to the *Rum* country.

XXVII. The adventures of the merchant-widow's son.

(1) The merchant-widow's son receives a luminous flower. (2) The flower is presented to the king. (3) A beggar comes with promises to befriend the boy. (4) The boy starts on his errand. (5) He comes to the land of the Paroquets. (6) He comes to the land of the Peacocks. (7) He comes to the *Sambi-ula* palace, that is inhabited by five demons. (8) The boy steals some flowers and leaves with the maiden.

(9) The five evil demons are drowned. (10) The boy returns home, bringing the flowers. (11) The king orders the boy to build a palace. (12) The boy is ordered to explain the origin of the *Tista* river. (13) The seven try also to visit the *Rum* country but are killed.

XXVIII. How *Ling-Gyaso* subdued all the devils.
(1) He is re-incarnated in the world. (2) *Ling-gyaso's* miraculous birth. (3) The baby is given to the demons whom he kills. (4) *Ling-gyaso-gya-bo* goes to the devil's country. (5) The king returns home and kills his uncle. (6) *Ling-gyaso* goes to the country of *Hore* and kills the uncle. (7) *Ling-gyaso* kills *Hore's* son. (8) The king's return and his fight with *Hore's* minister.

XXIV. The Golden Knife and the Silver Knife.

(Told by Chyodi of Ringen at Mangen, May 3rd.)

1. *A King's unsuccessful hunting.*

Once upon a time there lived a King who was called the *Lyang-bar-ung-bar-pono.*[1] He had no queen so he spent his time hunting, and always had his two dogs with him, *Kshibu Tum-chung* and *Tum-chhen.*

He killed much game and his larders were well stocked. One day it so happened he saw nothing, there was not even a bird flying in the jungle, and at sunset he returned home in the dusk, thinking of the many animals he used to kill and how to-day he had killed nothing, and becoming very morose he went to sleep. The next morning at cockcrow he woke, and thinking of his bad luck the day before he went on to the palace balcony to see the view at sunrise. In front there lay a meadow named the *Pemo-pettong* and on it he saw two stags grazing, a mother-stag with her foal, feeding in turn one side of the meadow, and then on the other. Thinking they were probably the cause of his ill-luck of the day before, the King went inside meaning to prepare for hunting, and cooked some food giving his dogs a share, who however would eat nothing.

The King told them they had better eat as they would be hunting but they replied:—"No, don't go out hunting to-day."

The King would not listen to them however and said:—

"Unless you follow me as usual to-day and hunt, I will cut both you in pieces when I return."

And the dogs thought: "As we shall be killed to-day, whether we hunt or not, we had better follow our master."

---

[1] *Lyang-bar,* meaning the middle part of the country, *ung-bar*—the middle part of the sea.

2. *The King dozes and misses the stags, whom he follows to the Lung-da country.*

They ran round the meadow thrice while the King watched the place where the animals would break cover. But becoming very sleepy he dozed, and he did not see his dog *Kshibu T'um-chung* chase the stag towards the *Pho-chu* and *Mo-chu* Rivers. While the other one followed the fawn towards the *Lung-da* country. The dogs met both the animals together at the turning of the path, and these turning into she-devils, killed the two dogs, leaving both bodies on the ground with their heads pointing towards the King's land.

Sleeping, the King dreamt the dogs had returned and were fawning on his arm, then suddenly waking up he roused himself, and realizing the animals had broken cover, he followed their footmarks. Coming to the spot where the four animals had met, he saw the dead-bodies of his dogs, noticing the footprints of the she-devils which were as large as plates. He became very angry, and said with feeling:—"Whoever it is who has killed my two dogs, him will I follow and kill in revenge."

3. *The King marries the youngest daughter of the Lung-da ruler.*

When the King came to the palace of the King of *Lung-da*, he greeted him and then noticed that there were two fairies there who were sisters named *Se-lamen* and *T'ung-lamen*. It was the eldest who attended to him that night, *Se-lamen*, and he laughed to himself thinking how he thought he had been following two devils, and how he had discovered two fairies! He thought he would make great friends with *Se-lamen*, and sleeping with her that night, he asked her what magic deed she could perform.

The fairy told him she knew of one grain of rice with which she could feed the King, and all the people in the Palace including even the dogs. After hearing this, the king longed for the morning, and he spent the whole of the next day wandering round the Palace. The second night he spent with the youngest fairy *Tung-lamen*, and asked her to tell him what magic she could perform. She said she only knew that from one roll of cloth she could clothe the King down to the lowest person in the Palace, even making coats for the dogs and mats for the hens to lay their eggs on.

The *Pono* (King) also heard the King had another daughter, the *Ramit-pandi* (Queen), whom he had shut in a room ever since her birth.[1] The King thought he would also

[1] See elaborate information concerning parallel motives of the seclusion of girls in folk-lore, J. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, vol. x, pp. 70–76.

like to go and find out whether she knew of any magic deed, and that night when everybody was asleep in the Palace, he found her room and entered. When he asked the Princess at first what magic she knew of, she denied knowing any, but when the King urged her, she at last said :—"But were I to tell you, even the walls might have ears, also the time may come when you will change, and you will say you no longer love me."

But the King promised he would always love her, and implored her to tell him. Then the Princess said :—"I only know of one magic deed, I can give birth to a golden knife and to a silver knife."

The *Lyang-bar-pono* when he heard this was very happy and said he would marry her.[1] But when she told him the two fairies had been listening, and when they heard that she could give birth to a golden and to a silver knife, they laughed and clapped their hands, saying that if she could do such a thing, they would be able to also, and they ran away.

4. *The King brings his bride home.*

The next day the *Lyang-bar-pono* asked the *Lung-da* King for his daughter, as he had no wife or children, and the King said if he truly loved the *Ramit-pandi* he had no objection. The *Lyang-bar-pono* said he truly loved her, so the King promised him her hand.

Several days passed and the *Lyang-bar-pono* brought many valuable gold and silver gifts from his own country to give the King of *Lung-da*. He had asked the Princess to accompany the King back to his home, had given her a great dowry, and was sending many men and horses to accompany her. These were looking forward to travelling with the Princess, but the two fairies said :—"You need not go with the Princess because we shall escort her."

The King's followers were sorry when they heard this, but they were obliged to stay behind. Thus the four came to the country of *Lyang-bar*, and for a while the *Ramit-pandi* lived very happily. The time came when according to her promise she became fruitful, and the King thought he ought to prepare food and clothes for the child's arrival.

[1] In a Russian folk-tale this motive appears almost word for word: three sisters have nearly the same extravagant way of speaking (but the youngest promises to give birth to a hero—not to twins). The king incidentally overhears their conversation and marries the youngest sister. In the further development of the story, the same elements also appear, in the absence of the king the queen gives birth to a boy. She and the child are thrown into the sea by her sisters who accuse her of having given birth to a monster. Cf. also Gubernatis, vol. ii, pp. 30-31.

5. *The King starts on a journey, and during his absence the twins are born.*

He told the Queen he would be very busy, and started on his journey to buy the necessary things. Just as he was leaving he hung a bell (*shyong-sa-tibu*) above her pillow, telling her she was to ring it as soon as she had become a mother, when he would at once start to come to her. Were the bell to ring at night he would reach her in the early morning, and were he to hear it at sunrise, he would be with her in the evening, even if he were on the other side of the world, he would, wherever he was, start back at once.

Soon the Queen's time came when the pain started, it became so great she felt it in the tips of her fingers, and in the tips of her toes. Then she gave birth to the golden knife and soon after to the silver knife.

As soon as the golden knife fell to the ground, it cried three times, and the sound was heard by the eldest fairy, while as soon as the silver knife fell, it cried three times, and was also heard by the youngest fairy.

6. *The plot of the witches to destroy the twins.*

These two then plotted and said :—

"Our enemies are born, the best thing we can do is to put them out of the way at once."

So they went to the *Ramit-pandi's* room, pretending to help her in her illness, but as she slept they hid both the children in an earthen pot they brought with them, and closed it down with 19 layers of cotton-wool. Then they tied the neck firmly, fastening it with rope that had been made from a yak's tail. (*salong-thak-po*), and sealed the knot with the *Lyang-bar-pono's* seal. Then the two fairies carried the earthen pot to four cross roads each facing north, south, east and west. Here they buried it beneath the 12th layer of the earth which they covered over with ashes, and satisfied themselves by placing a flat heavy stone on the top, returning home and feeling happier now both their enemies would die.

7. *They do much mischief in the palace.*

They entered the *Ramit-pandi's* room saying :—

"Now you are an invalid, we will look after you, and we will first of all brush your hair."

So they made her sit up in bed, and combed her hair with iron combs. They combed so hard that the *Ramit-pandi* was scratched from head to foot so deeply that you could see her heart and lungs. As she was lying on the bed half-dead, they brought in a bitch-puppy which they put to her breast, hoping it would look as if the puppy had scratched her. When they had done this

they found the food which the *Lyang-bar-pono* had prepared and ate it. They also killed all the *Ramit-pandi's* bullocks and cows, eating the flesh and throwing the bones in a pile until they reached half way up the Palace. They broke open the door of the *Lyang-bar-pono's* rice store, cooking and eating all the contents till the water they strained from it became as big as a sea. Then they opened the *Pono's* '*chi*' store-room, and both witches drank till the millet seeds they threw away grew into a heap as high as the Palace itself. After that they broke open the store-room, where the tea was kept, and drank so much that the heap of used tea-leaves mounted higher than the Palace.

8. *The Return of the King.*

After eating all this they walked into the *Ramit-pandi's* room, and rang her bell that she had been told to ring. The *Lyang-bar-pono* King heard it when he was busy buying clothes for his expected child in the market of the Black Plain (China, *Gya-nock*). As he heard the sound he ran towards the Palace with great joy, wondering whether it was a girl or a boy. When he arrived the two witches laughed and clapped their hands saying:—

"See the result of not marrying one of us, go and see your golden knife and your silver knife that are now feeding on the *Ramit-pandi's* breast. We are from the *Rum* country, but instead of marrying one of us, you chose her. She must have been living with a dog as she has given birth to a puppy."

The *Lyang-bar* King at first would not believe the story and went up to the *Ramit-pandi's* room. There he saw the puppy feeding at her breast, and saw scratches all over her body. The witches told the King to look at all the refuse heaps, the pile of bones, the sea of rice, the heap of millet seeds, and told him the *Ramit-pandi* had devoured it all and said she was not one of them, but was a devil (*sa-mo*), and they advised the King to tie a rope round her neck and to drag her as far as the *Pho-chu* and *Mo-chu* Rivers, where he should cut her head off. When the King saw all this he believed the fairies, and becoming very angry, he tied a rope round the *Ramit-pandi's* neck, dragging her along to the two rivers, and followed by the two witches who threw ashes after her.[1]

9. *Execution of the twin's mother.*

When they came to the bank of the *Pho-chu* and *Mo-chu* Rivers, the two witches asked the *Pono* to find a wooden

[1] Ashes are thrown after any one who is suspected of being an evil spirit; the same is done when any one's name is mentioned who has been cursed. Ashes thrown after any one are said to cause their death. Cf. Hastings' *Encyclopaedia*, vol. i, p. 426, where a similar custom amongst the *Araucanians* is referred to. The idea of throwing ashes is to make the ghost miss his way.

block on which he could place the *Ramit-pandi*'s neck to cut her head off. This he did putting the head and body into the stream. But as soon as he had done this, and the current was sweeping the body downstream, the head floated upstream towards the rivers' source and the two witches cried :—

"This is an evil omen, the *Ramit-pandi* must have left something undone in this world, she is not at rest, and they both started throwing stones at the head which commenced praying saying :—

"I would I could see my two orphan children again, if only they could get out of the earthen pot, we could meet in human form once more."

Then the head floated downstream.

The two witches became queens to the *Lyang-bar* King and lived in the Palace.

10. *The hungry dog.*

And in those days at the Palace, the servants and the dogs could not get enough to eat, so the servants ran away and the dogs died. There was only one old bitch who remained, she thought : "When our former mistress was alive she gave me so much food that I had to leave some as I could not eat it all, now I am starving so I had better go."

Before leaving she howled three times, and set out not knowing which way she was wandering She came to the ridge of a mountain where she rested a short time, and looked round. In the valley far below she saw a lean-to and thought if she could only reach it she would be able to get some food. So she dragged herself along and managed to crawl to the shed, but when she reached there she found that the door was shut. However going round, she managed to make an opening through the leafy wall. Once inside, she looked for some food but only found an empty plate. Looking up she saw a shelf on which a cracked earthen pot was standing containing a little millet flour. Being very hungry she jumped at the shelf hoping to reach the flour, but the rope holding it gave, and she fell with the pot on the floor; all the flour being scattered. The earthen pot was broken, and she found little to eat, but wishing to see the owners of the shed, she went to sleep in the corner.

When the sun was setting, the bitch saw an old man and an old woman coming up to the shed from the valley. They seemed to be both very tired, and when they had entered the hut the old man lay down on one side of the hearth, whilst the old woman took the other side. After he had rested some time the old man said :—"Well Grandmother, why don't you get up and cook us something ?" As he spoke he pulled out a jungle vegetable (the *kan-tong-bi-gnyom*) from

his pouch (*kasok*) handing it to her, whilst she pulled out another one (the *kamchel-bi-gnyo*) from the folds of her dress (*dum-pin*).

The old woman thinking that she would boil these two vegetables, turned round to fetch the earthen pot from the shelf, when she saw that it lay scattered in pieces on the floor.

She woke up the old man, saying that a thief had entered the hut and that they must look for him. The Grandfather rose, walking round outside, but saw only the footmarks of a dog. It seemed to have come inside, so entering again, he looked round and saw the black bitch in a corner. As soon as he saw her, he cried out:—"It is you who are the thief, it is you who have broken the pot and scattered the flour, why should I not beat you, why should I not kill you?" He lifted his walking stick (*kar-patung*) high above his head, when the dog said entreatingly:—"Have mercy on me and don't beat me, go and ask my master to replace the broken pot and scattered flour, for I must belong to somebody."

Then the old man asked her who her master was, and hearing it was the *Lyang-bar* king, she was not beaten but the old man went to see the king as the dog had suggested.

11. *The Grandfather unearths the twins.*

When he arrived outside the Palace he shouted:—"The king's dog has broken some poor people's earthen pot, and scattered their flour, so I come to demand their replacement."

The two witches heard him shouting and came on to the balcony, where they saw the old man, and made him repeat what he had said. They told him the best thing he could do would be to go to a certain cross road, which they pointed out to him, and to dig in the centre where he would find an earthen pot containing enough food to last him his life. They also advised him to carry the earthen pot straight to his hut, and not to bring it to the Palace.

The Grandfather became very glad, and went to the meeting of the four cross roads, hoping he would find his recompense. When he came near the spot he heard children laughing, and clapping their hands, but when he reached the centre he saw nothing and could not find the earthen pot. Thinking the two Queens must have lied to him, he turned back towards the Palace again, and had taken three or four steps when he heard the children's voices once more, and turning round quickly he heard them laughing and clapping their hands again.

He came near the centre of the cross roads, and could see nothing but a stone lying there, this he removed with the aid of his stick finding an earthen pot in a hollow underneath.

This he took out, and breaking the seals round the neck, and cutting the rope, he found two boys inside who were as beautiful as the sun and moon.

The Grandfather became very pleased, and placing the earthen pot on his head like a cap, he put one child in his *kasok* while he held the other in front of him with his hands, feasting on him with his eyes. Every few paces he took, he would change them about, placing the one he had been carrying in his *kasok*, and holding the other in his hands.

When the old man came to his hut, and the old Grandmother saw the children, she became very happy too, while the dog bowed down to them in respect, and from that day the two old people's hut was always full of food, and they had no trouble, so that in a very few days they became quite rich.

One day, the Grandmother asked the Grandfather to give her one of the boys. At first he would not; however, she implored him to, and at last he gave her the youngest *Komhankub*, telling her to look after him very carefully. So from that day the youngest slept with the Grandmother, while the eldest slept with the Grandfather.

12. *The Miraculous Building of the Palace by the Twins.*

One day they said to the two old people:—"Now during this night you will hear a great deal of noise, you must keep very quiet, and not open your eyes, and must not ask the cause of the disturbance."

At midnight the two old people heard a great deal of noise. It came from the side where the sun rises, from the side where the sun sets, from the *Rum*-country above, and from the country of *A-nok* (Hell) below. They heard the sound of men cutting stones, dragging posts and building while in the morning the old Grandfather was lying in a golden bed, whilst the old Grandmother was in a silver one. The boys who were sleeping with the two old people roused them, and when they saw they were in golden and silver beds, they could not believe it was not a dream, and putting their tongues out in astonishment found they could not put them in again. The two boys said:—"Don't be frightened, this is the Palace you two are going to live in."

With great wonder the two old people climbed out of their beds, and in their haste to get on to the balcony, they ran into the cupboards and against the walls. When they stood on the balcony, they found the Palace stood on exactly the same place as the hut had done.

"You need not wonder at all these things," the boys said, "the *Rum* built it all for us in a single night."

Then the old Grandfather, and the old Grandmother lived happily in the Palace which was finer than the *Lyang-bar* king's.

13. *The King summons the Twins, sending messengers to fetch them.*

The twins went out to play in a flower garden in front of the *Lyang-bar* king's Palace. Among all the other flowers there was a bush called the *chambar*, where many birds called the *sang-dyam-jo* were sitting. The twins aimed at these, killing many which they stuffed in a bag.

As they were shooting, the *Lyang-bar* king came out on his balcony and saw them. He was astonished at their beauty as they might have been the sons of a King. He watched where they would go, and wondered at never having seen them before. The next day the twins took the cattle out grazing, and led them to one of the *Lyang-bar* king's fields.

The King went out himself to see what damage they had done, and saw the Palace on the same place where the hut had once stood, and it seemed finer than his own. He sent a messenger to call the old people to him, but before the messenger had arrived, the eldest boy knew that he was coming, and told the old people not to be frightened at the messenger's arrival as he would answer all the questions. In the meantime he made the front of their Palace as muddy as if a lot of cattle had just trodden there. The *Lyang-bar* king's messenger came, and standing on the top of a stone to be free of the mud he cried to the old man and woman:—"You two had no cattle a few days ago, now you have a great many, you had no Palace before, and now you have this one, but the cattle have done much damage to our fields, and the king of *Lyang-bar* summons you to appear before him."

Now the messenger had a very good cloth on, and as the elder boy came out of the Palace, rays of light shone from him and his beauty, so that the messenger became blinded and fell off the stone into the mud.

The boy said to him:—"As you are the messenger of a King, you should be able to see your way about better," and put him into the sun to dry, after saying to him:—

"You had better return now, tell the King the old people will appear before him."

When the messenger returned to the King, having a muddy cloth, the king of *Lyang-bar* asked him what had happened. He answered:—"O King, the boy we were searching for yesterday is staying over there in the Palace, and when he came out he shone so brilliantly, I found I could not stand in his rays, and I fell down in the mud." The King said:—"If you saw the one boy, the other must be also staying there. I do not want to see the two old people now but the boys," and he sent another messenger to fetch them.

So another messenger came to see the two old people who was an officer of a higher rank and dressed therefore in a finer

cloth. Coming to the stone which the other had stood on, he cried :—"The two boys are summoned now by the king instead of the Grandfather and Grandmother."

The elder brother came out again, and as soon as he had reached the door, rays flashed out from his beauty again, so that this messenger started and fell off his place of refuge into the mud, and the boy picking him up said :—"As you are also the King's messenger, you should be able to see your way about better," and as he put him into the sun to dry, he told him that the two boys would obey the king's order, and would come and see him at sunrise on the morrow.

When the King of *Lyang-bar* heard the boys would be there the next day, he made his Palace ready for them and prepared a great feast.

14. *The twins are sent to steal the golden and silver flutes from the demon.*

At sunrise when the boys appeared, people they met could not stand before the rays shining forth from them, so that everybody fell down, but the twins raised them up by their arms, asking them if they stooped down in order that they should not see.

When they reached the Palace, the King of *Lyang-bar* begged them to sit on the golden and silver thrones he had especially prepared for them, but they refused to do either, and looking stern, the elder boy sat at the foot of a golden pillar, whilst the younger boy sat at the foot of a silver one.

Then the king asked them about their father and mother, and from whence they had come, but the twins answered they had no father or mother and had come out of the earth in an earthen pot, so that they must be the sons of the earth. But the king repeatedly asked who their parents were, and said the earth and earthen pot could not be their father and mother.

The twins kept saying they did not know who their parents were, the only thing they could say for certain was that the elder brother knew their bone had come from the country of *Lyang-bar*, while the young one said he knew their flesh had come from the country of *Lung-da*.[1]

Now all this was heard by the two witches and they guessed the old man had dug up the earthen pot from the ground in the centre of the cross roads, giving the twins their liberty, thinking they had better kill, as soon as they possibly could, because they would be their enemies, they advised the King to kill the twins at once, otherwise they

[1] The *Rong*-folk believe it is the father who gives bone to his offspring, while the mother gives flesh and blood.

would grow up to conquer him, and would become the King, of *Lyang-bar*. They also said he could not kill them without reason, so he had better place them in the hands of the demon (*dut*) *Chenchhyo-byung-pmo*, telling the twins to steal the demon's pair of gold and silver flutes. As a reward he told them that they would be made Kings of *Lyang-bar*. The King thought this was all true, and ordered the twins to fetch the pair of flutes from the demon.

The boys said to themselves:—"The King could not kill us himself, and he is only sending us to the demon to be killed, but we must obey his order and either fetch the flutes or die in the attempt."

15. *The Twins go to the demon's home, promising to return in nine years.*

So they set out for the demon's country, and the old people were very sad at their departure saying:—

"These twins are just like a drop of foam, so immature. How can they fetch the pair of flutes when so many Kings and heroes have gone there never to return. But the twins gave them hope saying:—

"It is not certain we shall be killed, only give up all hope if we do not return before nine years."

Then they left for the demon's country *Chenchhyo*, carrying a pair of yaks' tails with them, one being black and the other white. They went on and on until they came to the ridge of a hill, and from that distance they saw the Palace of the demon. When they reached it they saw the demon-king lying asleep, one of his ears making his pillow while the other covered him like a blanket. The two flutes were in his mouth, one on each side, and he was holding the ends of them in his hands.

The younger brother said at once he would get the flutes, but his brother told him he was too young, and when they had had their lunch which the Grandmother had put in a bag for them, the elder brother jumped up to fetch the flutes.

16. *The golden boy climbs up and steals the flutes.*

Before he left he told his brother that when he had the flutes he would run away towards the Black Plains of China (*Gyanak*) and towards the White Plains (India), but that the demon would follow him, and then he would *ascend to the sky*, and would drop down dead, falling on the upper side of the road, while the demon would fall down dead on the lower side of the road. The moment he fell down dead, he, the younger brother, would have to wave three times up and down his body, with the black yak's tail, passing it from his head

to his feet, and then he was to wave the white yak's tail, passing it from his feet to his head.

The elder brother went up to the demon, and started to climb up him from the toes to the head. When he reached the knee, he was so tired he had to sit down and rest, and then with great difficulty he continued his journey as far as the breast. There feeling very tired and hungry, he had the remains of his lunch from the bag. Feeling refreshed he went on his way reaching the neck and climbing on towards the mouth, he found he had at last come to the flutes. First he took up the golden one, then he made his way to the silver one, returning the same way he had come. As he stepped off the demon's foot, and came to the ground he thought that though he had the two flutes he would like to get one of the demon's tusks.

17. *He hits the tusk with a stone from a sling.*

These were so long that they touched the sky, and he thought he had better try and break one. So putting a stone in a sling he aimed at the tallest tusk, which broke off falling to the ground.

This woke the demon up, and the boy, seizing the tusk and the two flutes, and putting them over his shoulder, turned and ran. The demon followed him crying:—"You have not only stolen my flutes, but you have also broken my tusk, when I catch you I will eat you!"

18. *He is pursued by the demon.*

But it so happened the demon could not run fast, his balance being upset through the loss of his tusk. Owing to the same reason, he failed to catch the boy when he snapped at him with his mouth. The boy ran towards the sunrise, and towards the sunset, towards the north (the *Lho*, the Highland), and towards the south (the *Dang*, the Lowland), with the demon following him closely. Then the boy *ascended to the sky*, and the demon flew up too making a noise like thunder.

19. *The Golden Knife falls dead but is resuscitated.*

The younger brother who had been watching the whole time thought his brother would be killed. Both of them seemed very tired, and then, as he had been told, his twin brother fell down on the upper side of the road, while a short time after the demon fell down on the lower side. Remembering his instructions, he went over to his brother's side taking the black yak's tail with him which he waved three times, passing it from the head to the feet. He also waved

the white yak's tail three times, passing it from the feet to the head. Then the elder brother woke, and they were once more together. When they had had lunch the younger brother said :—"As we have the two flutes, let us return to our own country," but the other brother said :—"We ought not to leave the demon in this state, it would be better to wake him up too." But the younger brother said :—"If we do, he may devour us," but the other answered :—"It is better to wake him up as he may be useful to us later."

20. *The demon is also resuscitated.*

So he took up the yaks' tails, and waved three times with the black one, passing it from the feet to the head, and he waved three times with the white one, passing it from the head to the feet. This woke the demon up, and instead of devouring them, he bowed before them and said :—"You two must be very good men, in fact heroes, for you have had mercy on me, and have spared my life, if you will allow me to invite you to my Palace, I should like to make friends with you."

21. *Exchange of magical implements.*

So they went to the Palace, feasted and made merry, and made great friends. The demon asked them to tell him the magic of bringing the dead back to life, but the brothers said they did not call it magic, they only used two yaks' tails, and they explained the method which had to be used on human beings and demons. The demon full of astonishment and wonder said :—

"As it is so simple, will you exchange the two yaks' tails for my walkingstick, and my rope made from the hair of a yak ?" (*kar-patung* and *salong-thakpo*).

The two brothers asked their use, and the demon replied if they ordered the stick to beat anyone, that would it do, and whatever they ordered the rope to bind that would it fasten.

So the two boys were willing to exchange the two yaks' tails for the demon's stick and rope, and prepared to journey back to their own country. As they were leaving, the demon said that one tusk was of no use to him and cutting the other off himself he asked them to accept it. The two brothers took it and asked the demon to come to them at the moment of their death, and said they would come to him whenever he died, and taking the two flutes and the two tusks they returned to their own country.

22. *The heroes return home.*

When they reached it, they found their Grandfather and Grandmother mourning for them, and covered with dust and

A Lap-cha *basti* in the Rung-nyo (Tista) Valley

A Lap-cha *basti* at Bom (N. Bengal).

ashes. The two boys woke them and said they had returned, but at first they would not believe them and said :—"You two have just come to deceive us, our two boys have gone to the demon's country, and we do not think they will ever return." But the two boys answered :—"No, Grandfather and Grandmother, it is really your two boys, we have returned from the demon's country and are just the same." The old people looked at them out of the corner of their eyes, and when they saw they really were the same two boys they jumped up from their couches happily and hastened to bring food. That night they stayed very cosily all together, and the next morning the two boys said they would go to the King of *Lyang-bar* to give him the two tusks and the two flutes. They had provided the old people, they said, happily for their lives, and they had come to subdue the King's enemies. They then ordered the rope to hide beneath the threshold of the King's main door, and told the stick to hide himself below the hearth. They said they would tell the king of *Lyang-bar* about their parentage and birth, and when they told him this, the two witches would try to run away. As soon as they reached the threshold, the rope was to bind them, and then the stick was to beat them. The stick would beat so hard, their bones would come out, and their flesh would go in. So the stick and the rope started on early the next morning.

23. *The Twins Reveal the Mystery of their Birth, and punish their witch-sisters.*

Carrying the flutes and the tusks the two boys went towards the Palace of the King of *Lyang-bar* the next day, and when they reached there, they rested one of the tusks against one of the corners of the Palace, and it was so heavy that the wall fell down. The King of *Lyang-bár* and the two witches ran on to the balcony hearing the noise in alarm, and saw the two boys standing there. When the two witches saw they had returned from the demon with the flutes and the pair of tusks, they became frightened as they guessed the demon would kill them at once and they both ran inside again quickly.

The boys came inside the Palace and told the King they had brought him the demon's pair of flutes he had wished for, but they knew now he had simply sent them there to be killed.

The golden boy sat at the foot of the golden pillar and the silver boy sat at the foot of the silver pillar, both looking very stern, and refusing to have anything to eat. The King asked them again about their parentage and if they came from the side of the sunset or from the side of the sunrise, from the country of the north (*lho*), or from the country of the south (*dang*). But the twins replied that all they knew about their birth was that they had come from the earth in an earthen

pot. However the King insisted on hearing the truth, and at last they said:—

"Do you remember the day you went out hunting, and lost your two dogs, how you found them lying dead, your visit to the king and your questions about magic to the two fairies, and do you not remember the *Ramit-pandi* told you she could give birth to a golden knife and to a silver knife?"

The King said he could remember all these things, but it was a puppy *Ramit-pandi* had given birth to, so he had killed her and had put her body into the river.

Now as they were talking the two witch-sisters became frightened, and after talking it over they decided they had better fly away at once, and they made themselves wings out of their dress-folds (literally the loose end of a Lap-cha dress forming a sort of bag when held out, a *dum-pim*).

While they were hastening to make wings, the twins told the King although he had a big head, he had few brains. and although he had a large breast he had no heart. The two fairy sisters were really she-devils, they themselves had been the *Ramit-pandi's* sons.

"At the time of our birth," they told him, "she had nothing to eat, those heaps of bones and millet seeds with the sea of rice water were the remains of what the two she-devils had devoured. They put all the blame on our mother, and buried us in an earthen pot at four cross roads, and we were saved by a dog who had taken shelter in the hut of two old people. But here too," they added, "you tried to kill us, as you put us into the hands of a demon. We have only just now been saved from him, and have returned."

Meanwhile the two she-devils had come out to fly away from the Palace, but the rope bound them on the threshold. while the stick began beating them so severely that their bones showed and came out, while their flesh sank in and it nearly killed them.

However the twins wanted a little life left in them, so the rope became slack and the stick stopped beating, and then they asked the king to fetch their mother.

But the king was very frightened, and ran about trembling hither and thither. He ran down towards the rivers, but did not see the *Ramit-pandi* anywhere. Three times he ran down and three times he came back, but each time he could see nothing.

24. *Ramit resuscitated and the witches executed.*

The twins asked the King to give them two sieves and two iron rods, and when he had brought these two things they told him to carry them down to the rivers where their mother had been killed. This he at once did, whereupon the twins went a little downstream, and began to stir the water till the stones at

the bottom started to roll, while the sand and mud rose. They then drained the water through the sieves, the younger brother catching two hairs, one blue and one white, whilst the elder brother caught a piece of bone. After washing these they brought them to the Palace where they placed them over an incense burner, purifying them in the smoke. Then they placed them in a bamboo stem, with a bow and arrow (*sa-lu chom*) and a spinning rod (*lasyu*) closing it up and saying :—

"If it is possible for us to meet again, we would like to see you re-born in three or four days' time; if you are re-born a boy we will find you shooting with the bow and arrow, and if you are re-born a girl, we shall find you using the spinning rod."

They hung the bamboo stem on the golden post, and on the third day when the twins were listening for sounds in the bamboo they heard the whirl of the spinning rod. They prepared a seat, and then opening the bamboo stem they found a girl whom they discovered was eight years old. She came out and sat down in the seat they had prepared. The two boys were very happy, as they had found their mother again. They sat on her knees, one on each side, drinking milk from her breast, the elder brother was on the right side whilst the younger brother took the left.

On the next day, the *Ramit-pandi* asked them to bring the two she-devils before her, and then taking up the comb she scratched both their bodies and put puppies to suck at their breasts. As the puppies were sucking amid the heaps of bones, millet seeds, and tea leaves, she asked the King to tie ropes round their necks and to drag them towards the *Pho-chu* and *Mo-chu* Rivers, and as he was pulling them along she took up a handful of ashes which she threw after them saying :—"From this day you shall have nothing more to do with the country of *Lyang-bar*, and you are thus driven out of the land."

When they had all come to the bank where the two streams met, the King brought up the wooden block on which he had killed the *Ramit-pandi*. The twins cursing the she-devils, asked the King to cut their heads off. He did this and the twins cast their bodies into the water, and from that day the she-devils existed no longer.

The others all returned to the Palace, and the King, the *Ramit-pandi* and the twins lived happily ever after.

25. *The two boys wrestle, are killed and resuscitated.*

The two boys were always playing. One day as they were wrestling, they fell off the balcony on the upper storey, and fell down to the ground, both being picked up dead. The father and mother were mourning and feeling very sad.

Now the wind brought the message of the two princes' deaths to the demon *Chen-chhyo-brong-mung*, and as they had

formerly promised to attend the death of each other, the demon hastened to the country of *Lyang-bar*. He thought that he might be able to help his two friends and carried the two yaks' tails with him.

He arrived at the Palace, and found the father and the mother weeping over their two sons' dead bodies. Taking up the yaks' tails one after the other, he started waving them about as he had been directed, and they both came to life, and rose up, the younger brother however turning into a girl. Then the demon was given a feast, and a bullock was killed. They boiled this whole without taking out the entrails, cooking as well eight big pot-fuls of rice, also giving him eight big bamboo vessels of '*chi*' (*pa-thyut*) which they had strained.

All this the demon ate in mouthfuls. Then when he had bidden them all farewell, the two children said:—"You have no enemies and you will reign peacefully in your country, *Chen-chhyo-brong*." So he returned, and both kingdoms had peace. The son took the name of the *Dyu-zong-bo-pono* (king), while the sister was known as the *Zelem-pandi* (queen).

No one was as happy as these two, and they had revenues coming to them from the lands that stretched from the sunrise to the sunset.

XXV. Ga-bu and his Horse.

(Told by Sadam Tsering, Kalimpong, Sept. 7th.)

1. *Ga-bu makes friends with the wife of the demon.*

Ga-bu was riding his favourite horse, and as he was riding up a steep path, he met the demon called *A-tschung-mung-la*, whom he thought of teaching. They talked it over, and came to *A-tsdhung-mung-la's* Palace. There the demon went out shooting leaving *Ga-bu* alone with his wife in the Palace.

She was weaving two pieces of cloth in turn, one was of silk, while the other was woven from the jungle nettle plant (*ka-su*).

Now *Ga-bu* was dressed in the poorest of clothes, and looked like a beggar, but he asked her what she was going to do with the cloth when she had finished weaving them both.

The wife told him she would give the plain nettle-plant cloth to her husband, but she would keep the silk one for *Ga-bu* in case he ever came to see her.

2. *Ga-bu plots the destruction of the demon.*

Then *Ga-bu* told her who he was, and asked her to let him know in what places her husband's spirit lived. She would have to question him closely, and he would hide near by where he would hear everything that was said. He also asked her to feed his horse for him which he had tied to the top of a hill; he

had put several bunches of grass in front of it, but these might not last if he were away a long time. The horse he had named *Chongse-gu-bu.*

Hearing the demon *A-tschung-mung-la* returning, he looked round to see where he could hide, and crept in the hollow trunk of a tree opposite the Palace.

When the demon's wife questioned her husband about his spirit's place of abode, *A-tschung-mung-la* asked her why she wanted to know; it might mean she wanted to kill him. But she said:—"O! you go out hunting so often that I want to please your spirit that it may then bring you good luck."[1]

So the demon told his wife that his spirit lived in a pine tree in front of the house (*tung-sing-kung*). It also lived in several small fish she would find in the stream that ran near the house (*ta-hrim*) and that it also lived in the body of a honey-bee. So she must be very careful never to cut the pine tree, kill the fish or hurt the bee. Should she do so, he would of course die.[2]

Thus *Ga-bu* heard everything, and when *A-tschung-mung-la* went away again, he came out of the hollow trunk and wickedly cut the tree down, killed and cooked many of the fish and caught the bee which he burnt in the fire.

When the demon returned, he was groaning as if in great pain, and soon after he lay down and died. *Ga-bu* at once cut his head off, which he kept, giving the body to his widow.

3. *Ga-bu is poisoned by the demon's wife.*

Then *Ga-bu* lived in the Palace, but the demon's wife gave him poisoned '*chi*' to drink one day, and after taking that he slept for three years. The demon's wife then covered him with dried mud, and used him as a hearthstone with three hearth-stones on his chest to cook pots on. He woke up at length and the demon's wife then gave him poisoned food, and he slept for three more years. At last she wished him to go away, and when he again woke up she sent him to find his horse which was still tied up in the same place. The demon's wife had given him iron maize to eat, and had amused herself by beating him. It was so long since he had been tied up, trees had grown up all around him, and as *Ga-bu* came near him he started to run away. His master followed him, and noticed that the nearer he approached him the trees grew smaller and smaller. Whilst he was running

[1] This is practised by the Lap-cha, who calls it '*mung-suk*,' i.e. exorcising an evil spirit.

[2] These details have been studied by J. Frazer—the destruction of the external soul with the treacherous behaviour of the wife, the story of the demon, or the giant, whose destruction is plotted, etc. See *Golden Bough*, vol. xi, pp. 95–152. In the Lap-cha tales it is a frequent motive (cf. No. xxi).

away he caught some bamboo leaves, and the elephant-grass (*pa-sor*) which to this day have *Ga-bu's* horse's teeth marks on them.

4. *Ga-bu and his horse fly to the Rum country.*

And then *Ga-bu* managed to reach him just as he was leaving earth to go to the *Rum*-country, he even had his two front feet off the ground—but *Ga-bu* caught hold of him and asked him why he wished to go so soon to the *Rum*-country, if he went, he, *Ga-bu*, would like to go there with him.

Chongse-gu-bu then told him the demon's wife had been very cruel to him, and had been giving him iron maize to eat which had caused him very great pain. To believe this *Ga-bu* had only to slit his stomach open when he had gone up to Heaven.

And the horse wanted to leave this earth and to die, and he asked *Ga-bu* for his knife (*ban*), as if he wouldn't kill him he would stab himself. *Ga-bu* gave him the knife, and the horse stuck it in the ground with his teeth, then falling on it and killing himself.

To see whether the horse had been telling the truth, *Ga-bu* cut him open, and found a lot of the iron maize inside. So he knew that the animal had spoken truthfully and he felt very sad, and after burying him he decided he would go up to the *Rum*-country too. Thus they, *Ga-bu* and the horse both flew up.

XXVI. The Adventures of Ati-azyak.

(*Told by Chyupan at Sindhik, May 16th.*)

1. *The King asks the diviner to pray for a son.*

Once upon a time, there was a king of the *Lyang-bar* country[1] and his queen *Tung-kung-ramit*, which means she was as radiant as a rainbow (*tung-kung*). They had six sons and no daughters.

Now the king was very restless and uneasy, for whenever men came to settle in that land, they were found dead on the following morning. He wished to find out the reason, so he went to a diviner named *Aku-sangyo-yuk-mun* taking a wealth of gold and silver with him.

Aku-sangyo-yuk-mun told him he would have to go into meditation for seven days, and that before retiring he would have to bathe. Were he to do so, the diviner said, he would receive one more son, who would do much good. He must also sacrifice a great deal of *phuchi* and *muchi* (a sacrifice of birds and fish), and give drink (*chi*), rice (*zo*), cooked rice (*ta-fa*), and ginger (*heng*), which he would have to offer on a bamboo carpet (*samok-talu*).

[1] The country lying in the centre of the universe supposed by the Lap-chas to be Sikhim.

So the king went into seclusion and made the sacrifice as the diviner told him, and watched and waited for a saviour to be born.

2. *The deities decide which of their sons has to be incarnated as the king's son.*

In the country of the *Rum*, the sweet incense of the sacrifice was scented by the *Rum* father and mother, who both hastened to find the place it was ascending from. The *Rum*-mother found the room where the incense was rising as it was filled with perfume. She became very happy and told the *Rum*-father how very fragrant the incense was, but he said:—"Yes, it may have seemed sweet to you, but the king of *Lyang-bar* wants us to send him a son in exchange for it, so it means we shall have to part from one of our three sons." He called them and said that whoever was strong enough to lift the stone lying on the playing-ground (*lingmu-partem*) should be sent down into the world to be a son to the king of *Lyang-bar*.

The two eldest brothers became exceedingly joyful, and at sunrise the next morning they wished to throw the stone, but found they could not lift it.

Then the youngest brother thought he would try (he was still sucking his mother's breast) and he went to the playing-ground saying:—"May the stone rise as soon as I touch it if it is I who am to go to the country of *Lyang-bar*," and picking it up easily, he threw it as far down as the world (the *Ling-lyang*).

The two elder brothers seeing this became angry, and beating their younger brother and leaving him behind they came and told their father that they had thrown the stone. However, the *Rum*-father told them there was another test which they would have to perform. "Behind the twelfth mountain," he said, "there is a needle, go and aim at it and whoever hits it will be the *Lyang-bar* king's son."

At sunrise the next day the brothers went out, but the two elder ones could not discover where the needle lay. "May I strike the needle," the younger one said, "with my first shot if I am to go to the *Lyang-bar* country." He drew his arrow and struck the needle at once, which angered his two elder brothers. They beat him again, and left him behind, saying they had hit the needle, not their youngest brother.

Their father told them that for the next test they had to make tea. "You are to put it in a bamboo cup (*kha-tak*) and before the steam rises to the top of your head, you must try and split the hair of a horse's tail," he told them. The next day, they all tried this and the younger brother again won.

Then the father told them he would be the son of the *Lyang-bar* king who could collect enough food and firewood

quickly which would be sufficient for the remainder of their lives.

The brothers all tried on the following day, the two elder brothers fetched only one load of firewood each, but the younger brother brought many bundles back.

Then the father asked them what they should all want if they went down to the *Lyang-bar* country. The two brothers at once said they would want much gold and silver with a herd of horses, a herd of cows, and a flock of sheep, but the younger brother said all he needed would be his father's sword (*pa-yuk*), his invisible hat (*gyu-shambu*) and his golden hat (*zer-yalu-shambu*) and a cow, a mare, a hen and a goat that were all blind in one eye. So he was chosen, but at the last moment he couldn't help weeping going away from home, and his mother slapped him so hard that he fell down dead. At the same moment the cow, the mare, the hen and the goat died, and with the younger brother they all found themselves in *Sari-rung-dong-chen*, the country that lies midway between the *Rum* country and *Ling-lyang*, the country that is the world.

Here looking down below he saw the Queen *Tang-kung-ramit* weaving on a loom. Seeing this he dropped water on her so that she was forced to take shelter. Doing this three times he, with all the animals, became one large hailstone, and fell down by her side. The Queen seeing this cried out :—"O! you have been troubling me so much," and breaking a piece of the big hailstone, she swallowed it, throwing the rest away. These in turn were swallowed by a cow, a mare, a hen and a goat who all had young.

3. *The birth of Ali-azyak.*

But the queen *Tang-kung-ramit* gave birth to a bag one day which alarmed her and she buried it in some cross roads near by.

Just at that time the king of *Lyang-bar* was outside the Palace looking where the child would be born. He could not find it, and returning home he found his wife lying down though no child could be seen. He asked her to tell him the truth, and promised no harm should come to her if she told him everything. The queen at once told him about the burial place, and the king running quickly to the four cross roads could find nothing. Then he heard a voice crying :—"Father do take me out very soon." He heard the sound coming from the earth, so he dug down, finding the bag which he immediately cut open. Inside there was a copper pot which had a cover. In that he found a lovely boy, a son, and becoming very happy he returned home with him.

The next day he invited many people whom he feasted and asked to find a name for his son. No one could find a

suitable one however, and the king at last chose a name suggesting *Ati-azyak-pono;* this pleased everybody and they all went home.

4. *Ati-azyak with his six brothers go to marry the seven daughters of the king of Lung-da.*

Now the child grew up very soon, and calling his six other brothers he said to them :—" You should not stay idle as you do, you should all work. Now we are seven brothers, and I hear the King of *Lung-da* has seven daughters, let us go and ask if we can marry them."

The *Ati-azyak-pono* gave them a great deal of gold and silver, and told them that first of all on their journey they would come to a high black mountain on the top of which they would have to place a black flag. The next mountain they would come to would be a big green one, on the top of which they would have to place a green flag. After passing that they would have to reach the summit of a red mountain where they would have to place a red flag. The last mountain they would reach would be a white one, and on that they would have to put a white flag. Then they would have to cross a table-like meadow called the *I'emo-pathong-partam*, where two suns would be shining, and where they would also find a shady fir (*chenden*), standing in the centre. Owing to the two suns, the heat would be tremendous and it would be advisable for them not to stay long in the meadow or under the fir, and they had better not take their hats off.

The six brothers started on their journey finding everything exactly as *Ati-azyak* had told them. After passing over the mountains, they came to the flat table-land where the two suns were shining, and passing through that land soon they came to the *Lungda*-palace. They showed the king all their wealth and asked if they might marry his six eldest daughters, whilst they asked for the youngest daughter whom they would give to their young brother.

The king consented to give all his daughters, and at the time of returning he told them not to play their bamboo flute (*pa-lit*) or the Jews'-harp (*tung-dyu*) as they ought not to stop long in the meadow.

But on the journey the three younger brothers with the three younger Princesses became very joyful, and started to sing and dance, so that when they came to the meadow of the two suns, they sat under the shade of the tree and felt cool. The three elder brothers with the three other Princesses and the seventh youngest Princess advised them not to stay, but as they would not listen to them, they also had to join them.

As they were all resting, they saw a big white sea approaching them from the end of the meadow where the sun

rose, while a big black sea rolled towards them from the end of the meadow where the sun sank, and from the *Lho* (the Highlands) a red sea approached, and from the *Dang* (the Lowlands) came a green sea. Thus they were surrounded on all sides by water.

Out of the sea came a huge serpent towards them. His mouth was as large as a basket (*tung-jang*), his eyes were like two large cups (*tuk-chim*), his body was as large as a big rolled bamboo mat (*ta-lu-thul*), and his fins were like a flame of fire (*mi dyak*).

He asked them why they had come to his country as he was ready to devour them. They prayed for their lives and the serpent said:—"Give me your youngest brother who is at home, and then I will let you go away in peace."

This all the brothers promised him, and he then vanished with all the seas and one of the suns.

5. *Ati-azyak visits the sea-serpent.*

In the country of *Lyang-bar*, the youngest son lay in his mother's lap, and told her his brothers had been treacherous, and that someone would soon come from the Serpent-king to fetch him away. He asked her to prepare some food for the messenger, and to be sure and make some drink ('*chi*'), to have some paddy (*zo*) and to have ready some cooked meat (*man*). This was done and the messenger soon came. He proved to be a demon, and as he stood in front of the Palace he called to *Ati-azyak* asking him whether he, *Ati-azyak*, would come down, or should he come up. The boy replied as he was the messenger of a great *pono* and he was only a boy, he had better come up.

Because he was so large, the demon came in at the door with great difficulty, and sat down whilst they fed him with eight gourds of drink, eight gourds (*ta-lyep*) of '*chi*,' eight ladles of paddy, and eight big pots of meat. The demon ate every bit of this, and then the boy *Ati-azyak* was ready. He armed himself with the sword, put on his golden hat and carried his invisible cap with him, saddled his horse and rode after the demon.

Soon he met his brothers with the Princesses and the youngest Princess *Eu-ramit*, who had been promised to him. She caught hold of him passing and asked where he was going. She said whatever adventure he was going on she would like to go to, even if it were to die.

But *Ati-azyak* told her it would not be possible for her to go with him on this journey, and that she was to remain with her sisters. He gave her two rings, both golden and one having a lovely blue turquoise stone (*eu*) in it. This matched her name and he placed it on the third finger of her left

hand, putting the other on the third finger of her right hand saying :—"Should they ever change places by themselves, should the blue stone go to the right hand, and the gold ring to the left, you will know that I am no more. But if they stop as they now are, I shall be alive." Then they parted, each taking opposite roads.

6. *Ati-azyak comes before the Serpent-king.*

Then *Ati-azyak* with the demon came to the Palace of the Serpent, who was named the *Paril-bu*, the demon showed him a way through a passage on his horse. He came to a tremendous opening in which there were many golden and silver *chortens and mendongs*.[1] He wondered to what place he had come, and pulling out his sword from its sheath, he began to strike off pieces of the *chortens and mendongs*. The serpent began to be annoyed, for the place *Ati-azyak* found himself in was in reality the serpent's mouth, while the *chortens and mendongs* were his teeth. He thought: "I wonder what kind of food this will be!" and coughed and gurgled in his throat spitting out what he found was in his mouth.

As the *Paril-bu* spat, he blew *Ati-azyak* back with his horse over the eight mountains.[2] Once again he rode back however to the front of the Palace, and tied his horse to a fir tree. (*Chanden-kung*). This time he met a very beautiful girl, and asked her if she knew why the Serpent-king had summoned him, and where he could find him.

The beautiful girl, who was the *Paril-bu's* queen, said he had taken the wrong road, for there he would be sure to die. But *Ati-azyak* told her he had been summoned and wishing to wake the serpent up, the queen seized a hammer, and struck him from the tail to the head. He snorted and asked her why she had woke him. Telling him why, the queen called *Ati-azyak*, and the serpent told him he had been summoned so that he could go and fetch the two queens —*Zer-y-ong* and *Konyong-pandi*.

7. *Ati-azyak starts on his errand with the help of the serpent's wife.*

But the beautiful girl giving him plenty of good and sweet food that night, said to him :—"To-morrow when you go, you will meet first of all two dogs who will rush growling at you, trying to bite you, you must then give them these which will drive them away," and she handed him

[1] Round and oblong memorial structures that are built of stone and used by Buddhists.

[2] This huge serpent seems to be the same as the one coupled with the flood, judging by his name, *Paril-bu*. See Creation stories, p. 358.

two balls of paddy. "Passing there," she continued, "you will meet a pair of tigers who will lie in wait to spring on you. Throw this meat at them when they will turn back. Next you will meet the demon *Shang-tang-krbu* who will come to eat you. You must give him this," she said, handing him a roll of cloth (*pan-den mam-zo*), "once he receives this he will be at peace with you, and will go with you to fetch the two queens *Zer-y-ong* and *Konyong*.

Then *Ati-azyak* planted a field (*nyot*) of paddy (*zo*) before he left and said to her:—"Watch this growing, should the paddy come up you will know I am still alive, but should only weeds appear, you will know that I am dead."

When he came to the *Sari-nong-dong-chen* Pass he tied his horse up, giving him a golden and a silver ball to eat and saying:—"In five times twenty and eight years I shall return, if I am not back by then, you will know I am no longer alive."

He came next to the *Sari-rung-dong-chen* country finding the two big fierce dogs who jumped at him. However he threw them the two balls of paddy, and they turned aside. Going on he met the two tigers who were ready to spring on him, but giving these two the pieces of meat he continued on his way.

Then he met the demon called *Shang-tang-krbu*, who also tried to catch him, but *Ati-azyak* threw the roll of cloth at him saying:—"Know your master!" and at once the demon became quiet. *Ati-azyak* told the demon he was to accompany him to fetch the two Queens, so the demon put him in his pouch, and moved on.

But midway the demon took him out of his pouch saying:—"But you seem to me to be a sham sort of a master," and he tried to swallow him. *Ati-azyak* however stuck in his throat, and the demon vomited and put him back in his pouch again saying:—"After all you must be my real master as I am not able to swallow you!"

8. *Ati-azyak comes to the land of the seven demons with whom he has a contest.*

When they came to a pond, *Ati-azyak* was very thirsty and got out of the pouch to drink some of the water, but as he was drinking his knife (*ban*), fell out of its sheath into the deep end of the pond. He asked the demon to try and find the knife, but he could not, so he corked himself up and started to drink, but though he dried up the pond, the knife could not be seen anywhere.[1]

---

[1] As *Ati-azyak* ultimately kills him, it would be interesting to ascertain whether he is identical with the *Yong-li-pono*. See p. 358.

The demon started drinking up the streams and *Ati-azyak* went on till he reached the Palace of the queen *Zer-y-ong*, and finding her there he lived with her as her husband. He found all the streams were dry and the people were dying from the lack of water. The queen wondered what was the reason of it and *Ati-azyak* replied the drought was caused by the demon who, searching for his knife, had drunk all the streams dry. The queen said :—" Your knife was washed up here in a stream close at hand, so tell the demon to send back the water."

So the demon, after *Ati-azyak* had told him, pulled out the cork and the water rushed out and started running like a big river sweeping over a great part of the country.

Then *Ati-azyak* put the invisible cap on his head, and brought the demon to the Palace.

Now the queen had seven brothers who were all demons, but who were out hunting at that time, and the queen wanting to keep *Ati-azyak* safe, closed him in a box that was called *Samo-itmo-tung-bo* which she locked up and placed in the twelfth room of the Palace.

When the seven brothers returned they told their sister they had heard that *Ati-azyak* had come to the Palace. She was not to hide him as they would like to see him even if she would not allow them to eat him. At first *Zer-y-ong* would not listen to them, only when they still pressed her, she made them swear an oath vowing that they would not eat his flesh or drink his blood. She made them place their hands in water and the oath being so heavy dried the stream up, then secondly, she made them put their hands on a rock and the oath was so great it split the rock in twain, and then for the last time she made them swear on a sago-palm tree, and the oath was so violent it made the tree wither. After that she believed and trusted them, and going to the twelfth room of the Palace she unlocked the box and set *Ati-azyak* free.

9. *Ati-azyak plays Hide and Seek with the Seven Demons.*

So they all started living together, and as the demons, on account of their oath, could not eat *Ati-azyak* immediately, they asked him to play with them, and suggested he should seek them whilst they hid.

(*a*) *Trees.*—The next morning, the seven demons went off to hide. The queen *Zer-y-ong* gave him a knife and told him he would find seven trees in a line not far away, which he was to try and cut down. *Ati-azyak* searching for the demons later, came across seven trees all standing together in one place. These he threatened to cut down, when they all laughed, becoming the seven demon-brothers once more and saying :—

"We thought you were going to cut us down, now we had better all go home together."

As they reached the Palace the demons said :—"Now to-morrow it is your turn to hide, and we are to search for you." The next day at cock-crow, *Ati-azyak* flew up to the *Rum* country, and from *Sari-rung-dong-chen* he watched the seven demon brothers searching for him everywhere. When they found him, they said among themselves, they would chew him, and though looked well for him everywhere, even in every leaf, they returned home unsuccessful.

Ati-azyak came down and met them on the doorstep; he said he also had been unsuccessful, he had tried to find himself all day but had been unable to! At this the seven demon brothers became angry saying :—"Now to-morrow we will hide again, and you will have to seek for us."

(*b*) *Partridges.*—As soon as the cock crew, they started off and *Ati-azyak*, after feeding was ready to follow. But first of all the queen *Zer-y-ong* told him he would find the seven brothers who had turned themselves into partridges (*kohom fo*): they would be sitting in a line. He would have to try and snare them with the horsehair snare she would give him. So *Ati-azyak* went after the footprints, noticing that sometimes they were those of animals, and sometimes those of men.

At last he came to a meadow where he saw seven partridges perched in a line on a tree. He began to spread his net around them, when they laughed at him and changed back into the seven demons. The next morning *Ati-azyak* went out to hide, and he covered himself with the feathers of a bird (the *sael-fo*).

The seven brothers searched for him thoroughly, not leaving even a stone unturned, but they could not find him. That evening *Ati-azyak* met them again on the doorstep saying :—"You could not find me and I hid myself so well that I lost myself!"

(*c*) *The Seven Streams.*—Again the seven demons went out to hide, and the queen, giving him a cup, said he would find them in the form of seven streams. "Take this with you," she said, "and where the seven streams meet, take the cup from your pouch and try to take a drink from them."

Ati-azyak acted as the queen told him, and when he tried to drink, the seven streams turned into the seven demons and they returned home together.

(*d*) *Wrestling.*—The brothers suggested they would all wrestle on the next day, and when the time came, *Ati-azyak* started wrestling with the eldest. At the third round the demon was knocked down, and *Shang-tang-krbu* seized him and pretended to swallow him. In this way all the other six brothers were defeated and *Shang-tang-krbu* pretended to swallow them in turn till at last they cried for mercy and told *Ati-azyak* to-morrow they wished to fight with cocks. He

replied that as he was a stranger he hadn't a cock, and wanted to know where he could get one. The demons said :—"Well, if you haven't one, you must come after what will be your last meal."

10. *Ati-azyak contests with the demons, using fighting animals.*

(*a*) *Cocks.*—*Ati-azyak* then prayed to his *Rum* father and to his *Rum* mother to send him a cock, and the blind hen who had been swallowed as a hailstone and re-born, came along and laid an egg. That night it hatched, so the next morning early he found a chicken. Feeding it well he cried :—"If I am to win the fight through you, you must crow three times after you have finished your meal."

Ati-azyak's cock crow three times, but his master saw that in the playground many big cocks belonging to the demons had collected. But he came out carrying his cock under his arm, and when he set it down they all started fighting. At the first round the small cock grew bigger, at the second round it grew bigger still, while at the third round it was equal in size to all the others. *Shang-tang-krbu* picked up the other cocks as soon as they had been killed, and swallowed them one after the other.

At last the seven demons said :—"Well, to-day you have defeated us, we were very surprised to see your cock, but to-morrow we will have a goat fight. Should your goat win you may take both the *Zer-y-ong* and the *Komyong* queens, but should our goats defeat yours we will both eat your flesh and suck your blood."

Ati-azyak replied that as he was a stranger he hadn't a goat and wanted to know where he could get one. The demons said :—"Well, if you haven't one, you must come after what will be your last meal."

(*b*) *Goats.*—*Ati-azyak* then prayed to his *Rum* father and to his *Rum* mother to send him a goat, and the goat who had been blind in one eye, who had been swallowed as a hail stone, and re-born, came along and gave birth to a kid. *Ati-azyak* gave him a golden and silver ball to eat, telling him to bleat after eating if he were to win the fight. After feeding, the goat bleated three times, and as soon as he had brought him down to the playing-ground, he commenced fighting with all the demons' big he-goats.

The first time the small goat went round, he was a little bigger, the second time he was bigger still, and the third time he was equal in size to the other goats. Then he began to throw the other goats down which *Shang-tang-krbu* swallowed as soon as they had fallen.

The seven demons said :—"To-day we are also defeated, but don't get proud, for to-morrow we shall have a bull-fight."

Ati-azyak replied that as he was a stranger he hadn't a bull, would they lend him one of theirs? The demons answered that if he hadn't a bull, he would have to prepare to die.

(*c*) *Bulls.*—So *Ati-azyak* burnt incense and prayed the *Rum* father and mother to send him the cow who had been blind in one eye, and who had been swallowed as a hailstone to be re-born, and she came to him and gave birth to a bull-calf in the night. Giving him some grass, *Ati-azyak* said:—"After eating, and if I am to win you must low three times." And the calf lowed three times. The next morning when the demons had collected all their bulls on the playing-ground, *Ati-azyak* led his down, and the ground was shaken by their roaring.

They started fighting, and at the first round the calf started to grow, at the second round he was bigger, and at the third round he was equal in size to the other bulls. He commenced then to knock them down, and *Shang-tang-krbu* swallowed them as soon as they had fallen. But the demons said:—"You have beaten us again to-day, but to-morrow we will fight you with horses. Should your horse win, you may take the *Zer-y-ong* and *Komyong* queens, but if you lose, we will eat your flesh and suck your blood." *Ati-azyak* said once more he was a stranger and hadn't a horse, but if they were to lend him one, he would fight: The demons answered that if he hadn't a horse, he must get ready to die.

(*d*) *Horses.*—But *Ati-azyak* went home and burnt incense and offered '*chi*' to the *Rum*, praying them to send him the mare who had been blind in one eye, and who had been swallowed as a hailstone to be re-born, and she came to him and gave birth to a foal in the night. The next morning *Ati-azyak* gave him a handful of gold and silver to eat saying:—"If I am to win, neigh after eating this food." The foal neighed three times after eating the food, and he was heard in the *Rum* country. By this time, the demons were all ready to fight with their horses and called to *Ati-azyak* to come to them at once.

Ati-azyak went down to the playing-ground taking his foal, and leaving him in a corner of the field. They all started biting and kicking each other, and at the first round the foal got larger, at the second round larger still, while at the third round he was equal in size to the other horses. He kicked so that all the other ponies began to fall down, and the moment they had fallen *Shang-tang-krbu* swallowed them. The demons said:—"again to-day you have beaten us, now to-morrow we will fight with wild bulls. (*sachak-long*).

Ati-azyak once more said he was a stranger, and hadn't a wild bull, but the demons only said:—"If you haven't a wild bull, say your last three words, and be prepared to die."

(*e*) *Wild Bulls.*—So *Ati-azyak* burnt incense, and offered '*chi*' to the *Rum* father and mother praying they would send him a wild bull.

And the next morning at sunrise he found a wild bull standing outside, so *Ati-azyak* made him ready and brought him to the fighting ground. The bulls started to fight, and at the third round *Shang-tang-krbu* pinched the bulls' necks and swallowed them. Thus *Ati-azyak's* wild bull won, but the demons said at once they would fight on the morrow with peacocks. He said again he was a stranger, and had no peacock, but the demons only said that if he hadn't one, he must prepare to die.

(*f*) *Peacocks.*—But *Ati-azyak* came back and offered incense and '*chi*' to his *Rum* father and mother, praying to them for a peacock. And they sent him a peahen at once which laid an egg, and then returned to the *Rum* country. But the egg hatched out the next morning, and he found he had a pea-chick. He asked it to cry three times if he were to win the fight that day, and to his joy, it cried three times loudly, and was heard in the *Rum* country. Soon the demons had their peacocks quite ready, and told *Ati-azyak* to bring his along quickly.

Then they commenced fighting, and at the third round the peacocks were all knocked down by *Ati-azyak's* bird and swallowed by *Shang-tang-krbu*. But the demons asked him to meet them on the next day with their army. *Ati-azyak* replied he was a stranger, and had no army to fight for him. The demons said unless he produced one he must prepare to die.

(*g*) They made ready for the morrow, but *Ati-azyak* became very sad having no one to fight with, and he lay down that night thinking hard.

Just at that moment, the pea-chick put two round stones in the fire, and when they became red-hot he called his master and told him his heart must be as strong as the stones.

Then *Ati-azyak* got up to prepare himself and made a shield and some bows and arrows. He saw the next morning the demons' army was very large and he was quite alone. The pea-chick said :—" You must fight them, but I shall be watching from the top of the house."

They commenced fighting, and *Ati-azyak* let all his arrows fly which hit all the demons, *Shang-tang-krbu* helping a lot, and at last there was only one demon left. *Ati-azyak* had struck him, but only one ear was cut off, and then he had flown away. He thought the battle was over, but the peacock said that the remaining demon had only gone to fetch several others. His master had better wait, he said, for he, the pea-chick, would go and fight them. Seeing the army advancing and led by the demon who had lost an ear, he flew to a tree close at hand which he alighted on, and asked the demon with whom he was going to fight now. They all answered :—" With *Ati-azyak* who has killed so many of our men."

The pea-chick said :—" Well, whether you kill him or not,

would you all not like to see a dance that I can show you first?"

The demons said they would, and standing in rows, they watched the peacock who, spreading out his beautiful eye-feathered tail, commenced to dance slowly. The whole army became so interested that they watched it closely, till at last a flame of fire came out of the pea-chick's tail burning them all to ashes.

11. *Ati-azyak with the two queens starts on his return journey.*

After burning the army, the pea-chick returned to the Palace of *Zer-y-ong* and told *Ati-azyak* to go and find the queen in her room. He went in but found she had two very long tusks, one touching the sky, and the other falling down to the earth. Her breasts were so long, that one of them was thrown over her shoulder while the other hung straight down.

Ati-azyak came out again quickly and hesitated when the pea-chick asked him to go in the room once more. But he did at last, and found the queen had changed into a very pretty girl. She was so pretty that you were never weary of looking at her whichever side you looked, and you never grew tired whether you looked at her from the back, the front or the side. The pea-chick at last said :—"Now master and mistress, you must return to the *Lyang-bar* country for I must return to the country of the *Rum*."

Both the *Zer-y-ong* and *Komyong* queens prepared sufficient food to feed *Shang-tang-krbu* which they fed him with, and then they all went into the Palace, which the demon tied to his back. He soon came to his own house which he also strapped to his back, and when they came to the *Sari-rung-dong-chen* country where *Ati-azyak* had tied his horse up. It had been there for so many years it had sunk into the ground. *Ati-azyak* asked his horse to come out of the earth, but he replied that he could not unless he were sure that his master was there. So the queen *Zer-y-ong* sent her spinning-rod down to him which had a ring of *Ati-azyak* tied on to it, and the horse seeing his master's ring, and believing he had really come at last, sat on the rod and allowed himself to be pulled up.

Then *Shang-tang-krbu* put the horse in the Palace too with the others and carried him. They then came to the Serpent's house and found him sleeping. The Serpent-king was so long that he had curled himself up into three times twelve coils, twelve times he had curled himself up on the ground floor, twelve coils of him lay in the middle storey and twelve coils of him lay in the upper storey.

Ati-azyak pointed him out to his demon and told him the serpent was a present of food for him. *Shang-tang-krbu* was very happy and swallowed him up from the head to the tip of the tail. "To-day," he remarked, "I have really had enough

food!" and taking the beautiful girl up and carrying her also on his back in the Palace they came to the country of *Lyang-bar*.

12. *Ati-azyak punishes his brothers and kills the demon.*

Once there *Ati-azyak* showed them the three younger brothers with their wives, and told him he could do what he liked with them. So the demon swallowed them one after the other. Then he was told to put *Zer-y-ong's* Palace on the side of the sunrise, *Komyong's* Palace on the side of the sunset, the Serpent-king's Palace on the *Dang* side (the Low lands, south) and his own house on the *Lho* side (the High lands, the north). *Ati-azyak* put his elder brother on the side of the sunrise, his second elder brother on the side of the sunset, his third elder brother on the south, keeping the house on the north for himself.

Then he killed *Shang-tang-krbu*, cutting off his head. The flesh he chopped up and gave to the ants while the bones were crushed by him and thrown in the air. He found the bones of some human in the stomach, and these he washed thoroughly, and wrapping them in silk he put them in a bamboo stem with a bow and arrow, and a spinning-rod, saying:—"If you are born as a boy, you will be found shooting with this bow and arrow, and if you are born as a girl you will be found spinning."

On the third day he returned to the bamboo stem and saw a lovely boy inside shooting with the bow and arrow. *Ati-azyak* went with him into his own house and inviting many people from the sunrise to the sunset, from the North and from the South, he gave them a feast and they all made merry for seven days. He asked them to suggest a name for the boy, but no one was able to, and at last he thought of a name, the *Dediong-pono*. Everyone seemed pleased with this, and giving him the Princess *Eu-ramit* of the *Lung-da* country for a bride, they became the king and queen of the *Lung-da* and the *Lyang-bar* countries.

13. *Ati-azyak returns to the Rum country.*

Ati-azyak told them that as they had no enemies and could live happily, he with his three wives, *Zer-y-ong*, *Komyong* and the queen of the *Paril-bu* would return to the *Rum* country to which he belonged. Should the clouds break as they flew upwards, it would mean they would all meet again in this world, but should the clouds cover them, it would mean they would only meet in the next world.

As they tried to fly away the others caught hold of them so that they were unable to rise. The next morning when the others were all still asleep, they managed to fly away. *Dediong* and *Eu-ramit* woke up soon after and saw them flying in the

sky. Watching they saw them become the size of birds, and then they looked as small as flies, and soon were completely hidden by the clouds. *Ati-azyak's* horse who had also been let loose reached the country of the *Rum* long before the others.

Thus the country of *Lyang-bar* became free of all demons who were subdued by *Ati-azyak*.

XXVII. The Adventures of the Merchant-widow's Son.

(*Told by Shamelyangaat Toon, May 19th.*)

1. *The merchant-widow's son receives a luminous flower.*

Once upon a time, there was a King called *Pid-no*, who had many councillors and among them were seven devils (*dut-mung*). These seven were so powerful, the King found he could not control them. *Tashey-thing* came to hear of this and made a plan to help him. In that country there was a merchant who carried trade from the plains to the coast, and back from the coast to the plains. He had a wife but no children, and *Tashey-thing* thought he would make use of this. Soon the merchant lost his life whilst travelling, and after his death, the wife had a son. Though he grew up and promised to be very strong, the woman always kept him hid, knowing the devils who really controlled the country were exceedingly cruel.

The mother worked daily in some houses and spun in others, and they both had to live on what she earned. One day as she would be out late, she made him some sour barley bread (*ka-hru-khu*). She made seven loaves which he was to eat whilst she was out, but on no account was he, she said, to leave the cottage.

But as he was playing on the balcony, a fox came to the front of the cottage, holding a beautiful flower in his mouth. The flower looked so beautiful, that the boy found he was unable to stay in the cottage, but ran out following the fox. He ran along over three mountains and saw from the ridge of the third that the fox had dropped the flower in the valley below. Reaching it, he picked it up and realized he could not return that night and his mother would be very anxious. He didn't get back till the next day with the flower he had picked up. The mother was happy to see him again, and as soon as he had brought the flower in the cottage, rays of golden light fell from it.[1] His mother told him to keep it in a safe place, but the boy said he would like the King to have it.

[1] Magical flowers are heard of in the folk-lore of different nations. Cf. *Golden Bough* vol. xi, pp. 45. sq. In Southern Russia it is believed that when a fern blooms on Midsummer's night, it bears a fiery flower. Whoever overcomes the dangers and plucks it will be able to find hidden treasure.

2. *The flower is presented to the king, but the councillors advise him to order the boy to bring more.*

The next day he took the flower to the King who was so delighted he called his councillors together and said :—"You are my councllors, but what have you ever done for me? Look at this boy who has just brought me this wonderful flower shedding forth such a beautiful golden light."

The *Rum* or god-like councillors said to each other :—"Alas! it is quite true, we have not done much for the King in any way," but the seven devils rose up saying :—"Yes, it is quite true, we councillors have not done much work for the King, but bringing one flower is a very little act; ask the boy to bring several so that the Palace is completely filled with them; in that case we will praise him, if he cannot, we will not praise him, rather will we think of him as an enemy."

They dispersed while the King told the boy what his councillors said, and returning home, the boy became very sad. The mother gave him some food and set out to work again as usual.

3. *A Beggar Comes who Promises to Befriend the Boy.*

As he was sitting sorrowfully in front of the cottage a beggar appeared before him to whom he could give nothing excepting the loaves of bread his mother had made for him. These he gave to the beggar who said :—"If you are in any great trouble, mind you remember me, my name is *Dub-cham*, call me."

Soon after the mother returned and asked him if he had eaten all his food. He told her a man had come begging and that he had given it all to him. Hearing this the mother was annoyed, as she had to work hard to get any food, and they were not to waste it. She was also grieved to hear the King wanted many more flowers, as the boy said he would have to find them whether he lived or died.

4. *The boy starts on his errand, and comes to the Land of the Pigeons.*

So the boy went out searching for some more flowers, and he went on and on towards the country of *Simbi-yule*, at last coming to a place where there were flocks and flocks, of pigeons, and in the very middle of them he came across a Palace where the King lived. The boy asked for shelter for the night, and the King was very pleased to see him as he had three daughters and could not find any suitable sons-in-law, and he was growing very morose.

The King asked the boy to what place he was travelling, and

he replied he was searching for some wonderful and beautiful flowers the King of his country wanted, and described them. But the King of the Pigeons told him he had much better stay for a long time with him, as he had never heard of such flowers, and did not know where he would find them. If he ever did, he was to exchange one of the golden flowers for one of his daughters. The boy hoped he would be able to find the flowers and went further on his search.

5. *He comes to the Land of the Paroquets (Jari-Jop).*

So he went on until he came to another country where he saw flocks and flocks of paroquets. There in the middle of the birds he came to another Palace, where the King of the Paroquets lived. The boy asked shelter from him for the night, and told him what he was searching for. The King gave him food, and told him he would find no such flower, but if he were to, after all, he could marry one of his three daughters should he like to give him, the King, one flower.

6. *He comes to the Land of the Peacocks (mung-yung).*

Then the boy left that country and came to a land where there were flocks and flocks of peacocks. In the centre of them he again found a Palace which was beautifully decorated, and as he asked for shelter, which was given him, he once more described the flowers for which he was searching. The King thought they sounded very wonderful, and promised to give him one of his daughters were he to give him one.

7. *He comes to the Sambi-ula Palace that is inhabited by five demons.*

After leaving the Peacock country the boy came near the *Sambi-ula* Palace, which he saw in the distance. But when nearer he saw it was surrounded with water, in fact it lay in the middle of an immense sea. He was unable to continue as there seemed to be no means by which he could cross, though he stayed there and thought it over for the whole of seven days and seven nights. Then he remembered the beggar had told him to call on him, *Dud-chem*, whenever he was in trouble. As soon as he had spoken *Dud-chem's* name, he felt a tremendous gust of wind which took him up and carried him to the front of the Palace where it suddenly let go and dropped him.

The flower garden, where he found himself, had many tall bushes, all of which were bearing the flowers he had been searching for so long. He also saw many other golden and silver flowers on which many golden and silver bees had

settled. And coming up to the Palace, and climbing up to the lintel of the door, he hid himself in a corner.

In the evening at sunset, he heard thunder and the sound of an earthquake, and the boy saw five Evil Spirits approaching. one of whom had five heads, one three and each of the three others had two heads. They carried dead human-beings on their backs whom they were going to eat, dead horses, dead cows, and many other animals. The boy noticed with horror that the five-headed Evil Spirit was chewing the body of a young man, and as he came to the door of the Palace he ordered all the four other demons away and entered by himself. First of all he put the bodies of the creatures he had brought back with him in their different store-rooms, and sat down breathing heavily, while the boy peeping from his hiding place didn't move Then the chief of the Evil Spirits prepared his meal, putting three human-beings in one big pot, three cows in another, and two *maunds*[1] in a third, which he ate as soon as they were cooked. When he had finished he washed himself, made his bed and dragged out a black box which lay underneath it. In a corner the boy noticed two gourds containing black and white water which were hanging up near some keys and a large black steel knife.

The Evil Spirit unlocked the box, and took out the head of a woman which he placed on the bed, adding the trunk of the body on which he placed the arms and legs. Then he watered all this from the head to the toe with the black water, and then from the toe to the head with the white water. When he had done this, the woman sneezed and came to life, and she was so beautiful she looked just like one of the golden flowers that had burst from its bud. The Evil Spirit gave her some food, and then went to sleep for the night. The next morning he once more cooked for the girl and himself, and after feeding her he made her lie down again, and poured the water from the two gourds on her skin. Then he brought out the black steel knife severing her neck from her body, also cut off the arms and legs apart. These he all put away in the box and went away after making sure it was locked. But he stealthily crept back and looked all round making sure there was no one present.

8. *The boy steals some flowers, and leaves with the maiden.*

When the demon had really gone, the boy came from his hiding-place, and opening the box, he brought the girl to life in the same way the demon had.

When the girl woke up, and saw another man she asked him where he had come from, how he had arrived, and then said it was not the place for him. The Evil Spirits were so

[1] A '*maund*' is roughly one hundredweight.

cruel, even birds had their wings torn off while rats always had lost their paws and nothing was ever left undestroyed. The boy told her that he had come somehow, but he wanted to know how it was he found her here. She replied:—"I was living in the *Rum*-country with my father and mother, we were just a family of three, but we had to pay revenue to the demons, one man from every house was taken, and as our house was also taxed, I was obliged to leave my father and mother and go. Here I am never able to escape as everyday they cut me up and shut me in a box, and it is only at night when the five-headed Evil Spirit is at home I am given life and set free."

The boy asked her if she would care to run away with him, and she replied if they could only escape she would go anywhere with him. He said:—"If you come with me you must not take anything with you, only the gourds of black and white water, and the black steel knife, and we ought to escape as soon as possible." As soon as he had said this they fled from the house, and picking as many of the flowers as the boy needed they came to the sea-shore.

Here the boy remembered the beggar *Dud-chem* whom he at once prayed to, and he sent them a whirlwind which carried them over to the other side. But as soon as they had arrived there the five Evil Spirits knew they had escaped and ran after them.

9. *The five demons are drowned.*

They reached the sea and started to swim to the other side, the three two-headed demons only swimming a little distance before they sank, while the one three-headed demon reached to the middle, and the five-headed Evil Spirit swam nearly across to the other side. As he came nearer, and his breath came in gasps to the shore, the trees swayed with his outgoing breath away from him towards the sunrise, and with his incoming breath they bent towards him and the sunset. In the meanwhile the whirlwind commenced blowing violently on his head, so at last he also sank, thus the five demons were all killed, so the minds of the boy and girl were easy.

10. *The boy returns home bringing the flowers.*

When these two came to the Peacock country they stayed for about a month, and at the time of his departure, the boy gave some of the flowers to the Peacock King, who gave him his second daughter. The flowers filled the Palace with gold, and the King was very happy. They came next to the Paroquet Palace and they stayed there a month. Then the boy gave the Paroquet King some of the flowers which turned everything in the Palace to gold and silver, while the King gave him his second daughter. Leaving there the four came to the Land of

the Pigeons, where they stayed another month. On leaving, the boy also gave the King some of his flowers so that everything in the Palace was turned to silver, and the king gave him his second daughter.

Then the boy with the four Princesses came to his old home. He left the Princess he had obtained from the Palace of the Evil Spirits in a house they passed by the way-side, further on in another house he left the Peacock Princess, nearer his home, he left the Paroquet Princess and still nearer the Pigeon Princess, and arrived home by himself. The very next day he brought the flowers to the King, and wherever they were put. they turned everything to gold and silver, in the upper, middle and lower stories so that the King was delighted.

11. *The king orders the boy to build a palace, to decorate it, and to plant a garden.*

The next day the King summoned the councillors, and showed them all the flowers, and the wonders they had worked. The *Rum*-councillors said it was all true and wonderful, but the seven devils exclaimed they could not admit it was wonderful: the boy must at least build a three-storied Palace in three days: should he not be able to accomplish this, they said they would still think him an enemy.

The next day the boy went up to the Palace to see what the King had decided, and the King told him he would have to make a Palace in three days. The boy feeling very sad, went to the house where the Princess of the Pigeons lived, and told her what had happened. But she was pleased at the idea, and told him to rest for the following three days. Then she called up her army of pigeons who finished the Palace in three days.

On the fourth day the boy visited the King to see if he were pleased. He summoned the councillors, and asked them to admire it. The *Rum*-councillors did, but the seven devils said:— "No, we cannot admit this is wonderful, he, your boy, must at least decorate the entire Palace (in one day) throughout with pictures of figures, animals and birds, the outside as well as the inside. Until he does this, we shall still think he is an enemy."

When the boy understood what he had to do in one day he went in great sorrow to the Princess of the Peacocks. When he had told her what he was to do, and that he would lose his life if he failed, she told him not to worry but to rest that night, and she would order her Peacock army to ornament the Palace that very night. They flew over at once, and the army of peacocks made the Palace look gorgeous, making the whole building look like a peacock with his tail outspread.

The next day the boy again visited the King and asked him if he were pleased. The King summoned the councillors,

and the *Rum*-people said it was beautiful, but the seven devils still wished for something more.

"He should be able to plant trees" they said, "or cover the table-land meadow of three fields with a forest. If the trees are there to-morrow morning, and should there be birds singing in them, we will think him wonderful, till then he is still an enemy."

This time the boy, feeling sadder than ever, went to the Princess of the Paroquets, and telling her what he had to do she said :—

"You must not grieve, I will call my paroquet army and they will work for you, only rest." The army came and planted the forest in the table-land, and the next morning as all the birds were singing the boy was sure the King would be contented. But when he went to the Palace, and the King called the councillors, though the ones from the *Rum*-country were pleased, the devils again wanted him to do something more. They said :—

12. *The boy is ordered to explain the origin of the Tista river.*

"For this alone we cannot praise him, to-morrow tell him to explain the origin of the source of the *Rung-nyo-ung* to us" (the *Tista* River).

The King repeated what the seven devils had said to the boy, who weary and sad, went to see the Beautiful Girl he had saved from the Evil Spirits. When she heard the cause of his sorrow she said :—

"Don't feel sad about this, you had better stay in the house and rest. I will go and visit the King myself."

When she reached the Palace she told the King that the boy was very young to answer such a question: he would have to die and ask his father or his grandfather in the *Rum*-country. He also would not be able to return for seven days. The King had given him a task, he had performed many difficult deeds, and the King had never rewarded him, his only recompense was to set him this hard question.

But her visit did not bring any comfort to the boy, who had to accompany her to the Palace later. She told him to pretend to be rather faint, and to say that he felt as if he were going to visit his father in the *Rum*-country.

When they reached the Palace, she spread a roll of bamboo matting (*ta-lu*) on the ground on which he lay down. She then poured the black water over him, passing it from the feet to the head, poured the white water on him, passing it from the head to his feet. She also cut off his arms and legs which she put in a basket which she carried on her back. Then she said :—"In seven days the boy will return alive, and will be able to tell you about the origin of the source of the *Rung-nyo* river.

On the seventh day the King ordered all his people to come to the Palace, everyone who could walk was to come, only the very old men, and the babies were allowed to stay at home.

As soon as they had gathered there, the girl came with the pieces of the boy who had saved her from the Evil Spirits, and she poured water on him from the two gourds in the same way she had done before, and brought him back to life. He repeated exactly what the young girl had told him to say. He said :—

"I have been to the *Rum-lyang*, and talked to my father who did not however seem to know me; he even told me I was not his son. I did not leave him at once, but followed him over many mountains so that at last he turned round and spoke to me again. He had seven brothers he said, and he would be able to tell them the origin of the source of the *Rung-nyo-ung* though he found he was unable to tell me. Then I found I was unable to follow him any further and I came back."

13. *The Seven Devils also try to visit the Rum country, but are killed.*

Then the seven devils' wives rose up and asked the King to send their husbands to the *Rum* country as they had known the boy's father all his life. To this he agreed, and on the following day before many guests, as the King had invited more people, a number of Kings and even, the King of the *Lyang-bar* country with all the people who lived between the sunrise and the sunset, they copied what they had seen the girl do. The wife of each devil took a basket, a black steel knife, a gourd full of black water, and also one full of white water, and a bamboo mat which they made the devils lie down on.

They cut them up, but as they had not severed the necks in exactly the same way as the girl had done, it caused the devils much pain. They did not make any sound as no one dared cry out so they were all killed, and on the seventh day when the wives thought they would come to life, and tell the King the origin of the *Rung-nyo-ung*, they found their bodies had decomposed.

So in this way all the devil councillors were subdued, the boy took their place in King *Pid-no's* country and it became contented and happy once more.

XXVIII. How King Ling Gyaso Subdued all the Devils.

(Told by a giggling gesticulating old woman, who intoned at Chhibo, March 10th.)

Once upon a time in the country of the *Rum* there was a king called *Gyabu Punu*, and his Queen's name was *Thih Kiong Gyemu*. They had seven sons and seven daughters, and the

youngest son's name was *Ling Gyaso*. The six brothers wanted to take the throne from their father, and they were against him and their younger brother.

At that time the whole world was filled with devils, among them being *Hore-mung, Kamthyong, Kamblyok,* and *Dut-khyung*. There were also several female demons, two of which were called *Samu-atho* and *Lhmo*, and the human-beings, being caught and eaten, suffered greatly, and they petitioned *Gyabu Punu's* youngest son to come and save them. The old king wished to send him down into the world to subdue the devils, but *Ling Gyaso* before going said:—"If I have to go down into the world, I shall need your golden bow and your golden arrows, your golden hat, with your favourite golden-coloured horse, *Tabu Chong Sey Ga-Lo*, and your favourite golden-coloured dog, *Khimo Tung-chung*, with your golden-coloured goat, *Soro-cho* and your golden-coloured cock."

And when he had started, the Queen became very sad when he reached *Siri-nong-dong-chen*, the country that lies midway between the *Rum* country and the earth, the old king heard his pony neigh, his goat bleat, his dog bark, and his cock crow, and he knew his son was leaving the *Rum* country and that all the animals would die. But they turned into grains of wheat and *Ling Gyaso* put them in his pouch.

2. *Ling Gyaso's miraculous birth.*

Soon after *Ling Gyaso* looked down on this world, and saw a woman weaving cloth in the *Ling-lyang*. Just then a fearful hail-storm arose, and the woman, a virgin called the *Imo-youtmo-pandi* caught a hailstone which she swallowed and gave birth to a son within a week. She found it was no child she had given birth to, but a bag tied up and sealed round the neck. At that time the king and queen were looking down from the *Rum* country on to the world to see where their son would be born. They saw the woman throw the bag on the road, where it rolled down the hill until it was stopped by a bush (the *pashove-nyom*) while a crow protected it from the heat of the sun and the rain.

Seeing this, the queen came down with an iron hook from the *Rum* country and asked the woman where she had put her son. The woman said she had no idea where the son was, and said she had just given birth to a bag.

Then the queen-mother looked for the bag which she found and opened with the iron hook. She saw a young male infant inside, which she gave to the woman, telling her not to throw him away.[1] "This child," she said, "will grow very quickly,

[1] So far the story is a close variant of the story of *Ati-azyak* (No. XXVI).

like a cucumber or a pumpkin. Should anyone ever ask you for him, you must never give him away, if you do I will have to come and kill you." With these words the queen left, and the woman put the child in the twelfth room of her house.

3. *The baby is given to the demons, and kills them.*

Now in that village there were two demons, who were brothers and who were called the *Afool*, and daily they used to go from house to house collecting infants for food. They heard that house had one in its twelfth room, so they came to ask for it. The woman however lied, and said she had no children. "for" she said, "I am not married and live alone."

But the demons worried her a great deal, and at last the boy came out himself and asked his mother to give him up to them; this she eventually did though she wept very much. The two brothers were pleased to get the infant, which they took away to their cottage, and put in a cooking-pot. This they covered and went away again to search for another baby.

As soon as the two demons left, *Ling Gyaso* came out of the cooking-pot, put the fire out, and seeing the many swords the demon-brothers possessed, he took one of these and hid behind the door. In the evening both the brothers returned, the elder one in front, whilst the younger was some paces behind. The younger one said:—"Don't put your hand in the cooking-pot, because we are to share equally." The eldest brother entered first, and the child jumped forward, cutting his head off so that he fell down dead, and the younger demon suffered the same fate.

Then the child set fire to the house, and returned to his mother whom he found crying over his loss, thinking he was dead. He told her he had returned, and that she was not to be sad, because he said:—"I am to be the king of this country and I had better go to my Palace."

The Palace to which he went was called the *Ling-dee*, he was made king *Ling-gyaso-gya-bo* and he married *Pamu-chi-chong-mu*.

4. *King Ling-Gyaso-gya-bo goes to the devils' country, and kills female demons and a man-eater.*

After some twelve or thirteen years he heard that a neighbouring country was much troubled by a female-devil, and told his queen she was not to leave the Palace during his absence.

He arrived at the she-devils' country and found it had a great many demons, so he disguised himself as a lama and began teaching them. After some time he said:—"I am teaching you, and you are all learning, but you ought to have a monastery, and you must build one."

They asked him what material they should use, and he advised a kind of wax (*gum or lac*), so they commenced to build and in three years the monastery was finished. He then told them he would go in and that they were to follow. When they were all inside, he told them, being a man, it was impossible for him to sit with them, as they were all women, and told them to pray while he sat near the door. When they commenced, he locked the door and set fire to the four corners of the building. One devil only out of them all, escaped. Her name was *Samu-rado lhamu* and the king followed her, catching her on the third mountain top. He brought her back and deposited her in an iron cage.

Now in the country of *Kamthyong-kamblyok* they had a man-eater, and *Ling-Gyaso-gya-bo* knew he would have to go over there and kill him. This time the queen wished to accompany him, but the king told her she was to stay at home in the Palace. The queen was very anxious to follow him, and when he started she walked behind. But soon after the King spat and a river springing from the spittle commenced to flow between them. Then he disguised himself as a fisherman and when the queen came up to him and asked whether he had seen any kings along that road, he replied he had seen no one and asked her what she was doing The queen replied she was following her husband, and he advised her not to. "Your place," he said, "is to keep the house in order, you ought not to follow your husband," and giving her some fishes he suggested she should retrace her steps.

The King then came to *Kamthyong-kamblyok*, and outside a cottage he climbed a tree and began to play a flute. The tune he played was very sweet, and the sound was heard by the wife of the man-eater. She looked hither and thither, and could see no one, but at last she found out the man in the tree was playing a flute. The moment she saw him she fell in love with him, and she asked him where he had come from and said:—"But alas! my husband is a demon, when he returns he will catch you and eat you up."[1]

The King told her he would like to be friends with her and wanted a room in her house. That evening, the demon came home making a great noise. At the same moment the king turned into a flea hiding under the quilt. He saw the demon was very angry, he had two great tusks, on one hung the dead body of a human being, and on the other the dead body of a stag. As soon as he entered, the demon said:—"I smell the blood of a human in here." But his wife an-

[1] For similar motives in this collection of tales, see above, Nos. XXV (i, 2), XXVI (6 7 8, and 9), XXVII (i). This is very common folk-lore, and is almost invariably mentioned in connection with the external soul.

swered :—"Nonsense! how silly you are, it is the smell of the human you have on one of your tusks."

In the early morning at cock-crow the demon left his cottage for his daily hunting. The king lived there for six or seven years. One day he asked the man-eater's wife if she could tell him how to kill the demon, her husband, so that he could marry her. She told him of two sago-palms close at hand, (*sa-nyol*) and of two bags of fleas. If he were to destroy these, the demon would die. *Ling-Gyaso-gya-bo* told her he would cut down the two trees whilst she boiled some water to drown the fleas. This was done, and in the evening when the demon returned with a great noise, he seemed to be ill and at midnight he died.

5. *The King returns home and kills his uncle.*

The King lived with the demon's wife for three more years, then he went home to see his own wife *Pamu-chi-chong-mu*- but found *Nambo-palidung* his father's brother had sold her to a King called *Hore*. He found engraved on a shuttle which was a message from her, that he was to follow her as soon as he was able. The uncle told him his queen had been forcibly removed, and suggested, as nothing seemed to require attention in the kingdom, they should both go and trade with some country.

To this the King agreed, but wanted to know what they should take with them on their journey. The uncle told him to take some beaten rice (*lafa*) and some molasses (*garum.*)

They started on their journey, arriving at the top of a high rock where they thought they would spend the night. The uncle suggested to *Ling-Gyaso-gya-bo* that he, being the youngest, should sleep on the jagged edge. But the King, suspecting his uncle, placed the gunny bags there instead. At midnight the uncle woke up and kicked the ration bags over the edge, saying as he heard them fall :—"Now King, you are indeed dead!"

But the King replied :—"No, Uncle, here I am eating rice and molasses. What are you doing?"

The Uncle replied :—"I am not doing anything: I was only afraid you had fallen down the rock."

The next day as they had no more rations they thought they had better return home, the King thinking that although his companion was his uncle, he would have to get rid of him as he had sold his queen, and had also tried to kill him.

They returned, and on their way back they passed a flat stone which the King thought might be very useful to them. The Uncle said he would carry it if he were able to find a

creeper in the jungle that would serve him as a rope.[1] However he was unable to find one and returned empty-handed. The King asked if he could take a piece of skin off his back to use as a rope, as he, the uncle had not been successful in finding any creeper in the jungle.

The Uncle agreeing, the King skinned his back, and made a rope to which he fastened the stone. This was a miracle, but as soon as the Uncle tried to have the stone up, it became heavier and heavier so that he was unable to rise, and sinking into the ground, the stone crushed him beneath it.

The King cried:—"This is no sin, for the stone killed my Uncle, not I myself."

6. *Ling-Gyaso-gya-bo goes to the country of Hore, and kills the king.*

Then the King prepared to go and fight in the country of *Hore*, leaving word with his Palace house-keeper (the *zampon*) that any letter or message he sent should be attended to at once. Then he started on his journey and when in front of the Palace in *Hore's* country, he turned himself into an infant and lay down sobbing. The *Hore-pono* (*pono*-king) saw him thus, and taking him up in his arms thought he must be his re-incarnated nephew who had been dead these last three years. During his boyhood, the child had worked at a forge and had made swords, shields, bows and arrows. When the boy grew older, *Hore* asked him if he were his re-incarnated nephew or not. If he were, he would be able to pick out the former weapons he had made from a great many others; should he not be able to do so, it would prove he was not the re-incarnation of his nephew. Then the *Hore-pono* placed many things before him confusing his former implements with many others, but *Hore's* mother's sister told him she would change herself into a white fly, and would alight on every weapon he had made in his former life. He was to seize the implement the white fly alighted on instantly, and was to place it on one side.

Thus it became easy for him to choose, and *Hore* thought he must be his re-incarnated nephew. *Ling-Gyaso-gya-bo* also became a forger, and began to make swords, shields, bows and arrows, and he made a sword that measured the length of *Hore's* own neck, though of this *Hore* knew nothing.

Then *Ling-Gyaso-gya-bo* sent a letter to his house-keeper telling him to send two arrows in three days' time: he wanted one he had made himself, and one that the she-devil *Samu-rado-lhamu* had made of red and black iron. He wished them sent through the air. Telling *Hore* he had heard that

[1] The Lap-cha makes his rope from different jungle creepers including the *tane-rik*, the *kanthe-rik*, and the *tanrit-rik* (*rik*—creeper).

some enemies were coming, the army was sent with the nephew to the top of a high mountain on the third day. As soon as the army had arrived there, the two arrows flew towards the mountain top. They had become so many that the light from the sun was hidden, and everyone excepting the nephew was hit and killed. He returned to the Palace and told *Hore* the whole army had been defeated, and that he only was alive.

The next morning, the *Hore-pono* accompanied his nephew with his few remaining men, but the same fate met them, and *Hore* and his nephew were the only two that returned.

Now at midnight, when the *Hore-pono* was dozing, he heard a slight noise, and waking up asked his nephew what he was doing.

Ling-gyaso-gya-bo answered as he was feeding on rice and molasses, that he was eating his hand and arm that he had cut off from the elbow, as now being only two, they would be killed as soon as the enemy arrived. "If that be so," said *Hore*, "why not cut off my hand too, and place it in my mouth?" So *Ling-gyaso-gya-bo* took a sword and cut off one of *Hore's* hands, but instead of placing it in his mouth, he put in some rice and molasses, *Hore* saying:—"Of course it was painful but it tasted very good."

Again after a few minutes, *Ling-Gyaso-gya-bo* made a sound of eating, and the King *Hore-pono* asked him what he was doing. The nephew said:—"I am eating my foot I have cut off, as being only two we shall be killed as soon as the enemy arrives." "If that be so," said *Hore* "why not cut off my foot too and place it in my mouth?" So *Ling-Gyaso-gya-bo* took a sword and cut off one *Hore's* feet, but instead of placing it in his mouth, he put in some rice and molasses.

Again after a few minutes, *Ling-Gyaso-gya-bo* made a sound of eating and King *Hore* asked him what he was doing. The nephew said:—"I am eating my nose and my ears that I have cut off, as being only two we shall be killed as soon as the enemy arrives." "If that be so," said *Hore*, "why not cut off my nose and my ears too and place them in my mouth?"

And *Ling-Gyaso-gya-bo* thought he would now kill him, but found the knife he was holding was to small to enable him to sever his head from the body. The sword he had made to measure *Hore's* neck was jumping in and out of its sheath on the wall near by, and *Ling-Gyaso-gya-bo* invited it to come into his hand. When it came, the nephew severed *Hore's* head from his body, and whilst he was doing this, the body fought with him and the head fought with his queen, the *Pamu-chi-chong-mu*. When they had killed him, the king and queen returned to the *Ling-lyang*, but half-way home the king remembering he had left, *Hore's* son alive turned to the queen and said:—"You must return but I had better go back as I have forgotten to do something."

7. *Ling-Gyaso-gya-bo kills Hore's son.*

The King came to the palace and caught *Hore's* son in a room. He hung him head downwards, and put a plate on his head which he had filled with soft boiled rice, resting it in such a way that the mouth touched the rice. Then he found a cock which he set to fan the fire with one wing, while with the other it stirred the remaining rice; he also tied a spoon to a cat's tail and made it cook and found an ass whom he sent to draw water and two crows, a husband and a wife whom he told to fetch firewood.

8. *The King's return, and his fight with Hore's Minister.*

Then the King returned to the queen but as he was coming out of the Palace he saw a beggar. The beggar told him he was asking for alms in the country of *Hore*, and the king said to him :—"Say as you go about: The Prince is eating his food. the cat is cooking, the cock is fanning the fire, the ass is bringing water, and the two crows are fetching firewood."

By chance. the first house the beggar came to was the Minister's (the *kur-thak*), and he repeated the words the King had told him. The Minister thought as the King had been murdered perhaps his son had also met his death.

He went again to see the body of the murdered King, and saw the condition of the Prince. He and some followers rode in haste after *Ling-Gyaso-gya-bo*, and coming to a Plain lying midway between the two countries, they saw a stone which the nephew had shot an arrow into, piercing it four inches deep. Here they also found a letter which read: "Whoever comes here must look at this arrow-mark, and should he not be able to do the same, he must follow me."

The Minister noticed the arrow-mark but was only able to pierce the stone two inches, whilst all his followers failed entirely.

Then he went on alone and after some time catching up *Ling-Gyaso-gya-bo* he said :—"I have come to fight you for having killed our King and Prince." But *Ling-Gyaso-gya-bo* answered :—"If you want to fight me, it is you who must shoot first." The Minister disagreed but the king telling him he could not possibly hurt him as he wore armour, he finally agreed to aim.

Drawing his bow against the King who leant forward, he only struck the back of his horse, the arrow wounding it three inches deep.

Then the King said :—"I told you to aim at me, but you struck my horse." And cutting some flesh off the Minister's horse to fill up his own animal's wound he said: "Now it is my turn, but I cannot aim at your body because you have armour on. You had better hold a needle upright in your hand; should my arrow go through its eye I shall be the winner."

The Minister held a needle upright, and the King saw a

small space underneath his arm that the armour did not cover. Aiming at this, he killed the Minister who fell from his horse. The King mounted the dead body once more which he tied on with a weighing basket (a *tang-tree*) full of powdered chillies, and striking the horse two or three times made him run into his own country. The Minister's followers were waiting on the Plain. At first they thought he had returned to them after having won. But when the horse reached them the chillies were escaping out of the bag, and the powder entering into their eyes and their noses, poisoned them so that they all died.

But *Ling-Gyaso-gya-bo* then came back to his Palace, and lived happily with his queen ever after, and this is how he subdued all the devils in the world.

D.—Varia.

XXIX. The Story of a Fool.
(1) The fool kills his own mother. (2) The elder brother wishes to cremate the body of his dead mother. (3) The fool loses her body, kills another woman, and brings her to the pyre. (4) The fool kills a lama. (5) Both brothers run away.

XXX. Hongrugm, the liar.
(1) The liar brothers try to get the orphan's silver box. (2) One of the liars enters the tomb, and pretends to be the boy's father who is speaking. (3) The liar-king is asked to divide the silver. (4) Hongrugm pretends to die. (5) Hongrugm pretends to kill his wife. (6) The two brothers kill their wives. (7) A marvellous pony. (8) The liar-king and a merchant who is thrown down a precipice. (9) Hongrugm kills the liar-brothers.

XXXI. A Tale about the *Rung-nyo* and the *Rung-nyit* Rivers.
(1) The two rivers agree to marry. (2) The two pilots. (3) The *Rung-nyit* passes the meeting place. (4) The *Rung-nyit* apologizes.

XXXII. *Ti-kung-tek*, *Nikong-ngal* and their bird.
(1) *Ti-kung-tek* kills the hen belonging to *Nikong-ngal*. (2) A bird in the jungle is fed by *Nikong-ngal*. (3) The ruse is discovered, but *Ti-kung-tek* hides himself in his wife's basket. (4) They settle in a hut and live on stolen cheese and honey. (5) *Ti-kung-tek* frightens the shepherd.

XXXIII. Two Sisters and a Witch.
(1) One of the sisters has an ominous dream. (2) The witch comes to take the sisters away. (3) The witch kills the elder sister, becoming a queen herself. (4) The younger sister comes to weep at the river side where her sister was drowned. (5) The witch kills the elder sister for the second time. (6) The king learns the mystery and kills the witch.

XXXIV. The King of *Lyang-bar* and the two witch nurses.
(1) The queen with her two nurses throws plates in a river and make them float. (2) The queen is frightened by the loss of a golden plate and runs away. (3) They come to the palace of the *Sachak-lat* land, the king tries

their talents. (4) The king departs, leaving two wonderful animals to bring him news. (5) A fisherman saves the children from the river. (6) The witches plot destruction of the children again. (7) The children perish but revive in a tree. (8) The king's *syce* discovers the three children. (9) The witches are punished. (10) The three children fly up to the *Rum* country.

XXXV. A Witch and her Step-daughter.
(1) A girl receives a step-mother who is a witch. (2) A fairy boy brings her food whilst she is looking after her three sheep. (3) The witch meets the fairy boy and kills him. (4) The girl finds the body of the fairy boy. (5) The girl goes to find the boy's heart.

XXXVI. The Adventures of *Duk-kung-lay*.
(1) *Duk-kung-lay* kills a tiger. (2) *Duk-kung-lay* kills a demon. (3) *Duk-kung-lay* overhears the spirits of the animals and the monsters. (4) *Duk-kung-lay* kills all the devils and witches.

XXXVII. A Tale about the *Na-ong* (the Wild Mon).
(1) The woodman fells a tree, while sitting on its branches. (2) The woodman discovers his back is cold.

XXXVIII. A Tale about an Orphan Boy.
(1) The orphan boy is stolen by a tiger. (2) The orphan boy becomes king of the buffaloes. (3) A hunter compels him to marry the king of *Lung-da*'s daughter. (4) A she-devil is sent to fetch the orphan boy. (5) The orphan boy returns to his shed.

XXIX. The Story of a Fool.

(*Told by Sonam-richen at Kasscon. April 17th.*)

1. *The fool kills his own mother.*

Once upon a time there were two brothers who lived alone with their mother as their father was dead. The youngest son only wandered carelessly about as he was a fool, and it was only the elder who helped his mother a great deal.

One day it so happened she became very ill, but the elder brother, having to go out, told his younger brother, the fool, that he was to stay in and look after her.

He agreed to do his best, and as she wanted to have a bath the fool got the water ready. But he held his mother upright and poured boiling water on her, so that it killed her instantly. As he did this, the corpse contracted making the mouth move and the fool thought his mother was smiling at him, and poured boiling water over her again.

2. *The elder brother wishes to cremate the body of his dead mother.*

When he had finished bathing her, the corpse became so stiff it wouldn't bend, so the fool tried to raise it with the help of a pair of tongs. Whilst he was doing this the elder brother

returned, and pushing open the door quickly, he struck the dead body which fell.

Finding his mother was really dead, the elder brother became very upset and angry with the fool, whom he was unable to reason with.

He placed the corpse in a basket, telling the fool to carry it to the funeral pyre he was going to build.

3. *The fool loses her body, kills another woman, and brings her to the funeral pyre.*

So the elder brother started collecting wood for the fire, while the younger brother carried the basket up the hill.

But the corpse was very heavy, and the bottom of the basket gave way so that it fell out. The fool didn't notice this until he had reached the top of the hill, so he returned to find the body.

On his way down he saw an old woman feeding her fowls in front of her cottage. Seeing her he said :—" My brother has built you a funeral pyre, but you are very late," and striking her on the head, he killed her and putting her in the basket, he carried it once more to the top of the hill. The elder brother saw he had brought another corpse—not his mother's—which however he decided to burn.

4. *The fool kills a Lama.*

Thinking this, he told the fool to fetch a priest (*yuk-mun*) who would perform the service.

On his way to fetch a priest, the fool saw a wild pigeon. This he managed to kill, aiming a stone at it, and bringing it to the *lama*, asked him to follow him back for a service. The *lama* agreed to this, and asked him how he had killed the pigeon he had given him. The fool told him he would show him how he had killed it when he reached the spot where he had seen the bird.

When they got there, the fool asked the priest to stand on the spot he pointed out to him as the place where he had found the pigeon, and to coo in the way the bird had. As the priest was cooing, the fool cried :—" I struck him like this," and aiming a stone at the priest, he killed him immediately.

5. *Both the Brothers run away.*

When the fool had told this to his brother, he became alarmed and said :—" Yesterday you killed a woman, and to-day you have killed a priest. I will live with you no longer." And he ran away. But the fool ran after him carrying his grinding-stones, and when they had run some distance, they saw the priest's men following them, and as these men knew they had

killed their master, they both climbed a tree and hid in the branches.

The priest's servants came to this tree, and as it was very late, they went to sleep beneath it, and the elder brother told the younger to be very quiet and said he was not to make any noise. Luckily for the brothers, the grinding stones falling down, killed all the *lama's* men at the bottom of the tree, so they both got away safely, and settled in another village far away.

XXX HONGRUGM, THE LIAR..

(Told by Chhybo at Sindhik, May 13th.)

1. *The liar brothers try to get the orphan boy's silver box.*

Once upon a time there was an orphan boy who lived near the Tibetan and Sikhim boundary. When his father and mother both died, he found he had only his father's small box of silver in the world.

Now, not far away in *Bhutan* two boys called *Haw-zemchyung* and *Paru-zemchyung* lived who were two liar brothers and these two held council wondering how they could steal the box of silver away from the orphan boy. They made a plan, and when they came near the place where the orphan boy lived, they passed the dead parents' burial place. The elder brother forced the tomb open and hid himself inside, whilst the younger brother smoothed the tomb over and made it look as if it had never been touched.

Then *Paru-zemchyung* went towards the orphan boy's house, and when he had found him he said :—"I am your elder brother, and long before his death our father told me that he would give me his box of silver."

The orphan boy said in answer :—"Father never told me there was a brother older than myself, I wonder if it is true?"

But the liar brother replied :—"Come, let us go and ask the tomb itself if you cannot believe me."

2. *One of the liars enters the tomb, and pretends to be the boy's father who is speaking.*

So they walked to the tomb, and the orphan boy cried :—"O Father! you never told me before your death, is it true? Have I an elder brother?" Then a voice from out of the tomb replied :—"Yes, he speaks the truth. You have an elder brother to whom I promised the box, you must give it to him."

They then returned towards the orphan boy's cottage, and he wept bitterly knowing he would have to give all the silver pieces up. He found the box which he gave to *Paru-zemchyung* who ran away with it at once, not even waiting to help his liar-brother out of the tomb.

Haw-zemchyung at last became suspicious, and after waiting some time, with considerable difficulty he got out of the tomb alone. Following his brother, he at last overtook him and they sat down by the wayside, and tried to share the pieces of silver equally. They tried to make a division, but as soon as each had put away his portion, he thought the other had the largest share. Some time went by, and still neither of them were satisfied.

3. *The liar-king is asked to divide the silver.*

Whilst they were arguing, the liar-king whose name was *Hongrugm*, happened to be passing. His hands were stretched across his back as he had been wetting his hair, and was now tying it up again.

The two liar-brothers asked the liar-king to divide their money for them, and he then said:—"If you want me to divide it for you, you must first of all each bring a wooden post with some rope."

They found these things which they brought to the liar-king who said:—"Now you must fix the two posts upright in the ground," and when they had done this he continued:—"Now I will tie each of you up separately, so that when I divide the money you two can't quarrel."

Then *Hongrugm* tied the two brothers up and divided the silver into two heaps. These two heaps he collected once more, and placing them in the box, he ran away with it.

The two brothers at last freed themselves from the posts and ran after the liar-king.

4. *Hongrugm pretends to die.*

Hongrugm returned to his house and told his wife two men would come and ask for him. He told her to say he had died, and they would find him lying in a coffin next door, and that she was to weep for him.

Hongrugm went in next door and lay in a coffin, holding a pair of scissors upright in his hand.

The two brothers came in, and seeing only the wife of *Hongrugm*, they asked her where he was. She replied:—"As soon as he came back he died, and he is now lying in his coffin, but if you like, go in next door and see him."

One of the liar-brothers went in to see *Hongrugm*, but as he bent down over the coffin, the liar-king cut his nose off.

But the younger brother, hiding his face purposely from his brother, told him it was quite true, *Hongrugm* was really dead, but he had better go and see for himself.

So *Haw-zemchyung* went next door, and returned with his nose cut off too. Then the liar-king laughed at them both, and said:—"Well, now you both can guess I have your silver. If you come in a week's time, you shall have it."

5. *Hongrugm pretends to kill his wife.*

The following week on the day the two brothers were coming, *Hongrugm* killed a goat, and filling the entrails with the animal's blood, he encircled them round his wife's neck, hiding them with her clothes.

When the two brothers arrived, *Hongrugm* asked them to come in and sit down telling his wife to bring '*chi*' for them to drink. Then he asked her to bring them some '*chi-sep*,' (a sandwich made of vegetables mixed with meat, chillies, salt and butter, usually taken with '*chi*.')

"But I haven't any," she cried, and *Hongrugm*, feigning anger, sprang on his wife, and cut her throat which bled terribly. She fell on the floor, pretending to be killed, and then *Hongrugm*, taking up a handful of ashes from the hearth, sprinkled them on her neck till she rose up smiling.

6. *The two brothers kill their wives.*

The two brothers were amazed when they saw him do this, forgot to ask for the return of their money, and asked for some of the wonderful ashes.

Hongrugm gave them each a handful, and they returned home. Then these two tried to do the same thing with their wives, but as they did not know of the trick about the goat, their two throats were really cut, and the wives died. The two brothers put ashes over their throats quickly, but they did not recover, and the two brothers went in anger to the liar-king.

7. *A marvellous pony.*

Outside his house they saw a pony standing on a carpet that was strewn all over with coins. When they saw this, they asked *Hongrugm* what he was going to do with it.

The liar-king answered them and said:—"This pony is always shedding coins, so I am keeping him to get more."

Then the two brothers, forgetting the past, asked for the loan of the pony for a few days. At first *Hongrugm* was reluctant, but as they continually pressed him, he at last consented to loan them the pony for a few days. He told them to feed it on vetch (*sa-lyan*) which they were to soak in salt and water. "Only" he said, "you must have a thick carpet for the coins to rest on, you will have to borrow one from a very rich man."

They followed all these instructions, and borrowed a carpet from a rich man. When they went to look at the pony the next morning, hoping to find lots of coins, they found nothing.

8. *The liar-king and a merchant who is thrown down a precipice.*

When the same thing happened the next day they went once more to the liar-king's house who said:—

"You are both, I expect, very angry with me once more, but I don't want to quarrel or to fight with you, so throw me down from a high rock in a box instead." Saying this he found a box, into which he got, and the two brothers starting to drag him walked away.

When they came to four cross roads they heard the beating of drums, the sound of which seemed to be coming from some village. The two brothers went towards the noise leaving the box on the hill. Whilst they were away, the liar-king heard some one passing. He asked him who he was and found out it was a merchant. *Hongrugm* told him were he only an ordinary mortal he had better not touch the box.

The merchant at once asked him what he was finding to do inside, and the liar-king replied that he was making gold and silver, and did not want to be disturbed.

When the merchant heard this he at once asked to be allowed inside too. He asked excitedly several times, so at length *Hongrugm* replied :—

"As you are so very eager, I will spare you a few moments," and getting out, he strapped the merchant at his own request in the box, and picking up all the merchant's goods and parcels, he returned home quickly.

When the two brothers returned they found the box in the same place, as they had left it, so they picked it up, and pulling it to the top of a rock, they threw it over. Then they ran back to the liar-king's house hoping they would find their silver. When they saw many goods and parcels outside his house, they wondered how it was he had obtained them as they had just thrown him over a rock.

9. *Hongrugm kills the liar-brothers.*

Just at that moment *Hongrugm* came out. They were very astonished and asked him how it was he had so many new treasures. He replied :—

"You did very well for me when you threw me over that rock for I found all these things at the bottom."

The two brothers immediately asked to be thrown down from the same place. After much entreaty, *Hongrugm* was at last persuaded, and carrying them to the same rock he threw them over saying :—

"You two will find much treasure down there."

After doing this he returned home, and having no more trouble with the two liar-brothers, he and his wife lived happily ever afterwards.

XXXI. A Tale about the Rung-nyo and the Rung-nyit Rivers.[1]

(Told by David Macdonald at Kalimpong, April 3rd.)

1. *The two rivers agree to marry.*

Long, long ago the *Rong*-folk used to call the Tista river the *Rung-nyo*. He lived far away in the heights of the Himalaya mountains, but had agreed to come down and marry the *Rung-nyit* river who also lived up there, but further north. They were to meet at a point called *Dovan*.

2. *The two pilots.*

The journey was started, and the *Rung-nyit's* cicerone was a sea-serpent called *Paril Patong*. He guided her in a straight line so that she did not wander about, and came first to the meeting place. The *Rung-nyo* however had a quail (*ko-hun-fo*) to guide him, and as this quail went hither and thither in search of food the whole time causing much delay, he arrived at *Dovan* later than the *Rung-nyit*.

3. *The Rung-nyit passes the meeting place.*

So the *Rung-nyit* reaching *Dovan* first, and finding no one there, went on. When the *Rung-nyo* arrived he was very, very angry. "I am the male" he said, "and should have arrived first. The *Rung-nyit* has now passed me. I will not go on, instead I shall return the way I have come." And so speaking he turned round and flooded the whole country round for miles, and the tale of this flood is remembered by some of us *Rong*-folk to-day.

When the *Rung-nyit* heard these words she became very sad, and implored to the *Rung-nyo* be calm.

4. *The Rung-nyit apologizes.*

"A man" she said, "can also make a mistake, please forgive me, and in the future you can take your way across my shoulders."

And the Lap-cha shows how the *Rung-nyit* runs underneath the *Rung-nyo* at the place where they join. This can be noticed by the waters of the *Rung-nyo* being dark and covering completely the blue waters of the *Rung-nyit*. They also tell you to notice how straight the course of the *Rung-nyit* is in comparison with the curved bed of the Rung-nyo.

[1] The old Lap-cha names for the two rivers which are now known as the Tista and the Rungeet. See also another version of same story, The *Gazetteer of Sikhim*, p. 42. *Rung* is merely a prefix to all the names of Lap-cha streams, *ung-kyong* is 'river.'

And the junction of the two rivers is called to this day "*Dovan*" which means the marriage of the two rivers.

XXXII. Ti-kung-tek, Ni-kong-ngal and their Bird.

(Told by Sadam Tshring at Kalimpong, September 8th.)

1. *Ti-kung-tek kills the hen belonging to Ni-kong-ngal.*

Once upon a time in the old days *Ti-kung-tek* and *Ni-kong-ngal* lived in a little hut in the jungle. They had no children but they looked after a chicken. It used to run about picking up grains of rice which it gave to the Grandfather and Grandmother to live on. Although the chicken could only bring back one grain at a time, the cooking-pot was always filled, and they were both satisfied.

One day the old Grandfather said:—"Let us kill the chicken to-day and have curry." But the Grandmother said:—"But if we kill the chicken, we shall get no more rice."

Soon after, the old Grandfather and Grandmother were getting ready to go to the fields, when he said:—"You had better go on alone, as I have still some of the rice to cook."

Directly he had said this, *Ni-kong-ngal*, walked on while the old man pretended to be busy. He however killed the chicken and ate it.

When he reached *Ni-kong-ngal* again she asked him why he was so late, but he told her he had to stay a long time in the hut, as cooking the rice had given him so much trouble. When they had finished working in the fields they returned home, and though the Grandmother hunted everywhere for the chicken, she could not find it.

2. *A bird in the jungle is fed by Ni-kong-ngal.*

Then the Grandmother became very sad as she could not find the chicken, and at last the old man said:—"You must not be so sad. I know of a bird's nest in the jungle. In it there is a young bird, you must keep him instead of the chicken. Shall I bring him home for you?" The Grandmother said:—"Yes, I do want something to look after, you must show me where the nest is."

He showed her the nest in a hollow tree but did not take her there in a straight line. Then every day, before the old Grandmother fed her bird on curry and rice, which the old man said had to be well cooked, he hid himself behind a hole in the trunk of the tree receiving all the food. At last he told her that the bird was getting so big, she would have to bring him home. After one very good last meal she cried out "Hullo!" (*Holdung!*) wanting to hear the bird speak, and the hollow trunk echoed the same word.

3. *The ruse is discovered, but Ti-kung-tek hides himself in his wife's basket.*

That day, he hid himself for the last time, and when the Grandmother cut the bark, she found the old man inside. He was laughing, but she grew very angry, and decided to stay with him no longer. So she prepared to run away and packed a great many of her things in a bamboo basket. (*tun jan*). She also packed some wine and food for her journey. *Ti-kung-tek* however hid himself under all her packages, and thinking she was well rid of him, *Ni-kong-ngal* lifted up the basket and ran over three mountain tops without stopping.

Now *Ti-kung-tek* was in the basket, and started drinking the wine he found, but a little of it leaked and the old woman stopped to look inside the basket.

Then she found the old man inside laughing at her and she abused him saying :—" You devil (*hor mung* !), I was running away from you, and now I find I have been carrying you in my basket."

4. *They settle in a hut, and live on stolen cheese and butter.*

Luckily they found an old disused hut near by where they lived. *Ti-kung-tek* used to go round stealing cheese, butter and milk every day ; some of these he brought back, but most of them he ate. One day, *Ni-kong-ngal* asked him where he found all these, and he told her that he knew where there were plenty of cattle sheds. The next day, she went with him, they found a cattle shed, and after eating a lot, they climbed up into the rafters and went to sleep.

In the evening the dairy-man returned to the cattle-shed and began to cook his evening meal. *Ti-kong-tek* said to *Ni-kong-ngal* :—" I must throw some grains of rice on to the dairy-man's head, just to amuse myself ! "

But *Ni-kong-ngal* said :—" Don't," once the dairy-man knows we are here, he will suspect us of stealing his things, and may do us harm "

5. *Ti-kung-tek frightens the shepherd.*

But the old man could not help doing it and threw some grains of rice on to the dairy-man's head. He became very frightened and thought a devil (*mung*) was in the shed, and went away to tell a *Mun* (the Rong-folk female exorcist), all about it.

The *Mun*, who was a monkey, told the dairy-man she could kill the demon were she to poke it with her tail. The dairy-man showed her the place from where the grains of rice had come, and the monkey standing on her head put up her tail through a crack in the rafters. But *Ti-kung-tek* caught hold of the tail and by pulling very hard he managed to pull it off.

So she screamed to the dairy-man, "There is a dangerous demon up here, it would be best if you were to run away."

At the same moment *Ti-kung-tek* jumped down and ran over the dairy-man who ran away all the faster being extremely frightened.

So after all this *Ti-kung-tek* and *Ni-kong-ngal* became the owners of the cattle-shed and lived happily ever after.

XXXIII. Two Sisters and a Witch.

(Told by Din-lok at Sindhik, May 15th)

1. *One of the sisters has an ominous dream.*

Once upon a time there were two fairies, (*khandromo*), sisters who were called *Kom-tar-hep* and *Zer-tar-hep*. They were the keepers of a *Rum's* flower garden, and all their days were spent very happily. One night as they were sleeping on their gold and silver pillows, the youngest sister dreamt a dream. A witch had come and had taken away their pillows, her name was *Tan-gap*. She woke with a start and told the dream to her sister, and said:—"Some days are coming for us." But *Kom-tar-hep* told her not to place too much faith in dreams.

2. *The witch comes to take the sisters away.*

But *Tan-gap* really came at sunrise the next morning, and told the sisters she had come to take them away and to make them both the king of *Lyang-bar's* two queens.

The two sisters said they were not worthy to be queens, but the witch told them that if they were not willing to come she would have to take them by force. Knowing they were helpless, *Kom-tar-hep* and *Zertarhep* did their best to please the witch. They gave her eight baskets of rice, two big bamboo vessels full of *chi*, and two whole bullocks. The witch ate all this and said:—"If this is my morning and evening meal, it is not enough, but for a little refreshment only it will do."

After eating she again pressed the sisters to go with her, but they said they were obliged to sow their fields before they left, and they also had to finish their weaving.

But the witch said:—"But I can finish that at once for you," and setting to work she soon finished their sowing and their weaving.

Directly the two sisters saw her do this, they had no more excuses, and the witch told them to wear their best clothes with all their jewelry and sent them on ahead.

3. *The witch kills the elder sister, becoming a queen herself.*

They went towards the sunset and came to the *Lyang-bar* country where they saw the palace, but the witch said to them:—

"Before entering you must bathe." She brought them to the *Gyamchho-chhimo* river where she told them to take their clothes off. Then she took the elder sister down to the water's edge, cut off her head with a curved knife, and threw her in. Then she returned to the youngest sister, but *Zer-tar-hep* prayed and implored her not to harm her saying "You had better take the place of my sister, and become queen, only leave me alone for I will never breathe a word about to-day."

The witch did not kill her, and wearing *Kom-tar-hep's* clothes and ornaments, and changing all her clothes for those of *Zertarhep* they went on together towards the palace, *Zer-tarhep* pretending she was merely an attendant.

The king of *Lyang-bar* was greatly puzzled, but he made both of them queens, the witch telling *Kom-tar-hep* she was to feed the fowls and pigs every morning and evening. During the day she was to take the sheep out grazing.

After some time the witch became fruitful so that the king of *Lyang-bar* went into seclusion.

4. *The younger sister comes to weep at the river where the sister was drowned.*

Zer-tar-hep took her food every day to the bank where her sister had been murdered. Every day she would sit down whilst she wove, weeping and wailing. One day she gazed down into the water, and seeing her sister weaving, a tear of hers fell on her sister's loom.

Kom-tar-hep looked up seeing her sister on the bank. She came up to her, bringing many rich foods. Sitting on the bank till sun set they talked together like olden times. Then *Kom-tar-hep* had to return to her river, whilst *Zer-tar-hep* had to go back with her sheep, but by mistake she took a piece of meat back with her in her pouch. She came back as usual to the palace, the witch coming out as she always did, pretending to count the sheep, whilst in reality she devoured one whole. This she did every morning and every evening. After putting the sheep away, *Zer-tar-hep* dusted the palace. Whilst she was doing this, the meat fell out of her pouch, the witch noticing it.

The following day, the witch told *Zer-tar-hep* to stay at home looking after her child, *San-dyong-katun*, who was a giant spider.

5. *The witch kills the elder sister a second time.*

The witch came with the sheep to the bank of the river watching for *Kom-tar-hep*. When she came out, *Kom-tar-hep* thought it was her sister. She asked:—"Are the king and

the queen happy together?" The witch answered that they were, and seizing hold of *Kom-tar hep*, she cut off her head once more throwing it into the river.

Then she returned with the sheep, devouring one whole as usual.

The next day *Zer-tar-hep* went out with the sheep again going down to the bank and weeping, but her sister did not appear.

Later on in the day she looked into the water again, saw her sister, noticing she had grown very large, so large, that though she sat before her loom, she could not use it.

Again she could not restrain her grief, and a tear falling on to the loom made *Kom-tar-hep* look up and sit on the bank. Once more she asked about the king and queen. *Zer-tar-hep* told them they were not as happy as they had been, as they were never together. At sunset the two sisters had to separate.

6. *The King learns the mystery and kills the witch.*

Seeing that *Zer-tar-hep* was always very sorrowful, the king asked her one day what the reason of her grief was. At first she would not reply, but when the king pressed her she told him everything.

The king told her he would alter everything, and when the witch went out with the sheep the next day, he killed and cooked the spider son, giving it to her for supper when she came home. He had also prepared a pit full of spears for her, which he had covered with a rug, telling her to sit on it. As the witch tried to sit on it, she fell on the spears which pierced her to death. At that very moment the King separated her head from her body, chopping up the flesh which he gave to the birds, and ground up the bones which he threw in the air.

XXXIV. The King of Lyang-bar and the two Witch Nurses.

(Told by Mail-li at Tumun, December 2nd.)

1. *The Queen with her two nurses throws plates in a river to make them float.*

Once upon a time, the King of *Lyang-bar's* Queen had two nurses. But both of them were really witches and wished to take the place of the Queen when they had killed her. They told her she should keep herself spotlessly clean, and advised her to bathe in the *Jam-chi-chume-der* which is a sea. When they reached the water's edge and the Queen bathed, they played with two wooden plates the nurses had brought with them, filling them with flowers, and throwing

them into the water and making them float. The witches told the Queen she should bring her golden plate to play with, as that would dance on the waters still more. So, one day she brought it, and, filling it with white flowers, she threw it on to the waves, where however, it sank at once.

