ART. I.—*The Extant Codices of the Pahlavi Nirangistân.* By DASTUR DARAB PESHOTAN SANJANA, B.A.

[Read 24th November 1893.]

The Pahlavi literature that has survived to modern times, is far more extensive than the sacred Avesta fragments now extant. It may be classed under three heads:—I. The Pahlavi versions of the Avesta. II. The texts treating of subjects closely relating to religion. III. The texts relating to history, mythology and tradition. The Avesta-Pahlavi text of the *Nirangistân* belongs to the first category, wherein are included the existing fragments of the sacred Avesta *Nasks* which are translated and commented upon in Pahlavi. These comprise the *Zand-î-Avîsta* of the *Yasna*, *Vendidâd*, *Visparad*, *Airpatastân*, *Nirangistân*, *Vishtâsp-Yasht*, *Vazarkard-î-Dînî*, *Hâdôkht-Nask*, *Aogamadaêchâ*, *Chidê-Avîsta-î-Gâsânî*, *Farhang-î-Oim-Aêvak*, and *Sirûzê*; of the *Auharmazd*, *Amêshaspand*, *Srôsh* (*Hâdôkht*), *Behrâm*, *Khûrshed* and *Mâh Yashts*; of the *Nyâyêsh-î-Khûrshêd*, *Âvân*, and *Âtash*; and of the *Afrîngân-î-Dahmân*, *Gâthâ* and *Gâhambâr*. The existing Avesta fragments, therefore, form only one-fifth of the original Scripture. Of these the largest and most important books are the Yasna, the Vendidâd, and the Nirangistân.

The Pahlavi text, properly speaking the *Zand-î-Avîsta* text, of the manuscripts now extant in India and Europe, contain two different books instead of the one commonly known as the Nirangistân. It may be easily proved from the contents of the Avesta *Nasks* given in the Eighth Book of the Dinkard, that one-eighth of the fragments or folios 1-27 of the MS. belonging to Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Hoshangjee Jamaspjee of Poona, contain the *Airpatastân* section of the Huspâram Nask. It can also be shown from the contents mentioned above, that the text of the Airpatastân is incomplete at the

beginning as well as at the end. The first two folios and a large number of the final ones have been lost. The fragments now extant seem to be about one-fifth of the original work.

The text of the Nirangistân opens at folio 27 of the oldest Bombay MS. belonging to Dastur Hoshangji of Poona, which is photozincographed for publication by the Victoria Jubilee Pahlavi Text Committee. It appears as though the first folios of the Airpatastân and the old MS. of the Nirangistân, had been combined by an ignorant owner or copyist. The two MSS. have been copied as a single work without any regard to want of connection or dislocation. Hence the present error of entitling the two Avesta-Pahlavi books by one ordinary name 'Nirangistân.' The text of the Nirangistân, as is given in the MSS., is incomplete at the end. It contains the first two fargards and a portion of the third. Originally, the Nirangistân section of the Huspâram Nask contained more than three fargards according to its contents given in the Dinkard. It contained five fargards according to the statement of the Dâdastân-î-Dînî, Chapter LXVI, 1. (Cf. S.B.E., Pahl. Texts, Pt. IV.)

The known MSS. of the Nirangistân existing in India and Europe, excepting the Iranian copy belonging to Ervad Tehmuras Dinshah Anklesaria, are copies of one and the same original MS. which was first brought by Dastur Jâmâsp Vilâyati from Iran to India in A. D. 1720. Probably it was the MS. copy written by Shahpuhr Jâmâsp in A.Y. 840, as stated in the colophon at the beginning of all copies of the text made in India. The Iranian copy brought from Iran by Dastur Jâmâsp Vilâyati, is no more found in India, but its probably direct descendant—the MS. copy in the private library of Dastur Hoshangjee Jamaspjee—is the principal source from which are derived the MSS. of the work in Indian and European public libraries, and likewise the copies in the private libraries owned by Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Peshotanjee Behramjee Sanjana of Bombay and other Parsee scholars.

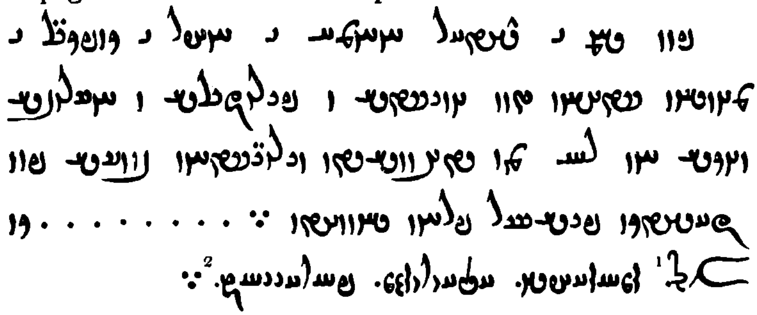
Only four MSS. of the Nirangistân are known to exist in Europe. One is No. 41 of the Pahlavi Codices in the University Library at Copenhagen, taken from Bombay by the late Prof. Westergaard in 1843. It is a copy of the usual Bombay text, written by Mobad Minochehrjee Jamaspjee Fredunjee Jamshedjee, and dated the day of *Tîr* in the month of *Amerdâd* A. Y. 1205 (=10th February 1836). This copy was presented to Dr. Westergaard by Dastur Peshotanjee, through the late Dr. John Wilson. Another MS. is No. 8 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich, taken from Bombay by the late Dr. Martin Haug in 1866. This is a copy of the usual Bombay text, written by Mobed Shâpûr, son of Frêdûn, son of Mânak, and dated the day of *Dîn*, in the month of *Âvân* A.Y. 1177 (=28th May 1808), according to the Persian colophon which is most likely to be correct; the Pahlavi colophon has A. Y. 1167. A third MS. is in the possession of Dr. E. W. West, and a fourth MS. is in the library of Prof. J. Darmesteter, both are recent copies of Indian MSS.

Consequently, the two original MSS. of the Nirangistân are the independent copies owned by Dastur Hoshangjee of Poona and Ervad Tehmuras of Bombay. It would be interesting to describe the present condition of these two MSS. in detail.

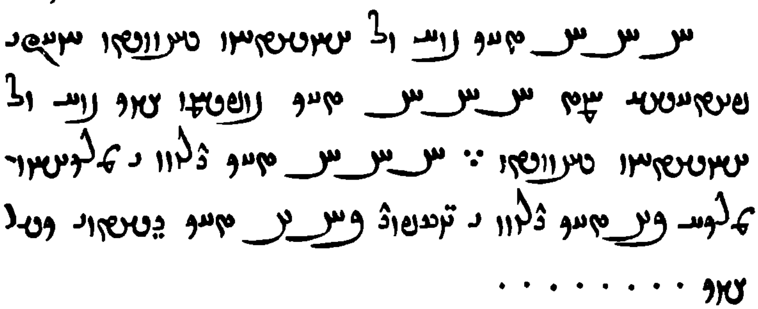
The Iranian text of Ervad Tehmuras, which has been in his possession for the last 20 years, and which I shall call TD., is much more perfect at the beginning than that contained in the Dastur's MS., and supplies several passages which are wanting in this Poona text hereafter named HJ. The last one-seventh of the text of the Nirangistân surviving in HJ., is lost in it. TD. is of great importance to a student of Pahlavi, supplying, as it does, many omissions in HJ.—defects which make the first five folios of Dastur Hoshangjee's MS. almost unintelligible. The Iranian copy contains 224 octavo pages, each having 16 to 17 lines.

The budget of Pahlavi folios in the possession of Mr. Tehmuras, begins with an Iranian copy of his complete

Bundahesh, which runs over 206 pages. Then commences in page 207 the text of the *Aîrpatastân*, thus :—



TD. being more incomplete than HJ., breaks off at page 468, with the words :—



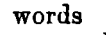
occurring in the 168th folio, ll. 15—19.

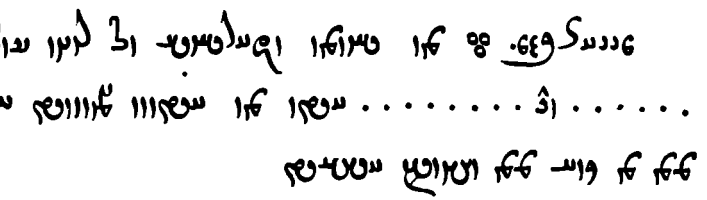
Though TD. supplies very many words or passages which are wanting in HJ., still I observe that in this older text vacant spaces are left between words, which indicate omissions or damage of some words in the original from which TD. is descended. But this regrettable fact does not take away very much from its share of usefulness, for, as I have already pointed out above, HJ. would have been quite obscure at the beginning had it not been for the existence of this Iranian copy. The two copies TD. and HJ. undoubtedly help to correct and complete each other.

1. The  in all MSS., is probably an error.

2. *Cf.* ll. 22-27 in folio 1 of HJ.

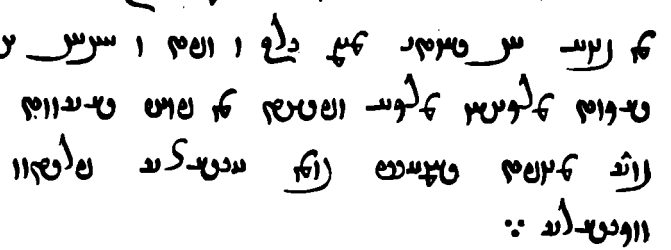
A copy of TD. belongs to the Mullâ Firûz Library at Bombay. It is a neatly written copy and is dated A. Y. 1251 (= A. D. 1881).

The MS. HJ. needs no description, as it has been photozincographed by the V. J. Phlavi Text Committee. The various omissions, damage, or words wanting in its original, will be clear from the passages and expressions which are supplied from TD. under Collations. The only fact I have to draw the attention of the student to, is the important omission in HJ. of about three folios after the words  in the 11th line of the 6th folio, and of about one folio after the words  in line 30 of folio 153; also to the inadvertence of the copyist of HJ. in giving in the 48th folio a duplicate transcript of the 47th folio beginning from line 5 with the words:—



It may be remarked from the Collation that TD. is not free from blunders, such as we find in HJ., but the former seems to me to be more correct than the latter. As in all other cases of two MSS. descended from one distant original, through different lines of copies, the two MSS. mutually correct each other, though neither is wholly correct in itself. It is generally believed that TD. and HJ. are both copies of two independent MSS. descended from very old fragments of the two sections of the Hûspâram Nask, which were evidently dislocated and incomplete at both ends. Hence Dr. West remarks "that the task of editing the Pahlavi text of the Nirangistân, is likely to be one of no small difficulty and uncertainty whenever it is undertaken."

Regarding the age of HJ., it is evident from the colophon



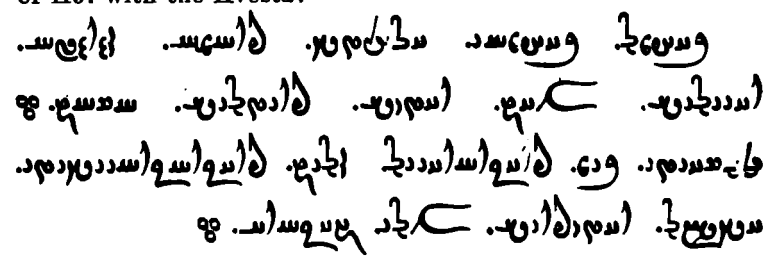
given in folio 195, that this MS. was copied by *Magûpat Jâmâsp Âsâ*, inhabitant of Nausâri, in the year A. Y. 1097 (= A. D. 1727), less than seven years after Dastur Jâmâsp surnamed Vilâyati, first brought the Nirangistân to India. Dastur Mullâ Firuz, alluding to him in his *Avîjêh Dîn*, states that Dastur Jâmâsp Vilâyati left Iran for India about the end of A. D. 1720. Probably the Nirangistân MS. that he brought from Iran may have been the one written by Shâhpuhr Jâmâsp in A. Y. 840 (=A. D. 1470) as stated in the colophon at the beginning of all copies of HJ. According to the Ravâyat, Shâhpuhr Jâmâsp Shêhryâr was the writer of the letter brought from Iran to India by Narimân Hoshang in A.Y. 847, which was signed by his father Jâmâsp Shêhryâr and three others.

As to the older MS. TD., which is incomplete, it is difficult to fix its date in the absence of any colophon or introduction. Its 112 folios are bound up with the 'complete Iranian Bundahesh,' though written by another hand. The fact of its having been copied by another hand, does not allow us to fix an exact date for TD. However, there are good reasons to conclude from the first colophon to the Bundahesh, that TD. may not have been written later than A. D. 1700. Consequently, it is the oldest MS. extant of the Airpatastân and the Nirangistân sections of the sacred Hûspâram Nask.

I have mentioned at the outset that the Airpatastân and the Nirangistân texts of the Avesta of the Hûspâram Nask, form an important part of the Avesta Literature. The first 27 folios of

HJ. from the beginning, comprehend the text of the Airpatastân, which is dislocated at  in line 19, folio 27. It is very incomplete in HJ. and TD., also defective at the beginning.

There appears to be every probability that one or two folios of the commencement of the Nirangistân, too, are wanting. Its text begins in the middle of the 15th line of the 27th folio of HJ. with the Avesta:—



From this passage down to the end of HJ. the text agrees very closely with the contents of the Nirangistân described in the Eighth Book of the Dinkard. I have been able to identify the whole of the work, and to conclude with certainty that nearly the last half or at least one-third of the original text is still missing. The sixty-sixth section of the Dâdastân-i-Dînî tells us that the original work contained five fargards of the Avesta. An identification of the Pahlavi with the sketch of its substance given in the Dinkard, proves that the extant text ends at the subject of "gathering and tying the sacred *baresma*." The remaining text, relating to the purport of the contents that follow, is, therefore, evidently lost.

By a critical examination and digest of the Avesta passages contained in the Airpatastân and the Nirangistân, I am led to believe that in spite of the fact that three-fourths of the Pahlavi is filled with explanatory glosses by the translators or commentators, most of the Avesta, after deducting untranslated citations or quotations, is a continuous Avesta text—as continuous as is a *fargard* of the Vendidâd or a *hâ* of the Yasna. We can easily trace from the Nirangistân Westergaard's fragments VI. and VII.

At the present stage of Iranian research, it is very difficult to ascertain the exact epoch of time wherein the sacred Avesta Nasks had been committed to paper. The speculative scholar runs through the arduous field without attaining to any satisfactory result. It has been believed even by scholars who profess to be its adherents that the Parsee Scripture must have been in existence when the Indian *Vedas* were composed, if not very older.* As to its Pahlavi version and gloss we have enough

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* With regard to the age of the *Gâthâs*, the latest research of the American translator, the Rev. Dr. Lawrence Heyworth Mills,—whose indefatigable labours immortalize his name in the history of the Avesta literature—proves as follows:—

"The first is as to the probable age of the Gâthâs. As is seen, I have made the endeavour to place them as late as possible, and at the time of publishing I had reached the conclusion that they may date as late as about 1000 B. C. while also possibly so old as 1500 B. C. But since then I have ceased to resist the conviction, that the latter limit may be put further back. If they antedate the worship of Mithra (which is, however, almost incredible) they would appear to be the oldest written compositions which have reached us not inscribed on stone. But looking at all the facts, the ancient or better the liittle altered, state in which our Aryan speech appears in them, the absence of Mithra, Haoma, and of the throng of Gods (?) which are common to the later Avesta and to the Rigveda, they seem to express a religious aspiration so bereft of supersitition that it must have taken a very long time for it to have degenerated either for the first, or for the second, time into the religion of Mithra, Haoma, and the rest, as we have it in the Yashts and in the Rik. But those deities were beyond a doubt very ancient indeed. If the Gâthâs antedated their cult, there is no telling how old they may be. The decision of criticism is to refrain from conjectures too closely limiting their age." . " . . . . . If the history of human thought is of any importance, the Avesta claims a very prominent position in that history. It not only affords one of the oldest, if not the oldest, monument of Ayran speculation, but, in view of its enormous influence upon later Jewish and Christian theology, it must justly claim a decisive place in the development of religion and so even in the moulding destiny of the human soul. We have the gravest reason to believe that the entire change from the free-thinking Sadducceism to that orthodoxy which now underlies the Catholic Creed, was due to Parsiism which moulded Judaism under the modified name of Pharisaism. So far as I can see, no thorough examination of the Jewish theology can be completed without a thorough knowledge of the Avesta in its general complexion, and in many of its particular statements."

materials to trace its beginning during the Arsacian monarchy, in the reign of *Narsih* or *Valgash* of the Dinkard (according to Greek writers Vologeses I.), and its completion in the illustrious sovereignty of Khusrô Nôshirvân, the son of Kôbâd. As to the age of our present Avesta-Pahlavi text, this may be easily traced back to the same time as that of the Pahlavi Yasna and the Vendidâd. It mentions the same commentators as the Pahlavi Vendidâd does. Besides the names of Afarg, Gôgôshasp, Sôshyans, Mêdyô-mâh, Dâd-Aûharmazd, Dâd-farûkh, Kûshtan-bûjîd, Mâhgôshasp, Nishahpûhr, Parîk, Rôshan, which are noticed in both of them, we discover some more in the Nirangistân, which are not alluded to in the Vendidâd. These commentators are Pishaksar, Âtar-Auharmazd, Narsîh, Âtar-pât, son of Dâd-farûkh, Barôshan-î-Auharmazd, Farûkh, Mard-bûd and Vêh-dôst. According to the Pahlavi Epistles of Mânushchîhr, the author of the Dâdastân-î-Dînî, it was in the reign of Anôshirawân the Just, that all the books and commentaries referring to the Avesta, were collected and revised after the downfall of Mazdak. This may have been the last revision, at all events, the last great one, for small emendations may have been made later. Alluding to this point, Dr. West observes that "the mention of Nîshâhpâhar in Ep. I., iv. 15, 17, as the supreme officiating priest and councillor of king Khusrô Nôshirwân (A. D. 531-579) engaged apparently in writing commentaries on the Avesta, and as a commentator in the Pahlavi versions of the Vendidâd and the Nirangistân, leads us to infer that these works must have been revised since the middle of the sixth century."

At all events the Hûspâram Nask which corresponds to the seventeenth word  in the *Ahuma Vairya* stanza, or the different sections pertaining to it, were very familiar to the famous Pahlavi commentators on the Vendidâd, as is evinced by two references in the glosses attached to Fargard IV. 10 and V. 25. In the last one the writer manifestly points to a passage in the Nirangistân.

Besides the Pahlavi version of the Vendidâd, the Dinkard, the Dâdastâni-Dînî and the Epistles of Manûshchihr, references to our text are found in the Bahman Yasht (II. 37, III. 29) and in the Shâyast-lâ-Shâyast (XII. 1, 31).

It has been already noted in the first edition of the HJ. manuscript, which contains two Pahlavi books, and is inadvertently called the "Nirangistân," would reveal to the student of Pahlavi the discovery of the codex of a new Avesta-Pahlavi work already existing. It is copied and bound with the fragments of the Nirangistân at the beginning. It is the codex of the Aîrpatastân section of the Hûspâram Nask.

COLLATION.

[The following text is copied from the beginning of TD. and runs up to w. 1 line 11 in folio 6 of HJ.[1] Instead of mentioning omissions and variants I give fully the text contained in the first five pages (TD., pp. 212-217) of the Iranian copy, without any corrections or alterations.]

1. Dastur Hoshangjee's MS. 2. Read

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

1. Read *nírmatar* = [illegible] —2. R. [illegible] —3. R. [illegible] —4. R. [illegible] —5. R. [illegible] [illegible] omitting the [illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible][1] [illegible][2]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible][3]
[illegible][4]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

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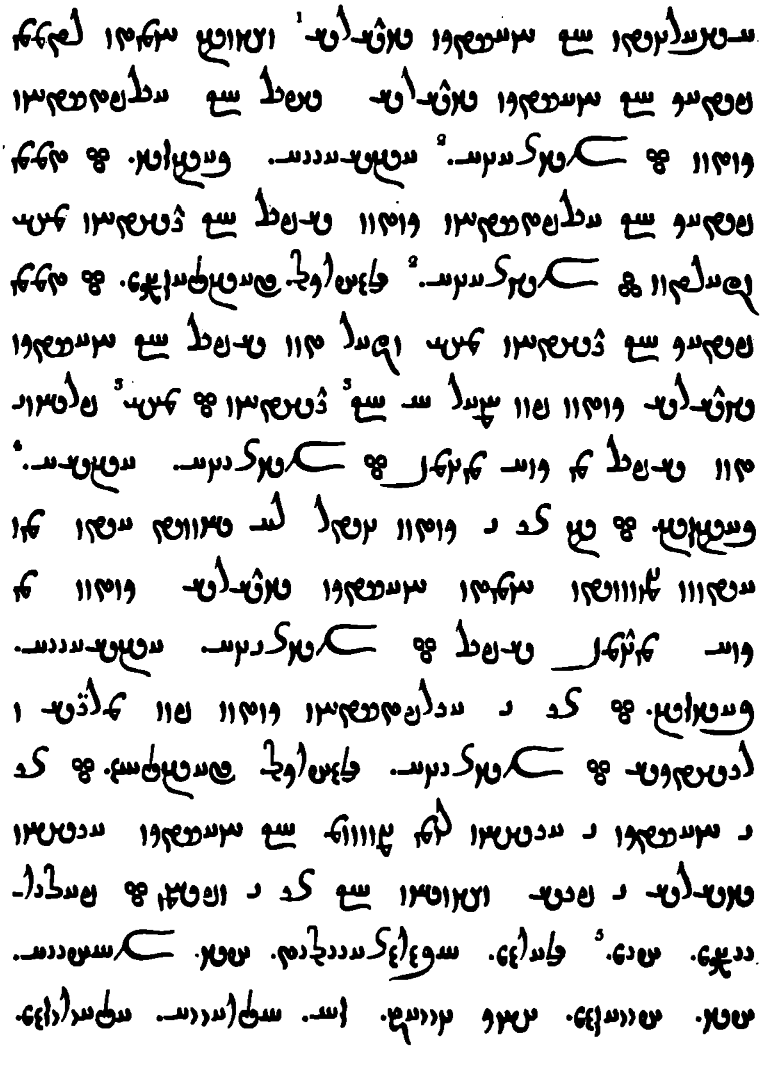
1. R. [illegible] —2. R. [illegible] —3. R. [illegible] —4. [illegible]

1. R. *va Zand.* —2. R. [illegible] — 3. R. [illegible] — 4. R. [illegible] —5. R. [illegible]

[illegible]

1. R. [illegible]; Darm. [illegible] —2. R. [illegible] —3. R. [illegible]



1. R. [illegible] — 2. R. [illegible] — 3. R. [illegible] — 4. R. [illegible] — 5. R. [illegible]

1. R. [illegible] —2. R. [illegible] —3. Pahl. [illegible] *madam vazlûnashnê.*

[Pahlavi text]

1. R. [Pahlavi] — 2. R. [Pahlavi] = 30 — 3. [Pahlavi] ac. to Pahl. —4. R. [Pahlavi], TD. [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]

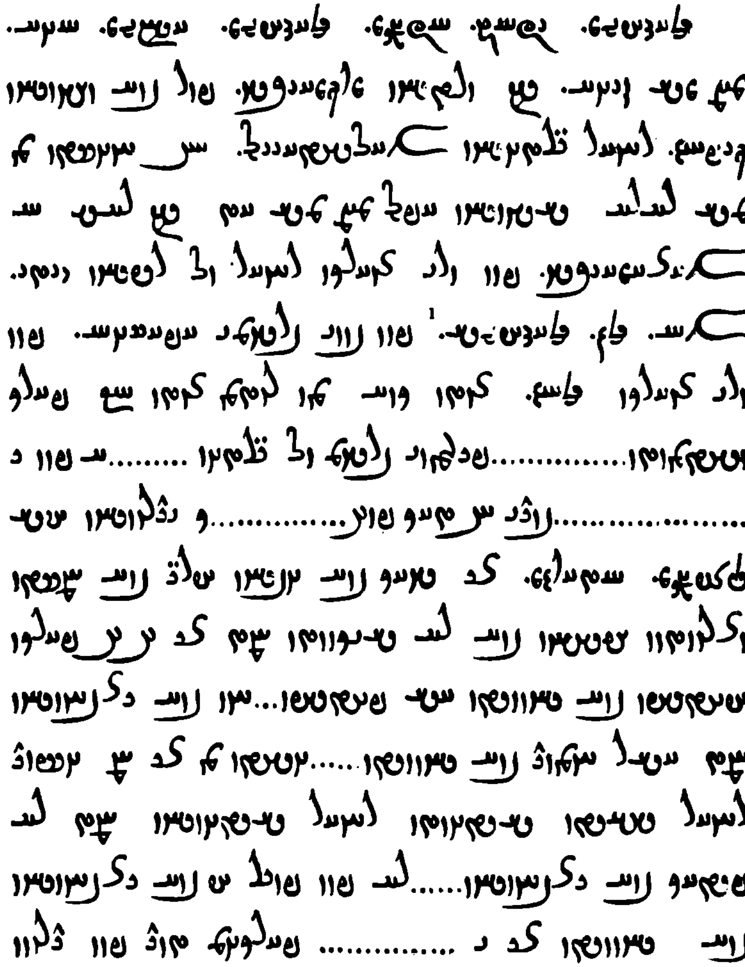
—3. R. ... —4. Better ... —5. According to Pahl. ... —6. A dual form.—7. R. ...

1. R. [illegible] — 2. R. [illegible] — 3. R. *avákinéd.*

1. The last word of the portion omitted in HJ.

2. In line 11, folio 5, of HJ. From this word the text of HJ. is without any remarkable omission up to fol. 153.

[The following additional text occurs in folio 410 of TD. after the words   in line 30, folio 153 of HJ. The points indicate the gaps in the Iranian copy.]



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1. R. 

1. R. ... — 2. R. ... 3. R. ...

ART. II.—*Pâraskara Grihya Sûtras and the Sacred Books of the East, Volume XXIX.* H. H. DHRUVA, B.A., LL.B., D.L.A., M.P.T.S., M.R.A.S., *District Judge, Naosari, Baroda State, India.*

[Read 30th March 1894.]

Professor Dr. Hermann Oldenberg has given us a very careful translation of this work in the excellent Series of Professor F. MaxMüller, Sacred Books of the East.

While engaged on a search for MSS. of the *Mânava Sûtras* for my friend, Prof. Dr. F. Knäver of Kief, Russia, I fell in with a veey beautiful MS.* of the *Grihya Sûtras* of *Pâraskarâchârya*, which belong "to the White Yajurveda and which form an appendix to Kâtyâyana's Śrauta-Sûtra."† The MS. comes from Lâṭhi in Kâṭhiawâḍ, in Bombay Presidency, and I got it through the kindness of the Manager of the State, Mr. Âshârâm Dalîchand. The MS. is, unfortunately, incomplete, and this is much to be regretted, as we shall find in the sequel. We have got the whole of the First *Kâṇḍa* and five *Kâṇḍikâs*, and a portion of the sixth, of the Second Kânda. It numbers 24 leaves, the first leaf being, as usual, written on one side, with 7 to 8 lines on a page, which is $8\frac{1}{2} \times 3$ sq. in. The MS. appears to be very old, and the leaves are greatly worn out about the edges, as also some letters here and there. The MS. looks almost as old as that of another work, that I see with it, from Deva-pattana or Prabhâsa on the southern shores of Kâṭhiâwâḍ, of *Smṛiti Samuchchaya*, belonging‡ to a Sanskrit Teacher in the local Vernacular School, Mr. Indrajit, which is dated Vaiśâkha Śudi, 5th Thursday, Vikrama Samvat 1442 or A. C. 1386. Then our MS. would not fall on this side of the fourteenth century of the Christian Era.

I have compared the Sanskrit of the Lâṭhi MS. of *Pâraskara Grihya Sûtras*, with Dr. Oldenberg's Translation, and, I here propose to consider some of the interesting additions or differ-

* I have since got other MSS., too, from Cutch, Baroda, &c.

† Cf. Dr. Oldenberg's Introduction, p. 263, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXIX.

‡ Since a Pleader, in the Munsiff Court, Koḍinâr, Amreli.

ences. There are some useful portions in my MS. which have not been reproduced in Dr. Oldenberg's translation. And this translation is on the basis of Professor Stenzler's edition, who first made a "Gṛihya text accessible to Orientalists."* The *Grihya Sûtras* would really be incomplete without these portions.

The *Gṛihya Sûtras* of Professor MaxMüller's series has got 19 *Kâṇḍikâs* to the first *Kâṇḍa*, while the Lâṭhi MS. has got 24 of them. Between the 12th and the 13th *Kâṇḍikâs* of Dr. Oldenberg's translation there are two more, and they relate to the *Saṁskâra Garbhâdhâna*. The twelfth *Kâṇḍikâ* closes with the description of rites to be performed on the return home of the bridal pair, while the 13th deals with what is to be done, if the wife does not conceive. But the intermediate positive stage of conception (गर्भाधानम्) needs must have its place there. The author goes on to supply the omissions and to dwell on their importance.

There is another important *lacuna* between the 16th and the 17th *Kâṇḍikâs* in Dr. Oldenberg's translation. My MS. gives three *Kâṇḍikâs* that should have their place there. The first two of them relate to the *Prâyaśchitta* to be performed in cases of twin births, while the third concerns itself with the *Mûla Śânti*, when the child is born under the *Mûla-Nakshattra*. Dr. Oldenberg's *Kâṇḍikâ* 16th gives in detail the *Mêdhâjanana* and *Âyushya* ceremonies, &c., on the birth of the child in and about the confinement room of the mother, while the 17th jumps up to the ceremony of *Nâmakaraṇa* or giving name on the 10th day. But the contingencies of twin births and births under certain stars are not provided for. Such births are considered inauspicious. In addition to *Mûla* mentioned here, the Nakshattras *Jyêshṭhâ* and *Aślêshâ* are equally inauspicious. The father cannot see the face of the child until he has performed the *Śântis* for them. And they are performed on these days. I had had a brother, since dead, who was born under *Mûla*, for whom my father had to perform the *Śânti*.† And I have my first two sons, born under *Jyêshṭhâ* and *Aślêshâ*, that required their respective *Śântis*. So a provision of the kind as obtaining in the Lâṭhi MS. would be there in its right place.

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* Cf. Ibid.

† Hemachandra's Dvyâśraya, Canto V., verse 107, also describes the first Solunki King *Mûla-râja* of Gujarât as born under the constellation of Mula. Children born under *Mûla* or *Jyeshtha* take their names from them.

ART. III.—*The Nadole Inscription of King Âlhaṇadeva, V. S.* 1218. EDITED BY RAO BAHADUR HARILAL HARSHADRAI DHRUVA, B.A., LL.B., D.L.A., M.R.A.S., M.P.T.S., District Judge, Navsari, Baroda State.

[Read 30th March 1894].

Through the kindness of Mr. J. F. Fleet, who has placed a photo-lithograph of it at my disposal, I have been able to take up this inscription. It is one of the few inscriptions found by Col. Tod at Naḍole, which "was the abode of a branch of the Chohans of Ajmere, established at a very early period."* This celebrated annalist discovered this "Memorial of Allandeva,"† as he terms it, at the place, on the 28th of October 1819, which he considered "curious as a formula of endowments of the Jains."‡ He appends a translation of it. The original of the grant is inscribed on a couple of brass-plates, the first of which has the letters cut into it on one side of it, and the latter on both, numbering 38 lines in all. The text of the grant is clear, but clerical mistakes occur in several places. There are alternations of prose and verse in it, not remarkable for their style or beauty. Col. Tod's is not an attempt at a faithful translation of the grant, as will appear from a comparison of it with the original transliterized hereafter, and its translation, by us, given further on.

The donor of the grant is King Âlhaṇdeva, who records in it the gift of five *Drammas* monthly in perpetuity for burning incense and other services to Śrî Mahâvîra, — the last of the Tîrthaṅkaras or hierophants of the Jains,— in the *Sûndera Gachha* at Naḍole, situated in the great merchants' square at that place. Col. Tod speaks of the temple of Mahâvîra, the last of their twenty-four apostles, as "a very fine piece of architecture. Its vaulted roof is a perfect model of the most ancient style of dome in the East; probably invented anterior to the Roman . . . . . The *toraṇa* in front of the altar of Mahâvîra is exquisitely sculptured, as well as several statues of marble, discovered about one hundred and fifty years ago, in the bed of the river, when it changed its course. It is not unlikely that they were buried during Mohamad's Invasion . . . . . "§ &c. The grant was made on Śrâvaṇa Śudi,

* Rajasthan, Vol. I. pp. 734, Cal. Edn.
† Cf. Ibid p. 735-6.
‡ Cf. Ibid p. 735 ; they are called copper-plates on p. 848.
§ Cf. Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. 5, Ibid p. 735.

14 V. S. 1218, A. C. 1162. The King's minister at the time was Sukaramâ, Kurumchand of Col. Tod,—son of Dharṇidhra, more popularly Dharṇidhara of the Prâgvâṭa Vaṇśa—modern Porvâḍ "one of eighty-four divisions of the Jaina tribes."* The Dûtaka was Lakshmîdhara appointed to the seal, and the Lekhaka Śrîdhara, son of Vâsal (for Vîsala) and grandson of Manoratha, "the abode of intellect" of the race of the ancient *Naigamas*.†

King Âlhaṇadeva is the twelfth king, and seventh in descent, from King Lakshmaṇa, the Rao Lakhun or Rao Lakha, of Col. Tod, whom he describes to have fought valiantly against the redoubtable Ghaznavide Invader of some twelve expeditions over India, Mohamad and his father, Subuktagin. King Lakshmaṇa's inscriptions bear dates, S. 1024 and 1039, A. C. 968 and 983, respectively. The following is the brief notice of the second inscription of the king given in a footnote on the celebrated Chohans of Nadole. Col. Tod adds:—"Another branch descended of the celebrated Manik Rae, the Lord of Ajmere and Sambhur in the year S. 741, A. D. 685, fixed at Nadole but never changed the name of the Chohan"‡—to which is the note that, "The importance of Nadole was considerable and is fully attested by existing inscriptions as well as by the domestic chronicle. Midway from the founder, in the eighth century, to its destruction in the twelfth, was Rao Lakhim, who in S. 1039 (A. D 983) successfully coped with the princes of Nehrwalla."§

"Lakhun drew upon him the arms of Sabuktagin, and his so Mohamad, when Nadole was stripped of its consequence; its temples were thrown down, and its fortress was dilapidated. But it had recovered much of its power, and even sent forth several branches, who all fell under Allaudin in the thirteenth century. On the final conquest of India by Shahbudin, the prince of Nadole appears to have effected a compromise, and to have become a vassal of the empire. The conjecture arises from the singularity of its currency which retains on one side the names in Sanskrit of its indigenous princes, and on the other that of the conqueror."‖

"There was a second inscription," mentions Col. Tod, "dated S. 1024 (A.D. 968), which made him the contemporary of the Rana's an ancestor, Sacti Khomar of Aetpoor, a city also destroyed, more probably by the father of Mahomad. The Chohan bards speak in very lofty terms of Rao Lakha" and allude to the above passage.¶

* Cf. Ibid p. 849. † Cf. Ibid Vol. II. p. 490. ‡ Cf. Ibid pp. 490 & 491.
§ Cf. Ibid p. 491. ‖ Cf. Ibid Vol. I. p. 735

From this it appears that Rao Lakhun or Lakha—King Lakhshmaṇa of our inscription—bore no insignificant part in the Hindu Confederacy formed against Sabaktegin, between the dates of his two inscriptions about A.C. 977, and his Chohans must have formed a part and parcel of the great body of the army from Ajmere, from whom he had but lately separated, to form the present stock of another line of Kings at Naḍole. If, according to Col. Tod, he shared the glories and wounds of his brother-patriots, in their strong and determined opposition to Mahomad's Expeditions, he could have done that, on the occasions of the Ghaznavide's earlier expeditions of A.D.1001, 1004 and 1005, although this would render his reign considerably long, making him live a soldier's life to a very old age. But the same authority is inclined to make the same Rao Lakha measure swords with Mahomad in A.D. 1024, when he marched upon Somanâtha, past Naḍole. This would give him a reign of about sixty years, leaving the remaining 12 or 13 decades to his eleven successors with an average of twelve years per reign, whilst six generations have intervened between the first founder and the last ruler. Probably, his reign came to a close some time after his Second inscription, and he did not live to share in the glories and exertions of his kinsmen, in their war against Mahomad.

We know nothing whatever of the several kings that intervened between Kings Lakshmaṇa and Âlhaṇadeva. Col. Tod showers all the honours that he could collect of these Chohans on the first founder of the Naḍole Kingdom—which probably belonged in all probability to his son or grandson—simply because he had the inscriptions, and the bardic notices of the one, and not of the other. Perhaps the refulgent glory of their brethren of Ajmere and Delhi and of other great Rajput luminaries on the horizon of the day eclipsed theirs, and they were included among the allies and retainers of their elder branch. Although no bardic verse immortalizes them, nor a Chronicler's Chapter takes note of them—as they were more than occupied by more magnificent and dazzling themes—yet, theirs would have been no mean part, in the great conflict, that was going on, about the National and Religious Independence, and integrity of the several races of Hindustan,—theirs no inconsiderable sacrifices. The Ghaznavide Invader—the Demolisher of the celebrated temple of Somanâtha in the land of Soreth,—passed by Naḍole in 1024, as noticed above, and it did not escape unhurt, and unscathed.

Col. Tod writes in his graphically eloquent language that its "Prince hesitated not to measure swords with Mahomed."* The Prince may be either the second king Sohiya or Lohiya or the third, his son Balirâja. He would not have been absent from the second great Hindu Confederacy under Anangapâla on the occasion of the Fourth Expedition of Mahomad in A. D. 1008. The Naḍole Chohaṇas are not separately mentioned on this occasion for the very same reason as that on the former; for, to others, they were included among those of Ajmere.

The period that followed the death of Mahomad was one of comparative rest and repose to the country, and its rulers, as to foreign invasions. So nothing has been told of the succeeding monarchs except that Aṇahila was "the best of kings" and "of great splendour" and his son Jendraraja, a good warrior, and grandson Prithvîpâla "rich with the glory of martial instincts." Probably their reigns were distinguished for petty wars with neighbouring princes, or for sharing in the conflicts of King Vîsaladeva and his successors of Ajmere,—their kinsmen,—against the rulers of Gujarat, commencing with King Bhîmadeva I. This drew down upon them the wrath and invasions of their kingdom by Kings Sidharâja Jayasinha and Kumâra Pâla—which seem to have occurred in the reigns of the last three monarchs When the ruler of Sâmbharadeśa, out of fear, bowed down his head to Siddharâja, that of Naḍole could not have avoided his submission to the victor.† Mr. Forbes, in his invaluable Râs Mâlâ, makes mention of an Inscription of Kumârapâla found in the Jain Library, dated A. D. 1157 (S. 1213), *i. e.*, only five years earlier to our present grant. And here, we have done with the few historical notices of the Charthâṇas of Nadole, the close and termination of whose career we have alluded to above, by quotations from Col. Tod's Râjasthan.

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* Vol. I. Ibid p. 735.

† As the paper goes through the print, we notice a very valuable Inscription of King ALHAṆADEVA, of Naḍula, dated V. S. 1209, Mâgha Vado 14th, Saturday, from Kerâḍu in Marwad, printed in the admirable "Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions," published by the Archæological Department of Bhownagar (1894). There the victorious reign of the universal conqueror (निर्जित सकलराज) King Kumârapâla is mentioned, when, during the ministry of Śrî Mahâdeva, Mahârâja Śrî Alhaṇadeva is found to record the Inscription. (*Vide* pp. 172, 173.) Mahârâja-putra his son Śrî Kelhaṇa also adds his consent to it. And probably the same Mahârâja-putra, with a Sanskritized name Thakkur Śrî-Khelâditya, is his Minister of Peace and War. And he is the writer of the Inscription, which has been cut into the stone by Gajû-ila. Thus we get the two *termini* of the reign to be V. S. 1209 (B. C. 1153) and V. S. 1218 (B. C. 1162.)

A Transcript of the Naḍúla Inscription of S. 1218 A. D. 1162.

PLATE I.

॥ 90 ॥ Oṃ Namaḥ Sarvajñâya : । Diśatu Jinakanishṭhaḥ Karma-
bandha-Kshayishṭhaḥ parihṛita-mada-mâra-krôdha-
Lôbh-â-dhi-bhâraḥ chhurita-Śikhari-Saṅghaḥ svôdasîyaṁ cha
Śaṁ vas-tri bhuvana-kṛita-sêvaḥ Srî-Mahâvî-
Radêvaḥ ॥ Asti parama Â-jala-nidhi-Jagatî-tale châhúmâna vaṅśo
hi । tatrâsîn-Naḍûle Bhûpaḥ
Śrî Lakshmaṇa Âdau ॥ Tasmâdbhabhûva putro Râjâ Śrî
Lohiyastada*-nustanuḥ Śrî Balirâjo râ (5) jâ Vigrahapâlonu cha
pitrivyâ (sic.) । Tasyâttanujo (sic.) Bhûpâlaḥ । Śrî Mahendra-
devâkhyaḥ । Tajjaḥ Śrí.
Aṇahilo nripativaro-bhût ¦ pṛithula-tejâḥ । Tatsûnuḥ Śrî Bâla-
prasâda ityajani Pârthiva-
Śreshṭhaḥ । Tadbhrâtâ-bhû (t)-Kshitipaḥ Pârthiva-subhaṭaḥ Śrî-
Jendra†-râjâkhyaḥ Śai śrî Pârthivîpalobhû (sic.) tatputraḥ sai (sic).
ryavṛitti-śobhâḍhyaḥ (sic.) । Tasmâda-bhavadbhrâtâ Śrî ‡ Jojjallo
Raṇarasâtmâ Tadavarajobhûchchhrîmâ
nÂsâ §-râjaḥ pratâpavaraṇilayaḥ, । Tatputrah Kshoṇîpaḥ Śrî
Alhaṇadeva-nâmâbhût.
(10). Yasyapratâpabhâlam Saṁkula-dikchakra-pṛithula vistâraṁ
Siñchanti svaditâhitagaṇa-lalanâ-
Nayanasalilaughaiḥ Soyaṃ mahâkshitiśaḥ Śaramidam buddhima-
nachintayata iha saṃ.
sâra Asâraṁ sarvaṃ Janmâdi jantûnâṁ ॥ Yataḥ garbhaḥ strî
Kukshi-madhye palaruddhira-vasâ-
Medasâ-badha-piṇḍo matuḥ prâṇânta-kârî prasavanasamaye
prâṇinaṁ svannu janmâ (?) dhramâ.
dînâmavettâ bhavati hi niyataṁ bâlabhâvastatah syâttâruṇyaṁ
svalpamâtraṃ svajana-pari-
(15). bhavastena tâ-(?) Vṛiddhabhâvaḥ khadyotodyotatulyaiḥ
Kshaṇamiha sukhadâḥ sampa-

PLATE II-a.

do dṛishṭa-nashṭâḥ prâṇitvam chañchalaṃ syáddalamupari
yathâ-toya-bindûnnalinyâḥ jñatvai vaṃ sva-pi-

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* Col. Tod reads the name as Sohiya.
† Tod reads Jaitrarâjâ.
¦ Tod reads Jul.
§ Tod reads Maun.

Tro (sic.) spṛihayanamaratâm (sic) chaihikaṃ dharmakirtti (sic.) deśânto râjâputrân janapadagaṇán bodhayatyeva

Vostu || saṃ 1218, Varshe śrâvaṇa Śudi 14 Ravau Asminneva Mahâ-chaturdaśî parvaṇi snâtvâ Maita-

paṭe niveśya dahane datvâhutîn puṇyakrin-Mârtaṇḍasya tamaḥ-prapâṭana-paṭoḥ sampûrya châghaṇṭilîṃ (sic).

(20). Trailokasya (sic.) prabhuṃ charâcharaguruṃ saṁsnapya pañchâmritairîśânaṃ Kanakânna-vastra-dadanaiḥ sampûjya viprâ-

n gurûn || Anutilakukshâtodakapraguṇî-bhûtâpa-savyakaḥ pâṇiḥ || Śâsanamenamayachchhata (sic.) yâ-

vachchandrârkabh ûpâlaṃ | Śrî Naḍûle Mahâsthâne Saṇḍerakaga-chché Śrî Mahâvîra-dêvâya Śrî Naḍûla

Talapada śulkâmaṇḍapikâyâm mâsârumâsâm dhûpânuvelârtham, Sâsanênadra° 5 pañcha prâdât asya

Devarasyanam (sic.) bhuñjânasya asmadvaṅśajairbhâvi bhoktṛi bhira-paraiścha paripanthanâ na kâryâ yataḥ

(25). Sâmânyoyaṃ dharmasetu-nṛipâṇâṃ Kâlekâle pâlanîyo bha-vadbhiḥ | sarvânevaṃ bhâvinaḥ pâ-

ethevendrân bhûyobhûyo yâchate Râmachandraḥ | Tasmat | asmadanvajâ bhûpâlâ vibhûtayaścha ye

Teshâmahaṃ kare lagnaḥ pâlaniyamidam sadâ asmadvaṃse-parikshîne yaḥ kaśchinnṛipatitrbhavet

Tasyâhaṃ kare lagnosmi sâsanaṃ nâvyatikramet (sic.) bahubhir-vasudhâ bhuktâ râjanyaiḥ-sagarâ-

dibhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmî (sic.) staya tasya tadâ phalaṃ shashti varsha sahasrâṇi svarge tishṭhate dâna-

(30). daḥ âchchhettâ chânumautâ cha tânyeva narakaṃ vaseta svadattaṃ para-dattaṃ vâ devadâyaṃ hareta yaḥ sa

vishṭhâyâṃ kṛimirbhûtvâ pitṛibhiḥ (sic.) saha majjati | sûnyâ-ṭavî (sic.) vya, (? shva) toyâsu śushkakoṭaravâsi-

Plate II-b.

naḥ | Krishnâ hayobhijâyante (sic.) devadâyaṃ haranti, ye | Mangalâṃ mahâśrîḥ. ||

Prâgvâṭavaṅśe Dharaṇidhranamâḥ suto Mahâmatya-varaḥ Sukarmâ | bhabhûva dû-

taḥ prâ (sic.) tibhâniyaso Lakshmidharaḥ Srîkaraṇe-niyogî || Âsîtsva-

(35). chchamalâ (? nâ) Manoratha iti prâknaigamânâm kule śâstra (sic.)-jñâna-sudhârasa-

plavitadhîstajjo bhavat-vâsalaḥ | putrastasyabhabhûva lokavasatiḥ Śrî

Śrîdharaḥ śrîdhare supâstí rachayañchakâra lilikhe chedam, Mahâ sâ (sic).

bhanaṃ | svahastoyaṃ Mahârâja Śrî-Âlhaṇa-devasya. ॥ .

(Translation).

Om. ! Salutation to all-knowing (Jina) ! May the youngest (last) of Jinas, destroyer of the bonds of the deeds of men, remover of the burdens of conceit, desire, anger, avarice, &c., who has gilded the collections of the (sacred) hills with his lustre (?), who is worshipped by the three worlds, May this auspicious Mahâvîradeva give you happiness !

There is on the surface of the earth, extending as far as the ocean, the great family of the Châhumânas (the Chohaṇs). There was in that (family) at Naḍûla, in the beginning, King Lakshmaṇa. From him was born a son Śrî Lohiya. After him his son Śrî Balirâja was king and after him his uncle Vigrahapâla. From him was his son king, Mahendradeva by name. His son was Śrî Aṇahila, the best of kings and of great splendour. His son Bâlaprasâda became the best of kings. His brother, the good warrior Śrî Jendrarâja by name became king (after him). His son Pṛithivîpâla full of the glory of martial instincts was king. From him was his brother Jojjalla, the soul of martial sentiment. Then became his younger brother the glorious Âsâraja, the best home of greatness (king). His son named Śrî Âlhaṇadeva was king (after him).

The wives of the hosts of kings slain by him sprinkle the ground of his glory, that has filled up the extensive regions of the group of directions with the streams of (their) tears. That intelligent great king thought this as the essence—that everything in this world commencing with birth is worthless here. Because,—the fœtus in the uterus of a woman is formed of flesh, blood, fat and other unclean elements. At the time of delivery, the birth of animate beings is the cause of the death of the mother. Then there is birth (?) Then certainly there is the boyhood when duty, &c., can be learned. Then shortly lived youth, then old age, wherein is occasioned the despising by the relatives. Riches are like the flashes of the fire-fly seen for a moment and then destroyed. Life may be fleeting like the drop of water on a leaf of the lotus-plant. Knowing all this as above, and desirous of the immortality of his parents, and the worldly

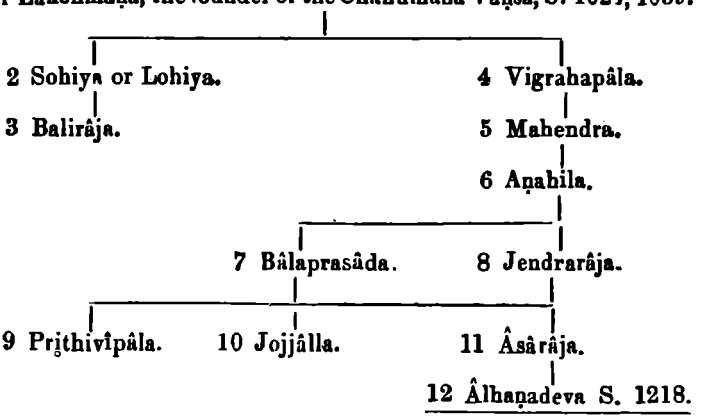
religious fame, he (King Âlhaṇadeva) orders Princes, and all classes of people, thus: Be it known to you, in the Samvat year 1218 on the 14th of Śrâvaṇa Śudi, on Sunday, on this very great day of the Fourteenth, after having bathed, and while encamped at Maitapaṭa, having offered oblations in the fire and offered *arghya* water to the sun, the destroyer of ḍarkness, and having bath ed the Lord of the three Worlds, the Father of things moveable and immoveable, the God Śiva with the *pañchâmṛita*, and having adored Brahmins and *Gurus* with the gifts of gold, grain, and clothes. He the doer of *Puṇya* with his right hand full of *tila*, *akshata*, &c., gave this grant, that is to last as long as the kings and the moon and the sun endure, for the purpose of (burning) incense, &c., he gave by this *támraptra* 5 five *drammas* in perpetuity, month after month, in the great city of Naḍûla in Sanderaka Gachcha, to Śrî Mahâviradeva in the great Merchant's square in the middle of Śrî Naḍûla. Future rulers of our family, and others, should not cause obstruction to the enjoyer of this bequest to the God. Because, this Bridge of Religious merit is common to all kingdoms. You should keep it up from time to time. Râmachandra asks this over and over again of all future kings. Therefore I join my hands to all kings, that are to be in my family with a request, that they should always maintain this. When my family is extinct, whatever king there be, I join my hands to them that they should not transgress this grant. Many kings like Sagara and other have enjoyed this earth. His is the fruit who holds the land for the time. The maker of a gift lives for sixty thousand years in heaven, and for as many years in hell, he who is the breaker of it, and his promoter. Whoever resumes the grant made to a deity by himself or others, he is plunged in human excretion in the form of a worm with all his ancestors (in hell). Those that resume grants made to deities become the dwellers of dried-up hollows of trees in the barren deserts of the Vindhyas without water, auspices, and great riches.

Sukarmâ, the son of Dharaṁdhra, in the great family of the Prâgvâṭas (was) the best Prime Minister. Lakshmidhara, who was appointed in charge of the seal, was Dûtaka; the abode of Intellect, Śrîdhara composed and wrote this beautiful grant, Śrîdhara, the resort of people, the son of Vâsala, who was the son of Manoratha, devoid of *mala* or uncleanliness, whose intellect was bathed in the ambrosia of the knowledge of the Śâstras, and who was born in the family of

the ancient Naigamas. This is the hand of Mahârâja Śrî Âlhaṇadeva's own.

Genealogy of Châhumâna Kings as derived from the Naḍûla Inscription.

Śrî Lakshmaṇa, the founder of the Châhumâna Vaṇsa, S. 1024, 1039.



H. H. DHRUVA.

Art. IV.—*On the date of Kálidása.* *By* K. B. Pathak, B.A.

Deccan College, Poona.

[Read 20th April 1894.]

The date of Kálidása has been discussed by many scholars of deserved reputation, but no satisfactory settlement of the question has been as yet arrived at. This must be due in the main to the want of sufficient material for forming a correct judgment on the subject. But Oriental research has made rapid strides during the past few years, and the results achieved are at once highly interesting and instructive. I therefore venture to hope that we shall be able to set at rest finally the much-vexed question of Kálidása's date by the light of the recent discoveries of Dr. Fleet, S. Beal and Major-General Sir A. Cunningham.

The arguments which have been hitherto adduced in support of the various dates proposed, being more or less unsatisfactory, need not be enumerated here though the fact is worth noting that the balance of evidence is in favour of the view that the poet flourished in the sixth century A. D. Nor does the Hindu tradition, which makes him contemporary with Vikramáditya, the supposed founder of the era commencing in B. C. 57, help us towards the solution of the problem because the earliest inscriptions mentioning this era, which have been discovered in Málavá, speak of it as the *Málava* era or the era of the Málavás and do not connect it with Vikramáditya as its establisher. "It is[1] an actual fact," says Dr. Fleet, "that the name of Vikrama does not occur in connection with the era of B. C. 57, until comparatively late date. It was known as the *Málava* era in Central India down to about A. D. 880." He thinks it not at all improbable that hereafter it may be shown that the name of Vikrama or Vikramáditya came to be connected with it in consequence of some confused reminiscence of a conquest of the Indo-Scythians by Chandragupta I. or II., who had the title of Vikramáditya. It is evident therefore that Kálidása cannot be placed in the first century B. C. as the so-called *Vikrama* era was not founded by Vikramáditya. Let us now turn to the works of the poet.

[1] Dr. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, Introduction, pp. 37, 56

While describing the conquests of Raghu, Kálidása says that his hero invaded the northern country on the Indus where saffron is cultivated and there he encountered the Hûna kings whom he vanquished. The northern country alluded to by Kálidása is of course Káshmir where, as is well-known, saffron is cultivated to this day. Besides, according to Amarasimha, one of the synonyms for saffron in the Sanskrit language is *kás'mi'raja* or that which is produced in Káshmir.

Dr. Bhau Daji says,[2] "Kálidása is the only great Sanskrit poet who, as far as the writer is aware, describes a living saffron flower; the plant, we know, grows in Káshmir and the regions west of it." It is thus plain that what Kálidása means to say is that Káshmir was under the rule of Hûna kings when Raghu invaded it. I shall quote the poet's own words :—

ततः प्रतस्थे कौबेरीं भास्वानिव रघुर्दिशम् ।
शरैरुस्रैरिवोदीच्यानुद्धरिष्यन् रसानिव ॥ ६६ ॥
विनीताध्वश्रमास्तस्य सिन्धुतीरविचेष्टनैः ।
दुधुवुर्वाजिनः स्कन्धाँल्लग्नकुंकुमकेसरान् ॥ ६७ ॥
तत्र हूणावरोधानां भर्तृषु व्यक्तविक्रमम् ।
कपोलपाटलादेशि बभूव रघुचेष्टितम् ॥ ६८ ॥

Thence Raghu marched against the region of Kubera, subjugating the northern kings with arrows as the sun drinks up the water with his rays.

His horses relieved of the fatigue of the journey by rolling on the banks of the Indus shook their bodies which had saffron flowers clinging to their manes.

There the redness on the cheeks of the Hûna queens testified to Raghu's achievements in which his prowess was displayed against their husbands.

Raghuvams'a Canto IV. 66, 67 and 68.

The commentator, Mallinâtha, tells us that Hûna means the Hûna countries and that the kings of those countries were killed by Raghu and their queens were mourning over the loss of their husbands. This explanation is correct so far as it goes, but the commentator's statement that the northern country through which the Indus flows is called Hûna can hardly be accepted. For Káshmir is never spoken of as a Hûna country in Sanskrit Literature. We must, however,

[2] Literary remains, p. 49.

remember that Mallinátha is a modern writer[3] and his information about ancient geography cannot be expected to be very accurate; though his explanation of the above passage, as I have already remarked, may be relied upon as in the main correct. Other commentators including Vallabha and Sumativijaya support the natural interpretation which the poet's words suggest, namely, that the country referred to by Kálidása is Kâshmir as it produces saffron and the Hûṇas were the kings thereof whom Raghu vanquished. It should be distinctly borne in mind that Kâlidâsa does not here speak of the Hûṇas generally but as kings on the banks of the Indus, which is quite a different thing from a general allusion to the Hûṇas found in the Mahâbhârata and other works.

From the foregoing remarks it is abundantly evident that a powerful dynasty of Hûṇa kings must have held sway over Káshmir either n Kálidása's own time or so shortly before it that the fact must have been still fresh in the recollection of his contemporaries. We must also remember that Raghu, as described in the poem, is more or less a mythical hero and that no conquest of the northern countries on the Indus ruled over by Hûṇa kings is ascribed to this mythical king in the Rámäyaṇa—the very work which, as Kálidása himself tells us, he has adopted as the basis of his Raghuvaṁśa. It is thus clear that sometime during the long interval which elapsed between the composition of the Rámâyaṇa and that of the Raghuvaṁśa the countries on the banks of the Indus including Káshmir must have been under the rule of a powerful dynasty of Hûṇa kings. It will also be admitted by every intelligent reader of the Raghuvaṁśa that the reference to the Hûṇas would have been utterly unintelligible to Kálidása's contemporaries unless the countries on the Indus were in his time actually under the rule of the Hûṇas. Then, again, these Hûṇas must have been very powerful kings too; for the object of Kálidása is to magnify the glory of Raghu and this object can be best realised by representing him as vanquishing the most powerful kings.

Let us now turn to the history of the Hûṇas who established their empire on the Indus. The most powerful kings of this dynasty were Toramâṇa and his son, Mihirakula. The Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsiang, gives a very graphic description of Mihirakula[4] and there is

[3] His date is discussed in the introduction to my edition of the Meghadûta.

[4] Buddh. Rec. West. World, Vol. I. p. 167ff.

also an interesting account of this Hûna king in the Râjataraṅgiṇî, the history of Káshmir.[5] According to all authorities, both Toramána and his son, Mihirakula, signalized their reigns by persecuting the Buddhist religion. Kalhana says Mihirakula was of cruel deeds and resembled Death. He is also mentioned in Chinese annals as having killed the patriarch Siṁha.[6] In the Râjataraṅgiṇî we read that his accession to the throne was synchronous with a Mlechchha invasion of the country. In this we are to look for a reminiscence of the historical fact that Mihirakula was not a native hereditary king of Káshmir, but a foreigner who invaded the country from the south and established his rule there. But we know that Kalhana's chronology is useless for historical purposes. This is amply proved by Dr. Hultzsch in his analysis of the Râjataraṅgiṇî.[7] Nor does the frequent mention of Mihirakula in Chinese annals furnish a satisfactory clue to his date. But in an inscription at Mandasore we have an important statement that king Yas'odharman possessed countries "which not even the Guptas and the Hûnas could subdue and that homage was done to him by even that famous king Mihirakula."

ये भुक्ता गुप्तनाथैर्न सकलवसुधाक्रान्तिदृष्टप्रतापैर्
नाज्ञा हूणाधिपानां क्षितिपतिमुकुटाध्यासिनी यान्प्रविष्टा ।
देशांस्तान्धन्वशैलद्रुमस्त्र(ग)हनसरिद्वीरबाहूपगूढान्
वीर्यावस्कन्नराज्ञः स्वगृहपरिसरावज्ञया यो भुनक्ति ॥

Gupta inscriptions, p. 186.

This is a direct allusion to the conquests made by Mihirakula and his father, Toramána, and it is they who are spoken of here as the Hûnas; this is evident from the fact that Toramána and Mihirakula were contemporaries of the Guptas and the most formidable rivals that the latter encountered. The Hûnas first came into hostile contact with Skandagupta who repulsed them. They seem to have renewed their invasions, and after Buddhagupta we find both Toramána and his son Mihirakula actually ruling over Málavá in the very heart of the Gupta territory. It is therefore quite clear that Toramána and his son Mihirakula had long established the Hûna empire on the Indus before they conquered Eastern Málavá and accomplished the final extinction of the early Gupta dynasty. Dr.

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[5] Râjataraṅgiṇî. Ch. I.
[6] Ind. Ant. Vol. XV., p. 245ff.
[7] Id. Vol. XVIII., p. 65.

Fleet remarks[8] that Skandagupta up to A.D. 457-58 held the whole of Northern India, below the Panjab from Kathiawad to the frontier of Nepal, and it was doubtless the death of Skandagupta, that enabled the Hûnas who had been repulsed by him, to assume the aggressive again, under the leadership of Toramâna and, on this occasion, with such success as to hold even Central India for a short time. Since Mihirakula's Gwalior inscription is dated in the fifteenth year of his reign and since he was defeated by Yaśodharman about A.D. 532-33, it follows that this famous Hûna king must have commenced to reign about A.D. 515. The empire of the Hûnâs on the valley of the Indus was so extensive and powerful that it attracted the notice of distinguished contemporary writers.

Cosmas Indikopleustes (A.D. 522-530) says:—"In India further up the country, *i. e.*, further North, are the White Húns. The king named Gollas, it is said, goes forth to war with not less than 1,000 elephants, besides a great force of cavalry. This ruler tyrannizes over India."[9]

The Hûna king mentioned in this passage by Cosmas is no other than Mihirakula himself, first because he was actually ruling over the Hûna empire on the Indus at the time when Cosmas was writing his account of the Indian Hûnas, and secondly, because the king's name appears as Mihiragula on his coins which are found in Kâshmir. Another contemporary authority, who gives a most interesting account of these Hûnas is Sung-Yun. This celebrated Chinese traveller was in Gándhára in A.D. 550. He says:—

"During[10] the middle decade of the fourth month of the first year of Ching-Kwong (520 A.D.) we entered the country of Gándhára. This is the country which the Ye-thas destroyed and afterwards set up Lae-lie to be king over the country; since which events two generations have passed. The disposition of this king was cruel and vindictive, and he practised the most barbarous atrocities. He did not believe the law of Buddha but loved to worship demons. The people of the country belonged entirely to the Bráhmana caste. The king has 700 war elephants." Mr. S. Beal, from whose translation of Sung-Yun's narrative the above passage is quoted, observes,[11]

[8] Gupta inscriptions, Introduction, p. 12.

[9] Ephthalites or White Huns, Transactions of the Ninth Congress of Orientalists.

[10] Buddh. Rec. West. World, Introduction, p. 99ff. [11] Id. p. 16.

