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AET. I.—A PUNJA OF YELLOW BRASS. *In the Museum of the Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.*—Drawn and described by E. REHATSEK.

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[Read 31st September 1877.]

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The religion of Islám, *i.e.*, of resignation to the will and service of God, is essentially monotheistic in its origin; its leading doctrine is the unity of the Creator, by the side of which all others sink into comparative insignificance. In its original purity it not merely scorned every kind of symbolism, but was vehemently iconoclastic; the majority of the numerous sects into which it has, during the lapse of ages, become split, have, however, not only more or less adopted various kinds of sacred rites and symbols, but have gradually introduced ceremonies, and have commenced to pay to many dead and living holy persons, as well as things, honours which would in former times have been universally repudiated as idolatrous. Such usages are, however, at present more or less tolerated, and even encouraged, by the majority of religious teachers all over the Muḥammadan world, from Constantinople to Calcutta, and from Algiers to China. The inherent vitality of Islám is nevertheless to be ascribed to its chief, grand, old doctrine, namely, the unity of God, and not to the beliefs, ceremonies, and symbols of later times, considered by so many persons to be efficacious incentives to piety and religious zeal.

The Muḥarrem is, of course, the chief occasion on which Punjas are carried about in solemn procession ; certain Faḳirs hold them, however, in their hands on all their errands for alms, and usually bear them aloft on a pole in an erect position, although it can by no means be said that the usage of parading this emblem is very general. Bombay is not a centre of Muḥammadanism, like so many cities in the interior of India ; nevertheless it is perhaps no exaggeration to estimate the total amount of our stationary, migratory, and harbour population professing Islám, in its various forms, at the figure of two lákhs. The bulk of our resident Muḥammadan population consists of Konkánis, Hindwis, Dakhnis, Madrassis, Kutchis, Khojahs, Mehmans, and Borahs ; whilst the migratory part are Sindhis, Belúchis, Afghans, Moghuls, Arabs, Siddhis, a few Turks, Malays, and Ismailis, *i.e.*, Arabs from Hyderabad in the Dekhan. The languages spoken by these people are Hindustani, Dakhni, Guzerati, Kutchi, Beluchi, Pushtu, Persian, Arabic, Kiswaheli, Turkish, and Malay.

Any one who walks the streets of our city must be aware of the existence of a large number of Muḥammadan Faḳirs who beg from door to door, but who become more numerous on festive occasions, and stand in threes or fours before houses, singing religious ditties until they extort a dole of rice or money. The Faḳirs of Bombay belong to many sects, the four principal of which are the Chishti, the Kádiri, the Naḳshbandi, and the Saharwardi ; and every Faḳir adheres to the peculiar doctrines of his Pir, or spiritual guide. Careless persons, especially Europeans, are often unable or unwilling to discriminate between a Hindu or a Musalmán Faḳir, although there is a considerable difference in them to a practised eye. Faḳirs in general carry a staff, a lantern, beads, necklaces, or some symbol, but only a Musalmán Faḳir adopts the Punja for his emblem.

The simplest kind of Punja is made by smearing the hand with henna (*Lawsonia inermis*) and clapping it against a wall. About the time of the Muḥarrem this gory emblem is particularly venerated, and may be seen in various parts of Bombay ; it is also carried in solemn procession when the Tábuṭs are paraded, and is dedicated to the five persons considered most sacred by Musalmáns, but especially by the Shea'hs, namely Muḥammad, his daughter Faṭimah, his son-in-law A'li, with Hasan and Husain, the two most prominent sons of the latter. There are also Faḳirs who carry an expanded hand of this kind, made of brass, on the top of a staff, about the streets throughout the year, when going their begging rounds.

The word Punja is of Persian origin, and is derived from پنج *Punj*, 'five.' The symbol about to be described, although not a regular expanded hand, is nevertheless also called a Punja, and has likewise five prongs, of which the two lateral ones are ornamental heads of dragons. The staff of this Punja is wanting, and, the latter being rather a heavy piece of brass, was no doubt broken off by its weight. The accompanying drawing represents one side of this Punja.

The most prominent and the largest names, partly cut through the brass, are in three lines, namely 'Allah, Muḥammad, A'li'; just above them is the little magic square--

8	2	10
9	7	4
3	11	6

the sum of the three numbers of each column whereof, whether added horizontally or perpendicularly, is always 20. Under the word A'li' the date 1143 [A.D. 1730-31] occurs, which, if it designates the time when the Punja was made, would show it to be nearly a century and a half old.

Just beneath the spot where the three prongs branch out, the figure of an inverted heart occurs; it is inscribed with the names of the four Khalifa, the immediate successors of Muḥammad—namely, Abu Bekr, O'mar, O'thmán, A'li. Under this heart the names of the twelve Emáms are carved in as many ellipses, surrounding the large names Allah, Muḥammad, A'li, already noticed. A'li was the first Emám, and therefore his name again occurs thus:—"Huḍrat Emám A'li Murtaḍa; Emám Ḥasan, Emám Husain; Zain Al-A'ábedin, Emám Muḥammad Báker, Emám Ja'fer Çádek, Emám Músa Kázem, Emám Músa Alreḍa, Emám Muḥammad Taqi, Emám A'li Taqi, Emám Muḥammad A'skari, Emám Muḥammad Mohdi."\* It is generally believed that the last-named Emám may again arrive A.H. 1300

\* More may be seen in my paper on "The Twelve Emáms," *Ind. Ant.* 1876, p. 225 *seqq.* In the same periodical, Vol. VI., p. 79, the Muḥarrem procession is described as held at Kalyán, near Bombay; but on p. 230 an additional symbol besides the Tábur, Punja, &c., is mentioned, namely, the *Nái Síheb*, or *horse-shoe*, carried about on a pole, and paraded with music and dancing, till somebody goes into convulsions, and then they say that the *Nái Síheb* has entered into his body.

(A.D. 1882-3), when Islām will triumph over all other religions, and the world will come to an end. On each of the two curved prongs the *Kalimat*: “No God but Allah, Muḥammad the apostle of Allah,” occurs; but these words are in a reversed position on the left prong, and are to be read backwards. The central (*i.e.* straight) prong contains the word “Huḍrat Khajah Mua’in al-din Chisty: ya Sheikh A’bdul-ḡadir, shai lillah.” These are all names, ‘ya’ is the exclamation ‘O’, and ‘shai lillah’ means ‘something to God’, or, in idiomatic English, ‘Give some alms for God’s sake.’

The other side of the Punja is like the one just described, except that the words Allah, Muḥammad, A’li appear in a reversed form; the magic square already described appears on the right side, and there is another under it, also giving the number 20, but dislocated for want of room, thus:—

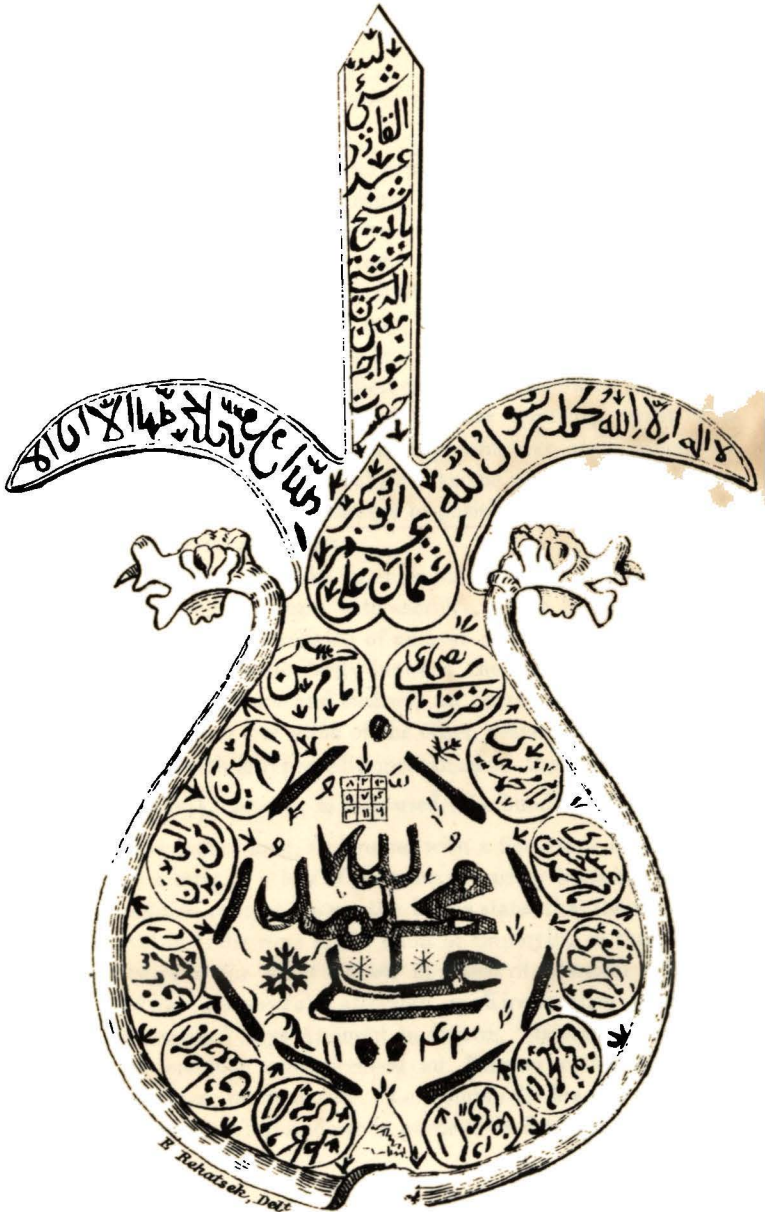
		7	11	2
	9	3	8	
4	6	10		

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A PUNJA OF YELLOW BRASS

in the Museum of the B. B. E. A. S.

(Scale half actual size.)



ART. II.—*Contributions to the Study of Avestaic and Vedic Analogies.*—By J. GEESON DA CUNHA, M.R.C.S.

[Read 9th March 1878.]

Though already numerous are the comparisons instituted and identifications established by Burnouf, Spiegel, Westergaard, Haug, and others between the religious creeds and civil polity of the ancestors of the Pârsis and Hindûs, there are still some points of contact between the two peoples which have not yet been sufficiently investigated, and which may, perhaps, when duly inquired into, throw additional light on the common origin or identity of these two offshoots of the same Âryan stock. With a view to elucidate these points, the following notes have been prepared. They are conceived in that inquiring spirit of a learner which eschews most scrupulously whatever may savour of dogmatism; for, in a speculative subject like the present, one is apt to advance opinions which, in the absence of positive proofs, often assume the tone of magisterial assertions.

With these prefatory remarks we enter on the study of Avestaic and Vedic analogies; and, to begin with sacrifice, which has always been a distinctive feature of the religion of ancient Âryas, we meet, at the onset, with a remarkable similarity between the sacrificial materials of the two nations, the *barsam* and *môhran*, for instance, of the one corresponding to the *kuśa* and *yûpa* of the other, respectively.

The *barsam*, which is repeatedly mentioned in the *Zend-Avesta* as *baresman* (𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀), consists, as now used, of a bundle of silver or brass wires, about five inches long, tied round with a fine chain of the same metal, or with a strip of a leaf of the palm named by botanists *Caryota urens*. A tradition current among the Pârsis states that their ancestors on their arrival in India were in the habit of employing in their liturgy a bundle of twigs of the plant known in Sanskrit classical works as *Udumbara* (*Ficus glomerata*); although in Kirman they used other trees. “*Le Barsom*,” says Anquetil du Perron, “faisceau de branches d’arbres. On employe ordinairement au Kirman celles de granadier, du tamarinier, ou du dattier. Le nombre de branches qui component le *Barsom* est déterminé par la partie de la Liturgie que le Prêtre





it, for dropping the *zaothrá* or holy water in the *havani*, or vessel which contains *haoma* = Sk. 'soma' juice, or any other vessel.

In the Yasna ceremony the *barsam* consists of twenty-three thin pieces, twenty-one being fastened into a bundle and placed in the stand, one kept at the feet of the latter, and the other immersed in a plate holding the *givúm*. In the *Návar* or ordination of priests in connection with the *Darún* ceremony, or offering of cakes to the *Yazds*, or angels, and dead ancestors, seven thick wires are employed, which are held by the sacrificer in his left hand all the time the ceremony lasts, which is, moreover, performed standing. In the ordinary *Darún* ceremony only five thick wires are used.

Now this *barsam* of the Pársis seems to be identical, both in origin and sacrificial import, with the *barhis* of the Hindús. *Barhis*, which in the later literature is generally written *varhis*, is defined by Professor Williams, in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, as "a bed or layer of *kuśa* grass (usually strewed over the sacrificial ground, and especially over the Vedi, to serve as a sacred surface on which to present the oblations, and as a seat for the gods, and for sacrifices)." Prof. Haug, however, maintains, from the circumstance of a bundle of wooden twigs being used and laid on a pair of metallic stands, instead of grass being spread on the floor, that the *barsam* is not identical with the *barhis*.\* But it appears that the bundle of twigs, or pieces of wire as are now employed in Pársi rites, is merely emblematical of the *kuśa* grass, just as bread and wine are among Christians of the flesh and blood of the Saviour. The Hindús themselves appear to have had recourse in their worship to the same symbolical method, for Professor Haug tells us that the Sâma Veda priests required a certain number of wooden sticks of the *udumbara* tree to be placed in a prescribed order when chanting the holy *sûmans* or hymns, and that the sticks were called *kuśa*.† Elsewhere the same writer says:—" *Brahma* is the same word, in every respect, as the *barsma* of the *Zend-Avesta*, the *h* of Sanskrit being changed, according to the phonetic laws of the *Zend* grammar, into a sibilant. This meant a bunch of twigs tied together by a reed, which is used up to the present day by the Pársi priests when performing the *homa* ceremony. The Brâhman use at all their sacrifices a bunch of *kuśa* grass, which is also tied together. They call it *veda* (see *Áśv. Śr.*, S. I. '*vedam patnyái pradaya vachayet*,' i.e., after having handed

\* *Essays, &c.*, Bombay, 1862, p. 240.

† *Ibid.*

over to the wife of the sacrificer that bunch of *kusa* grass which is called *veda* he should make her repeat this *mantra*," &c.)\*

We also meet, in the *Sāma-Veda*, with the following allusion to the *barhis* :—

॥ अम आयाहि वीतये गृणानो हव्यदातये ।  
निहोतासत्सि बर्हिषि ॥ १ ॥ †

The passage is translated thus : "Come, O Agni, to the banquet of him who celebrates thy praise, to forward the offering. Herald (of the gods), sit down on the sacred grass." ‡ Again, in the *Zend-Avesta* we often meet with the expression *barsma frastareta*, or 'with the *barsma* spread,' which bears a close resemblance to the spreading of *kusa* grass on the floor as a seat for the gods, just as the Hindûs did with the *barhis*. All these circumstances then, taken together, lead one to infer that the Avestaic *baresman* is identical with the Vedic *barhis*, or *kusa* grass (*Poa cynosuroides*).