2. *The Queen is frightened by the loss of a golden plate and runs away.*

The Queen was very frightened, and thought that the king would be so angry that she had better not return to the Palace. The two witches fetched the Queen's horse, and they all three mounted it, the eldest witch sitting in front near its head, the youngest witch in the middle of its back, while the Queen sat near the horse's tail. They came to a land in the East called the *Sachak-lat*, and the King of that land dreamt that his future wife was coming towards him, and as he woke and looked out. he saw the three women approaching him from the *Pamen-potang* plain. So, taking up his stick, to which he had tied many coloured strands of silk, he threw it towards the horse. thinking it would fall on his future wife's back. It came straight towards the queen, and rested on her shoulders. The two witches were very annoyed, and pulling it off her back, it was taken by the eldest witch.

3. *They come to the palace of the Sachak-lat land, and the King tries their talents.*

When they came to the palace, the King told them to stay outside in one of the buildings and on the next day, he asked the eldest witch to come up to his palace. He wished to test her, and told her to wash his head and brush his hair. This she did in such a hard manner that sores came out all over his head. The King then asked her what she would like to eat and drink. She chose a pot of tea and some millet seed to soak in it. Soon after the youngest witch came. She brushed his head in just the same way as her sister had done, so that blood came out of it, and as refreshment she had like her sister, a pot of tea and some millet seed. The King then sent for the third girl, but the two witches were very angry at her being sent for, and beat her. She went there later however, and making some hot water, washed and brushed the King's hair so nicely, and pressed his head in such a soft way that he was pleased with her. Then she had some tea and dipped roasted ground rice in it, but she was so shy that she brought it down to the stables to eat. The two witches were angry at her having such good food and beat her once more. The Queen was fruitful also, and this infuriated the two witches who pretended to be pregnant also

4. *The King departs, leaving two wonderful animals to bring him news.*

The King left the palace to buy some things and told his three wives to stay at home with the puppy who was expecting young. Before leaving he tied a horse up outside the door, saying that it was to neigh should the eldest witch give birth to a son, while on the roof he placed a cock, telling him it was to crow loudly were the youngest witch to give birth to a son, while he put a flute near the bed of the Queen, telling it to blow if the Queen gave birth to a son. After two weeks, the Queen gave birth to three sons, and the dog gave birth to three puppies. The horse neighed, the cock crew and the flute sounded, but the two witches hid the Queen's children in a box, which they placed above the door of her room.

The King came back soon after he had heard the sound of the horse neighing, the cock crowing and the flute blowing, and as he came in by the door, the three children tried to catch his head. The King however was so intent on seeing the Queen again, that he did not notice them, and went straight up to her bed. When he saw the three puppies he grew very sad, whilst the two witches, fearing lest he should find the box, buried it. In anger, the King dashed the three puppies to the ground, slashed the horse, killed the cock, and broke the flute. The two witches thought that were they to keep the box buried too near the house, the King might hear the babies' cries, and threw it in a river close at hand.

5. *A fisherman saves the children from the river.*

Two old people lived near the river, having only the fish to eat which they caught. One day, these two found the wooden box which they brought home in great excitement. The old man wanted to open it at once, but the old woman advised him not to as there might be a dead body inside. However he persisted in opening it, and found three children inside, a girl and two boys. Being alarmed, they thought of throwing the box away again, but the children implored them to let them live and stay with them. They told them they would cut wood for them, fetch water and reap their fields. The two old people agreed, and from that day, they found they had always plenty to eat, plenty to wear, and lots of jewelry.

One day the eldest son said he was tired having nothing to do, and asked the Grandfather to make him a wooden horse to play with. When he had made it for them, they sat on it like the three women had, one of them being their mother—when they rode to the *Sachak-lat*. The eldest sat in front, the next sat in the middle, while the youngest sat near its tail.

One day they went to the lake on whose waters the Queen

had thrown the golden plate, and said to their rocking-horse :—"Wooden horse, drink, wooden horse, drink." The Queen and the two witches were again bathing there, and the eldest witch turned round and said :—"But can a wooden horse drink water?" The little boy answered :—"Can a human person give birth to three puppies? My mother bore us, but you hid us and pretended she had given birth to three puppies."

6 *The witches plot destruction of the children again.*

When the boy had spoken, the two witches became very ill and lay down, while the Queen was very pleased at finding her children once more. The King was worried over the illness of two of his wives, and looked in his religious book to find what he should do to cure them. The two witches told him that not far away he would find three babies, if he were only to kill them and give them as food to his two wives, they would recover immediately.

The King said that, if only they would get well at once, he would kill the three children.

Now these three babies dreamt what was going to happen to them, and telling the two old people to kill the King's dog and to give him its flesh to eat, saying it was their's, they ran away.

The King took this flesh home to his wives (which he had obtained from the old people near the river) which they roasted and ate, saying after, that they had quite recovered.

7. *The children perish, but revive in a tree.*

The three children thought they had better separate, one of them took the lower road, one of them the higher, and the youngest took the middle way. After one week, the elder brother thought he had better look for his other brother and sister to see if they were safe, and wandering about he found his brother's hands and feet, and guessed an alligator had come up out of the river and had eaten him up. He also found the bones of his sister, whom he could tell a tiger had demolished. Night came, and being alone, he felt very frightened, and praying to the *Rum*, he made a fire to burn his brother's and sister's bones. Losing his balance, he fell into the flames and was burnt to death.

And in three days' time, a pine-tree sprang up on the place where the fire had been ; it grew quite big, and on it the three children were re-born.

8. *The king's syce discovers the three children.*

Now the King's *syce* thought he might find the three children, and as he was cutting grass near the pine-tree one

day, he was very startled to hear it speak, and stayed there many hours. Then he went up to the palace and told the King, who however was rather angry, thinking the *syce* had lied, and sent his trusty servant. Coming to the tree the servant could see nothing though he heard voices. He told the King he had heard voices and thought the three children had been re-born in the pine-tree. Then the King visited the tree himself, but the children were frightened at his arrival and hid themselves in the trunk and would not come down. The King grew so angry, he seized his sword and tried to cut the tree down, but it proved to be like iron, and he could make no mark on it. Then he brought a blacksmith and threatened to burn it down, but it would not catch fire as water came out of the trunk and put the fire out.

Then he looked in his book once more, and found that he was to come to the tree with many *lamas* who were to say a great many prayers, and give many offerings of flowers. Were he to do this he would be allowed to see his children again.

And on the day the prayers were to be said the two witches were locked up in the iron room, and the King came with the Queen to the fir-tree. The moment the children saw their mother had come to fetch them they climbed up the tree trunk again, thinking the two witches would try and kill them. But the mother cried:—"If you are really my children, you would come down to me." Then they spoke to her and said they wouldn't come down till they had both promised to kill the two witches. They told her that these two had killed them and had put the three puppies to her breast. And as the children were telling their story the two witches heard them, and shook the palace in their anger as they thought they were safe having killed the three children again.

9. *The witches are punished.*

The King told his men to dig a big hole, telling the two witches he was going to give a great feast and would invite many guests. When they had dug the hole, the King placed many spears in it, and putting a carpet on a light bamboo fence over it, he called the two witches out to the feast. A servant showed them to the carpet, which they sat on, falling at once on to the spears which pierced them. They screamed for mercy, but the three children ran up and covered them with stones, telling them that they were only suffering now as they had made them suffer in the past. They told them that their mother had been the King of *Lyang-bar's* Queen, and that they had only been her two nurses. It was they who had made her bathe and who were the cause of her losing the golden plate which had caused so much trouble. They had not given birth to anyone, and it was they who had pretended

their mother had had three puppies. It was through them they had been placed in a box, and killed, they had caused much unhappiness as they had had to run away to die and had had to be re-born. And then as the two witches were feeling thirsty and asked for some water, they poured hot ashes down their throat, and told them that was the only way they would have their thirst quenched. So these two at last died and the three children and the King and Queen made merry, all the *lamas* said prayers, and music sounded.

10. *The three children fly up to the Rum country.*

The following day, the three children said they would have to go away to the *Rum* country, but the parents were sorrowful, and asked them who would feed and look after them if they now went away. They said that they had become unclean through the puppies having been put in their place, and that now they would have to go and join the *Rum*. But before they went, they gave both the parents plenty of food to eat, clothes to wear, goats to milk and horses to ride. Then they came out of the palace, but the parents would not let them leave, holding on to their hair and their clothes. They cut themselves loose however, and flew up the Heavens, first telling both parents to watch them as they flew up. Should clouds cover them, they would never meet again, but should they be seen up to the last, they would meet on earth once more. But as soon as they were high up, thick clouds came and covered them, so the parents knew that they would meet no more on this earth, and wept bitterly. But after the space of three days, the King and Queen lived happily until the end of their lives.

Thus ends the story, the *mung* is dead, but the hero and the heroine are still alive.[1]

Told by *Mail-li* at *Tumun*. December 2nd.

XXXV.—A Witch and her Step-Daughter.

(*Told by Mail-li at Tumun, December 3rd.*)

1. *A girl receives a step-mother who is a witch.*

Once upon a time, there was a husband and wife who had only one daughter. The mother was so ill that she could not live, and yet she was unable to die. The husband told her he would be very kind to their daughter, and that he would never beat her or say unkind words to her so that she should die in comfort. This she did, the daughter of four years old weeping bitterly when the father took her down the hill to bury her.

[1] A parallel to No. XXIV. "*Golden Knife and the Silver Knife*".

As he buried her, he heard a little thunder from the west, and a witch followed him home, hoping she would become his wife. One of her breasts was hanging on the ground, whilst the other was flung over her shoulder, half her hair was plaited and the other half was loose. The father went slowly, and the witch arrived at the hut first. She sat down and ate charcoal from the hearth which she also gave to the baby-girl. The baby-girl still wept and would not eat this, though the witch pretended to be her aunt and filled a gourd with charcoal she wished her brother in-law to eat.

When the father returned, he wrapped his daughter up in a blanket and put her in the opposite corner to sleep.

The witch found she was going to be fruitful and in three days the child was born. This one she fed properly leaving the other little daughter half-starved, and she became thin. The witch's child had rice but the other one only had the paddy-flower She got still angrier with the other daughter saying her child was thin with her rice, and told the step-daughter to go and look after the three sheep. This daughter took them early far away to the Paim plains and the sheep started to graze, while the child sat down and cried.

2. *A fairy boy brings her food whilst she is looking after her three sheep.*

At mid-day she was still crying, when a boy approached her from the east, carrying a white handkerchief which he had put food in. The orphan-boy came to her saying :—"You must be very unhappy, probably you are an orphan and they have given you nothing to eat, see what delightful stuff I have brought you." And in the parcel the girl found hot tea, chicken, meat, and rice. After they had eaten, they hunted for lice in each other's head and when evening came, they separated, the boy going towards the east, while the girl brought the sheep back home again to the west.

And the boy met her every day, so with all his good food, she got fat. Seeing this the witch become angry and said at last that she would come with her to watch her grazing the sheep.

3. *The witch meets the fairy boy and kills him.*

And though the girl tried to put her off and told her it was too far away, she dressed herself up in her clothes and took a reed with her that was like the one "*chi*" is sucked up through—only it was made of iron. (*pa-hip.*)

She was also thinking she would get good food to eat and saw the boy coming towards her carrying a basket. He came nearer to her and looking hard he noticed it was not

the same girl he had seen yesterday. He didn't wish to give her the basket, but the girl said she felt very hungry, and though he didn't want to go near her, she seized his hand and pulled him towards her, and looked in his head and killed the lice.

She found out his name was the *Lee-pono-kup* (which means the *boy-king*), and whilst he was asleep on her lap, she pulled out the iron reed and putting it through his ear, drove it right through his head. He woke up with the pain, and moving slowly managed to get away.

That evening the witch returned with the three sheep saying to the girl :—"From to-day you can take your sheep again, and you shall have your wonderful food once more, and your '*chi*,'" and she made the little girl cry who went to bed praying for the morning.

4. *The girl finds the body of the fairy boy.*

But when she reached the plain, she found lots of blood on the place where they had sat down. She followed the traces of it which led her to a cave, and in it she found the boy lying dead.

The next morning she had a baby and she wrapped him in the boy's clothes and stayed in the cave. But at midnight his spirit appeared to her, and told her to give him back his clothes for he was cold. She implored the spirit to let her keep them as she had made them into wrappings for her child, and then the spirit went away. The next night, the spirit came and asked her for his sword, but that she also asked him to let her keep as it was under the baby's head, and she could not take it away. And on the third night the spirit came again asking for his shirt, and as he spoke, the girl got up to seize him, but the spirit implored her not to touch him as his time to return had not yet come.

5. *The girl goes to find the boy's heart.*

The spirit then told her if she really wanted him back she would find his heart with the *Rot-mung* which she would have to fetch. On the way the spirit told her she would meet many tigers who would all try to devour her. After, she would meet thousands of fleas who would try and smother her by swarming all over her, and then several leeches would try and attack her by biting her. Then she would meet an old man and woman who would have no clothes on, but only pieces of stuff which they had joined roughly, having used only their fingers as they had no needle. This she was to supply them with. So in order to drive away the tigers she took one maund of meat

with her, some chilli powder to drive away the fleas, and one basket of ashes to send the leeches away. She also carried a large needle.

After passing all these dangers, she reached the mango tree on which all the hearts of the dead hung, in the *Rot-mung* country. The devils used to feed on these hearts, but it was quite easy for her to distinguish her boy's, as it was still quite fresh and young, as he was to be born again. When she left with the old man and woman behind her, the leeches, the fleas and the tigers all ran after her. But she managed to reach a bridge safely which the old man and woman cut (it was only a bamboo one) directly after she had crossed.

Very pleased and tired the girl found her way back to the cave. She placed the dead heart on the dead body and went to sleep with her baby.

At midnight, the spirit began talking to her. He told her to be careful not to touch him, but as she had now brought his heart back there would be a tremendous noise. "The earth will rise and touch the sky" he said, "and some miles away, the sky will come down and touch the earth, but you must lie down quietly and not be alarmed."

During the night there was a tremendous noise but the girl did not move, and when all was quiet she went to sleep again.

In the morning, she woke up to find she was in a castle; a great many people were waiting to see the *Lee-pono-kup* and outside herself she saw lots of horses, bullocks and goats that were all hers, and everybody was surprised to see the little orphan girl in such a building and covered, as she was, with jewelry.

For six days they had a great feast and lived happily together ever afterwards.

XXXVI. The Adventures of Duk-kung-lay.

(Told by Tuk-ten at Tumun, November 29th.)

1. *Duk-kung-lay kills a tiger.*

Once upon a time there was a husband and wife. Now the husband was very lazy, and would never leave his bed early. One morning his wife told him to get up and see how the earth was getting on, but he did not move, and at last the wife took a pot of cream to lure him out of bed with. A jackal came to steal the cream, and the husband seeing this was so annoyed that he jumped out of bed and swallowed the cream. Then he thought he would try and catch the jackal who had been stealing lots of people's things and hiding them in a hole, and went on and on.

He stopped near a place where a tiger had been killing and eating many human-beings. He came across a woman and a child who were weeping, as they said the tiger would soon come to eat them up in their turn. But *Duk-kung-lay* told them not to be frightened as if they would only follow him he would look after them. Then he covered up all their cloth, and as he was doing this, the tiger came and carried him away with the cloth. The tiger ran until he came to a big wood where he couldn't go so fast. At last the man managed to catch his tail which he pulled so hard that the tiger ran away leaving it in his hands and soon after died. So at last everyone was left in peace.

2. *Duk-kung-lay kills a demon.*

But *Duk-kung-lay* went on further still and came across another woman with her child weeping. He asked them why they were crying, and they told him that a *dut* who had three heads was coming to eat them that night. *Duk-kung-lay* told them nothing would happen to them as long as he remained, and asked her if she kept any pigs. She answered that she did, and gave him one. This he roasted and slept near the fire which was cooking it. The *dut* came out at night to look for people whom he could eat, and stumbled across *Duk-kung-lay* who told him that he was an ogre and gave him some pork to eat. As he was munching this, *Duk-kung-lay* hit him with a burning stick knocking off two of the heads and there was only the one left. Through fear, the *dut* ran away and falling over a precipice, he killed himself. *Duk-kung-lay* came back and told the woman, and said she was not to be frightened any more.

3. *Duk-kung-lay overhears the spirits of the animals and the monsters.*

And *Duk-kung-lay* came to another country, and in it were all the spirits of those who had gone away from the earth. The jackal's spirit was there, the one who had stolen the cream, the tiger's spirit was there whose tail he had pulled off, and the spirit of the *dut* was there, whose heads he had cut off. And they were all talking together so that *Duk-kung lay* overheard what each one said. The jackal said:—"If *Duk-kung-lay* comes let us run away. He chased me until I died from fatigue." The tiger said:—"Yes, we won't speak to him, for he pulled my tail off and I died." And the *dut* said:—"No, we won't meet him, for he struck my two heads off."

Duk-kung-lay hearing this thought he would catch them again, but they disappeared, so he couldn't. Then he went on again until he came to a devils' and witches' monastery (*dut* and *mung*).

4. *Duk-kung-lay kills all the devils and witches.*

Going in, he found one devil sitting at the table, and there were plenty of *mung*-slaves. One devil was bringing a human whom he had killed, hitting it with an iron hammer, and he threw it on to a heap of other corpses. Every day they added to the heap. They asked *Duk-kung-lay* why he had come, and he replied that it was to worship, so they told him to sit down. This he did hiding the devil next him in a basket, whom he managed to kill with a hammer that was lying about, and then threw him on to the heap. In this way he managed to kill all the devils and witches in that monastery, and was eventually quite alone.

Then he went to *Tab-sang*, where the *Rum*, the good spirits, were fighting the devils. *Duk-kung-lay* helped them kill the devils too, and then he went to fairy-land, where they kept him for a time, though he thought he ought to be returning to his wife. He told all the fairies he had been killing jackals, tigers and devils, but found he had no work there. So he went to sleep, and when he woke up, found he was at home again.

XXXVII. A Tale About the Na-ong (the Wild Men).

(Told by David Macdonald at Kalimpong, April 4th.)

1. *The woodman fells a tree while sitting on its branches.*

Once upon a time a man was walking along a road when he saw a woodman felling a tree, whilst he was sitting on its topmost branches. He advised him to cut the tree down standing on the ground, otherwise when the tree fell, he would fall on the ground hurting himself.

When he had gone some distance, he heard the woodman calling him back who said:—"You must be a great teacher: what you prophesied has come to pass, the tree fell, and falling with it I hurt myself. Cannot you tell me whether I shall know when I am going to die?"

The traveller said:—"You must always feel your back; whenever you find it cold, you will know your last hour is approaching."

The woodman continued working, and finding one day that his knife (*bzn*) was blunt, he went to the blacksmith, and sitting on a stone, watched him most of the day sharpening it.

2. *The woodman discovers his back is cold.*

When he was leaving with the sharpened knife, he felt his back, discovering it was cold. Thinking he would be sure to die, and as he passed four cross roads, he dug a hole, burying himself up to the neck in it.

Many folk passed that way, and nearly all asked him where

the different roads led to. He answered :—"Now I cannot tell you, when I was alive I knew where all the roads led to, but now that I am dead I have forgotten."

The passers-by thought it was a resuscitated corpse (*rolung*) into which an evil spirit had entered. Should he but stretch out a finger, they would all die. They consulted together, and decided they had better kill him. So drawing together, they stoned him until he died.

XXXVIII.—A Tale About an Orphan Boy.

(*Told by Kazem at the Ling-them monastery, May 9th.*)

1. *The orphan boy is stolen by a tiger.*

Once upon a time there was an orphan boy who was called *Ryothub-sang*. As he had no home of his own he lived with his brother and sister-in-law who did not care for him and never looked after him. In fact they looked on him with hatred and aversion, and he had to lie in the corner of their hut where the rubbish (*muk*) was kept.

As he was lying there one day, feeling morose and sad, a tiger came along, and picking him up, carried him away till he reached the foot of a mountain. There as he felt he would like to eat him, he placed the bundle on the ground but discovered he was holding some clothes only, the boy having slipped out of them a long way back. The tiger retraced his steps and began searching for him.

When he had escaped, the boy walked on and on towards the sunrise finding at last a cowshed. He did not see any herdsman, only noticing cows and calves, but finding much butter and cheese and feeling very hungry he sat until he was satisfied. After he thought he would clean the shed climbing up when he had finished on to a tree-fern that was growing outside, and fell asleep.

2. *The orphan boy becomes king of the buffaloes.*

At sunset he heard the bullocks returning, and noticed they had very long horns. These noticed the shed had been swept, found both the bread and butter had been eaten and as they followed the foot-prints to the tree-fern they discovered the boy asleep on the top, whilst a tiger crouched at the bottom ready to spring up at him. The bullocks at once rushed on the tiger, pinning him to the trunk of the tree till his entrails stuck on to their horns. Then they made steps up the trunk of the tree asking the boy to climb down. He was so frightened that the tree-fern shook from his body trembling. But the bullocks insisted on carrying him on their horns to the shed. Once there they asked him to be their master crying :—"Up to now no one has ever looked after us, you must

be our king." They handed him a pair of golden flutes with a pair of bamboo ones, telling him that when he was in any difficulty, he was to blow the golden ones, when they would know by the sound he was in danger, but should they only hear the sound of the bamboo flutes, they would know he was but whiling away the time.

3. *A hunter compels him to marry the King of Lung-da's daughter.*

Every day the herd went out grazing, leaving the boy alone in the shed, and one day, a hunter (*sharahu*) came from the *Lung-da* country, finding the boy whom he at once thought a rich man. The hunter spoke to him, wanting him to go to the *Lung-da* country. The King there, he said, had a daughter, who had only drunk three times from her mother's breast, and had then been placed in a dark room: would he not be able to try and see her? But the boy did not want to leave his cowshed, and when the hunter tried to take him away by force, blew on his golden horns, and at the sound all the bullocks came running together lowing. The hunter was alarmed, returning to the *Lung-da* country. Finding the king he told him that he had met a wonderful Prince far away. He had tried to take him away by force, but he had blown upon a pair of golden horns, a herd of bullocks coming to his rescue. Terrified he had come home, but he wished to tell the king that he had found a suitable Prince for the Princess.

This news pleased the king who called his diviners asking them how he could obtain the Prince for a son-in-law.

4. *A she-devil is sent to fetch the orphan boy.*

The diviners could not foretell anything, but at last they discovered a maid in the palace who was a she-devil. She told them that if they promised her a reward she would procure the Prince. They gave her a good feed, so turning herself into a crow, she flew to the cowshed, hopping from post to post cawing.

This annoyed the orphan boy who threw burning sticks out of the fire at her, failing to hit her however as she always flew away in time. At last he had nothing within reach but the hearthstones (the *gya-pu-pom*), he flung these, and then in desperation threw the golden flutes at her. These the crow picked up, returning with them to the *Lung-da* country. She showed them to the king, telling him to send men to fetch the Prince whom they would find in a cowshed.

The king sent a party of men off, who discovering the shed, surrounded it catching the orphan boy. He played his bamboo flutes wildly, but the sound only meant he was amusing himself, and the bullocks did not return.

The *Lung-da* men dragged him down to the palace, and the king shut him up in the dark room in the 12th layer of the wall, where his daughter had been kept, and closed and locked the door.

Now hours, days, weeks, months and years passed by, but the bullocks had no news of their master.

5. *The orphan boy returns to his shed.*

Now the shed lay in the jungle, and a bullock called *Thage*, who had not seen his master for 20 years, thought he would return and visit him again. Feeling sad and neglected, not finding him, he determined to stay near the shed until his master returned, but he waited so long that he sank in the ground, at length only his mouth and the ends of his long horns showing.

Then one day, *Ryothub-sang* found his golden horns and started back to his cowshed once more. He found *Thage*, the bullock who was buried and told him how a hunter from *Lung-da* country with whom he had talked had sent many men to fetch him away by force, how for several years, the king of that country had shut him up in a room built in the 12th layer of the wall, and how he had only been able to escape by finding his golden flutes. These he blew loudly calling all the other bullocks, who came running and stamping till the ground was shaken with their tread, and the noise of their bellowing was like thunder. He told them the same story he had told *Thage*. They all rushed to the *Lung-da* country lowered their heads, and tried to toss the palace up with their horns.

The king grew very alarmed "Don't destroy my palace, he cried,' "I will give you anything you want." The bullocks answered:—"Give us your daughter who is hidden away in a room that lies in the 12th layer of one of the walls. We demand her as a ransom."

The king told them he would present her to them with one half of his Kingdom, only they themselves would have to leave the country.

They left in great state, the Princess had eight women-attendants on her left-hand side, and eight male attendants on her right.

When they had come back to the jungle, the bullocks built a palace for the Prince and the *Lung-da* Princess. It was so high up that the *Rum* country was but an elbow length away, and as it hung in the air, it was far above the ground. A great feast was given, much '*chi*' was drunk, and the land was called *Jambo-lha*, the bullocks made thrones for the orphan boy and his wife, who became king and queen of that country.

And in that valley, we Rong-folk believe the best butter and milk can be obtained.

II. LAP-CHA CUSTOMS.

(*a*). Family Life.

In defining the family life of a Lap-cha, a brief description will be given of his cottage with the village he lives in. A Rong-folk hamlet generally consists of sixteen cottages, standing on or near the ground the owners cultivate. *Din-lok* at *Sing-tom* has told me that this number ensures help and comfort, but whether this number has any superstitious belief, I have been unable to discover. There is usually a Buddhist temple and monastery where the *lamas* reside. The *mandal* or village headman is the man who attends to order, punishing trivial misdemeanours himself, and reporting serious affairs to the nearest town where a judge holds a court every six or eight months.

The Lap-cha builds his cottage from the woody stems of a bamboo (the *po*). The building is raised six feet from the ground and supported by wooden pillars that are fastened to stones placed just below the ground. The plaster forming the walls is made from the bamboo stem (*fyung*) that is mixed with mud, while the steps leading up to the rooms are just a notched bamboo trunk, being the same kind of bamboo that is used for the framework of the building. The thatch that makes the roof is of a small bamboo (*prong*), which is placed in between the larger stems of the same plant that are split from node to node.

Life in a Lap-cha hut is very simple. The family wakes when the cock crows, and rises when they hear the hens underneath the building jump down from their perches After they have washed their hands and faces, and should the hut contain a Buddhist altar, they fill the seven bowls with water (else the god would be considered thirsty), bow down three times in front of it, and chant reverently the Lamaistic formula of worship "*Om mani pe-me hum chi*," (Hail! the jewel in the lotus). Then they drink (*chi*) and eat rice (*zo*) and after feed the animals and the fowls. Then they all go to work in the fields, first sharpening their knives, (*ban*) on a stone slab. The remains of the breakfast are taken with them which they finish when hungry. In the evening they collect weeds, leaves, ferns, vegetables, fruit and yams and return home. The men of the house sit down to rest, while the women either make sour buckwheat bread from the plant called *ka-hru-khu*, or sweeter bread from flour, which is called *ka-hret-khu*, or boil Indian corn (*kung chum*). The women give the men '*chi*,' also taking it themselves; while supper consists of the same food they had in the morning. The bowls of water on the altar are emptied. It is believed that were this not done, the water would turn to blood, and a lamp is placed on the altar. This is a small brass bowl that comes from Tibet, and is lighted by means of a small piece

of bamboo being lit that is wound round with cotton and floats in butter or mustard-oil. For light in the building itself. now modern lamps filled with kerosene oil are used. Poor families have just the burning sticks they take from their hearths.

Family quarrels are unusual and in the case of a village feud, people avoid each other. '*Chi*'-drinking causes fights when the Lap-cha uses his hands. and though he may use a stick, he never uses his knife (*ban*), which he always has with him, and the morning finds them joyful.

(*b*) Birth.

Virgin birth is only connected with folk-tales in Sikhim. There seem to be no legends of a son 'beautiful as a celestial' whose father was the Sun-god, like we read of in the Mahabharata. The woman who expects a child must not eat the flesh of any animal whose throat has been cut, from the fifth month. If she does, the child will be born with a red mark round its neck and he will die. An animal must not either be eaten that has been killed in her presence. Should the woman by any mistake have eaten of an animal who was killed in this manner, the bones are kept until the child is born and are then rubbed on his throat. Distorted plantains that are twisted and out of shape must not be eaten by the woman or else it is believed the child's fingers and toes will resemble them. Should the basket she carries fall off her back when containing food, she may not eat any of the contents. She is also expected to lead a quiet homely life and not go out at night lest the child die. Women at that time go often to a river and protect themselves against evil spirits by sacrificing two fowls.

The husband at that time may not ride, he must not touch a pony or even a saddle and bridle. Should he do so, it may be twelve months before the child is born and in that case the woman will be sure to die.

Although couvade existed formerly in the south of India, very few traces of the custom are to be found in Sikhim. In some cases I heard of a man going into seclusion for ten days before the birth of his child. During those days he lives in another room of the cottage, ignoring his wife completely, but he sees she has the best food and that she is well attended. This they say is an incentive to bring good-luck, and it is frequently mentioned in folk-tales.

The *lamas* in the village give pregnant women a stone having the shape of a *dorje* (a thunderbolt) from which paste is made which they eat. It is supposed to facilitate child-birth.[1]

[1] The following story was given at Tumun, (great superstition is attached to a thunderbolt, and a 'dorje' in brass, is the religious symbol

Should the husband be a *lama* he utters prayers for one night in the Tibetan language, while a '*mun*'[1] is called in to make sacrifices to propitiate the evil demons. A cock or a hen is frequently offered, but should the demon be not appeased, he is called the *gyek-rum* and is turned into a god in order to conciliate, whilst a pig is also given him! The friend who is called in to help receives Rupee one and two yards of cloth. Frequently the woman goes into the wood to have a child, thus leaving everything to nature.

The duration of uncleanness is one month. After then the position of the woman in the village improves considerably, the mother of a child having more authority.

The child is visited by a *lama* after three days, who prepares a horoscope telling the parents how long the child will live, how often he will be ill, and whether he will be lucky or unlucky. He also names him, choosing the day of the week on which he is born. Thus a boy may be called *Posa* meaning *Friday*, whilst the parents choose the name *Potel*. The parents receive their name from the first child, and if the son were called *Posa-Potet* the father would be *Posa-Potet-bo* (father), while the mother would be known as *Posa-Potet-mo*, the language being teknonymous.

Directly the child is born butter is placed in his mouth and after one hour ground rice is given to him. It is considered unlucky for a child to be born with long hair or having teeth, as it means the father and mother will both die that year.

Boys are weaned after three years, and girls after four. During teething the child is taken great care of, and the mother may not eat salt, drink '*chi*,' or have anything that has acid in it.

When a child is very ill, a *Mun* is called in to sacrifice to the demons. When the child recovers it is said she has cured it. The demons are supposed to send disease, and the one who sends small-pox is known as the *rum-du*. Tetanus is believed to be caused by touching the image of a god, e.g., the Buddha that is found on household altars.

Deformed children are instantly killed, the mother in a case

---

of a *lama*): 'Once upon a time, an orphan boy went over the hill and fell over a steep precipitous rock. It was twilight and he fell into a pig-sty landing on the back of a pig. Then it commenced to thunder so that he shook with fright. One report was so loud that it reverberated and sent the boy to the top of the mountain once more. So it is a Lap-cha fable that a pig is the cause of thunder and we never laugh at it. A horse, dog, cow and goat must not be laughed at either. If they are it may cause thunder and lightning, and should a tree ever be struck, the form of a '*sa-dar*' is always found underneath it, though it is only made of stone. The '*sa-dar*' is the Demon of Lightning, and is always carved on a Buddhist altar, being eight feet high. It is represented as a dragon holding three precious stones (*norpu*) in his claws.

[1] See note to I. folk-lore of the Rong-folk.

of that sort being well treated by her husband but badly by her neighbours. Insanity is said to be caused through a demon's presence in a child. The villagers say, "*Mung-suk* the demon has him."

If a child dies when he is under five years old, he is placed in a box under some stones on the mountain side as it is said he is too young to bear the weight of the earth. A little soil is put round the spot which is fenced round. After three days the place is visited, and the foot-marks on the soil noticed, which show the relatives if the child has re-incarnated into a human person again or another animal. If no marks are observed the relatives believe the child has gone to play with its ancestors in Heaven (the *rum-lyang*). If the child is a boy, he wears a pair of short knickers made from a species of nettle called the *sa-hrong*. This is first soaked and then dried with ashes over it making the pulpy substance fall off, and the fibre is used as thread. A girl wears a cloth of the same material fastened over her shoulder with a bamboo pin. A belt is also worn that is made from the bark of a fruit tree (the *kun-pot*). A cradle is never used, the baby sleeps on the floor wrapped in a blanket, and when carried is placed in the *kasok*, the pouch-like fold a woman makes with the end of her garment and that is tucked into her belt. When older, the child is carried on the back and fastened with a long piece of cloth. He never wears any head-dress.

The Lap-cha has few toys. Boys only play with leaves and mud. The girls play with a doll (*a-kup dim*) made from the leaves of a kind of lemon, the *kan-tu*, that are rolled together and tied in the centre with a piece of fibre. It is always feminine and rejoices in the name of "*maim*" which means a lady.

A woman or a man will never touch a doll when they are expecting a child, as it is believed he might be dumb or sightless. Boys when older make a small flute called a *pa-lit* which is also made from the bark of the fruit tree, *kun-pot*. Children's clothes are thrown away after their death in order to prevent unhappy reminders.

A boy wears a lucky necklace which comes from Tibet as an amulet. It contains three beads only, one long black one and two coral. The girl wears an amulet having many beads, five long black ones and several coloured ones. She also wears a bracelet which a boy does not, but they both wear ear-rings even when they are very small, but a Lap-cha woman never has her nose pierced or wears anklets.

The birth of a girl for the first child is considered very lucky, as a girl helps the parents much more than a boy, who plays the whole time.

The *Rum* are supposed to take care of a child, and there are many demons who would harm him. The *sung-grong-mung*

is the name of the demon who steals little children. If a baby sucks a thumb or big toe it is considered lucky, but should it suck nothing at all it is unlucky. Should a child cry it means he is unhappy, and he gives the parents no rest. Should he however play a great deal it is considered propitious.

The Lap-cha never practises circumcision. When illegitimate children are born, the mother is known to have thrown the corpse into a river at night, thus hiding her wrong from the villagers. Bad crops are said to be a result of some one behaving wrongly and a *Mun* is required to offer sacrifices.

When a child is thrown into the river it is believed a demon takes him. I have not been able to find out whether infanticide is due to economic causes or not.

Salt is never given to small children as it is said their bones will become soft.

(*c*) Marriage.

The following chapter, making the group system of relationship among the Rong-folk family clear, has been made possible by using R. S. Rattray's method,[1] by which he explains how the correct inferences may be obtained. These are acquired by working out the late Dr. Rivers' system,[2] by studying Mr. Seligman's form of procedure,[3] and studying Frazer who gives valuable information on this subject, and to whose work many references are here given.[4]

The classificatory system of the Lap-cha tribe has, I believe, never been worked out, and as it is essential to give two forms of nomenclature to nearly every relation, a different term being applied to the same kinsman or kinswoman—according to their age—it has made the writing of the tables of generation very complicated.

Tremendous sexual freedom exists among the Lap-chas, and they can be described as a race having polyandry, as well as being a tribe that is polygamous. Only the law of not marrying blood relations is strictly adhered to, and severe punishment is meted out to those who break this rule. In the cases of known incest, the man and woman are sent away from the village never to return. In this connection it is interesting to note that the mother's relations are considered to be of much nearer kin than the father's. The Lap-cha believe it to be only the father who transmits bone to his offspring, while from the mother they obtain their flesh and blood.

Sir James Frazer tells us that though Tibetans and Lap-chas forbid cousins-german to marry, Bhotias confine the prohi-

---

[1] See 'Ashanti,' pp. 1–44. (Rattray.)
[2] See *Kinship and Organization* (Frazer)
[3] See *Man*, April 1921.
[4] *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, vol. ii, pp. 94–371.

bition to cousins on the father's side, and more particularly to the children of the father's brother. The reason given is that the bone inherited from the father in this case would be pierced resulting in course of time in various infirmities.

Among the Lap-cha three brothers can marry three sisters, and all the wives are common. In such a case the children of the eldest girl belong to the eldest brother, while those of the youngest sister belong to the youngest brother. Should one or more of the women not bear children, the children are apportioned by arrangement, with certain restrictions, which will be described later. Two men who are not related may have one wife, but this is unusual.

A man occasionally lends a wife to a visitor. In the ante-married state of the girl, virginity is not considered essential. Should she have a child and if he is a good worker, it is considered a valuable factor. An unmarried girl becomes a nun, she lives in seclusion for three years being taught to read and write by some woman. Her tuition is paid for by her parents and by those of the boy who would have married her. After learning she attends a Buddhist monastery for the whole day three times a month.

Girls marry from the age of puberty.

Occasionally a forcible abduction takes place. Should a man's wife run away, the husband is compensated by the wife's parents, who give him back half the sum he paid for her.

A man when courting, gives the girl of his choice some handkerchiefs, and a few pieces of soap; a refusal of marriage is considered unlucky for him. As the bride-price the boy works in the girl's father's fields for one or two years, and unless he can pay the full amount they ask for their daughter then, and present them with a large brass pot, he must work for another year.

In a case I investigated personally, the son had to pay Rs. 300 for his bride, and yet had to work for three years for his father-in-law.[1] The man is allowed to cohabit with the girl; sometimes children are born before the man brings his wife home.

Similar customs are observed among the tribes in Indo-China, which probably have an ethnological connection with the Lap-chas, the husband being treated more or less as a slave, and his services considered an economic factor.

The custom among the Lap-chas is that should a man pay but a small amount for his wife, he will have to work for a longer period, though for several years after he helps his father-in-law in his fields in harvest time.

In the *Rong*-tribe in order that a marriage may be arranged, two go-betweens are required, one acting for each family. They introduce the subject first of all by visiting the girl's parents

[1] The eldest son of the Ate lama in Tumun.

and presenting them with a brass water-vessel. Should the parents accept this gift, the purpose of the visit is disclosed, and a day is fixed when they will come with the boy to introduce him. On the appointed day, the two go-betweens arrive with the boy, who brings with him a pig and a roll of white cloth from Assam. They also place several rupees before the parents, which is eventually deducted from the bride-price, and which varies according to the wealth of the boy. They bring a big copper pot to cook the food in, and a brass pot to boil '*chi*.' The drink is then made and a great feast is given to which all the villagers are invited. The young man brings a cock with him which he and the bride eat.[1] A year passes and then it is the turn of the boy's parents to give a feast. The go-betweens come with the boy to fetch the girl from her home. The parents do not follow her as it is considered unlucky were they to go with their daughter. This time it is the girl who brings a pig with her and a basket of '*chi*.' The boy's family kill two bullocks, one pig and seven fowls, and before eating offerings of food and drink are made to the *Rum*.

The *lamas* and the village headman drink the health of the bride and bridegroom and are witnesses to the marriage, this being the only legal proceeding that is taken. At these feasts the girl sits between a '*nyom-mu*' and a '*nyom-byng*.' These are two sisters, generally of the mother—handmaidens they could be termed—the '*nyom-mu*' must, however, be married. They receive the remains of the bride-price which they give to the parents. That night, the visitors sing and dance till the day breaks, stamping their feet on the floor. (There is only sorrow when the bride leaves her home.) The mother cries while the father gives her advice saying:—"Be nice to your husband's people, and work hard for them, remember we have sold you to them—". For one week, the bride from supposed shyness does no work in her husband's home, but after seven days, she works in the house and the fields. Should she have some children already, they are taken over by the husband.

The marriage tie is very slight, and can be theoretically

[1] *Nam* is a year in Lap-cha, the new year is *nam-bu*, which varies according to the date of the new moon, and according as the period is altered by the addition of an intercalary month. See Mainwaring, Grammar of the Rong (Lepcha) language, (Calcutta 1876), p. 141. Marriage rules vary in every village, in some cattle is never exchanged, in others the bridegroom brings his future parents a bullock and the bride is given a cow. The custom alters with the wealth of the families. In some cases the bridegroom may bring a cock, while the bride takes a hen to her new home. When families are too poor to pay for a bride, they effect an exchange, exchanging a daughter for a wife for their son. *Pa-zu* at *Song* told me the following:—*Tikung-tek* and *Nikung-ngal* were the first two who were married, they made a golden bridge near Tibet for their wedding, which a spider helped them make, and that is why we Rong-folk give the first fruits of the harvest to them in remembrance.

dissolved at any time by the man or the woman, especially in the case of childlessness. In practice however I did not come across a single case in which divorce had taken place, even when the marriage was childless.

It is considered lucky for a man who is born in the 'bullock' year to marry a girl who is born in the 'rat' year. It is said that they will become very rich. The man in that case being either her senior by eleven years or else one year her junior.[1] It is never thought correct for the mother to stay with her daughter and son-in-law. The Lap-cha custom is for the husband to cohabit with the younger sisters of his wife during the lifetime of his wife, and even should they be married.

These two customs, that Frazer has termed the Sororate and the Levirate, are observed in different tribes in many parts of the world, and it is curious to note that a Lap-cha man may marry the *younger* sister of his wife, though he can only cohabit with the wife of his *elder* brother. But though the custom of marrying in the order of seniority is usually observed in connection with Sororate and Levirate practices, it is not customary among the Rong-folk.

(*a*) Table I.—The elder brother's wife is common to all the brothers, and should the second brother take a wife she is common to all the brothers younger than himself. The eldest brother is not allowed to cohabit with the wives of his younger brothers. It is only the wife of the youngest brother with whom no one can have access. Should the younger brother die, his wife returns home, marrying generally into another family; she may not live with any of her late husband's elder brothers. Hence the nomenclature for sisters is extensive: *nom-ren-bo* meaning the eldest sister (*ren*-eldest), *nom-hlen-bo* means the second eldest sister (*hlen*-between), whilst *nom-byek-bo* means the third elder sister, and *nom-chum-bo* is the name given to the youngest (*chum*-younger).

It is the youngest brother who has the monopoly of his wife, though it is hard to understand if this has any claim to ultimogeniture, inheritance of '*nasti*' and fields being divided amongst all the brothers who live together. Thus though a man may live with his brothers' wives, should the brothers be older than himself, he could not cohabit with his younger brother's wife, who is called a *nyom* meaning bride. The best view to take, it seems, is to adopt Frazer's opinions on the subject which he explains so clearly in the systems of the Sororate and Levirate. He thinks they are made clear by studying the terms

[1] A woman is never allowed to mention the name of her son's wife, who, never in return, can pronounce the name of her mother-in-law. The mother calls her by the name of her first child, thus should the child be called *Guruck* (*Curly-locks*), the daughter-in-law is called *Guruck-bo*, (mother of *Curly-locks*). It is the same with the husband of a daughter, and with a nephew's wife or a niece's husband.

used in a tribe for the Classificatory technical names of relationship. It will be seen that the same term is applied for the man's wife as is given to his wife's sisters, *nom*; while the same term but with the masculine 'u' *num* is used for himself the husband, and the brothers. Though the term for the brothers' wives and the sisters' husbands correspond, they are not the same as the two former, being *a-ngop* or *a-zong* in each case. But it can be understood that fraternal polyandry existed in the former days, and coincided with the force of sexual communism that took place then, though it has developed among the Lap-cha into the form of marriage they now have when they must have no connection with a blood relation.

The term that is applied to the father's brothers' sons and daughters, and the mother's brothers' sons and daughters is *a-num* and *a-nom* respectively, the difference in the sex as has already been noticed being denoted by the use of a 'u' or an 'o,' but the Lap-cha is not allowed to marry his cross-cousin. though should one be a widow having no children, the matter could be gone into by a council of the village folk, who would come together and discuss it, permitting it to take place on occasions.

The father's brother's son's wife and the father's sister's son's wife have the same terms as those of the elder and younger brothers' wives. Should the husband be older than Selah, she would be called *a-ngop* or *a-zong* and he could have access to her; if however the husband were younger, she would be called or *a-nyom* and Selah would not be allowed to live with her. The same rule is also applied to the mother's brother's son's wife and to her sister's son's wife. Both the father's sister's son and the mother's brother's son are classed as *a-num* meaning brothers.

Pha-ming is an idiom in the Rong-folk language meaning the elder or younger brother, and the word *musang-mu* is another word denoting a sister of any age.

It should also be noticed that the younger brother addresses his elder brother's wife with the same term as she uses when addressing him—*a-ngop* or *a-zong*.

Should the first wife die, she can be replaced by another of her sisters, or even should she be childless the family supply the son-in-law with one of their daughters, even during her life.

(*b*) In Table II.—We note that the father's sister is termed *a-nyu* which is the term that is also applied to the mother-in-law. This rather infers that formerly Selah could have lived with his father's sister's daughter, though she is now classed with his sister—*a-nom* or *musang-mu*.

(*c*) In Table III.—We find that all in this generation are classed as *Ti-kung*, *Nyi-kung* and *Kub-zong* which is translated as great grandfather, great grandmother, and great grandson. *Ti-kung-tek* is the lexicographical name for the great-great-great-

grandfather, the name which is given to the progenitor of the Rong-folk in the cosmological folk-tales. *Ni-kung-ngal* is the name given to his wife in these tales, though the term *ni-kung-gnal-num* is translated as great-great-great-grandmother.

(*d*) In Table IV.—The first generation of descendants it is found that Seleh calls his sons-in-law *myok*, which is the same term that is applied to his youngest brother. His daughters-in-law with whom of course he has no access to, are termed *nyom*, a bride, the same term that is applied to his younger brother's wife. Their children are called *num-kun* irrespective of sex, which mean nephews and nieces. The mother's children's children are termed *kun-zong*, meaning grandsons and granddaughters, while they would term Selah their *a-koo* (uncle). The same nomenclature is used meaning the mother's brother's children's children.

(*e*) In Table V.—Which is the third generation of descendants, all the terms are *nyi-tha* or *nyi-tho*, (grandson and granddaughter), and *a-zo* (grandfather).

(*f*) In Table VI.—The generation of Selah's wife is given. It is here we note that he can marry his wife's younger sister.

A widow can marry one year after her husband's death, when as they say: "his body has turned to ashes." If the husband were a younger brother, the widow returns home with her children. When she re-marries, the man has to pay half the usual bride-price working for one year only. If her children are small, she takes them to her new home with her; if however they are big, she leaves them at home to look after the grandparents.

When two are living together who have no right to, a *lama* called a *set-suma* is called in as soon as the fact is discovered, to blow a white shell horn to prevent hail-stones and rain, and to appease the demon *Rum-si* who lives in rocks.

Table 1.—(*s*) *Selah's Generation.*

English.

Abbr. husband h, wife w, father f, mother m, daughter d, brother b, sister s, elder e, younger y.

Term	Reciprocal
Husband	Wife
Elder brother	Younger brother
Elder sister	Younger brother
Elder b's w.	Husband's y's b.
Younger b's w.	Husband's y. b.
Elder s's h.	Wife's y. b.
Younger s's h.	Wife's e. b.
Father's b's son	Father's b's son
Father's b's son's w.	Husband's f's b's son
Father's b's d.	Father's b's son
Father's b's d's h.	Wife's f's b's son
Father's s's son	Mother's b's son
Father's s's son's w.	Husband's f's b's son
Father's s's d.	Mother's b's son
Father's s's d's h.	Wife's m's b's son
Mother's b's son	Father's s's son
Mother's b's son's w.	Husband's f's s's son
Mother's b's d.	Father's s's son
Mother's b's d's h.	Wife's f's s's son
Mother's s's son	Mother's s's son
Mother's s's son's w.	Husband's m's s's son
Mother's s's d.	Mother's s's son
Mother's sister's d's h.	Wife's m's s's son

Lap-cha.

Abbr. elder e, younger y, Marriageable M. Not to be married N.

(elder) Term (younger)			(e.) Reciprocal (y.)		
Num		A-vo	Nom		A-yu
A-num	or	num-fren	Num-hlep-bo	or	Ing
A-nom	or	nom-fren	Num-hlep-bo	or	Ing
A-ngop	or	A-zong M.	A-ngop	or	A-zong
		Nyom N.			A-num
		A-zong			A-zong
		Myok			A-num
A-num		Ing	A-num		Ing
A-ngop M		Nyom N.	A-num		Ing
A-nom or musangmu		Ing N.	A-num-pha-ming		Ing
A-zong		Myok	A-num		Ing
A-num		Ing	A-num		Ing
A-ngop M.		Nyom N.	A-num		Ing
A-nom or musangmu		Ing N.	A-num-pha-ming		Ing
A-num		Myok	A-num		Ing
A-num		Ing	A-num		Ing
A-ngop M.		Nyom N.	A-num		Ing
A-nom M.		Ing N.	A-num		Ing
A-zong		Myok	A-num		Ing
A-num		Ing	A-num		Ing
A-zong N.		Nyom N.	A-zong		A-zong
A-nom N.		Ing N.	A-num		Ing
A-zong		Myok	A-zong		A-zong

Table II.—(*b*) *1st Generation of Ascendants.*

(Abbr. man speaking, man s. woman speaking, woman s.).

English.		Lap-cha.	
Term	Reciprocal	e. Term y.	Reciprocal
Father	Son	A-bo	Tagri-kup
F's brother	B's son	A-kon	Nam-kup
F's b's wife	H's b's son	A-nyu m.	Nam-kup
F's sister	B's son	A-nyu n.	Nam-kup
F's s's husband	W's b's son	A-zong	Nam-kup
Mother	Son	A-mu	Tagri-kup
M's brother	Son's son (man s.)	A-zyong	Kup-zong
M's b's wife	H's s's son	A-nyu	Nam-kup
M's sister	S's son (woman s.)	Mutim m. A-nyu m.	Kup-zong
M's s's husband	W's s's son	Butim A-zyong	A-kup

Table III.—(*c*) *2nd Generation of Ascendants.*

F's father	Son's son	Thi-kung	Kub-zong
F's f's brother	S's son's son	Thi-kung	Kub-zong
F's mother	Son's son	Nyi-kung	Kub-zong
F's f's b's wife	H's b's son's son	Nyi-kung	Kub-zong
F's f's sister	Son's son's son	Nyi-kung	Kub-zong
F's f's s's husband	W's b's son's son	Thi-kung	Kub-zong
M's mother	Daughter's son	Nyi-kung	Kub-zong
M's father	Daughter's son	Thi-kung	Kub-zong
M's m's brother	S's d's husband	Thi-kung	Kub-zong
M's m's b's wife	H's s's d's child	Nyi-kung	Kub-zong
H's m's sister	S's d's child	Nyi-kung	Kub-zong
H's m's s's husband	W's s's d's son	Thi-kung	Kub-zong

Table IV.—(*d*) *1st Generation of Descendants.*

English.		Lap-cha.	
Term	Reciprocal	Term	Reciprocal
Son	Father	Tagri-kup	A-bo
Daughter	Father	Tayu-kup	A-bo
Son's w.	H's father	Nyom n.	A-fyat
D's husband	W's father	Myok	A-fyat
E. b's son	F's y. brother	Num-kup	A-ku-chum-bo
E. b's son's wife	H's f's y. b.	Nyom n.	A-fyat
E. b's daughter	F's y. brother	Num-kup	A-ku-chum-bo
E. b's d's husband	W's f's y. brother	Myok	A-fyat-chum-bo
Y. b's son	F's e. brother	Num-kup	Bu-tim
Y. b's son's wife	H's f's brother	Nyom n.	A-fyat
Y. b's daughter	F's s's brother	Nok-kup n.	Bu-tim
Y. b's daughter's h.	W's f's brother	Myok	A-fyat
Y. s's son	M's e. brother	Ing	A-zyong
Y. s's daughter	M's e. brother	Nom-kup	A-zyong
S's son's wife	H's m's brother	Nyom n.	A-num or a-fyat
S's d's husband	W's m's brother	Myok	A-num or a-fyat
M's s's daughter's son	M's m's s's son	Kup-zong	A-koo
M's s's daughter's d.	M's m's s's son	Kup-zong	A-koo
M's s's d's son's w.	H's m's m's s's son	Nyom n.	A-koo
M's s's d's d's husband	W's m's m's s's son	Myok	A-fyat
M's b's son's son.	F's f's s's son	Kup-zong	A-koo
M's b's son's d.	F's f's s's son	Kup-zong	A-koo
M's b's d's d.	M's f's s's son	Kup-zong	A-koo
M's b's son's son's wife	H's f's f's s's son	Nyom n.	A-fyat
M's b's son's d's h.	W's f's f's s's son	Myok	A-fyat
M's b's d's son's wife	H's f's f's s's son	Nyom n.	A-fyat
M's b's d's d's h.	W's m's f's s's son	Myok	A-fyat

Table V.—3rd Generation of Descendants.

English.		Lap-cha.	
Term	Reciprocal	e. Term y.	e. Reciprocal y.
Son's son's son	F's f's father	Nyi-tha	A-zo
Son's son's d.	F's f's father	Nyi-tho	A-zo
D's d's son	M's m's father	Nyi-tha	A-zo
D's d's daughter	M's m's father	Nyi-tho	A-zo
and all of this generation are the same.			

Table VI.—(1) Genealogy of Selah's wife.

W's brother	Sister's husband	A-num-mu	Zong-mu	A-num	A-ngop or a-zong
W's b's wife	H's s's h.	A-num-mu-zong		Num-mu-zong	
Wife's sister's	S's husband	A-num		A-num	A-ngop or a-zong
Ascendants.					
Wife's father	Daughter's h.	A-fyat		Myok	
Wife's mother's	Daughter's h.	A-nyu		Myok	
Descendants.					
W's b's son	F's s's h.	Num-kup		Num-mu-zong	
W's b's daughter	F's s's h.	Num-kup		A-zyong	
W's s's son	M's s's h.	Num-kup		A-zyong	
W's s's son's wife	H's m's s's h.	Nyom		A-zyong	
W's s's daughter	M's s's h.	Num-kup		A-zyong	
W's s's d's husband	W's m's s's h.	Myok		A-fyat	

(*d*). Death and Burial.

Men and women who have always been true to the "*Sang-yo*," i.e. to the holy works and sacred rites of Buddha, are believed to join the *Rum*. Those who have been cruel and unkind and who have not acted 'according to the book' are said to go to the "*mung-lyang*," which means the land of the evil spirits, where the deceased will turn into a demon.

For three days the spirit is believed to remain with the body in the grave, a *lama* reads many prayers at that time rendering the spirit conscious, till realizing the body is dead, he (the spirit), leaves. The demon called the "*thin-myo-mung*" is said to have cut the thread of life. He is said to be a wicked man, who takes a long time dying. The death-demon is never expelled as in Lamaism proper.

A festival is given soon after death, a cow is killed and '*chi*' is made and drunk. The feast lasts for several days during which time the mourners sit and talk. On the day of burial a *lama* comes to sacrifice a goat and says to the dead :—"You are now dead, and have left this house, do not think of your wife and children, do not think of any of the animals else they will all die, and we shall know that your spirit is still here."

When a man or a woman dies, a lamp is placed above their head, hanging on a tripod. A lama is called in to say prayers, who washes him, and after tying him up in the sitting position, places him in a large copper pot (*song-fyu*). The body stays here for several days when it is carried away for burial or cremation.[1] The Rong-folk used formerly to bury their dead, but now, as Buddhist converts, they burn them and throw the ashes into a big river. A boy-*lama* termed the *khyan-no* stays by the corpse. This is given food and drink until the day of cremation: at night the food is burnt, but the drink is given to the *khyan-no*. The consequences are said to be bad if food is eaten that has lain near the dead body, with the idea that foulness has entered it with the dying man's breath.

At the grave formerly two chickens were killed, a cock and a hen. One was white, an offering to the *Rum* or gods, while the other was black in order to propitiate the *Mung* (evil demons). Two bags were hung on the fence which was built round the grave, in which the cock and hen were both placed, the white at the head, and the black one at the foot. Sometimes if the

---

1 Visited a *basti* in the village of Bom near Kalimpong on September 13th and witnessed this part of the ceremony. The dead man was sitting in a brass pot, his face covered over with a white cloth and a red tape was bound round his throat tightly, which is cut just before burial or cremation. He had a rupee placed on the top of his head to appease the demon with, who would try to prevent him entering the country. At intervals they propitiated the evil-demons by burning food for them outside. I witnessed the lama talking to the dead who had food and drink given him.

family were very poor, eggs were used instead of fowls, one being smeared over with charcoal to make it black. The spirit hovers over the grave for three days, when the grave is visited, in order to tell by the foot-marks inside the fence, whether it is a human or an animal the dead have re-incarnated into. The ashes are looked at in the case of cremation.[1]

A man's re-incarnation is said not to be happy if he has been killed by wild animals. Dreams about the dead, should they be pleasant, mean that the dead have joined the *Rum*.

Should death be caused through a disease, the luck of the generation is said to have been bad (*gyit*).

If a man dies in some inaccessible spot, his clothes and his hat only are sent to the *lama* whilst his friends bury him.

(*e*) Miscellaneous Observances.

The Lap-cha live chiefly on agriculture and on plants and roots he finds in the jungle. Rice, paddy, Indian corn, wheat, barley, millet, etc., are cultivated, giving three or four harvests every year.[2] It appears there are no special observances in connection with these, with the exception of sacrifices to the *Rum* or to the demon who has to be propitiated.

Hunting and fishing are practised with primitive implements, poisoned arrows being used, or nets and traps made of bamboo. The *Rum* and the demons also have to be propitiated in this case. The fever the fisherman catches setting these traps is believed to have been caused through the water-spirit's displeasure.[3]

Bamboo is the chief material the implements are made of in Lap-cha life; mats, vessels, etc., even pins, and there is almost no sign of decorative art in their make.

---

[1] Cremation visited on Detut Hill near Tumun, November 30th. Before the faggots are placed on the ground for the cremation, a turtle in mud is placed in the ground. When the fire is lit it is considered auspicious should the smoke go up in a straight line, as it means the dead is going to join the *Rum* up above. A *mi-nork-bo* or workman, a butcher, cries out loud the number of faggots that are still left intact in the centre of the burning faggots. I was told if the body were not burnt by the evening (the cremation took place at 12 a.m.), the bones would be broken up by the *lamas*, who were sitting close at hand praying and drinking.

[2] Taxes are very low, though they are on an average to what a peasant earns, amounting roughly to Rs. thirteen eight annas per annum (about an English pound), which includes Rs. three from every '*basti*' claiming exemption from coolie work. This is a Government law, which expects coolies to wait for a fortnight at every '*dak*' bungalow to ensure means of transport for the traveller. Each coolie is paid six annas daily, but this price is raised for any journey over the border. The owner of a '*basti*' has also to pay two annas per mensem for every head of cattle or goat that is grazed in the jungle.

[3] The net used is called the '*yet*.' The '*tun-kun-mit*' is the name of the water-spirit.

Little can be said about their other arts, like weaving, pottery-making, spinning,[1] or painting. This latter craft is done on skins, which are first heated before being painted to enable the colours to be made fast, and is introduced from Tibet.

It is only very crude plates of black mud that are produced locally, all other pottery being imported from Nepal or other places.

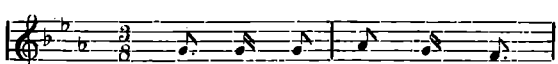
Some villages manufacture a thick white paper from a nettle plant (*sa-hrong*). Various ropes, baskets, etc., are also made from jungle creepers.

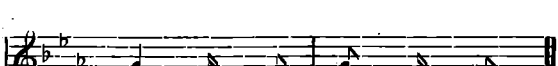
With the advance of civilization however and the increase of the importance of the local 'bazaar,' these local arts become more rare, and the superstitions originally connected with them are forgotten.

Art in the strict sense of the word, such as painting, music, dancing, etc., is not developed much. Painting may be seen in temples, but it obviously follows Tibetan principles and tastes, while dancing consists of merely stamping the feet and revolving in circles after the Tibetan fashion.

Musical instruments consist of flutes of which there are three kinds,[2] and a Jews' harp. As specimens of the Lap-cha tunes, the following songs may be given :—

THE SONG OF THE CHAK-DOON-DOON BIRD (*lo*).





[1] Spinning is done by women and they are never parted from their spinning-rods. This is often spoken of in the folk-tales. The cloth is made from the cotton tree, the yarn being wound round the spindle which the woman holds in her hands.

[2] *Pa-lit ; po-tong ; lung-tang pa-lit.*

THE SONG OF THE BEETLE (CHYA-NYA-NYA).

CHAK DOON DOON SA VAM.

Nam toohat lat non ne, chak doon doon,
Mong zo pat to chat ka, chak doon doon,
Ka arlo lik-kang sa, chak doon doon,
Gram gram pat gat shyo, chak doon doon,
Kyo kacher tyat tachat, chak doon doon,
An ore lat non gong, chak doon doon,
Tachat ore ka, chak doon doon,
Hing book thyang gat shyo, chak doon doon,
Chang ka akyot ad yang, chak doon doon,
Arenun matlung e, chak doon doon.

SONG OF THE "*Chak doon-fo.*" (BIRD.)

The time and the season have come, *chak doon doon*,
When it is the sowing time for millet and barley, *chak doon doon*,
The pigeons cry, *chak doon doon*,
You must sow quickly, *chak doon doon*.
It is the sowing time of barley and wheat, *chak doon doon*,
When they come up, *chak doon doon*,
At that time, *chak doon doon*.

Ginger and yams will be wanted, *chak doon doon,*
Don't miss the sowing time, *chak doon doon,*
For at the end, *chak doon doon,*
You will be happy, *chak doon doon.*

CHYA-NYA-NYA-SUT.

Payong sa akong ka, chya-nya-nya.
Ore ka ho lom markhan gong, chya-nya-nya,
Kasam ore ka lom yong a, chya-nya-nya.

Pomut potong sa, chya-nya-nya,
Abong ho tyat markhan gong, chya-nya-nya,
Kasam tyat bo yong li shyong a, chya-nya-nya.

Hik boom anok num chya-nya-nya,
Boom markham na gong chya-nya-nya,
Kasam ado tandok boom yong a chya-nya-nya.

Afar agyap sa dam chya-nya-nya,
Ho ore dem Mayan gong, chya-nya-nya,
Go adom dem bo yong a, chya-nya-nya.

Chi sa tafyep a chya-nya-nya,
A sa ho lok makhan gong chya-nya-nya,
Kasam do nyet bo yong a, chya-nya-nya.

Shyang pak sa thyakam e chya-nya-nya,
Salom do tho shyong mayan na gong, chya-nya-nya.
Kasam do the be yong a, chya-nya-nya.

Shyangpak sa thyakam chya-nya-nya,
A ka ho da manan gong, chya-nya-nya,
Kasam do nyet bo yong a chya-nya-nya.

Nam bu dum atong chya-nya-nya,
A thya nun kap makhan gong, chya-nya-nya,
Go do thya bo yong a, chya-nya-nya.

THE BEETLE SONG.

The branch of the bamboo, *chya-nya-nya.*
If you cannot walk on it, *chya-nya-nya,*
Shall I walk on it for you ? *chya-nya-nya.*

The stem of the bamboo,[1] *chya-nya-nya,*
Should you not be able to cut it, *chya-nya-nya,*
Shall I cut it for you ? *chya-nya-nya.*

[1] *Payong*, a species of bamboo from which arrows are made, the Cephalostachyum capitatum.

If the jet-black fowl, *chya-nya-nya*,
Cannot hatch, *chya-nya-nya*,
Shall I hatch out for her, *chya-nya-nya* ?

The good thick cloth, *chya-nya-nya*,
Do you not know how to wear it, *chya-nya-nya*,
Shall I wear it for you, *chya-nya-nya* ?

The ladle, *chya-nya-nya*,
If you cannot pour from it, *chya-nya-nya*,
Shall I show you how, *chya-nya-nya* ?

The wooden pillow, *chya-nya-nya*,
Can you place the wooden blocks, *chya-nya-nya*,
Or shall I place them for you, *chya-nya-nya* ?

On it made of blocks of wood, *chya-nya-nya*,
Can you sleep on them, *chya-nya-nya*,
Or shall I show you how, *chya-nya-nya* ?

The thick woollen blanket, *chya-nya-nya*,
Can you pull it up *chya-nya-nya*,
Or shall I pull it up for you, *chya-nya-nya* ?

As has been already mentioned, the Lap-cha believes that he has an extensive demon population around him; they think that every tree and every rock is inhabited by some evil spirit. In daily life therefore the superstitions that are connected with different events are filled with details to avoid causing anger and annoyance to some demon whom they propitiate. As Buddhism, which came from Tibet, in the North, possessed such a highly developed system of demonolatry, it would be difficult to say which particular superstition—and there are many—is of genuine Lap-cha origin.

Indeed it is hard to gather much information about such observances unless one personally notices them. This is possible only when living for a long time in the midst of these people; but here several superstitions are mentioned which I came across in different villages:—

A boy had, playing one day, filled a hole under a certain tree with stones. Shortly after, a cow at home became ill, and in fear lest many humans and cattle might contract some illness, a *Mun* was immediately called in. As she prayed, the demon she was propitiating came and told her she must unblock the opening at once, or else all the cattle would die. The hole was at once freed of its contents, and the cow recovered. No one had known of the boy's deed until the *Mun* had been told of it by the demon during the ceremony.

The god of water is the *Rum-zon-pano* Sacrifices are made to him through the *Bong-thing*. An offering of fowls and eggs is

given to the god, only a little being eaten while the rest is thrown into the river.

Gifts are also thrown into the river, which, like the offerings the *Bong-thing* gives, are placed in a small bamboo stem (*the pa-sun*). Two Lap-cha people wishing to be great friends always drink from the same cup. When a river has to be crossed, in order to propitiate the evil demons, leaves are at first thrown in, and when a child is carried across on its father's back, a string is thrown across the river which is supposed to take his weight (the natural phenomenon in this case being that it is supposed to produce balance).

When the *nyol* tree is cut down, its spirit is said to enter into a Lap-cha, but on no account must a piece of that wood be brought into a '*basti*,' as it means that one of the household will die.

A bullock is considered a clean animal, but when cows are milked it is said to be unlucky should anyone pass, while a few drops of their milk are always sprinkled on the ground to propitiate the evil demon *Rum-zon*. He is also spoken of as being the god who taught the Rong-folk the use of their knives, who taught them to shoot with a bow and arrow, and to kill fish. When butter is removed from the pan, a little is given to him.

In Buddhism, the house-demon is supposed to have possession on the fourth month, and amongst the Lap-cha people it is a *Mun* who, during that month, places '*chi*' on the threshold in order that he may be pacified.

Should anyone be sick, a wooden bath made from planks is made for them outside their '*basti*.' The water that is thought the most of and that is certain to affect a cure is obtained from the *Rung-fo* river (meaning the muddy-brown extended water), it is scooped up from the sides of the stream where it is rather miry and brown, and then put in the bath where it is heated by having hot stones placed in it.

In cases of sickness a dog's skull is hung over the door, and in many '*bastis*' I noticed the figure of the she-devil *Tssu-mung* over the threshold. Her form is made of a piece of dog's skull which is covered with paper that the owner of the '*basti*' has made himself. *Tssu-mung* is the demon who causes quarrelling and is always put behind prison bars represented by bamboo stems; she is surrounded by many weapons illustrating hate and discord, i.e. by spears, bows and arrows. Round her many offerings of flowers are placed which the owners hope will entice *Tssu-mung* to their hut enabling them to shut her up at once, as her touch irritates.

The threshold is never sat upon, and is stepped over. The Lap-cha believes a daughter-in-law should never carry a piece of burning wood into a hut, or it means she will have to work like a slave.

INDEX

OF SUBJECTS DEALT WITH AND NAMES OF PERSONS AND PLACES MENTIONED IN THE TALES.

Note.—The references are *to the numbers* given to the tales. The numbers in *Roman characters* being those of the *tales* themselves, while the numbers in *Arabic* figures belong to the *paragraphs* which the tales are divided into.

Accidents (ill-luck),—spirit of, son of *Na-zong-nyo* i, 2.

After-birth,—becomes a demon, *Mara-mung* i, 3.

Anden-chu,—hill, son of *Tang-shong* and *Na-rem* i, 1.

Animals,—guarding enchanted country, propitiated xxvi, 7; xxxv, 5.

A-nok (Hell ?),—below the earth xxiv, 12.

Arrow,—of red and black iron made by *Samu-rado-lhamu*, a she-devil xxviii, 6;—bow, *see* bow;—by which toad killed the sun ix;—made from cockscomb plant ix;—*Ling-gyaso's* golden—xxviii, 1.

Bees,—gold and silver, living on luminous flowers in the garden of *Sambi-ula* xxvii, 7;—rock—cursed by *Tashey-thing*, authorized as food viii, 2.

Beetle (the *la-gyok*)—sent as a *Bong-thing* i, 11;—planted a tree (the *sus-li-kung*) i, 11;—(the *tang-dare*) sent as a *Bong-thing* i, 11;—plants a species of mimosa i, 11.

Beggar,—promises services to hero xxvii, 3;—appears as a whirlwind xxvii, 7;—meets *Ling-gyaso* xxviii, 8.

Bell (magic),—given by king to his queen to inform him of birth xxiv, 5; xxiv, 8.

Birds,—two are messengers of immortality, *see* messenger.

Birth,—of animals attributed to queens by plotting witches xxiv, 7; xxxiv, 4;—and death,—did not exist in primeval world vi; when created vi;—of heroes, promised by a girl xxiv, 2.

Blind in one eye,—animals in the country of the *Rum* which are to be re-incarnated xxvi, 2.

Blood, in a human being, made of water iv, 1.

Boar (female)—wife of *Tashey-thing* viii, 1;—attempts to kill *Tashey-thing* viii, 1;—is hunted by *Tashey-thing* and killed viii, 3;—is burnt (sacrificed ?) viii, 3;—flesh made lawful for food viii, 3.

Bones, of a demon,—crushed and thrown in the air xxvi, 12;—in a human body, made of stone iv, 1.

Bong-thing,—different plants and insects tried i, 11;—*It-mo's* son sent to the earth i, 11;—he takes with him different drugs i, 11;—descends at *Lung-tun-partan* i, 11;—finds the

Mung everywhere and wishes to return i, 11;—makes a covenant with the *Mung* i, 12;—plants a banana tree, bamboo plant, yam, tree-ferns, elephant grass, etc., i, 12;—leaves for the intermediary country between Heaven and earth i, 12.

Bow and arrow,—invented by *Tashey-thing* viii, 3;—used by a bat ix, 2;—put in a bamboo stem with a spinning rod and a bone for the use of the person to be resuscitated xxiv, 23;—xxvi, 12;—golden, of *Ling-gyaso* xxviii, 1.

Box, containing lightning, given by a fairy xxi, 3.

Bulbs and plants, taken by the *Bong-thing* as medicine i, 11.

Bullocks,—living in a cowshed by themselves xxxviii, 1;—they kill a tiger xxxviii 2,—they make the orphan boy their king xxxviii, 2;—invade and destroy the *Lung-da* country xxxviii, 5.

Bulls, fighting,—medium sized bull wins xxi, 3.

Burning (for sacrifice ?)—boar viii, 3;—fish viii, 4.

Burying alive,—twins at their birth xxiv, 6;—*Ali-azyak* in the form of a bag xxvi, 3.

Cage,—iron—she-devil shut up in one xxviii, 4.

Calamity,—foretold by a bird (into which *Naremnom* turned, q.v.) x, 3.

Cat,—sent as aid to *lama* to kill rats xvii, 2;—comes from Heaven wrapped in dough xvii, 2;—makes rats serve and ends by killing them xvii, 3;—regarded as a crime to kill xvii, 3; lives like a *lama* in seclusion xvii, 3;—has spoon tied to its tail and cooks at execution xxviii, 7.

Catching birds,—by a snare—*Tarbong-mu* i, 13;—the first man iv, 1.

Caterpillars,—given birth to by *Na-zong-nyo* i, 2.

Cattle (and fowls) of *Na-zong-nyo* and *Takbo-thing*—separated i, 5;—those of *Nazong-nyo* live wild in jungle i, 5;—those of *Takbo-thing* live 'in safe places' i, 5.

Charla,—lake, daughter of *It-mo* i, 1.

Chinese princess,—surprised at her bathing place xx, 2;—her clothes seized and returned under oath that she becomes wife of the orphan boy xx, 2.

Chongse-gu-bu,—the horse of *Ga-bu*, q.v. xxv.

Choosing a wife,—by the skill of brushing hair xxxiv, 3;—by throwing a stick with coloured strands xxxiv, 2.

Clothing—a multitude with one roll of cloth xxiv, 3.

Clouds,—created as an ornament to the sky i, 10.

Cobra,—*see* snakes.

Cock,—fans the fire xxviii, 7.

Cocks,—fighting, medium-sized cock given by a fairy xxi, 3;—from the *Rum* country xxvi, 10;—golden coloured from the *Rum* country xxviii, 1.

Cold in the back,—a sign of death xxxvii.

Comb, iron,—used to scratch the body of *Ramit-pandi* xxiv, 7.

Contest,—in loud crying (monkey and stork) xv;—fighting cocks, bulls and armed men between king and one of his subjects xxi, 3;—in sagacity in 'Hide and Seek' between hero and demons xxvi, 9; in wrestling xxvi, 9;—cock, bull, goat, horse, wild bulls, peacocks, armed men xxvi, 10.

Corpse,—resuscitated (*rolung*),—regarded as an evil spirit xxxvii, 2;—is stoned xxxvii, 2.

Councillors—of a king, good and evil,—advising him xxvii, 2.

Covenant,—between *Bong-thing* and *Mung* i, 12;—cf *Golden and Silver boys* with demon when they are to appear at the moment of each other's death xxiv, 21.

Cow dung,—assists orphan boy in punishing a jackal xiv.

Cows,—in cowshed,—hunted by a she-tiger and jackal xiii, 4—declared by a squirrel to be property of his master, xx 3;—wild, hunted by tiger xii.

Crab,—makes friends with a water-wag-tail xix, 1;—refuses to hunt two pheasants xix, 1;—refuses to hunt a deer with a fawn xix, 1;—hunts a stag and kills it xix, 1;—forced by giant to give up prey xix, 1;—kills giant's wife by forcing stones down her throat xix, 2;—is pursued by the giant and hides in a pond xix, 2;—caught by the giant xix, 3;—pretends to be dead xix, 3;—kills the giant by a ruse xix, 3.

Cricket,—black (the *num-brit*),—is sent as a *Bong-thing* i, 11.

Cries (of animals), neighing, bleating, barking, crowing, as omen,—of victory xxvi, 10;—of death xxviii, 1.

Cross-roads, four,—as a place where twins are buried xxiv, 6;—*Ati-azyak* in the form of a bag is buried there xxvi, 3;—*Hongrugm* in a box is left near xxx, 8.

Crow,—attacks toad xi, 3;—is deceived by toad (as in fable of fox and crow) xi, 3;—takes the place of a priest, a '*yuk-mun*' xi, 3;—protects bag containing the infant *Ling-gyaso* xxviii, 2;—male and female carry firewood xxviii, 7.

Cultivation,—origin of—seeds given by *Pudung-thing* and *Na-zong-nyo* vi.

Curses,—rock—bees cursed by *Tashey-thing* viii, 2;—boars cursed by *Tashey-thing* viii, 3;—fishes cursed by *Tashey-thing* viii, 4.

Cutting up,—the flesh of cloud demon iii.

Daddy-long-legs,—*Namgel* and *Namun-ngyu*—faithfully hold staircase of their mother *Na-zong-nyo* i, 6.

Dadiong-pono,—resuscitated and adopted son of *Ati-azyak* xxvi, 12.

Dalon-partam,—plain where the Great Tower was built vii, 2.

Darkness,—caused by the sun hiding after his brother-sun was killed ix, 1.

Daughters (of the king of *Lung-da*),—three (two witches, one in seclusion) xxiv, 3;—seven xxviii, 1.

Death (in child-birth),—the spirit of,—son of *Na-zong-nyo* i, 2;—(by falling upon sharp object and being pierced),—tiger

jumps on a bamboo bush x, 3;—jackal falls on a needle xiv;—horse, *Ga-bu's*, commits suicide by falling upon his master's sword standing in the ground xxv, 4;—(pretended), —as a ruse by the crab when caught by a giant xix, 3;—(as a threshold between the world and the *Rum* country) xxvi, 13; xx, 6;—and birth, *see* Birth and Death.

Demon,—*see* demon of darkness xxiv, 15;—*see A-tchung-mung-la* xxv, 1;—giant who helps *Ati-azyak*, *see Shang-tang-krbu* xxvi, 7;—(*dut*) a giant xxiv, 14;—he has huge ears forming pillow and blanket xxiv, 15;—keeps two flutes in his mouth which are golden and silver xxiv, 15;—huge tusks xxiv, 15;—ascends to the sky producing thunder xxiv, 18; drops dead xxiv, 19;—is resuscitated by yaks' tails xxiv, 20;—as messenger of the Serpent-king xxvi, 5.

Demons,—five, one with five heads, one with three and three others with two heads each xxvii, 7;—the five-headed demon revives a dead girl, and dismembers her again xxvii, 7;—pursues the hero with the girl and are drowned in the sea xxvii, 9;—male and female, fill the world, devour and oppress humans xxviii, 1;—seven brothers,—swear to their sister *Zeryong* not to hurt *Ati-azyak* xxvi, 8;—play 'Hide and Seek' with him in order to devour him should they win xxvi, 9;—wrestle with him xxvi, 9;—contest with fighting animals xxvi, 9;—fight with an army and are finally defeated by the flames from a peacock's tail xxvi, 10;—seven brothers, the *Auchkentobo*,—are killed with fire and hot water by a squirrel xx, 2;—seven (*dut-mung*)—are councillors to a king xxvii, 1;—try and induce the king to cause the hero's death through several ruses xxvii, 2;—attempt to visit the country of the *Rum* xxvii, 12;—are killed as the result xxvii, 12;—two, the *Afool*, devour infants,—demand that the infant king *Ling-gyaso* be given them xxviii, 3.

Densyong-lyang,—*see Dinzyong-lyang* i, 13.

Descent (from Heaven) of animals,—cat dropped in a covering of dough xvii, 2.

Dinzyong-lyang (a plain),—*Tarbong-mu* descends there i, 13;—a tree with much fruit grows there i, 13.

Disguise,—fairies as puppies xxi, 2.

Disfigurement (as punishment),—a toad's thumbs are cut off ix, 3;—a rat's whiskers and tail are cut off xvii, 1.

Dividing goods and cattle,—by *Takbo-thing* and *Nazong-nyo* before separation i, 5.

Diviner (*Aku-sangyo-yuk-mun*),—is asked for advice by a king xxvi. 1. [xxviii, 1.

Dog,—golden coloured, of *Ling-gyaso* re-incarnated in this world

Dogs, hunting,—foretell misfortune xxiv, 1;—killed by witch-stags, xxiv, 2;—hungry black bitch steals flour xxiv, 10;—two, guard the road and attack hero xxvi, 7.

Do-lom,—*see* egg-plant.
Dreams,—king dreams of his slain dogs xxiv, 2.
Drinking up the water of a pond,—a giant drinks to catch a crab xix, 3;—a demon drinks to find *Ati-azyak's* lost knife xxvi, 8.
Dub-cham,—*see* Beggar.
Duk-kung-lay,—a lazy man, kills a tiger by pulling his tail off, xxxvi, 1;—kills a three-headed demon xxxvi, 2;—overhears the spirits of a tiger, demon and jackal talking xxxvi, 3;—kills the *mung* in their monastery xxxvi, 4.
Dyu-zong-bo-pono,—a hero, the *Golden Knife* xxiv, 23.
Earthen pot,—floating on the primeval sea as the earth vi;—used for building the Great Tower vii.
Earthquake (*Mut-li-lyn*), spirit of,—lives below the earth where there is a great wind i, 1.
Eating (one's own hand, foot, nose and ears),—ruse of *Ling-gyaso* to deceive King *Hore* xxviii, 6.
Egg-plant (*do-lom*),—helps to punish a jackal xiv.
Envy,—by a king of his subject xxi, 3.
Eu-ramit, youngest daughter of the king of *Lung-da*,—wife of *Ati-azyak* xxvi, 5;—is brought with her sisters to the country of *Lyang-bar* xxvi, 4;—volunteers to accompany *Ati-azyak* xxvi, 5;—is married to a resuscitated boy who comes out of a bamboo stem xxvi, 12.
Exchange,—of magic objects xxiv, 21.
Execution (of *Hore's* son),—hung head downwards over a plate of rice a[illegible] if eating xxviii, 7;—cock to fan;—ass to draw water;—cat to cook;—two crows, male and female to carry firewood xxviii, 7;—of a woman who has given birth to an animal xxiv, 9.
External soul,—of demon, *see* spirit.
Eyes, (to be c[illegible]),—monkey who saves *Tashey-thing* orders him to close eyes while he carries him on his back viii, 2.
Fairy (nymph ?) of lake,—becomes the wife of a monkey-god, she gives birth to *San-gel* who is the progenitor of the Lap-chas v.—
Family of tiger,—fed by jackal xiii, 1.
Father and mother, *Rum*,—pleased by incense xxvi, 2;—have three sons xxvi, 2. [xxvi, 3.
Feast,—after birth of child when name is given to new-born
Feeding a multitude with one grain of rice,—magic of xxiv, 3.
Felling a tree,—while sitting on its branches xxxvii, 1.
Field (of paddy),—should weeds grow instead, means death of hero xxvi, 7.
Fight,—of two horsemen, *Ling-gyaso* and *Hore's* minister xxviii, 8;—after being killed *Hore's* minister is tied to his horse, which is let loose and returns to his country xxviii, 8.
Fir,—in the centre of *Pemo-pathong-partam* where two suns are shining xxvi, 4.

Fire, region of,—under the earth, above wind i, 1.
Fish (*Ngo* and *Ngo-yeng*, the latter having a serpent-form),—created in primeval sea iv, 1;—dispute which is to be sacrificed iv, 2;—*Gnyul-chul* wife of *Tashey-thing* viii, 4;—caught by him and burnt (sacrificed?) viii, 4;—caught by orphan boy and takes him to his home under the water xxi. 1;—small fish, abode of external soul xxv, 2.
Fisherman,—king disguises himself as, and advises his queen to return home xxviii, 4.
Flags,—to be put on the tops of the four mountains on the road *Ati-azyak* was taking,—black,—white,—green,—red xxvi, 4.
Flea,—husband of the louse xviii, 1;—goes to fetch firewood xviii, 1;—is frightened by a turtle-dove xviii, 3;—jumps on a human head xviii, 3;—settles to live on a dog xviii, 3.
Flesh of a demon,—chopped up and given to ants xxvi, 12;—of a tiger, scattered in all directions x, 3.
Flood,—the cause of,—no room for new people vi, 1;—two saved on summit of *Tendong-lho* vii, 1.
Flower, golden, luminous,—given by *Tashey-thing* (in the form of a fox) xxvii, 1;—grows in the garden of the *Sami-ula* palace and guarded by five demons xxvii, 7;—turns everything in the house to gold and silver xxvii, 10;—gold and silver, spring up wherever a piece of the magic torn puppy skin of a fairy falls xxi, 2.
Flute (bamboo, *pa-lit*), xxvi, 4;—a king plays it xxviii, 4
Flutes, gold and silver,—possessed by a demon xxiv, 14;—stolen by the *Golden Boy* when the demon is asleep xxiv, 16.
Fly, white,—*Hore's* nephew's mother's sister turns into a white fly to help *Ling-gyaso* xxviii, 6.
Flying, as a way of escape used by witches xxiv, 22.
Foog-rong (cf. *Takbo-thing*, *Tikung-tek* and *Pudung-thing*), husband of *Na-zong-nyo* vii, 1.
Fool,—kills his own mother xxix, 1;—loses the body on his way to the funeral pyre xxix, 3;—kills another old woman and brings her xxix, 3;—kills a *lama* xxix, 4;—runs away with his brother xxix. 5;—climbs a tree xxix, 5;—drops grinding stones xxix, 5;—story of,—xxxvii;—fells a tree whilst sitting on the branches xxxvii, 1;—expects to die according to a prophecy xxxvii, 2;—buries himself alive xxxvii. 2;—is stoned to death xxxvii, 2.
Footmarks,—of witch-stags, like plates xxiv, 2.
Forge,—King *Hore's* nephew works in it xxviii, 6;—*Ling-gyaso* also works there, xxviii, 6.
Fox,—*Tashey-thing* appears as a—xxvii, 1.
Fright,—a toad frightens a tiger xi;—a crow frightens the toad xi;—an ass frightens the tiger xii;—an egg-plant frightens a jackal xii;—a stork frightens a monkey xv;—a bat frightens birds and rats xvi;—a turtle-dove frightens a flea xviii, 3;—a squirrel frightens seven demons xx, 4;—the

goat's tail frightens two princes xxiii, 4;—*Ling-gyaso* frightens King *Hore* xxviii, 6.

Fruits,—first fruits in harvest time iv, 3;—allowed by *Tashey-thing*, as a reward to monkeys viii, 2 (sacrifice to a monkey-god ?).

Fyong-talya-da,—a lake, eldest sister of some of the hills and lakes in the Himalayas i, 1.

Ga-bu, a hero (cf. *Gyabo*) xxv, 1;—rides his horse and meets a demon xxv, 1;—makes friends with the demon's wife xxv, 1;—plots destruction of the demon xxv, 2;—overhears the demon's telling his wife where his external soul lives xxv, 2;—is poisoned, covered with mud and used as a hearth xxv, 3;—wakes up, follows his horse xxv, 3;—decides to accompany his horse to the *Rum* country who has killed himself xxv, 4.

Garden,—of the palace of *Sambi-ula*, with luminous flowers xxvii, 7;—of the *Rum* xxxiii, 1.

Giant,—takes away by force, the skin of the stag which has been killed by a crab xix, 1;—pursues the crab xix, 2;—releases the wag-tail which he has caught xix, 2;—drinks up the water of the pond xix, 3;—catches the crab and tries to roast him xix, 3;—is deceived by the water-wag-tail who makes the crab feign death xix, 3;—is killed by the crab xix, 3.

Gnyu-chul,—wife of *Tashey-thing*, is half-fish, half-woman viii, 4.

Goat,—herd of goats gradually eaten by a leopard xxiii, 1;—goat fighting xxvi, 9;—goat, golden coloured, from the *Rum* country xxviii, 1.

Gold and silver,—a fairy disguised as a puppy is a beautiful girl made half of gold and half of silver xxi, 2;—coins fall when the magic skin is shaken xxii, 3;—a handful given as food to the miraculous fowl xxvi, 10;—flowers, *see* flowers.

Golden Knife and Silver Knife,—birth of same promised by the *Ramit-pandi* xxiv, 2;—born as twins and buried in an earthen pot xxiv, 6;—appear at sunrise in the king's palace xxiv, 14;—say they have come out of the earth and must be the sons of the earth xxiv, 14;—the elder goes to fight a giant demon xxiv, 15;—ascends the sky and travels from the east to the west xxiv, 16;—drops down dead, but is resuscitated by his brother, the *Silver Knife*, with the help of two yaks' tails xxiv, 16;—not recognized on their return xxiv, 21;—reveal the mystery of their birth xxiv, 22;—punish the witches by their magical stick and rope xxiv, 23;—search the river for remains of their mother xxiv, 23;—resuscitate their mother and feed from her breast xxiv, 23;—fall when wrestling from the balcony and die xxiv, 24;—are resuscitated but the youngest brother changes his sex xxiv, 24.

Grains,—animals turn into xxviii, 1.

Grass, elephant,—bears traces of *Ga-ɓu's* horse's teeth marks xxv, 3.

Grasshopper,—children of *Na-zong-nyo* i, 6;—one sent as a *Bong-thing* i, 11;—plants a bamboo plant and elephant grass i, 11.

Growth, miraculous and rapid,—of *Ati-azyak* xxvi, 4;—of his cock, goat, bull, horse and peacock xxvi, 10.

Gyabo-chyador-tulku, a king (cf. *Ga-bu*),—sent by *Tashey-thing* after the flood vi;—ancestor of the present Maharaja vi.

Gyabu-pono,—king in the *Rum* country,—cf. *Ga-bu* xxviii, 1;—sends one his sons to be incarnated xxviii, 1.

Hailstones,—flowers on *sa-nyol* (sago palm) tree, grown from the bracelet of *Na-zong-nyo* ii;—a god and his celestial animals become one large hailstone, which causes the virgin birth of a hero and his magical animals xxvi, 2;—xxviii, 2.

Harp (Jews'),—(the *tung-dyu*) xxvi, 4.

Hat, golden,—(crown ?) of the father of the *Rum* xxvi, 2;—xxviii, 1.

Hat, invisible,—of the father of *Rum* xxvi, 2.

Hate and discord,—spirit of the son of *Na-zong-nyo* i, 2.

Head, severed from the body,—floats upstream talking, xxiv, 9;—of a demon, kept by a hero xxv, 2;—heads of bullocks placed on roof of house xxiii, 4;—and body of a giant (*Hore*) continue to fight after having been severed from body xxviii, 6.

Hearts, of the dead,—hung on a mango tree xxxv, 5.

Heat,—caused by the existence of two suns ix, 1.

Helpers, of a virtuous hero,—the egg-plant, needle, cow-dung xiv.

Hen,—guarded by an orphan boy xiv;—a jackal steals it xiv;—released and the jackal killed xiv;—magic, gathers rice for *Tikung-tek* and *Ni-kong-ngal* xxxii, 1;—is killed and cooked by *Tikung-tek* xxxii, 1.

Hide and Seek, played by demons who wish to devour hero,—they hide as, seven trees,—seven partridges,—seven streams xxvi, 9.

Himalaya Mountains,—created i, 1;—elder brother to every other land and river i, 1.

Hitting by an arrow,—underneath the arm not protected by armour, xxviii, 8.

Hongrugm, the liar-king,—deceives two brother-liars who cheated the orphan boy xxx, 3;—pretends to be dead and cuts noses of the two brothers xxx, 4;—confesses he is the thief xxx, 4;—pretends to kill and resuscitate his wife xxx, 5;—his horse dropping coins xxx, 7;—incites a merchant to get inside a box from which he is to be thrown and steals his goods xxx, 8;—kills the liar brothers xxx, 9.

Hook, iron,—from the country of the *Rum* xxviii, 2.
Hore, a king,—purchases *Ling-gyaso's* wife xxviii, 5;—finds an infant he believes is his re-incarnated nephew xxviii, 6;—tests correctness of his surmise xxviii, 6;—is deceived by art of the infant's mother's sister xxviii, 6.
Horns, golden two (or flutes),—are heard a long distance xxxviii, 2.
Horse,—cock, flute give news of the birth of a hero xxxiv, 4;—wooden, used by children xxxiv, 5;—pony tied to the top of a hill,—of *Ga-bu*, called *Chong-se-gu-bu* xxv, 2;—tortured by the demon's wife xxv, 3:—runs away from his master xxv, 3;—commits suicide xxv, 2;—of *Ati-azyak*, is given a golden and silver ball to eat xxvi, 7;—standing so long it sinks into the ground xxvi, 11;—refuses to try and get out until is shown his master's ring, then allowing himself to be pulled out xxvi, 11;—golden coloured, of the *Rum* country, re-incarnated xxviii, 1;—dropping coins, pretence of xxx. 7.
Human being, a son of *Na-zong-nyo*,—born on the mountain and fed from her breast i, 7;—dies through the hatred of the other children i, 1;—is buried but is resuscitated by water of life i, 8.
Human sacrifices to demons,—from every house xxvii, 8.
Hunting, participation in,—wind, lightning, and bamboo hunt a tiger x;—tiger and ass hunt wild cows xii;—she-tiger and jackal hunt cows xiii, 4;—crab and water-wag-tail hunt a stag xix.
Illness,—severe, caused by destruction of plants and animals in which the external soul lives xxviii, 4.
Incarnation of a deity (the *Rum*),—candidate selected for being born as the king's son (*Ati-azyak*) xxvi, 2;—(*Ling-gyaso*) leaves with his animals xxviii, 1.
Infant,—*Ling-gyaso* turns into—xxviii, 6.
Infanticide, at abnormal birth,—xxiv, 6;—of twins, by relations xxvi, 3;—of a child in a bag by the mother xxviii, 2;—confessed by a mother xxvi, 3.
Infants,—given to two demons to devour xxviii, 3.
Insects,—steal precious stones from their mother's (*Na-zong-nyo*) necklace and run away i, 6;—help to hold rope by which *Tashey-thing* descends in search of honey viii, 1.
Intermediate country,—between the country of the *Rum* and the earth, *Sari-rung-dong-chen* xxvi, 2;—called *Siri-nong-dong-chen* xxviii, 1;—called *Tiamtan* where a *Bong-thing* built a palace and where he still lives i, 12.
Intrigues,—of two elder sister witches against the younger xxiv, 3.
Iron maize,—given by the demon's wife to *Ga-bu's* horse xxv, 3.
Irung-iso-pandi,—the wife of the king of the rats xvi.

It-mo, the Creatress-mother, a chthonic deity,—gives birth to different lakes and hills i, 1—also to *Na-zong-nyo* and *Takbo-thing* i, 2.

Jackal,—is fastened by a rope to a tiger xi, 2;—killed when dragged by tiger xi, 2;—invites tiger to devour dead elephant xiii, 1;—his impertinence xiii, 1;—his cautiousness xiii, 1;—becomes father to the tiger's family xiii, 1;—his cowardice xiii, 4;—is carried away by the river xiii, 4:—steals a hen xiv;—dies falling upon a needle and is pierced xiv.

Jews' harp,—*see* Harp.

Kamthyong-kamblyok,—country xxviii, 4.

Killing a sun,—human beings, to avoid the heat, decide to kill one of the two suns ix, 1.

King of the Birds,—*Nun-bong-pono-eng-fo* xvi;—of the rats *Komayi-pono* xvi;—kings stood near the cloud demon when he breathed his last (the *Aden-nu*) iii.

Knife (of *Ati-azyak*),—lost in a pond xxvi, 8;—found in possession of the demon's sister xxvi. 8;—of black steel possessing magical qualities, used by demons xxvii, 7.

Ko-hun-fo, a quail (cf. Partridge),—guides the *Rung-nyit* river xxxi, 2.

Komayi-pono, king of the rats xvi.

Komtarhep (and *Zertarhep*),—keepers of the *Rum* garden xxxiii;—one is beheaded by a witch xxxiii, 3;—beheaded a second time xxxiii, 5.

Kong-chen-chu,—a mountain (the *Kinchenjunga*) vi;—probably the same as the *Kong-chhen* mountain xii.

Kong-pahab, a steep rock on the edge of the *Rimban* lake,—sacrifices offered to, v.

Konyong-pandi,—a queen xxvi, 6;—her palace is built towards the sunset xxvi, 12;—ascends to the *Rum* country as a wife of *Ati-azyak* xxvi, 13.

Laksom,—a lake near *Tassiding* (in Bhutan ?) a daughter of *It-mo* i, 1.

Laso-mung-pono (cloud-demon),—born by *Na-zong-nyo* ii;—sits on a *sa-nyol* (sago palm) tree ii;—lives in it iii;—troubles the people of *Densyong-lyang* who decide to kill him iii;—tries to live in different trees iii;—killed, being shot at with bows and arrows and pierced by knives iii;—flesh cut up in pieces and bones thrown into the air iii.

Leopard,—pulls a monkey out of the mud xv;—is deceived by ruse of a monkey xv.

Leprosy, spirit of,—son of *Na-zong-nyo* i, 2.

Liars, two brother,—get into a tomb to cheat orphan boy xxx, 2;—quarrel over division of money xxx, 2;—invite *Hongrugm* to divide money xxx, 3;—tied to posts while *Hongrugm* runs away with money xxx, 3;—their noses cut xxx, 5;—kill their wives xxx, 6;—spoil a good carpet

xxx, 7;—throw a merchant, instead of *Hongrugm*, over a precipice xxx, 8;—are thrown over themselves by *Hongrugm* xxx, 9.

Life, in a human being (soul ?),—is due to the wind iv, 1.

Lightning,—in a box, given by fairy to fight armed men xxi, 3.

Ling-gyaso, hero, youngest son of *Gyabu Punu*,—is sent to the world to subdue demons xxviii, 1;—bow and arrows, golden hat, horse, dog, goat and cock with him xxviii, 1;—is born in bag, thrown away and recovered xxviii, 2;—is demanded by demons to be devoured xxviii, 3;—asks to be given to them xxviii, 3;—kills the demons decapitating them xxviii, 4;—disguises himself as a *lama* and teaches the demons (*samu*) xxviii, 4;—burns all with the exception of one whom he shuts in a cage xxviii, 4;—kills a man-eater with the help of the wife xxviii, 4;—kills his own uncle xxviii, 5;—slays the *Hore* king and his son xxviii, 6, 7;—fights with his minister xxviii, 8.

Ling-lyang,—the country of *Ling-gyaso*, q.v. xxviii, 2.

Lizards,—given birth to by *Na-zong-nyo* i, 2.

Locusts,—children of *Na-zong-nyo* i, 6.

Looking down, from the *Rum* country,—by a deity who is to be incarnated xxvi, 2; xxviii, 2;—king and queen xxviii, 2;—by a deity who sees a fairy and descends to her in the form of a monkey v.

Louse,—is wife of flea xviii, 1;—is hit by flea xviii, 2;—devoured by turtle-dove xviii, 3.

Lung-tan-parten, plain,—a *Bong-thing* descends to it i, 11.

Maiden,—cut to pieces in a black box, wife of the five-headed demon xxvii, 7;—revived by the demon who again kills her xxvii, 7;—revived by the hero who steals her xxvii, 8;—repeats the operation of killing and resuscitating her husband xxvii, 12;—shut in a room ever since her birth xxiv, 3;—xxxviii, 3.

Manum,—tributary of the *Rung-nyo* river (the *Tista*) i, 1.

Mara-mung (demon of tempest),—develops from the after-birth of *Laso-mung-pono* (the cloud-demon) ii.

Marriage (by forcible abduction of male),—orphan boy is forcibly brought by the servants of the king of *Lung-da* xxxviii, 4;—(offered),—the king of the land of the pigeons offers one of his daughters to the hero xxvii, 4;—in the land of the paroquets xxvii, 5;—in the land of the peacocks xxvii, 6;—(by catching—trapping—or ambushing),—in the story of *Tarbongmu* i, 13;—in the story of creation iv, 1;—(described),—of *Tarbongmu* and *Narib-nom* i, 14;—(refused),—wife refused to two brothers because their sister is known to be a cannibal x, 1;—(of two rivers),—the story of xxxi. [saved vi.

Mayal Kyong,—the place where the survivors of the flood were

It-mo, the Creatress-mother, a chthonic deity,—gives birth to different lakes and hills i, 1—also to *Na-zong-nyo* and *Takbo-thing* i, 2.

Jackal,—is fastened by a rope to a tiger xi, 2;—killed when dragged by tiger xi, 2;—invites tiger to devour dead elephant xiii, 1;—his impertinence xiii, 1;—his cautiousness xiii. 1;—becomes father to the tiger's family xiii, 1;—his cowardice xiii, 4;—is carried away by the river xiii, 4:—steals a hen xiv;—dies falling upon a needle and is pierced xiv.

Jews' harp,—*see* Harp.

Kamthyong-kamblyok,—country xxviii, 4.

Killing a sun,—human beings, to avoid the heat, decide to kill one of the two suns ix, 1.

King of the Birds,—*Nun-bong-pono-eng-jo* xvi;—of the rats *Komayi-pono* xvi;—kings stood near the cloud demon when he breathed his last (the *Aden-mu*) iii.

Knife (of *Ati-azyak*),—lost in a pond xxvi, 8;—found in possession of the demon's sister xxvi. 8;—of black steel possessing magical qualities, used by demons xxvii, 7.

Ko-hun-fo, a quail (cf. Partridge),—guides the *Rung-nyit* river xxxi, 2.

Komayi-pono. king of the rats xvi.

Komtarhep (and *Zertarhep*),—keepers of the *Rum* garden xxxiii;—one is beheaded by a witch xxxiii, 3;—beheaded a second time xxxiii, 5.

Kong-chen-chu,—a mountain (the *Kinchenjunga*) vi;—probably the same as the *Kong-chhen* mountain xii.

Kong-pahab, a steep rock on the edge of the *Rimban* lake,—sacrifices offered to, v.

Konyong-pandi,—a queen xxvi, 6;—her palace is built towards the sunset xxvi, 12;—ascends to the *Rum* country as a wife of *Ati-azyak* xxvi, 13.

Laksom,—a lake near *Tassiding* (in Bhutan ?) a daughter of *It-mo* i, 1.

Laso-mung-pono (cloud-demon),—born by *Na-zong-nyo* ii;—sits on a *sa-nyol* (sago palm) tree ii;—lives in it iii;—troubles the people of *Densyong-lyang* who decide to kill him iii;—tries to live in different trees iii;—killed, being shot at with bows and arrows and pierced by knives iii;—flesh cut up in pieces and bones thrown into the air iii.

Leopard,—pulls a monkey out of the mud xv;—is deceived by ruse of a monkey xv.

Leprosy, spirit of,—son of *Na-zong-nyo* i, 2.

Liars, two brother,—get into a tomb to cheat orphan boy xxx, 2;—quarrel over division of money xxx, 2;—invite *Hong-rugm* to divide money xxx, 3;—tied to posts while *Hong-rugm* runs away with money xxx, 3;—their noses cut xxx, 5;—kill their wives xxx, 6;—spoil a good carpet

xxx, 7 ;—throw a merchant, instead of *Hongrugm*, over a precipice xxx, 8 ;—are thrown over themselves by *Hongrugm* xxx, 9.

Life, in a human being (soul ?),—is due to the wind iv, 1.

Lightning,—in a box, given by fairy to fight armed men xxi, 3.

Ling-gyaso, hero, youngest son of *Gyabu Punu*,—is sent to the world to subdue demons xxviii, 1 ;—bow and arrows, golden hat, horse, dog, goat and cock with him xxviii, 1 ;—is born in bag, thrown away and recovered xxviii. 2 ;—is demanded by demons to be devoured xxviii, 3 ;—asks to be given to them xxviii, 3 ;—kills the demons decapitating them xxviii, 4 ;—disguises himself as a *lama* and teaches the demons (*samu*) xxviii, 4 ;—burns all with the exception of one whom he shuts in a cage xxviii, 4 ;—kills a man-eater with the help of the wife xxviii, 4 ;—kills his own uncle xxviii, 5 ;—slays the *Hore* king and his son xxviii, 6, 7 ;—fights with his minister xxviii, 8.

Ling-lyang,—the country of *Ling-gyaso*, q.v. xxviii, 2.

Lizards,—given birth to by *Na-zong-nyo* i, 2.

Locusts,—children of *Na-zong-nyo* i, 6.

Looking down, from the *Rum* country,—by a deity who is to be incarnated xxvi, 2; xxviii, 2 ;—king and queen xxviii, 2 ;—by a deity who sees a fairy and descends to her in the form of a monkey v.

Louse,—is wife of flea xviii, 1 ;—is hit by flea xviii, 2 ;—devoured by turtle-dove xviii, 3.

Lung-tan-parten, plain,—a *Bong-thing* descends to it i, 11.

Maiden,—cut to pieces in a black box, wife of the five-headed demon xxvii, 7 ;—revived by the demon who again kills her xxvii, 7 ;—revived by the hero who steals her xxvii, 8 ;—repeats the operation of killing and resuscitating her husband xxvii, 12 ;—shut in a room ever since her birth xxiv, 3 ;—xxxviii, 3.

Manum,—tributary of the *Rung-nyo* river (the *Tista*) i, 1.

Mara-mung (demon of tempest),—develops from the after-birth of *Laso-mung-pono* (the cloud-demon) ii.

Marriage (by forcible abduction of male),—orphan boy is forcibly brought by the servants of the king of *Lung-da* xxxviii, 4 ;—(offered),—the king of the land of the pigeons offers one of his daughters to the hero xxvii, 4 ;—in the land of the paroquets xxvii, 5 ;—in the land of the peacocks xxvii, 6 ;—(by catching—trapping—or ambushing),—in the story of *Tarbongmu* i, 13 ;—in the story of creation iv, 1 ;—(described),—of *Tarbongmu* and *Narib-nom* i, 14 ;—(refused),—wife refused to two brothers because their sister is known to be a cannibal x, 1 ;—(of two rivers),—the story of xxxi. [saved vi.

Mayal Kyong,—the place where the survivors of the flood were

Meadow,—in *Pemo-pathong-partam* having a fir in the centre with two suns xxvi, 4.

Meditation,—seven days, preceded by bathing and sacrifices xxvi, 1.

Meeting again in this life,—should clouds break when hero ascends to the *Rum* country, meeting again positive, otherwise impossible xxvi, 13; xx, 6.

Merchant,—dies whilst travelling xxvii, 1;—his son is born after his death xxvii, 1;—widow's son,—receives a golden flower from *Tashey-thing* xxvii, 1;—presents it to the king xxvii, 2;—gives his bread to the beggar xxvii, 3;—starts on his errand xxvii, 4;—comes to the land of pigeons xxvii, 4;—of paroquets xxvii, 5;—of peacocks xxvii, 6;—reaches the palace of the five demons, the *Sambi-ula* xxvii, 7;—hides there xxvii, 7;—learns the secret xxvii, 7;—steals the maiden and leaves xxvii, 8;—marries three more wives xxvii, 10;—returns home bringing flowers to the king xxvii, 10;—is ordered to build a palace within three days xxvii, 11;—decorates it with the help of peacocks xxvii, 11;—plants a garden with the help of paroquets xxvii, 11;—is ordered to find the sources of the *Rung-nyo* river xxvii, 12;—is cut to pieces by his wife xxvii, 12;—resuscitated xxvii, 12;—relates the conversation with his father in the *Rum* country xxvii, 12.

Messengers—(of immortality),—two birds, *Rukchum-fo* and *Ran-fon-fo* i, 8;—sent by *Na-zong-nyo* to *Takbo-thing* to fetch the waters of life and death i, 8;—misrepresent instructions of *Takbo-thing* intentionally i, 8;—(of the king),—humiliated xxiv, 13.

Miduk-cho,—hill, son of *It-mo* i, 1.

Monastery,—for she-devils xxviii, 4.

Monkey,—appears as a *Mun* killing a demon by poking it with his tail xxxii, 5;—her tail is pulled off xxxii, 5,—saves *Tashey-thing* viii, 2;—receives permission to get first fruits viii, 2;—becomes friends with a stork xv;—frightened by stork xv;—falls into the mud xv;—is saved by a leopard xv;—cries to evoke the wind xv;—a deity in the form of a monkey sees a fairy and makes her his wife v.

Monkey-cry,—to evoke wind xv.

Mon-tsu-mot,—a wild she-boar, wife of *Tashey-thing*, q.v. viii, 1.

Moon,—one of the original two suns that was shot by a toad ix, 1. [ix, 1.

Mortars,—wooden, become tigers in darkness (of eclipse?)

Mosquitoes,—appear from the bones of the cloud-demon, thrown into the air iii.

Mountains on the road *Ati-azyak* and his brothers were taking,—black,—white,—green,—red xxvi, 4.

Moustache (of *Tashey-thing*),—helps him to hang on to a rock viii. 2.

Multiplication (of mankind),—so great that there was no room in the world vi.

Mung,—apparently a twin son of *Na-zong-nyo* or an after-birth i, 7;—is resuscitated i, 8.

Naho-da,—a lake, the abode of *Takbo-thing* ii.

Nails (fried),—of human beings, food of a cannibal x, 1.

Narem,—a hill, female i, 1.

Narennom,—sister of wind and lightning, wife of celestial tiger v, 1;—is fed on the fried nails of men x, 1;—hearing of the death of her husband turned into a bird and weeping in the jungle foretells calamity x, 3.

Narib-nom (a fairy),—puts pieces of wood into *Tarbongmu's* snare i, 13;—was caught by him, married and bore children i, 13.

Nasal tone,—(speaking in—), *see* bat.

Nathar,—a lake, the abode of *Na-zong-nyo* ii.

Na-zong-nyo, daughter of *It-mo* (second Creatress-mother),—gives birth to various evil spirits i, 2;—hides these births and throws children away i, 2;—settles on the earth i, 2;—is expelled with her husband i, 4;—lets her own cattle loose in the jungle i, 5;—pursues her husband i, 6;—reaches nearly to the top of the mountain but is rejected by him i, 9;—builds a golden staircase to her brother's lake ii;—gives birth to the *Laso-mung-pono* ii;—created all crops and bulbs as wife of *Pudung-thing*, considered incarnation of *Nikong-ngal* vi.

Necklace (of *Na-zong-nyo*),—used as staircase to climb mountain i, 6.

Needle,—assists orphan boy in punishing jackal xiv;—is hit by an arrow in a contest of the *Rum* xxvi, 2;—the eye of,—as a target for an arrow xxviii, 8.

Nikong-ngal,—(*Na-zong-nyo*) vi;—loses her hen which is devoured by her husband xxxii, 1;—feeds a supposed bird in a hollow tree xxxii, 2;—discovers ruse of her husband and runs away xxxii, 3;—carries him in her basket xxxii, 3.

Nun-bong-pono-eng-lo,—king of the birds xvi.

Oath,—taken in the presence of two witnesses i, 12;—xx, 2;—xxvi, 8;—so heavy that it causes a river to dry up, a tree to wither, a rock to split i, 12;—xx, 2;—xxvi, 8.

Old man and woman—have no needle whereby they can sow their clothes xxxv, 5.

Orphan boy,—inherits a silver box xxx, 1;—possesses a hen which the jackal wishes to steal xiv;—gets assistance of the egg-plant, cow-dung, needle, recovers the hen xiv;—receives services of a black squirrel xx;—catches a big fish, spares its life, goes down into the stream to see the fish-parents xxi, 1;—marries a fairy in the guise of a puppy xx, 2;—wins in many contests with the king xxi, 3;—becomes a king xxi, 3;—obtains a magic skin which produces food xxii, 1;—

(*Ryothub-sang*)—stolen but dropped by a tiger xxxviii, 1;—becomes king of the bullocks xxxviii, 2;—forcibly brought to marry the king of *Lung-da's* daughter and shut in a dark room xxxviii, 4;—finds his golden horns and returns to the cowshed xxxviii, 5;—brother and sister,—live on hunting xx, 1;—comes in possession of the treasures belonging to the seven demons with help of the squirrel xx, 4.

Owl,—helps marriage—sent to the *It-lyang* iv, 1.

Palace,—built by magic in one night xxiv. 12;—xxxv, 5;—built in three days by pigeons xxvii, 11;—decorated in one day by peacocks xxvii, 11;—garden planted with the help of paroquets xxvii, 11;—palace *Sambi-ula, see Sambi-ula*;—wonderful, built by bullocks xxxviii, 5.

Pamu-chi-chong-mu (wife of *Ling-gyaso*),—xxviii, 5;—sold by the king's uncle during his absence xxviii, 5;—fights with the head of the dead giant xxviii, 6.

Pandur,—*see* bracelet.

Paril-bu,—*see* serpent.

Paril-patong,—a serpent, guide to the *Rung-nyo* river xxxi, 2.

Paroquets,—the land of xxvii, 5:—ordered to plant a garden in one night xxvii, 11.

Partridge (*ko-hom-jo*) (or quail ?),—the wife of *Tashey-thing* vii, 1;—asks *Takbo-thing* to stop the flood vii, 1.

Partan-sakber (a plain),—covenant made between the *Mung* and the *Bong-thing* i, 12.

Pa-sandi,—the husband of *It-mo*, the male chthonic deity ii, 1.

Peacock (from the *Rum* country),—used for a fighting contest xxvi, 10;—puts two round stones in the fire to become red hot xxvi, 10;—helps *Ati-azyak* to fight the demon army xxvi, 10—dances slowly on a tree, flames dash from his tail destroying demons xxvi, 10;—flies up to the *Rum* country xxvi 13;—the land of peacocks xxvii, 6;—they decorate a palace xxvii, 11;— mountain,—*Takbo-thing* builds his palace there, i, 6.

Pestles (wooden) become snakes in the darkness (of the eclipse) ix, 1.

Pid-mo, a king,—sends the boy to fetch more golden flowers xxvii, 2.

Pigeon, the land of,—xxvii, 4;—build a palace in three days xxvii 11.

Plague, of snakes and tigers,—which killed half mankind in the darkness occurring when one of the two suns was killed ix, 1.

Plait, of hair cut off,—by *Na-zong nyo*, thrown to the top of the mountain i, 6.

Poisoning enemies,—by chilli powder xxviii, 8.

Pond, as a refuge,—toad hides from the crow xi, 3;—crab hides from the giant xix. 3.

Pony,—*see* horse.
Pot, copper, in a bag with a lid containing a babe born of a queen xxvi, 3 ;—earthen, *see* pot.
Prayer, to the *Rum* for sending hero to subdue the demons xxvi, 1 ;—xxviii, 1.
Priest (animals appearing in this role) ;—crow q. v. xi, 3 ;—toad q. v. xviii, 2 ;—pheasant q. v. xviii, 2 ;—turtle-dove xviii, 2.
Princes,—from the sunrise to the sunset, hunt three bullocks in the jungle belonging to the king of *Lyang-bar*, xxiii, 3.
Progenitor, of mankind,—created by *Tashey-thing* iv, 1 ;—*Sangel*, son of a monkey and a fairy v ;—*Pudung-thing* and *Na-zong-nyo* vi ;—*Tikung-tek* and *Nikong-ngal* vi.
Protection, of humans,—intended, by incarnation of demi-gods and heroes xxvi, xxviii.
Pudung-thing (*—Takbo-thing*),—husband of *Na-zong-nyo*, progenitor vi.
Puppy (bitch),—fairy disguised as a puppy xxi, 2 ;—is placed at *Ramit-pandi's* breast with pretence of her having given birth to it xxiv, 7.
Ramit-pandi,—secluded in a room since her birth xxiv, 3 ;—marries a king, is envied by her sisters xxiv, 4 ;—gives birth to twins, golden and silver boys xxiv, 5 ;—scratched by an iron comb xxiv, 7 ;—a puppy is placed at her breast xxiv. 7 ;—decapitated and thrown into a river xxiv, 9 ;—resuscitated as an eight year old girl in a bamboo stem xxiv, 23 ;—*Ramit* (rainbow).—a queen (cf. *Eu-ramit*) xxvi, 1.
Rats,—injure a *lama's* clothes xvii, 1 ;—trapped by *lama* who cuts off whiskers and tail as punishment xvii, 1 ;—declare war on *lama* xvii, 3 ;—all devoured by cat with the exception of one xvii, 3.
Re-incarnated,—son recognizes the arms which he forged in previous life as test of his identity xxviii, 6.
Re-incarnation,—of a child xxviii, 6.
Resuscitated,—by manipulating yaks' tails xxiv, 15 ; xxiv, 19 ;—(*Ramit-pandi*) from two hairs, blue and white, also piece of bone xxiv 23 ;—sex changed at—xxiv, 25.
Returning to the *Rum*,—*Tashey-thing* returns viii, 4 ;—*Ati-azyak* with three wives xxvi, 13.
Revelation,—of the mystery of the birth of the heroes xxiv, 19.
Revolt,—of *Tashey-thing's* parts of the body iv, 3.
Rimban,—lake v.
Ring,—one golden and one set with turquoise, both magical given by *Ati-azyak* to his wife xxvi, 5 ;—another of *Ati-azyak's* shown to his horse xxvi, 11.
Rivalry,—of a king with his subject xxi, 3.
River,—flowing from the spittle of king xxviii, 4 ;—two, represented as male and female xxxi.
Red, spinning,—*see* spinning-rod.

(*Ryothub-sang*)—stolen but dropped by a tiger xxxviii, 1;—becomes king of the bullocks xxxviii, 2;—forcibly brought to marry the king of *Lung-da's* daughter and shut in a dark room xxxviii, 4;—finds his golden horns and returns to the cowshed xxxviii, 5;—brother and sister,—live on hunting xx, 1;—comes in possession of the treasures belonging to the seven demons with help of the squirrel xx, 4.

Owl,—helps marriage—sent to the *It-lyang* iv, 1.

Palace,—built by magic in one night xxiv, 12;—xxxv, 5;—built in three days by pigeons xxvii, 11;—decorated in one day by peacocks xxvii, 11;—garden planted with the help of paroquets xxvii, 11;—palace *Sambi-ula, see Sambi-ula;*—wonderful, built by bullocks xxxviii, 5.

Pamu-chi-chong-mu (wife of *Ling-gyaso*),—xxviii, 5;—sold by the king's uncle during his absence xxviii, 5;—fights with the head of the dead giant xxviii, 6.

Pandur,—see bracelet.

Paril-bu,—see serpent.

Paril-patong,—a serpent, guide to the *Rung-nyo* river xxxi, 2.

Paroquets,—the land of xxvii, 5:—ordered to plant a garden in one night xxvii, 11.

Partridge (*ko-hom-jo*) (or quail ?),—the wife of *Tashey-thing* vii, 1;—asks *Takbo-thing* to stop the flood vii, 1.

Partan-sakber (a plain),—covenant made between the *Mung* and the *Beng-thing* i, 12.

Pa-sandi,—the husband of *It-mo*, the male chthonic deity ii, 1.

Peacock (from the *Rum* country),—used for a fighting contest xxvi, 10;—puts two round stones in the fire to become red hot xxvi, 10;—helps *Ati-azyak* to fight the demon army xxvi, 10—dances slowly on a tree, flames dash from his tail destroying demons xxvi, 10;—flies up to the *Rum* country xxvi 13;—the land of peacocks xxvii, 6;—they decorate a palace xxvii, 11;— mountain,—*Takbo-thing* builds his palace there, i, 6.

Pestles (wooden) become snakes in the darkness (of the eclipse) ix, 1.

Pid-mo, a king,—sends the boy to fetch more golden flowers xxvii, 2.

Pigeon, the land of,—xxvii, 4;—build a palace in three days xxvii 11.

Plague, of snakes and tigers,—which killed half mankind in the darkness occurring when one of the two suns was killed ix, 1.

Plait, of hair cut off,—by *Na-zong nyo*, thrown to the top of the mountain i, 6.

Poisoning enemies,—by chilli powder xxviii, 8.

Pond, as a refuge,—toad hides from the crow xi, 3;—crab hides from the giant xix, 3.

Pony,—*see* horse.
Pot, copper, in a bag with a lid containing a babe born of a queen xxvi, 3;—earthen, *see* pot.
Prayer, to the *Rum* for sending hero to subdue the demons xxvi, 1;—xxviii, 1.
Priest (animals appearing in this role);—crow q. v. xi, 3;—toad q. v. xviii, 2;—pheasant q. v. xviii, 2;—turtle-dove xviii, 2.
Princes,—from the sunrise to the sunset, hunt three bullocks in the jungle belonging to the king of *Lyang-bar*, xxiii, 3.
Progenitor, of mankind,—created by *Tashey-thing* iv, 1;—*Sangel*, son of a monkey and a fairy v;—*Pudung-thing* and *Na-zong-nyo* vi;—*Tikung-tek* and *Nikong-ngal* vi.
Protection, of humans,—intended, by incarnation of demigods and heroes xxvi, xxviii.
Pudung-thing (—*Takbo-thing*),—husband of *Na-zong-nyo*, progenitor vi.
Puppy (bitch),—fairy disguised as a puppy xxi, 2;—is placed at *Ramit-pandi's* breast with pretence of her having given birth to it xxiv, 7.
Ramit-pandi,—secluded in a room since her birth xxiv, 3;—marries a king, is envied by her sisters xxiv, 4;—gives birth to twins. golden and silver boys xxiv, 5;—scratched by an iron comb xxiv, 7;—a puppy is placed at her breast xxiv. 7;—decapitated and thrown into a river xxiv, 9;—resuscitated as an eight year old girl in a bamboo stem xxiv, 23;—*Ramit* (rainbow),—a queen (cf. *Eu-ramit*) xxvi, 1.
Rats,—injure a *lama's* clothes xvii, 1;—trapped by *lama* who cuts off whiskers and tail as punishment xvii, 1;—declare war on *lama* xvii, 3;—all devoured by cat with the exception of one xvii, 3.
Re-incarnated,—son recognizes the arms which he forged in previous life as test of his identity xxviii, 6.
Re-incarnation,—of a child xxviii, 6.
Resuscitated,—by manipulating yaks' tails xxiv, 15; xxiv, 19;—(*Ramit-pandi*) from two hairs, blue and white, also piece of bone xxiv 23;—sex changed at—xxiv, 25
Returning to the *Rum*,—*Tashey-thing* returns viii, 4;—*Ati-azyak* with three wives xxvi, 13.
Revelation,—of the mystery of the birth of the heroes xxiv, 19.
Revolt,—of *Tashey-thing's* parts of the body iv, 3.
Rimban,—lake v.
Ring,—one golden and one set with turquoise, both magical given by *Ati-azyak* to his wife xxvi, 5;—another of *Ati-azyak's* shown to his horse xxvi, 11.
Rivalry,—of a king with his subject xxi, 3.
River,—flowing from the spittle of king xxviii, 4;—two, represented as male and female xxxi.
Red, spinning,—*see* spinning-rod.

Roll of cloth,—promised by demon's wife to *Ga-bu* xxv, 1;—given by serpent's wife to *Ati-azyak* xxvi, 7.

Ron-lok-bu,—snake living in rocks,—brother of the celestial tiger x, 1.

Rope,—used by *Tashey-thing* to descend precipice viii, 1;—used by tiger on jackal to give courage xi, 2;—(made of yak's tail) fastens earthen pot, in which twins are buried xxiv, 6;—(made of yak's tail) given by demon to *Golden and Silver boys* xxiv, 21.

Rum, the country of;—visited by a hero who talks to his dead father xxvii, 12;—animals ascend to, xvii, 3; xx, 6; xxv, 5; xxvi, 13.

Rung-nyit (river),—guided by sea-serpent, xxxi, 2.

Rung-nyo (Tista river),—guided by a quail, xxxi, 2;—sources to be explained by a hero xxvii, 12;—source gushing from spot where sago-palm (*sa-nyol*) stood in *Dinzyong-lyang*, and where the *Lazo-mung-pono* lived iii.

Ruse,—used by toad to frighten tiger xi, 2;—used by toad to save himself from crow xi, 3;—ass deceives tiger xii;—jackal invites tiger to devour carrion in order to make an exit for him xiii, 1; monkey advises leopard to fry him in order to gain time in which he can invoke wind and escape xv;—of bat in order to avoid payment of taxes xvi;—of crab who pretends to be dead xix, 3;—water-wag-tail smears crab with cheese xix, 3;—of squirrel who kills demons xx, 4;—of goat's tail giving false alarm xxiii, 4;—of witch-sisters who cause the death of the *Ramit-pandi* xxiv, 9;—Witches advise king to give boys superhuman task xxiv, 14;—demon councillors give difficult tasks to hero in order that he may be killed xxvii, 2;—*Ling-gyaso* shuts demons in a monastery xxviii, 4.

Ryothub-sang (orphan boy) xxxviii.

Sabur-ancho,—plain where first man and woman lived i, 1.

Sacrifices,—offered to *Na-zong-nyo* and *Takbo-thing* i, 9;—to the *Mung*, legalized by a covenant with the *Bony-thing* (fowls, eggs, pigs, etc.); i, 12;—the first to the *Rum* by *Tashey-thing* of fishes and fruit iv, 2;—at harvest and sowing times iv, 3;—to the progenitor at harvest time, rice is placed on the rock at the *Rimban* lake v;—of a boar viii, 3;—of a fish viii, 4;—of the first fruits (to a monkey) viii, 2:—participation in—given as a reward to a species of bamboo x, 2;—of a stag's skin to the *Rum* after successful hunting xix;—different kinds of—(flesh, bird, rice, *chi*), xxvi, 1;—offered to secure the birth of a child xxvi, 1.

Sambi-ula,—palace on an island which is inhabited by five demons xxvii, 7.

San-gel,—son of a monkey and a fairy of the *Rimban* lake, progenitor of the Lap-cha v.

Sa-nyol (sago-palm) tree,—grows out of *Na-zong-nyo's* bracelet

in one night i, 3;—bears flowers, which falling on the earth become hailstones ii;—as seat of the cloud-demon ii;—as name of mountain ii;—grows in *Denzyong-lyang* iii;—is cut down iii.

Sari-nong-dong-chen,—perhaps *San-rung-dong-chen* country xxvi, 7; xxvi, 11.

Scattering flesh,—of the celestial tiger x, 3;—magic skin of a fairy, wherever it falls, gold and silver flowers spring up xxi, 2.

Scratching, the body of the *Rumit-pandi*,—by an iron comb xxiv, 7;—explained xxiv, 7.

Sea,—primeval iv; vi;—seas, four, black, white green, red, inundating meadow xxvi, 4.

Seclusion of girls,—the *Lung-da* king's daughter kept in a dark room from childhood xxiv, 3;—xxxviii, 3. [2.

Selection, of a candidate,—to be incarnated as a king's son xxvi,

Sending to death,—future king's successor xxiv, 14.