"On all hands it is plain the Ye-thas were a rude horde of Turks; they were, in fact, the Ephthalites or Hûns of the Byzantine writers. In the early part of the sixth century their power extended over Western India, and Cosmas tells us of their king Gollas who domineered there with a thousand elephants and a vast force of horsemen. The Ye-thas also extended their power as far as Lae-lih, *i.e.*, Màlava. As these conquests had been achieved two generations before Sung Yun's time, we may place the Hûna invasion of India therefore about A. D. 460."

In an interesting, learned, and exhaustive memoir on the White Húns read before the Ninth Oriental Congress, Major-General Sir A. Cunningham maintains that Lae-lie whom the Hûnas set up as their king after the conquest of Gándhára about A. D. 460 was the father of Toramâna. We are also told that the main horde of the Hûnas conquered the countries on the Oxus in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. A list is given in the paper just referred to of the Hûna kings who ruled on the Oxus. But the connection of the Hûnas with India cannot be traced till near the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century. This conclusion does not rest only on the authority of the Chinese pilgrim Sung-Yun, which has been adverted to above, but is also supported by the Chachnama or the history of Sindh, which says that the Shahi rule lasted only 137 years in that country and was overthrown by Chach Brahman who became the independent king of Sindh in 642. The Shahi rule means the rule of the Hûna kings Toramána and Mihirakula who call themselves Shahi in the legends on their coins. Deducting 137 years from 642 we arrive at 505 A. D., which is the date of the Hûna conquest of Sindh.[12] Another point to which I beg to invite the attention of scholars is that the inscriptions of both Toramána and his son Mihirakula are silent about the glorious achievements of their ancestors. This fact coupled with Sung-Yun's statement that the Hûna invasion of India took place about A. D. 460 suggests an inference that Toramána was the first Hûna king who made considerable conquests in India. The arguments, which have been set forth above, and for which I am greatly indebted to Major-General Sir A. Cunningham's excellent paper on the Ephthalites or White Hûns, will not fail to convince Sanskrit scholars that the Hûna empire on the valley of the Indus was established towards the close of the fifth

[12] Ephthalites or White Huns.

century and the most famous Hûna kings Toramâna and Mihirakula ruled over the northern countries on the Indus, the Panjab and Kashmir, in the beginning of the sixth century.

Let us now turn to Kâli'dâsa's reference to the Hûnas. He says, that Raghu invaded the northern country where saffron is cultivated, *i. e.*, Kâshmir, and there he killed the Hûna kings. As I have already pointed out, Raghu is more or less a mythical hero; and the poet who simply desired to say that his hero conquered Kâshmir, unconsciously mentions certain facts regarding the political condition of that country which were only true of his own age. The conclusion that we can draw from these facts is that Kálidása lived at a period when the Hûṇa kings actually held sway over the Panjab and Kâshmir, when the victories of Toramâna and Mihirakula had made the name of the Hûṇas so famous as to attract the notice of distinguished foreign writers and when they were mentioned in contemporary inscriptions as the most formidable rivals of the Guptas whom they finally overthrew.

We shall therefore be very near the mark if we place the poet in the first half of the sixth century or about A. D. 532-33, when the Hûna king Mihirakula retired to the Panjab and Kâshmir after his overthrow by Yaśodharman and Bálâditya. This conclusion is also confirmed by the astronomical data found in Kálidása's works.

In the Kumárasambhava (VII. 1.) we read—

अथौषधीनामधिपस्य वृद्धौ तिथौ च जामित्रगुणान्वितायाम् ।
समेतबन्धुर्हिमवान्सुताया विवाहदीक्षाविधिमन्वतिष्ठत् ॥

The word Ja'mitra used in the first line is obviously a corrupt form of the Greek term diametron. And in the Raghuvamśa (XIV. 40) the poet offers the true explanation of a lunar eclipse when he says—

छाया हि भूमेः शशिनो मलत्वेनारोपिता शुद्धिमतः प्रजाभिः ।

Kálidása must have derived this knowledge of Greek terminology and of the true origin of lunar eclipses from some Indian astronomer who preceded him. And we know the first Hindu astronomer, who shows familiarity with Greek astronomical terminology and who gives the true origin of solar and lunar eclipses, is Áryabhaṭa who was born at Pátaliputra in A.D. 476.[13] It is highly probable that Kálidása derived his knowledge of astronomy from Áryabhaṭa. This

[13] Max Müller's India, p. 319, First Ed. Dr. Bühler kindly informs me that the allusion in the second quotation is to the dark spots on the moon and not to an eclipse. His view is supported by the commentaries.

conclusion becomes certain if we remember that about A.D. 476 the year in which Áryabhata was born, the Hûnas had already overrun Gándhára, and it was only a little later on or in the beginning of the sixth century that they made themselves masters of Kâshmir under their most celebrated king, Mihirakula. And it is to this Hûna occupation of Kâshmir that Kálidása so pointedly refers. I may also mention here the tradition which makes Varáhamihira, a well-known astronomer of the sixth century, contemporary[14] with Kálidása as giving additional corroboration to my view that the poet flourished in the first half of the sixth century. This conclusion is also supported by the Singalese tradition[15] which makes our poet contemporary with Kumáradása the king of Ceylon who ascended the throne in A.D. 515; and the tradition about Dignâga having been a contemporary of our poet, noticed by Mallinâtha and on which Prof. MaxMüller laid so much stress,[16] may also be mentioned here as confirmatory of the same view.

It now remains to enumerate the earliest references to the poet that we meet with in Indian literature. In the first half of the seventh century Kálidása's fame was established throughout the whole of India. He is mentioned in the Aihole inscription, dated in Sáka 556 or A.D. 634,[17] and is praised by Báṇa in the introduction to his Harshacharita. In the eighth century Kumárila quotes from the Śâkuntala and speaks of its author as a great poet.[18]

The author of the Gaudavaho, a *prákṛita* poem of the eighth century, refers[19] to the Raghukâra or the author of the Raghuvaṁśa. And Kshîrasvâmin, the well-known lexicographer who belongs to the same century, quotes from the Raghuvaṁśa, Vikramorvaśi and Meghadûta[20]. The last-named work was incorporated by way of *samasyá* into the Pârśvâbhyudaya by Jinasena in the beginning of the ninth century or about *Śaka* 735 or A.D. 813, the year in which his patron, the Râshṭrakûta king, Amoghavarsha, ascended the throne.[21] In the first half of the tenth century or about A.D. 945 when the Râshṭra-

[14] Literary remains, p. 45.
[15] Orientalist Vol. II., p. 220.
[16] Max Muller's India, p. 320, First Ed.
[17] Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII., p. 237ff.
[18] See my paper on Bhartṛihari and Kumârila, J. B. Br. R. A. S. Vol. XVIII., p. 213ff.
[19] S. P. Pandit's Edition of Gaudavaho, verse 800.
[20] S. P. Pandit's Edition of Raghuvaṁśa, preface, p. 77ff.
[21] Ind. Ant. Vol. XII., p. 216.

kûṭa king Krishṇarâja III. was ruling over the Kanarese and Maratha countries, lived the poet Ponna, who boasts that he is superior to Kálidása.[22] To this period of Râshṭrakûṭa supremacy must also be assigned a Kanarese translation of Vikramorvaśi which is quoted in the Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa by Keśirája, contemporary of the Hoysala King, Vîra Ballála Deva (A.D. 1217).[23] These references will suffice to convince Sanskrit scholars that Kálidása cannot have lived in the time of king Bhoja of Dhárâ A.D. 993[24] or in the first century B.C., as the *Málava* era of 57 B.C. was not established by Vikramâdityạ, but that he flourished in the beginning of the sixth century when Káshmir formed part of the Hûṇa empire on the Indus, nearly a century before Báṇa and Ravikîrti who refer to him. Prof. Cowell has recently published an edition of Aśvaghosha's Buddha charita. He says[25] that as the work was translated into Chinese in the early part of the fifth century, the date of its composition may be fixed at least one or two centuries earlier. He points out many points of striking resemblance between this poem and the Raghuváṁśa and Kumárasambhava and maintains that Kálidása has borrowed some of his ideas from the Buddhist author. This view looks highly probable as Kálidása cannot have lived before the Hûṇa kings of Kâshmir, who belong to the latter part of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century.

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[22] Karnâṭaka Śabdânus'âsanam, Introduction, p. 28.

[23] Id. p. 36: See my paper on Pûjyapâda, Ind. Ant. Vol. XII., p. 19.

[24] Max Müller's India, p. 284, First Ed.

[25] Prof. Cowell's Edition of Buddhacharitra.

ART. V.—*Note on brick figures found in a Buddhist tower in Kahu, near Mirpur Khás, Sindh, by* A. WOODBURN, Esq., *I. C. S., Collector of Haidarabad. With an introduction by* J. M. CAMPBELL, Esq., I.C.S., LL.D., C.I.E.

[Communicated, 5th July 1894.]

INTRODUCTION.

I have pleasure in circulating the accompanying note from Mr. Woodburn, C.S., Collector of Haidarabad, Sindh.

Both figures seem to me to represent Sikhî, the second Buddha (*see* Journal, B. B. R. A. Society, volume XV, plates XI. and XVIII.). He may be known by the lotus flowers in his aureole. The full figure is in the Meditation Pose or Dhyânamudrâ, which is also known as the Padmâsanamudrâ or Lotus Pose.

The figures probably belong to the time of the Sahi-râi or White Huṇa dynasty of Aror, near the present Rori, whose rule lasted from A. D. 505 to A. D. 640. Some of the Sahi-rai kings were Sun and Siva worshippers. But the last but one, between A. D. 630 and 640, is described by Hiuen Thsiang (Beal's Buddhist Records II., 272), as honest and sincere, reverencing the law of Buddha in which his people also had faith. That the lotus is the sun, or an emblem of the sun, may have been the reason why Sikhî was chosen as the Buddha most likely to be popular in sun-worshipping Sindh. The commonness of the brick towers noted by Mr. Woodburn recalls Hiuen Thsiang's (Beal's Budhist Records II., 273) account of the monasteries and relic mounds seen everywhere in Sindh marking the spots where the great Arhat Upagupta had rested when he was journeying through the country preaching the law. Hiuen Thsiang as usual puts these relic mounds back to the time of Asoka (B. C. 240). The present images, together with the outer casings, if not the entire mounds, are not likely to be older than the sixth century A. D. The face of the torso is conventional. But the face of the full figure is life-like. In shape and feature it resembles some of the Multán Kattris, who appear not improbably to be of part White Huṇa descent. The excellence of the flower-moulding suggests

that it may be the work of some of the famous carvers of Kipin to the north of Kabul, who, with Greek traditions probably kept alive by Roman slave architects and sculptors, seem to have been employed by the Hunas in their temples at Baroli in Rajputâna and in Kâshmir.

Mr. Woodburn asks what was the probable character of the brick tower. As the Buddhist temples in Sindh were of brick and as the Arab writers (A. D. 713-900) describe the images as set under domes, the Thuls or brick heaps may be the remains either of temples or of mounds. A shrine dome even in disrepair would probably be more or less hollow; a memorial or a relic mound would be solid. Mr. Woodburn's details of Sir Bartle Frere sinking a shaft down the centre of the Mir Rukhu Thul seem to show that the Mir Rukhu ruins are the ruins of a mound built either to hold relics, or, as Hiuen Thsiang was told, to mark the lengendary journeyings of some apostle.

NOTE BY MR. WOODBURN.

"The two photographs are of figures that were dug up some time ago in an old Buddhist tower in an ancient town called Kahu, near Mirpur Khás, about 50 miles east of Haidarabad in Sindh. When the Haidarabad-Umarkot railway was being made, the contractors excavated bricks in this old town to break up for making concrete. They found a plentiful supply in the old tower, and these figures together with some ornamental bricks, were picked out and spared. The figures which are in moulded brick are now in the possession of Mr. Seymour, of the Sindh Revenue Survey.

I know of four of these towers in the Haidarabad district. They are called Thuls. They are circular. The bulk of each of them consists of sun-dried brick of very lasting quality, encased with very superior brick-work, partly plain and partly ornamental. The four ruined towers in the Haidarabad district are:

1. *Thul Mir Rukhu* near Dawlatpur in Tal Moro, about 90 miles north of Haidarabad. This is much the most perfect. So far as I remember the core of sun-dried brick is nearly intact. Much of the ornamental brick-work has fallen and can be dug out of the ruins at the base. Elephants are one feature of the ornaments. The people told me that Sir Bartle Frere sunk a shaft down the centre of the tower, but, so far as they knew, did not find anything. Last year in the Imperial Institute I saw a glass-case of ornamental brick, described as Hindu and lent by Lady Frere. The style corresponded

with what I had seen at the Tower, and the bricks were probably taken from the tower.

2. *Depar.* This is three or four miles from Brahmanabad, about 50 miles north-east of Haidarabad. The tower is in a ruined city, and there is a story connecting it with Brahmanabad. A block of sun-dried brick projects out of a big heap of detritus. I saw no ornamental brick on the surface, but I had not time to make a thorough examination, and I think it probable that ornamental brick may be found in the rubbish.

3. *Kahu,* where the present moulded figures were found, consists like Depar, of a block of sun-dried brick projecting out of a rubbish heap. I fancy the contractors did not disturb the inner block but confined themselves to digging out the encasing brickwork ornamental and otherwise.

4. *Tando* at a place a few miles from Tando Mahomed Khán, about 20 miles south of Haidarabad. This is described in Burton's Sindh or the Unhappy Valley. It is now like the heaps at Depar and Kahu. I picked up a fragment of ornamentation which resembled what I had seen at Thul Mir Rukhu.

Art. VI.—*On the Authorship of the Nyâyabindu.*

K. B. Pathak, B.A., Deccan College, Poona.

[Read 27th November 1894.]

The Nyâyabindu is an interesting Buddhist work which treats of logic from the Buddhist point of view. It has a commentary by Dharmottara. The credit of having discovered these works belongs to Dr. Peterson, who has published an excellent edition of the text and the commentary. In his paper[1] on the Nyâyabindutîkâ he has collected many interesting facts bearing on these works from Chinese and Thibetan authorities.

The original text does not bear the name of its author; nor does Dharmottara give it in his commentary. We are therefore left to conjecture on this point. Dr. Peterson, in his excellent paper alluded to above, throws out a suggestion that Śâkyasiṁha, the founder of Buddhism, may have composed the text. This suggestion is based on the fact that Dharmottara opens his commentary with a verse in praise of Buddha, thus—

जयन्ति जातिव्यसनप्रबन्ध-
प्रसूतिहेतोर्जगतो विजेतुः ।
रागादिरातेः सुगतस्य वाचो
मनस्तमस्तानवमादधानाः ॥

This verse can only prove that Dharmottara was a devout Buddhist, but it hardly furnishes a clue to the authorship of the original work. There are also some other facts which militate against Dr. Peterson's view. At the appearance of Śâkyasiṁha, Sanskrit was not the spoken language of the masses. The circumstance that Pâli was the sacred language of the Buddhists constitutes sufficient evidence that Buddha must have addressed himself to the people in a dialect understood by them. If he had composed a work, he would have done so not in Sanskrit but in Pâli. But as Buddhism declined and Pâli ceased to be employed for literary purposes, the followers of Śâkyasiṁha began to cultivate a knowledge of Sanskrit. This must have been rendered necessary by the growing power of Brahmanism. Hiuen

[1] J. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XVII., p. 50.

Tsiang and I-tsing learnt Sanskrit on their arrival in India. To this revival of Sanskrit among the Buddhists we owe the Chandra-vyâkaraṇa and the Kâśikâvṛitti. The Buddhist grammarian Vararuchi, who, according to the Thibetan historian Taranatha, flourished in Southern India[2], and a palm-leaf manuscript of whose work is still preserved in the Jaina Maṭha at Kolhapur, thus laments over the decline of his religion when he says by way of illustrating a rule of Kâraka—

कल्याणमपि वृद्धबुद्धधर्म्मं प्रतिक्षिपन्ति पापबुद्धयः ।

Vinaśvaranandi is another writer whose work is also preserved in the same Maṭha and who bows to Buddha thus—

जितं मारबलं येन निर्गतं भवपंजरात् ।
निर्व्वाणपदमारूढं तं बुद्धं प्रणमाम्यहं ॥

Now these authors who wrote in Sanskrit certainly belong to a late period of Buddhism. And we may be justified in drawing a similar conclusion as to the age of the Nyâyabindu.

Besides, the views set forth in the Nyâyabindu are such as are ascribed to Dignâgâchârya and Dharmakîrti in the writings of Samantabhadra, Akalaṁkadeva, Prabhâchandra, and in those of Kumârila, Śaṁkarâchârya and Sureśvara. These considerations will suffice to show that the Nyâyabindu belongs to a late period of Buddhism. Nor must we forget the fact to which Dr. Peterson invites our attention, namely, the frequent mention of the word Âchârya in the commentary, though he thinks the word refers to Buddha. I shall quote a few passages from the text and the commentary, which will enable us to identify this Âchârya and to prove that he lived prior to the author of the Nyâyabindu.

After describing the three fallacies असिद्ध, विरुद्ध and अनैकान्तिक, the Nyâyabindu proceeds to say—

विरुद्धाव्यभिचार्यपि संशयहेतुरुक्तः । स इह कस्मान्नोक्तोऽनुमानविषयेऽसंभवात् । न हि संभवोऽस्ति कार्यस्वभावयोरुक्तलक्षणयोरनुपलम्भस्य च विरुद्धतायाः । न चान्योऽव्यभिचारी । तस्मादवस्तुदर्शनबलप्रवृत्तमागमाश्रयमनुमानमाश्रित्य तदर्थविचारेषु विरुद्धाव्यभिचारी साधनदोष उक्तः ।

Nyâyabindu, p. 115.

Translation.

A fallacy called विरुद्धाव्यभिचारी is also spoken of. Why is it not treated of here, *i.e.*, in the Nyâyabindu ? Because it does not arise

[2] Ind. Ant., Vol. IV., p. 363.

in the case of inference, as opposition is not possible in connection with कार्य, स्वभाव and अनुपलब्धि as defined above. Nor is there any other अव्यभिचारी. Therefore the fallacy called विरुद्धाव्यभिचारी is described elsewhere while discussing evidence based upon Scripture, and which arises not from the observation of sensible objects.

From this passage it is clear that the fourth fallacy is not treated of in the Nyâyabindu. We are further told in the same passage that this fallacy is however described elsewhere in connection with Scriptural evidence. Now the question arises by whom is this fallacy treated of?

Dharmottara has satisfactorily answered this question in his explanation of the above passage. He says:

ननु आचार्येण विरुद्धाव्यभिचार्यपि संशयहेतुरुक्तः । हेत्वन्तरसाधितस्य विरुद्धं यत्तत्र व्यभिचरति स विरुद्धाव्यभिचारी । यदि वा विरुद्धश्चासौ साधनान्तरसिद्धस्य धर्मस्य विरुद्धसाधनादव्यभिचारी च स्वसाध्याव्यभिचाराद्विरुद्धाव्यभिचारी । सत्यमुक्तं आचार्येण । मया त्विह नोक्तः । कस्मादित्याह । अनुमानस्य विषयः प्रमाणसिद्धं त्रैरूप्यम् । यतो ह्यनुमानसद्भावः सोऽनुमानस्य विषयः । प्रमाणसिद्धाच्च त्रैरूप्यादनुमानसद्भावस्तस्मात्तदेवानुमानविषयः । तस्मिन्प्रक्रान्ते न विरुद्धाव्यभिचारिसंभवः । प्रमाणसिद्धौ(द्धे) हि त्रैरूप्ये प्रस्तुते स एव हेत्वाभासः संभवति यस्य प्रमाणसिद्धं रूपम् । न च विरुद्धाव्यभिचारिणः प्रमाणसिद्धमस्ति रूपम् । अतो न संभवः । ततोऽसंभवो नोक्तः । कस्मादसंभव इत्याह । न हीति । यस्मान्न संभवोऽस्ति विरुद्धतायाः । कार्यं च स्वभावश्च तयोरुक्तलक्षणयोरिति । कार्यस्य कारणाज्जन्मलक्षणं तत्त्वम् । स्वभावस्य च साध्यव्याप्यत्वं तत्त्वम् । यत्कार्यं यश्च स्वभावः स कथमात्मकारणं व्यापकं च स्वभावं परित्यज्य भवेद्येन विरुद्धः स्यात् । अनुपलम्भस्य चोक्तलक्षणस्येति । दृश्यानुपलम्भत्वमनुपलम्भलक्षणम् । तस्यापि च स्वभावाव्यभिचारित्वान्न विरुद्धत्वसंभवः स्यात् । एतेभ्योऽन्यो भविष्यतीत्याह । न चान्य एतेभ्योऽव्यभिचारी त्रिभ्योऽत एव तेष्वेव हेतुत्वम् ।

क तर्ह्याचार्यदिङ्नागेनायं हेतुदोष उक्त इत्याह । यस्माद्बस्तुबलप्रवृत्तेऽनुमानेन संभवति तस्मादागमाश्रयमनुमानमाश्रित्य विरुद्धाव्यभिचार्युक्तः ।

Nyâyabinduṭîkâ, p. 84.

Translation.

It may be objected that the Âchârya has also treated of the fallacy called विरुद्धाव्यभिचारी. This means that which is never absent from the opposite of what is proved by a different reason, or it is so called

from proving the reverse of what is established by a different reason and from being found always associated with its proper sâdhya. The reply is: True; the Âchârya has described it; but I have not touched upon it in the Nyâyabindu. Why? Because the subject of inference is the triad established by proofs. That which gives rise to inference forms its subject. Inference springs from the triad established by proofs, therefore it is the subject of it. When that is being discussed the fallacy called विरुद्धाव्यभिचारी is not possible. When the triad established by proofs is under consideration, that alone is a fallacy, the form of which is established by proofs. But विरुद्धाव्यभिचारी has no such form. Hence it is impossible. Therefore what is impossible is not stated here. Why impossible? Because Viruddha does not arise here. Now Kârya (an effect) is what is due to a cause; and स्वभाव is what is included in the साध्य. How can both be dissociated from the cause and the व्यापक स्वभाव[3]? अनुपलब्धि is the non-perception of what is visible. Nor is this subject to Viruddha from not being found apart from its स्वभाव, and moreover there is no other अव्यभिचारी. Therefore these three alone form the reason.

It may be asked, where, then, has Âchârya Dignâga treated of this fallacy? The answer is that since it is not possible in the case of inference based upon material things, this fallacy called विरुद्धाव्यभिचारी has been treated of [by the Âchârya Dignâga] when speaking of inference based upon the Scripture.

From Dharmottara's explanation it is quite clear that the author of the Nyâyabindu is a later writer than Dignâga, and feels bound to explain whenever he differs from that eminent authority. I may remark here that it is not open to us to dispute the correctness of Dharmottara's interpretation since the passage quoted from the Nyâyabindu would yield no sense whatever unless interpreted by the light of the commentary. I shall now proceed to quote another passage from the Nyâyabindu which will enable us to ascertain what sort of relation subsisted between this author and his predecessor Dignâgâchârya.

After noticing the two kinds of the fallacy called Viruddha, the author of the Nyâyabindu, thus alludes to a third:—

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[3] This is वृक्षत्व in the example वृक्षोयं शिंशपात्वात्. It is called व्यापक, because it is wider than the other term शिंशपात्व.

तत्र च तृतीयोऽनीष्टविघातकृद्विरुद्धः । यथा परार्थाश्चक्षुरादयः संघातत्वाच्छयनाश(स)नाद्यङ्गवदिति । तदिष्टासंहतपारार्थ्यविपर्ययसाधनाद्विरुद्धः स इह कस्मान्नोक्तः । अनयोरेवान्तर्भावात् । न ह्ययमाभ्यां साध्यविपर्ययसाधनत्वेन भिद्यते ।

Nyâyabindu, p. 113.

Translation.

There is also a third Viruddha which disproves what is only implied but not expressly stated; as, for instance, the eyes, &c., are serviceable to some being, because they are made up of particles as are a bed, seat, &c., to a person who uses them. This is a fallacy called Viruddha from its proving the opposite of what is intended by the Sâṁkhya, namely, the existence of the soul. Why is it not treated of here? Because it is included in these two, as it does not differ from them in the matter of establishing the reverse of what is sought to be proved.

Dharmottara's commentary on this passage runs thus:

ननु च तृतीयोऽपि विरुद्ध उक्तः । उक्तविपर्ययसाधनौ द्वौ तृतीयोऽयमिष्टस्य शब्देनानुपात्तस्य विधानं(विघातं)करोति विपर्ययसाधनादिति* इष्टविघातकृत् । तमुदाहरति। यथेति।चक्षुरादय इति धर्मी । परोऽर्थः प्रयोजनं संस्कार्य उपकर्तव्यः येषां ते परार्था इति साध्यम् । संघातत्वात्संचितरूपत्वादिति हेतुः । चक्षुरादयो हि परमाणुसंचितिरूपाः । ततः संघातरूपा उच्यन्ते । शयनमासनं चादिर्यस्य तच्छयनासनादि । तदेवाङ्गं पुरुषोपभोगाङ्गत्वात् । अयं व्याप्तिप्रदर्शनविषयो दृष्टान्तः । अत्र हि पारार्थ्येन संहतत्वं व्याप्तम् । यतः शयनासनादयः संघातरूपाः पुरुषस्य भोगिनो भवन्युपकारका इति परार्था उच्यन्ते । कथमयमिष्टविघातकृदित्याह । तदिष्टासंहतपारार्थ्यविपर्ययसाधनादिति । असंहते विषये पारार्थ्यमसंहतपारार्थ्यम् । तस्य सांख्यस्य वादिन इष्टमसंहतपारार्थ्यं तदिष्टासंहतपारार्थ्यं तस्यविपर्ययः । संहतपारार्थ्यं नाम तस्य साधनाद्विरुद्धः । आत्मास्तीति ब्रुवाणः सांख्यः । कुत एतादिति पर्यनुयुक्तो बौद्धेनेदमात्मनः सिद्धये प्रमाणमाह । तस्मादसंहतस्यात्मन उपकारकत्वं साध्यं चक्षुरादीनाम् । अयं तु हेतुर्विपर्ययव्याप्तः । यस्माद्यो यस्योपकारकः स तस्य जनकः । जन्यमानश्च युगपत्क्रमेण वा भवति संहतः । तस्मात्परार्थाश्चक्षुरादय इति संहतपरार्था इति सिद्धम् ।

अयं च विरुद्ध आचार्यदिङ्नागेनोक्तः । स कस्माद्वार्तिककारेण सता त्वया नोक्तः । इतर आह । अनयोरेव साध्यविपर्ययसाधनयोरन्तर्भावात् । ननु चोक्तविपर्ययं न साधयति तत्कथमुक्तविपर्ययसाधनयोरन्तर्भाव इत्याह । न ह्ययमिति।

* This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

हीति यस्मादर्थे । यस्मादयमिष्टविघातकृदाभ्यां हेतुभ्यां साध्यविपर्ययसाधनत्वेन न भिद्यते । यथा तौ साध्यविपर्ययसाधनौ तथायमप्युक्तविपर्ययं तु साधयतु वा मा वा किमुक्तविपर्ययसाधनेन । तस्मादनयोरेवान्तर्भावः ।

Nyâyabinduṭîkâ, p. 77.

Translation.

Here an objection is thus started. A third Viruddha is also spoken of. The two Viruddhas (described above) prove the reverse of what is expressly stated; but the third Viruddha is called इष्टविघातकृत् from its proving the opposite of what is implied, but not expressed in words. He gives an instance; here the 'eyes, &c.,' is a minor term; 'which have another for their object,' this is to be proved; the reason is 'because they are made up of particles.' The eyes are composed of material particles; therefore, they are called संघातरूप. A bed, seat, &c., are called instruments, because useful to man for the enjoyment of pleasures. This is an instance illustrating concomitance. Here संहतत्वम् is included in परार्थ्य. Hence a bed, seat, &c., are serviceable to the man who enjoys pleasures and are therefore called परार्थ. How is this इष्टविघातकृत् ? The author says the Sâṁkhya disputant seeks to prove the existence of the soul which is असंहत, *i. e.*, not made up of material particles, as from his point of view the being to whom the eyes are serviceable (परार्थ) is the soul. When asked by the Buddhist to substantiate his position the Sâṁkhya disputant offers this illustration. But it leads to the reverse of what is sought to be proved; since whatever serves another becomes its producer, and what is produced, becomes at once or by degrees composed of particles. Therefore when it is said that the eyes are परार्थ, it means they are serviceable not to the soul, but to the body. The existence of the soul is thus disproved.

Now this third kind of Viruddha is described by Dignâga. Why dost thou not describe it, though thou art the Vârtikakâra [of Dignâgâchârya]? The other [*i. e.*, the author of the Nyâyabindu] says, because it is included in the [first] two Viruddhas which prove the opposite of what is sought to be established.

These passages leave no room for doubt that the author of the Nyâyabindu was the Vârtikakâra of Dignâgâchârya. For this reason, the latter is frequently referred to as the Âchârya in Dharmottara's commentary. The view that the author of the Nyâyabindu was the

Vârtikakâra is amply corroborated by the anonymous author of the Jesalmir fragment, as will be seen presently.

It may be stated here that in the प्रत्यक्षपरिच्छेद of the Nyâyabindu the subject of प्रत्यक्ष and that of अनुमान are discussed together. No separate chapter is devoted to the treatment of the latter subject. After defining स्वलक्षण the Nyâyabindu proceeds to say:—

अन्यत्सामान्यलक्षणं सोऽनुमानस्य विषयः।

On this Dharmottara remarks:

तच्चानुमानस्य ग्राह्यं दर्शयितुमाह। सोऽनुमानस्य विषयो ग्राह्यरूपः। सर्वेनाम्नोभिधेयवल्लिंगपरिग्रहः। सामान्यलक्षणम्। अनुमानस्य विषयं व्याख्यातुकामेनायं स्वलक्षणस्वरूपाख्यानग्रन्थ आवर्तनीयः स्यात्। ततो लाघवार्थं प्रत्यक्षपरिच्छेद एवानुमानविषय उक्तः।

Nyâyabinduṭîkâ, p. 17.

In explaining this passage the author of the Jesalmir fragment says:—

ननु तत्सामान्यमिति नपुंसकलिंगं प्रस्तुत्य स इत्यनेन पुंलिंगेन परामर्शः कथमित्याह सर्वनाम्नेत्यादि। कस्मात्पुनः प्रत्यक्षपरिच्छेदे अनुमानस्य विषयविभतिपत्तिर्निरुक्ता।[5] वार्तिककारेण नानुमानपरिच्छेद इत्याह सामान्यलक्षणमित्यादि। एवं मन्यते यद्यनुमानपरिच्छेदे अनुमानस्य विषयो व्यवस्थाप्यते तदा तत्रैवं ग्रंथः कर्तव्यः स्यात्। का(को)सावनुमानस्य विषयः प्रत्यक्षविषयादन्यः प्रत्यक्षस्यैव कोऽसौ विषयो यदपेक्षयायमन्यः पुनर्वक्तव्यं स्वलक्षणमिति एवमावर्त्यमाने गौरवं स्यात्। अतो लाघवार्थमत्रैव कथितमिति।

From this passage it is evident that the anonymous author of the Jesalmir fragment is in perfect accord with Dharmottara in thinking that the Nyâyabindu was composed by the Buddhist Vârtikakâra. We have already seen that the Vârtikakâra was so called because he had composed Vârtikas or comments on the works of Dignâgâchârya to whom he frequently refers with great respect and offers explanations whenever he differs from that eminent authority. It is thus clear that the Âchârya so often mentioned in the Jesalmir fragment and in Dharmottara's commentary is no other than the illustrious Dignâgâchârya and that his Vârtikakâra composed the Nyâyabindu.

I shall now proceed to answer the question who was the Buddhist Vârtikakâra who stood to Dignâgâchârya in the same relation in which Udyotakara stood to Vâtsyâyana or Sureśvara to Śaṁkarâchârya.

[5] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

Dr. Peterson, in his valuable paper to which I have already referred, tells us that, according to Thibetan tradition, Dharmakîrti wrote Vârtikas on the works of Dignâgâchârya and that one of these Vârtikas is called Pramâṇavârtika. This work must have been a commentary on the Pramâṇasamuchchaya of Dignâga. From these facts we can deduce the conclusion that Dharmakîrti wrote the Nyâyabindu.

Only a few more facts need be stated in support of this conclusion. I have remarked that the peculiar opinions ascribed to Dignâga and Dharmakîrti by Sureśvara and Vidyânanda are identical with those maintained in the Nyâyabindu. This work says :—

त्रीण्येव च लिङ्गानि । अनुपलब्धिः स्वभावकार्ये चेति । तत्रानुपलब्धिर्यथा न प्रदेशविशेषे क्वचिद् घट उपलब्धिलक्षणप्राप्तस्यानुपलब्धेरिति । स्वभावः स्वसत्तामात्रभाविनि साध्यधर्मे हेतुः । यथा वृक्षोऽयं शिंशपात्वादिति । कार्यं यथाग्निरत्र धूमादिति । अत्र द्वौ वस्तुसाधनौ । एकः प्रतिषेधहेतुः ।

Nyâyabindu, p. 104.

In my paper[6] on Dharmakîrti and Śaṁkarâchârya I have shown that Sureśvara has attacked Dharmakîrti in a well-known passage in the Bṛihadâraṇyakavârtika. According to Sureśvara Dharmakîrti holds that स्वभाव कार्य and अनुपलब्धि are the only three reasons which prove invariable concomitance. The first two prove the existence, and the last, the non-existence of a thing. The instances which Dharmakîrti is supposed by Sureśvara to give of स्वभाव कार्य and अनुपलब्धि respectively are :—

वृक्षोऽयं शिंशपात्वात्, अग्निरत्र धूमात् and प्रदेशविशेषे क्वचिन्न घट उपलब्धिलक्षणप्राप्तस्यानुपलब्धेः ।

This follows directly from Sureśvara's own words and not merely from the commentary of Ânandajñâna who interprets Sureśvara's words. We are told[7]—

त्रिष्वेव स्वविनाभावादिति यद्धर्मकीर्तिना ।
प्रत्यक्षादौ प्रतिज्ञेयं हीयेतासौ न संशयः ॥

Why is Dharmakîrti wrong ? Sureśvara replies :

स्वभावादविनाभावे स्यादौष्ण्यस्याग्निलिङ्गता ।
स्वभावेऽप्यविनाभावात्कार्ये प्राप्ता स्वभावता ॥

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[6] J. B. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII., p. 88.

[7] Bṛihadâraṇyakavârtika, Ânandâśrama Series, p. 1515.

On this Ânandajñâna remarks:

"वृक्षोऽयं शिंशपात्वादि" तिवदग्निरयमौष्ण्यादित्यपि स्यान्न च तस्य अग्निगमकत्वम्। अविनाभूतस्य स्वभावत्वं चेत् "अग्निरत्र धूमात्" इत्यत्रापि स्वभावत्वमविनाभूतत्वाद्भवेत्। "तत्र द्वौ वस्तुसाधनावेकः प्रतिषेधहेतु" रिति स्थितिहतिरित्यर्थः

Sureśvara says, that if Dharmakîrti means that स्वभाव is invariable concomitance, then we may be justified in saying "this is fire because it is hot"; but this is absurd since there are many things besides fire, which are hot. If, on the other hand, invariable concomitance is स्वभाव, then Dharmakîrti's example of कार्य, namely, अग्निरत्र धूमात् would equally serve as an instance of स्वभाव and thus the difference between Dharmakîrti's two reasons कार्य and स्वभाव would disappear; and the statement made by Dharmakîrti [in the Nyâyabindu], *viz.*, that two [कार्य and स्वभाव] prove the existence and the third [अनुपलब्धि] proves the non-existence of a thing, would be altogether wrong.

Sureśvara is careful to tell us that Dharmakîrti's example अग्निरत्र धूमात् [given in the Nyâyabindu] conveys a correct notion not because धूम is the कार्य or effect of fire, but because smoke is never found without fire,

कार्यत्वान्नैव धूमादिरिति निश्चयहेतुताम्।
व्यभिचारहेत्वसद्भावादग्नेर्हेतुत्वमेत्यसौ॥

Sureśvara further adds that the rise of the constellation कृत्तिका is a sure sign of the rise of the constellation of रोहिणी. Though the rise of कृत्तिका is neither स्वभाव nor कार्य in the sense which Dharmakîrti attaches to these terms [in the Nyâyabindu] it is none the less a लिङ्ग or sign of the rise of रोहिणी,

अपेक्षाऽप्यत्र लिङ्गोक्तेः कार्यादौ नैव जायते।
अकार्यश्चास्वभावश्च नालिङ्गं कृत्तिकोदयः॥
कृत्तिकात्वादिति ह्युक्तेर्नैव कार्यस्वभावयोः।
अपेक्षा जायते किं तु ह्यन्वयेतरमात्रतः॥

[8] See the passage from the Nyâyabindu quoted above.

[9] See note 8.

अकार्यत्वात्स्वभावत्वादविनाभावमात्रतः ।
उदयः कार्तिको लिङ्गं प्रत्यासत्तेर्भवेद् ध्रुवम् ॥
रौहिणस्योदयस्यातो न स्वभावाद्यपेक्ष(क्ष्य)ते ।
यतोऽतो न स्वभावादेर्हेतुत्वमुपपद्यते ॥

After refuting कार्यहेतु and स्वभावहेतु Sureśvara proceeds to deal with Dharmakîrti's third reason अभावहेतु or अनुपलब्धि,

संवित्तिभावयोर्भेदो यथैव तदभावयोः ।
न भेदोऽनुपलब्धिर्वो नातो लिङ्गं कथंचन ॥

Ânandajñâna explains this verse, thus:—

स्वभावकार्ययोर्गमकत्वं निरस्यानुपलब्धेस्तन्निरस्यति । संवित्तीति । यथा त्वन्मते संवित्संवेद्ययोर्न भेदो गम्यते सत्त्वमुपलब्धेरेव वस्तुयोग्यतालक्षणेति स्थितेस्तथा तदभावयोरपि न भेदः सिध्यति । प्रतियोगिभेदं विना अभावभेदाभावादतो युष्मत्पक्षे संविदभावो न संवेद्याभावे लिङ्गमेकस्मिंश्चैव लिङ्गलिङ्गित्वायोगात्तथा च "प्रदेशविशेषे क्वचिन्न घट उपलब्धिलक्षणप्राप्तस्यानुपलब्धेरिति" प्रमत्तगीतमिति भावः

From the passages quoted above it is obvious that in censuring Dharmakîrti both Sureśvara and Ânandajñâna refer to the above passage from the Nyâyabindu. The latter quotes many statements in it and says that Dharmakîrti has laid himself open to the charge of inconsistency in making them.

This can only be explained on the supposition that in the opinion of Sureśvara and Ânandajñâna, Dharmakîrti composed the Nyâyabindu. And, last but not least, the Digambara Jaina author Vidyânanda attributes the definition of प्रत्यक्ष as given in the Nyâyabindu[10],

प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तम् ।

to Dharmakîrti when he says[11]:

प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तमिति कीर्तिवाक् ।
Patraparîkshâ.

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[10] Nyâyabindu, p. 103.

[11] MS. of the Jaina Matha at Kolhapur, p. 47*b*. *Kîrti* is said in a marginal note to be equivalent to *Dharmakîrti*. Ânandajñâna also in explaining Sureśvara's attacks on Dharmakîrti mentions the Buddhist author by the shorter name.

The Śvetâmbara writer Munisundara, in his Pañchadarśanasvarûpa,[12] distinguishes between the views of Dignâgâchârya and of Dharmakîrti and remarks that the latter alone held the opinion about kârya, svabhâva and unupalabdhi forming the threefold reason.

All these authorities enable us to draw the conclusion that Dharmakîrti was the author of the Nyâyabindu. And this conclusion is amply corroborated by Dharmottara when he says that Dignâgâchârya's Vârtikakâra composed the Nyâyabindu, since this Buddhist Vârtikakâra is to be identified, according to Thibetan tradition, with Dharmakîrti himself.

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[12] Deccan College MS.

ART. VII.—*The Bas-relief of Beharâm Gour (Beharâm V.) at Naksh-i-Rustam, and His marriage with an Indian Princess,* By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B. A.

[Read 17th December 1894.]

The sculptures at Naksh-i-Rustam or on the rock of the mountain, otherwise known as the Mountain of Sepulchres have long been "the subjects of discussion with the traveller, the artist and the antiquary." Sir Robert Kerr Porter has described at some length "the remains which mark the lower line of the rock and which are attributed to kings of Arsacedian and Sassanian race."[1] The object of this paper is to determine the event which is intended to be commemorated in the first of the lower bas-reliefs of Naksh-i-Rustam. Porter after describing it at some length[2] says:—

[1] Porter's Travels, I. p. 529.

[2] "The first under consideration (Plate XIX) presents itself soon after we pass the tomb in the most eastern direction. Much of it is buried in the earth; the three figures, which are its subject, being now only visible as high as the upper part of the thighs. The two principal are engaged in grasping, with their outstretched arms, a wreath or twisted bandeau, from which hang a couple of waving ends. The first figure, which holds it with his right hand, stands in the right of the sculpture, and appears to be a king. He is crowned with a diadem of a bonnet-shape, round which runs a range of upward fluted ornaments, surmounted with a high baloon-like mass, rising from the middle of the crown. From the imitation of folds in the stone, it is evidently intended to be a decoration of some sort of stuff. A fillet binds the bottom of the head-dress round the forehead; appearing to tie behind, amongst a redundancy of long flowing hair, whence it streams in two waving ends, resembling those from the wreath he is clasping. These loose ribband-like appendages, seem badges of Arsacedian and Sassanian sovereignty; and we find them attached to various parts of the regal dress in all these remains of antiquity. His hair, as I observed before, is full, flowing, and curled, having nothing of the stiff wig-appearance so remarkable in the bas-reliefs of the race of Cyrus. The beard of this figure is very singularly disposed. On the upper lip, it is formed like moustachios, and grows from the front of the ear, down the whole of the jaw, in neat short curls, but on the chin it becomes a great length (which, as I have noticed before, seems to be a lasting attribute of royalty in Persia), and is tied together, just at the point of the chin, whence it hangs like a large tassel. At his ear is the fragment of an immense pearl

"From the composition of this piece, even as it now appears, shewing a royal union, and as its more perfect former state is exhibited in the drawing I saw at Shiraz, where a boy with a princely diadem completes the group, I find that it corresponds with a Sassanian silver coin in my possession. On that coin are the profiles of a king, a queen and a boy. On the reverse is a burning altar, supported by the same man and woman, the latter holding a ring in her right hand. From the Pehelvi legend which surrounds the coin, it is one of the Beharâms, which is there written Vahraran. Comparing certain peculiar circumstances which marked the reign of Beharâm the Fifth, surnamed Gour, with the design on the coin, and with the figures on this excavation, I should conclude that the king in both is Beharâm the Fifth."

So far we agree with Porter that the Bas-relief belongs to Beharâm Gour and commemorates an event of his life. But what is that event? Sir Kerr Porter gives an anecdote on the authority of Sir John Malcolm and connects the Bas-relief with that anecdote.

It is an anecdote which is described by Malcolm as having been heard by him in 1810, at one of Beharâm Gour's hunting seats. I will describe it here in the words of Malcolm himself, as Porter's version of it differs from it in some material points[3]:—

"Beharâm proud of his excellence as an archer, wished to display it before a favourite lady. He carried her to the plain; an antelope was soon found asleep. The monarch shot an arrow with such precision as to graze its ear. The animal awoke and put his hind hoof to the ear to strike off the fly, by which he conceived himself annoyed. Another arrow fixed his hoof to his horn. Beharâm turned to the lady, in expectation of her praises: she coolly observed, *Neeko kurden z pur kurden est*; 'Practice makes perfect.' Enraged at this uncourtly observation, the king ordered her to be sent into the mountains to perish. Her life was saved by the mercy of a minister, who allowed her to retire to a small village on the side of a hill. She lodged in an upper

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and a string of the same is round his neck. . . . . The personage on the left is without doubt a woman, the outline of the form making it evident. On her head we see a large crown of a mural shape. . . . . Her right hand clasps the wreath with the king.

The third figure visible in the group stands behind the king, and from some part of his apparel, appears to be a guard."

[3] History of Persia, Vol. I., p. 94 n.

room, to which she ascended by twenty steps. On her arrival she bought a small calf, which she carried up and down the stairs everyday. This exercise was continued for four years ; and the increase of her strength kept pace with the increasing weight of the animal. Beharâm, who had supposed her dead, after a fatiguing chase stopped one evening at this village. He saw a young woman carrying a large cow up a flight of twenty steps. He was astonished and sent to inquire how strength so extraordinary had been acquired by a person of so delicate a form. The lady said she would communicate her secret to none but Beharâm, and to him alone on his condescending to come alone to her house. The king instantly went ; on his repeating his admiration of what he had seen, she bade him not lavish praises where they were not due : 'Practice makes perfect,' said she, in her natural voice, and at the same time lifted up her veil. Beharâm recognised and embraced his favourite. Pleased with the lesson she had given him, and delighted with the love which had led her to pass four years in an endeavour to regain his esteem, he ordered a palace to be built on the spot, as a hunting-seat, and a memorial of this event." Having given this story, Porter says, "The female figure in the Bas-relief, may very fairly be considered this redoubtable queen." But in order to uphold his theory that the Bas-relief commemorates the above event of Beharûm Gour's life, Porter seems to take some unauthorized liberty with Malcolm's version of the story. Malcolm calls the woman in the story "a favourite lady," but Porter chooses to call her a "favourite wife" and "a queen."

Now, it appears from Firdousi that the woman in the story was neither Beharâm's favourite wife nor his queen. She was merely a favourite flute-player. The story of "Practice makes perfect," which Malcolm describes as having heard at one of Beharâm's hunting-seats seems to me to be an amplified version of a well nigh similar story described by Firdousi, and I wonder how Firdousi's story had escaped the notice of Malcolm.

It occurred when Beharam was quite young and was under the tutelage of Noman (نعمان) at the court of Manzar (منذر) of Arabia. The story, as described by Firdousi, runs thus[4] :—

"Beharâm, who was a very clever hand in hunting, went one day to the chase with Âzdeh, a woman of Roum, who was his favourite flute-

[4] Calcutta Edition, Vol. III., p. 1467.

player. He came across two antelopes, one male and another female. Beharâm asked Âzdeh, 'Which of the two you wish me to aim at?' She replied, "A brave man never fights with antelopes, so you better turn with your arrows the female into a male and the male into a female. Then, when an antelope passes by your side, you aim at him an arrow, in such a way, that it merely touches his ear without hurting it, and that when he lays down his ear over the shoulder and raises his foot to scratch it, you aim another arrow in such a way as to pierce the head, the shoulder and the foot all at the same time." Beharâm had with him an arrow with two points. He aimed it at the male in such a way that it carried away his two horns and gave him the appearance of a female. Then he threw two arrows at the female antelope in such a clever way that they struck her head and fixed themselves over it so as to give her the appearance of a male with two horns. Then he aimed his arrow at another antelope so as to merely touch his ear. The animal raised his foot to scratch his ear when Beharam aimed at him another arrow, so cleverly that he hit the head, the ear and the foot all at the same time. The woman thereupon shed tears from her eyes saying it was inhuman on the part of Beharâm to have so killed the poor animal. This enraged Beharam who had done all this at her bidding. He said "It is all a deceit on your part. If I had failed in doing what you ordered me to do, my family would have been put to shame." With these words he immediately killed her."

Now it is this story, related by Firdousi, that Malcolm heard in 1810, in another, rather amplified, garb, and it is this story that Porter thinks that the device and characters on the Bas-relief at Naksh-i-Rustam (and the corresponding device and characters on the coins and medals) appear to commemorate. In Firdousi's version the woman is not mentioned as a queen.

Again in Firdousi's version there is not that so-called "royal union." According to that version the woman is killed there and then for her impertinent taunt.

Now is it likely that a king like Beharâm Gour who was, as Sir John Malcolm says, "certainly one of the best monarchs who ever ruled Persia" should commemorate on a rock, sanctified as it were by the monuments of his royal ancestors, a foolish act of his boyhood? Porter bases his interpretation of the Bas-relief on Malcolm's story as heard by him more than a thousand years after the event. But

Firdousi's Shâh-nâmeh should be a better authority than the oral traditions that had preserved and exaggerated the story. So, if Beharâm had chosen to commemorate the above event of the hunting-ground, he could have more appropriately done that, during the time of his impulsive boyhood, and that somewhere in the very vicinity of the scene of that event, *i.e.*, in Arabia. That something of that sort was actually done in Arabia, not by Beharâm Gour himself but by Manzar, in whose court he was brought up, appears from another historian Tabari. Tabari thus describes another hunting feat of Beharâm. One day Beharâm in company with Manzar went a-hunting. They saw a wild ass running by their side. Beharâm ran after it but found that it was overtaken by a lion who was just on the point of devouring it. Beharâm immediately threw an arrow with such dexterity that it passed both through the lion and the ass and killed them both at the same time. Manzar, in order to commemorate this dexterity of Beharam ordered a painting of this hunting scene to be drawn on the walls of the palace where Beharâm lived. So the proper place of the sculpture of the hunting scene described by Firdousi was Arabia as related by Tabari, and not Persia as suggested by Porter on the authority of a story related by Malcolm. Again, as according to Firdousi, there was nothing like a "royal union," how can the bas-relief commemorate that event?

Now, we find that Madame Dieulafoy, an intelligent wife of an intelligent husband, also describes the same story in her book of travels[5], and gives a painting which decorated a door-frame in the house which she occupied in the valley of Éclid. The painting gives a clear idea of Malcolm's story of "Practice makes perfect."

The painting is entitled "Rencontre de Baharam et de son ancienne favourite." It represents the woman as ascending a stair-case with a cow on her back, and the king as approaching her on horseback. Then if Beharâm proposed commemorating what Porter chooses to call a 'royal union,' he would have produced a bas-relief of the type presented in the painting as given by Madame Dieulafoy and not of the type actually found at present, which seems to be more dignified and has every appearance of commemorating a more solemn and important event in the life of the king.

Then comes the question, If we reject Porter's interpretation of

[5] La Perse, La Chaldée, et La Susiane, p. 357.

the bas-relief, what is a more probable interpretation? What other event in the life of Beharâm Gour it is that the bas-relief proposes to commemorate?

I think it is the event of Beharâm Gour's marriage with the Indian princess Sepihnud that the Bas-relief proposes to commemorate. It commemorates the confirmation of that marriage at Âzer Goushasp, one of the celebrated, if not the most celebrated, fire-temples of ancient Irân.

Though Porter has misinterpreted the device and the characters of the Bas-relief at Naksh-i-Rustam, we should feel indebted to him for indirectly putting us in the right track of identifying another event of Beharâm Gour's life as the one sought to be commemorated on the rock. We said above, that Porter determined, that the device and the characters on the bas-relief corresponded with those on a coin of Beharâm Gour in his possession (*vide* No. 10, Plate I., Vol. I., Pinkerton's Essay on Medals). Now having interpreted, with the help of Malcolm's story of 'Practice makes perfect,' the device and the characters of the Bas-relief at Naksh-i-Rustam, Porter proceeds to interpret the device and the characters on the coin in a similar way. But in so doing he omits to explain the fact, and that the most important fact, of a fire-altar standing between the king and the queen. If the coin commemorates the event of the 'Practice makes perfect' story what has the fire-altar to do with it? Of course we know that there are other coins of Beharâm Gour (Plate VII., fig. 8., Numasmatic Illustration of the Rule of the Sassanians in Persia by E. Thomas) and of other Sassanian kings on which also we find fire-altars. But none of these coins have a woman's picture on them. The picture of a woman on this coin in question, with the fire-altar between her and the king seems to have a particular signification. "On the numerous coins of other Sassanian kings," says Ousley, "the fire-altar is merely guarded by two armed men, one on each side, like those figures which our heralds entitle the supporters."

Now Ousley tries to explain the device and the characters on the coin in quite another way. Several coins and medals of king Beharâm have been discovered with similar devices and characters. Ousley thus describes them: "On the obverse of these medals we find the king with his queen and son. On the reverse we behold her (the queen) standing near the Zoroastrian flame, which she and Beharâm, an altar standing between them, seem to regard with veneration, perhaps

nourishing it with fragrant or costly substances."[6] Ousley thinks it possible, though rash to affirm, that the queen on the medals of Beharâm was "Sepinud whom Beharâm selected among the loveliest princesses of India." He thinks that the fire-altar on these coins and medals is the fire-altar of the celebrated fire-temple of Âzer Goushasp. Again Beharâm is represented on the medal as holding something in his hand. As to that Ousley says, "What Beharâm holds does not distinctly appear on these medals; but Firdousi describes him as grasping the 'barson' (برسم) (small twigs or branches of a certain tree) used in religious ceremonies, when proceeding to the Fire-altar with his beautiful Sepinud."

Thus we find that, as Ousley has pointed out, the coin of Beharâm Gour with the king and queen standing on each side of a fire-altar, commemorates the "royal union" of Beharâm Gour with the Indian princess Sepinud and not the meeting of Beharâm Gour with a favourite lady named Âzdeh. It commemorates a solemn event in the life of the king, and not a foolish act.

Thus then, if, with the help of Ousley's interpretation, we come to the conclusion, that the coin of Beharâm Gour commemorates the event of the confirmation of the king's marriage with the Indian princess Sepinud, our work of interpreting the device and the characters on the bas-relief at Naksh-i-Rustam is easy, because it is Porter himself who has determined that the device and characters in both correspond. The king and queen on the bas-relief are, therefore, Beharâm and his Indian queen Sepinud. Sir Kerr Porter refers to another figure on the bas-relief as that of a guard. "He holds up his right hand in the attitude of enjoining silence." I think it is the figure of the officiating priest in the above temple of Âzer Gushasp. Ousley is mistaken in saying that Beharam is represented by Firdousi as holding a 'barson' in his hand. What Firdousi says is that the head priest of the temple advances with the Barsom in his hand to admit the Indian queen into the Zoroastrian religion. I will give here in full, Firdousi's account of the confirmation ceremony of Beharam's marriage with Sepinud which, I think, it is the purpose of the Bas-relief to commemorate. The description reminds a modern Parsee of the Nán (a word which is the contraction of Sanskrit स्नान) ceremony which precedes the marriage ceremony. Firdousi says :—

"The king and his army then got over their horses and went to

[6] Travels in Persia, Vol. I., p. 139.

the land of Âzar Gushasp. He gave a good deal of his wealth in charity to the poor and gave more to the needy who concealed their needs. The worshipper (in charge) of the fire of Zarthost went before him with 'baj' and 'barson' in hand. The king led Sepinud before him. He taught her the religion and its manners and customs. He purified her with the good religion and with holy water, and the impurities of a foreign race were removed from her."

We have finished the task of examining Porter's interpretation of the device and characters on the bas-relief of Beharâm Gour at Naksh-i-Rustam and of substituting another interpretation in its place on the authority of Ousley's possible interpretation of the corresponding device and characters on a coin of Beharâm Gour. We will conclude this paper with a short account of Beharâm Gour's visit to India and of his marriage with Sepinud as given in the Shâh-nâmeh. Firdousi's account gives us a glimpse of the court of an Indian Rájá as seen by a Persian prince.

It appears from the Shâh-nâmeh, that in the reign of Beharâm Gour (A. D. 417-438) Kanoj was the capital of Northern India. Shangel شنگل was the then ruler of India. His country extended from Hindustân (the country or the banks of the Indus ?) to the frontiers of China. He demanded tribute from China and Sind (چین و سند). The Vazir of Beharâm Gour once excited the ambition of his master to conquer the country of this powerful king. Beharâm asked a friendly but threatening letter to be written to Shangel. I give here the full text of the letter from the Persian king to the Indian Rájá to give an idea of the way in which letters were then written :

"May the blessings of God be upon him who seeks His blessings. He is the Master of Existence and of Non-existence. Everything in the world has its equal but God is unique. Of all things that He bestows upon His man, whether he be a servant of the throne or the possessor of a crown, there is nothing in this world better than reason which enlightens the low as well as the great. He who gets pleased with reason never behaves badly in the world. He who chooses virtue never repents. One never drinks an evil from the water of wisdom. Wisdom releases a man from his calamity. May one never be overtaken with calamity! The first evidence of (one's possessing) wisdom is that he is always afraid of doing an evil, that he keeps his body under control and that he seeks the world with an eye of wisdom. Wisdom is the crown of kings. It is the ornament of all

great men." After this short dissertation on virtue and wisdom Beharâm Gour addresses the Indian king directly as follows:—

"You know not (how to remain in) your own limit; you attach your soul to yourself. Although I am the ruler at this time and although all good or evil must proceed from me, you are ruling as a king. How can there be justice then? Injustice proceeds from every direction. It does not befit kings to be hasty and to be in alliance with evil-thinkers. Your ancestors were our vassals. Your father was a vassal of our kings. None of us has ever consented to the tribute from Hindustan falling into arrears. Look to the fate of the Khâkân of Chin who came to Iran from Chinâ? All that he had brought with him was destroyed and he was obliged to turn away from the evil which he himself had done. I find that you have similar manners, traits of character, dignity and religion. I am in possession of instruments of war and all the necessary means. The whole of my army is unanimous (to go to war) and well-prepared. You cannot stand against my brave warriors. There is no commander (worthy of the name) in the whole of India. You have a conceited high opinion of your power; you carry a river before a sea. However, I now send you a messenger, who is eloquent, wise and high-minded. Either send tribute or prepare for war and tighten your belt. Greetings from us to the souls of those with whom justice and wisdom are as well mixed up as the warp and the woof."

Beharâm Gour then addressed this letter of threat to "Shangel, the Commander of Hind (which extends) from the river of Kanoj to the country of Sind." He chose himself as a messenger to carry this letter and under the pretence of going for hunt started with a few chosen and confidential followers for India and crossed the Indus which Firdousi calls the river of the country of magicians (آب جادوستان). When he went to the grand palace of the Indian king he saw it guarded by armed men and elephants and heard bells and Indian clarions playing. He was received into the audience hall with all honour due to the envoy of a great king. Beharâm found the Indian palace to be a magnificent one, with crystal on its ceiling and silver, gold and gems on the walls. The king had a brother and a son with him in the audience hall when Beharâm communicated to him the message from the Court of Persia. He submitted the letter before the Indian prince with the following words:—

"O king of kingly descent, a son like whom no mother in the world

has given birth to, the great exhalted (King of Persia) who is the cause of happiness to his city, by whose justice, poison becomes an antidote of poison, to whom all great men pay tributes, and to whom lions fall a prey, who, when he takes the sword in a battle, turns a desert into a sea of blood, who in generosity is like a cloud of spring, and before whom, treasure and wealth are nothing, sends a message to your Majesty of India and a Pehelvi letter on satin."

The Indian king, in reply, refused with indignation to pay any tribute to the Persian king. In this reply he describes his country to be very rich and to be full of amber, aloe, musk, camphor, medicinal drugs, gold, silver and precious stones. He had eighty princes under his sovereignty, acknowledging him as the paramount power. His country extended from Kanoj to the frontiers of Irân and to the country of Saklab (the Slavs). All the sentinels in Hind and Khoten and Chin proclaimed his name. He had the daughter of the Fugfoor of Chin as a wife. A son was born to him of this wife from Chin. He had an army of 3,00,000 men under him. He had twelve hundred dependents who were his blood relations.

After the communication of the message and the above reply from the Indian king, Beharâm had a friendly fight in the presence of the king, with one of his best warriors. The superior strength in the fight and the skill in the act of using the bow and the arrow, which Beharâm showed, made the king suspect that Beharâm was not an ordinary courtier of the court of Persia but a man of royal blood. He asked his minister to persuade Beharâm to postpone his departure for some time and stay a little longer at Kanoj, where, he said, the fruit trees gave two crops per year. The Vazir tried to win Beharâm over to the side of the Indian king and to persuade him to make Kanoj his permanent residence. Beharâm refused and then the king tried to do away with this powerful Persian messenger by requesting him to go to kill a ferocious wolf and a dragon in the vicinity of his city. He expected Beharâm to be killed in the fight with these animals, but to his surprise Beharâm returned victorious.

Now Shangel had a very beautiful daughter by name (سپینود) Sepinud. He offered the daughter in marriage to Beharâm, hoping that by that marriage he could secure the permanent stay of such a brave general as Beherâm at his Court. Beharâm consented and married Sepinud. One day Beharâm confided to Sepinud the

secret of his position and proposed to her to run away from Hindustan to Irân where he promised to install her as queen. Sepinud consented and asked Beharâm to wait for five days when the king with all his retinue was expected to go on an annual pilgrimage to a religious place, about 20 furlongs from Kanoj. The king's absence from the city would be a convenient time to leave the country. Beherâm followed her advice and under the pretence of illness declined to accompany the king. When in his absence he left the country with his queen and marched continuously till he reached the bank of the Indus, across which there was going on a brisk trade then, some of the Iranian merchants on the river recognized Beharâm, but he asked them to keep the secret for some time longer. By this time Shangel came to know of the flight of his daughter and Beharâm, and followed them in hot pursuit with a large army. He overtook them, but then learning that his son-in-law was no other than the Persian king Beharâm Gour himself, he was much pleased and returned to his own country. Beharâm, on his return to Irân, took his Indian queen to the then celebrated great fire-temple of Ader-Goushasp, and got her zoroastrianized at the hand of the head-priest of the temple.

After some time Shangel paid a friendly visit to Persia, and was accompanied by his following seven tributary princes :—The king of Cabul, the king of Sind, the king of the Yogis,[7] king Sandel, king Jandel, the king of Cashmere and the king of Multan. He stayed for two months at the court of Persia, and, a short time before his return, he gave a document to his daughter Sepinud which expressed his will that at his death the throne of Kanoj should pass to his daughter and son-in-law.

Malcolm in his History of Persia[8] alludes to this episode and considers it to be a romance hardly deserving of notice, but he does not give any reasons for this allegation. It is a matter of great surprise that he should reject, as altogether romantic, an episode described by Firdousi and confirmed by the devices and characters of some of Beharâm's coins, but at the same time believe an episode of the type of 'Practice makes perfect' story. Again we must bear in mind that Tabari who lived 100 years before Firdousi, though he does not go into any details, confirms the fact of Beharâm Gour's visit to India

[7] M. Mohl.

[8] Vol. I., p. 93.

and his marriage with an Indian princess.[9] Mirkhond confirms this story not only on the authority of Tabari but of another historian, Ebn-Athir.[10]

Firdousi calls the Indian king Shankel or Shangel. Is it not likely that the name is derived from Sangala, which was, at the time of Alexander's invasion of India, the capital of the Kathæi, an important tribe living between the Chenab and the Râvi ?