Reference has already been made to a pair of metallic stands. These are called *Mohrans*. It is not found mentioned in the *Zend-Avesta*; possibly the books that mentioned it have been lost, and its present designation is supposed to be of Persian origin, being made up of the two words *ماه* (*mah*) 'moon,' and *روي* *rûe*, 'face,' allusive to the crescent-like shape of the upper part of the instrument. To quote Du Perron once more :—"Le *Mah-rou* (nommée aussi *Asp-gasan*, c'est à dire, *le cheval, le soutien de la parole*). Ce sont deux espèces de chenets destinés à porter le *Barsom* dans certains endroits de la Liturgie. Leur nom vient du croissant par lequel ils sont terminés ; *Mah-rou* signifie *visage de la Lune*, ou, *qui ressemble à la Lune*." Their dimensions are given by the same authority thus :—"Hauteur cinq pouces, cinq lignes ; ouverture des pieds en dehors, trois pouces, six lignes ; diamètre du croissant en dehors, deux pouces, quatre lignes." § They stand on three feet, and a pair of these are commonly used in the Zoroastrian ceremonial.

\* *Aitareya Brahmanam*, Bombay, 1863, Vol. I. (Introd.), p. 4.

† *Prapathaka* I., *Dasati* I., *Rick* I., Prof. Benfey's edition of the *Sāma-Veda*, Leipzig, 1848.

‡ Rev. Dr. Stevenson's translation of the *Sāma-Veda*, Lond., 1842, p. 2. Also see the *Purusha-Sūkta*, v. 7, of the *Rig-Veda*.

§ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 532, 533.

These *mohrans* appear to be more or less remote representatives of the sacrificial posts mentioned in the *Rig-Veda*, as when we are told that Śunaśēpa was "seized and tied at the three posts."\* Now the Vedic expression for 'the three posts' is *trishu drupadeshu*, त्रिषु द्रुपदेषु, which the commentator Sāyaṇāchārya explains as *kūshthasya yūpasya padeshu* (काष्ठस्य यूपस्य पदेषु), 'feet of a wooden post.' Professor Wilson translates the passage thus:—"seized and bound to the three-footed tree," and adds in a footnote "*Trishu drupadeshu. Druh, dr̥vs, a tree, is here said to mean the sacrificial post, a sort of tripod; its specification is consistent with the popular legend.*"† And Professor Langlois translates it as *trois poteaux du bûcher sacré.*"‡

Possibly the three sacrificial posts or three-footed post of the Veda has its analogue in the *mohran* of the Zoroastrians, and in the tripod of the Greeks, seated on which the priestess of Apollo used to deliver oracles. The Pārsīs, however, connect traditionally the three feet of the *mohran* with a legendary three-footed ass, said to be living somewhere in the ocean, and called in Pahlavi *khara talata pai*. They are believed to typify the three principles of *humata, hukhta, and hvaršta*, or 'good thoughts, good words, and good deeds,' the spirit of which trilogy guides the law of Mazdaism.

The use the *mohran* and other sacrificial instruments are put to may be best learnt by a visit to the *Yajashne-khane*, or prayer-rooms attached to each fire-temple, where every sacrificial area is provided with the essential apparatus, and isolated from the adjoining areas by grooves filled with water.

The *mohran* is generally placed by the sacrificer on a *hidhora*, which is a basaltic stone, about two feet square, lying in front of and parallel to the other, which stands a few feet apart and holds the sacred fire vase. There are, besides, four stones of variable sizes—one holding the *kudhi*, or vessel filled with sacrificial materials; two containing chips of sandalwood and frankincense, and such implements as a pair of pincers or tongs for seizing the fuel with which the sacred fire is fed; and lastly the one on which the priest sits, with his face towards the south, which quarter is supposed to be the abode of Abura-Mazda. This facing

\* R. V. I., 24, 13, Prof. Max Müller's edition, Lond., 1849, p. 251, and *Vedārthayātna*, Bombay, 1876, Vol. I., No. IV. p. 226.

† *Rig-veda Saṅhita*, Lond. 1850, Vol. I., p. 63.

‡ *Rig Veda, ou Livre des Hymnes*, Paris, 1848, t. I., p. 41.

southwards may possibly have a remote connection with the practice which obtained among the Romans, who, having conducted to the Capitoline hill the king to be crowned, made him sit on a throne of stone with his face towards the south, while on his left was seated an augur. Both these rites may probably still further be traced to an ancient custom common to all the Aryas.

The practice of exposing the dead among the Pârsis has no parallel among the Hindûs; but an attentive perusal of the *Zend-Avesta* suggests the conclusion that the ancestors of the Pârsis used to bury and burn their dead, before the practice of exposing them to be devoured by vultures came in vogue, just as the Hindûs of the Vedic and proto-Brâhmanic periods did. We learn from the *Rig-Veda*\* that during the Vedic period the dead were not burnt, but buried; and later on, although the hymns of the *Rig-Veda* were recited, the general ceremony had undergone considerable modification, burning being substituted for burial, as evidenced by the *Āsvalâyana Gṛihya Sūtra*.† The practice of burning is now in use, as every one is aware, among the Hindûs, although the members of the Ārya Samâj, who profess to revive Vedism among the votaries of Brâhmanism, appear to have adopted the more or less satisfactory compromise between the injunctions of the *Rig-Veda* and the *Gṛihya Sūtra* by construing as one the burning and burying processes. For they dig a grave, deposit the corpse in it, and then set it on fire, the smouldering ashes being covered over with earth. This is simple enough, and free from the trouble incurred in carrying the ashes, among the rich Hindûs, to the banks of the Ganges at the sacred city of Kâśi or Banâras, to be there committed to its waters.

Passing on to the Pârsis, we find also both interment and cremation mentioned in their scriptures. It is in the *Vendidad* that reference is made to *nasuspaya*‡ (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀), or 'burial of the dead,' and to *nasuspachya*§ (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀), or 'burning of the dead.' But at an unknown period both these practices became obsolete, as the Zoroastrian holy writ enjoins its votaries even to disinter buried corpses and to expose them to the light of the sun.‖ Burning being also prohibited, they were commanded to draw away from the funeral pyre dead bodies

\* R. V. X. 18.

† *Vendidad*, Farg. I., v. 13.

‖ *Ibid.*, Farg. VII., vv. 45 and 51.

† A. G. S. IV.

§ *Ibid.*, Farg. I., v. 17.

though in combustion, and those who were guilty of burning the dead were made amenable to capital punishment.\* Elsewhere they are directed to expose the dead on high places, such as the tops of hills and mountains, that the dogs and birds of prey may see and devour them.† Then rules are laid down as to how to collect the bones of exposed corpses and to preserve them in safety beyond the reach of wild beasts, as well as to protect them from being washed away by rain. In order to effect this, they are instructed to have the places where the mortuary remains of Mazdayasnas are deposited duly walled in, with stone parapets if the deceased persons are rich, or with straw-mat fences if poor.‡ The area thus enclosed by a stone parapet or by mat fences is called in the *Zend-Avesta* *uzdāna* (𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎) (*uzdāna*, *Pahlavicè*, *asto-dan*), or ‘holder of bones,’ closely resembling the charnels or wells dug in every Christian church-yard in some countries for receiving the bones of those whose graves are opened up every two years to make room for new burials.

Again, the existence of the rites of burial among the ancient Persians, before the practice of exposing the dead was adopted and made a religious duty of all Zoroastrians, appears to be further confirmed by the word *dakhma* (𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎), now applied to the so-called ‘Towers of Silence,’ and in the *Zend-Avesta* to tombs or sepulchres.§ That it originally related to the ceremony of cremation seems to be proved by its being traced to the root, which is also found in Sanskrit in the form of दह, and means ‘to burn.’

Then we have several travellers in Persia and adjacent countries whose testimony appears to lend some support to the evidence drawn from the *Zend-Avesta*. They tell us of discoveries of urns containing whole human beings in a decomposed state, which are ascribed to an epoch when Zoroastrianism was flourishing in the country, thus leaving no doubt as to the authenticity of the Avestaic text which alludes to the prevalence of burial among the Persians in days of yore. To quote only a few—

Sir W. Ouseley writes:—“Earthen urns containing the remains of human bodies are said to abound on the plain of *Buskehr*; and persons reside here who, with very little trouble, can indicate the spot where they lie, although buried in sand. . . . . Among the Persians of

\* *Vendidad*, Farg. VIII., vv. 73, 74.

† *Ibid.*, Farg. VI., vv. 44, 45.

‡ *Ibid.*, Farg. VI., vv. 49, 50.

§ *Ibid.*, Farg. VII., v. 51.

remote ages, many bodies were interred not only in a natural and integral state, but defended by the art of embalming against the injuries of time, although it cannot be doubted that the modern *Gabrs* and *Parsis*, in allowing carcases to be lacerated and disjointed by birds or beasts, imitate the example of their Magian forefathers, who (as we learn from classical authority) did not, in general, cover the bones of their dead with earth until they had been denuded of flesh by carnivorous animals.\* Elsewhere he writes:—"To enclose in such receptacles the remains of human beings has not at any time been the practice of Mohammedans. It is equally unknown among the *Gabrs* and *Parsis*, the Fire-worshippers of Persia and India, who at certain periods collect together the bones of all their dead which had been exposed, and cast them promiscuously into a pit. When the Greek historian Procopius wrote (early in the sixth century of our era), the Persians appear to have scrupulously abstained from concealing human bodies by interment, leaving them all for dogs and birds of prey."† Agathias, another historian, and not many years later, says that human bodies were universally consigned to birds and beasts by the Persians, who deemed it unlawful to conceal the dead either underground, or in a case or cover of any description.‡ Yet that sepulchral urns were occasionally used among them is affirmed by Mir Yahiy, in a passage which D'Herbelôt seems to have amplified, according to his French translation, and of which Gaulnois's Latin version does not perfectly correspond to the original text—at least as it appears in my two copies of the *Lubb al Towarikh*—manuscripts not particularly inaccurate. These, having mentioned the sculptures and royal tombs in the mountain of *Istakhr*, inform us that "the graves or sepulchres of those Persian kings who existed before *Islám* (or the introduction of Mohammed's religion) were of three kinds—some bodies being deposited in natural caves, or *dakhmas* contrived in mountains; others between rising grounds, in valleys which were afterwards filled with such a quantity of stones as to become a general level (or, as one copy expresses it, until they found a pile or heap, چنانکه تلي کشتي; and some having been put into urns or jars were preserved in the ground."§

Also Sir R. Ker Porter refers to the existence of tombs in Persepolis

\* *Travels in various Countries of the East, &c.*, Lond., 1819, vol. I., pp. 216, 217.

† *Procop. de Bell. Pers.*, lib. I., c. 12.

‡ *Agath. Hist.*, lib. II., p. 56, Lugd. Bat., 1524.

§ *Travels, ut supra*, pp. 220 *et seq.*

that appear to have belonged to a period not later than the early Persian empire, and quotes in support of the statement the authorities of Diodorus, Ctesias, Quintus Curtius, Heeren, and others.\* Several other travellers, from the presence of these tombs, conclude that the practice of exposing the dead is of a recent date,—that is, after the Muhammadan conquest,—and ascribe it to the fear of interred bodies being disturbed by their persecutors. G. Drouville writes:—“ Les Guèbres portent un grand respect aux morts. Depuis qu'ils sont exposés aux persécutions, ils ne les enterrent plus de crainte que leurs restes ne soient profanés, mais ils les déposent dans des tours ou bâtiments cachés au fond de forêts. Ils en bouchent toutes les issues ; mais n'y mettent point de toiture, n'attachant aucune importance à ce que ces corps deviennent la pâture des oiseaux de proie.”†

The testimony of the Grecian and Roman writers and of travellers is indeed of greater value than that of the *Vendidûd*, a spurious work, written much later than the *Gâthâs*, containing many absurd stories and abounding in contradictions, but which when taken together with the statements of travellers appears to be incontrovertible. Cremation of the dead seems to have been a common practice among all the ancient nations of the globe except the Egyptians, who embalmed their dead. The Romans burnt theirs; and the Greeks, who originally buried their corpses, imitated at a later period the Romans. Also the Aztecs, or ancient Mexicans, resembled the latter in the disposal of their dead, burning their bodies, and carefully collecting the ashes, to be afterwards deposited in their houses.

A point of some interest in connection with the rites of sepulture among the Pârsis is the *sag-dîd*, a word derived from the Persian سگ (*sag*), ‘dog,’ and دید (*dîd*), ‘sight,’ i.e., ‘seeing of a dead body by a dog.’ It is one of the essentials of the Pârsî funeral ceremony, and every *dakhma*, or Pârsî tower of silence, is provided with it ‡ It appears to be sanctioned by the *Zend-Avesta—Fend.*, Farg. VII., v. 3. The conspicuous part played by dogs in the celebration of the rites of sepulture

\* *Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c.*, Lond., 1821, vol. I., pp. 527 et seqq.

† *Voyage en Perse*, Paris, 1825, t. V., p. 195.

‡ On the 20th January last, during my visit to the new *dakhma*, or Tower of Silence, at Navahri, under the guidance of my amiable teacher of Zend and Fahlavi, Mr. Ebdalji Kersheppi Antia, I was shown, among other accompaniments of a Pârsî cemetery, a dog of no bad temperament, and to which great hospitality was shown by the Zoroastrians residing within the premises, where five *dakhmas* are built. It was kept there for the purpose of *sag-dîd*.

among the Pârsis may perhaps be a survival of the ancient custom of giving the dead to dogs, which has prevailed from time immemorial among the peoples of Central Asia. Herodotus (lib. I.), Strabo (lib. XV.), Cicero, and others allude to this custom. Strabo, speaking of Sogdians and Baktrians, says that among the latter a name was given to dogs which means 'burier.' It is further added that Alexander the Great abolished this custom among them. Cicero writes about the Hyrcanians thus:—"In Hyrcania plebs publicos alit canes, optimates, domesticos. Nobile autem genus canum illud scimus esse. Sed pro sua quisque facultate parat, à quibus lanietur: eamque optimam illi esse censent sepulturam."\* Justin says of the Parthians:—"Sepultura vulgò aut avium aut canum laniatus est. Nuda demum ossa terrâ obrunt."† Modern writers and travellers, besides the classic ones, make mention as well of this custom. The Abbé Huc says that the Thibetans of Lhassa practised four kinds of disposal of the dead—burning, immersion in rivers or lakes, exposure on the tops of mountains, and cutting the corpse into pieces and giving the pieces to be eaten by dogs. He writes:—"Quatre espèces differentes de sépulture sont en rigueur dans le Thibet: première est la combustion; la deuxième, l'immersion dans les fleuves et les lacs; la troisième, l'exposition sur le sommet des montagnes; et la quatrième, qui est la plus flatteuse de toutes, consiste à *couper les cadavres par morceau et à les faire manger aux chiens*. Cette dernière méthode est la plus courue."‡ (The italics are mine.)

It is elsewhere added by the same writer that the poor are thus devoured by vagabond dogs of the locality, gaunt and famishing dogs being seen prowling about with this object in the streets of Lhassa, while the rich are given to more distinguished dogs which are kept for that purpose in all lamasseries. This custom has certainly no connection whatever with Buddhism, for it does not prevail among the Himâlayan Buddhists, who, like the Hindûs, burn their dead. After the rite of cremation, water is poured on the ashes, out of which a figure of the dead is made, which is then worshipped, and either thrown into a sacred river or made the foundation of a *chaitya*.

Another missionary, Horace della Penna, a Capuchin friar who visited Lhassa in 1719, says that when a man dies in Thibet a lama removes the hair from the top of the defunct's head for the soul to depart and

\* *Quæst. Tuscul.*, lib. I., 45.

† Lib. XLI., cap. 3. Also Theodoret (*Medela Passionum Græcarum*, Serm. IX.); Procopius et Agathias *ut supra*.