Sending, a deity,—from the *Rum* country to be incarnated xxvi; xxviii.

Serpent-king, *Paril-bu*,—appears with the inundation of the four seas xxvi, 4;—asks for *Ati-azyak* xxvi, 4;—vanishes with the waters taking away one of the two suns xxvi, 4—his mouth is as huge as a gorge xxvi, 4;—spits *Ati-azyak* out xxvi, 6;—gives *Ati-azyak* a difficult task xxvi, 6;—devoured by *Shang-tang-krbu* xxvi, 7;—dams all rivers by lying in them vi;—causes flood vi;—cut in pieces by *Yong-li-pono* vi;—his wife—makes friends with *Ati-azyak* xxvi, 6;—instructs him about his journey xxvi;—comes with *Ati-azyak* to his country xxvi, 11;—ascends to the *Rum* country with him xxvi, 13.

Sex,—changed at resuscitation, the *Silver boy* becomes a girl xxiv, 25.

Shaking (magic skin or tail to produce wealth),—food-producing sheep-skin xxii, 3;—half-burnt goat's tail xxiii. 6.

Shang-tang-krbu (a chthonic demon),—man-eating, guarding road, placated by roll of cloth, servant of hero xxvi, 7;—brings *Ati-azyak* in his pouch to country of *Zaryong* xxvi, 7;—tries to swallow *Ati-azyak* but vomits him out xxvi, 7;—drinks up the water in all ponds and streams xxvi, 8;—releases the waters xxvi, 8;—devours defeated animals xxvi, 10;—carries palace of *Zeryong* on his back xxvi, 11;—swallows the serpent-king xxvi, 11;—swallows *Ati-azyak's* brothers xxvi, 12;—is decapitated by his master xxvi, 12.

Shara, near *Ta-lung* monastery,—a place where harvest sacrifices are held v.

She-devil, *Samu-rado-lhamu*,—escapes from burning monastery xxviii, 4;—is caught on top of the third mountain, locked in an iron cage xxviii, 4.—*see* witches.

Shortening,—of days in winter explained ix, 3.
Shooting, by an arrow,—toad shoots sun ix, 1;—needle behind the twelfth mountain xxvi, 2.
Sin of killing a man,—transferred to stone xxviii, 5.
Singing and dancing,—xxvi, 4.
Sinking in ground,—result of long waiting, horse xxvi, 11;—bullock xxxviii, 5.
Siri-nong-dong-chcu,—a land between the *Rum* country and this world xxvi, 2; xxviii, 1.
Sister-marriage i, 2.
Sisters, three (two elder ones witches),—each of them can perform magical act xxiv, 3;—the elder sisters envy the youngest xxiv, 3.—two, the elder;—accompany the youngest after her marriage with evil designs xxiv, 4;—try to kill her twin sons at birth xxiv, 6;—accuse her in giving birth to a puppy xxiv, 7;—cause her execution xxiv, 8);—continually plot against the twins xxiv, 9, are finally executed by the twin heroes xxiv, 22.
Skin,—of celestial tiger;—stretched from sunrise to sunset x, 3;—of a stag, killed by a crab, offered to the *Rum* xix, 1;—magic, for disguise—of a puppy, used by a fairy who marries an orphan boy xxi;—of a goat's tail, used by a male fairy, burnt by his wife xxiii, 6;—produces food—of a sheep, given as alms to orphan boy xxii, 1;—is stolen by a demon xxii, 2;—recovered with the help of a monkey, rat and toad xxii, 3;—dropped in river but recovered by toad xxii, 3;—a lovely girl steps out of it xxii, 3—when shaken produces wealth xxii, 3.
Skinning,—a living man with his own consent xxviii, 5.
Sky,—ornamented by clouds i, 10.
Slapped,—falls dead, the youngest son of the father of the *Rum* prior to his incarnation xxvi, 2.
Sleep,—three years long, caused by poisoning xxv, 3.
Small-pox, the spirit of,—a son of *Na-zong-nyo* i, 2.
Sling,—*Golden boy* throws a stone with it, xxv, 7.
Snake, cf. serpent;—(*ron-lok-bu*),—lives in rocks, brother to the celestial tiger x, 1;—and cobras—born of *Na-zong-nyo* i, 2.
Soul, external,—*see* spirit of demon.
Sparing, life for promise of services,—squirrel's life spared by orphan boy xx, 1;—orphan boy spares life of fish xxi, 1;—orphan boy spares life of monkey and rat xxii, 1;—and to a toad xxii, 1;—goat's tail xxiii, 2;—giant demon xxiv, 20.
Spider (*San-dyong-katun*),—giant, son of a witch xxxiii, 4.
Spinning rod,—used by toad to recover skin xxii, 3;—used to resuscitate dead xxiv, 23;—of *Zeryong*, used to lower ring underground to show to *Ati-azyak's* horse xxvi, 11.
Spirits of the dead,—not to be touched xxxv, 4.
Spirit, of *A-tchung-mung-la* (demon),—lives in pine tree, in several small fishes, and in a honey bee xxv, 2;—death

caused by their destruction xxv, 2;—of man-eating demon with tusks, lives in two sago palms and bag of fleas xxviii, 4;—of a fairy boy,—appears at midnight, appealing for his clothes and sword xxxv, 4.

Spitting,—to give origin to a river xxviii, 4;—taking an oath,—upon a rock, water, tree, which all become destroyed i, 12.

Squirrel, black,—catches birds in a snare xx, 1;—pursued by orphan boy over three mountains and caught near big river xx, 1;—secures a Chinese princess as wife for his master xx, 2;—takes possession on false pretence of a cowshed xx, 3;—kills demons by ruse xx, 4;—fetches sister of orphan boy xx, 5;—ascends to the *Rum* country xx, 6;—disappears in clouds xx, 6.

Stag,—hunted by crab and water-wag-tail xix, 1;—(stags) bring unsuccessful day to hunter xxiv, 1;—witches turn into stags xxiv, 2;—they kill the two dogs xxiv, 2;—stag as food for man-eating demon xxviii, 4.

Staircase, to the top of mountain:—made by *Na-zong-nyo* from her own necklace i, 6. (golden) built by *Na-zong-nyo* to reach her brother's lake ii.

Step-daughter,—is sent to graze sheep xxxv, 1;—meets a fairy boy, who feeds her xxxv, 2;—finds him killed by his step mother xxxv, 4;—goes to find his heart on a tree xxxv, 5;—resuscitates him and lives in a wonderful palace xxxv, 5.

Stick, walking,—magic, cf. walking stick of a demon xxiv, 2.

Stone,—crushing a man to whose back it is tied xxviii, 5;—shot at by an arrow, pierced four inches by *Ling-gyaso* xxviii, 8;—fed instead of meat—a crab feeds a giant's wife xix, 2.

Stork,—becomes friend to a monkey xv.

Suicide,—of *Ga-bu's* horse xxv, 5.

Suns, two,—one shot by toad ix, 1;—becomes moon ix, 3;—shine over *Pemo-pathong-partan* meadow xxvi, 4;—one of them taken away by serpent king who vanishes with waters xxvi, 4.

Swallowing, a portion of hailstone,—cause of birth xxvi, 2.

Sword,—of the father of the *Rum* xxvi. 2;—xxvi, 5;—forged to measure length of *Hore's* neck xxviii, 6;—jumps by itself out of sheath xxviii, 6.

Tail, of the last goat of the herd,—severed from body xxiii, 1;—placed in a box by the woman xxiii, 2;—is spared from being roasted on promise of service xxiii, 2;—hunts bullocks xxiii, 3;—obtains them by a ruse xxiii. 4;—performs difficult work of stealing guarded treasure xxiii, 5;—dances as a king in human form xxiii, 6;—tail burnt by wife xxiii, 6;—tails, of two yaks, one white and the other black, used for resuscitating xxiv, 15.

Takbo-thing, son of *It-mo*, cohabits with *Na-zong-nyo* i, 1;—

settles on the earth i, 3';—expelled with wife sister i, 4;—takes his cattle to a 'safe place' i, 5;—builds palace on Peacock mountain i, 6;—gives waters of life and death, and gives instructions to messenger-birds i, 8;—*Na-zong-nyo* reaches him but he refuses to see her i, 9;—father of *Tashey-thing* vii. 1;—is propitiated by the partridge vii, 1;—stops the flood vii, 1.

Talking, prohibited,—monkey forbids talking to toad and rat xxii, 3.

Tangap, a witch,—kills one of the fairies taking her dress xxxiii, 3;—kills her for a second time xxxiii, 5;—is punished xxxiii, 6.

Tang-sheng,—a hill (male), 1.

Tarbong-mu (son of the creatress *It-mo?*),—descends from the *Rum* country, settling on the plain *Dinzyong-lyang* i, 13;—catches birds i, 13.

Tashey-takbo-thing,—as the creator iv, 1.

Tashey-thing,—creates birds and animals iv, 1;—tries to make man from butter iv, 1;—makes him of earth and mud iv, 1;—catches a wife for him iv, 1;—establishes sacrifices to the *Rum* for the first time iv, 2,—sends *Yong-li-pono* to stop flood vi, sends *Gyabo-chaya-dor-tulku* vi;—called son of *Takbo-thing* vii, 1:—marries a partridge vii, 1;—animal wives viii;—descends precipice by rope viii, 1;—tries to get honey of rock-bees viii, 1;—she-boar attempts to kill him viii, 2;—is saved by a monkey viii. 2;—pursues the boar and kills her viii, 3:—marries a fish who also plays a trick viii. 4;—appears as a fox giving a child a luminous golden flower xxvii, 1;—'s pony,—its teeth-marks on elephant grass i, 11.

Teeth of the serpent-king,—taken as being *chortens* and *mendongs* by the hero, who breaks them off xxvi, 6.

Tendong-lho,—a hill on which the two last were saved at the time of the flood vii. 1.

Tarbol-partam, a plain—*Na-zong-nyo* and *Takbo-thing* descend and settle there i 3.

Tiamtan,—*see* Intermediate country.

Tiger,—steals orphan boy but loses him xxxviii, 1;—killed by wonderful bullocks xxxviii. 2;—during the darkness (eclipse) wooden mortars become—six, 1;—'s brother is a snake x, 1;—marries *Naremnom*, sister of wind and lightning x, 1;—wind and lightning chase the, x, 2;—killed jumping on a bamboo bush which pierces him x, 3;—is skinned, his flesh scattered in all directions and his skin stretched from east to west x, 3;—makes friends with a toad xi, 1;—licks toad xi, 1;—becomes frightened of the toad xi, 1;—runs away to the plains; xi, 2;—meets ass, is deceived by him xii;—is believed never to attack an ass xii;—relieves jackal from corpse of dead elephant xiii, 1;—plots

to kill jackal xiii, 5;—dies up on a hollow tree xiii, 3;—s, two, guarding the road. attack hero xxvi, 7.

Tikung-tek,—devours the magic hen xxxii, 1;—deceives *Nikung-ngal* xxxii, 2;—his ruse is discovered xxxii, 3;—frightens a monkey and a shepherd xxxii, 5;—becomes possessor of cows with cowshed xxxii, 5;—and *Nikong-ngal* survive the flood vi;—*see Takbo-thing, Foog-rong*.

Toad,—kills one of the two suns ix. 1;—is punished for this ix, 3;—makes friends with a tiger xi, 1;—licks the tiger xi, 1;—vomits tiger's hairs xi, 1;—frightens tiger by a trick xi, 2;—caught by a crow xi, 3;—deceives the crow and so saves himself xi, 3;—performs the functions of a priest xviii, 2.

Tomb,—talking, a trick of liars to cheat about a will xxx, 2.

Tongues, changed at the building of the great tower vii, 2.

Tortoise, supporting the world,—rests on the primeval sea iv, 1.

Tower, the great,—built in order to ascend to the *Rum* country, made of earthen pots vii, 2;—destroyed by the people who were unable to hear properly vii, 2.

Transformation,—of she-devil into crow xxxix, 4.

Treachery,—she-boar cuts rope by which *Tashey-thing* descends precipice viii, 1;—of the wife or sister of demon or giant etc. who falls in love with a stranger xv, 1, 2; xvii, xxvi, 1, 6, 7, 8, 9;—xxviii, 4; xxviii, 6.

Tree,—growing on plain of *Dinzyong-lyang*, having different fruits, inhabited by many birds iii;—mango,—on which hearts are hung xxxv, 5;—pine, as an abode of external soul xxv, 2.

Trials, of the three sons of the *Rum* father to select the one to be incarnated, by lifting stone xxvi, 2;—by aiming at a needle behind the twelfth hill xxvi, 2;—by splitting hair of horse's tail;—by collecting food and firewood for life xxvi, 2.

Triplets,—born and thrown into river xxxiv, 4;—saved by a fisherman xxxiv, 5;—appear to their mother xxxiv, 5;—run away, are killed but revive in a pine tree xxxiv, 8;—discovered and return to their parents xxxiv, 8;—ascend to the *Rum* country xxxiv, 10.

Tung-bo-sathong,—tiger, x, 1.

Tung-kung-ragnit (rainbow queen),—mother of hero *Ati-azyak* xxvi, 1.

Turning, into animals, birds or plants,—bird, *see Naremnom*;—tiger, *see* mortars;—snakes *see* pestles;—stags, two witches xxiv, 2;—trees, demons xxvi, 9;—partridges, demons xxvi, 9;—fox, *Tashey-thing* xxvii, 1;—grains animals in the *Rum* country xxviii, 1;—flea, king *Ling-gyaso* in house of the demon xxviii, 4;—fly white, *Hore's* nephew's mother's sister xxviii, 8;—into a monkey by a god v.—crow, she-devil xxxviii, 4.

Twelfth room,—in the house xxvi, 8;—xxviii, 3.

Twins,—born in absence of the father xxiv, 5;—their destruction attempted xxiv, 6;—placed in an earthen pot, buried at cross roads xxiv, 6;—unearthed still alive xxiv, 11;—as beautiful as sun and moon xxiv, 11;—bring wealth and perform wonders xxiv, 11, 12;—fight demon xxiv, 14—overcome him xxiv, 19.

Uncle, of *Ling-gyaso*,—sells his wife during his absence xxviii, 5;—plots against his nephew xxviii, 5;—his back skinned xxviii, 5;—crushed under stone xxviii, 5.

Veins and nerves,—of man, made of creepers iv, 1.

Virgin birth,—hailstone swallowed and son born within a week xxvi, 2;—hailstone swallowed xxviii, 2.

Wag-tail, *see* water-wag-tail.

Walking-stick (*pa tung*) of *Takbo-thing*,—used by him to strike the world and stop the flood vii;—*see* stick.

Wasps and flies;—appear from the flesh of the cloud-demon when he is cut up in pieces iii.

Water, black and white,—of life and death in gourds, used for resuscitation xxvii, 7, 12;—supporting earth, placed over fire above which is wind i, 1.

Water-wag-tail,—makes friends with a crab xix, 1;—helps crab to hunt stag xix, 1;—caught but spared by giant xix, 2.

Wife, of a demon (*Atchung-mung-la*);—weaves in turn two pieces of cloth, from silk and nettle plant xxv, 1;—helps plotting destruction of demon xxv, 2;—Feeds horse of *Ga-bu* xxv, 2;—poisons *Ga-bu*;—xxv, 3;—feeds horse on iron maize, beats him xxv, 3;—wife of serpent,—*see* serpent's wife, wife, sold, during absence of her husband by her relations xxviii, 5.

Wild bulls,—used for fighting contests xxvi, 10.

Wind,—evoked by special monkey cry xv; great wind below earth, where spirit of earthquake lives i, 1;—and lightning (two brothers),—wife refused them as they are suspected of being man-eaters x, 1;—pursue celestial tiger, their brother-in-law x, 2.

Wings,—made of dress-folds (*dum-pin*) by witches xxiv, 22.

Witch-sisters,—devour a great quantity of food, killing many bullocks xxiv, 7;—she-devils, (*sa-mu*) turn into stags xxiv, 2;—kill the king's dogs xxiv, 2;—other evil doings, plots cf. xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv.

Witch-trap.—xxxiii, 6;—xxxiv, 9.

Witnesses,—at the covenant of the *Bong-thing* with the *Mung*, called *Sakbri-bu* and *Sahnang-bu* i, 12.

Writing, on water,—ass snorts on water xii.

Yaks', tails, black and white,—used for resuscitating xxiv, 15.

Yok-gnibu,—lightning x, 1.

Yong-li-pono (King) a hero,—is sent by *Tashey-thing* to stop the flood vi;—cuts serpent-king vi.

Yong-rumbo,—wind x.

Youngest brother, in the *Rum* country,—is selected to be incarnated xxvi, 2;—wins in trials, envied and beaten by his elder brothers xxvi, 2;—asks for different things that he needs xxvi, 2;—slapped by his mother and falls dead xxvi, 2.

Zelem-pandi,—resuscitated hero, the *Silver-Knife* who lost his sex xxiv, 25.

Zertarhep (and *Komtarhep*),—keepers of the garden of the *Rum* xxxiii, 1;—wails on the bank of the river in which her sister was drowned xxxiii, 4;—sees her weaving under water, talks to her xxxiii, 4;—sees her becoming large after being killed the second time xxxiii, 5;—reveals the mystery to the king xxxiii, 6.

Zer-yong, a queen, sister of seven demons,—makes friends with *Ati-azyak* xxvi, 8;—hides him in a box in the twelfth room xxvi, 8;—takes an oath from her brothers not to eat him setting him free xxvi, 8;—helps him to foil the intrigues of the demons xxvi, 9;—has two tusks, one touching the sky and the other falling to the earth, with two long breasts xxvi. 11;—becomes a beautiful girl xxvi, 11;—palace placed on the side of the sunrise xxvi, 12;—when a wife to *Ati-azyak* ascends to the *Rum* xxvi, 13.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

The Martyrdom of St. Thomas, the Apostle.[1]

BY A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A.

Facing page 207 of the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, (New Series). Volume XIX, No. 5, the Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., had reproduced as an illustration a page of manuscript from the letter which Fr. A. Monserrate wrote from Cochin in A.D. 1579 to the General of the Society of Jesus. This page contains a fairly accurate,[2] though roughly executed, pen-sketch of the now famous Pahlavi Cross of the St Thomas' Mount; but its importance lies not so much in its giving us a sixteenth-century drawing of this inscribed Cross, as in that it furnishes, apparently for the first time, the Romanized transcript of what was believed to be the decipherment of the inscription on it which a learned Brahman is said to have palmed off on the Portuguese some years after the Cross had been unearthed during some excavations conducted by them on the hill in A.D. 1547. While bringing this interesting document to the notice of antiquarians, Fr. Hosten, who had made Fr. Monserrate's Spanish rendering of the passage intelligible by his own useful English translation, had also expressed himself as follows :—

> "To interpret this passage, we have fortunately the 'Malavar' text and a Spanish translation, both in a letter of Fr. A. Monserrate, S.J., (Cochin, 1579). .... The Spanish text differs notably from the Portuguese text of Do Couto. .... Some flaws in the 'Malavar' text of the manuscript, of which I have lying before me a photographic reproduction, and my ignorance of 'Malavar' make it imperative to reproduce the photograph. May I ask lovers of old Tamil to endeavour to restore the 'Malavar' text and to give as literal a rendering as possible ?"

In addition to the plate given in the J.P.A.S.B. which is itself sufficiently legible, Fr. Hosten kindly lent me, at my request, the original photo-print of the same page of Fr. Monserrate's

---

[1] I acknowledge my great indebtedness to the Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., of Darjeeling, for his kindness in having allowed me to see his remarks on a shorter paper on the same subject which I had originally prepared, and to the General Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for his courtesy in having permitted me to revise and enlarge it.

[2] A comparison of this plate with that given in the *Epig. Indica* shows that the letters in the former have been shaped more conventionally with an eye to calligraphic effect.

manuscript ; and with their help, I took up the study of this interesting record and have arrived at what, I hope, is a fairly accurate reading of the 'Malavar' text. I have annexed herewith my transcript of Fr. Monserrate's Romanized version, consistent with the proper pronunciation and spelling of the vernacular words of the 'Malavar' passage, and have also appended its corrected Tamil equivalent metrically arranged in twenty-eight lines, because it is a poetic piece composed in the *akaval*-metre, commonly used for ballads and other popular songs. It may be noticed that each pair of these lines has an initial rhyme, and that alliteration has also been generally employed in the initial letters of the first and second halves in each line. The literary value of the poem is, however, insignificant.

The expression 'lengua Malavar' used by Fr. Monserrate implies that the language used in this short piece is Malayalam ; and although the name 'Malavar' was indiscriminately used by the early Europeans to signify both Malayalam and Tamil, there are indications to show that the text was composed or at least dictated to Fr. Monserrate by a man who was more conversant with the West Coast than with the East. It is therefore likely that the Kanara[1] Brahman or 'the Brahman from Narzinga' to whom the authorship of these lines has been attributed may have exhibited his fraudulent mischief in Malayalam verse ; or it may also be possible that the Cochin (?) informant of Fr. A. Monserrate may have given his own West Coast pronunciation to an extant version in *crude* Tamil. But as Malayalam is at best only a dialectical offshoot of Tamil, and as the language of this 'Malavar' text bears an equal resemblance to Tamil and Malayalam, I have considered it more convenient to transcribe the passage in the former language, after transforming the clearly recognisable and characteristic Malayalam solecisms, such as the following :—

The final *u* is pronounced as *a* in Malayalam—kaliyad*u* is found as kaliyad*a*, kulattu as kulatt*a* ; *ai* is pronounced as *e*—tann*ai* is found as tann*e*, vak*ai* as vak*e* ; *a* is also sometimes pronounced as *e*—n*a*chchina as n*e*chchina, chol*a*n as chol*e*n, etc.

A few expressions particular to the West Coast, which are found used in the text are—'*Dhanuvil*' for *Mārkaḻi* (the Tamil name of the month), 'Attanapurattil' for *Attanapurattu* (of Hastinapura), 'Iraivanna' (dative form) for *Iṟaivanukku* (Tamil), 'pandira' for *paṉṉiru*, and 'iripadu' for *iruppadu* ; while certain suffixes that may be called as special to Tamil are—*ākiya*, *āki*, *āṇa* whereas Malayalis would *now* use only *āya*, *āyi*, and *āya*.

[1] Vincenzo calls him '*da certi Brahmani del Canará*' (*Ind. Ant.* III, 312.)

The disadvantages under which Fr. Monserrate must have laboured and which have somewhat vitiated the correctness of his transcript appear to have been the following :—

(1) he did not know the language and alphabet of the vernacular, and appears to have depended for the reading upon a collaborator, probably a Cochinite, and to have been guided purely by the ear for the transliteration ;

(2) he did not equip himself with some standard notation with which he could otherwise have rendered the phonetic values of the vernacular letters with greater accuracy and uniformity ; but he had to devise his own method which, however, he has consistently[1] adhered to in a majority of cases ; and

(3) having had to rely on his informant for the purport of the lines also, he has unwittingly introduced into his version all the inaccuracies and mistakes of his collaborator's interpretation, although it has to be said in justice to him, that his translation is much nearer the mark than those found recorded by some other writers of the same and subsequent periods.

After making due allowance for the mutations that have resulted from this state of affairs, we shall examine whether the 'Malavar' passage, which Fr. Monserrate has fortunately preserved for us in his manuscript and which the industry of Fr. Hosten has now brought to light for the first time, countenances the popularly accepted account of the martyrdom of St. Thomas, the Apostle, as found related in the works of the Portuguese writers of the 16th and 17th centuries A.D., and as now believed in by the Christian community at large. The Apostle is said to have landed at Malaṅgara (near Cranganore) in A.D. 52 and to have had a successful career of evangelistic work, erecting churches for his converts at the seven[2] places of Cranganore, Pālūr, Kōkkamaṅgalam, Kōṭṭakkāyal, Niranam, Chāyal (Nilaikkal in the forests), and Kollam (Quilon). He is then said to have crossed over to the East Coast, and to have won high favour with the king of Mayilāpūr by the performance of the miracle of dragging out from the sea, unaided, a huge log of wood, which even a hundred men had been unable to tackle. The numerous conversions which he is stated to have effected there also, made the Brahmans of the place his bitter enemies. He had further caused a metal image of a

[1] He has used the following notation : *–rr* has been used to represent 'rough r' =ṟ ; *j* for *ś* ; *gui* for *ki* ; *c* for *k* ; single consonants have been used where reduplicated consonants are required, as in karu(*p*)pam, chamai(*p*)pan, mar(*k*)ka(*t*)tarum, etc. ; *r* for *d* as in *ari*, *caral*, etc. Secondary lengths and consonantal varieties, such as ḷ, ḻ, ṉ, have not been indicated and this is a cause for confusion. In the cases of tanuvil, pauva etc., the second *u* stands for *v*—tanuvil, pauva ; thus *u* and *v* have to be differentiated according to the context.

[2] Smith's *Early History of India*, third edition, p. 245.

Hindu god 'to melt like wax before the fire,' when the king had forced him to offer sacrifice to that deity.[1] The priests grew so inimical towards him that, one day when he was praying in front of the Cross which he had installed on the Mount, a Brahman is said to have come up stealthily from behind and to have pierced the saint with a lance. The latter then fell flat on the Cross, wetting it with the life-blood that was welling out of the wound in his side. When his disciples found him lying dead next morning, they took his body to Mayilāpūr and buried him in the church that he had built there. This is the popular form of the tradition, now current.

Before proceeding to examine the antiquity and correctness of this account of St. Thomas' martyrdom, a short note on the details of the discovery of the Persian Cross and the story of the interpretation of its Pahlavi inscription will be of interest. St. Thomas' Mount near Madras was believed to be the hallowed spot where the Apostle met his death. The Portuguese conquerors took great interest in this tradition. According to the *Vida de Castro*, "when they (the Portuguese) began to till the earth on the Mount (for repairs in A.D. 1547), they found a Cross,[2] cut in the base of a marble (?) pillar, four hands high and three broad, sprinkled with drops of blood, which appeared to be quite fresh. This Cross was of the same form as those borne by the Knight of Avitz. Under the stone were some small Crosses of the same form as the large one and sprinkled with drops of blood. The great Cross was overshadowed by a hovering dove. In a circle round the Cross were antique letters which none of the people of the country understood. Ancient people and men skilled in languages were sought for; but no one could find out what the characters were, nor the meaning of the Inscription until a brahmin from Narsinga was brought thereto, who gave the following interpretation. .... This interpretation being made by an interpreter who was hired, our people would not trust him in so grave a matter; so they summoned another learned heathen, skilled in all oriental tongues, who explained the letters in the same manner without the least variation. A printed

[1] This incident has been given in the *Passio*, an old Latin work. The *Thōmāparvam*, a Malayalam work of the beginning of the 17th century, also mentions this episode with some variations. (See *infra*.)

[2] This Mount Cross was, on account of its discovery on the alleged site of the Apostle's martyrdom, considered to be the one which he was believed to have consecrated on the hill for the worship of the pagans whom he had converted in the 1st century A.D. The undecipherable Pahlavi letters on it further mystified the Portuguese and enhanced the antiquity of the monument. These circumstances considerably helped in the accumulation of legends, and must have given some inspiration to the Brahman for his fraudulent decipherment. Nienhoff, the Danish traveller (A.D. 1662), was apparently told that the Cross had fallen from heaven in the Apostle's time.—(Churchill's *Voyages*, II, 210.)

exemplar was brought to the king, Don Sebastian." The *Portuguese Asia* records the fact that "the Cross was discovered in A.D. 1547 during some diggings for repairs, and was set up in a Chapel in A.D. 1551. The letters about it (the Cross) could not be understood till the year 1561 ; a learned brahmin said, they were 36 Hieroglyphicks, every one containing a sentence."

These extracts give all the information that was perhaps available at the time in regard to the history of the Cross and the attempted decipherment of its strange inscription. Leaving out of account the miraculous element in the story of the 'sweating' of the Cross which has been mentioned in the same books, but which has been differently explained by other writers, we find that an attempt was made to decipher the inscription with the help of 'a Canara brahmin' or 'a brahmin from Narzinga' (Vijayanagara dominions), and that his reading was checked by another 'learned heathen,' who also managed to read the inscription in an identical manner. This decipherment of the two Brahmans was till lately known to us only in Portuguese and other translations, but it is now available for the first time in the original vernacular form in M.'s manuscript. A study of it, which has been attempted in this paper, clearly shows that Brahman-epigraphist, whose services had been requisitioned by the Portuguese discoverers of the Cross, was an impostor and his reading a fraud, and that, worse still, the 'Malavar' text has further suffered considerably at the hands of ignorant translators.

Before examining this text, it will be well to state at the outset that this inscription on the St. Thomas' Mount Cross has been considered by eminent scholars to be in the Persian language and in the Pahlavi script. The different readings,[1] together with their respective translations, are subjoined.

(*a*) Dr. Burnell (*Ind. Ant.*, III, p. 314) :—

1. Yīn rĵyā mn vn drd-i dnmn
2. Mūn amn mslhā af alhā-i mdm af rśd-i aĵ asar bokht.

In punishment by the cross (was) the suffering of this One : He who (is) the true Christ, and God above, and guide ever pure.

(*b*) Dr. Haug :—

(He) who believes in the Messiah and in God on high and also in the Holy Ghost is in (redeemed through) the grace of Him was bore the pain of the cross.

---

[1] These readings have been quoted in my paper entitled 'A new Pahlavi Cross from Travancore' published in the *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* for April, 1924.

(*c*) Dr. West (*Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 175) :—

1. Mūn āmen Meshīkhā-i avakshā-i madam-afrās aj khār būkht
2. Sūldā-i min van dard-i denman.

What freed the true Messiah, the forgiving, the upraising, from hardships? The crucifixion from the tree and the anguish of this.

1. Mūn ham-ich Meshīkhā-i avakshāy-i madam-afrās-ich khār būkhto
2. Sūr-zāy mūn bun dardo denā.

(He) whom the suffering of the self-same Messiah, the forgiving and upraising, (has) saved, (is) offering the plea whose origin (was) the agony of this.

(*d*) Prof. Harlez (Sir J. J. Madressa *Jubilee Volume*, 1914. pp. 193–8) :—

1. Mūn āmen Mesīhā-i avakshā-i madam-afras aj asar bōkht
2. Yin razyā min van dart-i denman.

He who (is) the true Messiah, the reconciler, the resuscitator for ever, purified (sanctified) by virtue of his crucifixion (or, of that crucifixion which one sees here).

(*e*) Mr. Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana (*ibid*) :—

1. Rish-razyā min van dard denā
2. Mūn hemn Meshīhā āpakhshā-ī, madam afrās-i Chahār-būkht.

Such (was) the affliction (*dard*) of the wounding and spearing (*rish-razyā*) of him on the Cross (*min van*), who (was) the faithful Meshīhā, a forgiver, of superior dignity, the descendent of Chahār-būkht.

1. As above.
2. Mūn hemn Meshīhā āpakhshā-i madam Aprahīm-i Chahār-būkht.

This (was) the affliction of the spearing and wounding of him on (*min*) the cross, who (was) the faithful Meshīhā, the merciful one, the descendant of the great Abrahīm, (who was) the descendant of Chahār-būkht.

1. Mūn hemn Meshīhā āpakhshā-i madam-afrāj-i Chahār-bōkht
2. Rish-razyā min van dard denā.

He of whom the faithful Meshīhā (was) a forgiver, (was) highly exalted; he (was) redeemed from the four (regions of Hell); this (was due to) the affliction of the spearing and wounding (of Meshīhā) on the cross.

1. As above.
2. Rasūl-ich yeh min van dard denā.

.. This (was) the affliction on the cross even of the messenger of Jehovah.

(*f*) Mr. Thomas[1] is said to have interpreted the central part between the two small crosses as 'In the name of the Messiah.'

(*g*) But the most curious of surmises is that of Fr. Burthey, S.J., of Trichinopoly, who has considered the inscription to be in the Tamil language and in the Aramic script.[2] He has apparently built upon the Brahman's fraudulent interpretation that has been discussed in this paper.

While renowned Pahlavi scholars[3] are certain that the letters engraved on this interesting Cross are Pahlavi, though on account of the difficulties attendant on the decipherment of Pahlavi records of the early centuries, they happen to differ in the details of the reading and translation, it is passing strange that a Brahman ignorant of the very existence of the Pahlavi script, should have read out of what he had called 36 hieroglyphics, a long-winded 'Malavar' poem of 28 lines. describing the main incidents of the Apostle's biography, so far as it was connected with Mylapore. What is more remarkable is that another 'learned heathen' who was set to decipher the record independently of the other man, should also have been able to read out of the Pahlavi letters a text identical in all particulars with the achievement of the first impostor. Now that we are wise after the event, we can readily surmise that the two men must have colluded unknown to the Portuguese, and that these foreigners had been the victims of a literary fraud. We cannot say if any of the Portuguese were also in the imposture themselves, but the translators of the piece, whoever they were, have outdone the original author in their own curious achievements.

The hoax is easily explained. The discovery of the peculiarly sculptured and strangely inscribed cross on the alleged site of St. Thomas' martyrdom set on edge the curiosity of the Portuguese discoverers. A Brahman[4] was apparently called in to see if he could decipher the record; and that impostor,

[1] Yule in *Marco Polo*, (1903), p. 359 quotes this from the *London Academy*, vol. V, p. 145.

[2] This has been noted by Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., in his article in the *Indian Athenæum* for August, 1923.

[3] The date of this Cross has been approximately fixed by Dr. Burnell as the eighth century A.D., while Dr. Haug attributes it to the middle of the seventh—(*Ind. Ant.*, III, p. 316). Dr. Fergusson, however, considers the architectural character of the Cross to be attributable to the ninth—(*Marco Polo*, p. 358). It is inferable from the *Ency. Brit.*—art. 'Cross'—that the cross came into popular vogue as a distinctive symbol of Christianity and an object of worship, only from the time of Emperor Constantine (4th cent.)—vide my paper in the *Ceylon Antiquary* for April, 1924.

[4] He may have even been a recent convert himself.

rather than acknowledge his own ignorance of the script, concocted a version in agreement with the known details of the discovery of the tablet, and the probable information that its inscription may be expected to have contained. To make his story plausible enough, the man appears to have posted himself with some details of the early history of Christianity, and to have reeled off a few lines of doubtful poetic value, jumbling together some current tradition relating to the sojourn of St. Thomas in South India and a few other gratuitous details for which he had no warrant, such as, the conversion of Hariśchandra, the incorrect date of the Nativity, etc. The poem begins with the birth of Christ on the 21st of Dhanus (wrong for December 25) in the year 56 (incorrectly stated as *ayyāṟu*) of the Vikrama-Samvat era, and proceeds to mention briefly his debut into public life at the age of 30, and his preaching of the word of God to twelve disciples on the top of a mountain. One of these apostles is then stated to have proceeded to Mayilai, the stronghold of orthodox Hinduism, in the capacity of a carpenter, and to have built a church with a log of wood (that had been miraculously dragged out of the sea and had consequently been presented to him by the king). The triple kings of South India, namely, the Chēra, the Chōḷa, and the Pāndya, and a large number of their subjects of various religious denominations, became his willing converts. So far all right; but here the imagination of the author gets restive, and king Hariśchandra of Attanapuram (Hastināpuram) and Catherine, the queen among virgins, are also huddled in as the Apostle's converts. Content with this achievement, the author then proceeds to give the finishing touch to his panegyrical composition with a '*payaṉ*' (Skt. *phalaśruti*), wherein he mentions that those who worship this particular Cross which the Apostle had himself consecrated on the top of the hill (as traditionally believed in at the time) will be absolved from sins and obtain beatitude.

This being the general purport of the innocuous, though fraudulent, laudatory poem manufactured by the Brahman, the mutilated versions of it found in the translations of subsequent Portuguese and other historians were till now accepted as the correct interpretation. But thanks to the industry of Fr. Hosten, an almost contemporary transcript of this 'Malavar' text has now become available; and it will be advantageous if another independent attempt is made to reconstruct the text from Fr. Monserrate's Romanized transcript and to examine whether any approximation to the current tradition of the martyrdom of St. Thomas is derivable therefrom.

* * *

I shall now subjoin a few specimens of the versions of this episode which have been found in the works of foreign

authors, of whom some at least had sojourned in India. Even at the risk of prolixity, I have reproduced the extracts in the European languages (not known to me) and have appended thereto the translations made by scholars. I take this opportunity to thank Fr. Hosten for his literal renderings of the passages in Monserrate, Couto and Vincenzo. Several other works such as Gouvea's *Jornada*[1] (A.D. 1606), Pereira's *Historia da India* (A.D. 1616), Lucena's *Life of Xavier*[2] (A.D. 1616), Sousa's *Oriente Conquistado* (A.D. 1710), Asseman's *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (A.D. 1728), etc., were not available; but from references made to them in other works, I have reason to consider that they may not contain any facts which would run counter to the conclusions I have arrived at in this paper. I shall be thankful if scholars conversant with these languages, could help this investigation in those directions.

The 'Malavar' text as given in Fr. Monserrate's manuscript can be transcribed as follows, line for line, after making some slight corrections and new divisions of words :—

1 Arrija j(s)igartan ayyarru taninel terriya tanuvil tirunda [3] muveyil para-param-aguia param-porul onde taratara

2 Caliyata candiyangui juda-culata tuyac-arra muninta vadel perutum vaguei-adu [4] vagueye Cannia Maria carupam adagui [5]

3 manniya muppadum varij(s)a mariatil onde enum oru-porul tanne cundana [6] pandiru desiuarca ureppár

4 arru j(s)ameyata aruntaver [7] urreyum curriya Mai leca tiru muni tondi tachu-colum tambaga-taruvum

5 nechina coyil Iravine [8] chamepan sri-puanatil Cherila-

[1] La Croze, whose version is given *infra*, refers to Gouvea, the Portuguese historian, whom Asseman and other writers are said to have followed.—Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. I, p. 35, f.n. 1.

[2] Baldeus, whose version is given *infra*, has based it in part on Lucena, Osorius and Baronius.—Churchill's *Voyages*, III, p. 575.

[3] The word looks like *muveyil*, but *tirundum-irēy(l)il* gives better results, as discussed *infra*.

[4] The last letter which looks like *io* appears to have been corrected into *u*. In *vagueye*, the first *e* is also readable as *i*.

[5] *gui* or *qui* would approximately represent the sound of *ki*; but as M. has uniformly used *gui* only, the bottom loop of the letter *g* has to be considered to have either been obliterated or omitted in the manuscript, so that it now resembles the letter *q*. Baldeus also uses a similar device for *ki* as in 'pidavaguia'=*pitāvākiya*.

[6] The last letter looks like *a*, no doubt; but *il* would give better sense. It is possible that *il* was carelessly written as *a*.

[7] I have taken *taven* as *taver*. A similar *r*, shaped like *n*, can be seen in the word *pirravi*; (note 8 next page).

[8] The word intended is probably *Iraivane*; but M. who generally represents *r* by *rr* has spelt this word with a single *r*.

conum curugula Cholem Curuguil Pandiyen Atanar-
6 puratil Arichandrenum[1] Catri[2] ennum canniere-aresum mattum pala-palam marcatarum chitam (relinta)[3] telinta
7 chintauerai[4] tāme perunti[5] tavamunion Thoma culatil tolad ari panintar
8 Antonimudor[6] arrivoru mide vant oru j(s)ogam Marreyaven chetal candu chameta udira[7] curusil tondar culatil tolum
9 ariyargal pirravi[8] pauva perum carel ningui Irreyavene chenta angu
10 iripadu tinnam.

A.

The following is Fr. A. Monserrate's Spanish version[9] :—

despues q' aparecio la ley de los X'pianos en el mundo de alli a 30. años a 21 del mes de diziembre murio el apostol S. Thome en Mailapar. ubo conoscim° de dios vno solo q' fue mudança de la ley y destruicion del demonio y fue destruicion y desamparo de los Judios p'a nunca mas auer dellos misericordia porq' ansi los desamparo. nascio dios de la virgen Maria estuuo en su obediencia 30. anos y este era dios sin fin. enseno a doze apostoles este dios de todas las seis leyes. i. de todas las naciones.

el discipulo deste dios vino a Maylapar con vna regla de carpintero y vn palo p'a hazer vna iglesia o casa de rey :

el Cheramperemal q' es rey del Malauar. Choliaperemal q' es rey de Charamandel Bisnaga y Pandien q' es rey de Pandi cabo de comurim y el rey Arichendram de Atanapuran y otro rey Catri rey de las virgines y otros muchos de diuersas naciones y setas determinaron todos de buena voluntad y de voluntad

---

[1] *mom* is correctly *num*, and *r* in *drè* is an interlineation.

[2] I have read *tu* as *tri*.

[3] *relinta* has been repeated in the next word *telinda* and must be deleted.

[4] The existing traces give only 'uerai' ; but it should correctly be *uōrāi*. It is possible that the man who probably dictated the text to M. misread *yō* as *yē*.

[5] In *perunti* which should correctly be *porunti*, a similar error appears to have occurred by misreading *po* into *pe*.

[6] There is some mistake here. The word *antana* is not dissimilar in sound to *antoni* and M. appears to have written it down in the latter form. *Mūdōn* may have been mistakenly spelt as *modor* or *mador* ; the last letter looks like *r*, however.

[7] *t* of *udita* may have been corrected into *r*, without, however, completely effacing the top portion of the letter *t*.

[8] The third letter is clearly *r*, though it has been shaped like *n*, as also in *tavar*, see note 7 on previous page.

[9] This text has been reproduced in part from p. 234 of the *J.P.A.S.B.*, XIX, No. 5, with new para divisions.

libre concertandose entre si sometieronse a la ley y seruicio de. S. Thome varon sancto penitente.

Vinno tiempo q'. S. Thome murio por mano del bramane y hizose vna cruz de sangre : todos los q'adoran esta cruz les perdona dios rey su grande peccado del nascimiento y llegando alla an de uiuir Verdad.

Translation.[1]

"After the law of the Christians appeared in the world, 30 years thence, on the 21st of the month of December, the Apostle St. Thomas died at Mailapar ; there was knowledge of God, One, Sole, which was change of the law and destruction of the demon ; and there was destruction and desertion of the Jews, never again to have mercy on them, for He abandoned them thus. God was born of the Virgin Mary ; he was under her obedience 30 years, and he was a God without end. He taught twelve Apostles, this God of all the six laws, *i.e.*, of all the nations.

The disciple of this God came to Maylapar with a carpenter's rule and a beam to make a Church and King's house.

The Cheramperemal, who is king of Malauar, Cholia-peremal, who is king of Charamandal, Bisnaga, and Pandien, who is king of Pandi, Cape of Comurin, and king Arichendram of Atanapuran and another Catri King, king of the virgins, and many others of different nations and sects, determined all with pleasure and of their free will agreeing among themselves, submitted to the law and service of St. Thomas, a holy penitent man.

The time came when St. Thomas died at the hand of the Bramene, and a Cross of blood was made. All those who adore this Cross, God King pardons them the great sin of their birth and coming there (i.e. where God is) they will live. Truth."

B.

Diogo de Couto, who was in India between the years A.D. 1556–80 and died in A.D. 1616, has the following in his voluminous history *Da Asia*[2] :—

Em tempo do filho de ElRey Sagad Gentio, que reinou trinta annos, hum só, e verdadeiro Deos veio a' terra, e tomou carne no ventre de huma Virgem, e tirou a lei dos Judeos, de cujas mãos por sua vontade tomou castigo pelos peccados dos homens, depois de andar no mundo trinta e tres annos, e ensinar a doze criados a verdade, que andou prégando.

[1] This translation of the Spanish 'explanation,' as made by Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., is found on p. 207-8 of the same *Journal*.

[2] *Da Asia* of Diogo de Couto (Lisbon, 1783), VII, liv. X, chap. 5, p. 478.

E hum desles veio a hum lugar chamado Majalle com hum páo na mão, e trouxe hum grande madeiro chamado Bagad, que veio pelo mar, de que sez huma Igreja, com que toda a gente folgava.

Hum Rey de tres Coroas Cheralacone, Indalcone, Cuspandiad, e ElRey Alexandre do Reyno Ertinabarad com Catharina súa filha, e muitas Virgens, e seis generos de castas por suas vontades tomáram a Lei de Thomé, por ser a de verdade, e elle lhes deo o sinal da Cruz pera adorarem.

E elle subia ao lugar de Antenodur, onde hum Bragmane lhe deo huma lançada, e elle se abraçou com esta Cruz, que ficou manchada de seu sangue, e os discipulos o leváram a Majalle, e o enterráram na sua Igreja com a lança no corpo : e porque nós os Reys assima nomea-dos vimos isto, fizemos estas letras.

Translation.[1]

"At the time of the son of King Sagad, a Gentio, who reigned thirty years, one sole and true God came on earth, and took flesh in the womb of a Virgin, and took away the Laws of the Jews, at whose hands, of his own will, he bore chastisement for the sins of men, after going about in the world thirty-three years and teaching twelve servants the truth which he went preaching.

And one of these came to a place called Majalle, with a staff in his hand, and he took (out) a big beam called Bagad, which came by sea, of which he made a Church, whereat the whole people rejoiced.

A king of three crowns, Cheralacone, Indalcone, Cuspandiad, and King Alexandre of the Kingdom of Ertinabarad, with Catharina his daughter, and many Virgins, and six kinds of castes, of their own wills took the Law of Thomas, as it was the one of truth, and he gave them the sign of the Cross to worship.

And he went up to the place of Antenodur, where a Bragmene struck him with a lance, and he embraced this Cross which was stained with his blood, and the disciples carried him to Majalle and buried him in his Church with the lance in his body.

And because we, the kings above-named, saw this, we made these letters."

C.

Manuel de Faria y Sousa (*c.* A.D. 1616), the author of *The Portuguese Asia*[2] records the following version, as the interpretation given by a learned Brahman :—

[1] This translation was made by the Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S.J.

[2] *Asia Portuguesa* (trd. by Stevens—1694), vol. II, pt. ii, p. 228. This work is, according to Whiteaway, "little more than a compilation from Barros and Couto."

"In the time of the son of Sagad, the Gentile, who reigned 30 years, came upon earth one only God, and was incarnate in the Womb of a Virgin: He abolished the Law of the Jews, whom he punished for the sins of Men, after he had been in the world 33 years and taught twelve servants the truth he preached.

A king of three Crowns, Cheralacone, Indalacone, Cuspandiad, and king Alexander of the kingdom of Ertinabarad, with Catherine his daughter, and many virgins and six families, voluntarily followed the Law of Thomas, because it was the Law of Truth; and he gave them a Sign of the Cross to adore.

Going up to the place of Antenodur, a Brahman run him through with a lance, and he embraced this Cross which was stained with his blood, and his disciples carried him to Maiale, and buried him in his church with the lance in his body.

And because We, the above-named Kings, saw this, we carved these letters here."

D.

The following extract from Andrade's *Vida de D. Joao de Castro*[1] edited by Luis Francisco, contains a similar account:—

"From the time when the Law of the Christians came into the world thirty years were reckoned, when on December 21, the Holy Apostle Thomas died at Mailappur, from which they received the knowledge of God, the change of the Law, the destruction of the devil. This God taught to twelve Apostles;

and one of them came to Mailappur, with a staff in his hand and built a temple;

and the kings, Malabar, Choromandel and Pandi, together with others of various nations, willingly submitted themselves to the Law of St. Thomas.

The time came when the holy man died by the hand of a Brahmin; and with his blood he made this Cross."

E.

Fr. Vincenzo Maria, the Papal Envoy to Travancore in A.D. 1656, has given the following version of the inscription on the Cross, in his book[2]:—

A. Nel tempo, che regnaua il figlio del Re Sagad, il quale gouerno questi stati trent' anni, il solo, e vero Iddio discese in terra, prese carne nel ventre d'vna Vergine e diede fine alla

[1] Quoted in *Notices of Madras and Cuddalore* by the Missionaries of the S.P.C.K. (London, 1858), pp. 60-1. This Portuguese work which was first published in A.D. 1651 has been stigmatized by Whiteaway as "bombastic and untrustworthy".

[2] *Viaggio 'll India Orientali* (Rome, 1673) of Vincenzo Maria di S. Catarina de Siena, an Italian Carmelite and Papal Envoy to Travancore—See *Indian Antiquary*, III, p. 314.

legge delli Giudei. Dalli loro mani, per sua libera volonta, sostenne la pena douuta alli peccati degl' huomini, doppo hauer vissuto nel mondo trentatre anni, ne' quali insegno a dodici suoi serui la verita, che predicaua

Vno di questi venne a Maiale con vn bastone nella mano, e leuo vna gran traue detta Bagad, portata dal mare nel lido: con la medesima fece vna Chiesa, con che tutto il popolo si rallegro.

Vn Re di tre Corone, Cheralacone, Indalacone, Cuspardiad, and il Principe d' Ertina barad, con Caterina sua figlia, e molt' altre Vergini, e soi sorte di caste, prefero spon'aneamente la legge di Tomo, per esser quella della verita, ed esso gli diede il segno della Santa Croce, porche l'adorassero.

Ascendendo poi il medesimo il luogo d'Antinodor, vn Brahmane gli diede con vna lancia, ed esso si abbraccio con questa Croce la quale resto macchiata dal suo sangue. Si suoi discepoli lo leuarono per Maiale doue fu sepolto nella Chiesa. che hauena fabricata, e perche noi Regi sopranominati, vedemmo tutto questo, habbiamo fatto formare li presenti caratteri a perpetua memoria."

Translation.[1]

"At the time when reigned the son of King Sagad, who governed these states thirty years, the only true God came down on earth, took flesh in the womb of a Virgin, and put an end to the law of the Jews. At their hands by his free will, he bore the pain due to the sins of men, after having lived on earth thirty-three years, during which he taught twelve of his servants the truth which he preached.

One of these came to Maiale with a staff in his hand, and took a big beam, called Bagad, which the sea had carried ashore. With the same he built a Church, whereat the people rejoiced.

A king of three Crowns, Cheralacone, Indalacone, Cuspardiad, and the Prince of Ertinabarad, with his daughter Caterina, and many other virgins, and six kinds of castes, of their own free will preferred (chose) the law of Thomas, because it was that of truth, and he gave them the sign of the Cross to adore.

Afterwards, when the same (Thomas) had gone up to the place of Antinodor, a Brahmane struck him with a lance, and he embraced this cross, which remained stained with his blood. His disciples carried him to Maiale, where he was buried in the Church which he had built; and because we, the above-men-

[1] A Malayalam translation has been given in the *History of St. Thomas' Christians* by Fr. Bernard (Travancore, 1916), which I had originally translated into English. For this literal rendering, I am indebted to Fr. H. Hosten, S.J.

tioned kings, saw all this, we have caused to make the present letters for a perpetual remembrance."

From a careful perusal of the passages extracted above, it can be seen that the 'Malavar' text, a literary hoax by itself, has further suffered considerably from mistranslations. Of these, two different types are distinguishable, namely, that given by Fr. Monserrate, which, though somewhat incorrect in a few particulars, is generally more approximate, and the other, a fantastic jumble found in *Da Asia* of the Portuguese historian De Couto. The versions given by the other authors, such as Faria y Sousa, Andreda and Vincenzo, may be brushed aside as being but echoes of that found in Monserrate or De Couto.

* * *

I shall now proceed to examine the correct interpretations that ought to be put upon some of the expressions of the text, and shall then append as literal a translation of it as may be possible.

(Line 1)—'*Arriya Jigartan ayyarru taninel*' is properly 'āriya śakārttam ayyāṟu taṉṉil.' This has been translated as 'After the law of the Christians appeared in this world, thirty years thence' (M) and 'At the time of the son of king Sagad, a Gentio, who reigned thirty years' (C). *Jigartan* 'in the world' according to M. from *jagat* or *śagat* in Tamil 'the world, and 'a king named Sagād according to C. appear to be incorrect renderings of the word *Śakābdam*, which occurs in inscriptions in the forms of *śakāttam* and *śakārttam*, as here. The line will then mean 'In the *ayyāṟu* year of the Āriya-Śaka era.'

The 'Vikrama-Samvat' era was started in B.C. 57-6 to denote an important historical land-mark in India of the first century B.C.; and it came to be laterly called also as the Vikrama-Śakābdam,[1] while the Śaka era proper of A.D. 78 was particularized as the Śālivāhana-Śakābdam. The popularly accepted date of the birth of Jesus Christ, an event mentioned in line 7 below, being December 25, 1 B.C., that day will have fallen in the 56th year (expired) of the Vikrama era; and this was the only pre-Christian Indian era in which a Brahman author of A.D 1561 could naturally have dated an incident of 1 B.C. That some such year in an era must have been

---

[1] *Śaka* in this instance means simply 'era.' Vikrama-Śaka being the 'era of Vikramāditya.' The modern inscription of Lalitātripurasundaridēvī of Nepal uses a similar expression 'वेदखगगजेन्दुमिते वैक्रमशाके'. (*Ep. Ind.*, V, App., p. 46). The Vikrama era is foreign to South India, but the composer having had to specify a pre-Śālivāhana-Śaka event, had necessarily to use the 'Vikrama-Samvat' era, which he called simply as 'Śakārttam', omitting the qualifying epithet of 'Vikrama,' but using instead the word *āriya* (Skt. *Ārya*).

meant in the first line is inferable from the fact that in *l.* 2 following, the month and date are mentioned.

But one point has, however, to be especially noted. The word *ayyāru* always refers to 'five-times-six' or 30; but it appears to have been given here the new connotation of 56, whereas this number ought correctly to have been expressed as *aym-pāṯ-āṟu*, to denote that 5 is of the tenth digit. We have to concede that the indifferent author of the piece was guilty of this grammatical inaccuracy, or that there is some flaw in the transcript of M.

The *Christa-Saṅgīta*, a Sanskrit epic composed by Mill and Vidyabhushan in 1834, has the following verses where the Vikrama-Śaka era has been used to date a Biblical pre-Christian event—the appearance of Gabriel to Mary (Lk. 1):—

यदासन् वैक्रमशकेऽब्दे पञ्चाशत्समे गते ।
तदा कन्यां मरीयाख्यां परमेशार्चिनीं प्रति ॥
प्रेरितः खर्गदूतोऽग्र्यो गत्रिबेलाभिधः सखौम् ।

['When fifty years of the Vaikrama-Śaka (era) had passed, Gabriel, the Divine messenger, who had been sent by God (appeared unto Mary and said).']

[The mention of Vikrama year 50 as the date of this incident has to be explained by the fact that the joint authors of the epic have apparently followed the true (and not the Dionysian) chronology for the birth of Jesus in 4 B.C., and that as Gabriel's visit must have taken place some months before the date of Nativity, it could have fallen approximately in the year after Vikrama 50.]

That the year *ayyāṟu* (as 56) is a citation in the 'Vikrama era' is again confirmed by the East Coast legend[1] which begins the story of St. Thomas thus—"*In the days that Vikramāditya reigned in India*, people from the land of the Firanghis (i.e. foreigners) came to us to trade. The city and country of Tirumayilai was ruled by Candapparāja of the fisherman caste ...."

Āṟiya (with a double *r*, according to M to denote *ṟ*) would preclude our taking it to be *āriya* (Skt. *Ārya*), i.e. 'belonging to the Aryans or northerners,' which the Vikrama-Samvat evidently is. *Tēṟiya* in the next line has a rough *ṟ* and would more consistently rhyme with *āṟiya*; but the substitution of *ṟ* for *r*

[1] *Proceedings of the Indian Histl. Records Commn.*, 1924, vol. VI, p. 122.—This tradition appears to me to be post-Portuguese in origin. The same legend about a mysterious light directing some storm-tossed mariners is told of the Church of N.S. de Luz at Goa and of the Luz Church at Mylapore.—*J.P.A.S.B.*, No. 5, 1925, p. 157 f.n.

for rhyming exigencies is, though rare, not uncommon.[1] *Āriya S'akāttam* gives better sense than *āṟiya*, 'cooled' or 'pacified.'

(Line 2)—'terriya tanuvil tirunda muueyil'=*teṟiya Taṉuvil tirundu muvvēḻil.* Dhanus and 'three-seven' record, though incorrectly, the month and date of the Nativity mentioned in *l* 7. But it is not apparent how the author had pitched upon Dhanu 21 as the date; because December 25, the accepted day of that memorable incident did not fall in Dhanus in 1 B.C., but had corresponded only to Makaram 16, whereas Dhanus 21 of that year would have been equivalent to November 30.[2] But Fr. Beschi, the author of the *Tēmbāvaṇi*, has equated December 25 with Dhanus (Mārkaḻi) 25, apparently because this correspondence was correct in his time (A.D. 1710-40). Other later Indian writers have also incorrectly adopted this Indian equivalent only, as can be seen from the subjoined extracts :

Māda Mārkaḻi vaikal aiyaindāy
Uḍilā niśikk iruttai mūvaindāy
Ādināḷeṉa Ādināthaṉai
Kādal-nāyaki kaḻippiṉ naḷkiṉāḷ.—*T'ēmbāvaṇi*, x, 44.

[At mid-night, on the 25th of Mārkaḻi, Mary gave birth to our Lord.]

पञ्चविंशेऽह्नि तज्जन्म महापर्व्वानुतिष्ठति ।
... ... क्रिन्तु तदष्टमम् ।
यन्वार्यमासप्रथमं तत्पश्चेदपर्व सत् ॥
—*Chriṣṭu-Saṅgīta*, I, p. 4.

[His birth was on the twenty-fifth day, ... and the eighth day from this was the first of January.]

---

[1] Mr. T. K. Gopala Ayyar has furnished me with this instance from the *Kamba-Rāmāyaṇam* :

Araiyum-ādaraṅgum madappiḻaikaḷ
Taṟ(r)aiyiṟ kīridiṟ rachcharuṇ-kāyvarō ?
—*Bālakāṇḍam-Śiṟappuppāyiram*, v. 10.

[2] As worked out by a Pandit of the Trivandrum Sanskrit College; but Mr. J. K. Fatheringham of Oxford equates 1 B.C., December 25 with V.E. 57 (current), Kumbha (Māgha), śu. di. 11, Saturday. In all the years from about A.D. 1516 to 1561, the date of the 'Malavar' text, December 25 corresponded with Dhanus 27, with only a very few exceptions; and like Beschi who equated the English date to Mārkaḻi (Dhanus) 25, which was true in his time, it is possible that the author of the 'Malavar' text equated the date of Nativity to Mārkaḻi (Dhanus) 27, from the analogy of the equation true of the first half of the 16th century. In that case the second line may have been *Tēṟiya taṉuvil tirundum-īrēḻil*, the last word *īrēḻil* being used to represent 27 (and not fourteen, as ordinarily it will mean). Then the author can be considered to have used his numerals consistently—*ayyāṟu* for 56 and *īrēḻu* for 27. This suggestion is put forward to enable us to reconcile the chronological discrepancy in regard to the date of birth of Jesus, which is indisputably the event described in the opening lines of the 'Malavar' text.

Mārkaḷi māttil irupattaindān tēdi
Māśaṟṟa karuṇāḷaya ādi parar pirandār.
—*Vedanāyakam's Lyrics.*

[On the 25th day of the month of Mārkaḷi, our spotless Saviour, the abode of grace, was born.]

The chronological inaccuracy in the present text has to be attributed to the ignorance of the author; but it has, however, given rise to the mistaken notion that December 21, the alleged date of the death of St. Thomas, has been indicated by Dhanus 21. M. has therefore 'on the 21st of the month of December, the Apostle St. Thomas died at Mailapar (which is a place where the city of S. Thome is now).' C. has fortunately omitted this date-portion. That the date given in the opening lines has no connection with the martyrdom of St. Thomas, but is an incorrect citing of the date of the Nativity, is clear from the context.

(Line 4)—'Caliyata candiyangui'=*Kaliyadu kaṇḍu tiyaṅgi*. 'Kali' is a Hindu solecism to connote the evil age of iniquity and irreligion which prevailed at Jerusalem, and which the advent of Jesus Christ was to destroy. *Tarātara* of the text is more correctly *tarātala*. 'the earth'; this form will rhyme quite well with *parāpara*. 'Kandiyangui' can also be split up into *kaṇḍu-ēṅgi*; but '*tiyaṅgi*' alliterates with '*tarātaṟa*.'

(Line 5)—'juda culata tuyacarra munenta=*Jūta-kulattut tuyakkaṟa muṉindu*. In this line, 'Jūta-kulam' is compounded of the two words *jūta*='Jews' and *kulam*, which may mean either 'a tribe,' or also 'a temple' or 'abode of god,' (as in *Dēva-kulam*). *Tuyakku+aṟa* has been interpreted as 'there was destruction and desertion' by M, while C. and Sousa take it to mean 'took away' or 'abolished the Laws of the Jews.' *Tuyakku* means *s'ōrvu* or 'fatigue', and in some extended sense it has to be considered as applicable to Jūtakulam. *Aṟa* is 'to free from.'

(Line 6)—'vadel perutum vagueiadio uagueye' appears to be an incorrect transliteration for *vādil peridum vakai aduvā-kiyē*. M's translation reads 'and there was destruction and desertion of the Jews, never again to have mercy on them, for He abandoned them thus'; while C's version has 'and took away the Laws of the Jews, at whose hands, of his own will, he bore chastisement for the sins of men', for which there is nothing in the text. The true meaning appears to be that Jesus' anger towards the iniquities of the Temple was the prime cause of the Jews' quarrel with him. The attitude of Jesus in freely criticising the prevailing Mosaic religion and its priesthood, provoked the hatred of the Jews which culminated in his crucifixion. The *Paḷḷippāṭṭu* has:

Yūdarkku nanmaikkāy vanna tannil
Yūdarkku vairam muḷuttu vannu.

[Though (Jesus) came for the benefit of the Jews, their hatred towards him, however, became intensified.]

(Line 7)—'Cannia Maria Carupamadaqui' may be correctly transcribed as *kaṉṉiya Mariyā karuppam-aḍāki*. Kaṉṉiya Mariyā is the Virgin Mary, *kaṉṉiyā* being the Tamilised form of the Sanskrit word *kanyā*.

(Line 8)—'manniya muppadum varija Mariatil'=*maṉṉiya muppadām varusha māṟiyatil*[1], i.e. 'when thirty full years had elapsed.' The reference is to the commencement of the public ministry[2] of Lord Jesus, which is said to have lasted for three years from his 30th year, till which time he had been staying with his mother, to the 33rd year, when he suffered crucifixion.

> And the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him and a voice came from heaven which said, 'Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased'
> And Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age. Lk. 3 (22-3).

श्रीयेषुर्नाम मोक्षाय चिंग्रदायुक्तदा स्थितः ।
धन्यां त्यक्त्वा मरौयां वै नग्ररेते विनिर्गतः ॥

—*Christa-Saṅgīta*, p. 10.

[Śrī Yēśu, the Saviour, having remained thus for thirty years, left the blessed Mary and departed from Nazareth.]

> Kāvalaṉum tāyu muppadāṇḍu maṭṭum
> kaḷaṇḍ-oru kuḍiyāka niḷaṇḍaṇil vāḻndadu

—*Vedanāyakam's Lyrics*.

[The Lord and his mother lived together for a period of thirty years].

(Line 9)—'onde[3] enum oruporul tanne' is *oṉṟē eṉṉum oruporuḷ taṉṉai*. This line contains the essence of the Christian dogma. Cf. Baldeus—'It was Thomas who taught them to profess God, the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost.

---

[1] *Māriyatil* means 'changed' i.e., 'elapsed'; but M. who generally represents *ṟ* by double *rr*, has spelt this word with a single *r*. If the translation of de Couto can be depended on, in this instance, we may have to take the line as *maṉṉiya muppadum varisa mūṉiṉil*, and then only 'the 33rd year of the life of Jesus' can be understood to be meant. In that case, the preaching of Jesus to the twelve disciples can be taken to refer to the exhortation referred to in Mathew 28-(19). In the dispersal of the Apostles to different countries St. Thomas came to Mylapore, as stated in the succeeding lines. *Māriyatil* may also mean 'in the wintry season' (of the 3rd year). The words can also be *varusham āriyatil*.

[2] The public ministry, according to the Rev. Sanday's *Oudines of the Life of Christ* (1906), lasted from A.D. 26-29. This calculation follows the true date of the Nativity instead of the Dionysian reckoning.

[3] Baldeus who was in Malabar in A.D. 1650 also makes a similar transliteration of *ṉṟ* into *nd*: cf. 'andendulla' for *aṉṟaṉṟulla*.

'onde' in this line and also in *l.* 3 is a vulgarly pronounced equivalent of the Tamil word *oṉṟē*, so also 'kundana' for *kuṉṟaṇa* (*l.* 10) and 'tondi' for *tōṉṟi* (*l.* 12).

(Line 10)—'cundana pandira de siuarca vreppar.'

In this line, 'cundana' (if it should correctly rhyme with) *oṉṟē*, must at least be *kuṉṟaṇa*, 'resembling mountains'; but an allowable correction of it into *kuṉṟiṉil*, 'on the mountain' corresponds well with the Biblical references noted below:

a. And he goeth into a mountain and calleth unto him whom he would; and they came unto him.
And he ordained twelve, that they should be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach.—Mk. 3 (13-4).

b. And it came to pass in those days, that he went into a mountain and continued all night to pray to God.
And when it was day, he called unto his disciples, and of them he chose twelve, whom also he named apostles.—Lk. 6 (12-3).

'pandira' is correctly *pandiru*, which again is a Malayalam form of the Tamil word *paṉṉiru*, 'twelve.' The *paṉṉiru dēśiyar* referred to here are the twelve apostles of Jesus, namely, Simon surnamed Peter, James son of Zebedee, John brother of James, Andrew, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Thomas, James son of Alphæus, Simon the Cananite, Judas the brother of James, and Judas Iscariot the traitor—Mk. 3 (16-9).

'vreppar' is *uraippār*: and the subject of this finite verb is apparently Jesus, the 'parāparamākiya paramporuḷ' of *l.* 3. The verb is in the future tense form, but it can be construed as of the past tense. The object of the verb is contained in *l.* 9 The exhortation which Jesus made: 'Go ye therefore and teach all the nations, baptising in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.—(Matt. 28-19) was after his resurrection, and only to eleven disciples.

(Lines 11-12)—'Arru Jameyata aruntauenurreyum' i.e. *āṟu śamaiyatt-aruṇdavar-uṟaiyum* is an epithet qualifying the word Mayilai, which has here been described as the stronghold of Hinduism, where dwelt (*uṟai*) devoted followers of the six systems of Hindu philosophy viz., Sānkhya, Yōga, Nyāya, Vaiśēshika, Mīmāmsā and Vēdanta: or, Lōkāyatam, Bauddham, Ārhatam, Mīmāmsam, Māyāvādam and Pāñcharātram The translation of M. 'the God of all the six laws, i.e., of the six nations' is incorrect.

Muṉi is a saint; it refers to the Apostle Thomas in this as well as *l.* 20, and may be considered as a synonym of the word *aṉṟuṇaṉ* in *l.* 23.

(Line 13)—*Tachchukkol*[1] is 'a carpenter's rule'. The Apostle is stated to have turned carpenter by divine persuasion, and to have been brought to the court of king Gondophares to build a royal mansion for him.

Tambaga-taru[2] or the '*Tambagam-śaul*' is a heavy species of Malabar timber, used extensively for building and boating purposes. Its botanical name is *Tamboggia Roxburghiana* (*Mad. Manl. of Admn.*, iii. 992). M. has non-committally translated it as 'a beam of wood'; but C. has gone further and rendered it as 'a big beam called Bagad'. *Tam-bagad-aru* being written in the vernacular alphabet, its medial syllables *ba-ga-d*[3] appear to have suggested this curious name for the timber, as in C.

(Line 14)—'nechinacoyil Iraeune chamepan' is probably *nachchiṇa kōyil Iṟaivannu chamaippāṉ*. *Nachchiṇa* may be taken to mean 'desirable.' Though M. has transcribed the word as 'Iraeune' with a single r, it is possible that '*Iṟaivaṉ*' meaning 'god' is meant. The same word also signifies 'a king', but the context would favour the former meaning; because St. Thomas is traditionally believed to have erected a church with the log of wood, which he had dragged out of the sea and which had consequently been presented to him by the king of Mylapore. In that case 'Iraeune' may be equated to *Iṟaivannu*, the Malayalam form of the dative, meaning, 'for *Iṟaivaṉ* or god' (Tamil: *Iṟaivaṉukku*). One other suggestion is possible—*iṟai-unṇi*, 'dedicated to god.'

(Line 15)—'sri puanatil cherila conum=*śiri puvaṇattil Chēralakkōṇum*. M. has 'a king of three crowns'; and if the idea of 'three' has to be brought in, 'śri' or 'siri' may be considered as a derivative of *tiri*='three' (Skt. *tri*). *Śiri* (Skt. *śrī*) has, by itself, the meaning of 'auspicious' or 'prosperous'; and, in that case, *śiri puvaṇattil* will appropriately be 'in this prosperous earth.' The Cheramperemal who is king of Malanar' is a paraphrase of *Chēralakkōṉ*. The encomiast has catalogued the three popularly known kings[4] of South India, namely, the Chēra, the Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍya, and, not satisfied with this achievement, has travelled further north and brought also Hariśchandra under the spell of the Apostle's teaching.

[1] The translation 'with a staff' is vague; a carpenter's measuring staff is what is meant.

[2] The Tamil dictionary does not mention this tree.

[3] An idea as to how vernacular letters, which were written in those centuries without the long secondary vowels, *ē*, *ō*, *ī* and without the consonantal upper dots (*vīrāma*) could easily be misread by an European, can be got from the plate facing p. 597, vol. III of Churchill's *Voyages*, containing 'Our Father' and 'the Creed' in the Tamil alphabet.

[4] Missionary Schultze (1728) says that Chēran, Chōḷan and Pāṇḍiyan were the kings referred to in the cross according to the then-accepted

(Line 16)—'Curugula Cholem' would naturally be *Kurukulach Chōḷaṉ*; but the epithet *Kurukula* is not clear. It will ordinarily mean 'of the dynasty of Kuru (कुरु) or of Bṛihaspati (बृहस्पति)'; but as the Chōḷas traced their descent only from Manu and were consequently styled the Manukulōdbhavas, the epithet of 'Kurukula' is not intelligible. *Kuru* (*guru*) as an adjective has, however, the meaning of 'excellent' and *kuru-kula* may, in that case, be simply 'the Chōḷa of an excellent dynasty'. M. has, approximately enough, paraphrased it as 'the Cholia-peremal who is king of Charamandel'; but we find the strange name of 'Indalacone' perpetuated in C"s version.

In 'curuguil Pandiyen' or *kuruguil Pāṇḍiyaṉ*, the epithet *kuruguil* is somewhat misleading, and it is not known if M. has missed the correct word. If that epithet is to be distinctive of a Pāṇḍya sovereign, some sort of correction to that word appears necessary. The word 'Korkaiyil' having the meaning 'of Korkai' may be suggested in its place, as this is near enough to 'curuguil' in sound and has, in addition, the advantage of being an appropriate epithet for a Pāṇḍya king, Korkai having been a Pāṇḍya capital. M. has 'Pandien who is king of Pandi, Cape Comorin,' while the resourceful C. has the curious and un-Indian appellation of 'Cuspandiad' (or 'Kuspardiad,' according to other writers) for a simple Pāṇḍya king. It may be noted that none of the traditions which describe the Apostle's activities in Malabar and the Coromandel specifically mentions a Pāṇḍya also among his converts. It is possible that the poetaster, having heard of a Chēra and a Chōḷa king in connection with St. Thomas, was naturally tempted to include the Pāṇḍya also in the tradition, so as not to leave out the remaining member of the triple kings of South India.

(Line 17)—'atanar puratil arichandemom' should be correctly *Attanapurattil Arichchandraṇum*, i.e. Hariśchandra of Hastināpura. Hariśchandra was a quasi-mythical king of ancient India, who is even to-day popularly remembered for his integrity. In the Cape Comorin inscription of Vīrarājēndra (A.D. 1065) he has been mentioned as the thirty-second ancestor of the epic king Rāma of Ayōdhyā, and must therefore have lived, if at all, many centuries before the Christian era. The Apostle's panegyrist has, however, made him a Christian convert of the second half of the first century A.D.[1]

vernacular reading—*Notices of Madras and Cuddalore* (London 1858), pp. 58-9.

[1] Fr. Hosten writes (25-7-25)—"In a MS. written in 1604 by an anonymous Jesuit missionary entitled *Relacao Nobre a serca* (fol. 525r), we read—

'On a stone written in ancient letters, which are to be seen to-day at Maliapur, *the Christians of St. Thomas who are skilled in the explanation of those letters* read that the Holy Apostle converted to the faith three

While M. has contented himself with 'Arichendram of Atanapuran,' C's version contains the curious name of 'King Alexander of Ertinabarad.' The transformation of Arichchandran into Alichchandran is intelligible, and from this to Alexander can be easily explained in the case of an European ignorant of Indian mythology, because of the similarity in sound noticeable between these two names. Another strange example is furnished in 'Atta-na-pu-rat-til' which has, by another curious phonetic adventure, given us the 'Er-ti-na-ba-ra-d' of C. In passing, it may be noted that the form 'Attanapurattil' is peculiarly Malayalam, whereas we should expect 'Attanapurattu' (of Hastināpura) in Tamil,—cf. Kottārattil Śaṅkunni, Parambil Chandy, etc.

(Line 18)—'catuennum canniercaresum' is probably *Katriṉ eṉṉum kaṉṉiyarkk-araśum*. M. has[1] 'another Catri, King of the virgins', and C. gives 'Catherina, his daughter and many virgins.' M. has probably omitted 'n' in 'Catri(n)ennum,' and with this omission supplied, the line will mean 'Catherine, the queen (i.e., the most exalted[2]) among virgins.' *Araśu* is a word of the neuter gender, and can be applied to both 'a king' and 'a queen.' *Kaṉṉiyarkk-araśu* may also mean 'a king of virgins,' but it is not relevant here. The Virgin Catherine referred to in this line may be the Virgin-Queen St. Catherine,[3] the first of that name and the daughter of Costos, king of Cyprus, who is said to have dedicated her life to Jesus and died in about A.D. 300 during the regime of the tyrant Maxentius. Fr. Bernard of Mannanam has made a vain attempt to evolve this word from Kātyāyanī, a Vedic feminine name now in vogue among the Nambūdiri Brahmans of the West Coast.

(Line 19)—'maltum palapalam marcatarum,' whose

---

chief kings; him of Bisnaga, in their language called Xoren Perumal, him of Pandi, whom they call Pandi Perumal; and him of the whole of Malavar, who is called Xaram Perumal; besides two other kings of lesser quality and many other people (poros.)' (The italics are mine). From this it is evident that the three kings mentioned as the Apostle's converts were the Chōḷa, the Pāṇḍya and the Chēramāṉ Perumāḷ; and 'the two kings of lesser quality,' will have to be identified with Hariśchandra and Catherine (wrongly taken as a king of the virgins) of the Tamil text.

1 It appears really strange that a Brahman, whatever his time-serving duplicity, should have made Hariśchandra, a convert of St. Thomas. It is also curious how he pitched upon the name of Catherine, a foreign princess, while cataloguing T's converts in India.

2 Compare *karpukkaraśu* and *maṅgaiyarkkaraśu*, where the idea of royalty does not at all come in; but it is an accident that Catherine, happens to be a princess herself, in this instance.

3 Fr. Hosten has collected much information about 'St. Clara, the daughter of the king of Calamina' (J.P.A.S.B., XIX, No. 5, pp. 191–3); but she has no connection with Catrin of the text. In order to rhyme with *Attana* in the next line, this word must be '*Kattarin*.'

correct equivalent is *mattum pala palu mārkkattārum*, has been rightly translated by M. as 'many others of different nations and sects,' though 'nations' is an incorrect addition. C. has, however, the wrong paraphrase of 'six kinds of castes.' The correct translation will be 'and the followers of various other creeds.' Chaste Tamil would require '*maṟṟum*' in place of '*mattum*'; but the latter form is necessary to rhyme with '*chittam*' in the succeeding line. The use of this word in its colloquial garb is an instance to show that the author of the poem was not a man of learning.

(Line 20)—'chitam relinta telinda chintauerai.' In this line the word *telinda* is evidently a repetition, and the line must be read as '*chittam telinda chintaiyōrāy*.' Correct Tamil would require *chittan-telinda*.

(Lines 21-22)—'tāme perunti tauamumon Thoma culatil toludari panintar.' 'perunti' is correctly *porunti*.[1] and 'tauamumon' should be 'tavamunion,' at least. But as the word *tavamuṇi* is a noun put in apposition with Thōmā, in the next line, its suffix should be *āṉa*, and the words will then be correctly *tavamuṇi(y)-āṉa Thōmā*, i.e. 'Thōmā, the austere ascetic.'[2] *Thōmā-kulam* may mean the chapel which St. Thomas was reputed to have erected at Mayilāpūr with the log of wood miraculously dragged out of the sea, or the chapel on the Mount where St. Thomas was wont to pray. *Tāmē porunti* can be rendered into 'of their own free will.' 'Ari[3]-panintar' is *aḍi-paṇintār*, 'r' and 'ḍ' being (as already explained) interchangeable in European pronunciations of vernacular words. Although *aḍi-paṇital* connotes 'prostration at the feet' of some saint or god (*aḍi*=feet), it appears to mean here simple prostration and worship.

(Lines 23-28)—These six lines embody a separate idea[4] by themselves, and it is with them that we are directly concerned for the subject-matter of this paper. As stated already, they contain the *phalaśruti* or the *payaṉ* of the poem, or in other words, they enumerate the benefits that would accrue to all those who offer worship to the Cross on the St. Thomas' Mount, i.e. in effect, embrace the Christian faith. Such a

---

[1] Baldeus has transcribed the word *poru* into 'perru' (Churchill's *Voyages*, IV, 598).

[2] *Muṇi* 'an ascetic,' has been frequently used by Fr. Beschi in his *Tēmbāvaṇi*; in fact, he was himself called *Vīra-māmuṇivar*.

Śiymaiyōṇeṉṉum śfr-keḷu muṇiyum vandāṉ—XII, v. 73.

[3] As examples of the interchange of ṟ and ḍ, the following from Baldeus may be quoted—'avanuṟeiya,' for *avanuḍaiya* and Linschoten's 'cori' for *kōḍi*.

[4] It may be noticed that Fr. Monserrate has himself, consciously or otherwise, made a paragraph division here, both in his transcript of the 'Malavar' text and in his Spanish translation

type of devout termination is very common to panegyrical poems composed in glorification of a deity. Many similar instances may be quoted, but the Sanskrit half verse extracted below contains the same idea as that embodied in the present text, almost word for word :—

स्नाता स्तोत्रमिदं नरः पठति चेत्संसारपाथोनिधिं ।
तीर्त्वा पल्वलवत्प्रयाति सदनं तेजोमयं ब्रह्मणः ॥

—*Bṛihatstotra-muktāhāra* (Poona), vol. I, p. 358.

[If, having bathed, a man repeats this *stotra* (hymn), he will easily cross the great sea of *samsāra* (worldly life) like a puddle, and reach the abode of the effulgent Brahman].

One more quotation from a Tamil work is given so as to illustrate my point :—

* * * * * * * * *

perum payaṉ ṟuyttu nīṅgāp pirappipapp-oḻittiṅ-eydā
varum-peruṇ Śivalōkattin-aṇaivadaṟkk-aiyam-iṉṟē.

—*Tiruviḷaiyāḍaṟ-purāṇam.*

[(Those who read or have the book read out to them) will obtain great merit and being absolved from the troubles of births and deaths, attain, without doubt, the unattainable abode of Śiva.]

Malayalam poems also contain similar epilogic lines cataloguing the merits of such devotional acts.

As in the above-mentioned instances, the composer of this poem also wanted to convey the idea that those who worship the Cross which the aged saint (*antaṇa-mūdōṉ*[1]), i.e. St. Thomas, had consecrated (*śamaitta*) on the top (*mīdē*) of the hill, in memory of or having actually visualised on Mt. Golgotha (*kaṇḍu*), the beautiful or red feet (*śey(ya)-tāḷ*) of Lord Jesus (*Maṟaiyavaṉ*), will easily cross the great sea (*peruṅ-kaḍal*) of the sin of (continuous) births (*piṟavip-pāvam*). Such an interpretation exhibits not only a logical development of the idea contained in the preceding lines, but gives the finishing touch to a panegyrical poem purporting to glorify the sanctity of the Mount Cross. This method of concluding the poem is also in agreement with the rules of literary convention,[2] and has generally been followed by all composers of devotional poems, such as the *Dēvāram*, *Nālāyiram*, etc.

---

[1] Maṇḍ-aruṅ-*tavattu-mūṭṭōṉ* varaivilav-āṉiy-ōdap
Paṇḍaru-*Maṟaiyōr* yārum pariv-eḷḷi mukamaṉ kūṟa
—*Pēmbāvaṇi*, XII, v. 100.

Mūdōṉ may be M's transcript for *mūttōṉ*, 'an elderly man'; and *antaṇa-mūttōṉ* will be 'an aged ascetic' referring to St. Thomas. *Mūdōr* (if the last letter is *r*) may be considered as an honorific plural.

[2] The *Naṇṇūl* has Aṟam-poruḷ-inbam-viḍ—aṭaidal nūṟ-payaṉē—*Poduppāyiram*, v. 10.

(Line 23)—*Antaṇaṇ* originally meant only 'one who possessed a humane disposition,' and it then came to be specifically applied to Brahmans who were considered to satisfy that definition best.

Antaṇar eṇbōr aṟavōr marrevv-uyirkkuñ
Śen-taṇmai pūṇḍ-oḷugalāṇ—*Tirukkuṟaḷ.*

['Antaṇar' are those righteous men who are humane towards all living beings].

The *Chūḍāmaṇi* lexicon also has '*Antaṇar aṟavōr pārppār*', showing that the word '*antaṇar*' was used to specify both 'an ascetic' (of whatever denomination) and 'a Brahman' (*pārppāṇ*). It is only in the former significance of 'an ascetic' that this word has been used in the poem to designate St. Thomas, who has also been called a *muṇi* in lines 12 and 21. But it has been very curiously misunderstood to be the proper name of a place, for C. has translated the passage as 'He went up to the place of Antenodur.' Fr. Bernard of Manmanam following the version found in Vincenzo has added the gloss that 'Antenodor' was the name of a hill near Mylapore. 'Arrivoru' is *aṟivoḍu*, 'with wisdom.' *Mīdē*, the vernacular word for the preposition 'upon,' has reference to the Mount, on which the Cross was set up; but there is no word in the text to correspond to the meaning of 'a hill.'

(Line 24)—'vantuorujogam' is *vandu oru yōgam*. It may mean *oru yōgamāy vandu*, 'having come or assembled in a body'. As *yōgam* also connotes 'an auspicious combination of stars', etc., *oru yōgam vandu* will mean 'having come on a propitious occasion'. As this word has been spelt by M. as 'jōgam'. ('j' being used to represent the sound of 'śa' or 'cha'), it is possible that the Malayalam word *chōkam*[1] which is a derivative form of the Sanskrit *yōgam* has been meant. *Oru jōgam vandu* will therefore mean 'having come on an auspicious occasion.' An auspicious moment must have been essential for the consecration of a Cross for the worship of the converts.[2] 'Marraeyauen' i.e., *Maṟaiyavaṇ* is the word that has been responsible for the implication of a Brahman in the death of St. Thomas. *Maṟaiyavaṇ* primarily means 'he of the *Maṟai*,' while *Maṟai* is the Tamil equivalent of the Sanskrit word *Veda*. It is now popularly applied to the Brahman as the custodian of the Vedas; but the same word is equally applicable to God,

[1] See Gundert's *Malayalam Dictionary*, p. 396 and 874. Similar cases where *ya* in a Skt. word is changed into *ja* or *cha* are *yātrā*, *jātra*= *chōttira*, and *Yavana*, *Jōnakan*=*chōnakan*.

[2] At the time this poem was fabricated by the Brahman, the Pahlavi Cross was believed to have been consecrated by St. Thomas himself for the worship of the converts he had made at Mylapore. This idea had apparently originated on account of the discovery of the cross on the alleged site of the martyrdom.

from whom the Vedas are believed to have been revealed to mankind. These instances where such a word has been applied to God, may be noted :

Aḷalavaṇai niḷalavaṇaiy ariya-voṇṇā
Māyavaṇai *Maṟaiyavaṇai* maṟaiyōr taṅgaṇ mantiraṇai
—Tirunāgēśvaram (Appar).

Maṟaiyavaṇ ulakavaṇ madiyuvaṇ madi-pulku
Tuṟaiyavaṇ-eṇa valav-aḍiyavar tuyar-ilar.
—Tiruviḍaimarudūr (Jñānasambandha).

The Christian converts call the Bible as the *Satyavēdam* and as the *Maṟai*, as can be seen from the following extracts :—

Śīriya *Maṟai*-nūr pūṇḍa śeḻuntavatt-ariya māṭchi
Tēmbāvaṇi-pāyiram, v. 13.

Nēśa maṇuv-uruvam pūṇḍu *Maṟai* pēśa ulakil
vandu māṇḍu.—*Christian Lyrics.*

[He who took human form and came on earth to preach the *Maṟai* (Gospel), and died (was crucified)].

On this analogy, Jesus, who preached the Gospel to the world can very appropriately be called '*Maṟaiyavaṇ*.' In fact Fr. Beschi calls Jesus as *Maṟaināthaṇ* in his *Tēmbāvaṇi*, XII. v. 68.

viditta naṇ-*Maṟaiyināthaṇai* yēndi viruppodu
śiru-maṇai pukkār.

[They entered the house holding the (Infant) Lord of the Gospel, lovingly in their arms.]

The *Paḷḷippāṭṭu*, a collection of Malayalam songs relating to the Syrian Churches of Malabar, gives the epithet of *Maṟayavan* to Joseph, the father of Jesus, and the same name can also be applicable to Jesus on analogous considerations.

Maṟayavan-oruvanil araśarkaḷkk-araśanāy
Eḷudavarkk-eḷudāyip piṟanna-paidal
—*Paḷḷippāṭṭu* (Piravampaḷḷi, p. 109).[1]

[The Divine Child, who was born to a Maṟayavan (Joseph), as a king of kings, but accessible to the humble.]

In regard to *śeyy-tāḷ* (*śeyya-tāḷ*), 'the red feet' (beautiful or blood-smeared), the following description may be compared :—

andamikun tirukkēyatt aḍainda śēyam
aṇinda viru tiruvaḍi veṇ talai mēḷ koṇḍu

[Keeping on my head the two blessed feet coloured with the blood of the sacred wounds].

[1] I am indebted to Mr. K. Sivaramakrishna Sastri for this reference.

M's 'the time came when St. Thomas died at the hands of the Bramene' and C's 'a Bragmene struck him with a lance' are only to be accounted for by the supposition that the word '*maṟaiyavaṉ*' was entirely misunderstood to refer to a Brahman; and that some fantastic meanings were given to the words *śōkam* and *śeytāl*.

As regards the 'udita-curusu' which appears to be a mistake for *udirak-kurusu* and which has been translated as 'a cross of blood was made' (M.), I think that it refers to the name which the Cross on the St. Thomas' Mount got from the original instrument of punishment on Golgotha on which Jesus had been crucified, and which had been sanctified by his blood (*udiram*).[1] The name does not connote any sanguinary associations of the Mount Cross with the blood of the martyred Apostle, as has been considered by some.

(Line 26)—'tondar culatil tolum ariyargal'=*toṇḍar kulattil toḻum aḍiyārkaḷ*. 'Ariyargal' of M. is correctly *aḍiyārkaḷ*, d and r being interchangeable in vernacular words pronounced by foreigners. *Toṇḍar* and *aḍiyārkaḷ* are 'devotees,' and are words commonly used with reference to Hindu devotees. *Toṇḍar-kulattil* may possibly refer to the chapel (*kulam*) built by the *Toṇḍar*, the Apostle, who was an arch-disciple of Lord Jesus. *Toṇḍar-kulam* may also be considered as referring to the Christians, who belong to the family (*kulam*) of *toṇḍar*—'true believers or devotees'.

(Lines 27-28)—'vinnaṇi paṇuṇa perum carel ningui Irreyauene chenta anguu iripadu t .. nam' has to be understood as *piṟavip pāvap peruṅ-kaḍal niṅgi Iṟaiyavaṇaich chērnd aṅg iruppadu tiṇṇam*. The first word of line 27 has to rhyme with 'iṟaiyavan' in line 28, and must therefore be 'piṟavi,'[2] as also translated by M. into 'birth.' 'Carel' belongs to the same category of wrong spellings as 'ari,' 'ariyargal' etc., and must be *kaḍal* 'the sea.' 'Iripadu' is a Malayalam solecism for the more correct Tamil word *iruppadu*. *Tiṇṇam*[2] is the final word of the poem meaning 'in truth.' The translation found in M. is not quite literal, but is near enough to the correct interpretation. On the other hand, C's version that 'the disciples

[1] It is also possible that the Brahman had called the Mount Cross as the *udira-kuriśu*, on account of the blood-'sweating' miracle which is said to have occurred till A.D 1561, or to certain red stains which were found on the slab at the time of its discovery. But the other meaning is more appropriate. The following Malayalam line may be noted from the *Pallippāṭṭu*, p. 74 :

niṇa-muḻukiṇa kuriś-iḍar kaḷa vaḍin-oruṇṇi.

[This cross bathed by the sacred blood (of Jesus) is (ever) ready to dispel the misfortunes (of its votaries)].

[2] *Piṟaviṉ-pāvap-peruṅkaḍal* is a popular and peculiarly Hindu idea.

[3] *Tiṇṇam* is not so current in *modern* Malayalam as it is in Tamil. It has been used in the following Malayalam line :—'tiṇṇam paḍavi śēṟunna paḷḷi Maruḍōḷil.'—*Pallippāṭṭu*.

carried him to Majalle and buried him in his church with the lance in his body. And because we, the above-named kings saw this we made these letters' is a masterpiece of imaginative interpretation, for which there is the least warrant in the text. But despite its ludicrousness, it has found an entry into the works of many of the authors who copied De Couto, down to Fr. Bernard of Mannanam who has devoted a few pages of his book for a vindication of the correctness of such a translation, as extracted by him from Vincenzo Maria's *Viaggio* of A.D. 1656.

In agreement with these notes, the 'Malavar' text can be corrected and arranged in metrical form, thus :

Āṟiya Śakārttam aṉṉāṟu taṉṉil
Tōṟiya Taṇuvil tirundu muvvēḻil (mṟīṟēḻil)
Parāparam-ākiya param-poruḷ oṉṟē
Tarātarak-Kaliyadu kaṇdu tiyaṅgi
Jūta-kulattut tuyakk-aṟa muṉindu
Vādil peridum vakaiy-aduvākiyē
Kaṉṉiya Mariyā karuppam-adāki
Maṉṉiya muppadām varuśa māṟiyatil
Oṉṟēy-eṉṉum oru-poruḷ taṉṉai
Kuṉṟiṉil paṉṉiru Dēśiyarkk-uraippār.
Āru-śamaiyatt arundavar-uṟaiyum
Kūṟiya Mayilaikk-oru muṉi tōṉṟi
Tachchuk-kōlum Tambaga-taruvum
Nachchiṉa kōyil Iṟaivaṉṉu śamaippāṉ
Siṟi-puvaṉattil Chēralak-kōṉum
Kurukulach-Chōḷaṉ Koṟkaiyil[1] Pāṇḍiyaṉ
Attaṉapurattil Arichchandiraṉum
Kattariṉ-eṉṉum kaṉṉiyarkk-araśum
Mattum pala-pala mārkkattārum
Chittan teḷinda chintaiyōr-āy
Tāmē porundit tava-muṉiy-āṉa
Tōmā kulattil toḻud-adi paṇintār.
Antaṉa-mūdōṉ arivoḍu mīdē
Vaṇṭ-oru yōgam Maṟaiyavaṉ śev(ya)-tāḷ
Kaṇdu śamaitta uḍirak-kuruśil
Toṇḍar kulattil toḻum-adiyāṟkaḷ
Piṟavip-pāvap peruṅkaḍal niṅgi
Iṟaiyavaṉaich chērnd-aṅg-iruppadu tiṇṇam.

Translation.

On the three and seven (two and seven, 27th) day of the celebrated (month of) Dhanus, in the five and six (56th) year of

---

[1] My friend Mr. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, B.A., B.L., helped me with this useful suggestion.

the Árya-Sakābdam (Vikrama era), the Supreme God, commiserating the (sins of the) Kali age (of this earth) and feeling anger for the impurities in the temple of the Jews, which was the prime cause of the (later) hatred (of the Jews towards him), was born of the womb of the Virgin Mary. When thirty years had elapsed, he preached to the twelve disciples on the Mount, the truth about the Oneness of God.

One Apostle (of them) came to Mayilai, where dwelt austere followers of the six religions; and with a carpenter's rule and a log of Tambagam wood, (he) built (there) a Church in honour of the Lord.

In this auspicious earth, Chēralakkōn (the Chēra king), Chōlan of the excellent (or Kuru) race, Pāndiyan of Korkai, Arichchandran of Attanapuram, Kattarīn (Catherine) queen among virgins, and the followers of many other (religious) creeds, voluntarily and with clear conviction, worshipped in the Church of Thomas, the Saint, (*i.e.*, embraced his faith).

Such devotees among the faithful who worship the Cross which this aged ascetic had wisely consecrated on the top (of this hill) on an auspicious occasion, in memory of (or having himself visualised) the red feet of Maraiyavan (Lord Jesus), will cross the sea of birth-sin and, reaching the Lord, will, in sooth, remain there (in heaven).

* * *

From the following extracts, many of which have been collated from Bishop Medlycott's valuable book called *India and the Apostle Thomas*, we shall now examine what the pre-Portuguese writers have said about the martyrdom of St. Thomas on the Little Mount.

Heracleon (2nd cent.)—This Gnostic teacher says that T. died a natural death. (*Procgs. of the I. H. R. Commission*, 1924, VI, p. 125.)

pseudo-Hippolytus (c. A.D. 220)—T. preached to the Parthians, Medes and Persians, Hyrcanians, Bactrians and Margians and was thrust through in the four members of his body with a pine spear at Calamene, the city of India and was buried there. (Medly., p. 152.)

Dorotheus (born A.D. 254)—T. after having preached the Gospel to the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Germanians (an agricultural people of Persia, mentioned by Herodotus), Bactrians and Magi, suffered martyrdom at Calamita, a city of India so named. (*Madras Manual of Admn.*, III, p. 778.)

St. Gaudentius (c. A.D. 402)—Having preached the Kingdom of God, T. was put to death by unbelieving and perverse men among the Indians. (Medly., p. 45.)

The Acts of Thomas (Sy.)[1]—The king having decided upon T's death .... directed his soldiers to take T. upon the mountains and stab him. The soldiers came and struck him all together. (*Ibid.* p. 221.)

Do (Gk.)[2]—The king handed T. to four soldiers in command of an officer ordering them to take him up on the mountains and to pierce him with their lance .... The four coming forward pierced him with lances and falling he died. (*Ibid.* p. 123.)

De Miraculis[3]—T was put to death by the lance. (*Ibid.* p. 124)

The Nestorian Calendar—T. was pierced by a lance in India. (*Ibid.* p. 124.)

The Jacobite Breviary—Pierced by a lance, T. gained a martyr's crown. (*Ibid.* p. 124.)

The Nestorian Breviary—T. for the faith, was by a lance pierced. (*Ibid.* p. 124.)

Peter Florus (*c.* A.D. 830)—Pierced by a lance T. died. (*Ibid.* p. 124.)

The Synaxarium (Date ?).—T. was consigned to five soldiers who taking him up the mount, covered him with wounds and made him attain his blessed end. (*Ibid.* p 66.)

The Monologium (9th cent.).—The king ordered T. to be taken from the prison and consigned to the soldiers to be executed. T. thus taken to the Mount, is by them transfixed with a lance and killed. (*Ibid.* p. 124.)

Bishop Isidore (9th cent. ?)—T. preached the Gospel unto miscreants, to them of Persia and Media, to the Hircanians and Bactrians, and he entering into the parts of the orient pierced through the entrails of the people There demened his predication unto the title of his passion, and there was he pierced with a glaive and died. (*Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus, trd. Caxton, Dent 1900, ii, p. 148.)

Bishop Solomon (A.D. 1222).—The king of the Indians stabbed T. with a spear, and he died. (Medly. p. 24 f.n.).

Marco Polo (A.D. 1293).—T. was in the woods outside his hermitage saying his prayers, and round him were many peacocks .... One of the idolators of that country, ... having gone with his bow and arrow to shoot peafowl[4], not seeing the saint, let fly an

---

[1] An old work, but from a manuscript dated A.D. 936 (Medly., p. 221.)

[2] From a manuscript of the 11th cent. (Medly. p. 223.)

[3] This old work was first printed in A.D. 1534 (Medly.)

[4] Milne Rae suggests that the peacock legend may have been coined by the Christians in emulation of the Hindu tradition of the place.

arrow at one of the peacocks ; and this arrow struck T. on the right side, in so much that he died of the wound, sweetly addressing himself to the Creator. (Yule's *Marco Polo*, London, 1903, II, p. 355.)

Barhebraeus (Date ?).—T. to the Parthians and the Medes; and at Calamina, a town of India, was crowned with martyrdom. (Medly. p. 152).

Jordanus (A.D. 1322).—does not say anything ; but it is only an argument of silence.[1]

Marignolli (A.D. 1349).—During the day-time, T. used to go on building his churches in the city, but at night he returned at a distance of three Italian miles where there were numberless peacocks .... and thus being shot in the side with an arrow, he lay there before his oratory .... and in the morning, he gave up his soul to God. (*Ibid.* p. 125.)

Nicolo Conti (A.D. 1440).—This traveller did not, it is true, collect the traditions relating to the martyrdom. He simply says that 'at a maritime city which is named Malepur, the body of St. Thomas lies honourably buried in a very large and beautiful church ; it is worshipped by heretics who are called Nestorians, and inhabit the city to the number of a thousand. (*India in the fifteenth century*, Hakluyt, 1857, p. 7.)

Barbosa (A.D. 1515).—One day as T. wandered about, a gentile hunter with a bow saw many peacocks together upon the ground in that mountain, and in the midst of them one very large and very handsome standing upon a stone slab. This hunter shot at it and sent an arrow through the body, and they rose up flying, and in the air it turned into the body of a man, and the hunter looked until he saw the body of T. fall. (Hakluyt, trd. Stanley, 1876, pp. 175-6.)

Erasmus (A.D. 1516)—(quoting a ms. of the 13th cent.).—T. fell asleep in the city of Calamina of India. (Medly. p. 151.)

Diogo Fernandez (A.D. 1522).—The peacock account was no doubt then current among the native Christians, for it

---

with a view to establish that the very name of the town of Mayilāpūr, can be traced to a Christian source (*Syrian Church*, pp. 128-9) ; but Medlycott attributes the story to the 'saving face' which the people of Mylapore would put on the affair of the martyrdom, so as to escape the opprobrium, the shame and the dishonour which would otherwise be cast on the descendants of the original murderers of the Saint (p. 129).

[1] Similarly John of Monte Corvino (1293) who was in South India for 13 months, Friar Menentillus who was in India in 1310, and Odoricus who wrote a narrative on India before 1331, have not given specific versions of the martyrdom of the Apostle. (See references to them given in Richter's *History of Indian Missions*, trd. Moore, 1908, pp. 39-41, and Purchas *Pilgrims*, Extra Series).

is told in much the same way by one Diogo Fernandez, who gave evidence before the commission of Duarte Menezes, and who claimed to be the first Portuguese visitor of the site in A.D. 1517. (Yule's *Marco Polo*, II, p. 358.)

Francis Xavier (A.D. 1545).—It is a great pity that Xavier has not recorded anything in his letters about the legend of the martyrdom, though he had stayed at Mylapore for four months in A.D. 1545. (Coleridge's *Life and Letters of Fr. Xavier*, p. 298.)

East coast legend (Date[1] not known).—The king (Kandapparājā of the fisherman caste) and his son became Christians. Yet the Brahmans were still powerful, and they persecuted the Apostle. They assaulted him repeatedly, but he always escaped unhurt. Finally he died a natural death, worn out by fatigue and privations. (*JRAS Centenary Volume*, 1924, p. 221.)

From the foregoing extracts it will be seen that almost all the early authors and even pre-Portuguese writers up to the time of Diogo Fernandez (A.D. 1522) have attributed the death of the Apostle either to the king of Mylapore who had him killed by a squad of his soldiers on the top of a hill, or to the accidental arrow of a heathen-hunter shooting peacocks on a hill, and that St. Xavier who was at Mylapore for four months just two years before the discovery of the Cross on the Mount, is silent in regard to the martyrdom, one way or the other. There is thus an almost unbroken tradition which does not connect a Brahman's name with the death of St. Thomas.

But it has to be noted that Bishop Medlycott cites two authorities, which give quite a different version of the martyrdom, namely, an old Latin work called the *Passio* and an anonymous Syriac manuscript of the ninth century A.D. According to the former, the following incident[2] is said to have precipitated the saint's death :—

---

[1] This legend may, in all probability, be only post-Portuguese. The omission of the detail of the murderous Brahman's lance may have been the result of some 'touching up' of the legend by an interested party, who did not like the part attributed to the Brahman in the tragedy. It further says that Muni Bharadvāja who was living on Sinnamalai (Little Mount) took T. under his protection.—*I.H.R. Comm.*, VI, p. 123.

[2] Medly., App. 32, p. 276. This work is said to have been first printed in A.D. 1480. The narrative *De Miraculis* is also said to have copied this version.

The Golden Legend compiled by Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa (A.D. 1275), as Englished by Caxton (Dent, 1900), vol. II, p. 174 contains a similar account, based probably on the *Passio*'s version. "The priests came lowing as beasts, and the bishop of the temple lift up a glaive and run the Apostle through and said, 'I shall avenge the

"With intent that T. should be robbed of the protection of his God by being forced to endure the sacrifice to the idol in a (Hindu) temple, the Apostle is by the king made to follow a procession going to the temple with music and singing. Arriving at the temple, the king says to T.,—'I will cause thy bones to be broken, if thou wilt not adore and sacrifice to him (the image)'; the Apostle answers, 'I adore not a block of metal nor idol, but I adore my Lord Jesus Christ. In His name I command thee, O Demon! who liest concealed in this idol to injure no person but to destroy the metal of this image!' The image of the idol is suddenly dissolved like wax before the fire. The priests raise a howl, the king runs away with Karisch; and the high priest of the temple, seizing a sword, transfixes the Apostle, exclaiming, 'I will avenge my god!'"

Prof. Max Bonnet 'treats this insertion as an interpolation and is inclined to make light of the facts themselves'[1]; but Bishop Medlycott has attempted to establish that this episode must have formed an integral part of the original narrative, before its suppression in the Syriac text probably due to gnostic influence. We do not know on what grounds Prof. Bonnet had based his arguments for considering this episode as an interpolation; but they must have been other than the purely iconographic. Even in regard to this aspect of the question, scholars are divided in their opinion[2] as to whether metal images had been used in temples at Mylapore (South India), so early as the second half of the first century A.D. It is also problematical if Brahman priests officiated in Kāḷi temples on the East Coast, as the *Thōmā-parvam*,[3] the Malayalam poem

injury of my God.' The Christian men bare away the body of the Apostle and buried it worshipfully."

[1] Medly., p. 275.

[2] Dr. A. K. Comaraswamy is of opinion that "metal images may have been in use even in Madras in the first century A.D., although the earliest metal images really dateable by style or otherwise are not earlier than early Gupta and it would be difficult to assert that they were not known earlier."

Mr. E. B. Havell doubts if images of cast metal existed in India in A.D. 68, but considers that the *Passio* version may refer to images of hammered plates, which probably were to be found in South India at that time.

Mr. A. H. Longhurst says that, though the bronze images of Buddha found at Amarāvati may belong to about A.D. 200, he does not know of any metal Hindu images earlier than about the 15th century A.D.

Mr. W. S. Hadaway thinks it "most unlikely that metal Hindu mages existed as early as the first century A.D.", the earliest ones he has seen being of about the 14th century.

Mr. P. Brown expresses the opinion that "it is doubtful whether metal images of Hindu deities were manufactured at such an early date as the second half of the first century A.D. in South India."

[3] See fuller quotation *infra*.

believed to belong to the beginning of the 17th century A.D., would have us suppose. All things considered, the value of the *Passio*'s reference as an irrefragable piece of evidence is vitiated.

The second authority quoted by Medlycott[1] is an anonymous Syriac manuscript of A.D. 874 (Add. 17193 of the British Museum). It mentions that—

> 'The Apostle Thomas preached .... in India interior, and taught and baptised and conferred the imposition of hands for the priesthood. He also baptised the daughter of the king of the Indians. '*But the Brahmins killed him at Calamina*. His body was brought to Edessa and there it rests.'

This unique reference was certainly more explicit than the one in the *Passio*, as to the connection of a Brahman in the story; and it therefore required very careful consideration. In view of its importance therefore for the tradition of the martyrdom of the Saint, I referred the matter to the British Museum; and Dr. L. D. Barnett, M.A., Ph.D., who is in charge of the Department of Oriental Books and Mss. in that Institution, has very obligingly sent me the following interesting reply (No. 476 25) :—

> "I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter and in compliance with your request instructed my assistant Mr. Leveen to examine the Syriac MS. Add. 17193. He has done so and reports that the rendering given by Medlycott, following Abbeloos and Lamy in their edition of the Ecclesiastical Chronicles of Bar Hebræus is totally wrong. Medlycott gives the passage in question as: 'But the Brahmins killed him at Calamina.' The true meaning of the Syriac text, however, is—'And they killed him at Kallimaya (or Kalimiya) with spears.' The date of the MS. is correctly given. The Greek Era is stated, scil. 1185 A. Gr., corresponding to 874 A.D."

In a further letter (No. 50/26) Dr. Barnett has said: "Your conjecture that in the Syriac account of the martyrdom of St. Thomas the pronoun 'they' in 'they killed' refers to the soldiers is quite correct.... The context excludes the idea that the Brahmans had anything to do with the act."

With the *material so far available* to us, we can therefore safely assume that a Brahman's name was not mentioned in the early, shall we say pre-Portuguese, versions of the death of St. Thomas, the Apostle, on the Little Mount.

* * *

I shall now enumerate such of the post-Portuguese accounts[2] as have been easily accessible to me. Of the authors

[1] Medly., p. 152.

[2] It would be interesting to know what Castenhada who was in

who flourished in this period, three, namely, Barros (A.D. 1552–63), Gasper Correa (A.D. 1512–66) and Camoens (A.D. 1552–68) are somewhat contemporaneous in point of time with the fraudulent Brahman, whose curious reading of A.D. 1561 has been discussed above.

In his *Lendas da India*[1], Gasper Correa had recorded the information which Miguel Ferreira (A.D. 1531) is said to have collected 'from Muhammadans and Hindus, from natives of Malabar and foreigners' in regard to the martyrdom. St. Thomas dragged out the log out of the sea to where a *jogi* was living. The *jogi* seeing that the saint wanted to make with it a house in his own grounds, killed his own son and accused the saint of the murder. Then the usual sequel is said to have followed which culminated in the death of Thomas. With the *post mortem* miracle that is stated to have occurred to the right arm of the dead Apostle, we are not concerned here; but this much is evident that this new episode of a *jogi* came to be mingled now with the traditions, that had already collected about the Apostle's name.

Da Asia of Joao de Barros repeats an identical story, but with this difference, that instead of a 'jogi' it was a Brahman who had killed his own son and had attempted to incriminate St. Thomas. The dead youth having been miraculously resuscitated by the saint, the real culprit was apprehended; and on seeing this miracle, the king and many others were converted to the faith of the Apostle. But the Brahmans waxed wroth and encompassed his death by stoning him. Seeing him but half-dead, one of Brahmans pierced him with a lance. His body was interred by his disciples in the church which he had made.[2]

India between the years 1528 and 1538 has said in his *Conquista da India*. Dr. Burnell has, on p. 35 of his edition of Linschoten, said "In the original edition of Castenheda's first book there is nothing (ch. xxxix) but an abstract of what Josephus Indus said: it is therefore, plain that the myth was but little known even then." With this assurance I have had to remain content.

[1] This work has not been available to me. I have extracted the information from Fr. Hosten's paper in the *J.P.A.S.B*, No. 5, Vol. XIX. p. 179. It may be mentioned that Gasper Correa came to India in 1512 and was still writing in 1566. The date of his death is uncertain, and his book was published only after his death. (Jayne's *Vasco da Gama and his Successors*, p. 301).

[2] Decada III, livro vii, cap. xi, p. 233 contains the following passage:—

"E jazendo no chão quasi morto de pedradas per derradeiro veio hum daquelles Brammanes e com huma lança o atravessou, com quo o Apostato ficou morto de todo, e foi logo enterrado per seus discipulos naquella casa".

It may be mentioned here that Barros, a histriographer-royal who was never in India, compiled his first three Decades and published them from 1552 to 1563 during his life-time. (Jayne, p. 300.)

Luis Vas de Camoens[1], the author of the Portuguese epic called the *Lusiads*, was perhaps indebted to the same source as Gasper Correa or Barros, or to these historians themselves, for this episode which he has immortalised in his work. According to him, the 'sacerdotes of Gentoo-Creed' growing jealous of the fame of Thomas and 'fearing the loss of their old prerogative,' 'sought ill ways' to kill the Saint. In pursuance of this fell design 'the Principal (priest) who dons the three-twine thread' killed his own son and accused the Apostle of the foul deed. Thomas then 'worked a public marvel of the major sort' by resuscitating the murdered youth, who promptly 'named his own father as the man who slew.' The king and many of his men at once joined the religion of the saint; but this royal conversion only fanned the fury of the Brahmans into a blaze so that,

> One day when preaching to the folk he (Thomas) stood,
> They feigned a quarrel 'mid the mob to rise;
> Already Christ His Holy man endowed
> With saintly martyrdom that opes the skies.
> Rained innumerable stones the crowd
> Upon the victim, sacred sacrifice;
> And last, a villain, hastier than the rest,
> Pierced with a cruel spear his godly breast.[2]

Diogo Fernandez who had visited Mylapore on two occasions in A.D. 1517 and 1522 had heard only about the peacock legend; but Miguel Ferreira 'collecting information from various sources in A.D. 1531,' mentions, apparently for the first time, the story of the homicidal *jogi*, who had killed his own son in order to be revenged on the Apostle, and had subsequently brought about his death. Francis Xavier, staying at Mylapore from May to August of A.D. 1545, does not say anything about the traditions connected with St. Thomas; and it is inexplicable how he would have missed writing on such an interesting tradition of a Brahman[3] figuring as the Apostle's murderer. It is not known if Xavier wrote from Mylapore any letter other

---

He has referred to the tablet-cross discovered on the Mount in 1547 on p. 304 of Decade I, liv. ix, cap. 1, as containing strange characters engraved on the rim—(tinha huimas letras le caracteres estranhos); and by the time Decada III was printed, the rumour of the 1561-decipherment may have reached his ears.

[1] Camoens spent about sixteen years in India and the adjacent Portuguese possessions. He met Correa in about A.D. 1561 and may have collected some material from him.—(Jayne, p. 267.) Burnell suggests that he copied the story from Barros (Linschoten, p. 87). The *Lusiads* was published only in 1572, after its author had returned to Portugal.—(Jayne, p. 275.)

[2] The Portuguese lines are in Barbosa's edition, the translation is Burton's.

[3] His letter dated 31-12-1543 to Rome is a fulsome tirade, probably deserved, on the Cochin Brahmans of his time.—(Coleridge, vol. I, p. 157.)

than the one of the 8th May 1545 which was addressed to fathers Diogo de Borba and Paul of Camerino at Goa, and if any such have been lost. Probably he did not write any.[1] Can we not argue from all these circumstances that the story told to Ferreira was presumably a recent fabrication[2] not known even to Castenhada, and such as had not yet attained sufficient currency even at the time of Xavier's visit to Mylapore ?

* * *

We shall examine other subsequent versions of the martyrdom :

De Couto (A.D. 1580)—who summarises the 16th century accounts says that during prayer on the Little Mount, T. was attacked and wounded, but fled to the Great Mount, and expired. (Yule's *Marco Polo*, p. 358 f.n. See also full extract *supra*.)

Linschoten (A.D. 1584-89)—When T. performed many miracles .... the Brahmenes fell into much disliking and less estimation with the common people, both for their idolatrie and also in authoritie : so that they were great enemies to T. and by all means sought to bring him to his death, which in the end they performed having thereunto persuaded some of the countrie people, which suddenly came behind T. and thrust him into the back, being on his knees in the same chapel praying to god—*Voyages of Linschoten*, Burnell, 1885, vol. I, p. 88).

Maffei (A.D. 1588)[3]—He (T.) is killed by the Brahmins, first stoned, then pierced by a lance. (Medly. p. 133, f. n.).

Thōmā Rambān (A.D. 1601)—A short Malayalam poem purporting to have been composed in A.D. 1601, as a summary of an earlier work of the first century A.D.

---

[1] Coleridge, *Life and Letters of Fr. Xavier*, vol. I, pp. 298-300.

[2] In this connection, Dr. Burnell's remarks in Linschoten's *Voyages* on the growth of the legend of the martyrdom are worth quotation. "Its development begins with 1524, when the body of the Apostle was supposed to be found. This gave rise to numerous myths ....Another search was made in 1533, and again in 1547, when the tombstone of the saint was found. On each occasion, new myths were told, and those of the most inconsistent kind .. With the successive timely discoveries, the inconsistent myths were harmonised by Maffei and Lucena."

[3] The Life of Francis Xavier from the Italian of Bartoli and Maffei—(Reprinted in English by the Rev. Fabar, Madras, 1923), p. 88, has the following—'Hither (Great Mount) St. Thomas and his disciples used to come and pray : and he is believed to have received the lance-wound of which he died. A brahman read the inscription (on the Cross) as—"Thomas, the Apostle of Jesus Christ, was by him sent hither to preach his Holy Law. Here did he collect his disciples and here he was martyred".'

by Māliyakkal Thōmā, forty-eighth[1] in descent from another Thōmā reputed to have been a direct disciple of the Apostle himself, gives the following account: 'When on the 3rd of Karkatakam (July), A.D. 72[2], T. was passing along a jungle containing a shrine of the goddess Kāḷi, the Embrān (priest) of the temple waylaid T. saying that, if he paid obeisance to the goddess, he will receive some cooked rice for meals. But T. replied that he would never worship the pagan goddess, and caused the forest to burst into a conflagration by uttering a short prayer. Thereupon the goddess fled from the shrine like a rabid dog. The infuriated priest fell on T. and killed him with a trident (*śūlam*)'.—*History of the St. Thomas' Christians.* (Malayalam), Fr. Bernard. 1916, pp 74-5.[3]

Gouvea (A.D. 1606)[4]—When the Holy Apostle was murdered by the stroke of a (Brahman's) lance, he was in prayer before a cross like that of the commanders of the Bird; and this cross was engraved upon a stone placed in a small oratory which Thomas had built on a hill near the city. (Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. II, p. 148.)

Faria y Sousa (A.D. 1616)[5]—It is the received Opinion he was killed at Antinodur, a Mountain a league distant from the Town where he had two caves whither he retired to pray. The nearest now belongs to the Jesuits; the other is the church of Our Lady of the Mount. He being one day at Prayer in the former, opposite the Cliff that gave light to it, one of the Brahmins who was watching, thrust a lance through that hole in such a manner that a piece of it remained in his Body, he went to the other Cave

---

[1] The average period for a generation is too long according to this account.

[2] Some other accounts date the death a few years earlier. Dec. 21, A.D. 68—(*Mad. Manl. of Admn.*, vol. iii, p. 778).

[3] This poem in its present form does not appear to be so old as has been claimed; the Malayalam style has a more modern ring about it. It may be noted, in passing, that a poem in the *Pallippāṭṭu* anthology relating to the Kaippuḷa Church and composed by Takaḍiyēl Ittiyerah (A.D. 1840), p. 106, mentions simply that the Apostle met his death on the Mount at the hands of Kafirs (heathens)—"mala tannil dushtarām kāvyarāl-annu vēlukaḷ-ēṛṛu tān nidra samīpichchu": i.e. St. Thomas slept on the hill, having been stabbed with lances by cruel Kafirs (heathens).

[4] I have been unable to secure a fuller version other than this short quotation from Hough. The word in brackets has been added by me.

[5] Jayne considers him "an industrious but uncritical compiler, who borrowed impartially from all his predecessors and even added details invented by himself."

and there died, embracing a stone on which a Cross was carved. Hence his disciples removed and buried him in his Church, where he was found by Emmanuel de Faria and the priest Anthony Pontiado, sent thither on purpose by king Emmanuel. [*Asia Portuguesa* (trd. Stephens, 1694). vol. II, pt. ii, pp. 226-7.]

De Rezende (A.D. 1635)—On the Great Mount is the Church of Our Lady, wherein is a marble Cross carved by the holy man himself, and outside is a similar one which is said to sweat. On the Little Mount, where he lived, is a house of prayer with a hole in the rock through which the saint escaped when his life was attempted. All round are crosses carved on the rocks. These are places deeply venerated even by the heathens, who bring here oil and rice of the first fruits. (Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, p. 299, quoting from trn. by Mon Lopes of *Descripcao das fortalezas da India Oriental*.)

Kircher (A.D. 1649)—Le P. Kircher a pretendu qu'il falloit lire Calurmina, au lieu de Calamina, & que le .signifie..sur une pierre, par ce qu'on montre encore dans le pais une pierre marquée de quelques Croix, & d'autres signes de Christianisme, sur laquelle les Malabares pretendent qu'il fut percé d'un coup de lance par un Bramine.[1] (*Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine*, Paris, 1718, p. 231.)

Baldeus (A.D. 1650)—T. having by this miracle and the conversion of a vast number of pagans, arrived to a great authority among them, this so much incensed the Brahmans, that one of them killed him with his lance upon a hill near the city, where he used to perform his devotion. They had before that accused him falsely of murder; but T. having resuscitated the child from death, he declared his own father to have been his murderer; which had so powerful an influence upon many of the chief men of the country and the king himself, that they received baptism .... The Christians of St. Thomas say that at Meliapore upon the stone, T. was stoned and at last run through with a lance. They also tell of a certain cross made by his blood and a vast number of miracles wrought by it. (Churchill's *Voyages*, vol. III, p. 573.)

[1] I am indebted to Miss D. H. Watts, Lady Principal, Women's College, Trivandrum, for the following translation:

"Le P. Kircher maintains that it is necessary to read Calurmina instead of Calamina and that the word has reference to a stone, because there still may be seen in the country a stone marked with crosses and other signs of Christianity, regarding which the Malabarians maintain that it was pierced by a spear-thrust by a Brahman."

Vincenzo de Maria—(A.D. 1656)—He bases his account on earlier versions such as those of De Couto, etc. (see full extract *supra*).

La Croze (A.D. 1724)—T. returned from China to Meliapore, where the great success that attended his labours among the heathens excited against him the hatred and envy of two Brahmans, who are the priests of the idolatrous superstition of India. These two men stirred up the people, who combined to stone the holy Apostle. After his execution, one of the Brahmans observing that he still breathed, pierced him with a lance which put an end to his life. (*Historie du Christianisme des Indes*, quoted in Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. I, p. 34.)

W. J. Richards—A Malayalam ms. of the 18th century is said to refer to the martyrdom thus: 'After this (establishing the seven churches), T. itinerated in Malabar for thirty years'[1] and having gone again to the Pandi (Choramandel) country to preach the Gospel, on the way as he went, an Embran (or Brahman) casting a dart, hit him and he was buried in the Little Mount at Mylapore. (*The Indian Christians of St. Thomas*, London 1908, p. 77.)

Similar quotations can be multiplied; but those extracted above are sufficient to show that all later writers are unanimous in incriminating a Brahman in the death of the Apostle.

* * *

Granting that the claim of South Indian Christianity to the honour of Apostolic evangelisation is sufficiently well-authenticated, and taking into consideration all the information bearing on the tradition of the martyrdom of St. Thomas now available to us, we can reasonably summarise the result as follows, namely:

(1) that all the early pre-Portuguese accounts attribute the Apostle's death either to the king of Mylapore who had him killed by a squad of his soldiers on the top of a hill, or to an accidental arrow which a hunter shooting peafowl on a hill had let fly on the saint;

(2) that even Portuguese writers in the first quarter of the 16th century had heard only such a tradition narrated to them;

(3) that Francis Xavier who had stayed at Mylapore for four months in A.D. 1545 has not mentioned anything, one

[1] The *Tōmmāparvam* dates the martyrdom in A.D. 72, and the *Mad. Manl. of Admn.*, vol. III, mentions that the Apostle died in A.D. 68. If A.D. 52 was the date of the saint's landing on the West Coast, thirty years of missionary work in India would, according to this Malayalam work, take the date of the martyrdom to A.D. 82.

way or the other, about the particular version current in his time;

(4) that the connection of a Brahman's name in the story first occurs, so far as we can see, in Gasper Correa, who appears to have recorded the information collected in A.D. 1531 by Miguel Ferreira 'from Muhammadans and Hindus, from natives and foreigners', and in Barros, an official historian who had never been in India:

(5) that the poet Camoens who published his epic in A.D. 1572 in Portugal has copied the story from the same sources;

(6) that the encomiast of A.D. 1561 whose fraudulent, though ingenious, interpretation is after all a simple panegyric, has himself not implicated a Brahman in the martyrdom of the Apostle;

(7) that the translators of this 'Malavar' poem, whoever they were, have, among many curious mistakes, also misinterpreted the word '*maṟaiyavaṉ*' occurring in it to refer to 'a Brahman' (-assailant), whereas it should connote only Jesus, according to the context;

(8) that this incorrect statement of a Brahman having stabbed St. Thomas with a lance, which has been perpetuated in all later Portuguese and other writings, has come to be accepted as trustworthy, for reasons apparently similar to that which Eusebius Renaudot has suggested in another connection, "that two or three authors who but copy from each other suffice to give birth to a notion which spreads unexamined by those who follow them: this throws a mist over history, and gives an opportunity to compound falsehood with truth, and what is certain with what is mere conjecture;"[1] and

(9) that, with the material so far available to us, Dr. Burnell's inference that this particular form of legend about the martyrdom of the Apostle Thomas 'is quite subsequent to the arrival of the Europeans in India'[2] has to be accepted, till other evidence proving the contrary is found.

TRIVANDRUM,
August, 1925.

[1] Hough's—*History of Christianity in India*, vol. I, p. 37.
[2] Burnell—*Voyages of Linschoten*, p. 86.

The Deccan in the 15th Century.

By MOHD. ABDUL AZIZ, *Tahsildar, C.P.*

INTRODUCTION.

The fifteenth Century A.D. is an important century in the history of the Deccan. By Deccan is meant that portion of India which is situated below the river Narbada and which was designated as such by the Moghuls. It includes the extreme south of the peninsula with both the sea coasts—eastern and western. It was an epoch-making century, as in it occurred two events that have profoundly influenced the future not only of the Deccan but also of the whole of India and its people.

2. The first of these events was the dismemberment of the Bahmanī kingdom after an existence of about a century and a half. Like all oriental dynasties, it had gone through its round of valour, greatness, degeneracy, discord and decay. On its ruins rose the five principalities of Bījāpūr, Ahmadnagar, Golconda, Bedar and Ellichpur. They eventually expanded into kingdoms.

Yūsuf ʿĀdil Shāh of Bījāpūr declared his independence in the year 895 A.H. or 1489 A.D.

Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh of Ahmadnagar assumed the royal title in the year 1490 A.D.

Sulṭān Kulī Kuṭb Shāh of Golconda followed suit in 1512 A.D.

Kāsim Barīd Shāh of Bedar usurped the royal power openly from the year 1492 A.D.

Fathullah ʿImād Shāh of Ellichpur also proclaimed himself independent in the year 1489 A.D.

3. The downfall and extinction of the Bahmanī dynasty, followed by the establishment of the five kingdoms mentioned above, ultimately paved the way for the rise of the Mahratta power. The frequent wars of these Saltanates amongst themselves necessitated the employment of Hindus in larger numbers in their armies, since the immigration from Moslem countries failed to cope with the demand for military man-power in these kingdoms. This fact of the employment of Hindus in larger numbers in the army gradually broke the spell of moslem invincibility as conquerers. Partly for the same reason, and partly actuated by policy, which need not here be mentioned, Persian was replaced by Marathī as the Court language, entailing the appointment of Hindus in greater numbers in all the branches of the civil administration. This fact slowly broke the charm of Moslem superiority as rulers. These disillusion-

ments and the long and effective training in both the departments of administration greatly helped the Marathas under the unconscious guidance of Malik 'Ambar and the conscious leadership of the great Shivaji to throw off the yoke of Moslem rule.