Now not only do Tabari, Ebna-Athir and other Mahomedan writers confirm the fact of Beharâm Gour's embassy to the court of an Indian Raja, but even Indian books, Indian coins and Indian monuments confirm the fact. According to Wilford,[11] the Agni Purana refers to the story of Beharâm Gour's marriage with the Indian princess. In his learned paper on Vicramaditya and Selivana he relates the Agni Purana story of Gand'harva, a heavenly chorister, who, having incurred Indra's displeasure, was doomed to assume the shape of an ass. Though in the disguise of an ass, he performed a great extraordinary feat to convince the king Tamra-sena of his great power. Having then convinced him he married his daughter, and, after some time, disclosed himself in his original human shape. A son was born and it was the third Vicramaditya. Having described this Agni Purana story at some length, Wilford says : " This is obviously the history of Yesdejird, son of Beherâm Gor, or Beherâm the ass-king of Persia : the grand features are the same, and the times coincide perfectly. The amours of Beherâm Gor with an Indian princess are famous all over Persia as well as in India."

In order to uphold his theory that the third Vicramaditya, son of Gand'harva, known as Gadhâ-rupa (*i.e.*, the ass-shaped) in the spoken dialects, was the same as Yesdejird, son of Beharâm Gour, king of Persia, Wilford produces several facts of similarity in their Indian and Persian stories.

1. As Vicrama was the son of Gadha-rupa, *i.e.*, the man with the countenance of an ass, so Yesdejird was the son of Beharâm Gour, *i.e.*, Beharâm the ass, who was so-called from the fact of his great fondness for hunting wild asses.

2. The father of Gadhâ-rupa was, according to Ayin-i-Akbari,

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[9] Chroniques de Tabari par Zotenburg Tome, II., pp. 123-125.

[10] Mémoires sur divers Antiquités de la Perse par Silvestre de Sacy, p. 337.

[11] Asiatic Researches, IX., p. 149.

Ati-Brahmâ,[12] and the father of Beharâm Gour was Yesdejird who was called Athim.[13] Thus the Indian Ati-Brahmâ was the same as Persian Athim.

3. The grand-father of Gadhâ-rupa was Brahmâ.[14] And Beharâm Gour's grand-father was another Beharâm. So the Indian Brahmâ was the same as Persian Beharâm.

4. "Gadhâ-rupa had incurred the displeasure of Indra, king of the elevated grounds of Meru or Turkestan, and was doomed by him to assume the shape of an ass, in the lower regions. Beharâm Gour, or the ass, likewise incurred the displeasure of the Khacan or mortal king of Meru." I think the parallel instance of Beharâm Gour's incurring displeasure, which Wilford has referred to above, is not a proper instance, since we learn from the Shâh-nâmeh that the Khâkân of Chin's invasion of the country of Persia was no way the result of any special displeasure incurred by Beharâm Gour. According to Firdousi, the Khâkân seems to have thought of invading the Persian territories on finding that Beharâm Gour was occupied a good deal in pleasures and enjoyment, and had neglected the proper protection of his territories from foreign invasions. But, if one were to look in the life of Beharâm, for a proper instance of incurring displeasure, it was that presented by his falling into the disfavour of his father Yezdijird. One day when the king was holding his court, Beharâm being too much fatigued, fell asleep in the court. This enraged his royal father who ordered him to be imprisoned.

5. As Gadhâ-rupa was in a disguise when he married the king's daughter, so was Beharâm Gour when he married the Indian king's daughter.

These are the five facts referred to by Wilford, to support his theory that the Gadhâ-rupa of Indian history was the same as Beharâm Gour of Persian history. To these points of similarity pointed out by Wilford, I will add a few more—

1. Wilford says that several learned Pandits informed him that this Gadhâ-rupa's name was Jayanta. If we take the word to be Sanscrit जयन्त *i.e.*, victorious, the Indian name carries the same signification as the Persian name Beharâm which is the same as Avesta Verethragna, Pehelvi Varharân, and means victorious. So

[12] Atbirmah. Gladwin's Translation of Ayeen-Akbari, Vol. II., p. 49.

[13] Chroniques de Tabari par Zotenburg, Vol. II., p. 103.

[14] Birmahraj. Gladwin's Ayeen-Akbari, Vol. II., p. 49.

the Indian name Jayanta (or rather Jayana) is another form of the Persian name Beharâm.

2. Again both had to perform an extraordinary feat before winning over the favours of their fathers-in-law. Gadhâ-rupa "had to turn the walls of his father-in-law's city and those of the houses into brass" before sun-rise next day. Beharâm Gour had not such a physically impossible task before him. But, besides showing other feats of physical strength, he had to kill a wolf and a dragon of extraordinary size and strength, which were much dreaded by the people in the neighbourhood.

3. According to Wilford, Ferishta represents the father of the damsel as the "Emperor of India and residing at Canouje." And we find from the Shâh-nâmeh that Firdousi also represents the father of Beharâm Gour's Indian queen as the king of Hind and as residing at Kanouj.

4. Again as Wilford says, according to the Agni Purâna, the father of the damsel is called Sadasvasena, and, according to Firdousi's Shâh-nameh, the father of Beharâm Gour's Indian queen isc alled Sangel or Sankel. There seems to be a similarity in these names.

5. Again, may I ask, "Is there not any similarity between the name of Oojen (Ujjayini), where, according to Ayeen-Akbari, Gadhâ-rupa's father-in-law is known as Sundersena, and that of Ocjin in Persia, where, according to Kerr Porterâ,[15] the Persian traditions placed the hunting scenes of Beharâm Gour?

Wilford says that the Hindus "shew to this day (1809) the place where he (Beherâm Gour or Gadhâ-rupa) lived, about one day's march to the north of Broach, with the ruins of his palace. In old records, this place is called Gad'hendra-puri or the town of the lord of asses. The present name is Goshera or Ghojárà for Gosha-ráya or Gosha-rája; for, says my Pandit, who is a native of that country, the inhabitants, being ashamed of its true name, have softened it into Goshera, which has no meaning."

According to Firdousi, Sangel, the father-in-law of Beharâm Gour, had made what we should call a 'will' in Hindi characters, which somewhat resembled the Pehelvi characters. In it he said, "I have given Sepinud in marriage to King Beharâm with proper religious rites and not by way of anger or out of revenge. I have entrusted her to

[15] Travels, Vol. II., pp. 13-15.

this illustrious sovereign. May this Emperor live long. May the great men of the world be obedient to him. When I pass away from this transient world, King Beharâm shall be the King of Kanouj. Do not turn away from the orders of this monarch. Carry my dead body to the fire. Give all my treasures, all my country, my crown, my throne and my royal hat to King Beharâm.[16]"

Thus we see, that, according to Firdousi, the throne of Kanouj passed by virtue of its Hindu king's last testament, to the Persian king Beharâm Gour and his heirs. This confirms what Wilford says that "The dynasty of the Garda Bhinas is probably that of the descendants and successors of Beharâm Gour in Persia. The Princes in the north-western parts of India were vassals of the Persian kings at a very early period, and the father-in-law of Beharâm Gour used to send a yearly tribute to them."

To support his theory that the dynasty of the Garda Bhinas was probably that of the descendants and successors of Beharâm Gour in Persia, Wilford gives other instances of Indian tribes and dynasties that had descended from Persian stock. Shirooyeh or Kobad, the son of Khooshro Parviz, had ordered, somewhat against his wish, seventeen of his brothers (fifteen according to Firdousi), to be put to death. It was believed in the West, *i.e.*, in Persia, that they were so murdered. Firdousi says that they were so murdered, and that Khooshro wept bitterly when he heard this. But other authors[17] say that it was merely a ruse, and that they were in fact sent away to India, and "there is hardly any doubt," says Wilford, "that the kings of Oodeypore and the Marháttas are descended from them (the Persian princes) and their followers." Mr. William Hunter, in his narrative of a journey from Agra to Oojein in 1790,[18] says, "The Raja of Oodeypore is looked on as the head of all Rajput tribes and has the title of Ráná by way of pre-eminence. His family is also regarded with high respect by the Mussalmans themselves, in consequence of a curious tradition, relating to his genealogy. He is said to be descended in the female line from the celebrated Anushirawan who was King of Persia."

Having shown at some length that Indian books and traditions confirm the fact of Beharâm Gour's visit to India and his marriage with an Indian princess, the daughter of the King of Kanouj, we will

[16] Calcutta Edition, Vol. III., p. 1582.

[17] Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX., pp. 233-241.

[18] Asiatic Researches, Vol. VI., p. 8.

now examine how far some of the old Indian coins support the fact of Beharâm Gour's visit to India. We are indebted to Prinsep[19] for the valuable help on this subject. In his essay on Saurâshtra coins, he says that the type of that series of Indian coins is an example of the imitation of a Grecian original, and that "a comparison of these coins with the coins of the Arsakian and Sassanian dynasties of Persia which are confessedly of Greek origin," satisfactorily proves that. Then referring to several coins in that group (figs. 13-15, plate XXVII.), he says, "The popular name for these rude coins of silver and copper, is, according to Burnes, in Gujarát 'Gadhia-ká paisá,' 'Ass-money,' or rather 'the money of Gadhia,' a name of Vikramáditya, whose father Jayanta, one of the Gandharvas, or heavenly choristers, is reputed to have been cursed by Indra, and converted into an ass. Wilford, in his Essay on the Era of Vikramáditya, endeavours to trace, in this story, the Persian fable of Beharâm Gour's amours with an Indian princess, whence were descended the Garda Bhina dynasty of Western India (Gardabha being the Sanskrit equivalent for gor 'an ass'). The story is admitted into the prophetic chapters of the Agni-purána, and is supported by traditions all over the country. Remains of the palace of this Vikrama are shown in Gujarat in Ujjain, and even at Benares. The Hindus insist that this Vikrama was not a paramount sovereign of India but only a powerful king of the Western Provinces, his capital being Cambát or Cambay: and it is certain that the princes of those parts were tributary to Persia from a very early period. The veteran antiquarian, Wilford, would have been delighted, could he have witnessed the confirmation of his theories afforded by the coins before us, borne out by the local tradition of a people now unable even to guess at the nature of the curious and barbarous marks on them. None but a professed studier of coins could possibly have discovered on them the profile of a face after the Persian model, on one side, and the actual Sassanian fire-alter on the other, yet such is indubitably the case, as an attentive consideration of the accumulation of lines and dots on figs. 13, 16, will prove.

. . . . . Should this fire-altar be admitted as proof of an Indo-Sassanian dynasty in Saurâshtra, we may find the date of its establishment in the epoch of Yesdejird, the son of Beharâm

[19] Essays on Indian Antiquities, by James Prinsep, edited by E. Thomas, Vol. I., 341.

Gour, supported by the concurrent testimony of the Agni Purána that Vikrama, the son of Gadhárupa, should ascend the throne of Málwá (Ujjain) 753 years after the expectation of Chánokya or A. D. 441."

Thus we find that a set of old Indian coins popularly known as 'Gadhia-ká paisa' supports the fact of Beharâm Gour's visit to India and his marriage with an India princess.

Lastly among the old monuments of India, we find that some of the paintings at the Ajunta Caves support the fact of Beharâm Gour's visit to India. Mr. Campbell thus describes one of the paintings in Cave XVII. at Ajunta.[20] "On the left end of the ante-chamber below, a Buddha sits in the middle in the teaching posture, two celestial fly-flap bearers stand by his side; and above are the usual angels on clouds bringing garlands. On the right side sit about sixteen friars, all bare-headed and dressed alike. Above them are three horses, on one of which is a man in Iranian dress with peaked cap, jerkin and trousers, and in the background behind these is an elephant on which sits a great lady with her children and servant behind her, all making obeisance to the Buddha. At the Buddha's feet two chiefs sit making profound obeisance. To the right and behind him are two with smaller crowns, the one to the right also on a cushion. To the left is another, with a small crown, and beyond him a decidedly Persian personage, with high-peaked cap, short black beard and long hair; while in front of him a jewelled chieftain is seated. To the left are four horsemen, one bearded and completely clothed, probably a servant of the prince or chief. Behind the whole group are two more Sassanians and two horses, the riders in which have Sassanian dress and peaked caps. Above are two elephants, on one of which is a man bare-headed, and with the Sassanian ribands or banderoles at the back of his neck, while behind him a curious-looking attendant makes obeisance. On the other elephant are several Sassanian people, all engaged in the same way, while three pennants are carried over their head and three spears in group with tassels attached to them. In the background beyond this elephant another fair Sassanian carries the umbrella. Mr. Fergusson considers that this scene represents Beharâm Gour's (420—440) embassy to Mâlwa."

Now if this painting really commemorated the event of Beharâm Gour's embassy to India, as suggested by Fergusson, I think

[20] *Bombay Gazetteer, Khandeish*, Vol. p. XII., 556.

it was the work of Beharâm Gour's father-in-law, Shangel. We learn from Firdousi that he was in the habit of paying annual visits to a sacred place in the vicinity and that it was during one of such visits or pilgrimages that Beharâm Gour arranged with his queen Sepinud to leave secretly the court of Shangel and to return o Persia. It is possible that Ajunta was one of the places of the king's annual visits, and that when he subsequently came to know of the royal descent of his son-in-law, he caused a picture of his royal embassy to be painted on one of the caves there. According to Firdousi, the place of pilgrimage was 20 farsangs, *i.e.*, about 60 miles from Kanouj. Of course, this distance falls much short of the actual distance between the places now known as Kanouj and Ajunta, but it is possible Sepinud meant to say 20 farsangs from the furthest limit of Kanouj which was then an extensive province. Again, it is possible that Firdousi, when he speaks of the places as that of (بت) Bút-worship (idol-worship), means Budha-worship.[21]

[21] Calc. Edition III., p. 1574.

ART. VIII.—*The Progress and Development of the Aryan Speech—being the first of the Wilson Philological Lectures* (1894) *in connection with the University of Bombay. By* H. H. DHRUVA, *B. A., LL.B. (Bombay), D. L. A. (Sweden), M. R. A. S. (London and Bombay), M. P. T. S. (London), District Judge, Nâvsâri, Baroda State.*

(*Communicated 20th December* 1894.)

LECTURE I.

(Delivered on the 16th of March 1894, at the University Library.)

The Progress and Development of the Aryan Speech.

षड्भावविकारा भवन्तीति वार्ष्यायणि र्जायतेऽस्ति विपरिणमते वर्द्धतेऽपक्षीयते विनश्यतीति ।'—*Yáska's Nirukta* I. 2.

"There are six kinds of changes, according to Vârshyâyaṇi, *viz.*, (1) Birth, (2) Existence, (3) Development, (4) Increase, (5) Decline, (6) Destruction."

It is the Wilson Philological Lectureship alone that makes our University something of a teaching, as distinguished from an examining, body; and of all University endowments and foundations this is, I believe, one of the most interesting, important, and far-reaching in its results, inasmuch as it tends to promote original research and scholarship. But one would very much wish that the Lectures, instead of being formally delivered to a small, though select, audience, were productive of larger and more permanent good, and attracted greater attention than they do at present.

It is a matter of no small congratulation to our *âlmâ mater* that we owe this Lectureship to the sympathetic large-heartedness, and to the appreciative scholarship, of one of our past Vice-Chancellors, the Rev. J. Wilson, D. D., F. R. S., who himself was a scholar of no ordinary capacity; and also, that the first Wilson Philological Lecturer was our present eminent Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Râmakṛishṇa Gopâḷa Bhâṇḍârakara, my worthy and revered *Guru*, who stands with scarce an equal amongst all the natives of India, whether for depth and extent of scholarship, or for original research. Drawing my early inspiration at his feet from the first Lectures of this my eminent *Âchârya*, and having been encouraged by his present happy occupation of the Vice-Chancellor's chair, I have made bold to venture upon the present series. The present is the fifth course of

lectures, delivered on the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages, since the foundation of this Lectureship in 1870. I can scarcely express the full amount of my indebtedness to the work of my predecessors in this chair, and, more especially, to that of my Sanskrit teachers at the Elphinstone College, Drs. Bhâṇḍârakara and Peterson, and my friend, Mr. S. P. Pandit, whose valuable suggestions I shall have occasion thankfully to acknowledge in their proper place.

At the outset of these Lectures, I may be permitted to make the observation that in all our search and enquiry after human knowledge we ought always to keep our mind open and unbiassed, well-balanced and critical. Many of us generally start with inborn or acquired prejudices, march with long cherished *idols*, and end with hard unyielding dogmatism. Human knowledge can never pretend to be perfect, and science, of all kinds, is progressive. Facts and evidence, clear and unimpeachable, and sound reason,—these alone can vouch for the truth of any results that we may arrive at. New light and fresh evidence may modify, correct, or confirm those results. We are all working for the enlargement of knowledge, and not for victory or renown. What conquests in the field we make are the common property of mankind and they are made with the common heirloom we have received at the hands of the Ancients that have gone before us. But there is a danger of our being carried away by our own finds, which may, after all, not be quite new, nor our sole property, and we are prone to build new conjectures on these observations. But so long as they lack a true test and verification, they cannot be said to yield to us any positive knowledge. This danger it is that we most need to be on our guard against.

There stands yet another danger in our path. Language is the only and the best instrument for the expression of our thoughts. But, at the same time, it is not in itself a very accurate instrument.[1] Thoughts put in words get petrified: and when they are couched in figures of speech, or are associated with a charming imagery or a happy analogy, they sometimes present a dubious expression and meaning,—and a love of the sweet, the beautiful, or the wonderful, marks out such a strange magic ring about them that the mind scarcely makes any sure advance. We ought, then, to create no grand theology, nor fruitful mythology out of it. But for all that I am not against the use of any figures, analogies, or imagery. Use

[1] Cf. Literature Primers: Philology, by J. Peile, 1877, p. 138.

them by all means, exhaust all the powers of speech for the expression of your meaning. But just estimate them by their true worth.

What is true in this respect stands good also with our science of Comparative Philology, the science which Prof. A. H. Sayce would call Glottology.[2] One of our greatest living philologists, Prof. Max Müller, who has contributed so much to the building up of the science of language, and with a poet's power, has expounded its truths, in a charming style and beautiful imagery, speaks of this science as the "Geology" of language.[3] And he draws largely upon the system and terminology of that science in the illustration of his researches. More than half a century before this, another eminent philologist, Prof. F. Bopp, spoke of "An anatomical dissection or chemical decomposition of the body of language."[4] And long and angry has been the contention between eminent philologists as to whether this science should hold a place amongst the natural or physical sciences, or amongst the historical or moral sciences. Prof. Max. Müller labours to prove the science of language to be a physical science, and he ably tries to controvert all opposing views.[5] Prof. Whitney, on the other hand, seeks to establish a contrary position for it, discussing and endeavouring to refute the arguments of Prof. Max. Müller, and holding this science to be "Historical or Moral Science."[6] While Mr. John Peile, in his admirable "Philology Primer," expresses, in a few happy phrases, his side of the controversy, to wit, that while language differs greatly from any ordinary work of human art, it also differs from any natural organism; and the study of language must be classed, neither as a historical, nor as a physical science,

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[2] Cf. The Principles of Comparative Philology, by A. H. Sayce, 1892, p. 60.

[3] Cf. Three Lectures on the Science of Language, by Prof. F. Max Müller, 1889, published in London, 1891.

[4] Cf. "Comparative Grammar of Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Gothic, Germanic, and Slavonic Languages" (Berlin, 1833), translated and published, London, 1845-50, Vol. I., p. 124.

[5] Cf. Lectures on the Science of Language, by F. Max Müller, 1860, 6th Edn. Lecture II. pp. 30 f f.

[6] Cf. Language and the Study of Language. Twelve Lectures on the Principles of Linguistic Science (1864), 4th Edn., 1884, Lecture II. pp. 35 f f and 48 f f.

but be placed between the two. This last view seems to me to be the correct one.[7]

This controversy, so ably represented and carried on, is based on the analogy premised between the growths of language and that of plants, or other living organisms in nature. It is one thing to speak of a parent stock of language, its stems, its branches, &c., in a figurative sense, while speaking of its life and growth ; and it is quite a different thing to take these expressions in their literal sense and to build theories and hypotheses, on such imaginary foundations.

Such similes and analogies are sometimes drawn from another province of life also, and we are told of families of language and of sister languages and daughter languages and parent languages. But these expressions mean nothing beyond the fact that there exist certain likenesses and relationships, in their present forms and past history by which the languages can be grouped under some one class or species or another. Development of language unquestionably does resemble in a certain degree that of a plant or any other natural organism. Languages, like all other human institutions, are subject to incessant change of one kind or another, and it is the noting, comparing, and systematizing of these changes in their different aspects and history, that constitutes the science of language or comparative philology. Language, as human speech, is like a perennial stream that has been flowing on from very ancient times, receiving new affluents and tributaries and developing new branches and channels, which start on a new and independent course of their own. Human speech, thus, runs in different channels, and bearing the sparkling waters of human thought, enriches the vast tracts of human knowledge with the wonderful products of different sciences, philosophies, and literatures. And thus, as August Schleicher very truly observes, the Science of Language is " A part of the Natural History of Man."[8]

Because it is a part of the Natural History of Man, it cannot for that reason be called one of the Natural Sciences. Because man (genus HOMO) had a natural growth and natural history, the

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[7] Cf. Philology Primer, p. 161.

[8] Cf. A Compendium of the Comparative Grammar of the Indo-European, Sanskrit, Greek and Latin Languages (1861), translated and published, 1871, Introduction, p. 1.

language of man cannot be said, and it has not been found, to run parallel to that growth and history. A time has been known in the natural history of man, when, neither he nor his immediate ancestors were endowed with articulate speech,[9] as witness the Anthropoids and the Alali or the Pithecanthropi. And the causes that determine his natural growth do not necessarily develop his language growth, at least not all of them to the parallel or fullest extent.

"The Lungs constitute the bellows of the speaking machine," observes Prof. Melville Bell: "The larynx, the pharynx, the soft palate, the nose and the mouth, modify the breath into the elementary sounds of speech."[10] And amongst animals, it is only mammals, birds and serpents, that have been provided with two of these principal instruments of speech, *viz.*, the larynx and the lungs. And it is they alone therefore that can have voice.[11]

Mons. Wiltkowski remarks that the noises of various animals are produced by repeated frictions of various parts of their bodies, and of this he gives instances. While amongst men the *Glottis* or the cavity of larynx, after the lungs, vocal chords, and other accessory organs, plays the principal part in modulating voice. And it was a differentiation of the larynx and its higher development, that gave birth to articulate speech and helped to create the deep chasm between man and animal.[12]

Hence, so far as language or human speech is concerned it is this part, and this part alone of the natural history of man that has to do with the history of the origin of Language.

Sounds are the elements or the ultimate atoms of human speech, and, inasmuch as they are produced by the vocal apparatus above noted, the Science of Language has to draw upon the Science of Human Physiology in relation to a proper understanding of those elements. In a like manner, accoustics, or that part of physics or natural philosophy that relates to sound, contributes, as will be seen further on, an important fund of information.

[9] Cf. The History of Creation, by Prof. E. Haeckel (Jena: 1873), published, 1876, Vol. II., pp. 292-3-4, also pp. 300 ff.

[10] Cf. The Visible Speech or the Science of Universal Alphabetics," by Prof. A. Melville Bell, 1867, p. 11.

[11] Cf. "The Mechanism of Voice, Speech and Taste (Throat and Tongue), by Mon. G. J. Wiltkowski, p. 1.

[12] Cf. "The History of Creation, by E. Haeckel, Vol. II., pp. 299-300.

Beyond the changes of natural phonetic development or decay, those, that are brought about by the history, habits, climate, and other permanent, or occasional, associations of man, have to be explained in the light of archæology, history or sociology, and other special branches of knowledge, dealing with those circumstances. It can thus be seen that the science of language or comparative philology shakes hands, on the one side, with the physical, and on the other side, with the moral sciences. It is truly and solely a historico-comparative science. It partakes of a double nature, and it can make use of both the scientific and historical methods.

Intelligence and the organs of phonetation and hearing combine to produce these acts of speech or articulate voice, *viz.*, (1) conception and association of ideas, (2) diction or transformation of ideas into words, and (3) elocution or external production of words.[13]

And it is thus that speech is communicated from man to man and such communication takes place by three kinds of language, or methods of expressing thoughts, *viz.*, voice, gesture and physiognomical expression. Thus arise in course of time, Gesture Language, Voice Language, and Graphic Language.[14]

Of these, Gesture Language is inferior to Voice Language or Speech; and it belongs to the aglottal stage of the natural history of man. Although human communication began with gestures which we see to this day in pantomimes first invented by Sophronicus, yet it could not serve all the every-day increasing purposes of human life. And the same process of evolution that rules all departments of life, developed under the growing dangers and wants of man. His *Glottis* became differentiated from that of other animals, and the result was the Evolution of Voice Language.[15]

And with the march of civilization and the advance of further wants and means was created that Graphic Language which is first manifested in the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and the Chinese and other picture writings, and has been latterly developed in the several alphabets of the world. Although the gesture and the graphic methods of communication of thoughts may be termed language in a certain

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[13] Cf. "The Mechanism of Voice, Speech, and Taste" (Throat and Tongue), by Dr. G. J. Wiltkowski, p. 20.

[14] Ibid. p. 23.

[15] Cf. "The History of Creation," by E. Haeckel, Vol. II., ante, also "The Story of Creation," by Edward Clodd, 1888, pp. 215-6.

sense, yet they are not speech at all in the same way as the Voice Languages are. Now, our science of language concerns itself only with this department of language and with neither of the other two. Comparative, or historico-comparative Philology, then, is the Science of the Voice Speech, or of the Human Voice Speech.

Phonetic or Voice Language, then, consists of three, or perhaps four phases: that (1) of single sounds, *i.e.*, vowels and consonants; (2) of syllables made up of those sounds, and (3) of words made up of those syllables.[16] And as we may very well add, (4) of phrases or sentences. These constituents of speech, may, very appositely be termed, or compared with, the atoms, molecules, or masses simple or compound, of language, in the phraseology of chemical science. Each of these forms a separate branch and department of research, giving us grammar and lexicology in their early stages, and, in their later, comparative philology. But, although the beginnings of philology can be traced, in our country at least, very far back into antiquity: yet, the fully developed science of language is of quite a recent growth.

Our early Indian philology extends over 2,000 to 3,000 years, and perhaps more, from *Indra*, *Śâkaṭâyana*, *Yâska*, and *Pâṇini* to Śâstrî *Vrajalâla Kâlidâsa*, and Dr. *R. G. Bhâṇḍârakara*, to whom may be added the names of European scholars, in India, such as Hoernle, Grierson, and Beames, Trumpp, Kellogg, and Caldwell. Dr. Bhâṇḍârakara was the first to draw our attention, 18 years ago, from this very chair, to a passage in the Black YajurVeda (Taitt. VI. 4.7.) in which the Gods are said to have asked *Indra* to distinguish our speech, that was once inarticulate, into parts.[17]

It was on this fact, that the name *Deva-Girâ*, or divine speech, of our language, rests. "Language had become with the Hindus," writes Prof. Max. Müller,[18] "an object of wonder and meditation at a very early period. In the hymns of the Veda we meet with

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[16] Cf. "The Mechanism of Voice, Speech and Taste," by Dr. G. J. Wiltkowski, p. 23. Compare with this division, our Aryan division of speech into *Varnas* or sounds, *Aksharas* or syllables, and *Padas* or words.

[17] Cf. "Wilson Philological Lectures, 1876, by Dr. R. G. Bhâṇḍârakara, Lecture I., Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XVI., No. 43, p. 248. Mr. Muir also has a reference to this passage, in his "Sanskrit Texts," Vol. II., p. 213, where he gives the word "Confused" in the place of "Inarticulate."

[18] Cf. "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," 2nd Edn., 1859, pp. 159-60.

poetical and philosophical speculations on speech, and Sarasvatî, the goddess of speech, is invoked as one of the most powerful deities." But Prof. Max. Müller rightly tells us that :—

" The scientific interest in language, however, dates from a later period. It was called forth, no doubt, by the study of a sacred literature, which in India as elsewhere, called into life many an ancient science." . . . . . [19] " There are many lucubrations on letters, syllables and words in the Brahmanas which mark a certain advance of grammatic knowledge."[20]

Thus the early seeds of linguistic research took root in the capable Aryan mind and developed further in the several *Brâhmaṇas*, and some of the *Upanishads*. Dr. Burnell has pointed out grammatic references to *Akshara*, *Akshara-paṅkti*, *Chaturakshara*, *Varṇa*, *Kâra and Pada* in one of the earlier *Brâhmaṇas*, *viz.*, the *Aitareya* of the *Rig Veda*.[21] (P. I. 5, 3. &c II. 24, V.)

He quotes a passage from Dr. Weber's edition of the *Satapatha Brâhmaṇa* of the *Vâjasneyîns*, and Prof. Max. Müller also refers to it when speaking of the singular, plural, and dual numbers.[22] (XIII. 5-1-18.)

Dr. Burnell adds one more *Brâhmaṇa* to these, *viz.*, *Gopatha* (I. 24) of the *Atharva Veda*, wherein, the passage discusses the several accidents of the word OM ; and he alludes to the *Tâṇḍya* and other *Brâhmaṇas* of the *Sâma Veda* that mention *Vibhakti* and other grammatical terms.[23]

After these come two of the *Upaṅishads:* one, the *Chhândogya*, which has been referred to both by Burnell and by Max Müller ;[24] and the other, the *Taittirîya Upanishad* of the *Taittirîya Âraṇyka*, referred to by the former only.[25]

Thus, there has been a gradual unfolding of the science from the *Taittirîya Samhitâ* through the *Brâhmaṇas* of all the Vedas, and two *Upanishads*. It received its completion in the *Sikshâs*,

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Cf. "On the Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians," by Dr. A. C. Burnell, 1875, p. 27.

[22] Cf. Dr. Burnell Ibid. "History of ancient Sanskrit Literature," by F. Max Müller, p. 160.

[23] Cf. Burnell Ibid.

[24] Cf. Burnell, Ibid. ; Max. Müller, Ibid.

[25] Cf. Burnell, Ibid, p. 26.

Vyâkaraṇas, Prâtiśâkhyas, Nighaṇṭu, and *Nirukta.* Even the *Kalpa Sûtras* have some references to some of the themes of our science.[26]

The name *Indra* may be mythical, but not so are those of *Śâkaṭâyana, Gârgya, Yâska, Pâṇini, Kâtyâyana,* and *Patañjali.* Not only has the Vedic and classical Sanskṛta found eminent Glottologists, but the Prâkṛtas, and the modern vernaculars also have found some very distinguished scholars in this line. Of these, the most prominent are *Kâcchâyano, Chaṇḍa, Vararuchi, Hemachandra, Kramadîśvara* and the unnamed author of the *Mugdhâvabodha auktika.*[27] The continuity remains still unbroken and *Śâstrî Vrajalâla Kâlidâsa,* author of the history of the Gujarati language (1st Edn., 1866), a native of Malâtaja in Gujarat, was the last of the line of that school of our old philologists.[28]

But it must be observed that this school of philological research has not been complete or critical in its work. It was neither historical nor at all comparative; and the historico-comparative philology is a science of quite recent growth. It is hardly a century old and it has achieved some of the most solid results within little more than the last decade. But for all that the older science, and the researches of some of the best minds engaged upon it, were not merely so much labour lost. They have, indeed, preserved for us the most valuable materials on which we can work now. They are, as it were, so many cabinets, or museums, or mines and fields, which we may at our leisure work on and explore. It is in their works and researches, that we have got preserved to us a complete system of the several stratifications of our Aryan speech, serving to illustrate to us the whole life of language, not only of our own class or family, but affording glimpses of what the original human speech may have been. But in order to achieve such results, we are to combine with these materials some of the most accurate of methods and instruments of the laborious, patient and critical research of the West.

We are not a little indebted to the first pioneers and workers in the

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[26] Cf. Burnell, Ibid, p. 27.

[27] Trans. of the IX. Int. Congress of Orientalists, Vol. I., pp. 319 and ff, my paper on the Gujarati Language.

[28] He died in the Kârttika of V. S. 1948 (A. C. 189) at a ripe old age. Dr. R. G. *Bhaṇḍârakara* has a very appreciative notice of his work in his Wilson Philological Lectures. Cf. Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XVI., 1885, p. 251; also Cf. Trans. of the IX Int. Cong. Or. Vol. I., p. 316.

field, who were themselves followed by a true and faithful band of noble workers—Pott, Grimm, Bopp, and Curtius, as well as Schleicher, Brugmann, Bryne, and Ascoli. And not less than these, Professors Benfey, Burnouf, Max. Müller, Whitney and Sayce, have yielded us no ordinary harvest in the extensive field of philosophical research. Germany and France have always been in the front ranks in these campaigns. The share of English scholars has been almost equally large, and the ancient land of Italy has given well her quota of work also. And, thanks to Western culture we have been receiving at our Universities, this, our country, too, is beginning to take her rank and position in the bright republic of scientific research; and one by one are rising scholars from our midst to take up the thread that has received a new texture, different from what it bore, in the hands of our ancient and medieval ancestors.

How much so ever we may differ from some of his interpretations of the Vedic texts, we cannot help admiring the broad catholic spirit that breathed into all his acts and expressions, and that wide extent of knowledge and research that Pandit *Dayánanda Sarasvatî Svámin* brought to bear upon his critical studies and his exposition of the sacred works. Nor can we at the same time think lightly of the labours of a *Bhándárakara, a Chhatre, a Pandit, a Kunte*, and many others.

I believe, I am not straying far away from our main subject while dwelling at some length on the early Indian, and the recent European philology; as it all has been with a view to lead us to recognise that our philology of the future has still larger provinces and powers to occupy and administer than those it had in the past and even than those it has in the present. Until now the fields have been but imperfectly and unconnectedly occupied and cultivated. Some scholars have been engaged upon etymology, and a careful dissection of words—others have occupied themselves with a close scrutiny and analysis of their elements, *viz.*, the sounds and the syllables. Thus, while some attach greater importance to sounds and their decay and development, others take the words or roots, as they call them, for bases, while not a few address themselves to sentences as the units, upon which to work. Scholars like Max Müller, Whitney, and many more, belong to the morphological order of enquirers,[29] while

[29] Cf. "Biography of Words," &c. "Three lectures on the Science of Language," and "Lectures on the Science of Language," by F. Max Müller, and "Language and the study of Language," by Prof. Whitney.

Bopp, Schleicher, and others that Pezzi describes in his work,[30] are mostly of the phonological school. Several of these philologists have certain theories of their own regarding the 3 or 4 stages of development of the human or Aryan speech from mono-syllabic beginnings to inflexional growth. But Prof. A. H. Sayce, in his advocacy of the sentence as being the primary chemical to be approached, tested, and analysed, dissected, understood and explained, plays the veritable iconoclast, smashing mercilessly some of the idols of the science.[31] Writers like Mr. James Bryne take their stand quite differently.[32] He works out the problem of the structure of language, with inductive and deductive proofs, as derived from different degrees of quickness, slowness, or mediality of mental excitability, possessed by the different races of man.

But it is not mental excitability alone nor morphology nor phonology nor lexicology nor syntax, singly or individually, that can explain the whole phenomena of the birth and growth of the human or even of the Aryan speech and its development further into the many languages and dialects, with their modifications and sub-divisions throughout the world. The question has to be viewed and approached, turned and sifted, in all these aspects. And the historico-comparative method has to be applied to all these branches of research. Call it what you will, either an anatomical dissection, or a chemical analysis, and testing of those elements, in all their details, the process has to be patiently and accurately carried out.

The next question that we have to address ourselves to and that which forms the subject of these Lectures, is the Sanskṛita and Prákṛita philology. I have called this philology, Aryan philology, inasmuch as of all the nations of the world it was the Vedic Indians and their descendants, and, of all the languages of the world the Vedic languages and their descendants that call themselves *Árya*, and well do they deserve that title. I need not enlarge upon the position these peoples, and everything connected with them, their language, their religion, their history, their mythology, their sciences, arts, and

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[30] Cf. Bopp's and Schleicher's Comparative Grammars: also "Aryan Philosophy," by Domenico Pezzi (1877) translated and published, 1879.

[31] Cf. "Principles of Comparative Philology," by Prof. A. H. Sayce. Lecture II. ff. especially Preface to 2nd Edn. 1875, p. XXVIII.

[32] Cf. "General Principles of the structure of the Language," Vols. I. and II., 1885, by James Bryne.

literature, occupy in the history of the human race or of the human mind. There is no question that our Vedas are the earliest of Aryan compositions. Nor is there a doubt as to the rich heirloom our Vedic languages have preserved of the sounds, words, and their forms and constructions in what is termed the proto-Aryan speech. I have elsewhere shown how far back the antiquity of our Vedas goes.[33]

They are not only the earliest of Aryan records, but, as I shall try to shew in the course of these Lectures, they bear the type of high antiquity. They are not only the earliest of Aryan languages, but they are the earliest of human languages that have been preserved in their literatures to us. I call them languages in plural, for, later on, I shall shew that they are not one language, but separate languages, the idioms of the RIG VEDA, the ATHARVA-VEDA, the SÂMA-VEDA, and the two YAJUR-VEDAS, not to speak of those of the BRÂHMAṆAS and UPANISHADS, being separated one from the other by some length of time, and by a variety of circumstances and institutions, and perhaps also by locality and climate. On the linguistic materials contained in the Vedas a new system of enquiry and research is being built up slowly. The find of the Sanskṛita language, about a century ago, came upon the European world as a revelation and the new invader from the far East well-nigh dethroned the former two queens of languages, *viz.*, the Hebrew and the Greek, till then commonly regarded the one or the other as the parent of all the languages of the world. Dr. Bühler mentioned at the London International Congress of Orientalists of 1892 that "Even so late as thirty-five years ago, war was still being waged, especially in Germany, between the Classicists and the Sanskritists. The simplest and most indisputable results of comparative philology were by no means received with general respect, and in the Universities the study of Sanskrit was by no means viewed favourably."[34]

And in a like predicament stand at present our modern vernaculars at our Indian Universities. But in the long run they assuredly will

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[33] Cf. My papers on the "Vedic Chronology" and "The Dawn of Aryan Philosophy" written for the Lisbon Congress of 1892, re-printed in Gujarâta-Darpana of the year.

[34] Cf. Trans. IX., Inter. Cong. Or., Vol. I, pp. 37-8.

gain their proper ground, just as Sanskṛita has already done in the Universities of Europe. These vernaculars are even now finding their way into the sacred precincts of culture in many places in the West. Dr. Hoernle and Mr. Grierson led the first attack on behalf of the Indian vernaculars, beginning with Hindustani, at the VII. International Congress of Orientalists at Vienna. I followed up the campaign for the Gujarati at the VIII. and the IX. Congresses at Christiania and London respectively, the Rev. Dr. J. M. Mitchell and our late lamented Vice-Chancellor, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Telang, bringing the Marathi in evidence, before the IX. Congress of Orientalists. The modern vernaculars of India, whether Aryan or Dravidian, are not entirely neglected by philologists. The scholars abovementioned, Caldwell and Kellogg, Grierson and Hoernle, Trumpp and Beames afford a sufficient guarantee in the excellent grammars they have given us of the Gaudian and Dravidian languages in general, and of Hindi, Bihari, Bengali, and Sindhi in particular. The Rev. Mr. Navalkar, too, has published an excellent Grammar of Marathi, as the Rev. Messrs. Taylor, father and son, have given us those of the Gujarati language. But the vernacular philology, or the philology of the vernaculars, has not proceeded beyond its first and modest beginnings, nor have these languages got a place by the side of the popular and literary, or scenic Prakṛitas or Sanskṛita. The Vedic philology, or the philology of the Vedic languages, too, has not yet advanced very far, although it has made a good start, and it has secured some of the most prominent German and other European or American scholars in its ranks. No philological research into the human languages can be complete without embracing these important links in the concatenation of language evolution. As in geology and other physical sciences, we must rise step by step from the known to the unknown, from facts and phenomena, forms and developments that we ourselves witness to those that lie before and beyond them. What we want is some bold thinkers and enquirers to rise up to the fullest height of research, and "make the whole world kin." Ludwig very appositely observes that "the scientific treatment of the languages of the Aryans must be founded, in the truest sense of the word, on the Veda, as far as it extends."[35]

And our University, therefore, has adopted the wisest course possible in introducing the studies of the Veda, more and more, into their

[35] Cf. "Aryan Philology," by Pezzi, pp. 100 ff.

course, which cannot be complete, unless and until, we have all the formations of the period occupying a place there and nothing better could have been suggested than to include old Persian and Zend also in our *curriculum*. The reforms, thus begun, can very fittingly be crowned with the accession of the vernaculars also to the fold. And these reforms are especially needed for a University that has the present institution of our Lectureship.

With the rise of Sanskṛita above the horizon of European research, a great day broke upon the world, bringing a new light into view. In Sanskṛita lay the key, with which was to be opened many a dark chamber still undisclosed. It was the classical Sanskṛita, with which the happy beginning was made. But with the Vedic, and the vernacular philology we have still brighter achievements in store for us. All research without these is sure to be incomplete.

After this advocacy of the whole system of Aryan philology, we cannot do better than address ourselves to another important aspect of the question affecting the life and growth of our languages. That life is naturally divisible into (1) the Sanskṛita, (2) the Prâkṛita, and (3) the Vernacular Periods. The first can be sub-divided into two, *viz.*, (a) the Vedic,—and the Post-Vedic,—the second into two, *viz.*, (c) the Buddhistic, and Post-Buddhistic,—and the third, again, into two *viz.*, the Mahomedanic and the Post-Mahomedanic, or better still, (e) the Pre-British and (f) the British. Each period and sub-period has a characteristic of its own. While the third has its Mahomedanicisms and Anglicisms in grammar and glossary, the second had its threefold characteristics of *Tadbhavas*, *Tatsamas*, *and Deśyas*. But no such foreign elements seem to have been noticed in the first period. Although opinions differ in this respect, yet the view of Prof. Max Müller seems to be the most cogent and most natural of them all.[36] What he says is true that China "was a world by itself," as also more or less were Egypt, Babylon and Niniveh with their own language, their own alphabet, their own religion, their own art." "India, again," he remarks, "has always been a world by itself, either entirely unknown to the Northern nations or surrounded in their eyes by a golden mist of fable and mystery."[37]

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[36] Cf. Trans. of IX. Int. Cong. Or. p. 19.

[37] Cf. also my paper on "the Vedic Chronology," re-printed from *Gujarat Darpana*, pp. 5 and 6.

Yes, we have no contemporary foreign record for the literature of that period. But what is the language evidence for that epoch? Do we get all the words and forms contained in those early Vedic dialects or languages, or in the later Sanskṛita, accounted for and explained, by Aryan, Proto-Aryan, or rather Indo-Germanic grammar and etymology? I believe, and it will be shown in the course of these Lectures, that there is, and there will remain, a precipitate in the philological test tube which is not amenable to all the many chemicals at our disposal in the Sanskṛita or the Aryan laboratory. There is at the bottom a sediment which has refused to yield to any of these our Aryan operations. But to an open and unprejudiced mind, it will reveal its secret after patient application and study have been brought to bear upon it. Just as J. S. Stuart Glennie found out a non-Aryan and non-Hellenic basis for the classical civilization of Greece,[38] so, a non-Aryan element will be perceived in the precipitate or sediment above referred to. Perhaps this had better be called pre-Aryan or, more properly, the Proto-Human element. Now, let us see what leads us to this conclusion.

Aryan languages, past and present, have to be viewed and studied in their past and present surroundings or what biologists would call "Environments," and connections. The Aryans did not occupy or inhabit a virgin land, unoccupied by any other class of human beings, before them or with them. The Vedic writings, even the earliest of them, refer to two races at least, the white and the black, the *Ârya* and the *Dâsa* or *Dasyu*, which developed into the four castes or the *Pañcha Janas* of later times. The *Dasyus*, the *Yâtudhanas*, the *Piśâchas*, the *Sabaras*, the *Kirâtas*, the *Kinnaras*, &c., do not seem to be Aryan, although difference of opinion and interpretation might occur as to the ethnic character of the *Daityas*, the *Dânavas*, the *Râkshasas* and the *Asuras*. Again, although most European scholars hold that in later times, or in our days, here or abroad, most ethnic identity need not imply linguistic identity,—yet, the case is quite different with reference to early times. Aryan languages and Aryan races were not two different categories in denotation and connotation, as the logicians would say; the speakers and the speech were not so differently situated or related as they were in their later development

[38] Cf. Trans. IX. Int., Cong. Or. Vol. II., pp. 486-7.

and decay. At the early dawn of the Vedas a wide gulf, almost impassable, might have parted the *Aryans* from the *Dâsas*. But that could not continue for all times. Old animosities might have worn away, and old prejudices might have vanished, and new relations might have sprung up into life, and mutual approach and concessions might have brought about, a re-distribution, and a new order of society. And this is what we find to have taken place in Indian Life. There has been gradual evolution of society.[39]

We must take the facts, then, as we find them, and we cannot rightly ignore this internal evidence of an important element, moulding and determining the character of our Aryan speech.

However much we may differ as to the early Human, or at least, the early Aryan Home, there is a perfect unanimity as to the existence of pre-Aryan and non-Aryan races in our land. Even if we held, that these non-Aryan races were not pre-Aryan, and that they were a subsequent wave of settlers, still the fact remains that there was at a certain stage of our life in India a foreign element which we have to count for in our Research as to whether it influenced us or whether it was influenced by us during our co-existence in the land during centuries, if not ages. Most of the non-Aryan languages are lost and dead, a great many of the non-Aryan people having adopted our speech. But that speech was not the Aryan speech of old. The *Tadbhava* and *Deśya* words tell their own tale, and we have still left to us some of the non-Aryan languages, even though they may not claim or possess literatures so ancient as the Aryan. Some of the Indian terms found in the Bible can be traced to these non-Aryan or Dravidian languages of Southern India and this vouches for their existence at that early date, and the *Mlechhas* or *Dasyus*, under the circumstances, cannot have failed to exercise their influence over us.[40] Again, the term *Mlechha*, meaning language as well as people, is very old, and this too goes to prove the existence of foreign languages by the side of the Aryan. Prof. Whitney gives the word or rather root *Mlechh* meaning "to speak barbarously" and he gives the forms also derived from it ;[41] and "*Na Mlechitavai*," "One should not speak barbarously," is one of the earliest watchwords of the purists

[39] Cf. My paper on the Vedic Chronology. Loc. cit.

[40] Cf. Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol II., p. 213.

[41] Cf. "Roots, Verbal Forms and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language," 1885, p. 128.

in Sanskṛita. And, if I remember aright, it is perhaps in the *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa* that this barbarism of the *Asuras* is alluded to, saying—they ran away repeating "he-laya helaya" for "hesrayah hesrayah" meaning "Oh enemies, Oh enemies." Mr. Muir quotes a verse from Manu (X—45) defining who the *Dasyus* were, in which he speaks of *Arya Vâchah* and *Mlechha Vâchah*,[42] or the Aryan languages and the *Dasyu* or *Mlechha* or non-Aryan languages.[43]

And the learned author proves the human and non-Aryan character of the *Dasyus*,—the *Mlechhas*—from quotations from the *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa*, *Manu*, and the *Mahâbhârata*.[44] Also, the above passage clearly tells us that there were certain races that spoke both the languages, and this union must surely have produced important results. "Purists of all ages," observes Mr. Cust, "have objected to the absorption of foreign elements into their language, and yet the process has steadily gone on, and the vulgarisms and slang of one generation become the ordinary phraseology of the next. The more alien the languages are to each other the more distinctly appears the process."[45] And this is what we have observed in the evolution of the Sanskṛita and the Prâkṛita languages of India. A glance at the maps, annexed to the work quoted above and referred to in the footnote by Mr. Cust, shows the surroundings of the Aryan languages of India. The two maps together indicate the language area of India, Further India, and the Indian Archipelago or, what we may describe as, the Greater India. Mr. Cust provisionally divides the languages of the East Indies, or these vast regions, into 8 groups, *viz.*:— (I.) the Aryan, (II.) the Dravidian, (III.) the Kolarian, (IV.) the Tibeto-Burman, (V.) the Khasi, (VI.) the Tai, (VII.) the Mon-Annam and (VIII.) the Malayan. Of these we in India are mainly concerned with the first, the Aryan, or a portion of the Indo-European group, which forms the subject of these lectures. It occupies almost the whole continent of India and Afghanistan and Beluchistan, a portion of the peninsula of the Deccan, and the southern half of the Island of Ceylon. To the north and east of this region

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[42] Cf. Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol. II., 2nd Edn., 1871, p. 151, footnote.

[43] In the *Mahâbhârata*, Vidura is said to have given the *Pâṇḍavas*, the *Lâkshâ-gṛiha* clue in a *Mlechha* Language. Loc. cit.

[44] Cf. Vol. IV., pp. 364 ff.

[45] Cf. "A Sketch of the Modern Languages of the East Indies," by Robert N. Cust, 1878, p. 15.

lies the Tibeto-Burman Group, with the Tai or the Mon-Annam interspersed with it in places, or lying at its borders. These last two groups do not seem to be in contact with our group,—but the Khasi and the Kolarian regions lie intermixed with the Aryan regions; and the Dravidian region forms the border-land between the two sections of the Aryan, *viz.*, the Indian and the Simhalese. Thus of these eight groups two, *i.e.*, the Khasi and the Kolarian are intertwined with the Aryan, and they are probably the sources of our *Deśya* words: two form the border regions in close touch with us, *viz.*, the Dravidian and the Tibeto-Burman, or three more, *i. e.*, the Tai, the Mon Annam, and the Malayan, lie beyond our present influences. But even these five regions have never been quite beyond the pale of our influences. For, the Aryan conquests extended in medieval times beyond the natural limits of India, and embraced these parts too, either politically or religiously. The Sanskṛita, Pâli, and, perhaps, the Mâgadhî, were the languages of their religious literature; and their inscriptions, and the like historic records were written in Sanskṛita too. The religions of the *Brâhmaṇas* and the *Buddhists* ruled long in those parts. The Indian Empire extended contemporaneously with the Roman Empire far and wide and embraced Java, Sumatra, Champâ, Kamboja and Cochin China.[46]

Gujarat trade extended as far as Java, to which witness is borne by a proverb in the Gujarati language, telling of the fabulous wealth, that trade brought in its train.[47] And Mr. William Marsden was the first to notice the borrowing of some Sanskṛita words through that channel.[48] Two other Gujarati proverbs denote the early communication of Western India with Ceylon.[49]

Some attribute the colonization of Ceylon to Bengal, Behar, or Orissa; while others refer it to *Lâta*, which means southern Gujarat. The proverbs quoted in the footnote would support the latter theory, and the linguistic connections, too, countenance that view which will be noted later on. The Buddhistic tradition also narrates the tale of Vijaya, and his faithful band of Buddhist followers, settling in the

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[46] Cf. Trans., IX. Int. Cong. Or. Vol. I., Dr. Bühler, p. 46.

[47] "જે જાય જાવે, કદી ન તે આવે, આવે તો તે લાવે. પરિયાંનાં પરિયાં ચાવે."

[48] "Baroda State Delegate at the VIII. Int. Cong. Or., 1889," p. 53.

[49] One is "કપાં લંકા અને કપાં લાહેર;" while the other is "લંકાની લાડી અને ગોધાનો વર"

island. Vijaya was the son of *Aśoka* who ruled at Palibothra or Patna in the first quarter of the third century B. C. But the Girnar Edicts of Aśoka, showing his connection with Gujarat, afford ground for the belief that one of the ports of that province may have been the starting point from whence the religious colony of Prince Vijaya embarked. But in any case Aryan India has unquestionably been the parent land of some of the colonies in this island, as well as in other parts of the East Indies.

If, again, we compare these maps of Mr. Cust with the map (Plate XV., Vol. II.) of Prof. Haeckel's work, giving a hypothetical sketch of the monophyletic origin of the 12 races of man that extended from Lemuria over the earth, the pre-historic arrangements would wonderfully tally with the present ones. Of the 12 races of Haeckel, two at least, *i.e.*, the Dravidians and the Malayas are the same; and they occupy the same regions in their maps. The Papuans, Hottentots, Kaffirs, Negroes, Australians, Polars, Americans, Nubians lie beyond the scope of Mr. Cust's maps. But his Tais, Mon-Annams, and Tibeto-Burmans have been included in the Mongolians of Mr. Haeckel, while his Kolarians and Khasis would correspond to the Negroes. The Mediterranean family of Haeckel includes the Aryans or Indo-Europeans. The distribution of the races in all the three maps indicates certain lines and routes of their further diffusion, and these can only have been determined by physical causes of which very slender records are left to us.

On the settlement of this question would surely hinge the settlement of the questions of the cradle of the human races and languages. No one now believes in the Garden of Eden, and the Tower of Babel theories of the Jewish Bible which speak of the births of human kind and human language from a single pair who also gave names to all creatures taken to them. It was in Eden that language had its birth, and it was under the shadow of Babel that it had its confusion. They may be beautiful myths, no doubt, but they have no evidence to recommend them to human credence, as chastened by scientific enquiry and philosophic research. Of a similar class are the Greek and the Indian myths about the birth of language. The former teach that Athene or Minerva came out completely panoplied from the head of Zeus. No doubt the "seat of speech" is in the interior lobes of the cerebrum or the brain.[50] But that does not

[50] Cf. "The Mechanism of Voice, Speech and Taste," by G. J. Wiltkowski, 21.

mean that speech came out so fully developed and complete as the Greek or any other Aryan language that the myth would indicate. The Indian Minerva, called Sarasvatî, has been similarly described as the daughter of *Brahma-deva* or *Pitâmaha*—the *Dyaushpitâ* or Father Zeus, and the eternal *Vedas* were breathed out of his four mouths. This myth may well testify to the antiquity of the human speech; but it can do nothing more. All these myths, whether Indian, Greek, Jewish, or any other, can make no pretence to scientific accuracy. They are but the attempts of the human mind to pierce through the veil of the mystery of mysteries, and they are some of the earliest attempts towards that end. We speak of decay and degeneracy in the history of sounds and languages, but for that we do not and cannot postulate their original and initial perfection, and subsequent decay and degeneracy. We also speak of their evolution and development as well. And it is only facts and evidence that can determine whether we can have perfection from simplicity, or simplicity and variation from complexity and perfection.

Among scientists, also, there are two classes of thinkers, one holding that "Human language was probably of a multiple or polyphyletic origin," the other that it was of a single or monophyletic origin—these classes corresponding to the two prevailing views as to origin of the human race.[51] And Prof. Haeckel holds to the second or the monophyletic or monogenist view of the origin, both of the human race, and of the human language. But whether we hold the one view or the other, the view of the descent from "a single pair" is now an exploded doctrine and we can very well dismiss it from our consideration.[52]

Apart from the above classifications of the human races of Cust, and Haeckel, there are others too. "Since Blumenbach's time," remarks Haeckel, ... "it has been thought, mankind may be divided into five races or varieties, namely, (1) the Ethiopian or Black Race (African Negro); (2) the Malayan or Brown Race (Malayas, Polynesians and Australians); (3) the Mongolian or Yellow Race (the principal inhabitants of Asia and the Esquimaux of North America); (4) the American or Red Race (the Aborigines of

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[51] Cf. "History of Creation, by E. Haeckel, Vol. II., pp. 302—3 and ff.
[52] Cf. Ibid p. 305, ff.

America); and (5) the Caucasian or White Race (Europeans, North Africans, and South Western Asiatics)."[53]

But, truly speaking, there are but four types of human races, *viz.*, the White, the Yellow, the Red, and the Black. The fifth race, *viz.*, the Brown, of the above classification, is but a combination of the yellow and the black. Be the centre of the early human home what it may, the Red, Yellow, and Black seem to have spread and dispersed the widest and the first over the world, and of the remaining type, the Semites and Aryans who are confined to Europe and Asia, and to North-East Africa, or at most North Africa, have spread the least. It is only in recent times that the White Races are pressing into every quarter of the globe. And at one time, in the past, in the most distant prehistoric times, the Red, the Black, and the Yellow races in succession were playing the same *rôle*.

Neither colour nor phonesis, nor morphological structure ought to deceive us as to the original nature of either language or race. As there are "Types" in chemistry, or in natural history, in inanimate as well as in animate nature, so there are in human races and languages. Both of them in the course of their evolution have a tendency to fix themselves into types. Once they reach that stage their further progress to other stages of life becomes arrested. Theoretically there is a strange unity running through the wonderful variety, reigning in all the three kingdoms of the world, the mineral, the vegetable, and the animal. These are, so to say, the first types of nature. In their further history each of them develops new types and if we come to the animal kingdom, the one and twenty ancestors of man that Haeckel gives are again the next order of types.[54]

And descending to man, we further observe the four types as noted above, and these gradually developing human types form, in the course of their life, by natural and historical associations, specially, predilections, in the lines of their language growth. The deductive and inductive proofs, collected by Mr. J. Bryne, in his work on the "General Principles of Structure of Language," afford an interest-

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[53] Cf. The History of Creation, Vol. II., p. 305. For a description of the several ethnic groups or races, the interesting work of Robert Brown, M.A., in four volumes, *viz.*, "The Races of Mankind," may usefully be consulted.

[54] Cf. The History of Creation, Vol. II, Chs. XVI. to XXI., and of these, the last especially. Cf. also Clodd's Story of Creation, Part II.

ing insight into this question. The innate or contracted predilections of certain of the races may be due to their character of quick, slow, or moderate excitability. Mr. Bryne classifies human races under six heads, *viz.*, (1) the African, who are known to be of quick excitability; (2) the American, who are remarkable for their slow excitability; (3) the Oceanic and Dravidian who are of less quick excitability than the Africans; (4) the Central and Northern Asiatic, and Northern European, who again are of less slow excitability than the Americans; (5) the Chinese and Syro-Arabian who are of intermediate excitability, and, lastly, (6) the Indo-Europeans of a rather greater quickness of excitability than the Chinese and Syro-Arabians.[55]

Of the languages, those of the Africans are fragmentary or arthritic[56], those of Americans are polysynthetic, megasynthetic or massive[57], while between them are those of the others. Further, they are monosyllabic, as the Chinese and the Tibetan, &c., dissyllabic as the Malayan, Polynesian and Australian, trisyllabic as the Semitic, agglutinal as the Turkish, &c., and inflexional as the Indo-European.

Mr. Bryne's first group is that of our Black Races, the second that of the Red Races, the third that of the Brown Races generally, the fourth and a portion of the fifth, that of the Yellow and the remaining that of the White. If we only take our four types, the first and second, present two, the third, fourth, and a portion of the fifth, one more, and the rest, the fourth. On the mental excitability view of the question, too, they work in language formation on the same definite line. Thus historically, geographically, and psychologically, these four types of races have developed, and adhered to certain types of languages at the outset, whatever modifications may have taken place when coming in contact with different types of other races, superior or inferior as the case may be.

The Types of Races, and the Types of Languages are not necessarily of coeval birth, growth, and development. Nor is it invariably the case that each language should pass through the other stages at one time or another of its life. Controversy is strong on the question whether inflexional languages were not at an earlier stage agglutinal, and agglutinal at an earlier stage monosyllabic.

[55] Cf. Vol. I., part I.

[56] Cf. Ibid, pp. 87 and ff.

[57] Cf. Ibid, pp. 134 and ff.

Schleicher, Max-Müller, Whitney and other philologists are supporters of this view. But an equally eminent class of philologists, including Pott, Renan, and Sayce have stated strong objections to it.[58]

There may be some grounds for one or the other view. But in the monosyllabic languages the sense of a word is determined by the position it occupies in a sentence, or perhaps from the accent it bears. Almost all the roots of Aryan languages are monosyllabic, and sometimes the meaning varies with the variation of the accent ;[59]

मंत्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा
मिथ्या प्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।
स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति
यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥

but that is not exactly the thing that would indicate an early monosyllabic remnant of a past life of the language. Similarly, some of the inflexions may partake of the character of agglutination, as also the stringing together of words in compounds, but that even does not answer to the typical nature of the languages of this class. Who knows but that the monosyllabic or agglutinal embodiments may have been the result of the languages of these types lying about our own. The case of the Basque is an instance to the point. Although the language more or less closely agrees with Ugric in grammar, structure, numerals and pronouns, and although, as thus belonging to the Ugro-Altaic family, it is agglutinal,[60] yet, "in some measure it exhibits the same marks of resemblance as the members of the Aryan group," and it presents somewhat of an inflexional character.[61] So much is this the case that it might be classed as an Aryan language. But both Sayce and Max Müller are of opinion that it is neither Semitic nor Aryan.[62] Prof. Whitney too describes it as a problematic language.[63] But there is nothing

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[58] Cf. "Aryan Philology," by Pezzi, p. 125, and the works of the philologists there referred to. Also Cf. "Principles of Comparative Philology," by Prof. A. H. Sayce, Ch. IV.

[59] Cf. Nâradi Sikshâ 15.

[60] Cf. "The Principles of Comparative Philology," by A. H. Sayce, p. 21.

[61] Cf. *Ibid* pp. 101 and 117.

[62] Cf. *Ibid* p. 117, also "Lectures on the Science of Language," by F. Max-Müller, Vol. II., pp. 23-3.

[63] Cf. "Language and the Study of Language," p. 191.

problematical about it, if we see how "isolated" it is, in the Pyrenees,[64] "spoken in a little district on both sides of the border between France and Spain," and that it is "surrounded" by "Aryan dialects."[65]

Coming nearer this side to Italy, the old Etruscan is another such "insoluble problem."[66] And a next door neighbour to ourselves, the Brahui in Beloochistan, is the third that lingers[67] between the Aryan and the Dravidian. It, like the Etruscan and the Basque, has been surrounded by Aryan languages. Thus, it is the "surroundings," that modify the character of a language. Prof. A. H. Sayce, as we have observed once before, takes "the conception of the sentence" as affording the basis of resemblance or difference in languages.[68] He adds that "The conception which underlies each form of the sentence, each stage in the development of language, is as essentially different as the idea or principle which lay at the bottom of the national life of those races, who, according to Hegel, have successively worked out the problem of history. Regarding them from the point of view of science or philosophy, we can see how these stages stand related to each other in the order of thought but we do not see how the gulf can be bridged over, or how it is psychologically possible that the same race which conceived its sentence as consisting of co-ordinate elements could have been potentially able to conceive it as consisting of subordinate elements. There is no question here of growth or evolution."[69]

But we cannot agree with the learned professor in his last conclusion. The psychological change is possible in the typification of languages, as is found proved in the case of the typification of elements in Chemistry, or natural organisms in Natural History. And we have accounted for the other foreign accidents of one or other type of language from the "surroundings" (rather "environments") or associations in which it has been geographically or historically placed.

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[64] Cf. *Ibid*: also p. 353.

[65] Cf. "The Principles of Comparative Philology," by A. H. Sayce, p. 117.