‡ *Souvenirs d'un Voyage dans la Tartarie*, &c., Paris, 1850, vol. II., p. 347.



perform a favourable metempsychosis. Then prayers are said, rites celebrated, and the corpse is divided, by a lama chosen for the purpose, into pieces, which are distributed by him among dogs, the clean-picked bones being carried home, and hung up in the room of the deceased, where hired monks pray and sacrifice for his transmigrated soul. But he mentions exceptions in the case of nobles, who are burned, the king and lamas being burnt with sandalwood.

A recent traveller, Col. Prejevalsky, also alludes to the strange practice he found among the northern Mongolians of giving the dead to dogs. Speaking of a cemetery near Urga, the chief and holy city of northern Mongolia, and the seat of the second archbishopric of Lamaism, he writes: "Here the dead bodies, instead of being interred, are flung to the dogs and birds of prey. An awful impression is produced on the mind by such a place as this, littered with heaps of bones, through which packs of dogs prowl like ghosts to seek their daily repast of human flesh."\* Again he says, "The Mongols expose the bodies of their dead to be devoured by birds and beasts of prey, their lamas deciding in which direction his head should lie. Princes, *gigens* (distinguished citizens), and lamas of importance are interred or burnt after death."†

Thus the testimony of both ancient and modern writers and travellers above adduced points to the existence of the practice from time immemorial of giving the dead to dogs, which having also in times gone by prevailed among the ancestors of the Pârsis, and then—gradually or violently, as the case may be—died out, appears now to survive as a relic in the *sag-dîd* still practised by them.

The dog is a favourite animal of the Pârsis for other reasons than that of the *sag-dîd*. Both the *Vendidad* and the *Dinkard*‡ mention the protection afforded by dogs to cattle and men against wolves.

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\* *Mongolia*, translated by E. D. Morgan, Lond., 1876, vol. I., p. 14.

† *Ibid.*, p. 82. Cf. Teile, *Outlines of the History of Religion*, Lond. 1877, p. 179; and Köppen, *Religion des Buddha*, Vol. II., pp. 322 *et seqq.* Cameron says that in a certain part of Africa the bodies of commoners are thrown into the nearest jungle, to be devoured by beasts of the field and fowls of the air, while the obsequies of a chief are performed by washing his body and placing it in a hollow tree in an upright position until it is decomposed, when it is exposed to the effects of sun, rain, and dew, and the bones, which only remain, are then buried.—*Across Africa*, Lond. 1877, vol. I., p. 120.

‡ *Fargard XIII.*, vv. 39, 40.—The *Dinkard*, edited by Peshotun Dustoor, Bombay, 1876, Vol. II., p. 95.

ART. III.—*A Revised Transcript and Translation of a Châlukya Copper-plate Grant first published in the Journal Bo. Br. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. II., Part 4, with Remarks on the Genealogy and Chronology of the early Kings of the Châlukya Dynasty.* By Prof. R. G. BHÂNDÂRKAR, M.A., Hon. M.R.A.S.

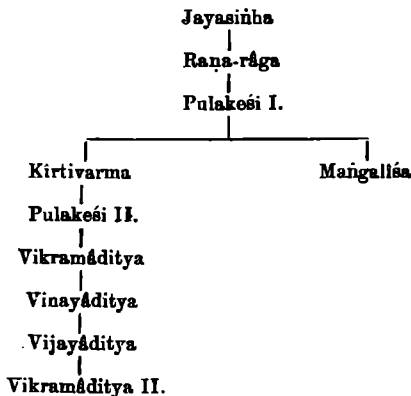
[Read 6th April 1878.]

The copper-plate grant, a transcript and translation of which I have the pleasure to submit to the Society to-day, was procured by Government at the request of Mr. James Burgess, Archæological Surveyor, and was referred to the Society for remarks. The Secretary had the kindness to forward it to me, and as I had been informed that it was a grant of the Châlukya dynasty, in the early history of which there are still so many doubtful points, I took it up with eagerness, hoping by its assistance to clear up some of these; but, on reading it, was disappointed to find that it was identically the same as that translated by Prof. Bâl Gaṅgâdhar Shâstri, and published in the 2nd vol. of the *Journal* of this Society. I have, however, prepared a fresh transliteration, strictly faithful, reproducing even the mistakes of the original, and a translation. But there is no difference of any importance between this and Prof. Bâl Shâstri's. He has in one place read ञ and ञ as ञ. I have replaced the vowels. My translation also varies a little from his, especially in the latter part.

This is all that I need have said on the present occasion; but there are one or two very important points with regard to the chronology of this dynasty, as gathered from inscriptions recently published, which remain doubtful, and which I have been often revolving in my mind with a view to be able to throw light on them. I will, therefore, embrace this opportunity to discuss them. But before I proceed, it will be necessary to summarize the information that we possess about the earlier Châlukya kings.

Sir Walter Elliot was the first antiquarian who, from an examination of certain inscriptions, published a genealogy and a short account of this dynasty, in the 4th volume of the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* Subsequently he gave an amended list in a number of the *Madras Literary Journal*. But facsimiles or transcripts of the inscriptions from which

he derived his information were not published, and when other documents were subsequently discovered, it became a difficult matter to reconcile, in some cases, the information obtained from these with that given by him, and there were some inconsistencies even in the two lists he had published. He had, however, made a large collection of inscriptions, a good many of which he himself had not examined. One copy of the Dakhan series of this collection, he says in a letter addressed to the editor of the *Indian Antiquary*, he forwarded at the time to the Bombay Literary Society; but it is not forthcoming. Another he presented to the Literary Society of Madras, a third to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and a fourth he reserved for his own use. This last was subsequently presented to the Library of the Edinburgh University, and now it is in the hands of Mr. Fleet, who has been publishing several important inscriptions from it in the *Indian Antiquary*. In the mean time, a photograph of a valuable inscription of this dynasty from Iwulli or Aihole was published in the volume issued by the Committee of Architectural Antiquities in Western India; and another, in the cave at Badâmi, was discovered and published by Mr. Burgess. From these materials, and from the grants published by Sir LeGrand Jacob in the 3rd volume of the *Journal* of this Society, the following genealogy of the early Châlukya kings may be deduced, which to my mind is entirely satisfactory:—



The names of the first six kings are given in the Aihole inscription composed by a Jain of the name of Ravikîrti. One of them, Maṅgalîśa, is not mentioned in the grants executed by subsequent kings, and the reason is obvious, for the object was to give the pedigree of the grantor,

and not the names of all the kings that reigned before him. The inscription at Badâmî, however, was engraved at the orders of that king, and his having occupied the throne is alluded to in the subsequent grants, including the one before the Society to-day, where it is said that Pulakeśi II., by his power, got back his own kingdom and subjugated those of other kings. Maṅgalīśa, as is evident from Ravikīrti's inscription, intended to transmit the sovereignty to his own son, passing over Pulakeśi, but the latter baffled his endeavours. This Pulakeśi is represented, in almost all the grants in which his name is mentioned, to have defeated Harshavardhana, the paramount sovereign of northern India. Hwan Thsang, the Chinese pilgrim, visited India in the time of Harshavardhana. The Pulakeśi, therefore, whom he met in Mahārāshṭra must have been this same king, *i.e.*, Pulakeśi II.

The genealogy given above agrees with Sir Walter Elliot's first list. But between Pulakeśi II. and Vikramāditya he inserts two names—Amara and Âditya-Varmâ. Since in most of the plates Vikramāditya is styled the beloved son of Pulakeśi, and in one of Sir LeGrand Jacob's grants, his eldest brother is named Indrâditya, and in another, Chandrâditya, it follows that Pulakeśi made Vikramāditya, though a younger son, his successor, and probably appointed the others to rule over other provinces. These may be the Amara and Âditya-varmâ of Sir Walter Elliot. The names of these two princes, somewhat disguised, occur also in the Miraj inscription published by Mr. Wathen.\* But the statement that Amara was Pulakeśi's son, Âdityavarma, Amara's, and Vikramâditya, Âdityavarmâ's, must be rejected as occurring in a grant executed about four centuries after they flourished, in favour of that made in a great many contemporary plates.

In the time of Pulakeśi II., Viṣṇuvardhana, his younger brother, founded the Eastern branch of the dynasty, which ruled over Tailaṅga. Another younger brother is the Jayasiṅha of our plate, whose son Nâgavardhana was the grantor of the village conveyed by it. These are called simple râjas, or chiefs, and appear to have been appointed to rule over some petty provinces, and were distinct from the princes of the Eastern line. This last point is indicated by the fact that the seal of the former, attached to the grant before us, bears the expression श्रीजयाश्रय engraved on it, probably after the name of Jayasiṅha the first prince; while that of the latter, as found in their grants, has the

\* *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, Vols. II. and III.

words श्रीविश्वमसिद्धिः.\* This was one of the titles of Vishnuvardhana. In Prof. Bâl Shâstri's first plate this epithet is used before the name of Vishnuvardhana,† whence it appears that this prince was identical with the founder of the Eastern line. The device on the seals of these two branches is the same, viz. a crescent on the top, and the sun below. The kings mentioned in Prof. Dowson's plate‡ also do not appear to have belonged to the main line. This grant seems to me, from the style, which is so different from that of the other Châlukya plates, and from the omission of the name of the era, which is always given in these latter, to have been forged by somebody in Gujarât, where it was found. No other grant of the early Châlukyas has, to my knowledge, yet been discovered in that province; and in the two points I have mentioned, Prof. Dowson's plate resembles those of the Valabhî and Gurjara kings.

Some of the dates§ given by Sir Walter Elliot are hopelessly inconsistent with those we find in the published grants. Until the originals in which they occur are published, no attempt can be made to reconcile them. But if those occurring in the documents now rendered available to all inquirers do not conflict with each other, we may rely on their perfect truthfulness. One important inscription, however, that of Ravikîrti at Aihole, gives a date which is inconsistent with that found in the grant of the Great Pulakeśi. This latter was executed in Śaka 534, which is represented as the third year of his reign, so that Pulakeśi came to the throne, after his uncle Maṅgaliśa, in 532 Śaka, corresponding to 610 A. D. But Ravikîrti represents him to have been reigning, after having conquered all his enemies and defeated the paramount sovereign of the North, in Śaka 506, corresponding to 586 A. D. The date in the grant appears more probable, since from the account of the Chinese traveller it is clear that the defeat of Harshavardhana must have taken place between the years 618 and 627 A. D. Under these circumstances Dr. Fergusson, as a zealous student of Indian antiquities, and carrying with him the sympathies of all fellow-labourers in the field, feels sorely disappointed with these inscriptions, and in a letter addressed to the editor of the *Indian Antiquary*, dated 30th January 1873, asks the learned readers of that journal

\* Burnell's *South-Ind. Pal.*, Pl. A, p. 75.

† *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.*, Vol. II., p. 11.

‡ *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I., N. S.

§ So also is the date 411 Śaka of Pulakeśi I. occurring in an inscription published by Mr. Wathen in *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. V., p. 345.

“whether they can offer any solution of this difficulty, or whether, on the contrary, we must be prepared to meet with such falsifications again in other places.”

Mr. Fleet, in March 1877, attempts an explanation. He thinks that the Eastern and Western branches of the dynasty separated in Śaka 533, and that Pulakeśi was crowned again; and hence the statement in the grant that Śaka 534, or, according to Mr. Fleet's way of taking it, 535, was the third year of his reign—*i.e.*, Pulakeśi was actually reigning in Śaka 506, as we are told by Ravikīrti, but that he was crowned again in Śaka 533. The separation of the two families could certainly be no sufficient ground for crowning him again, and for neglecting the first years of his reign; and this explanation leaves out of consideration altogether the disagreement of this date with that gathered from the Chinese writer, for Pulakeśi could not, according to the statements of these, have defeated Harshavardhana before 506 Śaka, or 584 A.D.

Again, Ravikīrti gives two other dates as corresponding to his 506 Śaka, viz., 3550 of the Kaliyuga, and 3730 of the era of the war of the Mahābhārata. Now the Śaka era began in Kali 3179, which being subtracted from 3550 of the inscription gives 371 as the Śaka year corresponding to Kali 3550, so that if the Kali era from which Ravikīrti calculated is the same as ours he is perfectly inconsistent with himself.

Dr. Bühler removes this inconsistency by referring the date 507\* (506 + 1) to the era of Vikrama, for by subtracting 3044, which is the number of Kali years that had elapsed before the era began, from 3551 (3550 + 1), we get 507.† “It seems evident” to him that the writer has referred his real Vikrama date to the Śaka era, either intentionally or inadvertently. *Inadvertently*, it is hard to believe, since instead of the ordinary expression he uses the words *ज्ञानामपि भुजाम्* in order that they may fit in with his metre, and it must have cost him some conscious effort to devise them. He must, therefore, have done so intentionally. But what could have been his motive? None, that I can see. Besides, as Dr. Bühler himself tells us, the Vikrama era is not used in the Chālukya records, and, I may add, it was never known in the South. But, with all this, the explanation only increases the

\* Since in giving the date as referred to an era, the writers of these documents use an expression which signifies “having elapsed,” Dr. Bühler and Mr. Fleet think the year next following to be the year that was current when the document was written, and so add one to the given date.

† *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V., p. 152.

difficulties we have been considering. It places Pulakeśi earlier than the date given in his grant by, not 26 years as before, but by 26 + 135, the latter being the number of years by which the Vikrama is earlier than the Śaka, and necessitates the supposition that the Harshavardhana, the paramount sovereign of the North defeated by him, was not the one usually known by that name, but another, and that the Pulakeśi seen by Hwan Thsang, and represented even by him as invincible to Harshavardhana, was also another prince. But no other paramount sovereign of the North bearing the name and living before the seventh century has yet been discovered; nor do we know of a Pulakeśi living in that century that was not the son of Kīrtivarma, and the nephew and successor of Maṅgaliśa. In other words, there was no Harshavardhana for Dr. Bühler's Pulakeśi of the fifth century to defeat; nor a Pulakeśi to be the invincible rival of the Harshavardhana of the seventh, if the son of Kīrtivarma is placed two centuries earlier. The dates in the grants of all subsequent kings of both the branches of the Chālukya family, which at present harmonize with that actually found in Pulakeśi's copper plate will have, under Dr. Bühler's explanation, similarly, to be made earlier by 135 years. The fact, however, is that the agreement between the account given by Hwan Thsang and the statements and dates we find in the Chālukya plates is so complete that it is impossible to doubt that the later Pulakeśi, mentioned by Ravikirti, and in the grants, was really the invincible foe of Hwan Thsang's Harshavardhana, and must have lived in the seventh century.