4. The second event was far greater and more important than the first, as it produced more far-reaching consequences, and has certainly altered the course of Indian history. It was the commercial invasion of the Deccan by the Portuguese in the last decade of the 15th century, an invasion that rapidly developed into political domination along the sea coasts and the seas contiguous to India. The British occupation of India, as all know, was the result of their following in the wake of the Portuguese, with saner and more sober heads and more kind and sympathetic hearts.

5. A short description of the country and its peoples during the century in which such epoch-making events took place should be interesting and instructive to every student of Indian history. It will enable him better to understand the causes that converted a company of merchants into a plutocracy of cautious and wary administrators by giving him an insight, though necessarily weak and panoramic for paucity of information, into the mentality of the people of the Deccan that led to those causes. It will also help him the better to grasp the evolution of political and economic ideas born out of the collusion of the old order with new thought from the west. Fortunately three foreigners visited the Deccan in that century, and have left interesting accounts of their visits, throwing some light on the condition—political, social and economic—of the country and the peoples. This is an attempt to place before the public their observations and consequent remarks concerning the Deccan and its inhabitants, read in the light of regular history.

6. It is a kind of redaction of the narratives of the three travellers and has been supplemented by information gleaned and gathered from the following books:—

1. Firishta, Persian.
2. A Forgotten Empire, by Sewell.
3. Never to be forgotten Empire.
4. Mysore and Southern India, by Rice.
5. Wilk's Mysore.
6. History of Deccan, in Urdu, written under the orders of H.E.H. The Nizam's Government.
7. History of Deccan, in Urdu, by Moulvi Abdul Jabar Khan.
8. Manuals of the Districts of the Madras Presidency, Gazetteers of the Marathi Districts of the Bombay Presidency, of Hyderabad, of Berar, of the Nagpur Division, C.P.
9. Works of Prof. Krishnaswamy Iyanger.
10. History of India, in Telegu, by Krishnarao.
11. Grant Duff's History of the Marathas.
12. Lives of Saints, in Urdu.
13. Marathas Bakhar.
14. Travels of Ibn Batuta, English.
15. Short History of Marathas, in Marathi.

16. Various journals of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and Asiatic Society of Bengal, Indian Antiquary and Modern Reviews, &c.
17. Numismatic Orientalis, by Sir Walter Elliott.
18. Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India. by Sewell.
19. Story of my life, by Meadows Taylor.
20. Historical Memoirs of the dynasties of the Carnatic, by Meadows Taylor.

CHAPTER I.

The Three Travellers.

The first of these travellers was Nicolo Conti, a Venetian. He started on his travels with his family in the year 1420 A.D., from Damascus, where he was trading as a merchant, for purposes of trade. He visited Vijianagar and journeyed through the Deccan in the year 1421 A.D. Deva Raya I was the Emperor of Vijianagar at that time. He seems to have penetrated as far as Java and China in the East and returned to his native place, Venice, touching the Malabar Coast and the coast of Ethiopia (now Somaliland), in the year 1444 A.D., after about 25 years of wanderings in the East He adopted the language and dress of the Persians while in Persia, and adhered to it during the whole period of his travels. He was compelled to renounce Christianity while nearing Egypt to avert the danger that threatened his wife and children. He was thus obliged, though for a short time, to become what he professed to be in dress and language during his long sojourn in the East. The narrative of his travels was not written by himself. He was made to relate his adventures to the Pope's Secretary by way of penance for obtaining absolution from his apostacy, mentioned above, from Pope Eugene IV. Having been compiled by another man from recitings from memory, the narrative of his travels is generally inaccurate and misleading. His division of India into three parts irrespective of ethnological, linguistic and political considerations is absurd, his statement that the inhabitants of the third part of India (comprising Deccan, Bengal and Orissa) use tables for their meals in the manner of Europeans, will astonish all those who know this country and the social habits of the people. Similarly his allegation that the vine is not grown in India and that the Indians are not acquainted with wine, is contrary to facts. There were vineries at Daulatābād, Nandurbar and Nasik in those times and good grapes were produced and wine was drunk by the nobility freely. Likewise the inhabitants of Central India have never been found to be strictly monogamous as wrongly asserted by him. In short, the story of his travels is full of incongruities and absurdities like the *storia de magor* of his compatriot Mannuchi.

2. The second traveller was Kamāluddīn 'Abdur Razzāk son of Jamāluddīn Ishāk, born at Herat in 1413 A.D. and died in 1482 A.D. He was a high dignitary of the Court of Shāh Rukh Mirzā, the second son and successor to the empire of Tamarlane (1405 to 1447 A.D.). He is said to have been sent by his Imperial Master on an important mission to the Emperor of Vijianagar.

3. But this allegation of 'Abdur Razzāk does not seem to be true. In the first place the object of his mission to Vijianagar is not mentioned. Secondly he contradicts himself on the point of his embassy. In the early part of his narrative he has clearly set forth the reasons that led him to undertake the voyage to Deccan. Therein he has mentioned certain facts and occurrences that give an idea of the dread which the conquering career of the great Timūr had created and the awful political subservience which that dread had engendered in the minds of the Asiatic potentates of those times and the fruits of which were enjoyed by his son and successor Shāh Rukh Mirzā. They also disclose the political importance, in which the Moslem communities that had settled in the seaports of the Indian peninsula for purposes of trade were held by the Hindu sovereigns of the coast kingdoms. Sultān Ibrāhim Sharkī of Jaunpur (803 to 844 A.H.) made preparations for an invasion of Bengal. Sultān Nasiruddīn Shāh of Bengal (830 to 862 A.H.) appealed to Shāh Rukh Mirzā for succour. The Emperor sent orders to the Sultān of Jaunpur to desist from the contemplated attack and the latter had to obey. The Envoys of Shāh Rukh on the completion of their mission at Jaunpur and Bengal, returned to Persia by way of Calicut. The Zamorin of Calicut, hearing of this dictatorial mediation of Shāh Rukh, was impressed with the politic necessity of seeking the goodwill and patronage of the Emperor; with this object in view he despatched a mission to the Emperor with valuable presents and a letter wherein he asked for permission to have the Khutba (Friday sermon) read in the Emperor's name at Calicut. Among the Moslems the reading of one's name in Khutba is an important symbol of royalty. Zamorin's request was tantamount to placing himself and his Moslem subjects under the suzerainty of Shāh Rukh. This policy was pursued perhaps to prevent the intriguing of his Moslem subjects with the Moslem power in the Deccan and also to acquire a sort of dread and importance in the eyes of the other kings ruling in the Deccan by attaching himself to the great Emperor of the age. Zamorin's ambassador who was a Musalmān and probably a native of Calicut, had from the very nature and object of his embassy cherished the fond hope of winning over his sovereign to his faith. He, therefore, by dint of persuasion, succeeded in impressing Shāh Rukh with the necessity of utilising the unique opportunity of Zamorin's awful regard for and indirect submission to him by

deputing a learned theologian to preach Islam to Zamorin and his people. 'Abdur Razzāḳ was selected for this important work but his choice was not justified and his mission was a deplorable failure. It is, therefore, obvious that he was sent on a preaching mission to Calicut and not on a diplomatic embassy to Vijianagar. As already stated, the object of his embassy to Vijianagar is not mentioned by him and is also not inferable from his movements and doings at Vijianagar. This in itself is conclusive evidence that he was not a Minister Plenipotentiary to the court of Vijianagar. At the close of his stay at Vijianagar, doubts were rightly entertained by certain Moslem merchants of that city concerning the genuineness of the official nature of his visit, and the Court of Vijianagar also, before his departure, saw through his assumed character.

4. He has written a detailed account of his sojourn in Deccan, in Persian, and incorporated it in his famous History of Timurlane and his successors called Maṭla'us-Sa'dain. His narrative is free from incorrect and inaccurate observations and seems to have been written with care and regard for facts. He left Herāt in January, 1442, and arrived at Vijianagar in April, 1443 A.D. He stayed there till November of that year and returned to Herāt in March, 1444 A.D. Deva Raya II (1423–1446) was the Emperor to whose Court he claims to have been accredited.

5. The third sojournor was Athanatias Nikitin—a Russian. He set out on his journey in the year 1469 A.D., passed about four years in the Deccan and returned to his native country in the year 1474 A.D., after an absence of more than five years. He also travelled in the guise of a Moslem and assumed the name of Khwāja Yūsuf Khurāsānī. The object of his travels, like Conti, was trade, and his stock-in-trade was horses. His narrative is not as trustworthy as that of 'Abdur Razzāḳ, though it is superior to Conti's in veracity and his observations on many points appear to be faulty and erroneous, due perhaps to lack of good education and to his being a native of Russia which was a backward country in the 15th century. His remarks about monkeys and their king and the bird called Gokak create an impression that he really believed in such childish stories.

CHAPTER II.

THE ROUTES BY WHICH THE THREE TRAVELLERS JOURNEYED AND THE PLACES VISITED BY THEM.

Nicolo Conti with some Persian merchants freighted a ship, and embarked on it from a Persian port, situated about 100 miles east from Ormuz. Sailing along the sea coast, he arrived in the course of a month at the famous port of Cambay.

2. The second traveller was Kamāluddīn 'Abdur Razzāk son of Jamāluddīn Ishak, born at Herat in 1413 A.D. and died in 1482 A.D. He was a high dignitary of the Court of Shāh Rukh Mirzā, the second son and successor to the empire of Tamarlane (1405 to 1447 A.D.). He is said to have been sent by his Imperial Master on an important mission to the Emperor of Vijianagar.

3. But this allegation of 'Abdur Razzāk does not seem to be true. In the first place the object of his mission to Vijianagar is not mentioned. Secondly he contradicts himself on the point of his embassy. In the early part of his narrative he has clearly set forth the reasons that led him to undertake the voyage to Deccan. Therein he has mentioned certain facts and occurrences that give an idea of the dread which the conquering career of the great Timūr had created and the awful political subservience which that dread had engendered in the minds of the Asiatic potentates of those times and the fruits of which were enjoyed by his son and successor Shāh Rukh Mirzā. They also disclose the political importance, in which the Moslem communities that had settled in the seaports of the Indian peninsula for purposes of trade were held by the Hindu sovereigns of the coast kingdoms. Sultān Ibrāhim Sharki of Jaunpur (803 to 844 A.H.) made preparations for an invasion of Bengal. Sultān Nasiruddīn Shāh of Bengal (830 to 862 A.H.) appealed to Shāh Rukh Mirzā for succour. The Emperor sent orders to the Sultān of Jaunpur to desist from the contemplated attack and the latter had to obey. The Envoys of Shāh Rukh on the completion of their mission at Jaunpur and Bengal, returned to Persia by way of Calicut. The Zamorin of Calicut, hearing of this dictatorial mediation of Shāh Rukh, was impressed with the politic necessity of seeking the goodwill and patronage of the Emperor; with this object in view he despatched a mission to the Emperor with valuable presents and a letter wherein he asked for permission to have the Khutba (Friday sermon) read in the Emperor's name at Calicut. Among the Moslems the reading of one's name in Khutba is an important symbol of royalty. Zamorin's request was tantamount to placing himself and his Moslem subjects under the suzerainty of Shāh Rukh. This policy was pursued perhaps to prevent the intriguing of his Moslem subjects with the Moslem power in the Deccan and also to acquire a sort of dread and importance in the eyes of the other kings ruling in the Deccan by attaching himself to the great Emperor of the age. Zamorin's ambassador who was a Musalmān and probably a native of Calicut, had from the very nature and object of his embassy cherished the fond hope of winning over his sovereign to his faith. He, therefore, by dint of persuasion, succeeded in impressing Shāh Rukh with the necessity of utilising the unique opportunity of Zamorin's awful regard for and indirect submission to him by

deputing a learned theologian to preach Islam to Zamorin and his people. 'Abdur Razzāk was selected for this important work but his choice was not justified and his mission was a deplorable failure. It is, therefore, obvious that he was sent on a preaching mission to Calicut and not on a diplomatic embassy to Vijianagar. As already stated, the object of his embassy to Vijianagar is not mentioned by him and is also not inferable from his movements and doings at Vijianagar. This in itself is conclusive evidence that he was not a Minister Plenipotentiary to the court of Vijianagar. At the close of his stay at Vijianagar, doubts were rightly entertained by certain Moslem merchants of that city concerning the genuineness of the official nature of his visit, and the Court of Vijianagar also, before his departure, saw through his assumed character.

4. He has written a detailed account of his sojourn in Deccan, in Persian, and incorporated it in his famous History of Timurlane and his successors called Matla'us-Sa'dain. His narrative is free from incorrect and inaccurate observations and seems to have been written with care and regard for facts. He left Herāt in January, 1442, and arrived at Vijianagar in April, 1443 A.D. He stayed there till November of that year and returned to Herāt in March, 1444 A.D. Deva Raya II (1423–1446) was the Emperor to whose Court he claims to have been accredited.

5. The third sojournor was Athanatias Nikitin – a Russian. He set out on his journey in the year 1469 A.D., passed about four years in the Deccan and returned to his native country in the year 1474 A.D., after an absence of more than five years. He also travelled in the guise of a Moslem and assumed the name of Khwāja Yūsuf Khurāsāni. The object of his travels, like Conti, was trade, and his stock-in-trade was horses. His narrative is not as trustworthy as that of 'Abdur Razzāk, though it is superior to Conti's in veracity and his observations on many points appear to be faulty and erroneous, due perhaps to lack of good education and to his being a native of Russia which was a backward country in the 15th century. His remarks about monkeys and their king and the bird called Gokak create an impression that he really believed in such childish stories.

CHAPTER II.

THE ROUTES BY WHICH THE THREE TRAVELLERS JOURNEYED AND THE PLACES VISITED BY THEM.

Nicolo Conti with some Persian merchants freighted a ship, and embarked on it from a Persian port, situated about 100 miles east from Ormuz. Sailing along the sea coast, he arrived in the course of a month at the famous port of Cambay.

Sailing 20 days southward along the sea coast, he touched two ports—Helly and Pecamunia.

Helly may be Haliyal, the headquarters of the town of the same name, in South Canara District, Bombay. It is mentioned by the Arab geographer and historian, Abulfida, as Ras Haili, by Marco Polo as Ely and by Ibn Batuta as Hili (14th century). Pecamunia has not yet been identified. Travelling about 300 miles inland, he arrived at Vijianagar. The distance from Haliyal to Vijianagar is about the same. From Vijianagar he went to Palagonda [1] which is Balconda alias Pangal. Pangal is a hill fort in Nagar Kurnool Taluk of the Magboobnagar District, Hyderabad State. It was the scene of two battles between Hindus and Moslems, in the 15th and 16th centuries. From Pangal, Conti proceeded to Pandifatania. Fatania is obviously a corruption of Patan and Peudi may be a misspelling for Piscis which means fish in Latin and seems to stand for Masoli (matsya, a fish in Sanskrit), the first half of the word Masolipatam. He then proceeded through Odesecheria and Chandragiria to Mylapore. Masolipatam was a seaport on the east coast, is mentioned by Pliny and was visited by Marco Polo. The terrible cyclone of 1865 A.D. so changed its harbour that from that year it has been abandoned as a seaport. Odescheria is Udaigiri, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name in the Nellore District of the Madras Presidency. Chandrageria is Chandragiri, the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in the North Arcot District of the Madras Presidency. It was the Raja of this place, a poor representative of the glorious dynasty of Vijianagar, who granted the site of Fort St. George (Madras) to the East India Company in 1639 A.D.

Mylapore is now part of the city of Madras. The little mount close to Mylapore contains the Roman Catholic Church, dedicated to St. Thomas, the alleged apostle of India. But

[1] The route given in the narrative and the identification of it by the learned editor of "India in the 15th Century", is wrong. Palagonda is identified with Penukonda and Pandifatania with a place near Tellichery on the Malabar Coast. But from Vijianagar to Malabar coast via Penukonda and thence to Mylapore on the Coromandal Coast would be too zigzag and circuitous. There can be no doubt about Mylapore, as the reference to the sepulchre of St. Thomas establishes the identity without any shadow of doubt. Conti's object in undertaking the arduous journey was trade and once at Tellichery he could not set his back to the famous ports and commercial emporiums of Calicut and Quilon on the Malabar coast and proceed direct to the opposite Coromandal Coast where there were no such corresponding ports and centre of trade. Besides, there are no towns on the way between Penukonda and the Malabar Coast to be identified with Odesecheria and Chandragiria. Udaigiri and Chandragiri identified by me are near the east coast and much nearer to Mylapore than the town near Tellichery on the Malabar Coast. Again no town on the Malabar coast can be better identified with Pandifatania than Masulipatam. The towns identified by me, i.e. Pangal, Masulipatam, Udaigiri and Chandragiri, were big towns in that century.

this is proved to be incorrect. Thomas Acquinas is the St. Thomas who has given his name to the locality. The martyrdom is a fiction. From Mylapore, Conti came to Cobila which is Kolkai[1] or Kayal more probably the latter, a village in Srivaikuntam, taluk of the Tinnevelly District, Madras Presidency. It is also mentioned by 'Abdur Razzāk as the southernmost seaport belonging to Vijianagar. Conti has called this part of the country Malabar, which must be mistranscription for Maabar Maabar was the name given by the Arab traders of the middle ages to the southernmost part of the Indian peninsula situated between the Malabar coast and Ceylon. Marco Polo (13th century). Ibn Batuta (14th century) both have mentioned it. Maabar is derived from the word ABAR to cross in Arabic. It was called Maabar because it had to be crossed for going from Malabar coast to Ceylon. This shows that commerce between Malabar and Ceylon passed through the country called Maabar and that there were no direct commercial relations between Malabar and Ceylon. This may be attributed to the flourishing condition of the pearl fishery in the ports to the extreme south of India outside Malabar and may also be due to the high prosperity and wealth of the people of the Pandyan (Madura) kingdom which attracted commerce and gave good profits to merchants. On his return journey, Conti visited Colum which is Quilon a port and military station in the State of Travancore. Thence he went to Cocym which is Cochin the capital of the state of the same name on the Malabar Coast. From Cochin he proceeded to Calicut touching two towns in the way—Calangaria and Nulancota.

Calicut is the famous seaport of Malabar and was the seat of the Zamorins—the head of the polyandrous tribe of Nayars. Calangaria is Kadangalori and Nulancota baffles identification.

2. 'Abdur Razzāk landed at Calicut. On his way to Vijianagar, he passed through Bandinana, Mangalore and Belur. Bandinana may be Cannanore or Badagore, both seaports on the Malabar coast between Calicut and Mangalore. Mangalore is the headquarters of the North Canara district of the Bombay Presidency. From Mangalore he travelled inland, halting at Belur in the way. Belur is the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in Hasan district, Mysore State. There he was much impressed with a temple[2] which he saw and has described

[1] Kalkai is mentioned by the author of the Periplus (80 A.D.) and by Ptolomy (130 A.D.) as a celebrated place for pearl fishery. The deposit of silt by the river at its mouth caused the sea to recede gradually with the result that in course of time a new port was founded and was visited by Marco Polo in 1292 A.D. Kayal has in its turn met with the same fate and is now about 5 miles inland.

[2] The temple of Belur was built by King Vishnuvardhana of the Hoysala Ballala dynasty (1117–1137). He was won over from Jainism to Vaishnavaism by Ramanujachari. In 1381 A.D. this temple was

its architectural beauty in glowing language. On the return journey Abdur Razzāk first came to Maganore which may be identified with Mirgan now a village in Kumpta taluk of North Arcot district, Bombay Presidency. Albuquerque visited it in 1510 A.D. It is supposed to be the ancient Muziris mentioned by Pliny. He embarked from Onara which is Hanivar a seaport in the same district.

3. Nikitin disembarked at Chaul which is the famous port of the middle ages. From this place he proceeded to Joonar,[1] which is now the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in Poona district, Bombay Presidency, 50 miles north of Poona. Thence he went to Bedar via Gulbarga and Kolunghar. Kolunghar is Kodangal, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name in Gulbarga district, Hyderabad State, and 12 miles from Tundur Railway Station. Gulbarga was the first capital of the Bahmanis in Deccan. It is now the headquarters of a District and Division in Hyderabad State and contains several monuments of their architecture. The first among these is the mosque which was built on the model of the famous mosque at Cardova in Spain. It also contains the mausoleum of Ḥadrat Sayyid Muḥammad Gīsū Darāz, the premier Moslem saint of the Deccan, who came to Gulbarga from Delhi in the year 815 A.H. From Bedar he paid visits to Parvattam and Daulatābād. Parvattam is the famous shrine of Venkateshwar at Tripathi in North Arcot District, Madras Presidency. Daulatābād was the capital of the Yadavas and the first Moslem capital of the Deccan. It has now dwindled to a small town but its ruins remind one of its past greatness and splendour. While returning Nikitin embarked from Dabhol,[2] a seaport in the Dapoli taluk of the Ratnagari district, Bombay Presidency.

---

repaired under the orders of Harihara I of Vijianagar, vide "Never to be forgotten Empire."

[1] It is now a town in the Alibag taluk of Kolaba district, Bombay Presidency, on the sea coast about 30 miles south of Bombay. It is a place of great antiquity. Ptolomy (150 A.D.) has mentioned it as Symulla. In 642 it is called Chemala by Hiuen Tsiang. Arab travellers have called it Simur and Jimur. In 1508 a naval fight took place here between the Portuguese and the Musalmāns and the former were defeated. In 1516 the Portuguese established a factory here and five years later it was burnt by the Bijapur fleet. The Gujrat fleet and Turkish ships attacked it in 1528 but were repulsed by the Portuguese and Ahmednagar Squadron. In 1529 it was plundered by the Gujrat troops. In 1600 it passed to the Moghuls at the time of Akbar.

Joonar was called Jirnanagar in ancient times and is supposed to be the capital of Nahapana who was the first Kshatrapa of Maharashtra.

[2] Dabhol was the principal port of the Southern Konkon, as Chaul was of the Northern, in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, carrying on an extensive trade with Persia and Red Sea ports. It contains a mosque which is the only specimen of pure Saracenic architecture in Konkon. It was the capital of a province of the Bijapur Kingdom. It was christened Mustafabad after its first Moslem Governor under the Adil Shahis of Bijapur.

4. The three travellers thus travelled through all the parts of the Deccan and visited all the important towns and cities. The routes followed by them do not appear to be established and recognised highways frequented by all travellers. The route by which Nikitin came to Bedar, i.e. from Chaul to Joonar, Gulbarga, Kodangol and Bedar may be called a highway, for it is the shortest and straight and passes through big towns. Besides Nikitin mentions the existence of inns in the towns where travellers lodged and boarded and such inns would be located profitably for the owner only in towns situated on much frequented highways. It can, therefore, be safely presumed that his route was a highway. None of the three travellers makes any mention of the kind of conveyance by which they accomplished their journeys. The stock-in-trade of Nikitin was horses and he must therefore have travelled on the back of a horse As 'Abdur Razzāk was passing himself off as an Ambassador, he may have probably been carried in a palanquin which was the most respectable vehicle of transit in those times. Had he ridden on an elephant he would have certainly recorded it.

Nicolo Conti must have travelled in bullock carts because his wife and children were with him.

CHAPTER III.

Political Condition.

From the very beginning of history the Deccan was never a political entity. The first century of the Christian era shows the Andhrabhrityas ruling in the northern and central part of the Deccan from sea to sea with their capital at Paithan on the Godaveri in Aurangābād district, while the country south of the river Palar was divided between the ancient Chola, Pandya and Chera kingdoms. From Palar to Kaveri was the country of the Cholas subsequently extended by the conquest of Tondaimandalam, i.e. the present two Arcots and Chinglepeth districts of the Madras Presidency. From Kaveri to Cape Comorin was the land of the Pandyas and the Chola dominion comprised all the territory westward to the sea.

2. The following changes took place one after the other in the political condition of the Deccan during the 13 centuries preceding the Moslem invasion of the Deccan.

The Andhrabhrityas, who were Hindus, were succeeded gradually in the north and centre of their dominions by Chalukyas (6th century) who were first Jains and then Hindus, with their capital at Vatapi the modern Badami in the Bijapur district, Bombay Presidency; in the south-west by Kadambas (4th century) who were mostly Jains, with their capital at Banavasi in Mysore State. In the south and east

by Pallavas, who were Hindus (Saivites), with one capital at Kanchi, the modern Conjiveram near Madras and another capital at Vengipuram in Northern Circars and situated somewhere near the modern Ellore in Godaveri district, Madras Presidency. The Chalukyas extended their power into Kadamba and Pallava territories in the course of a century and in the beginning of the 7th century were divided into two branches which soon became independent of one another. The western Chalukyas had their capital at Kalyani near Gulbarga and the eastern branch had its capital at Rajahmundry in Godaveri district, Madras Presidency. About the middle of 8th century, the western Chalukyas had to give place to Rashtrakutas who were Hindus and ruled the country till the close of the 9th century with their capital at Malkhed, also near Gulbarga. The old dynasty was then revived by a brave and adventurous scion of the old race and was restored to power after vanquishing the Rashtrakutas. The Pallava State of Kanchi had succumbed to Chola power in the 10th century, which growing strong and powerful, amalgamated the eastern Chalukyas of the Vengi country with their kingdom by intermarriage. The Cholas were Hindus (Saivites) and their capital was at Tanjore. From the last quarter of the 11th century, the Kalachuris usurped the power of the western Chalukyas who, however, regained their kingdom but not to its former extent. The successful rebellion and usurpation by the Kalachuris had enabled the powerful provincial Governors called Mahamandaleswaras to assert themselves. The Silharas on Konkon coast, with their capital at Kolhapur, the Yadavas in the north, with their capital at Deogiri, the modern Daulatabad, and the Hoysalas of Dwara Samudra, the modern Halabid in Mysore State, rose to power during the usurpation of the short-lived Kalachuri dynasty. The western Chalukyas were eventually absorbed by the Yadavas, Silharas and Hoysalas in the course of the 12th century and they appear no more in history after 1189 A.D. The Kakatyas of Warangal had risen in the old Vengi country and supplanted the Cholas there in the beginning of the 12th century. The old Chera kingdom on the extreme south-west coast of the peninsula was finally divided into three small kingdoms of Talkad, Karur and Travancore.

3. At the time of 'Alā'uddin Khiljī's invasion of the Deccan in 1294 A.D., the following dynasties were ruling there :—

1. The Yadavas of Deogiri in the north and north-west. They had absorbed the Silharas of Kolhapur.
2. The Kakatyas of Warangal in the centre and east.
3. The Hoysalas of Dwara Samudra between Krishna and Kaveri from sea to sea. The Kadambas had succumbed to them.

4. The Pandyas of Madura in the remaining part of the peninsula south of the river Kaveri. The Cholas had been conquered by them and the Kerala kingdom, more or less, acknowledged their suzerainty.

They represented the people speaking the Marathi, Telegu, Kanarese and Tamil languages, respectively, thus proving that these languages had already been evolved in the 13th century and the modern lingual divisions of the Deccan already formed. The diverse races and nationalities speaking different languages had gradually, in the course of centuries and under the stress mostly of political, religious and climatic conditions, merged into four or five distinct peoples adopting the tongue of any of them and influenced in various degrees by Aryan culture and language. The Moslem conquest of the Deccan in spite of its severity duration and continuity, failed to break this lingual formation or to reduce its number or to evolve a new one with territorial limits of its own. All the four powers were generally at war with one another and the boundaries of their kingdoms were always shifting. The Hoysalas and Yadavas fought one another frequently for the Doab between the rivers Krishna and Tungabhadra which was also the bone of contention between their successors—the Bahmanis and Vijianagar.

4. All the four kingdoms were conquered by the Moslems in the 14th century and the ruling dynasties except the Pandyas were extirpated. The Kakatya family, however, dragged on its straggling existence till the beginning of the 15th century. North-western and central Deccan was lost to the Hindus for ever by the founding of the Bahmani dynasty in 1347 A.D. In the east, the Gangas of Orissa and the Reddis of Kondavid continued to hold the fragmentary heritage of the Kakatyas for well nigh a century. The kingdom of Vijianagar was established on the ruins of the Hoysala Ballala kingdom by a scion of the same family in the year 1326 A.D. The meteoric Saltanate of Madura (737 to 779 A.H. or 1372 A.D.) that had usurped the Pandyan power, was soon wiped out of existence by the help of Vijianagar and the old dynasty restored. The petty Kerala prinicipalities had remained intact after the Moslem onslaught which did not, however, reach them.

5. About the close of the 15th century, the Bahmani kingdom in the north, and the Empire of Vijianagar in the south, roughly speaking, divided the whole of Deccan between themselves. The Empire of Vijianagar comprised all that portion of Deccan which is situated below the rivers Krishna and Tungabhadra except the small coast strip from Calicut to Ceylon. On the western coast the country from Goa to Mangalore was also included in it. The Doab between the Krishna and Tungabhadra and the part of Telingana between the deltas of the Krishna and the confines of Orissa was the bone of con-

tention between the Rayas of Vijianagar and the Bahmani Sultāns. 'Abdur Razzāk gives Malabar as one of the boundaries of Vijianagar and writes that the Zamorin of Calicut does not acknowledge the suzerainty of Vijianagar but was at the same time afraid of his power and prestige. These two facts suggest the independence enjoyed by the petty sovereigns of the Malabar coast. The Chola and the Pandya dynasties were in existence at Tanjore and Madura, respectively, but under the suzerainty of Vijianagar. Similarly there were several petty principalities in the ancient Tuluva and Haiga countries comprising the modern districts of North and South Canara and western Mysore that paid homage to Vijianagar. These petty States paid tribute and rendered occasional military help.

The Bahmani kingdom comprised the whole of Maharashtra except the extreme southern portion of it and the whole of Telingana except the portion of it to the south of the river Krishna or in other words, the Marathi districts of the Bombay Presidency, H.E.H. the Nizam's dominions, Berar and the Northern Circars. The present Nagpur Division of the Central Provinces had also been added to it by conquest in the third quarter of the 15th century. Roughly speaking, Vijianagar ruled the Kanarese and Tamils, and the Bahmanis, the Marathas and Telegus.

CHAPTER IV.

Economic Conditions.

The country was well cultivated, fertile and well populated. Both 'Abdur Razzāk and Nikitin write that everyday they passed through populous towns and Conti states that pestilence was unknown among the people of the Deccan and they were not, therefore, exposed to those diseases which carried off the populations in European countries in his times. A populous country bespeaks a well-cultivated country as also the existence of commerce and industry.

The staple crops grown were the same as they are now. They are suited to the climate and physical formation of the land. The cultivation of wheat was greatly stimulated by the Bahmanis and in a few years the area under wheat was largely extended. The rapid growth of wheat cultivation may be gauged from the following incident. It is recorded that one day Sultān Firūz Shāh Bahmanī (1397–1421) found pieces of juar bread in a beggar's bowl which he casually and whimsically examined. He was much struck with the poorness of the stuff and rightly thought that the people should be provided with a more nourishing and wholesome food than juari. With this object in view, he adopted special measures to extend the cultivation of wheat in his kingdom, with the beneficial result that in a few

years on repeating his fantastic experiment he found a wheat bread and halwa (a sweet dish prepared from wheat flour) in a common beggar's bowl. It may be that wheat was not the staple food of the people of the Deccan, but the Moslems, who were mostly the descendants of former immigrants, and fresh emigrants from Moslem countries could not live without wheat. The staple food of the people of the countries—Persia, Arabia, and Central Asia—that furnished recruits for the Moslem armies in the Deccan as well as servants for the civil administration, is still wheat The supply of wheat was perhaps unequal to the demand and the Bahmanis were, therefore, obliged to extend the cultivation of wheat. Even now wheat does not form part of the food of the common people in the Deccan. The principal ingredients of the diet of the populace there are rice for the Tamil and Malayalam country, rice and juar for Telingana. ragi. juar and bajra for the land where Kanarese is spoken, and juar and bajra for Maharashtra. Wheat is eaten by the higher classes. These facts impel the suggestion that the cultivation of wheat in the Deccan was stimulated, fostered and extended by the Moslems. Telingana which covers about half the basins of the rivers Godaveri and Krishna is studded with irrigation tanks of various sizes which even now render possible the raising of a second crop of rice and are a glowing testimony to the wisdom of the old rulers of the land whose attempts to utilise to the full the rain water for the benefit of man are worthy of all commendation. The basin of the river Kaveri has been the granary of the south from very ancient times. The Moslem emigrants from Persia and other countries which abound in luscious fruits always pined for the produce of the horticulture of their native lands and took pains therefore to introduce them. Daulatābād, their first capital in the Deccan, and Bedar, their capital in the 15th century, were soon surrounded with fruit gardens and vineries. Grapes, figs, apples were largely grown at Bedar in the century under review. In the second half of the 15th century. Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān, the able Minister of the Bahmanis, introduced the cultivation of saffron also at Bedar. Coffee which is now an important garden produce of the Mysore country and Nilgiris, had not been introduced from Arabia. The coffee plant was brought to the Deccan in the 16th century by the Moslem saint Bābā Bādan after whom the hills near Belur in Mysore State are named. Spices were largely grown in Malabar and the adjacent tracts.

2. The exports and imports were as follows:—

Exports.—Pepper, ginger, colour plants, cloves, cinnamon, aromatic roots, every description of spices, and silk and cotton goods of various kinds.

Imports.—Only horses are mentioned.

Nikitin writes that in the market at Bedar not a single foreign manufactured article was sold and all were Indian made goods. This shows the high position Deccan occupied in those days in manufacture and industry. Export of food grains and woollen goods are not mentioned. The climate of the Deccan does not require the use of woollen clothing and the surplus quantities of cereals and pulses were consumed by the large armies maintained for internecine warfare and also by the large numbers that were engaged in industry. Perhaps the countries trading with India in that century did not require food grains, their home produce sufficing for their consumption. Besides the course cereals juar, bajra and ragi are not in demand in foreign countries and they are not even now exported. The produce of wheat in the Deccan in the 15th century was enough to meet the demand for local consumption and rice was not required by other countries for human consumption or for industrial purposes like the demand for it in these days largely for the latter purpose. Good horses have never been bred in the Deccan; from ancient times, they were imported from Persia and Arabia. The later breed of the Deccan pony is the successful experiment of the Mahrattas.

3. The excess of exports over imports, chiefly of manufactured articles, indicates a high state of industry. The large armies of soldiers and industrial workmen and labourers and the large number of persons employed in the numerous diamond mines must have lightened the burden on the soil and a considerable part of the population did not therefore draw its sustenance direct from the soil. These facts—the high state of industry and manufacture, a considerable part of the population not being a direct burden on the soil—are sure evidence of the prosperity of the people and the cheapness of the food grains. This may perhaps be one of the chief reasons why people were attracted to Deccan even from Northern India.

4. In the 15th century there were the following ports on the western shores of India that were centres of brisk and extensive coastal and oversea trade and where passengers embarked for and disembarked from foreign lands:—

Cambay, Chaul, Dabhol, Mangalore, Calicut and Quilon.

No seaport worth the name is mentioned on the east coast. Broach seems to have lost its position as the chief port of India which it occupied in ancient times. Surat had not yet risen. Neither is mentioned.

Cambay, Mangalore, Calicut and Quilon are well-known ports, and Chaul and Dabhol have been described in Chapter II. Of these ports, Cambay was in the kingdom of Gujrat. Chaul and Dabhol were the seaports of the Bahmani kingdom. Mangalore belonged to Vijianagar. Calicut and Quilon were independent. The prevalence of piracy in the Arabian Sea

proves an extensive and costly foreign trade and also that the seacoasts and navigation were not controlled by any constituted and recognised authority and power inspiring dread and fear. Hindus were addicted to piracy and when Nikitin was at Bedar the Malikuttujjar, a title given to the Prime Minister of the Bahmani kingdom, captured two towns on the Konkon coast that were the strongholds of pirates who infested the Indian seas. Almost all the small ports on the Konkon coast, south of Dabhol, were given to piracy, as 'Abdur Razzāk writes that vessels that were driven into these ports by contrary winds were plundered. This part of Konkon coast was the home of pirates till later times. A pirate chief—Angria—attempted to contest the supremacy of the Arabian Sea in the 18th century with the East India Company and was subdued after a severe struggle.

5. The establishment of large warehouses at Calicut for storing merchandise and the levy of custom duty testify to the existence of a regular trade with foreign countries.

6. Conti describes the ships built by the Indians and preferred them to ships built in Europe in his times. Some ships were built with five masts and five sails and were capable of holding 2,000 butts. The lower parts of the ships were constructed with triple planks for the purpose of resisting the force of the storms to which they were much exposed. Some ships were built in compartments so that if one compartment was damaged the remaining compartments might serve the purpose. Some of the merchants owned 40 ships, each of which was valued at 50,000 gold pieces. These facts disclose the excellence which the Indians had then attained in the art of ship-building, the extensiveness of India's foreign trade and the wealth acquired by the Indian merchants. Conti writes that the Indians had no knowledge of the compass, but measured their courses and distances of places by the elevation and depression of the poles. The vessels were steered chiefly by the position of the stars. But this remark of Conti does not appear to be correct. The author of Harmswarth's History of the World writes, "About the year 700 A.D. Arabs and Persians encouraged by improvements in ship building and the knowledge of the compass which they then acquired, advanced boldly over the Bay of Bengal and reached the shores of China." It is well known that the Chinese were acquainted with the mariners' compass long before the century under review. The Arabs, Persians and Chinese had been visiting Indian ports in their own ships from centuries before, and it is not to be disputed that the Indians acquired the use of the compass from them. The Indians knew the monsoons and sea winds also, as is evident from the reference made to them by 'Abdur Razzāk.

At Calicut all merchandise was stored in ware-houses

constructed by the Zamorin and under the watch of the customs officers. An *ad valorem* duty of 2½ p.c. was recovered when any sale was effected otherwise no duty was levied. The bonded warehouse system, it seems, is an old institution. Roads, bridges, hospitals and schools are not mentioned by the three travellers. Paper was not known and was not used except at Cambay. Palm leaves and any white surface blackened occupied the place of paper. The latter was a cloth covered with a composition of charcoal and gum and called "Kadata." Iron pens were used in writing on the palm leaf and a stone called balafom, i.e. pot stone, cut and sharpened like a pen was utilised for writing on the other material. The latter kind of writing was held in high estimation. Scent also was not known and camphor seems to have been valued as a good perfume and was given the place of scent on ceremonial occasions.

Nikitin sold his stallion at Bedar for 68 footoons and paid two gold pieces as ship fare for his voyage from Dabhol to Ormuz. Conti estimates the value of a ship at 50,000 pieces of gold. As the weight or value of a piece of gold is not given it is not possible to determine the equivalent of it in modern currency. Similarly it is not known what is meant by a footoon, a coin or a weight.

7. The country was well cultivated and fertile as remarked by 'Abdur Razzāk. The large irrigation system for the supply of plentiful water for purposes of agriculture, ensured a good outturn of corn in years of normal rainfall, and there was no export of food commodities. The living must, therefore, have been very cheap. None of the three travellers mentions the prevalence of any epidemic disease during their long sojourn there. Conti on the contrary speaks of the freeness of the country from pestilence. The public health might, therefore, be taken to be good. The pay of one fanom a day granted to a policeman at Vijianagar is a sure index of the cheapness of the living in that city in the 15th century. It was a condition of his service that he should either bring the thief to justice or make good the loss caused to the owner by theft. When the latter contingency is taken into account and the part of his pay necessarily spent in detecting the theft or making good the loss is considered, his pay does not seem to be high. Cheap living alone could have satisfied him with such a pay.

In this century, land for house sites in the city of Gulbarga sold for a Hun per square yard. A Hun is valued at about Rs. 3/8 British Indian currency. At this rate the Nazul plots (100 × 100 sq. ft.) in Nagpur, should fetch Rs. 3,900 per plot. This fact can help us in gauging the financial condition of the citizens of Gulbarga as well as the growth of population there.

8. There was a regular industry of digging for diamonds at several places in the Deccan in the 15th century. 'Abdur Razzāk and Conti both mention diamond mines. Conti names

a place—a mountainous tract—about 15 days' journey north of Vijianagar and called Albanigaras where diamonds were found in a deep valley surrounded by precipitous and steep mountains and which was also the abode of huge serpents. He reiterates the story of Sindbād the Sailor of the Arabian Nights in all its details in connection with this valley of diamond and serpents. Marco Polo, who passed through the Deccan at the close of the 13th century, has also referred to this valley. The story of Sindbād the Sailor should, therefore, be understood to be based on facts though the hero is brought in to render it more interesting and romantic.

Kalloor in Sattanapalli taluk of the Guntoor district, Madras Presidency, may be the site of the Diamond Mines described by Marco Polo and Nicolo Conti. The hills nearby supply the scenes for the legends of Sindbad the Sailor The famous diamond Kohinoor was found here. The rich Vajra Karoor diamond mines are situated about 10 miles south-west of Goothi where there are the remains of a very fine hill fortress. There were diamond mines at Partiala Kondanotakallu and Usppalli in Nandigrama taluk of the Krishna district, Madras Presidency, on the left bank of the river Krishna. These were reserved by the Nizam when the Northern Circars were ceded to the East India Company in 1766 A.D. In the reign of Ahmad Shāh I (1422–1435) Bahmani, diamond mines were discovered at Partiala in Krishna district and near Wairagarh, a ruined place in the Garchiroli Tahsil of the Chanda District, C.P. The latter are mentioned in the Ā'in-i-Akbari of Abul Fadl. The output from these mines must have been large as 'Abdur Razzāk writes that at Vijianagar a whole bazar was reserved for the sale of diamonds and pearls. Diamonds were produced in such large numbers from these mines during the centuries when European nations began to have direct commercial intercourse with Deccan that the diamonds of Golconda became a term in the languages of Europe. All the diamond mines, mentioned above, were situated in the kingdom of Golconda which succeeded in the 10th century to this portion of the Bahmani kingdom, hence they were named after Golconda.

9. The coinage of Vijianagar was as follows :—

Gold. (1) Varaha—weighing about 1 miskal or equivalent to 2 dinars.
(2) Partab—½ of a Varaha.
(3) Fanom—1 10th of a Partab.
Silver. Tar—1/6th of a Fanom.
Copper. Jital—1 3rd of Tar.[1]

[1] The author of the "Never to be forgotten Empire" writes that Fanom was a silver coin and gives the value of the different coins as under :—

The Fanom and Tar were legal tender as 'Abdur Razzāḳ writes that they were widely current and useful. The fact that the Government servants (policemen) were paid in Fanoms also supports this view. The currency of Vijianagar may be said to be of gold standard. It is said that gold from the provinces was brought to the royal mint at Vijianagar for being coined into standard money. This may be taken to be the practice of free coinage. In the 15th century Deccan appears to have enjoyed free coinage and gold standard currency. The Bahmanis also struck coins of gold, silver and copper. The gold coin was called Hun; silver, Tanka; and copper, Jital. All the three were of different weights and sizes. Their coinage was mostly tri-metallic, i.e., gold, silver and copper coins bore a true relation to each other in terms of their accepted metal value in the market. This observation applies more correctly to the coinage of the Dehli Sulṭāns and as the coinage of the Bahmanis was a copy of the Dehli coinage, it may be held to have been struck on the same basis. During the 15th century in India the ratio of gold to silver in value was 10 to 1 and that of silver to copper was 80 to 1.

Conti and Nikitin give the value of certain articles in gold pieces. This shows that besides coins, pieces of gold were also used as money. This fact creates an impression that foreign merchants preferred pure bullion to alloyed coins for obvious reasons and as foreign trade of the Deccan was mostly in the hands of foreigners their wishes had to be respected and gold pieces of uniform size and weight passed as money.

10. Elephants were found in big numbers in the forests of Mysore, Coorg and the Nilgiri Hills and the wild country to the north of the river Godaveri, now comprising the Bastar

---

Varaha—about Rs. 4.
Partab— ,, Rs. 2.
Fanom— ,, 6 annas.
Tar — ,, Re. 1.
Jital — ,, 3 pies.

If these values assigned to the different coins approximate to correctness then Fanon could not be a gold coin as mentioned by 'Abdur Razzāḳ The value of a Fanom is so little that a gold coin of that value would be too small and tiny for free handling and circulation. 'Abdur Razzāḳ writes that the gold coins were alloys as against the silver and copper coins which were struck of pure metal. A Miṯḳāl is 4½ mashas in weight. Assuming that about one-third was the baser metal each Varaha contained about 3 mashas of pure gold. The value of 3 mashas of gold at the present rate comes to about Rs. 5-4. Even with this weight and rate the value of a Fanom cannot be more than 5 annas in present money. The dinar, quoted by 'Abdur Razzāḳ, must be the dinar of Shāh Rukh or the one current in Persia in his time. The Islamic Dinar according to which certain religious payments are calculated, is a gold coin containing 4½ mashas of gold. The dinar mentioned by 'Abdur Razzāḳ must, therefore, be a smaller coin in weight and value.

State, Chhatisgarh Division and Chanda District of the Central Provinces.

For some reason or other perhaps on account of change of climate due to cutting and clearing of forests and extension of cultivation thus rendering the country unfit for its habitat or ruthless hunting and catching of the animals to meet the demand for it everywhere in the whole of India, this huge and foremost member of the herbivora has disappeared from the Central Provinces, leaving a slender trace in the jungles of the Sambalpur district and adjacent tracts.

Elephants formed an important part of the army in ancient and mediæval India and were also considered the most grand and gorgeous means of conveyance and transit.

The demand, therefore, for these majestic animals was universal and as it could not be reared like other animals that have been domesticated the art of its decoying and catching had become an industry. Vijianagar had a large establishment employed for the purpose and 'Abdur Razzāk describes the different methods by which the wild elephants were entrapped and tamed for the use of man. 'Abdur Razzāk writes that at Vijianagar tamed elephants were used for breeding purposes, but this is not supported by the natural habits of these animals as hinted above.

11. A short description of the cities of Vijianagar and Bedar, as given by the three travellers well indicate the economic conditions of the country and convey some idea of town building in mediæval times.

The city of Vijianagar was situated on the southern bank of the river Tungabhadra which makes a curve at the place in a broad plain surrounded by hills on all sides. The place is interspersed with hillocks and big boulders here and there which have been joined at convenient places by walls to form ramparts of citadels one inside the other. Conti writes that the circumference of the city is about 60 miles. 'Abdur Razzāk estimates the distance between the northern and southern gates of the first or outermost wall at 2 furlongs which is about 8 miles. There were seven walls one inside the other. There were gardens and rice fields in the space inside the first three walls and these were irrigated from the tank which had been constructed to the west to bar the only open and easy approach to the city from that direction. In the centre was the citadel containing the Imperial Palaces, the Mint, the offices of the Prime Minister and the Chief Justice and their residences. Numerous running streams and canals made of chiselled stones polished and smooth, passed through the palaces and bazars in the city. There were bazars set apart for each commodity. There was a bazar for the sale of diamonds and pearls, another where only flowers were sold. To the right of the Royal palace were the Council Hall and offices of the Prime Minister and the

Court of Justice. Behind it were the palaces assigned for the residence of these high dignitaries. To the left of the King's palace was the Mint. To the north-east within the central citadel and the second fortification, were situated the elephant stables having a large establishment for their upkeep. Prostitutes were housed in magnificient buildings constructed by the government for the purpose and situated in a separate locality in each fortress. Each fortress was as it were a town by itself. This city of which the very ruins now are tremendous, was founded in the year 1326 A.D. and was completely destroyed after a glorious existence of more than two hundred years in 1565 A.D.

The city of Bedar was founded near the site of the ancient Vidarbha in the year 1430 A.D. by Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh Bahmani surnamed the Vali (saint) and made the capital of his kingdom on account of its elevated position, salubrious climate and the fertility of the soil. It was christened Muḥammadābād after his Pir—Sayyid Muḥammad Gisū Darāz of Gulbarga. In the 12th century the Kakatyas of Warangal had endowed a temple of Mahadeo which existed here and the town gradually sprang around it. Aurangzīb as Viceroy of the Deccan captured Bedar in 1656 A.D. from the king of Golconda and changed its name to Ẓafarābād.

The fort and the royal palaces and public offices were all constructed by Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh Bahmani in about four years. The citadel containing the Sulṭān's palaces had seven gates, each guarded by 100 soldiers. There were also 100 scribes in each gate for writing the names of all persons going in and out and for issuing orders received from the king. The whole palace was gilded and ornamented with gold. The Courts of Justice were situated near the palace. Mounted police numbering 1,000 patrolled the city during the nights. The circumference of the citadel was about 4,000 yards.

CHAPTER V.

Social and Religious Condition.

The prevailing religions were Hinduism and Islām with Christian and Jewish Communities in coast towns. Buddhism had disappeared and Jainism had lost its previous hold on the people. A Lingayath sect had superseded Jainism in the north-west and Vaishnavaism had supplanted it in the south-east of the Deccan.

2. The Moslem connection with the Deccan did not begin with their first invasion of it in 1294 A.D. under 'Alā'uddin Khiljī. The Arabs from before the advent of Islām had commercial relations with the coast towns of the Deccan and these relations increased after the rise of Islām. the Persians also

having joined in it. Along the coast on both sides Moslem commercial colonies had been founded in almost all the seaports by the Arabs and Persians. The whole of the commerce of India with foreign countries was in their hands and Hindu Rājas sought by all means to gain their good-will on account of the increased revenues they derived from that commerce. For this reason they granted them autonomy and they were governed according to their own laws administered by their own Ḳāḍīs. Such was the esteem in which these Moslem trading communities were held by the Hindu princes that the management and control of the harbour and shipping in every seaport was entrusted to them and an officer from amongst them called Shāh Bandar was appointed for the purpose. This is the Shāh Bandar that is mentioned in the story of Chahār Darwish. Ibn Batūta, the Moorish Globe trotter of the 14th century, had noticed such Moslem trading settlements and the self-government enjoyed by them. Moslems had begun to be employed by the Hindu Rājas of the Deccan in the army and also in civil capacities, sometimes even as Ministers, long before the 15th century. There is reason to believe that a part of the army of the Rashtrakutas was composed of Arabs and Abyssinians. Ibn Batūta writes that there were Moslems in the army of the Hoysalas (Kadambas ?) in 1342 A.D. In the second quarter of the 15th century, Vijianagar also thought it advisable to raise a Moslem army and 'Abdur Razzāḳ found a large number of Moslems settled at Vijianagar. Firishta has related the causes that led to this innovation by Vijianagar. The frequent defeats sustained at the hands of the Bahmanis by the Rayas of Vijianagar in the past and in the time of Deva Raya II set him and his Councillors to ponder over the causes of the superiority of Moslems over the Hindus in warfare in spite of their inferiority in numbers and means. Their deliberations resulted in ascribing the Moslem success to their skilful archery and superior horsemanship. They were convinced that their defeats were attributable to their serious defects in both these departments of mediæval warfare.

To remedy these defects it was considered necessary to employ Moslems in the army and the pay of all Hindu horsemen was raised to enable them to provide themselves with stronger and better equipped chargers and Hindu archers and horsemen were placed under Moslems to undergo training in archery and horsemanship. A mosque was built by the government at Vijianagar and the Raya directed the Ḳur'ān to be kept in his presence on a wooden sofa to signify to the Moslems that he regarded their religion and the Holy Book with veneration. These politic measures may have been adopted to proclaim their toleration and impartiality in religious matters and their regard for Islām so that their Moslem soldiers might have no cause on religious grounds to be disloyal to them. It was

wise statesmanship on the part of the Rayas and a sure proof of the tolerant spirit pervading the Hindus of the 15th century. Apart from military requirements the Rayas seem to have recognised the beneficial necessity of persuading Moslems to settle in their dominions. In 1425 A.D. a mosque was built at Masulipatam under the tolerant auspices of the Raya of Vijianagar. A Sasana under date 1430 A.D. declares that Deva Raya II had 10,000 Moslem horsemen in his service. Firishta also mentions this fact.

3. It will be noticed from the facts mentioned in the beginning of the last paragraph that Islām was making headway in the Deccan long before the Moslem invasion of it in 694 A.H. or 1294 A.D. This is proved also from the coming of Moslem saints into the Deccan long prior to that year. Mīrān Sayyid Husain died at Alas near Miraj in 548 A.H. Sayyid 'Alā'uddīn was buried at Nandurbar in 612 A.H. Tabl Alam breathed his last at Trichinopoli in 622 A.H. Bābā Hayāt Kalandar of Mangrul Pīr in Berar expired in 651 A.H. Sayyid Husāmuddīn Tigh Brahma came to Gulbarga long anterior to its capture by Moslems and departed this world in 680 A.H. Islām's first contact with the Deccan was thus in the guise of merchants and unconscious religious missionaries. Moslem saints can scarcely be said to be preachers of religion in the real sense of the word.

4. 'Abdur Razzāk and Nikitin both describe the dress of Hindus and Moslems. The dress of the lower class of Hindus was nothing more than a piece of cloth wound round their loins. The higher classes used three pieces to cover their bodies. One round the loins, the other for the head and the third on the shoulders. This was also the costume of kings and nobles. It was a scanty clothing but was commensurate with the climate of the country for the major portion of the year. For the same reason perhaps the habiliments of the poor people of the Deccan have improved little and comprise the same singleness of garments as of yore. The Moslem dress was a copy of that in vogue in Moslem countries. It consisted of trousers, shirt and long coat for the body, a turban for the head and two pieces of cloth, one as a belt round the waist and the other thrown over the shoulders. The Moslems came from cold countries and were habituated to fuller and warmer clothing to protect their persons from the inclemencies of the weather. The wearing of jewellery was very common amongst the Hindus; all persons from those of the exalted rank to the inferior artizans in the bazar decked themselves with rings, necklaces and bracelets adorned with pearls and precious stones. It is a hobby still followed by the Hindus of the Deccan. As scent was not known fresh flowers were in universal demand. There was a whole bazar reserved for the sale of flowers at Vijianagar. 'Abdur Razzāk found the Zamorin

clothed in the meagre garments mentioned above but when he was presented to the Rāja of Vijianagar he found him dressed in a robe of green satin and wearing a necklace of pearls of the first water and other gems.

5. The Hindu meals consisted of grain and vegetables cooked in oil and taken twice a day. Nikitin writes that beef, mutton and chicken were not eaten by Hindus and that they did not drink any wine or mead.

It seems that he refers to either Jains or Lingayaths. At another place he writes that at banquets much pork was eaten. It is evident that then he referred to the feasts of the lower castes. Both 'Abdur Razzāk and Nikitin refer to peculiar custom prevalent amongst the Hindus concerning their food. It is this. Hindus do not eat their food before one another and do not like their food to be seen by anyone. In modern times Vaishnava Brahmins in the Deccan seem to observe some such insularity concerning their meals. The menu of the Moslems like their dress was a foreign one. 'Abdur Razzāk as an Ambassador from a great king was supplied with the following provisions daily —

> Two sheep, 4 pairs of fowls, 20 seers of rice, 3½ seers of butter, 3 seers of sugar and 2 Varahars of gold.

At each interview with the Raya, he was presented with two packets of betel leaf, a purse containing fanoms and a small quantity of camphor. It appears that there was no practice of conferring Khil'at or Robes of Honour at Vijianagar.

6. The description of the Court of Vijianagar given by 'Abdur Razzāk is very meagre. He merely states that the Raya was seated in a hall surrounded by the most imposing attributes of royalty with persons standing on both sides of him ranged in a circle. It seems no one except the king sat in the Vijianagar court and it was a great honour conferred on 'Abdur Razzāk when he was made to take a seat near the king. Prostration before the king and high functionaries of State was the etiquette of the Court of Vijianagar, but 'Abdur Razzāk was allowed to follow the procedure observed in his master's Court by bowing three times at his presentation. The Bahmanis being Moslems could not tolerate prostration but were one with Vijianagar in not providing seats for their Darbāries; occasionally extreme old age and learning were respected by being accorded the high privilege and honour of sitting in the royal presence. This may have been an Indian custom as it does not seem to have prevailed in purely Moslem countries. In Bedar every man had to bow to a nobleman or other high official if he encountered him. The most respectable means of locomotion were the elephant and the palankin with gorgeous hangings and inlaid with silver and gold.

7. The Rayas of Vijianagar possessed an extensive and populous haram yielding to none in the number of its inmates and the regulations for its upkeep and control. Twelve thousand mentioned by Conti certainly included the whole establishment of the haram and 'Abdur Razzāk places the number of queen consorts and concubines at the comparatively modest figure of 700. No caste scruples debarred the kings of Vijianagar from admitting to their haram any beautiful girl discovered in any part of their empire. The damsels who promised to become sati on the Raya's death were honoured with the title of queens. With the consent of their parents they were conducted to the king's palace with great pomp and splendour and from that moment were lost to their parents and relatives, as they were never allowed to leave the haram. The haram was so well secluded and guarded that a boy of the tender age of 10 years was not allowed free admission into it. The observance of the so-called Moslem-made parda system is the irresistible inference drawn from this state of haram affairs at Vijianagar. They enjoyed the highest consideration and were the mistresses of exclusive households. The Bahmanis of Bedar had forestalled the great Akbar in his policy of intermarriage with the Hindus. In the 15th century, Sultān Firūz Shāh married the daughter of Deva Raya I in the year 810 A.H. or 1408 A.D. Sultān 'Alā'uddīn Aḥmad Shāh II married the daughter of the Raja of Sangameshwar[1] on the Konkon coast in 1437 A.D. Firūz Shāh married the daughter of the Raja of Kherla also. The marriage of Firūz Shāh's son Hasan Khān with Parthal, the daughter of a goldsmith of Mudgal also took place in the beginning of the 15th century. Sultān 'Alā'uddīn Aḥmad Shāh II named his Marathi wife Zīb Chihra—beautiful face—and got so enamoured of her that he neglected his first queen, the daughter of the king of Khandesh, which brought on a war between the two kings. The Bahmanī Sultāns were in the habit of contracting regular marriages and celebrating them with great pomp and splendour.

8. Nikitin describes the hunting excursion of the Bahmanī Sultān Muḥammad Shāh III. His account seems, however, to be exaggerated. He writes that 10,000 horsemen, 50,000 foot-soldiers, 200 elephants adorned in gilded armour, 100 dancers, 100 concubines and 3,000 common horses in golden clothing accompanied the Sultān in his hunting expedition. These figures are certainly hyperbolic, even if menials and camp followers are included. These royal pastimes were re-

[1] Sangameshwar is a town in the taluk of the same name in Ratnagiri district, Bombay Presidency. It was for long the residence of Basava, the founder of the Lingayath sect. It was here that Sambaji was taken prisoner by the Moghals in 1689 A.D.

sorted to twice a week. 'Abdur Razzāḳ does not mention any hunting party of the Raya of Vijianagar but writes that they occasionally indulged in the more dangerous pastime of elephant hunting. The Bahmani Sultāns took pleasure trips in the open country on the occasion of festivals. 'Abdur Razzāḳ has given a graphic description of the celebration of the Mahanavami festival at Vijianagar. It is the modern Dasehra state festivities of Mysore, imitated and continued by the Mahārajas of Mysore, the real successors of Vijianagar. All the governors of provinces and poligars of the empire and feudatory princes attended the celebrations at Vijianagar with their army and elephants in their best dress. On the trunks and ears of the elephants pictures and figures of wonderful beauty were drawn with cinnabar and other colouring substances. Eminent personages and learned Pandits from the provinces and outlying parts of the empire were also invited. The concourse was so great that in the words of 'Abdur Razzāḳ it presented the appearance of the waves of the sea or of that compact mass of men which will be assembled together on the day of resurrection. Pavilions were erected in a plain for lodging the principal guests and also for housing the musicians and others who were employed for the several entertainments of the people. The outer sides of the pavilions were covered from top to bottom with pictures in relief. These pictures represented everything which the imagination of man could soar to and were drawn with great skill and delicacy. Some of the pavilions were made to revolve and presented a new view when turned round. Leaving a broad space in the middle, a palace was constructed opposite the pavilions. It comprised nine pavilions magnificently decorated. In the ninth pavilion was placed the king's throne and the seventh was set apart for the foreign ambassadors. The open space in the middle was allotted to different sets of players for exhibiting their accomplishments. The dancing girls whom 'Abdur Razzāḳ extols for having cheeks as full as the moon and faces more lovely than the spring, were seated behind a pretty curtain just opposite the king. The royal fete began with the raising of the curtain and the dance of the damsels. What with the bewitching beauty of the dancers and what with their ethereal movements and the gracefulness accompanying it, it was a dance calculated to seduce every sense, captivate every mind and move even an anchorite. The jugglers came next with an elephant dance. The huge animal was made to stand on a wooden plank as broad as the sole of one of its feet and to rock its trunk to the air which the musicians played and to move its body in time with the tune. The elephant was then swung in a sort of merry-go-round and danced in that elevated position to the tune of the musicians. Other games and amusements followed one after the other. There were

fire-works by night and the whole pageant lasted for three days. On the last day all the musicians, jugglers and dancing girls and others were rewarded with cash and befitting suits of apparel. 'Abdur Razzāḳ was simply struck with wonder at the sight of the throne and the cushions on which the Rāja sat during the festival. He thought that the art of inlaying precious stones was nowhere better understood than in the Deccan.

9. At Vijianagar public prostitution was under the control and management of the government. Prostitutes were housed in beautiful buildings constructed by the State and had to take out licenses by paying fees for practising their profession. The pay of the 12,000 policemen was given out of the fees levied on the houses of prostitution. This arrangement bespeaks the care of Vijianagar for public health. Nikitin mentions the existence of inns for the lodging and boarding of foreigners, where the landladies willingly bestowed their favours on the guests, especially if they were white men. In the Deccan the Sarayi system does not appear to have found favour with the people generally.

10. From the description given by 'Abdur Razzāḳ and Nikitin of the island of Ormuz[1] and its trade and shipping, it is apparent that Ormuz was the greatest commercial emporium of the east in the 15th century and the centre from which eastern commodities were distributed to the west. But the fact that will surprise Indians in connection with Ormuz and its trade is this that Hindu merchants in considerable numbers frequented it and took no mean part in its commerce. This surprising fact leads to the inference that so late as about 300 years ago caste restrictions against sea voyages failed to influence enterprising and adventurous Hindu merchants.

CHAPTER VI.

ADMINISTRATION.

The Empire of Vijianagar was governed on the principle of the feudal system. There were the following hereditary

[1] Ormuz was at first on the main land in Persia. In the middle of the 10th century, Ibn Hankal, the Arab geographer, calls it the emporium and chief seaport of Kirmān. In 1303 A.D., to escape the Tartars, some Arab merchants settled on the island of Jeran, about 5 miles from the main land and called it new Ormuz. The island soon rose to be a great trade centre and the inhabitants grew so rich that a saying arose "If the earth is a ring, Ormuz is its jewel." It was taken by the Portuguese in 1508 and held by them till 1622 A.D. when they were driven out by Persians and English and Bandar 'Abbās was founded. Ormuz then gradually dwindled into insignificance.

chiefs, the representatives of the once independent dynasties that acknowledged the suzerainty of Vijianagar: Pandayas at Madura, Cholas at Tanjore, a Lingayath chief at Ikkeri and Kadamba princes at Halsi, Hangal and other places on the west coast. These chiefs were required to pay tribute and maintain a certain number of troops to be at the disposal of the emperor when necessary. The remaining portion of the empire was divided amongst poligars or military chiefs. The poligar collected the revenue, sending one-third of it to Vijianagar and took one-third for his own maintenance and one-third for the militia which he was bound to keep for the use of the emperor. Over the poligars were governors in charge of a province which was called Rajya. The empire was divided into the following provinces:—

Barkur and Mangalore on the west coast, Udaigiri, Chandragiri and Conjeveram on the east coast and Penkonda, Gooty and Seringapatam in the middle country. A governor under Vijianagar was responsible for the general administration of his province and the well-being of the subjects. He collected the revenue from the lands not given over to poligars, paid out of it a certain fixed annual contribution to the imperial exchequer, kept up a fixed number of troops ready for instant service with the emperor and took the balance that remained with him after satisfying these conditions. The office of poligar was hereditary while that of a governor was not. Generally princes of the imperial dynasty were appointed governors. Governors were authorised to alienate lands and there are instances of grants of lands made by them.

The divisions of a province were called *Sima*. Gadi was part of a Sima and was itself subdivided into Hoblis. Hobli was thus the smallest administrative territory. A Hobli generally comprised from 10 to 40 villages, a Gadi from 4 to 10 Hoblis or 400 villages at the most. A Sima contained 10 to 20 Gadis or 8,000 villages at the most with a big town as headquarters. In modern phraseology a Hobli corresponds to a Pargannah, a Gaddi to a Tahsil or Ta'luk and a Sima to a District or Division and a Rajya to a province.

The designation of a governor was Wodeyar or Rayadu. The officer in charge of a Hobli was called a Nadya and that of a Gadi was called a Parpattagar.

2. There were the following office bearers and village servants in each village called Bara Balutas:—

(1) Patel or Ganda, headman of the village.
(2) Patwari or Karnam, village accountant.
(3) Talari, watchman of the village; he also provided forage and conveniences for the state servants.
(4) Tati, watchman of the crops.
(5) Jotishi.
(6) Iron-smith.

(7) Carpenter.
(8) Potter.
(9) Washerman.
(10) Barber.
(11) Nir Gonti. distributor of water for irrigation.
(12) Goldsmith, who measured the share which ryats paid to the state and shroffed the money collected in the village on account of revenue

These posts were hereditary and were even sold or mortgaged by the holders when in distress. These village officers received Nijayam and Ardhayam from cultivators and rent-free lands from the state for which all except Jotishi paid a small tax to government. A small tax was also levied on washerman and potters On the first as a sort of rent of the drying ground and on the second for the site occupied for exposing pots in markets.

Nirjayam was four seers and Ardhayam was two seers of grain for a certain cropped area varying according to custom for different localities.

3. The main source of State revenue was the rent or tax on land. There were the following other sources also :—

(1) Police tax, (2) Customs, (3) Tax on professions and industries. (4) Excise tax.

The Hindu revenue unit was the village and not the individual ryot. There was no regular land survey. The assessment was made on the produce capacity of land. The average outturn was taken to be 12 times the seed sown. The produce capacity of dry land was thus assumed to be generally 12 times the seed capacity. Each village was assessed a lump sum on the produce capacity of its lands and the headman and the ryots assessed themselves for their fields. According to Manu, the State was entitled to $\frac{1}{6}$th of the produce and in times of war to $\frac{1}{4}$. Mādhavachari, the celebrated Vidyaaranya, who was the minister and priestly advisor of the founder of the first dynasty of Vijianagar, in his book called Vidyaaranya Smiriti, has divided the produce of land as under :—

$\frac{1}{2}$—expenses of agriculture and maintenance of farmers.
$\frac{1}{6}$—State.
$\frac{1}{50}$—Brahmins.
$\frac{1}{30}$—Temples.
$\frac{1}{4}$—Proprietors.

But as a matter of fact Vijianagar generally took $\frac{1}{3}$ the gross produce. As Brahmins were generally paid and the temples were maintained by the king, the State was entitled to take $\frac{1}{3} = \frac{1}{6} + \frac{1}{50} + \frac{1}{30}$. The $\frac{1}{4}$ due to proprietors must have been appropriated by the State where there were no proprietors thus making the share of the State to $\frac{1}{3}$. The apportionment fixed by Vidyaaranya does not, therefore, seem to have been much deviated

from. On the west coast the produce of 30 Kuttis (a measure) was divided as under :—

Cultivator	..	15
State	..	5
Brahmins	..	1½
Temples	..	1
Landlord	..	7½
		30

This division is the same as fixed by Vidyaaranya. Probably Vidyaaranya merely sanctioned the division of produce that was widely prevalent in the country from before his time. The mention of the landlord or proprietor besides the actual agriculturist as one of the shareholders in the produce of land in theory as well as in practice, is convincing proof of the existence of the Mālguzārī or Zamīndārī system, i.e. of a middle man between the actual tiller of the soil and the State. These proprietors or landholders were also in the habit of granting lands for temples. These facts—the existence of the landed proprietors and the practice of their granting lands for temples—go to prove that the right of private ownership in land was recognised. The In'ām Sanads of Vijianagar universally grant the land as well as the rent to the donee. This fact also supports the view that private ownership in land as against State ownership was admitted. The landed proprietorship on the model of the English landed gentry appears, therefore, to be an old institution in the Deccan. The State share of the produce was converted into money except in Tondaimandalam (2 Arcots and Chinglepet districts) where the ancient Chola system of division of crops remained in tact till the British occupation of it in the 18th century. In the middle country, i.e. the province of Penkonda and Gooty the tenure of a cultivator does not seem to have been safe and secure. The village lands were given out each year according to the means of each cultivator. The fields were thus interchangeable and subject to annual re-distribution. The wet lands gave ⅓rd of the produce to the State and irrigated garden lands were assessed to higher money rent based, of course, on the value of the produce. The assessment may have been annual as no periods are mentioned. If it was annual, it may have been subject to reduction, suspension or remission on account of the failure of crops due to drought or any other local or general calamity. Besides the ordinary proprietorship and cultivating tenure in land there were the following tenures also :—

Umbalike—rent free, granted as a gift.
Bhatavarthi—Lands given away to Brahmins.
Agraharam—Lands or villages granted in charity to Brahmins.

Under Vijianagar the practice of farming out land revenue does not seem to have been in vogue. The existence of a hereditary post in each village for distributing water for irrigation and the higher assessment of revenue on irrigated lands indicate an extensive and advanced irrigation system. Canals are not mentioned. The chief source of water supply for state irrigation must, therefore, have been from tanks that conserve a considerable portion of the rainful for the benefit of man and mitigate the severity of droughts.

A tax called Kavali for performing police duties was levied on ryots and also on traffic. The latter was probably somethings like a wheel tax and different from the customs duty. The police officer in charge of a tract was called a Kavaligar and he was held responsible if anything was lost or stolen on the highway. The Poligar generally combined the duties of Kavaligar with his own duties of revenue collection. They were required to maintain peons for policing the area in their charge besides the militia which they kept on a feudal basis. This combination of military and police duties supported by armed men spread throughout the area under their charge facilitated, on the dismemberment of the Vijianagar Empire, the assumption of independence by the more daring and enterprising Poligars as petty chiefs of their territories. Customs duty was recovered at the gates of the city of Vijianagar and other towns on all exports and imports except glass rings, brass pots and soap balls. Occasionally the collection of customs duty was farmed out.

4. Public morals were controlled by caste regulations and the caste Panchayath was an effective though somewhat primitive substitute for the Court of Justice. The share of the state in this patriarchal mode of imparting justice was restricted to the appointing of heads to all inferior castes who administered justice. There was a council in the village for administrating the customary revenue law and for managing all its affairs concerning agriculture and irrigation, etc. There was a Court in the capital presided over by the Prime Minister whom 'Abdur Razzāk calls Daing which is Danda Naik. The latter was also the Commander-in-Chief of the army as his name signifies.

5. The city of Vijianagar was policed by a force of 12,000 men. The pay of a policeman was one fanom a day or about six annas. The police was required to make itself acquainted with every event which occurred in the city. When any theft took place the police was bound either to catch and bring the thief to justice or make good the loss to the owner. Begar or unpaid labour was taken for the construction of public buildings and for irrigation works.

6. The administration of the empire of Vijianagar was a highly decentralised one with no central organisation except for the collection of land revenue. Each village was completely

autonomous and self-governed. Each and every village was provided with all the machinery in the form of its hereditary officials and their customary duties required for the well-being and good living of a small community. It was a sort of self-contained tiny republic owning allegiance to any one who had the power to recover land revenue from its lands and to impose its authority on it. The only tangible concern which a village had with others was the one connected with caste rules and regulations and this was kept up to provide a wider circle for conjugality or for supplying or procuring the few articles that could not be produced locally. Beyond these the village had no foreign interests and the sympathies of its inhabitants were thus confined only to the residents of the villages contiguous to it. It is this policy that was responsible for the low political condition of the people. A Bakhtiyār, an 'Alā'uddīn and a Muḥammad Shāh could penetrate into the territories of Hindu sovereigns without encountering any opposition on the part of the people and without the so called Central Government coming to know of the daring and bold raid until it was overtaken in its profound unconsciousness and subverted or the raiders returned unscathed rich with spoils of plunder. It seems there was no political consciousness and no idea of civic liberty or of national freedom or peoples' rights and responsibilities. As long as the hoary village economy was not disturbed it cared little as to what happened in the country round. It submitted to plunderer and ruler alike as long as it was left free after paying tribute or land revenue to continue its old life and monotonous existence. The break up of this antiquated village system by the political institutions introduced by the English people is much mourned by some people. It is, however, hoped that India will never relapse into the former political condition—chaos and inertia combined, after having undergone political training and having enjoyed its fruits so long under British rule.

7. The Bahmanī kingdom was also a feudal monarchy and in the 15th century had almost lost its character of a foreign domination over a conquered people. In the reign of the second monarch of this house—Muḥammad Shah I—the kingdom was divided into four provinces under Governors who were called Tarafdars:—

(1) Berar—The designation of this Tarafdār was Majlis 'Ālī.
(2) Daulatābād—The designation of this Tarafdār was Masnad 'Ālī.
(3) Telingana " " " A'ẓam Humāyūn.
(4) Gulbarga " " " Malik Nā'ib.

Each Tarafdār maintained a certain number of troops and manned all the forts in his jurisdiction with his forces. He

Under Vijianagar the practice of farming out land revenue does not seem to have been in vogue. The existence of a hereditary post in each village for distributing water for irrigation and the higher assessment of revenue on irrigated lands indicate an extensive and advanced irrigation system. Canals are not mentioned. The chief source of water supply for state irrigation must, therefore, have been from tanks that conserve a considerable portion of the rainful for the benefit of man and mitigate the severity of droughts.

A tax called Kavali for performing police duties was levied on ryots and also on traffic. The latter was probably somethings like a wheel tax and different from the customs duty. The police officer in charge of a tract was called a Kavaligar and he was held responsible if anything was lost or stolen on the highway. The Poligar generally combined the duties of Kavaligar with his own duties of revenue collection. They were required to maintain peons for policing the area in their charge besides the militia which they kept on a feudal basis. This combination of military and police duties supported by armed men spread throughout the area under their charge facilitated, on the dismemberment of the Vijianagar Empire, the assumption of independence by the more daring and enterprising Poligars as petty chiefs of their territories. Customs duty was recovered at the gates of the city of Vijianagar and other towns on all exports and imports except glass rings, brass pots and soap balls. Occasionally the collection of customs duty was farmed out.

4. Public morals were controlled by caste regulations and the caste Panchayath was an effective though somewhat primitive substitute for the Court of Justice. The share of the state in this patriarchal mode of imparting justice was restricted to the appointing of heads to all inferior castes who administered justice. There was a council in the village for administrating the customary revenue law and for managing all its affairs concerning agriculture and irrigation, etc. There was a Court in the capital presided over by the Prime Minister whom 'Abdur Razzāk calls Daing which is Danda Naik. The latter was also the Commander-in-Chief of the army as his name signifies.

5. The city of Vijianagar was policed by a force of 12,000 men. The pay of a policeman was one fanom a day or about six annas. The police was required to make itself acquainted with every event which occurred in the city. When any theft took place the police was bound either to catch and bring the thief to justice or make good the loss to the owner. Begar or unpaid labour was taken for the construction of public buildings and for irrigation works.

6. The administration of the empire of Vijianagar was a highly decentralised one with no central organisation except for the collection of land revenue. Each village was completely

autonomous and self-governed. Each and every village was provided with all the machinery in the form of its hereditary officials and their customary duties required for the well-being and good living of a small community. It was a sort of self-contained tiny republic owning allegiance to any one who had the power to recover land revenue from its lands and to impose its authority on it. The only tangible concern which a village had with others was the one connected with caste rules and regulations and this was kept up to provide a wider circle for conjugality or for supplying or procuring the few articles that could not be produced locally. Beyond these the village had no foreign interests and the sympathies of its inhabitants were thus confined only to the residents of the villages contiguous to it. It is this policy that was responsible for the low political condition of the people. A Bakhtiyār, an 'Alā'ud-dīn and a Muḥammad Shāh could penetrate into the territories of Hindu sovereigns without encountering any opposition on the part of the people and without the so called Central Government coming to know of the daring and bold raid until it was overtaken in its profound unconsciousness and subverted or the raiders returned unscathed rich with spoils of plunder. It seems there was no political consciousness and no idea of civic liberty or of national freedom or peoples' rights and responsibilities. As long as the hoary village economy was not disturbed it cared little as to what happened in the country round. It submitted to plunderer and ruler alike as long as it was left free after paying tribute or land revenue to continue its old life and nonotonous existence. The break up of this antiquated village system by the political institutions introduced by the English people is much mourned by some people. It is, however, hoped that India will never relapse into the former political condition—chaos and inertia combined, after having undergone political training and having enjoyed its fruits so long under British rule.

7. The Bahmanī kingdom was also a feudal monarchy and in the 15th century had almost lost its character of a foreign domination over a conquered people. In the reign of the second monarch of this house—Muḥammad Shah I—the kingdom was divided into four provinces under Governors who were called Tarafdars:—

(1) Berar—The designation of this Tarafdār was Majlis 'Alī.
(2) Daulatābād—The designation of this Tarafdār was Masnad 'Alī.
(3) Telingana " " " A'ẓam Humāyūn.
(4) Gulbarga " " " Malik Nā'ib.

Each Tarafdār maintained a certain number of troops and manned all the forts in his jurisdiction with his forces. He

was the Sar-i-lashkar, i.e. general of the army in his province and all the Kila'dārs, i.e. fort commanders, were under him. He was also the chief revenue and judicial officer in his province. He was granted a Jāgīr for his own maintenance and also for the maintenance of the army under him and this Jāgīr was not necessarily situated in his own province. The king also kept an army of his own with jāgīrs for their upkeep and for his own personal and household expenses.

8. In the last quarter of the 15th century, Khāwja Muhammad Gāwān, the celebrated and able minister of Muhammad Shāh III. introduced the following radical changes in the administration. The kingdom was divided according to the details below :—

(1) Gawilgarh.
(2) Mohur.
(3) Daulatābād.
(4) Junar including Konkon, Goa, and Belgaum.
(5) Gulbarga including Naldrug and Sholapur.
(6) Bijapur including Raichur and Mudgal.
(7) Warangal.
(8) Rajahmundry including Nalgonda and Orissa.

The Tarafdārs continued to be Sar-i-lashkars also but all except one fort in each province were taken from their control. These forts were garrisoned by the king's own troops with a noble in charge. These garrisons and the commanders were paid directly from the royal treasury. Besides the Tarafdārs or governors there were the following high officers of state holding charge of the different departments of the administration :—

(1) Amīr-al-Umarā	..	Commander-in-chief of the forces.
(2) Malik-ut-Tujjār (prince of merchants)	..	This post was created by Sultān Ahmad Shāh I (1422-1437) for honouring and exalting one Khalaf Hasan Basrī, a Persian merchant, who had materially assisted him in gaining the throne. He controlled the foreign trade and looked after the interests of foreign merchants. He managed the recruitment of foreign moslems for the army and the purchase of good horses for the army. These duties are nowhere clearly defined in histories but are to be inferred from the description of the post and the work done by him.

Vakīl-us-Salṭanat or Pishwā or Mīr Jumla	..	Prime Minister.
Ṣadar		Chief Justice; he also conferred lands on learned men.
Ḳhān Sālār	..	Master of the royal kitchen.
Mīr Sāmān	..	Master of the royal buildings.
Shahna Fīl	..	Officer in charge of the elephants.
Nāẓir	..	Controller of the royal household.
'Arḍ Begī	..	Master of ceremonies.
Kotwāl	..	Police Commissioner of the capital.
Jāmadār	..	Officer in charge of royal wardrobe.
Ḳūrbegī		Officer in charge of the royal armoury.
Muftī	..	Legal adviser.
Ḳāḍī	..	Judge.
Tamghāchī Karorī	..	Customs officer.
Ḳāḍī 'Askar	..	Judge in the army.
Mīr Ākhur	..	Master of royal stables.

These posts were mostly the same as were extant in the Moslem Empire of Delhi of which the Bahmani kingdom was an off-shoot. But the designation of Paishwa was an innovation of Bahmanis and was continued by the Mahrattas. These posts and their duties convey some idea of the government of Bahmanis and their administration of the country. In the 15th century the office of Prime Minister was usually held by the Malik-ut-Tujjār due to two able and experienced foreign merchants having risen to the latter position.

9. The land revenue system was the same as in Vijianagar but revenue was collected in kind. The collection of the land revenue was generally farmed out. This method of collection was brought into practice by the manner in which lands were given out on feudal tenure. Military commanders were generally granted jagirs for the maintenance of the forces under them. These jāgīrs were not usually situated in their civil jurisdiction. They were mostly foreigners and found little time after the discharge of their onerous and responsible military and civil duties to devote to the collection of land revenues from their jāgīrs. The collection in kind is a difficult task requiring much patience and industry and this could not be properly done by the busy military jāgīrdārs. They were, therefore, obliged to farm out the collection which provided them with ready funds of which they were always in need and saved them all trouble of direct collection. The Bahmani kingdom, which was purely a military

State, had to sanction this procedure and also to follow it. As a matter of fact it may be said to have inherited the procedure from the parent empire of Delhi. But in the 15th century Khwāja Muḥammad Gāwān, the great statesman, of the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh III, introduced radical reforms in the land revenue policy of the Bahmanī kingdom. He introduced money payment and a regular survey and settlement of lands. Unfortunately he did not live long enough to extend and complete it throughout the dominions. Colonel Meadows Taylor found traces of Gāwān's settlement in Naldrug (now Osmānābād) district of the Hydrabad State in 1853. From the doings of the daughter kingdoms of Golconda and Bijapur in this connection it can safely be presumed that they carried out the regulations devised by Gāwān for the purpose. The average price of a crop for the preceding 10 years was taken and the state share of half the produce was converted into money at that average price. This was a decided improvement on the old land revenue system, and it was highly beneficial to the ryots. The village economy in the Bahmanī kingdom was the same as in Vijianagar and the old institution of the 12 Balutas was also in existence here. Here Moslem military officers and fort commanders took the place of the Poligars in Vijianagar but with this difference that the Poligarship was hereditary and not transferable whereas the former were liable to frequent changes. It was a kind of military oligarchy with the king at the head with absolute powers. These military commanders were stationed in forts and other important towns throughout the length and breadth of the kingdom and as they had direct personal connection with the king and not through land as was the case in Vijianagar, they took greater pains to maintain the authority and power of the king and keep a better watch over his enemies or foreigners than the Poligars under Vijianagar.

There were Kāḍīs in every town and in cantonments who administered justice according to the Muhammadan Law and Muḥtasibs, looked after public morals and bazars. The post of Accountant General of the Bahmanī kingdom was always held by a Brahmin according to the promise given by the founder of the dynasty to his previous patron—Gango Pandit.

Famines.

10. Famines were not infrequent and occurred once in a generation or sometimes even oftener. In the 15th century the Deccan was visited by the following famines.

(1) The century opened with the notorious Durgadevi famine that had begun in 1396 A.D. It is said to have lasted for the long period of 12 years. Firishta does not ascribe such a length of time to it but Marathi literature is replete with reference to it. Firūz Shāh was the Bahmanī Sulṭān (1397-1422) at that time.

(2) The next famine came at the close of this monarch's reign It was a local calamity confined to the tract round the captial—Gulbarga. It was a wet famine caused by excessive rainfall resulting in the overflowing of rivers and *nalas* and the flooding of the country with destruction of cultivation.

(3) The next famine occurred in 827 A.H. or 1424 A.D. in the reign of Sultān Aḥmad Shāh I (1422–1435). It was a severe drought and the rains fell in the following year at the supposed intercession and prayers of the king who was surnamed Vali afterwards for that reason.

(4) The fourth famine of the 15th century took place in the year 1460 A.D. in the reign of Sultān Humāyūn Shāh. It is called the famine of Damojipanth, the hero of the famous drama in the Marathi language. Damojipanth was the Thanadār of Mangol Vedh near Pandharpur. During the famine he distributed grain free to all from the state granary in his charge without the permission of the Government. He was a Brahmin. His life has been written by Amritrao who was Sar Daftar at Aurangābād. The existence of state granaries proves that the Bahmanis collected the land revenue in kind and stored it in large granaries.

(5) The famine that happened in the years 878 A.H. or 1472 and 1473 A.D. was the fifth in that century.

The area affected by each of these famines cannot be definitely determined. There are no grounds for holding that all these famines were universal and spread over the whole of the Deccan. Almost all of these were severe, causing great devastation and compelling emigration of large crowds to Mālwa and Gujrat. On each occasion the Bahmani Government adopted the following relief measures :—

(1) Public kitchens were opened in all towns where cooked food was supplied to all famine-stricken people.
(2) Grain was given out from state granaries at cheap rates.
(3) Grain was imported in large quantities on pack bullocks through banjaras and sold to the people.
(4) Land revenue was remitted.
(5) Taccavi was distributed to agriculturists.
(6) Government servants, especially soldiers, were given allowances.

11. These were all palliative and protective measures that failed to cope with the severity and destructive effects of the famines. No fresh protective measures seem to have been taken to prevent the re-occurrence of famines. Irrigation canals are not mentioned. There were the numerous tanks chiefly in the rice country—the work of the previous rulers —that held up a considerable percentage of the rain water for future use, but these countless reservoirs, the tangible

signs of the foresight and economic instincts of the ancients, were of no avail in years of complete failure of rain. There is nothing to show that any work of public utility was opened during a famine to provide means of livelihood for the people. It was reserved for the British Government to take relief measures to mitigate the effects of famine as well as to undertake protective works to cut short its severity and devastating power. It was destined for the British Government to save the people from the demoralising and soul-killing effects of free issues of food feeding by starting works of public utility and thus enabling the people to earn their living.

The construction of huge irrigation works—canals as well as tanks—are successful attempts to utilise to the full every drop that falls from the clouds. These works that are spread throughout the length and breadth of the land are champions of man in his combat with the god of rain. In short, the famine administration of the British Government, in vivid contrast to mediæval management of it, is a boon to the people and a credit to humanity.

Army.

12. 'Abdur Razzāk writes that the Raya of Vijianagar owned more than 1,000 elephants and possessed an army of 11 lacs. Nicolo Conti also mentions the strength of the army of Vijianagar at 10 lacs. The soldiers were paid once in four months and no payment was ever made by a draft upon the revenues of any province. These two facts mentioned by 'Abdur Razzāk throw a clear light on the military administration of Vijianagar. They establish the following points in connection with its army: Besides the army kept by feudatories, poligars and governors of provinces in accordance with the feudal system, the Raya of Vijianagar maintained an army under his personal command. This standing army was stationed at Vijianagar and it received its pay in cash direct from the Imperial Treasury. The officers or the commanders of this army also received their pay in cash and not by drafts upon the revenues of any province, which seems to have been the practice prevalent in the government of the master of 'Abdur Razzāk. The enormous army of Vijianagar was the result of the feudal system and may have included the camp followers also. Living was cheap and the population large and prospects of rising to fame and power by daring and bravery were great. Every able bodied man could aspire to be a soldier.

The army consisted of the four arms of infantry, cavalry elephants and artillery. The fourth arm of chariots which was the most important in ancient and early India had ceased to exist and artillery had come to occupy its place. It is recorded by Firishta that fire-arms began to be used in the Vijianagar army from the close of the 14th century. The foot soldier was

armed with a spear or a sword and a buckler of ox-hide. As mentioned elsewhere, Moslems had begun to be employed in the army of Vijianagar from the reign of Deva Raya II (1423–1446) chiefly on account of their superior horsemanship and skill in archery. He was advised by his councillors to enrol Moslems in his army to give better military training to the Hindus in both the martial arts and thus to bring up his army to the high efficiency of the army of Bahmani Sultāns and eventually to wipe out the disgrace of the many defeats which he and his predecessors had sustained at their hands.

13. Nikitin speaks of the army of the Bahmanis in hyperbolic terms. It could not possibly exceed the army of Vijianagar in strength. The cavalry was the most efficient due to excellence in equestrian skill and proficiency in archery. Firearms had been introduced by Muhammad Shāh I (1357–1378) and were manufactured in the arsenal at the capital. The number of elephants possessed by the Bahmani Sultāns was smaller than that owned by Vijianagar. Nikitin mentions 300 only. These may have been the State elephants of the Sultans apart from those belonging to the army. The foot soldiers were mostly armed with bows and arrows. Long scythes were tied to the trunks and tusks of the elephants who were protected by being clad in ornamental plates of steel. On the back of the elephant was kept a citadel containing besides the driver 12 men in armour with bows and arrows. The artillery was manned mostly by the Turks, the cavalry was mainly composed of Persians, Arabs and Abyssinians, and the infantry consisted of Indians comprising the Hindus and Indian born Moslems. The Bahmanis employed large number of Hindus in their army so much so that six out of the 26 high commands in the army were held by Hindus. In this respect also the Bahmanis had anticipated the great Akbar.

The army under the direct command of the Sultān was considerable and was divided into four parts. The First Division consisted of Silāhdārs numbering 200. These were in charge of the Royal Armoury. The Second Division, called Khasa Khail, comprised 4,000 horsemen. These formed the Body Guard of the king. The Third Division was of the "Jawānān Yakka" who were a little more than 200 and were the personal attendants of the Sultān. The Fourth Division was of Bardars who performed the duty of introducing and presenting people to the Sultān. There was an officer in charge of each Division. Fifty Silāhdārs and 1,000 Khāsa Khails were detailed for Guard duty at the Royal Palace each day. A Noble was appointed to hold charge of each day's detachment and was called Sar-i-Naubat.

14. As the Bahmani kingdom was a military State all the posts carried military commands of a fixed number of troops. These military commands were not necessarily restricted to the

number of troops supposed to be under them. They signified different grades of commands and carried different emoluments as such. The commands were as follows :—

Commander of	2,000
,,	1,500
,,	1,200
,,	1,000
,,	500

Commanders of 20 to 400 were called Sarkardah and Havaldārs. The military commands of 20 to 400 were not included in the nobility but were designated Mansabdārs. The commanders of 500 and more were members of the peerage consisting of two grades, Malik and Khān. The latter was the higher grade. Every Governor of a Province was a commander of 2,000. The post of a Amīr-ul-Umarā was generally held by a commander of 1,500 and Vakil-us saltanath was usually a commander of 1,200. Formerly a command of 1,000 men carried with it an emolument of two lacs of *Huns* per year in cash or in the shape of land assessed to that revenue. Khwāja Muhammad Gāwān in his reforms revised this rate also and increased it to 2½ lacs of *Huns*. The pay of 1,000 armed men comes to about Rs. 8,75,000 per year, in modern money, or Rs. 73,000 per month, at the rate of Rs. 3-8 per *Hun*. The pay of a unit, therefore, works out to about Rs. 73 per month, or rather a Silahdār including the cost of feeding a horse. If the higher pay necessarily given to different officers and the large share appropriated by the commander for his maintenance together with the amount spent on the repairs and replacements of old arms and accoutrements are taken into consideration, more than half the pay worked out above would have to go to meet these expenses and demands. The pay of a unit including the feeding charges of his horse would then be about Rs. 30 or Rs. 40 only. This is not a high pay for a distant foreigner, i.e. a person hailing from Persia and other contigous countries to the hot country of the Deccan.

In Vijianagar the pay of a soldier works out as under :—

One Basavappa Nayudu of Vemula in Cuddapah district, maintained a force of 600 men for military service under the Raya of Vijianagar and received for their payment Vemula and 25 other villages. The subsequent Kāmil assessment on these 26 villages amounted to 9,796 Kantaraya pagodas. One Kantaraya pagoda is valued at Rs. 2-14-8, British Indian coin. At this rate Rs. 9,796 K.P. are equivalent to about Rs. 28,510 per year, or about Rs. 2,377 per month. The pay of one unit comes to about Rs. $2,377 \div 600 =$ Rs. 4 at the most which is just commensurate with the cheap living of those times. This was the pay which the Hon. East India Company paid to its foot soldiers or sepoys in the 18th century.

The foreign trooper of the Bahmanis was paid far better than the foot soldier under Vijianagar. The British Government is, therefore, not unjust in keeping up to this proportion approximately in the pay of its European and Indian troops.

15. There is nothing on record to hold that either Vijianagar or the Bahmanis had a regular navy. But at the close of the 15th century a rebellious Governor of the phantom Bahmani Sultān Maḥmūd had organised a small navy for the purpose of plundering the rich seaports of the Gujrāt kingdom. It is a well-known fact that Bijapur and Ahmednagar, the successors of Bahmanis in the Western Deccan, had gradually built up strong navies to defend the coast towns from the piratical depredations of the Portuguese fleet.

Public Works and Institutions.

16. None of the three travellers makes any mention of schools, hospitals or similar public institutions maintained by the State. But the Bahmanis did discharge this important function of the state though on a somewhat smaller scale. In the Durgadevi famine, such was the appalling loss of manhood, that orphans had to be provided for by the state. Orphanages were opened at Gulbarga, Ellichpur, Kandahar, Daulatabad, Junar and Bedar and other towns for the maintenance of orphans. They were taught reading and writing and some handicraft for their future livelihood.

A big hospital was founded at Bedar by Sulṭān 'Alā'uddīn Aḥmad Shāh II (1435–1458). Experienced Moslem and Hindu physicians versed in Yūnani and Ayurvedic systems of medicine were appointed to treat patients. There were arrangements for keeping patients on the premises where they were given all sorts of comforts. Poor people were treated free. Several villages were granted for providing funds for defraying all the expenses of this institution.

In the third quarter of the 15th century, Gāwān founded a college at Bedar and endowed it with several villages for its upkeep and the maintenance of the boarding house attached to it. The ruins of this college still testify to its past greatness and usefulness.

There were colleges est ablished also at Ellichpur, Daulatabad and Gulbarga. The medium of instruction was Persian and Arabic.

The only canal mentioned as having been constructed by the Bahmanis is the one made by Fīrūz Shāh in the beginning of the 15th century from the river Bethora to his new town of Ferozabad, about 15 miles from the present Wādi railway station. It was intended for irrigating the gardens laid out there for enhancing the beauty of the new town.

CHAPTER VII.

History.

The following Rayas ruled the Vijianagar Empire during the 15th century :—

Harihara II	.. ..	1377–1404
Bukka II or Deva Raya I	..	1404–1422
Vijaya Raya I	.. ..	1422-1423
Deva Raya II	.. ..	1423–1446
Mallikarjuna	.. ..	1446–1465
Virupaksha	.. ..	1465–1478
Narsinha and others	..	1478–beyond the 15th century.

The Bahmani Sulṭāns that ruled in the 15th century are as given below :—

Firūz Shāh	.. ..	1397–1422
Ahmad Shāh I	.. ..	1422–1435
'Alā'uddīn Ahmad Shāh II	..	1435–1458
Humāyūn Shāh	.. ..	1458–1462
Niẓām Shāh	.. ..	1461–1463
Muḥd. Shāh III	.. ..	1463–1482
Maḥmūd Shāh I	.. ..	1482–1517

2. The Bahmani kingdom reached its zenith in the year 1480 A.D. during the reign of Sulṭān Muḥd. Shāh III. The Nagpur Division of Central Provinces, the Northern Carcars and the whole of Konkon were conquered and added to the kingdom in this reign. The unjust and cruel murder of the great Minister Khwāja Muḥammad Gāwān in 1481 A.D. quickly brought on a just retribution and the kingdom soon crumbled to pieces. It, however, was eventually transformed into petty kingdoms continuing the tradition of the parent stock. The Tungabhadra and Krishna rivers were the dividing line between the territories of Vijianagar and the Bahmani kingdom. The Empire of Vijianagar had yet to reach its zenith in the 15th century. It extended to its highest limits in the reign of Krishna Deva Raya in the early part of the 16th century and its decline and fall commenced a little after that monarch's death. Both were oriental monarchies, the personal property of the reigning family, and thereby subject to all sorts of intrigues and stratagems for changing possession.

3. Nicolo Conti does not mention a single event that occurred during his sojourn in the Deccan. But 'Abdur Razzāk and Nikitin relate a few occurrences each. A few days previous to the arrival of 'Abdur Razzāk at Vijianagar the Raya's brother had hatched a plot to seize the throne by assassinating the king and his principal officers. He had almost succeeded in his nefarious attempt but was baffled in the end

by the Raya himself who had swooned off or feigned death when he had been attacked with a poignard. It was the Raya's nephew and not his brother that lost his life in his attempt. The Raya, however, could not escape the destiny planned for him as he died after two or three years from the effects of the wounds that had been inflicted with a poisoned dagger. The other occurrence narrated by him is a sequence to the regicidal plot noted above. When the Bahmanī Sulṭān 'Alā'uddīn Aḥmad Shāh II heard of the treacherous plot and the consequent loss caused to the government by the death of so many high officers, he thought he could easily bring Vijianagar to terms. He, therefore, demanded 7 lacs of Varahas as the price of his abstaining from invading the territories of Vijianagar. The Raya rejected this ignominous message with scorn and forthwith despatched his Dandanaik with a large army to invade the dominions of the Bahmanīs. This army returned after ravaging the country and taking several captives. This invasion and return took place while 'Abdur Razzāk was staying at Vijianagar, i.e. in the year 1443 A.D. But the causes assigned by 'Abdur Razzāk for this war are not supported by history. A war did take place between Vijianagar and Bahmanī Sulṭān in the year 1443 A.D. and it was a war of aggression on the part of Vijianagar. It was undertaken by Vijianagar to test the experiment of enlisting Moslems in the army both for increasing its efficiency and for the better training of Hindu soldiers in the art of fighting. The demand of the Bahmanī Sulṭān for the payment of the annual tribute that had fallen into arrears furnished the desired plea, or excuse, for the uncalled for invasion. After initial success, it, however, ended in the final defeat of Vijianagar.

4. Nikitin relates several occurrences that took place during his sojourn in the Bahmani kingdom.

The Malik-ut-Tujjār referred to by him is the famous Khwāja Muḥammad Gāwān. His untimely murder—it was no less than that—under the ill-considered orders of his impolitic, ungrateful and foolish master, was the death knell of the Bahmani kingdom. He was sacrificed on the altar of base intrigue and mean selfishness of unscrupulous persons who saw their doom in the salutary and effective reforms initiated by him in the administration and governance of the kingdom. Had he survived the working of his reforms, he would certainly have altered the course of Deccan history. Nikitin speaks highly of his generosity and the sumptuousness of his table. Nikitin's allusion to the brother of the Bahmanī Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh III, is incorrect. Muḥammad Shāh had only one brother, Niẓām Shāh, on whose premature death he succeeded to the throne of his ancestors. His recording of the capture by Gāwān of two Hindu towns, the strongholds of pirates, unmistakably refers to the capture of Sangamashwar and Khelna. Sangamashwar is a

town in the taluk of the same name in the Ratnagiri district, Bombay Presidency, and Khelna, now called Vishalgarh, is a port in the feudatory Jāgīr of the same name in the Kolhapur State, Bombay Presidency. Shankar Rao More, the Chief of Khelna, had entrapped a former Malik-ut-Tujjār (Khalaf Ḥasan Basrī) in 1453 A.D. under the false pretence of embracing Islām, into the hilly tract full of dense forest and deep gorges to the east of this place and massacred the whole army under his command. Similarly the capture of three large cities by three nobles is a clear reference to the taking of Antur, Vairagarh and Lanji in the year 1472 A.D. The re-conquest of Belgaum is also mentioned by Nikitin but in clumsy language. Lanji and Vairagarh, the ruins of which, are now situated in the Bhandara and Chanda districts, respectively, were captured by Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, the founder of the 'Adil Shāhī dynasty of Bījapur. The fact that Nikitin calls all the Moslems in the Deccan by the name Khorasanis goes to prove that the majority of the merchants and government servants, civil and military, were mostly Persians. Khurāsān is a province of Persia and in his time contained the capital Herāt.

5. The description of the condition of the people and the rulers of the Deccan in the 15th century, in its various aspects given above, will convey some idea of their civilization and government. Three facts stand in bold relief against the mass of historical phenomena of the Deccan. First of these is the sparse Moslem population of the Deccan. Commercial intercourse extending over a period of more than a 1,000 years, political domination over a considerable extent of country for over 600 years and a continuous immigration of Moslem people into the land in various capacities and for diverse purposes since their first contact, have all failed to impress the people of the Deccan concerning their nationality. Islām is now the religion of a less than a tenth of the population of the Deccan. This is a knotty historical problem requiring the analytical power and critical faculty of a Gibbon to solve it. The second fact is the commendable toleration evinced by the Hindus of the Deccan towards Islām and Moslems. The Moslems were ever treated with consideration and respect by Hindu powers in the Deccan and their religion exalted by outward signs of veneration like the one mentioned in connection with the employment of Moslems in the Vijianagar army. It may be that the stoppage of music before mosques prevalent in the Deccan was the other evident sign of veneration shown towards Islām. It is an irony of fate that the honour voluntarily conceded in the plenitude of power should now be sought to be violated. The third fact is the military incapacity and martial debility of the Hindus of the Deccan to withstand the successive Moslem invasions from the 13th to the 16th centuries in spite of the poorness of the invaders in strength and means. It was the

long training that they received under the Moslems together with the division and traitorship rampant amongst the Moslems that enabled the Mahrattas to assert themselves.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1924.

CONTENTS.

		Page
1.	Proceedings, Annual Meeting, 1925 ..	
	Annual Address, 1924-25	v
	Patron's Address	xx
	Officers and Members of Council, 1925 ..	xxv
	Exhibitions, Annual Meeting ..	xxvi
	Annual Report, 1924	xxx
	Membership Statistics, 1901-24 ..	lxii
	List of Publications, 1924	lxi
	Abstract Statement of Receipts and Disbursements, 1924 ..	lxvi
	Abstract Proceedings Council, 1924	lxxxi
2.	List of Officers, Council Members, etc., 1924	cx
	Officers and Members of Council, 1924 ..	cxi
	Officers and Members of Council, 1925 ..	cxi
	Ordinary Members, alphabetically	cx
	Special Honorary Centenary Members ..	cxxxvi
	Honorary Fellows	cxxxvii
	Fellows	cxxxi
	Associate Members	cx
	Members absent from India	cxl
	Loss of Members, 1924	cxl
	Elliott Gold Medal, recipients	cxli
	Barclay Memorial Medal, recipients	cxli
	Ordinary Members, chronologically	cxli
	Life Members, chronologically	cxlii
3.	Proceedings, Ordinary Monthly Meetings, 1924 ..	cl
	Obituary Notices	clxxv
4.	Deputations	clxxvii
5.	Communications	clxxxii
6.	Proceedings, Medical Section Meetings, 1924 ..	cxc

Proceedings

of the

Asiatic Society of Bengal

for 1924.

[*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*]

Proceedings of the Annual Meeting, 1925.

The Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was held on Wednesday, the 4th February, 1925, at 5-30 P.M.

Present :

SIR RAJENDRA NATH MOOKERJEE, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., President, in the Chair.

Members :—

Abdul Ali, Mr. A. F. M.
Abdul Latif, Syed.
Abdul Wali, Maulavi.
Acton, Major H. W.
Agharkar, Dr. S. P.
Ahsan Ullah, Maulavi.
Atkinson, Mr. A. C.
Bal, Dr. S. N.
Banerjee, Prof. Murali Dhar.
Banerjee, Mr. P. N.
Barnardo, Lt. Col. F. A.
Bhandarkar, Dr. D. R.
Biswas, Mr. K. P.
Bose, Babu Amrita Lal.
Bose, Mr. S. K.
Bose, Mr. S. R.
Brown, Mr. Percy.
Chakravarty, Prof. Nilmany.
Chatterjee, Mr. M. M.
Chatterjee, Dr. S. K.
Chaudhuri, Dr. B. L.
Christie, Dr. W. A. K.
Cleghorn, Miss M. L.
Cooper, Mr. H.
Das, Mr. B. M.
Das-Gupta, Prof. H. C.
De, Mr. K. C.
Deb, Mr. H. K.
Doxey, Mr. F.
Ghosh, Mr. T. P.
Greaves, Hon. Justice Sir W. E.
Gupta, Mr. N.
Haridas, Mr. Anantji.
Hidayet Hossain, Prof. M.
Hora, Dr. S. L.
Hosten, Rev. Fr. H.
Insch, Mr. Jas.
Iyer, Prof. L. K. A.
Jain, Mr. C. L.
Keir, Mr. W. I.
Knowles, Major R.
Mahfuzul Haq, Prof. M.
Mahindra, Mr. K. C.
Manen, Mr. Johan van.
Miles, Mr. W. H.
Mitra, Mr. J. C.
Mookerjee, Mr. B. N.
Mookerjee, Mr. P. N.
Moreno, Prof. H. W. B.
Mukherjee, Mr. B. L.
Mukherjee, Dr. G. N.
Mukherjee, Mr. N.
Mukherjee, Mr. S.
Nazir Ahmed, Hafiz.
Nimmo, Mr. I. D.
Pascoe, Dr. E. H.
Pilgrim, Dr. G. E.
Prashad, Dr. B.
Purohit, Mr. K. J
Ray, Prof. H. C.
Sarvadhikary, Sir Deva Prashad.
Sen, Mr. H. K.
Sewell, Major R. B. S.
Shastri, Prof. Ashutosh.
Shastri, MM. Hara Prashad.
Shipway, Mr. F. W.
Singha, Mr. Lalit Mohan.
Singhi, Mr. Bahadur Singh.
Sirkar, Mr. G. P.
Srinivasa Rao, Mr. H.
Vidyabhusana, Pandit A. C.
And others.

Visitors :—

His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Victor Alexander George Robert Bulwer-Lytton, Earl of Lytton, P.C., G.C.I.E., Governor of Bengal, Patron of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Banerjee, Dr. G. N.
Bel, Mr. John.
Bery, Mr. A. R.
Bompton, Rev. H.
Bose, Mr. S. P.
Bridge, Mr. P. C

Buvers, Mr. and Mrs. W. A.
Chakravartic, Babu Sasanka Sekhar.
Chakravarty, Babu Chinta Haran.
Cleghorn, Miss O.
Cooper, Miss B. M.
Crete, Mr. P. H.
Daniloff, Mr. O.
Dass, Mr. B.
David, Mr. D. A.
Dover, Mr. and Mrs. C.
Dutt, Babu Hirendra Nath.
Gaddum, Mr. and Mrs. W. L.
Ghosh, Mr. J. M.
Ghosn, Mr. P. N.
Gille, Mr. A.
Greaves, Miss.
Griffith, Mr. H. P.
Guha, Mr. B. S.
Guha, Mr. P. M.
Gupta, Mr. T. P.
Harrington, Mr. F.
Harvey, Mr. A. H.
Hauz, Mr. C.
Hearn, Mr. G. R.
Iyengar, Mr. M. O. T.
Laurillard, Mr. S.
McPherson, Mr. R.
Majumdar, Mr. U. L.
Mitra, Mr. S. K.
Mitter, Mr. P. C.
Muhuri, Mr. D. P.
Muhuri, Mr. K. P.
Mukherjee, Mr. A. J.
Mukherjee, Mr. B. N.
Mukherjee, Mr. J. N.
O'Grady, Rev. P. O.
Paul, Mr. K. Samdhon.
Perry, Miss.
Rai, Kishitindra Deb, Raja Mahasai of Bansberia Raj.
Rakshit, Mr. P. C.
Ray, Mrs. K. N.
Sanawgee, Mr. Baldeo Das.
Sarkar, Mr. B. K.
Sen, Mr. B. K.
Seth, Mr. S. J.
Sinha, Mr. S. C.
Sircar, Mr. P. N.
Smritibhusan, Pandit MM. Chandi charan.
Stapleton, Mrs. E. N.
Tarkatirtha, Pandit Parvati Charan.
Tshogs, Mr. Drung Phan.
Vermeulen, Mr. N. J.
Young, Rev. A. W.
And others.

The President ordered the distribution of the voting papers for the election of Officers and Members of Council for 1925, as well as of the voting papers for the election of Ordinary Fellows proposed by Council, and appointed Dr. E. H. Pascoe and Mr. K. C. Mahindra to be scrutineers.

The President also ordered the distribution of copies of the Annual Report for 1924, and called on the General Secretary to make a few remarks upon it.

The Annual Report was then presented. (Follows separately.)

At 5-55 P.M. the President vacated the chair and invited MM. Haraprashad Shastri to occupy it during his absence from the room.

The President, the Treasurer, and the General Secretary then left the meeting room to receive His Excellency, the Earl of Lytton, Governor of Bengal, Patron of the Society, at the entrance of the building.

On the arrival of the Patron at 6 P.M., the President introduced the Council to him, and thereupon addressed to him the following words of welcome:—

Your Excellency,

On behalf of the members of this Society, I beg to offer you our cordial and respectful welcome. The members of

the Society are deeply grateful to you Sir, for your gracious presence at their Annual Meeting. It is a happy omen for us that the Ruler of the Province, who combines an extensive literary knowledge with capacity for practical affairs, takes such a keen interest in our Society. Your Excellency is always willing to identify himself with movements connected with the intellectual and economic progress of mankind, and as members of the Society, we take pride, we assure you, that our one and only aim is the advancement of knowledge among the people. We are deeply indebted to Your Excellency for the encouragement you have given us in furthering our aim, and we beg to extend to you to-day a cordial and hearty welcome.

After thus welcoming the Patron, the President invited him to occupy the chair.

After his installation the Patron called upon the scrutineers to report, and the retiring President announced the results of the Council election. (Follows separately.)

The Patron then called on the retiring President to read the Annual Address. (Follows separately.)

The retiring President then thanked the Society for his re-election as President for 1925-26 as follows:—

I cannot adequately express my gratitude to you all for the honour you have done me in electing me again as your President for the current year. It was a rash step on my part to accept the presidency of this Society embracing, as it does, so many eminent scientific and literary scholars, writers and thinkers of the day. Looking back at the last 12 months and the opportunity afforded me, I can hardly claim to have conducted the Society's affairs in any other character than that of an amateur. I am deeply grateful to you for the honour you have done me for the second time, which proves, at any rate to my satisfaction, that the members of the society repose some confidence in me, and this feeling has inspired and encouraged me to accept the responsibility of the chair for another year. I rely upon your co-operation and assistance which you have ungrudgingly given during the past year. I cannot help expressing my regret that I will not have during the current year the valuable assistance of Dr. Pascoe, Dr. Bhandarkar, Mr. Khuda Bux, Mr. Abdul Ali, on the Council. But I feel sure that they will not deny me the favour of their counsel and advice whenever I may have the occasion to consult them.

Gentlemen, I thank you again most sincerely for your confidence, and for the honour you have done me in electing me again to the chair.

After thanking the Society for his re-election the President for 1925 invited the Patron to address the meeting.

The Patron then addressed the meeting. (Follows separately.)

After the reading of the Patron's address, the President for 1925 proposed a vote of thanks as follows:—

It is now my pleasant duty to propose a hearty vote of thanks to our Patron, His Excellency Lord Lytton, for his sparing the time to preside at to-day's Annual Meeting, and for delivering the inspiring address to which we have had the pleasure to listen. The members of the Asiatic Society greatly appreciate the kindly feeling which prompted His Excellency to come here to-day, and his presence amongst us shows how practical is his sympathy for cultural progress and for scientific research. His instructive address inspires us with confidence in the Society's work, and we feel greatly encouraged by the appreciative words His Excellency has spoken.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to His Excellency, which I am sure, you will carry by acclamation.

The vote of thanks having been adopted by acclamation, the President for 1925 made the following announcements:—

No Elliot Prize has been awarded for 1924.

Elliott Prizes for 1924 and 1925 will be arranged for as follows:—

For 1924, subject: Physics.

For 1925, subject: Geology and Biology (including Pathology and Physiology).

Detailed announcements will be published in appropriate places.

The Barclay Memorial Medal for 1923 has been awarded to:—

Lieut.-Col. S. R. Christophers.

The election of Ordinary Fellows is as follows:—

Shams-ul-Ulama, Dr. M. Hidayet Hossain.
Dr. Guy Elcock Pilgrim.
Prof. Dr. C. V. Raman.

No Associate Members have been proposed for election in the Annual Meeting.

It having come to our knowledge that Professor H. Jacobi, one of the foremost living Sanskritists, and an editor

of works in the Bibliotheca Indica since 1883, will celebrate his 75th birthday to-morrow, the 5th of February, a fact which is to be made the occasion of a solemn celebration by European Orientalists, it is proposed to send a telegram of congratulation and affection to Professor Jacobi from the meeting on behalf of this Society, and to repeat the message more fully by letter.

The proposal having been adopted by acclamation, the President called upon the members present to re-assemble after His Excellency's departure, for the monthly General Meeting for the election of members and the transaction of business.

The President then declared the Annual Meeting to be dissolved, and invited those present to examine a collection of exhibits. (Descriptive list follows separately.)

At 7-15 P.M., the Patron left the meeting conducted by the President for 1925, after which a monthly General Meeting was called for the transaction of business by members, whilst visitors inspected the exhibits.

ANNUAL ADDRESS, 1924-25.

It is my privilege as President to deliver the annual address to the members assembled here this evening. It is customary on these occasions for the President of this Ancient Society to discourse on a branch of Art or Science, together with a short history of the progress of the Society's work during the year. I take it for granted that having elected me to the Chair you do not expect to listen to a discourse on any scientific subject. A business man and a practical Engineer is not familiar with the atmosphere of pure science, and although I have been a member of this Society for nearly 27 years, and have had the honour to occupy a seat on the Council for 4 years, I can say with truth that I never set my ambition so high as to wish to occupy the President's Chair. I feel that it would be an act of presumption on my part to address you on any learned subject, and in electing me to this Chair, I gather that you wished me to try to stabilise and strengthen the material position of the Society in order to provide for continued development of scholarship and learning. The task is formidable, but one cannot help feeling the tremendous inspiration of the office of President. Nearly a century and a half has passed since this Society was founded. It was established with the object of bringing together in a connected form the results of the researches and discoveries in science, art, history, and literature. Its aim is to improve science, art, and literature by investigation and research, to build up an up-to-date library and to maintain its unrivalled position in the world of science and oriental languages. I hope it will not be amiss on my part if I attempt to justify our aspirations from our past records, and to endeavour to show what real service an ancient Society like ours can render to the modern world. I cannot think of a better way of visualising our hopes for the future than by taking a general survey of our achievements in the past and thereby deriving inspiration for our work in the immediate future. The Society numbers amongst its members many, who like myself, can make no claim to take an active part in the pursuit of natural science, but its useful and practical work in different branches of science and knowledge interests every class and section of the public. Its doors are open to all. There is no barrier here of birth, colour, fortune or learning. In this community of scholars and lay-men interested in the advancement of learning, there is unity of purpose for the encouragement and expansion of knowledge derived from

science, art, and literature. I propose to give you a very brief resumé of the history of the Society since its foundation, in the hope that it may create greater interest among the present day educated Indians. But before doing so, I feel I must pay my tribute to the dead.

Gentlemen, we miss to day two of our most prominent members, both of whom were Fellows and whose names have been associated with the Society for a long period. During the course of the year we have lost, to our profound grief, two of our eminent members, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and Dr. Annandale. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was the life and soul of the Society for the past twenty years. Joining the Society as long ago as 1886, he became a Vice-President in 1904, and later occupied the Presidential Chair for four years. When a young man with more time and leisure to devote to research than he could afterwards spare, Sir Asutosh contributed to the Society's Proceedings fourteen brilliant mathematical papers, and one illuminating paper on Indian Philology (1880–1890). He seems to have turned at this stage to activities of more practical interest, but what then appeared a loss to scientific research turned out to be a gain to learning. Sir Asutosh never spared himself in the cause dear to his heart, and the Asiatic Society symbolised for him the fountain source of scientific culture and research. His interest, solicitude and affection for the work of the Society were unbounded. At the death of Sir Asutosh every member of the Council felt he had lost a personal friend, for he possessed an eminently winning disposition, and was always ready to extend his hand of friendship. By his death the Society has lost a leader and adviser who guided its affairs for a considerable period, and who has left an indelible mark in its history and traditions. The second great loss suffered by the Society was the death of Doctor N. Annandale, F.R.S., my immediate predecessor in this Chair of honour. Dr Annandale joined the Society within a few months of his arrival in India in 1904, and contributed his first paper within two months of his election as a member. As Anthropological Secretary (1904–11), as Secretary of the Natural Science Section (1914. 1922). as Vice-President (1915–18), and finally as President (1923), Dr. Annandale ungrudgingly gave his devoted services to the affairs of the Society. His scientific contributions to our *Journal and Proceedings* were numerous, and his eminence in science brought lustre to the name of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In the last 20 volumes of our *Journal*, about 50 papers have appeared from his pen. For the *Memoirs* he wrote about 20 papers. This handsome contribution of original research shows in high relief the abiding interest which Dr. Annandale took in the affairs of the Society. He devoted most of his leisure hours to

the advancement of its work. The welfare of the Society was so much at his heart, that to bring me in as the head of the administration he gave up his claim to continue as President for the second year in order that its administration might imbibe business methods, and thereby be able to improve its material condition. He made a donation of Rs. 500/- for the purpose of preserving several valuable works and showed further proof of his genuine desire for the welfare of the Society by the bequest he made in his will, presenting to the Society his rich collection of valuable books and a legacy of £100. The earnestness of his request to me to accept the Presidentship of the Society was an uncommon example of personal sacrifice, for what he considered would be for the good of the Society and I had no option but to yield to his persuasion, notwithstanding my firm conviction that I did not deserve the high honour, feeling in my innermost consciousness, that I would not be able to come up to his expectations, and would have to disappoint him. His assurance to assist me in every way, strengthened by the promise of Sir Asutosh to help me whenever I needed his assistance, inspired confidence and courage in me to accept the trust. But, alas, my support was to be removed by the hand of God immediately after my accession to this high Chair of honour. I was left unaided to take charge of a ship with a learned but restive crew. I have struggled and tried my best, and having brought the ship safely so far was prepared to hand over the command to a successor, but my learned and adventurous companions, by re-electing me for another year, have taken the risk of a further voyage with me.

On 15th January, 1784, a little over 140 years ago, Sir William Jones, a newly appointed Judge of the Supreme Court at Fort William, called together a few of his European friends and pleaded for the institution of a Society for enquiring into the "History—civil and natural, the Antiquities, Art, Sciences and Literature of Asia." The result was the founding of the *Asiatick Society*,—and in the words of the founder their object was to undertake and encourage investigation in the vast field of oriental scholarship and bring to bear Western methods of research on the fascinating problems confronting "Man and Nature—whatever is performed by the one or produced by the other." Nearly a century and a half has rolled by, and the Asiatic Society of Bengal is now well-known amongst learned institutions of the world for its traditions of scholarship and learning, for its splendid pioneer work in the domain of oriental history and literature, and for its valued contributions to the cause of science and culture. We are inheritors of a great tradition, and have every reason to feel proud of the Society's work. Yet, in the words of Sir Alexander Pedler, F.R.S., a past President of the Society (1896), "It is desirable that we

should from time to time take stock of our position, and examine critically the work which is being carried on by us, and see whether there are any points in which matters can be improved." I propose to follow Sir Alexander's admirable advice, and give you what appear to me to be the salient marks in our history.

The material conditions of a Society are assured of continued prosperity if it continues to attract a sufficiently large number of new members, enough to compensate for the inevitable losses through natural or voluntary causes. Our roll of members provides a significant lesson. The earliest data available are for the year 1788, when the Society counted 89 members. This number gradually increased to 306 in the year 1835. 1835 to 1860 were the most trying years, for the membership gradually dwindled—as low as 119 in 1845. This was also the period of political and social strife in India, which may in part be responsible for the poor support given to the Society. From 1860 onwards to 1872 members increased in good numbers; a substantial net increase of 200 members in the course of 12 years bears witness to the increasing popularity and growing appreciation of the work of the Society. There set in a decline in 1873. The membership dropped from 438 in 1872 to 288 in 1897. The next fifteen years saw again a return to a better register, until 1911 marked the year of our largest membership, *viz.*, 536. Since then we have been on the decline. We touched 345 in 1923, but I am glad to say that with special efforts we have been able to increase the members' list to 417 in 1924. Past experience, thus, shows that temporary enthusiasm needs to be fortified by a more binding material. I, therefore, cannot lay sufficient emphasis on our need for larger support, and it is the duty of every member here to introduce the Society's work to his friends, and bring us at least one new member every year. The work of the Society demands not only gifts of mind and character, but also united efforts for its continued progress. We want an army of workers to educate the people to make them realise the high aims and task of the Society. In short, we want real, enthusiastic propagandists of knowledge.

It is interesting to record a few marked changes in the character of our membership roll. In 1829 Dr. H. H. Wilson proposed for the first time in the history of the Society, some Indian names for membership, although it is said that some were proposed for election in 1818. However, the 1832 list records the first Indian name—and it is pleasing to recollect that it was the honoured name of Dwarka Nath Tagore. The first Indian Vice-President was Babu Ramgopal Ghose, elected in 1855, and the first Indian to occupy the Presidential Chair was the great scholar, Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra (1885). It was not an unjust criticism in 1896 that Indians as a general rule

did not "show any particular aptitude for original research" especially in the domain of science. This feature is responsible for the almost complete absence of Indian names (with a few brilliant exceptions) from the illustrious head-roll of the Society for one hundred years. The criticism is no longer true; since the late nineties Bengal has witnessed a wonderful educational revival, and the number of Indians devoting their time and energies to original research has been steadily on the increase. We see the change in the composition of the Society's offices, and in the contents of our *Journal and Proceedings*. I am glad to welcome this assured sign of the advancement of knowledge among my countrymen. But at the same time I am constrained to remark that there has been a remarkable falling off of interest amongst the European members. Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra in the centenary volume of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to which I am greatly indebted, remarked that it was "worthy of note, and not a little singular, that the members of the Civil Service took a much more prominent position than those of the more learned professions." I am afraid I have to record the almost complete lack of interest, in so far as the Society's literary and scientific work is concerned, amongst the officials to-day. The river of educational enthusiasm, never too strong, has consequently been split into two weak channels. The hurried stress of modern life and work may be reponsible for this, but scientific pursuits and literary culture are things of the mind. If our present civilian members would take as much interest in the prosecution and advancement of research as did their predecessors of the 19th century, they would set an admirable example to the culturally inclined people who come into contact with them. I am confident that we have their good will behind us, and I therefore hope and trust my appeal to them and also to the European members of the commercial community will not be fruitless.

In the Presidential address of Alexander Pedler to which I have already referred is given a lucid exposition of the weakness of the Society in respect to strength of active workers. Many of our members are in the same position as myself: they can lay no claim to any deep learning or to the active prosecution of research. They have joined the Society with the feeling that they are assisting in maintaining a leading institution of learning and culture. In the past when our European members had obtained leisure by retirement from active service, they returned to their homes in England, and the Society was thus deprived of the assistance which they would otherwise have rendered to the advancement of knowledge. With the increasing association of Indian scholars this disadvantage is to that extent lessened, but it is a sorry spectacle to see our spacious rooms almost deserted.

I have never seen more than half a dozen people working in the Society's library. Contrasting this with the crowds that throng the British Museum, or the habitations of numerous other learned Societies in England one despairs of any real advance in the popularisation of knowledge. I would like to point out here the duty of the Fellows of the Society in this respect. They have been honoured with a rare distinction, and they owe in return a measure of service. The Society can expect from them a generous and continued support. If they were to exert themselves to popularise the Society's work I am confident our halls would not be so empty, or our purse so light. I trust our Fellows will take the lead in a campaign for making the Society and its work more widely known in educated circles, and continue to contribute scientific and research papers for publication.

Before I turn to our literary and scientific activities, I would like to say a few words regarding our building. As you are aware, the entire premises of the Society were completely renovated in 1923-24 at considerable expense. The first meetings of the Society were held in the Grand Jury Room of the Court at Fort William. The present site was given to us by the East India Company's Government in the year 1804, and the house, built on this site in 1808 by a French Contractor, M. Jean Jacques Pichon, according to the design of Captain Lock of the Bengal Engineers, has withstood the ravages of time for over a hundred years. It is hoped that the present renovation has materially lengthened the life of our premises. In 1876 the conditions attached to the grant of the ground plot were removed. It is interesting to record that when the Government accepted in 1865 the Society's recommendations for the formation of an Imperial Museum with the nucleus of the Society's archæological collections, removal to the spacious rooms of the Museum was seriously contemplated. We are glad the change was not made and the traditional home of the Society preserved. The Society received in 1875, as compensation for withdrawal of its claim for accommodation in the Museum premises, a sum of Rs. 1,50,000 which now forms part of the Permanent Reserve Fund. Although we are debarred under Rule 67 from touching this Fund, I wish to draw your attention to its origin. For maintenance and upkeep of our commodious home a large sum is required every year. It is desirable therefore, that some sort of a permanent income be made available for the purpose. We are not precluded from using the interest earned upon the permanent reserve fund investments for current expenditure, but I would be reluctant to stop the growth of the investment fund. The Society has earned the good will and appreciation of cultured people, and I take this opportunity to appeal to our Princes, big Zamindars, and commercial Magnates to show their interest in, and

patronage of, science and art by granting benefactions and endowments to the Society.