[66] Cf. "Language and the Study of Language," by Prof. Whitney, p. 354.

[67] Cf. "The modern languages of the East Indies," by Cust, pp. 41-2. Cf. Also Whitney *Ibid* p. 327.

[68] Cf. "The Principles of Comparative Philology," p. 137.

[69] Cf. *Ibid* page 138.

After what we have seen of the so-called stages of language, they cannot suit any theories of language periods and language chronology: and hence we should seek for some other method. To arrive at any definite age, as measured by or from some historical era or event, is almost impossible. Prof. Max Müller and other scholars fix about 2000 B. C. as the earliest period of our Vedas, and their Languages. "Arguing geologically," as he says, he would "boldly place the first divergence of the Aryan languages at 5000 B. C."[70] Continuing the same "example of geology," he fixes 10,000 B. C. as the chronological limit "for the growth of the Proto-Aryan language previous to the growth of the six national languages," *viz.*, Celtic, Teutonic, Slavonic, Greek, Latin, and Indo-Iranic.[71] An equally long period would be required for the differentiation of the proto-Semitic speech into the Babylonian, Phynician, Hebrew, and Arabic, and what would not be required for a like differentiation of the Turanian (Chinese, Accadian, &c.), and the American speeches as also for the period stretching back to the first dawn of the proto-human speech? But all this is mere guess-work, and the calculations have no such solid basis as in geology. The above supposed dispersions of races and languages would surely require very long periods: rather, the development of the above types of races and languages would require long œons.

Fick, presenting "the wide researches of Pott" on the Aryan languages, in his *Vergleichendes Worterbuchder indogermanischen-sprachen* (Gottingen, 1874), presents the several stages in the development of the Indo-Germanic mother language,[72] as (1) the Indo-Iranian or Aryan linguistic unity; (2) the European linguistic unity; this latter gradually unfolding itself (3) into the Slavo-Teutonic linguistic unity, the first branch of this (3) into (4) the Lithu-Slavonic linguistic unity. Pezzi observes that the Keltic Branch should have similarly been considered, and then we would have the (5) Italico-Keltic-Greek linguistic unity, the former of which again comprising the (6) Italico-Keltic linguistic unity. As the comparison of Aryan roots present these unities, so the comparison of Aryan and Semitic and Hamitic or Turanian roots would present

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[70] Cf. "Inaugural Address" Trans. of IX. Inter. Cong. Or., Vol. I., p. 14.

[71] Cf. Trans. IX. Inter. Cong. Or., Vol. I., p. 15.

[72] Cf. "Aryan Philology," by Pezzi, p. 48.

other unities. F. Müller, Renan, and Schleicher have enquired into the relations of Aryan and Semitic Roots.[73]

The Italian Philologist, Ascoli, highly commended by Pezzi at the commencement of his work, has also given us a table of Aryo-Semitic roots. Delitzsch has strongly criticized his work, while Reaumer has prepared another Aryo-Semitic Table strongly criticized by Nöldeke and Schleicher.[74]

Delitzsch has found out 100 Aryo-Semitic roots and he hopes to find out a 100 more (1873). But Prof. Sayce, with his sentence element test, makes light work of it.[75]

Schultze has adopted a similar comparison between Aryan, Semitic, and Hamitic roots, which have proved to be 13, and Mr. Edkins has done the same with the Aryan and the Chinese, but with less satisfactory results.[76]

Ludwig, with his Vedic studies and Curtius with his Greek, have achieved better results. The former advocated historical philology, and brought into prominence the Vedic studies, while the latter turned his attention to the Chronology of Language.[77]

He fixed upon two periods, *viz.*, (1) of Unity and (2) of Plurality of Dialects, which he again described, following W. Von Humboldt, as those (1) of organization, and (2) of cultivation. He further divides the Proto-Aryan period into seven sub-periods.[78]

They are those of (1) Roots (simple and monosyllabic); (2) Determinatives; (3) Primary Verbal Period; (4) Period of Stem-Formation; (5) Period of the Compounded Verbal Forms; (6) Period of Case Formation and (7) Adverbial Period. Justi has well commended the "prudence" and "boldness" of the Greek scholar in these his "novel" and "attractive" researches, although Prof. Max-Müller, tied down to his triple stage theory, does not approve of them.[79]

In spite of the great weight and authority of the latter eminent scholar, we incline to the "Chronology" theory of Curtius for reasons of our own to be given later on. The strongest argument opposed to Prof.

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[73] Cf. *Ibid* Pezzi, pp. 62-3.

[74] Cf. *Ibid* pp. 64 and ff.

[75] Cf. p. 67 and "The Principles of Comparative Grammar," by Prof. A. H. Sayce, p. 76, footnote.

[76] Cf. "Aryan Philology," by Pezzi, pp. 70-1.

[77] Cf. *Ibid* pp. 101 and ff & 115.

[78] Cf. *Ibid* pp. 116 and ff.

[79] Cf. *Ibid*, pp. 124-5.

Max Müller's theory is the peculiar tendency of our languages from very early times to the inflexional structure "which seems to separate them even in their germs, from all the other languages" as concluded by Pezzi.[80] And this is what we call their "Type character."[81]

Against the above periods of Curtius have been propounded the five periods by F. Müller as based on personal endings. But his theory contains elements of doubtful worth.[82] Dr. Jolly similarly gives 5 stages in the development of the infinitive.[83] But in the determination of the language chronology it is not enough to take up this or that individual branch of it. It is the whole that is to be looked into and examined, explained and understood, and in such light are the periods to be settled, and marked out. So, too, the nomenclature to be adopted. For, it should be logical, clear and sufficiently comprehensive.

In my paper on "Vedic Chronology," so often referred to, written by me two years ago,[84] I have observed, that "In the stratification of literature as in that of language there is the same difficulty felt in the choice of terms that Sir Charles Lyell felt in geology,[85] and we should have similarly such pliant names for our periods as . . . . Eolinguistic, Proto-linguistic, meso-linguistic, and caino-linguistic, or better still, Eo-Glottic, Proto-Glottic, Meso-Glottic, and Cairo-Glottic" . . . . . and these, formed by analogy from the descriptive phraseology of a well-known science, would serve our purpose better than the terms isolating, combinatory, or inflexional, or monosyllabic, agglutinal, analytic, or synthetical, that are at present employed by different writers on Comparative Philology for different stratifications of language." In the present Lecture I have attempted to show how these different stages fail to represent the several successive phases in the history of our languages. I have further remarked in the above paper "and as in geology the

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[80] Cf. "Aryan Philology," p. 130.

[81] *Vide* Supra.

[82] Cf. *Ibid*, pp. 136 and 138.

[83] Cf. *Ibid*, p. 146.

[84] *Vide* Gujerat-Darpaṇ reprint, p. 3.

[85] *Vide* Max Müller's Rede Lecture, I, published in his selected Essays, Vol. I., p. 46.

different literary formations of nations are to be judged and characterized by their linguistic and mythic progress and development, and their forms, as the case may be. In all scientific research what we want is evidence." Truly so. And there is no evidence discovered for this triple or quadruple stage theory. Accordingly we would arrange our chronology of the development of the human and Aryan languages in the following periods or epochs, namely:—

I. The A-Glottic or the Period of Gesture Language.
II. The Eo-Glottic or the Period of the first Dawn of Voice Language.
III. The Proto-Glottic, or Palæo-Glottic or the Primary Age of Language.
IV. The Meso-Glottic or the Secondary Age of Language.
V. The Caino-Glottic or the Tertiary Age of Language; and
VI. The Post-Tertiary or the Recent Period of Language.

The first of these periods does not require any special proof or comment, as it explains itself. Whether we look to science, or to mythology, or to theology, it appears that there was a time in the history of man, when there was no language, or rather no speech, nor even a distant approach to it. The first silence and stillness were broken, by the Gesture Language, for our primeval expressions of thoughts and sensations. A new departure was made in our evolution. Man was marked out and separated from other animals, by his erect posture, and gait, that he had developed by the differentiation of his two pairs of limbs.[86] The position and relation of his organs of sense and thought also were improved. Now he was no longer looking downward or forward only. But he could look above and about him and now he could receive his light and impressions from all sides. The development of these his psychological and super-physical powers necessitated his communication and association with his kind. He had the human Glottis, but it had perhaps not yet attained that higher differentiation and perfection,[87] required for the production of articulate voice.

There seem to be two parts of the Glottis, *viz.*, the vocal and the respiratory. The former, triangular in structure, the latter quadrilateral: the former serving for emission of sounds, the latter giving

[86] Cf. "The History of Creation, by E. Haeckel, Vol. II., p. 299.
[87] Cf. *Ibid*, p. 300.

passage to the air. The Glottis then, writes Wiltkowski, acts not only for phonation, but it serves for effort (holding the breath) too.[88] It would surely be a work of long time to develop from its simple and single function of respiration, another and more complex one, in addition to it, that of Phonation. It is to this period, that we, therefore, assign the name of "Aglottic," analogous to that of "Azoic" in geology.

The developing of the Glottis in its respiratory and phonetic characters could not have stopped there. "Cries" man could utter with other animals, but the higher differentiation of his *Glottis* and the greater development of his *Cerebrum* could have only one result, *viz.*, that of making his voice articulate and intelligent; and here we have the first dawn of voice language, that is, Language *par excellence*. His first starts and gestures now bodied forth an expression in words and his original cries a meaning and an import. His thought was already there, translated into the Primeval Language. But now it was breathed out in strange speech. Still the element of wonder and admiration was uppermost in him. Mental excitability was surely of a very high order and his first speech would therefore break forth into fragments. Accordingly interjections would be the first products of his language. They are each "A whole speech, though undeveloped and vague."[89] They, like the Gesture Language, are common to all mankind. They are, so to say, Emotion Language. They meet, too, the hypothesis of Sayce's thought basis of language.[90]

Our earliest grammarians, etymologysts and phonetists, the authors of our *Śikshâs*, *Prâtiśâkhyas*, *Vyâkaraṇas*, and *Niruktas*, give a fourfold division of *Nâmans* or Nouns, *Âkhyâtas* or Verbs, *Upasargas* or Prepositions, and *Nipâtas* or Indeclinables, &c.[91]

The last are described as expletives which they are in our Vedas, but this is a later function that they have acquired. From their original "undeveloped and vague" character, they could very well have passed on to this stage. And so I would call this primordial period of the first dawn of speech, the Eo-Glottic, or the *Nipâta* Period.

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[88] Cf. "The Mechanism of Voice, Speech and Taste," by G. J. Wiltkowski, pp. 4 and 5.

[89] Cf. "Philology Primer," by J. Peile, p. 121.

[90] Cf. "Principles of Comparative Philology," loc. cit.

[91] Cf. *Yaska*, &c., loc. cit. Mark especially अथ निपाता उच्चावचेष्वर्थेषु निपतन्त्युपमार्थेऽपि कर्मोपसंग्रहार्थेऽपि पादपूरणः I. 4.

Yáska, in his further elucidation of the *Nipátas*, discusses the evolution of meaning and character of some of these as *Nu*, *Vá*, *cha*, *na*, *aha*, *ha*, *U*, &c.[92] And it is these that in the next period formed the basis or primary parts of pronouns, prepositions, adverbs, and conjunctions. Looking to the Aryan languages, it appears that the idea of relations of objects, in time and space, that was first to develop in thought, after the effects of the first miracle of speech were over, was expressed by demonstratives, with the elements of the first human open letter *a*, and its gradations and variations in *i*, *u*, *e*, and *o*, as well as with the nasals *n* and *m* singly, or in combination, or with semi-vowel *v* and aspirate *h*. And we get our personal and demonstrative pronouns differentiated from these materials. The relative pronoun with the base *y* was a further development of *i*, or its first step *e*, as Schleicher would call it; the interrogative pronoun was formed with *k*; and the reflexive with the strengthening of the *s* into *sv*. The case terminations and personal endings are further said to have resulted from these pronominal roots. But this genesis forms the subject of a subsequent Lecture. Suffice it to say that these considerations place the elements in the forefront and beginning of language evolution.

Pronouns, then, take the lead in the third period, and adverbs are but the derivatives therefrom. They are what Mr. Peile terms, "historically a petrified case."[93] But the simple pronouns, for the expressing of several relations of an object in location, and in regard to each other, needed defining terms.[94] And these they got in prepositions, which "were undoubtedly," notes Mr. Peile, "Adverbs, *i. e.*, cases of nouns generally."[95] But here we would substitute pronouns, or pronominal roots, *for* nouns, for the reason, that in the evolution of language, as described above, pronouns precede the nouns by a long way.[96] In the verse quoted below, the *Dhatu* or

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[92] Cf. *Ibid* I. 4 ff.

[93] Cf. "Philology Primer." p. 117.

[94] Cf. *Ibid*, p. 118.

[95] Cf. *Ibid*, p. 118.

[96] Cf. Also the following Sanskrita verse—

उपसर्गेण धात्वर्थो बलादन्यत्र नीयते ।
प्रहाराहार संहार विहारप्रीति हारवत् ॥

"The meaning of a root is forcibly carried away elsewhere by an Upasarga or Preposition, as in the cases of *Prahára*, &c.

Root is a wide enough term, and it would not militate against our present position.

Now the next series of words in the evolution of language are conjunctions, or the connecting, or disconnecting words. We have seen the natural history of two at least of them, *viz.*, *vâ* and *cha*, how their past life was *nipâtic*, indeclinable, *par excellence*. Peile characterizes them, also, as "obviously cases—generally of pronouns.[97]

Prof. Bopp, who classifies roots as (1) verbal and (2) pronominal, speaks of all "pronouns, all original prepositions, conjunctions and particles" as having sprung from the latter.[98]

Thus, according to all the views, these four categories of language, *viz.*, pronouns, adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions, the first primary, the rest derivative, fall under one group, and are expressive of some of the simplest and most obvious of relations,—and adopting one of the happiest and most expressive of our historical terms, to wit, *Yáska*, *Upasarga*, I call this Primary Epoch our Language *Upasargâdi* or *Upasargic*, and following the European phraseology, the Pronominal, or, to a certain extent, the Indeclinable Period.

From early and simple sensations and expressions of relations, the transition to actions was natural, and easy enough,—and we come thus to the secondary age which we term the *Ákhyâta* Period, adopting the term of *Yáska muni*. So much has been spoken and written about Sanskṛita, Aryan, or pre-Aryan Roots, that I need not take up your time any longer at this stage of the Lecture. It is the veritable Root Period of Western Philologists.

The Evolution of Language could not have closed better than with the Noun or Substantive Period, the *Nâma* Period. The ideas of actions and relations would next lead to the further conception of objects in all their aspects. Thus we proceed from percepts to concepts and in this course of development, we contract the habits of abstract and concrete realizations. Pronouns, in ordinary parlance are *for* nouns, but, in the natural history of language, they supply to nouns the best materials for completing their present forms of order and beauty. It is only pronouns and their allied classes that have not been reduced to their ultimate atoms, to verbal roots. Rather, we should say, the verbs, also, get their completion and

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[97] Cf. "Philology Primer," p. 120.

[98] Cf. His Comparative Grammar, Vol. I., p. 96.

variety of forms, with person-endings, from pronouns or pronominal roots, and even nouns as found in language, are a complex product of these verbal or pronominal roots, and so they would very naturally fall in the last, or the Tertiary Period of Language.

Thus the philosophical order of our Aryan philologists of *Nâma*, *Âkhyâta*, *Upasarga*, and *Nipâta* of our words, is indicative of a very logical and precise division into the different periods of the history of our Aryan languages, if not, of all the human languages. But the order has to be reversed as we have done above. Our periods, again, do not much differ from those of Ludwig's, except that his Adverbial Period has been placed far too late, and that his first two periods have not been distinguished as to their interjectional and pronominal or indeclinable epochs. Nor are our periods far away from those of the periods of the father of language chronology, Curtius, as following W. Von Humboldt.[99] Again, if we apply the mental excitability test of Mr. J. Bryne, our periods would by no means suffer.

The early human existence has surely been highly sensitive and excitable, so as to develope arthritic or fragmentary nature, and we have noticed above that tendency in the Primordial Period, which has been found fixed to this day in the African races. The long travelling and wide distribution of the American races, starting from whatever early human home we may take, and the many obstacles of climate and distance, would surely curb that exuberance of mental excitability which characterizes races nearer home. We need but compare the distances over which these had to spread, *viz.*, the Africans and Americans. The Polynesian, Malayan and Oceanian races as well as Mongolians, Syro-Arabians, and Aryans, too, had not so long an area to traverse, as had the Americans, although, perhaps, for these, life was harder, and rougher than for the Africans. The low mental excitability and the massive development of the American languages are therefore well explicable in the light of this their history—as also the intermediate state of that excitability in the remaining races and the development of monosyllabic, dissyllabic, and trisyllabic languages, as well as, the agglutinal and the inflexional. We are to rise from these particular phases to the general ones and we ought not to confine ourselves to the intermediary types. It is

[99] *Vide* Ante p. 26.

such natural causes and circumstances or "environments" as those above discussed, that fix and determine the types.

Still, if we look to the triple or quadruple stage development even, we find for that also a place in our system. All the periods, stated in our Lecture here, may very well belong to what we might describe, as the Proto-Human Language age, and even if we be sceptical about all, assuredly the Eo-Glottic and Palæo-Glottic Periods belong to that age. And following geology, as Prof. Max Müller would have us, it is the post-tertiary or the Recent Period, that has developed what we call the four types of language that are taken as historical stages by others, we mean (1) the Monosyllabic or Isolating, as the Chinese, &c.; (2) the Combinatory, Confixative, or Agglutinal, as the Turkish, &c.; (3) the Inflexive or Inflexional, subdivisible into Analytical and Synthetical as the Aryan and the Semitic; and (4) the Polysynthetic or Massive with which may be joined the Arthritic, as the American, African, &c. Of these the first two types belong to the Turanian Group of Languages of Europe and Asia; the third type belongs to the Aryan and Semitic languages of Europe, Asia, and Africa; and the fourth to the remaining languages of America, Africa, and Oceania. Thus through long œons of human life and history, we see the progress and development of the Aryan speech from the simplest of fragments to the completest of present structures.

ART. IX.—*On the Interpretation of certain passages in the Pancha Siddhántiká of Varáhamihira, an old Hindu Astronomical Work.* By M. P. KHAREGAT, I.C.S.

[Read, 12th March 1895.]

The Pancha Siddhántiká of Varáhamhira is one of the oldest Hindu works on astronomy. It was written about the middle of the sixth century after Christ. It has been ably edited with a commentary in Sanskrit, and an English translation by Dr. Thibant and Pundit Mahámahopádhyáya Sudhákara Dvivedi in 1889. Owing however to the dearth of good manuscripts, and to the obscurity of the original text, many passages have been left unexplained. The following paper is an attempt at explaining some of these passages, and at elucidating a few others about the emendation and interpretation of which I venture to differ from the learned editors. The plan followed has been to take up each passage separately in the order in which it occurs in the book, and discuss it with some of the interesting results derivable from its interpretation.

CHAPTER I.—STANZA 8.

This passage fixes the epoch of the book. It is at the beginning of the bright fortnight of Chaitra Saka 427 elapsed Monday. It will be found to correspond with Monday 21st March 505 A. D. Old Style. The positions of the sun and moon given in the 9th Chapter, and of the planets Mercury, Venus and Mars in the 16th, fix the date accurately as any one can find out by the help of any modern tables; the positions of the sun and moon are given for midday on Sunday the 20th, and the positions of the planets are given for the next midnight, *i. e.*, at the time when according to the Surya Siddhánta Monday begins. As shown by the learned Pandit in the commentary, these positions exactly correspond to those derivable from calculating with the mean motions given in the book, from the beginning of creation, and this calculation fixes the date as just 1,317,123 days from the beginning of the Kali Yuga which began on 18th February 3102 B. C.; that again brings us to Monday 21st March 505 A. D. For the Romaka Siddhánta the

positions of the sun, moon, her node and apogee are given for Sunday evening in the 8th Chapter, because, according to the Romaka system Monday began with the preceding evening. The same date, *viz.*, Monday, 21st March 505 A. D., accords exactly with the Persian Calendar given in Chapter I, Stanzas 23, 24, and 25, as I hope to show. That the day of the epoch was Monday is also apparent from the calculations given in stanzas 17-20 of the 1st Chapter which will be presently discussed.

It will, however, be found on referring to any table of dates such as that given in Cunningham's Indian Eras that according to modern methods, Chaitra Sud 1, fell on 20th February 505 A. D. Hence the epoch would, according to the modern methods, be near the beginning of Vaiśákha rather than Chaitra. There are employed at present two methods of naming the lunar months. According to the first and most common method, that employed by Professor Jacobi in his tables (Ind. Ant., Vol. 17, p. 145) and called the Bengal method by Warren in his Kála Sankalita, the solar months, in which the sun is in Aries, Taurus, etc., are called Vaiśákha, Jyeshṭha, etc., and the lunar month which begins in any of these solar months is called by the name of that month. According to the second method, which seems to be more in accordance with the Siddhántas and is called the Tamil method by Warren, the solar months when the sun is in Aries, Taurus, etc., are called Chaitra, Vaiśakha, etc., and the solar month in which each lunar month ends, gives its name to that lunar month. Both these methods are described by Mádhava in the Chapter on months in the Kála Mádhava, and he gives preference to the former. But there is a third method not now followed, which is certainly older than the other two; it is described by Mádhava in the same Chapter, and also in Chapter XIV., Stanza 16, of the Surya Siddhánta. According to that method the lunar month was named from the Nakshatra in which the moon was, when it became full; the month would be Chaitra if the moon was in Chitrá or Sváti. Of course this must have been the method before the introduction of the Babylonian Zodiac of signs, as the names of the months themselves indicate. According to this method the month which began near the epoch of Varáhamihira would be Chaitra. According to either of the other two methods, applied to the data given by our author himself, the month would be Vaiśákha.

Exactly the same difficulty faces us in naming the month with which the Kali Yuga began. According to either of the modern

methods it would be Vaiśákha, and yet there is little doubt the old Astronomers took it to be Chaitra. The explanation is the same. It would be both useful and interesting to find out when the modern methods were introduced and by whom. The only practical difference between these two is as to the naming of the intercalary month ; according to the first system it is called by the name of the succeeding month, and according to the second by that of the preceding.

CHAPTER I.—STANZA 10.

This Stanza shows how to reduce to Sávana days, the lunar days or Tithis obtained by the preceding two stanzas for the purpose of calculating the Romaka Ahargaṇa. In this stanza the Kshepa (additive quantity) expressed by the compound समनुधारो has been taken by the editors to mean 514. But I believe it means five multiplied by fourteen or seventy. This construction is permissible and is constantly used in the book *e. g.*, in the compounds अषृषट् नवषट् in Chapter III. Stanza 2 and 3 and other stanzas of the same Chapter and वसुहोट् and धृतिकृत in Chapter VIII., Stanza 6.

I propose this interpretation in order to bring the Kshepa into accord with the positions of the sun and moon given in Chapter VIII. A little consideration will show that the Kshepa divided by 703 is the fractional part of the Tithi that has elapsed at the moment of the epoch, *i. e.*, sunset at Alexandria on Sunday, 20th March 505 A. D. The Tithi multiplied by twelve is equal to the distance of the sun and moon in degrees. It follows that the Kshepa multiplied by twelve and divided by 703 would give the distance of the sun and moon in degrees. If the Kshepa be 514, the distance would thus be

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NOTE.—Long after I came to the above conclusion as to the epoch, I happened to read Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's paper on the same subject in the Indian Antiquary (Vol. 19, p. 47), and I was glad to find that he had come to the same conclusion. The only difference is that he considers the epoch to begin on Tuesday 22nd March 505 A. D., but I have given sufficient reasons above why it should be Monday. I also beg to differ from him as to the reason for the naming of the month ; the reason adopted by him would reverse the ordinary rule that the bright fortnights of both the Amánta and Purnimánta months have the same names : he would make the dark fortnights have the same names, and there is no authority for that. The second reason which he rejects, seems to me to be more probable ; if the intercalary months were reckoned from the mean positions of the sun and moon, then certainly the month of the epoch would be the intercalary Chaitra.

8°-46′-25″; if it be 70 it would be 1°-11′-41″ neglecting fractions of a second.

Now the longitudes of the mean sun and moon at sunset at Avanti are according to Chapter VIII., respectively, 11S.-29°-34′-22″ and 11S.29°-18′-50″. As according to Chapter III., Stanza 13, the difference in longitude between Alexandria and Avanti expressed in time is $7\frac{1}{3}$ Náḍikás, to obtain the positions of the sun and moon at sunset at Alexandria their mean motions during $7\frac{1}{3}$ Náḍikas have to be added to their mean positions at sunset at Avanti. According to the rules of Chapter VIII. the motion of the sun in the interval is 7′-14″, and of the moon 1°-36′-37.″ Hence the longitudes of the sun and moon at sunset at Alexandria are 11S-29°-41′-36″ and 12S-0°-55′-27″. The difference is 1°-13′-51.″

It will be seen that this difference accords very nearly with the Kshepa 70 and not at all with the Kshepa 514, and this accordance is a mathematical necessity if the two parts of the book are consistent. No doubt there is still a difference of 2′-10″ in the distance, corresponding to 4 minutes of difference in time; probably that is owing to some minor correction; either the difference in longitudes is a little smaller than $7\frac{1}{3}$ Náḍis which is according to the Paulisa Siddhánta, or else there is some allowance made for the difference between the latitudes of Alexandria and Avanti for the time of true sunset.

Whilst I am dealing with the Kshepas of the Romaka Siddhánta I might as well give here a comparative table of the positions of the sun, moon, her node and apogee according to that Siddhánta for sunset at Avanti, and according to Ptolemy for the same time and place. As I have no copy of Ptolemy available, I have calculated from the data furnished by Delámbre in the second volume of his History of Ancient Astronomy. It will be seen that on the only point which the Romaka Siddhánta appears to have borrowed directly from Hipparchus or Ptolemy, *viz.*, the theory of the sun, there is an important difference. The position of the sun has been corrected and brought very near the truth; Ptolemy's sun was in his own time a degree behind its true place, and by 505 A.D. it had receded about a degree further. Who made the correction and when? Certainly no Greek, because no Greek known to us corrected Ptolemy's tables. Certainly no Arab, because the Arabs took to Astronomy long after 505 A.D. Was it then a Hindu or a Persian? Whoever he was, he certainly was a more accurate observer than Ptolemy as far as the sun was concerned.

Heavenly body.	Positions according to the Romaka Siddhánta.			Positions according to Ptolemy.		
The sun	359°	34′	22″	357°	54′	7″
The moon	359°	18′	50″	350°	54′	11″
The moon's node ...	235°	48′	58″	233°	1′	24″
The moon's apogee...	286°	58′	53″	275°	29′	57″

It is significant that the nineteen year cycles of the Romaka Siddhánta are identical with those used in the Armenian and other Eastern Churches for finding the Paschal moon. One of the cycles of the Romaka began in 505 A.D. The cycles of Anatolius began in 277 A.D., those of Andrew of Byzantium in 353 A.D., and those of Aeas in 562 A.D. (See Du Laurier's Armenian Chronology) These three years differ from 505 A.D., as well as from each other by multiples of nineteen.

CHAPTER I.—Stanzas 11-13.

These stanzas contain rules for obtaining the Ahargaṇa according to the Pauliśa Siddhánta. They have been left uninterpreted by the editors. I think I have been fortunate enough to find the meaning of the rules for obtaining the Adhimásas from the solar days. These rules are three, contained respectively in the first three verses of the 11th stanza, first two verses of the 12th and first two verses of the 13th. The first is the main rule and the other two are the minor corrections.

The first rule I read thus:—

दिग्नाः साष्टानवरसा
दिवसाः कृतुसप्तनवभक्ताः
पौलिशमते ऽधिमासाः

I interpret it thus:—"Multiply the (solar) days by ten; add 698 divide (the sum) by 9761; the quotient is the intercalary months (elapsed)."

The second rule I read thus:—

तिथिदशांशमथ दद्या-
दधिमासार्थं स्वराम्बरैकाब्दैः

I interpret it thus:—"For every 107 years add one-tenth of a day (to the number of solar days) for obtaining the intercalary months."

In other words, add for 107 years one to the sum obtained after multiplying by ten under the first rule before division by 9761.

The third rule I read thus:—

अधिमासकेषु भूयो
ऽप्येक एकसुखपञ्चकेन्दियाब्धेषु
देयो

I interpret it thus:—Again add one to the sum from which the intercalary months are obtained (*i. e.*, to the solar days multiplied by ten) for every 55061 years."

Before proceeding to demonstrate the truth of these rules it will be best to put them in a clear mathematical form. It is evident that the first rule gives a fraction by which the solar days have to be multiplied in order to reduce them to the intercalary months; the fraction is $\frac{10}{9761}$. The second rule gives another fraction for the same purpose, and it is $\frac{1}{107 \times 360 \times 9761}$. For, suppose the number of solar days to be "S"; as 107 years contain 107×360 solar days, the number to be added to the numerator before division by 9761 will be $\frac{S}{107 \times 360}$; the total will thus be $\frac{10\,S + \frac{S}{107 \times 360}}{9761}$, or $\frac{10\,S}{9761} + \frac{S}{107 \times 360 \times 9761}$. In exactly the same way, the third rule gives a third fraction $\frac{1}{55061 \times 360 \times 9761}$. The result of the three rules is that the solar days have to be multiplied by the sum of these three fractions in order to be reduced to intercalary months.

It will be seen that I have interfered as little as possible with the text, specially the part of it giving the figures. In the first rule the only new suggestion is as to the last figure of the denominator; the text clearly requires the denominator to be of four figures, the numerator being multiplied by ten, and the fourth figure can hardly be anything but one. An objection might be raised to my interpreting the word Tithi as a solar day; but the last portion of the solar days is really represented by Tithis, the Tithis of the current year being added to the solar days of the years elapsed. The last figure of the years in the third rule is corrupt; the nearest approach to it would be one, and I have accordingly put that, although as I shall presently show two would be nearer the truth. I will now proceed to the demonstration.

The demonstration consists in proving that the mean motions of the sun and moon according to the Pauliśa Siddhánta given in other parts of the book give precisely the same fractions as those deduced above. According to Chapter III., Stanza I., the sun completes one sidereal revolution in $\frac{43831}{120}$ days. The mean motion of the moon is most probably the same as that for the Vasishṭha Siddhánta given in Chapter II, Stanzas 2 and 3 (see Dr. Thibant's Preface, Page XXXII). This mean motion is according to the editors 110 Revolutions, 11 signs, 7 degrees, 30 minutes and $\frac{2}{2971}$ of a sign in 3,031 days. For good reasons given in my discussion of those stanzas, I believe there is no fraction, but as the original text itself would read two kalás and a Kshepa quantity. This gives for the mean motion of the moon in 3031 days, 110 Rev.-11 S.-7°-32′, which differs only by four-fifths of a minute from the editors'. This being reduced to minutes becomes 2396252. Hence one sidereal revolution of the moon consisting of 21,600′ must be performed in $\frac{21600 \times 3031}{2396252}$ days. As the numbers to be dealt with are large it will be best to work with symbols in their place. Let $a = 43831$, $b = 120$, $c = 21600 \times 3031$, & $d = 2396252$. Then the length of a sidereal revolution of the sun in days is $\frac{a}{b}$, and that of the moon $\frac{c}{d}$. Hence the number of lunar sidereal revolutions in a year is $\frac{ad}{bc}$. The number of lunar months in any period is the number of lunar minus the number of the solar revolutions in that period. Hence the number of lunar months in a year is $\frac{ad}{bc} - 1$. The intercalary months in any period is the number of lunar months in that period minus the solar months. Hence the intercalary months in a year is $\frac{ad}{bc} - 13$. A year consists of 360 solar days, and therefore the solar days have to be multiplied by $\frac{\frac{ad}{bc} - 13}{360}$ to reduce them to intercalary months. The fraction in its simple form is $\frac{ad - 13bc}{360\ bc}$, which in figures comes to $\frac{2897545412}{360 \times 7856352000}$. It is this very fraction which has been used by Varáhamihira and very cleverly broken up into parts. If the denominator of this fraction be divided by the numerator the quotient will be something more than 976·09. Hence

the fraction is a little more than $\frac{1}{976\cdot1}$ or $\frac{10}{9761}$. It is the first fraction of Varáhamihira. This subtracted from the original leaves as remainder $\frac{73566532}{360\times9761\times7856352000}$. If we again reduce the numerator to one by dividing the denominator by it, it will be found that the quotient is a fraction over 106 multiplied by 360×9761; hence the last remainder is just larger than $\frac{1}{107\times9761\times360}$ which is the second fraction of Varáhamihira. Subtracting this from the last remainder we obtain $\frac{15266924}{360\times9761\times107\times7856352000}$. On again trying to reduce the numerator to one, it will be found that the denominator is a trifle over 55062 multiplied by 360×9761. This therefore gives us the third fraction of Varáhamihira.

To understand the full significance of this proof, it is necessary to consider how largely, any, the slightest variation in the mean motion of the moon affects the years given in the second and third rules. It will be found that if the mean motion of the moon in 3031 days be diminished by the fiftieth part of a second, the third rule will entirely vanish, the number of years being reduced to infinity; if the diminution be less than by a fiftieth, the years will vary from 55063 to infinity; if there be 10,000 years more in the third rule, the mean motion will be $\frac{1}{325}$th of a second less. Similarly one second less in the mean motion will increase the years in the second rule by 12, and one second more reduce them by nine. What chance is there then of the figures in the text agreeing so closely with those deduced by calculation from the mean motions, unless both the interpretation of the text and the mean motions were correct?

I am unable to interpret the rules for reducing the lunar days to Sávana days given in the same stanzas. According to the *data* given above, it will be found that the fraction by which the lunar days have to be multiplied to get the Kshepa Tithis is, $\frac{30\,(ad-bc)-ac}{30\,(ad-bc)} = \frac{45615044760}{2915213082360.}$ Similarly the following few figures will be of use for comparison with those of the other Siddhántas. According to the above *data*.

	Ds.	Gh.	P.	Vp.	Vvp.
The length of a lunar sidereal revolution is ...	27	19	18	0	$8\frac{2}{3}$
„ „ „ synodic month is ...	29	31	50	5	55
The number of solar days in which an intercalary month occurs is	976	5	50	51	35

	Ds.	Gh.	P.	Vp.	Vvp.
The number of Tithis in which a Kshaya Tithi occurs is	63	54	32	43	38
The number of lunar months in a year is ...	12·3688156				
The number of lunar days in a year is ...	371	3	52	5	5
The close agreement with the synodic month of the Romaka Siddhánta 29-31-50-5-37 is worth noting. That of the old Surya Siddhánta is	29	31	50	6	53

CHAPTER I.—STANZAS 17, 18, 19 and 20.

These stanzas describe the cycle of seven years of 360 days each. I have to suggest a few amendments in the interpretation of these for evident reasons. It is clear that the Kshepa 2227 days, represents the period of the cycle elapsed before the beginning of the Ahargaṇa, *i. e.*, before Monday, 21st March 505 A.D. Hence the cycle began on Sunday, 14th February 499 A.D., and the next cycle commenced on Sunday, 8th January 506 A.D. It follows that in the 18th stanza the amount to be subtracted after multiplication of the year by 3 must be 2, and not 4; the word cannot be अब्धि or अद्रि, but some word representing 2 such as अश्वि. For, suppose the remainder after division by 2520 is less than 360, the ruler of that year will be clearly the sun; the current year one being multiplied by three would have to be diminished by two, and not four to obtain one, the symbol of Sunday.

In the 19th stanza it is not the Ahargaṇa that has to be divided by 30, but the remainder after division by 2520, else the months would begin on the 2228th day of the cycle. Moreover, one for the current month has to be added after multiplication by two and not before; an example similar to that for the year will make this clear.

In the 20th stanza, again, it is not the Ahargaṇa that has to be divided by seven, but the remainder after dividing by 2520; else the first day would be Monday.

One would at first sight suppose that this cycle of 2520 days is a purely artificial institution of the astronomers like that of the modern Surya Siddhánta, which is made to begin from the supposed first day of creation, Sunday. But calculation will show that this is not the case. Creation began $452\frac{3}{4}$ Mahá yugas before the Kaliyuga, and Varáhamihira's Ahargaṇa began 1,317,123 days after the Kaliyuga. Now if we take the length of the Mahá yuga, the same as that of our

author, *viz.*, 1,577,917,800 days, it will be found that the 452½ Mahá-yugas yield just 2070 days on dividing by 2520, rejecting whole cycles. The period after the Kaliyuga gives 1683 days. 2070 days *plus* 1683 days give one cycle *plus* 1233 days of another. Hence this cycle would have begun 1233 days before 21st March 505 A.D. or on 4th November 501 A.D., if it had commenced with creation. In the same way it will be found that a cycle of the modern Surya Siddhánta commenced on 19th August 501 A.D.

The question then is, what is the cycle of Varáhamihira? Is it the continuation of some old calendar with a year of 360 days? Such a year was in use in India for sacrificial purposes (see the Kála-madhava, the chapter on years); the name Sávana itself being derived from सु to extract the Soma juice. It is a strange coincidence that the Egyptians also used a year of 360 days for religious purposes according to Diodorus Siculus.

CHAPTER I.—STANZAS 23-25.

These stanzas have been thought by the editors to contain only astrological matter and therefore to be of altogether subordinate interest. As a matter of fact they contain the Persian calendar of the year of the epoch 505 A.D., and are of the greatest interest at least to a Parsi. The meaning of the 23rd stanza as correctly given by the editors is "Increase the Ahargaṇa by one and divide by 365; divide the remainder by 30; the quotient represents the months and the remainder is to be considered as belonging to the lords of the degrees of the signs." The next two stanzas give the 30 names of the 30 lords of the 30 degrees of each sign. In fact, these names are those of the thirty angels to whom each day of the Persian month is dedicated, as the identification of the greater number of them, and the order in which they stand proves conclusively.

The first is कमलोद्भव *i. e.*, Brahmá; he is the same as Hormuzd, the principal deity.

The second is प्रजेश *i. e.*, the one who presides over the living creatures. That is one of the principal functions of Bahman.

The third is स्वर्गी, the lord of heaven. So is Ardibehesht who holds the keys of heaven.

The names of the next four I fail to identify as the text is corrupt. Possibly there has been an attempt to transliterate the original

Pehlvi words as I shall show has been the case as respects the 10th and 20th.

The eighth is कमला *i. e.*, the female counterpart of the highest deity. The angel of the eighth Persian day *Depádar* or *Din. Pavan*, *Ataro* is also feminine and represents the highest deity (See Sháyastla Sháyast, Chap XXII. and XXIII.).

The ninth is अनल *i. e.*, fire. It is the same as Adar.

The tenth is अन्त. It seems to be a transliteration for Anáhiti the classical Anáitis, *i. e.*, Ábán the angel of the tenth day. In the process the word has been changed, probably by the copyist to the familiar Anta the destroyer, which certainly was not an attribute of Ábán.

The eleventh is रवि, *i. e.*, the sun. He is the same as Khorshed.

The twelfth is शशी, *i. e.*, the moon. He is the same as Mohr.

The thirteenth is इन्द्र the god of rain. So is the angel of the thirteenth Persian day Tir.

The fourteenth is गो, *i. e.*, the cow or bull, which is the same as Gosh.

The fifteenth is निवसि. It is feminine and means self-restraint or a religious duty. In the latter significance it possibly represents the female Din-Pavan-Mítro or Dapmehr.

The sixteenth is called हर This seems again like an attempt at transliterations, the M of Mehr being dropped by copyists, and changed to the familiar Hara, *i. e.*, Shiva.

The seventeenth is called भव in one manuscript and त्रव in another. Possibly the last may be Trátá, the protector, which is one of the principal parts of Shrosh.

The eighteenth is गुह in one manuscript and गुरु in the other. Justice is one of the principal characteristics of Rashnu, and so it is of Guru the teacher of the gods.

The nineteenth is पितृ, *i. e.*, the deceased fathers. There can be little doubt about their identification with the Fravashis, to whom the nineteenth day is dedicated by the Persians.

The twentieth is वरुण. Can it be वराण closely akin to the classical Varanes for Behram, which has been converted into the familiar Varuna?

The twenty-first and twenty-second are बलदेव and समीरण. Both are names of the wind or air, and represent Rám and Guvád.

The twenty-third is यम. I fail to see any connection between him and Depdin.

The twenty-fourth is वाक्, *i. e.*, the goddess of speech and wisdom. So are Din and her companion Chisti, both females.

The twenty-fifth is श्री, the bestower of wealth and happiness. It is an accurate translation of the later idea of the female Arshisang. The same word has been used for her in the Sanskrit Ashirvad.

The twenty-sixth is धनद, the male bestower of wealth a sort of counterpart of Shri as Arstad is of Arshisang. He is the increaser, the one who makes the world grow.

The twenty-seventh is गिरय, *i. e.*, the mountains. The firmament is considered in Parsi books to be made of stone, and that is possibly why Ásmán has been so translated.

The twenty-eighth is धात्री, *i. e.*, the earth. It is an accurate translation of Zamyad.

The twenty-ninth is वेधा the creator, the ordainer. It may represent Mahrespand, the religious and heavenly law which ordains. If the word were Vedá it would be a better translation.

The thirtieth is पर पुरुष, *i. e.*, the last person or the being who underlies all creation. That is but another name for the mystic eternal, and boundless light represented by Anerán. But possibly the epithet means nothing more than the last angel of the month.

The identification of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 8th, 9th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 19th, 21st, 22nd, 24th, 25th and 28th names is, I think, beyond doubt. These names could not occur by accident in exactly the same places in which they occur in the Parsi month. The year, it will be seen from Stanza 23, has the same constitution as the Parsi year, *viz.*, 12 months each of 30 days, with 5 intercalary days at the end. As the Ahargaṇa begins on Monday, and as one day has to be added to it, it is clear this year is made to begin on Sunday, 20th March, 505 A. D.

It will be found on calculation that this year is exactly the year o the Persians described by Alberuni in his Asár-i-Báki which has been translated by Dr. Sachu and called the "Chronology of Ancient

Nations." Alberuni describes two kinds of Zoroastrians years, that of the Zoroastrians of Persia proper, and that of the Zoroastrians of Khwarism and Sogdiáná, *i. e.*, those of Khorasan, Samarkand and other regions to the east and north of Persia proper. In the first kind of year the five intercalary days were inserted at the end of the 8th month Ábán, and in the second at the end of the 12th Aspandád. This distinction is clearly laid down in his chapter on the Persian months. Alberuni explains in the same chapter that these intercalary days came to be inserted at the end of Ábán, because the last two intercalary months (Kabisas) were inserted at the end of Ábán in the reign of Yasdegird bin Shapur, and it was the custom in Persia proper to insert these days immediately after the intercalary months. Working back from the modern Persian Calendar which is that of the Kadmi Parsis, or from the Epoch of Yasdegird Shahriar 1st Farvardin corresponding to 16th June 632 A. D., an easy calculation will show that 14th March 505 A. D. was 30th Ábán. If the intercalary days be inserted after Ábán, the month Adár will begin on 20th March and we shall have the year described by Varáhamihira.

The fact that the calendar described by our author has the form given to it by Yasdegird bin Shápur is of considerable interest. That monarch reigned from 404 to 421 A. D. Hence the Hindu astronomers must have been interchanging ideas with the Persian at least after 404 A. D. I think that may have happened even much later, *viz.*, after the year of our epoch 505 A. D. This year would naturally have been chosen by Persian astronomers for their epoch; according to the theory of the Gahnbárs or seasonal festivals, the last of the intercalary days is the Hamaspathamedam, which probably means the day on which the day and night are equal; the year 505 A. D. was the first of the four years in which this last intercalary day fell on the day of the vernal equinox and therefore all the seasonal festivals were exactly in their proper places; such a year never occurred again on account of the neglect of intercalation. Can it be by chance that our author chose the same epoch? Is it not more probable that he was led to choose it by the example of the Persian astronomers of his time reported possibly in the Pauliśa or Romaka Siddhántas or their commentaries?

The connection of Persian and Hindu astronomy is a subject to which little attention has hitherto been paid by scholars, but it is well worth study as likely to throw considerable light on the sources

of later Hindu astronomy. No doubt there is little left of old Persian astronomy, but probably a search of the earlier Arab writers might furnish some facts. In this connexion Alberuni furnishes an interesting fact. According to him (see page 11 of Dr. Sachu's translation) the Persian year was of 365 days, a fourth of a day, and a fifth of an hour, *i. e.*, 365 days, 6 hours and 12 minutes precisely the year of the Paulisa Siddhánta. On the other hand, we know that the Persians used Hindu astronomical tables as well as Greek, and their own (see page XLVI. of the Preface to the 4th volume of West's Pehlvi Texts).

CHAPTER II.—STANZA 1.

This Stanza has been left untranslated by the editors. An examination of the numbers contained therein leaves hardly any doubt that it contains a description of a year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, composed of solar months from whence the position of the sun on any day can be easily deduced.

I propose to read it thus:—

कृतगुणितभृतुयुतमेककुर्मं
नुहतं षड्यमेन्दुभिर्विभजेत्।
शशिखखखयमकृतस्वर
नवनववसुषट्विषयोनैः॥

I translate it thus:—"Multiply the Ahargaṇa by four, and add six; divide the sum by 1461; divide it up by 126 diminished by one, zero, zero, zero, two, four, seven, nine, nine, eight, six and five (*i. e.*, subtract from it successively as far as you can 125, 126, 126, 126, 124, 122, 119, 117, 117, 118, 120 and 121)." The elipsis to be supplied is "The number of these sums subtracted will represent the whole signs the sun has passed from Aries, and the remainder divided by the number for the next sign will represent the fraction of the sign that has to be passed."

This method of expression is common in Sanscrit works; it is used with respect to the calculation of Sines, as well as of the Lagna or horoscope by the Udayas. The Kshepa 6 represents that the sun entered Aries a day and a half before the epoch, which is correct. I give below side by side the length of each solar month in days,

Ghatis and Pals according to this system, and of each such month according to modern Hindu calculations rejecting fractions under one Pal. The reader will judge whether the identification is complete or not, remembering that the modern year is 31 Pals longer :—

Name of the month.	Length according to modern Hindu calculations.			Length according to this stanza.	
	Dys.	Ghts.	Pls.	Dys.	Ghts.
Chaitra	30	55	56	31	15
Vaiśákha	31	25	53	31	30
Jyeshtha	31	37	57	31	30
Ashádha	31	28	50	31	30
Shrávaṇa	31	1	27	31	0
Bhádrapada	30	26	37	30	30
Aśvin	29	53	40	29	45
Kártika	29	29	25	29	15
Márgśirsha	29	18	57	29	15
Pausha	29	26	45	29	30
Mágha	29	49	5	30	0
Fálguna	30	20	59	30	15

CHAPTER II.—STANZA 3.

I submit the last two lines of this stanza should be read thus :—

भादि कला द्विगुणघनाः
शशिमुनिनवयमा श्चरार्द्धाद्याः ॥

I propose to translate thus "(The preceding amount) begins with signs. Add to that minutes equal to twice the number of Ghanas. Add to that 2 signs, 9 degrees, 7 minutes and 1 second."

The construction of the last line is similar to that of the 6th stanza

of the 17th Chapter about the meaning of which there can be no doubt.

One reason for the proposed reading is that it is more in accordance with the extant text. A second reason is that it exactly accords with the rules for the calculation of the Ahargaṇa given in the first Chapter and already discussed by me. A third reason is that it gives the longitude of the moon's apogee at the epoch near its true place and very near that of the Romaka Siddhánta, whereas the interpretation of the editors gives the apogee nearly 60° behind its true place. This is easy to ascertain by working out the rules given in the 2nd and 3rd stanzas. The Ahargana is zero; add 1936; there is no Ghana; multiply by 9 and divide by 248; the quotient is 70 Gatis or anomalistic revolutions, and the remainder 64 Padas or ninths of a day. Hence the moon was in apogee $7\frac{1}{9}$ days before the epoch; as each Gati gives a motion of 3° 4 $\frac{8}{10}$′, in 70 Gatis the motion is 215°-43′. If the editors' interpretation be correct and there be no Kshepa 215°-43′ would be the longitude of the apogee $7\frac{1}{9}$ days before the epoch, and it would be about 46′ more at the epoch or 216°-29′. Any modern table will show that it is nearly 281°; according to the old Súrya Siddhánta it is 279°-44′; according to the Romaka it is 286°-58′. If the proposed interpretation be adopted, and a Kshepa of 2s-9°-7′-1′ be added it would be 285°-36′ which it will be seen is near enough to the truth and very near the Romaka.

I must however state that there is yet some defect in the constants. The longitude of the mean moon even according to the present interpretation is not right. It is 18°-32′ according to this interpretation and 309° according to that of the editors. The first would be the longitude on Tuesday evening, the 22nd March 505 A. D., according to the Surya Siddhánta, and on Tuesday morning according to the Romaka; the second would be that on Thursday, the 17th, about midday. Probably the last figure of 1936 is not correct; if it were 1935 the longitude would be that on Monday morning and therefore correct. This Kshepa represents the number of days before the epoch when the moon was in apogee at sunrise or some other fixed time; if it were 1936 the day would be 2nd December 499 A. D., and if it were 1935 it would be 3rd December, which is also the day of the full moon. The latter must be correct as the moon is very nearly in apogee on the morning of 3rd December 499 A. D. If so the position of the mean moon at sunrise on the day of our epoch will be 5°-22′.

CHAPTER II.—Stanzas 4, 5, 6.

The fifth and sixth stanzas have been considered unintelligible by the editors. To understand them it is necessary to re-translate the latter half of the 4th stanza also. I translate them as follows:—"124 Padas make half a Gati. The first half Gati is Dhana and the second Ṛiṇa. For the first half Gati add 180°-4.′ Take degrees equal to the Padas, or Padas remaining after subtracting 124; then (add) the minutes (worked out as follows) in the case of Dhana and Ṛiṇa (half Gatis respectively) (In the first case) subtract one from the Padas, multiply by five, add 1094, multiply the sum by the Padas, and divide by 63; (in the second case) subtract 5 times the Padas minus one from 2414, multiply by the Padas and divide by 63."

These stanzas give rules for finding the position of the true moon; having obtained the motion for whole Gatis by the 2nd and 3rd stanzas, we have to make additions to it for the Padas. To put it clearly let the Padas be "p;" if they are less than 124, the amount to be added is $p^\circ + \frac{[1094 + 5\ (p.-1)]}{63}\ p.'$ If they are more than 124 then for 124 add 180°+4′; let the remainder be p., then add $p.^\circ + \frac{[2414-5\ (p.-1)]}{63}\ p.'$

These formulæ give an extremely simple theory of the moon based on arithmetical progression. The motion is supposed to be $1^\circ + \left(\frac{1094'}{63}\right)$ for the first Pada (or ninth of a day) after apogee; it is then supposed to increase from Pada to Pada by the common difference $\frac{10}{63}$ until the moon becomes perigee. For the first Pada after the perigee it is $1^\circ + \left(\frac{2414}{63}\right)'$, and it then diminishes from Pada to Pada by the same common difference $\frac{10'}{63}$. It will be noticed that the motion in the first Pada before the apogee, differs from that in the first Pada after by $\frac{90'}{63}$, and the same is the case with the first Pada before and after the perigee. The reason for this anomaly becomes intelligible when we calculate the motions for days instead of Padas; it is then found that the motion for the first day after the apogee is the least, that the motion for the second day after the apogee is the same as that for the first day before, that for the third day after the same as that for the second day before, and so on, the common difference for a day being $(12\frac{4}{7})'$.

The following table will show these motions :—

The motion of the moon.		For which day.
11°	42′	1st day after apogee.
11°	$54\frac{6}{7}'$	2nd day after apogee and 1st day before apogee.
12°	$7\frac{5}{7}'$	3rd „ „ „ „ 2nd „ „ „
12°	$20\frac{4}{7}'$	4th „ „ „ „ 3rd „ „ „
12°	$33\frac{3}{7}'$	5th „ „ „ „ 4th „ „ „
12°	$46\frac{2}{7}'$	6th „ „ „ „ 5th „ „ „
12°	$59\frac{1}{7}'$	7th „ „ „ „ 6th „ „ „
13°	12′	8th „ „ „ „ 7th „ „ „
13°	$24\frac{6}{7}'$	9th „ „ „ „ 8th „ „ „
13°	$37\frac{5}{7}'$	10th „ „ „ „ 9th „ „ „
14°	$50\frac{4}{7}'$	11th „ „ „ „ 10th „ „ „
14°	$3\frac{3}{7}'$	12th „ „ „ „ 11th „ „ „
14°	$16\frac{2}{7}'$	13th „ „ „ „ 12th „ „ „
11°	$14\frac{52}{63}'$	$13\frac{7}{9}$th „ „ „ „ $12\frac{7}{9}$th „ „ „
14°	$39\frac{1}{7}'$	First day after perigee.

The motion is equally distributed on both sides of the first day after the apogee and first day after the perigee, and not round the apogee and perigee themselves. This also explains why the motion in the first half of the Gati is nearly 3° smaller than that in the second half; working out with the formulæ already given it will be found that the motion for the first 124 Padas is $180° + 3\frac{47'}{63}$, which is put equal to $180° + 4'$, similarly for the next 124 Padas, the motion will be found to be $183° + \frac{8'}{9}$, hence the total motion in one Gati is $363° + 4\frac{8}{9}$. The second and third stanzas give $363° + 4\frac{9'}{10}$. This proves that the interpretation is correct.

It is an interesting question whether this theory of the lunar motion is indigenous or borrowed. I do not know of any other astronomical system contaning this theory. It seems to be indigenous, for the idea of arithmetrical progression is also employed in the same Siddhânta for calculating the varying lengths of the day and night during the year.

The interpretations now given of the obscure stanzas of this chapter will show that the connection of the luni-solar system of the Vasishṭha Siddhánta with the Vākyam process of the Tamil

astronomers described by Warren is much closer than the editors thought. In fact, it seems to me that the latter is derived from the former, certain corrections based on the more scientific Siddhántas being introduced, but the old form being almost entirely retained. I will give a few details to prove this. It will be seen that the solar months are used and not lunar, and the longitude of the sun is determined from the lengths of these solar months exactly as in the Vákyam process. Both for the sun and the moon, the true positions are determined directly without determining the mean exactly as in the Vákyam process. The Vákyam process derives the longitude of the moon from its anomalistic position exactly like the Siddhánta in question. The Vedam of the Vákyam process 7*s*-2°-0′-7″ is nothing more than the true position of the moon, when it is in apogee at sunrise on the day of its epoch 1,600,984 days after the Kaliyuga, *i. e.*, Friday, 22nd May 1282 A. D.; this will be found on working out its position with the modern Surya Siddhánta; it will be discovered that the moon is in apogee on the day in question about 7 pals after sunrise, and that its longitude at sunrise is 7*s*-2°-15½′; the difference of 15½′ seems to be made up in table 47 of Warren giving the correction due to the interval between mean sunrise at Lanká and true sunrise at Trivallore; this correction has been kept all throughout positive by adding to it the difference of 15½′ or something very near it. Exactly corresponding to 22nd May 1282 of the Vákyam process, is 2nd or 3rd December 499 A.D. of our Siddhánta, the day on which the moon is in apogee at sunrise. The Vedam corresponds to the Kshepa 2*s*-9°-7′-1″ the position of the moon on 2nd or 3rd December 499 A.D. The main period of the Vákyam process is 12,372 days, in which the moon is taken to complete 449 revolutions; it also employs the subsidiary periods of 3,031 days for 110 revolutions, and 248 for 9 revolutions, which are employed by our Siddhánta, the first being its principal period. It will be seen that the correction in this respect is very small, for if 449 revolutions take place in 12,372 days, 110 revolutions will take place in only 8 Pals more than 3,031 days, and 9 revolutions in 32 Pals less than 248 days. The last correction for the moon's place mentioned by Warren is applied because the moon is nearer its apogee for each Devaram or period of 248 days by 32 Pals; the difference between the mean and true motions for that period of 32 Pals is added. Such a correction would also be necessary for our Siddhánta as 110 Revolutions in 3,031 days, give 9 revolutions in 31 Pals

less than 248 days, but being small this correction has not been applied.

It is interesting to see how the simple astronomy of southern India of the time of Varáhamihira, has been subsequently modified, corrections based on the more scientific Siddhántas or on original observation applied, and yet the old form retained almost in its entirety. Possibly even the elements given by Varahamihira are not those of this Siddhánta when it was originally started. Possibly the mean motion of the moon has been borrowed from the Panliśa Siddhánta.

CHAPTER III.—Stanza 4.

This and the following five stanzas give rules for finding the true place of the moon and its motion in one day according to the Panlisá Siddhánta. I have not been able to find the meaning of the next five stanzas, but that of the 4th is pretty clear and is in accordance with the theory of the moon given in the second chapter. According to this theory the Bhukti or motion of the moon for the first day in the first half of the Gati is 702′; that for the second day is $\frac{90'}{7}$ more, that for the third $\frac{180'}{7}$ more and so on, *i. e.*, $\frac{10}{7}$ times the number of the Pada last preceding the day; exactly the same rule is given in the first two verses of this stanza if we interpret the dwors नगात् पशात् as the Pada last preceding the day. Again according to the same theory, the motion for the first day in the second half of the Gati is 879 1/7′; that for any subsequent day can be obtained by subtracting $\frac{90'}{7}$ for each succeeding day, *i. e.*, a number equal to $\frac{10}{7}$ times the number of the Pada last preceding the day. This rule is prescribed in the second part of the stanza, but by some accident the figures 879 have been inverted and changed to 978.

CHAPTER III.—Stanzas 20 and 21.

I think the original reading of the last word of the first line of the 20th stanza चक्रे is quite correct, and the emendation षट्रे is not. As the stanza stands it conveys nothing more than the well-known rule that Vaidhrita is the 27th Yoga and Vyatipáta the 17th.

When the sun is as much in advance of $8\frac{1}{2}$ Nakshatras, *i. e.*, the middle of Áśleshá, as the moon is behind it, it is clear the sum of their Nakshatras must be 17 and then Vyatipáta occurs. The 21st

stanza, when it asserts that the solstice was in its proper place when it was in the middle of Aśleshá, means that at that time the Yoga Vyatipáta was in accord with its original significance. For Vyatipáta originally signified a particular configuration of the sun and moon, *viz.*, when they were each at the same distance from the solstice on opposite sides of it, so that they rose on the horizon at the same spot, and yet one was going southwards and the other northwards, and hence they were supposed to be opposed to each other and to fight. Hence when the solstice was in the middle of Áśleshá the technical Yoga Vyatipáta coincided with the true Vyatipáta, and in fact must date from that period.

Vaidhrita happens when the sun is as much in advance of the end of Revati or the middle of Chitrá as the moon is behind it. This Yoga could have had no particular significance until the vernal equinox coincided with the end of Revati, and the autumnal with the middle of Chitrá. Hence it also happens that the Paitamaha Siddhánta (See Chapter XII. of our book) mentions the Vyatipáta Yoga but not the Vaidhrita, for that Siddhánta dates long before the time when the Zodiac began with Aśvini.

CHAPTER III.—Stanza 29.

This stanza, left untranslated, means nothing more than that the Kshepa or longitude of Ráhu at the time of the epoch is one minute less than 26° of Scorpio, and that the mean motion in the Ahargana obtained by the former stanza should be subtracted from the Kshepa to obtain the head of Ráhu (the ascending node), and six signs added to it to obtain his tail (the descending node). The longitude so given is accurate. According to modern tables I find it to be a few minutes less than 26° of Scorpio. According to Varáhamihira's Surya Siddhánta it is 6′ more than 26° of Scorpio, and according to his Romaka 11′ less.

CHAPTERS IX. and XVI.

There are good reasons for believing that Áryabhaṭa either edited he old Surya Siddhánta or else that he wrote a work in exact accordance with it. I will give them one after the other.

The editors have proved that the Bhagaṇas, *i. e.*, revolutions in a Mahâyuga of the sun, moon, her nodes and apogee, Venus, Mars and Saturn given in Chapters IX. and XVI. as those of the old Surya

Siddhánta are the same as those of the extant Áryabhaṭíyam. They have also proved that the apogees and epicycles are the same as those ascribed to Áryabhaṭa by Brahmagupta in his Khaṇḍa Khádyaka.

I will show first that the mean places of the above said heavenly bodies, according to the old Surya Siddhánta, are exactly the same as those to be derived from the Áryabhaṭíyam at the epoch of Áryabhaṭa, *viz.*, the end of the 3600th year of the Kaliyuga. The learned Pandit has proved in the Sanskrit commentary that the mean places of all the heavenly bodies at the beginning of creation are at the beginning of Aries. There are $452\frac{1}{4}$ Mahá yugas from the beginning of creation to that of the present Kaliyuga; hence the Bhagaṇas multiplied by this number will give the positions of the different bodies at the beginning of Kali. It will thus be found that in the beginning of Kali, the sun, moon and planets are at the beginning of Aries, the moon's apogee is at the beginning of Cancer, and her node at that of Libra; these positions are therefore the same as those of the Áryabhaṭíyam. But in the case of the old Surya Siddhánta Kaliyuga begins at midnight, and according to the Áryabhaṭíyam at sunrise; and hence at the beginning of Kali the heavenly bodies of the former are six hours in advance of those of the latter. This difference will be made up exactly in 3600 years. For it is clear that for the same number of years in both cases the mean motions will be the same, but the years of the Surya being larger than those of the Árya Siddhánta for the same amount of motion the planets will take more time in the former. Now the Mahá yuga of the former is larger than that of the latter by just 300 days, and as 3600 years is the twelve hundredth part of a Mahá yuga 3600 years of the former will be larger than those of the latter by the 1200th part of 300 days or exactly 6 hours. As the former began 6 hours before the latter, the ends will coincide: in fact, the 3600th year of both will terminate exactly at mid-day, and the mean positions of the planets in both cases will be the same at that time.

But Áryabhata is himself reported to have also begun the Kaliyuga at midnight in some other work (see the 20th Stanza of the 15th Chapter). It follows from what has been said above that if Áryabhata wanted to keep the mean places for his own epoch the same according to both systems, he must have lengthened the Mahá yuga by 300 days. There can be little doubt that he must have kept the mean places of the heavenly bodies for his own time the same according to both systems, because that was a matter of observation; and

hence he must also have used the same length of the Mahâyuga as the old Surya Siddhánta.

I will show presently when dealing with the 15th and 16th Stanzas of Chapter IX. that the sizes of the earth, moon and sun and the distances of the two latter from the former also closely resemble those of Áryabhaṭa, being very different from those of the modern Surya Siddhánta.