Under these circumstances let us see whether we cannot arrive at such an interpretation of the verses in Ravikirti's inscription as will remove all the discrepancies we have been noticing. They are as follow :—

त्रिंशत्सु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारतादाहवादितः । समान्दशतयुक्तेषु शतैस्त्वन्देषु पञ्चसु ॥  
पञ्चाशत्सु कलौ काले षट् पञ्चशतासु च । समासु समतीतासु शकानामपि भूषणाम् ॥

Before proceeding, it must be observed that the eras of the war of the Bhârata and of the Kaliyuga are not two different eras. The Kaliyuga era, when referred to the legendary history of the country, becomes the era of the Bhârata war, since this, according to all authorities, took place at the end of the Dvâpâra and the beginning of the Kaliyuga. Similarly, when referred to the most prominent person in the story, the king who after having crushed all his enemies reigned supreme, it becomes the era of Yudhishtîra. That the era of Yudhishtîra

thira is the same as that of the Kaliyuga appears clear from the statements in the ordinary Hindu *Panchānga* or almanac. "In the Kali age there are six founders of eras. First, there was Yudhishtira in Indraprastha, whose era lasted for 3,044 years; the second was Vikrama, (who flourished) at Ujjayinī, whose era had a run of 135 years; the third was Śālivāhana at Pratishtāna, whose era is to last for 18,000 years."\* Now, whatever the number of years for which the Śālivāhana era, as the Śaka era is called in modern times, will last, it is certain that it has lasted for 1799 years, and the 1800th year has commenced. Adding 3,044, 135, and 1,800, we get 4,979, which is exactly the present Kali year given in the *Panchānga*. So that if the era of Yudhishtira had continued to be used, the present would have been its 4979th year, as it is of the Kali. The two eras, therefore, are one and the same. Now, the manner in which dates are given in these inscriptions is "so many years of or after so and so having elapsed," which is expressed by using the locative absolute of the numeral, of a word denoting "year," and of a participle signifying "lapse." The following are the words occurring in the *ślokas* :—

30, 3,000, from the Bhārata war to this, together with 700 years, hundreds, years, 5.

50, in the Kali age, 6, and 500, years of the Śaka kings having elapsed.

Now Dr. Bhāu Dāji and Mr. Fleet take the first 30, 3,000, and 700 together, and form 3,730 from the war of the Bhārata. Out of the next three numerals, *i.e.*, 5, hundreds, and 50, by taking 5 to agree with hundreds, we have 550. This they tack on to "in the Kali age;" but since this is too small a period for that era, 3,000, which has already been construed with the preceding, is here repeated, and the whole is made 3,550. We have now 6 and 500 left, and this is assigned to the Śaka. Now the objections to this interpretation are :— First, that the Kali and Bhārata eras are not different. Secondly, that this repetition of 3,000, after it has once been construed, is altogether arbitrary,—why not repeat the hundreds also? Thirdly, that while you have the word *samatītasu* "having elapsed," to qualify the feminine substantive *samāsu* "year," in the case of the Śaka, you have no such word before to agree with the substantive *abdeshu*, and the feminine *samatītasu* cannot be brought back, as *abda* is either masculine or neuter. Now, I think that the word *śateshu* "hundreds," which we have before *abdeshu* "years," ought to be *gateshu* "having elapsed," and then it

\* Ganpat Kṛishṇāji's *Panchānga* for Śaka 1800, p. 2.



will qualify *abdeshu*, as *atításu* does *samásu*. What constitutes the difference between the ऋ *śa* and ण *ga* of the cave characters is that the former has a small stroke in the interior of its semi-ellipse, while the latter has none. Now, it is quite possible that the engraver should have easily committed the mistake of putting in a stroke where it was not wanted, especially since the letter with the stroke he had to engrave just four letters before. And several such mistakes do occur in this inscription. My interpretation, therefore, is this:—

“30, 3,000, together with 700, 5 (*i.e.*, 3,735) years having elapsed since the war of the Bhârata.” Here the first verse ends. “In the Kali age, 50, 6, and 500 (*i.e.*, 556) years of the Śaka kings also having elapsed.” This is the sense of the second verse. The words *in the Kali age* may be connected with both, and the expression does not indicate a particular era, but a certain period in the existence of the world. It is used here in the same way in which, when we begin our religious ceremonies, we use it in mentioning the day of the month and year.

We thus obtain two dates from this inscription, the Bhârata date, which is the same as the Kali date, 3,735, and the Śaka date 556. Now, subtracting the Kali and Śaka equation (3,179, p.20) from 3,735, we have 556 as the Śaka corresponding to that Kali date: *i.e.*, the 3735th year of the Kali was the 556th of the Śaka. Thus Ravikîrti's inconsistency is removed. Again, instead of 506 Śaka for Pulakeśi, we get 556 Śaka or 634 A.D., which perfectly harmonizes with his having begun to reign in Śaka 532, or 610 A.D., and with the date of his defeat of Harshavardhana, which took place between 618 and 627 A.D., since Ravikîrti speaks in 634 A.D. of Pulakeśi having done so before he wrote.

There is another date which does not harmonize with the rest. In the Badâmi inscription of Maṅgalîśa, the 501st year of the Śaka era is mentioned as the tenth of his reign, so that his brother Kîrtivarma, whom he succeeded, must have died in 488 Śaka, or 566 A.D. Now, since Pulakeśi, his son, had two younger brothers, he must have been, when his father died, at least five years old, so that when Hwan Thsang saw him, in about 639 A.D., he must have been at least 78 years old. A man verging on 80 can hardly be a man of vigour, as Pulakeśi was when the Chinese pilgrim saw him. As to this, it must be borne in mind that the grantor of land is not necessarily in every case the reigning sovereign. The Nâgavardhana of our plate, for instance, did not belong to the reigning line of the Châlukya princes, and we have seen that of the grants published by Sir LeGrand Jacob, two were made by the wife of

Vikramāditya's elder brother. There is nothing in the inscription at Badāmi to show that Maṅgalīśa, who dedicates the cave-temple to Viṣṇu, and assigns a village for the support of sixteen Brāhmaṇs and of recluses, was reigning *at the time*. On the contrary, from the manner in which he resigns all the religious merit arising from the act, in favour of his elder brother Kirtivarma, who is represented as powerful enough to protect the whole earth, calls upon the gods Āditya and Agni and the assembled crowd of men to witness this act, as if to show his sincerity, and to disarm the jealousy that might arise in the mind of his brother and that of other persons, and claims for himself only the fruit resulting from serving his brother faithfully, it appears to me pretty clear that he was not. Dedications for the benefit of departed souls were not made in such a manner, the usual formula being "for the increase of the religious merit of such and such a one," as will be seen even from the grant before us. Maṅgalīśa was probably his brother's general or lieutenant, and thus characterizes his act as a piece of obedient service. The twelfth year of the reign of some prince, therefore, in which the cave-temple was consecrated, must have been the twelfth year of Kirtivarma's reign. If so, the latter, and not Maṅgalīśa, came to the throne in Śaka 488, or A.D. 566. And now we are enabled to explain the dates given in Mr. Telang's plates,\* which otherwise are altogether unintelligible. Ravikirti expressly states that Maṅgalīśa became king after the death of his brother, and that he conquered the Revatidvīpa. Mr. Telang's grant was made in 532 Śaka and the twentieth year of some reign, by the governor of four districts, who was stationed in Vijaya-Revatīdvīpa, and acted under the orders of Prithivī-Vallabha Mahārāja. This date is so near to the time of the conqueror of Revatīdvīpa that the island may very reasonably be regarded as being subject to the Chālukyas at the time. And that it was so is proved by the Chālukya title, Prithivī-Vallabha-Mahārāja, of the sovereign to whom the grantor owed allegiance. Kirtivarma could not be this Chālukya prince, for the island was not conquered in his time. Neither could he be Pulakeśi, for Śaka 532 was not the twentieth year of his reign, but the first or the next before the first, if we adopt the interpretation alluded to in a previous foot-note. He must then have been Maṅgalīśa. But Śaka 532 could not have been the twentieth year of his reign, if, according to the received way of understanding the date in the Badāmi

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\* *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. X., pp. 365-6.

inscription, his accession took place in 488 Śaka. While if we take this to be the initial date of Kirtivarma's reign, all that it is necessary for us to understand, to render the whole consistent, is that Kirtivarma died in 512 Śaka, or 590 A.D., after a reign of 24 years, and his brother succeeded him. Pulakeśi was crowned in 532 Śaka (610 A.D.), or in 533 Śaka (611 A.D.), wherefore Maṅgaliśa reigned for just twenty years, and Mr. Telang's grant was made in the last year of his reign. In this manner, when Hwan Thsang saw Pulakeśi in 639 A.D., 49 years must have elapsed since his father's death, and not 73, as according to the other view of Maṅgaliśa's date it is necessary to suppose. And if his age at the time was five years, he was 54 years old when the Chinese pilgrim saw him, and not 78, and may thus have appeared to him to be a man of vigour.

The other dates do not present such inconsistencies, and may be accepted as true. We thus arrive at the following chronology :—

Kirtivarma, 566 A.D. to 590 A.D. (Śaka 488-512), reigned for 24 years (according to the Badāmi inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. III., p. 305, and Mr. Telang's grant, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. X., p. 365).

Maṅgaliśa, 590 A.D. to 610 A.D. (Śaka 512-532), reigned for 20 years (Mr. Telang's grant, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI., p. 72).

Pulakeśi II. began to reign in 610 A.D. (Śaka 532—*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI., p. 72) ; was on the throne in 634 A.D. (Śaka 556—Ravikīrti's inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V., p. 70) ; was seen by Hwan Thsang in 638-9 A.D.

Vikramāditya died in 679 A.D. (Śaka 601—*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI., p. 86).

Vinayāditya began to reign in 679 A.D. (601 Śaka—*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI., p. 86) ; was reigning in 691 A.D. (Śaka 613—*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI., p. 89), and in 694 A.D. (Śaka 616—*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI., p. 92) ; died in 695 A.D. (Śaka 617—*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. III., p. 203), after a reign of 16 years.

Vijayāditya began to reign in 695 A.D. (Śaka 617), and was reigning in 705 A.D. (Śaka 627—*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. III., p. 203) ; died in 733 A.D. (Śaka 655—*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII., p. 107), after a reign of 38 years.

Vikramāditya II. began to reign in 733 A.D. (Śāka 655),  
and was on the throne in 734 (Śāka 656—*Ind. Ant.*,  
Vol. VII., p. 107).

- १ ॐ स्वस्ति जवत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षोभितार्णव । दक्षिणोन्नत-
- २ दंष्ट्राग्रविश्रान्तभुवनं वपुः ॥ श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमा-
- ३ नव्यसगोत्राणां हारीतीपुत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभिः सप्तमातृभि-
- ४ रभिवर्धितानां कार्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणावासकल्याणपरंपराणां
- ५ भगवन्मारायणप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षण-
- ६ क्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां चालुक्यानां कुलमलंकरिष्णोर-
- ७ श्वमेधावभृयस्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य सत्याश्रयश्रीकीर्त्तिवर्म-
- ८ राजस्यात्मजोनेकनरपतिशतमकुटतटक्रोडिघृष्टचरणारवि-
- ९ न्दो मेरुमलयमन्दरसमानधैर्य्योहरहरभिवर्धमानवरकरिर-
- १० यतुरगपदातिबलो मनोजवैककंठचित्राख्यः प्रवरतुरंग-
- ११ मेणोपार्जितस्वराज्यविजितचेरचोलपाण्ड्यक्रमागतराज्यत्र-
- १२ यः श्रीमदुत्तरापथाधिपतिश्रीहर्ष-
- १३ पराजयोपलब्धापरनामधेयः श्रीनागवर्धनपादानु-
- १४ ध्यातपरममाहेश्वरः श्रीपुलकेशिवल्लभः तस्यानुजो भ्राता विजिता-
- १५ रिसकलपक्षो धराश्रयः श्रीजयसिद्धवर्मराजस्तस्य सूनुस्तृभुवना-
- १६ श्रयश्रीनागवर्धनराजः सर्वानेवागाभिवर्त्तमानभविष्यांश्च नरप-
- १७ तीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथास्माभिर्गोपराष्ट्रविषयांत-
- १८ पातिबलेग्राम सोद्रङ्गः सपरिकर अचाटभटप्रवेश्य आचंद्रार्काणव-
- १९ क्षितिस्थितिसमकालीन मातापित्रोरुद्दिश्यात्मनश्चविपुलपुण्ययशोभि-
- २० वृध्यर्थं बलाम्मठकुरविज्जाप्तिकया कापालेश्वरस्य गुग्गुलपूजानिमित्त-
- २१ तनिवासिमहाव्रतिभ्य उपभोगाय सलिलपूर्व्वकं प्रतिपादितस्तदस्म-
- द्वंशै-
- २२ रन्यैर्व्वीगामिनृपतिभि शरदभ्रचंचलं जीवितमाकलय्यायमस्मद्दायोनु-
- मंतव्य
- २३ प्रतिपालभितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं भगवता व्यासेन बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राज-
- २४ भिस्सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तदा फलमिति ।
- २५ स्तदन्तां परदन्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां षष्टि वरिवसहस्राणि विष्टायं
- जायते कृमिः ॥

*Translation.*

## Welfare.

Victorious is Vishṇu, manifested in the form of a boar, who agitated the ocean, and on the tip of whose uplifted tusk rested the earth. The son of the prosperous king Kīrttivarma, the stay of truth, whose body was purified by the closing ablutions of the Aśvamedha sacrifice, and who was the ornament of the race of the Chālukyas—who are prosperous; belong to the *gotra* of Manu, which is praised by the whole world; are the sons of Hārītī; are bred up by the seven goddesses of the world, resembling seven mothers; have obtained a succession of blessings through the protection of Kārttikeya, to whom all kings become subject immediately they see the Boar standard, obtained by the favour of the divine Nārāyaṇa;—was the great devotee of Maheśvara, the prosperous Pulakeśivallabha, whose lotus-like feet were subject to the friction of the borders of the crowns of many hundred kings, whose firmness was as great as that of the Meru, the Malaya, and the Mandara; whose forces consisting of excellent elephants, chariots, horses, and foot-soldiers were daily increasing; who won back his own dominions and conquered the three old kingdoms of Chera, Chola, and Pāṇḍya, by [seated on the back of] the one excellent horse named Kaṇṭha-Chitra, whose speed was as great as that of the mind; who obtained a new title by defeating Śrī-Harsha, the lord of the northern country; and who meditated on the feet of Nāgavardhana. His younger brother was the prosperous king Jayasiṅhavarma, who conquered all the allies of his enemies, and was the support of the world. His son, the prosperous king Nāgavardhana, the stay of the three worlds, informs all coming, present, and future kings:—“Be it known to you that we have, by pouring water, granted, at the request of Bālama Ṭhakkura, for the worship of Kāpāleśvara by offerings of Guggula, and for the benefit of the great ascetics residing there (in the temple), with a view to the increase of the religious merit and fame of our mother, father, and of ourselves, [the village of] Balegrāma, situated in the district of Goparāshtra, with the things growing on it, and with appurtenances, not to be entered on (interfered with) by officers and soldiers, and [the gift] to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, and the earth endure. Therefore, future kings, whether of our race or others, bearing in mind that life is as transient as the autumnal clouds, should respect this our gift, and continue it. The revered Vyāsa has

said, "Many kings, such as Sagara and others, have enjoyed the earth, but the fruit is reaped only by him who owns it, and at the time when he owns it. He who takes away the land given by himself or others lives as a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years.'

ART. IV.—*Early Moslem Accounts of the Hindu Religion.*  
By E. REHATSEK.

[Read 6th April 1878.]