What I consider to be the greatest service which the Asiatic Society has rendered to scholarship is the impetus which its pioneer efforts have given to scientific investigations into Asiatic problems of Man and Nature. We note with pride and satisfaction that the Asiatic Society of Bengal is the parent institution of other similar societies both in India and elsewhere. The Royal Asiatic Society of London was founded in 1823 by that great Mathematician and Sanskrit scholar, Henry T. Colebrooke, who was our President from 1806 to 1815. The Bombay Society, founded in 1827, and the Ceylon Society in 1845, were the direct results of the interest and enthusiasm produced by the Asiatic Society of Bengal's pioneer work in the field of oriental research. We are proud of this achievement, but we should not ignore that there has been a progressive decline in the unique and eminent position which our Society commanded at one time. We recognise and applaud the brilliant work of the French and German savants. I am of opinion that we should make strenuous efforts to re-occupy the pre-eminent place which our predecessors made for the Society. We cannot stand still. We have either to go forward or fall back and give way to younger and more energetic institutions. We have to face the fact that we are no longer so widely known; we are not popular in the literal sense of the word. I have met many highly educated people who have never heard of even the existence of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Our monthly meetings are poorly attended. Do we not need to look into our methods, and see if the Society can be made better known to and recognised by the people of Bengal? If I urge upon you the necessity of a propaganda for popularisation of the Society's work, I do not ask you to court cheap applause. I want to gather within the folds of the Society all people interested in the advancement of research and knowledge, and you cannot get them unless you tell them that you exist, and the purposes for which you exist. A feature of the Christmas week in London is a series of special popular lectures on scientific subjects addressed by eminent scientists, in language easily understood by the layman. Could we not also arrange a similar series in Calcutta during holidays? Conversaziones, At Homes, lectures with lantern slides, etc., may with benefit be adopted for popularising the name and the work of the Society.

I have already referred above to the duty which the Fellows owe to the Society. Although we have not been extravagant in conferring this honoured distinction, I feel that the time has now arrived to revise our methods, and rules of election. All prominent literary and scientific Societies in England and America scrutinise with an almost too conserva-

tive care the claims of members for election as Fellows. It is not my intention to criticise our past methods, but I think a change has become necessary and, in my opinion, mere ballot should not be allowed to decide whether a Fellowship should be granted or not. I suggest the formation of a Fellowship Board which should make recommendations after a careful scrutiny of each claim. We might ask for submission of original theses and research papers in support of the candidature, and thus admit ability and merit alone to this distinction, thereby raising the value of a Fellowship in the eyes of the scientific world.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal has zealously promoted research in oriental scholarship, and one of our greatest achievements has been the series of publications known as the *Bibliotheca Indica*. It was in the closing years of the 18th century that the first suggestion to print Sanskrit works with translations was made by the Serampore Baptist Mission. The plan fell through after the first three volumes of the *Ramayana* were published. In 1806, James Mackintosh, later President of the Bombay Society, proposed the publication of a series of works to be known as *Bibliotheca Asiatica*. Nothing appears to have been done until 1830, when the return of the renowned Hungarian scholar, M. Csoma de Körös, from Tibet, provided the occasion for sanction of a grant for the publication of his Tibetan grammar and dictionary. In 1847, the scheme for a monthly serial publication under the title of *Bibliotheca Indica* was revived and the first volume saw the light in 1849. Renowned scholars and savants have co-operated in editing this now well-known series of volumes on oriental literature. We record with pride the fact that the series has had a continuous career, and to-day we count 1747 fascicles of about 96 pages each, printed in this series of original text editions, translations, bibliographies, and studies in Sanskrit and Semitic literature. In the words of Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, "It is doubtful if any Society..... has done for any classical literature as much as the Asiatic Society of Bengal has done for Sanskrit literature since 1847." Besides the *Bibliotheca* series, the Society has published numerous oriental works and our *Journal and Proceedings*, the inheritors of the old *Asiatick Miscellany* and *Researches* contain over 70,000 pages of print. The initial stimulus to archæological and ethnographic studies came from the Society; the great scientific surveys of India have been created through the persistent representations made by the Society to the Government. The Indian Museum of Calcutta was established, as you know, at our direct request and has thus become intimately connected with the Society, and we have an affectionate interest in its well-being. The Asiatic Society possesses a magnificent collection of rare manuscripts and books. When

the first inventory was made in 1833, the Society possessed only about 1,000 volumes each in the European and Oriental sections. In 1883 the library contained about 30,000 volumes of which over 8,000 were in manuscript. We do not posses a complete Library Catalogue, but the Secretary has estimated the present number to be about 50,000, roughly distributed as follows :—

Printed volumes	..	30,000
Sanskrit and Hindu Vernacular MSS.	..	14,650
Arabic and Persian MSS.	..	4,700
Tibetan block prints	..	500
TOTAL	..	49,850

It is not the number of volumes in the library, but the worth of the collection to scholars in the prosecution of research which makes the value of the library, and we can confidently say that no other library, at any rate in Asia, contains as rich a store of oriental knowledge and learning as the Asiatic Society Library.

It is indeed a record to be proud of, and if I invite your attention to our achievements in the past, it is not with the purpose of sending you home well-satisfied with the crown of past glory. It is our proud privilege to share in these traditions; at the same time it is our duty to prove worthy of them. We can only do that by a record of what progress we make in succeeding years comparing it with that of the past. With this object in view, I give you a brief account of the year under review, details of which have already been given in the Annual Report.

But before I summarise the details of the progress made during the year, I wish to invite you to consider the results achieved through the strenuous efforts of the General Secretary, and the loyal work of his staff as a guide for immediate future policy.

The year 1924 marks the year of the greatest net gain to our membership list since the inception of the Society. 103 new members joined the roll, losses amount to 31, the net gain being 72. I beg of you not to let this enthusiasm subside. We have made a fair start, and I ask you continually to add to the stream which feeds knowledge and scholarship. The Society's premises were thoroughly renovated in 1923, and during the past year we have been busy with re-organising by shifts the library sections. New steel shelvings have been installed; cabinets have been arranged for stocking of blocks which represent an investment of over Rs. 15,000; stocks of our publications are being gradually sorted and re-arranged. Turning to our finances, I find that last year

represents again a record year in the matter of receipts. Money forms the sinews of progress and civilisation. It is imperative for a Society, howsoever renowned and ancient in learning and knowledge it be, to be able to show a flourishing condition of finance year by year. Our sources of revenue are not many; our heads of expenditure great. The various Governments continue their grants for various ear-marked expenditure; we are grateful for the help, but respectfully draw the Governments' attention to the very useful work the Society is doing, and plead, through our gracious Patron, for increased support. I might, however, remind the members that our appeal will carry greater weight if we can show that we have ourselves attempted to reform and improve our financial position. During the past year, the system of book-keeping has been completely revised, enabling thereby a more accurate check on expenses as well as a better audit. The arrears in collection have been vigorously pulled up. Last year marks a record sale of Society's publications. The proceeds amounted to over Rs. 10,000 as against an average of Rs 5,000 in previous years. The increased sales are undoubtedly due to better cataloguing, and detailed price lists of some of our publications being made available to the public. I take this opportunity to bring to your notice our large stock of valuable editions which are available for sale. Grouping of serial books and cataloguing has been taken in hand, and I expect these facilities will give the public the necessary information, and help us in increasing the sales of our publications. Our expenses on the other hand have been heavy. Re-organisation costs money, but I am glad to say we have succeeded in keeping within our means; the year not only closes with no deficit, but we have made a substantial addition to the permanent Reserve Fund. The Council decided very rightly that to secure efficient service, the emoluments of the staff and their terms of service should be placed on a firm footing. With this purpose a new scale of pay with gradations has been adopted, and a provident fund system has been instituted. The routine of office work has been recast on a business basis; files and archieves are gradually being reduced to order. For the preservation of the Society's valuable collection of books, it is essential that all our books should be kept bound. We have been able to spend about Rs. 1,700 on binding during the last year; the special donation of Rs. 500 made by the late Dr. N. Annandale, directed our attention towards the preservation of our many almost priceless manuscripts and books. It is estimated that a sum of another Rs. 5,000 will be needed to complete the binding work for the Society's library, and I appeal to large-hearted philanthropists to make this benefaction, to enable us to finish this essentially useful work. We

ave also received a scheme for the renovation of our paint-ngs and I expect this work will be taken in hand during he current year.

Coming now to the publication side, we have published his year the equivalent of 46 fascicles of the *Bibliotheca Indica* s against 10 fascicles in 1923 and 7 in 1922. Four numbers f the *Memoirs* have been printed, and the *Journal* was main-ained at its usual strength. One of the most useful works in onnection with the *Bibliotheca* has been taken in hand, iz., the sorting and grouping of complete serial works. It s found in some instances like the Avadana Kalpalata, that ome numbers of the fascicles have been completely exhausted, endering thereby almost valueless from the buyer's point of iew, the rest of the serial work. It has been arranged to put hese works in order and, by reprinting, complete the serial works. We have also been active in our purchase of Arabic nd Persian manuscripts. For the first time since very many ears, the Society has received donations of books, the most aluable being the rich collection of over 100 volumes received s a bequest from the late Dr. N. Annandale. Cataloguing of books in the library is an urgent need, and steps have been taken to commence this work. The progress in the printing of catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. has been rapid It is with pleasure that I record the appreciation of world-renowned scholars of the work of Mr. W. Ivanow in that connection. Professor E. G. Browne of Cambridge University writes acknowledging a copy of Mr. Ivanow's *Descriptive Catalogue of Persian MSS.* that "This is a very fine scholarly piece of work which reflects the utmost credit on the author..... The catalogue is well planned and arranged, shows a good sense of proportion and a profound scholarship, and is a most valuable addition to the library of every Persian scholar. We must all feel grateful to Mr. Ivanow for compiling, and to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for publishing this monumental work." Sir George Grierson, M. Massignon, Sir Denison Ross and many others have written in similar appreciative language. I take this opportunity of congratulating Mr. Ivanow on his fine scholarly work. He must feel gratified by the warm reception his work has received at the hands of savants, and the Asiatic Society of Bengal feels proud in possessing such an able and profound scholar.

I feel, Gentlemen, that the foregoing summary of our last year's work is neither complete nor adequate, and I must refer you to the General Secretary's Report for fuller information. I confess I made the summary for a purpose, and I will tell you in confidence that pleasing as is the progress made, we are not content with the present improvement: we must go ahead and re-establish the Society in its old proud position of pre-eminence. For that purpose I must say again we want money.

I hope I have succeeded to a certain extent in defining the very important scientific and literary work which the Society is doing. We ask scholars to join us in increasing numbers and in carrying on the fruitful work of investigation. We ask laymen to come to us and derive inspiration and knowledge from our rich collections. We appeal to the Princes and Zamindars to extend their patronage to arts and science by large benefactions to the Society. We request our commercial Magnates to extend their support to the work we are doing, and help us by joining the Society and contributing to its funds. I also take this opportunity to respectfully appeal to the Government for further support. Our work has increased since the present grants were sanctioned ; we appeal for a recognition of what we have achieved and of the possibilities of future work. Increased Government support will bring us better public appreciation and more help. We hope our gracious Patron who is descended from a line distinguished and honoured in literature and who takes a deep and abiding interest in scientific pursuits, will enlighten his Government about the reasonableness of our request for more funds. I specially make this request as our need is large ; material improvements already taken in hand will cost money ; any extension of the useful spheres of the Society's work will require funds.

Gentlemen, I hope my pleading will not be in vain, and I trust with your help we will be able to show a still better financial position at the end of the current year. I have already indicated, in my short summary of last year's activities, the lines along which further improvements are necessary. During the earlier part of my address I have emphasised the need for popularisation of the Society's work. I imagine the abstruse nature of the researches conducted under the Society's auspices attracts only a limited class of people. I have given considerable thought to the problem of broadening the basis of our work, and the practicability of effecting a sort of alliance between abstruse scientific research and modern 'popular' knowledge.

Our Founder, Sir William Jones, in his inaugural address after referring to the fascinating prospects of investigation in physical sciences, said : "To this you will add researches into "their (India's) agriculture, manufacture and trade ; and whilst "you enquire into their music, architecture, painting and "poetry, you will not neglect those inferior arts by which "comforts and even elegances of social life are supplied or "improved." But since the time of Sir William Jones what he was then pleased to designate the inferior arts have greatly developed and it would now be arrogant on our part to assume that we can usefully extend our sphere of enquiries into such subjects as agriculture, engineering or industries. We have a great Government organisation to deal with agriculture,

we have a Member for Industries on the Viceregal Council, and we have Government Departments of Industries in the Provinces and Chambers of Commerce in our great Commercial Cities, whilst outside the P.W.D. which did not exist in Sir William Jones' day we have an Indian Institution of Engineers which, though a youthful body, shows signs of virility and strength. Science and its application to industries is provided for in the Indian Institute of Science and the Indian Science Congress is materially helping to create that special atmosphere in India which is so essential to the cultivation of the scientific mind without which little progress in this direction is possible. Though we cannot usefully take up work in these fields there yet remains to us the vast field of economic and political science in which Indians are now taking great interest but in which from ignorance of facts and of the true history of the past they are in need of help and guidance. India is at present amidst a wonderful industrial renaissance and the Asiatic Society of Bengal can usefully contribute toward a safe and prosperous evolution by carrying on scientific researches and taking the lead in clarifying the laws of economics and guiding future national policies. A study of the economic history of India is urgently needed and I would like to see the Asiatic Society of Bengal taking up the work of investigation and research in this essentially vital and important field.

India is at the parting of ways. We Indians are beginning to assume responsibility in the higher administration of our land. We are in the midst of numerous changes in the political and socio-economic world. Now that the Reforms are embodied in the political governance of the country and the status of Dominion Government is an accepted political aim we must diligently apply ourselves to the application of science to industry and improve our economic condition so as to bring ourselves on a level with the other civilised nations. We must remember that without economic prosperity and economic freedom we will not be considered equal partners in the political field by the world at large. Persistent and continued researches into the domain of economics will yield rich and fruitful results. We should not turn back from the work before us, but assume our share in the advancement of knowledge and carry on the great traditions we have inherited. We are all labourers in a common cause which is the service of mankind through enlightenment. May we prove worthy to carry forward the torch of knowledge handed on to us and, by keeping it bright and shining, hand on to our successors a surer and steadier beacon light.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal forms a bond of union not only between Indians of various classes and creeds, but also between Indians and Europeans by reason of its traditions and

community of interests. All progressive and enlightened men recognise that the hope of a prosperous and peaceful India lies in hearty co-operation between the two races, and science knows no barriers of race or clime. We can all meet here with a common aim and through common pursuits help in understanding each other. The Society's platform is therefore a great social asset in the future development of our country and deserves the hearty support of all right thinking men.

Gentlemen, I have almost finished. I feel I cannot conclude my address without acknowledging the loyal and unstinted support which the Council, and Sectional Secretaries and the Treasurer have given to me during the past year. My demands on their time and patience have been at times heavy; but they have not failed to support me in my efforts to effect improvements. Above all, I must pay a warm tribute to the work of our very able General Secretary. I feel that Mr Johan van Manen has rendered to the Society signal services which very few people could have rendered I am honestly convinced that without his devotion, eager enthusiasm and zealous efforts the Society would not have achieved the success it has during the year. A great and profound scholar himself, Mr. van Manen has sacrificed his own literary work for the good of the Society. I have made unremitting demands on his time and knowledge of the Society's work, and he has most ably come to my help. I take this opportunity to thank him publicly, on behalf of the members of the Society, for his labour of love in the cause of knowledge. He has helped in resuscitating an edifice of learning and I have not the least doubt that his name will be honoured as one of the most able Secretaries which the Society has had the proud privilege to possess. Personally I am deeply indebted to him for his generous support and loyal help, and I fervently hope that the Society will consider it fitting and proper to recognise in some form the valuable work he has done.

I am afraid, Gentlemen, I have exhausted your patience and have also disappointed you. I am conscious that my address is not in line with those of preceding years and is desultory and discursive. But I am sure you will be indulgent to me, or you would not have elected me again as your President for the second year. I do not possess, as you probably know, the gift of public speech and I feel I should have wasted your time, were I not convinced that the future of the Society demanded a statement of our policies and of our immediate needs. I feel that a recollection of the deeds of our predecessors will create hopeful enthusiasm in us for the future. I have, therefore, placed the practical working of the Society prominently before you in the hope that I might convince you of the necessity for improving our financial position, and thereby extending our scientific and literary work. I have indicated the means:

Make the Society "popular." Love of knowledge lies dormant in every human breast; rouse it and create a zeal for the promotion of knowledge and you will be fulfilling the test for admission to the ranks of the Society as laid down by our great Founder. In the Crusade for knowledge and enlightenment every one should be welcome and it behoves us to consider the world as our recruiting ground, accepting the lowly as much as the great, with equal pleasure. Let the inscription on Sir William Jones' monument speak for every one of us:

"*Who thought none below him but the base and unjust,*
None above him but the wise and virtuous."

4th February, 1925. R. N. MOOKERJEE.

PATRON'S ADDRESS.

SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY LORD LYTTON, GOVERNOR OF BENGAL, AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL ON THE 4TH OF FEBRUARY, 1925.

SIR RAJENDRA NATH MOOKERJEE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

When I attended for the first time your Annual Meeting last year, I was privileged to listen to a most able speech from the retiring President, Dr. Annandale. His extreme modesty, coupled with his profound knowledge, gave special importance to the sound doctrines which he enunciated in his Presidential Address. The words which he used on that occasion have since acquired an even greater significance by the tragic fact that they proved to be in effect his last message to the world of culture and learning in India. Little did any of us think as we listened to his brilliant address that we were so soon to lose him and those of us who desire to honour his memory can find no better way of doing so than to work for the success of this Society which was so near his heart and of which he was such a distinguished ornament. During his lifetime he showed his interest in the activities of the Society by the offices which he held in it and by the many learned papers which he contributed to its journals; and at his death he gave further proof of his devotion to the Society's welfare by the legacies he has made of his private library, and of money to be spent on the preservation and exhibition of its artistic treasures. His death is, indeed, a heavy loss to the Society, but his example will, I hope, be an abiding stimulus to others to promote the culture and learning which form the surest foundation of a nation's greatness.

As the President has reminded us, we have also been deprived during the past year of the greatest man of learning of the present generation in Bengal. That the death of Sir Asutosh Mukerjee has been successively mourned by every learned Society in Bengal is an indication of the versatility of his genius and of the deep interest which he took in every movement for the encouragement of Art and Learning.

If this Society has suffered greatly by the loss of these two distinguished men during the past year you will agree with me, I am sure, that it has gained by having Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee as its President. Like his predecessor, Dr. Annandale, Sir Rajendra Nath shines through the innate modesty that seeks ever to conceal his merits. That modesty has led him to represent himself as a plain business man with little title to be the President of a learned Society, but the thoughtful

and instructive address which he has just delivered is sufficient vindication of the soundness of your choice in selecting him as President and the valuable work he has done for the Society during the past year has been fittingly recognized by your selection of him to a second year of office. His deep and abiding interest in the welfare of this Society is shown by the readiness with which, amid all his other duties, he has undertaken the duties of President—not as a mere title, but with the full determination to guide the deliberations of the Council and to control the destinies of the Society. Sir Rajendra Nath is a striking instance of the truism of which Sir Asutosh Mukerjee was also so remarkable an example, that those who have least leisure manage to devote the most time to interests outside their normal occupation. The benevolent activities in this city appear to be concentrated among a few public-spirited energetic men; it would be well if others would emulate their enthusiasm and share with them work of which so much remains to be done.

Sir Rajendra Nath has also shown his interest in the Society by the deep thought he has evidently devoted to the means for its improvement. He has clearly mapped out his policy and indicated the aims and ideals which he considers should actuate the activities of the Society. If I read his suggestions aright, he aims at broadening the scope of the Society and making it appeal to a wider circle, while at the same time rigidly scrutinising the principles underlying the conferment of its fellowships. In this way he hopes to make the Society more popular without sacrificing the high standard which it always enjoyed. I hope that the suggestions Sir Rajendra Nath has tentatively thrown out for the end he has in view will receive the careful consideration they deserve. For, in this way perhaps, we shall see not only a restoration of its financial position and the extension of its scholarly work, but also the re-establishment of the Society in its place of pre-eminence—the final authority on problems affecting man and nature in Asia. A Society such as this must not trade on the traditions of the past, but must use those traditions merely as a foundation and an inspiration for the future.

During the last year special attention has again been paid to the material welfare and regeneration of this Society and I should like to congratulate its members on the very satisfactory record which the report for 1924 discloses. It is a record of solid unostentatious work, and, if during the year, the Society cannot point to any specially brilliant achievements, the period has at least been one of consolidation, which is the necessary preliminary to advance and expansion. During this period a great deal of money has had to be spent on organization and on strengthening its foundations in every direction. This necessarily results in a restriction of the Society's output

in research and scholarship. This Society is as it were a clearing house of knowledge, and unless its organization is placed on a business footing, its books maintained in good order and the administration managed economically in respect of time, labour, and money, we cannot expect the maximum of efficiency on its research side. The relationship between the business and technical or literary aspects of any learned society would make an interesting study, but it must be conceded that unless the foundations of business methods are laid deep and firmly the builders collaborating in the construction of the building will be handicapped and will have less scope for using their materials to advantage. You do not expect the best architect to be his own builder or engineer, and yet this is the mistake learned societies so frequently make in the management of their own affairs. The appointment as General Secretary of Mr. van Manen, indicated the Society's recognition that business methods and scholarship must go hand in hand. In fact Mr. van Manen is himself an epitome of what the Society should be—a combination of practical business capacity and scholarly brilliance—and it was, perhaps, because the necessity of placing the Society on a businesslike footing was so urgent, that this aspect of the combination was further emphasised by the appointment of Sir Rajendra Nath as President. It has certainly been in the best interests of the Society that so eminent a businessman should have been elected its President and the appointment has been thoroughly justified. I hope that the progress made during his second year will be as satisfactory as that made in 1924.

I should like to mention just a few achievements, some of the more notable reforms in the internal administration of Society, reforms which will make for the easier and more efficient management of the Society and for the greater accessibility of its vast treasure.

When I addressed this Society last year, I was able to point to three outstanding achievements and I called attention to two notable needs. These achievements were the thorough renovation of the buildings, the re-organization in the administration of the Society and the increase in its membership: these three achievements, which are achievements on the material side, represent the beginning of a new era for the Society. They are assets, the value of which will be appreciated more and more as time goes on, although their benefits may not be manifest at once. The annual report and the President's address have both made clear the many directions in which the re-organization has been effected, and all the improvements aim at facilitating reference and rendering the treasures of the Society more easily accessible to the scholar and student. I may mention for instance, the improvements effected in the library, in the system of filing and recording:

and so on; another important and far-reaching reform is the introduction of fixed scales of pay and promotion and the inauguration of a provident fund for the staff. A fixed comprehensive policy governs these changes and has been substituted for a haphazard series of measures improvised to meet occasions as they arise.

The needs to which I referred last year were a further increase in membership (for, as I have said, a substantial increase was one of the achievements of the year) and facilities for the preservation and display of the Society's valuable treasures to the best advantage. The first of the needs has been satisfied. Records have been created not only in the number of new elections, but also in the net increase during the year: I hope that this increased interest will be maintained and that the Society will obtain the hundred additional members still required to constitute a record in total membership. This is something definite and inspiring to work for. I am encouraged by the very satisfactory response which was made to my appeal for new members last year to renew that appeal on this occasion to all those interested in culture and intellectual pursuits—whatever their occupation or race, whether official or non-official, experts or laymen—to join the Society, so that its membership in 1925 may surpass all previous records.

The other need—the preservation and display of the Society's valuable treasures—has also been largely met and the General Secretary's report tells us of the satisfactory progress that has been made in this direction.

In fact, the results which the Society anticipated from the re organization and co-ordination of its activities have been fully attained during the year. There has been a greater number of new elections, manuscripts acquired, library books and manuscripts bound, publications issued and books sold than in almost any previous year. Finally the regular income of the Society has substantially increased.

Hitherto I have dealt with what I may call the business side of the Society's activities, and I have pointed out that this aspect has very rightly been emphasised during the past two years; although this has necessarily restricted the main activities of the Society, yet the report shows very satisfactory results in literary work also. Much of the work of members of the Society has already been noticed and acknowledged by the international world of learning with an appreciation indicative of interest and affection. It must, indeed, have been most gratifying to the Society to note the immediate and generous response from scholarly circles to the literary output of the year; and I would quote, especially the reception given to the descriptive catalogue of Persian manuscripts, compiled by Mr. Ivanow, whom we welcomed last year.

Other outstanding achievements of the year have been the very satisfactory progress made with the Bibliotheca Indica and the Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts.

The year then has been a very satisfatory one not only because of the immediate output of scholarly work and the re-organization of the Society on a business basis, but even more so from the promise of greater achievements, which this very re-organization holds out. The work of the last two years has been like that of the town planner, who has to demolish old buildings, which have been set down at haphazard without reference to the lay out of the whole city, in order that the architects and builders may have full scope for their art.

In conclusion, I appeal again not merely to scholars and research workers, but to all who are interested in the cultivation of the mind and of the human arts, or in the pursuit of science, to join this Society. They will thus not only benefit themselves, but also help, no less effectively because indirectly, in increasing the sum of human knowledge and the credit of Bengal in the world of culture. Sir Rajendra Nath's connection with the Society is a guarantee that it will be administered on economical and efficient lines and the policy he has outlined should give us confidence in the high ideals that will continue to inspire the Society.

Officers and Members of Council

of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1925, as elected and announced in the Annual Meeting, February 4th, 1925.

President.

Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O.

Vice-Presidents.

The Hon'ble Justice Sir W. E. Greaves, Kt., Bar-at-Law.
Dr. Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhikari, Kt., M.A., M.C.S.
C. V. Raman, Esq., M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.
Major H. W. Acton, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., I.M.S.

Secretaries and Treasurer.

General Secretary :—Johan van Manen, Esq.
Treasurer :—Baini Prashad, Esq., D.Sc.
Philological Secretary :—Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, C.I.E., M.A., F.A.S.B.
Joint Philological Secretary :—Shamsu'l 'Ulamā Mawlavī M. Hidāyat Husain Khan Bahadur, Ph. D.
Natural History Secretaries :— Biology :—Sunder Lal Hora, Esq., D.Sc. Physical Science :—W. A. K. Christie, Esq., B.Sc., Ph.D., F.R.G.S., F.A.S.B.
Anthropological Secretary :—P. C. Mahalanobis, Esq., M.A., B.Sc.
Medical Secretary :—Major R. Knowles, I.M.S.
Library Secretary :—G. H. Tipper, Esq., M.A., F.G.S., M.I.M.M., F.A.S.B.

Other Members of Council.

Rai Upendra Nath Brahmachari Bahadur, M.D., M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B.
C. W. Gurner, Esq., B.A., I.C.S.
B. L. Mitter, Esq., M.A., B.L., Bar-at-Law.
Professor P. J. Brühl, I.S.O., D.Sc., F.C.S., F.G.S., F.A.S.B.
A. H. Harley, Esq., M.A.
Pramatha Nath Banerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L.

EXHIBITION ANNUAL MEETING.

LIST OF EXHIBITS SHOWN AFTER THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, ON THE 4TH FEBRUARY, 1925.

1. EXHIBITED BY SIR R. N. MOOKERJEE.

(1) *Screen with four embossed metal plaques representing four members of Akbar's House. Hyderabad work.*

(*a*) Qudsiyya Begum, wife of Muhammad Shāh, 18th century.
(*b*) Jalālu'd-Dīn Muhammad Akbar Pādshāh (1551–1605).
(*c*) Nūrjahān Begum, wife of Jahāngīr (died in 1645).
(*d*) Sultān Abū Sa'īd Mirzā b. Muhammad Mīrzā, Sultān of Herat, 1452-1469, great-great-grandfather of Akbar.

(2) *Carved ivory box with portraits and descriptive inscriptions.*

(*a*) Ahmad Shāh, Sultān of Dihli. 1748–1754.
(*b*) Wilāyat-Shāh, a prince, 18th century.
(*c*) Bābā Farīd, a famous Chishtī saint, died in 1266.
(*d*) Makhdūm Shāh, a saint.
(*e*) Shaykh Sa'dī, the famous Persian poet, died in 1291.
(*f*) Khwāja Qutbu'd-Dīn, a famous Chishtī saint, died in 1235.

2. EXHIBITED BY THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

(1) *Two portions of a Meteorite.*

Fallen down in the neighbourhood of Gupta Brindaban, Mymensingh District, on the 7th of August, 1924, on the estate of The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Ghuznavi, who has kindly consented to their exhibition.

The two portions fit perfectly together. Their fracture, however, must have occurred high up in the air, as both surfaces of fracture have a freshly fused crust. The fit of these two crust-covered surfaces can be demonstrated by turning the thumbscrew outside the case.

(2) *Two Groups of Cassiterite Crystals.*

From Kanbauk, Tavoy, Burma.

(3) *Polished Specimen of Zinc Blende with Iron Pyrites and Galena.*

From Bawdwin, Northern Shan States, Burma.

(4) *Garnet Icositetrahedron.*

From Saidapuram, Nellore District, Madras.

(5) *Large Book of Ruby Mica.*

From Kodarma, Hazaribagh District, Bihar.

(6) *Fossil Snake.*

From the oil shales of Htichara, Eastern Amherst, Burma.

(7) *Photograph of a Fossil Tree.*

Probably the largest ever found. The tree (Dadoxylon sp.) was excavated in 1924 from the Panchet stage of the Gondwana system near Asansol. It is 73 ft. in length and from 1 ft. 2 in. to 2 ft. 7 in. in diameter. It is now being mounted in the Geological Section of the Indian Museum.

(8) *A map, compiled by G. E. Pilgrim, of parts of Europe, Asia and Africa, showing the migrations of the mammals in past ages.*

The mammals are believed to have migrated from one country to another at certain definite geological periods, determined by the presence of temporary land connections. The migratory routes of each period are represented on the chart by lines of a distinctive colour. The adaptive centre or place of origin of each group of mammals is tinted in pink.

3. Exhibited by the Zoological Survey of India.

(1) *Copies of the illustrations of the fishes of the Ganges prepared in Calcutta under the supervision of Dr. Hamilton-Buchanan in the early part of the 19th century.*

The original illustrations, which are also exhibited side by side with the copies, are in a poor condition and are deteriorating at a rapid rate. The drawings are very valuable and are constantly required for reference for any work on the freshwater fishes of the Ganges. It was therefore decided, with the approval of the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to whom the originals were transferred by the Government of India about 1860, to get copies of all the figures made by the Zoological Survey of India for their own library. The copies exhibited have been made by Babu A. C. Chowdhury, one of the artists of the Zoological Survey of India.

(2) *Some Exhibits from the Invertebrate Gallery of the Indian Museum.*

Some interesting animals, which will soon be placed in the re-arranged Invertebrate Gallery of the Indian Museum, which has been closed for a number of years, are exhibited.

(3) *A series of photographs illustrating the structure and formation of a coral island in the Indian Ocean, by Major R. B. Seymour Sewell.*

4. Exhibited by the Imperial Records Department, through Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Keeper of the Records.

A collection of documents and pictures.

(1) Letter from the Members of the Asiatic Society requesting that the Court of Directors may be moved to obtain His Majesty's Letters Patent constituting the Society a corporation under the title of "The Asiatic Society for enquiring into the history, civil and natural, the antiquities, arts, sciences and literature of Asia. (H.D. Pub. Con., 3rd October, 1796, No. 27.)

(2) Minute of the Governor-General, reporting the death of Sir William Jones, deploring his loss, and suggesting that all materials left by him for the Digest of the Hindu and

Muhammadan Laws may be asked for from his Executor (H.D. Pub. Con., 2nd May, 1794, No. 1.)

(3) A miscellaneous collection of documents of historical interest.
(4) A miscellaneous collection of views and pictures of interest.

5. EXHIBITED BY THE GENERAL SECRETARY.

Illustrations of the Society's Office Work.

(1) Publications of 1924.
  (*a*) Bibliotheca Indica.
  (*b*) Catalogues.
  (*c*) Miscellaneous.
  (*d*) Journal.
  (*e*) Memoirs.
  (*f*) Indian Science Congress.
(2) Publications in the Press, incomplete advance copies and books in the making. Proofs and copy for Journal and Memoirs.
(3) The Zafar Nama, one of the 240 publications in the Bibliotheca Indica: stock in hand 40 years after completion.
(4) The Bound Office file-copy of the Bibliotheca Indica from 1868-1924.
(5) Arabic and Persian MSS. bound during the last quarter of 1924.
(6) Arabic and Persian MSS. acquired in 1924.
(7) Numerical file of duplicates of outgoing letters, six months' letter-books, 300 letters monthly.
(8) The Council and Committee Circulars of 1924.
(9) Price-lists and notices.

6. EXHIBITED BY THE GENERAL SECRETARY.

(1) *Documents concerning Dr. John Leyden*, 1775–1811.

Dr. Leyden, a Scotsman, a remarkable linguist of his time, arrived in Calcutta on February 8th, 1806, and resided there till 1811, when he left for Java, where he died in the same year. He joined the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1807, and acted as its Deputy Secretary in 1810. He was a prolific writer and contributed two papers to the *Asiatick Researches* (Vols. X and XI). A contemporary wrote of him:

"He quite revived the Asiatic Society, which for some time before had slumbered, and infused new life into it by what he did himself, and still more by what he was the cause of others doing. There was no work of learning or utility projected in his time in which he did not take an active part."

Until recently we had scarcely any information concerning this early personality in our history. Now a compatriot of his, Mr. Munro Sandison of Helensburgh, has presented the Society with two publications containing a full biography and varia, as well as a number of portraits of Dr. Leyden.

(2) *Portrait of T. W. Beale* (1794–1875).

A distinguished early contributor to the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, who died at the advanced age of 81 in 1875. The first edition of his well-known Oriental Biographical Dictionary was posthumously published by the Society in 1881. Mr. Beale had just been proposed for election as an Associate Member of the Society when he died. He was never a member but was an assiduous correspondent and contributor. The portrait, repro-

duced from a rare original in Lucknow, was presented, in 1924, to the Society by Mr. Pranag Dayal of Lucknow. The two editions of the Biographical Dictionary are also exhibited.

(3) *Portrait of Sir Henry Hubert Hayden* (1869–1923).

A distinguished Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, a Member from 1897, a Fellow from 1911, for 9 years a Member of Council, and President for 1917 and 1918. Sir Henry Hubert Hayden, a geologist by profession, was killed in a mountaineering accident in Switzerland. The portrait was presented to the Society, in 1924, by Dr. F. H. Pascoe.

7. Exhibited by S. R. Bose.

Exhibits of Cultures of hard fungi and edible mushrooms.

(1) Fructification of *Trometus gibbosa*, in artificial culture in tubes, flasks and on wood blocks.

(2) Monosporus cultures of *Polyporus adustus*, *stereum hirsutum*, etc., on wood blocks.

(3) Pairing of monosporus cultures.

(4) Spore-culture of edible mushroom *Agaricus campestris*.

(5) Destructive effect of *Polyporus shorea* on wood of Sál, *Shorea robusta*.

8. Exhibited by U. N. Brahmachari.

Khiradnáma-i-Sikandarí, in Persian, by Jámí, the famous Persian poet, who died in 1492.

The manuscript has been written at Bukhárá, in the beginning of 1539, by a renowned calligraphist Mullá Mír 'Alí. It came to India and was purchased for 3,000 rupees for the library of Sháhjahán, on the day of his ascension to the throne, the 8th Jumáda II, 1037, the 14th February 1628.

It contains two full page pictures at the beginning and is very artistically illuminated all through.

There are in it seals of several high officials and the autograph of Sháhjahán as follows:

"This Khirad-náma-i-Sikandarí, transcribed by the famous Mullá Mír 'Alí, is acquired for the library of this Slave of God, the 25th of the month Bahman of the Iláhí era, corresponding to the 8th Jum. II 1037 (the 14th February, 1628). Written by Shihábu'd-Dín Muhammad Sháhjahán Pádsháh, son of Jahángir Pádsháh, son of Akbar Pádsháh. The price was fixed at 3,000 rupees."

9. Exhibited by Percy Brown.

(1) *Portrait of Lady Roe?*

A miniature portrait presumed to be that of Lady Roe, the wife of Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador to the Court of the Mughal Emperor Jehangir, from A.D. 1615 to 1618. It is either an original by the famous English miniature painter Isaac Oliver (*cir.* 1566–1617), or one of the copies specially made from this original by Jehangir's leading court painter at the Emperor's order, so that he might impress Roe with the great skill of this artist. (The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe. Hakluyt Society, Vol. I, p. 225.)

(2) *Portrait of Dara Shikoh.*

Portrait of Prince Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of the Emperor Shah Jahan. Signed by Hunhar, a leading artist of the Mughal Court, and painted by him about A.D. 1650.

10. Exhibited by Miss M. C. Cleghorn.

Specimens of two generations of a long staple cotton grown successfully in Bengal.

This cotton bears a strong resemblance to the original drawing of the Dacca cotton preserved in the Herbarium Library at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Calcutta. As far as the general facies goes it would appear to come near that species, even to the presence of three glands on some of the leaves which is one of the characters of the Dacca cotton.

In 1923, the Secretary for Agriculture and Industries had some of the cotton from this plant tested at the Serampore Weaving Institute, and he wrote regarding it "the cotton has spun beautifully."

11. Exhibited by Miss O. Cleghorn.

Telescopic drawing in water colour of method of cross-pollination of Semul Cotton trees by Pied Mynahs.

Note the horizontal position of the lowering branches usually found in trees, the flowers of which are pollinated by birds and bats.

12. Exhibited by Hem Chandra Das-Gupta.

A Map of India showing the distribution of meteorites.

The number of the recorded falls of meteorites in India is over one hundred. The localities of these falls, with the exception of a very few, have been indicated on this map chiefly by referring to the head-quarters of the districts within which the falls took place.

13. Exhibited by Hari Krishna Deb.

Diamond Stars and Medals.

Awarded to Raja Apurva Krishna Deb Bahadur (1815-1867) for proficiency in Persian poetry.

(1) Two diamond stars, from the Spanish Court.
(2) Gold Medal, from the Prussian Court.
(3) Gold Medal, from the Imperial Moghul Court.

14. Exhibited by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.

Christian Art in Malabar.

A collection of photographs, selected from those sent by H.H. the late Maharaja of Travancore to the Vatican Missions, Exhibition of 1925.

15 Exhibited by W. Ivanow.

Specimens of 'Unwans.

A series of illuminated Persian Manuscripts from the Society's collection, dating from the XVth to the XVIIth century. They

show the methods of ornamentation used during the period in what may be called the *éditions de luxe* usually prepared for princes and noblemen. Almost all of these vignettes, or '*unwans*, are executed in the style which became the fashion in the court circles of the Persian Timurides of Herat, early in the XVIth century. Only one, the first in the list, was apparently prepared by some local Indian Artist, before the date of the others. It shows a great difference in pattern, and especially in the matching of the colours, quite foreign to the spirit of Persian art.

1.	(121/Na 69.)	Dated 882 A.H./1477 A.D.	India.
2.	(1386/E 8.)	Dated 923 A.H./1517 A.D.	Eastern Persia.
3.	(648/Na 75.)	About the middle of the XVIc.	Eastern Persia.
4.	(572/Nb 47.)	Dated 950 A.H./1543 A.D.	Eastern Persia.
5.	(612/Nd 4.)	End of the XVIc.	Turkestan.
6.	(358/Na 44.)	End of the XVIc.	India.
7.	(33/D 155.)	End of the XVIc.	India.
8.	(643/Nb 72.)	Dated 999 A.H./1591 A.D.	India.
9.	(690/Na 159.)	Dated 1022 A.H./1613 A.D., copied in the library of Qutb-Shāhs at Golconda.	
10.	(1249/Oa 29.)	Dated 1029 A.H./1620 A.D.	India.
11.	(12/D 202.)	Beginning of the XVIIc.	India.
12.	(651/Na 21.)	Dated 1041 A.H./1631 A.D.	India.
13.	(703/Nb 70.)	Dated 1042 A.H./1632 A.D.	Bijāpūr.
14.	(1372/E 9.)	Dated 1050 A.H./1640 A.D.	India.
15.	(1248/E 194.)	Dated 1050 A.H./1040 A.D.	India.
16.	(585/Nb 66.)	Dated 1073 A.H./1093 A.D.	India.
17.	(1256/E 146.)	End of the XVIIc.	India.

16. EXHIBITED BY JOHAN VAN MANEN.

Two Tibetan Paintings, views of Lhasa and Tashilhunpo.

(*a*) View of the central portion of Lhasa, with the Potala Palace, the "Cathedral," and several other items of importance taken in.

(*b*) View of the central portion of Tashilhunpo, the monastery of Shigatse, with the mausolea of the five Teshu-lamas and other important features taken in.

Specially painted on commission by present-day artists. Interesting as commentaries on the written descriptions of the two places.

17. EXHIBITED BY MESHOVB J. SETH

A collection of rare Armenian Books and MSS.

(1) The *first* edition of the Armenian Bible, printed with illustrations at Amsterdam, in 1666.

(2) The Armenian Bible printed at Serampore by the Baptist Mission in 1817.

(3) A Latin-Armenian Dictionary by Father Jacobo (James) Villotte, S.J. (Apud Armenios per Annos XXV Missionaris), printed at Rome in 1714.

(4) An illustrated Manuscript "Life of Christ," by Father Jacobo (James) Villotte, S.J., written at the request of the Catholic Armenian Khojah Mannel Sarbad of the illustrious family of the Sharimans, in the classical language of Ancient Armenia, at Julfa (Ispahan), in 1707.

(5) The *first* Armenian publication in India, printed at Madras in 1772 by Agah Jacob Shameer.

(6) The *first* Armenian Journal in the world, called the Azdarar (the Intelligencer), edited, printed and published at Madras, in 1794, by the Rev. Arratoon Shumaron, the Vicar of the Armenian Church of Madras for 40 years.

(7) The *first* Armenian book printed in Calcutta in 1796 by the Rev. Joseph Stephen, the Vicar of the Armenian Church of Calcutta.

(8) The History of Armenia by Moses Chorenensis, the Armenian Herodotus, printed in Latin with the Armenian text in 1736, at London, by George and William Whiston.

(9) A Map of Armenia in the Armenian language, engraved and printed at Venice in 1751.

(10) An autograph letter of the late Mr. William Ewart Gladstone—the Grand Old Man of England—to the author of the "History of the Armenians in India" (Mesrovb J. Seth), dated "Hawarden Castle," 1st May, 1896.

18. Exhibited by Bahadur Singh Singhi.

(1) *Sword.*

Inscription: "Presented by the Most Noble the Marquis of Wellesley, Governor-General of India, to Major Allan, Deputy Quarter-Master General of the Army before Seringapatam."

(2) *Medals.*

(*a*) Mysore War Medal, 1799.
(*b*) Commemoration Medal depicting Lord Cornwallis receiving the two sons of Tippu Sultan as Hostages, 1793.

(3) *Farmans.*

(*a*) 1591 A.D., bearing the seal of Emperor Akbar, confirming Bhagwandas in the office of Governor of Bengal.
(*b*) 1726 A.D., bearing the seal of Abu Fath Nasiruddin, confirming Sheo Narayan in the office of Governor of Bengal.

(4) *Paintings.*

(*a*) Emperor Jahangir surrounded by a frame containing the likenesses of his eight predecessors.
(*b*) Durbar of Emperor Akbar II.
(*c*) Emperor Aurangzeb, viewing an elephant fight.
(*d*) Begum Zebunnisa, asleep in a garden.

(5) *Albums.*

(*a*) Ghori Kings, prepared for Shah Jahan.
(*b*) Timuride Emperors, from Timur to Bahadur Shah II.

(6) *Autograph letters.*

(*a*) Lord Clive, 31st May, 1764, to a friend.
(*b*) Arthur Wellesley (Duke of Wellington), 1st July, 1801, to Jos. Webbe, Esq.

19. Exhibited by Ganapati Sircar.

Seven silver coins, five of Ahom Kings and two of Koch Kings.

Sib Singh reigned from 1714 to 1744 A.D. He assumed the Ahom name Sutanpha. In 1722, having been alarmed by a prediction, he declared his chief queen Phuleswari, also known

as Pramateswari to the Bara Raja or chief king and caused coins to be struck jointly in her and his name. On her death, in 1731, Sib Singh married her sister Ambika, whom he made Bara Raja, but she also died, in 1741. Next he made another queen, Sarbeswari, Bara Raja. So coins are to be found in the names of Sib Singh's three queens. Two coins are here exhibited with the name of Sib Singh's two queens, Phuleswari and Sarbeswari.

Phuleswari's coin from 1647 Saka to 1651, i.e., 1725-26 to 1730 A.D.

Ambika's coin from 1732 to 1744 A.D.

Sarbeswari's coin from 1741 to 1744 A.D.

Pramatta Singh reigned from 1744 to 1751 A.D.

Laksmi Singh reigned from 1769 to 1780 A.D.

(1) Phuleswari's coin, 1647 Saka, i.e., 1725-26 A.D.
(2) Sarbeswari's coin, 1664 Saka, i.e., 1742-43 A.D.
(3) Pramatta Singh's coin, 1668 Saka, i.e., 1746-47 A.D.
(4) Pramatta Singh's coin, 1672 Saka, i.e., 1750-51 A.D.
(5) Laksmi Singh's coin, 1692 Saka, i.e., 1770-71 A.D.
(6) and (7) These two small coins are said to be of Koch Kings.

These coins were brought from Assam by Babu Bijoy Bhusan Ghose Chaudhury.

20. Exhibited by J. A. Chapman.

Five Persian Manuscripts.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1924.

The Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal has the honour to submit the following report on the state of the Society's affairs during the year ending 31st December, 1924.

Ordinary Members.

The calculated total of Ordinary Members on the roll of the Society at the close of 1924 was 412 as against 340 at the close of 1923. This means a net increase of 72 during the year, which exceeds by far any previous annual increase. The number of new elections also constituted a record, 103, by which for the first time in the history of the Society the hundred-mark has been passed. Gains and losses during the year were as follows:—

Gains.		*Losses.*	
Old elections taken up ..	8	Applications withdrawn ..	6
New elections	103	Elections lapsed	4
		,, not yet taken up (carried forward) ..	7
		Deaths	7
		Resignations	11
		Rule 38	0
		Rule 40	4
Total	111	Total	39

Initial total, 340; net gain, 72; final total, 412.

With the year's gain the loss in Membership during the previous nine years has been wiped out, and there is now only a period of nine years in the history of the Society (1907–1915) during which we have had a higher membership total. In order to surpass even these years in numbers we need a hundred additional Members. It is hoped that next year will see a further increase, so that not the past but the living present may be the holder of the record. There is still ample scope for the extension of our Membership in the mofussil and abroad, whereas we have reason to be satisfied with the support we now have from the residents of Calcutta.

Our calculated total is, however, not yet absolutely reliable. A careful revision of last year's register showed the inclusion in it of 15 "dead" names. Our last year's total was consequently not 355 as then given, but 340. Further revision will probably necessitate a few further adjustments.

The various regulations in force with regard to Absent Members, to the period allowed between election and definite taking up of Membership, and to arrears in payment of sub-

scription and consequent suspension of Membership, together with the absence of an annual check on the *vitæ* of life-Members, result in producing a floating margin of indefinite membership which easily leads to error in the absence of a rigid periodical cross-check of the despatch and financial registers.

The introduction of the practice of asking for an annual signature from life-Members and absent Members seems desirable.

In order to provide at least one safe-guard in the matter, an abbreviated chronological list of Ordinary Members has been added to the fuller alphabetical one. This enables us to scrutinise with greater ease the names which each year are likely to demand removal.

As mentioned in last year's report improvement in the method of keeping our membership register had become an urgent necessity. During the year a carefully planned card register has been introduced, which by the end of the year had been written up to date. This new register has still to be checked off with the financial and despatch books, which work, it is hoped, will be finished early in the new year. After that a similar cross-check has to be repeated annually.

Associate Members.

During 1924 two new Associate Members were elected:

Mr. Wladimir Ivanow.
Pandit Kamal Krishna Smritititha.

We lost one by death:

Shams-ul-Ulama Ahmad Abdul Aziz (1910).

On the 5th March all those Associate Members due for re-election (Rule 2c), were re-elected for a further period of five years.

The present number stands at 12; statutory maximum 15.

Ordinary Fellows.

In 1924 no Ordinary Fellows of the Society were elected.

We lost 2 by death:

Dr. N. Annandale (1910).
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee (1910).

At the end of 1924 the number of Ordinary Fellows was 37. Statutory maximum 50. Last year's total was erroneously given as 37 instead of 39.

Special Honorary Centenary Members.

Our two Honorary Centenary Members have remained with us.

Honorary Fellows.

During the year news reached our office of the death (which had taken place several years ago) of:

Dr. Jules Janssen (1879).

No Honorary Fellows were elected, but the Council, in the December General Meeting, proposed for election Professor Sten Konow, of Kristiania, Norway, who was definitely declared elected in the January General Meeting, 1925.

At the end of 1924 the number of Honorary Fellows was 27. Statutory maximum 30.

Office Bearers.

Whilst the previous year had been one of the most stable periods in our history under this heading, the present year was one of unprecedented change, showing the paramount necessity for a sufficiently large permanent element in our administration. We lost through death first Dr. Annandale, occupying the post of Anthropological Secretary, and then Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, a Vice-President. Mr. B. C. Majumdar was elected Anthropological Secretary from the 7th May. The place of Sir Asutosh was kept unoccupied in token of respect for his memory. Dr. Christie resigned his post as Physical Science Secretary in April, on account of impending absence from India, and Mr. P. C. Mahalanobis was elected in his place from the 7th May. On the same date Major H. W. Acton was elected Member of Council in the place of Mr. P. C. Mahalanobis. Dr. Raman, also on account of impending absence from India, resigned the Honorary Treasurership in May and was replaced by Dr. Baini Prashad on the 4th June, whilst on the same date Dr. Prashad's place as Natural History Secretary (Biology) was filled by the election of Dr. S. L. Hora. Major Knowles relinquished his post as Medical Secretary in June, and Major H. W. Acton, Member of Council, was elected to fill his place. The vacancy thus caused amongst the Members of Council was filled by the election of Mr. B. L. Mitter on the 2nd July. On the 6th August the Council was brought up to full strength by the election as additional Members of Council of the Hon'ble Justice Sir W. E. Greaves and Sir Deva Prasad Sarbadhikari.

Office.

The General Secretary again performed the amalgamated duties of General Secretary and Assistant Secretary, and was daily in office every day of the year, all Sundays and holidays included, except for one single day in the year. Even so not all work was coped with, as increased activity of the

Society brought with it increased demands on its office Further extension of the office-staff in the future has to be contemplated, but it is legitimate to demand that financially productive work shall first bring such increased income to the Society that it may meet the additional expense under this head. It looks, however, as if this is by no means an impossibility.

The following changes in the clerical staff of the office took place during the year :—

B. V. Swaminathan was appointed file clerk on 24th April, 1924, and resigned on 11th July, 1924. In his stead C. K. Venkateswaran was appointed file clerk from 15th July, 1924, and he resigned on 3rd October, 1924. From 3rd October, 1924, Salimuddin, Duftri in the Arabic and Persian Department, was promoted file clerk, on probation, a post he held till the end of the year.

Khagendra Nath Ghose, typist, resigned on 1st May, 1924, and in his place Nakuleshwar Gupta was appointed from 9th May 1924.

B. M. Chakravarty was appointed on 11th November, 1924, for six months in the first instance, on special duty, to bring order in the old files and documents, and into the stockroom of the Society.

Babu Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee a pensioner of the Society, former Asst. Librarian, died at the end of the year.

The appointment of an extra clerk to be put on special duty in connection with the completion of a revised and up-to-date Library Catalogue was sanctioned, and a provisional appointment on probation has been made with effect from the beginning of the new year.

The difficult questions of leave and holidays, held over from last year, were finally solved by definite rulings of the Council; the office Holidays being fixed to be those of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, holidays marked blue to be holidays by right, and holidays marked red to be granted at the discretion of the General Secretary.

In the subordinate staff some changes took place.

Correspondence, as in the year before, monopolised a considerable portion of the time of the office. During the year the number of letters issued rose to 3,466 as against 3,214 the year before. But as in 1923 the office remained unable to fully cope with its correspondence, and complicated cases, especially letters requiring investigation and deliberation, in several cases, could only be inadequately attended to. The remarks made in the first paragraph under this heading apply specially to correspondence.

Our files still remain the weakest point in our administration. Much is still to be done in connection with them. Old correspondence is almost untraceable. As several of our

Government Grants date from decades ago, and as a great number of our Exchange relations and the publications in the *Bibliotheca Indica* were begun many years back, this disorder in old files is a serious handicap to the smooth working of the office, in many respects entailing grave consequences. Two file clerks served for short periods during the year without fully satisfactory results, and still the difficulty is not finally solved. Close attention is still needed with regard to this branch of our administration.

At the end of the year a complete card-register of our Membership was set up, and this was an important step in the right direction. It has, however, to be followed by a similar step with regard to our Exchanges, our free distribution list, and our despatch registers. Furthermore, it needs to be supplemented by a minute annual cross-check of the financial and despatch books. There is here still much to be achieved before perfection is reached.

During the year two important improvements were introduced with regard to the staff. First, fixed scales of pay and promotion and regarding over-time work were drawn up for the entire staff, and secondly, a Provident Fund was instituted. Both measures had been long over-due.

It is pleasant that a decided improvement in the spirit of the staff can be recorded, as well as very satisfactory work performed by several of its Members.

One improvement made during the year was the introduction of the system of typing all outgoing letters in triplicate so that we were able to keep a numerical file in addition to the subject and name files.

During the year several office circulars and forms ran out simultaneously and had to be reprinted in haste. In this connection a stock-book of such matter, and especially of office stationery, has to be introduced.

The administration of these two details has hitherto been most haphazard and neither has a proper check on legitimate use been possible, nor foresight with regard to need of replenishing exhausted stocks. This has to be remedied.

A great and important desideratum under this head is the compilation of a complete Office Manual, recording routine practices and a roster. A Society like ours, of which the Council is annually elected, is never assured of continuity in its executive. The countless details connected with finance, membership, typography, applications for grants, meetings to be convened, notices to be issued, awards to be made, etc., should not be left to the mere attention and memory of any officer, or members of the staff. A beginning has been made, as cases arose, with recording the practices or dates concerning them in short memoranda. If this measure is kept up, these notes will eventually grow into a complete staff and Office

Manual which, being indispensible, should prove of the greatest use to the Society's administration.

Council.

On the proposal of the President a set of Rules of Procedure for conducting the meetings of the Council was adopted.

Conform Rule 48f of the Society's Rules, prescribing the inclusion of an abstract of the Council's Minutes during the year in the Annual Report, such an abstract was appended to the report for 1923 and will be henceforth regularly joined to future Annual Reports. The prescription had failed to be observed for several years.

Finance Committee.

On the proposal of the President the Finance Committee, Meetings were convened separately from the Council Meetings and the Committee surveyed in detail the financial position and policies of the Society. As a result several recommendations were made to Council which were generally adopted. A receipt book for use by the Collecting Sirear was introduced; a Provident Fund for the staff was introduced; the position of the various Funds of the Society was investigated; the safe custody receipts for securities of the Society held by the bank were revised and completed; the securities held by the Imperial Bank were transferred from the Head Office to the Park Street Branch Office; the arrears in subscriptions of Members were completely checked off; an overtime pay scale was fixed; the print number of the various publications of the Society was revised; double entry book-keeping was introduced; a mid-year audit was effected; staff-pay was fixed on a regular basis with fixed increments; the securities held for the various Funds were re-adjusted; additional budget grants were made of Rs. 6,000 to publications, Rs. 7,500 to steel shelving, Rs. 500 to chairs, Rs. 300 to completion of the set of Pali Text Society Publications, Rs 200 to binding; a general Publication Fund was instituted to which all sale proceeds of all the Society's publications will be credited; and additional staff was sanctioned.

Rules and Regulations.

Various questions arose during the year which made it evident that the Rules and Regulations of the Society require systematic revision. They have repeatedly been added to during a great number of years without adequate attention to consistency in substance and terminology. The question

needs careful attention and preparation, but could not be taken up during the year.

In the meantime the Rule Book, having become exhausted, had to be reprinted without delay, and the new edition has been brought out unrevised, pending any future revision to be determined upon.

Indian Science Congress.

The Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Indian Science Congress was held at Bangalore, from January 14th to 19th, 1924, under the patronage of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. C.C.S.I., G.B.E. Dr. N. Annandale, C.I.E., F.A.S.B., was President. The Proceedings of the Tenth Congress, held in Lucknow, were published in June, 1924. As decided last year, it was treated as an independent publication with its own title-page and page-numbering. Full indexes, a list of Contents and a list of Members were appended. The publication ran to about 300 pages print. By strenuous endeavour the Proceedings of the Eleventh Congress were published in December, 1924, and distributed in the same month. The publication contained 278 pages. The hopes expressed in last year's report have thus been realised, and the arrears in the publication of the Proceedings have been made good.

During the latter months, the usual administrative work, entailing strenuous labour, in connection with the next session (Twelfth Congress), to be held in Benares, was performed by the Society's Office.

As in previous years it was again felt that the time-limit for the acceptance of Abstracts and for the fixing of the programme was put too close to the date of meeting. The rush of work at the end of the year with its Christmas and New Year's holidays is too great.

As usual the Society contributed half the cost of the publication amounting to an annual grant of about Rs. 1,000.

The Hon. General Secretaries of the Congress during the year were Dr. J. L. Simonsen, D.Sc., F.I.C., F.A.S.B. and Professor C. V. Raman, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S. Professor Raman tendered his resignation in April on account of prolonged absence from India, and in his place Professor S. P. Agharkar, M.A., Ph.D., was elected for the remainder of the year.

The general administration of the Congress, when not in Session, was, as hitherto, attended to by the office of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Indian Museum.

During the year we lost through death the Society's representative on the Board of Trustees of the Indian Museum

under the Indian Museum Act, X. of 1910. The vacancy was filled by the election to the post of MM. Hara Prasad Shastri, in July.

Kamala Lectureship.

Early in 1924 Sir Asutosh Mukherjee established a lectureship, under the above name, in memory of his deceased daughter. The lectureship is administered by the Calcutta University. A Special Committee of five members is annually appointed to recommend the year's lecturer. In his letter offering the gift to the Calcutta University, Sir Asutosh determined that one of these five members shall be nominated by the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The Council have this year nominated MM. Hara Prasad Shastri to serve on this special Committee as their representative.

Deputations.

The Society received the following invitations to be represented at various functions of public bodies :—

Société Linnéenne de Normandie, and Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, at Caen. Celebration of their Centenary in May and June, 1924.

Union Géographique Internationale, International Geographical Congress, Cairo, at a date in 1925 to be definitely fixed later on.

Société Géologique de Belgique, Fiftieth Anniversary of its foundation. Liege, July, 1924.

Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, Centenary Celebration, September, 1924.

Societas Adriatica Scientiarum Naturalium, Celebration Fiftieth Anniversary, Trieste, December, 1924.

The Council decided to invite Dr. W. A. K. Christie to represent the Society at the meetings at Caen and Liege. A decision concerning the meeting at Cairo was postponed pending receipt of notification of its definite date. No personal representation could be arranged for the Philadelphia Meeting, but it was decided to send a letter of congratulations. Notice of the meeting at Trieste was received too late to reply in time for it.

Dr. Christie found himself able, whilst in Europe, to attend the functions at Caen and Liege and a brief report concerning the meetings is inserted separately in the Proceedings for the year.

Barclay Memorial Medal.

The consideration of an award for 1923 having been deferred to 1924, the special committee will make its recommendations in January, 1925 and the award will be announced in the Annual Meeting, in which the present report will be presented.

Elliott Prize for Scientific Research.

No award has been arranged for during 1924, and during 1925 provision should be made for the award of prizes for 1924 and 1925. The subjects for these years have to be: (1) Physics, and (2) Geology and Biology (including Pathology and Physiology).

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and Dr. Annandale Memorials.

On the proposal of the President it was resolved to take steps to perpetuate the memory of both distinguished Members. A sub-committee was formed for the purpose. Two separate memorial funds were opened to which subscriptions were invited, and early next year the Committee will place before Council its recommendations as to the form it recommends that the memorials should most suitably take.

Society's Premises and Property.

No greatly important matters have to be recorded under this heading for the year. The major building operations of last year left only residual details to be attended to in the beginning of the year. A matter which, however, may be noted and put on record for action whenever it can be attended to is the suggestion of our builders that premises of the size of ours really need a special caretaker to supervise cleaning and upkeep. At present we have cleaners but in the absence of responsible, detailed and continuous supervision the results of their work are not as complete and satisfactory as should be.

Some improvements were made during the year with regard to furniture. A steel shelf for our current files was purchased, as also two cabinets for the storing of our blocks, which number at present about 1,400, and represent an outlay of about 25,000 rupees. Of the blocks themselves, about 1,000 were tested and cleaned; bad ones were eliminated and prints were made of them to arrange into a proper block-register.

A card cabinet for membership was acquired; 33 new chairs for the meeting room were bought, and 17 old chairs repaired and renewed. Our old chair-famine is now ended. Our old type-writer, which had become rather more of an antiquity than of an instrument, was replaced by a new model Remington and a proper typing desk was purchased.

In the new steel shelving section in the Library electric lighting was installed. In the stock-room two large steel racks were added. A pull-punkha was replaced by an electric fan and another electric fan was added to the number existing. A new set of fire protection appliances (Minimax) was installed.

The microscope and magic lantern connection and its resistance board were remodelled and the electrical table-lamps renewed. Water-taps for gardening and cleaning purposes were installed in the grounds.

The President generously arranged that before the Council Meetings tea should be provided to the Council Members, and presented for this purpose a complete tea-set with accessories and an almirah to hold them.

Two desiderata under this heading are an adequate pigeon-hole Journal cabinet to hold the current numbers of the 200 Journals we receive, and to facilitate their display to and use by the members: and, secondly, some kind of modern and adequate duplicator machine, urgently needed for the great number of Circulars, Council and Committee programmes and convening and other notices which have to be sent out from the office.

Accommodation.

The problem of disposing, to the best advantage, of the available room in the Society's building calls for careful consideration. It is contemplated to set a room apart as a retiring room for members. The room is available, but its present contents have first to be removed, which is dependent on a final re-arrangement of the library collections, part of which are now stored there. At the time of the re-building of our premises the present disposition of our library rooms was taken for granted, but experience has since made it clear that it is desirable to keep the whole office staff near together, on the same floor, without encroaching unduly on the general rooms which should be kept entirely at the disposal of the members and reserved for the meetings. Part of the room on the first floor now used for library shelving might more advantageously be used as an office-staff room. Before a final extension of the new steel-shelving in the Library is installed all factors must be carefully taken into account to enable us to arrive at the most satisfactory decision.

Last year's removal from the general rooms, landings, hall and corridor, of several cases and pieces of furniture have restored the advantages and appearance of their spaciousness, but has at the same time temporarily overcrowded some of the smaller rooms. This matter has now to be taken up.

Artistic and Historical Possessions.

The Sub-Committee instituted last year to examine our possessions and to report upon them have formulated a scheme regarding the periodical inspection and systematic preservation of our paintings. Four of them have been selected for a test

as to examination, cleaning and revarnishing. On the basis of the result obtained the Committee will recommend periodical examination and cleaning of the other pictures in turns, with a definite estimate of costs. The first four selected paintings are now in hand.

During the year a large and valuable painting by Domenichini fell down in the night and was badly damaged. The picture was repaired, reframed, and at the same time revarnished and cleaned, with excellent results.

Dr. Annandale bequeathed in his will a sum of £100 to the Society to be set apart for expenditure in connection with the preservation and exhibition of the Society's Artistic and Historical collections. This sum has been received and has been ear-marked for its purpose.

It was also decided to compile and publish as soon as practicable an up-to-date descriptive catalogue of the Society's possessions under this heading.

Presentations, Donations, and Legacies.

During the year the Society received a legacy of £100 bequeathed by Dr. Annandale, and a donation of Rs. 500 from the same, both dealt with elsewhere in this report.

The Library received gifts of Dr. Annandale's private library and 25 volumes presented by Mr. A. Howard. Both gifts are more fully mentioned under the heading Library.

Dr. E. H. Pascoe presented the Society with a suitably framed life-size photograph of the late Sir H. H Hayden, a past President of the Society.

Mr. Prayag Dal presented a photograph of the late Mr. T. W. Beale, a former relation of the Society.

The Controller of Printing, Stationary and Stamps, India, presented a mounted collection of specimens of old Indian postage stamps.

Library.

The great event of the year was the carrying out of the measure foreshadowed in last year's report, the installation of an appreciable amount of steel shelving in our Library. In the north wing of our Library six racks were placed, of 15 feet length, 16 feet high, partly with space for octavo books back to back, and partly with shelves spaced out for holding books of a larger size in single rows. An intermediate open floor with a ladder giving access to it was provided, and the shelving capacity of the room was more than doubled. The aggregate shelf length for books is approximately 1,700 feet for octavo volumes and 300 feet for quartos and folios. This installation fills half the room and has cost Rs. 6,400. If sanction is obtained, it is contemplated to complete the

installation in this room during the coming year at a cost of about Rs. 6,000. It is unnecessary to expatiate on the immense benefit of this measure to the library.

In addition a special shelf was built and installed to hold our Tibetan Kanjur and other Tibetan works of which the peculiar size demands special shelving. Its cost was Rs. 866. It is desired that in the coming year two more special cases of this nature may be added to hold our atlases, portfolios and other works of larger than folio size, as well as the 225 volumes of our Tibetan Tanjur. The books have already been arranged on the new shelves, and for the part now in use we have done away for good with the necessity for ladders or stools, each book being within easy reach, and moreover not only easily accessible but clearly visible.

A second important activity of the year was energetic book-binding. Last year's shifting and consequent examination of all the books on the shelves had shown that this part of our library activity had not kept pace with our accessions. In our budget for 1924 Rs 1,000 had been allotted for book-binding. In addition a sum of Rs. 500 was donated by Dr. Annandale for this purpose as a memento to his tenure of office as President. The Council further made an additional grant of Rs. 200 for the same purpose, and in all Rs. 1,733 were spent on binding this year, as against an average of Rs. 625 during the last 10 years. If we can keep up similar activity for a few years without encroaching on our resources we may feel well satisfied.

Another point of importance for the Library during the year was the discovery amongst our old papers of a number of forgotten MSS.

A number of important MSS., about 90, mostly folios and quartos, the existence of which had been entirely forgotten have come to light during the sorting out of old documents in our possession. They comprise an almost complete set of translations of and indexes to 18 Puranas (about 30 volumes), made for H. H. Wilson; a miscellaneous collection of papers on Hindu religion and history; the Manuscript of Wilson's Sanskrit dictionary (4 folios); some glossaries; some volumes on Mohammedan antiquities; a part-translation of a history of the Mogul Dynasty from A.H. 1,207 to A.H. 1,214; a translation of part of Abu Fazl's letters; an old translation of the Mahabharata; a translation of Firdausi's Shah Namah; Elphinstone's Report on Kabul; Irwin's Memoir on Afghanistan; Grenard's Remarks on Kunawar; and several other items of interest. The collection needs thorough investigation and detailed description. The MSS. have been exhibited in the January meeting of 1925 and have now been properly stored away, whilst measures have been taken to prevent their disappearing again from sight and memory.

For the first time in many years we have to record substantial donations of books. Dr. Annandale bequeathed his private library to the Society, and on examination 110 volumes were selected for incorporation in our collections. One of our members, Mr A. Howard, put a large collection belonging to his library at our disposal, and 35 volumes of it were retained for the Library. From various other sources the library received 247 works and pamphlets as presentations and in addition the National Siamese Library of Bangkok, which for many years has presented its publications to our Society, sent two considerable further consignments of its recent works during the year. Seeing that we have now about 400 numbers in this collection, it is important that it should be properly bound and catalogued. The local Siamese Consul-General, Mr. Phra Sarasas, has had the great kindness to arrange with one of his compatriots to verify and check all these books so as to prepare them for the binder. This has now been done.

A purchase during the year which may be specially mentioned was one to fill gaps in our set of the Pali Text Society's publications for which a special additional grant of Rs. 300 was voted. In addition to all the above, purchases of books (including subscriptions to magazines) were made for Rs. 1,369.

A small Anthropological Fund holding a balance of about Rs. 900 was utilised to purchase copies of Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion, The Jewish Encyclopedia, the Catholic Encyclopedia, and Baldwin's Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology.

The Library Committee made the following recommendation to Council, which adopted it :—

That it should be the general policy of the Society to spend a definite amount of money each year on the purchase of current standard works relating to the East, with special attention to books of reference such as dictionaries, catalogues, cyclopedias, and bibliographies.

It was also resolved to scrutinise and revise annually the exchange lists of publications and the exchanges received in the library.

It is to be regretted that it needs record that a certain number of members are greatly remiss in returning in due time books borrowed from the library, and that in some cases even repeated reminders to them have had no effect.

At the end of the year the question of a much needed revised edition of the Library Catalogue, brought up-to-date, was once more considered, and the appointment of a special assistant for the purpose sanctioned. With effect from the new year the appointment has been made and the preparatory work is in active progress.

As mentioned elsewhere a practical special cabinet for the

display of current periodicals received is a great desideratum in the Library. From the point of view of library administration the register of periodicals received should be transferred from books to a card cabinet.

Finance.

Appendix III, contains the usual statements showing our accounts for 1924. In this year's account there still appears the additional statement under the head "International Catalogue of Scientific Literature," though this publication is now discontinued. This account has now to be liquidated and then closed.

There is an additional statement, No. 15, provisionally styled "Dr. Annandale Fund," created by an ear-marked legacy of £100 to be devoted to the preservation and exhibition of the artistic and historical collections of the Society.

Statement No. 21 shows the Balance Sheet of the Society and of the different funds administered through it.

The credit balance at the close of the year was Rs. 2,19,734-6-2 as against Rs. 2,17,731-15-10 on the 31st December, 1923. Of this amount Rs. 1,77, 294 belongs to the Permanent Reserve, the working balance, exclusive of funds administered for Government being Rs. 42,440-6-2 at the end of 1924, as against Rs. 44,531-15-10 at the end of 1923.

The Society has received the usual sanctioned grants from the Government of Bengal as under :—

	Rs.	Statement
Anthropological Fund ..	2,000	No. 1
O. P. Fund No. 1 ..	9,750	,, 2
Do. No. 2 ..	3,000	,, 3
Sanskrit MSS. Fund for printing, cataloguing and preservation of MSS.	6,800	,, 4
Do. Arrears allow. for 1923	3,200	,, 4
Total	24,750	

The Government of India grant of Rs. 5,000 for the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts Fund expired on the 31st of March, 1924, and an application is being made for its renewal.

The income from advertising on the street front of the Society's property has materially increased and brought a net income of Rs. 5,513 to the Society. This source of income is still expanding, and has greatly contributed towards the stabilisation of the year's finances.

Statement No. 9 shows the present position of our Building Fund, after deduction of all charges on it incidental to last year's re-building operations. Notwithstanding its heavy payments, the fund, free from all debt, and with no immediate

further heavy charges on it shows still a small nominal balance of Rs. 13,602, the 3½% Government Paper of the face value of Rs. 40,000 having been appropriated by the General Fund at cost price.

Statement No. 10 shows the position of a small fund set aside to purchase works of Anthropological interest. During the year the whole amount has been utilised with a debit margin of Rs. 14. It is proposed now to close the fund which has fulfilled its specific purpose.

Statement No. 16 gives an account of the amounts due to and from the Society by way of subscriptions, sales of publications and contingent charges.

Statement No. 18 contains an account of the Society's investments in Government securities which are held in deposit by the Imperial Bank of India. We hold 3½% Government Promissory notes of the face value of Rs. 2,73,700. The actual cost of the securities was Rs. 2,62,606-3-10, but as the value of this security has considerably decreased during recent years, the book value this year has again been written down to the rates ruling at the close of the year, and this shows now a depreciation of Rs. 80,434-9-10. In addition we hold 3½% Government Promissory notes of Rs. 500 (face value) belonging to the Barclay Memorial Fund and this paper also has been revalued.

Statement No. 19 shows how a portion of the current funds are temporarily invested in War Bonds.

The Budget Estimates for the year 1924 were :—Receipts Rs. 30,300, Expenditure Rs. 28,416. The actual receipts were Rs. 49,329-1-8 and the actual expenditure, Rs. 48,504-2-4. Of the Receipts Rs. 9,059 were extraordinary, due to exchange profit and interest accrued on a fixed deposit in London, hitherto entered in the Balance Sheet at the amount of remittance. The other increase in income of about Rs. 10,000 is chiefly derived as follows :—Admission and compounding fees roughly Rs. 4,000, Advertising Rs. 2,500, Booksales Rs. 1,500, Subscriptions Rs. 860. Miscellaneous Rs. 880, in excess of the estimates.

The excess in expenditure was mainly due to capital expenditure for steel-shelving, roughly Rs. 7,500, to Furniture Rs. 1,000, Book-binding Rs. 700, Books for the Library Rs. 400, Science Congress Rs. 1,800, Publications Rs. 6,400, Salaries Rs. 1,500, all sanctioned during the year in addition to the budget.

During the year we have received Rs. 3,024 from admission fees, and four members compounded their subscription fees to the amount of Rs. 1,070, and as usual the Permanent Reserve has been increased by the amount received under these heads, *i.e.*, by Rs. 4,094, transferred from the Temporary Reserve. The Permanent Reserve now stands at Rs. 1,77,294 (face value).

The Budget Estimate for the coming year is this time presented in a form different from that hitherto given to it, in consequence of recommendations to that effect of the Finance Committee. It was considered that the contribution as share in the general expenditure of the Society, of the various individual Funds administered by the Society, which previously was not included in the Budget, should be shown in it. This has been done this year. Consequently several heads of expenditure have been increased by a proportion of two to three-fifths, not representing an additional expenditure to the Society but a more detailed and correct accountancy. Correspondingly the equivalent additional income has been shown.

The Budget Estimate of probable Expenditure has again been so framed as to foresee and meet the desirable increase under various heads in view of the prosecution of active work in various departments during the year. The Receipts have been conservatively estimated.

The Budget Estimate of probable Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1925 is as follows :—

	Rs.
Receipts	58,000
Expenditure	57,650

We therefore anticipate that even with continued strenuous activity and consequently increased expenditure no deficit need be apprehended for the ensuing year.

In the above totals, the sums of Rs. 8,500 for steel-shelving and Rs. 2,000 for furniture are extraordinary expenditure; and the sum of Rs. 3,675 under Receipts from the Publication Fund Reserve represents extraordinary income.

BUDGET ESTIMATE FOR 1925.

Receipts.

	1924. Estimate.	1924. Actuals.	1925. Estimate
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Interest on Investments ..	12,500	12,709	10,000
Members' Subscriptions ..	9,000	9,859	10,500
Admission Fees ..	..	3,024	..
Compounded Subscriptions	..	1,070	..
Government Allowance ..	2,000	2,000	2,000
Miscellaneous ..	300	1,180	500
Advertising	3,500	5,633	6,000
Exchange and Interest Accrued	..	9,059	..
Donations	..	500	..
Carried over ..	27,300	45,034	29,000

	1924. Estimate.	1924. Actuals.	1925. Estimate.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Brought Forward ..	27,300	45,034	29,000
Credits from various Funds :—			
By Proportionate share in general Expenditure			5,975
For Publications from Subscriptions to *Journal* and *Memoirs*, by Publication Fund ..	2,000	1,846	1,850
For Publications from Book sales by Publication Fund ..	1,000	2,447	9,000
For Publications by Publication Fund Reserve			3,675
For Capital Expenditure by Temporary Reserve	..	..	8,500
TOTAL ..	30,300	49,327	58,000
Expenditure.			
Salaries and Allowances ..	10,000	11,437	16,650
Pensions	216	234	..
Commission	400	360	400
Stationery	300	457	1,250
Fan and Light and Telephone	350	553	800
Taxes	2,500	1,817	2,000
Postage	1,200	1,216	1,900
Freight	150	..	100
Contingencies ..	600	866	1,400
Library, books ..	1,000	1,369	1,500
Library, binding ..	1,000	1,733	1,250
Journal and *Memoirs* ..	9,000	15,379	16,000
Indexes	200	150	..
Science Congress ..	..	1,805	1,200
Printing	500	1,053	1,000
Auditing	250	330	350
Petty repairs	250	371	350
Insurance	350	343	350
Staff Clothing ..	150	133	150
Steel Shelving ..	..	7,504	8,500
Furniture	..	1,085	2,000
Upkeep Paintings ..	..	..	500
TOTAL ..	28,416	48,495	57,650

Publications.

Of the *Journal and Proceedings* the complete Volume XIX (for 1923) was published in 10 numbers, containing 760 pages print and 21 plates, which was 46 pages and 10 plates more than the year before and which maintained the bulk of the volume at the standard fixed for it.

The title and index for the volume are in the press to be issued early next year.

In addition, the Official Number of Volume XX, containing the *Proceedings* for 1923 (160 pages) was published late in December.

As the last four numbers of Volume XVIII had to be paid for in the current financial year this active progress with the Journal caused the actual expenditure to be largely in excess of the Budget grant of Rs. 9,000, and an additional grant of Rs. 6,000 was made to enable us to continue the attempt to make good arrears in publication.

Of the *Memoirs* four numbers were published, No. 9 of Volume VI (concluding the text), and Nos. 2, 3 and 4 of Volume VIII. Together, they contained 250 pages print and 7 plates, more than double last year's production.

A Numismatic Supplement (No. 37) was issued again with separate paging and title pages.

The Proceedings of both the Tenth and the Eleventh Indian Science Congress were issued, each as a self-contained publication. They aggregated 584 pages print.

The only "miscellaneous" publication of the year was the reprint of Lt.-Col. D. C. Phillott's edition of the Persian translation of "*The Adventures of Hājī Bābā of Ispahan.*" On account of the small type used for the work, which contains over 500 pages print, the cost of production was high, and it was found that the number of copies ordered to be printed had been fixed too low. If all 500 copies printed are completely sold out at the price fixed for the work, deducting booksellers' discounts, the income will barely recoup the cost of printing.

The publications of the year in the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series are dealt with elsewhere in this report.

During the year arrangements were made for a periodical revision of the numbers to be printed of our Journals and other publications, a detail of practical importance.

During the year under review the sales of the publications have appreciably increased, and against an average total annual sale of Rs. 5,000 worth of publications during the last 15 years, this year far over Rs. 10,000 was sold.

An important measure of the year was a re-arrangement of our book-keeping with regard to returns from booksales. They will henceforth be all set apart for a standing Publication

Fund from which the costs of new publications or reprints of old publications will be subsidized, instead of being amalgamated in the general or other special funds of the Society.

The Baptist Mission Press.

The Council consider it due to the Baptist Mission Press and its capable Superintendent, Mr. C. H. Harvey, to put on record their appreciation of the unfailing co-operation and skilful management with which the very considerable and exacting demands of the Society connected with its printing requirements have been met, and by which it has been possible to make the progress in various directions which has been recorded for the year.

Agencies.

Messrs. Luzac & Co., in London, M. Paul Geuthner, in Paris, and Herr. O. Harrassowitz, in Leipzig, continued to act as our European Agents. Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta, were re appointed Agents early in the year. An increasing amount of book-sales were effected through them, and gradually the Society's office is building up a proper mechanism for the commercial distribution of its many publications, a part of its activities of the greatest practical import. The activity of the Society as a book-seller and publisher has had too little attention in past years, but better business methods have brought immediately satisfactory results.

Exchange of Publications.

During the year the Council had no applications placed before them for the exchange of the Society's publications.

Our Exchange Service has been thoroughly disorganised by the war and its after-effects. A new and much improved exchange administration has to be set up and all our registers have to be carefully checked, and gaps filled up.

An endeavour was made to resume relations with a number of foreign institutions with regard to whom they had been interrupted, and an appreciable number of old publications were sent out and received.

The local German Consulate-General kindly undertook to despatch a number of parcels to Germany through diplomatic channels and so saved us a considerable amount of money for postage and freight.

During the year the Council had an investigation made concerning the number of exchanges on our distribution list, and decided to provide for a periodical revision of the totals, and to fix them at some reasonable maximum in proportion to the number of paying members, and to the financial position of the Society.

Meetings.

The General Meetings of the Society were held regularly every month, with the exception of the recess months of September and October, and also the month of January for which no papers had been communicated.

As in the year before, in several of the Meetings, after the reading of the papers, an informal exhibition was held of objects of interest.

The Meetings were convened for 6-15 P.M. and the attendance averaged 19, of whom 17 were Members and 2 Visitors.

Meetings of Medical Section were held in January, March, July, October, and November and the recorded attendance averaged 6 Members and 18 Visitors.

Public Lectures.

Three special public lectures were given during the year.

Two of them were in June by Lt.-Col. F. A. F. Barnardo, on "Man, the Creature of Chance or the Arbiter of his Destiny?; or the Endocrine Gifts to Man." Both were attended by a large and much interested public.

The third was, in December, by Prof. Sten Konow, of Oslo, who spoke on "A European parallel to the Durgāpūjā." This last lecture is to be published in our *Journal*.

Philology.

The Philological activities of the year, in so far as they are not described under other headings, are represented by the Philological papers published in the *Journal* and the *Memoirs*, and those read in the monthly meetings but not yet published. Of the *Journal* four numbers were devoted to Philology in its wider meaning. H. Hosten contributed a lengthy paper on "St. Thomas and San Thomé, Mylapore," occupying a full number.

Another number was devoted to the Numismatic Supplement for the year, containing a variety of articles (15) by F. D. J. Paruck, H. M. Whittell, T. B. Horwood, R. O. Douglas, N. K. Bhattasali, S. H. Hodivala, Prayag Dayal and D. V. Taraporevala.

One number was devoted to Islamic Studies and contained six articles, of which two by Abdul Wali, three by W. Ivanow and one by M. J. Seth.

A miscellaneous number on Indianistic subjects contained an astronomical article by J. C. Ghatak, two epigraphic articles by K. M. Gupta, two epigraphic articles by N. G. Majumdar, two articles on Buddhist subjects by B. M. Barua, two brief historical notes by H. C. Ray, and a short chronological article by R. C. Majumdar.

Some of the above had been read in the monthly meetings of the Society during the year.

The only philological paper published in the *Memoirs* this year was Sir George Grierson's paper on "The Prakṛit Dhātv-ādeśas according to the Western and Eastern schools of Prakṛit grammarians."

Papers read in the General Meetings of the Society but not yet published, were :—

Some problems of the History of Bengal, by H. Bhowani Prasad Niyogi

Rig Veda : X, 40, 10, by Braja Lal Mukherjee.

An Indian Era in Khotan and Tibet, by N. G. Majumdar.

A Note on an inscribed stone pillar at Sadiya in Assam, by K. N. Dikshit.

Two Harsola Copper-plate grants of the Paramara Sikaya (II). V.S. 1005, also by K. N. Dikshit.

Jail Administration in ancient India, by Amareshvar Thakur.

The dialectical position of Ormuri, by Paul Tedesco.

A list of Kharosthi inscriptions, by N. G. Majumdar.

The age of the Padma, by Bisveswar Bhattacharyya.

The Aśmakas or Assakas in ancient India, by Bimala Charan Law.

Our romanised Hindustani-English dictionaries; their partial inefficiency and its remedies, by A. Grignard.

Zādoē, of St. Thomas' Monastery in India (about A.D. 363), by H. Hosten.

A letter of Fr. A. de Andrada, S.J., (Tibet August 29th, 1627) and of Fr. Gaspar Diaz, S.J. (Annam, 1627), by H. Hosten.

A letter of Father Francisco Godinho, S.J., from Western Tibet (Tsaparang, August 10th, 1628), by H. Hosten.

A note on Arddhanārīśvara, by A. S. Ramanatha Ayyer.

The development of the Hadīth-Concordance in Arabic literature, by M. Hidayet Hosain.

Sketch of the life of Sarmad, by Abdul Wali.

On Tamerlane, by H. Beveridge.

Notes on Archæological Remains in Bengal, by Abdul Wali.

A short history of the Madhyamika Philosophy, by Hirendra Lal Sen-Gupta.

Three papers by H. K. Deb on subjects dealt with in the Kautilīya Arthaśāstra: Ant-gold, the three classes of invaders, and forms of government.

A bibliography of literature relating to Jainism, mainly from 1907 to 1924, by Chhoos Lal Jain.

The majority of these papers will be published in the *Journal* or in the *Memoirs*.

Natural History : Biology.

During the year under report three numbers of the *Journal* and one part of volume six of the *Memoirs* have been published on Biological subjects. The latter contains an account of the fish collected by the late Dr. Annandale in his tour to the Far East and a revision of the Japanese species of the genus *Corbicula* by B. Prashad. The fishes of the Talé Sap in Peninsular Siam have been dealt with by Sunder Lal Hora,

who has found among them representatives of 120 species, of which 4 are described as new. Henry W. Fowler of Philadelphia has reported upon the Tai-Hu collection from China and has described 29 species. None of them are new but several are rare or interesting. These papers conclude the sixth volume of the Memoirs, which is exclusively devoted to the Zoological Results of a tour in the Far East, and it is greatly to be regretted that on account of the sad death of Dr. Annandale, it is not possible now to add an adequate summary of these results.

Of the three numbers of the *Journal* one is devoted to the Zoological Results of the Percy Sladen Trust Expedition to Yunnan under the leadership of Professor J. W. Gregory, F.R.S., and contains seven papers, which have already been enumerated in the last year's report.

The other two parts contain 12 papers, of which nine have already been mentioned in the last report. Of the remaining three, one was contributed by E. W. Gudger on "The Sources of the Material for Hamilton-Buchanan's Fishes of the Ganges, the Fate of his Collections, Drawings and Notes, and the use made of his Data." Sunder Lal Hora dealt with the local names of the Fishes of the genus *Garra* and showed that a reference is made in them either to the suctorial disc, to an elongated proboscis on the snout, to the rounded and subcylindrical form of the fish or to its peculiar mode of feeding or movements. In the third paper the late Dr. Annandale and Sunder Lal Hora have reviewed some recent American publications on fish.

There are 12 more papers which were read during the year and have not yet been published. Two of these deal with Orthoptera collected by Professor Gregory's expedition to Yunnan. R. Hanitsch has described the Blattidae, while the remaining families of Orthoptera has been reported upon by B. P. Uvarow. Besides several new and interesting species described in these papers, it has been found that the fauna of the Yunnanese mountains is Palaearctic, while that of the valley is truly Oriental.

S. C. Law has contributed four interesting papers on Ornithology. In two papers he records certain observations on the breeding of some common birds in the vicinity of Calcutta and the breeding of *Parsus major cinereus* in the 24-Parganas. In the other two he draws attention to certain migratory birds mentioned in Kālidāsa's works and tries to identify them from the poet's description of their habits.

James Hornell gave a vivid account of the fishing methods of the Ganges with illustrations, and in a short note Gilbert T. Walker drew attention to and discussed certain peculiar features in the structure of the wings of gliding birds, and compared it to a device adopted in the construction of Handley-Page wings. Srinivāsa Rao has given an account of the habits and structural

peculiarities of a sea-anemone from brackish waters near Madras, while Cedric Dover has contributed a further note on the Indian Diplopterous wasps. S. H. Lele has discussed in a well illustrated article the specific limits of the species of the genus *Drepane*.

There was only one paper on a botanical subject during the year, and that was on a new species of *Oedogonium* from Lahore by H. Chaudhury.

Natural History: Physical Science.

No papers falling under this heading were either communicated to or published by the Society during the year.

Anthropology.

The activities of the Society under this heading suffered a great loss through the death of Dr. Annandale, during many years Anthropological Secretary, and holding the office at the time of his death. His papers on "Plant and animal designs in the Mural decoration of an Oriya village" and "A working model of the origin of the Ganges in a temple in Ganjam" were perhaps the last papers written by him and were published, in the *Memoirs*, after his death.

Of other papers read to and published by the Society during the year under review, Mr. K. P. Chattopadhyay's "Essay on the History of Newar Culture," in the *Journal*, may be mentioned as a paper in the domain of Cultural Anthropology. Other papers published were:—"The Boats of the Ganges and the Fishing Methods of the Ganges" by James Hornell, published in the *Memoirs*, and "A witch-case in Mediæval India" by W. Ivanow, "The Owl in Folk-lore" by Jivanji J. Modi, "Some variations in the Customs and Manners of the Telugus and Tamils of Godaveri and Tinnevelly Districts" by K. C. Viraraghava, "The Nose-ring as an Indian Ornament" by N. B. Divatia and "Notes on a Type of Sedentary Game prevalent in many parts of India" by Hem Ch. Das-Gupta, all published in the *Journal*.

Papers read but not yet published were:

Sir Gilbert T. Walker.—A note on Indian Boomerangs.
J. H. Hutton.—Some carved stones in the Dayang Valley.
Lily Strickland-Anderson.—Some notes on the customs of the Khasi people of Assam.

Medicine.

Of the nine medical papers presented during the year, all have received publication or are pending publication, the majority of them in full in the *Indian Medical Gazette*.

Lieut.-Col. J. W. D. Megaw's paper on "The typhus group of fevers" drew attention to a typhus-like fever in the Kumaon hills probably caused by a tick. In the present state of our knowledge, as regards the organism producing the disease, the author considered that it was best to name them after the insect-vector, *e.g.*, louse-typhus, tick-typhus, and mite-typhus. Major R. Knowles and Dr. B. M. Das Gupta read a paper "On the nature of the Blastocystis hominis" and dealt with the life cycle of this yeast-like fungus which is found in the stools; it is a cause of a great deal of confusion, as some of the phases may be mistaken for protozoal cysts. The paper by Captain C. Shanks "On the results of routine blood cultures in cases of pyrexia of uncertain origin" demonstrated the necessity of such cultures and several interesting cases were quoted by him in this connection. Majors H. W. Acton and R. N. Chopra dealt with "Some factors in Individual Susceptibility." These authors showed that this condition of susceptibility was one largely due to the various secretions of the endocrine glands, thus explaining how certain individuals were affected by such diverse diseases as beriberi, asthma, and nettle-rash, etc. Lieut.-Col. Gourlay gave "Some experiences in Surgical practice" which was a very valuable summary of his experiences chiefly with anæsthetics and fractures. Major Harnet read a paper on "Orthopædic surgery" and dealt chiefly with ankylosis of joints. The lecture was illustrated by several of his cases that were undergoing surgical treatment at the Campbell Hospital. The author emphasised the difficulty when dealing with Indian patients who will only stay in hospital provided they see they are gaining movement in the joint; and that passive movements of the joints are not too painful. Major R. N. Chopra read a paper on "Indian Santonin;" he showed that the santonin obtained from the Indian Artemesia was as good as the Russian santonin, in all the chemical and clinical tests. Dr. Ganapati Panja gave a lantern demonstration of the common skin diseases met with in the out-patients at the School of Tropical Medicine. Majors H. W. Acton and R. N. Chopra read a paper on "The problem of epidemic dropsy and beriberi." The authors showed the disease in the rice grains, which gave rise to certain poisons that acted on the nerves and heart. They also isolated a bacillus from the rice which was capable of altering a sterile medium and producing the same poisons.

Bibliotheca Indica.

Vigorous work and appreciable progress have to be recorded under this heading.

During the year 17 fascicles were published, Nos. 1460, 1461, 1463–1477. Several of these were double numbers, and

two of them complete volumes. The output was equivalent to 46 fascicles of 96 pages as against 10 in 1923, 7 in 1922, and 11 in 1921.

During the year the title pages of the *Bibliotheca Indica* have been remodelled and improved; and correct detailed notices of works published in the same class as that to which each fascicle belongs, appended to the issues. An endeavour was made to issue fascicles as much as possible in double and greater bulk, as this simplifies stock-keeping and book-keeping, and reduces the danger of copies getting lost or spoiled. The endeavour to push through work once taken up at greater speed and to complete old work was strenuously continued. A tabular list is appended giving titles and particulars of the year's publications.

Amongst the results deserving special mention are:—

Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtram, edited by Prof. W. Caland, completed (3 volumes). Begun in 1904.

Tantravārttika, translated by Prof. Gāṅgānatha Jhā, completed (2 volumes). Begun in 1903, as a continuation of the translation of Ślokavārttika, begun in 1900.

Kṛtyaratnākara, edited by Pandit Kamala Kṛṣṇa Smṛti-tīrtha. Text completed. Begun in 1921. One more fascicle, to contain the preface and indexes, will probably complete the work in 1925.

Śiva-Parināyan, edited by Sir George A. Grierson, completed. Begun in 1914.

Mu'aṣir-i-Rahīmī, edited by Prof. Hidayet Husain. First volume completed. Begun in 1910. One double fascicle of Vol. II also issued.

Badāoni, Vol. II of the English translation, by W. H. Lowe. Reprint published in a single issue (518 pages).

W. Ivanow, Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, published in a single issue (972 pages.)

Sir George A. Grierson, Dictionary of the Kāshmīrī language, second part (completing nearly two-thirds of the work). Begun in 1916. (330 quarto pages.)

Tadhkira-i-Shūshtar, edited by Khan Bahadur Maulā Bakhsh and Prof. Hidayet Husain. Completed. (Begun in 1914.)

The above enumeration shows that four works of old standing were completed during the year, and that in addition three complete volumes were added to our publications.

It is a matter of regret that one work, which we are particularly anxious to bring to a termination, the translation of the Akbar Nama, begun more than 30 years ago, could not be finished during the year. The last fascicle, containing the index, offered considerable difficulties in correction, and did not make the progress anticipated in last year's report.

A situation of considerable difficulty arose, in connection with the *Bibliotheca Indica*, through the failure of a local press in which over half a dozen Sanskrit works were in progress. The Manager had disappeared and the press was under lock and key. All efforts to get back our MSS. which had been entrusted to the press have failed, and for more than half a year no progress was made in the matter.

In December, the press was re-opened under new management, and measures have been taken to resume the interrupted work. The previous owner was, however, still personally holding our MSS., and the steps taken to recover them have only had effect after the close of the year. It seems, however, that these MSS. are now completely back in our hands.

During the year a very important step was taken with regard to the *Bibliotheca Indica*. As explained in the report for the previous year, the work in connection with this series had become congested and had gone beyond the control of our office. The Philological Committee was instructed to investigate the position and to report on it. This has been done. It was found that of the 240 works taken up for publication in the series about 60 were incomplete. Of these, work was actually in progress on 34 works. The remaining 26 had been in suspense for a long time for various reasons. It was decided :—

(1) To arrange as far as possible for the continuation and completion of works hitherto taken up.

(2) To adopt the policy of reducing the number of works simultaneously in hand to a practical maximum.

(3) To adopt the policy of keeping in print all editions sold out, unless specifically determined to the contrary.

(4) To reprint single fascicles belonging to sets which through uneven sales have become partially incomplete.

If this policy can be given effect to for some consecutive years an immense improvement will be the result.

During the year a number of works, hitherto stored in separate fascicles, each bundled together, have been sorted out and the complete works aggregated, packed and labelled.

A number of further price lists have been drawn up and distributed, and at present about 110 of our 240 works are adequately described in our lists.

Rearrangement of the stock, the further description of the publications, and the drawing up of complete stock lists will still demand arduous labour for a long time to come.

The sales of the series during the year have appreciably increased.

Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.

This great undertaking, conducted by MM. Haraprasad Shastri, has again made considerable progress during the year. Volume III, dealing with Smriti, was taken up by the Press in the autumn of 1923. By the end of 1924, there had been printed off 824 pages, page-proof had been given up to p. 896, and the remainder of the body of the work was completely in galley proof up to the last notice (No. 3077). The volume describes 1,232 items. The preface and indexes have still to be added, and the volume, the fourth of the series to be issued, will probably be published by the middle of next year.

The fifth volume, next to be taken up, will be devoted to the Purāṇas and will contain about 1135 notices, presumably covering some 1,200 pages print.

A very grievous loss to the work on the Catalogue has been suffered by the sudden death of Pandit Asutosh Tarkatirtha early in December. The Pandit had been the Shastri's Assistant in the work on the Catalogue for about 20 years and had become almost indispensable in its prosecution. The Council of the Society have put on record their appreciation of his valuable services.

Steps are being taken to ensure that the work will not be delayed or suffer in other ways through the death of the Pandit.

The speed of printing has this year attained an average of 70 pages monthly, more rapid than ever the year before.

Arabic and Persian Manuscripts, Search and Catalogue.

The year has been exceptionally satisfactory in this department. During 1924, no less than 36 new Arabic and Persian MSS. were added to the Government collection, at a cost of about Rs. 600. Half a dozen of these are of considerable value. Besides, towards the end of the year a beginning was made with a determined effort to take up in earnest the binding of our MSS. This part of our work had been badly neglected in the past. It is estimated that at least 1,000 volumes in our collections need binding. This work has now been taken up and 150 volumes have been bound during the last quarter of the year.

During the year three of the Maulvies in the department who had been employed, with on the whole little profit, terminated their appointments. Two of them overstayed leave and were not allowed to rejoin. The third, Haji Moinuddin Ahmad Nadwi, who bore an excellent record and whom we were loth to lose, improved his circumstances by more remunerative employment elsewhere. The three posts were left vacant without loss of output in real work, and the costs of binding and

MSS. purchase during the year met, with a substantial saving in addition, from the decrease in salaries to be paid.

On the other hand a new Maulvie, Muhammad Matiur Rahman, was engaged and put on special duty to foliate the numerous unfoliated MSS. in our collections. How much this work was overdue is shown by the fact that the Maulvie has collated and foliated, since August, the date of his appointment, about 350 volumes and numbered about 65,000 folios. His application is shown by the fact that previously three Maulvies together foliated only 200 volumes in two years.

The greatest event of the year in the department was the issue of Mr. W. Ivanow's Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Society's collections, a volume of 972 pages print, published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, describing 1,781 numbers. The volume has elicited the unanimous and warmest praise of all the continental authorities to whom a copy was sent for opinion.

The preparation of the second volume of the Catalogue, to describe the Government collection, has advanced rapidly, and an appreciable part of it is expected to be printed during the ensuing year.

Numismatics.

Mr. C. J. Brown continued to act as Honorary Numismatist to the Society till July, when he resigned on account of his return to Europe. In his stead Mr. R. O. Douglas, I.C.S., was nominated. Numismatic Supplement No. XXXVII (for 1923) containing 15 articles, covering 84 pages print with three plates, was published in August. The next Supplement (for 1924) is in type and will be published early in 1925. Copy for Supplement XXXIX (for 1925) is in hand, and it is hoped that it will be possible to issue this supplement in the course of the coming year. If this can be realised the arrears in publication of also this section of our *Journal* will have been made good. It is much regretted that with all goodwill in the matter it has not been possible to meet the desires of the Numismatic Society of India to have Supplement No. XXXVIII issued in December. Our budget has not allowed this, as the costs to the Society during the current year for the published supplement have been approximately Rs. 965, and—as has been remarked elsewhere in this report—our printing budget has already been very largely exceeded during the year.

[APPENDIX I.]

Membership Statistics.

(As calculated for December, 31st, of each year.)

YEAR.	ORDINARY.							EXTRA-ORDINARY.				FELLOWS	
	PAYING.				NON-PAYING.								
	Resident.	Non-Resident.	Foreign.	Total.	Absent.	Life.	Total.	Total Ordinary Members.	Centenary Honorary.	Associate.	Total.	Grand Total. Membership.	Honorary.	Ordinary.
1901 ..	123	133	13	269	37	22	59	328	4	12	16	344	26	..
1902 ..	126	126	14	266	47	21	67	333	4	13	17	350	29	..
1903 ..	127	126	15	268	46	21	67	335	4	13	17	352	24	..
1904 ..	132	130	14	276	46	21	67	343	4	13	17	360	20	..
1905 ..	144	133	12	288	48	20	68	356	4	13	17	373	29	..
1906 ..	173	147	16	335	62	20	72	407	4	12	16	423	30	..
1907 ..	174	176	20	369	31	20	51	420	4	12	16	436	28	..
1908 ..	181	193	17	391	38	19	57	448	4	13	17	465	30	..
1909 ..	183	217	13	413	49	20	60	473	4	14	18	491	28	..
1910 ..	209	217	16	442	43	23	66	508	4	14	18	526	27	17
1911 ..	200	225	19	444	53	22	75	519	3	14	17	536	28	19
1912 ..	203	229	19	451	43	23	66	517	3	13	16	533	27	24
1913 ..	200	211	19	430	46	23	69	499	3	14	17	516	27	28
1914 ..	191	187	15	393	50	26	76	473	3	14	17	490	24	27
1915 ..	171	188	21	380	40	25	65	445	3	15	18	463	29	31
1916 ..	145	159	18	322	60	25	85	407	3	15	18	425	25	33
1917 ..	150	144	15	309	45	24	69	378	2	12	14	392	22	35
1918 ..	153	145	17	315	43	24	67	382	2	10	12	394	22	39
1919 ..	141	128	15	284	64	25	89	373	2	11	13	386	18	36
1920 ..	161	134	15	310	32	26	58	368	2	11	13	381	28	38
1921 ..	160	132	16	308	26	26	51	359	2	12	14	373	28	40
1922 ..	160	141	16	317	26	26	52	369	2	13	15	384	30	39
1923 ..	147	120	13	280	30	27	57	337	2	11	13	350	28	37
1924 ..	209	134	12	355	29	28	57	412	2	12	14	426	27	37

N.B.—Honorary Fellows were styled Honorary Members before 1911.

The closing total for 1923 has been adjusted to an initial total of 345 for 1924.

List of Publications issued by the Asiatic Society of Bengal during 1924.

(a) Catalogues :

None.

(b) Bibliotheca Indica (New Series) :

No. 1400: Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtram, Vol. III, Fasc. VI (2 units) ..	Price Rs.	2	0	0
No. 1401: Tantravārttika translation. Fasc. XVIII	Price Rs.	1	4	0
No. 1403: Atmatattvaviveka. Fasc. IV	Price Rs.	0	12	0
No. 1404: Kāshmīrī dictionary, Part 2. (Special Price)	Price Rs.	30	0	0
No. 1405: Kṛtyaratnākara. Fasc. IV (2 units)	Price Rs.	1	8	0
No. 1406: Śiva-Parinayah. Fasc. V ..	Price Rs.	0	12	0
No. 1407: Nyāya-Vārttika-tātparyapari śuddhi. Fasc. VIII	Price Rs.	0	12	0
No. 1408: 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, Vol. II, Fasc. I (2 units)	Price Rs.	2	0	0
No. 1409: Catalogue of Persian MSS., Society's collection (11 units) (Special Price)	Price Rs.	22	8	0
No. 1470: Śūraja-prakāśa. Fasc. I ..	Price Rs.	0	12	0
No. 1471: Ma'āṣir-i-rahīmī, Vol. I, Fasc. V (2 units)	Price Rs.	2	0	0
No. 1472: Muntakhabu't-tawārikh, translation. Vol. II. (6 units)	Price Rs.	7	8	0
No. 1473: Śiva-Parinayah. Fasc. VI (2 units)	Price Rs.	1	8	0
No. 1474: Tantravārttika, translation. Fasc. XIX. (2 units)	Price Rs.	2	8	0
No. 1475: Kṛtyaratnākara. Fasc. V (2 units)	Price Rs.	1	8	0
No. 1476: Tuḥfa-i-Shāhi-tar. Fasc. II	Price Rs.	1	0	0
No. 1477: Ma'āṣir-i-rahīmī, Vol. II, Fasc. I (2 units)	Price Rs.	2	0	0

(c) Memoirs :

Vol. VI, Part 9: Zoological results of a tour in the Far East	Price Rs.	3	0	0
Vol. VIII. No. 2: The Prakrit Dhātvādesas	Price Rs.	3	15	0
Vol. VIII, No. 3: The Boats of the Ganges. The Fishing Methods of the Ganges	Price Rs.	2	13	0
Vol. VIII, No. 4: Plant and Animal designs in the rural decoration of an Uriya village. A working model of the Origin of the Ganges in a Temple in Ganjam	Price Rs.	4	8	0

(d) Journal and Proceedings (New Series), Vol. XIX:

No. 1: Biological	Price Rs.	4	8	0
No. 2: Official	Price Rs.	3	0	0
No. 3: Anthropological	Price Rs.	0	12	0
No. 4: Biological	Price Rs.	3	0	0
No. 5: Historical	Price Rs.	2	10	0
No. 6: Numismatic	Price Rs.	3	6	0
No. 7: Islamic Studies	Price Rs.	1	14	0
No. 8: Philological	Price Rs.	2	10	0
No. 9: Zoological, Yunnan Expedition ..	Price Rs.	3	6	0
No. 10: Ethnological	Price Rs.	2	4	0

(e) Miscellaneous:

Proceedings, Tenth Indian Science Congress	Price Rs.	7	8	0
Proceedings Eleventh Indian Science Congress	Price Rs.	6	12	0
The Adventures of Hājī Bābā of Ispahan, Persian Translation	Price Rs.	10	0	0

Price Lists for Free Distribution.

Sanskrit works on Rhetoric and Dramaturgy (4).
Sanskrit works on Vedic Ritual (6).
Sanskrit works on Smṛti (24).
Works relating to Kāshmīr (3).
Rājasthānī (or Dingala) works (5).
Works on Buddhism (10).
Sanskrit works on Nyāya (10).
Sanskrit works on Mīmāṁsā (4).
Historical works translated into English from Persian and Arabic (9).
Historical works relating to India written in Persian (17).
Persian works on the History of Iran and Central Asia (4).
Proceedings of the Indian Science Congress (11).

[APPENDIX III.]

ABSTRACT STATEMENT

OF

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

FOR

THE YEAR 1924

STATEMENT

1924. *Asiatic Society*

Dr.

To Establishment.

	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
Salaries and Allowances	11,437	7	9			
Commission ..	380	0	3			
Pension	234	0	0			

To Contingencies.

Stationary	457	7	0
Fan and Light and Telephone	753	15	1
Taxes	1,517	13	0
Postage	1,216	15	0
Audit Fees	330	0	0
Petty Repairs	671	0	0
Insurance	345	12	0
Contingencies	746	12	0
Winter Clothing	133	12	0
Steel Shelving	7,504	0	0
Advertisements	120	0	0
Furniture	1,085	0	0

To Library and Collections.

Books	1,360	16	5
Binding	1,733	14	0

To Publications.

Journal and Memoirs	15,379	0	7			
Indexes	150	0	0			
Circulars, etc., printing charges ..	1,053	12	6			
Contribution for printing I.S.C. Reports ..	1,805	9	9			
				48,504	2	4
To Bad Debts Written-off	..			657	5	5
Balance as per Balance Sheet	..			2,19,734	6	2
TOTAL Rs. ..				2,68,895	13	11

No. 1.

of Bengal. *1924.*

Cr.

	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
By Balance from last Account				2,17,731	15	10
By Cash Receipts.						
Interest on Investments	12,709	0	3			
Cash Sale of Publications	753	11	9			
Advertisements	5,633	4	6			
Annual grant from Government for publication of papers in the Journal ..	2,000	0	0			
Miscellaneous	655	3	3			
Donation	500	0	0			
Exchange and interest accrued on Fixed Deposit	9,059	14	8			
				31,311	1	11
By Personal Account.						
Members' Subscriptions	9,889	8	9			
Subscriptions to Journal and Memoirs ..	1,846	8	0			
Compounding Subscriptions	1,070	0	0			
Admission Fees	3,024	0	0			
Publications, Credit Sale	3,496	15	9			
Miscellaneous	525	11	8			
				19,852	12	2
Total Rs.				2,68,895	13	11

STATEMENT

1924. *Oriental Publication*

From a monthly grant made by the Government of Bengal for the publi
(Rs. 500), and for the publication of Sanskrit

Dr.

To Cash Expenditure.

	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
Printing Charges	12,747	2	11			
Postage	645	9	6			
Contingencies	331	9	7			
Salaries	2,301	1	7			
Stationary	203	9	0			
Fan and Light and Telephone ..	68	15	4			
Editing	2,354	0	0			
Binding	187	4	0			
Winter Clothing, etc.	41	0	0			
Steel Shelving	483	0	0			
Petty Repairs	15	0	0			
Indexing	267	2	1			
				19,645	6	0
Bad Debts Written off				106	6	0
Balance as per Balance Sheet				60,009	3	6
Total Rs. ..				69,760	15	6

STATEMENT

1924. *Oriental Publication*

From a monthly grant made by the Government of Bengal of Historical Interest

Dr.

To Cash Expenditure.

	Rs.	As.	P.
Printing Charges	975	2	6
Balance as per Balance Sheet ..	12,014	8	6
Total Rs.	12,989	11	0

No. 2.

Fund, No. 1, in Account with the A.S.B. *1924.*

ation of Oriental Works and Works of Instruction in Eastern Languages Works hitherto unpublished (Rs. 250).

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
By Balance from last Account		54,740 2 9
By Cash Receipts.		
Government of Bengal's annual grant ..	9,750 0 0	
Cash Sale of Publications	1,123 8 9	
Advances recovered	147 1 10	
		11,020 10 7
Credit Sale of Publications	..	4,000 2 2
Total Rs.		69,760 15 6

No. 3

Fund, No. 2, in Account with the A.S.B. *1924.*

Rs. 250 for the publication of Arabic and Persian Works of (without remuneration).

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.
By Balance from last Account.. ..	9,989 11 0
By Cash Receipts.	
Government of Bengal's annual grant up to the 31st March, 1925	3,000 0 0
Total Rs.	12,989 11 0

STATEMENT

1924. *Sanskrit Manuscripts*

From an annual grant of Rs. 3,200 made by the Government of Bengal Government, and Rupees 2,400 from the same

Dr.

To Cash Expenditure.

	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
Salaries	2,426	13	3			
Winter Clothing	41	0	0			
Contingencies	122	10	1			
Pension	120	0	0			
Fan, Light and Telephone	68	15	4			
Stationery	203	6	0			
Printing	796	0	0			
Insurance	125	0	0			
Petty Repairs	15	0	0			
				3,918	12	8
Balance as per Balance Sheet				22,061	9	9
Total Rs. ..				25,980	6	5

STATEMENT

1924. *Arabic and Persian Manu-*

From an annual grant of Rs. 5,000 made by the Government of India for by the Society for Government; for the purchase of further Persian Manuscripts, found

Dr.

To Cash Expenditure.

	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
Cataloguing	2,844	0	0			
Salaries	3,047	14	7			
Manuscripts Purchase ..	630	0	0			
Binding	390	11	0			
Contingencies	192	8	10			
Stationery	219	3	0			
Winter Clothing	10	0	0			
Fan and Light and Telephone	68	15	4			
Petty Repairs	15	0	0			
Insurance	31	4	0			
				7,449	8	9
Total Rs.				7,449	8	9

No. 4.

Fund, in Account with the A.S.B. *1924.*

for the cataloguing of Sanskrit Manuscripts acquired by the Society for Government for the salary of the Officer in Charge.

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
By Balance from last Account ..	..	15,980 6 5
BY CASH RECEIPTS.		
Government of Bengal's annual grant for Cataloguing	3,000 0 0	
Government of Bengal's annual grant for preservation of Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1923-24	3,200 0 0	
Government of Bengal's annual grant for preservation of Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1924-25	3,200 0 0	10,000 0 0
TOTAL Rs.		25,980 6 5

No. 5.

scripts Fund, in Account with the A.S.B. *1924.*

the cataloguing and binding of Arabic and Persian Manuscripts, acquired Manuscripts, and for the preparation of notices of Arabic and in various Libraries in India.

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.
By Balance from last Account	947 9 2
,, Balance as per Balance Sheet	6,501 15 7
TOTAL Rs. ..	7,449 8 9

STATEMENT

1924. *Indian Science Con-*

From the subscriptions of

Dr.

To Cash Expenditure.

		Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
Advance		345	0	0			
Bonus		115	0	0			
Postage		276	9	3			
Contingencies		721	8	0			
Printing		2,917	5	9			
Indexing		30	0	0			
					4,404	14	0
To Balance as per Balance Sheet	..	..			5,414	8	5
	Total Rs.	..			9,819	4	5

STATEMENT

1924. *Barclay Memorial*

From a sum of Rs. 500 odd given in 1896 by the Surgeon encouragement of Medical

Dr.

		Rs.	As.	P.
To Balance as per balance sheet	..	630	10	10
Total Rs.		630	10	10

No. 6.

gress, in Account with the A.S.B. *1924.*

members of the Congress.

Cr.

		Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
By Balance from last Account			5,466 0 8
By Cash Receipts.			
Subscriptions		3,853 3 9	
Donation		200 0 0	
Advances Recovered		300 0 0	
			4,353 3 9
Total Rs. ..			9,819 4 5

No. 7.

Fund, in Account with the A.S.B. *1924.*

General, I.M.S., for the foundation of a medal for the and Biological Science.

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
By Balance from last Account—		
Rs. 400, 3½% G.P. Notes, 1854-55 at face value	400 0 0	
Rs. 100, 3½% G.P. Notes, 1900-1 at face value	100 0 0	
Accumulated interest	121 14 10	
		621 14 10
By Cash Receipts.		
Interest realized for the year		14 12 0
Total Rs. ..		636 10 10

STATEMENT

1924. *Servants' Pension.*

Founded in 1876 as the Peddington Pension Fund.

Dr.

	Rs. As. P.
To Balance as per Balance Sheet	1,808 11 10
TOTAL Rs.	1,808 11 10

STATEMENT

1924. *Building*

From a sum of Rs. 40,000 given by the Government of India proceeds of a portion

Dr.

TO CASH EXPENDITURE.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
To Building renovation, appropriation of Rs. 40,000 3½% G.P. Notes by General fund at cost (paid in cash)	38,025 0 0	
Cash	46,344 0 6	
		84,369 0 6
Balance as per balance sheet	..	13,602 6 6
TOTAL Rs.		97,971 7 0

STATEMENT

1924. *Anthropological*

This sum was set aside in 1918 for the

Dr.

TO CASH EXPENDITURE.

	Rs. As. P.
Books	927 11 9
TOTAL Rs.	927 11 9

No. 8.

Fund, in Account with the A.S.B. *1924.*

with Rs. 500 odd from the Peddington Pension Fund.

Cr.

	Rs.	As.	P.
By Balance from last Account ..	1,759	15	10
By Cash Receipts.			
Interest realised for the year	48	12	0
Total Rs.	1,808	11	10

No. 9.

Fund, in Account with the A.S.B. *1924.*

towards the rebuilding of the Society's Premises, and from the sale of the Society's land.

Cr.

	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
By balance as per last account Rs. 40,000						
3½% G.P. Notes, at cost	38,025	0	0			
Cash	58,474	13	0			
				96,499	13	0
By Cash Receipts.						
Interest realised for the year				1,471	10	0
Total Rs.				97,971	7	0

No. 10.

Fund, in Account with the A.S.B. *1924.*

purchase of Anthropological books.

Cr.

	Rs.	As.	P.
By Balance from last Account ..	913	1	2
,, Balance as per balance sheet	14	10	7
Total Rs.	927	11	9

STATEMENT

1924. Catalogue of Scientific Serial Pub-

Dr.

	Rs. As. P.
To Balance as per Balance Sheet	415 0 0
TOTAL Rs.	415 0 0

STATEMENT

1924. Bureau of Inform-

From an annual grant of Rs. 1,200 made by the Govern-

Dr.

	Rs. As. P.
To Balance as per Balance Sheet ..	1,600 0 0
TOTAL Rs.	1,600 0 0

STATEMENT

1924. International Catalogue of Scienti-

Dr.

	Rs. As. P.
To Balance as per Balance Sheet	4,424 7 8
TOTAL Rs.	4,424 7 8

No. 11.

lications, Calcutta, in Acct. with the A.S.B. 1924.

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.
By Balance from last Account	415 0 0
TOTAL Rs.	415 0 0

No. 12.

ation, in Account with the A.S.B. *1924.*

ment of Bengal for the salary of the Officer-in-Charge.

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.
By Balance from last Account	1,600 0 0
TOTAL Rs.	1,600 0 0

No. 13.

fic Literature, in Account with the A.S.B. *1924.*

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.
By Balance from last Account	4,424 7 8
TOTAL Rs.	4,424 7 8

STATEMENT

1924. *Akbarnama*

This sum was set apart in 1923 for the

Dr.

To Cash Expenditure.

	Rs.	As.	P.
Printing	2,860	5	4
Balance as per balance sheet	7,764	10	8
Total Rs.	10,625	0	0

STATEMENT

1924. *Dr. Annandale*

Dr.

	Rs.	As.	P.
To Balance as per balance sheet	1,364	2	0
Total Rs.	1,364	2	0

STATEMENT

1924. *Personal*

Dr.

	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P
To Balance from last Account	..			3,035	11	9
Advances for postage, etc.	..			814	13	3
Asiatic Society's Subscriptions, etc. ..	19,852	12	2			
Sale of Oriental Publications as per Fund No. 1	4,000	2	2			
				23,852	14	4
Total Rs.				27,703	7	4

No. 14.

Reprint, in Account with the A.S.B. *1924.*

reprint of the Akbarnama in England.

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.
By balance from last account .. .	10,625 0 0
TOTAL Rs.	10,625 0 0

No. 15

Fund, in Account with the A.S.B. *1924.*

Cr.

BY BALANCE CASH RECEIPTS.

	Rs. As. P.
Donation by Dr. Annandale	1,364 2 0
TOTAL Rs.	1,364 2 0

No. 16.

Account. *1924.*

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
By Cash Receipts During the year		20,967 15 5
Bad Debts Written-off. A.S.B.		657 5 5
Do. O.P. Fund		106 6 0

By Outstandings.	Due to the Society.			Due by the Society.			
	Rs	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	
Members ...	3,510	15	6	340	12	0	
Subscribers ..	...	...	...	72	0	0	
Bill Collector's Deposit	...	...	...	100	0	0	
Miscellaneous ...	3,306	7	0	332	14	0	
	6,817	6	6	845	10	0	5,971 12 6
TOTAL Rs.							27,703 7 4

STATEMENT

1924. *Fixed Deposit*

Dr.

	Rs.	As.	P.
To Balance from last account	6,197	8	11
,, Exchange and interest accrued to date on Fixed Deposit	9,059	14	8
TOTAL Rs. ..	15,257	7	7

STATEMENT

1924. *Investment*

Dr.

	Face Value.			Cost.		
	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
To Balance from last Account ..	2,84,300	0	0	2,73,206	3	10
TOTAL Rs.	2,84,300	0	0	2,73,206	3	10

FUNDS.	31st December, 1924. Valuation.			Valuation as per Individual Account.			Less Depreciation on 31st December, 1924.		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs	A.	P.
GENERAL FUND.									
*Rs. 14,700/- 3½% Government Loan of 1842-43 @ Rs. 66/7/- %	11,025	1	0						
*Rs. 1,53,700/- 3½% Government Loan of 1854-55 @ Rs. 66/7/- %	1,02,114	7	0						
*Rs. 2,800/- 3½% Government Loan of 1861 @ Rs. 66/7/- %	1,880	4	0						
Rs. 100/- 3½% Government Loan of 1865 @ Rs. 66/7/- %	66	7	0	2,23,181	13	10	53,817	8	10
*Rs. 4,000/- 3½% Government Loan of 1870 @ Rs. 66/7/- %	2,667	8	0						
Rs. 4,000/- 3½% Government Loan of 1879 @ Rs. 66/7/- %	2,657	8	0						
Rs. 31,000/- 3½% Government Loan of 1900-01 @ Rs. 66/7/- %	55,883	2	0						
Rs. 40,000/- 3½% Government Loan of 1886 @ Rs. 66/7/- %	6,575	0	0	38,025	0	0	11,450	0	0
PENSION FUND.									
Rs. 1,400/- 3½% Government Loan of 1867 @ Rs. 66/7/- %	930	2	0	1,569	0	0	470	4	0
BARCLAY MEMORIAL FUND.									
Rs. 400/- 3½% Government Loan of 1854-55 @ Rs. 66/7/- %	382	3	0	500	0	0	107	13	0
Rs. 100/- 3½% Government Loan of 1900-01 @ Rs. 66/7/- %									
TOTAL Rs. ...	1,82,171	10	0	2,63,106	3	10	80,934	9	10

* Investments of Permanent Reserve.

No. 17.

London. *1924.*

Cr.

	Rs.	As.	P.
By Printing Charges	3,183	15	9
,, Balance as per Balance Sheet £ 911-16-0 @ 1/6¼ ..	12,073	7	10
TOTAL Rs. ..	15,257	7	7

No. 18.

Account. *1924.*

Cr.

	Face Value. Rs.	As.	P.	Cost. Rs.	As.	P.
By Sale proceeds of 4% G.L. of 1915-16 Rs 10,100	10,100	0	0	10,100	0	0
,, Balance as per balance sheet ..	2,74,200	0	0	1,82,171	10	0
,, Loss depreciation revalued at end of December, 1924..				80,934	9	10
TOTAL Rs.	2,84,300	0	0	2,73,205	3	10

STATEMENT

1924. *War Bond*

Dr.

	Face Value. Rs. As. P.	Cost. Rs. As. P.
To Balance from last Account	80,000 0 0	81,693 11 10
,, Appreciation W.B. revalued on 31st December, 1924		765 0 2
TOTAL Rs.	80,000 0 0	82,458 12 0

FUNDS.	31st December, 1924, Valuation. Rs. A. P.	Valuation as per War Bond Account. Rs. A. P.	Appreciation on 31st December, 1924. Rs. A. P.
Rs. 60,000:- 5½% W. Bonds of 1928 @ Rs. 103.5/- ..	62,100 0 0	66,350 15 10	765 0 2
Rs. 5,000:- 6% W. Bonds of 1924 @ Rs. 100.8 ..	5,026 0 0		
TOTAL Rs. ..	67,126 0 0	66,350 15 10	765 0 2

STATEMENT

1924. *Cash*

Dr.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
To Balance from last Account		57,561 14 0
Asiatic Society of Bengal	31,311 1 11	
Oriental Publication Fund No. 1 ..	11,020 10 7	
Oriental Publication Fund No. 2 ..	3,000 0 0	
Sanskrit MSS Fund	10,000 0 0	
Indian Science Congress	4,353 3 0	
Barclay Memorial Fund	14 12 0	
Servants' Pension Fund Account ..	48 12 0	
Building Fund	1,471 10 0	
Dr. Annandale Fund	1,364 2 0	
Personal Account	20,967 15 5	
Fixed Deposit	3,183 15 9	
Sale of Investments	10,100 0 0	
Sale of War Bonds	15,333 12 0	
Balance as per Balance sheet	13,177 14 4	
		1,25,347 13 9
TOTAL Rs.		1,82,929 11 9

No. 19.

Account. *1924.*

Cr.

	Face Value. Rs. As. P.	Cost. Rs. As. P.
By sale proceeds of 5½% W.B. Rs. 15,000 face value	15,000 0 0	15,333 12 0
By Balance as per balance sheet ..	65,000 0 0	47,125 0 0
TOTAL Rs.	80,000 0 0	82,458 12 0

No. 20.

Account. *1924.*

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
By Asiatic Society of Bengal	48,504 2 4	
Oriental Publication Fund No. 1 ..	19,645 6 0	
Oriental Publication Fund No. 2 ..	975 2 6	
Sanskrit MSS. Fund	3,918 12 8	
Arabic and Persian MSS. Fund ..	7,449 8 9	
Indian Science Congress	4,404 14 0	
Building Fund	84,369 0 6	
Anthropological Fund	927 11 9	
Akbarnama Reprint	2,860 5 4	
Personal Account	814 13 3	
Fixed Deposit	9,059 14 8	
		1,82,929 11 9
TOTAL Rs.		1,82,929 11 9

STATEMENT

1924. *Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

LIABILITIES.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
Asiatic Society of Bengal ..	2,19,734 6 2	
Oriental Publication Fund No. 1 ..	50,009 3 6	
Do. do. No. 2 ..	12,014 8 6	
Sanskrit MSS. Fund ..	22,031 9 9	
Indian Science Congress ..	5,414 6 5	
Barclay Memorial Fund ..	638 10 10	
Servants' Pension Fund ..	1,808 11 10	
Building Fund ..	13,602 6 6	
Scientific Catalogue, Calcutta ..	415 0 0	
Bureau of Information ..	1,600 0 0	
International Catalogue of Scientific Literature ..	4,424 7 8	
Akbarnama Reprint ..	7,764 10 8	
Dr. Annandale Fund ..	1,364 2 0	
Cash Account ..	13,177 14 4	
	3,54,028 2 2	
Less—Depreciation, difference of Depreciation Investment account Rs. 80,934-9-10 and appreciation War Bonds account Rs. 765-0-2, on 31st December 1924, (*vide* Investment and War Bond accounts) ..	80,169 0 8	2,73,858 8 6
TOTAL Rs.		2,73,858 8 6

We have examined the above Balance Sheet and the appended detailed Accounts with the Books and Vouchers presented to us, and subject to our letter of even date to the Committee, we certify that they are in accordance therewith, and set forth correctly the position of the Society as at 31st December, 1924.