On the other hand the modern Surya Siddhánta, which is probably a recast of the old one by some later writer, does connect itself by a very important date given in it with Áryabhaṭa. According to the theory of precession contained in it, the Hindu Zodiac commenced at the vernal equinox in the beginning of Kali and also at the end of the 3600th year after Kali, and that is again the epoch of Áryabhaṭa. Not only does this follow from the theory of precession given in Chapter III. Stanza 9, of the modern Surya Siddhánta, but the labours of Prof. Whitney have proved that the stellar longitudes in Chapter VIII. are also calculated for that date. The editor of the modern treatise either borrowed them from the old one, or else calculated them for that date. In the first case it follows that the old treatise was edited by Áryabhaṭa himself; in the second case it follows that it was the opinion of the modern editor that Áryabhaṭa was the founder of modern Hindu astronomy.

CHAPTER IX.—Stanza 5.

The Kshepa of Ráhu in this stanza is not given by the editors as too corrupt. It can, however, be easily found on the assumption that it is at the beginning of Libra at the commencement of Kali, and that its revolutions in a Mahâyuga are 232226. These revolutions multiplied by the number of days elapsed since Kali 1317123, and divided by the number of days in a Mahâyuga will give $193\frac{1}{2}$ revolutions and $\frac{543111498}{1577917800}$th of a revolution; this has to be reduced to the denominator 1834582 employed in the book; the numerator multiplied by this denominator and divided by its own denominator gives the Kshepa 631454; out of this 135 have to be subtracted as the Kshepa obtained is that for mid-night; the true Kshepa is 631319. The figures given in the text are नवकेकपक्षरामेन्दुवहनषड्वा: ; these are the identical figures found above if पक्ष be removed, and षड्वा taken to mean six. It is clear that one figure has to be removed because the numerator cannot be larger than the denominator.

CHAPTER IX.—Stanzas 15 and 16.

I propose to read these stanzas thus:—

मुनिकृतगुणेन्द्रियघ्नः
स्फुटकर्णः खकृतभाजितोऽर्कस्य।
कक्षेति चन्द्रकर्णो
विघ्नः कक्षा शशांकस्य ॥
खवसुखमुनीन्दुविषया
भानोः खकृतर्तुवसुगुणाः शशिनः
तात्कालिकमानार्थं
स्फुटकक्षाभ्यां पृथग्विभजेत् ॥

I translate them as follows:—"(15) The true hypotenuse multiplied by 5347 and divided by 40 gives the Kakshá of the sun; the true hypotenuse of the moon multiplied by ten gives the Kakshá of the moon. (16) Divide 517080 by the Kakshá of the sun, and 38640 by that of the moon; the quotients are the diameters of the sun and moon respectively in minutes."

It will be seen that the method of translation is the same as that of the editors, but certain figures have been altered. The alterations are as near the original text as those of the editors, if not nearer. The results justify the alterations as I proceed to show.

The alterations in the 15th Stanza are for the sun in the divisor and for the moon in the multiplier. With the reading of the editors the sine of the horizontal parallax of the moon at its mean distance according to Stanza 22nd would be $\frac{18\times120}{3\times120}$, and that of the sun $\frac{18\times120\times120}{5347\times120}$; this would make the parallax of the moon 2° 52′ and that of the sun $11\frac{1}{3}'$, the radius being of 120 parts. These results are on the face of them nearly three times larger than they ought to be. The proposed reading will give the parallax of the moon $51\frac{1}{3}'$ and that of the sun $3\frac{2}{3}'$ which are very near those of the modern Siddhántas; besides the ratio of these parallaxes to each other will be inversely as that of the mean motions which the Hindu theory demands. The reading of the editors will not satisfy even that test.

The proposed reading of the 16th Stanza, will give the diameters of the sun and moon at their mean distances respectively 32′ 14″ and 32′ 12,″ which is very near the truth. The reading of the editors gave them 962′·6 and 962′·8 for which they have been obliged to postulate a division by 30 which is not in the text.

It will now be easy to find out the data as regards sizes and distances. The diameter of the earth being assumed to be 36 units, the mean distance from the moon is given as 1200 units, and from the sun as 16041 units; the latter two are respectively the Kakshás, distances not in Yojanas but in peculiar units. The diameters of the sun and moon in the same units will be obtained by dividing the numbers in the 16th stanza by 3438. For the diameters divided by the Kakshás in the same units will give the circular measures of the angles subtended; as one circular measure contains 3438 minutes very nearly, the diameters have to be multiplied by 3438 before division by the Kakshás to obtain them in minutes. Thus the diameter of the sun will be found to be 150 2/5 units and that of the moon $11\frac{1}{4}$ units, very nearly.

What is the length of the unit in Yojanas? Varáhamihira does not explicitly state the diameter or circumference of the earth according to the Surya Siddhánta. But if we assume that it is the same as that implied for the Pauliśa Siddhánta in Chap. III. stanza 14, and explicitly given in several places in Chap. XIII. *viz.*, 3200 Yojanas, then each unit will be very nearly 28·3 Yojanas.

It is well worth noting that the measures thus deduced resemble far more closely those of Áryabhata, than those of the modern Surya Siddhánta which are nearly one and a half times as large. According to Áryabhata the diameter of the earth is 1050 Yojanas, and its circumference 3300 Yojanas, whereas according to the modern Surya Siddhánta the diameter is 1600 Yojanas. The sun's diameter according to Áryabhata is 4410 Yojanas, *i. e.*, 4 1/5 times that of the earth, and that is also very nearly the ratio of our author, whereas that of the modern Surya Siddhánta is 4 1/16. According to Áryabhata the moon moves ten Yojanas for each circular minute of its motion, so that its distance from the earth is just ten times the artificial radius 3438; Varáhamihira also makes the distance ten times his artificial radius 120, and it seems very probable therefore that he has also adopted the theory of ten Yojanas in one circular minute. If so, the distance would be exactly the same as that of Áryabhata, and the unit would be equal to $\frac{3438}{120}$ Yojanas, *i. e.*, 28·65 very near our previous result. If the distance of the moon from the earth be the same for the two authors, so also must be the distance of the sun; for the ratio of the distances is the inverse of the ratio of the circular velocities of the two bodies, which latter ratio is the same for both authors.

A curious fact strikes one here. The measures of the earth given by Varáhamihira and Áryabhata are extremely near the measure of the Greek Philosopher Eratosthenes, who flourished at Alexandria in the 3rd century before Christ. The circumference of the earth according to this Greek is 252000 stadia. Now a Yojana is of 32000 cubits, and a stadium called in Sanscrit Nalva is of 400 cubits; hence there are 80 stadia in a Yojana. Hence 3200 Yojanas make 256000 stadia and 3300 make 264000. But the resemblance is in fact still closer. The diameter 1050 Yojanas is exactly equal to 84,000 stadia, and that is just one-third of Eratosthenes' measure; very likely it was in that form brought to India by inaccurate writers who did not know a more exact ratio between the diameter and circumference of a circle than three. Some of the classical writers did commit this mistake. According to Pliny, the Greek Dionysiodorus fixed the radius of the earth at 42,000 stadia, which is exactly that of Áryabhata. (See Delambre's History of Ancient Astronomy, Volume I., Pages 220 and 293.)

CHAPTER X.—Stanza I.

In this stanza the original reading of the number in the second line 286 seems correct, and not the substituted reading 276. According to this stanza the difference between the diameters of the earth and sun in units is equal to that particular number (286 or 276) multiplied by 36 and divided by 90. Hence the number must be equal to the difference multiplied by $\frac{36}{90}$ or $\frac{2}{5}$. The difference according to the figures given above is $114\frac{2}{5}$ units, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ times, that is exactly 286. This also goes to support the truth of the figures already found.

CHAPTER XII.

The epoch of the Paitámaha Siddhánta is the second year of the Śaka Era Mágha Śukla 1, when the sun and moon were in conjunction at sunrise in the beginning of Dhanishṭhá. The data are correct, for on Tuesday, 11th January 80 A.D. the sun and moon were in conjunction in Dhanishṭha in the morning. But the conjunction took place not in the beginning of the Nakshatra as now understood, but very near the true longitude of the star Dhanishṭha (Alpha Delphini). The sun was then in the 21st degree from the winter solstice of that year, and in the 27th degree of Capricornus of the moveable Hindu Zodiac; the true longitude of the star is also in the 27th degree of Capricornus. This is extremely important as fixing the

true position of the Hindu Zodiac before the introduction of the Babylonian system of signs; Aśvini, according to this system, must have commenced three degrees more to the East than it does now. Its present position was fixed at the epoch of Áryabhaṭa, and we may very properly infer that it was he who fixed it. Another point worth noting is that even at that early date (80 A.D.) before the importation of the new astronomy, the Nakshatras were taken to be of equal length and 27 in number. It is also worth noting that at first Śáka years must have begun with Mágha and not Chaitra.

This Siddhánta could have been of practical use only for a short period; the year is of 366 days, and so the sun must have fallen back by 15° or over a Nakshatra in 20 years; the lunar month is too short by over 20 minutes, and therefore there must have been a loss of 4 Tithis in 20 years, and of 15 in 75 when the full moon must have fallen on the day there ought to have been new moon according to calculation.

CHAPTER XIV.

The latter part of this chapter gives the longitudes and latitudes of certain stars. I think the longitudes must be true longitudes measured along latitude circles, and not polar longitudes measured along declination circles. The latter seem to be a refinement of the modern Surya Siddhánta, being the true longitudes corrected by the Áyana Dṛikkarma. Lalla's longitudes of the stars given in his Śishya Dhí Vriddhida are clearly true longitudes, and very probably they were those of Aryabhaṭa. I have just shewn that the Paitámaha Siddhánta also indicates Dhanishṭha by its true longitude not its polar which would be nearly 6° less.

It is remarkable that the latitudes are measured in cubits, a method of measuring celestial distances very commonly employed by the Greeks. The Greek measure was a very uncertain one as Delambre has shown in different parts of his book; a cubit may have been one or two or three degrees. I think it has been properly fixed at 5 4 2/5′ in the present case by the editors.

The exact star of the group Kṛittiká (Pleiades) cannot be identified; certainly the stars Pushya and Áśleshá are different from those of the modern Surya Siddhánta if the reading be correct. Rohini is about 1° behind its true position, Punarvasu, which seems to represent the mean between Alpha and Beta Gemini about 3°, Maghá about 3°, and Chitrá about 2° for the epoch of Varáhamihira. One ex-

planation of this is that the longitudes are taken from an old catalogue, and not determined from observation in his own time or near it. Another is that the longitudes were determined according to the old Hindu Zodiac, which as I have shown commenced about 3° to the East of the present one. The only other old catalogue I know is that of Ptolemy, which is probably the same as that of Hipparchus. I give below his longitudes side by side with those of Varáhamihira. Certainly the longitude of Maghá (Regulus) would be what it is according to Ptolemy's method, by adding $3\frac{1}{2}°$ for his value of the precession for the three and a half centuries that elapsed between him and the epoch of Áryabhaṭa. It is also worth noting that the latitude of Canopus $75\frac{1}{2}°$ is much closer to Ptolemy's latitude 75°, than the 80° of the modern Surya Siddhánta :—

Name of Star.	Ptolemy's		Varáhamihira's	
	Longitude.	Latitude.	Longitude.	Latitude.
Aldebaran or Rohini	42 40	5 30 S.	48°	4° 59′ S.
Pollux and Castor or Punarvasu.	86 20	6 15 N.	88°	7° 15′ N.
	83 20	9 30 N.		
Regulus or Maghá	122 30	0 10 N.	126°	0°
Spica or Chitra	176 40	2° S.	180° 50	2° 43′ S.
Canopus or Agastya	77 10	75° S.	90° 0	75° 30′ S.

Note on the Persian Calendar.

The passage of Varáhamihira dealing with this subject leads to some interesting results, but as they are not directly connected with Hindu astronomy, it has been thought best to discuss them in a separate note.

The passage gives us the oldest recorded date in the Persian Calendar known to us. Strange as it may seem, hitherto there was not a single date of that calendar known to us previous to the accession of the last Sassanian monarch.

The passage furnishes extremely good corroboration of Alberuni's testimony which was very much wanted. The fact that the intercalary days were added at the end of the eighth month seems so odd and inconsistent with the modern practice in India as well as Persia,

that the authority of the Mahommedan writers who have asserted it, has been very strongly doubted by European scholars as well as by the modern Parsis themselves. Yet Alberuni asserts that that was the case even in his own time (About A.D. 1000). He states (See page 56 of Dr. Sachu's translation) "In that intercalation the turn had come to Ábán Mah, therefore the epagominae were added at its end, and there they have remained ever since." Alberuni knew also the other system in which the epagominae were put at the end of the 12th month which he states prevailed in Khwarism and Sugdiana. Throughout his book Alberuni has marked this difference. Thus at page 136 when describing the day on which 1st Thoth of the era of Nabonassar begins he states that it begins on the 1st of the month Dé.; that can only be if the intercalary days have preceded Dé.; if they be at the end of Aspandád as in the calendars at present current 1st Thoth would fall on the 6th of Dé. In the reformed calendar of Khalif Al-Mu'taḍid introduced in 895 A.D., although the year begins with 1st Farvardin on 11th June, the intercalation takes place in the same way being at the end of Ábán. (See as regards this calendar pages 36, 37, 38, 138 and 185 of Dr. Sachu's translation.) Again at page 184 when describing the way to find the signum or week-day of the beginning of each month of the Yasdegirdi Era, the same distinction is made between the Persian and Khwárismian calendars. The same distinction is most clearly marked in the description of the Persian feasts beginning at page 201; the Gáhnbárs or six seasonal festivals come exactly as if the year commenced with Ádár and not Farvardin, and that they must do as they must keep their respective distances and at the same time the last of them must fall on the last intercalary day; the Farvardigan ceremonies are described as taking place during the last five days of Ábán and the intercalary days; whereas in the case of the Sughdians they are described as taking place at the end of Aspandad as now in India. A perusal of his whole work cannot but convince one of the truth of this assertion, for he tells not merely a tradition but what was prevailing in his own time in the heart of Persia. Alberuni receives unexpected support from Varahamihira, for the passage I have quoted shows that even in 505 A.D., five centuries before Alberuni's time the intercalary days were at the end of Ábán. Varáhamihira wrote in the time of Noshirván if not earlier, and the calendar he describes is that of the time of Kobad, and his is therefore contemporary testimony.

Another peculiar assertion of Alberuni receives confirmation from another unexpected quarter. He asserts that the Khwárismian calendar differed from the Persian not only in putting the intercalary days at the end of the twelfth month, but also according to that calendar the year commenced five days later than the Persian, so that the first day of the first month Navasardi fell on the sixth day of the Persian month Farvardin which is called Khurdád Sál now, and used to be called formerly the great Nauroz. Thus the first year of Yasdegird Shahriár would in Khwárism have commenced on 21st June 632 A.D. I find the Khwarismian calendar is in fact identical with the common Armenian calendar. The first month in both calendars bears the same name, *viz.*, Nava Sardi, meaning new year, and commences on exactly the same day, so that the rest of the months as well as the intercalary days also coincide. The Armenian Era commenced on 11th July 552 A.D. (See Du Laurier's Armenian Chronology); if we count back from 21st June 632 A.D. by years of 365 days we shall come to the same date for 552 A.D., *viz.*, 11th July; or in the reverse way the Armenian year in 1894 A.D. commenced on 22nd August exactly as the Khwárismian. We can understand the identity when we remember that it was one of the Arsacide kings Artaxes who introduced this calendar into Armenia about the end of the first century after Christ. This shows, moreover, how accurate Alberuni is.

It is an interesting question as to how the Parsis of India came to have the Khwárismian mode of intercalation instead of the pure Persian. Probably a clue may be furnished by the tradition reported in the Kissa-e-Sanján that they came to India after a long stay in Khorásán. A date given in the same book would seem to show as if they had at first the Khwárismian calendar in exactly the form given by Alberuni. The date of landing at Sanján is given as Shrávan Sud 9 Samvat 772 Friday, corresponding to the 4th month and 2nd day of the Yasdegirdi year 85. The Hindu date corresponds to 3rd July 716 A.D. Old style; and it would correspond exactly with the 4th day of the 2nd month of the Khwárismian year 85 of Yasdegird. The month and day seem to have been interchanged somehow in the original; such is the theory also of Mr. K. R. Kama in his excellent pamphlet on the Yasdegirdi Era in Gujerati, but of course according to the ordinary calendar the day comes out to be the 9th and therefore the explanation is not quite satisfactory; it would be the 4th according to the Khwárismian. I have taken the date at second-hand from

Dasbur Aspandiarji's book on the Kabisa, and that I believe is also Mr. Kama's source; it would be worth while looking up the oldest manuscripts of the Kissa-e-Sanján to find the truth.

After this digression I will return to Varáhamihira. It must not be inferred from the passage in question, that the year actually commenced with the month of Ádar. The year always seems to have commenced with Farvardin. Such is the explicit assertion of Alberuni. The same is also clear from the facts that the first day of Farvardin was always called the Nauroj, *i. e.*, new day, and that the month corresponding with Farvardin both in Khwarism and Armenia is called Nava Sardi, *i. e.*, New Year. That this correspondence of Farvardin with Navasardi is not accidental is shown by the names of several other months being nearly identical, such as Ciri, Hamdád, and Ikshareward for Tir Amerdad and Shahrivar.

Neither must it be supposed from the passage that the month of Ádar always began with the vernal equinox. There is good reason to suppose that once upon a time the month of Farvardin began with the vernal equinox. Of course it did so in the tenth century after Christ on account of the neglect of intercalation, but what I mean is that this seems to have happened also before. There is a tradition to that effect reported by Alberuni (See page 55 of his book), as well as in the Bundahis. This tradition receives great support from the astrological doctrine of exaltation. The 19th degree of Aries is the exaltation of the sun, and the 3rd degree of Taurus that of the moon; this seems to be derived from or connected with the fact that the 19th day of Farvardin is Farvardin, and the 3rd day of Ardibesht is Ardibesht, both considered holy on which days the sun entered his own exaltation and that of the moon respectively; this idea of connecting the degrees of the Zodiacal signs with the days of the Parsi months is not a new one, for it is the leading idea of the very passage of Varáhamihira under discussion. The doctrine of exaltation thus connects Farvardin with Aries and Ardibhesht with Taurus, and it is as old as Ptolemy if not older, and consequently even before Ptolemy Farvardin must once have been near the vernal equinox. Another tradition reported in the Bundahis connects the fourth month Tir with the heliacal rising of the star Sirius; the tradition is probably true as the name shows; the heliacal rising of Sirius has within the last 2,500 years taken place in the third and fourth months after the vernal equinox; this also shows that Farvardin must have been near the vernal equinox when the month Tir was so named.

From the fact that Ádar has not always been near the vernal equinox but that Farvardin was once there, it follows that intercalary months could not always have been added. In fact, it seems probable that there have been only three intercalary months. Before these months were intercalated, the Persian year must have been exactly the same as the Egyptian ; a little consideration will show this if one bears in mind the fact that at present the first Egyptian month Thoth coincides with the tenth Persian month Dé ; before the last month was intercalated it must have coincided with the eleventh Persian, before the last two months were intercalated with the twelfth Persian, and before the last three months were intercalated with the first Persian Farvardin. It seems very unlikely that the two calendars ever were different before; the chances seem to be very few that by accident the two calendars should have not only the same structure, *viz.*, 12 months of 30 days and 5 intercalary days, but that also the months should exactly coincide, so that the year began on the same day. In this connection the tradition reported by Diodorus Siculus that a Zodiac of 365 cubits was carried by Cambyses from Egypt to Persia seems to be significant. No doubt Cambyses himself could not have introduced the Egyptian calendar into Persia, for his successor Darius seems to have used a different one in his inscriptions, but probably he paved the way for it.

The next question is as to when the three months were intercalated. We have the explicit statement of Alberuni that the last two were intercalated in the reign of Yasdegird bin Shápur at the beginning of the fifth century after Christ, and there is no good reason to doubt this tradition. It is not clear when the first was; it may have been in the time of the hero Hormazd bin Shápur who is said by Alberuni to have connected the two Nauroz and made some other changes in the calendar ; who this hero was or when he flourished I do not know. But it seems pretty clear that the first intercalation must have taken place within two or three centuries before the last, probably at the end of the Arsacide or beginning of the Sassanian period.

The passage of Varáhamihira seems to throw some light on the last question indirectly by confirming the seasonal theory of the Gáhnbárs, and suggesting a good reason why the intercalary days were put at the end of Ábán. In the year chosen by our author the Gáhnbárs or six festivals fall in complete accordance with the seasonal theory ; the last of them which is the same as the fifth intercalary day falls on the day of the vernal equinox, and the rest fall

at the fixed distances of 45, 105, 180, 210 and 290 days from it. Is it not probable that the intercalary days were put at the end of the eighth month Ábán in order that the Gáhnbárs might come in their proper seasons before the intercalations began? Then they could have been kept in their proper place by the intercalation of a month in about 120 years. If the Parsee calendar was originally the same as the Egyptian it will be found that the eighth month terminated at the time of the vernal equinox about the middle of the second century after Christ. One can understand how at that time all the seasonal festivals were brought right by shifting the intercalary days from the end of the twelfth to the end of the eighth month Ábán, the other festivals keeping their fixed distances from the intercalary days. One can also understand how about the latter part of the third century after Christ one month was intercalated to bring back the intercalary days to the vernal equinox, and how the time again came for intercalation at the beginning of the fifth century. Of course these suggestions cannot be finally accepted without the discovery of some more facts, but it does not seem unlikely that the Persians should have thought of reforming their calendar about the same time that the neighbouring nations in Turkey in Asia and Europe were doing the same for theirs on the basis of the Julian. No doubt the above suggestions are not in accordance with the alleged tradition reported by Alberuni, that intercalations existed from the very oldest times that the first intercalary month was put after Farvardin, the second after Ardibhesht and so on, and that the intercalary days were put in succession after each of these intercalary months. But this tradition is not supported by any particular facts; it is not known when any intercalary month or intercalary days were added except after Ábán. The knowledge of the true length of the year in very remote times seems extremely doubtful. Moreover, by the alleged method the intercalary days and therefore the seasonal festivals would have been carried all round the year, a result the very reverse of which people who intercalate generally try to attain. The alleged tradition would seem to be no tradition at all, but an attempt at explanation by some ingenious person or persons who did not know the facts.

ART. X.—*Mahmud of Ghazni and the Legend of Somnath.* BY R. P. KARKARIA, ESQ.

Read 10th April 1895.

THE reign of Mahmud of Ghazni is of great importance in the history of India, as it marks the beginning of the critical period of the Mahomedan rule, fraught with momentous consequences to the land and its peoples. Ancient history which in the West is by common consent, taken to have terminated with the fall of Rome in 475 A. D., lasted much longer in India and may be said to have closed here with the advent of the Mahomedans under Mahmud. For all previous history up to this point presents a homogeneity which clearly distinguishes it from the subsequent period. The Mahomedan conquest and rule of India changed completely and disastrously the condition and character of the various peoples affected by it. The accounts which we have of the Hindu character from writers in pre-Mahomedan times, are inapplicable to it in later days, owing to the curse of the foreign rule. The truthfulness, honesty, bravery, and many other good qualities which Greek observers, like Megasthenes and Arrian, noted and admired in them, gradually gave way under the political and religious tyranny to which they were subjected for nearly eight centuries by their Mahomedan rulers, and are only now beginning to revive under another and a far better rule. "Their bravery is always spoken of as characteristic, their superiority in war to other Asiatics is repeatedly asserted and appears in more ways than one. They are said to be sober, moderate, peaceable; good soldiers; good farmers; remarkable for simplicity and integrity; so reasonable as never to have recourse to a law-suit; and so honest as neither to require locks to their doors, nor writings to bind their agreements. Above all, it is said (by Arrian) that no Indian was ever known to tell an untruth." Of course, there is some exaggeration in all this, as may be seen from the remark on this account of one whose bias, if he had any, was certainly on the side of the natives, and whom these hold in the highest esteem. "We know," says Mountstuart Elphinstone, "from the ancient writings of the Hindus themselves, that the alleged proofs

of their confidence in each other are erroneous. The account of their veracity may safely be regarded as equally incorrect; but the statement is still of great importance, since it shows what were the qualities of the Indians, that made most impression on the Macedonians, and proves that their character must since have undergone a total change. Strangers are now struck with the litigiousness and falsehood of the natives; and when they are incorrect in their accounts, it is always by exaggerating those defects."*

This change in character was but natural in a subject-people. Falsehood and treachery are the weapons to which helpless subjects of despotism readily turn when they have no open and brave means of hostility left. The enlightened and liberal views which the Hindus had about the education and freedom of women, had necessarily to be changed when they were confronted with the lawlessness of their licentious new rulers. It would be very interesting to enquire into the moral effects of the Mahomedan rule upon the Indians, but this is not the place for it. The subject is here touched only to show the critical nature of the epoch heralded in India by Mahmud of Ghazni. It may be said that he found a garden and converted it into a desert. The work of wanton destruction gratuitously begun by him—for the redeeming feature of the idea of possession and rule is absent in his case, as after each invasion he returned to his capital—was continued by successive rulers and dynasties who, however, showed better method in their fury.

Personally Mahmud is an attractive subject to the historian. Gallant, brave, prudent, enterprising, zealous, and, above all, scrupulously just, he is the character to fascinate. When we add to this the magnificence of his court, the grandeur of his city, his love of architecture, and, especially, his munificent patronage of literature, we cannot wonder that he has been made a hero by his people. This last trait is specially attractive. He collected round him some of the best men of letters of his time, Ansuri, Rudini, Firdausi, the poets, Al Utbi, the historian, Albiruni, the philosopher, and his reign shines with the reflected lustre of their literary renown. The great epic of Firdausi alone would keep his bays green for ever, if all other laurels were to be stripped by time from his brows. Among Oriental potentates he shares with Caliph Harun Al Rashid and Akbar alone, the rare honour of ranking with Pericles and Augustus,

* Elphinstone's *History of India*, Ed. 1874, p. 266.

Louis XIV and Queen Anne for the literary splendour of his reign. As Mohl puts it, he had established at his court a veritable Round Table and become the King Arthur of the East.

But it is for his religious zeal, amounting to fanaticism, that he is chiefly remembered by his co-religionists. It was zeal for his faith that induced him to invade year after year the distant provinces of India, and to carry away innumerable captives to be converted and sold into slavery. No doubt his ruling passion of avarice, which was found in his case literally "strong in death," as is attested by the story of his weeping on his death-bed at the sight of the enormous wealth and grandeur that he had ordered to be paraded before him for the last time, and which he could not carry with him out of this life, this avarice had much to do with his activity, especially as he was immensely enriched by his campaigns. But still it can hardly be doubted that one of his chief motives was religious zeal. At least his contemporaries thought so. He got from the Commander of the Faithful the title of Yamin-ood-Dowla, and was called by his people the Ghazi, titles highly coveted by all true followers of Islam.

His memory is cherished by them on this account to the present day, and many are the legends woven around it by pious fraud and believed by pious credulity. It is one of these, what I have called the legend of Somnath, that is selected for examination in this paper. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure, said Bacon; and the Persian historians who manufactured and embellished this legend, were great adepts in this art of mixing truth with falsehood. Nothing that added to the glorification of a Ghazi of their faith could be wrong or false in their eyes. The end truly justified the means with them. Nothing that could discredit and damn the infidels could be considered reprehensible to be invented. Hence their pages contain many fictions invented to praise the faithful, greatly at the expense of the infidels who, in their eyes, had no claim to justice or truth at their hands.

This religious bias and unscrupulousness is a great drawback to the authority of these historians, who, without it, are also untrustworthy enough. One who had studied them thoroughly, and who has, moreover, done much more than anyone else to spread a knowledge of them, says that it is almost a misnomer to style their works histories, and that they "may be said to be deficient in some of the most essential requisites of history."* He notices in them "the intense

* Elliot's preface to *Historians of India*, 1849, Part I., p. xv.

desire for parade and ostentation, which inclines authors to quote works they have never seen, and to lay claim to an erudition which the limited extent of their knowledge does not justify." And he quotes an instance of how, in one list of works, he found that "from beginning to end it was a complete fabrication, the names of the works being taken from the prefaces of standard histories in which it is usual to quote the authorities, the very identical sequence of names, and even the errors of the originals being implicitly followed."*

Great care thus should be employed by a modern enquirer in using these Persian historians of India, and it would be dangerous to follow implicitly the authority of anyone of them, however renowned for accuracy he may be. Collating them with one another, and, if possible, with independent authorities, we can arrive at something like the real facts, though it must always be a matter of doubt whether we can be sure of the truth of events related by these historians alone.

In his sixteenth invasion Mahmud came to the temple of Somnath and captured it after a stubborn resistance on the part of its defenders. Somnath is in Kattiawar, and, on its site, is the present town of Prabhas Patan which flared up into notice so suddenly and disastrously in 1893. A striking description of its site is given by Tod. "Nothing can surpass the beauty of the site chosen for the temple, which stands on a projecting rock, whose base is washed by the ocean. Here resting on the skirt of the mighty waters, the vision lost in their boundless expanse, the votary would be lulled into a blissful state of repose by the monotonous roar of the waves. Before him is the bay extending to Billawal (Verawal), its golden sands kept in perpetual agitation by the surf, in bold and graceful curvature; it is unrivalled in India, and although I have since seen many noble bays, from that of Penzance to Salurnum, perhaps the finest in the world, with all its accessories of back-ground, and in all the glory of a closing day, none ever struck my imagination more forcibly than that of Puttun. The port and headland of Billawal, with its dark walls raised as a defence against the pirates of Europe, form a noble terminating point of view, and from which the land trends northwards to Dwarica. The peaks of Girnar, twenty *coss* distant, would raise the sublimest feeling, or if he choose more tranquil scenes, the country around presents objects of interest, the plains being well wooded and diversified both by Nature and art."†

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* *Ibid.*

† *Travels in Western India*, p. 344.

But Mahmud must have cared little for the beautiful situation and the natural scenery of the place. He was intent on taking the place by force and breaking the idol. And it is with this breaking of the idol that the legend is connected. The earliest account of this in English is that of Col. Dow, whose *History of Hindustan*, translated from the Persian, published in 1767-72, professes to be a rendering of the famous Persian historian Ferishta, but contains much put in by himself. This is Dow's account: "In the centre of the hall stood Somnath, an idol of stone, five yards in height, two of which were sunk in the ground. The King was enraged when he saw this idol, and raising his mace, struck off the nose from his face. He then ordered that two pieces of the image should be broken off to be sent to Ghazni, there to be thrown at the threshold of the public mosque and in the court of his palace. Two more fragments he reserved to be sent to Mecca and Medina. When Mahmud was thus employed in breaking up Somnath, a crowd of Brahmans petitioned his attendants and offered some crores in gold if the King should be pleased to proceed no further. The Omrahs endeavoured to persuade Mahmud to accept of the money; for they said that breaking up the idol could not remove idolatry from the walls of Somnath, that therefore it could serve no purpose to destroy the image, but that such a sum of money given in charity, among believers, would be a very meritorious action. The King acknowledged that what they said was in some measure true; but should he consent to that bargain, he might justly be called a seller of idols; and that he looked upon a breaker of them as a more honorable title. He therefore ordered them to proceed. The next blow having broken up the belly of Somnath which had been made hollow, they discovered that it was full of diamonds, rubies and pearls of a much greater value than the amount of what the Brahmans had offered, so that a zeal for religion was not the sole cause of their application to Mahmud."* This account is in the main an accurate version of Ferishta. With Dow's version may be compared the more correct translation of Ferishta, given by Briggs: "In the centre of the hall was Somnath, a stone idol, five yards in height, two of which were sunk in the ground. The King approaching the image raised his mace and struck off its nose. He ordered two pieces of the idol to be broken off and sent to Ghizny, that one might be thrown at the threshold of the public mosque, and the other at the court door of

* Vol. I. pp. 65, 66, Ed. 1812.

his own palace. These identical fragments are to this day (now 600 years ago) to be seen at Ghizny. Two more fragments were reserved to be sent to Mecca and Medina. It is a well authenticated fact, that when Mahmud was thus employed in destroying the idol, a crowd of Brahmins petitioned his attendants and offered a quantity of gold if the King would desist from further mutilation. His officers endeavoured to persuade him to accept of the money, for they said that breaking one idol would not do away with idoltary altogether, that, therefore, it could serve no purpose to destroy the image entirely; but that such a sum of money given in charity among true believers would be a meritorious act. The King acknowledged there might be reason in what they said, but replied, that if we should consent to such a measure, his name would be handed down to posterity as 'Mahmud the idol-seller;' whereas he was desirous of being known as 'Mahmud the destroyer:' he therefore directed the troops to proceed in their work. The next blow broke open the belly of Somnath, which was hollow, and discovered a quantity of diamonds, rubies and pearls, of much greater value than the amount which the Brahmins had offered.*

The version of Dow has been the chief source of misleading later writers. Gibbon, coming a few years in 1786 after Dow, based his short account on him, and compressed it in the following round sentence:—"He repeated his blows, and a treasure of pearls and rubies, concealed in the belly of the statue explained in some degree the devout prodigality of the Brahmins."† Then came Maurice, the learned author of *Indian Antiquities*, who, in his *Modern History of Hindustan*, published in 1802, gave the same account, with the embellishment about the nose of the idol. "In the fury of Mahomedan zeal, he smote off the nose of the idol with a mace which he carried, and ordered the image to be disfigured and broken to pieces . . . . . the person appointed having mutilated the superior parts, broke in pieces the body of the idol, which had been made hollow, and contained an infinite variety of diamonds, rubies and pearls of a water so pure, and of a magnitude so uncommon, that the beholders were filled with surprise and admiration."‡ Next came James Mill, who, in his first volume of the *History of India*

* Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. I. pp. 72, 73, Ed. 1829.

† *Decline and Fall*, Vol. VI. Chap. LVII. p. 361.

‡ *History of Hindoostan*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 296.

published in 1817, repeats the same. "At the next blow the belly of the idol burst open: and forth issued a vast treasure of diamonds, rubies and pearls, rewarding the holy perseverance of Mahmud, and explaining the devout liberality of the Brahmans."*

After Mill came Price, who, in the second volume of his *Mahomedan History*, published in 1821, bases his account on the *Khulasat-ul-Akbar* as well as Ferishta. "The circumstance of its being smitten on the nose by the mace of Mahmud, and of the immense treasure concealed in its belly, are already known. We shall here just mention that he rejected a prodigious ransom to spare it, alleging that of two appellations, rather than the idol-broker, he chose to be called *Mahmud the idol-breaker*: and to reward his zeal the precious contents discovered in the hollow of the idol surpassed an hundred-fold the sum which had been offered by the Brahmins for its redemption."† Even the judicious Elphinstone is misled into giving the same account in his excellent history published in 1841, though, in a line in the note, he expresses some doubt and says, that Feristah's "account might be true of some idol in the temple."‡ Since the time of Elphinstone, Prof. Wilson showed in 1843, how the mistake was made by referring to some Persian historians. But later writers have not heeded this, and continue to repeat the old story which has the sanction of the authorities we have quoted. Two books published very recently, Mr. Rees' short account of the Mahomedans, in Mr. Adam's Series, and Syed Mahmud Latif's more pretentious and bulky *History of the Panjab*, give the same old account.

Only Sir W. Hunter has given the correct version of the sack of Somnath and the breaking of the idol in the historical part of his *Gazetteer*. But owing to its very narrow limits, he has merely condensed the result of the enquiry in a few lines. It is here proposed to trace the origin and growth of the legend by means of all the authorities available, some of which were rendered accessible only recently, and consequently not used by Wilson, and to dissipate the delusion, if possible, once for all.

Ferishta, as we have seen, who wrote before 1611 A. D., in the reign of Jehangir, is the source for all European writers who

* Vol. I. p. 177, Ed. 1858.

† *Restrospect of Mahomedan History*, Vol. II. p. 289, Ed. 1821.

‡ P. 336, Ed. 1874.

mention the event. But Feristha is not alone in narrating it. The writers of the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, a great history composed by the order of Akbar, of the thousand years after the Hegira that expired in his reign, say that, "It is a well authenticated fact, that when Mahmud was about to destroy the idol, a crowd of Brahmans represented to his nobles, that if he would desist from the mutilation, they would pay several crores of gold coins into his treasury. This was agreed to by many of the nobles, who pointed out to the Sultan that he could not obtain so much treasure by breaking the image, and that the proffered money would be very serviceable. Mahmud replied, "I knew this, but I desire that on the day of resurrection, I should be summoned with the words, "Where is that Mahmud who broke the greatest of the heathen idols?' rather than by these: 'Where is that Mahmud who sold the greatest of the idols to the infidels for gold?' When Mahmud demolished the image, he found in it so many superb jewels and rubies that they amounted to, and even exceeded an hundred times the value of, the ransom which had been offered to him by the Brahmans."*

Ferishta cites as his general authority the celebrated *Rauzat-us-Safa* of Mirkhond, which was written towards the close of the 15th century. But Mirkhond's account does not mention the remarkable incidents we have seen alluded to by all the writers quoted above. It merely says: "The temples were demolished and razed to the ground. The stone of Somnath was broken into fragments, some of which were sent to Ghazni and placed at the door of the mosque, and were there many years." Khondamir, the son, or according to some, the nephew of Mirkhond in his *Habib-us-Siyar*, written 1521-28, gives a similar account: "Somnath was an idol cut out of stone, whose height was five yards, of which three yards were visible, and two yards were concealed in the ground. Yaminu d Daula having broken that idol with his own hand, ordered that they should pack up pieces of the stone, take them to Ghazni, and throw them on the threshold of the Jami Masjid. The sum which the treasury of the Sultan Mahmud obtained from the idol temple of Somnath, was more than twenty thousand thousand *dinars*, inasmuch as these pillars were all adorned with precious jewels."†

The oldest account of this expedition is that given by Ibn Asir in

* *Apud*, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. II., p. 472.

† *Ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 183.

his *Kamilu-t-Tawarikh*, written about 1230 A. D., and this also does not mention the incidents of the bribe and the belly. It is very specific in its details, and has been largely drawn upon by later writers. It says:—"The temple of Somnath was built upon 56 pillars of teakwood covered with lead. The idol itself was in a chamber, its height was five cubits, and its girth three cubits. This was what appeared to the eye, but two cubits were hidden in the basement. It had no appearance of having been sculptured. Yaminu-d-Doula seized it, part of it he burnt, and part of it he carried away with him to Ghazni, where he made it a step at the entrance of the Jami Musjid. The shrine of the idol was dark, but it was lighted by most exquisitely jewelled chandeliers. Near the idol was a chain of gold to which bells were attached. The weight of it was 200 *mans*. When a certain portion of the night had passed, this chain was shaken to ring the bells, and so rouse a fresh party of Brahmans to carry on the worship. The treasury was near, and in it there were many idols of gold and silver. Over it there were veils hanging, set with jewels, everyone of which was of immense value. The worth of what was found in the temple exceeded two millions of dinars, all of which was taken."* A contemporary of Ibn Asir, the famous Ibn Khalikan, adds another detail, and says that the idol had 30 rings in its ears.† Abul Feda, in his *Annals*, written about the same time, at the commencement of the 13th century, confirms the fact that the idol was burnt.

Thus, as we get nearer to the times, we get more accurate and less embellished accounts. We may note, whilst dealing with writers of the 13th century, that the famous Shaikh Sadi, who lived 200 years after Mahmud, gives an amusing tale of his own adventures at Somnath in his *Bustan*. But from the details he mentions, it is quite evident that he never saw the inside of the temple, nor the idol, for most strangely he calls it a temple of the Guebres or Parsis, who, as is well known, have no images whatever in their places of worship.

When we come to the contemporary writers, we get the straightforward account of the famous Alberuni, which sets the whole matter at rest. From his account it is certain that the idol was not a statue having any form or belly, but was a stone *linga* or phallic image of Mahadeva. The great contemporary chronicler of Mahmud, Al Utbi,

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* *Apud*, Elliot and Dowson. Vol. II., p. 471.

† *Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. III., p. 333.

does not narrate the events of this campaign of Somnath, as he stops a few years before this event: otherwise we might have had a most valuable narrative which would have set at rest all doubts.

The following is Alberuni's account in his *Tarikh-i-Hind*, taken from Dr. Sachau's recent scholarly and faithful translation. "The lunar stations they declare to be the daughters of Prajâpati, to whom the moon is married. He was especially attached to Rohini, and preferred her to the others. Now her sisters, urged by jealousy, complained of him to their father, Prajâpati. The latter strove to keep the peace among them, and admonished him, but without any success. Then he cursed the moon (Lunus), in consequence of which his face became leprous. Now the moon repented of his doing, and came penitent to Prajâpati, who spoke to him: "My word is one, and cannot be cancelled; however, I shall cover thy shame for the half of each month." Thereupon the moon spoke to Prajâpati: "But how shall the trace of the sin of the past be wiped off from me?" Prajâpati answered: "By erecting the shape of the linga of Mahâdeva as an object of thy worship." This he did. The linga he raised was the stone of Somnâth, for soma means the moon and nâtha means master, so that the whole word means master of the moon. The image was destroyed by the prince Mahmud—may God be merciful to him! A. H. 416. He ordered the upper part to be broken, and the remainder to be transported to his residence, Ghazni, with all its coverings and trappings of gold, jewels, and embroidered garments. Part of it has been thrown into the hippodrome of the town together with the Chakrasvâmin, an idol of bronze, that had been brought from Tâneshar. Another part of the idol from Somnâth lies before the door of the mosque of Ghazni, on which people rub their feet to clean them from dirt and wet.

The linga is an image of the penis of Mahâdeva. I have heard the following story regarding it:—"A Rishi, on seeing Mahâdeva with his wife, became suspicious of him, and cursed him that he should lose his penis. At once his penis dropped, and was, as if wiped off. But afterwards the Rishi was in position to establish the signs of his innocence, and to confirm them by the necessary proofs. The suspicion which had troubled his mind was removed, and he spoke to him: 'Verily, I shall recompense thee by making the image of the limb which thou hast lost the object of worship for men, who thereby will find the road to God, and come near him.'"

Varâhamihira says about the construction of the linga:—"After

having chosen a faultless stone for it, take it as long as the image is intended to be. Divide it into three parts. The lowest part of it is quadrangular, as if it were a cube or quadrangular column. The middle part is octagonal, its surface being divided by four pilasters. The upper third is round, rounded off so as to resemble the gland of a penis. In erecting the figure, place the quadrangular third within the earth, and for the octagonal third, make a cover which is called pinda, quadrangular from without, but so as to fit also on the quadrangular third in the earth. The octagonal form of the inner side is to fit on to the middle third, which projects out of the earth. The round third alone remains without cover."

Further he says:—"If you make the round part too small or too thin, it will hurt the country and bring about evil among the inhabitants of the regions who have constructed it. If it does not go deep enough down into the earth, or if it projects too little out of the earth, this causes people to fall ill. When it is in the course of construction, and is struck by a peg, the ruler and his family will perish. If on the transport it is hit and the blow leaves a trace on it, the artist will perish, and destruction and diseases will spread in that country."

In the south-west of the Sindh country this idol is frequently met with in the houses destined for the worship of the Hindus, but Somnâth was the most famous of these places. Every day they brought there a jug of Ganges water and a basket of flowers from Kashmîr. They believed that the linga of Somnâth would cure persons of every inveterate illness and heal every desperate and incurable disease.

The reason why, in particular, Somnâth has become so famous, is that it was a harbour for seafaring people, and a station for those who went to and fro between Sufâla in the country of the Zang and China."

It is clear from Alberuni that the idol of Somnâth was merely a solid piece of stone having no hollow, in which jewels and precious stones could be concealed to reward the pious zeal of an iconoclast. As Alberuni says, the top of the stone idol was decorated with precious stones and gold, which were thus visible to all at first sight. Mahmud must have seen them before the Brahmans, according to the later writers, offered the ransom. But as we have seen, both the immense wealth concealed in the belly of the idol, as well as the proffered ransom of the Brahmans, with the zealous answer of the iconoclast, are purely fictitious, the creatures of the imagination of later Mahomedan annalists, who care more for religious zeal than historical truth, and

who evidently thought they were doing nothing wrong—on the contrary something highly meritorious—when they converted the plain story of the sack of Somnâth into a pious legend of Yamin-ood-Daula's iconoclastic zeal. The spirit which led those writers to invent this legend, and which made it popular among the Moslems for so many centuries, seems to live among them still to this day, if one may judge from the fervour, with which the ignorant among them believe in it, and the way in which they resent any attempt to show the real character of the legend of Somnâth.

Another myth connected with Somnâth in history is the story of the famous Sandalwood Gates which, eight centuries after they had been rifled from the temple and taken to Ghazni by Mahmud, were paraded by a theatrical Governor-General through the cities of India as a trophy from Afghanistan to soothe the susceptibilities of the injured Hindus. But the gates were spurious beyond doubt, and will live in Indian history as an instance of a clumsy forgery and a huge practical joke.

R. P. KARKARIA.

Art. XI.—*Mándu.* By J. M. Campbell, Esq., LL.D., C.I.E., I.C.S.

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Part I.—Description.

Mándu, about twenty-three miles south of Dhár in Central India, is a wide waving hill-top, part of the great wall of the Vindhian range. The hill-top is three to four miles from north to south and four to five miles from east to west. On the north, the east, and the west, Mándu is islanded from the main plateau of Málwa by valleys and ravines that circle round to its southern face, which stands 1,200 feet out of the Nímár plain. The area of the hill-top is over 12,000 English acres, and, so broken is its outline, that the encircling wall is said to have a length of between thirty-seven and thirty-eight miles. Its height, 1,950 feet above the sea, secures for the hill-top at all seasons the boon of fresh and cool air.

About twenty miles south of Dhár the level cultivated plateau breaks into woody glades and uplands. Two miles further the plain is cleft by two great ravines, which from their deeper and broader southern mouths 700 to 800 feet below the Dhár plateau, as they wind northwards, narrow and rise, till, to the north of Mándu hill, they shallow into a woody dip or valley about 300 yards broad and 200 feet below the south crest of Málwa. From the south crest of the Málwa plateau, across the tree tops of this wild valley, stand the cliffs of the island Mándu, their crests crowned by the great Dehli gateway and its long lofty line of flanking walls. At the foot of the sudden dip into the valley the Âlamgîr, or World-Guarding Gate, stands sentinel.[1] Beyond the gateway, among wild reaches of rock

[1] Farishtah (*Persian Text*, II. p. 468) calls this the Northern Gate of Mándu. The following Persian verses are carved on the Gateway:—

In the time of Âlamgír Aurangzíb (A. D. 1658-1707), the ruler of the World,
This gate resembling the skies in altitude was built anew,
In the year A. H. 1079 (A. D. 1668) the work of renewal was begun and completed,
By the endeavour of the exalted Khán Muhammad Beg Khán.
From the accession of this Emperor of the World, Aurangzíb,
This was the eleventh year by way of writing and history.

and forest, a noble causeway with high domed tombs on either hand fills the lowest dip of the valley. From the south end of the causeway the road winds up to a second gateway, and beyond the second gateway between side walls climbs till, at the crest of the slope, it passes through the ruined but still lofty and beautiful Delhi or northern gateway, one of the earliest works of Diláwar Khán (A. D. 1400), the founder of Musalmán Mándu.

Close inside of the Dehli gate, on the right or west, stands the handsome Hindola palace. The name Hindola, which is probably the title of the builder, is explained by the people as the Swingcot palace, because, like the sides of the cage of a swinging cot, the walls of the hall bulge below and narrow towards the top. Its great baronial hall and hanging windows give the Hindola palace a special merit and interest, and an air of lordly wealth and luxury still clings to the tree-covered ruins which stretch west to large underground cisterns and hot weather retreats. About a quarter of a mile south stand the notable group of the Jaház Mehel or Ship palace on the west, and the Tapela Mehel or Caldron palace on the south, with their rows of lofty pointed arches below deep stone eaves, their heavy windowless upper stories, and their massive arched and domed roof-chambers. These palaces are not more handsomely built than finely set. The massive ship-like length of the Jaház Mehel lies between two large tree-girt ponds, and the Tapela, across a beautiful foreground of water and ruin, looks east into the mass of tangled bush and tree which once formed part of the 130 acres of the Lál Bágh or Royal Gardens.

The flat palace roofs command the whole 12,000 acres of Mándu hill, north to the knolls and broken uplands beyond the great ravine-moat, and south across the waving hill-top with its miles of glades and ridges, its scattered villages, hamlets and tombs, and its gleaming groves of mangoes, *khirnis*, banyans, *mhowras*, and *pípals*. In the middle distance, out from the tree-tops, stand the lofty domes of Hoshang's tomb and of the great Jáma mosque. Further south lies the tree-girt hollow of the Ságar Taláo or Sea Lake, and beyond the Ságar lake a woody plateau rises about 200 feet to the southern crest, where, clear against the sky, stand the airy cupolas of the pavilion of Rúp Mati, the beautiful wife of Báz Bahádur (A. D. 1551-1561), the last Sultán of Málwa. Finally to the west, from the end of the Rúp Mati heights, rises even higher the bare nearly isolated shoulder of Songad, the citadel or inner fort of Mándu, the scene of the Gujarát Bahádur's (A. D. 1531) daring and successful surprise. This fair

hill-top, beautiful from its tangled wildness and scattered ruins, is a strange contrast to Mándu, the capital of a warlike independent dynasty. During the palmy days of the fifteenth century, of the 12,000 acres of the Mándu hill-top, 560 were fields, 370 were gardens, 200 were wells, 780 were lakes and ponds, 100 were bazar roads, 1,500 were dwellings, 200 were rest-houses, 260 were baths, 470 were mosques, and 334 were palaces. These allotments crowded out the wild to a narrow pittance of 1,560 acres of knolls and ridges.

From the Jaház Mehel the road winds through fields and woods, gemmed with peafowl and droll with monkeys, among scattered palaces, mosques and tombs, some shapely, some in heaps, about a mile south to the walled enclosure of the lofty domed tomb of the establisher of Mándu's greatness, Hoshang Sháh Ghori (A. D. 1405-1432). Though the badly-fitted joinings of the marble slabs of the tomb walls are a notable contrast to the finish of the later Mughal buildings, Hoshang's tomb, in its massive simplicity and dim-lighted roughness, is a solemn and suitable resting-place for a great Pathán warrior. Along the west of the tomb enclosure runs a handsome flat-roofed colonnade. The pillars, which near the base are four-sided, pass through an eight-sided and a sixteen-sided belt into a round upper shaft. The round shaft ends in a square under-capital, each face of which is filled by a group of leafage in outline the same as the favourite Hindu *Singh-mukh* or horned head. Over the entwined leafy horns of this moulding, stone brackets support heavy stone beams, all Hindu in form.[2] Close to the east of Hoshang's tomb is Hoshang's Jáma Masjid or Great Mosque, built of blocks of red limestone. Hoshang's Mosque is approached from the east through a massive domed gateway and across a quadrangle enclosed on the

[2] Mr. Fergusson (*Indian Architecture*, p. 543) says: "The pillars appear to have been taken from a Jain building." But the refinement on the square capital of each pillar of the Hindu *Singh-mukh* or horned face into a group of leaves of the same outline shows that the pillars were specially carved for use in a Muslim building. The porch on the north side of the tomb enclosure is described (Fergusson, *Indian Architecture*, p. 543) as composed of pillars avowedly re-erected from a Jain building. This note of Mr. Fergusson's must have gone astray, as the north porch of Hoshang's tomb enclosure is in the plain massive pointed arch and square-shafted style of the tomb and of the great mosque. Mr. Fergusson's note apparently belongs to the second and smaller Jáma Masjid, about 100 yards east of the Sea or *Ságar* lake, the pillars of whose colonnade and porch are still enlivened by rows of the lucky face of the Hindu old horny.

east, north, and south by wrecked colonnades of pointed arches. The west is filled by the great pointed arches of the mosque in fair repair, and from the roof out of a thick undergrowth of domelets rise three lofty domes.[3]

In front of the gateway of the great Mosque, in the centre of a masonry plinth about three feet high, stands an iron pillar about a foot in diameter at the base and twenty feet high. Close to the east of the gateway is the site of Mehmud's (A.D. 1442) Tower of Victory, traces of which remained as late as A. D. 1840. About fifty yards further east are the ruins of a great building called the Ashrafi Mehel, said to have been a Musalmán College. To the north-east a banner marks a temple and the local State offices. South the road passes between the two lines of small houses and huts that make modern Mándu. Beyond the village, among ruins and huge swollen baobab stems, the road winds south along a downward slope to the richly-wooded lowland, where stretches to the west the wide coolness of the Ságar Taláv or Sea Lake. Its broad surface covering 600 acres is green with fan-like lotus leaves, reeds and water grasses. Its banks are rough with brakes of tangled bush from which, in uncramped

[3] Hoshang's great mosque has the following much damaged Persian inscription:—

"The mosque of exalted construction, the temple of heavenly altitude,
Whose every thick pillar is a copy of the (pillars of the) Sacred Temple (the Temple of Makkah).
On account of the greatness of its dignity, like the pigeons of the Temple of Makkah,
Sacred angels of high degree are always engaged in hovering around it.
The result of the events born of the merciless revolution of the skies,
When the sun of his life came as far as the balcony (*i. e.*, was ready to set),
Aâzam Humáyún (that is, Malik Mughís) said * *
The administration of the country, the construction of buildings, and the driving back of enemies
Are things which I leave you (the son of Aázam Humáyún) as parting advice with great earnestness.
The personification of the kindness of Providence, the Sultán Âlà-ud-dín (Mehmúd I, A. D. 1436-1469), who is
The outcome of the refulgence of the Faith, and the satisfier of the wants of the people,
In the year A. H. 858 (A. D. 1454),
In the words of the above parting advice, finished the construction of this building."

stateliness, rise lofty *mhauras*, mangoes, *kirnis*, and *pípals*. To the east round a smaller tank, whose banks are crowned by splendid mangoes and tamarinds, stand the domes of several handsome tombs. Of some of these domes the black masses are brightened by belts of brilliant pale and deep-blue enamel. To the north of this overflow pool a long black wall is the back of the smaller Jáma or congregation mosque, badly ruined, but of special interest, as each of its numerous pillars shows the undefaced Hindu *Singh-mukh* or horned head. By a rough piece of constructive skill the original cross corners of the end cupolas have been worked into vaulted Musalmán domes.*

From the Sea Lake, about a mile across the waving richly-wooded plain, bounded by the southern height of the plateau, the path leads to the sacred Rewa Kund or Narbada Pool, a small shady pond lined with rich masonry, and its west side adorned by the ruins of a handsome Bath or *Hummám Khánáh*. From the north-east corner of the Rewa Pool a broad flight of easy stairs leads thirty or forty feet up the slope on whose top stands the palace of Báz Bahádur (A.D.

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* This Jáma Mosque has the following Persian inscription, dated H. 835 (A. D. 1431):—

"With good omens, at a happy time, and in a lucky and well-starred year.

On the 4th of the month of Alláh (Ramazán) on the great day of Friday,

In the year 835 and six months from the Hijrah (A. D. 1431)

Counted according to the revolution of the moon in the Arabian manner,

This Islámic mosque was founded in this world,

The top of whose dome rubs its head against the green canopy of Heaven.

The construction of this high mosque was due to Mughís-ud-dín-wad-dunyá (Malik Mughís), the father of Mehmúd I. of Málwa (A. D. 1436-1469), the redresser of temporal and spiritual wrongs.

Ulugh (brave), Aázam (great), Humáyun (august), the Khán of the seven climes and of the nine countries.

By the hands of his enterprise this mosque was founded so great,

That some call it the House of Peace, others style it the Kaábah.

This good building was completed on the last of the month of Shawwál (A. H. 835, A. D. 1431).

May the merit of this good act be inserted in the scroll of the Khán's actions!

In this centre may the praises of the sermon read (in the name) of Mehmúd Sháh.

Be everlasting, so long as mountains stand on the earth and stars in the firmament."

1551-1561), the last independent Chief of Mándu.[5] The broad easy flight of steps ends in a lofty arched gateway through which a roomy hall or passage gives entrance into a courtyard with a central masonry cistern and an enclosing double colonnade, which on the right opens into an arched balcony overlooking the Rewa Kund and garden. Within this courtyard is a second court enclosed on three sides by an arched gallery. The roofs of the colonnades, which are reached by flights of easy steps, are shaded by arched pavilions topped by cupolas brightened by belts of blue enamel.

To the south of Báz Bahádur's Palace a winding path climbs the steep slope of the southern rim of Mándu to the massive pillared cupolas of Rúp Mati's palace, which, clear against the sky, are the most notable ornament of the hill-top. From a ground-floor of heavy masonry walls and arched gateways stairs lead to a flat masonry terrace. At the north and south ends of the terrace stand massive heavy-eaved pavilions, whose square pillars and pointed arches support lofty deep-grooved domes. The south pavilion on the crest of the Vindhian cliff commands a long stretch of the south face of Mándu with its guardian wall crowning the heights and hollows of the hill-top. Twelve hundred feet below spreads the dim hazy Nímár plain brightened eastwards by the gleaming line of the Narbada. The north pavilion, through the clear fresh air of the hill-top, looks over the entire stretch of Mándu from the high shoulder of Songad in the extreme south-west across rolling tree-brightened fields, past the domes, the tangled bush, and the broad grey of the Sea Lake, to the five-domed cluster of Hoshang's mosque and tomb, on, across a sea of green tree tops, to the domed roof-chambers of the Jaház and Tapela palaces, through the Dehli gateway, and, beyond the deep cleft of the northern ravine, to the bare level and low ranges of the Málwa plateau.

From the Rewa Pool, a path, along the foot of the southern height among noble solitary *mhauras* and *khirnis*, across fields and past small clusters of huts, guides to a flight of steps which lead down to a deep shady rock-cut dell where a Muhammadan chamber with great open-arched front looks out across a fountained courtyard and sloping

[5] The following Persian inscription, carved on the entrance arch, shows that though it may have been repaired by Báz Bahádur, the building of the palace was fifty years earlier (H. 914, A. D. 1508):—"In the time of the Sultán of Nations, the most just and great, and the most knowing and munificent Khákán Násir Sháh Khilji (A. D. 1500-1512). Written by Yusuf, the year (H. 914) A. D. 1508)."

scalloped water-table, to the wild western slopes of Mándu. This is Nílkanth, where the Emperor Akbar lodged in A.D. 1574, and which Jehángír visited in A.D. 1617.[6]

From the top of the steps that lead to the dell the hill stretches west bare and stony to the Songad or Tárápúr gateway on the narrow neck beyond which rises the broad shoulder of Songad, the lofty south-west limit of the Mándu hill-top.[7]

PART II.—HISTORY.[8]

The history of Mándu belongs to two main sections, before and after the overthrow by the Emperor Akbar in A.D. 1563 of the independent power of the Sultáns of Málwa.

SECTION I.—THE MÁLWA SULTÁNS, A.D. 1400-1570.

Of early Hindu Mándu, which is said to date from A.D. 313, nothing is known.[9] Hindu spire stones are built into the Hindola Palace walls; and the pillars of the lesser Jáma mosque, about one hundred yards from the east end of the sea or Ságar Lake, are Hindu, apparently Jain. Of these local Hindu chiefs almost nothing is known, except that their fort was taken and their power brought to an end by Sultán Shams-ud-dín Altamsh about A.D. 1234.[10] Dhár, not

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[6] Translations of its two much-admired Persian inscriptions are given below, p. 181.

[7] On the Tárápúr gate a Persian inscription of the reign of the Emperor Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605) states that the royal road that passed through this gateway was repaired by Táhir Muhammad Hasan Imád-ud-din.

[8] The Persian references and extracts in this section are contributed by Khán Sáheb Fazl-ul-láh Lutfulláh Farídí of Súrat.

[9] Sir John Malcolm in Eastwick's Handbook of the Panjab, 119. This reference has not been traced. Farishtah (Elliot, VI., 563) says Mándu was built by Ánand Dev of the Bais tribe, who was a contemporary of Khusrao Parwíz, the Sassanian (A.D. 591-621).

[10] The date is uncertain. Compare Elphinstone's History, p. 323; Briggs' Farishtah, Vol. I., pp. 210-211; Tabakát-i-Násiri, in Elliot, Vol. II., p. 328. The conquest of Mándu in A.D. 1227 is not Mándu in Málwa as Elphinstone and Briggs supposed, but Mandúr in the Siwálik Hills. See Elliot, Vol. II., p. 325, Note 1. The Persian text of Farishtah (I., 115), though by mistake calling it Mandu (not Mándu), notes that it was the Mándu in the Siwálik Hills. The poetical date-script also terms it Biládi-Siwálik, or the Siwálik countries. The date of the conquest of the Siwálik Mandu by Altamsh is given by Farishtah (*Id.*) as A. H. 624 (A.D. 1226). The conquest of Málwa by Altamsh, the taking by him of Bhilsah and Ujjain, and the destruction of the temple of Maha Káli and of the statue or image of Bikramájit are given as occurring in A.H. 631

Mándu, was at that time the capital. It seems doubtful whether Mándu ever enjoyed the position of a capital till the end of the fourteenth century. In A.D. 1401, in the ruin that followed Tímúr's (A. D. 1398-1400) conquest of Northern India, a Pathán from the town of Ghor, Diláwar Khán Ghori (A. D.1387-1405), at the suggestion of his son Alp Khán, assumed the white canopy, and scarlet pavilion of royalty.[11] Though Dhár was Diláwar's headquarters he sometimes stayed for months at a time at Mándu,[12] strengthening the defences and adorning the hill with buildings, as he always entertained the desire of making Mándu his capital.[13] Three available inscriptions

(A.D. 1233). The Mirát-i-Sikandari (Persian Text 13) notices an expedition made in A.D. 1395 by Zafar Khán (Muzaffar I. of Gujarát) against a Hindu chief of Mándu, who, it was reported, was oppressing the Musalmáns. A siege of more than twelve months failed to capture the fort.

[11] Briggs' Farishtah, Vol. IV., p. 170.

[12] Briggs' Farishtah, Vol. IV., p. 168. According to the Wákiát-i-Mushtáki (Elliot, IV., 553) Diláwar Khán, or as the writer calls him Amín Sháh, through the good offices of a merchant whom he had refrained from plundering obtained the grant of Mándu, which was entirely desolate. The King sent a robe and a horse, and Amín gave up walking and took to riding. He made his friends ride, enlisted horsemen, and promoted the cultivation of the country (Elliot, IV., 552). Farishtah (Pers. Text. Vol. II., pp. 460-61) states that when Sultán Muhammad, the son of Fírúz Tughlak, made Khwájah Sarwar his chief minister, with the title of Khwájah Jehán, and gave Zafar Khán the Viceroyalty of Gujarát and Khizr Khán that of Multán, he sent Diláwar Khán to be Governor of Málwa. In another passage Farishtah (II., 461) states that one of Diláwar's grandfathers, Sultán Shahab-ud-dín, came from Ghor and took service in the Court of the Dehli Sultáns. His son rose to be an *Amir*, and his grandson, Diláwar Khán, in the time of Sultán Fírúz, became a leading nobleman, and, in the reign of Muhammad, son of Fírúz, obtained Málwa in fief. When the power of the Tughlaks went to ruin Diláwar assumed the royal emblems of the umbrella and the red-tent.