The Arabs sailed in very early times not only to India, but even as far as China, for the purpose of trading ; Preliminary Historical and Geographical remarks. their warlike expeditions, however, to this country began only after the promulgation of Islám. Not less than three expeditions to India appear to have taken place at short intervals during the khalifate of O'mar, A.H. 16 (A.D. 637), but their military forces were not great. The first started from O'man, and the second from Bahrayin ; the former effected a landing at Tannah, not far from Bombay, the latter at Broach, and a third expedition proceeded to the mouth of the Indus. A'bdullah B. A'bdullah invaded Mekrán during the last year of the just-mentioned khalif's reign, A.H. 23 (A.D. 643-4), by land, to repel an invasion of the king of Sind, whom he had defeated before, and whose country he would have invaded, had not the khalif prohibited him from doing so, in a letter the text of which begins, according to Tabari as follows :—"Do not cross the boundaries of Mekrán ; you have nothing to do with Sind," &c.<sup>1</sup> This letter was despatched in consequence of the following information given to O'mar by the messenger who had brought him the news of A'bdullah's victory over the king of Sind :—"Commander of the Faithful ! It is a country of which the mountains are mountains indeed, and the plains of which are real mountains ; it is a country with so little water that its dates are the worst of dates, and the inhabitants the most warlike of men. If thou hadst a more numerous army there, it would be annihilated, and could do nothing ; and if thy army is considerable it will perish of hunger, because there are no victuals ; the country beyond it is still worse." Reinaud<sup>2</sup> mentions that the Khalif O'thmán had sent an Arab to explore on the side of Khorásán, of Sejestán, and of Mekrán, the Indus valley, and the adjacent countries ; but this Arab seems so have been so impressed by the aridity which prevails in a portion of these vast regions that

<sup>1</sup> See my "Subjugation of Persia by the Moslems", *Jour. Do. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XI., p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> *Fragments Arabes and Persans*, &c., p. xx.

all further ideas of conquest were abandoned, the more so as the subjugation of Persia had taken place, and afterwards internecine struggles among the Arabs prevented them from invading remote countries. The spirit of conquest revived, however, as soon as the celebrated Ḥejáj, governor of the two E'ráks, had obtained permission from the khalif Valyd, the son and successor of A'bdul-malek, to make an invasion of India. Accordingly Muḥammad Harún was sent to Mekrán A.H. 86 (A.D. 705), but the subjugation of the Indus valley began only A.H. 93 (A.D. 711-12), when Muḥammad B. Kásem, a cousin of Ḥejáj, embarked in Shyráz and arrived with six thousand Arabs at Daybál, which he attacked and took.<sup>3</sup> According to Gildemeister, Daybál is a corrupted form of *Devala*, a divine abode or temple, whilst Reinaud was of opinion that it is the present Karachi, and Ferishta that it is Thatha. The account of Ferishta of the taking of Daybál is too well known to be inserted in this place, but the description of the temple by Beladory, who wrote several centuries earlier, is as follows:—"At Daybál there was a large Bodd surmounted by a tall mast, upon which there was a red flag, which, when the wind blew, floated over the town. The Bodd is said to be a great minaret, containing one or several idols; the idol is placed in the minaret itself. The Hindus give in general the name of Bodd to everything constituting a part of their religion, or an object of their veneration. Also an idol is called a Bodd." This passage indicates, according to Reinaud<sup>4</sup>, a Buddhist temple, but may also apply to a *stúpa*, a kind of tower often connected with temples. The flagstaff or mast just mentioned having been struck down by means of projectiles shot from an engine called *a'rusek* عروسك by Beladory, the town soon fell into the hands of the Arabs; and the reason for aiming at this flagstaff is by Ferishta stated to be the fact that the top of it contained the talisman, the fall whereof would immediately cause the subjugation of the place.

The description of Daybál by Edrisi<sup>5</sup>, which his translator writes Dibál, is as follows:—"The town of Dibál ديبال is very populous, although its soil is but little fertile, and produces scarcely any other

<sup>3</sup> Ferishta, Bombay Govt. ed., Vol. II., pp. ۶۰۴ seq.; but Abulfeda mentions in general terms that Muḥammad B. Kásem had conquered India A.H. 86 (A.D. 705), p. 426 *infra*: بلاد الهند و فتح محمد بن القاسم الثقفي

<sup>4</sup> *Mém. Géogr.*, &c., p. 177.

<sup>5</sup> Transl. A. Jaubert, p. 161.



except date trees. The mountains there are arid, and the plains barren. The houses are built of earth and of wood, but the country is inhabited only because it is a station for ships from Sind, and others. Commerce in a great variety of articles is carried on with much intelligence. Ships loaded with the produce of O'mán, as well as vessels from China and India, come to Dibál. They bring cloth and other articles from China, as also perfumes and aromatic substances from India. The inhabitants (of Dibál), who are usually very rich, purchase these goods by wholesale, and keep them till the departure of the ships, when they begin to be scarce. Then they sell them, trade in the country, and lay out their capital on interest, or use it as they think best. Between the mouth of the great Mehrán *مهران الكبير* (the Indus)<sup>6</sup> and Dibál six miles are counted turning to the west. Nirún is midway between Dibál and the victorious Mançúrah *منصوره*. It is there that persons going from the one town to the other cross the river." According to Reinaud (*Mém. Géogr.*, &c., p. 239), the town of Byrún was situate nearly midway between Daybál and Mançúrah, but somewhat nearer to the latter. It was on the western bank of the Indus. Opposite to Byrún on the other side of the river, Manhatery, the place through which persons going from Mançúrah to Daybál passed, was situated. Al-Eç-takhry<sup>7</sup> who wrote in the tenth century, informs us that Mançúrah was in his time a mile in length and in breadth, and surrounded by a canal flowing from the river Mehrán; the inhabitants were Moslems, and dressed like the people of E'rák.

After taking Daybál, Muḥammad B. Kássem marched along the western bank of the river and conquered Dáher, whose forces amounted, according to Ferishta, to 50,000 cavalry, composed of Rajpúts, Sindis, and Multánis; then he crossed the river and took the fortress which Albyrúny and Ferishta call Brahmanábád, whilst others assert that its true name was Bahmanábád, an old city said to have been founded by Bahman, the son of Gushtasp, when the Indus valley was a Persian province. This ancient city began to decay very quickly after the foundation of Mançúrah, where the Arab Amyrs took up their residence. Afterwards authors even confounded the two places with each other, and the changing bed of the Indus has made it a very difficult matter to as-

<sup>6</sup> Edrisi wrote in the 12th century, and Abulfeda, born A.H. 672 (A.D. 1273), in his *Geography*, also calls the river Indus sometimes *Mehrán*, but sometimes also *the river Sind*.

<sup>7</sup> Trausl. A. D. Mordtmann, p. 83.

certain the site of either. Captain MacMurdo has, however, discovered the ancient Bahmanábád in the ruins of a place called Bahmanava, on the east bank of the river, to the north-east of the place where the delta begins.<sup>9</sup> On that occasion Muḥammad B. Kásem took also Alor or Aror, on the east bank of the Indus, a few leagues from Bakker. Before the Arab invasion Alor had, according to Ebn Haukal, occupied the same rank as capital of the kingdom with Bahmanábád, and equalled Multán in size. It was a commercial place of some importance, and enclosed by a double wall.

Then Muḥammad B. Kásem continued his march, and was joined by many thousands of Jáths,—an account of whom, according to Moslem authors, will be given in the next paragraph,—and other Hindus, who are said to have been so dazzled by the prowess of the Arabs that they adopted Arab names, and, being converted to their religion, aided them in their conquests. With these hordes Muḥammad reached Multán, which he actually took, according to Ferishta, who, unwarrantably, also asserts that he destroyed Hindu temples and built mosques. His intention was not only to conquer the kingdom of Kanoj, but even China; his hopes were, however, blasted by the death of Hejáj, who had sent him to India, and by that of the khalif Valyd, which followed soon after it. He was recalled (A.D. 715), and left this country, and Ferishta states that from his departure till the invasions of Muḥammad the Ghaznavide no accounts whatever exist about the governments of Sind and Multán, where the last-mentioned conqueror found some Moslem Amyrs of the Karamaṭ sect governing, and whom he ejected. For the same reason also Beladory, having no further sources at his disposal, carries his account only as far as A.D. 842.

The account of Ebn Haukal about the Jáths is as follows:—"The Indus forms towards its mouth, between Mançúrah and Mekrán, certain morasses where several Hindu tribes, called Jáths, are dwelling.

The Jáths and Mends. The families of the Jáths who live near the river construct for themselves huts of reeds, like the Berbers, and subsist on fish and water-fowl. As to the Játh families who live far from the Indus in the plains, they live according to the manner of the Kurds, subsisting on milk, cheese, and *dorra* bread." Besides the Jáths, this author speaks also of two other tribes, namely the Mends (Meyd) and the Bodhas, both of which were in his time predominant in the lower portion of the Indus valley

<sup>9</sup> *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I., p. 27, Old Series.

- According to him the former of these two tribes lived on the western, and the latter along the eastern bank of the river; and the habitations of both extended from the sea up as far as Multán. Beladory considered even the inhabitants of the town of Suráshtra, in the gulf of Katch, to be Meyds, who also sailed in ships.<sup>9</sup> The Jáths were Scythians corresponding to the Getæ.<sup>9a</sup>

The *Mojmel*, which has on certain subjects connected with India been utilized already by Anquetil Duperron, Silvestre de Sacy, Mohl, Quatrenère and others, contains the following notices on the Jáths and Meyds:—"The Jáths and the Meyds were not long in falling out with and endeavouring to subjugate each other. At last, however, they became tired of their incessant struggles, and paid allegiance to the kings of Hastinapúra. Jayadratha, who had espoused Duryodhana, the sister of the king of Hastinapúra, was appointed to govern Sind; and a portion of the country having been assigned to the Jáths, whilst another was given to the Meyds, towns were founded, and the valley became civilized," &c. Soon, however, the great struggle between the Kúrús and the Pándavas occurred, which is described much more in detail in the *Mahábháratá* than in the *Mojmel*.<sup>10</sup>

As has already been observed above, the civil wars which shook Islám during the 8th century, and which terminated with the triumph of the Abbaside over the Ommiade Khalifs, put an end to the invasions of the Moslems for a considerable time, so that those who had settled in the Indus valley obtained no reinforcements. Hence it is no wonder that many places taken by the Arabs returned to the allegiance of their own sovereigns, the invaders contenting themselves with the right of maintaining a mosque, a counting-house, and a Kađi of their own.

Such was the case especially in Guzerat, along the gulf of Cambay, and on the Malabar coast. Although even after the departure of Muđammad some trifling expeditions were undertaken,—notably in 725, when a body of Moslems went as far as Ujein, near Indúr,—all further progress of the Arabs may be said to have come to an end. Crowds of Hindus who had become Moslems now relapsed into their ancestral creed, and could nowhere be relied upon in case of hostilities breaking out between the conquered and the conquerors, and the latter commenced to build forts to ensure

<sup>9</sup> *Mém. Géogr.*, &c., pp. 234 and 235.

<sup>9a</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, vol. III., p. 227.

<sup>10</sup> *Mém. Géogr.*, p. 50.

their safety. In this manner even Mañçúrah, the most celebrated of them, which eclipsed even Brahmanábád, had been founded.

It has been stated above that, according to Ferishta, Muḥammad B. Kásem destroyed the Hindu temples when he conquered Multán; but it is certain that he did no such thing, as will be seen further on in Albyrúny's account of the idol of Multán, and that even those who were after him in possession of that city had their own mosques constructed without its limits, and went out to it every Friday riding on elephants. After the khalifate of Bagh'dád had decayed, an Amyr of the Kōraysh tribe governed in Multán, but the Karamaṭs who penetrated into the Indus valley in the 10th century got possession of it. The Karamaṭs pretended to be Moslems, but were considered heretics by them: hence Maḥmud the Ghaznavide had no reason whatever for sparing them when he invaded the country which they still possessed; besides, says Mirkhond, "the Sultán had heard of the improper behaviour of the governor of that country, whose name was Ab-ul-Faṭḥ," and continues as follows:— "As it was spring-time and some roads were impracticable on account of the quantity of water, the Sultán sent a man to Jaypál, who was the great Pádsháh of the realms of India, to allow the Moslem army to march through his country. Jaypál refused to comply with the request of the Sultán, whereat Sayf-al-daulah-Maḥmúd became angry, and was determined to make the war a double one [attacking not only Ab-ul-Faṭḥ, but also Jaypál]; accordingly he issued orders for burning, plundering, and destroying everything in the country, and Jaypál, having been hunted from narrow pass to narrow pass, escaped in the direction of Kashmyr. When Ab-ul-Faṭḥ perceived what had befallen the chief of the kings of India, he loaded his treasures on elephants and camels and took them to Ceylon. When the Sultán arrived in the vicinity of Multán, and ascertained the civil, political, and religious disposition of the tribe [of Karamaṭs], he surrounded that city, which they had made their abode, and, having conquered it, imposed thereon a tax of twenty thousand dirhems."<sup>11</sup> Abulfeda gives the name Bydá to Jaypál, and mentions several other circumstances not alluded to by Mirkhond, thus:—"Then the year 396 began [8th Oct. 1005]; during it Yamyn-al-daulah [*i. e.*, Maḥmúd the Ghaznavide] conquered Multán. Then he marched against Bydá, the king of India, who fled to his well-known fort Kályjár, where he beleaguered

<sup>11</sup> Vol. IV., p. 101 Bombay lithogr. ed.

him ; then peace was made, and the King of India paid tribute and put on the robe of honour [implying vassalage] ; he refused, however, to put on the girdle, but Yamyn-al-daulah forced him to do so.”<sup>11</sup>

*Edrisi's account of King Belhara, and opinion of Hindu character, &c.*<sup>11a</sup>

“Baróh بروح [Broach] is a large, handsome town, well built of bricks and plastered. Its inhabitants are fond of trading, and addicted to speculations as well as to distant expeditions. It is a station for ships coming from China, as well as for those coming from Sind. From it to Çeymúr صيمور two, and to Nahrawára نهرواره<sup>11b</sup> eight days are required for accomplishing the journey, through a flat country. As to the town of Nahrawára, it is governed by a great prince who takes the title of Belhara, wears a golden crown on his head, and dresses in rich clothes ; he rides much on horseback—especially once a week, accompanied by his wives only, to the number of one hundred, wearing costly garments, with gold and silver rings on their feet and hands, and their hair plaited. They perform games and sham fights, whilst the king precedes them. The viziers and commanders of the troops never accompany the king except when he goes to attack rebels, or to oppose the enterprises of the neighbouring kings, who desire to obtain a footing within the boundaries of his country. He possesses many elephants, which constitute the principal force of his army. His power is hereditary, as well as the title of Belhara which he bears, and which means *king of kings*. The town of Nahrawára is frequented by a great number of Musalmán traders, who betake themselves thither for their business. There they are honourably received by the king and his ministers, and there they find protection and security.

“The Hindus are naturally inclined to justice, and they never swerve from it in their acts. Their good faith, their loyalty, their faithfulness to engagements, are known ; they are so renowned for these good qualities that men crowd to them from everywhere, and their country flourishes, and their situation prospers. Among other cha-

<sup>11</sup> *Annals*, t. II., p. 614.

<sup>11a</sup> T. I., pp. 177 *seq.*

<sup>11b</sup> This word Ferishta (I., p. 54) spells Nahrwálah, نهرواله, and believes to be Patan in Guzerat ; but Çeymúr is Chaul. See *History and Antiquities of Chaul*, by Dr. G. da Cunha, pp. 9 *seq.*, where numerous authorities are adduced, and the point is fully discussed.

racteristic traits of their love of truth and of their horror of vice, the following one is cited:—If one man has a right to exact something from another, he has, when he meets him, only to trace out on the ground a circular line, and to cause his debtor to step into it, which the latter never fails to do, and the debtor does not leave this circle without having satisfied his creditor, or obtained a release of his debt.