(*Sd.*) PRICE WATERHOUSE PEAT & Co., *Auditors,*
Chartered Accountants

20th April, 1925.

No. 21.

Balance Sheet. *1924.*

ASSETS.

		Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
Investments (At Market Value)	.	1,82,171 10 0	
War Bonds (At Market Value)	..	67,125 0 0	
Fixed Deposit £211-10-0 @ 1/6¼	..	12,078 7 10	
Personal Account	..	5,971 12 6	
Arabic and Persian MSS. fund	..	6,501 15 7	
Anthropological Fund	..	14 10 7	
			2,73,856 8 6

TOTAL Rs. 2,73,856 8 6

(*Sd.*) DR. BAINI PRASHAD,
Honorary Treasurer.

[APPENDIX IV.]

Abstract Proceedings Council, 1924.

(Rule 48 f.)

ANNUAL MEETING—

Report invitations guests to Annual Meeting. Application Mr. Mookerjee. Approved.
No. 7. 30-1-24.

Procedure Annual Meeting. Approved as modified.
No. 8. 30-1-24.

Offers exhibition Annual Meeting. General Secretary to make suitable arrangements.
No. 17. 30-1-24.

Consideration Annual Report. Adopt; President to make any verbal corrections necessary.
No. 20. 30-1-24.

The Annual Meeting of the Society in the local press. Record.
No. 1. 27-2-24.

Arrangements to gather together the materials for next Annual Report. Usual arrangements to be made.
No. 3. 26-11-24.

Annual Report. The General Secretary to put up draft.
No. 17. 17-12-24.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS—

Application Pandit Kamal Krishna Smritiirtha to be made an Associate Member, and recommendation by the President to make Mr. Ivanow an Associate Member. Agreed to.
No. 9. 30-1-24.

Re-election of Associate Members after five years. Resolved that those due for re-election be recommended for re-election. Next year earlier notice.
No. 10. 30-1-24.

BUILDING—

Report Building Operations, Curtains, Electric lamps, Microscope connection, Gardening and cleaning water, Polishing tables. Noted. General Secretary empowered to make necessary arrangements.
No. 1. 30-1-24.

Report General Secretary further installation fans in the Maulvis' and despatcher's rooms, and repairs to the resistance board of the magic lantern. Approved.
No. 1. 26-3-24.

BARCLAY MEMORIAL PRIZE—

Report Barclay Memorial Prize, 1923. Defer consideration to ne year.
No. 12. 30-1-24.

Appointment Barclay Memorial Medal Committee (Regulation 3). Committee to consist of Dr. Hora (ex-officio); Major Knowles; Dr. Baini Prasad, Dr. Brahmachari; Prof. Agharkar.
No. 4. 29-10-24.

COMMITTEES —

Committees for 1924. The various Committees for 1924 to be constituted as follows :—

Finance Committee :
President, General Secretary, Treasurer.
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Dr. N. Annandale. Mr. Mahalanobis.

Library Committee :
President, General Secretary, Treasurer.
Anthropological
Medical
Philological
Joint Philological
Biological
Physical Science
Library
} Secretaries.
Sir Asutosh Mukherjee.
Mahamahopadhya Hariprasad Shastri.
Dr. Pascoe
Mr. Gurner

Philological Committee :
President, General Secretary, Treasurer.
Sir Asutosh Mukherjee.
Mahamahopadhya Hariprasad Shastri.
Dr. Annandale.
Dr. Bhandarkar.
Mr. Abdul Ali.
Dr. B. M. Barua.
Mr. Chanda
Aga Mir Kazim Shirazi.
Shams-ul Ulma Hidayat Hosain and Mr. Dikshit.

Numismatic Committee :
President, General Secretary, Treasurer and Mr. C. J. Brown.

Indian Science Congress :
President, General Secretary, Treasurer and Dr. Simonsen.

Building Committee :
President, General Secretary, Treasurer, Sir Asutosh Mukherjee and Dr. Annandale.

Publication Committee :
President, General Secretary, Treasurer.
Philological
Jt. Philological
Biological
Physical Science
Anthropological
Medical
Library
} Secretaries.
Sir Asutosh Mukherjee.

MSS. Purchase Committee :
President, General Secretary, Treasurer.
Sir Asutosh Mukherjee.
MM. Hariprasad Shastri.
Dr. Bhandarkar.
Mr. Abdul Ali.
Mr. Khuda Buksh.

Further recorded that it is habitual practice that the old Committees remain in force from the Annual Meeting till the announcement of the new Committees, with the exception of the ex-officio members, President, General Secretary and Treasurer, in all Com-

mittees, and the sectional secretaries who are ex-officio members of the Publication Committee and Library Committee.
No. 6. 27-2-24.

Nomination of Dr. S. P. Agharkar as a member of the Indian Science Congress Committee. Accept.
No. 2. 30-4-24.

Constitution Sub-Committee to recommend steps to perpetuate Dr. Annandale's memory, Resolved: That the President's suggestions be adopted, and that Messrs. H. P. Shastri, Mahalanobis, Brahmachari and Acton be additional members of the Committee.
No. 8. 28-5-24.

Report progress Sir Asutosh Mukherjee and Dr. Annandale Memorial Committees. Record.
No. 2 25-6-24.

Report Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and Dr. Annandale Memorial Committee Meeting. Confirm.
No. 1. 27-8-24.

Congratulations to Prof. Cajand. Council's congratulations by hand of President.
No. 14. 30-1-24.

CONGRATULATIONS—

On the proposal of the President, resolved that the two following resolutions be entered in the minutes of the Council and be read out in next General Meeting.

The Council record its appreciation of the high honour done by the Royal Society in electing Doctor N. Annandale as a Fellow. Doctor Annandale has been actively connected with the Asiatic Society of Bengal for many years and occupied the Presidential Chair in 1923. The Council heartily congratulates Doctor Annandale on the recognition of high scholarship and scientific attainments by the Premier Scientific Society in the world.

The Council congratulates Professor C. V. Raman, the Honorary Treasurer of our Society, on his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society of England. It is a signal tribute to his scientific researches, and the Council records its gratification at the honour done to one of its members.
No. 15. 27-2-24.

COUNCIL—

On proposal of Prof. Bhandarkar, seconded by Johan van Manen, resolved that Council in their last meeting before the Annual Meeting of the Society, put on record their thanks to the President, Dr. Annandale, for the way in which he has served the true interests of the Society during the period of his Presidency.
No. 21. 30-1-24.

The General Secretary reports that the President has made arrangements to provide tea before the Council and Committee meetings. Noted with thanks.
No. 2. 26-3-24.

Letter from the Registrar, Calcutta University, in the matter of nomination by the Asiatic Society of Bengal of a member of the Committee of selection to the Kamala lectureship. MM. Haraprasad Shastri be nominated.
No. 6. 26-3-24.

Letter from the President with reference to the death of Dr. Annandale.

The following letter was read :—

I very much regret that owing to my absence from Calcutta, I will not be able to attend the next Council Meeting, and ask the Council personally to adopt a resolution of sorrow and grief at the sudden demise of our ex-President, the late Dr. N. Annandale, C.I.E., F.R.S.

I feel, however, that it is my duty as a President to request the Council and the Society to place on record their appreciation of the great service which Doctor Annandale rendered to science and to the Society in particular.

It will indeed be generally accepted that he was the moving spirit of the Society. Doctor Annandale's interest in the welfare of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was unbounded. As a distinguished scientist of the front rank, Dr Annandale was just stepping into his own when the hand of death cut short his career. A very charming, albeit reticent, and modest personality, Doctor Annandale possessed the rare gift of a scientific and systematised mind. Indian science loses in him an eminent scholar and a distinguished scientist. He was one of the founders of the Science Congress which has begun to occupy a prominent place in the world of Indian Science. A fitting recognition of his distinguished research work was made, only a few months back by his election as Fellow of the Royal Society.

I mourn his loss personally as a friend who unreservedly promised to place his great knowledge and experience at my disposal for guiding the deliberations of the Society. The Society mourns his death as that of a great benefactor and a great scientist.

(Sd.) P. N. Mookerjee.

The resolution moved by the President. "That the Council and the Society place on record their appreciation of the great services which Dr. Annandale rendered to science and the Society in particular" was adopted standing. Further resolved that Sub-Committee be formed, consisting of the President, Treasurer and General Secretary, to make recommendations to Council concerning measures to be taken to perpetuate Dr. Annandale's memory.

No. 1. 30-4-24.

Vacancies in the Council.

Resolved: That Mr. B. C. Majumdar be appointed Anthropological Secretary, vice Dr. Annandale.

That Mr. P. C. Mahalanobis be appointed Physical Science Secretary, vice Dr. Christie.

That Major H. W. Acton be appointed a member of the Council to fill the vacancy caused by Dr. Christie's resignation.

No. 5. 30-4-24.

The loss of the Society by the death of Sir Asutosh Mukherjee.

Resolved: That the Council put on record their sense of irreparable loss to the Society caused by the death of Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, its Vice-President, repeatedly its President, and an office-bearer for a quarter of a century in succession, as also their grateful recognition of the prominent place occupied by him in the Council and activities of the Society; of his constant solicitude for its welfare, its repute, and its service to scholarship, and no less their affectionate regard for his personality, equally loveable, able and zealous. Further resolved that a copy of this resolution be communicated to the relatives of the deceased, together with the Council's condolences, and that the resolution be moved for adoption in the next General Meeting of the Society.

Also resolved that a Sub-Committee be formed, consisting of the President, Treasurer and General Secretary and four additional members, to make recommendations to the Council concerning measures to be taken to fitly perpetuate Sir Asutosh's memory, and that the four additional members be Messrs. Bhandarkar, Brahmachari, Acton, and Mahalanobis.

Read a letter from Mr. Abdul Ali, suggesting that the Council be adjourned after a condolence resolution has been passed, and requesting that his letter be placed before the Council. Record.
No. 1. 28-5-24.

Report General Secretary, having closed the rooms of the Society on the 26th, and having postponed the public lecture on the 28th. Record.
No. 2. 28-5-24.

Letters to Council from the newly appointed Council Members. Record.
No. 3. 28-5-24.

Intimation by Dr. Raman that he is obliged to resign his office as Honorary Treasurer, on account of his impending absence from India for a considerable period.

Resolved: that the resignation be accepted with effect from May 31st, 1924. Resolved: that the Council put on record their thanks to Prof. Raman for his painstaking, self-denying and valuable labours performed for the Society as its Treasurer.

Resolved: that Dr. Baini Prashad be appointed Treasurer, vice Prof. Raman, with effect from June 1st, 1924.

Resolved: that Dr. S. L. Hora be appointed Natural History Secretary (Biology), vice Dr. Baini Prashad.
No. 16. 28-5-24.

The President submitted the following Rules of Procedure for conducting the meetings of the Council.

1. The proposer of a resolution will not be allowed more than ten minutes for moving his resolution for adoption.
2. The member seconding the resolution will not take more than five minutes for his speech.
3. The member opposing the motion will not be allowed more than ten minutes.
4. Other members wishing to support or oppose the resolution will obey the ruling of the Chair in respect of priority of speaking. They will not take more than five minutes each.
5. The President will allow an amendment to be proposed, if any, and will not give the proposer more than five minutes time.
6. No speech of a duration longer than five minutes after the resolution has been moved will be allowed except with the special permission of the Chair.
7. No member will speak twice on the same resolution except the proposer, who will be allowed, if he so chooses, to reply to his opponents before the final vote is taken. He will not be allowed more than five minutes.
8. The Chairman will intimate by the ringing of the bell when a member is exceeding the time allowed him for speech, and the member in question should at once take his seat without protest.
9. After the discussion has been closed, the amendment, if any, duly proposed and seconded will be voted for first. If carried the original resolution as amended, will be put to a final vote. If the amendment is lost, the original resolution will be voted upon. Adopted.

Additional. 25-6-24.

Letters to Council from Messrs. Baini Prashad and Hora. Record.
No. 4. 25-6-24.

Letter to Council Mr. P. N. Banerjee, thanking Council for election to the Library Secretaryship and taking charge from June 23rd. Record.
No. 5 25-6-24

Letter from Mr. Dikshit resigning seat on Council. Accept resignation.
No. 6 25-6-24.

Letter from President, suggesting Mr. B. L. Mitter to fill a vacancy in Council. Accept.
No. 7. 28-6-24.

The position of the General Secretary.

On the question of the powers of the General Secretary to vote, the President placed before the Council the opinion he had received on the question from a distinguished lawyer.

The opinion in question was read before the Council, and the President ruled that in view of the legal opinion placed before the Council, the General Secretary will continue to vote.
No. 14. 27-9-24.

Letter acceptance Council membership, Mr. B. L. Mitter. Record.
No. 1. 30-7-24.

Change of Honorary Numismatist. Confirm.
No. 5 30-7-24.

Suggestions by the Anthropological Secretary. Accept, and take necessary steps.
No. 6. 30-7-24.

Vacancies Council.

Resolved: that the Honourable Justice W. E. Greaves, and Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhikari be co-opted members.

Further resolved that Mr. B. L. Mitter be requested kindly to advise at the next Council Meeting as to the necessity of nominating a fourth Vice-President.
No. 11. 30-7-24.

Nomination Trustee, Indian Museum.

Resolved that MM. Haraprasad Shastri be nominated by the Council.
No. 12. 30-7-24.

Letters Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhikari, and Sir W. E. Greaves accepting seats on Council. Record.
No. 2. 27-8-24.

Delay Council circulars. Record.
No. 3. 27-8-24.

Fixing date next Council Meeting. Third Wednesday of December.
No. 4. 26-11-24.

Instructions President in the matter of Council Agenda and Council files. Order: Record. The additional note by General Secretary to be referred to the Finance Committee for report.
No. 5. 27-8-24.

Informal consideration Council. 1925-26.

Proposed by Mr. Johan van Manen, Seconded by Dr. Hora, that the following list of candidates for nomination for next year's Council be placed before the meeting for consideration.

President :—Sir P. N. Mookerjee.
Vice-President :—Sir Ewart Greaves.
Vice-President :—Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhikari.
Vice-President :—Dr. C. V. Raman.
Vice-President :—Major H. W. Acton.
General Secretary :—Johan van Manen.
Treasurer :—Dr. Baini Prashad.
Phil. Secretary :—MM. Haraprasad Shastri.
Jt. Phil. Secretary :—Prof. Hidayet Hosain.
Nat. Hist. Secretary (Biology) :—Dr. S. L. Hora.
Nat. Hist. Secretary (Science) :—Dr. W. A. K. Christie.

Anthropological Secretary :—P. C. Mahalanobis.
Medical Secretary :—Major R. Knowles.
Library Secretary :—C. B. Tipper.
Member of Council :—Dr. U. N. Brahmachari.
Member of Council :—C. W. Gurner.
Member of Council :—B. L. Mitter.
Member of Council :—Dr. P. J. Brühl.
Member of Council :—A. H. Harley.
Member of Council :—P. N. Banerjee.

Resolved :—That the General Secretary print and circulate to the Members of Council the list of the Council as at present constituted together with the new list placed before the meeting, and provided with a blank column for the additional names. That these lists shall be returned to the General Secretary within a week of date of issue, that a list be compiled of the candidates finally proposed and placed before the next Council Meeting to be voted upon.

No. 11. 26-11-24.

Consideration Nomination for Council, 1925-26. The General Secretary placed before the meeting the nomination lists received back from the Council Members, together with copies of a list amalgamating the results of the nominations made, in detail and in total.

The President submitted the proposed names singly to the vote of the members present.

The proposed candidates receiving each a unanimous favourable vote were declared duly elected as the Council candidates for election to next year's Council.

No. 18. 17-12-24.

DEPUTATIONS :—

Invitation to the Society to participate in a Geographical Congress, Cairo, 1925. Invitation accepted. General Secretary to endeavour to arrange suitable representation.

No. 5. 26-3-24.

Invitation to the Society to participate in a Centenary celebration at Caen, 1924. Invitation accepted. General Secretary to endeavour to arrange suitable representation.

No. 7. 26-3-24.

Invitation to the A.S.B. to attend the 50th Anniversary of the Geological Society of Belgium. The General Secretary to invite Dr. Christie to undertake, or arrange for, suitable representation.

No. 7. 28-5-24.

Invitation Franklin Institute, Philadelphia. General Secretary to make suitable arrangements.

No. 8. 30-7-24.

Invitation from the Adriatic Society of Science at Trieste, to participate in the celebration of their 50th anniversary. Suitable reply to be sent.

No. 7. 17-12-24.

DONATIONS :—

Letter Dr. Annandale, offering gift of Rs. 600 for binding books in the Library. Accept with thanks to the donor. Dr. Annandale to carry on the work of Library Secretary until the latter is able to assume his duties.

No. 4. 27-2-24.

Letter Dr. Baini Prashad, Executor to the estate of the late Dr. Annandale, announcing the bequest of £100 and of Dr. Annandale's private Library, to the Society. Order : Accepted. Suitable letter of thanks to be written to Dr. Annandale's relatives. General Secretary to select which books are to be kept, and which are to be rejected.

No. 1. 24-9-24.

Letter from Dr. Pascoe, offering photograph or sepia drawing of Dr. Hayden, a former President. Resolved: to accept the offer with thanks, and to express preference for the photograph.
Additional. 24-9-24.

Presentation of samples of old Indian stamps to the Society by the Controller of Printing, Stationary and Stamps, India. Record.
No. 4. 17-12-24.

Presentation to the Society of a photograph of Mr. T. W. Beale by Mr. Prayag Dal. Accept with thanks to donor.
No. 11. 17-12-24.

ELLIOTT PRIZE—
Report Elliott Prize, 1923, and notification for 1924. Prize to Mr. Bhai Lal M. Amin.
No. 14. 30-1-24.

FELLOWS—
Nomination Fellows. No valid nominations. No elections this year.
No. 15. 30-1-24.

Election of Prof. Sten Konow as a Honoracy Fellow. Action approved.
No. 8. 17-12-24.

FINANCE—
Recommendations Finance Committee. Adopted. Further resolved that Prof. C. V. Raman, Treasurer, Asiatic Society of Bengal, be authorised to sell, transfer or otherwise negotiate securities of the Government of India in respect of Promissory Notes terminable loan of 1915-16, as follows: No. 001379 for 100 rupees and No. 001380 for 10,000 rupees; and further in respect of 3% loan of 1890-97 for Rs. 500.
No. 19. 30-1-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 5, 30-4-24. Recommendation to Council to authorise the Treasurer to sell Rs. 5,000 6% Bonds of 1920. Order: Recommend to Council. Confirmed, Council.
No. 6. 30-4-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 3, 28-5-24. Provision to pay off balance due to Messrs. Martin & Co., Rs. 16,711-12. Recommendation to obtain sanction from Council to sell Rs. 15,000 5½ W. Bonds of 1928. Resolved that it be recommended to Council that the Treasurer be authorised to sell face value Rs. 15,000 5½ W. Bonds of 1928. Confirmed Council.
No. 11. 28-5-24.

Recommendation of the Finance Committee, No. 6, 22-9-24, to obtain sanction of the Council to sell War Bonds to meet current expenses including printer's bills. The Treasurer having reported that he is short of cash, requests the power to arrange an overdraft. Approved. Confirmed Council.
No. 7. 24-9-24.

Recommendations Finance Committee. Order: Adopt. Further resolved: That the Council sanctions the sale of War Bonds to the extent of Rs. 25,000 (Rupees twenty-five thousand) to pay off all outstanding debts.
No. 14. 17-12-24.

MM. Haraprasad Shastri's allowance. Postpone consideration. General Secretary to circulate brief account of case. General Secretary to attempt to revive grants for Rs. 1,200 and Rs. 2,400 annually, formerly received under the headings Bureau of Information, and allowance for cataloguing. General Secretary also to report on possible sources of income to meet the allowance.
No. 16. 30-1-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 9, 28-7-24. The question M.M. Haraprasad Shastri's allowance. Resolved that the Finance Committee recommends the grant to MM. Haraprasad Shastri of an allowance of Rs. 200 monthly from July 1st, 1924, in view of his work on the Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts.

Accept, with exception of recommendation concerning the revival of MM. Haraprasad Shastri's allowance, which has to be considered separately.

No. 14. 30-7-24.

Recommendation of the Finance Committee in the matter of a revival of MM. Haraprasad Shastri's allowance in connection with his work on the Sanskrit Manuscript Catalogue. Order: Refer back to Finance Committee.

No. 18. 30-7-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 10, 25-8-24. MM. Haraprasad Shastri's allowance. Consideration postponed at the request of MM. Haraprasad Shastri. Confirmed Council.

No. 8. 27-8-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 4, 27-2-24. Bad debts written off during 1923 on account of death, etc. Order: Confirm. Confirmed Council.

No. 11. 27-2-24.

Report Municipal Taxes. Record.

No. 7. 27-2-24.

Municipal Taxes and re-assessment. Resolved: that Mr. B. L. Mitter be requested to kindly study the matter and advise on it.

No. 17. 30-7-24.

Report Assessment. Order: Noted. Immediate appeal to be lodged in case of enhancement or re-assessment.

Additional. No. 4. 24-9-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 2, 26-3-24. Report accountants, 1923. Order: Introduce card cabinet system for membership and subscriptions. Publish every year receipts, subscriptions and donations. Confirmed Council

No. 9. 28-3-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 3, 26-3-24. Building scheme. Order: Postpone further consideration pending securing offer of tenancy. Confirmed Council.

No. 9. 28-3-24.

Minutes Library Committee of 11th March concerning steel shelving, No. 4, 26-3-24. Order: Recommended the sanctioning by Council of an initial expenditure during the financial year not exceeding Rs 2,500 on the installation of a first instalment of steel shelving. The Honorary Treasurer and the General Secretary to obtain and recommend estimates. Dr. Kemp to be consulted. Confirmed Council.

No. 9. 28-3-24.

Finance Committee, No. 5, 26-3-24. Recommended that a Provident Fund of the Society be instituted, and that the Honorary Treasurer and the General Secretary be invited to put up proposals for the purpose. Confirmed Council.

No. 9. 28-3-24.

Finance Committee, No. 7, 30-4-24. Recommendation to adopt Provident Fund Rules as submitted. Order: Recommended that the Treasurer's draft be adopted, circularized to Council and submitted for consideration to next Council Meeting. Confirmed Council.

No. 6. 30-4-24.

Finance Committee, No. 2, 22-9-25. Staff application with reference to the provident fund and the recommendation for past service. Resolved that the Finance Committee in order to give effect to the recommendations of the Sub-Committee appointed to make proposals on this point, it is necessary that certain rules and regulations of the P.F. should be modified, and that Mr K. C. Mahindra be requested to suggest such modifications and submit his proposals to the next Finance Committee Meeting.

No. 7. 24-9-24.

Confirmation Provident Fund Rules. Confirm.

No. 9. 28-5-24.

Finance Committee, No. 2, 28-10-24. Report by Mr. K. C. Mahindra on changes to be made in the Provident Fund Rules of the Society.

Resolved to recommend to Council that Rule 13 to be read as follows. Rule No. 13. On the voluntary resignation of or retirement of any member from the service of the Society without existence of any cause justifying his dismissal, the Treasurer shall, subject to these rules pay to the resigning or retiring member the aggregate amount subscribed by him to the fund, and shall in respect of the balance standing to his credit in the books of the fund on the 31st day of December preceding the resignation or retirement, pay to him one-twentieth part of such balance for each complete year of service provided that such amount payable shall not exceed the amount standing to his credit.

Members who were in the service of the Society prior to the institution of the provident fund, and whose provident fund accounts have been credited by the Society with a certain sum in recognition of their old service, will not be entitled to receive this sum unless they have completed twenty years service in the Society. Confirmed Council.

No. 7. 29-10-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 6, 20-3-24. Recommended that in view of recent and recurring cases of theft of money in the office, the Honorary Treasurer and the General Secretary be empowered to take disciplinary steps, and be authorised to dismiss any member of the staff by giving a month's pay in lieu of notice, and to fill vacancies caused thereby subject to confirmation of the appointments by Council. Further resolved that Rs. 50 stolen from the General Secretary's pocket, be refunded to him. Confirmed Council.

No. 9. 28-3-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee. Recommendation to sanction instalment of light steel racks for stock not to exceed Rs. 600 in cost. Order: Recommend to Council. Confirmed Council.

No. 6. 30-4-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 2, 17-6-24. Resolved that the Treasurer be requested to draw up a statement shewing the various sub-heads of the different funds of the Society, and to submit this to the Auditors for certification, and after obtaining the certificate of the Auditors to place the statement before the Council for their consideration and approval. Confirmed Council.

No. 9. 25-6-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 3, 17-6-24. The Treasurer reports that the safe custody receipts for securities of the Society, to the value of Rs. 2,24,200 are missing, and suggests that he may be empowered to sign the necessary indemnity bonds and obtain duplicate receipts.

Resolved: That the Finance Committee approves of the suggestions made by the Treasurer, and recommends the same to the Council for confirmation. Confirmed Council.

No. 9. 25-6-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee. No. 4, 17-6-24. Resolved: That the Finance Committee recommends to the Council that the Treasurer be empowered to remove all securities from the Head Office of the Imperial Bank to the Park Street Branch. Confirmed Council.
No. 9. 25-6-24.

Resolved: That the Treasurer be empowered to sign the necessary indemnity bonds and obtain duplicates of safe custody receipts for securities of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in deposit with the Imperial Bank of India.

Also Resolved: That the Treasurer be empowered to remove all securities of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from the Head office of the Imperial Bank to the Park Street Branch.

On proposal from the chair resolved that Mr. K. C. Mahindra be co-opted a member of the Finance Committee.

Resolved: That the President, Treasurer and General Secretary be empowered to make arrangements in the matter of advertising. Considered a memorial by S. K. Chatterjee of the All-India Novelty Advertising Co., and heard Mr. Chatterjee. Resolved: that dealings with Mr. Chatterjee shall not be resumed.
No. 9. 25-6-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 7, 22-9-24. Report from the Honorary Treasurer regarding the transfer of securities to Park Street branch and regularizing of the safe custody receipt for securities. Order: Record. Confirmed Council.
No. 7. 24-9-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 5, 17-6-24. Considered an application from Maulvi Sayyid Abdul Majid. The Finance Committee accepts the recommendation of the Treasurer, and recommends the same to Council for confirmation. Confirmed Council.
No. 9. 25-6-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 11, 25-8-24. Application Maulvi Abdul Hadi Z. Haq for reinstatement, dated the 11th August 1924. Order: Refer to Council with an expression of opinion of the Committee that the Maulvi should not be reinstated. Confirmed Council.
No. 8. 27-8-24.

Recommendations Finance Committee, No. 6, 17-6-24. Considered a letter from the India Publicity Service requesting to be appointed sole Advertising Agents for the letting of spaces on hoardings on the Park Street side of the Society's property on specified terms. The Finance Committee approves the principle of the proposal of the India Publicity Service, and have asked the General Secretary to obtain estimates as to the preliminary expenses to the Society. Confirmed Council.
No. 9. 25-6-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 8, 28-7-24. Report by Treasurer on irregularities in old accounts. Order: Old Cashier to be written to for explanation, and to be notified that in absence of explanation alleged shortage will be deducted from security deposit. Confirmed Council.
No. 14. 30-7-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 12, 25-8-24. Case of old Cashier. Order: Recommended that the prayer in his letter of August 4th, 1924, be granted. Recommended that also that a bonus of Rs. 100 be paid to the present Cashier out of the Rs. 451 realised from the old Cashier. Confirmed Council.
No. 8. 25-8-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 1, 7-6-24. Resolved: That the books of the Society be audited up to the end of June, and that additional books be opened, with proper headings of each account, and

that the "Double Entry" System be introduced in the Society's books, so that the auditors may be in a position to detect any mistakes that might creep into the accounts.

Resolved: That in order to give effect to the above resolution two clerks be temporarily engaged to set up and remodel the book-keeping, at a cost not exceeding Rs. 100.

Resolved: That the matter being urgent the work be commenced at once in anticipation of sanction by Council. Confirmed Council.

No. 14. 30-7-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 2, 25-8-24. Overtime pay for office work. Order: Scale authorised 1½ days pay for whole Sundays or Holidays and ½ day's pay for Saturday afternoons. Confirmed Council.

No. 8. 27-8-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 6, 25-8-24. Revison numbers print Journal and Memoirs and other publications. Order: Standard basis for number of Journal and Memoirs to be printed 200 over number required for immediate despatch of each issue. Confirmed Council.

No. 8. 27-8-24.

Minutes Finance Committee Meeting, 25th August, 1924. Advertisements; Proposal Electric Sign. Order: Record statement. Accept offer India Publicity Service, Electric Sign.

No. 9. 27-8-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 3, 22-9-24. Proposals of Sub-Committee regarding proposed reorganisation of pay of the staff on a regular basis.

Recommended that the Sub-Committee's proposals as modified be accepted, and that the proposed increment be given with effect from October 1st, 1924, and also that further increment should be considered with regard to, and be given effect from the 1st January of every year. Confirmed Council.

No. 7. 24-9-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 8, 22-9-24. Proposals for re-adjustment of securities for the permanent reserve fund and other funds of the Society. Resolved: That the Treasurer's recommendations as to an adjustment of securities held for the permanent reserve fund, the Barclay Memorial Fund, and the Pension Fund be approved, and that a recommendation be accordingly made to the Council for adoption of the proposals. Confirmed Council.

No. 7. 24-9-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 9, 22-9-24. Report General Secretary regarding Avadana Kalpalata. Order: Approved. Confirmed Council.

No. 7. 24-9-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 10, 22-9-24. Request of General Secretary for sanctioning two block cabinets at a cost of Rs. 690. Order: Approved. Confirmed Council.

No. 7. 24-9-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 12, 22-9-24. Statement by the Honorary Treasurer of receipt of a legacy of £100 out of the estate of the late Dr. Annandale. Order: Accept with gratitude, and recommendation to be made to Council to send suitable acknowledgment to Dr. Annandale's relations. Confirmed Council.

No. 7. 24-9-24.

Report Finance Committee on General Secretary's note to circular No. 154. Consideration postponed pending ascertaining of costs of suitable duplicating Machine.

No. 6. 24-9-24.

Minutes Finance Committee Meeting, 22nd September, 1924. **Order:** Confirm. Further resolved.

(*a*) Adjustment position Provident Fund for the older members of the staff. Order: To be brought up again conform Finance Committee's resolution.

(*b*) Report Treasurer shortness of cash. Resolved that the Treasurer be empowered to arrange for an overdraft at the Imperial Bank of India, Park Street Branch, to meet current expenditure.

(*c*) Re-adjustment securities Permanent and other Funds. Resolved that the resolution of the Finance Committee be approved.

(*d*) Purchase block-cabinets at Rs. 590. Sanctioned.

No. 7. 24-9-24.

Petition J. C. Chatterjee for financial help. Decline.

No. 6. 20-10-24.

Recommendation Finance Committee, No. 6, 20-11-24. Stock room files and accumulations. Proposed by Dr. Prasad and seconded by Mr. Mahalanobis: That a recommendation be made to Council that in order to reduce to order the chaotic condition of the stock room, old files and accumulations of unsorted miscellaneous documents and printed matter, an additional clerk be appointed for 8 months at an initial pay of Rs. 50 per mensem. Carried unanimously. Confirmed Council.

No. 8. 26-11-24.

Report Honorary Treasurer. arrears in subscriptions of Members. Usual notices and reminders to be issued. Settlement of all current arrears to be claimed before the end of the financial year.

No. 5. 26-11-24.

Proposals Finance Committee for sanction of additional grants, proposed by Dr. Prasad, seconded by Mr. Mahalanobis. That the following additional expenditure during the current Financial year be sanctioned:—(*a*) Rs. 6,000 under the head of Journal and Proceedings and other Society's publications to meet costs of making up arrears in publication. (*b*) Rs. 5,000 for an extension of the steel shelving installation in the library. (*c*) Rs. 500 for new chairs. (*d*) Rs. 300 for completing the set of Pali Text Society Publications. (*e*) Rs. 200 for binding. Carried.

No. 6. 26-11-24.

Proposal Finance Committee for re-arrangement booking Funds. Proposed by Dr. Baini Prasad, seconded by Mr. Mahalanobis:—That as in bringing the various fund-accounts into line with the new system of book-keeping, it was found that the O.P. Fund, No. 1, has been credited year after year with funds which should not have gone there, it is recommended that the amount at credit of the O.P. Fund, No. 1, be transferred to a new fund to be called the Publication Fund, and that in future all sale-proceeds of all the Society's publications be credited to the latter fund, and that O.P. Fund, No. 1, be reserved for the purpose of receiving the Government's and the Society's grants for the publication of Oriental works only. Carried.

No. 7. 26-11-24.

INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS—

Changes Rules, Indian Science Congress. Sanction. Mr. C. W. Gurner desires that it be entered in the minutes that he is of opinion that the question of the relationship between the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Indian Science Congress should be scrutinised.

No. 9. 30-7-24.

LECTURES—

Report by the Anthropological Secretary concerning an offer by Lieut. Col. Barnardo, to give a lecture to the Society. Resolved: that Col. Barnardo be invited by the Council to give a lecture as proposed, and that the lecture be followed by a discussion and be open to the public.
No. 11. 28-3-24.

Report General Secretary having arranged a second lecture on the Endocrine Gifts to Man, by Col. Barnardo. Approved.
No. 1. 25-6-24.

Offer from Mr. Saha to deliver a few lantern lectures to the Society. Decline.
No. 9. 17-12-24.

LIBRARY—

Library Committee, No. 2, 30-1-24. Purchase Anthropological books, and utilisation Anthropological fund. Order: Close fund, buy cyclopedias as far as available money allows. Confirmed Council.
No. 1. 30-1-24.

Library Committee, No. 6, 30-1-24. Resolved to request the Library Secretary for 1924 to draw up in consultation with General Secretary a note on the general policy of buying and binding books, and to submit this to next Council Meeting. Confirmed Council.
No. 10a. 30-1-24.

Library Committee, No. 1, 11-3-24. That the General Secretary be asked to provide a list and statement of cost of subscription to serials received in the library against payment. Confirmed Council.
No. 8. 28-3-24.

Library Committee, No. 2, 11-3-24. That effect be given to the former resolution that the set of publications of the Pali Text Society in the library be completed. Confirmed Council.
No. 8. 28-3-24.

Library Committee, No. 3, 11-3-24. That a list be drawn up of books sanctioned for purchase during the last two years, and not yet received. Confirmed Council.
No. 8. 28-3-24.

Library Committee, No. 4, 11-3-24. That, subject to commitments with regard to the library, it should be the general policy of the Society to spend a definite amount of money, each year on the purchase of current standard works relating to the east, with special attention to books of reference such as Dictionaries, Catalogues, Cyclopedias, Bibliographies, etc. Confirmed Council.
No. 8. 28-3-24.

Library Committee, No. 5, 11-3-24. That the exchange list of publications be carefully scrutinised and revised, and that a maximum number be fixed and revised annually of exchanges to be allowed.
No. 8. 28-3-24.

Library Committee, No. 6, 11-3-24. That the provision of extra shelving in the library is an urgent necessity, that the Committee, therefore, request the Council to take this matter into serious considerations without delay; that the Committee are of opinion that steel shelving is desirable for this purpose; that the installation of such steel shelving might be introduced gradually and by sections; that a definite

amount should be set aside annually for this purpose. Confirmed Council.
No. 8. 28-3-24.

Library Committee, No. 7, 11-3-24. That the Committee are of opinion that a numerically sufficient staff is necessary for the library, and that one daftri should be employed solely for the dusting of books. Adopted Council.
No. 8. 28-3-24.

Application for the loan of a starred book from the library. Allow.
No. 4. 30-7-24.

Report General Secretary, beginning work on installation steel shelving. Approved.
No. 1. 20-10-24.

Library Committee, No. 4, 29-10-24. Report General Secretary concerning Members not responding to requests for the return of books, Order: Necessary action to be taken. Confirmed Council.
No. 8. 29-10-24.

Library Committee, No. 5, 29-10-24. Letter from Dr. Hora offering to employ at his own expense an extra hand to undertake under his supervision work of checking and cataloguing in the library, and asking Council to allow other members who might be willing to do so, to do the same. Order: Dr. Hora to be thanked for his kind offer. Confirmed Council.
No. 8. 29-10-24.

Library Committee, No. 7, 29-10-24. Resolved to recommend to Council that the General Secretary be authorised to take immediately the necessary steps to begin work at compiling an up-to-date Library Catalogue; to make an appointment in this connection with a salary attached to it, maximum Rs. 100 monthly, and to submit estimates of further necessary expenditure, incidental to the undertaking. Confirmed Council.
No. 8. 29-10-24

Report Examination books bequeathed to the Society by Dr. Annandale. Approved.
No. 1. 17-12-24.

Report collection of books presented to the Society by Mr. Howard. Accept with thanks to donor.
No. 2. 17-12-24.

Report find old MSS. dating from the early decades of the Society. Public attention to be drawn to the find, and the MSS. to be exhibited in next General Meeting.
No. 13. 17-12-24.

MISCELLANEOUS—

Mr. Shirazi's proposal to catalogue the collection of Persian and Arabic MSS. of Mr. Hakim Habib-ur-Rahman, Dacca. Postpone consideration.
No. 13. 30-1-24.

Repairs to damaged painting by Domenichino. Order: Repair.
No. 3 30-4-24.

Report restoration Domenichino's painting, and the question of renovation other paintings. Order: A Sub-Committee consisting of Mr. Percy Brown, Mr. J. P. Gangooly, and the General Secretary, to advise on the question, with details as to costs, and to be requested to report before next Council Meeting.
No. 4. 27-8-24.

Report Sub-Committee on question of renovation of paintings. Resolved: That the report of the Sub-Committee be adopted, that the members be thanked for their labours; that the offer be accepted to have the four suggested paintings reported upon; that the Committee be requested to formulate further definite proposals regarding periodical inspection; that Mr. Percy Brown be requested to undertake the completion of a descriptive catalogue of the paintings in the possession of the Society.

No. 4. 23-9-24.

Report repairs to the Society's paintings. Approved.

No. 5. 17-12-24.

Various letters of thanks, etc., to the Society. Record suitable replies to be sent to such letters as deserved a reply.

No. 5. 27-2-24.

Communication from the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, Bushire, concerning a newly discovered inscription at Persepolis. Communicate to General Meeting.

No. 9. 30-4-24.

Letter of thanks to Council from Mr. Rama Prasad Mukherjee. Record.

No. 3. 25-6-24.

Correspondence with the Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan. Record.

No. 2. 30-7-24.

Elimination of old quarterly Civil lists. Order: Eliminate old quarterly Civil lists and unbound Government Gazettes. Sale-proceeds of waste paper to be utilised for purchase of new table typist. Further, on the raising of the question of further elimination of superfluous books in the library, resolved that the Library Secretary be invited to report and advise.

No. 3. 24-9-24.

New telephone contract. To be accepted.

Additional. No. 3. 24-9-24.

Report General Secretary, installation block cabinets. Noted.

No. 2. 29-10-24.

PUBLICATIONS—

Application from Messrs. Thacker Spink to be appointed Agents to the Society. Agreed to.

No. 6. 30-1-24.

Dr. Annandale's proposal Science monographs. Resolved that the Council do not consider it necessary to start a new series as proposed.

No. 8. 27-2-24.

On the proposal of the General Secretary, resolved that the price of Grierson's Kashmiri Dictionary be increased to Rs. 30 per fascicle.

No. 14. 27-2-24.

The Persian MS. Catalogue. Resolved: That the Sub-Committee on the Persian MS. Catalogue be empowered to co-opt as member, Messrs. Khan Saheb Abdul Wali, Shams-ul-ulma Hidayat Hossain and Aga Md. Kazim Shirazi.

No. 12. 28-3-24.

The Persian MS. Catalogue. Resolved: that a Sub-Committee be formed consisting of the Philological and Joint Philological Secretaries, the Honorary Treasurer and the General Secretary to report as early as convenient on the advisability of appointing Mr. Ivanow as Cataloguer for another two years on a salary of Rs. 250 per mensem, to finish within the period the writing and printing of the second volume

of the catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Society's collections, i.e., those in the Government Collection, also, resolved that Mr. Ivanow be paid a salary of Rs. 200 per mensem pending decision as to the new proposal, for a maximum of three months, during the period that actual printing of the first volume is in suspense.

No. 4. 26-5-24.

In view of the fact that the Sub-Committee on the Persian MSS. Catalogue has not yet reported, resolved that the present arrangement with regard to remuneration of Mr. Ivanow remain in force for another month.

No. 17. 28-5-24.

Letter to the President by Mr. Ivanow. The question of the Persian Catalogue Resolved: That Mr. Ivanow be employed on a monthly salary of Rs. 250 to complete the cataloguing and the printing of the catalogue of the Persian Manuscript Collections, and that a Maulvi be put at his disposal to assist him during the progress of the work.

No. 13. 25-6-24.

Report on opinions received from Foreign Scholars on Mr. Ivanow's Persian MSS. Catalogue. Record.

No. 10. 17-12-24.

Recommendations Philological Committee. Moved by Prof. Bhandarkar, seconded by Mr. Banerjee that the recommendations be adopted as follows:—

1. Recommended that the Treasurer be requested to make a recommendation as to the amount to be made available for the expenditure on the Bibliotheca Indica during the financial year, and that the General Secretary be empowered to arrange as far as possible for the continuation and completion of works hitherto taken up, within the limits of the expenditure ultimately sanctioned on proposal by the Treasurer.

2. Recommended that a policy be adopted of reducing the number of works simultaneously in progress in the Bibliotheca Indica at any time to a maximum of twelve works of more than three fascicles, and twelve works not exceeding three fascicles complete, and of reducing the number of works of either category simultaneously in progress to a maximum of six in each group of languages as follows:—

(*a*) Sanskrit and Prakrit;
(*b*) Vernacular and Tibetan;
(*c*) Arabic and Persian;
(*d*) Translations, catalogues, etc., unless specially otherwise recommended by the Philological Committee.

3. Recommended that a policy be adopted of keeping in print all editions, unless the contrary be specially recommended by the Philological Committee. Adopted.

No. 8. 30-7-24.

Minutes Publication Committee Meeting. Order: Confirm.

(*a*) Revise print number copies Journal and Memoirs to be kept at 200 in excess of the number of copies immediately despatched of each number.

(*b*) Case Surya Siddhanta.

Resolved: that upon the materials now before the Council, they are advised that they cannot claim any copyright in this work. Adopted.

No. 10. 27-8-24.

Question of terminating Volume 75, Journal, old series. Order: Volume to be terminated and closed. Standing type to be distributed Any continuation of the series to be considered on its own merits and, if published, to be published apart from the Old Series, Journal.

No. 2. 24-9-24.

Report New Publications. **Noted.**
Additional. No. 5. 24-9-24.

REQUESTS—

Letter Secretary, National Baby Week. Record.
No. 2. 27-2-24.

Request Sir Lucas King to be allowed to reprint his edition of Saadi's Tayyebat. Grant.
No. 9. 27-2-24.

Request Mr. O. Callegan for permission to reprint passages from Memoirs A.S.B., Vol. 5, Extra number. **Granted.**
No. 4. 30-4-24.

Letter of thanks to Council by Mr. O. Callahan. Record.
No. 4. 28-5-24.

Letter from Royal Belgian Geographical Society requesting assistance in collecting specimens of children's drawings. Refer to Anthropological Secretary to advise.
No. 8. 25-6-24.

Request to thin out tree in compound. Grant request.
Additional. No. 2. 24-9-24.

Request Offg. Director, Zoological Survey of India, to be permitted to make copies of Hamilton-Buchanan's MS. drawings. Grant.
No. 2. 26-11-24.

Request use meeting hall by the Mining and Geological Institute of India. Action approved.
No. 3. 17-12-24.

Appeal International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the league of Nations on behalf of Hungary. Order: Old exchanges to be resumed. Information to be asked as to new names suggested with details as to publications to be obtained in return.
No. 6. 17-12-24.

RULES—

Rules concerning Foreign Members. **Recorded** that it is habitual practice to charge subscription to foreign members at the rate of Rs. 4 per quarter.
No. 3. 27-2-24.

The construction of Rule 4, second clause. Considering that under Rule 4, second clause, the offices of Vice-President and Medical Secretary cannot be held by one and the same person, resolved: that Major Knowles continue Vice-President, and that Major Acton be Medical Secretary.
No. 12. 25-6-24.

Reprint Rules. Order: Reprint.
No. 7. 30-7-24.

Addition to Rule 73. Resolved: that Mr. B. L. Mitter be requested kindly to advise on the matter in the next Council Meeting.
No. 10. 30-7-24.

STAFF—

Caretaker and cleaning of the buildings. A Sub-Committee to be formed consisting of the President for 1923 and 1924, the Treasurer, the General Secretary and Dr. Christie, to consider the question of the staff in general, under the headings of office staff, Maulvis, Pandits, and menials, and to make recommendations to Council.
No. 2. 30-1-24.

Report on Mr. Majumdar's appointment for the description of the Bibliotheca Indica. Noted. Temporary appointment to terminate with ultimo January 1924, with expression of Council's satisfaction to Mr. Majumdar for the work done.
No. 3. 30-1-24.

Holidays to staff. Leave: follow printed leave rules: holidays: those of Chamber of Commerce. General Secretary discretionary power in special circumstances.
No. 4. 30-1-24.

Ruling Holidays Chamber of Commerce: those to be reckoned marked red or blue or both? Order: Holidays marked blue on Chamber's list to be holidays by right: those marked red to be granted at the discretion of General Secretary.
No. 5. 29-10-24.

Leave to Maulvi Syed Abdul Majid. Allow to rejoin, applying leave rules as printed.
No. 5. 30-1-24.

Leave case Maulvi Sayyid Abdul Majid. Order: Postpone final decision unless the Maulvi has not returned to duty on the 20th of May in which case his services are dispensed with.
No. 10. 28-5-24.

Petition Chaprassis new summer clothing. The Hon. Treasurer to arrange.
No. 3. 26-3-24.

Resolved: That the appointment be sanctioned of a file clerk.
No. 10. 30-4-24.

Report General Secretary, that V. Swaminathan has been appointed file clerk on probation. Approved.
No. 6. 28-5-24.

Report General Secretary, Resignation file clerk. General Secretary to fill the vacancy.
No. 3. 29-10-24.

Report General Secretary that the services of K. N. Ghose, typist, have been dispensed with, and that N. Gupta has been appointed on probation. Approved.
No. 5. 28-5-24.

Application for re-instatement Maulvi Abul Hadi Zahoorul Huq, having overstayed leave without notice for two months. Recommendation by Finance Committee to decline. Order: Recommendation adopted.
No. 6. 27-8-24.

Report Staff Committee. Order: Report progress.
No. 10. 27-2-24.

Petition Staff to President for a bonus of a month's salary pending improvement of pay. Recommendation Finance Committee to be placed before Council. Order: Refer to Sub-Committee on pay, for report before next Council Meeting.
No. 7. 27-8-24.

Recommendations Finance Committee in the matter of regulation of pay of staff.

Resolved that the recommendations of the Finance Committee be adopted with effect from Oct. 1st, as modified by Council, as set forth in the following schedule and explanations.

Pay Schedule Office A.S.B.

	Grade Pay.	Present Pay.	Initial pay from 1st. Oct. 1924.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Librarian	100—6—175	125	130
Pandit and Asst. Librarian	60—3—90	30	60
Pandit (Cataloguing)	75—5—125	75	90
Pandit (Govt. Collect.)	40—2—60	40	42
Maulvi A. and P. Lib.	75—5—125	97.8 + 25	125
2nd Maulvi	40—2—60	50	52
Cashier and Accountant	100—6—150	100	106
General Assistant	80—3—80	60	65
File Clerk	50—3—86	50	50
Typist	50—3—80	50	53
Despatcher	40—2—60	37	40

Menial Staff.	Grade Pay.	Present Pay.	Initial Pay from 1st Oct. 1924.
		Rs.	
Jamadar*	20—1—25*		
Durwan	15—1—19*		
Society's peons, 3			
O. P. F. Poon			
Sanskrit MSS. Peon			
Forash (A. and P.)			
Bearer (Sanskrit)			
Bearer (Society)			
Library Duftry			
Stock Duftry	20—1—25.		
Sanskrit Duftry			
A. and P. Duftry			
Office Duftry	15—1—20*		
Mali	15—1—19*		
Sweepers, 2	14/— (consolidated).		

* The initial pay in the case of menial staff should be governed according to the length of service of each incumbent. The increments will fall due every five years.

Note.

The Maulvi, Arabic and Persian Library, has for some years been in receipt of a regular salary and an extra allowance of Rs. 25. The allowance is now consolidated with regular pay and the increment brings him to the limit of his grade where no further increment is added.

Increment in future to be given from January 1st of each year, the present increment in October 1st of the current year being in lieu of retrospective effect for the long period the revision of pay has been pending.

Explanations.

1. Increment to be given once a year at the same date for the whole staff. Date January 1st.
2. Increment allowable for employment of over half a year in the previous year; not allowable for employment under half a year in the previous year.
3. Calculation of increment to count from date of definite appointment. Probation, temporary or unconfirmed employment not to count.
4. Increment to be dependent on recommendation General Secretary and confirmation Finance Committee. Not to be merely mechanically dependent on time, but on satisfaction given.
5. Boys (Chokras) employed as peons not to have full initial pay.

6. Apprentices, and other special cases, whose capacities do not yet warrant initial grade pay, only to be definitely appointed when initial grade pay is justified.

7. All definite appointments to be recorded in writing with initial date.

No. 5. 24-9-24.

Report death J. C. Chatterjee, late Assistant Librarian, A.S.B. Order: Record. The condolences of Council to be communicated to the son of the deceased.

No. 1. 20-11-24.

Report death Pandit Asutosh Tarkatirtha. A letter of condolence and appreciation to be written on behalf of the Council.

No. 12. 17-12-24.

List of

Officers, Council Members, Members, Fellows and Medallists

of the

Asiatic Society of Bengal

On the 31st December, 1924

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF COUNCIL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL FOR THE YEAR 1924.

ELECTIONS ANNUAL MEETING.

President.

Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O.

Vice-Presidents.

The Hon'ble Justice Sir Asutosh Mukhopādhyāya, Kt., C.S.I., D.L., D.Sc., F.R.H.S., F.R.S.E., F.R.A.S., F.A.S.B.[1]
Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Shāstri, C.I.E., M.A., F.A.S.I.
Professor P. J. Brühl, I.C.S., D.Sc., F.C.S., F.G.S., F.A.S.B.
Major R. Knowles, I.M.S.

Secretaries and Treasurer.

General Secretary :—Johan van Manen, Esq.
Treasurer :—Professor C. V. Raman, Esq., M.A., D.Sc.[2]
Philological Secretary :—Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B.
Joint Philological Secretary :—A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Esq., M.A.
Natural History Secretaries. { Biology :—Baini Prashad, Esq., D.Sc.[3] / Physical Science :—W. A. K. Christie, Esq., B.Sc., Ph.D., F.R.G.S., F.A.S.B.[4] }
Anthropological Secretary :—N. Annandale, Esq., C.I.E., D.Sc., F.R.S.E., C.M.Z.S., F.L.S., F.A.S.B.[5]
Medical Secretary :—Major R. Knowles, I.M.S.[6]
Library Secretary :—Pramatha Nath Banerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L.

Other Members of Council.

Rai Upendra Nath Brahmachari Bahadur, M.D., M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B.
S. A. Khuda Buksh, Esq., M.A., B.C.L., F.A.S.B.
P. C. Mahalanobis, Esq., M.A., B.Sc.[7]
E. H. Pascoe, Esq., D.Sc., F.A.S.B.
C. W. Gurner, Esq., B.A., I.C.S.
K. N. Dikshit, Esq., M.A.[8]

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS DURING THE YEAR.

B. C. Majumdar, Esq., (Anthropological Secretary), 7-5-24.
Baini Prashad, Esq., D.Sc. (Treasurer), 4-6-24.
Sunder Lal Hora, Esq., D.Sc. (Biological Secretary), 4-6-24.
P. C. Mahalanobis, Esq., M.A., B.Sc. (Phy. Sci. Secretary), 7-5-24
Major H. W. Acton (Member of Council) 7-5-24: (Medical Secretary), 2-7-24.
S. L. Mittor, Esq., (Council Member), 2-7-24.
Dr. Sir Dovaprasad Sarbadhikari, Kt. (Council Member), 6-8-24.
The Hon. Justice Sir W. E. Greaves, Kt. (Council Member), 6-8-24.

---

[1] Died 25-5-24. [2] Resigned May 24. [3] Transferred 4-6-24.
[4] Resigned April 24. [5] Died 10-4-25. [6] Resigned June 24.
[7] Transferred 7-5-24. [8] Resigned June 24.

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF COUNCIL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL ELECTED FOR THE YEAR 1925.

President.

Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O.

Vice-Presidents.

The Hon. Justice Sir W. E. Greaves, Kt., Bar.-at-Law.
Dr. Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhikari, Kt., M.A., M.C.S.
C. V. Raman, Esq., M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.
Major H. W. Acton, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., I.M.S.

Secretaries and Treasurer.

General Secretary :—Johan van Manen, Esq.
Treasurer :—Baini Prashad, Esq., D.Sc.
Philological Secretary :—Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, C.I.E., M.A., F.A.S.B.
Joint Philological Secretary :—Shamsu'l 'Ulamā Mawlavī M. Hidāyat Husain, Khan Bahadur, Ph.D.
Natural History Secretaries. { Biology :—Sunder Lal Hora, Esq., D.Sc.
Physical Science :—W. A. K. Christie, Esq., B.Sc., Ph.D., F.A.S.B.
Anthropological Secretary :—P. C. Mahalanobis, Esq., M.A., B.Sc.
Medical Secretary :—Major R. Knowles, I.M.S.
Library Secretary :—G. H. Tipper, Esq., M.A., F.G.S., M.I.M.M., F.A.S.B.

Other Members of Council.

Rai Upendra Nath Brahmachari, Bahadur, M.D., M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B.
C. W. Gurner, Esq., B.A., I.C.S.
B. L. Mitter, Esq., M.A., B.L., Bar.-at-Law.
Professor P. J. Brühl, I.S.O., D.Sc., F.C.S., F.G.S., F.A.S.B.
A. H. Harley, Esq., M.A.
Pramathā Nath Banerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L.

LIST OF ORDINARY MEMBERS.

R.=Resident. N.R.=Non-Resident. A.=Absent. L.M.=Life Member
F.M.=Foreign Member.

An Asterisk is prefixed to the names of the Fellows of the Society.

N.B.—Members who have changed their residence since the list was drawn up are requested to give intimation of such change to the General Secretary, in order that the necessary alteration may be made in the subsequent edition. Errors or omissions in the following list should also be communicated to the General Secretary.

Members who are about to leave India and do not intend to return are particularly requested to notify to the General Secretary whether it is their desire to continue Members of the Society; otherwise, in accordance with Rule 40 of the Rules, their names will be removed from the list at the expiration of three years from the time of their leaving India.

Date of Election		
1922 April 5.	R.	Abdul Ali, Abul Faiz Muhammad, M.A., M.R.A.S., F.R.S.L., etc. 3, *Turner Street, Calcutta.*
1919 Feb. 5.	N.R.	Abdul Kader Surfraz. *Elphinstone College, Bombay.*
1909 Mar. 3.	R.	Abdul Latif, Syed, Khan Bahadur, B.A., B.L., Asst. Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Dept., Writers' Buildings, Calcutta. 32/1, *Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.*
1894 Sept. 27.	L.M.	Abdul Wali, Khan Sahib. 3, *Alimuddin Street, Calcutta.*
1921 Mar. 2.	R.	Acton, Major Hugh William, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. (Lond.), I.M.S. *School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, Central Avenue, Calcutta.*
1921 Mar. 2.	R.	Agharkar, Shankar Purushottam, M.A., Ph.D., F.L.S., Professor of Botany, Calcutta University. 35, *Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.*
1915 Feb. 3.	N.R.	Ahmad Ali Khan, Hafiz, Controller of Household and Officer in Charge of State Library. *Rampur State, U.P.*
1924 Nov. 5.	R.	Ahmad, Khan Saheb Hafiz Nazir, Moulvi, Archæological Section, Indian Museum. *Calcutta.*

Date of Election.		
1924 Dec. 3.	R.	Ahsan Ullah, Khan Bahadur, Assistant Director of Public Instruction for Muhammadan Education. *Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.*
1920 Jan. 7.	N.R.	Aiyer, S. Paramesvara, M.A., B.L., M.R.S.L., M.F.L.S., M.E.I.A., Kavitilaka. Secretary to the Government of Travancore. *Trivandrum, South India.*
1923 April 4.	R.	Alker, A., Merchant. 4, *Bankshall Street, Calcutta*
1919 July 2.	R.	Amin-ul-Islam, Khan Bahadur, Nawabzada, B.L. *Inspector-General of Registration, Bengal.*
1912 July 3.	N.R.	Andrews, Egbert Arthur, B.A. *Tocklai Experimental Station, Cinnamara P.O., Jorhat, Assam.*
1924 Nov. 5.	R.	Asaduzzaman, Khan Bahadur, Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bengal. 42, *Baniapokhur Road, Calcutta.*
1911 May 3.	R.	Atkinson, Albert Charles. *La Martinière,* 11, *London Street, Calcutta.*
1904 July 6.	N.R.	Aulad Hasan, Khan Bahadur, Sayid. *Rajar Deori, Darca.*
1924 Mar. 5.	R.	Austin, J. Mein, Merchant, Jardine Skinner & Co. *Calcutta.*
1917 April 4.	N.R.	Awati, P. R., M.A., Medical Entomologist, Central Research Institute. *Kasauli.*
1914 Mar. 4.	L.M.	Bacot, J. 31. *Quai d'Orsay, Paris.*
1870 Feb. 2.	L.M.	Baden-Powell, Baden Henry, M.A., C.I.E. *Ferlys Lodge.* 29, *Banbury Road, Oxford, England.*
1924 April 2.	N.R.	Bahl, K. N., Professor of Zoology, Lucknow University. *Badshahagh, Lucknow.*
1924 Nov. 5.	N.R.	Baidil, A. Mannau, Lecturer in Persian and Urdu. *New College Hostel, P.O. Moradpore, (Patna).*
1919 April 2.	R.	Bal, Surendra Nath, Ph.C., M.Sc., F.L.S., Curator, Industrial Section, Indian Museum. 1, *Sudder Street, Calcutta.*
1920 Mar. 3.	R.	Ballardie, J. H. de Caynoth. A.R.I.B.A. 7, *Old Court House Street, Calcutta.*
1918 Feb. 6.	N.R.	Banerjee, Narendra Nath, M.I.P.O.E.E. (Lond.), A.M.I.E. (Ind.), Divisional Engineer, Telegraphs. *Mandalay, (Burma).*
1922 April 5.	N.R.	Banerjee, Sasadhar, B.A., B.Ed. Head Master, E.I. Railway Indian H.E. School, *Jamalpur (Monghyr).*

Date of Election.		
1905 Mar. 1.	R.	Banerji, Muralidhar. *Sanskrit College, Calcutta.*
1919 July 2.	R.	Banerji, Pramathanath M.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court. *Calcutta.*
1907 Jan. 2.	R.	Banerji, Rakhal Das, M.A. 65, *Simla Street, Calcutta.*
1924 Mar. 5	R.	Bannerjee, P. N., M.A. (Cantab.), A.M.I.E. (Ind.), F.C.U., Civil Engineer. 6 & 7, *Clive Street, Calcutta.*
1923 Feb. 7.	R.	Barber, Cecil Thomas, Asst. Supdt., Geological Survey of India. *Calcutta.*
1898 Mar. 2.	N.R.	Barnes, Herbert Charles, M.A. (Oxon.), C.I.E. *Gauhati, Assam.*
1921 Dec. 7.	R.	Barua, B. M., Lecturer, Calcutta University. 4, *Herambi Charan Das's Lane, off Machuabazar Street, Calcutta.*
1923 Dec. 5.	R.	Barwell, N. F., Col. *Bishop's House,* 51, *Chowringhee, Calcutta,* (*and Beacon Hill, West Runton, Norfolk. England*).
1924 Mar. 5.	R.	Basu, D. N., Bar-at-Law. 14, *Baloram Ghose Street, Calcutta.*
1924 Dec. 3	R.	Basu, Jatindra Nath, M.A., Solicitor, M.L.C. 14, *Baloram Ghose Street, Calcutta.*
1909 July 7.	N.R.	Bazaz, Rangnath Khemraj, Proprietor, Shri Venkateshwar Press. *7th Khetwadi, Bombay No.* 4.
1895 July 3.	L.M.	Beatson-Bell, The Hon. Sir Nicholas Dodd, K.A., C.I.E., I.C.S., Chief Commissioner of Assam. *Shillong.*
1915 April 7.	N.R.	Belvalkar, Sripad Krishna, M.A., Ph.D., Prof. of Sanskrit, Deccan College. *Poona.*
1909 April 7.	R.	Bentley, Charles A., M.B., D.P.H. *Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.*
1876 Nov. 15	F.M.	*Beveridge, Henry, F.A.S.B., I.C.S. (Retired.) 53, *Campden House Road, W.* 8, *London.*
1917 Aug. 1.	R.	*Bhandarkar, Devadatta Ramkrishna, M.A. 35, *Circular Road, Ballygunge.*
1909 July 7.	R.	Bhattacharji, Shib Nath, M.B. 80, *Shambazar Street, Calcutta.*
1924 May 7.	L.M.	Bhattacharya, Binayatosh, M.A., Chief Editor, Gaekwad Sanskrit Series. *Baroda.*
1908 Nov. 4.	R.	Bhattacharya, Bisvesvar. B.A., M.R.A.S., B.C.S. 16, *Townshend Road, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.*
1924 April 2.	R.	Bhattacharya, Rai Bahadur Barada San-

Date of Election.		
		kar, M.B., Teacher of Medicine, Campbell Medical School, Calcutta. 58, *Harrison Road, Calcutta.*
1922 Feb. 1.	N.R.	Bhattacharya, Pandit Vidhushekhara, Principal, Vidyabhavana, Visvabharati. *Santiniketan, Birbhum.*
1922 June 7.	R.	Bhattacharyya, Dr. Sivapada, M.D. *School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta.*
1923 May 2.	R.	Bhukhanvala, R. M. A., Merchant, Partner of Bhukhanvala & Sons. 10, *Canning Street, Calcutta.*
1923 Aug. 1.	R.	Biswas, Kalipada, M.A., Botanical Laboratory, College of Science, 35, *Ballygunj Circular Road, Calcutta.*
1922 Dec. 6.	N.R.	Blackett, Sir Basil Phillot, K.C.B., Finance Member, Government of India. *Delhi* and *Simla.*
1893 Feb. 1.	L.M.	Bodding, Revd. P. O. *Mohulpahari, Sonthal Parganas.*
1912 July 3.	R.	Bomford, Capt. Trevor Lawrence, I.M.S., M.B., B.S., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. *Eden Hospital, Calcutta.*
1919 June 6.	R.	Bose, Ajit Mohan, M.B., Ch.B. (Edin.), L.M. (Dub.) 92/3, *Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.*
1898 Feb. 2.	R.	Bose, Amrita Lal, Dramatist. 9-2. *Ram Chandra Maitra Lane, Calcutta.*
1918 July 3.	R.	Bose, Charu Chandra, M.B., Assistant Surgeon, Medical College. 52.2 *Mirzapur Street, Calcutta.*
1895 Mar. 6.	R.	*Bose, Sir Jagadis Chandra, Kt., C.S.I., M.A., D.Sc., C.I.E., F.A.S.B. *Presidency College, Calcutta.*
1922 Apl. 5.	N.R.	Bose, Jogesh Chandra, Vidyabinode. Landholder *Contai, Midnapore.*
1924 Mar. 5.	R.	Bose, S., B.A., Deputy Assistant Controller of Military Accounts, Presidency and Assam District. 8, *Ram Kissen Das Lane, Amherst Street P.O., Calcutta.*
1917 Oct. 3.	N.R.	Bose, Satyendra Nath, M.Sc. Prof., Dacca University, *Ramna, Dacca.*
1920 Mar. 3.	N.R.	Bosworth-Smith, Percy, F.G.S., M.I.M.M., M.A.I.M.E. *Kolar Gold Field, Mysore State, Oorgaum P.O., South India.*
1910 July 6.	N.R.	Botham, Arthur William, I.C.S. *Shillong.*
1908 Jan. 1.	R.	*Brahmachari, Upendra Nath, M.A., Ph.D., M.D., F.A.S.B. 82/3, *Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*

Date of Election.		
1920 Feb. 4.	N.R.	Brij Narayan, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., M.R.A.S. 8, *Bank Road, Allahabad.*
1907 July 3.	A.	*Brown, John Coggin, O.B.E., D.Sc., F.G.S., M.I.M.E., M Inst.M.M., M.I.E. (Ind.), F.A.S.B., Geological Survey of India. 27, *Chowringhee, Calcutta.*
1909 Oct. 6.	R.	Brown, Percy, A.R.C.A. *Government School of Art, Calcutta.*
1924 Mar. 5.	R.	Browne, H., Capt. M.B.E. Lic, R.I., B.A., Architect, Martin & Co. 6 & 7, *Clive Street, Calcutta.*
1924 July 2.	R.	Browne, L. E., Clerk in Holy Orders, Lecturer at Bishop's College, Calcutta. *224, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.*
1909 Oct. 6.	R.	*Brühl, Paul Johannes, I.S.O., D.Sc., F.C.S., F.G.S., F.A.S.B. 35, *Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.*
1901 June 5.	F.M.	*Burkill, Isaac Henry, M.A., F.A.S.B. *Botanic Gardens, Singapore.*
1896 Jan. 8.	N.R.	*Burn, Richard, C.I.E., I.C.S., F.A.S.B. *Board of Revenue, Allahabad, U.P.*
1900 May 2.	N.R.	Butcher, Flora, L.M., S.A. (London), M.D. Brux., Reg. in U. P. Tanakpur Medical Mission. *Tanakpur, Rohilkhand and Kumaon Ry., U.P.*
1913 Apl. 2.	R.	Calder, Charles Cumming. *Royal Botanic Gardens, Sibpur, Howrah.*
1918 July 3.	A.	Campos, Joachim Joseph, M.B. 16/2, *Royd Street, Calcutta.*
1924 Mar. 5.	R.	Carey, Sir Willoughby L., Senior Partner, Bird & Co., President, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Chartered Bank Buildings. *Calcutta.*
1920 Sept. 1.	R.	Chakladar, Haran Chandra. 28/4, *Sahanagar Lane, Kalighat, Calcutta.*
1909 Mar. 3.	R.	Chakravarti, Nilmani, M.A. *Presidency College, Calcutta.*
1920 Sept. 1.	R.	*Chanda, Ramaprasad, B.A., F.A.S.B. 37*A*, *Police Hospital Road, Calcutta.*
1906 Jan. 3.	R.	Chapman, John Alexander. *C/o Imperial Library, Calcutta.*
1915 Oct. 27.	A.	Chatterjee, Atul Chandra, I.C.S. *Lucknow.*
1911 June 7.	R.	Chatterjee, Karuna Kumar, F.R.C.S. 74, *Dharamtala Street, Calcutta.*
1916 Jan. 5.	R.	Chatterjee, Khagendra Nath, B.A., B.L., Attorney-at-Law. 12, *Madan Mohan Chatterjee Lane, Calcutta.*

Date of Election.		
1920 Sep. 1.	R.	Chatterjee, Nirmal Chandra. 52, *Haris Mukerjee Road, Bhowanipore. Calcutta.*
1922 April 5.	R.	Chatterjee, Rakhahari, B.A., Student, Calcutta University. 7, *Lakshman Das Lane, Howrah.*
1924 Mar. 5.	R.	Chatterji, Mohini Mohan, M.A., B.L., Solicitor, President, Incorporated Law Society of Calcutta. 33. *McLeod Street, Calcutta.*
1924 Dec. 3.	R.	Chatterjee. Mr. Sailendra Nath, Deputy Assistant Controller of Military Accounts (P. & A. District). 9/4, *Badur Bagan Row, Calcutta.*
1924 Aug. 6.	R.	Chatterji, Suniti Kumar, M.A., PH.D., Calcutta, Khaira Professor. *Calcutta University.*
1924 Nov. 5.	R.	Chattopadhyay, K. P., Lecturer in Anthropology, Calcutta University. 2, *Ramkissen Dass's Lane, Badurbagan. Calcutta.*
1893 Sept. 28.	R.	*Chaudhuri, B. L., D.A., D.Sc. (Edin.), F.R.S.E., F.L.S. (Lond.), F.A.S.B., Sherpur Town, Mymensingh; 94, *South Road, Entally P.O., Calcutta.*
1914 April 1.	R.	Chaudhuri, Gopal Das. 32, *Beadon Row, Calcutta.*
1923 Dec. 5.	R.	Chopra, R. N., Asst. Superintendent, Zoological Survey of India, *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*
1922 Feb. 1.	R.	Chopra, R. N., Major, I.M.S., Prof. of Pharmacology, School of Tropical Medicine. *Calcutta.*
1924 June 4.	R.	Cooper, H., Manufacturing Chemist, 18, *Convent Road, Calcutta.*
1907 July 3.	R.	*Christie, William Alexander Kynoch, B.Sc., PH.D., M.Inst.M.M., F.A.S.B. *Geological Survey of India, Calcutta.*
1909 Nov. 3.	N.R.	*Christophers, Lt.-Col. Samuel Richard, M.D., C.I.E., O.B.E., F.A.S.B., I.M.S. *Central Research Institute, Kasauli.*
1915 Sept. 1.	R.	Cleghorn, Maude Lina West, F.L.S., F.E.S. 12, *Alipur Road, Calcutta.*
1923 May 2.	R.	Collenberg, Baron H. Rüdt von, German Consul-General. 2, *Store Road, Calcutta.*
1920 Dec. 1.	A.	Connor, Lieut.-Col. F. P. 2, *Upper Wood Street, Calcutta.*
1907 July 3.	A.	Cotter, Gerald de Purcell, B.A., F.G.S. *Europe (c/o Geological Survey of India).*
1887 Aug. 25.	R.	Criper, William Risdon, F.C.S., F.I.C.

Date of Election.		
		A.R.S.M. *Konnagar, E.I.R., Hughly, (Bengal).*
1918 April 3	N.R.	Das, Jagannath, B.A., Ratnakar, Kavisudhakar. *The Rajsadan, Ajodhya.*
1923 June 6.	N.R.	Das, Kali, Superintendent, Forests. *Jubbal State, P.O. Chopal, via Simla.*
1924 April 2.	R.	Das, Mr. Biraj Mohan. M.A. (Cal.), M.Sc. (Lon.), Superintendent, Calcutta Research Tannery. 2/1, *Kirti Mitter Lane, Calcutta.*
1924 Mar. 5.	R.	Das, S. R., Bar-at-Law, Advocate-General, Bengal. 7, *Hungerford Street, Calcutta.*
1915 Sept. 1.	R.	Das-Gupta, Hem Chandra, M.A., F.G.S., Prof., Presidency College. *Calcutta.*
1922 Sept. 6.	N.R.	Das-Gupta, Dr. Surendra Nath, Prof. of Sanskrit and Philosophy, Chittagong College. *Chittagong.*
1917 April 4	R.	Datta, Rasik Lal, D.Sc., F.C.S., F.R.S.E., Industrial Chemist, Dept. of Industries, Bengal. 78, *Manicktola St., Calcutta.*
1924 Dec. 3.	N.R.	Dave, Shyam Shanker, Assistant Engineer (Qualified). *Raigarh, C.P., B.N. Ry.*
1924 Aug. ".	L.M.	Davies, L. M., Major, Royal Artillery, Kohat. *N.W.F.P., India.*
1895 Sept. 19.	R.	De, Kiran Chandra, B.A., C.I.E., I.C.S., Commissioner, Presidency Division, Bengal. *Theatre Road, Calcutta.*
1924 April 2.	R.	De, Rai Bahadur F.L. 99, *Grey Street, Calcutta.*
1917 June 6.	R.	Deb, Kumar Harit Krishna, M.A., Zemindar, Sobhabazar Rajbati. *Raja Nava-krishna Street, Calcutta.*
1921 Sept. 7.	R.	Deb, Kumar Profulla Krishna, Zemindar and Landlord. 106/1, *Grey Street, Calcutta.*
1906 Dec. 5.	A.	Dentith, Arthur William, I.C.S. *Shillong.*
1910 May 4.	L.M.	Dhavle, Sankara Balaji. I.C.S., District and Sessions Judge. *Cuttack.*
1920 Aug. 4.	N.R.	Dikshit, Kashinath Narayan, M.A., Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle. *Calcutta.*
1898 Jan. 5.	R.	Dods, William Kane, Agent, Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation. *Calcutta.*
1902 July 2.	R.	Doxey, Frederick. 63, *Park Street, Calcutta.*
1919 Nov. 5.	N.R.	Dube, Babool Mayeshanker. *R.N. High School Fathpur (Jaipur).*

Date of Election.		
1920 April 7.	R.	Dutt, Kumar Krishna. 10, *Hastings Street, Calcutta.*
1922 April 5.	N.R.	Dutta, Bhagad, Prof. and Supdt., Research Dept., Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College. *Lahore.*
1924 Nov. 5.	N.R.	Eaton, Miss Winifred A., Missionary, Canadian Baptist Mission, Principal, Bible Training School for Women, Palkonda. *Vizag. Dist.*
1921 Nov. 2.	N.R.	Emdadul Haq, Shah, M.L.C. *Vill. Bhowksar, P.S. Chandina, P.O. Mudafargar, Dist Tippera.*
1911 Nov. 1.	A.	Esch, V. J., Architect. *Victoria Memorial Building. Cathedral Avenue, Maidan, Calcutta.*
1904 Aug. 3.	R.	*Fermor, Lewis Leigh, A.R.S.M., D.Sc., F.G.S., F.A.S.B. *Geological Survey of India, Calcutta.*
1906 Oct. 31.	N.R.	Finlow, Robert Steel, B.Sc., F.I.C., Director of Agriculture, Bengal. *Ramna P.O., Dacca.*
1924 Mar. 5.	R.	Fitzpatrick, H., Engineer, Ag. Managing Director, Bengal Iron Co. *Bengal Club, Calcutta.*
1913 Nov. 5.	R.	Fox, Cyril S., B.Sc., M.I.M.E., F.G.S. *Geological Survey of India, Calcutta.*
1919 April 2.	N.R.	Friel, Ralph, I.C.S. *Silchar, Assam.*
1923 Mar. 7.	R.	Fry, Lieut.-Colonel A. B., C.I.E., D.S.O., M.D. (Lond.), D.P.H., D.T.M. and Hy., M.R.C.S. (Eng.), L.R.C.P. (Lond.), I.M.S., Professor of Hygiene. *School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta.*
1922 April 5.	A.	Fülep, E. G., Merchant, Proprietor, E. G. Fülep & Co., Calcutta, Bombay and Hamburg. 5, *Mission Row, Calcutta.*
1919 Feb. 5.	F.M.	Gnioostian, Valarshak Mackertich. *P.O. Box 607, Sanger, California, U.S.A.*
1919 Nov. 5.	N.R.	Gambhir, J. S. *Shamaldas College, Bhavnagar, Kathiawar.*
1909 Oct. 7.	R.	Gangoly, Ordhendra Coomar, B.A. 12/1, *Gangoly Lane, Calcutta.*
1912 Mar. 6.	R.	Ganguli, Manmohan, B.E. 50, *Raja Rajballav Street, Calcutta.*
1920 Mar. 3.	N.R.	Ganguli, Pratul Pati, B.A., D.T.M., etc., Captain I.M.S. (late), Teacher of Medi-

Date of Election.		
		cine, Dacca Medical School, 17, *Nayabazar Road, Dacca.*
1921 June 1.	R.	Ghatak, Prof. Joyotischandra. 5, *Balaram Bose Ghat Lane, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.*
1924 April 2.	R.	Ghose, C. C., Barrister-at-Law, Judge, Calcutta High Court. 10, *Debendra Ghose Road, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.*
1924 July 2.	R.	Ghose, Hon. Mr. Justice Bipin Behary, Judge, High Court, Calcutta 101, *Bellala Road, Calcutta.*
1924 Dec. 3.	R.	Ghose, Mr. Sushil Chandra, Deputy Magistrate. 1, *Sikdarbagan Street, Calcutta.*
1905 July 5.	R.	Ghosh, Amulya Charan, Vidyabhusana. 28 *Telepara Lane, Calcutta.*
1924 April 2.	R.	Ghosh, Dr. K., D.T.M., D.P.H. (Cantab.), L.M.S., Medical Practitioner. 45, *Creek Row, Calcutta.*
1918 Feb. 6.	R.	Ghosh, Ekendra Nath, M.D., M.Sc, F.Z.S., F.R.M.S., Prof. of Biology, Medical College. *Calcutta.*
1920 May 5.	R.	Ghosh, Sukhendra Nath, B.A. (Cal.), B.Sc. (Glasg.), A.M.I.C.E., M.R.San.I., M.I.E. (Ind.), Executive Engineer, P.W.D., Bengal. 7, *Haysham Road, Calcutta.*
1912 Sept. 4.	R.	Ghosh, Tarapada. 14, *Paddapukur Street, Kidderpur, Calcutta.*
1924 Dec. 3.	R.	Gilbert, W. G. L., Traffic Manager, Light Railways, Martin & Co. 6-7, *Clive Street, Calcutta.*
1919 Feb. 5.	N.R.	Ghulam Mohiud-din Sufi. *Normal School, Amraoti.*
1910 Sept. 7.	N.R.	*Gravely, Frederic Henry, D.Sc., F.A.S.B. *Government Museum, Egmore, Madras.*
1905 May 3.	F.M.	Graves, Henry George, A.R.S.M. 52, *Carington Road, Bedford, England.*
1924 Mar. 5.	R.	Greaves, Sir Ewart, Judge, Calcutta High Court. 2, *Short Street, Calcutta.*
1910 Mar. 2.	A.	*Greig, Major Edward David Wilson, M.B., F.A.S.B., I.M.S. *Simla.*
1900 Dec. 5.	L.M.	Grieve, James Wyndham Alleyne. *C/o Messrs. Coutts & Co., 440, Strand, London, W.C. 2.*
1917 June 6	A.	Gupta, Kisorimohan, M.A., Prof. of History, M.C. College. *Sylhet, Assam.*
1923 Mar. 7.	R.	Gupta, N., Bar.-at-Law. *Calcutta Club.*
1919 Mar. 5.	N.R.	Gupta, Sivaprasad. *Seva Upavana, Benares City.*

Date of Election.		
1915 Aug. 4.	R.	Gurner, Cyril Walter, I.C.S. *United Service Club, Calcutta.*
1901 Mar. 6.	N.R.	Habibur Rahman Khan, Raees. *Bhikanpur, District Aligarh.*
1892 Jan. 6.	F.M.	Haig, Lieut.-Col. Sir T. Wolseley, C.M.G., Indian Army, H.B.M.'s Legation. *Dublin, London.*
1907 Aug. 7.	F.M.	*Haines, Henry Haselfoot, C.I.E., F.O.R., F.L.S., F.A.S.B. *Glen Ashton, Wimborne, Dorset.*
1916 Jan. 5.	N.R.	Hamilton, C. J. *Patna University, Patna.*
1920 May 5.	R.	Harcourt, Major E. S. *United Service Club, Calcutta.*
1924 Aug. 6.	R.	Haridas, Anandji, B.A., LL.B., Merchant. 9. *Wood Street, Calcutta.*
1912 May 1.	R.	Harley, Alexander Hamilton, M.A. *The Madrasah, Calcutta.*
1923 May 2.	R.	Harnett, Major, W. L., I.M.S., Supdt., Campbell Hospital. *Sealdah House, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.*
1908 April 1	A.	Harrison, Edward Philip, Ph.D., F.R.S.E. *The Observatory, Alipur, Calcutta.*
1921 May 4.	N.R.	Hartog, Philip Joseph, C.I.E., M.A., B.Sc., Vice Chancellor, Dacca University. *Ramna, Dacca.*
1919 Nov. 5.	N.R.	Hemraj, Raj Guru. *Dhokatol, Nepal.*
1924 Dec. 3.	R.	Hendry, C. A. St. John, F.R.G.S., M.I.S.E., A.M.I.M.E., M.I.E., M. MIN. I.. Consulting Mechanical Engineer, Martin & Co. 6 & 7, *Clive Street, Calcutta.*
1911 June 7.	R.	Hidayat Husain, Shams-ul-Ulama Muhammad, Khan Bahadur, Ph.D. 96/2c, *Collin Street, Calcutta.* [*P.O., Assam.*
1920 Feb. 4.	N.R.	Hill, Harold Brian Cunningham. *Chaibasa*
1924 April 2.	N.R.	Hingston, R. W. G., Major, Indian Medical Service. *C/o Lloyds Bank, Bombay.*
1911 April 5.	N.R.	Hiralal, Rai Bahadur, Dy.-Commissioner (Retired). *Craddock Town, Nagpur, C.P.*
1891 July 1	F.M.	*Holland, Sir Thomas H., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S., F.A.S.B., Rector, Imperial College of Science and Technology. *South Kensington, London, S.W. 7.*
1921 Nov. 2.	R.	Hora, Sunder Lal. *Zoological Survey of India, Indian Museum, Calcutta.*
1873 Jan. 2.	L.M.	Houstoun, George L., F.G.S. *Johnstone Castle, Renfrewshire, Scotland.*

Date of Election.		
1923 June 6.	N.R.	Howard, A., Imperial Economic Botanist to the Government of India. *Pusa. Behar.*
1923 June 6.	N.R.	Hutton, J. H., C.I.E., M.A., D.Sc., Hon. Director of Ethnography, Assam. *Kohima, Naga Hills, Assam.*
1924 April 2.	R.	Huq, Mahfuzul, M.A., Lecturer, Presidency College. *Calcutta.*
1911 Feb. 1.	R.	Insch, James. *C/o Messrs. Duncan Bros. & Co., 101, Clive Street, Calcutta.*
1924 July 2.	N.R.	Iyengar, M. O. Parthasarathy, Ag. Professor of Botany, Presidency College. *Madras*
1923 Dec. 5.	R.	Jackson, P. S., Engineer, General Manager for India, the English Electric Co., Ltd., D/4, *Clive Buildings, Calcutta.*
1921 Feb. 2.	R.	Jain, Chhote Lall, M.R.A.S. 25, *Central Avenue, North. Calcutta.*
1910 Aug. 3.	R.	Jain, Podamraj Raniwalla. 9, *Joggomohan Mullick's Lane, Calcutta.*
1923 Feb. 7.	N.R.	Jinavijayaji, Muni. Principal, Gujerat Puratattva Mandir. *Ellisbridge. Ahmedabad.*
1908 June 3.	R.	Jones, Hubert Cecil, A.R.S.M., A.R.C.S., F.G.S., Asst. Superintendent, Geological Survey of India. *Calcutta.*
1924 April 2.	R.	Judah, Dr. N. J., M.B., Ch.B., F.R.C.S. (Eng.), Surgeon, Medical College Hospital, Calcutta. 2, *Hungerford Street, Calcutta.*
1911 Nov. 1.	L.M.	Kamaluddin Ahmad, Shams-ul-Ulama, M.A. *The University. Lucknow.*
1924 Mar. 5.	R.	Kanjilal. M. N., Bar.-at-Law, M.A. (Cal.), B.A., LL.B. (Cantab). 17, *Loudon Street, Calcutta*
1924 Nov. 5.	R	Kapur, Shamlal, Import and Banking. 113, *Cross Street, Calcutta.*
1920 July 7.	R.	Kar, Sites Chandra. 47, *Corporation Street, Calcutta.*
1920 Feb. 4.	A.	Keir, W. I., Asst. Architect to the Govt. of Bengal. *Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.*
1910 May 4.	A.	*Kemp, Stanley W., B.A., D.Sc., F.A.S.B. 27, *Chowringhee Road, Calcutta.*
1882 Mar. 1.	N.R.	Kennedy, Pringle, M.A., B.L. *Mozafferpur.*
1920 Mar. 3.	R.	*Khuda Bukhsh, S., F.A.S.B., Bar.-at-Law. 5, *Elliott Road. Calcutta.*
1909 April 7.	N.R.	Kilner, John Newport, M.B., L.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. 14, *Garden Reach, Calcutta.*

Date of Election.		
1910 Mar. 2.	A.	Kirkpatrick, W. *Chartered Bank Buildings, Calcutta.*
1920 July 7.	R.	Knowles, Robert, Major, I.M.S., M.B.C.S., L.R.C.P., B.A. (Cantab). *Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine, Central Avenue, Calcutta.*
1923 Dec. 5.	N.R.	Korke, Vishnu Tatvaji, Captain, F.R.C.P. (Edin.), Central Research Institute, *Kasauli.*
1921 Dec. 7.	N.R.	Kumar, Anand Kumar. *Fairfield, Firozepore Road, Lahore.*
1923 Mar. 7.	A.	Labey, George Thomas, Bengal Pilot Service. 5, *Loudon Street, Calcutta.*
1920 Mar. 3.	R.	Lahiri, Jagadindranath. 91, *Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.*
1887 May 4.	L.M.	Lanman, Charles Rockwell. 9, *Farrar Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S. America.*
1889 Mar. 6.	L.M.	*La Touche, Thomas Henry Digges, M.A., F.G.S., F.A.S.B. 230, *Hills Road, Cambridge, England.*
1914 Aug. 5.	R.	Law, Bimala Charan, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S. 24, *Sukea Street, Calcutta.*
1911 Feb. 1.	R.	Law, Narendra Nath, M.A., B.L., F.R.S., Ph.D. 96, *Amherst Street, Calcutta.*
1914 July 1.	R.	Law, Satya Churn, M.A., B.L., F.Z.S., M.B.O.U. 24, *Sukea St. Calcutta.*
1918 June 5.	N.R.	Lees, Donald Hector, I.C.S. *Jalpaiguri*
1911 May 3.	R.	Lomax, C. E., M.A. *La Martinière, Calcutta.*
1906 Oct. 31.	N.R.	Luard, Lieut.-Col. Charles Eckford, C.I.E., M.A. (Oxon). *C/o Grindlay & Co., London* and *Bombay.*
1870 April 7.	L.M.	Lyman, B. Smith. 708, *Locust Street, Philadelphia, U.S. America.*
1905 Aug 2.	R.	*McCay, David, Lieut.-Col., M.D., B.Ch., B.A.O. (R.U.I.), M.R.C.P. (Lond.). F.A.S.B., I.M.S. 24 *Park Street, Calcutta.*
1924 Nov. 5	R.	MacGregor, A. D., M.R.C., V.S, I.V.S., Principal, Bengal Veterinary College, Belgachia. *Calcutta.*
1893 Jan. 11.	L.M.	Maclagan, The Hon. Sir Edward Douglas, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Governor of the Punjab. *Lahore.*
1893 Jan. 11.	L.M.	Madho Rao Scindia, His Highness Maharajah Colonel Sir, Alijah Bahadur,

Date of Election.		
		C.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., A.D.C., LL.D., Maharajah of Gwalior. *Jai Bilas, Gwalior.*
1916 June 7.	N.R.	Mahajan, Surya Prasad. *Murarpur, Gaya*
1920 Mar. 3.	R.	Mahalanobis, Prof. P. C., B.Sc., M.A 210, *Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*
1906 Dec. 5.	R.	Mahalanobis, Subodh Chandra, B.Sc (Edin.), F.R.S.E., I.E.S., Prof., Presidency College. 210, *Cornwallis Street, Calcutta*
1911 Mar. 1.	R.	Mahatap, The Hon. Sir Bijoy Chand K.C.S.I., Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan 6, *Alipur Lane, Calcutta.*
1924 Feb. 6.	R.	Mahindra, K. C., B.A. (Cantab), Account Department, Martin & Co. 6 & 7, *Clive Street, Calcutta.*
1918 Aug. 7.	R.	Maitra, Jatindra Nath, Physician and Surgeon. 68 *A, Beadon St., Calcutta.*
1918 Feb. 6.	N.R.	Maitra, Sisir Kumar, Principal, Indian Institute of Philosophy. *Amalner, Bombay Presidency.*
1920 June 2.	R.	Majumdar, Nani Gopal, M.A., Lecturer Calcutta University. 70, *Russa Road North, Calcutta.*
1916 Feb. 2.	R.	Majumdar, Narendra Kumar, M.A., Asst Prof., Calcutta University. *Calcutta.*
1913 June 4.	N.R.	Majumdar, Ramesh Chandra, M.A., Ph.D. Prof., Dacca University. *Ramna Dacca*
1918 Feb. 6.	R.	Manen, Johan van, 6, Temple Chambers *Calcutta.*
1920 Jan. 5.	N.R.	Mangalik, Murari Sharan, Editor, "The Lalita." *Sivasadan, Meerut.*
1901 June 5.	N.R.	Mann, Harold Hark, D.Sc., M.Sc., F.I.C. F.L.S., Director of Agriculture, Bombay Presidency. *Poona.*
1899 Aug. 30.	L.M.	Mannu Lal, Rai Bahadur, Retired Civil Surgeon. *Rai Bareli.*
1919 Oct. 10.	N.R.	Manry, Rev. J. C., M.A., Ph.D., *Ewing Christian College, Allahabad City, U.P.*
1905 Dec. 6.	F.M.	Marsden, Edmund, B.A., F.R.G.S., F.R.H.S. F.R.S.L., M.R.A.S. 12, *Ellerdale Road Hampstead, London.*
1920 Aug. 4.	R.	Martin, Oswald. 6 & 7, *Clive Street, Calcutta*
1924 Mar. 5.	R.	Martin, T. Leslie, M.A. (Cantab) 6, *Clive Street, Calcutta.*
1919 June 4.	A.	Matthai, George. *Govt. College, Lahore.*
1920 Dec. 1.	R.	Mazumdar, B. C. 33/1/*C, Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.*
1924 Mar. 5.	R.	McPherson, James, Assistant, Begg, Dunlop & Co., Ltd. 2, *Hare Street, Calcutta*

Date of Election.		
1922 Feb. 1.	R.	Megaw, Lieut.-Col. J. W. D., I.M.S., Director, Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine. 15, *Kyd Street, Calcutta.*
1923 Dec. 5.	N.R.	Meggitt, F. J., Professor of Biology, University College. *Rangoon.*
1886 Mar. 3.	L.M.	Mehta, Roostumjee Dhunjeebhoy. C.I.E., J.P., F.R.S.A. 9, *Rainey Park, Ballygunge, Calcutta.*
1884 Nov. 5.	N.R.	*Middlemiss, Charles Stewart, C.I.E., F.R.S., B.A., F.G.S., F.A.S.B. *Srinagar, Kashmir.*
1884 Sep. 3.	R.	Miles, William Henry, F.E.S. 7, *King Edward Court, Chowringhee, Calcutta.*
1912 June 5.	N.R.	Misra, Champaram, B.A., Dy. Director of Industries. *Cawnpore. U.P.*
1919 Nov. 5.	N.R.	Misra, Pramatha Nath. M.R.A.S., Pleader. *Malda.*
1911 July 5.	N.R.	Misra, Syama Behari, B.A., F.C.S., Rai Bahadur, Pandit, M.R.S.A., M.R.A.S., F.T.S., Retired Dy. Director, Land Records, U.P. *Partabgarh, Oudh.*
1924 April 2.	R.	Mitra, J. C., M.A., B.L. Accountant-General, Bengal. 1, *Abinash Mitter Lane, Calcutta.*
1906 June 6.	R.	Mitra, Kumar Manmatha Nath. 34, *Shampukur Street, Calcutta.* [*Calcutta.*
1919 April 2.	R.	Mitra, Panchanan. *Bangabasi College,*
1924 April 2.	R.	Mitsukuri, R., LL.B. (Tokio Imperial University), Manager. Asano Bussan Co., Ltd. 2 & 3, *Clive Row, Calcutta.*
1924 Mar. 5.	R.	Mitter, Sir B. C., Kt. Bar.-at-Law. 2/1, *Loudon Street, Calcutta.*
1924 Mar. 5.	R.	Mitter, B. L., M.A., B.L. Bar.-at-Law, Standing Counsel Bengal. 5, *Outrum Street, Calcutta.*
1924 Mar. 5.	R.	Mitter, Hon. Dr. Dwarkanath, M.A., D.L., Vakil, High Court. 25, *Nanda Ram Sen Street, Calcutta.*
1924 Mar. 5.	R.	Mitter, P. C., O.I.E., M.L.C., Vakil, High Court. 34/1, *Elgin Road, Calcutta.*
1916 Feb. 2.	R.	Mohammad Yusuf, Hashimi, Khan Sahib, M.A., M.R.A.S. *The Madrasah,* 21, *Wellesley Square, Calcutta.*
1920 Dec. 1.	N.R.	Mohammed Akbar Khan, The Hon'ble, Major, C.I.E., I.A. *Chief of Hoti, N.W.F.P.*
1923 May 2.	R.	Möller, H. P., Merchant. 18, *Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.*
1924 Aug. 6.	R.	Moloney, William J., General Manager of

Date of Election.		
		Reuter's for the East, c/o Reuter's. 26 7, *Dalhousie Square, Calcutta.*
1924 Nov. 5.	R.	Mookerjee, B. N., B.A. (Cantab), Engineer. 6 & 7, *Clive Street, Calcutta.*
1924 Dec. 3.	R.	Mookerjee, J. N., Civil Engineer. 6 & 7, *Clive Street, Calcutta.*
1898 May 4.	R.	Mookerjee, Sir R. N., K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O. 7, *Harington Street, Calcutta.*
1924 July 2.	R.	Mookerjee, Syama Prasad, M.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court. Fellow of the University of Calcutta. 77, *Russa Road North, Calcutta.*
1919 Feb. 5.	R.	Moreno, Henry William Bunn, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S. 13, *Wellesley Street, Calcutta.*
1924 Mar. 5.	N.R.	Morris, C. J., Captain, 2/3rd Q.A.O. Gurkha Rifles, Lansdowne, *Garhwal, U.P.*
1912 Jan. 10.	R.	Muhammad Kazim Shirazi, Aga. 23, *Lower Chitpur Road, Calcutta.*
1909 Mar. 3.	R.	Mukerjee, Brajalal, M.A., Solicitor. 12, *Old Post Office Street. Calcutta.*
1899 Sept. 29	R.	Mukerjee, Jatendra Nath, B.A., Solicitor 4, *Hastings Street, Calcutta.*
1916 Mar. 1.	R.	Mukerjee Prabhat Kumar, Bar.-at-Law. 14*A*, *Ramtanoo Bose Lane, Calcutta.*
1924 Mar. 5	R.	Mukerji, S., M.A., B.L., Vakil and Zamindar. 7, *Old Ballygunj Road, Calcutta.*
1921 Feb. 2.	A.	Mukerjee, Subodh Chandra, M.A. 97/1, *Masjid Bari Street, Calcutta.*
1919 Feb. 5.	N.R.	Mukerjee, Tarakanath. *Falka Colliery, Nirshachate P.O., Manbhum.*
1922 July 5.	N.R.	Mukerji, Radhakumud, Prof. of Indian History, University of Lucknow. *Lucknow.*
1924 Mar. 5.	R.	Mukherjee, Narendra Nath, B.A. (Cal.), Publisher. 1, *Wellington Square, Calcutta.*
1908 Feb. 5.	R.	*Mukhopadhyaya, Girindra Nath, Bhisagacharya, B.A., M.D. 156, *Haris Mukerjee Road (North), Bhowanipur, Calcutta.*
1921 Feb. 2.	R.	Mukhopadhyay, Ramaprasad, M.A., B.L. 77, *Russa Road North, Bhowanipore.*
1924 Mar. 5.	R.	Murray, Sir Alexander R., O.B.E., Merchant, Jardine Skinner & Co 4, *Clive Row, Calcutta.*
1921 June 1.	N.R.	Muzammil-ullah Khan, Mohammad, Hon. Nawab, Khan Bahadur, O.B.E., Rais. Bhikampur. *Bhikampur, Dist Aligarh, U.P.*

Date of Election.		
1906 Mar. 7.	R.	Mahar, Puran Chand, Solicitor. 48, *Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta.*
1924 May 7.	N.R.	Naib, Shri Ram, Rai Saheb, Late Diwan, Bijawar State, Banpure Gate, Tikamgarh. (*Bundelkhand.*)
1923 Mar. 7.	R.	Nandi P., M.D. (Cal.), Professor of Pharmacology, Carmichael Medical College 34 1, *Beadon Street.*
1918 Sept. 25.	N.R.	Narayan, Victor Nityendra, Maharaj Kumar of Cooch Behar. *Cooch Behar.*
1916 July 5.	R.	Naseer Hosein Khayal, Syed. 78, *Prinsep Street, Calcutta.*
1914 Feb. 4.	R.	Nawab Ali Chaudhury, The Hon. Nawab Syed. 27, *Weston Street, Calcutta.*
1901 Mar. 6.	N.R.	Nevill, Henry Rivers, I.C.S., C.I.E., O.B.E., Commissioner's House, *Jhansi, U.P.*
1924 Dec. 3	R.	Newman, Chas. F., F.R.G.S., M.C.P., Assistant Master, La Martinière College. 11, *Loudon Street, Calcutta.*
1889 Aug. 29.	L.M.	Nimmo, John Duncan. *C/o Messrs. Walter Duncan & Co., 137, West George Street, Glasgow.*
1913 July 2.	N.R.	Norton, E. L., I.C.S., District Magistrate, *Gorakhpur, U.P.*
1924 Aug. 6.	R.	Nyss, Wm. B.S., Superintendent Excise and Salt, Calcutta. *Calcutta Collectorate, Charnock Place* (or, 75, *Wellesley Street, top flat*), *Calcutta.*
1915 April 7.	A.	Otani, Count Kozui. *C/o Consulate-General of Japan, Calcutta.*
1923 June 6.	R.	Ottens, Nicholas, B.Sc., 1, *Wellesley Place, Calcutta.*
1923 Dec. 5.	N.R.	Pande, Shiva Bandhan, Retired Tahsildar and Zemindar, Ramaipatti. *Mirzapur.*
1920 Aug. 4.	N.R.	Panikker, Padmanabha, N., B.A., F.L.S., Inspector of Fisheries. *Travancore.*
1904 Aug. 3.	N.R.	Parasnis, Rao Bahadur Dattatraya Balwant. *Satara.*
1919 Nov. 5.	R.	*Pascoe, Edwin Hall, M.A., Sc.D. (Cantab.), D.Sc. (Lond.), F.G.S., F.A.S.B., Director, Geological Survey of India. 27, *Chowringhee, Calcutta.*
1888 June 6.	L.M.	Pennell, Aubray Percival, B.A., Bar.-at-Law. *Rangoon.*
1889 Nov. 6.	L.M.	*Phillott, Lieut.-Col. Douglas Craven, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., M.R.A.S., Indian

Date of Election.		
		Army (Retired). *Felsted, Essex, England.*
1904 June 1.	R.	Pilgrim, Guy E., D.Sc., F.G.S. *Geological Survey of India, Calcutta.*
1920 April 7.	N.R.	Pradhan, Hariprasad. *Pradhan Cottage, Darjeeling.*
1918 April 3.	R.	Prashad, Baini, D.Sc., F.Z.S., Zoological Survey of India. *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*
1924 Aug. 6.	R.	Purohit, K.J., F.S.A.S., Incorporated Accountant and Auditor (London), Lindlie Chambers 6, *Hastings Street, Calcutta.*
1924 Dec. 3.	R.	Pushong, Dr. E. S., M.D., L.S.A., Medical Practitioner. 1, *Wood Street, Calcutta.*
1914 Mar. 4.	A.	Raffin, Alain. *Europe.*
1924 April 2.	R.	Raha, Rai Bahadur, S. K., Deputy Commissioner of Excise and Salt. 5, *Lowlock Place, Ballygunj, Calcutta.*
1880 April 7.	N.R.	Rai, Bepin Chandra. *Giridih, Chota Nagpur.*
1895 Aug. 20.	N.R.	Rai-Chaudhuri, Jatindranath, M.A., B.L., Zemindar. *Paki, Jessore.*
1920 May 7.	N.R.	Ram, Kamakhya Dat, Member, Benares Hindu University Court. *Rai Sri Ram's House, Golaganj, Lucknow.*
1922 Feb. 1.	A.	Raman, Chandrasekhara Venkata, M.A., D.Sc. (Hon.), F.R.S. 210, *Bowbazar Street, Calcutta.*
1917 June 6.	N.R.	Rangaswami Aiyangar, K. V., Rao Bahadur, Prof. of History and Economics, H.H. The Maharaja's College. *Trivandrum.*
1905 Jan. 4.	N.R.	Rankin, James Thomas, I.C.S., Commissioner. *Dacca.*
1921 Dec. 2.	A.	Ranking, Colonel Geo. S., C.M.G. *United Service Club, Calcutta.*
1924 Dec. 3.	R.	Rao, H. Srinivasa, Assistant Superintendent, Zoological Survey of India, Indian Museum. *Calcutta.*
1924 July 2.	N.R.	Ray, Abinash Chandra, B.A. *Cooch Behar.*
1924 July 2.	R.	Ray, Bhabendra Chandra, Zemindar, Member, Indian L. Assembly. 6, *Short Street, Calcutta.*
1921 Jan. 5.	N.R.	Ray, Maharaja Jagadisnath, Maharaja of Dinajpore. *Dinajpore.*
1924 April 2.	R.	Ray, Raja Janaki Nath, Zemindar and Banker. 102, *Sovabazar Street, Calcutta*

Date of Election.		
1890 Mar. 5.	R.	*Ray, Sir Prafulla Chandra, Kt., D.Sc., F.A.S.B. *University College of Science, Calcutta.*
1919 Feb. 5.	R.	Ray, Sasadhar. 17, *Balaram Bose Ghat Road, Bhowanipur, Calcutta.*
1924 July 2.	N.R.	Ray, Suresh Chandra. Prof. Faculty College, F.Z.S., F.L.S., F.C.S., F.R.H.S., L.C.H.C., H.M.D., D.H.Sc., M.P.F. (Lond.). M.R.A.S., F.E.S., F.R.M.S., Gold-Medalist, Medical Practitioner, Brahmangram, Jaigirhat P.O. *Rangpur.*
1924 Mar. 5.	R.	Ray-Chowdhury, M. N., M.R.A.S., F.R.A.S., F.R.C.S., Raja of Santosh. 1, *Alipur Park Road, East, Calcutta.*
1920 Mar. 3.	R.	Rave, Narendra Nath. Principal, Ripon College, *Calcutta.*
1924 April 2.	F.M.	Richards, F. J. Indian Civil Service. 6, *Lexham Gardens, London W.8*
1918 April 3.	F.M.	Robinson, Herbert C., Director of Museums and Fisheries, Federated Malay States. *Kuala Lumpur.*
1900 April 4.	A.	*Rogers, Lieut.-Col Sir Leonard, Kt., C.I.E., M.D., B.S., F.R.C.P., F.R.C.S., F.A.S.B., F.R.S., I.M.S. *Europe (c/o Medical College, Calcutta).*
1924 Dec. 3.	N.R.	Rogers, T. E., Tea Planter, (Hunwat Tea Co.), *Mariani Tea Estate, Mariani, Assam* [*England.*
1920 Mar. 3.	A.	Ronaldshay, The Right Hon. the Earl of,
1924 May 7.	F.M.	Rose, G. F. Merchant, Director, Andrew Yule & Co., Ltd., Tullich Lodge, Ballater. *Aberdeenshire.*
1901 Dec. 4.	F.M.	*Ross, Sir Edward Denison, Kt., C.I.E., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., Director, School of Oriental Studies. *London.*
1918 July 3.	R.	Roy, Dr. Bidhan Chandra. B.A. (Cal.), M.D., F.R.C.S., M.R.C.P. (Lond.). 36, *Wellington Street, Calcutta.*
1921 Sept. 7.	R.	Roy, Hem Chandra. 76/1*A*, *Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.*
1903 July 1.	L.M.	Roy, Maharaja Jagadindranath, Bahadur. 6, *Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.*
1915 Oct. 27.	R.	Roy, Kaviraj Jamini Bhusan, Kaviratna, M.A., M.R. 46, *Beadon Street, Calcutta.*
1924 Dec. 3.	R.	Roy, P. L., Barrister-at-Law. 10, *Store Road, Calcutta.*
1920 July 7.	R.	Roy-Chaudhuri, Hem Chandra, M.A., Ph.D. 43.2. *Amherst Street, Calcutta.*

Date of Election.		
1924 Nov. 5	R.	Roy Choudhuri, Hiran Kumar, Researcher in History. 1-2, *Nursing Lane, Calcutta.*
1924 Aug. 6.	R.	Roy-Chowdhury, Brajendra Kishore, Zemindar, Mymensingh. 53, *Sukea Street, Calcutta.*
1915 May 5.	N.R	Rushbrook-Williams, L. F., M.A., B.Litt. (Oxon); C.B.E., M.R.A.S., F.R.Hist.S. *Home Department, Government of India, India.*
1916 April 5.	N.R	Saha, Radhika Nath, M.R.A.S., Medical Practitioner. 16, *Lachmikundu, Benares City, U.P.*
1924 Nov. 5.	N.R.	Sahni, B., Professor of Botany at the *University of Lucknow.*
1924 Dec. 3.	R.	Sarkar, Mr. C. K., C.E., Engineer and Architect. 10, *Hastings Street, Calcutta.*
1922 Nov. 1.	N.R.	Sarkar, Suresh Chandra, Dy. Magistrate and Dy. Collector, B. & O. *Barganda Giridih.*
1909 Mar. 3.	R.	Sarvadhikary, Sir Deva Prasad, Kt., C.I.E., M.A., B.L., F.C.U., LL.D. (Aberdeen), LL.D. (St. Andrews), Suriratna, Vidyaratnakar, Jnanasindhu. 20, *Suri Lane, Intally P.O., Calcutta.*
1919 April 2.	R.	Sen, A. C., 80, *Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.*
1923 Dec. 5.	N.R.	Sen, H. H. Lakshman, Raja of Suket, Suket Estate. *Punjab.*
1902 May 7.	R.	Sen, Jogindranath, Vaidyaratna, M.A., Vidyabhusan. 32, *Prasanna Kumar Tagore Street, Calcutta.*
1914 April 1.	N.R.	Sen-Gupta, Dr. Nares Chandra, M.A., D.L. *Ramna P.O., Dacca.*
1897 Dec. 1.	R.	Seth, Mesrovb Jacob, M.R.A.S., M.S.A., F.R.S.A., Examiner in Classical Armenian to the Calcutta University. 19, *Lindsay Street, Calcutta.*
1911 July 5.	N.R.	*Sewell, Robert Beresford Seymour, Major, I.M.S., M.A., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., F.Z.S., F.L.S. *C/o Indian Museum, Calcutta.*
1923 Feb. 7.	R.	Shanks, Capt. George, B.A., M.D.C.M., I.M.S., Prof. of Pathology, Medical College. *Calcutta.*
1923 Dec. 5.	R.	Shastri, Ashutosh, Principal, Sanskrit College. *Calcutta.*
1885 Feb. 4.	L.M.	*Shastri, Haraprasad. Mahamaho-

Date of Election.		
		padhyaya, C.I.E., M.A., F.A.S.B., Hon. Member, R.A.S. 26, *Pataldanga Street, Calcutta.*
1923 May 2.	N.R.	Shebbeare E. O., Deputy Conservator of Forests. *C/o Office of Conservator of Forests, Darjeeling.*
1923 Dec. 5.	N.R.	Sheth, Gunvantray Chunilal, N.D., etc., Agricultural and Medical. *Sheth falia, Post Bulsar, Dist. Surat, Bombay Presy.*
1924 Dec. 3.	R.	Shipway, F. W., Manager, Butterworth & Co. (Calcutta). 345/6/7, *Grand Hotel, Calcutta.*
1909 Jan. 6.	N.R.	Shirreff, Alexander Grierson, B.A., I.C.S. *Sitapur, U.P.*
1913 Dec. 3.	R.	Shorten, Captain James Alfred, B.A., M.B., B.Ch., I.M.S. *Medical College, Calcutta.*
1908 Mar. 4.	R.	Shujaat Ali, Nasirul Mamalik Mirza Khan Bahadur, Acting Consul-General for Persia. 10, *Hungerford Street, Calcutta.*
1916 Aug. 2.	N.R.	Shukla, Ashwani Kumar, B.A., LL.B., Council Member, Mewar State. *Udaipur.*
1902 Feb. 5.	N.R.	Shyam Lal, Lala, M.A., LL.B., M.R.A.S., M.A.S.B., Dy. Collector and Ilakadar (Retd.). *Nawabgunj, Cawnpore, U.P.*
1924 Dec. 3.	N.R.	Siddiqi, A., M.A. (Allahabad), Ph.D. (Göttingen), Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Dacca University. *Ramna, Dacca, Bengal.*
1913 Mar. 5.	L.M.	*Simonsen, John Lionel, D.Sc., F.I.C., F.A.S.B. *Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.*
1918 Feb. 6.	N.R.	Singh, Badakaji Murichi Man, 38, *Khichapokhari, Katmandu, Nepal.*
1894 July 4.	N.R.	Singh, Raja Kushal Pal, M.A. *Nurpur.*
1899 Aug. 29.	N.R.	Singh, H.H. The Maharaja Sir Prabhu Narain Bahadur, G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I., Maharaja of Benares. *Ramnagar Fort, Benares.*
1909 April 7.	N.R.	Singh, Prithwipal, Raja, F.R.G.S., F.R.S.A., F.T.S., Talukdar of Surajpur. *Chandrahas Palace, Hathumnda P.O., Dist. Barabanki, Oudh.*
1899 Nov. 6.	L.M.	Singh, H.H. The Hon'ble Maharajadhiraja Sir Rameshwar, G.C.I.E., K.B.E., D.Litt., F.R.A.S., F.P.U. *Darbhanga.*
1919 Nov. 5.	N.R.	Singh, Shyam Narayan, M.B.E., M.L.A., Rai Bahadur, Bihar and Orissa Civil Service. *Patna, E.I.R.*

Date of Election.		
1894 Feb. 7.	N.R.	Singh, H.H. The Maharaja Vishwa Nath Bahadur. *Chhatturpur, Bundelkhund.*
1918 Feb. 6	R.	Singha, Kumar Arun Chandra, M.A. 120/3, *Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.*
1912 May 1.	N.R.	Singha, Rai Lalit Mohan, Rai Bahadur M.L.C., M.R.A.S. *Zemindar of Chakdighi, Dist. Burdwan.*
1924 Mar. 5.	R.	Sinha, Hon'ble Aroon, B.A., Bar-at-Law. 8, *Little Russell Street, Calcutta.*
1918 April 3.	N.R.	Sinha, Raja Bahadur Bhupendra Narayan, B.A. *Nasipur Rajbati, Nasipur P.O.*
1922 Feb. 1.	R.	Sinha, Kumar Gangananda, M.A., Zemindar. 7, *Dedarbaksh Lane, Calcutta.*
1921 Feb. 2.	N.R.	Sinha, Gopinath, B.A., M.R.A.S. (Lond.), Zemindar and Rais. *Mohalla, Qanungu, Bareilly, U.P.*
1913 July 2.	N.R.	Sinha, Rudra Datta, M.A., LL.B., M.R.A.S. *Nazirabad Road, Lucknow.*
1912 Sept. 5.	N.R.	Singhi, Bahadur Singh. *Azimgunj, Murshidabad.*
1916 July 5.	R.	Sircar, Ganapati, Vidyaratna. 69, *Beliaghatta Main Road, Calcutta.*
1924 Mar. 5.	R.	Sircar, N. N., M.A., B.L., Bar-at-Law. 36/1, *Elgin Road, Calcutta.*
1924 Mar. 5.	R.	Sircar, Sir Nil Ratan, Kt., M.A., M.D., Physician 7, *Short Street, Calcutta.*
1913 July 2.	N.R.	Siva Prasada, B.A., M.R.A.S., U.P.C.S. (Retired). *Civil Lines, Fyzabad, Oudh.*
1920 June 2.	R.	Skinner, S. A., Engineer and Director. Messrs. Jessop & Co., Ltd. 93, *Clive Street, Calcutta.*
1901 Dec. 4.	N.R.	Spooner, David Brainerd, O.B.E., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., Dy. Director-General, Archæology. *Benmore, Simla E.*
1923 Mar. 7.	N.R.	Stamp, L. Dudley, B.A., D.Sc., Geologist. *C/o Postmaster, Rangoon (Killiecrankie, Sidcup, Kent, England).*
1904 Sept. 28.	R.	Stapleton, Henry Ernest, M.A., B.Sc. *Ramna, Dacca.*
1908 Dec. 2.	N.R.	Steen, Major Hugh Barkley, M.B., I.M.S. 1, *Upper Wood Street, Calcutta.*
1922 Feb. 1.	R.	Stewart, Major A. D., I.M.S., Director, Public Health Laboratories, School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene. *Calcutta.*
1923 Aug. 1.	N.R.	Stow, Alexander Montagu, M.A. (Cantab), C.B.E., I.C.S., Punjab Commission, Settlement Commissioner. *Kashmir.*

Date of Election.		
1922 Sept. 6	A.	Strickland, Lieut.-Col. C. A., I.M.S., Prof. of Medical Entomology, School of Tropical Medicine. *Calcutta.*
1922 Nov. 1.	R.	Strickland-Anderson, Mrs., Composer and Author. *Suite* 143, *The Grand Hotel, Calcutta.*
1921 Mar. 2.	A.	Sturrock, Lieut.-Col. G. C., I.M.S. 14, *Park Mansions, Calcutta.*
1907 June 5.	R.	*Suhrawardy, Abdullah Al-Ma'mun, Iftikharul Millat M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., F.A.S.B., Barrister-at-Law. 56, *Mirzapur Street, Calcutta.*
1920 Jan. 7.	N.R.	Suhrawardy, Hassan Major, M.D., F.R.C.S., L.T.F.M.C. *Gaya, E.I. Ry.*
1920 Mar. 3.	N.R.	Sundara Raj, Bunguru, M.A., Ph.D., Director of Fisheries. *Madras.*
1909 Jan. 6.	R.	Tagore, Kshitindranath, B.A., Tatwanidhi B.L., *Baranashi Ghose 2nd Lane, Jorasanko, Calcutta.*
1898 April 6.	R.	Tagore, The Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Pradyot Coomar, Bahadur, Kt. *Pathuriaghatta, Calcutta.*
1904 July 6.	F.M.	Talbot, Walter Stanley, I.C.S. *C/o Messrs. H. S. King & Co. 9, Pall Mall, London, S.W.*
1893 Aug. 31.	L.M.	Tate, George Passman. 56, *Cantonment, Bareilly, U.P.*
1906 Dec. 6.	N.R.	Tek Chand, The Hon. Dewan, O.B.E., I.C.S., B.A., M.R.A.S., Barrister-at-Law, Commissioner, Ambala Divn. *Ambala Cantt., Punjab.*
1878 June 5.	F.	Temple, Colonel Sir Richard Carnac, Bart, C.I.E., Indian Army. 9, *Pall Mall, London.*
1909 Aug. 4.	N.R.	Thompson, John Perronet, M.A., I.C.S., Chief Secretary, Govt. of the Punjab. *Lahore.*
1904 June 1.	R.	*Tipper, George Howlett, M.A., F.G.S., M.I.M.M., F.A.S.B. *C/o Geological Survey of India, Calcutta.*
1861 June 5.	L.M.	Tremlett, James Dyer, M.A., I.C.S. (Retired). *Dedham, Essex, England.*
1917 Dec. 5.	A.	Tripathi, Ramprasad, Reader in Modern Indian History. *The University, Allahabad.*
1924 Nov. 5.	R.	Vaile, Maurice Arthur Stuart, Exchange

Date of Election.		
		Broker, Thomas Seth Apear & Co 8, *Clive Street, Calcutta.*
1901 Mar. 6.	F.M.	*Vogel, Jean Philippe, Litt.D., F.A.S.B. *The University, Leiden, Holland.*
1894 Sept. 27.	L.M.	Vost, Lieut.-Col. William, I.M.S. 26, *Crystal Palace Part Road, Sydenham, London, S.E.* 26.
1918 April 3.	N.R.	*Wall, Frank, Colonel, C.M.G., C.M.Z.S., F.L.S., H.C.Z.S., India. *C/o Messrs. H. S. King & Co. 9, Pall Mall, London.*
1909 Dec. 1.	N.R.	Webster, J. E., I.C.S. *Sylhet, Assam.*
1906 Sept. 19.	N.R.	Whitehead, Richard Bertram, I.C.S. *Rupar, Umbala, Punjab.*
1915 Jan. 6.	N.R	Whitehouse, Richard H., D.Sc., I.E.S *Central Training College, Lahore.*
1919 May 7.	A	Wills, Cecil Upton, B.A., I.C.S. *Nagpur.*
1906 Mar. 7.	N.R.	Woolner, Alfred Cooper, M.A. *Panjab University, Lahore.*
1908 April 1.	R.	Wordsworth, William Christopher. *Presidency College, Calcutta.*
1894 Aug. 30	N.R	Wright, Henry Nelson, I.C.S District Judge, *Bareilly.*
1919 Feb. 5.	N.R.	Yazdani, Ghulam, M.A. *Hyderabad, Deccan.*
1906 June 6.	N.R.	Young, Mansel Charles Gambier. *Khagaul P.O., Dinapore, E.I.R.*
1919 July 2.	N.R.	Zafar Hasan. *Archæological Survey of India, Delhi.*

SPECIAL HONORARY CENTENARY MEMBERS.

Date of Election.	
1884 Jan. 15.	Revd. Professor A. H. Sayce, Professor of Assyriology, Queen's College. *Oxford, England.*
1884 Jan. 15.	Monsieur Émile Senart. 18, *Rue François Ier, Paris, France.*

HONORARY FELLOWS.

Date of Election.	
1896 Feb. 5.	Professor Charles Rockwell Lanman. 9, *Farrar Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S. America.*
1899 Dec. 6.	Sir Edwin Ray Lankester, K.C.B., M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. *British Museum (Nat. Hist.), Cromwell Road, London, S.W.*
1904 Mar. 2.	Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., K.C.I.E. *Sangamashrama, Poona.*
1904 Mar. 2.	Sir George Abraham Grierson, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., LL.D. F.R.A., I.C.S. (Retired.) *Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England.*
1906 Mar. 7.	The Most Hon'ble Marquess Curzon of Keddleston, K.G., M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S. 1, *Carlton House Terrace, London, S.W.*
1911 Sept. 6.	Alfred William Alcock, C.I.E., M.B., I.L.D., F.R.S. *Heathlands, Belvedere, Kent.*
1911 Sept. 6.	Edward Granville Browne, M.A., M.B. (Cambridge), F.R.C.P., M.R.C.S. (London), F.R.A. *Pembrooke College, Cambridge.*
1911 Sept. 6.	Mahamahopadhyaya Kamakhyanath Tarkavagisa. 111 4. *Shambazar Street, Calcutta.*
1915 Aug. 4.	Prof. Sir Paul Vinogradoff. F.B.A., D.C.L. 19, *Linton Road, Oxford, England.*
1915 Aug. 4.	Sir Joseph John Thomson, Kt., O.M., M.A., Sc.D., D.Sc., LL.D., Ph.D. *Trinity College, Cambridge, England.*
1916 Dec. 6.	Dr. G. A. Boulenger. F.R.S., LL.D., British Museum (Nat. Hist.). *Cromwell Road, London, S.W.*
1917 May 2.	Herbert Allen Giles, Professor. 10, *Selwyn Gardens, Cambridge, England.*
1920 Feb. 4.	Sir Charles Eliot, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.A., LL.D., D.C.L. *H.M. Ambassador at Tokyo.*
1920 Feb. 4.	Prof. Sylvain Lévi. *Collège de France, Paris.*
1920 Feb. 4.	Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc., D.O.L., F.B.A. *Srinagar, Kashmir.*
1920 Feb. 4.	Prof. A. Foucher, D.Litt. *University of Paris.*
1920 Feb. 4	Sir Arthur Keith, M.D., F.R.C.S., LL.D., F.R.S. Royal College of Surgeons of England. *Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C. 2.*
1920 Feb. 4.	R. D. Oldham Esq., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.R.G.S. 1, *Broomfield Road, Kew, Surrey, England.*
1920 Feb. 4.	Sir David Prain, Kt., C.M.G., C.I.E., M.A., M.B. LL.D., F.R.S.E., F.L.S., F.R.S., F.Z.S., M.R.I.A *Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, Surrey, Eng*

Date of Election.	
1920 Feb. 4.	Sir Joseph Larmor, Kt., M.P., M.A., D.Sc., LL.D. D.C.L., F.R.S., F.R.A.S. *Cambridge.*
1920 Feb. 4.	Sir James Frazer, Kt., D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D 1, *Brick Court, Temple, London, E.C. 4.*
1920 Feb. 4.	Prof. J. Takakusu. *Imperial University of Tokyo, Japan.*
1921 Mar. 2.	F. W. Thomas, M.A., Hon. Ph.D., Librarian, Indian Office, Whitehall, London, S.W.1.
1922 June 7.	Prof. W. H. Perkin, Ph.D., Sc.D., LL.D., F.R.S.
1922 June 7.	Sir Thomas Holland, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., D.Sc., F.R.S., Rector, Imperial College of Science.
1922 June 7.	Sir Leonard Rogers, Kt., C.I.E., M.D., B.S., F.R.C.P., F.R.S., I.M.S.
1922 Nov. 1.	Prof. A. C. Macdonell, M.A., Ph.D., Oxford.

FELLOWS.

Date of Election.	
1910 Feb. 2.	I. H. Burkill, Esq., M.A., F.L.S.
1910 Feb. 2.	Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, C.I.E., M.A.
1910 Feb. 2.	Sir Thomas H. Holland, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S.
1910 Feb. 2.	T. H. D. La Touche, Esq., B.A., F.G.S.
1910 Feb. 2.	Lieut.-Col. D. C. Phillott, Ph.D., Indian Army (Retired).
1910 Feb. 2.	Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray, Kt., D.Sc.
1910 Feb. 2.	Lieut.-Col. Sir Leonard Rogers, Kt., C.I.E., M.D., B.S., F.R.C.P., F.R.C.S., F.R.S., I.M.S.
1910 Feb. 2.	Sir E. D. Ross, Kt., C.I.E., Ph.D.
1910 Feb. 2.	M. W. Travers, Esq., D.Sc., F.R.S.
1912 Feb. 7.	H. Beveridge, Esq., I.C.S. (Retired).
1912 Feb. 7.	Sir J. C. Bose, Kt., C.S.I., C.I.E., M.A., D.Sc.
1912 Feb. 7.	P. J. Brühl, Esq., Ph.D., F.C.S.
1912 Feb. 7.	Col. S. R. Christophers, I.M.S.
1912 Feb. 7.	Charles Stewart Middlemiss, Esq., B.A., F.G.S.
1913 Feb. 5.	J. Ph. Vogel, Esq., Ph.D., Litt.D.
1913 Feb. 5.	Dr. S. W. Kemp, B.A.
1915 Feb. 3.	Col. E. D. W. Greig, C.I.E., M.B., I.M.S.
1915 Feb. 3.	G. H. Tipper, Esq., M.A., F.G.S.
1915 Feb. 3.	D. B. Spooner, Esq., Ph.D.
1915 Feb. 3.	H. H. Haines, Esq., F.C.H., F.L.S.
1916 Feb. 2.	R. Burn, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.
1916 Feb. 2.	L. L. Fermor, Esq., A.R.S.M., D.Sc., F.G.S.
1917 Feb. 7.	F. H. Gravely, Esq., D.Sc.