[13] Diláwar Khán Ghori, whose original name was Husein, was one of the grandsons of Sultán Shahab-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám. He was one of the nobles of Muhammad, the son of Fírúz Tughlak, who, after the death of that monarch, settled in and asserted his power over Málwa. (Pers. Text, Farishtah, II., 460). The Emperor Jehángír (who calls him Ámid Sháh Ghori) attributes to him the construction of the Fort of Dhár. He says (Memoirs, Pers. Text, 201-202) :—Dhár is one of the oldest cities of India. Rája Bhoj, one of the famous ancient Hindu kings, lived in this city. From his time up to this 1,000 years have passed. Dhár was also the capital of the Muhammadan rulers of Málwa. When Sultán Muhammad Tughlak (A. D. 1325) was on his way to the conquest of the Dakhan he built a cut-stone fort on a raised site. Its outline is very elegant and beautiful, but the space inside is empty of buildings.

of Diláwar Khán (A. D. 1387-1405) seem to show that he built an assembly mosque near the Ship Palace, a mosque near the Dehli Gate, and a gate at the entrance to Songad, the south-west corner and citadel of Mándu, afterwards known as the Tárápúr Gate.

In A. D. 1398 Alp Khán, son of Diláwar Khán, annoyed with his father for entertaining as his overlord at Dhár, Mehmúd Tughlak, the refugee monarch of Dehli, withdrew to Mándu. He stayed in Mándu for three years, laying, according to Farishtah, the foundation of the famous fortress of solid masonry which was the strongest fortification in that part of the world.[14] On his father's death in A. D. 1405 Alp Khán took the title of Sultán Hoshang, and moved the capital to Mándu. The rumour that Hoshang had poisoned his father gave Diláwar's brother-in-arms, Muzafar Sháh of Gujarát (A. D. 1399-1411), an excuse for an expedition against Hoshang.[15]

Âmíd Sháh Ghori, known as Diláwar Khán, who in the days of Sultán Muhammad, the son of Sultán Fírúz, King of Dehli, gained the independent rule of Málwa, built outside this fort an assembly mosque, which has in front of it fixed in the ground a four-cornered iron column about four feet round. When Sultán Bahádur of Gujarát took Málwa (A. D. 1530-31) he wished to carry this column to Gujarát. In digging it up the pillar fell and broke in two, one piece measuring twenty-two feet and the other thirteen feet. As it was lying here uncared for I (Jehángír) ordered the big piece to be carried to Agra to be put up in the courtyard of the shrine of him whose abode is the heavenly throne (Akbar), to be utilized as a lamp post. The mosque has two gates. In front of the arch of one gate they have fixed a stone tablet engraved with a prose passage to the effect that Âmíd Sháh Ghori in the year H. 808 (A. D. 1405) laid the foundation of this mosque. On the other arch they have written a poetic inscription of which the following verses are a part :—

The liege lord of the world.
The star of the sphere of glory.
The stay of the people.
The sun of the zenith of perfection.
The bulwark of the law of the Prophet, Âmíd Sháh Dáúd.
The possessor of amiable qualities, the pride of Ghor.
Diláwar Khán, the helper and defender of the Prophet's faith.
The chosen instrument of the exalted Lord, who in the city of Dhár constructed the assembly mosque.
In a happy and auspicious moment on a day of lucky omen.
Of the date 808 years have passed (A. D. 1405).
When this fabric of Hope was completed.

[14] Briggs' Farishtah, IV., 169.

[15] When fellow-nobles in the Court of the Tughlak Sultán, Zafar Khán (Sultán Muzaffar of Gujarát) and Diláwar Khán bound themselves under an oath to be brothers-in-arms. Farishtah, Pers. Text II., 462.

Hoshang was defeated at Dhár, made prisoner, and carried to Gujarát, and Muzaffar's brother Nasrat was appointed in his place. Nasrat failed to gain the good-will either of the people or of the army of Málwa, and was forced to retire from Dhár and take refuge in Mándu. In consequence of this failure in A. D. 1408, at Hoshang's request, Muzaffar set Hoshang free after one year's confinement, and deputed his grandson Ahmed to take Hoshang to Málwa and establish Hoshang's power.[16] With Ahmed's help Hoshang took Dhár, and shortly after secured the fort of Mándu. Hoshang (A.D. 1405-1431) made Mándu his capital and spread his power on all sides except towards Gujarát.[17] Shortly after the death of Muzaffar I. and the accession of Ahmed, when (A.D. 1414) Ahmed was quelling the disturbances raised by his cousins, Hoshang, instead of helping Ahmed, marched towards Gujarát and created a diversion in favour of the rebels by sending two of his nobles to attack Broach. They were soon expelled by Ahmed Shah. Shortly after Hoshang marched to the help of the Chief of Jhálawár, in Kathiáwár, and ravaged eastern and central Gujarát.[18] To punish Hoshang for these acts of ingratitude, between A. D. 1418 and 1422, Ahmed twice besieged Mándu, and though he failed to take the fort his retirement had to be purchased, and both as regards success and fair-dealing the honours of the campaign remained with Ahmed.[19] In A. D. 1421 Hoshang went disguised as a horse-dealer to Jájnagar, now Jájpúr, in Katak, in Orissa. He took with him a number of cream-coloured horses, of which he had heard the Rájah was very fond. His object was to barter these horses and other goods for the famous war elephants of Jájnagar. An accident in the camp of the disguised merchants led to a fight, in which the Rájah was taken prisioner and Hoshang was able to secure 150 elephants to fight the Gujarát Sultán.[20] During Hoshang's absence at Jájnagar Ahmed pressed the siege of Mándu so hard that the garrison would

[16] Briggs' Farishtah, IV., 173; Elphinstone's History, 678.

[17] Though their temples were turned into mosques the Jains continued to prosper under the Ghoris. At Deogarh in Lalitpura in Jhánsi in the North-West Provinces an inscription of Samvat 1481, that is, of A. D. 1424, records the dedication of two Jaina images by a Jain priest named Holí during the reign of Sháh Alambhaka of Mandapapura, that is, of Sháh Alp Khán of Mándu, that is, Sultán Hoshang Ghori. Archæological Survey of India, New Series, Vol. II., 120.

[18] Farishtah, Pers. Text, II., 464-65.

[19] Briggs' Farishtah, IV., 176, 178, 180, 181, 183.

[20] Farishtah, Pers. Text, II., 466-67.

have surrendered had Hoshang not succeeded in finding his way into the fort through the south or Tárápúr Gate.[21] For ten years after the Gujarát campaign by the help of his Minister Malik Mughís of the Khilji family and of his Minister's son Mehmúd Khán, Málwa prospered and Hoshang's power was extended. Hoshang enriched his capital with buildings, among them the Great Mosque and his own tomb, both of which he left unfinished. Hoshang's Minister, Malik Mughís (who received the title of Ulugh Aázam Humáyún Khán) appears to have built the assembly mosque near the Ságar Lake in Hoshang's life-time, A. D. 1431. Another of his buildings must have been a Mint, as copper coins remain bearing Hoshang's name, and Mándu Shádiábád as the place of mintage.[22] In A. D. 1432, at Hoshangábád, on the left bank of the Narbada, about 120 miles east of Mándu, Hoshang, who was suffering from diabetes, took greatly to heart the fall of a ruby out of his crown. He said: A few days before the death of Firúz Tughlak, a jewel dropped from his crown. Hoshang ordered that he should be taken to Mándu. Before he had gone many miles the king died. His nobles carried the body to the Madrasah or College in Shádiádbád, or Mándu, and buried him in the College on the ninth day of Zil-Hajjah, the twelfth month of A. H. 838, A. D. 1434. The year of Hoshang's death is to be found in the letters.

Ah Sháh Hoshang na mund: Alas, Sháh Hoshang stayed not.[23]

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[21] Briggs' Farishtah, IV., 180. In connection with the Tárápúr Gate Farishtah says (Pers. Text, II., 468):—The fort of Mándu is built on the top of a mountain, and the line of its fortification is about 28 miles in length. In place of a moat it is surrounded by a deep chasm, so that it is impossible to use missiles against it. Within the fort water and provisions are abundant, and it includes land enough to grow grain for the garrison. The extent of its walls makes it impossible for an army to invest it. Most of the villages near it are too small to furnish supplies to a besieging force. The south of Tárápúr Gate is exceedingly difficult of access. A horseman can hardly approach it. From whichever side the fort may be attempted, most difficult heights have to be scaled. The long distances and intervening hills prevent the watchers of the besieging force communicating with each other. The gate on the side of Delhi is of easier access than the other gates.

[22] It follows that Farishtah (Briggs, IV., 196) is mistaken in stating that Hoshang's son, Muhammad, gave Mándu the name of Shádiábàd, the Abode of Joy.

[23] Farishtah, Pers. Text II., 472-475. It seems to follow that the monument to Hoshang in Hoshangábád from the first, was an empty tomb. Compare Briggs' Farishtah, IV., 180-190.

On Hoshang's death his son Gházni Khán, with the title of Sultán Muhammad Ghori, succeeded. Malik Mughís, his father's Minister, and the Minister's son, Mehmúd, were maintained in power. In three years (A. D. 1433-36), as Sultán Muhammad proved dissipated cruel and suspicious, Mehmúd, the Minister's son, procured his death by poison. Mehmúd Khilji then asked his father to accept the succession, but his father declined, saying that Mehmúd was fitter to be king. A. D. 1436 Mehmúd was accordingly crowned with the Royal tiara of Hoshang.[24] He conferred on his father the honour of being attended by mace-bearers carrying gold and silver sticks, who,

[24] The following more detailed, but also more confused, story is told in the Wakiâát-i-Mushtáki, (Elliot, IV., 552-54):—A man named Mehmúd, son of Mughís Khilji, came to Hoshang and entered his service. He was a treacherous man who secretly aspired to the throne. He became Minister, and gave his daughter in marriage to the King. [Farishtah, Pers. Text II., 474, says:—"Malik Mughís gave his daughter (Mehmúd's sister) in marriage, not to Hoshang, but to Hoshang's son Muhammad Sháh."] His father, Malik Mughís, coming to know of his son's ambitious designs, informed the King of them. Hereupon Mehmúd feigned illness, and to deceive the King's physicians shut himself in a dark room and drank the blood of a newly killed goat. When the physicians came Mehmúd rose hastily, threw up the blood into a basin, and tossing back his head rolled on the floor as if in pain. The physicians called for a light. When they saw that what Mehmúd had spat up was blood they were satisfied of his sickness, and told the King that Mehmúd had not long to live. The King refrained from killing a dying man. This strange story seems to be an embellishment of a passage in Farishtah (Pers. Text II., 477). When Khán Jehán, that is Malik Mughís, the father of Mehmúd, was ordered by Sultán Muhammad to take the field against the Rájpút rebels of Núdoti (Hároti?) many of the old nobles of Málwa went with him. In their absence the party hostile to the Kiljis represented to Sultán Muhammad that Mehmúd Khilji was plotting his death. On hearing that the Sultán was enraged against him Mehmúd secluded himself from the Court on pretence of illness. At the same time he worked secretly and bribed Sultán Muhammad's cup-bearer to poison his master. On the death of Sultán Muhammad the party of nobles opposed to Mehmúd, concealing the fact of Muhammad's death, sent word that Muhammad had ordered him immediately to the palace, as he wanted to send him on an embassy to Gujarát. Mehmúd, who knew that the Sultán was dead returned word to the nobles that he had vowed a life-long seclusion as the sweeper of the shrine of his patron, Sultán Hoshang, but that if the nobles came to him and convinced him that the good of his country depended on his going to Gujarát he was ready to go and see Sultán Muhammad. The nobles were caught in their own trap. They went to Mehmud and were secured and imprisoned by him.

when the Khán mounted or went out, had, like the mace-bearers of independent monarchs, the privilege of repeating the *Bismillah*, "In the name of the compassionate and merciful Alláh."[25] He gave his father royal honours, the white canopy and the silver quiver, and to his title of Malik Ashraf Khán Jehán he added among others Amír-ul-Umara and Âázam Humáyún.[26] Mehmúd quelled a revolt among his nobles. And an outbreak of plague in the Gujarát camp relieved him from a contest with Ahmed Sháh.[27] In A. D. 1439 Mehmúd repaired the palace of Sultán Hoshang and opened the mosque built in commemoration of that monarch which Farishtah describes as a splendid edifice with 208 columns.[28] About the same time Mehmúd completed Hoshang's tomb, which Hoshang had left unfinished. On the completion of this building Hoshang's remains seem to have been moved into it from their first resting-place in the College. In A. D. 1441 Mehmúd built a garden with a dome and palaces[29] and a mosque at Nálcha, about three miles north of the Dehli Gate of Mándu, a pleasing well-watered spot, where the plateau of Málwa breaks into glades and knolls[30]. In A. D. 1443, in honour of his victory over Rána Kúmbha of Chitor, Mehmúd built a beautiful column of victory,[31] seven storeys high, and a

[25] Farishtah, Pers. Text II., 480.

[26] Brigg's Farishtah IV., 196. These titles mean: The Chief of Nobles, the Great, the August.

[27] It is related that one of the pious men in the camp of Sultán Ahmed of Gujarát had a warning dream, in which the Prophet (on whom be Peace) appeared to him and said:—"The calamity of (spirit of) pestilence is coming down from the skies. Tell Sultán Ahmed to leave this country." This warning was told to Sultán Ahmed, but he disregarded it, and within three days pestilence raged in his camp. Farishtah, Pers. Text II., 484.

[28] Brigg's Farishtah IV., 205, gives 230 minarets and 360 arches. This must have been an addition in the Text used by Briggs. These details do not apply to the building. The Persian text of Farishtah, II., 485, mentions 208 columns or pillars (*duyast o hasht ustuwánah*). No reference is made either to minarets or to arches.

[29] Farishtah, Pers. Text II., 487.

[30] Brigg's Farishtah IV., 207. Malcolm's Central India I., 32. In A. D. 1817 Sir John Malcolm (Central India I., 33 n) fitted up one of Mehmud's palaces as a hot weather residence.

[31] Of the siege of Kúmbhálmer a curious incident is recorded by Farishtah (Pers. Text I7., 485). He says that a temple outside the town destroyed by Mehmúd had a marble idol in the form of a goat. The Sultán ordered the idol to be ground into lime and sold to the Rájpúts as betel-leaf lime, so that the

college in front of the mosque of Hoshang Ghori. Facing the east entrance to the Great Mosque stands a paved ramp crowned by a confused ruin. As late as A.D. 1843 this ruin is described as a square marble chamber. Each face of the chamber had three arches, the centre arch in two of the faces being a door. Above the arches the wall was of yellow stone faced with marble. Inside the chamber the square corners were cut off by arches. No roof or other trace of superstructure remained.[32] This chamber seems to be the basement of the column of victory which was raised in A.D. 1443 by Mehmúd I. (A.D. 1432-1469) in honour of his victory over Rána Kúmbha of Chitor.[33] Mehmúd's column has the special interest of being, if not the original at least the cause of the building of Kúmbha Rána's still uninjured Victory Pillar, which was completed in A.D. 1454 at a cost of £900,000 in honour of his defeat of Mehmud.[34] That the Mándu Column of Victory was a famous work is shown by Abul Fazl's reference to it in A.D. 1590 as an eight-storeyed minaret.[35] Farishtah, about twenty years later (A.D. 1610), calls it a beautiful Victory, Pillar, seven storeys high.[36] The Emperor Jehángír (A.D. 1605-1627) gives the following account of Mehmúd's Tower of Victory.[37] This day, the 29th of the month Tír, corresponding to July-August of A.D. 1617, about the close of the day, with the ladies of the palace, I went out to see the *Haft Manzar* or Seven Storeys. This building is one of the structures of the old rulers of Málwa, that is of Sultán Mehmúd Khilji. It has seven storeys, and on each storey there are four porticos, and in each portico are four windows. The height of this tower is about 163 feet and its circumference 150 feet. From the surface of the ground to the top of the seventh storey there are

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Hindus might eat their god. The idol was perhaps a ram, not a goat. The temple would then have been a Sun-temple and the ram the carrier or *vâhana* of the sun would have occupied in the porch a position similar to that held by the bull in a Mahádeva temple.

[32] Ruins of Mándu, 13.

[33] In the end of A. H. 846 (A.D. 1442) Mehmúd built a seven-storeyed tower and a college opposite the Jáma Mosque of Hoshang Sháh. Brigg's Farishtah IV., 210; Persian Text II., 488.

[34] Compare Brigg's Farishtah IV., 323.

[35] Gladwin's Aín-i-Akbari II., 41.

[36] Brigg's Farishtah IV., 210; Farishtah, Persian Text II, 488.

[37] Memoirs of the Emperor Jehángír (Pers. Text) Sir Sayad Ahmed's Edition 188, year 11th of Jehángír, A.D. 1617.

one hundred and seventy-one steps." Sir Thomas Herbert, the traveller, in A.D. 1626, describes it from hearsay, or at least at second-hand, as a tower 170 steps high, supported by massive pillars and adorned with gates and windows very observable. It was built, he adds, by Khán Jchán, who there lies buried.[38]

Two years later (A. D. 1445) Mehmúd built at Mándu, and endowed with the revenues of several villages a large *Shifa Khánah*, or Hospital, with wards and attendants for all classes and separate apartments for maniacs. He placed in charge of it his own physician, Maulána Fazlulláh.[39] He also built a college to the east of the Jáma mosque, of which traces remain.[40]

In A. D. 1453, though defeated, Mehmúd brought back from Gujarát the jewelled waistbelt of Gujarát, which in a daring charge he had taken from the tent of the Gujarát King Kutb-ud-dín Sháh.[41]

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[38] Herbert's Khán Jehán is doubtless Mehmud's father the Minister Malik-Mughís, Khán Jehán Aázam Humáyún. It cannot be Khán Jehán Pir Muhammad, Akbar's general, who after only a few months' residence was slain in Mándu in A.D. 1561; nor can it be Jehángír's great Afghán general, Khán Jehán Lodi (A.D. 1600-1630), as he was not in Mándu until A.D. 1628, that is more than a year after Herbert left India. Compare Herbert's Travels, 107-118; Elliot VI., 249-323; VII., 7, 8, and 21; and Blochman's Áín-i-Akbari 503-506.

[39] Brigg's Farishtah IV., 214.

[40] Ruins of Mándu, 13, Farishtah has three mentions of colleges. One (Pers. Text II., 475) as the place where the body of Hoshang was carried, probably that prayers might be said over it. In another passage in the reign of Mehmúd I (Pers. Text II, 480) he states that Mehmúd built colleges in his territories which became the envy of Shiráz and Samarkand. In a third passage he mentions a college (p. 488) near the Victory Tower.

[41] Brigg's Farishtah IV., 217. A different but almost incredible account of the capture of the royal belt is given in the Mirát-i Sikandari, Pers. Text, 159:—When Sultán Kutb-ud-dín, son of Sultán Muhammad, defeated Sultán Mehmúd Khilji at the battle of Kapadwanj, there was such a slaughter as could not be exceeded. By chance, in the heat of the fray, which resembled the day of judgment, the wardrobe-keeper of Sultán Kutb ud-dín, in whose charge was the jewelled belt, was by the restiveness of his horse carried into the ranks of the enemy. The animal there became so violent that the wardrobe-keeper fell off and was captured by the enemy, and the jewelled belt was taken from him and given to Sultán Mehmúd of Málwa. The author adds: This jewelled waist-band was in the Málwa treasury at the time the fortress of Mándu was taken by the strength of the arm of Sultán Muzaffar (A. D. 1531). Sultán Mehmúd sent this belt together with a fitting sword and horse to Sultán Muzaffar by the hands of his son.

In A. D. 1441 Mehmúd's father died at Mandasor. Mehmúd felt the loss so keenly that he tore his hair like one bereft of reason.[42] After his father's death Mehmúd made his son, Ghiás-ud-dín, Minister, and conferred the command of the army and the title of Aâzam Humáyún on his kinsman Táj Khán. In A. D. 1469, after a reign of thirty-four years (A. D. 1436-1469) of untiring energy and activity Mehmúd died. Farishtah says of him—"His tent was his home; the field of battle his resting-place. He was polite, brave, just, and learned. His Hindu and Musalmán subjects were happy and friendly. He guarded his lands from invaders. He made good his loss to any one who suffered from robbery in his dominions, recovering the amount from the village in whose lands the robbery had taken place, a system which worked so well that theft and robbery became almost unknown. Finally, by systematic effort, he freed the country from the dread of wild beasts.[43]

In A. D. 1469 Mehmúd was succeeded by his son and minister, Ghiás-ud-dín, to whose skill as a soldier much of Mehmúd's success had been due. On his accession Ghiás-ud-din made his son, Abdul Káder, Prime Minister and heir-apparent, and gave him the title of Násir-ud-dín. He called his nobles, and in their presence handed his sword to Násir-ud-dín, saying:—"I have passed thirty-four years in ceaseless fighting. I now devote my life to rest and enjoyment."[44] Ghiás-ud-dín, who never left Mándu during the whole thirty years of his reign (A. D. 1469-1499), is said to have completed the Jaház Mehel, or Ship Palace,[45] and the widespread buildings which surround it. It seems probable that the Tapela Palace close to the south-east of the Ship Palace and the Lake and Royal Gardens immediately to the north and north-east of the Tapela Palace were part of Ghiás-ud-dín's pleasure houses and grounds. The scale of the ruins behind the Hindola or Swing Cot palace to the north, and their connection with the out-buildings to the west of the Jaház Mehel, suggest that they also belonged to the palaces and women's quarters of the pleasure-loving Ghiás-ud-dín.

Of the surprising size and fantastic arrangements of Ghiás-ud-dín's pleasure city, the true Mándu Shádiábád or Abode of Joy, curious

[42] Brigg's Farishtah IV., 209.
[43] Brigg's Farishtah IV., 234-35; Pers. Text II., 503.
[44] Brigg's Farishtah IV., 236.
[45] Ruins of Mándu, p. 6.

details have been preserved. This Abode of Pleasure was a city, not a palace. It contained 15,000 inhabitants, all of them women, none either old or plain featured, and each trained to some profession or craft. Among them were the whole officers of a court, and besides courtiers, teachers, musicians, dancers, prayer readers, embroiderers, and followers of all crafts and callings. Whenever the King heard of a beautiful girl he never rested till he obtained her. This city of women had its two regiments of guards, the Archers and the Carabineers, each 500 strong, its soldiers dressed like men in a distinguishing uniform. The Archers were beautiful young Turki damsels, all armed with bows and arrows: the Carabineers were Abyssinian maidens, each carrying a carbine. Attached to the palace and city was a deer park, where the Lord of Leisure used to hunt with his favourites. Each dweller in the city of women received her daily dole of grain and coppers, and besides the women were many pensioners, mice, parrots, and pigeons, who also received the same dole as their owners. So evenly just was Ghiás-ud-dín in the matter of his allowances, that the prettiest of his favourites received the same allowance as the roughest Carabineer.[46]

The Lord of the City of Pleasure was deeply religious. Whenever he was amusing himself two of his companions held in front of him a cloth to remind him of his shroud. A thousand *Háfizáhs*, that is women who knew the Kuraán by heart, constantly repeated its holy verses, and, under the orders of the King, whenever he changed his raiment the *Háfizáhs* blew on his body from head to foot with their prayer-hallowed breath.[47] None of the five daily prayers passed unprayed. If at any of the hours of prayer the King was asleep he was sprinkled with water, and when water failed to arouse him, he was dragged out of bed. Even when dragged out of bed by his servants the King never uttered an improper or querulous word.

So keen was his sense of justice, that when one of his courtiers, pretending he had purchased her, brought to him a maiden of ideal beauty, and her relations, not knowing she had been given to the King, came to complain, though they gladly resigned her, the King grieved over his unconscious wrong. Besides paying compensation he mourned long and truly, and ordered that no more inmates should be brought to his palace.[48] So great was

[46] Farishtah Pers. Text II., 504-505.

[47] Farishtah Pers. Text II., 505.

[48] Farishtah Pers. Text II., 507.

the King's charity that every night below his pillow he placed a bag containing some thousand gold-mohurs, and before the next evening all were distributed to the deserving. So religious was the King that he paid 50,000 *tankas* for each of the four feet of the ass of Christ. A man came bringing a fifth hoof, and one of the courtiers said—"My Lord, an ass has four feet. I never heard that it had five, unless, perhaps, the ass of Christ had five." "Who knows," the King replied, "it may be that this last man has told the truth, and one of the others was wrong. See that he is paid." So sober was the King that he would neither look upon nor hear of intoxicants or stimulants. A potion that had cost 100,000 *tankas* was brought to him. Among the 300 ingredients one was nutmeg. The King directed the potion to be thrown into a drain. His favourite horse fell sick. The King ordered it to have medicine, and the horse recovered. "What medicine was given the horse?" asked the King. "The medicine ordered by the physicians" replied his servants. Fearing that in this medicine there might be an intoxicant, the King commanded that the horse should be taken out of the stables and turned loose into the forest.[49]

The King's spirit of peace steeped the land, which, like its ruler, after thirty years of fighting, yearned for rest. For fourteen years neither inward malcontent, nor foreign foe broke the quiet. In A.D. 1482 Bahlol Lodi advanced from Dehli to subdue Málwa. The talk of Mándu was Bahlol's approach, but no whisper of it passed into the charmed City of Women. At last the son-minister forced his way into the King's presence. At the news of pressing danger his soldier spirit awoke in Ghiás-ud-din. His orders for meeting the invaders were so prompt and well-planned that the King of Dehli paid a ransom and withdrew. A second rest of fifteen years ended in the son-minister once more forcing his way into the presence. In A.D. 1500 the son presented his father, now an aged man of eighty, with a cup of sherbet and told him to drink. The King, whose armlet of bezoar stone had already twice made poison harmless, drew the stone from his arm. He thanked the Almighty for granting him, unworthy, the happiest life that had ever fallen to the lot of man. He prayed that

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[49] Wákiât-i-Mushtáki, in Elliot IV., 554-56. Probably these are stock tales. The Gujarát historians give Muzaffar II. (A.D. 1513-1526), credit for the horse scrupulosity. See Mirát-i-Sikandari. Pers. Text, p. 178.

the sin of his death might not be laid to his son's charge, drank the poison, and died.[50]

Ghiás-ud-dín can hardly have shut himself off so completely from State affairs as the story-tellers make out. He seems to have been the first of the Málwa kings who minted gold. He also introduced new titles and ornaments, which implies an interest in his coinage.[51] Farishtah says that Ghiás-ud-dín used to come out every day for an hour from his *harím*, sit on the throne and receive the salutations of his nobles and subjects, and give orders in all weighty matters of State. He used to entrust minor affairs to his Ministers ; but in all grave matters he was so anxious not to shirk his responsibility as a ruler, that he had given strict orders that all such communications should be made to him at whatever time they came through a particular female officer appointed to receive his orders.[52]

According to most accounts Násir-ud-dín was led to poison his father by an attempt of his younger brother, Shujáát Khán, supported if not organized by some of Ghiás-ud-dín's favourite wives, to

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[50] Brigg's Farishtah IV., 236-39 ; Wákiát-i-Jehángiri, in Elliot VI., 349-350; Wákiát-i-Mushtáki, in Elliot IV., 554-55 ; Malcolm's Central India I., 35-36. The Miráti-Sikandri (Pers. Text 160) has the following notice of Ghiás-ud-dín :—The Sultáns of Mándu had reached such a pitch of luxury and ease that it is impossible to imagine aught exceeding it. Among them, Sultán Ghiás-ud-dín was so famous for his luxurious habits, that at present (A.D. 1611) if any one exceeds in luxury and pleasure, they say he is a second Ghiás-ud-dín. The orders of the Sultán were that no event of a painful nature, or one in which there was any touch of sadness, should be related to him. They say that during his entire reign, news of a sad nature was only twice conveyed to him. Once, when his son-in-law died, and his daughter was brought before him clothed in white garments. On this occasion the Sultán is related to have simply said :—" Perhaps her husband is dead." This he said because the custom of the people of India is that when the husband of a woman dies, she gives up wearing coloured clothes. The second occasion was, when the army of Sultán Bahlol Lodi plundered several of the districts of Chanderi. Though it was necessary to report this to the Sultán, his ministers were unable to communicate it to him. They, therefore, asked a band of actors (*bhánds*) to assume the dress of Afgháns, and mentioning the districts to represent them as being pillaged and laid waste. Sultán Ghiás-ud-dín exclaimed in surprise : " But is the Governor of Chanderi dead that he does not avenge upon the Afgháns the ruin of his country ?"

[51] Compare Catalogue of Indian Coins, the Mahomedan States, pp. LIV., LV., and 118-121.

[52] Farishtah Pers. Text II., 507.

oust Násir-ud-dín from the succession.[53] In the struggle Násir-ud-dín triumphed and was crowned at Mándu in A. D. 1500.[54] The new King left Mándu to put down a revolt. On his return to Mándu he devoted himself to debauchery and to hunting down and murdering his brother's adherents. He subjected his mother, Khurshíd Ráni, to great indignities and torture, to force from her information regarding his father's concealed treasures.[55] In a fit of drunkenness he fell into a reservoir. He was pulled out by four of his female slaves. He awoke with a headache, and discovering what his slaves had done put them to death with his own hand.[56] Some time after, in A. D. 1512, he again fell into the reservoir, and there he was left till he was dead.[57] Násir-ud-dín was fond of building. His palace at Akbarpúr, in the Nímár plain, about twenty miles south of Mándu, was splendid and greatly admired.[58] And, at Mándu, besides his sepulchre[59] which the Emperor Jehángír (A. D. 1617)

[53] Farishtah (Per. Text II., 508) detailing how Násir-ud-dín came to power, says: There was a difference betwen Násir-ud-dín and his brother Alá-ud-dín. The mother of these princes, Khurshíd Ráni, who was the daughter of the Hindu chief of Báglána, had taken Alá-ud-dín the younger brother's side. After killing his father Násir-ud-dín ordered his mother to be dragged out of the *harím* and Alá-ud-dín and his children to be slaughtered like lambs.

[54] Brigg's Farishtah IV., 238-39. Farishtah holds that Násir-ud-dín's murder of his father is not proved. He adds (Pers. Text II., 515) that Násir-ud-dín was at Dhár, where he had gone to quell the rebellion of the nobles when the news of Ghiás-ud-dín's death reached him. He argues that as a patricide cannot flourish more than a year after his father's murder, and as Násir-ud-dín ruled for years after that event, he could not have killed his father.

[55] Farishtah Pers. Text II., 516.

[56] Brigg's Farishtah IV., 243. The Emperor Jehángír (Memoirs, Pers. Text 181) says that Násir-ud-dín had a disease which made him feel so hot that he used to sit for hours in water.

[57] Wákiât-i-Jehángíri, in Elliot VI., 350. Farishtah (Pers. Text II., 517-18) says that Násir-ud-dín died of a burning-fever he had contracted by hard drinking and other evil habits; that he showed keen penitence before his death; and bequeathed his kingdom to his third son Mehmud. The Emperor Jehángír (Memoirs Pers. Text 181) confirms the account of the Wákiât as to the manner of Násir-ud-dín's death.

[58] Brigg's Farishtah IV., 243.

[59] The Emperor Jehángír thus describes (Memoirs Pers. Text 181) his visit to Násir-ud-dín's grave. It is related that when during his reign Sher Khán Afghán Súr (A. D. 1540-55) visited Násir-ud-dín's grave he ordered his

mentions,[60] an inscription shews that the palace now known by the name of Báz Bahádur was built by Násir-ud-dín.

Násir-ud-dín was succeeded by his younger son, Mehmúd (A. D. 1512-30), who, with the title of Mehmúd the Second, was crowned with great pomp at Mándu. Seven hundred elephants in gold-embroidered velvet housings adorned the procession.[61] Shortly after his accession Mehmúd II. was driven out of Mándu by the revolt of the commandant, Muháfiz Khán, but was restored by the skill and courage of Medáni Rái, his Rájpút commander-in-chief.[62] A still more dangerous combination, Muzaffar II. (A. D. 1511-26) of Gujarát and Sikandar Sháh Lodi (A. D. 1488-1516) of Dehli, was baffled by the foresight and energy of the same Rájpút general. Mehmúd, feeling that his power had passed to the Hindus, tried to disband the Rájpúts and assassinate Medáni Rái. Failing in both attempts Mehmúd fled from Mándu to Gujarát, where he was well received by Sultán Muzaffar (A. D. 1511-26).[63] They advanced together against Mándu, and in A. D. 1519, after

attendants to flagellate the parricide's tomb. When I visited the sepulchre I kicked his grave and ordered those with me to do the same. Not satisfied with this I ordered his bones to be dug out and burned, and the ashes to be thrown into the Narbada.

[60] Wákiát-i-Jehángíri, in Elliot VI., 350. The Emperor Jehángír (Memoirs Pers. Text, 202) refers to the well-known bridge and water palace, about three miles north of Ujjain, as the work of Násir-ud-dín. He says: "On Sunday I reached Saádalpur near Ujjain. In this village is a river-house with a bridge, on which are alcoves, both built by Násir-ud-dín Khilji (A. D. 1500-12). Though the bridge is not specially praiseworthy, the water-courses and cisterns connected with it have a certain merit."

[61] Brigg's Farishtah IV., 246.

[62] Brigg's Farishtah IV., 247-49. Malcolm (Central India I., 88) writes the Rájpút's name Mederay. The Mirát-i-Sikandari (Pers. Text, p. 149-55 gives the form Medáni Rái, the Lord of the Battle Field, a title which the author says (p. 149) was conferred on the Rájput by Mehmúd in acknowledgment of his prowess.

[63] The Mirát-i-Sikandari (Pers. Text, 154) gives the following details of Mehmúd's flight; Sultán Mehmud, on pretence of hunting, left Mándu and remained hunting for several days. The Hindus, whom Medáni Rái had placed on guard over him, slept after the fatigue of the chase. Only some of the more trusted guards remained. Among them was a Rájpút named Krishna, a Málwa *zamindár*, who was attached to the Sultán. Mehmúd said to Krishna: "Can you find me two horses and show me the way to Gujarát that I may get aid from Sultán Muzaffer to punish these rascals? If you can, do so at once,

a close siege of several months, took the fort by assault. The Rájpút garrison, who are said to have lost 19,000 men, fought to the last, consecrating the close of their defence by a general *javár* or fire sacrifice. Sultán Mehmúd entered Mándu close after the storming party, and while Mehmúd established his authority in Mándu, Muzaffer withdrew to Dhár. When order was restored Mehmúd sent this message to Muzaffar at Dhár: "Mandu is a splendid fort. You shoud come and see it." "May Mándu," Muzafar replied, "bring good fortune to Sultán Mehmúd. He is the master of the fort. For the sake of the Lord I came to his help. On Friday I will go to the fortress, and having read the sermon in Mehmúd's name, will return." On Muzaffar's arrival in Mándu Mehmúd gave a great entertainment;[64] and Muzaffar retired to Gujarát, leaving a force of 3,000 Gujarátis to help to guard the hill.[65] Immediately after Muzafar's departure, as Sultán Mehmúd was anxious to recover Chanderi and Gagraun, which still remained in the possession of Medáni Rái and his supporters, he marched against them. Rána Sánga of Chitor came to Medáni's aid and a great battle was fought.[66] Mehmúd's hastiness

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and, Alláh willing, you shall be handsomely rewarded." Krishna brought two horses from the Sultán's stables. Mehmúd rode on one and seated his dearest of wives, Ráni Kannya Kuar, on the other. Krishna marched in front. In half the night and one day they reached the Gujarát frontier.

[64] Tárikh-i-Sher Sháhi, in Elliot IV., 386. The Mirát-i-Sikandari (Pers. Text, 160) gives the following details of the entertainment:—Sultán Mehmúd showed great hospitality and humility. After the banquet, as he led the Sultán over the palaces, they came to a mansion, in the centre of which war a four-cornered building like the Kaábah, carved and guilded, and round it were many apartments. When Sultán Muzaffar placed his foot within the threshold of that building the thousand beauties of Sultán Mehmud's harem, magnificently apparelled and ornamented, all at once opened the doors of their chambers and burst into view like huris and fairies. When Muzaffar's eyes fell on their charms he bowed his head and said: "To see other than one's own *harím* is sinful." Sultán Mehmúd replied: "These are mine, and therefore yours, seeing that I am the slave purchased by your Majesty's kindness." Muzaffar said: "They are more suitable for you. May you have joy in them. Let them retire." At a signal from Sultán Mehmúd the ladies vanished.

[65] Brigg's Farishtah IV., 250-62.

[66] Farishtah Pers. Text., II., 527. According to the Mirát-i-Sikandari (Pers. Text, 161), Mehmúd marched against Gagraun first, and slew Hemkaran, a partisan of Medáni Rái, in a hand-to-hand fight. On this the Rána and Medáni Rai joined their forces against Mehmúd.

led him to attack when his men were weary and the Rájpúts were fresh. In spite of the greatest bravery on the part of himself and of his officers the Musalmán army was defeated, and Mehmúd weakened by loss of blood, was made prisoner. The Rána Sánga had Mehmúd's wounds dressed, sent him to Chitor, and on his recovery released him.[67]

In A. D. 1526, by giving protection to his outlawed brother, Chánd Khán, and to Razi-ul-Mulk, a refugee Gujarát noble, Mehmúd brought on himself the wrath of Bahádur Sháh of Gujarát (A. D. 1526-1536). The offended Bahádur did not act hastily. He wrote to Mehmúd, asking him to come to his camp and settle their quarrels. He waited on the Gujarát frontier at Karji Ghát, east of Bánswára, until at last satisfied that Mehmúd did not wish for a peaceful settlement he advanced on Mándu. Meanwhile Mehmúd had repaired the walls of Mándu, which soon after was invested by Bahádur. The siege was proceeding in regular course by mines and batteries, and the garrison, though over-taxed, were still loyal and in heart, when in the dim light of morning Mehmúd suddenly found the Gujarát flag waving on the battlements. According to the Mirát-i-Sikandari[68] Bahádur annoyed by the slow progress of the siege asked his spies where was the highest ground near Mándu. The spies said : Towards Songad-Chitor the hill is extremely high. With a few followers the Sultán scaled Songad, and rushing down the slope, burst through the wall and took the fort (May 20th, 1526).[69] Mehmúd surrendered. Near Dohad, on his way to his prison at Chámpánír, an attempt was made to rescue Mehmúd, and to prevent their escape he and some of his sons were slain and buried on the bank of the Dohad tank.[70] Bahádur spent the rainy season (June-October 1526) in Mándu, and Málwa was incorporated with Gujarát.

Mándu remained under Gujarát, till in A. D. 1534, after Bahádur's defeat by Humáyún at Mandasor, Bahádur retired to Mándu. Humáyún followed. At night 200 of Humáyún's soldiers went to the back of the fortress, according to Farishtah, the south-west height of Songad[71] by which Bahádur had surprised Mehmúd's garrison, scaled

[67] Brigg's Farishtah IV., 262-63.

[68] Persian Edition, p. 239.

[69] Brigg's Farishtah IV., 267-68. Sultán Bahádur apparently surprised the party in charge of the Tárápúr or Southern Gate.

[70] Brigg's Farishtah IV., 269; Mirát-i-Ahmadi. Pers. Txt. Vol. I., p. 76.

[71] Do. do. II., 77.

the walls by ladders and ropes, opened the gate, and let others in. Mallu Khán, the commandant of the batteries, a native of Málwa, who afterwards gained the title of Kádir Sháh, went to Bahádur and wakened him. Bahádur rushed out with four or five attendants. He was joined by about twenty more, and reaching the gate at the top of the *maidán*, apparently the Tárápúr gate by which Humáyún's men had entered, cut through 200 of Humáyún's troops and went off with Mallu Khán to the fort of Songad, the citadel of Mándu. While two of Bahádúr's chiefs, Sadr Khán and Sultán Álam Lodi, threw themselves into Songad, Bahádur himself let his horses down the cliff by ropes and after a thousand difficulties made his way to Chámpánír.[72] On the day after Bahádur's escape Sadr Khán and Sultán Álam Lodi came out of Songad and surrendered to Humáyún.[73]

In the following year (A.D. 1535) the combined news of Sher Sháh's revolt in Bengal, and of the defeat of his officers at Broach and Cambay, forced Humáyún to retire from Gujárát. As he preferred its climate he withdrew, not to Agra, but to Mándu.[74] From Mándu, as fortune was against him in Bengal, Humáyún went (A. D. 1535-36) to Ágra.

On Humáyún's departure three chiefs attempted to establish themselves at Mándu: Bhúpat Rái, the ruler of Bíjágar, sixty miles south of Mándu; Mallu Khán or Kádir Sháh, the former commandant from Gujarát; and Mírán Muhammad Fárúḳi from Burhánpúr.[75] Of these three Mallu Khán was successful. In A. D. 1536, when Humáyún fled from Sher Sháh to Persia, Mallu spread his power from Mándu to Ujjain, Sárangpúr, and Rantambhor, assumed the title of Kádir Sháh Málwai, and made Mándu his capital. Some time after, Sher Sháh, who was now supreme, wrote to Mallu Kádir Sháh, ordering him to co-operate in expelling the Mughals. Kádir Sháh resenting this assumption of over-lordship, addressed Sher Sháh as an

[72] Abul Fazl's Akbar Námah, in Elliot VI., 14; Brigg's Farishtah II., 77.

[73] Abul Fazl's Akbar Námah, in Elliot V., 192.

[74] Abul Fazl's Akbar Námah, in Elliot VI., 15; Brigg's Farishtah II., 80-81.

[75] Abul Fazl's Akbar Námah in Elliot VI., 18. According to Farishtah (Pers. Text II., 532) Mallu, the son of Mallu, was a native of Málwa and a Khilji slave noble. Mallu received his title of Kádir Sháh from Sultán Mehmúd III. of Gujarát (A. D. 1536-1544) at the recommendation of his minister Imád-ul-Mulk who was a great friend of Mallu, Mirát-i-Sikandari, Persian Text, p. 298.

inferior. When Sher Sháh received Mallu's order he folded it and placed it in the scabbard of his poniard to keep the indignity fresh in his mind. Alláh willing, he said, we shall ask an explanation for this in person.[76] In A. D. 1542 (H. 949) as Kádir Sháh failed to act with Kutb Khán, who had been sent to establish Sher Sháh's over-lordship in Málwa, Sher Sháh advanced from Gwálior towards Mándu with the object of punishing Kádir Sháh.[77] As he knew he could not stand against Sher Sháh, Kádir Sháh went to Sárangpúr to do homage. Though on arrival Kádir Sháh was well received, his kingdom was given to Shujáât Khán, one of Sher Sháh's chief followers, and himself placed in Shujáât Khán's keeping.[78] Suspicious of what might be in store for him Kádir Sháh fled to Gujarát. Sher Sháh was so much annoyed at Shujáât Khán's remissness in not preventing Kádir Sháh's escape that he transferred the command at Dhár and Mándu from Shujáât Khán to Háji Khán and Junaid Khán. Shortly after Kádir Sháh brought a force from Gujarát and attacked Mándu. Shujáât came to Háji Khán's help and routed Kádir Sháh under the walls of Mándu. In reward Sher Sháh made him ruler of the whole country of Mándu.[79] Shujáât Khán established his head-quarters at Mándu with 10,000 horse and 7,000 matchlockmen.

During the reign of Sher Sháh's successor, Selím Sháh (A. D.

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[76] Farishtah Pers. Text II., 532.

[77] Táríkh-i-Sher Sháhi, in Elliot IV., 391 ; Brigg's Farishtah IV., 271-72.

[78] Farishtah (Pers. Text, 533-34) refers to the following circumstances as the cause of Kádir Sháh's suspicion. On his way to Sher Sháh's Darbár at Ujjain Kádir saw some Mughal prisoners in chains making a road. One of the prisoners seeing him began to sing :—

"*Mará mí bín darínahwál o fikrí khíshtan mí kun !*"
In this plight thou seest me to-day,
Thine own turn is not far away.

When Kádir Sháh escaped, Sher Sháh on hearing of his flight exclaimed—

Bá má chi kard dídí
Mallú Ghulám-i-gídí ?
Thus he treats us with scorn,
Mallu the slave base born.

To this one of Sher Sháh's men replied :

Kaul-i-Rasúl bar hak
Lá khair fil ábídí.
The words of the Prophet are true,
No good can a slave ever do.

[79] Tarkh-í-Sher Sháhi in Elliot IV., 397.

1545-53), Shujáát was forced to leave Málwa and seek shelter in Dúngarpúr. Selím pardoned Shujáát, but divided Málwa among other nobles. Shujáát remained in Hindustán till in A. D. 1553, on the accession of Selím's successor, Ádali, he recovered Málwa, and in A. D. 1554, on the decay of Ádali's power, assumed independence.[80] He died almost immediately after, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Malik Báyazíd.[81] Shujáát Khán was a great builder. Besides his chief works at Shujáwalpúr, near Ujjain, he left many memorials in different parts of Málwa.[82] So far none of the remains at Mándu are known to have been erected during the rule of Shujáát Khán.

On the death of his father Malik Báyazid killed his brother Daulat Khán, and was crowned in A. D. 1555 with the title of Báz Bahádur. He attacked the Gonds, but met with so crushing a defeat that he foreswore fighting.[83] He gave himself to enjoyment, and became famous as a musician,[84] and for his poetic love of Rúp Mani or Rúp Mati, who, according to one account, was a wise and beautiful courtezan of Saháranpúr in Northern India, and according to another was the daughter of a Nímár Rájpút, the master of the town of Dharampuri.[85] In A. D. 1560 Pír Muhammad, a general of Akbar's, afterwards ennobled as Khán Jehán, defeated Báz Bahádur, drove him out of Mándu, and made the hill his own headquarters.[86] In the following year (A. D. 1561), by the help of the Berár Chief, Pír Muhammad was slain and Báz Bahádur re-instated. On news of this defeat (A. D. 1562) Akbar sent Abdullah Khán Uzbak with almost unlimited power to re-conquer the province. Abdulláh was successful, but as he showed signs of assuming independence Akbar moved against him and he fled to Gujarát.[87]

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[80] Tárkh-í-Alfi in Elliott V., 168; Elphinstone's India, 402-403.

[81] Tárkh-i-Alfi in Elliott V., 168.

[82] Brigg's Farishtah IV., 276.

[83] When Báz Bahádur attacked the Gonds their chief was dead, and his widow, Ráni Durgávati, was ruling in his place. The Ráni led the Gonds against the invaders, and hemming them in one of the passes, inflicted on them such a defeat that Báz Bahádur fled from the field, leaving his baggage and camp in her hands, Farishtah Pers. Text II., 538.

[84] According to Farishtah (Pers. Text II., 538) Báz Bahádur was already an adept in music.

[85] Malcolm's Central India I., 39; Ruins of Mándu, 30.

[86] Brigg's Farishtah II., 210.

[87] Blochman's Áín-i-Akbari, 321.

Akbar remained in Mándu during the greater part of the following rains (A. D. 1563), examining with interest the buildings erected by the Khilji kings.[88] At Mándu Akbar married the daughter of Mírán Mubárak Khán of Khándesh.[89] When Akbar left (August, 1564), he appointed Karra Bahádur Khán governor of Mándu and returned to Ágra.[90] In A. D. 1568 the Mírzás, Akbar's cousins, flying from Gujarát, attacked Ujjain. From Ujjain they retreated to Mándu and failing to make any impression on the fort withdrew to Gujarát.[91] The Mírzás' failure was due to the ability of Akbar's general, Háji Muhammad Khán, to whom Akbar granted the province of Mándu.[92] At the same time (A. D. 1568) the command of Mándu Hill was entrusted to Sháh Budágh Khán who continued commandant of the fort till his death many years later. During his command, in a picturesque spot overlooking a well-watered ravine, in the south of Mándu, between the Ságar Lake and the Tárapúr Gateway, Budágh Khán built a pleasure-house, which he named, or rather perhaps which he continued to call, Nílkanth or Blue Throat. This lodge is interesting from the following inscriptions, which show that the Emperor Akbar more than once rested within its walls.[93]

The inscription on the small north arch of Nílkanth, dated A. D. 1574, runs:—

(Call it not waste) to spend your life in water and earth (*i. e.*, in building).
If perchance a man of mind for a moment makes your house his lodging.
Written by Sháh Budágh Khán in the year A. H. 982-87.[94]

The inscription on the great southern arch of Nílkanth, dated A. D. 1574, runs:—

This pleasant building was completed in the reign of the great Sultán, the

[88] Brigg's Farishtah IV., 211.

[89] Brigg's Farishtah IV., 216.

[90] Tabakát-i-Akbari, Elliot V., 291.

[91] Tabakát-i-Akbari V., 330-31.

[92] Blochman's Áín-i-Akbari, 375.

[93] The Emperor Jehángír thus describes (Memoirs, Pers. Text. 372) a visit to this building. On the third day of Amardád (July, 1617), with the palace ladies I set out to see Nílkanth, which is one of the pleasantest places in Mándu fort. Sháh Budágh Khán, who was one of the trusted nobles of my august father, built this very pleasing and joy-giving lodge during the time he held this province in fief (A. D. 1572-77). I remained at Nílkanth till about an hour after nightfall and then returned to my State quarters.

[94] An officer who distinguished himself under Humáyún, one of Akbar's Commanders of Three Thousand, long Governor of Mándu, where he died. Blochman's Áín-i-Akbari, 372.

most munificent and just Khákán, the Lord of the countries of Arabia and Persia,[95] the shadow of God on the two earths, the ruler of the sea and of the land, the exalter of the standards of those who war on the side of God, Abu Fatah Jálal-ud-dín Muhammad Akbar, the warrior king, may his dominion and his kingdom be everlasting.

Written by Faridún Husein, son of Hátim-al-ward, in the year A. H. 982.[96]

The inscription on the right wall of Nílkanth, dated A. D. 1591-92, runs :—

> In the year A. H. 1000, when on his way to the conquest of the Dakhan, the slaves of the Exalted Lord of the Earth, the holder of the sky-like Throne, the shadow of Alláh (the Emperor Akbar), passed by this place.
>
> That time wastes your home cease, Soul, to complain,
> Who will not scorn a complainer so vain ;
> From the story of others this wisdom derive
> Ere naught of thyself but stories survive.

The inscription on the left wall of Nílkanth, dated A.D. 1600, runs :—

The (Lord of the mighty Presence) shadow of Alláh, the Emperor Akbar, after the conquest of the Dakhan and Dándes (Khandesh) in the year A.H. 1009, set out for Hind (Northern India).

> May the name of the writer last for ever !
> At dawn and at eve I have watched an owl sitting
> On the lofty wall-top of Shírwán Sháh's Tomb.[97]
> The owl's plaintive hooting convey'd me this warning
> "Here pomp, wealth, and greatness lie dumb."

In A.D. 1573, with the rest of Málwa, Akbar handed Mándu to Muzaffur III., the dethroned ruler of Gujarát. It seems doubtful if Muzaffar ever visited his new territory.[98] On his second defeat in A.D. 1562, Báz Bahádur retired to Gondwána, where he remained, his power gradually waning, till in A. D. 1570 he paid homage to the Emperor and received the command of 2,000 horse.[99] His decoration

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[95] When opposed to Arab the word Ájam signifies all countries except Arabia, and in a narrow sense, Persia. The meaning of the word Ájam is dumbness, the Árabs so glorying in the richness of their own tongue as to hold all other countries and nations dumb.

[96] The stones on which this inscription is carved have been wrongly arranged by some restorer. Those with the latter portion of the inscription come first and those with the beginning come last. Munshi Abdur Rahím of Dhár.

[97] The maternal uncle of Naushirawán (A.D. 539-576) the Sássánian, Shírwán Sháh was ruler of a district on Mount Caucasus. Al-Masüdi, Arab Text Prairies d'Or II., 4, and Rauzat-us-Safa, Persian Text I., 259.

[98] Blochman's Áín-i-Akbari, 353.

[99] Brigg's Farishtah IV., 279.

of the Rewa Pool, of the palace close by, which though built by Násir-ud-dín Khilji (A.D. 1500-12) was probably repaired by Báz Bahádur, and of Rúp Mati's pavilion on the crest of the southern ridge make Báz Bahádur one of the chief beautifiers of Mándu. According to Farishtah (Pers. Text II, 538-39) in 1562, when Báz Bahadur went out to meet Akbar's general, Adham Khán Atkah, he placed Rúp Mati and his other singers in Sárangpúr under a party of his men with orders to kill the women in case of a reverse. On hearing of Báz Bahádur's defeat the soldiers hastily sabred as many of the women as they could and fled. Among the women left for dead was Rúp Mati, who, though dangerously wounded, was not killed. When Adham Atkah entered Sárangpúr his first care was to enquire what had become of Rúp Mati. On hearing of her condition he had her wound attended to by the best surgeons, promising her, as a help to her cure, a speedy union with her beloved. On her recovery Rúp Mati claimed the general's promise. He prevaricated and pressed his own suit. Rúp Mati temporized. One night the impatient Turk sent her a message asking her to come to him. Rúp Mati to gain time invited him to her own pavilion which she said was specially adorned to be the abode of love. Next night the Atkah went to her house in disguise. Her women directed him to Rúp Mati's couch. Adham found her robed and garlanded, but cold in death. Rúp Mati was buried on an island in a lake at Ujjain, and there, according to the Áín-i-Akbari, Báz Bahádur when he died was laid beside her.[100]

About A. D. 1590 Akbar's historian, the great Abul Fazl, described Mándu as a large city whose fortress is twenty-four miles (12 *kos*) in circuit. He notices that besides in the centre of the hill, where stands an eight-storeyed minaret, the city had many monuments of ancient magnificence, among them the tombs of the Khilji Sultáns. And that from the dome which is over the sepulchre of Sultán Mehmúd, the son of Hoshang (this should be the sepulchre of Hoshang built by his successor Sultán Mehmúd) water drops in the height of summer to the astonishment of the ignorant. But, he adds, men of understanding know how to account for the water drops.[101] Abul Fazl further notices that on Mándu Hill is found a species of tamarind whose fruit is as big as the cocoanut, the pulp of which is very white. This is the African baobab, *Adansoniâ digitata*, known in

[100] Blochman's Áín i-Akbari, 429.

[101] Gladwin's Áín-i-Akbari, II., 41.

Hindustáni as *goramli*, the white tamarind, whose great fruit is about the size of a cocoanut. Its monster baobabs are still a feature of Mándu. Some among them look old enough to have been yielding fruit 300 years ago. Finally Abul Fazl refers to Mándu as one of twenty-eight towns where Akbar's copper coins where struck.[102] About twenty years later (A. D. 1610) the historian Farishtah[103] thus describes the hill. The fort of Mándu is a work of solid masonry deemed to be one of the strongest fortifications in that part of the world. It is built on an insulated mountain 38 miles in circumference.[104] The place of a ditch round the fortification is supplied by a natural ravine so deep that it seems impossible to take the fort by regular approaches. Within the fort is abundance of water and forage, but the area is not large enough to grow a sufficient store of grain. The hill cannot be invested. The easiest access is from the north by the Dehli Gate. The south road with an entrance by the Tárápúr Gate is so steep that cavalry can with difficulty be led up. Like Abul Fazl, Farishtah notices that, except during the rains, water constantly oozes from between the chinks in the masonry of the dome of Sultán Hoshang's tomb. He says the natives of India attribute this dropping to universal veneration for Sultán Hoshang, for whose death, they say, the very stones shed tears.

Except that copper coins continued to be minted and that it was nominally one of the four capitals of the empire, during the Emperor Akbar's reign, Mándu was practically deserted. The only traces of Akbar's presence on the hill are in two of the five inscriptions already quoted from the Nílkanth pleasure house, dated A. D. 1591 and A. D. 1600.

After about fifty years of almost complete neglect the Emperor Jehángír, during a few months in A. D. 1617, enabled Mándu once more to justify its title of Shádiábád, the Abode of Joy. Early in March A. D. 1617, in the eleventh year of his reign, the Emperor Jehángír, after spending four months in travelling the 189 miles from Ajmer by way of Ujjain, arrived at Naâlchah on the main land close to the north of Mándu. The Emperor notices that most of the forty-six marches into which the 189 miles were divided ended on the bank of some lake stream or great river in green grass and woody

[102] Blochman's Áín-i-Akbari, 31.

[103] Briggs Farishtah IV, 169, 181, 190.

[104] Nineteen *kos*, taking the *kos* to be two miles.

landscape, brightened by poppy fields. We came, he writes, enjoying the beauty of the country and shooting, never weary, as if we were moving from one garden to another.

Of the country round Naâlchah, Jehángír says:[105] What can be written worthy of the beauty and the pleasantness of Naâlchah. The neighbourhood is full of mango trees. The whole country is one unbroken and restful evergreen. Owing to its beauty I remained there three days. I granted the place to Kamál Khán, taking it from Keshava Márú, and I changed its name to Kamálpúr. I had frequent meetings with some of the wise men of the jogis, many of whom had assembled here. Naâlchah is one of the best places in Málwa. It has an extensive growth of vines, and among its mango groves and vineyards wander streamlets of water. I arrived at a time when, contrary to the northern climes, the vines were in blossom and fruit, and so great was the vintage that the meanest boor could eat grapes to his fill. The poppy was also in flower, and its fields delighted the eye with their many-coloured beauty.

Of the Emperor's entrance into Mándu the Memoirs have the following note: On Monday the 23rd of Ispandád, the last month of the Persian year, that is, according to Sir Thomas Roe's account, on the 6th of March 1617, when one quarter of the day had passed, I mounted my elephant, and, in good fortune and under kindly influences, made my happy entry into the fort of Mándu. About an hour (three *ghadis*) later I entered the quarters which had been prepared to receive me. During my passage across the hill-top I scattered Rs. 1,500. Before my arrival Abdul Karím, the engineer, had been sent by me to repair the buildings of the former kings of Mándu. While my fortunate standards were at Ajmer, Abdul Karím repaired such of the old Mándu buildings as were fit to be repaired and built others anew. On the whole he had provided quarters for me the like of which have probably never been built in any other place. Three *lákhs* of rupees were spent on these repairs and buildings. I wish it had been possible to construct buildings like these in all cities likely to be visited by royalty. This fortress, he continues, stands on the top of a hill about thirty-six miles (18 *kos*) in circumference. They say that before the days of Rája Bikramájít a king was reigning over these parts whose name was Jaisingh Deva. In his time a man

[105] The Emperor Jehángír's Memoirs, Pers. Text, Sir Sayad Ahmed's Edition, 178-203.

went to the forest to cut grass. When he brought the grass back he found that the blade of his sickle had turned yellow. The grass-cutter in his surprise went to Mándan, an ironsmith. Mándan knew that the sickle was gold. He had heard that in those parts was to be found the philosopher's stone, whose touch turns iron and copper into gold. He told the grasscutter to lead him to the place where the sickle had turned yellow, and there he found the philosopher's stone. The smith presented this treasure to his king. The king amassed untold wealth, part of which he spent in building Mándu fortress which he completed in twelve years. At the request of the smith on most of the stones in the walls a mark was cut in the form of an anvil. Towards the close of his life, when King Jaisingh Deva withdrew his heart from the world, he called many Bráhmans together on the bank of the Narbada close to Mándu. He gave each Bráhman a share of his wealth. And to the Bráhman in whom he had the greatest faith he gave the philosopher's stone. Enraged at the gift of a paltry stone, the Bráhman threw it into the Narbada, and there the philosopher's stone still lies. The Emperor continues: On the 20th of *Farwardín*, five weeks after my arrival (11th April, 1617), in reward for his services in repairing the buildings of Mándu, I conferred on my engineer Abdul Karím the command of 1,200 horse, with the title of Maámúr Khán.

Mándu had for the Emperor the strong attraction of abundance of game. Among numerous entries of Nílgái or Blue Bull shooting, the following occur: On the 4th of the first month of *Farwardín* (16th March) the watchmen of the chase brought word that they had marked down a lion near the Ságar Lake, which is a construction of the ancient rulers of Mándu. I mounted and proceeded towards the lake. When the lion broke cover he attacked and wounded ten or twelve of the *Ahádís*[106] and other men of my retinue. In the end I brought him down with three gunshots and saved God's creatures from his evil. On the 22nd of the same month (April 3, 1617) the watchmen brought news of a tiger. I mounted forthwith and despatched him with three bullets. On the 7th of *Ardí Bihisht* (April 18, 1617) the watchmen brought word that they had marked down four tigers. At one in the afternoon I started for the place with Núr Jehán Begam. Núr Jehán asked my leave to shoot the tigers

[106] Literally single-men. The Ahádis were a corps of men who stood immediately under the Emperor's order's. Blochmans Áín-i-Akbari 20, note 1.

with her gun. I said "Be it so." In a trice she killed these four tigers with six bullets. I had never seen such shooting. To shoot from the back of an elephant from within a closed *howdah* and bring down with six bullets four wild beasts without giving them an opportunity of moving or springing is wonderful. In acknowledgment of this capital marksmanship I ordered a thousand *ashrafis* (Rs. 4,500) to be scattered[107] over Núr Jehán and granted her a pair of ruby wristlets worth a lakh of rupees.[108]

Of the mangoes of Mándu, Jehángír says:—In these days many mangoes have come into my fruit stores from the Dakhan, Burhánpúr, Gujarát, and the districts of Málwa. This country is famous for its mangoes. There are few places the mangoes of which can rival those of this country in richness of flavour, in sweetness, in freedom from fibre, and in size.[109]

The rains set in with unusual severity. Rain fell for forty days continuously. With the rain were severe thunderstorms, accompanied by lightning which injured some of the old buildings.[110] His account of the beauty of the hill in July, when clear sunshine followed the forty days of rain, is one of the pleasantest passages in Jehángír's Memoirs: What words of mine can describe the beauty of the grass and of the wild flowers! They clothe each hill and dale, each slope and plain. I know of no place so pleasant in climate and so pretty in scenery as Mándu in the rainy season. This month of July which is one of the months of the hot season, the sun being in Leo, one cannot sleep within the house without a coverlet, and during the day there is no need for a fan. What I have noticed is but a small part of the many beauties of Mándu. Two things I have seen here which

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[107] This scattering of gold, silver, or copper coin, called in Arabic and Persain *nisar*, is a common form of offering. The influence of the evil eye, or other baneful influence, is believed to be transferred from the person over whom the coin is scattered to the coin, and through the coin to him who takes it.