“The inhabitants of Nahravára subsist on rice, peas, beans, haricots, lentils, and mash<sup>12</sup>; on fish and on animals which die a natural death, for they kill neither fowls nor other animals. They entertain very great veneration for oxen, and, by a privilege particular to their species, oxen are buried after death. When these animals are enfeebled by age and unable to work, they impose no labour upon them, and feed them without exacting any task from them.

“The nations of India burn their dead, and raise no tombs to them. When the king dies, a chariot of convenient size is made and placed about two palms<sup>13</sup> above the ground; there the catafalque, surmounted by a crown, is placed, which contains the body dressed in its funeral ornaments. This chariot is drawn by slaves, with bare heads and loose hair trailing on the ground, through the whole town, so that all the people may see the body, a herald preceding it and uttering words in the Indian language the sense of which is this:—‘People, behold your king, such a one, son of such a one! He lived joyous and powerful during so many years. He is no more; he allowed everything he possessed to escape from his hand; he no longer possesses anything, and he will no more experience any ill. Recollect that he has shown you the way, and that you must necessarily follow him.’ This being said, and all the ceremonies being terminated, the corpse is conveyed to the spot where it is customary to burn the bodies of kings, and it is thrown into the flames. The people neither afflict themselves nor lament much on these occasions.

“In all the countries of India or Sind where Musalmáns live, they bury their dead secretly, in the night, and in their houses; but they also, like the Hindus, do not indulge in long lamentations.

“In the country of Belhara concubinage is permitted among all persons, except with married women. Thus a man may have intercourse with his daughter, his sister, his paternal or maternal aunt, provided she be single.

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<sup>12</sup> A kind of dry vegetable called in Portuguese *mungo*, according to Reinaud.

<sup>13</sup> A palm may vary from three to nine inches in various localities.

“Opposite to the seaport of Barúh بروح the island of Mullan مُلن is situated, which produces a quantity of pepper and is two days distant from Sindán سندان.”

It has been observed that Edrisi speaks of a king who takes “the title of Belhara,” but according to Eçtakhry<sup>14</sup> there existed also a country and a town of that name, for he says:—“From Kambaya to Saymúr Hindu kings reign in the Belhara country, and it is a land of infidels; nevertheless Moslems live in these towns, and before Belhara only Moslem towns with chief mosques are to be met with. The town Belhara, which is situated there, is one of the largest; and a large kingdom belongs to it.” Belhara is perhaps the Arabic corruption of Valabhi Ráy or Rajah, the sovereign of Valabhipura in Guzerat; or of Málwa Ráy, according to Reinaud.

*Remarks on Kanój and Tanéser.*

The empire of Kanój, which Ferdausy makes so much of, had already decayed when the Arabs invaded India; Mirkhond and Ferishta, who has generally followed his statements, both mention Kanój and Tanéser in the repeated invasions of Mahmúd the Ghaznavide, when he took enormous treasures from the multitude of temples contained chiefly in these two, but also in numerous other towns. Even in the time of Albyrúny, who accompanied the conqueror, the city of Kanój was deteriorating more and more, for he says:—“The town of Kanój is situated on the western bank of the Ganges. It occupies a very considerable space; at present, however, the greatest portion is falling into ruin and is uninhabited, because the seat of government has been transferred to Bády, east of the Ganges, to a distance of three or four days.<sup>15</sup> In the same way as Kanój is celebrated for having given rise to the sons of Pandawa, so also the town of Mahura (Mathura) is celebrated for having given birth to Vasudéva (the father of Krishna). Mahura is on the east bank of the river Jún (Jumna). Between these two towns there is a distance of 28 parasangs. The town of Tanéser is situated between the Ganges and the Jumna to the north of these two towns, at about 80 parasangs from Kanój, and nearly 50 parasangs from Mahura.” Albyrúny, and after him Mirkhond, Ferishta, and others, narrate how a certain statue was taken in Tanéser and transported to Ghazna. This was, no doubt, a statue of Vishnu, and Albyrúny adds

that its name was *Tchakra Swami*, or 'lord of the *tchakra*,' the *tchakra* being a wheel or disk, used also as a projectile in war. The name of the statue taken to Ghazna was, according to Ferishta,<sup>16</sup> جک صوم *Jagsúm*, which appears to be only his rendering of *Juga Swami*, 'lord of the world;' according to the same author, untold riches were taken from Tanésér, and among them a ruby of extraordinary size.

*Accounts of various authors about the idol of Multán.*

As we possess a narrative written by the Chinese pilgrim Hiouen-Thsang in the seventh century, consequently about four hundred years before Albyrúny, Account of Hiouen-Thsang. it will perhaps not be altogether irrelevant to insert it before that of the Arab author, because it may be of interest to compare several descriptions. Hiouen-Thsang says of Multán:—"The inhabitants love study and esteem virtue. There are many who follow the worship of the spirits of heaven (namely, the Brahman religion); only a small number observe the precepts of Buddha. The Samanéan convents, ten in number, are mostly in ruins; only a few monks can be seen in them, and they are destitute of zeal. At the same time there are eight temples dedicated to the spirits of heaven. The heretics and the orthodox live mixed together. A magnificent temple dedicated to the Sun may be observed; the statue of the god is of massive gold and adorned with the costliest things. This god is endued with marvellous penetration, and on beholding him a man experiences the effects of his power. At all times female musicians cause melodious concerts to be heard, and during the night brilliant torches spread out the clearness of day. In this temple perfumes are incessantly burnt, and offerings presented. The kings and the high families of the five Indies consider it an honour to offer costly objects there. There is a house, called 'the house of happiness,' where provisions and medicines are distributed to the indigent and to the sick. At all times a thousand men, who have come from various parts of India, may be seen addressing their vows to the sun. All round the temple there are tanks and blooming shrubberies, where people walk about with delight." In the seventh century the worship of Vishnu had already made great progress in Multán, and to this Hiouen-Thsang alludes when he says that many observe the worship of spirits, and few the precepts of Buddha.

<sup>16</sup> Vol. I., pp. ۴۶ and ۴۷



Albyrúny<sup>17</sup> says:—"The idol of Multán, one of those which have been the most celebrated, was called *Aditya*, Account of Albyrúny.  
ادى, because it was dedicated to the sun.

This idol is of wood, but wrapped in an antelope skin of red colour. Its two eyes consist of two rubies. The Hindus carried up its origin to the Kritayoga, that is to say, 216,432 years. When Muḥammad Ben Kásem Ben Monabbah conquered Multán for the first time, he perceived the presence of this idol, and the influx of the pilgrims which it attracted, to be a source of prosperity to the country: accordingly he left the idol standing but, to show his disdain for the superstition of the Hindus, he caused a piece of beef to be attached to the neck of the god.<sup>18</sup> At the same time he built a mosque in the town. [Afterwards] when the Karamáts became masters of Multán, Jelem Ben Shaybán, their chief, caused the idol to be broken to pieces, and massacred its priests, and the temple, which consisted of a palace built of bricks on an elevated spot, became a great mosque, instead of that which existed formerly, the latter having been shut up, from hatred, to the Omniade Khalifs, under whom it had been constructed; but when the Sulṭan Maḥmúd had struck down the Karamáts he had the ancient mosque re-opened; and the new one was abandoned, so that it is now like a field destined for vulgar uses."

The account which Albyrúny gives above of the idol temple he must have obtained from other sources, because Account of Ebn Haukal.  
when he was in Multán it no longer existed;  
the case, however, was different with Ebn Haukal and Eṭakhry, both of whom had been there before the arrival of the Karamáts, and had found the temple, as well as the idol, standing. The description by Ebn Haukal is as follows<sup>19</sup>:—"The edifice which contains the idol is situated in the most conspicuous part of the town. In the middle of the temple there is a cupola, under which the statue is placed. All around are the chambers in which the priests of the idol, and those who come to address their prayers to it, live. This idol has the figure of a squatting man, and it has been placed on a seat of bricks and plaster. It is entirely covered by a skin resembling the skin of a red antelope, so that only its eyes can be seen. Some say that the body is of wood, whilst others say that it is of another matter. This much, however, is

<sup>17</sup> See foot-note 3 to p. 141 of *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, par M. Reinaud.

<sup>18</sup> This would scarcely be credible, according to what this author states a line before it.

<sup>19</sup> *Mémoire géographique, historique et scientifique sur l'Inde*, par M. Reinaud, p. 248.

certain, that the body is not in contact with the free air. The two eyes consist of two precious stones, and on the head there is a golden crown. The statue extends its arms on the knees, and has the fingers of the two hands separated like a person counting the number four."<sup>20</sup>

According to Eçtakhry,<sup>21</sup> "Multán is about half the size of Mançúrah; in it there is an idol which the Hindus esteem very highly, and to which they undertake pilgrimages from the most distant parts of India; they annually bring to the idol great riches, which they dedicate to the temple and to the permanent inhabitants thereof. The temple of this idol is a castle situated in the most populous locality in the market of Multán, between the market of the workers in ivory and the street of the copper-smiths. In the middle of this castle there is a cupola under which the idol is placed; around the cupola there are houses for the servants of the idol, and for the permanent inhabitants of the temple. In Sind and in Hind there are no worshippers of this idol, excepting those who live in its vicinity. The idol is in human form, on a seat of bricks and lime, covered with a skin resembling red leather, so that of its whole body only the eyes can be seen. Some believe that this body is of wood, whilst some believe that it is of another substance, but nobody is allowed to see this body. Its eyes are two precious stones;

<sup>20</sup> With reference to the manner of counting four, the *Ferhangí Jehángíri*, which contains a lengthy article on expressing numbers by means of the fingers, in order to strike bargains unknown to other persons, has the following statement: از برای واحد خنصر دست راست فرو باید گرفت وجهه ائنان بنصر را باخنصر ضم کردن وجهه لئنه وسطی را نیز ولیکن درین سه عقد باید روسی انامل نیک نزدیک اصول اصابع باشد وجهه اربعه خنصر را رفع باید کرد و بنصرو وسطی را معقود گذاشتن  
"To indicate the number *one*, let the little finger be

bent inward; *two*, let the ring finger be bent inward; *three*, let the middle finger be bent inward: each of these three fingers being bent forward and inward, so as to bring the tips in close contact with the roots, and all three remaining so together. To indicate the number *four*, let the little finger be removed, leaving the ring and the middle finger." Chardin gives in a few lines the whole manner of numeration (*Voyages du Chevalier Chardin*, t. III., p. 103, ed. Langlès, 1811) as follows:—"The merchants of Persia who make a bargain before the people never use words to inform each other of the price; they do so by means of the fingers, joining their hands under the skirt of the robe, or under a handkerchief, so that the motion cannot be seen. To shut the hand which one takes means a *thousand*; to take a stretched-out finger marks a *hundred*, and bent in the middle *fifty*. The number is marked by pressing the end of the finger, and the decade by bending the finger. If it be required to express several thousands or several hundreds, the act is repeated. This is an easy and secure method of expressing one's thoughts without being understood. It is used everywhere in the East, but especially in India, where it is universal."

<sup>21</sup> p. 82.

on the head it has a golden crown ; it sits on this throne so that it has its arms on the knees, the fingers on each hand being bent in the manner of counting four.<sup>22</sup> When the Hindus come with inimical intentions in order to rob the idol, the inhabitants take it out, and act as if they intended to break or to burn it, whereupon the others return. Without this precaution Multán would long ago have been demolished. The environs are not as fertile as those of Mançúrah. At half a parasang from Multán there is a large edifice in which the Amyr dwells with his army. He goes on Fridays, riding on an elephant, to the Friday prayers. The Amyr is of the Kōraysh, and does not obey the prince of Mançúrah, but gets the prayers [*khutbah*] said for the Khalif."

*The Lingam of Shiva at Somnát.*

Albyrúny<sup>23</sup> states that Somnát is composed of the word *sóm*, moon, and *nát*, lord, meaning *lord of the moon*. The Hindus had, on the most advanced portion of the coast of Somnát, a little less than three miles west of the mouth of the Sarasvati and east of the castle of Barava,<sup>24</sup> a stone in the form of a cone, representing the sexual parts of Shiva, and therefore called the *Lingam of Mahádeva*, لنگ مہادیو, and this is the meaning of the *stone of Somnát*, حجر سومنات. The upper part was adorned with gold and precious stones. Twice every day, at the rising and setting of the moon, and in a much more remarkable way twice every month, when the moon increased and decreased, the water of the sea came to bathe the stone as a homage. Such is the origin of the title *Somnát* given to Shiva. The worship of Shiva was very general in the countries to the south and to the east of the

<sup>22</sup> On this passage Dr. Mordtmann observes:—"This refers to the Oriental manner of expressing any desired number by bending the fingers, chiefly customary in commerce. If I am not mistaken, the number four is expressed by placing the tip of the thumb on the tip of the forefinger."

<sup>23</sup> Footnote 3 to p. 111, *Fragments Arabes et Persans*.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, footnote 3 to p. 120. Barava appears to answer nearly to Dwarka, which is known to be the name of a mysterious isle raised, according to the Hindus, by the Almighty from the bosom of the waters, in order to offer a refuge to Krishna when that hero, pressed by his foes, was obliged to leave Mathura, his native place. At the death of Krishna this isle again returned to the bottom of the sea, if it was not destroyed by an earthquake. Dwarka, near the entrance to the gulf of Kutch, is still a much frequented resort, and many pilgrims go there also from Bombay. According to Albyrúny the castle of Barava was distant only one arrow-shot from Somnát. The capture and burning of the temple of Mathura, where immense plunder was taken, is described by Ferishta, vol. I., p. 6.

Indus, and in many temples the lingam could be seen exposed to the veneration of the people. But the lingam of Somnát enjoyed much higher consideration, as Ganges water and flowers from Kashmir were offered to it daily. According to the opinion of the Hindus, this figure cured chronic diseases and other evils for which no natural remedy exists. The position of Somnát was favourable to the great influx of strangers, as it was a station for ships sailing from Sofala, on the coast of Africa, to China. When Maḥmúd the Ghaznavide took Somnát, A. H. 416 [A. D. 1025], the stone was broken to pieces; Maḥmúd caused the upper part to be taken away, and carried it to Ghazna, his capital. Two pieces were made of it, one being placed on the *maydan* of Ghazna with the idol brought from Tanéser, and the other served as a threshold of the great mosque."

Mirkhond <sup>23</sup> states that when an eclipse of the moon took place, more than a hundred thousand worshippers assembled to adore the idol of Somnát, which they believed to be also the cause of the ebb and tide of the sea. Offerings were brought from the outermost limits of India to the temple, to which also the revenues of nearly ten thousand villages belonged. The temple contained precious stones to such an amount that not one-tenth of it could be equalled in value by the treasury of any king, and two thousand Brahmans were engaged in worship in the temple. From a golden chain weighing two hundred *mann* golden bells were suspended, which the servants rang at appointed times to call the Brahmans to worship. Also three hundred barbers, and as many musicians, with five hundred dancing girls, were attached to the temple, with allowances from the offerings and bequests for their maintenance, and many persons were employed for the purpose of bringing, from the river Ganges, water with which the idol was washed.