Date of Election.	
1918 Feb. 6.	J. L. Simonsen, Esq., Ph.D.
1918 Feb. 6.	Lieut.-Col. D. McCay, M.D., I.M.S.
1918 Feb. 6.	Abdullah Al-Mámun Suhrawardy, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.
1919 Feb. 5.	J. Coggin Brown, Esq., O.B.E., M.I.M.E., F.G.S.
1919 Feb. 5.	W. A. K. Christie, Esq., B.Sc., Ph.D.
1919 Feb. 5.	D. R. Bhandarkar Esq., M.A.
1919 Feb. 5.	Major R. B. Seymour Sewell, I.M.S.
1921 Feb. 2.	Lieut.-Col. F. Wall, C.M.G., I.M.S.
1921 Feb. 2.	U. N. Brahmachari, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., M.D.
1921 Feb. 2.	B. L. Chaudhuri, Esq., B.A., D.Sc., F.L.S., F.R.S.E.
1922 Feb. 1.	E. H. Pascoe, Esq., M.A., D.Sc., F.G.S.
1922 Feb. 1.	Ramaprasad Chanda, Esq., B.A.
1923 Feb. 7.	S. Khuda Baksh, Esq., M.A., B.C.L.
1923 Feb. 7.	Dr. G. N. Mukherjee. B.A., M.D.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

Date of Election.	
1885 Dec. 2.	*Dr. A. Führer, Prof. of Sanskrit. 5, *Dorenbach-strasse, Binningen, Basel, Switzerland.*
1902 June 4.	*Revd. A. H. Francke. *Europe.*
1908 July 1.	*Rai Sahib Dinesh Chandra Sen, B.A. 19, *Viswakos Lane, Calcutta.*
1910 Sept. 7.	*L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, Rao Bahadur, B.A., L.T., F.R.A.I., University Lecturer in Anthropology, Calcutta University. *Calcutta.*
1910 Dec. 7.	*Revd. Fr. H. Hosten, S.J. *St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling.*
1915 Mar. 3.	*E. Brunetti, Esq. 27, *Chowringhee Road, Calcutta.*
1919 Sept. 3.	*H. Bruce Hannah, Esq. *Bengal Club, Calcutta.*
1921 Jan. 5.	Professor Shaday Ram Bose, M.D., Ph.D., F.L.S., Prof. of Botany, Carmichael Medical College. *Belgachia, Calcutta.*
1922 Feb. 1.	Pierre Johanns, B.Litt. (Oxon), Prof. of Philosophy, St. Xavier's College. *Calcutta.*
1922 Feb. 1.	Vedantabisharad Anantakrishna Sastri. 57/1, *Sreegopal Mallick Lane, Calcutta.*
1924 Feb. 6.	W. Ivanow, c/o Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1 *Park Street, Calcutta.*
1924 Feb. 6.	Pandit Kamala Krishna Surititirtha, *Bhatpara, 24-Parganas.*

* Re-elected for a further period of five years on 5-3-1924 under

LIST OF MEMBERS WHO HAVE BEEN ABSENT FROM INDIA THREE YEARS AND UPWARDS.*

* *Rule* 40.—After the lapse of three years from the date of a member leaving India, if no intimation of his wishes shall, in the interval, have been received by the Society, his name shall be removed from the List of Members.

The following member will be removed from the next Member List of the Society under the operation of the above rule :—

V. J. Esch. (1911.)

LOSS OF MEMBERS DURING 1924.

By Retirement.

Ordinary Members.

Pramathanath Banerjee. (1919.)
D. L. Drake Brockman. (1909.)
C. A. Gourlay. (1920.)
Rev. S. Wan Hui. (1918.)
H. M. Leake. (1902.)
P. S. MacMohan. (1913.)
Panchanan Mukhopadhyaya. (1892.)
W. H. Rethmeier. (1923.)
Debi Prasad Saksena. (1919.)
W. S. Street. (1916.)
Alexander W. Weddell. (1924.)

By Death.

Ordinary Members.

T. O. D. Dunn. (1917.)
Hon. B. N. Basu. (1924.)
Raja Bahadur Ban Behari Kapur. (1891.)
F. A. Larmour. (1919.)
F. G. Monoham. (1895.)

Honorary Fellows.

Dr. Jules Jansse.. (1879.)

Ordinary Fellows.

Dr. N. Annandale. (1904–1910.)
Sir Asutosh Mukherjee. (1886–1919.)

Associate Members.

Khan Bdr. Ahmed Abdul Aziz. (1910.)

Rule 40.

H. G. Carter. (1915.)
H. P. Martin. (1920.)
C. F. H. Tacchella. (1919.)
B. A. White. (1913.)

ELLIOTT GOLD MEDAL AND CASH.

RECIPIENTS.

1893 Chandra Kanta Basu.
1895 Yati Bhusana Bhaduri, M.A.
1896 Jnan Saran Chakravarti, M.A.
1897 Sarasi Lal Sarkar, M.A.
1901 Sarasi Lal Sarkar, M.A.
1904 Sarasi Lal Sarkar, M.A. / Surendra Nath Maitra, M.A.
1907 Akshoyakumar Mazumdar
1911 Jitendra Nath Rakshit / Jatindra Mohan Datta.
1913 Rasik Lal Datta. / Saradakanta Ganguly. / Nagendra Chandra Nag. / Nilratan Dhar.
1918 Bibhutibhushan Dutta, M.Sc.
1919 Dr. Jnanendra Chandra Ghosh.
1922 Abani Bhusan Datta, M.A., Ph.D
1923 Bhailal M. Amin, B.A.

BARCLAY MEMORIAL MEDAL.

RECIPIENTS.

1901 E. Ernest Green, Esq.
1903 Major Ronald Ross, F.R.C.S., C.B., C.I.E., F.R I.M.S. (Retired).
1905 Lieut.-Col. D. D. Cunningham, F.R.S., C.I I.M.S. (Retired).
1907 Lieut.-Col. Alfred William Alcock, M.B., LL C.I.E., F.R.S.
1909 Lieut.-Col. David Prain, M.A., M.B., LL.D., F.R I.M.S. (Retired).

1911 Dr. Karl Diener.
1913 Major William Glen Liston, M.D., C.I.E., I.M.S.
1915 J. S. Gamble, Esq., C.I.E., M.A., F.R.S.
1917 Lieut.-Col. Henry Haversham Godwin-Austen, F.R.S., F.Z.S., F.R.G.S.
1919 N. Annandale, Esq., D.Sc., C.M.Z.S., F.L.S., F.A.S.B.
1921 Lieut.-Col. Sir Leonard Rogers, F.R.S., C.I.E., F.R.C.S., M.D., B.Sc., F.R.C.P., I.M.S. (Retired).
1923 Lieut.-Col. S. R. Christophers, M.B., C.I.E., O.B.E., I.M.S.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

(*Chronological.*)

1861.
June 5. Tremlett, J. Dyer.
1870.
Feb. 2. Baden-Powell, Baden H.
April 7. Lyman, B. Smith.
1873.
Jan. 2. Houstoun, G. L.
1876.
Nov. 15. Beveridge, H.
1878.
June 5. Temple, Sir Carnac.
1880.
April 7. Rai, B. C.
1882.
Mar. 1. Kennedy, P.
1884.
Sept. 3. Miles, W. H.
Nov. 5. Middlemiss, C. S.
1885.
Feb. 4. Shástri, Haraprasad.
1886.
Mar. 3. Mehta, R. D.
1887.
May 4. Lanman, C. R.
Aug. 25. Criper, W. R.
1888.
June 6. Pennell, A. P.
1889.
Mar. 6. La Touche, T. H. D.
Aug. 29. Nimmo, J. D.
Nov. 6. Phillott, D. C.
1890.
Mar. 5. Ray, Sir Prafulla C.
1891.
July 1. Holland, Sir Thomas H.
1892.
Jan. 6. Haig, T. Wolseley.
Jan. 11. Maclagan, Sir Edward D.
,, ,, Madho Rao Scindia, H.H. Maharajah.
Feb. 1. Bodding, P. O.
Aug. 31. Tate, G. Passman.
Sept. 28. Chaudhuri, B. L.
1894.
Feb. 7. Singh, H.H. The Maharaja Vishwa Nath, Bahadur.
July 4. Singh, Raja Kushal Pal.
Aug. 30. Wright, H. N.
Sept. 27. Abdul Wali.
,, ,, Vasu, N. N.
,, ,, Vost, W.
1895.
Mar. 6. Bose, Sir Jagadis C.
July 3. Beatson-Bell, Sir Nicholas D.
Aug. 20. Rai Chaudhuri, J.
Sept. 19. De, K. C.
1896.
Jan. 8. Burn, R.
1897.
Dec. 1. Soth, M. J.
1898
Jan. 5. Dods, W. K.
Feb. 2. Bose, A. L.
Mar. 2. Barnes, H. C.
April 6. Tagore, Maharaja Sir Prodyat C.
May 4. Mukherjee, Sir R. N.
1899.
Aug. 29. Singh, H.H. the Maharaja Sir Prabhu Narain.
,, 30. Mannu Lal
Sept. 29. Mukerjee, J. N.
Nov. 6. Singh, H.H. The Hon. Maharaja Sir Rameshwara.
1900.
April 4. Rogers, Sir Leonard.
May 2. Butcher, F.
Dec. 5. Grieve, J. W. A.
1901.
Mar. 6. Habibur, R. K.
,, ,, Nevill, H. R.
,, ,, Vogel, J. P.
June 5. Burkill, I. H.
,, ,, Mann, H. H.
Dec. 4. Ross, Sir Edward D.
,, ,, Spooner, D. B.
1902.
Feb. 5. Shyam Lal.
May 7. Sen, J. N.
July 2. Doxey, F.
1903.
July 1. Roy, Maharaja J.
1904.
June 1. Pilgrim, G. E.
,, ,, Tipper, G. H.
July 6. Aulad Hasan.
,, ,, Talbot, W. S.

	Aug.	3.	Fermor, L. L.
	,,	,,	Parasnis, D. B.
	,,	,,	Stapleton, H. E.
	1905.		
	Jan.	4.	Rankin, J. T.
70	Mar.	1.	Banerji, M.
	May	3.	Graves, H. G.
	July	5.	Ghosh, A. C.
	Aug.	2.	McCay, D.
	Dec.	6.	Marsden, E.
	1906.		
75	Jan.	3.	Chapman, J. A.
	Mar.	7.	Nahar, P. C.
	,,	,,	Woolner, A. C.
	June	6.	Mitra, K. M. N.
	,,	,,	Young, M. C. G.
80	Sept.	19.	Whitehead, R. B.
	Oct.	31.	Finlow, R. S.
	,,	,,	Luard, C. E.
	Dec.	5.	Dontith, A. W.
	,,	,,	Mahalanobis, S. C.
85	,,	,,	Tek Chand.
	1907.		
	Jan.	2.	Banerji, R. D.
	June	5.	Suhrawardy, A.
	July	3.	Brown, J. C.
	,,	,,	Christie, W. A. K.
90	,,	,,	Cottor, C. de Purceli.
	Aug.	7.	Haines, H. H.
	1908.		
	Jan.	1.	Brahmachari, U. N.
	Feb.	5.	Mukhopadhyaya, G. N.
	Mar.	4.	Shujaat Ali, N. M. M.
95	April	1.	Harrison, E. P.
	,,	,,	Wordsworth, W. C.
	June	3.	Jones, H. C.
	Nov.	4.	Bhattacharji, B.
	Dec.	2.	Steen, H. B.
	1909.		
100	Jan.	6.	Shirrefi, A. G.
	,,	,,	Tagore, E.
	Mar.	3.	Abdul Latif.
	,,	,,	Chakravarti, N.
	,,	,,	Mukerjee, B.
105	,,	,,	Sarvadhikari, Sir Deva Prasad.
	April	7.	Bentley, C. A.
	,,	,,	Kilner, J. N.
	,,	,,	Singh, Raja P.
	July	7.	Bazuz, R. K.
110	,,	,,	Bhattacharji, S. N.
	Aug.	4.	Thompson, J. P.
	Oct.	6.	Brown, P.
	,,	,,	Brühl, P.
	,,	7.	Ganguli, O. K.
115	Nov.	3.	Christophers, S. R.
	Dec.	1.	Webster, J. E.
	1910.		
	Mar.	2.	Greig, E. D. W.
	Mar.	2.	Kirkpatrick, W.
	May	4.	Dhavle, S. B.
	,,	,,	Kemp, S. W. 120
	July	6.	Betham, A. W.
	Aug.	3.	Jain, Podamraj.
	Sept.	7.	Gravely, F. H.
	1911.		
	Feb.	1.	Inach, J.
	,,	,,	Law, N. N. 125
	Mar.	1.	Mahatap, Sir Bijoy Chand.
	April	5.	Hiralal.
	May	3.	Atkinson, A. C.
	,,	,,	Lomax, C. E.
	June	7.	Chatterjee, K. K. 130
	,,	,,	Hidayat Hussain, Muhammad.
	July	5.	Misra, S. B.
	,,	,,	Sewell, R. B. S.
	Nov.	1.	Esch, V. J.
	,,	,,	Kamaluddin, A. 135
	1912.		
	Jan.	10.	Kazim Shirazi, A. M.
	Mar.	6.	Ganguli, M.
	May	1.	Harley, A. H.
	,,	,,	Singh Roy, L. M.
	June	5.	Misra, C. 140
	July	3.	Andrews, E. A.
	,,	,,	Bomford, T. L.
	Sept.	4.	Ghosh, T.
	,,	5.	Singhi, B. S.
	1913.		
	Mar.	5.	Simonsen, J. L. 145
	April	2.	Calder, C. C.
	June	4.	Majumdar, R. C.
	July	2.	Norton, E. L.
	,,	,,	Sinha, R.
	,,	,,	Sivaprasad. 150
	Nov.	5.	Fox, C. S.
	Dec.	3.	Shorten, J. A.
	1914.		
	Feb.	4.	Nawab Ali Chaudhury, Nawab S.
	Mar.	4.	Bacot, J.
	,,	,,	Ruffin, A. 155
	April	1.	Chaudhuri, G. D.
	,,	,,	Sen-Gupta, N. C.
	July	1.	Law, S. C.
	Aug.	5.	Law, B. C.
	1915.		
	Jan.	6.	Whitehouse, R. H. 160
	Feb.	3.	Ahmad Ali Khan, H.
	April	7.	Belvalkar, S. K.
	,,	,,	Otani, Count K.
	Aug.	4.	Gurner, C. W.
	Sept.	1.	Cleghorn, M. L. W. 165
	,,	,,	Das Gupta, H. C.
	Oct.	27.	Chatterjee, A. C.
	,,	,,	Roy, K. J. B.
	1916.		
	Jan.	5.	Chatterjee, K. N.

170	Jan.	5.	Hamilton, C. J.
	Feb.	2.	Majumdar, N. K.
	,,	,,	Mohammad Yusuf, H.
	Mar.	1.	Mukerjee, P. K.
	April	5.	Saha, R. N.
175	June	7.	Mahajan, S. P.
	July	3.	Nasser Hosein, K.
	,,	,,	Sarkar, G.
	Aug.	2.	Shukla, A. K.
	1917.		
	April	4.	Awati, P. R.
180	,,	,,	Datta, R. L.
	June	6.	Deb, H. K.
	,,	,,	Gupta, K.
	,,	,,	Kangaswami Aiyangar, K. V.
	Aug.	1.	Bhandarkar, D. R.
185	Oct.	3.	Bose, S. N.
	Dec.	5.	Sastri, A. K.
	,,	,,	Tripathi, R.
	1918.		
	Feb.	6.	Banerji, N. N
	,,	,,	Ghosh, E. N.
190	,,	,,	Maitra, S. K.
	,,	,,	Manen, Johan van.
	,,	,,	Singh, B. M.
	,,	,,	Singha, A. C.
	April	3.	Das, J. R.
195	,,	,,	Prashad, B.
	,,	,,	Robinson, H. C.
	,,	,,	Sinha, Raja B. N.
	,,	,,	Wall, F.
	June	5.	Lees, D. H.
200	July	3.	Campos, J. J.
	,,	,,	Roy, B. C.
	,,	,,	Bose, C. C.
	Aug.	7.	Maitra, J. N.
	Sept.	25.	Narayan, Prince V. N.
	1919.		
205	Feb.	5.	Abdul Kader Surtraz.
	,,	,,	Galoostian, V. M.
	,,	,,	Ghulam Mahiud-din Sufi.
	,,	,,	Moreno, H. W. B.
	,,	,,	Mukerjee, T.
210	,,	,,	Ray, S. S.
	,,	,,	Yazdani, G.
	Mar.	5.	Gupta, S. P.
	April	2.	Bal, S. N.
	,,	,,	Friel, R.
215	,,	,,	Mitra, P.
	,,	,,	Sen, A. C.
	May	7.	Wills, C. U.
	June	4.	Matthai, G.
	,,	,,	Bose, A. M.
220	July	2.	Amin-ul-Islam.
	,,	,,	Banerji, P.
	,,	,,	Zafar Hasan.
	Oct.	10.	Manry, J. C.
	Nov.	5.	Dube, B. M.
225	,,	,,	Gambhir, J. S.
	Nov.	5.	Hemraj, R.
	,,	,,	Misra, P. N.
	,,	,,	Pascoe, E. H.
	,,	,,	Singh, S. N.
	1920.		
	Jan.	5.	Mangalik, M. S. 230
	,,	,,	Aiyar, S., Parameswara.
	,,	,,	Suhrawardy, H.
	Feb.	4.	Hill, H. B. C.
	,,	,,	Keir, W. I.
	,,	,,	Brij Narayan. 235
	Mar.	3.	Ballardie, J. H. d. Caynoth.
	,,	,,	Ganguli, P.
	,,	,,	Khuda Bukhsh, S.
	,,	,,	Lahiri, J.
	,,	,,	Mahalanobis, P. C. 240
	,,	,,	Sundara Raj, B.
	,,	,,	Raye, N. N.
	,,	,,	Ronaldshay, the Earl of.
	,,	,,	Bosworth-Smith, P.
	April	7.	Dutt, K. K. 245
	,,	,,	Pradhan, H.
	May	5.	Ghosh, S. N.
	,,	,,	Harcourt, E. S.
	,,	,,	Ram, K. D.
	June	2.	Majumdar, N. G. 250
	,,	,,	Skinner, S. A.
	July	7.	Kar, S. C.
	,,	,,	Knowles, R.
	,,	,,	Roy-Chaudhuri, H. C.
	Aug.	4.	Dikshit, K. N. 255
	,,	,,	Martin, O.
	,,	,,	Panikkar, N. P.
	Sept.	1.	Chakladar, H. C.
	,,	,,	Chanda, R.
	,,	,,	Chatterjee, N. C. 260
	Dec.	1.	Connor, F. P.
	,,	,,	Ivanow, W.
	,,	,,	Majumdar, B. C.
	,,	,,	Mohammed Akbar Khan.
	1921.		
	Jan.	5.	Ray, Maharaja J. 265
	Feb.	2.	Jain, Chhote Lall.
	,,	,,	Mukerjee, R.
	,,	,,	Mukerjee, S. C.
	,,	,,	Sinha, G.
	Mar.	2.	Sturrock, G. C. 270
	May	4.	Hartog, P. J.
	June	1.	Ghatak, Joyotishchandra.
	,,	,,	Muzamilullah Khan, Mohammad.
	Sept.	7.	Deb, P. K.
	,,	,,	Roy, H. C. 275
	Nov.	2.	Hora, S. L.
	,,	,,	Shah, E. H.
	Dec.	7.	Kumar, A. K.

Dec. 7. Rawking, G. S.
,, ,, Barua, B. M.
,, ,, Kumar, A.
,, ,, Telang, P. K.
1922.
Feb. 1. Bhattacharya, V. S.
,, ,, Chopra, R. N.
,, ,, Megaw, J. W. D.
,, ,, Raman, C. V.
,, ,, Sinha, Kumar G.
,, ,, Stewart, A. D.
April 5. Abdul Ali, A. F. M.
,, ,, Banerjee, S.
,, ,, Bose, J. C.
,, ,, Dutta, B.
,, ,, Filep, E. G.
,, ,, Goswami, S. C.
May 3. Schomberg, R. C. F.
June 7. Bhattacharya, S. P.
July 5. Mookerjee, R. K.
Sept. 6. Das-Gupta, S. N.
Nov. 1. Anderson, L. Strickland.
,, ,, Sarkar, S. C.
Dec. 6. Blackett, Sir Basil P.
1923.
Feb. 7. Barber, C. T.
,, ,, Jinavijayaji, Muni.
,, ,, Shanks, Capt. G.
Mar. 7. Fry, A. B.
,, ,, Gupta, N.
,, ,, Labey, G. T.
,, ,, Nandy, P.
,, ,, Stamp, L. D.
April 4. Alker, A.
May 2. Bhukhanwalla, R. M. A.
,, Collenberg, Baron H. R. von.
,, ,, Harnett, W. L.
,, ,, Möller, H. P.
,, ,, Shebbeare, E. O.
June 6. Das, K.
,, ,, Howard, A.
,, ,, Hutton, J. H.
,, ,, Ottens, N.
Aug. 1. Biswas, K.
,, ,, Stow, A. M.
Dec. 5. Chopra, B. N.
,, ,, Meggit, F. J.
,, ,, Shastri, A.
,, ,, Barwell, N. F.
,, ,, Jackson, P. S
,, ,, Korke, V. T.
,, ,, Sen, H. H. L.
,, ,, Pande, S. B.
,, ,, Seth, G. C. L.
1924.
Feb. 6. Mahindra, K. C.
Mar. 5. Austin, J. M.
.. .. Banerjee, P. N.

Mar. 5. Basu, D. N.
,, ,, Browne, H.
,, ,, Carey, Sir W. L.
,, ,, Chowdhury, M. N. Ray.
,, ,, Das, S. R.
,, ,, Fitzpatrick, H.
,, ,, Kanjilal, M. N.
,, ,, Morris, C. J.
,, ,, Mukerji, S.
,, ,, Murray, Sir A. R.
,, ,, Martin, T. L.
,, ,, Mitter, P. C.
,, ,, Mitter, Sir B. C.
,, ,, Mitter, B. L.
,, ,, Mitter, Hon. Dr. D.
,, ,, Mukherjee, N. N.
,, ,, Ray, The Hon. Raja P. N.
,, ,, Sircar, N. N.
,, ,, McPherson, J.
,, ,, Greaves, Sir E.
,, ,, Bose, S.
,, ,, Chatterji, M. M.
,, ,, Sircar Sir N. R.
,, ,, Sinha, Hon'ble A.
April 2. Bahl, K. N.
,, ,, Chakraverti, Dr. D. C.
,, ,, Das, B. M.
,, ,, Ghose, K.
,, ,, Ghose, N. M.
,, ,, Hingston, R. W. G.
,, ,, Judah, N. J.
,, ,, Ray, T. B.
,, ,, Ray, Raja J. N.
,, ,, Raha, S. K.
,, ,, Sinha, N. N.
,, ,, De, F. L.
,, ,, Richards, F. J.
,, ,, Bagchi, K. N.
,, ,, Bhattacharya, B. S.
,, ,, Huq, M.
,, ,, Mitra, J. C.
,, ,, Ghose, C. C.
,, ,, Mitsukuri, R.
May 7. Rose, G. F.
,, ,, Nait, S. R.
,, ,, Bhattacharya, B.
June 4. Weddell, A. W.
,, ,, Cooper, H.
July 2. Ray, A. C.
,, ,, Ray, S. C.
,, ,, Ghose, Hon. Mr. Justice B. B.
,, ,, Browne, L. E.
,, ,, Iyengar, M. O. P.
,, ,, Mookerjee, S. P.
,, ,, Ray, B. C.
Aug. 6. Chatterji, S. K.
,, ,, Nyss, Wm. B. S.
.. .. Moloney, Wm. J.

Aug. 6. Purohit, K. J.
,, ,, Haridas, A.
,, ,, Roychowdhury, B. K.
395 ,, ,, Davies, L. M.
Aug. 27. Chattopadhyay, K. P.
,, ,, Roy Chaudhuri, H. K.
,, ,, Beidil, A. M.
,, ,, MacGregor, A. D.
400 Sept. 24. Sahni, B.
,, ,, Eaton, Miss W. A.
,, ,, Mookerji, R. N.
,, ,, Zaduzzaman
,, ,, Ahmad, H. N.
405 Nov. 5. Vaile, M. A. S.
,, ,, Kapur, S.
Dec. 3. Siddiqi, A.

Dec. 3. Roy, P. L.
,, ,, Mookerjee, J. N.
,, ,, Newman, Chas. F. 410
,, ,, Gilbert, W. G. L.
,, ,, Rao, H. S.
,, ,, Ahsan Ullah.
,, ,, Dave, S. S.
,, ,, Pushong, E. S. 415
,, ,, Rogers, T. E.
,, ,, Shipway, F. W.
,, ,, Basu, J. N.
,, ,, Ghose, S. C.
,, ,, Sarkar, C. K. 420
,, ,, Chatterjee, S. N.
,, ,, Hendry, C. A.

LIFE MEMBERS.

(Chronological.)

5- 6-61	J. Dyer Tremlett.	
2- 2-70	H. Baden Baden-Powell.	
7- 4-70	B. Smith Lyman (70).	
2- 1-73	G. L. Houston (73).	
4- 2-85	H. P. Shastri (12).	
3- 3-88	R. D. Mehta (89).	
6- 6-88	A. P. Pennell (88).	
6- 3-89	T. H. D. La Touche (10).	
26- 8-89	J. D. Nimmo (89).	
6-11-89	D. C. Phillott (10).	
11- 1-93	Sir Edward D. Maclagan (94).	
11- 1-93	H. H. Maharajah Madho Rao Scindia (93).	
1- 2-93	P. O. Bodding (14).	
31- 7-93	G. P. Tate (23).	
27- 9-94	Abdul Wali (11).	
27- 9-94	W. Vost (94).	
3- 7-95	Sir Nicholas D. Beatson Bell (95).	
30- 8-99	Mannu Lal (21).	
6-11-99	Maharajadhiraja Sir Rameshwar Singh (14).	
5-12-00	J. W. A. Grieve (00).	
1- 7-03	Maharaja J. N. Roy (09).	
4- 5-10	S. B. Dhavle (10).	
1-11-11	Kamaluddin Ahmad (24).	
5- 3-13	J. L. Simonson (13).	
4- 3-14	J. Bacot (14).	
5-12-23	Raja Lakshman Sen (24).	
7- 5-24	B. Bhattacharya (24).	
6- 8-24	L. M. Davies (24).	

Proceedings of the Ordinary Monthly General Meetings, 1924.

JANUARY, 1924.

No meeting.

FEBRUARY, 1924.

The Monthly General Meeting of the Society for the month was held on Wednesday, the 6th, at 7 P.M.

PRESENT.

SIR RAJENDRA NATH MOOKERJEE, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O. President, in the chair.

Members:

Bhandarkar, Dr. D. R.
Hannah, Mr. H. Bruce.
Knowles, Major R.
Manen, Mr. Johan van.
Raman, Prof. C. V.
Ray, Prof. H. C.
Ray-Chaudhuri, Prof. H. C.
Rüdt von Collenberg, Baron H.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following candidates were balloted for election as Ordinary Members:

(1) *Mahindra, K.C.*, B.A., (Cantab). Accounts Dept., Martin & Co., Calcutta, 6 and 7, Clive Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Baini Prashad.
Seconder: N. Annandale.

(2) *Pole, Major D. Graham*, Solicitor before the Supreme Courts of Scotland and Notary Public, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, London. W.C. 2.
Proposer: Johan van Manen.
Seconder: M. Hidayet Hossain.

The General Secretary reported the loss of the following members by death:

Rev. Fr. E. Francotte, S.J. (An Associate Member, 1899).
Lieut.-Col. Henry Haversham Godwin-Austen (An Honorary Fellow, 1908).

The General Secretary reported that the following members had expressed a desire to withdraw from membership in the Society:

Mr. P. S. McMahon (An Ordinary Member, 1913).
Mr. Panchanan Mukhopadhyaya (An Ordinary Member, 1892).

All Associate Members who in terms of the added clause

in Rule 2(c) were eligible for re-election, were recommended by Council for such re-election.

The Council recommended for election as Associate Members:

Mr. Wladimir Ivanow.
Pandit Kamal Krishna Smritititrtha.

The President announced the result of the ballot, and declared all candidates for Ordinary Membership duly elected.

The President announced that there would be no meeting of the Medical Section during the month.

MARCH, 1924.

The Monthly General Meeting of the Society for the month was held on Wednesday, the 5th, at 6-15 P.M.

PRESENT.

SIR RAJENDRA NATH MOOKERJEE, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., President, in the chair.

Members:

Abdul Wali, Maulavi.
Annandale, Dr. N.
Bernardo, Lt.-Col. F. A. F.
Biswas, Mr. K.
Brown, Dr. J. Coggin.
Brühl, Dr. P. J.
Chopra, Dr. B. N.
Doxey, Mr. F.
Ghosh, Dr. Ekendra Nath.
Ghosh, T. P.
Gurner, Mr. C. W.
Hidayet Hossain, Prof. M.
Hora, Dr. S. L.
Iyer, Prof. L. K. A.
Knowles, Major R.
Manen, Mr. J. van.
Miles, Mr. W. H.
Prashad, Dr. B.
Raman, Prof. C. V.

Visitor:

Chandler, Mr. A. C.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary announced receipt of thirty-nine presentations of books, etc., which were placed on the table for inspection.

The following candidates were balloted for election as Ordinary Members:

(3) *Austin, J. Main.* Merchant, Jardine Skinner & Co.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: N. Annandale.

(4) *Banerjee, P. N.*, M.A. (Cantab), A.M.I.E. (Ind.), F.C.V., Civil Engineer, 6 and 7, Clive Street, Calcutta.

Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: N. Annandale.

(5) *Basu, D. N.*, Bar-at-Law, 14, Baloram Ghosh St., Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: N. Gupta.

(6) *Browne, H.*, Capt., M.B.E., Lic. R. I., B.A., Architect, Martin & Co., 6 and 7, Clive Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: N. Annandale.

(7) *Carey, Sir Willoughby L.*, Senior Partner, Bird & Co., President, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Chartered Bank Buildings, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: N. Gupta.

(8) *Ray-Chaudhury, M. N.*, M.R.A.S., F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., Raja of Santosh, 1, Alipore Park Road, East, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: N. Gupta.

(9) *Das, S. R.*, Bar-at-Law, Advocate-General, Bengal, 7, Hungerford Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: N. Gupta.

(10) *Fitzpatrick, H.*, Engineer, Asst. Managing Director, Bengal Iron Co., Bengal Club, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: N. Annandale

(11) *Kanjilal, M. N.*, Bar-at-Law, M.A. (Cal.), B.A., LL.B. (Cantab), 17, Loudon Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: N. Annandale.

(12) *Morris, C. G.*, Capt., 2/3rd Q.A.O., Gurkha Rifles, Lansdowne, Gurhwal, U.P.
Proposer: W. A. K. Christie.
Seconder: N. Annandale.

(13) *Mukerji, S.*, M.A., B.L., Vakil and Zamindar, 7, Old Ballygunge Road, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: N. Gupta.

(14) *Murray, Sir Alexander R.*, C.B.E., Merchant, Jardine Skinner & Co., 4, Clive Row, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: N. Annandale.

(15) *Martin, T. Leslie*, M.A. (Cantab), 6, Clive Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: N. Annandale.

(16) *Mitter, P. C.*, C.I.E., M.L.C., Vakil, High Court, 34/1, Elgin Road, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: N. Gupta.

(17) *Mitter, Sir B. C.*, Kt., Bar-at-Law, 2/1, Loudon Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: N. Gupta

(18) *Mitter, B.L.*, M.A., B.L., Bar-at-Law, Standing Counsel, Bengal, 1, Outram Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: N. Gupta.

(19) *Mitter, Hon. Dwarkanath*, M.A., D.L., Vakil, High Court, 25, Nanda Ram Sen Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: N. Gupta.

(20) *Mukherjee, Narendranath*, B.A., (Cal.), Publisher, 1, Wellington Square, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: N. Gupta.

(21) *Ray, The Hon. Raja Pramada Nath of Dighapatia*, Member, Council of State, Zamindar, 163, Lower Circular Road.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: N. Gupta.

(22) *Sircar, N. N.*, M.A., B.L., Bar-at-Law, 30/1, Elgin Road, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: N. Gupta.

(23) *McPherson, James*, Assistant, Begg, Dunlop & Co., Ltd., 2, Hare Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: F. Doxey.
Seconder: R. Knowles.

(24) *Greaves, Sir Ewart*, Judge, Calcutta High Court, 2, Short Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: K. C. Mahindra.

(25) *Bose, S.*, B.A., Dy. Asst., Controller of Military Accounts, Presidency and Assam Dist., 8, Ram Kissen Das Lane, Amherst Street, P.O., Calcutta.
Proposer: Bijj Narayan.
Seconder: D. R. Bhandarkar.

(26) *Chatterji, Mohini Mohan*, M.A., B.L., Solicitor, President, Incorporated Law Society of Calcutta, 33, McLeod Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: K. C. Mahindra.

(27) *Sircar, Nil Ratan*, KT., M.A., M.D., Physician, 7, Short Street, tta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: K. C. Mahindra.

(28) *Sinha, Hon. Aroon*, B.A., Bar-at-Law, 8, Little Russell Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: K. C. Mahindra.

The President ordered the distribution of voting papers for the re-election of old Associate Members and the election of new Associate Members as follows:

Re-election for a further period of five years of all Associate Members who in terms of Rule 2(c) were due for re-election.

Election as Associate Members:

Mr. W. Ivanow.
Pandit Kamal Krishna Smrititirtha.

The General Secretary reported the loss of the following members by death:

Dr. T. O. D. Dunn (An Ordinary Member, 1917).
J. F. Monahan (An Ordinary Member, 1895).

The General Secretary reported that no members had expressed a desire to withdraw from membership during the month.

Dr. Annandale read an obituary notice of Lt.-Col. Godwin-Austen, a late Honorary Fellow.

The General Secretary read an obituary notice of Fr. E. Francotte, a late Associate Member.

The General Secretary read an obituary notice by Dr. W. A K. Christie of Dr. T. O. D. Dunn, a late Ordinary Member.

The General Secretary read the following Council resolutions regarding the appointment as Fellows of the Royal Society of two of the Society's Members:

Dr. N. Annandale.
Dr. C. V. Raman.

"The Council records its appreciation of the high honour done by the Royal Society in electing Dr. N. Annandale as a Fellow. Dr. Annandale has been actively connected with the Asiatic Society of Bengal for many years and occupied the Presidential chair in 1923. The Council heartily congratulates Dr. Annandale on the recognition of high Scholarship and Scientific attainments by the premier Scientific Society in the World."

"The Council congratulates Prof. C. V. Raman, the Hon Treasurer of our Society, on his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society of England. It is a signal tribute to his scientific researches, and the Council records its gratification at the honour done to one of its members."

The General Secretary announced the composition of the various committees for 1924 to be as follows:

Finance Committee:

President, General Secretary, Treasurer.

Sir Asutosh Mukherjee.
Dr. N. Annandale.
Mr. P. C. Mahalanobis.

Library Committee :

President, General Secretary, Treasurer.

Anthropological
Medical
Philological
Joint Philological } Secretaries.
Biological
Physical Science
Library.

Sir Asutosh Mukherjee.
MM. Hara Prashad Shastri.
Dr. Pascoe.
Dr. Gurner.

Philological Committee :

President, General Secretary, Treasurer.

Sir Asutosh Mukherjee.
MM. Hara Prashad Shastri.
Dr. Annandale.
Dr. Bhandarkar.
Mr. Abdul Ali.
Dr. B. M. Barua.
Mr. Chanda.
Aga Md. Kazim Shirazi.
Prof. M. Hidayet Hossain.
Mr. Dikshit.

Numismatic Committee :

President, General Secretary, Treasurer.

Mr. C. J. Brown.

Indian Science Congress :

President, General Secretary, Treasurer.

Dr. J. L. Simonsen.

Buildings Committee :

President, General Secretary, Treasurer.

Sir Asutosh Mukherjee.
Dr. N. Annandale.

Publication Committee :

President, General Secretary, Treasurer.

Philological
Joint Philological
Biological
Physical Science } Secretaries.
Anthropological
Medical
Library

Sir Asutosh Mukherjee.

MSS. Purchase Committee :

President, General Secretary, Treasurer.

Sir Asutosh Mukherjee.
MM. Hara Prashad Shastri.
Dr. Bhandarkar.
Mr. Abdul Ali.
Mr. Khuda Baksh.

The following papers were read :

1. Dr. S. L. Hora.—*On certain local names of the fishes of the genus* Garra.

2. Dr. S. L. Hora.—*Fish of the Talé Sap, Peninsular Siam (Pl. 2).*

3. H. W. Fowler.—*Fish of the Tai-Hu, Kiangsu Province, China.*

4. James Hornell.—*The boats of the Ganges.*

5. James Hornell.—*The fishing methods of the Ganges*

6. Dr. N. Annandale and Dr. S. L. Hora.—*Fish : Recent and Fossil.*

The President announced the result of the ballots and declared all candidates for Ordinary Membership duly elected ; all candidates for re-election as Associate Members duly re-elected ; all candidates for Associate Membership duly elected.

The President announced that a meeting of the Medical Section would be held on Wednesday, the 12th March, 1924.

The President drew attention to the need for voluntary help in the library.

—◇—

APRIL, 1924.

The Monthly General Meeting of the Society for the month was held on Wednesday, the 2nd, at 6-15 P.M.

Present.

Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., President, in the chair.

Members :

Abdul Wali, Maulavi.
Annandale, Dr. N.
Banerjee, Prof. P. N.
Barua, Dr. B. M.
Biswas, Mr. K.
Chatterjee, Prof. N. C.
Chaudhuri, Dr. B. L.
Chopra, Dr. B. N.
Das-Gupta, Prof. H. C.
Dikshit, Mr. K. N.
Ghosh, Dr. Ekendra Nath.
Ghosh, Mr. T. P.
Hora, Dr. S. L.
Jain, Mr. C. L.
Johanns, Fr. P.
Kanjilal, Mr. M. N.
Knowles, Major R.
Law, Babu Satya Churn.
Majumdar, Prof. N. G.
Manen, Mr. J. van.
Mehta, Mr. R. D.
Prashad, Dr. B.

Visitors :

Mitter, Mr. S. C.

And others.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary announced receipt of twenty-four presentations of books, etc., which were placed on the table for inspection.

The following candidates were balloted for election as Ordinary Members:

(29) *Bahl, K. N.*, Professor of Zoology, Lucknow University, Butlerbagh, Lucknow.
Proposer: N. Annandale.
Seconder: F. H. Gravely.

(30) *Chakravarti, Dr. Dinesh Chandra*, F.R.C.S.(E)., Surgeon, Campbell Hospital, 66, Shyampukur Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Rai Bahadur Upendranath Brahmachari.
Seconder: Major R. Knowles.

(31) *Das, Mr. Biraj Mohan*, M.A., (Cal.), M.Sc. (Lon.), Superintendent, Calcutta Research Tannery, 2/1, Kirti Mitter Lane, Calcutta.
Proposer: Rai Bahadur Upendranath Brahmachari.
Seconder: Major R. Knowles.

(32) *Ghosh, Dr. K.*, D.T.M., D.P.H. (Cantab), L.M.S., Medical Practitioner, 45, Creek Row, Calcutta.
Proposer: Rai Bahadur Upendranath Brahmachari.
Seconder: Major R. Knowles.

(33) *Ghose, Babu Nalini Mohan*, Zamindar, 3, Rustamji Parsee Road, Cossipore.
Proposer: Rai Bahadur Upendranath Brahmachari.
Seconder: Major R. Knowles.

(34) *Hingston, R. W. G.*, Major, Indian Medical Service, c/o Lloyds Bank, Bombay.
Proposer: N. Annandale.
Seconder: Baini Prashad.

(35) *Judah, Dr. N. J.*, M.B., Ch.B., F.R.C.S. (Eng.), Surgeon, Medical College Hospital, Calcutta, 2, Hungerford Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Rai Bahadur Upendranath Brahmachari.
Seconder: Lt.-Col. F. P. Connor, I.M.S.

(36) *Ray, Mr. Tarit Bhusan*, M.A., B.L., M.L.C., Solicitor and Zamindar, 6, Abhoy Charan Mitter Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Rai Bahadur Upendranath Brahmachari.
Seconder: Major R. Knowles.

(37) *Ray, Raja Janaki Nath*, Zamindar and Banker, 102, Sovabazar Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Rai Bahadur Upendranath Brahmachari.
Seconder: Major R. Knowles.

(38) *Raha, Rai Bahadur* S. K., Deputy Commissioner of Excise and Salt, 5, Lovelock Place, Ballygunge, Calcutta.
Proposer: Rai Bahadur Upendranath Brahmachari.
Seconder: Major R. Knowles.

(39) *Sinha, Kumar Nripendra Narayan*, Nashipur Rajbati, Nashipur.
Proposer: Rai Bahadur Upendranath Brahmachari.
Seconder: Major R. Knowles.

(40) *De, Rai Bahadur F. L.*, 99, Grey Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: K. C. Mahindra.

(41) *Richards, F. J.* Indian Civil Service, 6, Lexham Gardens, London, W. 8.
Proposer: N. Annandale.
Seconder: Baini Prashad.

(42) *Bagchi, Dr. Kumar Nath*, B.Sc., M.B., Chemical Examiner to the Government of Bihar and Orissa, Patna.
Proposer: Rai Bahadur Upendranath Brahmachari.
Seconder: Major R. Knowles.

(43) *Bhattacharya, Rai Bahadur Baradá Sankar*, M.B., Teacher of Medicine, Campbell Medical School, Calcutta, 38, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
Proposer: Rai Bahadur Upendranath Brahmachari.
Seconder: Major R. Knowles.

(44) *Huq, Mahfuzul*, M.A., Lecturer, Presidency College.
Proposer: A. F. M. Abdul Ali.
Seconder: Abdul Wali.

(45) *Mitra, J. C.*, M.C., M.A., B.L., Accountant-General, Bengal, 1, Abinash Mitter Lane, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: N. Gupta.

(46) *Ghose, C. C.*, Barrister-at-Law, Judge, Calcutta High Court, 10, Debendra Ghose Road, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: K. C. Mahindra.

(47) *Mitsukuri, R.*, LL.B. (Tokio Imperial University), Manager, Asano Bussan Co., Ltd., 2-3, Clive Row, Calcutta.
Proposer: N. Annandale.
Seconder: Baini Prashad.

The General Secretary reported that during the month no loss of members had occurred by death or retirement.

The following papers were read.

1. H. C. Das-Gupta.—*Notes on a type of sedentary game prevalent in many parts of India.*

2. N. G. Majumdar.—*An inscribed copper ladle from Hazara.*

3. B. M. Barua.—*Notes on five Bharaut Epithets.*

4. S. C. Law.—*Observations in the breeding of some common birds in the vicinity of Calcutta.*

5. N. Annandale.—*A working model of the origin of the Ganges in a temple in Ganjam.*

The President announced the result of the ballot, and declared all candidates for Ordinary Membership duly elected.

The President announced that no meeting of the Medical Section would be held during April, 1924.

The President drew attention of those present to the following exhibits:

1. S. L. Hora.—A curious "Globe Fish."

2. K. P. Biswas.—Some specimens of Algae.

3. B. N. Chopra.—Leucotermes Indicola Wasmann.

4. N. Annandale.—Lacquered stands from Yawnghe, Southern Shan States.

MAY, 1924.

The Monthly General Meeting of the Society for the month was held on Wednesday, the 7th, at 6-15 P.M.

PRESENT.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., Philological Secretary, in the chair.

Members:

Abdul Wali, Maulavi.
Chaudhuri, Dr. B. L.
Das-Gupta, Prof. H. C.
Dikshit, Mr. K. N.
Hannah, Mr. H. Bruce.
Insch, Mr. Jas.
Ivanow, Mr. W.
Labey, Mr. G. T.
Manen, Mr. J. van.
Mukherjee, Babu Braja Lal.
Mahfuzul Haq, Prof. M.

Visitors:

Mitra, Mr. P. K.
Mitra, Babu Sarat Chandra.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary announced receipt of twenty-seven presentations of books, etc., which were placed on the table for inspection.

The following candidates were balloted for election as Ordinary Members:

(48) *Rose, G. F.*, Merchant, Director, Andrew Yule & Co., Ltd., Tullich Lodge, Ballater, Aberdeenshire.
Proposer: N. Annandale.
Seconder: Johan van Manen.

(49) *Nait, Sri Ram*, Rai Sahib, Late Diwan, Bijawar State, Banpure Gate, Tikamgarh (Bundelkhand).
Proposer: Haraprasad Shastri.
Seconder: A. F. M. Abdul Ali.

(50) *Bhattacharya, Binayatosh*, M.A., Chief Editor, Gaekwad Sanskrit Series, Baroda.
Proposer: Haraprasad Shastri.
Seconder: Johan van Manen.

Conform Rule 45, the Council submitted to the meeting for confirmation the following changes in the composition of the Council made in the last Council Meeting held before the present Ordinary General Meeting.

Anthropological Secretary, Mr. B. C. Majumdar, *vice* Dr. N. Annandale, deceased.

Physical Science Secretary, Mr. P. C. Mahalanobis, *vice* Dr. W. A. K. Christie, resigned.

Member of Council, Major H. W. Acton, *vice* Mr. P. C. Mahalanobis, transferred.

Confirmed.

The General Secretary reported the following loss of members by death during the month :

Dr. N. Annandale. (An Ordinary Fellow, 1904.)

The General Secretary read an obituary notice of Dr. Annandale (Follows separately).

The Chairman submitted the following resolution to the meeting moved by the President :

Resolved :

That the Society hereby express its sorrow and grief at the sudden demise of its ex-President, the late Dr. N. Annandale, C.I.E., F.R.S., and place on record its appreciation of the great services which Dr. Annandale has rendered to science and to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in particular.

Adopted, all present standing.

The General Secretary announced that during the month there had been no resignations of membership.

The following papers were read :

1. Bhowani Prasad Niyogi.—*Some problems of the History of Bengal.*

2. B. L. Mukherjee.—*Rig Veda : X. 40. 10.*

3. N. G. Majumdar.—*Indian Era in Khotan and Tibet.*

4. W. Ivanow.—*Note on an Early Persian work on Ethics.*

5. K. N. Dikshit.—*Note on an Inscribed Stone Pillar at Sadiya in Assam.*

The General Secretary read a communication received from H.M. Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, regarding a newly discovered Pehlevi inscription at Persepolis furnishing

data as to the extent of the Persian Sasanian Empire during the 3rd Century A.D. (Follows separately).

The Chairman announced the result of the ballot, and declared all candidates for Ordinary Membership duly elected.

The Chairman announced that a special lecture had been arranged open to the public, and with provision for discussion, on Wednesday, the 28th May, at 6-15 P.M., as follows:

Lecturer: Lt.-Col. F. A. F. Barnardo.

Subject: Man the Creature of Chance or the arbiter of his destiny, or the endocrine gifts to man.

The Chairman announced that no meeting of the Medical Section would be held during May 1924.

The Chairman drew attention to the following exhibit:

JOHAN VAN MANEN.—Burmese weights (collection Lady Holberton).

—◇—

JUNE, 1924.

The Monthly General Meeting of the Society for the month was held on Wednesday, the 4th, at 6-15 P.M.

PRESENT.

DR. U. N. BRAHMACHARI, M.A., PH.D., M.D., in the chair.

Members:

Abdul Wali, Maulavi.
Basu, Mr. D. N.
Bhandarkar, Dr. D. R.
Biswas, Mr. K.
Dikshit, Mr. K. N.
Chatterjee, Mr. M. M.
Chopra, Dr. B. N.
Das-Gupta, Prof. H. C.
Ghosh, Mr. T. P.
Hidayet Hossain, Prof. M.
Hora, Dr. S. L.
Konjilal, Mr. M. N.
Law, Babu Satya Churn.
Manen, Mr. J. van.
Prashad, Dr. B.

Visitors:

Datta-Ray, Mr. B. N.
And another.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary announced receipt of twenty-one presentations of books, etc., which were placed on the table for inspection.

The following candidates were balloted for election as Ordinary Members:

(51) *Weddell, Alexander W.*, American Consul-General, 9-10, Esplanade Mansion, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: Johan van Manen.

(52) *Cooper, H.*, Manufacturing Chemist, 18, Convent Road, Entally, Calcutta.
Proposer: H. W. Acton.
Seconder: R. Knowles.

Conform Rule 45, the Council submitted to the meeting for confirmation the following changes in the composition of the Council made in the last Council meeting held before the present Ordinary General Meeting:

Treasurer: Dr. Baini Prashad, *vice* Prof. C. V. Raman, resigned.

Natural History Secretary (Biology): Dr. S. L. Hora, *vice* Dr. Baini Prashad, appointed Treasurer.

Confirmed.

The General Secretary reported the following loss of members during the month by death:

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, (Vice-President, and an Ordinary Fellow, 1886).

The General Secretary read an obituary notice of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. (Follows separately.)

The Chairman submitted the following resolution to the meeting, moved by the Council:

Resolved: that the Society put on record their sense of irreparable loss to the Society caused by the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, its Vice-President, repeatedly its President, and an office bearer for a quarter of a century in succession; as also their grateful recognition of the prominent place occupied by him in the counsels and activities of the Society; of his constant solicitude for its welfare, its repute, and its service to scholarship; and no less their affectionate regard for his personality, equally lovable, able and zealous.

The resolution was adopted, all present standing.

The General Secretary announced the following loss of membership during the month by retirement:

D. L. Drake-Brockmann, I.C.S., (An Ordinary Member, 1909.)

On motion from the chair resolved that the meeting be now adjourned in token of respect for the memory of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

JULY, 1924.

The Monthly General Meeting of the Society for the month was held on Wednesday, the 2nd, at 6-15 P.M.

PRESENT.

MM. HARAPRASAD SHASTRI, M.A., C.I.E., Vice-President, in the chair.

Members:

Abdul Wali, Maulavi.
Bhukhanwala, Mr. R. M. A.
Biswas, Mr. K. P.
Brühl, Dr. P. J.
Chaudhuri, Dr. B. L.
Chopra, Dr. B. N.
Das-Gupta, Prof. A. C.
Ghosh, Mr. T. P.
Garner, Mr. C. W.
Hora, Dr. S. L.
Law, Babu Satya Churn.
Mahfazul Huq, Prof. M.
Majumdar, Prof. N. G.
Manen, Mr. J. van.
Mazumdar, Prof. B. C.
Moreno, Prof. H. W. B.
Ray, Babu Sasadhar.
Stapleton, Mr. H. E.

Visitors:

Kramrisch, Miss Dr. St.
Nyss, Mr. N. B. S.
And another.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and placed before the meeting for confirmation.

Order: Confirm.

The General Secretary announced receipt of twenty-four presentations of books, etc., which were placed on the table for inspection.

The following candidates were balloted for election as Ordinary Members:

(53) *Ray, Abinash Chandra*, B.A., Cooch Behar.
Proposer: N. G. Majumdar.
Seconder: Johan van Manen.

(54) *Ray, Suresh Chandra*, F.R.H.S., L.C.H.C., H.M.D., D.H.Sc., M.P.F. (Lond), M.R.A.S., Medical Practitioner, Brahmangram, Jaigirhat, P.O., Rangpur.
Proposer: N. G. Majumdar.
Seconder: Johan van Manen.

(55) *Ghose, Hon. Mr. Justice Bipin Behary*, Judge, High Court, Calcutta, 101, Beltala Road, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: K. C. Mahindra.

(56) *Browne, L. E.* Clerk in Holy Orders. Lecturer at Bishop's College, Calcutta, 224, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.
Proposer: S. Khuda Baksh.
Seconder: A. F. M. Abdul Ali.

(57) *Iyengar, M. O. Parthasarathy*, Ag. Professor of Botany, Presidency College, Madras.
Proposer: F. H. Gravely.
Seconder: S. P. Agharkar.

(58) *Mookerjee, Syama Prasad*, M.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, Fellow of the University of Calcutta, 77, Russa Road North, Calcutta.
Proposer: D. R. Bhandarkar.
Seconder: P. N. Banerjee.

(59) *Ray, Bhabendra Chandra*, Zamindar, Member, Indian L. Assembly, 6, Short Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: U. N. Brahmachari.
Seconder: Johan van Manen.

(60) *Chatterjee, Suniti Kumar*, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta, Khaira Professor, Calcutta University.
Proposer: P. C. Mahalanobis.
Seconder: H. C. Majumdar.

Conform Rule 45, the Council submitted to the meeting for confirmation the following changes in the composition of the Council made in the last Council Meeting held before the present Ordinary General Meeting:

Medical Secretary: Major H. W. Acton, *vice* Major R. Knowles, resigned.

Member of Council: Mr. B. L. Mitter, *vice* Major H. W. Acton, transferred.

Order: Confirm.

The General Secretary reported the following loss of Membership by death during the month:

Raja Ban Behari Kapur Bahadur, C.S.I. (An Ordinary Member, 1891).

Resolved:

That the Society express its condolence to the Hon. Sir Bejoy Chand Mahatap, Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan, with his grievous loss.

The General Secretary announced the following loss of Membership during the month by retirement:

Rev. S. Wan Hui (An Ordinary Member, 1918).
W. H. Rethmeyer (An Ordinary Member, 1923).

The following papers were read:

(*a*) Held over from last meeting.

1. Sir Gilbert T. Walker.—*On the Wings of Gliding Birds.*

2. E. W. Gudger.—*The sources of the Material for Hamilton-Buchanan's Fishes of the Ganges, the Fate of his Collections, Drawings and Notes, and the use made of his Data.*

3. L. M. Davies.—*Notes on the Geology of Kohat, with reference to the Homotaxial Position of the Salt Marl at Bahadur Khel.*

4. Baini Prashad.—*Revision of the Japanese Species of the genus Corbicula.*

5. W. IVANOW.—*More on the sources of Jami's Nafahat.*

6. W. IVANOW.—*Imam Ismail.*

7. K. N. DIKSHIT.—*Two Harsola Copper-plate grants of the Paramara Sikaya (II), v.s., 1005.*

8. AMARESHVAR THAKUR.—*Jail Administration in Ancient India.*

(*b*) Newspapers.

9. SIR GILBERT T. WALKER.—*A note on Indian Boomerangs.*

10. PAUL TEDESCO.—*The Dialectical Position of Ormuri.*

11. N. G. MAJUMDAR.—*A List of Kharoshti Inscriptions.*

12. H. SRINIVASA RAO.—*Note on a Brackish-water Actinian from Madras.*

13. H. CHAUDHURI.—*Oedogenium Nagii. Sp. Nov.*

The Chairman announced the result of the ballot, and declared all candidates duly elected.

The Chairman announced that a Meeting of the Medical Section would be held on Wednesday, the 9th of July, at 6-15 P.M.

—◇—

AUGUST, 1924.

The Monthly General Meeting of the Society for the month was held on Wednesday, the 6th, at 6-15 P.M.

PRESENT.

SIR RAJENDRA NATH MOOKERJEE, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., President, in the chair.

Members :

Abdul Wali, Maulavi.
Banerjee, Mr. P. N.
Biswas, Mr. K.
Brühl, Dr. P. J.
Das-Gupta, Prof. H. C.
Ghosh, Hon. Mr. Justice C. C.
Hora, Dr. S. L.
Jain, Mr. C. L.
Law, Babu Satya Churn.
Manon, Mr. J. van.
Mitter, Mr. B. L.
Prashad, Dr. B.
Ray, Prof. H. C.
Shastri, MM. Haraprashad.
Stapleton, Mr. H. E.

Visitors :

Mandal, Babu Gopal Chandra.
Mitra, Mr. J.
Mitra, Babu Sarat Chandra.
Mukherjee, Mr. B. N.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary announced receipt of twenty-six presentations of books, etc., which were placed on the table for inspection.

The following candidates were balloted for election as Ordinary Members :

(61) *Nyes, W. B. S.*, Superintendent, Excise and Salt, Calcutta. Calcutta Collectorate, Charnock Place (or, 75, Wellesley Street, top flat). Calcutta.
Proposer : H. W. B Moreno.
Seconder : Baini Prashad.

(62) *Maloney, William J.*, General Manager of Reuter's for the East. c/o Reuter's, 26-7, Dalhousie Square, Calcutta.
Proposer : Baini Prashad.
Seconder : Johan van Manen.

(63) *Mehndiratta, Roopchend*, Prof. of Geology. The Prince of Wales College, Jammu, J. and K. State.
Proposer : S. L. Hora.
Seconder : Baini Prashad.

(64) *Purohit, K. J.*, F.S.A.S., Incorporated Accountant and Auditor (London). Lidlie Chambers, 6, Hastings Street, Calcutta.
Proposer : Girindra Nath Mukherjee.
Seconder : Rama Prasad Mukhopadhyaya.

(65) *Haridas, Anandji*, B.A., LL.B., Merchant, 9, Wood Street, Calcutta.
Proposer : Girindra Nath Mukherjee.
Seconder : Rama Prasad Mukhopadhyaya.

(66) *Roy-Chowdhuri, Brajendra Kishore*, Zamindar, Mymensingh, 55, Sukea Street, Calcutta.
Proposer : Haraprashad Shastri.
Seconder : Nilmani Chakravarti.

(67) *Wandel, Oswald*, Civil Engineer, Lemberg, Poland, Bartosza, Glowackiego, 20.
Proposer : Baini Prashad.
Seconder : Johan van Manen.

(68) *Davies, L. M.*, Major, Royal Artillery, Kohat, N.W.F.P., India.
Proposer : Baini Prashad.
Seconder : Johan van Manen.

Conform Rule 45, the Council submitted to the Meeting for confirmation the following changes in the composition of the Council made in the last Council Meeting held before the present Ordinary General Meeting.

Added members of Council :

The Hon'ble Justice Sir W. E. Greaves.

Sir Deva Prasad Sarbadhikary.

Order : Confirm.

The General Secretary announced that the Council, in the last meeting held before the present Ordinary General Meeting

had nominated (under Article 2 of Act 10 of 1910) as their representative on the Board of Trustees, Indian Museum, MM. Haraprasad Shastri, *vice* Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, deceased; and had confirmed the appointment of Mr. R. O. Douglas, I.C.S., as Honorary Numismatist to the Society, *vice* Mr. C. J. Browne, left for England.

The General Secretary reported the following loss of membership by death during the month:

F. A. Larmour (An Ordinary Member, 1919).

The General Secretary announced that during the month there had been the following loss of Membership by retirement.

H. M. Leake (An Ordinary Member, 1902).
W. S. Street (An Ordinary Member, 1916).
Debi Prasad Saksena (An Ordinary Member, 1919).

The following papers were read:

1. Satya Churn Law.—*Parus, Major, Cinereus breeding, in the 24-Perghanas.*

2. Satya Churn Law.—*Kalidasa and the Migration of birds.*

3. Bisvesvar Bhattacharyya.—*The age of the Paima.*

4. Bimala Charan Law.—*The Asmakas or Assakas in Ancient India.*

5. J. H. Hutton.—*Some carved stones in the Dayang Valley.*

6. A. Grignard.—*Our Romanised Hindustani-English Dictionaries—their partial inefficiency and its remedies.*

7. Lily Strickland-Anderson.—*Some Notes on the Customs of the Khasi People of Assam.*

The Chairman announced the result of the ballot, and declared all candidates for ordinary membership duly elected.

The Chairman announced that no meeting of the Medical Section would be held during August.

The Chairman announced that conform Rule 56 there would be no Ordinary Monthly Meetings of the Society in the recess months, September and October, unless otherwise determined by Council in the course of these months; the next Ordinary General Meeting having been provisionally fixed for November.

—◇—

SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1924.

No meetings.

—◇—

NOVEMBER, 1924.

The Monthly General Meeting of the Society for the month was held on Wednesday, the 5th, at 6-15 P.M.

PRESENT.

SIR RAJENDRA NATH MOOKERJEE, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., President, in the chair.

Members:

Abdul Wali, Maulavi.
Chopra, Mr. B. N.
Deb, Mr. H. K.
Ghosh, Mr. T. P.
Harley, Mr. A. H.
Hidayet Hossain, Prof. M.
Hora, Dr. S. L.
Majumdar, Prof. N. K.
Manen, Mr. J. van.
Miles, Mr. W. H.
Moreno, Prof. H. W. B.
Prashad, Dr. B.
Sarvadhikary, Sir Deva Prashad.
Stapleton, Prof. H. E.

Visitors:

Bery, A. R.
Bhaduda, Mr. N. H.
Chatterjee, Mr. M.
Ghosh, Mr. S. N.
Mukherjee, Mr. J.
Stapleton, Mrs. E. A.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary announced receipt of sixty-three presentations of books, etc., which had been placed on the table for inspection.

The General Secretary announced that the following candidates had been elected Ordinary Members during the recess months:

(69) *Chattopadhyay, K. P.*, Lecturer in Anthropology, Calcutta University, 2, Ramkissen Das's Lane, Badurbagan, Calcutta.
Proposer: Baini Prashad.
Seconder: Johan van Manen.

(70) *Dwivedi, Rámágyán*, Professor of English Literature, Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, Cawnpore (U.P.).
Proposer: Baini Prashad.
Seconder: P. C. Mahalanobis.

(71) *Roy-Chaudhuri, Hiran Kumar*, Researcher in History, 1-2, Nursing Lane, Calcutta.
Proposer: Harit Krishna Deb.
Seconder: P. C. Mahalanobis.

(72) *Baidil, A. Mannan*, Lecturer in Persian and Urdu, New College Hostel, P.O. Moradpore (Patna).
Proposer: Baini Prashad.
Seconder: P. C. Mahalanobis.

(73) *MacGregor, A. D.*, M.R.C., V.S., L.V.S., Principal, Bengal Veterinary College, Bengal Veterinary College, Belgachia, Calcutta.
Proposer: A. F. M. Abdul Ali.
Seconder: D. R. Bhandarkar.

(74) *Sahni, B.*, Professor of Botany at the University of Lucknow.
Proposer: Baini Prashad.
Seconder: Johan van Manen.

(75) *Eaton, Miss Winifred A.*, Missionary, Canadian Baptist Mission, Principal, Bible Training School for Women, Palkonda, Vizag. Dist.
Proposer: Paul Brühl.
Seconder: H. W. Acton.

(76) *Mookerjee, B. N.*, B.A. (Cantab). Engineer, 6-7, Clive Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: K. C. Mahindra.

(77) *Asadazzaman, Khan Bahadur*, Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 42, Baniapokhur Road, Calcutta.
Proposer: A. F. M. Abdul Ali.
Seconder: Paul Brühl.

(78) *Ahmad, Khan Saheb Hafiz Nazir*, Moulvi, Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
Proposer: A. F. M. Abdul Ali.
Seconder: Paul Brühl.

The following candidates were balloted for election as Ordinary Members:

(79) *Agarwala, M. L.*, Krishna Bhavan, Pathwary, Agra, U.P.
Proposer: Baini Prashad.
Seconder: Upendra Nath Brahmachari.

(80) *Vaile, Maurice Arthur Stuart*, Exchange Broker, Thomas Seth Apear & Co., 8, Clive Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Baron Rudt von Collenberg.
Seconder: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.

(81) *Kapur, Shivlal*, Import and Banking, 113, Cross Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Baini Prashad.
Seconder: Upendra Nath Brahmachari.

The General Secretary reported the following loss of membership by death during the recess months:

Dr. Jules Janssen (An Honorary Fellow, 1879).
The Hon'ble Bhupendra Nath Basu (An Ordinary Member, 1893-1899 and 1924).
Shams-ul-Ulama Ahmad Abdul Aziz (Nayati), Khan Bahadur, Nawab Aziz Jung Bahadur (An Associate Member, 1910).

The General Secretary read an obituary notice of the deceased Associate Member. (Follows separately.)

The General Secretary announced that during the recess months there had been the following loss of membership by resignation:

Alexander A. Weldell (An Ordinary Member, 1924).
Lieut.-Col. C. A. Gourlay (An Ordinary Member, 1920

The following papers were read:

1. S. H. Lele.—*Studies in Bombay Fish;—Revision of the genus Drepane (Cuv. and Val.).*

2. B. P. Uvarow.—*Orthoptera (except Blattidæ) collected by Prof. Gregory's expedition to Yunnan.*

3. R. Hanitsch.—*Blattidæ collected by Prof. Gregory's expedition to Yunnan.*

4. H. Hosten.—*Zādæ, of St. Thomas' Monastery in India (about A.D. 363).*

5. H. Hosten.—*A letter of Fr. A. de Andrada, S.J. (Tibet, August, 1627) and of Fr. Gaspar Diaz, S.J., (Annam, 1627).*

6. H. Hosten.—*A letter of Fr. Francisco Godinho, S.J., from Western Tibet (Tsaparang, August 16th, 1626).*

7. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.—*A note on Ardhanārīśvara.*

8. M. Hidayet Hossain.—*The development of the Hadith concordance in Arabic literature.*

9. Abdul Wali.—*Sketch of the life of Sarmad.*

The General Secretary exhibited some recent publications received.

The Chairman announced the result of the ballot, and declared all candidates for Ordinary Membership duly elected.

The Chairman announced that a meeting of the Medical Section would be held on Wednesday, the 12th of November, at 6-15 P.M.

The Chairman announced that H.E. the Governor of Bengal had expressed willingness to be present at the Annual Meeting of the Society which would be held at 6 P.M., on Wednesday, the 4th February, 1925.

The Chairman invited the members present to inspect after the meeting the first section of new steel shelving installed in one of the Library rooms.

DECEMBER, 1924.

The Monthly General Meeting of the Society for the month was held on Wednesday, the 3rd, at 6-15 P.M.

PRESENT.

Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., President, in the chair.

Members :

Abdul Wali, Maulavi.
Agharkar, Dr. S. P.
Chatterjee, Mr. M. M.
Chopra, Dr. B. N.
Das-Gupta, Prof. H. C.
Deb, Babu Harit Krishna.
Ghose, Hon. Mr. Justice C. C.
Ghose, Mr. T. P.
Gupta, Mr. N.
Hannah, Mr. H. Bruce.
Hora, Dr. S. L.
Iyer, Mr. L. Ananta Krishna.
Kanjilal, Mr. M. N.
Law, Mr. S. C.
Meuen, Mr. J. van.
Mookerjee, Mr. B. N.
Muhfazul Haq, Prof. M.
Mukherjee, Dr. Girindra Nath.
Mukherjee, Mr. N.
Nahar, Mr. P. C.
Ottens, Mr. N.
Prashad, Dr. B.
Sarvadhikary, Sir Deva Prashad.
Shastri, MM. Hara Prashad.
Sirkar, Babu Ganapati.

Visitors :

Mandal, Babu Gopal Chandra.
Sen-Gupta, Babu Hirendralal.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary announced receipt of twenty-three presentations of books, etc., which were placed on the table for inspection.

The President drew attention to a photograph of Sir Henry Hubert Hayden, a past-President of the Society, presented to the Society by Dr. E. H. Pascoe.

The President drew attention to a present of old Indian Stamps presented to the Society by the Controller of Printing, Stationery and Stamps, India.

The following candidates were balloted for as Ordinary Members :

(82) *Tamkeen, G. M.*, Government Servant, Supervisor, Mahboob Gulshan, Gulbarga (Dn.).
Proposer : M. Hidayet Hosain.
Seconder : Abdul Wali (Khan Sahib).

(83) *Siddiqi, A.*, Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Dacca University, Ramna, Dacca.
Proposer : M. Hidayet Hosain.
Seconder : Abdul Wali (Khan Sahib).

(84) *Roy, P. L.*, Barrister-at-Law, 15, Store Road, Calcutta.
Proposer : Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder : K. C. Mahindra.

(85) *Mookerjee, J. N.*, Civil Engineer, 6-7, Clive Street, Calcutta.
Proposer : Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder : K. C. Mahindra.

(86) *Newman, Chas. F.*, F.R.G.S., M.C.P., Assistant Master, La Martinière College, 11, Loudon Street, Calcutta.
Proposer : Sir R. Mookerjee.
Seconder : K. Mahindra.

(87) *Gilbert, W. G. L.*, Traffic Manager, Light Railways, Martin & Co., 6-7, Clive Street, Calcutta.
Proposer : Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder : K. C. Mahindra.

(88) *Rao, H. Srinivasa*, Assistant Superintendent, Zoological Survey of India, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
Proposer: Baini Prashad.
Seconder: S. L. Hora.

(89) *Ahsan Ullah, (Khan Bahadur)*, Assistant Director of Public Instruction for Muhammedan Education, Writers' Building, Calcutta.
Proposer: M. Hidayet Husain.
Seconder: Johan van Manen.

(90) *Dave, Shyam Shanker*, Assistant Engineer (Qualified), Raigarh, C.P., B.N. Ry.
Proposer: Baini Prashad.
Seconder: B. N. Chopra.

(91) *Pushong, Dr. E. S.*, M.D., L.S.A., Medical Practitioner, 1, Wood Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Upendra Nath Brahmachari.
Seconder: Baini Prashad.

(92) *Rogers, T. E.*, Tea Planter, (Hunwat Tea Co.), Mariani Tea Estate, Mariani, Assam.
Proposer: E. A. Andrews.
Seconder: Jas. Insch.

(93) *Shipway, F. W.*, Manager, Butterworth & Co. (Calcutta), 345-6-7, Grand Hotel, Calcutta.
Proposer: Upendra Nath Brahmachari.
Seconder: Baini Prashad.

(94) *Basu, Jatindra Nath*, M.A., Solicitor, M.L.C. 14, Baharam Ghose Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir Deva Prasad Sarbadhikari.
Seconder: Johan van Manen.

(95) *Roerich, George Nicolas*, B.A., M.A., M.R.A.S., Orientalist, 310, Riverside Drive, New-York, U.S.A.
Proposer: W. Ivanow.
Seconder: N. Ottens.

(96) *Ghose, Mr. Sushil Chandra*, Deputy Magistrate, 1, Sikdarbagan Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Upendra Nath Brahmachari.
Seconder: Baini Prashad.

(97) *Das, Surendra Nath*, M.B., Medical Practitioner, 67, Nimtala Ghat Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Upendra Nath Brahmachari.
Seconder: Baini Prashad.

(98) *Sarkar, Mr. C. K.*, C.E., Engineer and Architect, 10, Hastings Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Upendra Nath Brahmachari.
Seconder: Baini Prashad.

(99) *Chatterji, Mr. Sailendra Nath*, Deputy Assistant Controller of Military Accounts (P & A District), 9-4, Badur Bagan Row, Calcutta.
Proposer: Upendra Nath Brahmachari.
Seconder: Baini Prashad.

(100) *Khan, Mr. Rezaur Rahman*, M.A., B.L., Late Deputy Sheriff, Calcutta, and Ex-M.L.C., Bengal, 28, Convent Road, Entally, Calcutta.
Proposer: Upendra Nath Brahmachari.
Seconder: Baini Prashad.

(101) *Sen, Dr. H. K.*, M.A., D.Sc., (London), D.I.C., Professor of Chemistry, University College of Science, University College of Science, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
Proposer: Upendra Nath Brahmachari.
Seconder: Baini Prashad.

(102) *Mookerjee, Priyanath*, M.A., Rai Bahadur, I.S.O., Government Pensioner, late Inspector-General of Registration, Bengal, 30, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
Proposer: Haraprasad Shastri.
Seconder: Johan van Manen.

(103) *Heudry, C. A. St. John*, F.R.G.S., M.I.S.E., A.M.I.M.E., M.I.E., M.MIN.I., Consulting Mechanical Engineer, Martin and Co., 6-7, Clive Street, Calcutta
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: K. C. Mahindra.

The General Secretary reported that there had been no loss of membership to the Society by death during last month.

The General Secretary announced that there had been no loss of membership to the Society through resignation during the month.

The President put before the meeting a recommendation of the Council to elect Professor Sten Konow, Professor of Indian Philosophy, Kristiania, an Honorary Fellow of the Society.

The following papers were read:

1. CEDRIC DOVER.—*Further notes on the Indian Diploptorous Wasps.*

2. SATYA CHURN LAW.—*Kalidasa and the Migration of Birds, No. 2: The Migratory Hansas and Raj-hansas in Kalidasa's works.*

3. H. BEVERIDGE.—*On Tamerlane.*

4. ABDUL WALI.—*Notes on the Archæological Remains in Bengal.*

5. HARIT KRISHNA DEB.—*Ant-gold and the Kautiliya Arthasastra.*

6. HIRENDRA LAL SEN-GUPTA.—*A short history of the Madhyamika Philosophy.*

7. HARIT KRISHNA DEB.—*The Kautiliya Arthasastra on the three classes of invaders.*

8. HARIT KRISHNA DEB.—*The Kautiliya Arthasastra on Forms of Government.*

9. CHHOTE LAL JAIN.—*A Bibliography of Literature relating to Jainism, mainly from 1907 to 1924.*

The Chairman announced the result of the ballot, and declared all candidates for Ordinary Membership duly elected.

The Chairman announced that no meeting of the Medical Section would be held in December.

The Chairman announced that a special public lecture would be delivered in the Society's Rooms on Wednesday, December 10th, 1924, at 5-15 p.m. by Professor Sten Konow of Kristiania, on A European Parallel to the Durga Puja, and requested members to invite friends likely to be interested.

On the question being raised as to the most suitable hour for General Meetings of the Society, after discussion, it was resolved to convene the meetings in future, till further notice, for 5-30 p.m.

(101) *Sen, Dr. H. K.*, M.A., D.Sc., (London), D.I.C., Professor of Chemistry, University College of Science, University College of Science, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
Proposer: Upendra Nath Brahmachari.
Seconder: Baini Prashad.

(102) *Mookerjee, Priyanath*, M.A., Rai Bahadur, I.S.O., Government Pensioner, late Inspector-General of Registration, Bengal, 30, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
Proposer: Haraprasad Shastri.
Seconder: Johan van Manen.

(103) *Headry, C. A. St. John*, F.R.G.S., M.I.S.E., A.M.I.M.E., M.I.E. M.MIN.I., Consulting Mechanical Engineer, Martin and Co., 6-7, Clive Street, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: K. C. Mahindra.

The General Secretary reported that there had been no loss of membership to the Society by death during last month.

The General Secretary announced that there had been no loss of membership to the Society through resignation during the month.

The President put before the meeting a recommendation of the Council to elect Professor Sten Konow, Professor of Indian Philosophy, Kristiania, an Honorary Fellow of the Society.

The following papers were read:

1. CEDRIC DOVER.—*Further notes on the Indian Diplopterous Wasps.*

2. SATYA CHURN LAW.—*Kalidasa and the Migration of Birds, No. 2: The Migratory Hansas and Raj-hansas in Kalidasa's works.*

3. H. BEVERIDGE.—*On Tamerlane.*

4. ABDUL WALI.—*Notes on the Archæological Remains in Bengal.*

5. HARIT KRISHNA DEB.—*Ant-gold and the Kautiliya Arthasastra.*

6. HIRENDRA LAL SEN-GUPTA.—*A short history of the Madhyamika Philosophy.*

7. HARIT KRISHNA DEB.—*The Kautiliya Arthasastra on the three classes of invaders.*

8. HARIT KRISHNA DEB.—*The Kautiliya Arthasastra on Forms of Government.*

9. CHHOTE LAL JAIN.—*A Bibliography of Literature relating to Jainism, mainly from 1907 to 1924.*

The Chairman announced the result of the ballot, and declared all candidates for Ordinary Membership duly elected.

The Chairman announced that no meeting of the Medical Section would be held in December.

The Chairman announced that a special public lecture would be delivered in the Society's Rooms on Wednesday, December 10th, 1924, at 5-15 p.m. by Professor Sten Konow of Kristiania, on A European Parallel to the Durga Puja, and requested members to invite friends likely to be interested.

On the question being raised as to the most suitable hour for General Meetings of the Society, after discussion, it was resolved to convene the meetings in future, till further notice, for 5-30 p.m.

Obituary Notices.

Dr. T. O. D. Dunn.

(1881—1924.)

The tragic death of Theodore Oliver Douglas Dunn, who was drowned in the River Hooghly on 21st February 1924, has deprived our Society of a member with a record of solid achievement, a prospect full of brilliant promise.

Born at Cambuslang, Lanarkshire, in 1881 he was educated at Hillhead Academy and the University of Glasgow. He joined the Indian Educational Service in 1908, and, after a career spent mainly as an Inspector of Schools, he was appointed Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, only a month before his death. "As an administrator,"—I quote from a Government resolution—"he was energetic and forceful, endowed with sound judgment and the power of rapid decision."

Dr. Dunn served on the Council of the Society from 1922; as honorary librarian he did much useful work, and he was actively engaged in preparing a historical account, which had long been needed, of the Society's large collection of paintings of distinguished members.

His published work was mainly educational in its scope, but latterly he contributed largely to the press on literary and historical topics. He was already an authority on early Anglo-Indian literature—his D. Litt. of Glasgow was conferred for a thesis on this subject—and the anthologies and critical essays in which he rescued from oblivion or rendered better known those early writers, English and Indian, remain his literary memorial.

A delightful conversationalist and extempore speaker, his wealth of vocabulary, and the facility and accuracy with which he used it sometimes gave an impression of pedantry to those who did not know him. To those who did, however, this fluency of speech, coupled with the racy metaphor that usually adorned it, but emphasised his powerful imagination, and the rapidity with which his thoughts were marshalled.

His untimely death is a grievous loss to the cause of education and literary history.

W. A. K. Christie.

(Read in the Ordinary Monthly Meeting, 5th March, 1924.)

Rev. Fr. E. Francotte.

(1843—1923.)

The Rev. Fr. Edw. Francotte showed a very keen interest in science. His 54 years in India were mainly years of teaching; he began with mathematics and finished with chemistry; he taught the latter subject for 22 years.

What his teaching was like, had better be asked from his old pupils. The writer of these lines remembers how men, who had been Fr. Francotte's pupils over 40 years ago, spoke of their old teacher: he had the knack of inspiring them with something of his own enthusiasm.

From the fact that Fr. Francotte taught only two scientific subjects, it should not be concluded that his interest was limited to those two branches. He was very keen on mineralogy, as is evidenced by the number of stones he picked up on his tours in various districts. When back in Calcutta he would examine and classify them; each sample being carefully labelled. Botany also claimed his attention; but his favourite study was meteorology.

If he has not done anything remarkable in chemical research, it must be attributed to the fact, that his teaching, after giving other subjects their share of attention, left him little time for it; his spare time went to meteorology. After having been in charge of the meteorological observatory at St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, for short periods before, he remained continuously in charge for the last twenty years.

It was remarkable to see the old man of these last years climbing up to his observatory, with a brisk step not so long ago, of late more slowly, to take the readings; he would then return immediately to the compiling of figures and the working out of averages with an astounding patience.

As he did no longer teach,—he ceased to teach at the age of 70—, he thought he would give others the benefit of his long acquaintance with the Calcutta weather.

Either he under-estimated the magnitude of the work he was attempting, or he over-estimated his strength: the first volume of 'Meteorological Observations at St Xavier's College (1868–1917) saw the light, and the second was nearing completion, when pneumonia carried him off rather suddenly.

(*Read in the Ordinary Monthly Meeting, March, 1924.*)

Lieut.-Col. H. H. Godwin-Austen.

(1834—1923.)

Since our last ordinary meeting we have lost by death the man who was probably the longest associated personally with our

Society—Lieut.-Col. Godwin-Austen, Geographer and Naturalist, who was elected an ordinary member in 1861 and an honorary member in 1908. Henry Haversham Godwin-Austen was born in 1834 and died at the age of 90 on the second of last December. He joined the Royal Engineers as a boy, and came out to India round the Cape at the age of eighteen. He became a member of the Survey of India in 1857, and left the country in 1877. During the mutiny he was on survey work in Jammu, which the Viceroy refused to allow him to leave to go on active service, and was there beaten and left for dead by a party of villagers through the treachery of a high official of the State. His stories of this and other episodes of his Indian career were a delight to the hearer.

Even in his youth Godwin-Austen was a keen observer. He possessed a book of excellent water-colour sketches which he had made on his first voyage out to India, and all through his career he continued the practice, which was of great service to him in his work of exploration in the Himalayas and other parts of Northern India. One of the griefs of his old age was the loss a year or two before his death of a large part of his drawings. His work as a Geographer will doubtless be discussed elsewhere; here I would prefer to deal with his zoological results, as they were at one time communicated regularly to this Society. In Calcutta he came under the influence of the little band of naturalists who made our Society illustrious in the "fifties" and "sixties" of last century, and especially of the late Dr. W. F. Blanford, who, in addition to his geological work, and to much study of the vertebrates, and of the distribution of the Indian fauna, was a pioneer in the investigation of the Indian land-snails. Another of the band was the late Dr. F. Stoliczka, a colleague of Blanford's on the Geological Survey of India, whose malacological work was remarkable for its wealth of anatomical detail. Under the influence of these two and of Hutton, a still older man, Godwin-Austen took up the study of birds and snails enthusiastically. The latter, indeed, were to form the solace of his old age. For many years, long after leaving India, he issued as funds permitted his "Land and Fresh-Water Molluscs of the Indian Empire," a series of little monographs on conchology and malacology written and illustrated by himself, published at his own expense and often at great inconvenience, for he was not a rich man. Upto a few days before his death, he was busily engaged in the dissection of various types of Indian land-snails and in collecting and drawing the Wealdian fossils, which abound round his home near Godalming, where so many of kindred tastes were hospitably entertained. Although, very deaf in his latter years and frail in appearance, he preserved most of his faculties, and the sureness of eye and steadiness of hand with which he dissected a minute snail at the age of eighty-five caused envy in the mind of a much younger man

He was the last of the brilliant amateurs to whom India owes it scientific departments of the present day, for they were amateu is no deprecatory sense.

N. ANNANDALE

(Read in the Ordinary Monthly Meeting, 5th March, 1924.)

DR. N. ANNANDALE.

(1876—1924.)

Dr. N. Annandale who suddenly died on April 10th, 1924 at the early age of 48, has been, for nearly 20 years, a very active member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In other places an estimate will be given of his work as a government servant, as a biologist, as an anthropologist and as a traveller. Here we will briefly indicate the large share he has taken in the affairs and activities of our Society.

Dr. Annandale came out to India in 1904 and immediately on arrival joined the Society, being declared a duly elected member on the 28th September, 1904, after having been elected *ad interim* in a previous recess month. We find him first mentioned in our records as a visitor present in an ordinary monthly meeting on the 3rd August, 1904. From the very beginning he threw himself with energy into our work, and his first paper was read in the meeting held on 2nd November, 1904, the very week after the announcement of his election. His first two contributions were printed in the last volume of the old series (Vol. 73) of our *Journal*, one on an Anthropological subject, and one on a Biological subject. On the 30th November, 1904, he was appointed Anthropological Secretary in the place of Dr. Denison Ross. This appointment was repeated for the next seven years, and up to 1911, inclusive, Dr. Annandale continued to act as the Society's Anthropological Secretary. This was in a way natural as Dr. Annandale, prior to coming out to India, held a Research Fellowship in Anthropology in the University of Edinburgh from 1902 to 1904, whilst, in the interests of his anthropological studies, he had travelled in the Malay Peninsula twice, first in 1899 and next from 1902 to 1904. Next to his professional biological activities, anthropology claimed his devoted interest to the very last and two papers of his, at present in the press, almost his last scientific productions, are on this subject. One of them he read in our very last meeting. From the beginning of his membership Dr. Annandale has been a constant contributor to our publications. In the first volume of the new series of our *Journal* there are six papers from his hand, and in the second volume no less than fourteen. Scarcely a single volume up till the current one has appeared without some contribution from his pen. In all, the last twenty volumes of our

Journal contain about fifty papers by Dr. Annandale. To the *Memoirs* Dr. Annandale has also been a constant contributor. With the few posthumous papers which are still to appear in them his contributions to the *Memoirs* will number about twenty.

In 1912 Dr. Annandale was apparently on leave and did not hold any office on our Council, but in 1914, we see him Natural Science Secretary for biology, and the next four years from 1915 to 1918, he was Vice President as well as Anthropological Secretary. In 1919 he was Anthropological Secretary. In 1920 Vice-President and Anthropological Secretary. In 1921 he held no office being again away from India. In 1922, he was Natural History Secretary for biology and in 1923, President of the Society. As such he presided over our last Annual Meeting and welcomed His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, who by his presence, revived an old local gubernatorial tradition. In the present year he reverted to his beloved Anthropological Secretaryship.

This outward catalogue of work performed and offices held is only a symbol of his great inward love for and devotion to our Society, its work, and its renown. During the year of his Presidency I have naturally been in close and constant contact with our late President. Except during his absences from Calcutta never a week passed without several consultations about the Society's affairs. And when in town it was his habit to come to our rooms very frequently to discuss current matters. During the period of his presidency, and largely owing to his energy and nervous activity, the long overdue renovation of our building was decided upon and brought to a most successful termination. With a keen eye to the necessity of a judicious amount of propaganda amongst the cultured, leisured and moneyed citizens of Calcutta, he endeavoured to create an interest in our work by writing to the press and by enlisting the sympathies of those in authority. Touched by certain appreciative remarks made at the termination of his Presidency, he made a substantial donation to the Society to enable it to undertake some much needed book-binding as a memento of his term of office. Eager to promote reform and to institute improvements in various directions, he called for volunteers to work in the library; he proposed the institution of a small Sub-Committee to look effectively after our artistic and historic possessions; and he brought forward several plans for the reorganisation of our work, such as the arrangement of copper-plates and illuminated MSS. in a permanent exhibition, and the inauguration of a new series of publications in the nature of a biological series parallel to the Bibliotheca Indica for Philology. The improvement of our work was constantly in his mind.

Of a restless, nervous temperament, eager for activity and immediate results, his driving power was occasionally felt as disconcerting, and he would sometimes acknowledge that he was

more successful in his dealings with ideas than in his dealings with men. No doubt the illness which, unknown to himself and to us, was undermining him for a considerable time before his death, must have sometimes been the cause of misunderstandings which, in human intercourse, are unavoidable. Nevertheless, his great share in furthering the welfare, work, and fame of the Society stands out clearly. His great capacity for welcoming new talent, for encouraging young scholars, for inspiring activities and for co-ordinating results, has borne fruit in many ways and left traces in the history of our Society. One whole volume of the *Memoirs*, embodying the results of a Zoological tour in the Far East, had almost reache dcompletion at the time of his death. In it, with a band of enthusiastic collaborators, he has erected a monument to his own memory. A similar composite volume, on a smaller scale, which is to form a forthcoming number of our *Journal*, now in the press, is one in which he has brought together "Zoological results of the Percy Sladen Trust Expedition to Yunnan under the leadership of Prof. J. W. Gregory, F.R.S., 1922."

In many ways, the last year or two of Dr. Annandale's life were remarkable for the convergence of the results of his lifework.

In this Society he held the highest office that it is in our power to bestow. He was President of the last meeting of the Indian Science Congress. A few weeks before his death he received the Fellowship of the Royal Society. Officially a year ago his merits were acknowledged by the bestowal of the C.I.E. His *magnum opus*, the Zoological results of a Tour in the Far East, was nearing completion.

In private life, the death of his old mother severed the strongest link with his home-land and family. Circumstances made him, only a few months ago, against his natural disposition, arrange and settle his worldly affairs. It was as if a chapter in his life, professionally, scholarly, privately, was being closed. Then a sudden and unforeseen attack carried him away. We may say in truth that he leaves behind him a monument of work, well-built, well-finished.

Those of us who knew him well, not only officially or as a scholar, but the man in his simplicity and kindness, his freedom from affectation, his devotion to the cause of science and research, his wideness of outlook and of sympathy, may feel happy that his record of service to this Society will stand as a fitting and lasting memorial of the humanity of his heart, a visible token of hidden qualities.

JOHAN VAN MANEN.

(Read in the Ordinary Monthly Meeting, 7th May, 1924.)

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

(1864—1924.)

The death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is the loss of a great man, and the loss of a great man has wider bearings than those relating to his place in any special society, however illustrious such a body might be. It would be impossible to review within a short space the extraordinarily wide variety of the activities and interests of a man of Sir Asutosh's calibre, or to describe a life which has been such an uninterrupted manifestation of rare energy and consistent labour as has been his. The share which the Asiatic Society of Bengal had in the totality of Sir Asutosh's intellectual and practical activities can only have represented a small part of a life lived at high speed and under great pressure, yet this share was enough not only to influence the policies and the work of our Society, but I might say almost to dominate them for decades. In this small and insignificant tribute to his memory, I can only attempt to sketch in barest outline what he was amongst us, and how he seemed to us. Sir Asutosh joined the Society as long ago as 1886, being elected a Member on the 5th May of that year, having another illustrious Indian and Member, Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, for his proposer. A few months after his election Sir Asutosh, then a young man of 21, contributed his first paper to the Society, the subject being one of Indian philology, a note on a passage in the Mrichchhakaṭikā. An abstract of his note was printed in our Proceedings for 1887 together with an interesting little discussion to which it gave rise. But this was, with one exception, the only philological paper Sir Asutosh contributed during his membership. Next came a series of 14 mathematical papers, several of a highly abstruse nature, of which about a dozen were printed in full in our Journal during the four years from 1887 to 1890, and the rest in abstract in our Proceedings. It is too little known, obscured as the fact is by the later legal distinctions achieved by Sir Asutosh, that he began his intellectual career as a mathematician, and was a lecturer in mathematics and mathematical physics at the Indian Association for the cultivation of science from 1887 to 1892. Later in life he became not only a fellow or Member of several Continental and American Academies or Societies, especially Mathematical Societies, but the Founder, in 1908, of the Calcutta Mathematical Society of which he was the President up to his death. After this brief spell of activity as a contributor to our publications, Sir Asutosh turned to another kind of work in our midst, one in which he proved pre-eminent, that of organiser, inspirer, and leader of men. The only exception, which I mentioned before, was the edition in our Memoirs (Vol. III, 1912), of the Sanskrit legal work, the Vyavahāra Mātṛkā of Jimutavāhana. In 1888

Sir Asutosh was elected on the Physical Science Committee of the Society. In the next three years on this Committee again, as well as on the Library Committee; and then from 1892 to 1900 on these two Committees, and on the Philological Committee as well. In 1903 he obtained a place on the Council; next he was elected Vice-President 15 times from 1904 to 1924. He was Treasurer in 1906 and 1913; Librarian from 1917 to 1920. He was made a Fellow in 1910. He represented the Society as Trustee on the Board of Trustees of the Indian Museum from 1907 to the time of his death. Lastly, he was four times elected President, holding the office each time for the statutory maximum of two years, and establishing in this, I think, a record, never approached before in the annals of our Society. Such a record of service, unique but characteristic of the man, was recognised in 1923, when Sir Asutosh was simply put on all Committees of the Society, like the three ex-officio members. During the time that it has been my privilege to come in contact with Sir Asutosh as an office-bearer of our Society, I have been witness of the fact that he discharged the onerous duties of all his offices with the most scrupulous and constant care. In the General Meetings he was always in the chair during his terms as President, sitting through the meetings, not always of the liveliest interest, with attention and alertness, always keenly following the proceedings, always ready to lead, to comment, to help, and always patently aware of the issue under debate. This same devotion to the duties of his position I found in another place, when, he being Chairman of Council of the Imperial Library, I saw him during my two years of tenure of office there, displaying the same qualities, being the most constant attendant of the meetings, the man most completely aware of all what was going on, the most helpful, reliable, broad-minded and farseeing Councillor. In the Senate of the University it was not otherwise.

No wonder that Sir Asutosh gradually came to exercise a marked ascendancy in our counsels and was universally acknowledged our strongest man, and, as I have often thought, our most stable element. With such a record, and with such activities that could not be otherwise. Besides, Sir Asutosh, a member of our Society for 38 years, had gradually become one of our veterans, and at the time of his death he must have been about the 15th in rank of seniority of all our 350 and odd members. But not only length of membership, not only wealth of service and number of offices held, were the reasons for this. It was above all this his character, his manner, his qualities. Strong he was, but never domineering. Definite policies he held and he worked consistently for their realisation, but his manner was always suave and courteous and formally correct. He never brusquely or roughly overrode dissenting opinions or views, but always explained and reasoned. If he

carried victory in discussion it was felt that the best man had won. He was never haughty, never sarcastic, and I have never heard him sneer, and never speak evil even of those that he had good reason to know as not his friends. Above all he had broad views, a high vision and noble aims. His method was to work with the human material he had available, but he neither despised frailty nor associated people with him for their faults, but for the measure of their capacities, whatever it might be. He knew imperfection well enough and was not blind to limitations, but he knew how to utilise even limited capacity without ever calling a virtue what was not so. He was a positivist, not a criticiser; a practical worker, not a theorist. He was humble in a frank, straightforward and genuine manner, and yet strong. Though a master of law he never was a legal quibbler. Form and personalities served, not ruled, his ideals. Technicalities he always illumined with vision and never abused or used trivially. There was no sterility in his virile soul. He was a great unifying force. We all felt it, and it is my heartfelt conviction, now that this great force has gone, which pulled us, and so many others, together, that the best way for us to honour his memory is now to try to pull together without this guiding force. He loved India. He loved learning. He was an idealist of the best, for all his masterful and sturdy practical wisdom and towering energy. I am proud that it was under his Presidency that I was first elected General Secretary to this Society, and that once, when seeking his advice in the troubles attendant on my new office, he heartened me with his generous smile and called himself my "old Friend." That honour is one I shall never forget, and for which I shall always be grateful. This was only a few months ago, one of the last days he attended his Judge's room in the High Court. Now that "old Friend" has gone, and I am the poorer for it with you all. An idealist, I said! A mind free from narrowness. A seer of great things. A hoper for things to come and a future of nobility. A builder, a great architect. A patient soul of great strength. A great encourager. A man who concerning any useful or good proposal never said "Why should we?", but always "Why should we not?". Who never looked at difficulties first but always at possibilities. A man who was positive, dynamic, creative, who got things done, and helped the world to move on, aiming high.

His smile was his seal. He laughed about pettiness, but how free from cruelty and disdain was this smile. A kind man. Free of access, natural, simple. Great and yet not formidable. Gentlemen, a great Indian has gone from us, and more than that, a great *man*. May we recognise what Sir Asutosh has been to us all, and here in this Society what he has been to this venerable institution, which to go on serving with love, wisdom, and strength will be to honour his memory. And

may the powers that be grant to us that we find others like him, and finding them recognise them for what they mean to us and to the world.

To the very last days of his life, Sir Asutosh's warm solicitude for the Society remained manifest. During the last months before his death an important law case of protracted duration took him during the week to Patna. On the Saturday mornings he returned to Calcutta, where, after a brief visit to his home, he would go to the University to toil with unabated energy for its welfare during the rest of the day. There it was that I mostly met him during these last months in the Senate Meetings. On Saturday, May the 3rd, I had a conversation with him there about our Society's affairs in which he showed all his accustomed interest in all what concerned our activities. He then promised that, as soon as the case would be over, he would again attend our Council Meetings regularly, and he told me that he looked forward to resuming his accustomed place in our midst. Next week there was no meeting of the Senate and so, under ordinary circumstances, I would not have met him, but a communication from the municipality in connection with our taxes brought up a subtle point of considerable importance, and I decided that it was best to try and see Sir Asutosh at once to ask for his advice. I found him a few minutes before the beginning of one of the innumerable Saturday afternoon University Committee meetings, and he explained that it was impossible for him to go into the matter then and there, but that he would try to meet me after his work in the University would be over, though he could not say whether this would last to six, to seven, or perhaps later. Arranging that I would wait for him in our rooms whatever the hour would prove to be. Sir Asutosh duly arrived at about seven, discussed the matter fully, promised to look up the law on the subject and to give his considered advice as soon as possible. Staying a little longer and again discussing various Society matters, he repeated his intention to be present and take active part in our May Council meeting. Next Saturday, true to his word, after return from Patna, and on his way from his home to the University, he looked in during the morning, gave his advice, clear and definite as ever, and remained for about an hour, speaking about Society matters, full of interest, full of enthusiasm, and with a kindness and friendliness which made so strong an impression on me that I could not refrain from expressing my feelings to him. He also had a conversation with Mr. Ivanow, in the progress of whose catalogue he was strongly interested, and with whom he spoke in the same kindly manner. This was the last visit of Sir Asutosh to our Society, a visit between a night journey in the train and before a grinding day of work, snatched from his overburdened hours, and a visit which will always stand in my memory

as a symbol of his love for our Society and his service to it.

Exactly a week later he died.

When on that memorable Monday afternoon, together with those other thousands, I had come to the gates of the Kalighat cremation ground to pay my last respects to our illustrious dead one, and made my last salute in this life to his body, one of those marvellous old Indian sayings, those cameos of wisdom of the country, came to my mind to solace me in my distress. I thought of the old shloka:

"Not father, not mother, remain with him on his voyage beyond. Neither sons, nor wife: it is merit alone that accompanies him."

Gentlemen, we may be sure that a strong and beneficent guardian accompanies Sir Asutosh.

JOHAN VAN MANEN.

(Read in the Ordinary Monthly Meeting, 4th June, 1924.)

NAWAB AZIZ JUNG.

(1855—1924.)

The late Nawab Aziz Jung, Khan Bahadur, Shamsul Ulama Mowlana Ahmad 'Abdul Aziz, Khan Naiti (Madrasi), surnamed Wila, was born at Nellore on the 12th Rabiul Awal, 1272 A.H., 23rd Nov., 1855, A.D. His grandfather, Moulvi Mohammad Ghaziuddin 'Ghazi' gave him his education. He studied under renowned Persian tutors, and after attaining proficiency in Persian, turned his attention to Arabic under equally distinguished teachers. He had a pronounced taste for poetry and became himself a poet of distinction adopting the surname of 'Wila.' In two other branches of Muhammadan learning he excelled also: calligraphy and mathematics. In or about 1873 he settled with his father in Hyderabad and obtained there a modest post as calligrapher to the Nizam's Government. His talent was soon acknowledged, and shortly afterwards he was appointed by Nawab Mugtadir Jung Bahadur as the first Talaukdar of Revenue for the district of Maidak. After this he was promoted to the post of Sadar Talukdar, and was appointed a Commissioner during the plague epidemic. He then obtained a seat on the Legislative Council of His Exalted Highness the Nizam and became Vice-President of the Municipality.

In the meantime his literary interests found expression in his editorship of the Urdu Journal *Azizul Akhbar*, and the proprietorship of the Urdu paper *Takhmimul Ahkam*: The Government of India acknowledged his merits by the bestowal of the titles of Shamsul Ulama and Khan Bahadur, whilst the

Nizam made him an Aziz Jung. He was a prolific writer, and out of the twenty-four works written by him, the following may be specially mentioned.

1.	Tārīkh-i-Nawā'it	a history of the Nā'it family of which the author was himself a member, in Urdū.
2.	Maḥbūb as-Siyar	a history of the Deccan, in Persian.
3.	'Aṭiyāt-i-Saltanat ..	a history of the Nizām's dominions, in Urdū.
4.	Siyāq-i-Dakan ..	on account keeping, in Urdū.
5.	Falāḥat an-Nakhl ..	on date growing, in Urdū.
6.	Kishṭ-i Angūr ..	on grape farming, in Urdū.
7.	Kishṭ-i-Tarkārī ..	on vegetable growing, in Urdū.
8.	Ḥayāt-i-Ḥamām ..	on pigeon-keeping, in Urdū.

But the crown of his literary work was a gigantic Persian thesaurus, the Asaful-Lughat of which at the time of his death 20 volumes (lithographed) had been published, containing the words up to only the fifth letter of the alphabet, a large number of copies of this work being distributed to public institutions.

The Nawab, in 1907, presented a collection of over 500 works, printed and in MS., to the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and made similar donations to two other libraries in India. He was elected an Associate Member of our Society in 1910.

Living up to a ripe old age amidst the universal esteem of his contemporaries; gratefully remembered by all young scholars who sought his ever ready help, beloved by his four sons and four daughters; warmly respected in our own Society, he filled a place which his death leaves empty, as it is improbable that his special qualities, and his valued activities should be soon replaced by a successor of equal merits.

JOHAN VAN MANEN.

(Read in the Ordinary Monthly Meeting, 5th November, 1924.)

Deputations.

Société Linnéenne de Normandie. Société des antiquaires de Normandie.

Both these societies were founded in 1824 by Arcisse de Caumont and their centenary celebrations were combined. The undersigned represented the Society at the joint function in May and June at Caen, where appropriate homage was paid to the great-minded founder. The scientific pabulum provided was as wide in its scope as the names of the societies suggest, the *pièce de résistance* being a wonderful tour amongst selected antiquities of Normandy.

Société Géologique de Belgique.

The undersigned also represented the Society at the well organised celebration in July of the jubilee of the Belgian Geological Society in Liège. This was held in conjunction with the first meeting in Belgium of the Congrès de l'association française pour l'avancement des sciences.

W. A. K. Christie.

Communications.

The British Residency,
Bushire, the 28th March, 1924.

DEAR SIR,

I am directed to forward to you a copy of a D/O letter No. 258, dated 16th March, 1924, from Mr. H. G. Chick, C.I.E., His Majesty's Consul, Shiraz, regarding a Pehlevi inscription which Professor Herzfeld recently photographed at Persepolis and decyphered.

The information will, it is hoped, prove to be of interest to the Society.

Yours truly,

Sd. H. D. C. LAW, I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Political
Resident in the Persian Gulf.

To

The Hon: Secretary,
Asiatic Society, Bengal.
Calcutta.

Copy of D/O No. 258, dated 16th March, 1924, from H. M. Consul, Shiraz, to the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, Bushire.

On the invitation of Professor Herzfeld I have been out for a day to Persepolis. While there he photographed a Pehlevi inscription on the outer S.E. face of one of the uprights of the 'Tachara,' some hitherto illegible words which he has only recently succeeded in decyphering, and which he thinks will prove of interest for the history of India.

A son of Hurmuz II (A.D. 302–309) and brother of Shapur II (A.D. 309–379), whose name was also Shapur, has the title "Sakan-Shah," i.e. the ruler of the *whole* Saka Empire, and "dabiran debir" (something like Head of the Civil Service) of *Hind*, Sakastan, and Turkistan (which is possibly meant for Tukharistan, i.e. northern Afghanistan).

The Paikuli inscription between Qasr-i-Shirin and Sulaimanieh shows that India as far as Bombay, and perhaps Agra, formed part of the Persian Sasanian Empire during the 3rd century (under Narses, 293): this inscription at Persepolis indicates that India remained under the Sasanians well into the 4th century also, as it is dated the 10th year of Shapur II, and in Professor Herzfeld's opinion helps to clear up an obscure chapter in the history of India.

The Sakas—Indo-Scythians—who penetrated from beyond the Hindu-Kush right down to Sistan, to Kandahar (where they had a king Gandofar in the middle of the 1st century A.D.) and across the Indus, have left their name in Sistan. Sakastan: Sagastan: Sajistan (Arab.): Sistan. "Sakan-shah"—king of

Sakastan—refers to the largest extent of that empire of the Sakas, and was borne as a title by heir-apparents of the Sasanian throne apparently: for the Governor of the present Sistan in the same inscription at Persepolis has the title of "Satrap of Zarang" (the Achaemenian name for Sistan).

I think it is V. A. Smith's History of India, or "Early Indian History" which suspects a Sasanian invasion of India in the 3rd century; but this inscription makes the Sasanian suzerainty more definite.

Proceedings of the Medical Section Meetings, 1924.

Five meetings were held during the year, and were fairly well attended. The practice of throwing open meetings of the Medical Section to medical visitors in general has led to an increase of membership among medical men. On the other hand there are many regular medical "visitors" to such meetings who should become members in place of remaining regular "visitors." All the eight papers read have subsequently been published with due acknowledgments: seven of them in the *Indian Medical Gazette*, and one in the *Indian Journal of Medical Research*.

—◇—

JANUARY, 1924.

A meeting of the Medical Section of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 16th January, 1924, at 6-15 P.M.

PRESENT.

Lt.-Col. J. W. D. MEGAW, I.M.S., in the chair.

Members:

Basu, Dr. D. N.
Bhattacharji, Dr. S. P.
De, Dr. S. K.
Knowles, Major, R., I.M.S.
Stewart, Major, A. D., I.M.S.
And another.

Visitors: 29.

The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed and signed. Lt.-Col. J. W. D. Megaw, I.M.S., read a paper on "The Typhus Group of Fevers." The author provisionally classified this group into (*a*) louse typhus: (*b*) tick typhus: and (*c*) mite typhus, according to the nature of the transmitting vector of the disease. A typhus-like fever has been known for some years to prevail in the Kumaon Himalayas, and corresponds in its symptomatology to the Rocky Mountain spotted fever, which is transmitted by a tick. Similar fevers have been described by McNaught and others (1909-1911) from South Africa: by Wynn and others (1921) in Nigeria: by Schüffner and others in Sumatra: and in Australia. The cases recorded by the author in India were: (*a*) a group of three cases reported by Colonel Chapman, I.M.S., from Nagpur in the Central Provinces: (*b*) a case reported by Colonel Sprawson, I.M.S., from

Hyderabad, S. India: (*c*) a case from Cawnpore by Colonel Hardy, R.A.M.C.: (*d*) the author's own personal attack of a typhus-like fever three weeks after having been bitten by a tick at Sat Tal: and (*e*) Colonel McKechnie's study of the 1913 outbreak in Bhim Tal.—where there were about 20 cases. The symptomatology and rash of the disease resemble those of true typhus, but the mortality is much lower. There was no evidence to incriminate louse-transmission, in fact the scattered distribution of isolated cases in different households was against it. The persistence of site infection and the close association of the disease with dense jungle, as well as the clear history of tick bite in several cases, suggested that the disease was tick-borne rather than louse-borne. In brief, the disease closely resembles Rocky Mountain spotted fever: but as such a name is obviously inapplicable to a disease occurring in India the provisional term "tick typhus" was suggested.

The paper was discussed by Dr. H. C. Mitter and D. N. Basu, who both claimed to have seen cases of what appeared to be true typhus in Calcutta.

Major R. Knowles, I.M.S., then read a paper "On the Nature of *Blastocystis hominis*." The fact that the true nature of this very common intestinal parasite of man had remained a mystery for the fifty years succeeding its discovery was not a little surprising. Alexieff (1911, 1917), who considered it to be a vegetable organism allied to the Blastomyces group, but with a peculiar life cycle of its own, was the first to give a correct lead in this matter. Barret in 1921 had first succeeded in culturing it, and Lynch (1922) had described three species from man in such cultures: *viz.*, *B. hominis* (*sensu strictu*), which multiplied by binary and multiple fission: *B. gemmagina*, which multiplied by budding; and *B. sporangia*, which multiplied by endogenous spore formation. Beaurepaire Aragao (1923), working on Blastocystis of the frog, had described the nuclear structure of the organism, and had described multiplication by plasmotomy, and also a process of formation of secondary endogenous cysts.

The author, together with Dr. B. M. Das-Gupta, had recently cultivated different species of Blastocystis from man, the *Macacus rhesus* monkey, the rat, and the guinea-pig. In all these species, the forms encountered were very similar, and the life cycles of all four species appeared to be identical. A study of preparations from these cultures fixed with Schaudinn's fixative and stained by Haidenheim's iron heamatoxylin stain, shewed the following processes of multiplication:—(*a*) Division by plasmotomy, forms undergoing a first primary division often commencing a secondary division before the first was completed. (*b*) Multiplication by exogenous bud-formation. (*c*) A conversion of the large central paraglycogen mass into an endogenous spore-sac, inside which by a process of idiochromidia and condensation

into nuclei, with condensation of cytoplasm around them, a sporangium was ultimately formed filled with spores. It was now clear, from the work of several authors, that Blastocystis is a fungus of a high order, closely allied to the *Schizosaccharomycetes*; parasitic—according to Dobell, in the gut of the majority of human beings, as well as in many species of vertebrates; and a cause of considerable confusion and error to the laboratory worker, who might easily misinterpret it as a cyst of one or other of the intestinal protozoa. There was no evidence to show that Blastocystis is in any way pathogenic.

Both papers were illustrated by lantern slides. During Colonel Megaw's paper, the electric lantern gave constant trouble and repeatedly went out. During Major Knowles' paper, the lantern failed completely, and the main fuse of the building burnt out, leaving the author to read his paper by candle-light and exhibit the lantern slides by the aid of a motor car headlight, kindly provided by the chairman. The meeting terminated at 8-25 P.M.

—◇—

MARCH, 1924.

A meeting of the Medical Section of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 12th March, 1924, at 6-15 P.M.

PRESENT.

LT.-COL. J. W. D. MEGAW, I.M.S., in the chair.

Members:

Acton, Major H. W., I.M.S.
Chopra, Major R. N., I.M.S.
Doxey, Mr. F.
Ghosh, Dr. E. N.
Knowles, Major R., I.M.S.
Shanks, Capt. G., I.M.S.
Stewart, Major A. D., I.M.S.
Steen, Lt.-Col. H. B., I.M.S.
And another.

Visitors: 18.

The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed and signed. Capt. G. Shanks, M.D., I.M.S., then read a paper "On the Results of Routine Blood Cultures in cases of Pyrexia of uncertain origin." The author said that the technique employed at the Medical College Hospital was very simple,—being simply to add 10 c.c. of the patient's blood to a 50 c.c. flask of 2 per cent. glucose broth. The results for 1922, 1923 and 1924 to date were given. On the medical side interesting findings had been streptococcal bacteraemia complicating typhoid fever, where it was often associated with intestinal haemorrhage: a case of unsuspected plague: and *B. coli* bacteraemia in cases clinically simulating enteric fever. On the surgical side streptococcal bacteraemia had been found associated with acute funiculitis of

the spermatic cord; and on the obstetric side *B coli* infections, associated with eclampsia and in the puerperium. The importance of taking such cultures in all cases of fever of uncertain origin was enormous: such findings might clinch the diagnosis already made, might raise suspicions as to the true nature of the disease, or occasionally furnish unexpected surprises.

In the discussion on the paper, Major Stewart commented on the value of the method in diagnosis, and Colonel Megaw suggested its application to investigate the possibility of bacteraemia associated with filarial fever.

Major H. W. Acton, I.M.S., then read a joint paper by himself and Major R. N. Chopra, I.M.S., on "Some factors in individual susceptibility." The investigation of such factors underlay the solution of many problems in medicine to-day, but little understood, and as yet unsolved: *e.g.*, in connection with diseases the susceptibility of certain persons to hay fever, asthma, urticaria, giant urticaria and the like: in connection with drugs, idiosyncrasy to such drugs as quinine, arsenic, etc.

Briefly, the conditions present in hyper-susceptibility are a series of chemical inter-actions, modified by or dominated by the endocrine mechanisms of the body, the study of which was one of great difficulty. In an animal with high thyroxin or adrenalin content, adrenalin acted powerfully, raising the blood pressure, and causing bronchial relaxation; but if the thyroxin content was low, the effect of adrenalin on blood pressure was but slight, whilst it caused powerful bronchial relaxation. The remote action of adrenalin in diminishing capillary permeability by inhibiting the action of toxic bases on the myo-neural junctions, caused it to be a drug of great value in urticaria, giant urticaria, and the toxic oedemas. Excess of thyroxin in the tissues increased the action of these bases on the vascular mechanism, but prevented their action on the bronchial musculature. Pituitrin increases the tone of involuntary muscle, and is of value in all flaccid conditions of the involuntary muscles, including visceroptosis and intestinal stasis. In hyperchlorhydria with increased alkalinity of the bowel, quinine is absorbed more readily than normal, and if the defensive mechanism of the liver be impaired, it may flood the circulation, in undue concentration and cause toxic symptoms. The susceptibility of certain persons to such food intoxication diseases as beriberi and epidemic dropsy was due to similar causes in the failure of the endocrine defence mechanism: the protective rôle of the vitamines in these diseases being to decrease permeability, and prevent these toxins from reaching the tissues. Endothelial susceptibility, as seen in urticaria, giant urticaria, and food-asthma could be controlled by adrenalin injections to diminish permeability. Asthma may be caused by stimulation of either the vagus or the sympathetic. In the latter case, thyroid extract, and adrenalin would be of value, but in the

former case useless. The whole subject was indeed one deservi most careful study and attention, in view of its close relationsh to many diseases.

Major Acton's paper was illustrated by lantern slides, b the lantern again gave trouble and proved unsatisfactory. Tl meeting terminated at 8.10 P.M.

—◇—

JULY, 1924.

A meeting of the Medical Section of the Society was held o Wednesday, the 9th July, 1924, at 6.15 P.M.

PRESENT.

Major R. Knowles, I.M.S., in the chair.

Members :

Acton, Major H. W., I.M.S.
Gourlay, Lt.-Col. C. A., I.M.S.
Harnett, Major W. L., I.M.S.

Visitors : 6.

The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed and signed Lt.-Colonel C. A. Gourlay, D.S.O., I.M.S., then read a pape entitled "Surgical Sundries."

Colonel Gourlay dealt first with anæsthesia, commenting o the unnecessary suffering to which patients are sometime exposed in hospitals in India. The five factors, anxiety, fear pain, hæmorrhage and sepsis all combine to bring about shock —and measures should be taken to deal with all five. Gentleness, sympathy, and calmness on the part of doctors and nurses are not a mere matter of sentiment; they are of real surgical value. The patient should be given morphia or scopalamine before being brought into the theatre, so as to dull his senses and allay fear. The painful stimuli coming from the site of operation should be blocked, mucous membranes being painted with a 1 per cent. or 2 per cent. solution of novocaine, and the same solution injected subcutaneously. Infiltration anæsthesia and nerve block are valuable methods of combating shock, and should be used even on the fully anæsthetised patient. Such measures reduced both shock, and the amount of general anæsthetic required to a minimum. Yet far too little attention was paid to them in this country.

Turning secondly to fractures, Colonel Gourlay quoted Hey Grove's five instructions for dealing with such cases: *viz.* (i) Diagnosis and observations of the exact nature of the fracture, from the outset and at frequent intervals during the course of treatment, by the *x*-rays. (ii) Restoration of the bony deformity, so that nothing but partial lateral displacement or impaction

without alteration of the axis of the limb is allowed. (iii) The retention of this restored position so that displacement does not occur during healing. (iv) Preservation of the vigour of the muscles and circulation from the very outset by movements. (v) Early restitution of functional utility by properly graduated exercises. It was not enough to *x*-ray a fracture only once before treatment: it should be *x*-rayed again after the fracture had been set and from time to time subsequently to make certain that displacement had not occurred. "The setting of a fracture is a myth," but fortunately functional results are often better than anatomical ones. With regard to retention of the restored position, a skiagram taken 6 to 8 days after setting the fracture was a valuable criterion. Open operation was sometimes necessary to ensure retention of position. Massage should be begun at the earliest possible moment and passive movements as soon as ever possible. The patient should make every attempt at early active movement, stopping short of causing pain: such early active movement was the keystone of the modern treatment of fractures. Lastly, graduated exercises should be begun early: in the case of a fracture of the leg, the patient should first practise flexion and extension whilst in bed: later he could sit on the edge of his bed and practise them: later crawl around his bed on hands and feet: then walk with a patten, till finally he was able to manage without either patten or crutches.

With regard to compound fractures, of 39 cases treated recently at the Sambhu Nath Pundit Hospital, in 5 sepsis had defeated the objects of treatment, including one death and two cases which went on to amputation. These results were capable of improvement, but were typical of present-day results in India. The defeat of sepsis should be the primary consideration in the treatment of compound fractures.

Colonel Gourlay's paper was discussed by Major Acton, who pointed out the value of operations on small animals in connection with pharmacological and biochemical work in training a surgeon in dexterity and technique.

Major W. L. Harnett, M.A., M.B., F.R.C.S. (Eng.), I.M.S., then read a paper on "Orthopedic Cases of Interest, with special reference to ankylosis of joints." The author commented upon the countless hordes of cripples which infest every Indian bazar, and upon the enormous field that there is for orthopedic surgery in India,—a field almost entirely neglected by most surgeons in this country. His experience was that such patients would submit to prolonged treatment, provided that it was not painful, and that they could have evidence of steady progress. Orthopedic surgery had made enormous advances during the war, and the name of Sir Robert Jones stood out pre-eminent among those who had created and developed this most modern branch of surgery.

Omitting fractures and dislocations, a useful classification

of types of ankylosis of joints was as follows :—(i) Cases where the pathological process (disease or injury) started outside the joint: here the primary attack will have to be made on structures outside the joint, the adhesions within which are usually not troublesome. (ii) Cases where the pathological process started within the joint, the contracture of surrounding structures being secondary: here the primary attack must be made on the joint itself, and neglected and chronic gonorrhoea was a *most* important aetiological factor in the causation of such cases in this country whilst tuberculosis, in contra-distinction to what obtains in Europe, was not. The aims of treatment should be (i) to restore movement, partially or completely: (ii) if restoration of movement was impossible, to place the joint in the most useful functional position: (iii) where there was only a small range of painful movement, to secure a stable and painless limb by bony ankylosis.

Taking bony ankylosis first, as being the simpler problem, arthroplasty—an operation which aimed at reconstructing a movable joint,—was always a tempting procedure, but demanded the highest degree of surgical technique: otherwise results were often worse than originally. If, however, the joint was ankylosed in a bad position, operation was indicated to restore function to the limb, and each case presented an individual problem for study,—although general rules and methods were applicable. Illustrative cases shewn were cuneiform osteotomy with gradual, repeated straightening out operations on the limb in a case of ankylosis of the hip; and Adams' osteotomy between the head and trochanter of the femur in a case of gonorrhoeal ankylosis of the hip.

Fibrous ankylosis presented a much more difficult problem. Here cases could be classified into those of (*a*) sound ankylosis, where active disease was absent: and (*b*) unsound ankylosis, where disease, either acute or chronic, was present and still progressive. Stiffness from disease resulted in pain and rigidity on movement in all directions: stiffness from adhesions resulted in pain and rigidity on movement only in that direction which put the adhesions upon the stretch. Each case was again an individual problem, but general rules for treatment were that in the presence of active disease, rest and fixation were indicated: whereas in quiescent cases, intervention, as far as anatomical conditions would allow, was indicated In the event of failure to render the joint mobile, the operation of arthrodesis was of special value in such cases.

With regard to mobilising stiff joints in general, methods of general value were (*a*) physio-therapeutic methods, such as hot baths, paraffin baths, diathermy and passive movements: (*b*) full movement under an anaesthetic: (*c*) movement in stages under an anaesthetic, rupturing adhesions, but stopping short each time of setting up a reaction: (*d*) gradual alteration of

position by extension and splints: (*e*) forced movement under anaesthesia, followed by immobilisation in plaster of Paris. Illustrative cases shewn were a case of gonorrhoeal synovitis of the left hip and knee treated by tenotomies and repeated stretching under anaesthesia, and a similar case of ankylosis of both hips and both knees about to be treated on similar lines.

Major Harnett's paper, which constitutes a very important contribution to the study of orthopedic surgery in India, was rendered still more interesting by the exhibition of the patients referred to and of the skiagrams taken. The paper was published in the *Indian Medical Gazette* for December, 1924

The meeting terminated at 7-45 P.M.

OCTOBER, 1924.

A meeting of the Medical Section of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 22nd October, 1924, at 6-15 P.M.

PRESENT.

MAJOR R. KNOWLES, I.M.S., in the chair.

Members:

Acton, Major H. W., I.M.S.
Barnardo, Lt.-Col., F. A. F., I.M.S.
Chopra, Major R. N., I.M.S.
Cooper, Mr. C. S.
Megaw, Lt.-Col., J. W. D., I.M.S.

Visitors: 17.

Major R. N. Chopra, M.A., M.D., I.M.S., read a joint paper by himself, and Dr. Asa Chandler, Ph.D., on "Indian Santonin."

The authors pointed out that santonin is now one of the most expensive drugs in the pharmacopoeia; since the war its price has risen to as much as Rs. 720 per lb., and a single dose of 3 grains costs a rupee, whilst the drug is almost universally required in Indian practice as a helminthic for Ascaris and Oxyuris infections. This is due to the fact that the world's supply of santonin is derived from *Artemisia pauciflora*, grown in the plains of Kirghiz in Turkestan, a country whose industries have been very seriously affected by the political and economical disturbances in Russia of recent years. Yet a similar species, *Artemisia maritima* Linn. (*A. brevifolia* Wall) grows wild in the Western Himalayas at altitudes above 4,000 feet, from Kumaon to Kashmere. The drug has been in use as an anthelminthic since very early days, and recently the Kashmere State authorities had taken steps to collect the plant, whilst Messrs. Smith, Stanistreet & Co., Calcutta, had extracted an Indian santonin from the flowering heads, which the authors had tested.

The active principles of this Indian santonin had been

found to be:—(i) A volatile oil, the properties and action of which were still under investigation: (ii) a neutral principle, responsible for its anthelminthic properties, and of which the content varied, but was lower than that of the Russian santonin. On the other hand, by selective cultivation and plucking at the right season of the year, it was probable that the yield of santonin from the Indian plant could be much improved.

Indian santonin, thus extracted, was experimentally tested under the same circumstances against standard pharmacopoeial santonin. Chemically, the two appeared to be identical with regard to their solubility, colour, taste, crystallization, sublimation, melting point, optical properties, ash and chemical composition. As much as 90 mgm. could be given to a cat weighing 2 kilos, without untoward symptoms: it was not more toxic than the European variety, and an efficient anthelminthic for Belascaris infection of the cat.

Accordingly, 27 cases of human infection with Ascaris were treated with Indian santonin,—given with calomel and sodium bicarbonate. The stools were collected for 48 to 72 hours after administration of the drug, and were examined: also again on the 10th day after treatment by the Kofoid and Barber technique for extraction of ova. As the authors had previously shewn, santonin is a much more efficacious ascaricide than oil of chenopodium, although much more expensive. With 30 minims of the latter drug, given in three divided doses, they had obtained cure of Ascaris infections in 57 per cent. of 37 cases. With the treatment outlined by Indian santonin, calomel and sodium bicarbonate, 25 out of the 27 patients treated were apparently cured, or 93 per cent., whilst a few also passed hookworms whilst under treatment.

To summarise, India—in place of being dependent upon the ultra-expensive, imported Russian santonin,—could easily manufacture all her own requirements of santonin at a cheap rate, and even export Indian santonin at a profit.

At the conclusion of Major Chopra's paper, Major Knowles drew attention to the extreme value to India of such pharmacological researches. The present position was typical: India was importing Russian santonin at Rs. 720 per lb., whereas a santonin of equal efficacy could be manufactured at a cheap rate from indigenous sources. The country should be under a debt of gratitude to Major Chopra, and his colleagues for this and similar work on Indian indigenous drugs. Colonel Barnardo said that he had discovered that in former times, about 1870, it was the custom to give every patient admitted to the Calcutta Medical College Hospital a dose of santonin as a routine measure in order to expel any roundworms present. To-day, such a practice would be impossible, owing to the exorbitant price of santonin; yet it was just as desirable to-day as in 1870. Mr. C. S. Cooper (of Messrs. Smith, Stanistreet & Co.), spoke of the

ossibilities of placing Indian santonin upon the market at a heap rate, and Major Chopra finally replied to questions asked.

Dr. Ganpati Panja, M.B. (Cal.), then exhibited a series of antern slides of the commoner skin diseases of the tropics, taken t Major Acton's clinic at the Calcutta School of Tropical ledicine, discussing the different conditions shewn, and their etiology and treatment. The lantern worked very well upon his occasion, and a very interesting meeting terminated at 40 P.M.

—◇—

NOVEMBER, 1924.

A meeting of the Medical Section of the Society was held n Wednesday, the 12th November, 1924, at 6-15 P.M.

PRESENT.

MAJOR R. KNOWLES, I.M.S., in the chair.

Members:

Acton, Major H. W., I.M.S.
Bhattacharji, Dr. S. P.
Bose, Dr. S. R.
Chopra, Major R. N., I.M.S.
Megaw, Lt.-Col. J. W. D., I.M.S.
Stewart, Major A. D., I.M.S.

Visitors: 18.

Major H. W. Acton I.M.S. read a joint paper by himself and Major Chopra on "The Beriberi and Epidemic Dropsy Problem." This paper summarised the results of four years of continuous research work upon the problem.

The authors regarded epidemic dropsy and beriberi as different clinical aspects of a toxic syndrome caused by the ingestion of poisonous bases formed in rice under certain conditions,—sometimes, indeed, by ingestion of poisonous bases formed in other foodstuffs under conditions of storage, preservation or transit. The diseased rice can easily be detected by the water test, and—further—these two different clinical entities are associated with two different grades of rice. A spore-bearing proteolytic bacillus of the *B. vulgatus* group is commonly found in such diseased grains. These bacteria attack the fruit, particularly during the hot humid months of the monsoon, especially if the grain is stacked in non-ventilated rooms. Highly polished grain is more easily attacked owing to the loss of the aleurone layer and embryo, and the consequent exposure of the delicate cells of the fruit.