[108] This feat of Núr Jehán's drew from one of the Court poets the couplet:

Núr Jehán gar chih ba súrat zanast
Dar safi Mardán zani sher afkanast.
Núr Jehán the tiger-slayer's woman
Ranks with men as the tiger-slaying woman.

Sherafkan, that is tiger-slayer, was the title of Núr Jehán's first husband, Ali Kuli-Istajlu.

[109] Tuzuk-i-Jehángíri, Pérs. Text, 187.

[110] Tuzuk-i-Jehángíri, Pers. Text, 189.

I had seen nowhere in India. One of them is the tree of the wild plantain which grows all over the hill-top, the other is the nest of the *mamolah* or wagtail. Till now no bird-catcher could tell its nest. It so happened that in the building where I lodged we found a wagtail's nest with two young ones.

The following additional entries in the Memoirs belong to Jehángír's stay at Mándu. Among the presents submitted by Mahábatkhán, who received the honour of kissing the ground at Mándu, Jehángír describes a ruby weighing eleven *miskáls*.[111] He says:—This ruby was brought to Ajmeré last year by a Frankish jeweller who wanted two lakhs of rupees for it. Mahábatkhán bought it at Burhánpúr for one lakh of rupees.[112]

On the 1st of *Tír*, the fourth month of the Persian year (15th May, 1617), the Hindu chiefs of the neighbourhood came to pay their respects and present their tribute. The Hindu chief of Jaitpúr in the neighbourhood of Mándu, through his evil fortune, did not come to kiss the threshold.[113] For this reason I ordered Fidáíkhán to pillage the Jaitpúr country at the head of thirteen officers and four or five hundred matchlockmen. On the approach of Fidáíkhán the chief fled. He is now reported to regret his past conduct and to intend to come to the Court and make his submission. On the 9th of *Yúr*, the sixth month of the Persian calendar (late July A.D. 1617), I heard that while raiding the lands of the chief of Jaitpúr, Rúh-ul-láh, the brother of Fidáíkhán, was slain with a lance in the village where the chief's wives and children were in hiding. The village was burned, and the women and daughters of the rebel chief were taken captives.[114]

The beautiful surroundings of the Sagar Lake offered to the elegant taste of Núr Jehán a fitting opportunity for honouring the Shab-i-Barát or Night of Jubilee with special illuminations. The Emperor describes the result in these words:—On the evening of Thursday the 19th of *Amardád*, the fifth month of the Persian year (early July, A. D. 1617), I went with the ladies of the palace to see the buildings and palaces on the Ságar Lake which were built by the old Kings of

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[111] The *miskál* which was used in weighing gold was equal in weight to 96 barley corns.—Blochman's Áín-i-Akbari, 36.

[112] Tuzuk-i-Jehángíri, Pers. Text, 195.

[113] Tuzuk-i-Jehángíri, Pers. Text, 195.

[114] Tuzuk-i-Jehángíri, Pers. Text, 192-194.

Mándu. The 26th of *Amardád* (about mid July) was the Shab-i-Barát holiday. I ordered a jubilee or assembly of joy to be held on the occasion in one of the palaces occupied by Núr Jehán Begam in the midst of the big lake. The nobles and others were invited to attend this party which was organized by the Begam, and I ordered the cup and other intoxicants with various fruits and minced meats to be given to all who wished them. It was a wonderful gathering. As evening set in, the lanterns and lamps gleaming along the banks of the lake made an illumination such as never had been seen. The countless lights with which the palaces and buildings were ablaze shining on the lake made the whole surface of the water appear to be on fire.[115]

The Memoirs continue: On Sunday, the 9th of *Yúr*, the sixth Persian month (late July), I went with the ladies of the palace to the quarters of Ásaf Khán, Núr Jehán's brother, the second son of Mírza Ghiás Beg. I found Ásaf Khán lodged in a glen of great beauty surrounded by other little vales and dells with waterfalls and running streamlets and green fresh and shady mango groves. In one of these dells were from two to three hundred sweet pandanus or *kewda* trees. I passed a very happy day in this spot and got up a wine party with some of my lords-in-waiting, giving them bumpers of wine.[116] Two months later (early September) Jehángír has the following entry[117] regarding a visit from his eldest son and heir, Prince Khurram, afterwards the Emperor Shah Jehán, who had lately brought the war in the Dakhan to a successful close. On the 8th of the month of *Máh* of the year H. 1026 (according to Roe, September 2nd, 1617), my son of exalted name obtained the good fortune of waiting upon me in the fort of Mándu after three-quarters and one *ghadi* of the day had passed, that is about half an hour after sunrise. He had been absent fifteen months and eleven days. After he had performed the ceremonies of kissing the ground and the *kurnish* or prostration, I called him up to my bay window or *jharokah*. In a transport of affection I could not restrain myself from getting up and taking him into my arms. The more I increased the measure of affection and honours the more humility and respect did he show. I called him near me and made him sit by me. He submitted a thousand *ashrafis*

[115] Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri, Pers. Text, 190.
[116] Tuzuk-i-Jehángìri, Pers. Text, 192.
[117] Tuzuk-i-Jehángíri, Pers. Text, 194-5.

(Rs. 4,500) and a thousand rupees as a gift or *nazar* and the same amount as sacrifice or *nisár*. As there was not time for me to inspect all his presents he produced the elephant Sarnák, the best of the elephants of Âdil Khán of Bíjápúr. He also gave me a case full of the rarest precious stones. I ordered the military paymasters to make presents to his nobles according to their rank. The first to come was Khán Jehán, whom I allowed the honour of kissing my feet. For his victory over the Rána of Chitor I had before granted to my fortunate child Khurram the rank of a commander of 20,000 with 10,000 horse. Now for his service in the Dakhan I made him a commander of 30,000 and 20,000 horse with the title of Sháh Jehán. I also ordered that henceforward he should enjoy the privilege of sitting on a stool near my throne, an honour which did not exist and is the first of its kind granted to anyone in my family. I further granted him a special dress. To do him honour I came down from the window, and with my own hand scattered over his head as sacrifice a tray full of precious stones as well as a large tray full of gold.

Jehángír's last Mándu entry is this:—On the night of Friday in the month of Abán (October 24th, 1617) in all happiness and good fortune I marched from Mándu and halted on the bank of the lake at Naâlchah.

Jehángír's stay at Mándu is referred to by more than one English traveller. In March 1617, the Rev. Edward Terry, chaplain to the Right Honourable Sir T. Roe, Lord Ambassador to the Great Mughal, came to Mándu from Burhánpúr in east Khándesh.[118] Terry crossed a broad river, the Narbadá, at a great town called Anchabarpúr (Akbarpúr)[119] in the Nímár plain not far south of Mándu hill. The way up, probably by the Bhairav pass, a few miles east of Mándu, seemed to Terry exceeding long. The ascent was very difficult, taking the carriages, apparently meaning coaches and wagons, two whole days.[120] Terry found the hill of Mándu stuck

[118] A Voyage to East India, 181, Terry gives April 1616, but Roe seems correct in saying March 1617. Compare Wákiát-i-Jehángìri in Elliot VI., 351.

[119] Akbarpúr lies between Dharampuri and Waisiar, Malcolm's Central India I., 84, note.

[120] Carriages may have the old meaning of things carried, that is baggage. The time taken favours the view that waggons or carts were forced up the hill. For the early seventeenth century use of carriages in its modern sense compare Terry (Voyage 161). Of our waggons drawn with oxen . . . . and other

round with fair trees that kept their distance so, one from and below the other, that there was much delight in beholding them from either the bottom or the top of the hill. From one side only was the ascent not very high and steep. The top was flat plain and spacious with vast and far-stretching woods in which were lions, tigers, and other beasts of prey and many wild elephants. Terry passed through Mándu a few days' march across a plain and level country, apparently towards Dhár, where he met the Lord Ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, who had summoned Terry from Súrat to be his chaplain. Sir Thomas Roe was then marching from Ajmir to Mándu with the Court of the Emperor Jehángír, whom Terry calls the Great King.

On the 3rd of March, says Roe, the Mughal was to have entered Mándu. But all had to wait for the good hour fixed by the astrologers. From the 6th of March, when he entered Mándu, till the 24th of October, the Emperor Jehángír, with Sir Thomas Roe in attendance, remained at Mándu.[121] According to Roe before the Mughal visited Mándu the hill was not much inhabited, having more ruins by far than standing houses.[122] But the moving city that accompanied the emperor soon overflowed the hilltop. According to Roe Jehángír's own encampment was walled round half a mile in circuit in the form of a fortress, with high screens or curtains of coarse stuff, somewhat like Aras hangings, red on the outside, the inside divided into com-

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carriages we made a ring every night; also Dodsworth (1614), who describes a band of Rájpúts near Baroda cutting off two of his carriages (Kerr's Voyages IX., 203); and Roe (1616), who journeyed from Ajmir to Mándu with twenty camels, four carts, and two coaches (Kerr IX., 308). Terry's carriages seem to be Roe's coaches, to which Dela Valle (A.D. 1623) (Hakluyts' Edition I., 21) refers as much like the Indian chariots described by Strabo (B.C. 50) covetred with crimson silk fringed with yellow about the roof and the curtains. Comparo Idrísi (A.D. 1100-1150, but probably from Al Istakhiri A.D. 960, Ellio I., 87). In all Nahrwala or north Gujarát the only mode of carrying either passengers or goods is in chariots drawn by oxen with harness and traces under the control of a driver. When in A.D. 1616 Jehángír left Ajmir for Mándu the English carriage presented to him by the English Ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, was allotted to the Sultánah Núr Jehán Begam. It was driven by an English coachman. Jehángír followed in the coach his own men had made in imitation of the English coach. Corryat (1615 Crudities III. Letters from India, unpaged) calls the English chariot a gallant coach of 150 pounds price.

[121] Kerr's Voyages IX., 335. Wákiát-i-Jehángíri in Elliot VI., 377.

[122] Roe writing from Ajmir in the previous year (29th August, 1616) describes Mándu as a castle on a hill, where there is no town and no buildings, Kerr IX., 267.

partments with a variety of figures. This enclosure had a handsome gateway and the circuit was formed into various coins and bulwarks. The posts that supported the curtains were all surmounted with brass tops.[123] Besides the emperor's encampment were the noblemen's quarters, each at an appointed distance from the king's tents, very handsome, some having their tents green, others white, others of mixed colours. The whole composed the most curious and magnificent sight Roe had ever beheld.[124] The hour taken by Jehángír in passing from the Dehli Gate to his own quarters, the two English miles from Roe's lodge which was not far from the Dehli Gate to Jehángír's palace, and other reasons noted below make it almost certain that the Mughal's encampment and the camps of the leading nobles were on the open slopes to the south of the Sea Lake between Báz Bahádur's palace on the east and Songad on the west. And that the palace at Mándu from which Jehángír wrote was the building now known as Báz Bahádur's palace.[125] A few months before it reached Mándu the Imperial camp had turned the whole valley of Ajmir into a magnificent city,[126] and a few weeks before reaching Mándu at Thoda, about fifty miles south east of Ajmir, the camp formed a settlement not less in circuit than twenty English miles, equalling in size almost any town in Europe.[127] In the middle of the encampment were all sorts of shops so regularly disposed that all persons knew where to go for everything.

The demands of so great a city overtaxed the powers of the deserted Mándu. The scarcity of water soon became so pressing that the poor were commanded to leave and all horses and cattle were ordered off the hill.[128] Of the scarcity of water the English traveller Corryat, who was then a guest of Sir Thomas Roe, writes: On the first day one of my Lord's people, Master Herbert, brother to Sir Edward Herbert, found a fountain which, if he had not done, he would have had to send ten course (*kos*) every day for water to a river called Narbada that falleth into the Bay of Cambye near Broach. The custom being such that whatsoever fountain or tank is found by any great man in time of drought he shall keep it proper to

[123] Roe in Kerr's Travels IX., 313.

[124] Roe in Kerr's Travels IX., 314.

[125] Compare Wákiát-i-Jehángíri in Elliot VI., 377.

[126] Roe in Kerr's Travels IX., 314.

[127] Roe in Kerr's Travels IX., 321.

[128] Roe in Kerr's Travels IX., 335.

his without interruption. The day after one of the King's Hadis (*Ahádís*) finding the same and striving for it was taken by my Lord's people and bound.[129] Corryat adds: During the time of the great drought two Moor nobles daily sent ten camels to the Narbada and distributed the water to the poor, which was so dear they sold a little skin for 8 pies.[130]

Terry notices that among the piles of buildings that held their heads above ruin were not a few unfrequented mosques or Muhammadan churches, Though the people who attended the King were marvellously straitened for room to put their most excellent horses, none would use the churches as stables, even though they were forsaken and out of use. This abstinence seems to have been voluntary, as Roe's servants, who were sent in advance, took possession of a fair court with walled enclosure in which was a goodly temple and a tomb. It was the best in the whole circuit of Mándu, the only drawback being that it was two miles from the King's house.[131] The air was wholesome and the prospect was pleasant, as it was on the edge of the hill.[132] The Emperor, perhaps referring rather to the south of the hill, which from the elaborate building and repairs carried out in advance by Abdul Karím seems to have been called the New City, gives a less deserted impression of Mándu. He writes (24th March, 1617) :—Many buildings and relics of the old Kings are still standing, for as yet decay has not fallen upon the city. On the 24th I rode to see the royal edifices. First I visited the Jáma Masjid built by Sultán Hoshang Ghori. It is a very lofty building and erected entirely of hewn stone. Although it has been standing 180 years it looks as if built do-day. Then I visited the sepulchres of the kings and rulers of the Khilji dynasty, among which is the sepulchre of the eternally cursed Násir-ud-dín.[133] Sher Sháh to show his horror of Násir-ud-dín, the father slayer, ordered his people to beat Násir-ud-dín's tomb with sticks. Jehángír also kicked the grave. Then he

[129] Corryat's Crudities, Vol. III., Extracts (unpaged). This Master Herbert was Thomas, brother of Sir Edward Herbert, the first Lord Herbert. It seems probably that this Thomas supplied his cousin Sir Thomas Herbert who was travelling in India and Persia in A. D. 1627 with his account of Mándu. See below p. 197-98.

[130] Corryat's Crudities, Vol. III., Extracts (unpaged).

[131] Terry's Voyage, 183. Roe in Kerr IX., 335.

[132] Roe in Kerr IX., 335.

[133] Wákiát-i-Jehángìri in Elliot VI., 349.

ordered the tomb to be opened and the remains to be taken out and burnt. Finally, fearing the remains might pollute the eternal light, he ordered the ashes to be thrown into the Narbadá.[134]

The pleasant outlying position of Roe's lodge proved to be open to the objection that out of the vast wilderness wild beasts often came, seldom returning without a sheep, a goat, or a kid. One evening a great lion leapt over the stone wall that encompassed the yard and snapt up the Lord Ambassador's little white neat shock, that is as Roe explains a small Irish mastiff, which ran out barking at the lion. Out of the ruins of the mosque and tomb Roe built a lodge,[135] and here he passed the rains with his "family," including besides his secretary, chaplain, and cook twenty-three Englishmen and about sixty native servants, and during part of the time the sturdy halfcrazed traveller Tom Coryate or Corryat.[136] They had their flock of sheep and goats, all necessaries belonging to the kitchen and everything else required for bodily use including bedding and all things pertaining thereto.[137] Among the necessaries were[138] tables and chairs, since the Ambassador refused to adopt the Mughal practice of sitting cross-legged on mats "like taylors on their shop boards." Roe's diet was dressed by an English and an Indian cook and was served on plate by waiters in red taffata cloaks guarded with green taffata. The chaplain wore a long black cassock, and the Lord Ambassador wore English habits made as light and cool as possible.[139]

On the 12th of March, a few days after they were settled at Mándu, came the festival of the Persian new year. Jehángír held a great reception seated on a throne of gold, bespangled with rubies, emeralds, and turquoises. The hall was adorned with pictures of the King and Queen of England, the Princess Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Smith and others, with beautiful Persian hangings. On one side, on a little stage, was a couple of women singers. The king commanded that Sir T. Roe should come up and stand beside him on the steps of the throne where stood on one side the Persian Ambassador and on the other the old king of Kandahár with whom Sir T. Roe ranked. The

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[134] Wákiát-i-Jehángiri in Elliot VI., 350.
[135] Terry's Voyage, 228.
[136] Terry's Voyage, 69.
[137] Terry's Voyage, 183.
[138] Terry's Voyage, 186, 198.
[139] Terry's Voyage, 198, 205.

king called the Persian Ambassador and gave him some stones and a young elephant. The Ambassador knelt and knocked his head against the steps of the throne to thank him.[140] From time to time during Terry's stay at Mándu, the Mughal, with his stout daring Persian and Tartarian horsemen and some grandees, went out to take young wild elephants in the great woods that environed Mándu. The elephants were caught in strong toils prepared for the purpose and were manned and made fit for service. In these hunts the king and his men also pursued lions and other wild beasts on horseback, killing some of them with their bows, carbines, and lances.[141]

The first of September was Jehángír's birthday. The king, says Corryat,[142] was forty-five years old, of middle height, corpulent, of a seemly composition of body, and of an olive coloured skin. Roe went to pay his respects and was conducted apparently to Báz Bahádur's gardens to the east of the Rewa Pool. This tangled orchard was then a beautiful garden with a great square pond or tank set all round with trees and flowers and in the middle of the garden a pavilion or pleasure house under which hung the scales in which the king was to be weighed.[143] The scales were of beaten gold set with many small stones, as rubies and turquoises. They were hung by chains of gold, large and massive, but strengthened by silken ropes. The beam and tressels from which the scales hung were covered with thin plates of gold. All round were the nobles of the court seated on rich carpets waiting for the king. He came laden with diamonds, rubies, pearls, and other precious vanities, making a great and glorious show. His swords, targets, and throne were corresponding in riches and splendour. His head, neck, breast, and arms above the elbows and at the wrist were decked with chains of precious stones, and every finger had two or three rich rings. His legs were as it were fettered with chains of diamonds and rubies as large as walnuts and amazing pearls. He got into the scales crouching or sitting on his legs like a woman. To counterpoise his weight bags said to contain Rs. 9,000 in silver were changed six times. After this he was weighed against bags containing gold jewels and precious

[140] Roe in Kerr's Voyages IX., 337; Pinkerton's Voyages VIII., 85.
[141] Terry's Voyage, 403.
[142] Corryat's Crudities III., L2., Extracts unpaged.
[143] Roe in Kerr's Voyages IX., 343.

stones. Then against cloth of gold, silk stuffs, cotton goods, spices, and all commodities. Last of all against meal, butter, and corn. Except the silver, which was reserved for the poor, all was said to be distributed to Baniahs (that is, Bráhmans).[144] After he was weighed Jehángír ascended the throne and had basons of nuts, almonds, and spices of all sorts given him. These the king threw about, and his great men scrambled prostrate on their bellies. Roe thought it not decent that he should scramble. And the king seeing that he stood aloof reached him a bason almost full and poured the contents into his cloak.[145] Terry adds: The physicians noted the king's weight and spoke flatteringly of it. Then the Mughal drank to his nobles in his royal wine and the nobles pledged his health. The king drank also to the Lord Ambassador, whom he always treated with special consideration, and presented him with the cup of gold curiously enamelled and crusted with rubies, turkesses, and emeralds.[146]

Of Prince Khurram's visit, Roe writes:—A month later (October 2nd) the proud Prince Khurram, afterwards the Emperor Sháh Jehán (A.D. 1626-1657), returned from his glorious success in the Dakhan, accompanied by all the great men, in wondrous triumph.[147] A week later (October 9th), hearing that the Emperor was to pass near his lodging on his way to take air at the Narbada, in accordance with the rule that the masters of all houses near which the king passes must make him a present, Roe took horse to meet the king. He offered the king an Atlas neatly bound, saying he presented the king with the whole world. The king was pleased. In return he praised Roe's lodge, which he had built out of the ruins of the temple and the ancient tomb, and which was one of the best lodges

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[144] Roe in Kerr's Travels IX., 340-343.

[145] Roe in Kerr's Travels IX., 344.

[146] Terry's Voyage, 377. Terry's details seem not to agree with Roe's, who states (Kerr's Voyages IX., 344 and Pinkerton's Voyages VIII. 37) I was invited to the drinking, but desired to be excused because there was no avoiding drinking, and their liquors are so hot that they burn out a man's very bowels. Perhaps the invitation Roe declined was to a private drinking party after the public weighing was over.

[147] Roe in Kerr's Voyage IX., 347; Elphinstone's History, 494 Kerr (IX. 347) gives September 2, but October 2 is right, compare Pinkerton's Voyages, VIII. 39.

in the camp.[148] Jehángír left Mándu on the 24th October. On the 30th when Roe started the hill was entirely deserted.[149]

Terry mentions only two buildings at Mándu. One was the house of the Mughal, apparently Báz Bahádur's palace, which he describes as large and stately, built of excellent stone, well squared, and put together, taking up a large compass of ground. He adds: We could never see how it was contrived within, as the king's wives and women were there.[150] The only other building to which Terry refers, he calls "The Grot." Of the grot, which is almost certainly the pleasure-house Nílkanth, whose Persian inscriptions have been quoted above, Terry gives the following details:—To the Mughal's house, at a small distance from it, belonged a very curious grot. In the building of the grot a way was made into a firm rock which showed itself on the side of the hill canopied over with part of that rock. It was a place that had much beauty in it by reason of the curious workmanship bestowed on it and much pleasure by reason of its coolness.[151] Besides the fountain this grot has still one of the charmingly cool and murmuring scalloped rillstones where, as Terry says, water runs down a broad stone table with many hollows like to scallop shells, in its passage over the hollows making so pretty a murmur as helps to tie the senses with the bonds of sleep.

Sháh Jehán seems to have been pleased with Mándu. He returned in A. D. 1621 and stayed at Mándu till he marched north against his father in A. D. 1622.[152] In March, A. D. 1623, Sháh Jehán came out of Mándu with 20,000 horse, many elephants, and powerful artillery, intending to fight his brother Sháh Parwíz.[153] After the failure of this expedition Sháh Jehán retired to Mándu.[154] At this

[148] Ruins of Mándu, 57. As the Emperor must have passed out by the Dehli Gate, and as Roe's lodge was two miles from Báz Bahádur's palace, the lodge cannot have been far from the Dehli Gate. It is disappointing that, of his many genial gossipy entries Jehángír does not devote one to Roe. The only reference to Roe's visit is the indirect entry (Wákiát-i-Jehángíri in Elliot VI., 347) that Jehángír gave one of his nobles a coach, apparently a copy of the English coach, with which, to Jehángir's delight, Roe had presented him.

[149] Roe in Kerr's Voyages IX., 353.

[150] Terry's Voyage, 180.

[151] Terry's Voyage, 181.

[152] Wákiát-i-Jehángiri in Elliot VI., 383.

[153] Wákiát-i-Jehángiri in Elliot VI., 387.

[154] Elphinstone's History, 496-97. Compare Dela Valle (Haklyt Edition I., 177) writing in A. D. 1622, Sultán Khurram after his defeat by Jehángír retired to Mándu.

time (A. D. 1623) the Italian traveller Dela Valle ranks Mándu with Agra, Láhor and Ahmedábád, as the four capitals, each endowed with an imperial palace and court.[155] Five years later the great General Khán Jehán Lodi besieged Mándu, but apparently without success.[156] Khán Jehán Lodi's siege of Mándu is interesting in connection with a description of Mándu in Herbert's Travels. Herbert, who was in Gujarát in A. D. 1626, says, Mándu is seated at the side of a declining hill (apparently Herbert refers to the slope from the southern crest northwards to Ságar Lake and the Grot or Nílkanth) in which both for ornament and defence is a castle which is strong in being encompassed with a defensive wall of nearly five miles (probably *kos*, that is, ten miles): the whole, he adds, heretofore had fifteen miles' circuit. But the city later built is of less size yet fresher beauty, whether you behold the temples (in one of which are entombed four kings), palaces or fortresses, especially that tower which is elevated 170 steps, supported by massive pillars and adorned with gates and windows very observable. It was built by Khán Jehán, who there lies buried. The confusedness of these details shows that Herbert obtained them second-hand, probably from Corryat's Master Herbert on Sir T. Roe's Staff.[157] The new city

[155] Dela Valle's Travels, Haklyt Edition I., 97.

[156] Elphinstone's History, 507.

[157] Herbert's Travels, 84. Corryat's Master Herbert was, as already noticed named like the traveller Thomas. The two Thomas were distant relations both being fourth in descent from Sir Richard Herbert of Colebroke, who lived about the middle of the fifteenth century. A further connection between the two families is the copy of complimentary verses, "To my cousin Sir Thomas Herbert," signed Ch. Herbert, in the A.D. 1634 and A.D. 1665 editions of Herbert's Travels, which are naturally, though somewhat doubtfully, ascribed to Charles Herbert, a brother of our Master Thomas. It is, therefore, probable that after his return to England Sir Thomas Herbert obtained the Mandu details from Master Thomas, who was himself a writer, the author of several poems and pamphlets. Corryat's tale how, during the water-famine at Mandu, Master Herbert annexed a spring or cistern, and then bound a servant of the Great King who attempted to share in its use, shows admirable courage and resolution on the part of Master Thomas, then a youth of twenty years. The details of Thomas in his brother Lord Herbert's autobiography give additional interest to the hero of Corryat's Tale of a Tank. Master Thomas was born in A. D. 1597. In A.D. 1610, when a page to Sir Edward Cecil and a boy of thirteen, in the German War, especially in the siege of Juliers, fifteen miles north-east of Aix-la-Chapelle, Master Thomas showed such forwardness as no man in that great army surpassed. On his voyage to India in

of fresher beauty is probably a reference to the buildings raised and repaired by Abdul Karím against Jehángír's coming, among which the chief seems to have been the palace now known by the name of Báz Bahádur. The tower of 170 steps is Mehmúd Khilji's Tower of victory, erected in A. D. 1443, the Khán Jehán being Mehmúd's father, the great minister Khán Jehán Aâzam Humáyún.

In A. D. 1658 a Rája Shivráj was commandant of Mandu.[158] No reference has been traced to any imperial visit to Mándu during Aurangzíb's reign. But that great monarch has left an example of his watchful care in the rebuilding of the Âlamgír or Aurangzíb Gate, which guards the approach to the stone-crossing of the great northern ravine and bears an inscription of A. D. 1668, the eleventh year of Âlamgír's reign. In spite of this additional safeguard, thirty years later (A. D. 1696) Mándu was taken and the standard of Udáji Pavár was planted on the battlements.[159] The Marathás soon withdrew and Málwa again passed under an imperial governor. In A. D. 1708 the Shía-loving Emperor Bahádur Sháh I. (A. D. 1707-1712) visited Mándu, and there received from Ahmedábád a copy of the Kurán written by Imám Ali Taki, son of Músa Razá (A. D. 810-829), seventh in descent from Âli, the famous son-in-law of the

1617, in a fight with a great Portuguese carrack, Captain Joseph, in command of Herbert's ship *Globe*, was killed. Thomas took Joseph's place, forced the carrack aground, and so riddled her with shot that she never floated again. To his brother's visit to India Lord Herbert refers as a year spent with the merchants who went from Surat to the Great Moghal. After his return to England Master Thomas distinguished himself at Algiers, capturing a vessel worth £1,800. In A.D. 1622, when Master Thomas was in command of one of the ships sent to fetch Prince Charles (afterwards King Charles I.) from Spain, during the return voyage certain Low Countrymen and Dunkirkers, that is, Dutch and Spanish vessels, offended the Prince's dignity by fighting in his presence without his leave. The Prince ordered the fighting ships to be separated; whereupon Master Thomas, with some other ships, got betwixt the fighters on either side, and shot so long that both Low Countrymen and Dunkirkers were glad to desist. Afterwards at divers times Thomas fought with great courage and success with divers men in single fight, sometimes hurting and disarming his adversary, sometimes driving him away. The end of Master Thomas was sad. Finding his proofs of himself undervalued, he retired into a private and melancholy life, and after living in this sullen humour for many years, he died about A.D. 1642 and was buried in London in St. Martin's near Charing Cross.

[158] Kháfi Khan in Elliot VII., 218.

[159] Malcolm's Central India I., 64.

Prophet, the first of Musalmán mystics. In A. D. 1717 Asaph Jáh Nizám-ul-Mulk was appointed Governor of Málwa and continued to manage the province by deputy till A. D. 1721. In A. D. 1722 Rája Girdhar Bahádur, a Nágar Bráhman, was made governor and remained in charge till in A. D. 1724 he was attacked and defeated by Chimnáji Pandit and Udáji Pavár.[160] Rája Girdar was succeeded by his relation Dia Bahádur, whose successful government ended in A. D. 1732, when through the secret help of the local Chiefs Malhárao Holkar led an army up the Bhairav pass, a few miles east of Mándu, and at Tirellah, between Amjhera and Dhár, defeated and slew Dia Bahádur. As neither the next Governor Muhammad Khán Bangash nor his successor Rája Jai Singh of Jaipúr were able to oust the Maráthas, their success was admitted in A. D. 1734 by the appointment of Peshwa Bájiráo (A. D. 1720-1740) to be Governor of Málwa. On his appointment (A. D. 1734) the Peshwa chose Ánand Ráo Pavár as his deputy. Ánand Ráo shortly after settled at Dhár, and since A. D. 1734 Mándu has continued part of the territory of the Pavárs of Dhár.[161] In A. D. 1805 Mándu sheltered the heroic Mínah Bái during the birth-time of her son, Rámchandra Ráo Pavár, whose State was saved from the clutches of Holkár and Sindhia by the establishment of British overlordship in A.D. 1817.[162]

In A. D. 1820 Sir John Malcolm[163] describes the hill-top as a place of religious resort occupied by some mendicants. The holy places on the hill are the shrine of Hoshang Ghori, whose guardian spirit still scares barrenness and other disease fiends[164], and the Rewa or Narbada Pool, whose holy water, according to common belief, prevents the dreaded return of the spirit of the Hindoo whose ashes are strewn on its surface, or, in the refined phrase of the Bráhman, enables the dead to lose self in the ocean of being.[165] In A. D. 1820 the Jáma Mosque, Hoshang's tomb, and the palaces of Báz Bahádur were still fine remains, though surrounded with jungle and fast crumbling to pieces.[166] In A. D. 1827 Colonel Briggs says[167]:

[160] Malcolm's Central India I., 78.
[161] Malcolm's Central India I., 100.
[162] Malcolm's Central India I., 106.
[163] Central India II., 503.
[164] Ruins of Mándu, 43: March, 1852, p. 34.
[165] Ruins of Mándu, 43: March, 1852, p. 34.
[166] Malcolm's Central II., 503.
[167] Briggs' Fariahtah IV., 235, note.*

Perhaps no part of India so abounds with tigers as the neighbourhood of the once famous city of Mándu. The capital now deserted by man is overgrown by forest, and from being the seat of luxury, elegance and wealth, it has become the abode of wild beasts, and is resorted to by the few Europeans in that quarter for the pleasure of destroying them. Instances have been known of tigers being so bold as to carry off troopers riding in the ranks of their regiments. Twelve years later (A.D. 1839) Mr. Fergusson[168] found the hill a vast uninhabited jungle, the rank vegetation tearing the buildings of the city to pieces and obscuring them so that they could hardly be seen.[169] Between A.D. 1842 and 1852 tigers are described as prowling among the regal rooms, the half savage marauding Bhil as eating his meal and feeding his cattle in the cloisters of its sanctuaries and the insidious *pipal* as levelling to the earth the magnificent remains.[170] So favourite a tiger retreat was the Jaház Palace that it was dangerous to venture into it unarmed. Close to the very huts of the poor central village, near the Jáma Mosque, cattle were frequently seized by tigers. In the south tigers came nightly to drink at the Ságar Lake. Huge bonfires had to be burnt to prevent them attacking the houses.[171] In A.D. 1883 Captain Eastwick wrote: At Mándu the traveller will require some armed men, as tigers are very numerous and dangerous. He will do well not to have any dogs with him, as the panthers will take them even from under his bed.[172] If this was true of Mándu in A.D. 1883—and is not as seems likely the repetition of an old world tale—the last ten years have wrought notable changes. Through the interest His Highness Sir Ánand Rao Pávar, K C.S.I., C.I.E., the present Mahárájah of Dhár, takes in the old capital of his State, travelling in Mándu is now as safe and easier than in many, perhaps than in most, outlying districts. A phaeton can drive across the northern ravine-moat through the three gateways and along the hill-top, at least as far south as the Sea Lake. Large stretches of the level are cleared and tilled, and herds of cattle

[168] Indian Architecture, 541.

[169] Ruins of Mándu, p. 9.

[170] Ruins of Mándu, p. 9.

[171] Ruins of Mándu, 13, 25, 35. Some of these extracts seem to belong to a Bombay Subaltern, who was at Mándu about A.D. 1842, and some to Captain Claudius Harris who visited the hill in April 1852. Compare Ruins of Mándu, 34.

[172] Murray's Handbook, Panjáb, 118.

graze free from the dread of wild beasts. The leading buildings have been saved from their ruinous tree-growth, the underwood has been cleared, the marauding Bhil has settled to tillage, the tiger, even the panther, is nearly as rare as the wild elephant, and finally its old wholesomeness has returned to the air of the hill-top.

This sketch notices only the main events and the main buildings. Even about the main buildings much is still doubtful. Many inscriptions, some in the puzzling interlaced *Tughra* character, have still to be read. They may bring to light traces of the Mándu kings and of the Mughal emperors, whose connection with Mándu, so far as the hill buildings are concerned, is still a blank. The ruins are so many and so widespread that weeks are wanted to ensure their complete examination. It may be hoped that at no distant date Major Delasseau, the Political Agent of Dhár, whose opportunities are not more special than his knowledge, may be able to prepare a complete description of the hill and of its many ruins and writings.

ART. XI.—*The Tree Blossomed. Shivaji as a Civil Ruler.* By the Hon'ble Mr. JUSTICE M. G. RANADE, M.A., LL.B., C.I.E.

[Read 17th September 1895.]

The history of Shivaji's military exploits only presents to our view one side of the working of his master-mind, and we are too apt to forget that he had other and stronger claims upon our attention as a civil ruler. Like the first Napoleon, Shivaji in his time was a great organiser, and a builder of civil institutions, which conduced largely to the success of the movement initiated by him, and which alone enabled the country to pass unscathed through the dangers which overwhelmed it shortly after his death, and helped it to assert its claim to national independence, after a twenty years' struggle with the whole power of the Mogul Empire. These civil institutions deserve special study because they display an originality and breadth of conception which he could not have derived from the systems of government then prevalent under Mahomedan or Hindu rule; and what is still more noteworthy is that when, after the war of independence, the country was reorganised, his own successors returned to the traditions of the past, and departed from the lines laid down by the founder of the Marhatta power, and in so departing from the model he had set up, they sowed the seeds of that disunion and separation which it was his constant solicitude to avoid in all that he attempted and achieved. As has been stated before, Shivaji did not aspire to found an universal Empire under his own direct rule throughout India. He strove to secure the freedom of his own people, and unite them into one nation powerful for self-defence, and for self-assertion also; but the extinction of all other powers was not contemplated by him. He had friendly relations with the Chiefs of Golconda and Bednur, and even Bijapur, and did not interfere with their respective spheres of influence, in the Telangan, Mysore, and Carnatic countries, and he allowed his brother Venkoji to retain his father's Jahagir, all to himself, in the Dravid country. He contented himself with levying only *chouth* and Sardeshmukhi from the Mogul possessions. He made a clear distinction between Swarájya (territory directly governed by

him), and Mogalai (that governed by foreign kings outside his Swarájya). The civil institutions founded by him were intended chiefly for the Marhatta country proper, though they were also introduced partially in the line of military forts, maintained by him to the extreme south of the Peninsula. The civil territory, held under his direct sway, was divided into a number of Prants (Districts). Besides his ancestral Jahagir about Poona, there, was (1) Prant Mawal—corresponding with Mawal, Saswad, Junnar, and Khed Talukas of the present day, and guarded by 18 great Hill-forts; (2) the Prants of Wai, Satara, and Karad—corresponding with the Western portions of the present Satara district, guarded by 15 forts; (3) Prant Panhala—corresponding with the Western parts of Kolhapur, with 13 Hill-forts; (4) Prant South Konkan—corresponding with Ratnagiri, with 58 Hill-forts and sea-fortresses; (5) Prant Thana—corresponding with North Konkan district, with 12 forts; (6, 7) Prants Trimbak and Baglan—corresponding with the Western parts of Nasik, with 62 Hill-forts. The territories occupied by the military garrisons were, (8) Prant Wanagad—corresponding with the Southern parts of Dharwar district, with 22 forts; (9, 10, 11) Prants Bednur, Kolhar, and Shrirangpatam—corresponding with the modern Mysore, with 18 forts; (12) Prant Carnatic, being the ceded districts in the Madras Presidency south of the Krishna, with 18 forts; (13) Prant Vellor—(modern Arcat districts) with 25 forts; and (14) Prant Tanjore, with 6 forts. The whole of the Sahyadri range was studded with forts, and the territories to the west as far as the sea, and to the east of these forts, varied in breadth from 50 to 100 miles at the most.

The chronicles make mention of some 280 forts in Shivaji's occupation. In one sense it might be said that the Hill-fort, with the territory commanded by it, was the unit of Shivaji's civil government. He spared no money in building new, and repairing old forts, and his arrangements about the garrisoning and provisioning of these forts were of the most elaborate kind. The military exploits which made these forts so famous, as points of resistance against attack, or centres of aggression, formed the chief interest of these early Marhatta wars. The Empire was knit together by the chain of these Hill-forts, and they were its saviours in days of adversity. In the Satara district, Satara itself stood a siege for many months against Aurangzebe's whole power, and though it was storm-

ed at last, it was the first fort which was taken back from the Moguls under Rajaram's leadership by the ancestors of the present chief of Aundh. Torana and Rajagurh are associated with the first conquests of Shivaji, Shivaneri was his birth-place, Purandar was made memorable by Baji Parbhu's defence, and Rohida and Sinhggad will always be associated with the memory of the brave Tanaji Malusare ; Panhala stood the famous siege by Shiddijohar, while Rangana was famous for the defence by another Baji Parbhu of the defile which led to it at the sacrifice of his life. The Malwan fort and Kolaba were the places where the Marhatta navy was fitted out for its expeditions by sea. Pratápgad was made famous as the place of Afzulkhan's tragedy, while Mahuli and Saleri were scenes of great battles in which the Marhatta Mawalis defeated the Mogul commanders. The extreme limits on the east side of these Hill-forts of Shivaji's possessions were marked by the fortresses of Kalyan, Bhiwadi, Wai, Karad, Supe, Khataw Baramati, Chakan, Shirawal, Miraj, Tasgaon, and Kolhapur. The important part played by these forts justified the care Shivaji bestowed on them. Each fort was under a Marhatta Havaldar, who had under him other assistants, in charge of each circular wall of defence, from the same class, and he was assisted by a Brahman Subhedar, or Subnis, chosen from the three great divisions of Brahmans, and a Karkhanis who was a Parbhu. The Havaldar with his assistants had the military charge of the garrison. The Brahman Subhedar had the civil and revenue charge, and this charge included the villages within the command of the fort, while the Parbhu officer was in charge of the grain and fodder and military stores and of the repairs. The three classes were thus joined together in a divison of work, which ensured fidelity and prevented jealousy. The hill-sides were carefully protected by strict conservancy, and the charge of the forests below the forts was entrusted to the Ramoshis and other lower classes of the population. Minute directions were given as to the way watch and ward duties were to be performed by day and night. The garrison varied in numbers according to the size and importance of the forts. There was a Naik for every 9 Sepoys, and the arms were guns, short swords, javelins, spears and pattas (long thin swords). Each man received in cash and kind fixed amounts as wages for service according to his rank.

Coming down from the Hill-forts to the plains, the country was

divided into Mahals, and Prants very much on the plan now in force, in our Taluka system. The average revenue of a Mahal ranged from three-fourths of a lack to a lack and a quarter, and two or three Mahals made a Subha or a district. The average pay of a Subhedar was 400 *hons* per year, *i. e.*, about Rs. 100 per month. Shivaji did not continue the old Mogul system of leaving the revenue management solely in the hands of the village patels or Kulkarnis or of the Deshamukhas, and Deshapandes of the district. These village and district authorities received their dues as before, but the work of management was taken out of their hands, and carried on directly by the Subhedars or Mahalkaris for the Subha or the Mahal, while every group of two or three villages was managed by a Kumavisdar (Karkun) who made the direct collection of the revenue. The plan of farming out land-revenue, either of villages or mahals, found no support under Shivaji's system.

The gradations of officers and men in the garrisons of the Hill forts were only copied from the regulations which were enforced by Shivaji both in his infantry and in his cavalry. In each Infantry corps there was a Naik for every ten soldiers, one Havaldar had charge of 5 such parties, 2 Hawalas made one Jumaledar, 10 Jumalas made a ful corps of 1,000 men under a Hazari, and 7 Hazaris made up a Sarnobat's charge for the Mawali infantry. In the cavalry, there were 2 divisions Bargirs and Shilledars, and 25 Bargirs or Shilledars had a Havaldar over them, 5 Hawals made one Jumala, 10 Jumalas made a Hazari's charge, and 5 Hazari charges made one Panch Hazari. The Panch Hazari was under the Surnobat of the cavalry. Every batch of 25 horses had one water-carrier and farrier. Under each of the higher Marhatta officers, both in the infantry and cavalry, there was a Brahman Sabnis and a Parbhu Karkhanis or a Brahman Muzumdar and Prabhu Jaminis. The Bargir's horses were during the monsoons cantoned in camps where every provision was made for grass and grain supplies, and barracks were built for the men to live under shelter. All the officers and men received fixed pay, which in the case of the Paga Hazari was 1,000 *hons*, and Paga Panch Hazari 2,000 *hons*. In the case of the Infantry, the pay was 500 *hons* for the Hazari, and for the lower officers and men, the pay varied from Rs. 9 to 3 for the infantry, and Rs. 20 to 6 in the cavalry according to the higher or lower rank of the soldier or trooper. During 8 months in the year the armies were expected to maintain

themselves by *mulkhagiri*, *i.e.*, by levying Chouth and Sardeshmukhi from the Mogul Districts. When engaged on such service, the men were strictly prohibited from taking their women and children with them. When a city was plundered, the loot had to be accounted for by each soldier and trooper. No soldier or trooper was enlisted without taking a security bond from his fellows to insure good conduct. The military commanders were paid in advance, and they had to account for the Chouth and Sardeshmukhi collected by them. No assignments of revenue or land were allowed for the service of the army in Shivaji's time. Notwithstanding these strict restraints there was no difficulty found about the enlistment of recruits in the army, and no service was more popular than that which led the Mawalees of the Ghautmatha and the Hatekaries of the Konkan, and the Shilledars and Bargirs of Maharastra proper to flock in numbers to the national standard on each Dasara day, when a call was made for their services.

This system of cash payment and direct revenue management was introduced and extended by Shivaji throughout his dominions. Native chroniclers notice this departure from old traditions in these two points more prominently because Shivaji appears to have laid great stress on it. It was his conviction that much of the disorder in old times was due to the entrusting of revenue duties to Zamindars of districts and villages. They collected more from the Rayats, and paid less into the treasury than was strictly due, and used their opportunities to create disturbances and to resist the commands of the central power. Shivaji engaged the services of paid men—Kumavisdars, Mahalkaris and Subhedars, for the duties till then performed by Zamindars. It was the Kumavisdars' duty to levy the grain and cash payments while the crops were standing. The fields were carefully measured out, and entered in blocks in the name of the holders thereof, and annual Kabulayats were taken from them for the payments due. In the case of grain payments, the Government assessment never exceeded two-fifths of the actual yield. The remaining three-fifths were left to the cultivator as his share of the crops. In times of distress, or in case of accident, Tagai advances were made liberally, and their recovery provided for by instalments spread over 4 or 5 years. The Subhedars performed both revenue and criminal duties. The work of Civil Courts was not then of much importance, and when disputes arose, parties were referred by the

Subhedar to the Panch of the villages, or to those of other villages in important cases, and enforced their decisions.

The civil organization of the District was of course subordinate to the authorities at head-quaters, two of whom—the Pant Amátya and the Pant Sachiva, had respectively the charge of what in our time would be called the office of Finance Minister and the General Accountant and Auditor. The districts accounts had to be sent to these officers, and were there collated together, and irregularities detected and punished. These officers had power to depute men on their establishments to supervise the working of the district officers. The Pant Amátya and the Sachiva were, next to the Peshwa, the highest civil officers, and they had, besides these revenue duties military commands. They were both important members of the Board of Administration, called the Asta Pradban or Cabinet of eight heads of departments. The Peshwa was Prime-minister, next to the king, and was at the head of both the civil and military administration, and sat first on the right hand below the throne. The Senapati was in charge of the military administration, and sat first on the left side. Amátya and Sachiva sat next to the Peshwa while the Mantri sat next below the Sachiva, and was in charge of the king's private affairs. The Sumant was foreign Secretary, and sat below the Senapati on the left. Next came Panditrao who had charge of the ecclesiastical department, and below him on the left side sat the Chief Justice. It will be seen from these details that the Asta Pradhan system has its counter-part in the present constitution of the Government of India. The Governor-General and Viceroy occupies the place of the Peshwa; next comes the Commander-in-chief of the army. The Finance and Foreign Ministers come next. In the Government of India, the Executive Council makes no room for the head of the ecclesiastical department, or for the Chief Justice on one side, and the Private Secretary on the other, and in their place sit the Member in charge of the Home Department, the Legal Member, and the Public Works Minister. These variations are due to the difference of circumstances, but the conception which lies at the bottom of both systems is the same, of having a council of the highest officers of the state, sitting together to assist the king in the proper discharge of his duties. If this system could have been loyally worked out by the successors of Shivaji, as it was originally conceived and worked by Shivaji himself, many of the dangers which

ultimately destroyed the Marhatta confederacy, even before it came in conflict with the superior discipline and resources of the British power, might have been avoided. The seeds of dissolution lay in the fact that the necessities of the times required all the eight Pradhans or ministers, except Panditrao and Nyayadhisha, to be military commanders, and these military commands necessarily placed power in the hands of the most successful leaders of the army. Shivaji himself carefully guarded against this danger by providing that none of these offices should be hereditary. In his own time he had four different Commanders-in-Chief, *viz.*, Mankoji Dahatonde, Netaji Palkar, Prataprao Gujar, and Hambirrao Mohite. He deprived the first Peshwa of his office, and gave it to Moropant Pingle. The Pant Amatya's office similarly changed hands, and in fact the other officers were not allowed to be hereditary in particular families. This caution was, to some extent, observed in the early years of Shahu's reign, but towards its end the talents and power of the first three Peshawas, Balaji Vishwanath, the first Bajirao, and Balaji Bajirao, made the Peshwaship hereditary in their family, whilst the representatives of the other ministers were mostly incapable men, and their importance dwindled in consequence, and the equal distribution and balance of power was destroyed. Throughout the Peshwa's rule, the Astapradhans or the eight hereditary ministers of state, had no functions, or only nominal functions to discharge, and instead of being the organised government, which Shivaji designed it to be we find an unorganised power of the old Asiatic type, depending solely for its vitality upon the capacity of the chief centre of power. Shivaji's system cannot be blamed for such a consequence. It was the departure from his system that was responsible for the failure of his plans.

In another respect also, Shivaji was far in advance of his times. He set himself steadily against any assignments of land as jahagir to his successful civil or military commanders. Every one from the Peshwa and Senapati down to the lowest sepoy or karkun was, under Shivaji's arrangements, directed to draw his salary in kind or money from the public treasury and granaries. The salaries were fixed and paid regularly at stated periods. The assignment system was condemned because it was liable to be abused under the best circumstances, and with the best motives. The Jahagirdar naturally tends to become a territorial or feudal landlord, and when his influence is strengthened by hereditary connections, he cannot be

removed except by force. The centrifugal tendencies towards separation and disunion are always naturally very strong in India, and the system of assigning jahagirs, and permitting the jahagirdar to maintain a force of his own out of the revenue of the land assigned to him, aggravates this tendency to a degree which makes well ordered rule almost impossible. Shivaji would not even allow Zamindars of the District to build forts for their protection, but required them to live in houses unprotected like those of the rayats. None of the great men, who distinguished themselves in Shivaji's time, were able to hand over to their descendants large landed estates. Neither Moropant Pingley nor Abaji Sondeo, nor Ragho Ballal or Datto Annaji or Neeraji Raoji, among the Brahmans, nor the Maloosres or Kanks, or Prataprao Gujar, Netaji Palkar, Hambirrao Mohite of the Maratha Sardars, were able to found ancient families such as those which Shahu's ministers in the early part of the 18th century succeeded in doing.

The only assignments of land which Shivaji sanctioned in his time were intended for the endowment of temples and charities. These were public trusts, and the holders thereof had no military duties to discharge and could not in the ordinary course of things, become dangerous to the State. Among the charities, the Dakshina system of encouraging learning found strong support with Shivaji. It was an old edition of our modern system of payment by results. Brahmans received Dakshina according to a scale which was carefully graduated so as to provide both for the extent and quality of learning acquired. There were no public schools in those days, but private teachers taught pupils in their own homes, and both teacher and pupil were placed above want by means of a judicious distribution of annual rewards. Sanskrit learning was at its lowest ebb in these parts when Shivaji rose to power, but by the methods of encouragement adopted by him, the Deccan soon became known for the proficiency of her scholars who proceeded to Benares for purposes of study, and returned back to their country laden with honors, and rewarded by their sovereign. The Dakshina system of encouraging learning was, after Sambhaji's capture by the Moguls, kept up by the Dabhades of Talegaon, and when the Dabhades lost their importance, the Peshwas took up the trust, and greatly enlarged its scope, and it flourished down to the times of the British conquest, when the amount disbursed each year is said to have exceeded five lakhs.

It will be seen from the details given above that Shivaji's system of civil government was distinguished from those which preceded it or succeeded it in several important respects :—

1stly. In the great importance he attached to the Hill-forts, which were virtually the starting unit of his system of Government.

2ndly. In his discouragement of the hereditary system of transmitting high offices in one and the same family.

3rdly. In his refusal to grant jahagir assignments of land for the support of Civil or Military officers.

4thly. In the establishment of a direct system of revenue management, without the intervention of district or village Zamindars.

5thly. In the disallowance of the farming system.

6thly. In the establishment of a Council of Ministers with their proper work allotted to them, and each directly responsible to the King in Council.

7thly. In the subordination of the Military to the Civil element in the administration.

8thly. In the intermixture of Brahmans, Parbhus and Marhattas in all offices, high and low, so as to keep check upon one another.

Of course some of these distinctive features could not be continued intact when the Marhatta power, instead of being confined to the small area of the Swarajya district, was extended in all directions so as to embrace provinces so distant as Cuttack on the east, and Kathiawar on the west, and Delhi in the north and Tanjore in the south. In the Marhatta country proper, the nation, the army, the officers, and the kings were all of the same race, and a common bond of loyalty knit them together in a way which it was impossible to secure in distant parts of India, where the conquered population differed essentially from the army of occupation, and too often the army of occupation consisted of mercenaries who had no bond of union with their commanding officers, or with the representatives of the central power. It is therefore not to be wondered at that Shivaji's institutions, as described above, were not found elastic enough to be suitable for all parts of India. The connection of the Hill-forts with the plains commanded by them, for instance, was a feature so entirely local that it could not be accepted as a practical basis of government in the plains of Gujarata or Malwa or in the Eastern Districts of Maharastra itself. For a similar reason, the strict system of direct revenue management and the total supersession of

farmers and zamindars was also not equally suited for distant provinces where the traditions of Government had been all along opposed to such direct collection. While therefore allowance may be made for these and other considerations, there can be no doubt that, in other respects, the departure from Shivaji's system was a distinctly retrograde step, for which no similar excuse can be pleaded, except that the men who came after did not realise the wisdom of his plans, and yielded to the temptation of present convenience, only to find that they had thereby lowered the organised union he had established into an unorganised mass held together by the very loosest ties, and threatening dissolution at the first great crisis in its history.

The system of Government by a Council of eight Ministers, for instance, was retained in the early years of Shahu's reign, but gradually fell into disuse when the Peshwa's power increased so as to overshadow the other Ministers, and it actually ceased to exist when the Peshwas made Poona their capital. The Pant Amatya and Pant Sachiva, the most powerful civil functionaries next to the Peshwa, occupy no place in the Marhatta history after Shahu's death, and sank into the position of mere jehagirdars. The Peshwas did not venture or care to set up any substitutes in their place, and presumed to manage all affairs on their own responsibility. They were their own generals, and their own finance ministers, and foreign ministers also. No wonder that the personal system of rule thus established had not the stability which it would have derived, if Shivaji's institutions had been faithfully respected by his successors.

The system of filling up high offices as though they were hereditary Watans was another retrograde departure from the instructions laid down by Shivaji, and systematically carried out by him. When the Peshwaship itself became hereditary, it was not to be wondered at that every other office became hereditary also. But as natural capacity and virtues are not hereditary endowments, the office soon came to be filled up by incapable persons, and brought on, sooner or later, the expected disaster. Four generations of Peshwas retained power by natural right; but the other officers had not even this claim to urge for the continuance of office in their families. New men rose from the ranks to the top-most positions, but there was no room for them in the general Councils of the Empire. Nana Faranavis, for instance, from being a Fadnis, aspired to be Prime Minister, Mahadji

Shinde, from being a Sirdar of secondary importance, became the most powerful military commander of his time. There was no room for both of them, and the like of them, in the central council, and each tried to supplant the other by force or craft, and each dragged the other down. More frequently still, the great military commanders became kings in their own territory, and made peace or war at their own will. This danger might have been, to a great extent, obviated, if the system of government by a council, with the necessary enlargements dictated by altered circumstances, had been continued, and the hereditary principle not allowed to take such deep root, as it did in the course of two generations from Shivaji's death.

The greatest departure, however, was in the abandonment of the principle of not giving extensive territories as Jahagir to those who could conquer them by the strength of their military prowess. To some extent this departure was forced upon the Government of Shahu by the events that had preceded his accession to power. The whole country of Maharastra had been conquered by the Moguls after Sambhaji's death, and Sambhaji's brother, Rajaram, and his Councillors had been driven far to the South. The whole work had to be commenced again, and the new leaders who came to power had to be allowed much their own way. No fault therefore can be laid at the door of Rajaram's advisers, and the stress of adverse circumstances continued to be in considerable strength in the early years of Shahu. When, however, Shahu's Government was established in Maharastra, and plans of extending the Empire in all directions were entertained, the temptation of present convenience was not so strong, and might have been resisted. It was just at this time that the mistake was committed of allowing every soldier of fortune to carve out his own jahagir. Pillaji and Damaji Gaikawad settled themselves as sovereigns of Gujarat. The Bhosales of Nagpur became supreme in those parts, while Shinde and Holkar and the Powars established themselves in Malwa and North India, under a very loose system of allegiance to the central power, represented by their agreement to pay a portion of the revenue to the Peshwa as wielding the chief authority in Maharastra. When these jahagir assignments were continued hereditary, the transformation from organized to unorganized power was complete. Those who first acquired these large domains retained some sense of loyalty to the common cause. Their successors, however, resented all interference with what they

came to regard as their own private possessions. It was in this way that the more important departures from the policy laid down by Shivaji proved ruinous to the general interests.

Shivaji's arrangements about the direct management of land revenue, without the intervention of the District and village Zamidars, were on the whole faithfully carried out by his successors, and during the best period of the Peshwa's rule, almost down to the death of Nana Fardanavis, the system of farming revenue found no favour. It was only under the rule of the last Peshwa that Districts began to be farmed out in the Marhatta country proper. In the outlying conquests of Malwa, Gujarat and other parts of North India, the farming system was more in vogue, as being more suited to the unsettled condition of those parts. While in this matter, therefore, Shivaji's traditions were on the whole respected, the precautions he had taken about the distribution of offices amongst Marhattas, Brahmans and Parbhus, do not appear to have commended themselves to his successors. The Parbhus, who had played such an important part in the early history of Shivaji, ceased to occupy any prominent place in the latter history of the Peshwas from Balaji Bajirao's times. Only one great name, that of Sakharam Hari, who was a favourite commander under Raghunathrao Peshwa, appears in this later period, though in the Courts at Baroda and Nagpur representatives of this class continued to play an important part as civil ministers and military commanders. As regards the Brahmans, there is an impression that the Konkanastha section had no employment under the great Shivaji. The native chronicles, however, clearly show that Brahmans of all the three sections of that community were employed as Subhedars and Commanders of Hill forts. The Deshastha Brahmans naturally took the lead in the times of Shivaji and his two sons. With the accession to power of the Peshwas in Shahu's time, the balance was turned in favour of the Konkanasthas, and the disproportion became more manifest, because the leading Deshastha Jahagirdars had taken the side of Raghunathrao in his wars with his nephews.

The military profession had not been monopolised by the Marhattas in Shivaji's time, but they constituted the chief strength of the army, both in the ranks and file. The Brahman commanders under Shivaji were as brave in generalship as any Marhatta commander. This continued to be the case under the early Peshwas.

The greatest Marhatta commanders were trained in the school of the first Bajirao Peshwa. When the great Marhatta families, who served under Bajirao, established themselves in distant provinces as virtual rulers, and became so powerful as to threaten the safety of the central authority, it was an aim of state policy at Poona to create an equipoise of Brahman commanders in the south, and the Patwardhans and the Phadakes, the Rastes and the Gokhales, rose to positions of command, but they never could hold their own against the armies of Shindia and Holkar. The rivalry thus set up, however, proved, among other causes, most harmful to the general interest.

It will be thus seen that in all the points in which the principles of government laid down by Shivaji were departed from by his successors, we can trace the causes of the weakness and decline of the Marhatta power, long before it came in conflict with British authority in India. That authority, when it obtained supremacy, gave its deliberate preference to the principles laid down by Shivaji over those which found favour with his successors. British rule in India is carried on on the principle of enforcing a complete separation of the Civil from the Military department and a due subordination of the latter to the former. It insists upon cash payments for services rendered, and declines to make grants of lands by way of assignment for military or other services. It refuses to recognise any hereditary claims to public officers, high or low. The government is carried on by Boards and Councils, and not by the unfettered discretion of a single ruler. It collects its land revenue by its own paid agency, and never farms it out to the old Zamidars or farmers. It also provides for a due distribution of offices among all classes of its subjects. As a consequence of the observance of these maxims of state policy, a handful of Englishmen have been able to govern the whole country in a way that strikes both native and foreign students of its administration as a marvellous feat of statesmanship. The wisdom of Shivaji's principles has been thus vindicated, not only by the success which he himself achieved, but by the success which has attended the efforts of those who built their power upon the ruins of the confederacy which he had tried to knit together, and which broke up chiefly because Shivaji's successors departed from the lines of policy laid down by him for their guidance.

Act. XIII.—*The Teleology of the Pahlavi Shikand Gumanik Vijar and Cicero's De Natura Deorum.* By R. P. Karkaria, Esq.

[Read 15th October 1895.]

The Parsis have been well called the ruins of a great people, and their existing sacred books the ruins of a great religion. How great that nation and that religion once were is known to all who have read ancient history and care for the power and thought of bygone ages. Under the great Xerxes the ancient Persian nation was on the point of triumphing over Greece, Europe would have been subdued by Asia, and the faith of Zoroaster would have taken the place of the gross Paganism then existing and anticipated Christianity. But that was not destined to be. The battle of Marathan turned the scale against it and decided the fate of Europe and of the Persian monarchy. The power of Xerxes rapidly waned from that point till the Greeks in their turn in the next century invaded and conquered Persia under Alexander the Great who put a stop to the long and glorious line of the Persian Monarchs. Their faith fell along with them, and what with the deliberate and wanton destruction imputed to Alexander, and the apathy and neglect of the Parthian Kings, the ancient Zoroastrian religion lost its sacred books. There seems to be a peculiar fatality about it in this matter. Having lost its sacred literature and restored it again, it has once again lost it and now possesses only straggling fragments. After the losses under the Greeks and the Parthians it recovered under the Sassanides and succeeded in recovering nearly all its lost books. But when that last line of Zoroastrian monarchs fell at the hands of the newly risen Arab power, their ancient faith lost ground rapidly and suffered terribly under the persecution of the new faith of Islam. The literature recovered under the Sassanides was again lost, now irrecoverably. Not only are the ancient books or Nasks themselves lost but also works upon them and connected with them have disappeared. The treatise which Hermippos of Smyrna is said to have written on that religion and based on his direct knowledge of the Nasks has also not escaped the ravages of time.

The great revival of Zoroastrianism which took place when Ardeshir Babigan mounted the throne of Persia after destroying the rule of

Ardvan, the last of the Parthians, has left interesting remains behind of its activity in spite of the later destruction under Islam. The chief object of Ardeshir and his Dasturs was to recover the Nasks of the Avesta lost during the previous centuries. Great exertions were made to discover and hunt up the lost literature. They were successful and pretty nearly the entire Avesta fragments were recovered. They were entrusted for the purpose of editing and revising to one of the most learned Dasturs of Ardeshir, by name Toshar or Tansar. It may be mentioned in passing that this Tansar is credited by Darmesteter with much more than mere editing and revising. According to the last opinion of that scholar Tansar was no less than himself the composer of the entire Avesta as we possess it now! Tansar and his assistants succeeded in presenting to the King and his subjects the ancient Avesta. They and their successors also translated it into the current language of their time with an elaborate commentary.

But the priests and philosophers of the Sassanide times were not content with editing and translating the Avesta texts. There was great theological activity among them. Their faith came in contact with the new religion that had arisen in Palestine and was preparing to conquer the West and East. Christianity had invaded Persia and made some progress there in spite of persecution. The later philosophy of the Greeks, Neo-platonism, Gnosticism and other systems prevalent during the early centuries of the Christian era, all came in contact with the state religion of the Empire that was then all-powerful in Western Asia, had struck terror into the Roman and the Byzantine Empires on the one hand, and India and China on the other. All these influenced it in many ways. The stern and miserable argument of the sword was, it must be confessed, freely employed against Christianity and many heretical sects, and the annals of martyrology and hagiology bear testimony to the blood shed by some of the most enlightened monarchs of the royal house of Sassan. Enlightenment it seems was, in those early times, if not the cause at least the concomitant of persecution not only in the East but also in Europe. The pure Trajan and the philosophical Marcus Aurelius were among the most bitter persecutors of Christianity; and it is a standing marvel how the man who wrote the *Meditations*, who shows such a tenderness and consideration for the meek, who puts before himself such a lofty ideal of duty and right could have issued orders for massacring

thousands of obscure and unoffending human beings, unless we assume such a cynical and complete divorce of practice from opinion as is not warranted by the story of his life.