The temple which contained Somnát was of considerable length and breadth, supported by fifty-six columns. Somnát was an *idol* sculptured of stone about five *gaz* and three cubits above the ground, and two cubits concealed under it. When Maḥmúd entered the temple, he broke the idol with a heavy club, and ordered a part of the stone to be carried to Ghazna, where it was thrown down on the threshold of the great mosque. The riches obtained for the Sultán's treasury from the temple of Somnát amounted to more than twenty million dirhems of gold, as the temple consisted wholly of that metal, and contained

<sup>23</sup> Vol. IV., pp. 174 seq.

sixty columns encrusted with rubies, sapphires, and emeralds, each of these columns bearing the name of one of the great kings of India. As the account of Ferishta<sup>26</sup> is the same as that of Mirkhond, it would be very much of a repetition to insert it; the first-mentioned author speaks of another temple of Shiva, whom he names Mahákál,—by which name he is also called in much earlier works, such as the *Kitáb-al-fihrist* and Shahrastány, as will appear further on,—which was taken by the Sultán Shams-al-din Altamsh of Dehly; he says<sup>27</sup>:—“In the year six hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 1233-4] he invaded the country of Málwah, subjugated the fort of Bhyásah, and took also the town of Ojayn, which contained a very strong temple of Mahákál, built like the temple of Somnát, and completed during a period of three hundred years. This temple was one hundred *gaz* high, but he demolished it, taking away the statue of Rajah Vikramaditya,—who had been one of the kings of Ojayn, and according to whose era the Hindus reckon their time till now,—with the stone [lingam] of Mahákál, as well as several other statues of molten brass, which were placed on the ground along the road to the great mosque of Dehly, that the people might tread them under foot.”

Although Hiouen-Thsang, who visited Peshawur—Purushapura—four hundred years before Albyrúny, speaks of its Vihára as already in a state of decay,<sup>28</sup> it still existed in the time of the last-mentioned author,<sup>29</sup> and when *Abulfaraj Muḥammad B. Eshák al Warrák al Baghdádi*, the author of the *Kitáb-al-fihrist*, wrote (A.H. 377, A.D. 987) in it his remarks on the sects of India, Buddhism was not yet extinguished, and he uses the expression *Budadah* as well as *Bud*; he also describes a Buddhist town and temple, which appears to be no other than Moughyr, not far from Patna,—Pataliputra,—on the bank of the Ganges. This account of the Hindu sects, although discussed, has, I believe, not yet been fully translated, and it will be seen further on that Shahrastány—who has been translated into German by Haarbrücker, whose full account of Hindu sects will likewise be given—has borrowed some of his explanations from the *Kitáb-al-fihrist*, as may be concluded from a comparison of both.

<sup>26</sup> Vol. I., pp. 167 seq., Bombay Govt. lithogr. edition.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 116.

<sup>28</sup> *Frag. Arabes*, &c., p. 78. The following are the words of Hiouen-Thsang:—“Two-storied pavilions and belvideres raised above each other, a tower of several stories, and a deep grotto could be seen. Although this monument is falling to ruin, it may still be called a masterpiece of art,” &c.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 76.

## KITAB-AL-FIHRIST.

(pp. ۳۴۶—۳۴۸.)

In the portion translated by me I read the following account :—

## Sects of India.

“A book containing the religions and rites of India. I finished the composition of this book from other books on Friday, three nights having elapsed of the month Muharrem in the year two hundred and forty-nine [28th Feb. 863].” I do not know who the author of the account in this book may be, but I recognized it to be in the handwriting of Ya'qûb Ben Esahak Alkindi,<sup>30</sup> word by word; and beneath this translation I read the following words in the same handwriting :—“Some orators have narrated that Yahya Ben Khâled the Barmekide<sup>31</sup> had sent a man to India for the purpose of bringing him the medicines existing in that country, and to describe the religions of it; accordingly he composed this book.” Muhammad Ben Esahak states that “during the government of the Arabs Yahya Ben Khâled and the family of the Barmekides concerned themselves about India, and bringing from it scholars, physicians, and philosophers.”

“The largest of the houses, one farsakh in length, is at Mankyr<sup>32</sup>; this is the city where the Belhara<sup>33</sup> resides; it is forty farsakhs long, [and built] of ebony and various kinds of wood. It is said that the common people there have a million elephants for transporting their merchan-

dize. In the stalls of the king there are sixty thousand elephants, and the fullers possess one hundred and twenty thousand of them [!]. In this house of Budadah there are about twenty thousand Bud of various kinds of substances, such as gold, silver, iron, copper, brass, ivory, and different kinds of artificial<sup>34a</sup> precious stones, encrusted

<sup>30</sup> A celebrated philosopher, known to Europeans of the Middle Ages as a magician and astrologer only; but the researches of Dr. Fleischer, Dieterici, and other prominent Arabists have made him better known as a philosopher.

<sup>31</sup> The well-known Vizier of Harûn-Al-Rashyd, who reigned from A.D. 786 to 809.

<sup>32</sup> Although the usual word for idol is *çanam*, the Arabs appear to have sometimes expressed it also by *Bud*, which originally designated a statue representing *Buddha*, and became in Persian *Bud*, the usual name for any idol.

<sup>33</sup> It is proper to observe here that Maçûdi (*apud* Reinaud, *Mém. géogr.*, &c., p. 144) calls also the capital of Malwa Mânekyr or Mânukyr.

<sup>34</sup> It has already been observed that Reinaud considers him to be *Mâlwa Rây*.

<sup>34a</sup> This I translate according to the editor's suggestion, who believes that *مصنوعة* | is implied by *مجنونة* | of the text.

with costly gems. To this house the king walks every year once, but returns riding. It contains an idol of gold twelve cubits high, on a golden throne. In the centre there is a cupola of gold, the whole being encrusted with white precious stones, unperforated pearls, red, yellow, blue and green rubies. To this idol they immolate victims, and they bring most of them on a certain appointed day of the year.

“The house of Multán<sup>35</sup> is said to be one of the seven [chief] houses. It contains an iron idol seven cubits long, in the centre of the cupola, attracted from all sides by the concentrated power of loadstones, but it is said to have been bent on one side, on account of some accident which befell it; and this [other] house [of Bámyán] is on the flank of a mountain, being a cupola one hundred and eighty cubits high, to which Hindus come on pilgrimage, from the outermost regions of their country, by land and by sea, but the road to it from Balkh is straight, as the cultivated country of Multán [Bámyán] is near the cultivated country of Balkh. And on the top of the mountain and on its sides there are houses for the worshippers and hermits. They have places for immolating victims, and for offerings, which are said never to have been even for an hour without pilgrims visiting them. They have two idols, one of which is called *Junkubut*, جَنْدُبُكُوت, and the other *Zunbukat*, زَنْبُكُوت.<sup>36</sup> These two idols have been sculptured in relievo on the two sides of a great valley from the rock of the mountain; the height of each of them is eighty cubits, and they may be seen from a considerable distance. It is said that the Hindus go on pilgrimage to these two idols, and bring with them offerings and fumigatories. If the eye of a man happens to alight on the two idols at a distance, he must respectfully droop them; but, if he looks at them either by accidentally turning or by mistake, he must again go back to the spot from which he could not perceive them, and then casting his eyes respectfully to the ground he is again to advance towards them. A man who has seen these two idols stated to me that not a little blood is shed near them, and it is believed sometimes to happen that fifty thousand or more persons sacrifice their own lives; but God knows best.

<sup>35</sup> It appears from what follows that these remarks cannot apply to Multán, but rather to Bámyán, although Edrisi (l. 1., p. 177) says nothing about its colossal idols, and calls the place Námyán, نَامِيَان.

<sup>36</sup> *Mém. géogr.*, &c., p. 289, has *Junbukl*, جَنْدُبُكُوت, and *Zunbukl*, زَنْبُكُوت.

They have a house at Bámyán<sup>87</sup>, on the frontiers of India, continuous with Sejestán, and this place was reached by Ya'kúb Ben Allayth when he intended to conquer India [A.H. 257, A.D. 871] and the statues sent to Bagh'dád were from that place; they were carried away from Bámyán when it was conquered. This is a large house inhabited by hermits and worshippers; it contains idols of gold encrusted with precious stones, which it is impossible to describe, and the Hindus go on pilgrimage to it from the outermost limits of their country by land and by sea.

"And in the Faraj, فرج,<sup>88</sup> of the golden house there is a house [temple] concerning which there is a difference of opinion. Some say that it is a house of stone in which there are Buddadah; it was called 'house of gold' because at the time this place was conquered, in the days of Hájáj, they took from it one hundred *behar* of gold. Abu Dulaf Alyanbu'y<sup>89</sup> has said to me, and there was also a general rumour to the effect, that the house known as 'the house of gold' is not this one. As to the house in the deserts of India, in the land of Mekrán and Kandahár, only worshippers and hermits from India reach it. It is built of gold, seven cubits long and as many in breadth, but its height is twelve cubits, adorned with various precious stones; in it there are Buddadah made of red rubies and other precious wonderful stones encrusted with exquisite pearls, each of which is like a bird's egg and larger than it. He also believes that trustworthy men among the people of India have informed him that the rain glances off from the top, from the right, and from the left side of this house, so that it is not struck thereby; torrents likewise deflect from it, flowing away on the right and on the left . . . . Abu Dulaf also told me that the Hindus

<sup>87</sup> The account of Hiouen-Thsang is this:—"The kingdom of Fan-yan-na has two thousand *li* from east to west, and three thousand *li* from south to north. The inhabitants are Buddhists . . . . On the flank of the mountain, situated to the north-east of the royal city, there is a statue of Fo [Buddha] carved in the rock; it is from a hundred and forty to a hundred and fifty feet high; it is all brilliant with gold, and loaded with costly ornaments, which are of dazzling splendour."

<sup>88</sup> "And Multán was called Faraj," *سميت المولتان فرج*: Beladory, p. 44. "And Multán is the Faraj of gold:" Maçúdi, I., p.p. 207, &c., note 11 of the editor.

<sup>89</sup> By Abu Dulaf the traveller and poet is meant, he who accompanied, about A.H. 331 (A.D. 942-43), a Chinese embassy returning from Bokhára to the court of the Emperor. He is called Alyanbu'y, *الينبرعى*, because he was a native of Yanbu', a station near Mekkah, through which the pilgrims to the Ka'bah passed. See note 12 of the editor of the *Kitáb-al-fihrist*.



possess a house in Kūmār<sup>40</sup> the walls whereof are of gold, and the ceilings of various kinds of Indian aloë-wood, each piece being fifty cubits long. Most of the Buddadah, with their altars intended for ceremonies, are adorned with exquisite pearls and large rubies. He also told me that a trustworthy man had informed him of their possessing, besides this house, also another in Çenf,<sup>41</sup> which is ancient, and that the Buddadah therein speak to worshippers and answer [in oracles ?] all the questions they ask them. Abu Dulaf also said to me :—‘ When I was in India the name of the king reigning in Çenf was Lajyn, and the Najrani monk<sup>42</sup> told me that at present a king by the name of Lokyn went to Çenf, attacked it, and subjugated all the population of it.’

“ Besides the account in the handwriting of Alkindi [about Buddha]

the Hindus are of different opinions. Some believe that it is the statue of God—whose majesty be exalted !—whilst others assert that it is the statue of His apostle to them ; then they differed also in this latter point, as a part of

<sup>40</sup> The statement of Maçūdi about Kūmār is as follows :—“ The country of Kūmār is not an island ; it is a country formed of sea-coasts and mountains. There are not many kingdoms of India more populous than this. Nowhere is the mouth more clean ; the toothpick is used in the country of Kūmār, according to the example of persons professing the Musalman religion. This is the reason why the inhabitants of Kūmār alone among the Hindus abstain from profligacy, and guard themselves from certain impurities. They prohibit the use of fermented liquors, but in this point they only act like the mass of Hindus. Most of them walk on foot, on account of the great number of mountains which cover the country, and the rivers that intersect it,” &c. (*Mem. géogr.*, p. 223.) From the following words of Eḍrisi (t. I., p. 83, transl. A. Jaubert) it will be seen that he takes Kūmār to be an island :—“ From Shómah, شوماء, to the island of Kūmār, قمار, there is a journey of five days. The aloë-wood which this island produces is good, but in that called Çenf still better. In Shómah sandal-wood and rice are found. The inhabitants wear the dress called Futa ; they receive foreign merchants kindly and treat them well. They are just, pure men, renowned for their beneficence and for their perfect equity. They adore idols and Bodds, and burn their dead.” Cape Comorin was also called *Kanya Kumari*, on account of a temple of Parvati which was there. See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV., p. 317.

<sup>41</sup> The island of Çenf is near the island of Kūmār, قمار. The distance between them is only three miles. Çenf aloë-wood, superior to that of Kūmār, is found. Because it is so heavy it sinks in water. In this island there are oxen and buffaloes without tails ; also palm trees, plantain trees, sugarcanes, and rice. The inhabitants slay no kind of quadruped, nor any other kind of animal, such as reptiles, &c. They may eat of the flesh of animals which have died a natural death, but it is repugnant to the majority of them, and they do not do it. He who kills a cow is punished with death, or has at least his hand cut off. When a cow can no longer serve, it is put into a stable and left there till it dies a natural death. (Eḍrisi, t. I., p. 83.)

<sup>42</sup> This is probably the same monk whom the author met A. II. 377 (A. D. 987), and who had come from China, and about whom more may be seen on p. 149.

them said that the apostle was one of the angels, whilst another maintained him to have been a man, and another a goblin, *I'fryat*, عَفْرِيَّة, whilst yet another party believed it to be the representation of the philosopher Bodáséf [Bodhisattva], who was sent to them from God—whose name be glorified!—each sect among them having its own way in worshipping and magnifying Him.

One worthy to be believed has reported concerning them that each sect of them has its own statue, to the worship of which they return, and which they glorify, and that Budd is the name of the genus, whilst the idols are like the species. But as to the shape of the greatest Budd, it is like that of a man sitting on a chair, without any hair on his face, his chin retiring between the maxillary bones,<sup>43</sup> not wearing any clothes, having a complacent expression of countenance, and knotting [counting] with his hand thirty-two.<sup>44</sup> Trustworthy persons reported that his statue may be found in every place, according to the means of the owner, either of gold encrusted with various kinds of precious stones, or of silver, or brass, or stone, or wood. As they approach his face they worship him. This they do either from the east towards the west, or in the contrary direction; but they generally suppose his face to be turned to the west, and accordingly proceed from that direction. It is related that this statue of theirs has four faces, constructed nicely according to the rules of geometry, so that from whatever direction they approach the statue they behold a perfect countenance; and they state that the following is the representation of the statue which is in Multán.<sup>45</sup>

They possess an idol named Mahákál<sup>46</sup>; it has four hands, is of sky colour, with a great deal of hair, fine teeth, bare abdomen, but covered back; the cover

The Mahákályah.

<sup>43</sup> The phrase is *عَفْرِيَّةٌ فِي الدَّقْنِ*, and appears awkward, but could scarcely be translated differently.

<sup>44</sup> Here is again an allusion to a peculiar manner of counting. In foot-note 20 the manner of expressing the first four numerals was indicated, and here we shall add the mode of indicating thirty, from the same source:—*از براي نُه تا نین ابهام را قایم داشته سرانمله سبابه بر طرف ناخن او باید نهاد چنانچه وضع سبابه با ابهام شبیه باشد بهیات قوس و وتر* "To indicate the number thirty, holding the thumb straight forward, the tip of the finger is pressed against the side of its nail so as in this position to form together a sort of bow and bowstring."

<sup>45</sup> The editor of the text observes that a blank of three lines is left instead of the picture. The statue represents Brahma, according to Reinaud, p. 290.