Parboiling kills the enzymes in the grain, and so further helps bacillary invasion. Bacterial invasion of the rice occurs more commonly from the germ site, but in highly polished rice it also occurs as commonly from the surface. The bacteria and their spores, as well as their effects on the structure of the

fruit, can be demonstrated by microscopical sections and cultura tests.

Experimentally, by spraying rice or inoculating sterile rice media under certain conditions of temperature and humidity the same poisonous bases are formed from the proteids. These bases produce pharmacologically all the signs of the disease; *viz.* oedema, heart effects, and para-sympathetic paralysis, and they are not present in the non-inoculated control rice media.

In sterile rice medium that has been inoculated by this bacillus under ærobic conditions at blood heat, the medium is liquefied, and the water-soluble bases produced. The neurotoxin is only produced when the temperature is raised to 50 C., and the conditions made anærobic by a layer of vaseline.

The difference in the relative proportions of the signs in epidemic dropsy, and beriberi is due to these bacteria acting on two different grades of rice, and producing different amounts of the toxins causing neuritis and œdema. The poisons in the rice causing epidemic dropsy are water-soluble, and are, therefore, found in the rice water, thus explaining the incidence amongst Hindu widows, and in large communities; in the former the rice is cooked till dry, in the latter it is improperly washed. The neurotoxin found in rice causing beriberi is soluble in alcohol only, so that the disease is seen in persons cooking for themselves.

Individual susceptibility plays an important part when the amount of poison ingested is small in amount, *e.g.*, the small incidence sometimes seen in a jail population. When the quantity ingested is very large, *e.g.*, in a whole family attacked by epidemic dropsy, it then determines the mortality. Hypo-adrenia in particular, and hypo-thyroidism to a lesser extent, increase the susceptibility towards these bases, and this in turn is closely correlated with colouration of animals.

Rice polishings contain bases that are antagonistic to the bases found in diseased rice. The pericarp acts mechanically by preventing surface bacterial invasion of the grain, and is further aided by the protective layer of bacteria living under the pericarp of all fruit.

Polished parboiled rice is the most dangerous of all rices, and can be protected only by preservatives and proper storage.

Adrenalin in small doses, minims ii. intramuscularly twice a day, diminishes cell permeability, and so relieves the œdema, and also antagonises the action of the water-soluble bases. To a lesser extent it protects the para-sympathetic.

Major Acton's paper was illustrated by lantern slides, and was discussed by Major Knowles, who stated that the authors' conclusions appeared to be incontrovertible, and their case proved: the prevention of epidemic dropsy and beriberi appeared to be merely a matter of control of conditions of rice storage, and of legislative measures, if necessary. Colonel

Megaw considered the findings both interesting and suggestive: they supported the rice-intoxication theory which he had always upheld, but he was not yet convinced that the authors had fully proved their case. Major Stewart considered that the infective theory of the origin of epidemic dropsy had still much to support it. Major Acton replied, and the meeting terminated at 8 P.M.

* * * * *

On a review of the work of the Medical Section of the Society during the year, it is a little difficult to assess its real value. On the one hand, the papers read were mostly of a high standard of merit, and constitute important contributions to the ever widening field of scientific research work in tropical medicine and surgery. On the other hand, the meetings of the Medical Section were less well attended than in 1923, whilst there is present a distinct separatist opinion which favours the creation of a new medical society in Calcutta, and is not in favour of continuing to hold meetings of what is practically an enclave within the parent Asiatic Society. Those who favour such a view, however, have perhaps not seriously considered the difficulties in the way of place of meeting, organisation, etc., which such a procedure would entail. Further, tropical medicine of to-day is so much dependent upon and correlated with its sister sciences of physics, mathematics, chemistry, biology, zoology, botany and protozoology, that the Medical Section of the Society should not continue to be an enclave within the Society, but should be in vital touch with its other biological and natural history activities. Possibly joint meetings of these Sections would forward such a policy. Also the policy put forward by the President of the Society at the annual meeting in February, 1925, of holding popular scientific lectures, and of interesting the lay public in the Society's activities might help to arouse and maintain interest in its Medical Section. The present is a transitional phase, which one hopes, will only be a transitional one, before the medical activities of the Society become linked up with its many spheres of activity which have a direct or indirect bearing upon medicine. In this matter the opportunities afforded by such an organisation as the Society possesses are unique: hitherto, however, they have scarcely been explored.

R. KNOWLES, MAJOR, I.M.S.,
Medical Secretary.

Numismatic Supplement for 1925.

[*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*]

Numismatic Supplement No. XXXIX

[for 1925]

Articles 249-264.

CONTENTS.

249. Attribution of the Imitation-Gupta Coins
By N. K. Bhattasali.

250. Padmatankas of some of the Yadava Kings of Devagiri
By Srinivas Raghava Ayyangar.

251. Some rare coins found in the Central Provinces
By M. A. Suboor.

252. Three Mughal Coins
By Prayag Dayal.

253. Rupees of Shah 'Alam II, struck at Akarwan
By Srinivas R. Ayyangar.

254. The Epithet used on Copper Coins by Ibrahim Adil Shah II Bijapur.
By Muhd. Ismail.

255. A Gold Coin of Kumara Gupta I
By Panna Lal.

256. A Gold Coin of Farrukhiyar of Farrukhabad Mint . .
By Panna Lal.

257. Supplementary observations upon the Coinage struck for t British East India Company's Settlement of Penang Prince of Wales' Island (1786 to 1828). (Additional Article No. 247, Numismatic Supplement No. XXXVIII The Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Ben (New Series), Vol. XX, 1924, No. 4).
By John A. Bucknill.

258. Some South Indian Gold Coins
By Srinivas R. Ayyangar.

259. Some Moghul Gold Coins .. .. .
By Srinivas R. Ayyangar.

260. Coins of Raja Raja Chola ..
By Srinivas R. Ayyangar.

261. Historical Facts gleaned from the Coins of the Bahmani nasty.
By M. A. Suboor.

262. A new Coin of Garha Mandla
By H. R. Nevill.

263. On the gold Coins of Muhammad 'Adil Shah of Bijapur
By Muhd. Ismail.

264. Note on a gold Coin of 'Alaud Din Humayun Shah Zalim B mani.
By Muhd. Ismail.

NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No. XXXIX.

ARTICLES 249–264.

Continued from "Journal and Proceeding," Vol. XX, New Series No. 4.

249. ATTRIBUTION OF THE IMITATION-GUPTA COINS.

In article No. 239 of the Numismatic Supplement for 1923, I described a number of Imitation-Gupta coins from East Bengal and attempted to trace their origin. I attributed the issue of these coins to the Guptas of Magadha. On the final proof, however, I suggested that the issue of these coins may also be attributed with some reason to the line of the Gauḍa kings to which Śaśāṅka belonged. The editor, unfortunately, could not find his way to incorporate the note at that stage, as it would have upset the paging. As I weigh the evidence again and again, the claims of the kings of Gauḍa to be regarded as the authors of these coins now appear to me to be stronger than those of the kings of Magadha. I have, therefore, thought it worth while to re-open the question.

The chief objection to assigning these coins to the Later Guptas of Magadha is that no coin of this dynasty is known and it is also difficult to conceive that they had any influence so far east as Sābhār in the Dacca District, from the ruins at which place many coins of this type have been and are still constantly being found. Āditya-sena, the greatest king of this line was, in all probability, the paramount sovereign of Northern India of his time; but his immediate sphere of influence appears, from the provenance of his inscriptions, to have been the region of Magadha. That Eastern India at that time had its own king independent of Āditya-sena is borne out by the testimony of the Chinese Travellers, who found Devavarmman ruling in Eastern India, while the king called 'The Sun-army' (Āditya-sena) was building a temple near Buddha Gaya. (Beal's Life of Hiuen Tsang, Introduction, p. xxxvi.)

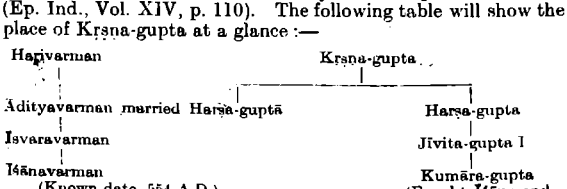
The provenance of nearly all the coins of this type hitherto discovered is Bengal, particularly East Bengal. It should not however be forgotten that we know of at least three coins that are said to hail from Lucknow. The Lucknow Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Guptas and the Maukharis notices one such coin (p. 36) purchased at Lucknow. As already noticed in my previous article (N.S., 1923, page N. 61) two coins of this type, one in the Nāhār collection at 45, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta, and the other in the possession of Rai Manilal

Nahar Bahadur of 5, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta, are also reported to have been purchased at Lucknow.

Scholars, however, appear to be unanimous in thinking that these coins were Imitation-Gupta coins circulating in Eastern Bengal. Allan describes them as such (B.M. Coins of the Gupta Dynasties, p. 154). The Lucknow Museum Catalogue also describes them (P. 36) as coins circulating in Eastern Bengal. This much is certain that the majority of them has been found from places in East Bengal. If some old people of Sābhār are to be believed, potfuls of these coins were discovered from the ruins of Sābhār and melted down.

We have very little ground for ascribing these coins to the Guptas of Magadha except arguments which have been given at length in my previous article. This is not the place to discuss in detail the political status of the Guptas of Magadha or to attempt to define the geographical situation and the extent of the territory ruled over by them, which will form the subject of a separate paper. It is sufficient for the present purpose to note that the dynasty appears to have been a petty one of only local influence before the rise of Āditya-sena. Kṛṣṇa-gupta, the founder of the line, appears—like the founders of the lines of the Maukharis and the Vardhanas—to have risen to some power during the period of turmoil, consequent on the Huna invasion. It is difficult to decide where his territory lay, but very good reasons can be advanced for holding that it did not originally lie in Magadha where the inscriptions of his descendents, viz: Āditya-sena and Jīvita-gupta have been found. These Guptas appear to have had little chance of acquiring territory in Magadha before Mādhava-gupta, the father of Āditya-sena.

Kṛṣṇa-gupta's date can now be approximately settled from synchronisms on the basis of the Haraha Inscription of Īśānavarman dated in the Vikrama year 611, equal to 554 A.D. (Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 110). The following table will show the place of Kṛṣṇa-gupta at a glance :—



Āditya, the grandfather of Īśāna, married Kṛṣṇa-gupta's daughter, Harṣa-guptā; and if Īśāna was overlord by 554 A.D. Kṛṣṇa-gupta's life probably lay on either side of 500 A.D., and to conceive him as the son of Chandra-Gupta II of the Imperia

Gupta line who died in 413 A.D. appears to be very unreasonable. Indeed, the Guptas of Magadha do not appear to have had anything to do with the imperial line, and the silence of their inscriptions in claiming so glorious a connection ought to have proved an effective barrier in the way of starting such a baseless supposition.

The Guptas of Magadha are known only from the inscriptions of Āditya-sena and his great-grandson Jīvita-gupta II, all of which have been found within the limits of Magadha. The Deo-barnark Inscription of Jīvita-gupta II, whose date in approximately 750 A.D., is important as revealing the real position of the earlier kings of the line. Deo-barnark is a village only about seven miles west of the Son river, about 27 miles south-west of Arah and about 50 miles south-west-west of Patna. This place, which is not far from the heart of Magadha was successively, the inscription tells us, within the jurisdiction of Bālāditya Deva, *i.e.* Narasiṁha-Gupta Bālāditya, the last powerful king of the old Gupta line; Sarvva-varman, the son of Īśānavarman, who is called Parameśvara in the inscription; and even of Avantivarman who also is called Parameśvara in the inscription—Avantivarman who was the father-in-law of Rājya-Śrī, sister of Harṣa (606–647 A.D.)—Avantivarman who must have been reigning as the Parameśvara up to about 600 A.D. It is clear, therefore, that the Guptas could hardly have any independent sway in these parts before 600 A.D. The seal-matrix of Śaśāṅka discovered at the fort of Rohtas, situated about 50 miles south-west of Deo-barnark and on the same side of the Son, shows that we have to accommodate this king of Gauḍa also in these parts about this period.

Though Narasiṁha-Gupta Bālāditya succeeded in driving away Mihirakula and thus saving from the Hunas for the time being whatever remained of the old Gupta Empire, the catastrophe evidently could not long be averted. Fresh swarms of Hunas must have invaded India shortly afterwards under leaders whose names have long been forgotten and by 545 A.D. the Gupta Empire fell, never to rise again. Fighting the Hunas and checking their inroads became the touch-stone of valour in India and whoever succeeded in that difficult task quickly rose to the dignity of the Emperor. Royal fortune, however, never tarried in one family for long, and was, to use the graphic language of Bāṇa, the nearly contemporary writer: "wearied by her round of brief visits to numberless rival kings." (*Harsa-charita*. Trans. Cowell and Thomas. p. 121.) That the Maukharis succeeded in overthrowing the Hunas is acknowledged even in the Apshad Inscription of Āditya-sena Devagupta, a scion of a rival family. Īśvaravarman, the third king of the line, appears to have borne the brunt of the contest. (Fleet; C.I.I., p. 228–30) and established the fortunes of his family. His son Īśānavarman reaped the benefit of his father's exertions and

became the acknowledged emperor of the major part of Northern India. He undoubtedly consolidated his position by his own exertions and the overlordship remained in his family for two more generations. These facts are corroborated by the issue of coins by Īśānavarman and the continuation of the series by his successors Śarvavarman and Avantivarman and also by the fact that the Maukharis imitated the Imperial Guptas in the phraseology of the legends on their silver coins. Avantivarman appears to have died leaving his minor son Grahavarman on the throne of Kanauj. Mahāsena-gupta of the Later Gupta line was also dead at this time, as is shown by the engagement of his two minor sons, Kumāra and Mādhava, though superior in relationship, to attend upon Rājya and Harṣa, the two sons of Prabhākara. It is needless to point out that the position of the uncles as attendants on their nephews of not very distant relationship was one of particular humiliation.

This was the opportunity of Prabhākara. We find in his case also the same story of fighting (presumably successfully) with the Hunas, and, as the rival houses of the Guptas and the Maukharis were laid low and were represented by only young members, Prabhākara had no difficulty in assuming the paramount position and issuing coins in imitation of the Maukharis (and ultimately of the Imperial Guptas) under his second name of Pratāpaśīla. His son Harṣa also issued coins under the name of Śīlāditya.

The mention of the war between Kumāra-gupta and Īśānavarman and the self-immolation of the former at Prayāga in the Apshad Inscription of Āditya-sena show that the Later Guptas and the Maukharis of Kanauj had at one time contended for supremacy. In this contest, Kumāra-gupta appears to have been worsted and he made penance for his ill-success by self-immolation at Prayāga. Kumāra's son Dāmodara is also said to have died fighting the Maukharis. The overlordship of Śarvavarman and Avantivarman acknowledged in the disposal of the village of Deo-barnark also shows what success Dāmodara had in this struggle. The Later Guptas finally went down and sank into insignificance as political powers, and it was not before the arena was left vacant by the death of Grahavarman, the Maukhari son-in-law of Prabhākaravardhana and of Harṣa, the son and successor of Prabhākara, that they could raise their head again. Mādhava-gupta threw in his lot with his nephew Harṣa and had no opportunity of independent sovereignty. It was therefore only after the death of Harṣa that Mādhava's son Āditya-sena could rise into prominence by about 650 A.D.

The ascription of the Imitation-Gupta coins which circulated mostly in Bengal, particularly East Bengal, to a dynasty that had no opportunity to rise to independence before the middle of the seventh century A.D., a dynasty to which no coin can be unhesitatingly ascribed, a dynasty whose inscriptions

even in the best days of its glory are all associated with Magadha, does not commend itself to reason. On the other hand, we have considerable evidence of the rise of an independent power in Gauda about the middle of the sixth century A.D. and are really able to ascribe coins to some of these kings.

The Haraha inscription says that Iśānavarman compelled the Gauda kingdom, strong on the sea, to remain within its proper limit. This statement gives rise to two presumptions :— first, that by 554 A.D. Gauda was an independent power, secondly, that it had not only become independent but was trying to overstep its natural frontiers. Three kings of Bengal who must be ascribed to this period are known, viz. Dharmmāditya, Gopachandra and Samāchāra. These are all styled *Mahārājādhirāja* in their Faridpur plates (Indian Antiquary, 1910), and in my last article, I have shown that coins are known that can be assigned to at least one of them, i.e. Samāchāra Deva. I have also tried to show in my last article that Samāchāra was succeeded on the throne of Gauda by Śaśāṅka, who had his capital at Karnasuvarṇa (Kānsonā, a few miles south of Berhampur, in the Murshidabad District) and Śaśāṅka's coins are well known. Śaśāṅka, in the beginning of his career, appears to have been compelled to bow before the Maukhari overlords and acknowledge himself as a Mahāsāmanta (a great vassal); but his seal discovered engraved on the fort of Rohtas, on the west bank of the Son, shows that he was powerful enough to hold the whole of Eastern India lying roughly between the rivers Son and Brahmaputra. The death of Avantivarman, the last great Maukhari Emperor was his opportunity, as it was of Prabhākara-vardhana. Śaśāṅka quickly threw off his yoke and was soon ready to fight on equal terms with the Maukharis and the newly risen Vardhanas. From the Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskaravarman (E.I., Vol. XII) which was issued from Karnasuvarna, it would appear that the Gauda kingdom was laid low by a combination of Harṣavardhana and Bhāskaravarman : but, I believe, we have now proofs to show that it survived the catastrophe.

Mr. Allan, in his catalogue of the coins of the Gupta dynasties, describes coins of a king whose name began with *Jaya*. These coins are of the archer type and the king's name is prominent beneath the left arm of his effigy. His *viruda* was *Prakāṇḍayaśāh*. Allan unhesitatingly connects these coins with those of Śaśāṅka. (Gupta Dynasties, Introduction, p. lxi)— "It is clear from the resemblance of the reverses that the coins of Śaśāṅka and Jaya-*gupta* are closely connected." (Introduction, p. cv).

The identity of this Jaya was so long uncertain. Mr. R. D. Banerji, in the introduction to the second edition of his History of Bengal (in Bengali). publishes information of a copperplate, now in the British Museum. Dr. L. D. Barnett is engaged

in deciphering the plate which will be published within about a decade in the Epigraphia Indica. From information supplied by Dr. Barnett, it appears that paleographically the plate belongs to the seventh century A.D., and it was issued in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Jayanāga Deva, a great devotee of Viṣṇu, who had his royal seat at Karṇasuvarṇa. The base metal of the coins of Jaya, which are only one fifth gold (Cunningham : Coins of Mediaeval India, p. 16.) shows that, though he is connected with Śaśāṅka, the former must come after the latter. The coins of Jaya can now be safely ascribed to Jayanāga Deva, who had his seat at Karṇasuvarṇa, and who was a great devotee of Viṣṇu ; and the standard topped by the discus of Viṣṇu which appears on the coins of Jaya lends additional strength to the identification. The discovery of the coins of Jaya from Karṇasuvarṇa (*Vāṅgālāra Itihāsa*—R. D. Banerji, second edition, p. 84, and footnote.) is a further corroboration. Jayanāga Deva appears to have risen to power in Gauḍa after the death of Śaśāṅka. The Chakra-standard on his coins is perhaps an indication that he did not belong to the line of Śaśāṅka, who was a staunch Saivite.

We have therefore considerable evidence of the issue of coins by at least three successive kings of Gauḍa. The meaning of the discovery of an Imitation-Gupta coin in company with a coin of Śaśāṅka and another which I have proved to be of Samāchāra Deva (Allan, Introduction p. CXXVII), together with the fact that a coin of Śaśāṅka (Allan : No. 612, p. 148 pl. XXIV, 2) furnished the immediate model for these coins, not only in weight but also in the border of large dots on both the sides, may now be correctly interpreted. All evidence point to the kings of Gauḍa as the issuer of these coins. These Imitation-Gupta coins should, therefore, be ascribed with more reason to the kings of Gauḍa than to the Guptas of Magadha. It should not be forgotten, however, that in the anarchy that ensued in Bengal towards the close of the seventh century A.D. and raged throughout the eighth century, every local potentate might have taken upon himself the issue of coins of this type until the type was debased beyond recognition and finally disappeared. In the coins found at Sābhār itself, we can distinguish three or more stages of debasement and no doubt, similar process worked throughout the whole country.

DACCA MUSEUM, N. K. BHATTASALI.
The 8th October, 1924.

250. PADMATANKAS OF SOME OF THE YĀDAVA KINGS OF DEVAGIRI.

In October 1922, while some persons were digging pati earth in survey No. 127 of Rachapatnam village in the Kaikka-

lur taluk of the Kistna district, they discovered a pot of treasure which contained 43 gold coins. They were all acquired for the Government Museum, Madras, under the provisions of the Treasure Trove Act.

On examination, they were found to be 18-carat gold coins known by the name of Padmatankas, as they all have the impress of a lotus flower in the centre. Besides this there are four other punchmarks which have given the coin a cup-shaped appearance. Impressions are found on one side only. The other side is blank. There are two *'Śrī's*-auspicious syllables-in the old Telugu-Kannada Script at the ends of the horizontal diameter. At one end of the vertical diameter there is a legend in Devanāgarī script with the figure of a sword in its sheath below. In some cases a loop is found at the end of the sheath intended perhaps to serve as a handle when the sword is taken out. At the other end of the vertical diameter is a conch. These coins are generally circular and in some cases irregularity is formed by the several Punch marks. The diameter varies from ·6 to ·62 of an inch. Some are thick and smaller while others are thinner and larger. The weight is the same in all cases. They weigh 57.25 grains.

Sir Walter Elliot in his Coins of Southern India has figured one coin with the legend *'Śrī Rāma,'* and ascribes it to some Jain Dynasty as a lotus was the emblem of the Jains and as they were the most influential sect in Southern India and were distinguished for their skill in elegant arts. Below the legend he mentions a bow, but we have got a sword with its sheath. As Kadambas were known to be Jains, he thought that the coin might be attributed to that Dynasty who were believed to have ruled in the 5th and 6th centuries of the Christian Era.

E. J. Rapson attributed a similar coin, in which the legend *'Śrī Rāma'* is found, to the Kadamba Dynasty, but he was doubtful whether these might not be attributed to a later period.

Vincent Smith has included this coin under early anonymous coins of Southern India, though he mentions it as Padmatanka with the legend *'Śrī Rāma'*.

Even Mr. Brown is doubtful and has attributed the coin to the Kadambas. Though the legend is very clear, none of these scholars have hit upon the right solution. The legends in Devanāgarī Script are modern and cannot be attributed to such an early period. Kadambas are therefore out of the question. We have to attribute them to some later Dynasty. The data by which we can arrive at a conclusion are the emblems of the conch and the sword and the legends on the coins.

First let us consider the legends on the coins.

They may be divided into five varieties and they are noted below :—

Variety No. 1 Siṅghaṇa.
do. ,, 2 Sighaṇa

Variety No. 3 Kānhapa or Kānhara.
do. ,, 4 Mahādiva.
do. ,, 5 Śrī Rāma.

These names belong to the kings of the Yādava Dynasty which ruled at Devagiri as may be seen from the genealogical table published by Dr. Fleet in his Dynasties of Kanarese Districts in the Bombay Presidency. These kings traced their origin to Sri Krishna the 9th incarnation of Vishnu. The first Yādava king so far known was Siṅghaṇa I. His son was Mallugi and he had a son called Bhillama. He had a son called Jaitugi and his son was Siṅghaṇa II. Variety No. 1. might have been issued by this Siṅghaṇa II., who came to the throne in Saka 1131 or A.D. 1209. As there would have been an interval of 50 or 60 years between Siṅghaṇa I. and II. and as the script of the legend is a little modern. it is likely that variety No. 1 was issued by Siṅghaṇa II. who ruled from Saka 1131 to 1169. He was succeeded by his grandson Krishna. This Krishna was called Kanhara. Kānhara, Kandhara, Kāndhara, in his inscriptions. Our legend is Kānhapa or Kānhara is a prākṛit form of Krishna.[1] His accession to the throne was in the year 1169. (A.D. 1247-1248). He was succeeded by his younger brother Mahādeva and ruled from Saka 1182 to 1193. When he died he was succeeded by Śrī Rāma Chandra or Rāma Deva, son of Krishna, in Saka 1193. He ruled for a longer period from Saka 1193 to 1230. Thus we have got the names of kings who ruled successively from Saka 1131 to 1230. or from A.D. 1209 to 1308 A.D. Variety No. 2. contains a legend Sighana. The long ī sound of Sīghana was perhaps due to a mistake in the mint.[2] The coin belongs to Siṅghaṇa only. Hence coins No. 1 and 2 may be taken as varieties of the same coin.

Now let us take the Conch emblem found in the coin and examine whether this is found in the seal of the Yādava kings. We learn that the set of copper-plates of a new Yādava Dynasty edited by Bhagavan Lal Indraji on page 119 of the Indian Antiquary vol. XII, has a seal which has a Garuda sitting with folded palms with Conch shells, emblems of Vishnu. on either side of it. The king that gave the grant was Sēuna Chandra, son of Bhillama. Though the name of the son of Bhillama appears different in other copper-plate grants and inscriptions of Yādava kings, we have got the name of Bhillama who was the grandfather of Siṅghaṇa II., and this is enough to prove that the copper-plate belongs to a Yādava king and that seal has the emblem of a conch. A conch is apparently one of

[1] It is incorrect, I think, to say that Kāṇhapa or Kāṇhara is a Prākṛit form of Krishna. The only possible Prākṛit form for Kṛishna known to me is 'Kaṇha'. (*Editor's Note.*)

[2] The long ī in Sīghana is not a mistake. Long ī is frequently substituted for ĭ and nasal n in Māhārāstri Prākrit. (*Editor's Note.*)

No 1
No 2
No 3
No 4
No 5

the emblems on the *mudra* or seal of Yādava kings, and we have the conch in all the five coins about which this paper deals. The Yādava kings had a Garuda as their device on their banner (*lanchana*) as is evident from the inscription in old Kanarese characters on a stone tablet in the temple of Udachavva in the fort at Munoli, Belgaum district (page 34 Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Journal, vol. 12). But it was customary for kings to have a different emblem for their banners and seals respectively. They generally use the same sign on their seals as on their coins. So we have here a conch on their coins. Moreover, the sword was also the symbol used by the Yadava kings. The inscription on a stone tablet, standing by the temple of Panchalingadeva outside the town of Munoli, in the Belgaum district, and another inscription on a stone tablet referred to above have on the top of the tablets, among other emblems, the figure of a curved sword. Both these inscriptions belong to Yādava kings of Devagiri. It is probably on account of want of space that a straight sword has been used in these coins (J.B.B.R.A.S. vol. 12, pages 2 and 4). These coins should therefore be ascribed to the Yadava kings of Devagiri.

It was supposed by Elliot and Smith that these coins were issued at a period of prosperity and advance favourable to a growth in Art and Civilization; and we shall examine whether the period when these coins were issued was a period of prosperity, or not. We know that the kings, Mahādeva and Rāmachandra or Rāma Deva, were very learned kings who patronised learning, and the very important Code of Hindu Law, Chaturvargaya Chintāmani, the monumental work of Hemādri, was compiled during this period. This Hemādri was the minister of Mahādeva and Rāmachandra. Both Mahādeva and Rāmachandra were very enlightened kings, and that the country was in a prosperous condition during their reign can be gathered from the following facts:—

It was at the time of Rāmachandra that the Muhammadans appeared in the Deccan. Alauddin, the nephew of Jalauddin, the founder of the Pathān Dynasty at Delhi, resolved in 1294 A.D. to invade the Deccan. Crossing the Narbada, the northern boundary of the Devagiri kingdom, he continued his march till he came near Devagiri. Rāmachandra had a small army and opposed the invader, but was defeated. He was forced to enter into the forest. The capital Devagiri was captured and plundered. Rāmachandra offered a large quantity of gold and jewels sufficient enough to indemnify Alauddin for the expenses of his expedition. Alauddin was about to retire from Devagiri, when Sankara, son of Rāmachandra, who had been all the while to the south to collect forces, advanced with a large army. Rāmachandra sent word that peace was concluded. But Sankara trusting on the numerical strength of his army demanded that Alauddin should return all the treasure

he had extracted from his father or prepare for battle. A battle ensued and Sankara was defeated. Now Alauddin again invested the capital and demanded a very heavy sum. A treaty was then concluded by which Rāmachandra gave Alauddin 600 maunds of pearls, 2 of diamonds, rubies, saphires and emeralds, 1,000 maunds of silver, and 4,000 pieces of silk.

Devagiri is the modern Daulatābād. The name Devagiri was changed into Daulatābād by Muhammad-bin Tughlaq when he changed his capital from Delhi to this place. Yādava kings are known by the name of Dvāravatīpurādhīsvara in inscriptions.

As I have shown above, we have coins of four successive kings of this Dynasty, and, if more finds are forthcoming, we may secure specimens of the coins of all the line and thus confirm the facts about this dynasty as we know them from other sources.

The coin with the legend Kānhapa was discovered in H.E.H. the Nizam's dominions and obtained by the Madras Museum in exchange for one of the coins of Śrī Rāma through the kindness of the curator of the Hyderabad Museum.

SRINIVAS RAGHAVA AYYANGAR.

251. SOME RARE COINS FOUND IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

The object of this paper is to bring to notice some rare and unique coins which have in recent years been acquired for the Nagpur Museum.

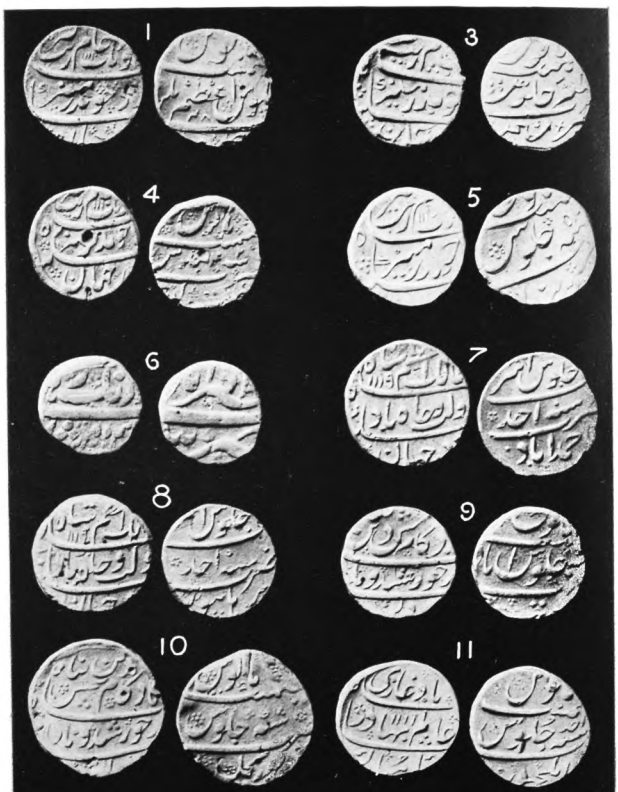
A brief description of each specimen follows :—

AURANGZEB.

Nos. 1 & 2. Weight 178, size ·9.
Mint, ʿĀẓamnagar, date 1110 A.H. (sic) 48 R.

Obv.	*Rev.*
عالم گیر	مانوس
۱۱۱۰	میمنت
اورنگ زیب	جلوس اعظم نگر
زد چو بدر منیر	۴۸
سکه	
در] جهان	ضر

The earliest coin published of this mint is a rupee of Aurangzeb, dated 50 R., but a specimen in the Lucknow Museum


1
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11

is dated 1117-48. In the present coin use has been made of an old obverse die.

'Āẓamnagar is the modern Belgaum and was named after Prince 'Āẓam (Tārīḵ)-e-Dakhan by Maulvi Abdul Ghafoor Rampuri).

No. 3 *Æ*. Weight 178, size ·88.
Mint, Kanjī, date — A.H. 32 R.

Obv.	*Rev.*
As on No. 1 but date missing	مانوس میمنت ۳۰ سنه جلوس ضرب کنجے

Kanjī is the modern Kanjivaram (Briggs, Farishta) which is the head-quarters of a taluq of the same name in the Chingalpet district. See N.S. XXXI, p. 356.

No. 4 *Æ*. Weight 177, size ·85.
Mint, Nuṣratgarh, date 1110 A.H. 42 R.

Obv.	*Rev.*
As on No. 1.	As on No. 3, but ۴۲ and نصرت گڑھ

The above specimen is of Nuṣratgarh, which is an unregistered mint. Dr. Taylor in his description of the coins of the Limbdī Treasury has referred to a rupee of Aurangzeb, dated 1109-41 of Jinjī, which is the same as Nuṣratgarh. Jinjī is in the South Arkat district and was named Nuṣratgarh after Ẕulfiqār Khān Nuṣratjang, the son of Aurangzeb's Minister Asad Khān.

No. 5 *Æ*. Weight 178, size ·91.
Mint, Purendā, date 1117 A.H. 50 R.

Obv.	*Rev.*
As on No. 1 but ۱۱۱۷.	As on No. 3 but ۵۰ and پرندا

This is the mint formerly read as Purbandar. See N.S. XXXI, p. 368. Subsequent discoveries have confirmed the reading Purenda, suggested by Prof. Hodivala.

No. 6 *Æ*. Weight 320, size ·87.
Mint, Ẕafarābād, date ?

Obv.	*Rev.*
اورنگ زٖیب	ظفر اباد
←	ضرب سنه
فلوس شا	

A 'fulūs' of Aurangzeb of the Ẓafarābād mint. As far as I know, this mint has not been represented in copper. Mr. R. B. Whitehead has identified Ẓafarābād with Bidar in the Dakhan. Bidar was first known as Aḥmadābād and was named as such by Aḥmad Shāh Walī Bahmanī after his own name Subsequently the name was changed to Muḥammadābād by his grandson Muḥammad Shāh Lashkarī. When Aurangzeb conquered the Dakhan, he renamed the place as "Ẓafarābād" in commemoration of his victory.

'ĀZAM SHĀH.

No. 7 Æ. Weight 175, size ·96.
Mint, Aḥmadābād, date 1119 A.H. aḥd R.

Obv.	*Rev.*
ممالک اعظم شاه	جلوس اشر
۱۱۱۹	ـــــ
شـــــاه	سنه احد
بدولت و جاه باد	ضرب
ســـکه	احمد اباد
زد در جهان	

So far only two other rupees of 'Āzām Shah of this mint are known to exist.

No. 8 Æ. Weight 179, size ·92.
Mint, Burhānpūr, date 1119 A.H. aḥd R.

Obv.	*Rev.*
As on No. 7.	As on No. 7 but
	برهانپور

KĀM BAKHSH.

No. 9 Æ. Weight 179, size ·9.
Mint, Nuṣratābād, date ?

Obv.	*Rev.*
باد کام بخش دین	مانوس
شـــــاه	میمنت
بر خورشید و ماه	سنه جلوس اباد
ســـکه	ضرب
در دکن	نصرت

This is a rupee of Kām Bakhsh of the Nusratābād mint. Aurangzeb's gold and silver coins from this mint have been published and another rupee of Kām Bakhsh is also known to exist. Nusratābād has been identified with Sakhar or Sagar of the Dakhan which is the Sāghar (ساغر) of Farishta. Sagar is a jāgīr town in the Shāhpūr tālūq of the Gulbarga district and is the resting place of a saint, Sūfi Sarmast.

No. 10 *R*. Weight 178, size 1·05.
Mint, Toragal, date — A.H. ahd R.

Obv.	*Rev.*
دین پناه	مانوس
باد کام بخش	میمنت
شـــــاه	احد
بر خورشید و ماه	سنه جلوس
ســـــکه	ضرب
در	تور کل

This is an unregistered mint of Kām Bakhsh. Gold and silver coins of Aurangzeb and Shāh 'Ālam I of this mint are known. Farrukhsiyar and Aḥmad Shāh also issued coins from this mint.

SHĀH 'ĀLAM BAHĀDUR.

No. 11 *R*. Weight 177·4, size ·9.
Mint, Elichpūr, date 1119 A.H. ahd.

Obv.	*Rev.*
باد غازي	مانوس
شـــــاه	میمنت
۱۱۱۹	احد
عالم بهادر	سنه جلوس
شـــــاه	ضرب
سکه مبارک	ایلچپور

A coin of this mint of 1122-5 has been figured in the Punjab Museum Catalogue.

No. 12. A rupee of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur of the 'Azīmābād mint dated "ahd" R. Y. has come to light which bears his name of Mu'azzam with the following couplet :—

بزر زد سکـه چون صاحب قراني معـــظـم شاه عالم گـــير ثاني

on the obverse, while the reverse is similar to Aurangzeb's 'Azīmābād coins. This coin was found in the Yeotmal district

and has been acquired for the Nāgpūr Museum, but has not yet been received from the district authorities.

No. 13 Æ. Weight 178, size ·94.
Mint, Mailāpūr, date 1120 A.H. 2 R.

Obv.	*Rev.*
بادشاہ غازے عالم بہادر ۱۱۲۰ شـــــــاہ سکہ مبارک	As on No. 11 but ۲ and میلا پور

Mailāpūr rupees of Shāh ʿĀlam I are very rare.

No. 14 Æ. Weight 178, size ·87.
Mint, Purendā, date 1122 A.H.

Obv.	*Rev.*
As on No. 13 but ۱۱۲۲ under ے of غازے	As on No. 11 but سنہ and year missing and پندا پر]

A coin of this mint of 1123 has been figured in the Punjab Museum Catalogue under Purbandar.

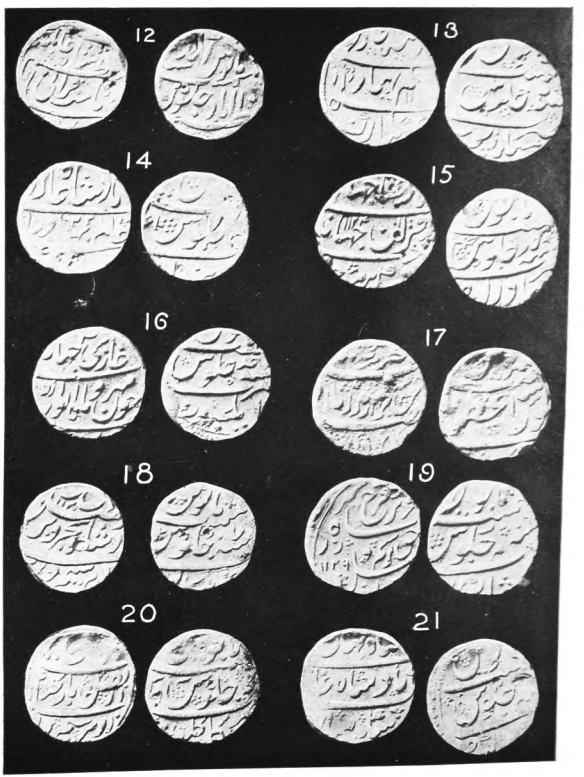
JAHANDAR SHAH.

No. 15 Æ. Weight 178, size ·9.
Mint, Bahādurgarh, date 1124 A.H. ahd.

Obv.	*Rev.*
بادشاہ جہان شـــــــاہ ۱۱۲۴ قران جہاندار حب سکہ برمہ چو	مانوس میمنت احد سنہ جلوس ضرب بہادر گڑہ

This is a rare mint of Jahandar Shah; cf. Punjab Museum Catalogue Nos. 2110-1 and N.S. XIV. Bahādurgarh has been identified with Pedgaon in the Ahmadnagar district by Prof. Hodivala in N.S. XXVIII, p. 73.

No. 16 Æ. Weight 177·4, size ·9.
Mint, Elichpūr, date 1124 A.H. ahd R.


12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21

Obv.	*Rev.*
۱۱۲۴	As on No. 15 but
غازي جهاندار	ايلچپور
شـــــاه	
چو مهر و ماه ابو الفتح	
ســـکه	

FARRUKHSIYAR.

No. 17 *Æ*. Weight 177·4, size ·91.
Mint, 'Āẓamnagar, date ?

Obv.	*Rev.*
بحر و بر فرخ سير	مانوس
شـــــاه	ميمنت
حق بر سيم و زر ناد	سنه
فضـــــل	جلوس اعظم نگر
سکه زد از	ـــــب
	ضر

All the known coins of this mint of Farrukhsiyar bear a second mint name which has been read as Gōkulgarh and Gōkāk. See N.S. XXVIII, p. 76 and N.S. XXX, p. 267. On this particular coin the only name recorded is 'Aẓamnagar.

No. 18 *Æ*. Weight 175, size ·85.
Mint, Bankāpūr, date 1130 A.H. 7 R,

Obv.	*Rev.*
حق فرخ	مانوس
۱۱۳۰	عيمنـــــت
فضـــــل	۷
بادشـــــاه بحر و بر	سنه جلوس
ســـــکه	ـــــب
زد بر سيم و زر	ضربنکا پور

This is a rare mint. Bankāpūr was named 'Āzamgarh by Aurangzeb after his son, 'Āzam. It is in the Dhārwār district and was the headquarters of a sarkār of 16 parganas. It is now the head quarters of a tālūq of the same name in that district.

No. 19 *Æ*. Weight 175, size ·91.
Mint, Skākōlā (?), date 1129 A.H. 6 R.

Obv.	*Rev.*
As on No. 17, but	مانوس
۱۱۲۹ to left of فضل	میمنت
	٦
	سنه جلوس
	ضرب
	شا کولا

Dr. Taylor illustrated a similar coin in his paper on the coins of the Limbdi Treasury in N.S. XIV. The name of the mint from which the coin issued is still doubtful.

No. 20. A rupee of Farrukhsiyar of Sīkākul has been acquired for the Nagpur Museum. No other silver coins of Farrukhsiyar of this mint are known.

SHĀH JAHĀN II.

No. 21 Æ. Weight 178, size ·92.
Mint, Bahādurgarh, date ?.

Obv.	*Rev.*
شاه جهان	مانوس
ـــ	میمنت
بادشاه غاز	سنه جلوس
ک	ضرب
سکه صبار	بهادر گڑه

This is a new mint for this Emperor.

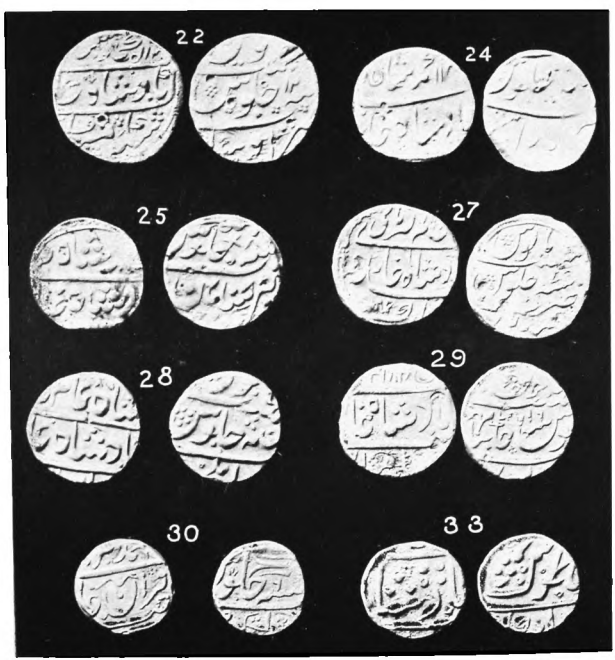
MUḤAMMAD SHĀH.

Nos. 22 and 23. Two rupees of Muḥammad Shāh of the Ausā mint, dated 12 and 16 R, have been acquired for the Nāgpūr Museum. Cf. N.S. XIV.

Ausā is in the Osmānābād district of the Niẓām's Dominions. The fort of Ausā was captured by Malik Ambar and consequently was named Ambarpūr. The name was subsequently corrupted to Amrāpūr.

No. 24 Æ. Weight 175, size ·95.
Mint (?), dated 11xx A.H. 8 ?

Obv.	*Rev.*
محمد شاه ۱۱xx	.....
ـــ	۸?
بادشـــــاه غاز	سنه جلوس
.....	ضرب
	بارائے ?


22
24
25
27
28
29
30
33

The reading of the mint is doubtful.

Nos. 25 and 26 Æ. Two rupees of Muḥammad Shāh of Chīnāpatan have been acquired for the Nāgpūr Museum, one of which is dated 8 R.

ʿĀLAMGIR II.

No. 27 Æ. Weight 175, size 1.
Mint, Qandhār, date 1167 A.H. 7 (sic).

Obv.	*Rev.*
عالم گير ثاني	مانوس
ـــــــے	ميمنت
بادشاه غاز	٧
ســـکه	سنه جلوس
١١٦٧	ضرب
ميارک	قندهار

This is a new mint for this Emperor. Cf. N.S. XIII, p. 240 and N.S. XIV, p. 580. Qandhār is now a village in the Nāndēd district of the Niẓām's dominions. It had once a large fort which was captured by Mubārak Khān Niyāzī in the reign of Shāh Jahān (M'āsirul 'Umrā).

SHĀH ʿĀLAM II.

No. 28 Æ. Weight 177·5, size ·85.
Mint, Elichpūr, date 1187 A.H.

Obv.	*Rev.*
١١٨٧	مانوس
شـــــاه عالم	ميمنت
ـــــے	سنه جلوس
بادشاه غاز	ضرب
ک ـــــ	ايلچپور
سکه ميار	

Apparently a new mint for this Emperor.

No. 29 Æ. Weight 173·5, size ·89.
Mint, Jagannāthpūr (?), date 1184 A.H., 16 R.

Obv.	*Rev.*
.....	جلوس
١١٨٤	ميمنت
ـــــے	١٦
بادشاه غاز	مانوس سنه جگناتهپور؟
ک ـــــ	ـــــ
سکه ميار	پور

The mint may be Jagannathpuri and the ی after پور is probably missing.

Nos. 30, 31 and 32 *Æ*. Weight 168·7, size ·8.
Mint (?), date and year missing.

Obv.	*Rev.*
شـــاہ عالم	مانوس
ـــے	میمنت
بادشـــاہ غاز	جلوس ضر
.....	ـــــب
	... اباد حا...

These are non-imperial rupees of Shāh 'Ālam II, the mint name of which is doubtful.

AKBAR II.

No. 33 *Æ*. Weight 166, size ·75.
Mint, Daulatgarh, date 6 R.

Obv.	*Rev.*
محمد اکبر	.....
ـــــــــــے	میمنت
صاحب قران غاز	٦
	سنه جلوس
	ضوب
	دولتگڑہ

No. 34 *Æ*. Weight 167, size ·83.
Mint, as on above, date 7 R.

Obv.	*Rev.*
As on No. 33.	As on No. 33 but ٧

These are two rupees of Akbar II with an unregistered mint. Its identity is doubtful.

M. A. Suboor.

252. Three Mughal Coins.

Among the latest acquisitions to the Coin Cabinet of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, may be mentioned the following rare coins :—

(*a*) Mohar of Aurangzeb, mint Nārnōl. 1102 H.

Obv.	*Rev.*
عالم‌گیر	ضرب
۱۱۰۲	مانوس
اورنگ زیب	میمنت
شـــاه	[۴] ۳
زد چو بدر منیر	سنه جلوس
ســـکه	ضرب نار نول
در جهان	

Weight 167, size ·85.

(*b*) Mohar of Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, mint Shāhjahānābād, 113 X., H. aḥd.

Obv.	*Rev.*
کریم محمد ابر [آهیم]	[دا]ر الخلا [فت] شاه [جهان اباد]
شـــا [ه]	ضرب
۱۱۳ شاهان	جلوس میمنت مانوس
بفـــــضل	احد
[سکه زد] در جهان	سنه

Weight 172, size ·75.

Hijri date is to right and not to left as on the Mohar illustrated in B.M. Catalogue.

Both the above mohars have been purchased locally.

(*c*) Rupee of Farrukhsiyar, mint Dāru-ẓ-ẓafar Bijāpūr, aḥd.

Obv.	*Rev.*
از فضل حق	جلوس
شـــاه	میمنت مانوس
[بر]د بحر و بر فرخ سیر	سنه احد
ســـکه	الظـــفر
زد بر سیم و زر	داربیجا پور
	ضرب

Weight 176. Size ·9.

Rupees struck by Farrukhsiyar at Bijāpūr are extremely rare, because the town ceased to be a mint place after Farrukhsiyar and must have been losing its importance during his reign. The absence of silver issues is noticed in Mr. Whitehead's list of the Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India (*N.S.*, J.A.S.B., Vol. VIII-11).

This coin comes from a Treasure Trove find of 101 silver coins from Basti district.

LUCKNOW,
4th *July*, 1924.

PRAYAG DAYAL.

253. Rupees of Shah 'Alam II, Struck at Akarwan.

On or about February 20th, 1921, some 80 silver coins were discovered in a site belonging to a private person in Bandinanipalem, a hamlet of Gunnalakurta village, in the Atmakur tālūk of the Kurnool district, Madras Presidency. On examination they were found to be non-imperial rupees struck in the name of Shāh 'Ālam II. Only 15 of them have good impressions and they were acquired for the Government Museum, Madras.

Each coin has a portion of the full name of the king who issued it. "'Ālam' and Ghāzī' are found in all the coins. 'Bahādur' is found in some coins. The rest of the name is found partially in some coins. The full name thus got out of all these coins *i.e.* "Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Bādshāh Ghāzī." The word سنه is found only on 3 coins. A peculiarity in these coins is that the Hijri year is found above the word سنه on the reverse. The name of the mint appears as Akarwān in some and as Karwān on others.

The full legend would seem to be :—

Obverse. سکه شاه عالم بهادر بادشاه غازي

Reverse. سنه ۱۱۸۶ جلوس میمنت مانوس ضرب اکروان

Coins from this mint has not yet been published. It is suggested that Akarwān or Karwān is Gadval, capital of a small state in the Nizām's Dominions, as numerous coins of this type are found in Gadval and sent to the Treasury at Haidarābād.

R. Srinivas Raghava Ayyangar.

8th April, 1924.

254. The Epithet Used on Copper Coins By Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur.

In my article No. 231 under the above heading in the Numismatic Supplement No. XXXVI for 1922, I have tried to prove that the epithet, on the copper coins of Ibrāhīm II of Bijapur, about which Dr. Taylor was doubtful, should be read as "*Abalā Balī*." I have quoted the following verse :—

تِرْ لوُكْ جَسْپْتْ تُوْ نَانْوْ يَا دِينْ بَرَانْ كِيْ بِيْرَانْ

آچْرجُ مَهَابِيْرْ اَبَلَا بَلِيْ تو نِهِينْ سَانچُو اَوْ تَارْ

in support of my interpretation from "*Kitābi Nauras*" which is supposed to have been composed by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II. I presume that the word مهابير Mahābīr in this verse is addressed to the composer, Jagat Gurū Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh himself, and not to Mahābir, the Jaina Saint.

I was given to understand that some of my numismatist friends were not perfectly satisfied with my explanation of the word "Abalā Balī." Further search was, therefore, made in contemporary literature, and I consulted the MS. of Gulshani 'Ishq composed by Mullā Nusratī in 1068 A.H. for 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II. This MS. is in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India. The poet eulogising his patron says on page 10 of the MS. as follows:—

(۱) دیسی کسب مورثی ای تجھ مین جم
هُوا هی تو ارباب سیف و قلم

(۲) تیجی جد براهیم ابّلا بلے
تُون سلطان محمد کا جایا علی

(۳) تیسری جد کُون عالم جگت گُرگیا
پِدر و تئین سو تیسری بهادُر گیا

(1) Oh Emperor, hereditary accomplishments appear in you. You have become the master of the sword and the pen.

(2) Your grandfather was Ibrāhīm abālā balī (the Friend of the weak)—you are 'Ali and the son of Muhammad.

(3) Your grandfather was Jagat Gurū, and your father was a brave man." (There is some poetic play upon words of Muhammad and 'Ali. But the epithet of ابلابلے[1] used with Ibrāhīm, who is styled also as Jagat Gurū, is clear. In those days it was immaterial whether the 'ye' was longer or shorter (Yāe M'arūf ی or yāe majhūl ے): both could be read in the same way.

Thus there is now no doubt as to the reading and meaning of ابلا بلی after ابراهیم on the copper coins of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II of Bijapur.

15th *April*, 1924. MUHD. ISMAIL.

255. A GOLD COIN OF KUMĀRA GUPTA I.

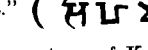
(A new variety of the Lion-slayer type.)

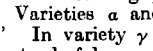
Metal. *Au.*
Weight. 124 grs.
Size. 8″

---

[1] It may be noticed that in the above quotations ابّلابلے and ابلابلے are written with the first '*be*' ب quiescent in the latter and with a vowel in the former—a fact which does not make any difference in the real meaning of the word. *Abalā balī* with zabar on 'be' ب is a good Sanskrit word, whereas Ablī is an Urdu or Hindi corruption of the same.

Obverse. King standing to right shoots with an arrow a lion which is seen jumping at him. The bow is held in the left hand and is fully drawn by the right. The left leg of the king is stretched straight while the right is bent at the knee. The head is inclined to the right showing vigorous action. On the right margin near the king's head is the inscription *Kumāra*, which does not appear to be fragmentary or to have any connection with the two curved strokes on the left bottom margin. The latter are probably portions of the drapery worn by the king.

Reverse. Goddess *Pārvatī* (*Simha vāhinī*), seated, facing lion couchant to right. Her left leg is tucked up and the right hangs down. Her left hand rests on her knee and holds a lotus flower with a long stalk, while her right hand is extended outwards and holds a garland of skulls (muṇḍa mālā). The monogram is in the usual position, but has the form of a cluster of five dots, intended probably to be a lotus. To the right runs the legend "Simha Mahendra." ()

Coins of the Lion-slayer type of Kumāragupta I are described at pages 76–81 of Allan's Catalogue of the Gupta Coins in the British Museum. Varieties α and β have the legend "Śrī Mahendra Simhah." In variety γ the left hand of the goddess is lifted upwards instead of downwards as in our coin and the legend is written differently. ()

The monogram is also different. Our coin differs from those shown in variety δ in (1) the inscription on the obverse, (2) the legend on the reverse, (3) monogram and (4) the position of the lion's head. For these reasons the specimen may be treated as a new variety.

I showed one specimen of this variety to Mr. Allan at the British Museum in December, 1922. He pronounced it as new. Unfortunately that specimen was lost, being in a pocket book which was stolen from my pocket in Rome. Luckily, however, I have its impression and another specimen of the same variety, which is represented here. It will be noticed that the letters are particularly well formed. The specimen is well preserved.

A word may be added about the reverse. The monogram is a new one, being quite different from any depicted on pages 167-168 of Allan's catalogue. The goddess is certainly Pārvatī, consort of Siva, and not Lakshmī, consort of Vishṇu. It is the former and not the latter who according to Hindu religious tradition rides a lion. Allan suspected this to be so (Introduction, page lxxiii), but in the body of the catalogue described

this lion-riding goddess as Ambika-Lakshmi. For this there is no authority in the Hindu religion. In the variety now described the goddess holds a garland with big round objects, which are almost certainly skulls. It is well known that the consort of Śiva affects such a garland of skulls. It is therefore certain that it is Pārvati, not Lakshmi, who is represented as riding a lion on Gupta coins.

UNAO (OUDH), PANNA LAL, I.C.S.
14th November, 1924.

256. A GOLD COIN OF FARRUKHIYAR OF FARRUKHABAD MINT.

Metal *A*.
Weight 167·5 grs.
Size ·9″
Date R.Y. 7.

The legend is the same as on silver coins of this mint (*vide* I.M.C. No. 3694). No gold coins of this mint have hitherto been published. This coin establishes the fact that the mint issued 'muhrs' as well as silver coins.

UNAO (OUDH), PANNA LALL, I.C.S.
14th November, 1924.

257. SUPPLEMENTARY OBSERVATIONS UPON THE COINAGE STRUCK FOR THE BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SETTLEMENT OF PENANG OR PRINCE OF WALES' ISLAND (1786 TO 1828).—BY SIR JOHN BUCKNILL. (ADDITIONAL TO ARTICLE No. 247, NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No. XXXVIII OF THE JOURNAL AND PROCEEDINGS, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL (NEW SERIES) VOL. XX, 1924, No. 4).

It is, unfortunately, often experienced by those who try to exhaust all apparently available sources of information before publishing their observations upon the subject matter of their enquiry to find that had they waited a little, much further knowledge would have been brought within their view; and since writing my previous paper on the coinage of Penang I have received considerable further material relative in particular to the 1824, 1825 and 1828 issues.

1824. Issue.

With regard to the issue of the Pattern One-Third Cent dated 1824 (No. 18), the whole of the correspondence relating to this rare piece has now been discovered in the Records at His Majesty's Mint Calcutta and I was, through the kindness of the Master of the Mint there, furnished on March 20th 1924 with copies thereof.

The first letter dated February 14th 1824 from Mr. Crawford the Resident at Singapore to the Secretary to Government, Fort William, Calcutta I have already quoted in my previous paper (p. 12). The Secretary to Government passed on Mr. Crawford's letter on March 19th to the Mint Committee which in its turn forwarded it on to the Acting Mint-Master (a Mr. H. H. Wilson) on March 29th directing him to report whether the coins suggested by Mr. Crawford could be conveniently prepared at the Calcutta Mint. Mr. Wilson made a Die and struck therefrom some specimens of the one-third cent piece which he despatched to the Mint Committee under cover of a letter dated June 17th 1824. [Register, No. 250. Mint Committee Proceedings, Vol. 1, 1823-24]. This letter reads as follows:—

"No. 250.

To

I. Pattle, Esq.,
H. Wood, Esq.,
H. Mackenzie, Esq.,

President and Members of the Mint Committee.

Gentlemen,

1. I have now the honour to acknowledge your letter of the 29th March last, forwarding a copy of letter from Mr. Crawford the Resident at Sincapore, relating to coinage of small money for that settlement and directing me to report whether the coins specified can be conveniently prepared at this Mint and which description of coin may be best suited for that purpose.

2. Of the comparative fitness of any form of coin depending on local considerations, the Resident at Sincapore must be best able to judge, and from his report it appears that on these grounds the 2 stiver piece of silver, and the Duyt of copper, are entitled to decided preference it is only necessary therefore to estimate their value according to the specimens furnished, and the rate at which they circulate, in order to ascertain how far their issue may be advantageous.

3. The duyts sent by Mr. Crawford are of two very different values; the heaviest average 49 grains, the lightest 23 grains each it is of course to be concluded from [*Sic*! ? concluded that. J. A. B.] Crawford considers that they circulate at par; as no distinction between light and heavy is made by him in adjusting their exchange with the Dollar it is not unlikely however that this does influence the rate, and the preponderance of the heavy sort regulates the premium which the Duyts usually bear and the exchange of from 270 to 290 instead of 300 for a Dollar.

4. By the calculation in the last paragraph of Mr. Crawford's letter it appears that he estimates the weight of the Durgts at about 30 grains, as he states that 300 are equal to

7 lb. 4 oz. 10 dwt. meaning it is to be presumed the pound avoirdupois; the average of the two sorts however is about 36 grains, and this will be the best weight for them, as it will enable a better impression to be struck and will leave a sufficient profit on the coinage.

5. In the Currency of Bengal at 64 pice the Rupee and 208 Rupees for 100 Dollars, the Dollar is equivalent to 13, 312 :—grains of copper, in that of Sincapore at 300 Duyts to the Dollar and 36 grains to the Duyt no more than 10800 grains of copper are required in exchange for the Dollar, copper, therefore in relation to silver will be more productive at Sincapore by nearly 19 per cent.

6. With regard to the actual profit to be made on the coinage in Calcutta, there is no doubt that it will [be. J. A. B.] considerable, the Factory maund of copper will yield after deducting ¼ for sizle 9679 Durgts at 36 grains each, this some (!) is equivalent to Dollars 32'4 which at Rs. 208 per [100. J. A. B.] Dollar is Rs. 67-9-7. The remaining third will be also realized within about 10 per cent so that the whole maund will be produce (!) above 14,000 Duyts if we deduct 10 per cent for losses and charges of manufacture the nett produce will be 12,600 Duyts; equal to 42 Dollars or Rs. 87-5-9 we have lately purchased copper fit for coining pice at 40 rupees per Factory maund, and can probably procure a present further supply at the same price or moderate advance upon it, it may therefore be expected that the profits of this coinage would not fall very short of 100 per cent from which however the cost of remittance would have to be deducted.

7. The silver coin recommended by Mr. Crawford is the second (!) stiver piece or wang [the word "Wang" is used almost all over the Malay Peninsula to mean "money" and according to Marsden was specifically applied to the silver fanam of the Carnatic of which 24 were held to be equal to the Spanish Dollar. J. A. B.] in the currency of Holland, this should weigh 18 grains, and contain 15 of pure silver as he mentions however the circulation to the eastward by no means corresponds with this description. The average weight of the two stiver pieces sent by him is grains 23,185 and their standard oz. 4, 10 dwt. worse than Calcutta standard, they consequently contain little more than a half, grains $12\frac{5}{10}$ fine silver, this in fact being about the 30th part of a Dollar, at which rate the coins in question circulate; as they thus exchange for their intrinsic value there could be no profit on their coinage, but Mr. Crawford anticipates a premium on their issue; although he would not make any change in their value or nominal rate perhaps however it would be advisable in order to cover part of the charge of fabrication to make a small reduction from their intrinsic value, and take their pure contents at an even number 12 grains instead of $12\frac{5}{10}$,

which would be saving of silver of nearly 2½ per cent, the weight of the coins might also be fixed at 24 grains, the alloy and fine silver being in equal proportion.

8. I have the honor to submit herewith specimens of the silver and copper Currency—I have not thought it necessary at present to prepare a separate die for the silver as the size and general character of impression are nearly the same, as on the copper coin, and a sufficiently correct idea may be formed of the appearance of the 2 stiver pieces from the muster [? "monster" = specimen] furnished, neither are these specimens perfect as I could have wished, there being a flaw in the lower edge of one face, the die having given way, in taking the impression, this is the second die that has flown and as the preparation of a third would occasion further delay I have thought it preferable to rest satisfied with the present impression in order that the general question of the execution of the Sincapore coinage may be at once determined; more perfect specimens may be hereafter furnished if required.

9. These specimens now submitted will establish the possibility of our fabricating the coins in this Mint. I beg to observe however that the manufacture will be the work of time and will be attended with considerable trouble and expense, the cost of labour must of course always bear a large proportion to a Currency which consists of pieces individually of a very low value, and in addition to this general principle the thiness (!) of the coins is likely to be attended with considerable difficulty in the operations of the rolling and stamping: to reduce the bards [bars. J. A. B.] to the requisite tenuity will be the work of repeated lamination, and in consequence of the small body of metal interposed between the upper and lower die the faces of the dies will act not only on the silver, but on each other; and will not (!) doubt very, very frequently fly before the blow, from these considerations, I should be disposed to doubt the advantage of coining the Sincapore currency as the expense will be necessarily great; and as there is very inadequate provision for the cost of the silver coinage the ultimate losses on that will be a proportionate deduction from the profits of the copper currency.

I have etc.

CALCUTTA MINT,
The 17th June 1824.

H. H. WILSON.
Actg. Mt. Mr."

Upon receipt of Mr. Wilson's communication the Mint Committee wrote to the Governor-General-in-Council on July 1st the following letter. [Register. No. 263. Mint Committee Proceedings. Vol. 1 1823-24].

" No. 263.

To

THE RIGHT HONORABLE,
WILLIAM PITT LORD AMHERST,
Governor-General-in-Council.

MY LORD,

In reply to Mr. Secretary Mackenzie's letter of the 19th March last, we have the honour to submit for the information of your Lordship's Council the accompanying copies of letters addressed to and received from the Acting Mint Master, relative to the proposed coinage for Singapore.

Adverting to the opinion therein stated, we beg to express our doubts as to the expediency of preparing coins, similar to the specimens herewith forwarded, in the Calcutta Mint, as we apprehend that the profits arising from the copper coinage after the deduction of the loss in that of the silver, will be found a very inadequate compensation for the labour and expense which would be incurred and if it be thought necessary to have a special coinage for Singapore, we should conceive it might, as in the case of Penang, be more advantageously furnished from England.

We have etc.,

CALCUTTA,
1*st July*, 1924."

To this letter the Secretary to the Government replied on September 24th in the following terms. [Register. No. 320. Mint Committee Proceedings Vol. 1. 1823-24].

" No. 320.

To

J. PATTLE,
H. WOOD and
HOLT MACKENZIE,
Mint Committee.

Territorial Department: Finance.

GENTLEMEN,

"I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-"General-in-Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter "of the 1st July last with its enclosures, and in reply to "inform you that under the information conveyed in these "papers, His Lordship in Council does not consider it expedi-"ent at present to direct the preparation at the Calcutta "Mint of a special coinage for Singapore more especially as "the weight of the coin, which Mr. Crawford desires to have "is liable to considerable doubt. It is scarcely possible

"that the two kinds one averaging 49 and the other 23 "grains should circulate indiscriminately.

"2. The expediency of procuring a supply of copper coin "from England for the use of Singapore will be further "considered, and will be made the subject of a reference to "the Honorable Court of Directors.

"3. In the meantime if it shall appear to the Resident "to be desirable to obtain a supply of Bengal Pyce they will "be furnished.

I have etc.,

COUNCIL CHAMBER, HOLT MACKENZIE,
The 24th September 1824. *Secy. to the Govt.*"

[NOTE.—The above letters are printed in the exact form in which they appear in the Records.]

The matter was thus concluded and, the decision having been duly conveyed to the Singapore authorities, we hear no more of any project for separate coinage for that Settlement; it may be remembered also that in 1825 the three Settlements of Penang, Malacca and Singapore were united into a single Presidency.

From the above newly discovered correspondence the whole history of the rare one Third Cent Pattern piece is disclosed and it may with advantage be here observed:—

(*a*) That this piece (No. 18) is not really attributable to Penang at all but on the contrary to Singapore at a date when Singapore was a distinct and separate Settlement.

(*b*) That specimens were struck in silver and in copper; the number is not known but was doubtless very small; nor am I aware of any silver example being in existence.

(*c*) That the real reason why the project was negatived was because the undertaking did not promise to be an adequately profitable one for the Mint at Calcutta.

It may be of interest here to state that through the favour of the Mint-master at Calcutta I had struck for me from the original die one specimen in gold, two in silver and four in copper; the flaw or crack in the die referred to in Mr. Wilson's letter quoted above shows itself noticeably though otherwise the impressions are perfect.

1825 Issue.

I have in my previous paper (p. 13) quoted the letter dated April 9th, 1825, from the Acting Secretary to the Government at Penang to the Secretary to Government at Calcutta asking that copper coins to the value of 10,000 dollars and of three deno-

minations (namely $\frac{1}{50}$th, $\frac{1}{100}$th, or $\frac{1}{200}$th, of a dollar might be struck for Penang at the Calcutta mint.

Through the courtesy of the Master of His Majesty's Mint, Calcutta and of both the Collector of Madras and the Officer in charge of the Madras Central Record Office, I have been furnished in 1924 with details of a whole series of letters dealing fully with the Penang issues of 1825 and 1828; these papers have been unearthed only after a troublesome and laborious search and I must acknowledge most gratefully the assistance so freely thus given to me in my investigations.

These letters are too lengthy to be quoted here in full but they may be summarized as follows:—

On the 5th May, 1825, the Secretary to Government at Fort William (i.e. Calcutta) wrote to the Committee of the Calcutta Mint enclosing the Penang Government's letter of April 9th and asking for a report thereon. [Register, No. 63, Mint Committee Proceedings, 1825 vol. I.]

On the 16th May the Mint Committee referred the matter to the Calcutta Mint-master for his views. [Register, No. 67, Mint Committee Proceedings, 1825, vol. I.]

On the 24th May the Mint-master replied to the Mint Committee to the effect that owing to the great pressure of work at the Calcutta Mint due to the orders for striking silver coinage for India the request of the Penang Government could not well be complied with. [Register, No. 73, Mint Committee Proceedings, 1825, vol. I.]

On June 2nd the Mint Committee wrote to the Governor-General-in-Council to forward the Mint-master's report but suggesting that the Penang Government's request should be passed on to the Government at Madras where at the New Mint with its improved machinery it might perhaps be possible for the required coinage to be made. [Register No. 80, Mint Committee Proceedings, 1825, vol. I.]

On the 9th June the Secretary to Government, Fort William, wrote to the Secretary to Government, Fort St. George (i.e. Madras), on the lines of the Mint Committee's advice. This letter I have already quoted in my previous paper (pp. 13 and 14). The Mint-Committee at Calcutta was apprised of the Government of Calcutta's action. [Register, No. 88. Mint Committee Proceedings, 1825, vol. I.] All the above letters are from the Calcutta Mint Records; the remainder, quoted below, are from the Records preserved at Madras.

On June 9th, also, the Calcutta Government wrote to the Penang Government stating that the latter's request for the minting of coinage had been sent on to Madras as the work could not be done at Calcutta on account of other urgent demands on the Mint.

On June 29th the Madras Government referred the matter to its Mint Committee and the Mint-master (a Mr. McKerrel)

by letter dated August 1st expressed himself as ready to undertake the work. The Mint Committee so reported to the Government on August 18th. [Financial Consultations, No. 4, dated 26-8-25] and the Government thereupon by letter of the 26th August directed the Commercial Superintendent to supply from the Import Warehouse to the Mint all the sheet-copper available there; which amounted to about 31 "candies" (i.e. roughly 15,500 pounds avoirdupois). [Finl. Cons. 26-8-25, Nos. 13 and 14]. By letter dated July 14th, the Penang Government, having by that time heard from the Calcutta Government that the coinage wanted could not be there minted, formally requested the Madras Government to carry out the undertaking. [Finl. Cons. 26-8-25, No. 3.]

The Mint-master commenced cutting the Dies on July 20th and by September 19th had made sufficient with which to start coining [letter from Mint-master, 9-9-25 and letter from Mint Committee. Finl. Cons. 20-9-25, No. 3].

On December 29th the Mint-master reported that all the available copper, which had been given him from the Import Warehouse (32 Candies, 5 Maunds and 20 Pounds) had been converted into coinage but the value of the coins was not nearly equal to the 10,000 Spanish Dollars' worth for which the Penang Government had requisitioned; actually the value of the 1825 issue was only 4,698 Spanish Dollars. [Letter from Mint-master, 28-12-25 and letter from Mint Committee, 8-2-26. Finl. Cons. 21-2-26, Nos. 7–9].

However there was no more copper then at hand and the coins minted (130,300 Double Pice or $\frac{1}{80}$ Dollar in 26 boxes; 136, 700 Single Pice or $\frac{1}{160}$th Dollar in 14 boxes and 145,000 Half-Pice or $\frac{1}{320}$th Dollar in 12 boxes) were consigned to Penang on His Majesty's Sloop "Fly" [Finl. Cons. 4-4-26, No. I] and their receipt was acknowledged by the Penang Government in May 1826. [Finl. Cons. 20-6-26, Nos. 4-5].

The remainder of the Penang Government's requisition could not be completed until 1828 and was dated of that year.

The above papers disclose completely the origin and history of the Penang issue of 1825. It may be interesting to append the actual statement of the accounts in connection with this 1825 issue: they are taken from the Madras Mint Committee's Proceedings of October 11th, 1826.

"Amount of Expenses on account of coinage, packing, "shipping, etc.

Coinage of 1825.

		Rs.	A.	P.
130,300 Double Pice 136,700 Single Pice 145,000 Half Pice	Weighing Candies 19, Maunds 13 and lbs. 17½ @ Rs. 300 per Candy ..	5,905	10	5
Contingent charges for making punches and dies for preparing coins from 20th July to 31st December		2,263	4	11

	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Wastage incurred in coining and melting scissel (9 Maunds 14¼ lbs,) @ Rs. 300 per Candy ..	143	8	9			
1022 Parrahs of charcoal used for cleaning copper coins and melting scissel	275	2	5			
52 Teak wood cases for packing the coins, gunny, rope, etc.	367	3	8			
Boat hire, Buoys, ropes, etc.	99	5	0	9,054	3	2

The total weight of the coins was 11878 lbs, 7 oz Troy; the face value 4,698 Spanish Dollars; the Double Pice weighed 292·2, the Single Pice 144·4 and the Half Pice 72·8 grains respectively and their sterling equivalents 4½, 2¼ and 1⅛ farthings.

1828. Issue.

In July 1827, more copper being then available, the Madras Mint Committee asked the Madras Government if the large balance of the Penang Government's requisition might be completed. [Letter from Mint Committee, 5.7.27. Finl. Cons. 10.7.27, Nos. 1-2]. The Government acquiesced; the coining was completed on March 19th 1828 and the consignment, packed in 90 cases, was despatched to Penang on the East India Company's Ship "Macqueen." [Letter from Mint-master 19.3.28: Letter from Mint Committee, 26.3.28. Finl. Cons. 1.7.28, Nos. 4-5].

The Statement of the Accounts in connection with the 1828 issue is given below; being taken from the Mint Committee's Proceedings of October 11th 1828 and the Financial consultations of January 30th 1829, Nos. 3-4.

Coinage of 1828.

	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
720,700 Double Pice 235,800 Single Pice 414,000 Half Pice } Weighing Candies 28, Maunds 4 and lbs 8 @ Rs. 347-7-4 per Candy	11,789	13	5			
Contingent charges for making punches, dies from 25th September 1827 to 21st March 1828	2,425	0	10			
1675 Parrahs of charcoal used for tempering the dies, annealing the copper coins and melting scissel	450	15	5			
15 Maunds and 15 lbs, of Shear steel used for making dies.	132	10	2			
90 Teakwood cases for packing the coins, gunny, ropes, etc.	576	9	0			
Boat hire	17	3	0			
Bill of lading, one set	0	7	6	15,593	5	4

The whole history of the 1828 issue of coinage for Penang is now, by the above records, entirely cleared up.

Penang Coins counter-stamped with Q and with "L.N.," "JAVA" and "1809."

It may, perhaps, be conveniently here mentioned that sometimes Two Cent pieces have been noticed heavily

counter struck with the letter "Q". I had thought that such counter-stamping might have been intended to denote that the coin was used or might be used in the neighbouring State of Quedah (or Kedah) from the Rajah of which the Island of Penang had been obtained by the British East India Company; but Mons. J. Schulman of Amsterdam informs me that the letter has no such significance and is the impress of some private firm or person. Specimens (one at least) of the undated One Cent, (No. 1 of my previous Article) are known counterstruck with the initials "L.N." (in monogram), the word "JAVA" and the date "1809"; the letters "L.N" stand for the initials of Louis Napoleon who in 1806 was placed upon the throne of Holland by his brother the great Napoleon Buonaparte; the French in 1809 controlled Java (then a Dutch possession) and the counter-stamping of this Penang coin purported to show that the piece had been thus treated by the French in Java at that date: such was not in fact the case as it is now known that this piece (and numerous other coins) was thus counterstamped some twenty or thirty years ago: and, it would seem with dubious motives.

Errata.

In conclusion I should like to mention that in my previous Article the Calcutta Government Headquarters are referred to as "Fort St. William:" the proper designation is, of course, "Fort William" without any canonization!

PATNA, INDIA, *October*, 1925. JOHN A. BUCKNILL.

258. SOME SOUTH INDIAN GOLD COINS.

A find of five gold coins was made in the Kondavidu hills in the Chaudavaram village, Guntur district, in 1925. They were all acquired for the Museum on behalf of Government.

They are of two kinds, the first consisting of three coins and the second of two.

The first set.

They are all circular and are all cup-shaped on account of the punchmarks on them. Two Śrīs are found at the ends of the horizontal diameter and the figure of an elephant in the centre, facing the proper left. Over this are found the sun and the moon. At right angles to this is found in old Telugu script the legend "Bavana" at the top and "Gadava" at the bottom. There are lotuses around the border.

The chief point worth noticing is the elephant symbol. This was used by the western Gangas, Kongu chiefs and Gajapati kings. The legend on the coin does not correspond with

any name or title of any one of the western Ganga kings that we have known from inscriptions. Neither do we know fully the names of all the Kongu chiefs and Gajapati rulers. Inscriptions Nos. 37, 40 and 41 of Udayagiri in the list of Inscriptions from Nellore district by Butterworth and Venugopala Chetti, state that Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagara drove Pratapa Rudra Gajapati to Kondavidu and in capturing Udayagiri captured also Tirumalai Raghava Raya, uncle of Pratapa Rudra Gajapati. We also know that Purushothama Deva, the predecessor of Pratapa Rudra on the throne of Orissa, invaded the Southern country and defeated the king at Conjeeveram. From the meagre information known it is not possible to say who issued these coins.

The Second set.

These are all circular. They appear to have been used a second time. Four new punch marks appear prominent. Two Śrīs are found at the ends of the horizontal diameter. At right angles to this is found at one end a legend in old Telugu in two lines, of which the first is not legible and the second consists of "Rayana." At the other end is the temple or crown mark which was peculiar to the western Chalukyas together with an Ankusa by its side. An examination of these four punch marks shows that they have been stamped over some earlier mark. The other spaces are filled by a lion or tiger. The marks erased by the four new marks appear to have been lions or tigers also.

There was a king, Madhava Deva by name, who was ruling at Addanki between 1208–1239 A.D. He was a subordinate of the Kakatiya kings. This line ruled at Addanki for nearly 100 years. He had a title of Chakra Narayana. This was also assumed by about seven kings; vide Appendix I in Inscriptions in Copper and Stone in Nellore District. These coins might have been issued by one of these kings. The legend also gives proof to this.

R. Srinivasa Raghava Ayyangar.

259. Some Moghul Gold Coins.

While digging the foundations of a ruined house on about 20th November, 1917, in the village of Thakkalapalli, hamlet of Putlur, Tadpatri Taluk, Anantapur district, a cooly struck at an earthen pot containing gold coins. Sixteen of them were recovered from the party. These were acquired for the Museum on behalf of Government. They contained eight coins of Muhammad Shah and eight of Farrukhsiyar.

They are all circular and are like the Pagodas of Vijayanagara in shape. The diameter varies between ·38 and ·4 of an inch. They are of an uniform weight 41·7 grs. They are all

made of 18-carat gold and have impressions on both sides. They have the name of the king in the Persian script enclosed in a circle of dots on the obverse. In some cases the Hijri year is found. The name of the mint in the Persian script enclosed in a circle of dots is found on the reverse. The coins of Muhammad Shah were all minted at Gūti. Some of them were minted in A.H. 1131 and others in 1132 A.H. The coins of Farrukhsiyar were minted in three places, Gūti, Tārpatri and Gajjikota. There are three coins of the first place, three of the second and two of the third.

They are described as follows :—

Coin No. 1.	Obverse—Muhammad Shah, 1132.	محمدشاه
	Reverse—Zarb-Gūti.	ضرب گوتي
Coin No. 2.	Obverse—Muhammad Shah. llxx.	محمد شاه
	Reverse—Zarb-Gūti.	ضرب گوتي
Coin No. 3.	Obverse—Muhammad Farrukhsiyar	محمد فرخ سير
	Reverse—Zarb Gūti.	ضرب گوتي
Coin No. 4.	Obverse—Muhammad Farrukhsiyar 1125	محمد فرخ سير
	Reverse—Zarb-Tārpatrī.	ضرب تارپتری
Coin No. 5.	Obverse—Muhammad Farrukhsiyar	محمد فرخ سير
	Reverse—Zarb-Gajjikota.	ضرب گجيکوٹه

Of the three mint towns, Gūti, Tārpatri, and Gajjikota. Gūti is identified with the modern Gooty, the headquarters of a taluk in the district of Anantapur. Mughal kings had there mints here—vide page lxxvii in the History of Mughal Emperors of Hindustan by Stanley Lane Poole. Tārpatri is identified with Tadpatri which is also the headquarters of a taluk in the same district. It is an important commercial centre sufficiently important to justify the presumption that the Mughals had a mint there. There is no place by the name of Gajjikota in any of the districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary and Anantapur. There is a place called Gangikota which was the stronghold of some Muhammadan Chiefs in the Cuddapah district. There is also a ruined fort even now.

Mr. Yazdani has been kind enough to give the following information about Gangikota :—

"Gangikota was an important fort on the borders of the Kutb Shahi territories. The nearest fort in the dominions of the rival dynasties of Bijapur was Jinji. At one time there was an understanding between these two dynasties that the Commander of the Kutb Shahi Forces should stay at Gangikota while the

Commander of the Adil Shahi forces (Mustapha) should stay in Jinji." (*From Basātiān-us-Salatin.*)

"Gangikota one of the five Circars in the old Province of Balaghat. It contains 15 Mahals and yielded a revenue of Rs. 13.68,841–5–3. Its boundaries are :—

On the east—Sidhout Forest (now Cuddapah district).
On the North—Kamman (now Kurnool District).
On the South—Puyen Ghat and a river.
On the West—Koni ? "

(*Old manuscript containing a statistical account of the Dekhan.*)

This may perhaps be the place, but the legend is clearly Gajjikota. So it is not possible to identify this definitely with that place. A town by the name of Gajjikota may have existed in those times.

Two new mints have now been brought to light, and it is now known that Farrukhsiyar and Muhammad Shah minted these gold coins which are entirely different from any known coins issued by them.

R. Srinivasa Raghava Ayyangar.

260. Coins of Raja Raja Chola.

A find of five coins of Raja Raja Chola was discovered in a field in the village of Dharapuram, near Kumbakonam in the district of Tanjore on the 28th of April, 1922. As these coins were of peculiar colour they were acquired for the Museum on behalf of Government. Raja Raja minted coins in gold, silver and copper, and coins of this kind have not been known till now.

Description. Circular, thick at the centre and thin at the edges.

Obverse. Crude figure of a king seated holding a conch by his left hand. The legend 'Raja Raja' is found in the old Devanagari script.

Reverse. Crude figure of a king standing blowing a conch held in his left hand and holding a lamp by his right. There is an arrow and a crescent of the moon to his right, and four circles to his left.

Weight, 68·25 grs. Diameter, ·8 of an inch.

As the composition of the metal appeared to be different from that of coins found hitherto, one of the coins was sent to the Bombay mint for examination. The coin on assay was found to contain

Gold	9·71
Silver	25·80
Copper	63·64
Lead	trace.

It can neither be called a gold or silver or a copper coin. The circumstances under which such a coinage was issued should be studied from inscriptions.

R. Srinivasa Raghava Ayyangar.

261. Historical Facts Gleaned from the Coins of the Bahmani dynasty.

The Bahmani dynasty was founded by one Zafar Khan, a centurion fief-holder of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq, in the Deccan in the year 748 A.H. or 1347 A.D. His name was Hasan and Zafar Khan was his title. Farishta calls him Sultan Alauddin Hasan Gangu Bahmani, but in his coins he is mentioned as Alauddin Abul Muzaffar Bahman Shah. It is worthy of note that, like the founder of the house of Romanoff, Hasan was elected to the throne by his compeers, and it is an anomaly in the region of politics that an elected king developed into an absolute autocrat, thus enunciating the principle that the system of Government depends to a large extent on the political instincts of a people. The rigmarole story narrated by Farishta and believed by the general reader concerning the assumption of the name Gangu Bahmani by Hasan has been ably refuted by Col. Haig in his "Land Marks of the History of Deccan." The coins of Hasan and his ruling progeny fully bear out the remarks of that scholar. In the first place the word *Gangu* does not appear on coins, and secondly Hasan styled himself Bahman Shah and not Bahmani. If Hasan, as is generally believed, named himself Bahmani after his guardian and master Gangu, then Bahman Shah does not and cannot convey the meaning which he had in view when he adopted that patronymic. Besides, Gangu was a Brahman and the adjectival form of Brahman will be *Brahmani* and not *Bahmani*. The conclusion is therefore that the word *Bahmani* does not commemorate the gratitude of a royal personage towards the master of his early life.

2. The following is a list of the Bahmani kings prepared from the extant coins of the dynasty with their full titles:—

1. As-Sultān-ul-Azam Alaud-dunya wad-din, Abul Muzaffar Bahman Shah Sultan. 748-760 A.H.
2. Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shah bin Bahman Shah Sultan. 760-777 (776) A.H.
3. Abul Maghazi Alaud-dunya wad-din Mujahid Shah Sultan. 776-780 A.H.
4. Daud Shah (no coins).
5. Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shah Sultan. 780-799 A.H.
6. Ghiyasud-din Bahman Khan (no coins).
7. Abul Muzaffar Shamsud-dunya wad-din Daud Shah Sultan. 799-800 A.H.

8. Abul Muzaffar Tajud-dunya wad-din Firoz Shah Sultan. 800-825 A.H.
9. Abul Maghazi Shahabud-dunya wad-din Ahmad Shah Sultan. 825-838 A.H.
10. Abul Muzaffar Alaud-dunya wad-din Ahmad Shah Sultan. 838-862 A.H.
11. Abul Maghazi Alaud-dunya wad-din Humayun Shah Sultan. 862-865 A.H.
12. Abul Muzaffar Nizam Shah. 865-867 A.H.
13. Abul Muzaffar Shams-ud-dunya wad-din Muhammad Shah Sultan. 867-887 A.H.
14. Abul Maghazi Mahmud Shah Sultan. 887-924 A.H.
15. Ahmad Shah (no coins) 924-927 A.H.
16. Alauddin Shah (no coins). 927-929 A.H.
17. Wali-ullah Sultan bin Mahmud Shah. 929-932 A.H.
18. Kalimullah Sultan bin Mahmud Shah Sultan. 932-950 A.H.

According to the names and titles on the coins as detailed above the throne names of the kings for chronological purposes may be enumerated as under:—

1. Alauddin I.
2. Muhammad Shah I.
3. Mujahid Shah.
4. Daud Shah I.
5. Muhammad Shah II.
6. Ghiyasuddin.
7. Daud Shah II.
8. Firoz Shah.
9. Ahmad Shah I.
10. Ahmad Shah II.
11. Humayun Shah.
12. Nizam Shah.
13. Muhammad Shah III.
14. Mahmud Shah.
15. Ahmad Shah III.
16. Alauddin Shah II.
17. Wali-ullah.
18. Kalim-ullah.

3. The coins struck by or in the reigns of four of the eighteen kings, *viz.* Daud, Ghiyasuddin, Ahmad III and Alauddin II, have not been discovered and are not available. During the reign of Mahmud Shah, 887-924 A.H., the different provincial Governors first assumed autonomy, gradually usurped the ruling power and proclaimed their independence one by one in the following years:—

Imadul Mulk of Berar, 892 A.H.
Adil Khan of Bijapur, 896 A.H.

Nizamul Mulk of Junair (Ahmadnagar), 896 A.H.
Qutb-ul-Mulk of Golkunda, 918 A.H.
Barid-ul-Mulk of Bidar, partly in 896 and partly in 932 A.H.

It is obvious that Mahmud had ceased to rule from about the year 896 and the four kings after him were mere puppets in the hands of Barids.

4. Farishta writes that Alauddin I had three sons, *viz.* Muhammad, Daud I, and Mahmud, and mentions Firoz Shah and Ahmad Shah as sons of Daud I. But there are coins of Ahmad Shah I bearing the following legend:—

سلطان احمد شاه بن احمد بن الحسن بهمنی

This shows that Alauddin had a fourth son also named Ahmad.

From numismatic evidence, as also from histories written before Farishta, it is established that the name of the 8th king of the Bahmani Dynasty was Muhammad Shah and not Mahmud as wrongly mentioned by Farishta. It is not the practice to call two sons by the same name. Daud I and Muhammad II are said to be brothers. If they are held to be sons of Mahmud Shah, then the three names of the three sons of Alauddin I would be Muhammad, Ahmad, and Mahmud. This tallies with the number given by Farishta and also furnishes a sort of harmoniousness in the names of all the three sons, as they are derived from the same root of حمد and give the same meaning.

A copper coin of Muhammad II corroborates this presumption. In the inscription محمد the word below must be the father's name محمود.

Kings and emperors generally assume grandiloquent, high sounding and awe-inspiring titles on coming to the throne. It seldom happens that the people confer any title on their rulers, though there are several instances of kings having been nicknamed by their subjects on the strength of some queer trait in their character or temperament. But the 9th king of this dynasty was called Wali by the populace on account of rain having fallen after a severe drought by his intercession with heaven. The Sultan was glad to be called Wali, but perhaps out of modesty he did not assume it in coins and official records. But his successors in their coins have mentioned him as Wali. Similarly Firoz Shah did not enter the title شاه فیروز on his coins, although he publicly assumed it at the time of ascending the throne.

5. The Bahmanis had only one mint in the beginning. It was their capital, Gulbarga. When Ahmad Shah I shifted his capital to Bidar, coins continued to be struck at Gulbarga also. Farishta gives the Islamic name of Gulbarga as Hasanabad and of Bidar as Ahmadabad after their founders, Hasan and Ahmad

respectively. But the testimony of coins conclusively falsifies the allegation of Farishta. Gulbarga is Ahsanabad and Bidar is Muhammadabad. There can be no mistake in the reading of the coins. Ahsanabad means 'the best city.' Hasan captured it from the Hindu Governor of Muhammad bin Tughlaq before he got the kingship. Ahmad got the throne with the moral support and spiritual assistance of the famous saint of the Deccan, Sayyid Muhammad Gēsū Darāz, who came to Gulbarga from Delhi about the year 816 A.H. and lies buried in a grand mausoleum there. The capital was named after this saint. It may be mentioned here that Aurangzeb renamed Bidar as Zafarabad.

In the coins of the last four puppet kings the name of the mint is not given. Gulbarga had dwindled into a provincial town and the capital Bidar was in the hands of the Barids. It is just possible that Barids ceased to coin money in the names of their nominal masters. It is also probable that the coins of the last four puppet kings were struck not under royal authority, but by the gold and silver smiths of the dominions for their own benefit. The incident in the reign of Muhammad Shah I that will be related later on supports this view. Amongst Moslems the striking of coins is the most important prerogative of royalty. It is therefore improbable that the Bijapur, Golkunda, Ahmadnagar and Berar Sultans, after having declared their independence and having begun to issue coins in thir own names, would have issued coins in the names of the puppet kings of Bidar. The Barids of Bidar were almost independent after Mahmud (887-924) and, with the example of Bijapur, Golkunda, Ahmadnagar and Berar before them, cannot be held to have continued to coin money in the names of the defunct royalty. This presumption gains support from the dates on the coins of the puppet kings—933, 942 and 950.

Farishta records that the last king of this line—Kalimullah—escaped from the custody of the Barids and fled to Ahmadnagar in the year 934 A.H. and passed away there soon afterwards. There was thus not even a nominal heir to the throne of Bahmanis after 934 A.H. The fact that coins were struck in the years 933, 942 and 950 in the absence of any actual claimant to the throne proves that these coins were not legal issues.

6. The weights of the Bahmani coins are as under:—

Gold lowest 168.7 grains, highest 195 grains.
Silver lowest 15 grains, highest 170 grains.
Copper lowest 15 grains, highest 250 grains.

Farishta writes that the gold and silver coins of Muhammad Shah I were of 4 different weights. The highest weight was not more than 2 tolas and the lowest not less than ¼ tola. But no coins of these weights have been found as yet. There are silver coins extant weighing 15, 16, 24, 26, 54, 169 and 170 grains. In

the reign of Ahmad Shah I one silver tanga weighed one tola. It is not possible to formulate a currency on the basis of weight from the coins now available.

In the beginning of the reign of Muhammad Shah I the Hindu gold and silver smiths, at the instigation of the kings of Vijanagar and Telingana, were found to be melting away the coins of the Bahmanis with a view to bring into circulation the currency of those kings as of yore. As warnings proved of no avail the whole lot of bankers in the kingdom were massacred one by one in the month of Rajab 861 A.H. and men of the Khatri caste, who had accompanied the invading armies from Delhi, were prevailed upon to start the business. This general massacre had the desired effect, as thence forward no one dared to interfere with or corrupt the currency till the reign of Mahmud. In his reign, when the Bahmani kingdom was tottering to its fall, the bankers renewed their nefarious practices.

7. The Bahmani Sultans were Sunnis and believed in the institution of Khilafat. In the coins of Alauddin I and Mujahid Shah the words يمين الخلافة و ناصر امير المومنين occur meaning 'right hand of Khilafat and supporter of Commander of the faithful.' In the coins of the other kings such epithets are not found. But almost all of the Bahmani Sultans have proclaimed themselves in their coins as supporters of the religion of Islam and used similar epithets. This may be taken as a proof of their religiosity and also of the principle that in Islam kingship is both temporal and spiritual combined. It is a significant fact that Alauddin, when he was elected king, ordered the black *Chatre* (flag) to be unfurled over his head as was the custom of the Khalifs of the house of Abbas. His son and successor Muhammad Shah received with great honour and éclat a robe of honour (خلعت) and a *bull* sent by the Abbaside Khalif of Egypt with his mother, when she returned from the pilgrimage of Mecca in the year 762 A.H. This testifies to the spiritual influence which the titular but crownless Khalifs of the House of Abbas still wielded in the Islamic world even after the lapse of their temporal power for over a century.

NAGPUR, M. A. SUBOOR.
3*rd December*, 1924.

262. A NEW COIN OF GARHA MANDLA.

The coin here reproduced was sent to me for examination by Mr. Robert Sutcliffe, one of the most extensive collectors of Indian coins at the present day. He obtained it from the late Mr. Atherton West, who was better known as a leading manufacturer then as an antiquarian, and it is impossible to ascertain how and whence this gold piece of unusual interest came into his possession.

I am much indebted to Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, Mr. Hira Lall, Deputy Commissioner of Jubbulpore, and to my friend Mr. R. Chandra, Superintendent of the Archæological Section, Indian Museum, for their assistance in assigning and deciphering the coin.

The description as given by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, is as follows :—

Obverse.

Crested lion walking to L. with one fore-paw raised, within a double circle. Above the lion is a figure of the sun. Margin, within a circle, with a dotted circle outside. in Nāgarī :—

Śrī Sagrama Sāhi Sāvat 1,600 *Pulāsta Vaṁśa.*

Reverse.

Within double circle a monogram in Telugu writing Margin, as on obverse, in Nāgarī :—

Śrī Sagrama Sāhi dava Śrī Pulāsta Vaṁśa.

The corrected reading of the legends he would make :—

Obverse.

Śrī Saṁgrāma Sāhe Saṁvat 1,600 *Paulastya-Vaṁśa.*

Reverse.

Śrī Saṁgrāma-sāhi-deva Srī Paulastya-Vaṁśa.

No coin of this shape and legend has yet been recorded ; but there is a square gold coin of the same King weighing 166·6 grains, as against 168 grains of the coin under consideration, in the Indian Museum. This was published in Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1913-14, pp. 253-55 ; and B. B. Bidyabinod's Supplementary Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Non-Muhammadan series, Vol. I. P. 100. That coin, which had the device of a lion on the obverse in a square, was at first read as dated in 1376, but Mr. Hira Lall supplied a more correct reading which ran *Putarī avasa | Sagrama | Sahi Sava- | ta* 1570. Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni considers with much reason that in the light of the clear legend on the round coin, the correct reading should be :—

Pul [*ā*] *sta-va* [*ṁ*] *sa*
Sa [*ṁ*] *gra* [*ā*] *ma*
Sa [*ā*] *hi sa* [*ṁ*] *va-*
ta 1570.

The date Vikrama Samvat 1570 (= A.D. 1513) is stated by Mr. Hira Lall to be the 33rd year of the reign of this Gond King, because he had come to the throne in A.D. 1480. In his ' Descriptive List of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces

and Berar,' p. 197, he gives the date V.S. 1587 (=A.D. 1530) as the probable commencement of the reign of Dalpati Sāhi, son of Saṁgrāma Sāhi. As, however, it is now clear that the latter was reigning in V.S. 1600, not only must this conjecture be abandoned, but the initial date of A.D. 1480 for the commencement of the reign becomes too early; a reign of sixty-three years or more being at least unlikely. As regards this date, Mr. Hira Lall writes:—

"It was based on Sleeman's account in the Bengal Asiatic "Society's Journal of 1837, and as he stated that he ruled for "50 years the accession of his son Dalpat Shah, was placed "about 1530 A.D. But in the latest book on the Raj Gond "Maharajas of the Satpura hills Mr. Wills has fully discussed "the question and placed the beginning of Dalpat's accession "in 1541 A.D., when, he states, Sangram died. This date "seems to have been worked out backwards from the date of "the battle between Durgavati, widow of Dalpat Shah, and "Asaf Khan, the Mughal Subadar of Kara Manikpur, in the "year 1564 A.D. She is stated to have been the queen "regent for 16 years in that year and that her husband "ruled for seven years before his death and pushes it at "least two years further on. This find shows that Dalpat "could not have come to the throne before 1543 A.D."

We have now to place the accession of Saṁgrāma Sāhi not earlier than V.S. 1550 or A.D. 1493 at the outside. That is one result of the discovery. Of course the reign of fifty years may be more or less approximate, but while it may not be necessary to abandon 1541 for Dalpat Sāhi, 1480 will not serve for the accession year of his father.

A further point of interest about this coin lies in the repeated designation 'Paulastya-vaṁśa.' Mr. R. Chandra, states:—"In the Epic and the Purāṇas the Yaksha King Kuvera "and the Rākshasa Kings Rāvaṇa and Vibhishana are stated "to belong to the same family." Now Paulastya-vaṁśa is equivalent to Rāvaṇa-vaṁśa, and the Gonds of Amarkatanka claimed, and still claim, descent from Rāvaṇa. Apparently Saṁgrāma Sāhi considered himself to be of the same descent, but the Brāhmaṇas substituted on the coin a more respectable equivalent which made out the royal descent to be from a Ṛishi.

Now it at that distant time the Gonds believed that they were the descendants of the race which opposed the invasion of the Aryans from Ajodhya, there is, thanks to this coin, a stronger reason than before for adopting the theory that Lanka was in reality Amarkatanka. From the practical point of view it would have the advantage of greater probability. The theory moreover brings the story of Rāma within closer distance as regards time. Views are changing, but every change brings

tradition nearer, and it is possible that the foundation on which so much has been built will prove in the course of time to be more tangible than was ever suspected.

H. R. NEVILL.

263. ON THE GOLD COINS OF MUHAMMAD 'ÁDIL SHÁH OF BÍJÁPUR.

It was reserved for Dr. Taylor to describe the "Gold Coins of the 'Ādil Shāhī Dynasty of Bījāpur" in article 108 of the Numismatic Supplement No. XVIII of the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1912. But his article is merely a note on the gold coins of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh. It is desirable that a fuller description of the gold coins of this king should be published. The object of this article is to supply this want after an examination of five coins of this type. These five coins were discovered in Bijāpur District and the plaster cast of one of them has very kindly been supplied by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western Circle, Poona. What we find on the coins is:—

(1) Size .35" Wt. 52 grains.

Obv. جهان زد و
این
محمـــــد
گرفت زینت

Rev. محمد مرسل

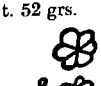
محمّد شاه
دوم

(2) Size .35 and .4 Wt. 52 grs.

Obv. جها
محمد
گرفت

Rev. محمد مرسل
یکے
محمد شاه
دوم

(3) Size .40,41 Wt. 52 grs.

Obv. گرفت  The marks or ornaments are very peculiar.

محمد مرسل

Rev. یکے
محمد شاہ
دوم

(4) Size .4 Wt. 51.8.

Obv. جہان را این دو
محمـــــد
گرفت زینت
و جاہ

Rev. محمد مرسل
یکے
محمد دوم شاہ

Thus it will be seen that the average weight of these gold coins of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh is 52 grains and size .4 inches. The shape is not mathematically circular and the same specimen at one point has a diameter of .35 and at the other .4 inches. Again the flan of the coin being apparently smaller than the die, the inscription is not to be found complete on the coin. As much as is there, has been read and written down. No doubt remains as to the legend being the same as read by Dr. Taylor, *e.g.*

جہان ز این دو محمد گرفت زینت و جاہ
یکے محمـــد مرسـل دوم محمـــد شاہ

in his article No. 90 on "Copper Coins of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty p. 684 Numismatic Supplement No. XV, 1910. But he reads مرشد after the first محمد of the second hemistich in his article quoted in the beginning of this note. Though the ل (*l*) of مرسل looks more like د (*d*) yet I prefer to read it, as مرسل for the following reasons.

(1) There are no dots on the *sin* س of the word whereas all diacritical points are quite clear in the other portion, e.g. *tashdīd* ـّ of second *mīm* of محمد, the *jazamah* ـْ of ر of مرسل, the *nuqtahs* of *ye* ی of یکے and of *shīn* ش of شاہ, in the last case given as ... in a horizontal line instead of the usual fashion.

(2) The word مرسل meaning an apostle or prophet gives better sense and is more appropriate than مرشد which means only a saint or a leader or a teacher.

(3) Comparison with another contemporary quatrain written in praise of the same king leads one to read مرسل in preference to مرشد. The quatrain reads

سمی احمد مرسل شه غازي که درگاهش
پنـاہ رتبه سنجـــان سپهر هفتمین باشد
جهان زانگونه رونق یافت از پیرایه حفظش
که دولت ماه از تار کنا در آستین باشد

Translation :—

(i) The namesake of the Prophet, the champion king, in whose court.
(ii) The seventh sky also seeks refuge.
(iii) From his peaceful manners the world has gained so much splendour.
(iv) That wealth of the moon and the sun (silver and gold) is in his sleeves.(1)

It is written in a similar tone and plays upon the word محمد.

(4) Muhammad Shāh of Persia (A.H. 1250-1264 A.D. 1835-1848) has his motto on coins شاهنشاه انبيا محمد "Muhammad the Emperor of prophets," and thus shows his pride at having the same name as the Prophet Muhammad. Jahāngir the Mughal (A.H. 1014-1037), the numerical value of whose name is 256, equal to الله اكبر, also shows his vanity by stamping his coins with :—

حروف جهانگير و الله اكبر ز روز ازل در عدد شد برابر

"The letters in the names of *Jahangir* and of the *Supreme God*.

From the first day to the last are equal in value."

By comparison with these two monarchs we can safely conclude that a mighty king like Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh, whose Gol-Gumbad stands today bespeaking tales of its builder's grandeur, could not be content with comparing himself with a saint only. He must rise at least to that rank which is supposed to be the greatest in this world *e.g.* that of the Prophet Muhammad.

(5) I read a similar legend with مرسل on the laris of this king.

MUHAMMAD ISMAIL

SOME REMARKS ON THE COINAGE OF THE 'ĀDIL SHĀHĪ DYNASTY.

From the article preceding this it will appear that the average weight of the gold coins of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh is 52 grains. This is exactly the weight of the *Pagoda* or the *Hun* which was a popular coin of South India and was valued at about eight shillings. The following quotation from Elliot's "Coins of Southern India" is very interesting in this respect :—

'The last (type of coins of South India) to be noticed is a gold pagoda, with perfect obverse and reverse, specimens of which, still extant, are by no means very rare, and may probably be of

(1) The quotation is from a MS. history of the 'Ādil Shāhī Dynasty. It was copied down rather hurriedly in 1921 when I consulted the MS. in the office of the Superintendent Archl. Survey W. C. Poona. I am now a little doubtful about its accuracy and wanted to consult the MS. again, but the Superintendent tells me that the book is not now traceable. But about the reading سمى احمد مرسل "Namesake of Ahmed the Prophet" I am quite confident.

later date. It has been figured by Marsden. The curious figure on the obverse may be described as a heart-shaped symbol, from the upper lobes of which two pointed lines rise (often truncated by the margin), and between them a dot; sometimes to the left of these are another dot and a curved line. The figure on the reverse resembles a flat dish in which are two rounded forms like balls. Marsden calls the piece a "Hun of Vijayapura, Bijapur, or Visiapoor," and states, "it exhibits emblems, the signification of which is entirely unknown." This he seems to have done on the authority of Tavernier, who represents it in the plate before mentioned, as figs. 3 and 4, under the designation of the "king of Vasapoor's *pagod*." He hesitates however, rightly, to assign it to the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty, which dates only from the end of the fifteenth century (1489 A.D.) and conjectures it to have been struck by some Hindu prince who reigned there at an earlier period; a suggestion which received support from the appearance of Persian characters on two specimens in Dr. Codrington's possession, one of which has the letter (*ain*) ع, and the other (*sin*) س impressed on the heart-shaped symbol. I conjecture, therefore, that Yussuf 'Ādil Shāh, finding these pieces in circulation in a part of his newly-conquered territory, continued their issue, with the simple addition of the letters above mentioned, until he could establish an orthodox Moslem type of his own, Numismata Orientalia, P. 56.

Now the concluding sentence of this extract may well be compared with the following quotation from Farishta cited by Dr. Taylor on page 227, Numismatic Supplement XVIII—"After the dissolution of the Bahmani dynasty the several kings of the Deccan assumed the '*chutr*,' or canopy, and the '*khutba*,' but none struck coins of gold in their own name or sounded the '*nobut*,' five times daily, excepting the king of Golconda, styled Kootb Shah." Briggs Ferishta II, 300. Thus we can dispense with Elliot's conjecture that Yusuf Adil Shah "could establish an orthodox Moslem type of his own." Perhaps at no time could he do so. Hitherto no coins of Yusuf have come to light. We are thus justified in concluding that Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh was in all probability the first of the 'Ādil Shāhī rulers to issue gold coins with a distinct orthodox Moslem type of his own. He kept, of course, the popular weight and type, the 'pagoda' or the 'hun,' and stamped his gold coins with a Moslem legend. With the exception of those of Muhammad, we have not been able to discover any gold coins bearing the name of an 'Ādil Shāhī king. *Laris* of Ali Ādil Shāh II are known and I have found *laris* of Muhammad also. Thus, speaking generally, we may say now that the 'Ādil Shāhīs struck coins in gold, silver and copper.

BOMBAY,
18*th August*, 1925.

MUHAMMAD ISMAIL.

264. NOTE ON A GOLD COIN OF 'ÁLÁUD DÍN HUMÁYÚN SHÁH ZÁLIM BAHMANÍ.

A.H. 862–865.

Metal. *Au*.
Size. 1. 1″
Weight. 159·5 grains.
Obverse: within square :—

علا الدّنيا و الدين
همايون شاه بن احمد
شاه بن احمد شاه
الولي البهمني

Border not clear, but beginning from the right it seems to be a complement of the legend on the Reverse as follows :—

الصراط المستقيم صراط الذين انعمت عليهم غير المغضوب عليهم و الضالين *

The lettering is very, very doubtful, but one may conjecture it to be in its complete form :—

Top.	ضرب هذا
Right.	الدينار بحضرت
Bottom.	احسنا اباد
Left.	.....ستين و ثما نماية

The above remarks regarding the margin are merely by way of a suggestion. One cannot be very authoritative about them. Perhaps some new coin may support either of the alternative readings.

Reverse :

الحمد لله ربّ
العالمين الرحمن
الرحيم مالك يوم
الدين اياك نعبد
و اياك نستعين اهدنا

Translation of Reverse (Alquran, First Chapter, called *al-Fatiha* or the Opening Verse). "All praise is due to Allah, the Lord of the worlds, the Beneficent, the merciful, master of the Day of Requittal (Day of Judgement). Thee do we serve and Thee do we beseech for help. Guide us."

The portion of the obverse (if my conjecture is correct) can be translated as :—

"On the right path, the path of those upon whom Thou hast bestowed favours, not those upon whom wrath is brought down, nor those who go astray."

This gold coin, which is unique, was brought to my notice last year and I was anxious to publish it, if I could lay my hand on it again. Now, through the courtesy of Mr. C. E. Kotwal, I have been able to handle the coin again. I publish this note with the permission of Mr. C. N. Bandorawala, of Bombay, who possesses this coin.

MUHD. ISMAIL.

11*th November*, 1924.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

INDEX

JOURNAL AND PROCEEDINGS

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

NEW SERIES

VOLUME XXI

1925

INDEX

A

Abdul Aziz, M. Deccan in the 15th cent., 549.
'Abdu'l Wali. Bengali book written in Persian script, 191.
Accommodation, xliv.
Agencies, liii.
Akarwan, rupees of Shah 'Alam II struck at, N. 20.
'Alaud Din Humayun Shah Zalim Bahmani, gold coin of, N. 47.
Albanigaras, a mountainous tract, yielding diamonds, 565.
Andrada, Fr. A. de, his letter from Tibet, 75.
—— a portrait of, 92.
Anga and Campā, referred to in:
Anguttara Nikāya, 140.
Buddhaghosa's commentaries, 141.
Dhammapāla's commentaries, 142.
Digha Nikāya, 139.
Mahāvagga, 138.
Majjhima Nikāya, 139.
Samyutta Nikaya, 140.
Thera-therī-gathās, 141.
—— in Pali literature, 137.
Angria, a pirate chief of Konkon coast, 563.
Annandale, N. Lt.-Col. H. H. Godwin-Austen, clxxvii.
—— obituary of, clxxix.
Annual Address, 1924-25, vi.
Annual Meeting, 1925, proceedings of, i.
Annual Report, 1924, xxxv.
Anthropology, lvii.
Antunes, Fr. Denis, 33.
Arabic and Persian MSS., Search and Catalogue, lxi.
Artistic and Historical Possessions, xliv.
Āryabhata, on the date of Mahābhārata war, 211.
Associate Members, xxxvi.
—— list of, cxl.
Atharvaveda, Kāṇḍa xv, 179.
Attribution of imitation-Gupta coins, N. 1.
Ava (Burma), Jesuit missions in, 27.
—— Fr. Manoel da Fonseca in, 27.
—— Churches in 1644, identifications of, 40.
Ayyangar, S. R. Coins of Raja Raja Chola, N. 35.
—— Moghul gold coins, N. 33.
—— Padmatankas of some Yadava kings of Devagiri, N. 6.
—— Rupees of Shah 'Alam II, struck at Akarwan, N. 20.
—— South Indian gold coins, N. 32.
Aziz Jung, Nawab, obituary of, clxxxvi.

B

Bahmani dynasty, coins of, historical facts gleaned from, N. 36.
—— kingdom, 588.
—— army of, 585.
—— changes in the administration of, 580.
—— Nikitin's account of, 589.
Baptist Mission Press, liii.
Barclay Memorial Medal, xlii.
—— recipients of, cxlii.
Bedar, description of, 508.
Bengali book written in Persian script, 191.
Beschi, Fr. C. J., MS. Tamil Grammar by, 95.
Bhattasali, N. K. Attribution of the imitation-Gupta coins, N. 1.
Bhikkhu, daily life of, 111.
Bibliotheca Indica, lviii.
Bigandet, Bishop, on descent of the Christians of Upper Burma, 47.
Bodding, P. O. Standardized system of writing Munda or Kolarian languages, 9.
Bucknill, J. A. Coinage struck for B.E.I. Company's settlement of Penang or Prince of Wales' Island, N. 23
Budget Estimate, 1925, l.

C

Cases, use of, in Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā, l.
Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., lxi.
Central Prov., rare coins found in, N. 10.
Chandar Sen, a Rathor hero, 98.
Christie, W. A. K., elected representative to serve at Caen and Liege meetings, xlii, clxxxviii.
—— Dr. T. O. D. Dunn, clxxvi.
Christophers, Lt.-Col. S. R., awarded Barclay Memorial Medal, 1923, iv.
Coin, new, of Garha Mandla, N. 40.
Coinage struck for B.E.I. Company's Settlement of Penang or Prince of Wales' Island, N. 23.
Coins, rare, found in the Cent. Prov., N. 10.
—— of Bahmani dynasty, historical facts gleaned from, N. 36.
—— of Raja Raja Chola, N. 35.
Communications, clxxxix.
Conti, N., a Venetian traveller.
—— account of, 551.
—— Indian ships described by, 563.
—— routes followed and places visited by, 553.
Copper coins, epithet used on, by Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur, N. 20.
Council, xl.
Council Proceedings, 1924, abstract of, lxxxix.

D

Dasyūs, a race of the Punjab, 22.
Data from Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, 107.
Dayal, P. Three Mughal coins, N. 18.
Deb, H. K. Five-yearly yuga and the Saptarshi cycle, 221.
—— Mede and Madra, 205.
—— When Kurus fought Pandavas, 211.
Deccan in the 15th Cent.
—— account of, 549.
—— economic conditions of, 560.
—— famines appearing in, 582.
—— political condition of, 557.
—— social and religious condition of, 568.
Deputations, xlii, clxxxviii.
Devagiri, Padmatankas of Yadava kings of, N. 6.
Diaz, Fr. G., his letter from Annam, 75, 82.
Digha-Nikāya, contents of, and its genesis, 107.
—— recital of, in the First Council, 108.
Dunn, Dr. T.O.D., obituary of, clxxvi.
Durgāpūjā, European parallel to, 315.

E

Elliott Gold Medal, recipients of, cxlii.
—— Prize for Scientific Research, xliii.
Epithet used on copper coins by Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur, N. 20.
European parallel to the Durgāpūja, 315.
Exchange of Publications, liii.
Exhibits shown after the Annual Meeting, 1925, xxvii.

F

Farrukhabad Mint, gold coin of Farrukhiyar of, N. 23.
Farrukhiyar, gold coin of, of Farrukhabad Mint, N. 23.
Fellows, xxxvi.
—— list of, cxxxix.
Figueiredo, Fr. S. de, 36.
Finance, xlviii.
—— Committee, xl.
Five-yearly yuga and the Saptarshi cycle, 221.
Folklore and customs of the Lapchas of Sikhim, 325.
—— of the Rong-folk, 335.
Fonseca, Fr. E. da, 27, 38.
—— Fr. M. da, in Ava, 27.
Forgotten hero of Marwar, 97.
Francotte, Fr. E., obituary of, clxxvii.

G

Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj, predecessors of, 103.
Garga, astronomer, date of, 229.
—— and Vṛddha Garga, one and the same person, 230.
Garha Mandla, new coin of, N. 40.

Gautama Buddha, account of, 111.
—— contemporaries of, 115.
—— and the paribrājakas, 123.
Gharibullah of Hafizpur, a poet, 193.
Godinho, Fr. F., determination of his nationality and stay in Tibet, 51.
—— his letter from W. Tibet, with text and translation, 49, 61.
Godwin-Austen, Lt.-Col. H. H., obituary of, clxxvii.
Gold coin of 'Alaud Din Humayun Shah Zalim Bahmani, N. 47.
—— of Farrukhiyar of Farrukhabad Mint, N. 23.
—— of Kumara Gupta I, N. 21.
Gold coins of Muhammad 'Adil Shah of Bijapur, N. 43.

H

Hamza of Udna, a poet, 193.
Hannah, H. B. Indian origins, 21.
Herodotus, on the Medes, 205.
Hidayet Hossain, M., elected Fellow, iv.
Hindu astronomy, characteristics differentiating the newer from the older, 221.
Hipparchus (c. 150 B.C.), Alexandrian astronomer, 221.
Historical facts gleaned from coins of Bahmani dynasty, N. 36.
Honorary Fellows, xxxvii.
—— list of, cxxxviii.
Hosten, H. Fr. M. da Fonseca in Ava, 27.
—— Letter of Fr. F. Godinho from W. Tibet, 49.
—— Letters of Frs. A. de Andrada and G. Diaz, 75.
—— MS. Tamil Grammar by Fr. C. J. Beschi, 95.

I

Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur, epithet used on copper coins of, N. 20.
Imitation-Gupta coins, attribution of, N. 1.
Indian Museum, xli.
—— origins, 21.
—— Science Congress, xli.
Ismail, M. Epithet used on copper coins by Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur, N. 20.
—— Gold coins of Muhammad 'Adil Shah of Bijapur, N. 43.
Ismail, M. Note on a gold coin of 'Alaud Din Humayun Shah Zalim Bahmani, N. 47.
Ivanow, W., elected Associate Member, 1924, xxxvi.
—— Rustic poetry in the dialect of Khorasan, 233.

J

Jail administration in ancient India, 143.

K

Kala, a community of Ava, 47.
Kālī, an Indo-European deity, 316.
Kamala Lectureship, xlii.
Kamāluddin 'Abdur Razzak, an envoy to Vijianagar.
—— account of, 552.
—— Hindu and Moslem dress described by, 570.
—— Mahanavami festival of Vijianagar narrated by, 573.
—— routes followed and places visited by, 550.
—— Vijianagar Court described by, 571.
Kanauj, Gāhadavālas of, their predecessors, 103.
Kāthaka-Samhitā, use of cases in, 1.
Khorasani dialect, peculiarities of, 241.
—— idiomatic expressions, 256.
—— rustic poetry in, with specimens, 233, 258.
—— and literary Persian, 242.
Konow, S., elected Honorary Fellow, 1925, xxxvii.
—— European parallel to the Durgāpūjā, 315.
Kumara Gupta I, gold coin of, N. 21.
Kurus, when they fought Pandavas, 211.

L

Lal, P. Gold coin of Farrukhiyar of Farrukhabad Mint, N. 23.
—— Gold coin of Kumara Gupta I, N. 21.
Lap-cha customs:
birth, 462.
death and burial, 475.
family life, 461.
marriage, 465.
miscellaneous observations, 476.

Lap-cha folk tales, analysis of, 341.
—— literature, 333.
—— mentality, 335.
—— superstitions, 480.
—— tales:
heroic legends, 387.
index of subjects, etc., 483.
myths of creation, 344.
varia, 435.
zoological mythology, 360.
—— or Rong-folk, their ethnical type and language, 332.
—— *See* also Rong-folk.
Lap-chas of Sikhim, folklore and customs of, 325.
Law, B. C. Aṅga and Campā in Pali literature, 137.
—— Data from Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, 107.
—— Gautama Buddha and the paribrājakas, 123.
Lévi, S., on pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian elements in Indian civilization, 315.
Library, xlv.
Life, stages of, according to Hindu sages, 123.
—— Members, chronological list of, cxlix.
Lytton, Lord, speech by, xxi.

M

Madras, Indian evidence concerning the tribe, 207.
Mahābhārata war, views concerning the date of, 211.
Manen, J. v. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, clxxxii.
—— Nawab Aziz Jung, clxxxvi.
—— Dr. N. Annandale, clxxix.
MS. Tamil Grammar by Fr. C. J. Beschi, 95.
Martyrdom of St. Thomas, 507.
Marwar, forgotten hero of, 97.
Mede and Madra, 205.
Medical Section Meetings, 1924, proceedings of, cxci.
Medicine, lvii.
Meetings, liv.
Members, loss of, 1924, cxli.
—— absent from India, cxli.
Membership statistics, 1901–24, lxiii
Mogor and Tibet Missions, reconstruction of the catalogue of, 59.
Mookerjee, Sir Asutosh, obituary of, clxxxii.
Mookerjee, Sir R. N., Annual Address, 1924–25, vi.
Mughal coins, N. 18.
—— Gold coins. N. 33.
Muḥammad 'Adil Shah of Bijapur, gold coins of, N. 43.
—— Gāwān, changes introduced in the administration of Bahmani kingdom by, 580.
—— Shāh III, hunting excursion of, 572.
Mukherjee, B. L. Atharva Veda, Kāṇḍa, xv, 179.
—— Vrātyas and their sacrifices, 151.
—— Word 'Vrā' in the Rig Veda, 167.
Muṇḍa or Kolarian languages, standardized system of writing, 9.
Musalmani Bangla, origin of, 192.

N

Natural History: biology, lv.
—— : physical Science, lvii.
Nerthus, etymology and meaning of, 318.
—— worship of, by Germanic tribes, 317.
Nevill, H. R. New coin of Garha Mandla, N. 40.
Nicote, a Portuguese of French origin, 30.
Nikitan, A., a Russian traveller.
—— account of, 553.
—— Bahmani kingdom incidents related by, 589.
—— Hindu and Moslem dress described by, 570.
—— Muḥammad Shāh III's hunting excursion narrated by, 572.
—— routes followed and places visited by, 556.
Niṣādas, a race of the Punjab, 22.
Numismatics, lxii.
Nunes, Fr. D., 27.

O

Obituary Notices, clxxvi.
Office, xxxvii.
—— Bearers, xxxvii.
Officers and Council Members, 1924, cxiii.
—— 1925, xxvi, cxiv.
Ordinary Members, xxxv.
—— chronological list of, cxliv.
—— list of, cxv.

Ordinary Monthly General Meetings, 1924, proceedings of, cli.
Ormuz, island of, 574.

P

Padmatankas of some Yadava kings of Devagiri, N. 6.
Pāncha-Janāḥ, communities from Western Asia, 21.
Pandavas, when Kurus fought with them, 211.
Paribrājaka and bhikkhu, difference between, 124.
Paribrājakas, their accounts in:
Dhammapada commentary, 134.
Jātakas, 135.
Mahāvastu, 136.
Nikāyas, 124.
Sūtta Nipāta commentary, 135.
Theragātha and its commentary, 134.
Tibetan Dulva, 136.
—— two classes of, 122.
Patron's Address, xxi.
Pegu, Portuguese in, a Dominican Friar's account of, 45.
Pehlevi inscription, photographed at Persepolis and deciphered by Herzfeld, clxxxix.
Penang or Prince of Wales' Island, coinage struck for B.E.I. Company's Settlement of, N. 23.
Persian rustic poetry, character of, 235.
—— Sasanian Empire, its extension during the 3rd cent. A.D., clxi, clxxxix.
Philology, liv.
Pilgrim, G.E., elected fellow, iv.
Pinto, Fernão Mendez, on Burma, 45.
Portuguese in Pegu, a Dominican Friar's account of, 45.
Predecessors of Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj, 103.
Premises and Property, xliii.
Presentations, Donations and Legacies, xlv.
Public Lectures, liv.
Publications, lii.
——issued during 1924, lxiv.
Purāṇas, on the date of Mahābhārata war, 214.

Q

Qissa-i-Amir Hamza, a romance, authorship of, 193.

R

Raja Raja Chola, coins of, N. 35.
Raman, C. V., elected fellow, iv.
Ramanatha Ayyar, A.S. Martyrdom of St Thomas, 507.
Receipts and Disbursements, lxvii.
Rong-folk folklore, 335.
—— hamlet, 461.
—— mythology and religion, 335.
—— *See* also Lap-cha.
Rules and Regulations, xl.
Rupees of Shah 'Alam II, struck at Akarwan, N. 20.
Rustic poetry in Khorasani dialect, 233.
—— specimens of, 258.

S

St. Thomas' martyrdom, 507.
—— foreign versions relating to, 506.
—— post-Portuguese accounts of, 541.
—— pre Portuguese writers on, 536.
—— subsequent authors on, 544.
St. Thomas' Mount Cross.
———— discovery and history of, 510.
———— readings of the inscription on, 511.
Sanyal, N. B. Predecessors of the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj, 103.
Saptarshi cycle, connection of the five-yearly yuga to, 226.
—— enunciated by Garga, 231.
—— references in the Purāṇas to, 227.
Sen, S. Cases in the Kāṭhaka-Samhitā, l.
Sequeira, Fr. B., 28.
Shah 'Alam II, rupees of, struck at Akarwan, N. 20.
Sharma, R. Forgotten hero of Marwar, 97.
Shastri, H. P., elected representative to serve on Board of Trustees, Ind. Mus., xlii.
—— nominated member to serve on Kamala Lectureship Committee, xlii.
Sikhim, geography and history of, 329.
—— summary of tours in, 333.
Sikhim Maharajas, Tibetan origin of, 331.
Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee and Dr. Annandale Memorials, xliii.

Smrititirtha, K. K., elected Associate Member, 1924, xxxvi.
Sousa, S. R. de, 30.
South Indian gold coins, N. 32.
Special Honorary Centenary Members, xxxvi.
—— list of, cxxxvii.
Standardized system of writing Munda or Kolarian languages, 9.
Stocks, C. de B. Folklore and customs of the Lap-chas of Sikhim, 325.
Suboor, M. A. Historical facts gleaned from the coins of the Bahmani dynasty, N. 36.
—— Rare coins found in the Cent. Prov., N. 10.
Sumangalavilāsini, character and scope of, 107.
—— data from, 107.
—— history of the composition of, 110.
—— geographical information supplied by, 116.
—— glossary found in, 118.
Suttas, kinds of, 110.

T

Tamilakam, interpretation of the word, 25.
Thakur, A. Jail administration in ancient India, 143.

U

Use of cases in Kāthaka-samhitā, 1

V

Varāha Mihira, on the date of Mahābhārata war, 212.
Vijianagar, administration of, 574
—— army of, 584.
—— coinage of, 565.
—— description of, 567.
—— Mahanavami festival at, 573.
—— Court, account of, 571.
—— Rayas, haram of, 572.
'Vrā,' the word in the Rig Veda, 167.
Vrātyas and their sacrifices, 151.

W

When Kurus fought Pandavas, 211.
Word 'Vrā' in the Rig Veda, 167.

Y

Yadava kings of Devagiri, Padmatankas of, N. 6.