But the *argumentum ad baculum* was not the only instrument. Less tangible though more convincing arguments were brought forward, and a whole class of polemical literature arose in the language of the day. This was the Pahlavi language, about the origin and antiquity of which there has been a good deal of controversy. Some have held that it is a frontier language of the second century A. D., and that it grew into importance only in the times of the Sassanian revival. But the authority of Haug is against them. In his "Essay on Pahlavi" he proves the great antiquity of the language and shows that its Semitic dialect can be traced as far back as the seventh century B. C. and its Assyrian dialect several centuries earlier still. "The origin of Pahlavi," says he, "can be sought for only during the period of the Assyrian rule, which lasted over Iran for 250 years[1] and was established as early as the twelfth century B. C., if not earlier. In the whole history of Iran from Assyrian down to Arsacidan times there is no other period during which its rise and spread could be explained in any reasonable way."[2] In this opinion he is confirmed by another scholar who thinks that "the Pahlavi language obtained currency in ancient Persia during the dynasty of the Kyanian Kings," and that "as maintained by some authorities it does not owe its origin to the time of the Sassanian dynasty."[3] Whatever view may be held about the origin and age of the language, the literature written in that language and extant to-day dates only from the third century A. D., whilst the greatest bulk of it is as recent as the seventh and eighth centuries. Most of the theological and polemical treatises written in the heyday of the old faith under the Sassanides were lost along with books of a more sacred character.

The Zorosstrian faith fell again from power, and with Yezdigard III., the last of the royal race of Sassan and his followers, it was forced into an exile from which it has never since returned to its home and renown. The new conquerors of Persia, the Arab followers of the new faith of Islam, submitted it to a long and terrible persecution almost amounting to extermination. In the great welter into which

[1] *Herodotus*, I., 95.

[2] *Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary*, 1870, by Hoshang and Haug, p. 141.

[3] Dastur Peshotan Sanjana's *Pahlavi Grammar*, 1871, pp. 7, 10.

things were thrown, the religious literature recovered after so much trouble was again greatly lost sight of, though it may be suspected not so much through active destruction as through the neglect of a persecuted and down-trodden people. Even this persecution must not have been so very severe. There was a great change; but that change was not rapid, as is popularly supposed. For nearly three or four centuries after the Arab conquest the old religion, though fallen, was flourishing in the country. M. Mohl has investigated this obscure period successfully, and the introductions and other essays in his magnificent edition of the Shah Nameh of Firdousi contain excellent materials for a history of that period. From these it appears that the Persian religion, customs, traditions and songs survived in the hands of the Persian nobility and landed gentry—the Dikhans as they were called—who lived among the people, particularly in the Eastern Provinces, remote from the capital and the seats of foreign dominion, Baghdad, Kufah and Mosul.[4] And the poet Firdousi must have gathered the materials for his great epic from these sources. Religious materials, too, were then existing and even added to. That the old faith was surviving in the country for a long time is seen from the notices of Zoroastrian families that occur in the annals of the first four centuries after the conquest, and from the many fire-temples that still remained to be destroyed under the later Caliphs. The story of Afshin, the Commander-in-Chief and favourite of Caliph Motassim shews, as Sir William Muir notes, the strong hold which Magian or Zoroastrian doctrines and worship still retained in the ninth century, and the toleration accorded to them in the country.[5]

The old books existed during these centuries of supposed rigorous persecution; and not only that, but many new theological works were produced during that period. Most of the Pahlavi treatises we now possess were written during those centuries. It was only afterwards that most of the theological literature disappeared, and that not so much through deliberate destruction by the Arabs, as through the neglect of the Parsis themselves. As Dr. E. W. West says, "the survival of so much of the sacred Zoroastrian literature during these centuries of Mahomedan rule, indicates that the final loss of nearly all this literature was not so directly attributable to the Arabs as the Parsis suppose. So long as a considerable number of the Persians

[4] *Cf.* Max Müller, *Chips*, Vol. I., p. 94, ed. 1867.

[5] *Early Caliphate*, p. 514.

adhered to their ancient religion, they were able to preserve its literature almost intact, even for centuries, but when through conversion and extermination, the Mazda-worshippers had become a mere remnant and then fell under the more barbarous rule of the Tartars, they rapidly lost all their old literature that was not in daily religious use. And the loss may have been as much due to their neglecting the necessary copying of manuscript as to any destructiveness on the part of their conquerors; because the durability of a manuscript written on paper seldom exceeds five or six centuries."[6]

The Pahlavi treatises written under the Sassanides and in the three centuries after the Arab conquest treat of several subjects connected with religion. Some are dogmatic and expository, expounding the views of the true faith in various matters, as for instance, the famous *Bundahish*, which gives the account of the origin of creation according to the Zoroastrian faith and tradition. Some are commentaries on the ancient sacred books and usages. Some are in the form of general epistles indited by learned Dasturs to the lower clergy and the laity on certain points of dogma and ritual which seem to have puzzled them, as the epistles of Manuschehr and others. While some again are polemical and apologetic works refuting other religions and sects and upholding their own. The work which we are to consider presently is of this last class.

It is called "Shikand Gumanik Vijar," which means "doubt-dispelling explanations," and was written with the chief object of showing that good and evil arise from two independent sources as taught by the Mazda-worshipping religion. To show this the author naturally considers the arguments of the opposing creeds. He tries to show that while professing to believe in the unity of creation, they can only account for the origin of evil either by degrading the character of the sacred being, or by attributing evil to a corrupting influence, which is really a second being. In the general course of his great argument, he considers and refutes the doctrines of Atheists, Jews, Christians, Manichæans and Mahomedans. A great knowledge is shown of their side of the case and great dialectical skill is apparent in many parts of the argument. Quotations are given from the Old and New Testament, as well as other works, including the Koran, and the writer seems to have been a scholar of no mean abilities.

[6] *Pahlavi Texts*, Part IV.; Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXVII., p. xxxix. *Cf.* also E. W. West *apud* Geiger and Kuhn, *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, II. 1., p. 80.

This writer appears to be Mardan-farukh, son of Ahurmazdad, as he gives his own name in the body of the book. This autobiographical passage is interesting, as it gives the author's qualifications for his task, and may be quoted: "The many kinds of falsehood, which must become confused and mutually afflicting to many, are, in the aggregate, from one source of deceitfulness. As to that, this composition is provided by me, who am Mardan-farukh, son of Ahurmazdad, as I saw in the age much religiousness and much good consideration of sects of many species; and I have been fervently minded, at all times in my whole youthful career, an enquirer and investigator of the truth of them. For the same reason I have wandered forth also to many realms and the sea-shore. And of these compendious statements which owing thereto are an enquiry of those desiring the truth, and a collection and selection of it for these memoranda, from the writings and memoranda of the ancient sages and high-priests of the just, and especially those of the glorified Atur Padhtyavand, the name Shikand Gumanik Vijar is appointed by me. As it is very suitable for explaining away the doubts of new learners about the thorough understanding of the truth, the blessedness and truth of the good religion, and the inward dignity of these free from strife."[7] His age has been fixed by his scholarly translator, Mr. E. W. West, in the latter half of the ninth century.[8] The original Pahlavi text of the treatise is not extant, but there are some copies of a Pazand version of the earlier part of the work. Our existing text is derived from the Pazand and Sanskrit version of the famous medieval Parsi scholar Neryosang. This Pazand-Sanskrit text has been lately edited in a scholarly publication by Dastur Hoshang Jamasp of Poona and Mr. E. W. West.

We have said that Mardan-farukh refutes the arguments of the Atheists, and it is to that portion of his treatise that I am going to draw your attention to-day. His refutation of Atheism is contained in the fifth and sixth Chapters. In them he points out (§§ 1—9) the necessity of understanding the nature of the sacred being as well as of admitting his existence. He then details (§§ 10—45) in a general manner the various modes of acquiring such knowledge, and these modes are (§§ 46—91) applied to prove the existence of a wise and benevolent Creator, from the evident existence of design in the

[7] Chap. I., 34—39, West, p. 120.

[8] *Pahlavi Texts*, Pt. III.; *S. B. E.*, Vol. XXIV., p. xxvii.; and West and Hoshang's *Pazand and Sanskrit Text of the Shikand*, p. xvii., 1887.

creatures, and their various organs and appliances. In the sixth chapter, the argument from design is continued with a special rebuke at its close to the Sophists who argue that there can be no certainty about spiritual matters because our knowledge of them is merely subjective illusion.[9]

Now, what I wish to point out to you this evening is that the argument, of which this is a bare outline, presents a very close resemblance to the argument of M. Lucilius Balbus, the spokesman of the Stoics in the famous dialogue of Cicero, called the *De Natura Deorum*. This treatise is so well known to all who pay attention either to classical literature or to philosophy that I shall not pause here to describe it. Suffice it to say, that in it Cicero presents the theories of the great ancient philosophical sects, the Stoics, the Epicureans, and the Academics, about the existence, nature, and government of the gods. In the first book the representative of the Epicureans, C. Velleius, gives their views; he believes in the existence of the gods, but denies the government of the world by them. C. Aurelius Cotta, on behalf of the Academics, says, that it is impossible to arrive at any certainty with regard to the divine nature. The second book is entirely taken up with the Stoic argument of Balbus. He gives, (1) proof of the divine existence, (2) of the divine nature, (3) of the providential government of the universe, and (4) of the providential care for man. Of the third part of his argument, the providential government of the Universe, I shall give an outline from the elaborate and excellent critical Cambridge edition of this treatise by Prof. Joseph Mayor. Providential government is inferred from the consideration of the Universe itself, as embodying an intelligent principle first imported into it by a creative energy. A detailed review is given of the wonders of Nature, *viz.*, the earth, the sun, moon, stars and planets; also wonders of vegetable and animal life. Then the hand of Providence is shewn to be most plainly visible in man, in the provision made for supporting his life by food and air; in the framework of his body and his erect position; in the organs of sense; in the gift of reason; in the gift of speech through the wondrous mechanism of the vocal organs; in the capacity for action through the mechanism of the hand; and finally in the capacity for meditation and worship.[10]

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[9] West and Hoshang, p. xi.

[10] II., §§ 81—153. *De Natura Deorum*, ed. Joseph Mayor, Vol. II., pp. xiii. —xv.

This entire section of Cicero presents a resemblance to the two chapters of the Pahlavi treatise noted above; and this can be clearly seen by reading the two side by side. I shall here give one instance. Both Cicero and Mardan-farukh take the instance of the human eye to show the adaptation of means to ends in the human body as well as the Universe.

"What artificer but Nature," says Balbus, "whose direction is incomparable, could have exhibited so much ingenuity in the formations of the senses? In the first place, she has covered and invested the eyes with the finest membranes, which she has made transparent, that we may see through them, and firm in their texture to preserve the eyes. She has made them slippery and moveable that they might avoid what would offend them and easily direct the sight wherever they will. The actual organ of sight, which is called the pupil, is so small that it can easily shun whatever might be hurtful to it. The eyelids which are their coverings, are soft and smooth, that they may not injure the eyes; and are made to shut at the apprehension of any accident, or to open at pleasure; and these movements Nature has ordained to be made in an instant; they are fortified with a sort of palisade of hairs, to sweep off what may be noxious to them when open, and to be a fence to their repose when sleep closes them, and allows them to rest as if they were wrapped up in a case. Besides they are commodiously hidden and defended by eminences on every side; for on the upper part the eyebrows turn aside the perspiration which falls from the head and forehead; the cheeks beneath rise a little, so as to protect them on the lower side; and the nose is placed between as a wall of separation.[11]

Mardan-farukh handles the same subject of the eye. "When only the construction of one of the organs of the body is examined into—that is, how it is—it is wonderfully sagaciously constructed. Such is the eye which is of many natures of different names and different purposes, as the eyelash, the eyelid, the white, the eyeball, the trio, and the pupil, in such way that the white is fat, the iris is water which has so stood in the prism of fat, that the turning of the eye, from side to side, occurs through it, and the pupil, itself the sight, is like a view into the water. The iris stands in the prism of white like the standing of water in a prism of fat and the pupil is within the iris, like the view of a thing within clear water, or the form of a column in a sliming manner. And the arrangement of the white in

[11] IL, Chap. LVII.

the orbit is for the reason that the dust whirling from the atmosphere, when it arrives at the eye, shall not be concealed in it, but shall turn to the lid of the eye."[12] And both Cicero and Mardan-farukh then proceed from the eye to the ear.

This resemblance between the two treatises has not, so far as I am aware, been pointed out by any one. This may be chiefly owing to general ignorance of Oriental works and especially old Persian religious books shewn by Western scholars. But now that Prof. Max Müller has rendered many of those old works accessible in English, the work of comparison may be carried on with profit. It was whilst engaged in a pretty close study of Cicero's treatise ten years ago, that I was struck with the similarity in the arguments of the Pahlavi writer even whilst cutting open the volume of Max Müller's Series containing the *Shikand*. I do not say anything about the later writer borrowing from the earlier. We have no means of arriving at any conclusions as to Mardan's knowledge of Cicero either in the original Latin or through a translation. Cicero's philosophical works are, as is well known, not original. He is indebted to Greek writers. And the *De Natura Deorum*, as is shewn by Prof. Mayor, can be traced to the lost work of the philosopher Posidonius "On the gods." Mardan says explicitly that he got these arguments from the Dinkard of Adirfrobag. The date of this *Dinkard* is hard to fix, as it took a long time to compose, and as it was added to so much by later editors. Probably the editors of the *Dinkard* might have seen Greek philosophical works.

[12] Chap. V., 65—76.

ART. XIV. *Firdousi on the Indian Origin of the Game of Chess.*

BY JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.

[Read 21st November 1895.]

India is the original home of the game of chess. From India it was introduced into Persia in the time of the great Noushiravân or Chosroes I. The Arabs who subsequently conquered Persia introduced it into Spain on their conquest of the country. Spain spread it into other parts of Europe. Though some seem to be of opinion that it was the Crusaders who brought it from the East, many are of opinion that it was known in Europe long before the Crusades, and that it was known in England before the Norman conquest.

As to its Indian origin, Sir William Jones in his paper[1] "On the Indian Game of Chess," says, "If evidence be required to prove that chess was invented by the Hindus, we may be satisfied with the testimony of the Persians, who, though as much inclined as other nations to appropriate the ingenious invention of a foreign people, unanimously agree that the game was imported from the west of India, together with the charming fables of Vishnusarma, in the fifth century of our era . . . . . ."

The object of this paper is to adduce the testimony of one of the greatest, if not the greatest, Persian writers, as to the Indian origin of the game. Sir W. Jones makes a passing allusion to Firdousi, but does not give his version of the origin. Further on, Sir William Jones says, "Of this simple game, so exquisitely contrived and so certainly invented in India, I cannot find any account in the classical writings of the Brahmans. It is indeed confidently asserted that Sanskrit books on chess exist in this country, and if they can be produced at Benares, they will assuredly be sent to us."

I do not know if since Sir W. Jones wrote the above, any Sanskrit writing has been brought to light which would give in detail a description of the origin of the game, and an account as to why this game was invented. If a Sanskrit work of the kind has been brought to light, it will be of some use to see, how far the following version of Firdousi, about the circumstances which led to the invention of this game, was right.

[1] Asiatic Researches, Vol. II.

Firdousi gives this version on the authority of one Shahui (شاہوی) a wise old man:—

"There lived a king in India, Jamhour (جمہور) by name, who was more valiant than Four (فور).[2] He was an intelligent and wise monarch, whose territory extended from Kashmir in the west to China in the east. He had his capital at a place called Sandali (سندلی), The king had a wife who was equally intelligent and wise. The queen gave birth to a prince as beautiful as the moon. The king gave the child the name of Gau (گو). A short time after the birth of the prince, king Jamhour died, conveying his last wishes to his queen. The civil and military authorities of the State met together and after some consultation resolved, that as the prince was a minor, and, as such, was not capable of carrying on the affairs of the State, the crown be bequeathed upon Mâi (مای), a brother of the late king, who lived in Dambar (دنبر). Mâi accepted the throne and came to Sandali from Dambar. After ascending the throne, he married the wife of his deceased brother[3] and a son was born, whom he named Talhend (طلہند). When the child grew two years old and Gau seven years old, king Mâi fell ill and died within fifteen days of his illness. The nobles of the State met together and resolved, that up to the time when the two princes came to age, the throne be entrusted to the queen who had all along shown herself to be virtuous and wise. The queen ascended the throne and entrusted the two princes to the care of two learned men to be properly educated. When the princes grew up, they separately went to their mother and asked her, which of her two sons she found to be nobler and worthier than the other. She evaded the question, saying in a general way, that in order to deserve her approbation they must be as temperate, courteous and wise as befitted the sons of a king. And again they went separately to her and asked her, to which of the two sons she would entrust the throne. She said to each of them in turn, that he was entitled to the throne on account of his wisdom. Thus both the princes came to age with their minds filled up with the ambition of being the future rulers of the country. Their respective teachers fanned the fire of this ambition. They looked with jealousy at each other. The noble men of the Court and the people divided themselves into two factions, one supporting

[2] Porus, who was defeated by Alexander.

[3] This allusion shows that widow marriage was not prohibited in Northern India in the time of Noushiravân in the sixth century after Christ.

the cause of Gau and the other that of Talhend. One day both the brothers went together to their royal mother and asked her, which of the two sons she found to be worthy of the throne. In reply she asked them to be patient and to submit the question to the leading men of the State for a peaceful settlement. Gau, who was the elder of the two, did not like this reply and asked her to decide that question herself. He said, "if you do not find me worthy of the throne of my father, say so, and give the throne to Talhend, and I will submit myself to him. But if you find me better qualified by my age and wisdom, ask Talhend to give up his claim to the throne." The mother said in reply, that though he (Gau), being older than the other brother, had a better right to the throne, it was better for him to settle the question of succession peacefully with his younger brother. Talhend, however, did not like even this qualified expression of opinion by his royal mother in favour of Gau on account of his being elder of the two and said that age did not always carry with it any kind of superiority, and that in civil and military appointments it was not always the aged who occupied high positions. He said that as his father Mâi was the last occupant of the throne he had every right to the throne as his heir and successor. The royal mother thereupon called upon him not to lose his temper and to take what she had said in the spirit in which she had uttered. She said that she treated both the brothers impartially and fairly, and thereupon, distributed equally among them, all the royal treasures that she had under her control.

The two brothers then resolved to submit the question of succession to the arbitration of their tutors. But the tutors, being interested in the elevation to power, of their respective pupils, did not come to any decision. Then the princes got two thrones placed in the audience hall and sent for the nobles of the State and asked them to settle the question, but as the Court was equally divided it was difficult to do so. Then the last resort was to submit the question to war. Before making any preparations for war, Gau requested his brother to withdraw from the contest, saying that the throne of Jamhour passed to Mâi only during his minority and that Mâi was no more than a regent and that therefore he (Gau) was entitled to the throne. Talhend did not attend to this and prepared for war. Both the brothers collected their armies, and before the commencement of the battle, Gau once more requested his younger brother, through a messenger, to give up the contest. He also suggested the alternative

of dividing the kingdom into two parts. But all this was of no avail, as Talhend was bent upon fighting. Gau sent for his preceptor and asked his advice over the state of affairs at this crisis. The preceptor advised his royal pupil to once more try his best, to win over his brother, by offering him all the royal treasures, except the throne and the royal seal. Gau sent a special messenger to Talhend, offering all these, but it was of no avail.

Before giving the final orders to commence fighting, Gau said a few words of encouragement to his soldiers and asked them to take Talhend prisoner, but not to kill him or wound him. On the other side, Talhend also gave a similar order to his soldiers. A bloody battle was fought, in which the army of Talhend received a crushing defeat. At the end of the battle Gau once more asked his brother to give up the hopeless contest, but Talhend paid no attention to his request and retired from the battle-field to a place called Marg and collected another large army, paying the men very liberally for their services. He then sent an insulting message to his elder brother Gau, and said that he was willing to fight again. At the instance of his preceptor, Gau sent a peaceful reply, offering terms of peace to his brother. Talhend called a council of war and submitted the terms offered by his brother for consideration. In the end they resolved to fight again. A second bloody and fierce battle was fought, wherein Talhend was found dead, over his elephant, through great exhaustion, consequent upon hard work and want of food and water for a long time. Gau, not seeing his brother in the midst of the army, sent his men to inquire, and they found him dead upon the back of his elephant. Gau lamented long for the death of his brother. When the Queen heard of the death of her younger son, she lost herself in profound grief. She went to Talhend's palace and burnt his crown and throne as signs of mourning, and then burnt his body according to the customs of the Hindus.

Gau, when he heard of the grief of his mother, went to her and consoled her, saying that he had no hand in the death of his brother, that he had done his best to dissuade him from fighting, that he had given all possible instructions to his army not to kill or wound him, and that he was found dead on the elephant, without in the least being wounded by anybody. The mother could not believe the fact that Talhend was found dead on the back of his elephant and that he died of exhaustion without being killed or wounded by any one in the turmoil of the battle. She thought that a case like that was

impossible and suspected some foul play. Gau thereupon asked his mother to be patient for some time, in order that he may prove to her satisfaction, that a death like that of Talhend was possible in a battle-field, and that neither he nor anybody else had any hand in his death. He said that by some contrivance he would prove to her satisfaction that the death of a king, on the back of his elephant, in the midst of a battle, on being shut up on all sides and without being either killed or wounded by anybody, was quite possible. He added that if he could not prove that, he was ready to burn himself. The mother thereupon desired to be shown how such a death was possible, and said that if that could not be shown to her satisfaction, she would prefer burning herself rather than that her son Gau should burn himself. Gau thereupon returned to his palace and told his preceptor all that had passed between him and his mother. The preceptor advised the king to call a council of learned men from different parts of the country, such as Cashmere, Dambar, Marg and Mâi, and to ask them to devise some means or contrivance by which the queen can be consoled for the death of her younger son, and it should be shown to her that the death of a king, without either being wounded or killed in a battle, was quite possible, and that it might be brought about by being shut up on all sides and consequently through exhaustion and want of food and water.

Gau accordingly sent messengers all round and called a council of the learned men of the country. The preceptor of the king explained to them the whole state of affairs and then described the battle-field on which the battle between the two brothers was fought and the position of the different armies and generals. On learning all the particulars, the learned men, and especially two among them, invented the game of chess, wherein one could see how one of the two kings, without being slain, was shut up on all sides, by the army of his opponent and lost the battle or the game.

I give below Firdousi's description of the game to enable the players of the modern game to see how far their method of play resembled that described by Firdousi as the Indian method. In giving my translation I follow the text of Mohl (Vol. VI.) "Two great and good-natured men prepared a square board of ebony wood. It represented ditches and a battle-field on which two armies had met face to face. They painted 100 squares on that board for the movement of the army and the king. Then they prepared two armies out of teakwood and ivory and two exalted kings with dignity

and crown. Over it the footmen and the horsemen were drawn in two lines prepared for the battle. Horses and elephants, the Dastur of the king and the warriors who ride their horses in the midst of an army, all presented the picture of warfare, some marching fast and at a gallop and others going at a slow pace. The king led the centre of the army, having his well-wishing minister on one hand. On the two sides of the hand of the king were two elephants. The movements of the elephant raised the dust of the colour of the water of the river Nile. On the sides of the two elephants were standing two camels having two intelligent persons for their riders. On the sides of the camels were two horses and two riders, who could fight on the day of battle. On the sides of the two lines of the army were two warlike rooks, with all foam over the lips, being excited for the battle. The foot soldier moved here and there, because in the midst of the battle it was he, who provided help. When one of these (foot soldiers) succeeded in going to the other end of the battle field, it had the right of sitting by the side of the king as his adviser.

"The adviser (or the vazir) cannot move in the midst of the battle more than one square away from the king. The exalted elephant moved three squares and he looked across the whole battle field up to a distance of two miles; similarly the camel also moved three squares, moving pompously and majestically over the battle field. The horse also moved three squares, one of which was out of the way. Nobody dared to go before the rook which ran over the whole of the battle field, looking for revenge. Everybody moved within the sphere of his own plain; none moved more or less. When somebody saw the king within his reach, he called cut "Hold off, oh king!" The king then moved away and away from his square, until he had no more room to move. Then the rook, the horse, the minister, the elephant and the foot-soldiers all shut up the way of the king. He looked round in all the four directions and found his army defeated with their eyebrows dejected. He found his way shut up by water and ditches. On his left and right, in front of him and behind him, were the soldiers of the enemy. Out of fatigue and thirst, the king perished This was the lot that he had obtained from the revolving heavens."

We find from these details of Firdousi that among the ancient Hindoos, the chess board was made up of 100 squares instead of 84 as we have at present. In the modern method the following pieces make up the first line of eight squares:—

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Rook or castle, knight, bishop, queen, king, bishop, knight, rook or castle.

But in the old Indian method, as there were 100 squares, ten pieces formed the first line in the following order. To use Firdousi's words:—

Rook, horse, camel, elephant, Dastur, king, elephant, camel, horse, rook.

To use modern words:—

Rook, knight, bishop, castle, queen, king, castle, bishop, knight, rook.

We thus find that while in the ancient game the rook and the castle formed two different sets of pieces, in the modern game, they are combined into one. The very fact that, while all the different kinds of pieces in the modern game have one name, the piece representing the rook or castle has two alternative names, shows that, in the ancient Indian game rook and castle represented two different pieces, but latterly they were made to represent one and the same piece. It appears that it was in Persia, that the amalgamation was first made because the Pehelvi Madigân-i-chatrang, of which we will speak later on, speaks of 16 pieces on each side of the board and not of 20 as suggested by the description of Firdousi.

We give below the English names of the different pieces and their Persian equivalents as given by Firdousi:—

English	Firdousi's.
King	شاہ (*i. e.*, king).
Queen	فرزانہ[4] (*i.e.*, vazir) or دستور شاہ (*i.e.*, the bishop or adviser of the king).
Bishop	شُتُر (camel).
Knight	اسپ (horse).
Castle	پیل (elephant).
Rook	رخ (rook).
Pawn	پیادہ (foot soldier).

In the modern game the queen, as the adviser of the king, occupies the second place of honour, which in the old game was occupied by the Dastur, *i. e.*, the minister or the bishop of the king. The name bishop, for one of the pieces in the modern English game, seems to me to have been taken from the old Persian game, where, according to Firdousi, his equivalent was Dastur. But these two pieces have changed their places in their respective games.

Again, Sir William Jones refers to a description of the game of chess in the Bhavishya Purân, "in which Yudhisht'har is represented

[4] Vazir in modern Persian.

conversing with Vyâsa, who explains at the king's request, the form of a fictitious warfare and the principal rules of it." In that description a boat forms one of the pieces of the game. Sir William Jones refers to that and says: "A ship or boat is substituted, we see, in this complex game for the rat'h, or armed chariot, which the Bengalese pronounce rot'h, and which the Persians changed into rokh, whence came the rook of some European nations; as the *vierge* and *fol* of the French are supposed to be corruptions of *ferz* and *fil*, the prime minister and elephant of the Persians and Arabs. . . . I cannot agree with my friend Rádhácant, that a ship is properly introduced in this imaginary warfare, instead of a chariot, in which the old Indian warriors constantly fought; for though the king might be supposed to sit in a car, so that the four *angas* would be complete, and though it may often be necessary in a real campaign to pass rivers or lakes, yet no river is marked on the Indian as it is in the Chinese chess-board." But Firdousi's version throws some light on this subject, because we find from his description of the Indian game given above, that ditches and water were represented on the ancient Indian chess-board.

The game of chess thus showed that it was possible for a king to be shut up on all sides in a battle-field and to die out of mere exhaustion and through thirst and hunger without being killed or wounded by anybody. Gau showed the game to his royal mother and explained how it was possible for Talhend to have died on the battle-field through exhaustion, thirst and hunger, without being killed or wounded by any of his soldiers. Thereafter, the queen, whenever she remembered the death of her departed son, Talhend, sought to drown her grief in this game of chess. "She always liked the game of chess because she was always sorry for the death of Talhend. She often shed tears of grief and in that case the game of chess was the only remedy for her grief."

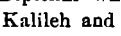
Thus we learn from Firdousi that it was to console a royal mother that an Indian prince had invented the game of chess. We will now briefly see how, according to Firdousi, the game was introduced into Persia from India.

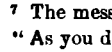
One day there came to Noushiravân (Chosroes I.) of Persia a messenger[5] from India carrying with him Indian elephants, Sindhi

[5] We have an older authority which, though it does not say how the game of chess was invented, supports Firdousi in his description as to how the game was introduced in Persia. It is the Pehelvi treatise known as the Madigan-i-Chatrang, for the text and translation of which we are indebted to Dastur

horses and various Indian curiosities as presents for the Persian king from an Indian Raja.[6] He also carried a very handsome and costly chess-board and a letter from the Raja to the Shah of Persia. The messenger presented all these on behalf of his royal master to Noushiravân and communicated an oral message which said: "May you live as long as the heaven lasts. Order those who are very wise in your Majesty's Court to place this chess-board before them and to find out the method of playing this game. Let them determine the names of the different pieces and the way how to move them in the different squares and how to regulate the courses of the elephant, the horse, the rook, the Vizier and the king. If your Majesty's courtiers will succeed in discovering the method of playing this game, we will acknowledge your suzerainty and give you the tribute which your Majesty demands. But if the wise men of Iran are not able to discover the method of playing this game, then as they are not able to stand with us in point of wisdom, they should cease asking from us any tribute. Not only that, but in that case Iran should undertake to pay tribute to India, because of all things, knowledge is the best."[7]

The message having ended, the chess-board was arranged before king Noushiravân who began to look at it very eagerly. The messenger then, on being asked by the king, said that the game portrayed the scene of a battle, and that the king, if he was able to discover the method of playing it, would find therefrom, the details of a battle.

Dr. Peshotan Byramjee. Though the Pehelvi account is much shorter than Firdousi's, and though there are several points of difference, the two accounts agree in their main features. This Pehelvi treatise gives the name of the messenger as Takhtaritus. I give the name as it is read by Dastur Dr. Peshotan but the word  can be read in various other ways.

[6] The Madigan-i-Chatrang gives the name of the Indian Râjâ as Devsâram. The word  can be read in various other ways, and I choose to read it as Dipislim which is the same as Dabislim the well-known king of the book of Kalileh and Damneh or the story of Bidpâe otherwise known under its later name of Anvâr-e-Sohili.

[7] The message as given in the Pehelvi treatise runs thus :—

"As you deem yourself to be the king of all the rest of us kings and hold the title of Emperor (over us) the wise men of your court ought also to surpass those of ours. Hence you should send us an exposition of this game of chess (that is sent herewith), and if you fail to do so, you should give us tribute and the fourth part of your revenues."—Dr. Peshotan.

Noushiravân asked for a period of seven days,[8] by the end of which time, he said he would discover the method of playing the game.

The noblemen and the officers of the king's court then tried their best to discover the method, but they all failed. The king was very sorry, lest it would throw a slur upon his royal court, that it possessed not a single clever soul who could solve the mysteries of an Indian game. But then Buzarjameher, the chief adviser of the king, rose to the occasion and undertook to solve the mystery of the game. He studied it for one day and night and then discovered the method of playing it. Having communicated his success to his royal master, the latter called an assembly wherein he invited the Indian messenger to be present. Buzarjameher made the Indian messenger repeat the conditions of the treaty offered by the Indian Râjâ, *viz.*, that in case an Irânian discovered the method of playing the game, the king of Persia had the right of suzerainty upon the Indian Raja, and then he arranged the game and showed to the messenger the method of playing it.[9] The whole of the assembly and the messenger were struck with astonishment at the intelligence displayed by the minister of the king. The king was much pleased with him and rewarded him very liberally.

Firdousi thereafter adds that this Buzarjameher, in his turn, invented another game called the game of Nard[10] (نرد), a game like that of draughts or backgammon and carried it to India to test the intelligence of the Indian Brahmans, if they could solve its mysteries and discover the meaning and the mystery of the game. The Indian Raja asked a period of seven days[11] to try to discover the method. But the Hindoo sages in the end failed to discover the mystery of the game.

The modern Indian name of the game of chess is "Shatranj," which Sir William Jones derives as follows from its original Sanskrit word :—

"It seems to have been immemorially known in Hindustan by the name of Chatur-anga, that is the four 'angas' or members of

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[8] The Pehelvi treatise gives three days.

[9] The Pehelvi treatise says that he played twelve games with the Indian envoy and won all of them.

[10] According to the Madigan-i-Chatrang, the name of the game was Vin-i-Artashir اردشیر بابگان . It was so called in honour of Ardeshir Babegan, the founder of the Sassanian Dynasty.

[11] According to the Pehelvi account 40 days.

an army, *viz.*, elephants, horses, chariots and foot soldiers. . . By a natural corruption of the pure Sanscrit word it was changed by the old Persians into Chatrang[12] but the Arabs who soon after took possession of the country, had neither the initial nor the final letter of that word in their alphabet, and consequently altered it further into 'Shtrang,' which found its way presently into the modern Persian and at length into the dialects of India where the true derivation of the word is known only to the learned. Thus has a very significant word in the sacred language of the Brahmans been transformed by successive changes into axedrez, scacchi, échecs, chess, and by a whimsical occurrence of circumstances, given birth to the English word check, and even a name to the Exchequer of Great Britain.[13]"

Several modern dictionaries derive the word chess from Persian 'Shah,' *i. e.*, king. This mistaken etymology seems to have begun from the time the Arabs introduced the play into Europe, because having corrupted in their pronunciation the original word Chatrang into Shatrang, they derived the word from Persian 'Shah' (king) and 'ranj' (trouble), and gave it the meaning of "the trouble or the difficulty of the king," because the chief point in the play rests upon shutting up the moves of the king.

Before concluding this paper, we will briefly speak of two other versions about the origin and discovery of the game of chess. One of these versions is given by Caxton, the first English printer in his book "The game of chess," which was the second book printed in England (1474).[14]

According to Caxton's work which was the translation of a French book, which in its turn was taken from the Latin, the game of chess was discovered in the time of "a kyng in Babilon that was named enylmerodach a jolye man without justyse and so cruel that he did do hewe his faders body in thre hondred pieces and gaf hit to ete and deuoure to thre hondred byrdes that men calle voultres." (Part I. ch. I.)

It was discovered by a philosopher of the East named Excerses in Chaldaic and Philometer in Greek. Philometer in Greek meant "lover of justice or measure." The philosopher, true to his name, was no flatterer, and hated the evil and vicious life of king enylmerodach (evil Merodach). The king put to death all those who dared to advise

[12] It is so named in the Pehelvi work Madigân-i-Chatrang.

[13] Asiatic Researches, Vol. II., p. 159.

[14] Caxton's game of Chesse. Facsimile 1862.

him and to remonstrate with him for his injustice and cruelty. So when the people requested[15] this philosopher to approach the king and advise him, he found himself in a difficulty. On being pressed to undertake even at the risk of his life that important task which would immortalise his name, the philosopher consented. "And thenne, he began to thynke hym in what maner he myght escape the deth and kepe to the peple his promesse and thenne thus he maad in thys maner and ordeygned the eschequer of 64 poyntes."

Having thus discovered the game, the philosopher began to play it with the barons, knights and gentlemen of the Court of the king, who all liked it very much. The king once saw the philosopher playing the game. He liked it and wanted to play with the philosopher. The latter said that the king must first learn it thoroughly from him. The king consented. The philosopher began to teach it to him and in so doing dwelt at some length upon the duties of the different officers of the State that were represented on the chess-board. He dwelt at great length upon the duties and responsibilities of a good king and at length advised the king to "amende hymself and become vertuous." The king thereupon demanded "upon payn of deth to telle hym wherefore he had founden and maad this playe and he answerd 'my right dere lord and kyng, the grettest and most thyng that I desire is that thou have in thyself a glorious and vertuous lyf. . . . Thus than I desire that thou have other gouernement thene thou hast had, and that thou have upon thyself first seignourie and maistrie suche as thou hast upon other by force and not by right. Certeynly hit is not right that a man be maister over other and comandour whe he cannot rewle nor may rewle hymself and that his vertues domyne above his vyces, for seignourie by force and wylle may not longe endure. Thenne thus may thou see oon of the causes why and wherefore I have founden and maad this playe, whiche is for to correcte and repreve the of thy tyrannye and vicious lyuying."[16]

Having thus described at some length the first cause why he had discovered the game to improve the king, the philosopher said that "the second cause wherfore this playe was founden and maad was for to kepe him from ydlenesse, wherof Seneque sayth unto Lucylle ydlenes without any ocupacion is sepulture of a man lyuyng." The philosopher made a few remarks as to idleness leading a man to an evil and sinful life, and said that the third cause why he had discovered

[15] Caxton, Part IV., Chap. VIII.

[16] Caxton, Part I., Chap. III.

the game was to remove "pensifnes and thoughtes" from the mind of the player.

The king having heard all these causes, thought "that the philosopher had founde a good maner of correccion and than he thankyd hym gretely and thus by the signement and lenrnying of the philosopher, he chaunged his lif, his maners and alle his euyll condicions." Part IV. ch. 8.

Now though the two versions about the cause, which led to the discovery of the game are different, I think that the Greek Philometor referred to by Caxton is the same as Persian Buzarjameher. The Greek name according to Caxton means "lover of justice" and the Persian word means "great in justice." The Greek *matron* is the same as Persian *meher*.

Now, before giving this version of the cause why the game of chess was discovered, Caxton's work, though it does not believe the statement, alludes to one other version. It says that some men say "that this play was founden in the tyme of the Vataylles and siege of Troye."[17] This reminds us of what Sir William Jones[18] says of his being told "that this game is mentioned in the oldest law books, and that it was invented by the wife of Rávan, king of Lanca in order to amuse him with an image of war, while his metropolis was closely beseiged by Rama in the second age of the world."

These two latter versions, the European version and the Indian version, which give to the seige of Troy and to the seige of Lanca respectively, the credit of having originated the discovery of the game of chess, are very striking, because they add one more link to the number of facts which have been advanced to show that there is a striking resemblance between the Indian episode of Sitá and Râvan in the Râmâyan and the Greek episode of Helen and Paris in the Illiad.[19]

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[17] Part I., Chap. I.

[18] Asiatic Researches, Vol. II., p. 160.

[19] (૧) શાહનામા મધેનું એક દાસ્તાન, અને રામાયણ તથા ઇલ્યડની વાર્તાઓ સાથ તેની સરખામણી ગ્નાન પ્રસારક મંડળીની સને ૧૮૮૮–૮૯ નાં મોસમના ભાષણો ભાષણ થયું. A lecture by Mr. Pallonjee Burjorjee Desai.

A Lecture by Prof. Macmillan.

Art. XV.—*Cashmere and the Ancient Persians.* By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B. A.

[Read 9th December 1895.]

M. Troyer in his Rajatarangini[1] says that "In all the geographical notices of the ancients, Kachmir appears to have been joined to India." This is, to a very great extent, true of the geographical notices of Cashmere in the ancient Iranian literature.

In the times of the Avesta, the modern regions of Cashmere, Punjaub and Scinde which are watered by the great Indus and its tributaries, were included in the region known by the name of Hapta Hindu (𐬵𐬀𐬞𐬙𐬀 𐬵𐬆𐬧𐬛𐬎) the Septa Sindhu (सप्त सिन्धु) of the Vedas. As the Avestic and Vedic names Hapta-Hindu and Sapta-Sindhu signify, the Indus then had seven tributaries. The ancient Greeks and the ancient Hindus had given the following names to the seven tributaries :—

Vedic-names.	Greek.	Modern.	In the Mahâbhârata.[2]
Sindhu ...	Indus ...	Sindhu ...	
Vitastâ ...	Hydaspes ...	Jhelum ...	Vitastâ.
Asikani ...	Akesines ...	Chenaub ...	Tchandrabhâga.
Parushani ...	Hydraortes ...	Ravi	Airavati.
Vipâs... ...	Hyphasis ...	Biyâ	Vipasa.
Śatâdhru ...	Hesydrus ...	Sutlej... ..	Śatadru.
Kubhâ ...	Kophen ...		

By the time when the Pehelvi writers wrote their commentaries of the Avesta Vendidad, which mentions the name of this country as Hapta Hindu, some of the tributaries were united and their number was reduced to five, which has given the country its comparatively modern name of Panjnaddy or Panjaub, *i.e.*, the country of five rivers.

[1] Rajatarangini. Histoire des Rois du Kachmir, Vol. II., p. 308.

[2] Ibid., II., p. 317.

That such was the case appears from the fact that the Pehelvi commentators, not finding, in their time, the number of the tributaries to be seven, as indicated by their Avestic name, Hapta-Hindu, try to explain the name in a different way. They say[3] "It is called Hapta-Hindu because there are seven rulers over it." Again, it appears that during the time of the Pehelvi commentators, the limit of the country of the Hapta Hindu, that is of the country watered by the seven tributaries of the Indus, had immensely increased. Hence it is that they add, though not definitely and clearly, that "the country of Hindustan extends from east to west."

It is very strange that though the country of India has continued to be occupied by the followers of the writers of the Vedas who called it Sindhu, the country has continued to be known by its ancient Irânian name of Hindustân and not by that of Sindhustân as it should have been called from Sindhu, the Vedic name of the Indus.

Cashmere, which has the sources of one of the tributaries of the Indus, the Jhelum, the Hydaspes of the ancient Greeks, the Bydaspes of Ptolemy and the Vitastâ (वितस्ता) of the Vedas, was then included in the above-named country of Hapta Hindu. Unfortunately the Iranian names of the tributaries of the Indus have not come down to us in the extant Irânian literature. But still the name Hydaspes, the Greek name of the Jhelum and Bydaspes, the name given to it by Ptolemy, clearly show the Irânian origin of the names. We know that some of the rivers of ancient Persia derived their names from "aspa" *i.e.*, the horse, because their speed was considered to be as great as that of the horse.[4] Take for example, the Hvaspa ([illegible]), *i.e.*, the good-horsed (Yt. XIX. 67) which is thought to be the same as the Choaspes of the Greeks. The name, Hydaspes or Bydaspes, is another instance of a river deriving its name from Avestic aspa ([illegible] = S. अश्व = L. equus) a horse.

Coming to the Pehelvi books, we find that the Bundehesh speaks of Cashmere as being situated in Hindoustan.[5] It appears from this

[3] [illegible]

[4] *Vide* my paper on "Horse in ancient Iran." Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. IV., No. 1.

[5] [illegible] *i. e.*, Cashmere is in India. Justi, p. 70, l.12 West, Chap. 27—15.

book that though far from the country of Persia and though not under the direct rule of Iranian kings, it was once a Zoroastrian country. The 29th chapter of this work speaks of the spiritual rulers or heads of different countries, whether ruled by Irân proper or not. In the latter class of countries, it names, among others, Kangdez, Pesyânsâi or the modern Peshin and Cashmere. Then it proceeds to name all the spiritual leaders who had at one time or another ruled over these different places. But it omits to mention the name of the spiritual leader of Cashmere, thus showing that very little of this country was known to the writer.

That Cashmere was once a Zoroastrian country appears to us also, from the Saddar of which we have not the original Pehelvi with us.

It is there mentioned, with three other localities, as one where Zoroastrian religion once prevailed. As Dr. West says "These four localities are considered to be isolated from the seven regions to some extent, probably implying that they were supposed to contain Mazda worshippers independent of Iranian rule or that their position had become unknown."[6]

Coming to Firdousi's Shâhnâmeh, we find that the first mention of Cashmere in that work is in the reign of Kaikhoshroo. Cashmere, then, seems to have been under the suzerainty of the king of Persia, because when the king, on ascending the throne, holds a grand review of his troops, Frâmroz, one of his generals, commands the soldiers of Kaboul, Seistan and Cashmere.[7]

In the description of the long war of supremacy between Kaikhoshroo of Irân, and Afrasiâb of Turân, Cashmere is mentioned five times.[8] It seems that Cashmere lay in the way of the march between Irân and Turân. When Afrâsiâb prepares for an invasion upon Persia and when his army overruns the country from Cashmere to Scinde, Kaikhoshroo, the King of Irân, asks his general Rustam to go to the

[6] Sacred Books of the East, Vol, XXIV., p. 267.

[7] پس او نبرده فرامرز بود
که با فرّ و با برز و با ارز بود
ابا کوس و پیل و سپاه گران
ز جنگجویان و کند اوران
ز کشمیر و از کابل و نیمروز
ز سرفرازان گیتی فروز

Mohl. II., p. 587.

[8] Mohl. III., pp. 77, 237, 421, 497, 507.

frontiers of Turân without halting in Cabul or Cashmere. The way in which India and Cashmere are spoken of together in some of these passages confirms what M. Troyer says in his Rajatarangini, that the ancients always spoke of India and Cashmere together. At the end of the first campaign when the Turânians suffer a defeat and Pirân their general sues for peace, one of the terms of the treaty he proposes is, that the Turânians should withdraw their army from Cashmere and give up all claims whatsoever upon the country. Wilson, in his essay on the ancient history of Cashmere, based on Rajatarangini, says that the Tartar princes spoken of in that work were possibly some "individual adventurers who took advantage of the temporary confusion (caused by this and subsequent struggles between Irân and Turân) to establish themselves in Cashmere."[9]

The Brahamins of Cashmere, known as the Pundits, are reported, even to-day, to be good astrologers. We find an allusion to that in the Shâhnâmeh. Jâl had a son named Shagâd, of whom it was predicted by the astrologers of Cashmere, that he would turn out a wicked man and that he would bring about the ruin of his family. Firdousi says that this turned out to be true inasmuch as Shagâd conspired with the king of Cabul to bring about the death of his own brother Rustam.[10]

During the reign of Beherâm-gour[11] (Beherâm V.), the king of Cashmere was a vassal of the king of Kanouj called, by Firdousi, King Shangel.

According to M. Troyer, the translator of the Rajatarangini, it appears that Shangel was a titulary name of all the kings of Kanouj and that the real name of this Rajâ was Sadasu or Vesudhva of the dynasty of kings known as the Bala Râis. When this Indian king visited the court of the Persian king who had married his daughter, the king of Cashmere had accompanied him to Persia as one of his vassals.

Coming to the reign of Noushiravân (Chosroes I.), we find from an episode given by Firdousi in the account of his reign, that Cashmere then formed a part of the territories of an Indian king, named Jamhour (جمهور). In the deliberations of his state affairs the sages of Cashmere were often invited to take part.

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[9] Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV., p. 91.

[10] Mohl. IV., p. 705.

[11] Mohl. VI., p. 65.

M. Troyer, in the third volume[12] of his Rajatarangini, says, on the authority of some historians, that in the reign of Noushiravân, Cashmere formed a part of a great Indian empire which was invaded and subjected to a tribute by a Persian army but on the death of that monarch regained its independence from the Persian yoke. From Firdousi, we know little of an actual invasion, but we know that an invasion was threatened in the case of a refusal of tribute. The Indian king, instead of trying to settle the question of tribute by a trial of the strength of arms, sought to settle it by a trial of the strength of intellect. He sent to the Persian king a messenger with the game of chess invented by the learned Pundits of his country and asked that monarch to solve the mysteries of that game. If the Persian king or his courtiers succeeded in solving them he promised to pay the desired tribute. A learned courtier of the Persian king succeeded in solving the mysteries of that game and this gained for his sovereign and his country the tribute from India.[13]

Proceeding further in the Shâhnâmeh we find an allusion to Cashmere in the reign of Yezdigird. It seems that Cashmere cloth was as well known to the ancient Persians, as it is now known to us for its warmth and durability.[14] Among the commissariat requisites necessary for a new army, Yezdigird, the last of the Sassanian kings, mentions the cloth of Cashmere in one of his letters to his feudal princes whom he asks to meet at a particular place in Khorassan, to make another stand against the advancing power of the Arabs.

Having examined the few allusions to Cashmere in the Shâhnâmeh of Firdousi, we will notice here the relation of the ancient Persians to Cashmere referred to by Wilson in his "Essay on the Hindu History of Kashmir"[15] on the authority of Badi-ud-din, the author of Goher-i Alem, Tohfet us-Shahi and of other Mahomedan historians. I have already alluded to a few in examining the references of Firdousi.

King Surendra, one of the kings of Cashmere of the first period, had, says Wilson on the authority of Mahomedan writers, "a daughter named Catpan Bhanu of great beauty and accomplishments, the reputation of which induced Bahman, the son of Isfendiar, to solicit and obtain the princess in marriage." As to the authority

[12] P. 632.

[13] *Vide* my paper on "Firdousi's version of the Indian Game of Chess."

[14] Mohl. VII., p. 463.

[15] Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV.

for this statement Wilson says, "It does not appear from what source they have derived this story, as it is not found in the Hindu records, nor in the historical romance of Firdousi . . . . . Had there been any foundation for the tradition, it might have been of some chronological utility." I think the source of this tradition is Bahman-nâmeh, *i. e.*, the book of Bahman, written according to M. Mohl. in the end of the eleventh or in the commencement of the twelfth century. It appears from the Bahman-nameh that the fame of the beauty of the women of Cashmere had spread even in Persia. When the different advisers of the king advised him to marry the princesses of the different countries which they liked best, Rustam pointed to Cashmere and advised his king to marry the princess of that country. Firdousi says that Bahman had died a natural death[16] but according to Badi-ud-din, whose authority Wilson follows, he was murdered by the attendants of his Cashmiri queen, his marriage with whom had proved very unhappy.

Again, it appears from the Bahman-nâmeh that Cashmere was a place of refuge for the family of Rustam from the cruel hand of Bahman. His sisters and other relations ran away to Cashmere when pursued by the followers of Bahman.[17]

According to Badi-ud-din, Janaka, the third ruling prince of Cashmere after the above named Surendra, had sent a Cashmiri army under his son to invade Persia then ruled over by Homai, the daughter of Bahman, but the army was repelled by Dârâb, the son of Bahman.

Jaloka, the third ruling prince after Janaka, had, according to Badi-ud-din, subjugated a part of the north of Persia then ruled over by Dârâb.

In the long list of rulers who succeeded Jaloka, we have nothing special to record about the relations of the ancient Persians with Cashmere, until we come to the reign of Mihircule, the Mirkhol of

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[16] بیبماری اندر بمرد اردشیر

[17] On the other side of Takht-i-Solomon near Shrinagar there is a place called Rustamgari. A pundit at the temple of Ragoonath Mandir told me that according to some it is believed to have derived its name from Rustam. I was told by my syce at Islâmâbad that at Giljit, in Cashmere, a place was pointed out to him as that at which, according to tradition, Rustam was killed by the treachery of his brother Shagâd.

Ayin-i-Akbari. The author of the Rajatarangini depicts this king as a wicked monarch in whose reign the Mlechhas had an ascendency. He founded the temple of Mihireswara and the city of Mihirapur, "in which the Gandhar Brahmans, a low race, were permitted to seize upon the endowments of the more respectable orders of the priesthood."

Now who were these गान्धारा ब्राह्मण of the म्लेच्छवंश *i. e.*, the Gandharva Brahmans of the Malechha dynasties?

A learned Pundit of Cashmere told me that this is an allusion to the Persian priests of Zoroastrian faith. The king Mihirakula having favoured these Zoroastrian priests, he is run down by the Brahman writer of the Rajatarangini and the Persian priests are abused. The very names, of the king, his temple and his city as Mihirakula, Mihireshwara and Mihirapura point to a tendency to lean towards the Persian worship of Meher or Mithras.

The references to the Gandarii by the classical writers, as collected both by Wilson and Troyer, point to two different races of the Gandarii. It appears that the Gandharas referred to by the author of the Rajataringini were not the same as those referred to in the Mahâbhâratta, but they were the same as those referred to by Herodotus, as a people of one of the twenty Satrapies, in which Darius Hystaspes had divided his Persian Empire.[18] They were the same who, with the Sogdians "having the same accoutrements as the Bactrians," formed a part of the army of Xerxes.[19] They are the same as those referred to by Pliny as being a tribe of Sogdiana, the Sogdha of the Vendidad.

Thus the Gandhara Brahmins referred to by Rajatarangini, as being preferred to the Brahmins of the country and as having won the favour of Mihirakula, were some foreigners from the further west. That they were Zoroastrian Mobeds appears from the description given in the Rajatarangini.[20] The writer alludes tauntingly to the oft-repeated charge of the custom of marriage among the nearest kins among the ancient Persians, a charge that has been rebutted as one carelessly made by a few Greek writers on the authority of a few doubtful recorded instances of one or two unreasonable Persian monarchs.

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[18] Bk. III., 91.
[19] Bk. VII., 66.
[20] Bk. I., Slokas 306—309.

The next reference by Badia-ud-din to a Cashmiri king who had any relations with Persia is that to Lalitáditya, who, according to Wilson's chronology, ruled in the commencement of the eighth century after Christ. When Yazdgird, the last of the Sassanian rulers, was hard pressed by the rising power of the Arabs, he was one of the neighbouring rulers who had marched to Persia to help the Persian monarch. But, on his way, hearing of the great power of the Arabs, he withdrew and returned to Cashmere.

According to Herodotus, Darius Hystaspes was the first Persian monarch, who had sent to Cashmere an expedition for exploring the regions watered by the Indus. We know from the same authority, and from several stone columns with cuneiform inscriptions recently discovered near Suez, that this enterprising monarch was the first to build a complete Suez canal about twenty-three centuries ago, for the purpose of developing the trade of his conquered countries.[21] It appears that it was with the same enterprising zeal that he had sent an expedition to the shores of the Indus. Herodotus says:—

"A great part of Asia was explored under the direction of Darius. He being desirous to know in what part the Indus, which is the second river that produces crocodiles, discharges itself into the sea, sent in ships with others on whom he could rely to make a true report and also Scylax of Caryanda. They accordingly setting out from the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyice, sailed down the river towards the east and sunrise to the east. . . . After these persons had sailed round, Darius subdued the Indians and frequented this sea."[22]

Herodotus refers to the above Caspatyrus in another chapter as follows:—"There are other Indians bordering on the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyice settled northward of the other Indians, whose mode of life resembles that of the Bactrians. They are the most warlike of the Indians."[23]

Wilson has shown very cleverly that the Caspatyrus of Herodotus is the same as Cashmere.[24] According to the ancient tradition recorded in the Rajatarangini, the ancient history of Cashmere, the country was

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[21] "La Stele de Chalouf" par M. Joachim Menant. *Vide* my Gujarati Lecture before the Dnyân Prasarak Mandli on "The Suez Canal."

[22] Herodotus IV., Ch. 44; translated by Cary.

[23] Herodotus III., Ch. 102.

[24] Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV., p. 115.

at first a vast lake called Satisaras. Saint Kaçyapa, the son of Marichi, the son of Brahma (the Kashef of the Mahomedans), was the person who brought about the desecration of the country and emptied the lake. Hence the country was called Kaçyapapura, *i.e.*, the country of Kaçyapa.

According to another legend about the drying of the valley of Kashmir referred to by Wilson, as given in the Wakiat-i-Kashmir, when this country was covered with water, there lived in it a demon, named Jaladeo (*i. e.*, the demon of water) "who preyed upon mankind and seized on everything and person he could meet with in the neighbouring regions." Kashef, the son of Marichi, prayed to Mahadeo to kill this demon. Mahadeo asked his servant Vishnu to do this, and he succeeded in killing this demon after a fight of 100 years. May I ask—Has not this story any connection with that in the Shâhnâmeh in which Sâm, the son of Narimân, kills on the banks of the river Kashaf a demon dragon "whose length extended from one city to another and whose breadth spread from one mountain to another. All the people were afraid of him and kept a watch for day and night against him."[25] That Sâm had visited Hindustan, appears from another part of the Shâhnâmeh, wherein we find old Faridoon entrusting young Minocheher to the care of this general.[26]

Even now the people of Cashmere read and hear with pleasure some of the touching episodes about the ancient Persians in the Shâhnâmeh of Firdousi. During my visit to that country last May, I frequently heard the Pundits saying:

هران کس که شاهانامه خواني کند
اگر زن بود پهلواني کند

i. e., "The person who reads Shâhnâmeh, even if he were a woman, acts like a hero." The episodes are rendered into Cashmiri songs and

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25 چنان اژدها کو ز رود کشف
برون آمد و کرد گيتي چو کف
زمين شهر تا شهر بالای او
همان کوه تا کوه پهنای او
جهانرا ازو بود دل پرهراس
همي داشتندی شب وروز پاس
Vuller I., p. 194.

26 که سام آمده بود ز هندوستان
بفرياد آن رزم جادوستان
Vuller I., p. 126.

sung on special occasions by musicians and singers before large assemblies at night. In the midst of a very touching episode, when, owing to the difficulty or the danger of the favourite hero of the episode, who has for the time become a favourite of the audience as well, the excitement of the hearers is raised to the highest pitch, the singer suddenly stops and refuses to proceed further. The hearers get impatient to know the fate of their favourite hero and subscribe among themselves a small sum to be given to the singer as the price for releasing the favourite hero from what they call his "*band*," *i. e.*, difficulty or danger. It is only when a sum is presented that the singer proceeds further. They say that even on marriage occasions some of the marriage songs treat of the ancient Persians. For example, I was told that one of the marriage songs was a song sung by the mother of Rustam when her son went to Mazinderan to release king Kâus.

It was for the first time that I had heard in Kashmir the following story about Rustam and Ali. I do not know if it is common to other parts of India.

They say that Rustam was resuscitated about 500 years after his death for the following reason. Ali, the favourite of the holy Prophet, had fought very bravely in the war against the infidels. The Prophet complimented him, saying: "You have fought as bravely as Rustam." This remark excited the curiosity of Ali as to who and how strong this Rustam was. To satisfy the curiosity of Ali, but without letting him know about it, the Prophet prayed to God to resuscitate Rustam. God accepted the prayer. Rustam re-appeared on this earth and met Ali once when he was passing through a very narrow defile which could allow only one rider to pass. Rustam bade Ali, Salâm Âlikum. Ali did not return the Âlikum Salâm. Having met in the midst of a narrow defile, it was difficult for any one of them to pass by the side of the other unless one retraced his steps. To solve the difficulty Rustam lifted up the horse of Ali together with the rider by passing his whip under his belly, and taking him over his head placed him on the other side of the defile behind him. This feat of extraordinary strength surprised Ali who on return spoke of it to the Prophet.

After a few days Ali again met Rustam who was sitting on a plain with his horse Rakhash grazing by his side. On seeing Ali he bade him Salâm Âlikum but Ali did not return the salâm. Rustam then requested Ali to bring to him the grain bag of his horse which was lying at some distance. Ali found it immensely heavy to lift up, and it was after an amount of effort that he could carry it to Rustam.

Ali thought to himself what must be the strength of the horse and of the master of the horse if the grain-bag of the horse was so extraordinarily heavy. On going home he narrated to the Prophet what he had seen. The Prophet then explained the matter to him and said that it was Rustam whom he had seen during these two visits, and that God had brought him to life again at his special request. He then reprimanded Ali for his want of respect towards Rustam in not returning his salâms and said that had Ali been sufficiently courteous to Rustam, he would have prayed to God to keep him alive some time longer, and in that case he (Rustam) would have rendered him great help in his battles.

Most of the Cashmiri songs about the ancient Persians refer to Rustam and to King Kâus. I was told by a Pundit that the Sultan of Kathâi near Muzafferabad in Cashmere, traced his descent from King Kâus. We know from Avesta and Pehelvi books that King Kâus was known for his opposition to magicians, fairies, &c. In the Abân Yasht he is represented as praying before Ardviçura on Mount Ereziphya, identified by Bunsen with Mount Seraphi in the country of Holmius between Merv and Herat, for suppressing the power of these evil-minded people. The Pehelvi Beheman Yasht supports this statement. Again, from the Pehelvi manuscript Zarthosht-nâmeh of Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria, we learn that this monarch had sent one سلم Sarita to an abode of the fairies known as "Dair-i-Parikân (پریکان دیر) with an order to destroy that place. Sarita, instead of executing the order of his master, entered into a treaty of peace, whereupon Kâus sent him back with special orders to kill a fairy known as Kalba Karap. Now we still hear in Cashmere, Cashmiri songs and stories wherein Kâus and the fairies play a prominent part. The age of Kâus is even now spoken of as the golden age of Cashmere when boats could move on land. One can say that this is true even now in the case of the Dal Lake, where the movement of the boats in the beautiful waters of the lake, all covered with aquatic flower plants and bushes, gives an appearance of the boats moving as it were on land.

Before concluding this paper, I will refer to a mistake committed by some Parsee writers in mixing up Cashmere (کشمیر) with Kashmar کشمر a place situated according to Ousley[27] near Tarshiz in Khorasan. Firdousi speaks of the foundation of the new religion of Zoroaster in

[27] Ousley's travels in Persia, Vol. I., p. 388.

the reign of Gushtâsp as the planting of a tree in the ground. He says: "It was a tree with many roots and a large number of branches, spreading from the mansion of Gushtasp to the top of his palace. The leaves of that tree were good counsels and the fruit was wisdom. How can one who eats of such fruit (*viz.*, wisdom) die?"[28]

Having thus spoken allegorically of Zoroaster and his new religion, Firdousi says that King Gushtasp, the then King of Persia, planted before the gate of his fire-temple, a noble cypress which Zoroaster had brought from paradise. He calls it the cypress of Kashmir (سرو کشمر), because it was planted in a place called Kashmar. This tree "reminds us," says Ousley[29] "of that extraordinary, triple tree, planted by the Patriarch Abraham and existing until the death of Christ." Mohsan Fani, a native of Cashmere, also speaks of this cypress tree in his Dabistân,[30] and I think it is this Dabistân that has led Parsee writers, like the learned author of the Rehbar-i-Din-i-Zarthoshti[31] into the mistake of taking the Kashmar of Firdousi to be the same as Cashmere. It speaks of the locality at one place as Kashmir or Kashmar[32] and at another place as Kashmir. Again, it speaks of the locality as "a place celebrated for female beauty," and we know that it is from very ancient times that modern Cashmere is celebrated for the beauty of its women. Then, add to this the fact that the author of the Dabistan was himself a native of Cashmere. All these facts seem to have led later Parsee writers to believe that the modern Cashmere was the place where King Gushtasp had planted in the compound of a fire-temple the cypress of Zoroaster, which, from the straightness of its growth and the elegance of its form, was considered to be the symbol of straightforwardness, uprightness and truth. The author of the Dabistan tries to give some intelligent explanation of the tradition which allegorically speaks of the cypress being brought from the paradise. As Firdousi says, King Gushtasp planted the cypress before the fire-temple as a symbol to impress upon the minds of the spectators that as the tree would grow straight and spread all round so he would endeavour to spread the doctrines of truth and straightforwardness taught by the new faith.

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[28] Vuller III., p. 1497.

[29] Travels in Persia, Vol. I., p. 389.

[30] The Dabistan by Shea and Troyer, Vol. I., p. 306-9.

[31] Rehbari-Din-i-Zarthoshti, by Dastur Erachjee Sorabjee Meherji Rana, p. 40.

[32] p. 306.