<sup>46</sup> On comparing this passage with Shabrastány, vol. II., p. ۴۵۳, it will be found that he has utilized it, as well as several others which follow. Mahákál is Shiva.

is the hide of an elephant, from which blood is dripping, and which is fastened in front with the skin of the elephant's feet. In one of his hands he holds a large open-mouthed dragon, in the second a stick, in the third a human skull, whilst the fourth is uplifted. In his two ears he has two snakes for earrings, and over his body two large dragons are entwined. On his head he wears a crown of human skulls, and on his neck a collar of the same material. They believe him to be a demon from among the Satans, deserving of worship on account of his great power, as well as for his other qualities, some of which are laudable and amiable, whilst others are blameable and hateful; he can ward off or inflict misfortunes, grant or withhold benefits, and is to them a refuge in calamities.

“These are worshippers of the sun; they have an idol of it on a chariot drawn by four horses. The idol holds in its hand a precious

stone which has the colour of fire. They  
The Dynkytyah.\*7 believe the sun to be one of the angels  
whom service and adoration is due. Accordingly, they adore this idol,  
and walk round it with musical instruments; it has also landed property  
with its revenues, as well as servants and officers for administering the  
affairs of the idol and its property. Worship is performed thrice daily,  
and various opinions concerning it are current. Persons afflicted with  
various diseases, such as leprosy, paralysis, and other chronic as well as  
transient maladies, remain near the idol, watch during the night, adore  
and implore it to cure them; they neither eat nor drink, but fast for it;  
and a sick person remains in this state till he sees a vision in his sleep,  
as if one were saying to him, ‘Thou art cured, and hast obtained thy  
wish.’ It is said that the idol speaks to him in his sleep, so that he  
gets well and recovers his health.

“They are worshippers of the moon, and say that it is one of the angels  
The Jandryhakanyah\*8 to whom honour and service is due. Their  
custom is to make an idol for it in the shape  
الجندي ريهكنية. of a calf which is drawn by four ducks.\*9  
The idol holds in its hand a precious stone called Jandarkyt. It is a

\*7 This word had no diacritical points at all in the MS. Reinaud had before him; and he pointed it thus—*الدينكيتيه*, which is to be read *Al-Aditi-Baktyah*, ‘the sun-worshippers,’ which is good (see his *Mém.*, p. 292). Shahrastány (vol. II., p. ۴۵۲) has *الد ينكيتيه*, *Aldynkytyah*, like the *Kitáb-al-fihrist*.

\*8 The proper spelling of this word would be *Tchandrabaktyah*, *جندر هيكيتيه*.

\*9 ‘Swans,’ according to Reinaud, *loco laudato*, p. 293.

part of their religion to worship it, and to fast one-half of each month ; nor does anyone break the fast until the moon rises ; then they offer to the idol of it food, drink, milk, adore it, look at the moon and ask it concerning their affairs ; and after having adored it they descend from the housetops, eat, drink, rejoice and play ; they look at it only with a pleased countenance ; and when they have in the moiety of the month completed their fast they dance, play, and perform on musical instruments before the moon and the idol.

“Among these [namely, the Anshanyah, *الانشانية*] there is a sect called *Al-Bakrantynyah*, *البكرنتينية*,<sup>51</sup> the followers of which gird themselves with iron ; their law is to shave their heads, and beards, and to bare their bodies excepting only the sexual parts. According to their tenets they neither teach anyone nor speak to a person until he has entered their religion ; but after having done so they command him to be truthful and humble. Nor can a neophyte gird himself with iron until he has attained a degree [of perfection] whereby he becomes worthy to do so. They gird themselves from the middle of the body to the breast, lest their bellies should, as they believe, burst, from their great learning and the force of meditation.

“Another sect is called *Al-Gangáyátrah*, *الكنكنا ياترة*, scattered over the whole of India. According to their law any man committing a great sin must, either after a brief or a long period, bathe in the river *Al-Kyff*, *الكيف*,<sup>52</sup> whereby he becomes purified.

“Another sect is called *Al-Ráhmárynah*, *الراحمرينة*,<sup>53</sup> They are partizans of kings, and it is a part of their law in their religion to aid kings. They say :—‘ God the Creator—Whose name be blessed and exalted—has made them kings, and if we be slain in their service we go to paradise.’

“Another sect wears long hair, according to its tenets, plaiting the same on all sides of the face, and keeping the head covered therewith. Their law is not to drink wine ; they also have a mountain called *Jaura'n*, *جورعن*,<sup>54</sup> to which they go on pilgrimage. When they see a

<sup>50</sup> *Anaçana*, the not eating—fasting.

<sup>51</sup> See, further on, the account of Shahrastány on the same sect.

<sup>52</sup> This is no doubt a mistake of the MSS. for *الكنك*, *Al-Gang*, the Ganges.

<sup>53</sup> This word had no diacritical points at all in the MSS., and the first syllable was by Brockhaus, Reinaud, and others considered to be *Raj* ; if such be the case the whole word may perhaps be *Rajputriah*.

<sup>54</sup> The real name of this mountain has not yet become known.

woman they flee from her ; and in this mountain, to which they go on pilgrimage, they have a great house [temple], of which this is the picture."<sup>55</sup>

*Hindu deities in the sixth century of our era.*

The lamented Dr. Bháu Dáji discovered in a commentary on the *Khaṇḍa Khádyá* of Brahmagupta, by Ámarája, the following passage:—"Varáha Mihira Âcharya went to heaven in the 509th [year] of the Śaka Kāla, i.e. A.D. 587." The statues of the deities worshipped during the time of Varáha Mihira were described by him in his *Sankhita*, whence Albyrúny obtained an account of them. It is here given as it occurs in Reinaud's *Mémoire géographique, scientifique et historique sur l'Inde*, pp. 119 seq. It may be observed that Buddha is mentioned in this account, exceptionally as it were, under the name of *Jina*, although several centuries after Varáha Mihira Buddhism still flourished to such an extent in India that, as we have seen in the preceding pages, Arab authors used the word *Bodd* to designate an idol and a Buddha. Although in Sindh a Brahmanic dynasty had as early as A.D. 626, superseded a Buddhistic one, the mass of the population there, as well as in many other parts of India, persevered for a considerable time longer in the profession of Buddhism<sup>56</sup> :—

"If the statue of Ráma, the son of Dosaratha, or of Bali, the son of Virotchana, be made, it is necessary to give to the statue (a height of) 120 fingers, measured according to nature. For the statue of any other personage a reduction of one-tenth is to be made, that is to say, a length of 108 fingers is to be adopted.

"The statue of Vishnu has sometimes eight hands, sometimes four, and sometimes two. The figure of Sri (his wife Lakshmi) is placed under his left nipple. If you give eight hands to Vishnu, you will put into the first of his hands, on the right side, a sword, and into the second a club of gold or of iron. . . . On the left side the statue will carry a shield, a bow, the *tchakra*, and a conch."<sup>57</sup> When

<sup>55</sup> No picture is given.

<sup>56</sup> *Fragments Arabes, &c.*, p. xx., and *Mém. géogr., &c.*, p. 176.

<sup>57</sup> To this passage Reinaud observes that Albyrúny expresses the conch (*shank* of modern travellers, and the *śankala* of Sanskrit writers) by the word شَنْق, which he sometimes also spells شَنْك. The merchant Sulaymán also particularly mentions the *shank*, which served as a trumpet. It is the marine conch, which, under the name of *śankha*, is one of the attributes of Vishnu, and answers, according to Albyrúny, to the curved shell called by the Persians 'white shell,' *sepyd mehreh*, سپید مهره.

the statue has only four hands the bow and arrows are suppressed ; if only two be given to it, the fingers of the right hand are to be held spread out, and in the left it is to hold a conch.

“ The statue of Baladeva, بلديو, brother of Narayan (Vishnu) wears a pendant in each ear, and its eyes are those of a drunken man.

“ When Narayana and Baladeva are represented together, it will be proper to add to them their sister Bhagavati (the MS. has نهگبت). The left hand of the latter will be supported by the haunch without touching the sides ; in her right hand she will hold a lotus flower. In case four hands should be given to her, she shall bear in one of her hands, on the right, a rosary, and the other hand is to have the fingers spread out ; on the left side she is to hold in one of her hands a lotus leaf. In case she should have received eight hands, she is to bear on the left side a *kamandalu*, كمندل, that is to say, a pot with a lotus, a bow, and a leaf ; on the right side she is to support a rosary, a mirror, and an arrow ; the last of her hands is to have the fingers spread out.

“ Sanba, سانب, the son of Vishnu, will have only a club in his right hand. But his brother Pradyumna will hold an arrow in his right hand, and a bow in his left. When they are represented with their wife, they will carry a sword in the right hand, and a buckler in the left.

“ Brahma must have four faces, each turned towards one of the cardinal points. He is to be placed on a lotus, and to hold a pot in one of his hands.

“ Skanda, اسکند, the son of Mahádeva (Shiva), is represented with the countenance of a child, mounted on a peacock. In one hand he holds a *śakti*, شكتم, that is to say, a kind of sword which pierces with both ends. The handle of this sword is placed in the middle, as on the pestle of a mortar.

“ Indra carries a weapon made of diamond and called *vojra* (diamond) ; its handle is to be arranged like that of the *śakti*, and in such a manner that the two swords meet in the handle. Indra has a third eye on the forehead, and he is mounted on a white elephant armed with four tusks.

“ Mahádeva (Shiva) has also a third eye on the forehead. His head is surmounted by a crescent. He holds in his hand a weapon called *sula*, سول, in the form of a club but terminating in three points ;

moreover he carries a sword. With the left hand he seizes his wife Gauri, گور, the daughter of Hemamanta, هممانت, and holds her pressed to his bosom.

“If you make a statue of *Jina*, جن, that is to say,—of Buddha,—endeavour to impart to him a pleasing figure and well-shaped limbs. He must have the palms of his hands and the soles of his feet in the shape of a lotus. You will represent him seated, with grey hair, and breathing an air of goodness, as if he were the father of all creatures. If the figure of an Arhanta, ارهنت, is to be given to the Buddha, he is to be represented as a young man, naked, with a handsome figure and an agreeable physiognomy. He is to have his two hands supported by the knees, and his wife Sri (Yasodhára) is to be placed beneath his left nipple.

“Revanta, ريونت, the son of the Sun, is to be represented mounted on horseback, as if he were to go to the chase.

“Yama, جم, the god of death, is riding on a male buffalo and holds a mace in his hand.

“Kuvera, كبر, the guardian of riches, wears a crown on his head; his body is large, his sides broad, and he gets himself carried on the back of a man.

“The Sun is represented with a face as red as the marrow of a red lotus; his bosom shines like a ruby, his limbs are distinct, and he wears pendants in his ears. A pearl necklace hangs from his neck to his breast. On his head there is a crown, like that of high personages. In each hand he holds a lotus. According to the fashion of the inhabitants of northern regions, his garments descend down to the soles.

“Lastly, if you desire to represent the images of the seven mothers (*matri*), they are all to be united. Brahman (*Brahmi*) is (like Brahma) to have four faces, each turned to another side; Kaumari is to have six faces; Vaishnavi is to receive four hands; to Varahi you are to give a pig's head and a man's body; Indrani (Aindri) is to have a great many eyes with a club in the hand. Bhagavati (Maheswari) will be represented seated as we usually sit. As to Tchamuuda, you are to impart to her an aspect of deformity; her canine teeth are to protrude from the mouth, and she is to look emaciated.

“The two sons of Mahádeva are not to be forgotten:—Kshetra Pala, كشتير پال, is to have his hair bristling, a severe expression, and uncouth features. As to Vináyaka, بنايک, he is to have an elephant-head on a man's body with four hands.

“Moreover, each deity has its special priests. The servants of Vishnu are called Bhágavata بهاكبت ; those of the Sun, Maga, that is to say Magi (مك and مچورس), and those of Mahádeva, Bherava (the text has برار). The latter lead a life of mortification, allow their hair to grow, smear their body with ashes, carry about human bones, and wander in the jungles. The name of Brahmans is given to the adherents of Ashta matryn (“the eight *matrī*”), that of Samanœans to the Buddhists, and that of ... (تكمن) to the followers of Arhanta (the MS. has ادھنت).”

It may be observed that the name of Krishna, whose worship is so popular during the present age, does not occur here, and Varáhamihira himself mentions it only once. It appears that the exact period when Krishna obtained a place in the Hindu pantheon cannot be ascertained, and no convincing proofs have yet been adduced whether such had already been the case at the time of Alexander’s invasion, as some would have it, or after the full development of Brahmanism, as others believe. Reinaud was of opinion that if the worship of Krishna had begun to flourish during the fifth or sixth century, when the Brahmans commenced to prevail over the Buddhists, there is much probability that they made use of this romantic personage in order to move the minds of the masses, and to overturn the party of their adversaries. Prof. Dr. A. Weber had, in his dissertation on the Birth-festival of Krishna, studied numerous works which led him to the conclusion that “the *eleventh* century would be obtained as the period for which the *celebration of the festival* appears to be vouched for as *certain*. Moreover, the *consensus* of so many works of this kind leads us, after all, probably somewhat higher, since such a universal acknowledgment of the festival appears to warrant the conclusion that it was at the time of their composition a *generally* received one ; whence, again, the further suggestion presents itself that the *institution*, or rather the *introduction*, of it belongs to a *yet earlier* time.”<sup>58</sup> Lassen was of opinion that the *Bhagavad-Gita* must have been composed in the third century, and that the passages in the *Mahabharata* in which Krishna has divine honours attributed to him are of later origin, and that the Krishna *cultus* proper is not found before the fifth or sixth century.<sup>59</sup>

Now I shall proceed to the translation of that portion of Muḥammad Al-Shahrestány’s (born A.H. 479, A.D. 1086 ; died A.H. 548, A.D. 1153)

<sup>58</sup> See my translation “On the Krishṇajānmashtami, or Krishna’s Birth-festival, by Prof. A. Weber,” *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI., p. 179.

<sup>59</sup> *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I., p. 623.



“Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects,” كتاب الملل والنحل, which treats on the religions and philosophy of India. Of this important work we possess not only the Arabic text, edited by Cureton, but also the German translation of Haarbrücker; and, as has already been hinted, we shall have occasion to see how the statements of the *Kitáb-al-fihrist*, some of which were used, have been supplemented by additional information.

*Al-Shāhrastāni.*

(pp. ۳۴۴—۳۵۸.)

“We have already recorded that the Hindus are a large nation with a great religion. Their opinions are of different kinds. Some of them are Baráhamah Opinions of the Hindus. *البراهمة* [Brahmans], who altogether deny prophecies; some of them incline to materialism, *المادهر*; whilst others profess dualism, *مذهب الثنوية*, which is said to have been the religion of Abraham (on whom be peace!); but most of them adhere to the ways and tenets of the Çábyans. Some profess to be spiritualists, some assume mansions, and others adore idols, so that they differ only in the form of the doctrines they have invented, and in the quality of the figures (of the idols) which they have set up. Some of them are philosophers, according to the manner of the Greeks, in theory and in practice; and as to those of them who adhere to the principles of materialism, dualism, and Çábyanism, the discussion of those tenets before [in a previous portion of the work] allows us to dispense with an indication of their doctrines [in this place]; those, however, who differ from them in views and opinions are of five classes:—The Baráhamah, the spiritualists, the possessors of temples, worshippers of idols, and philosophers, whose opinions we shall now record as we found them in their well-known books.

“Some imagine that they were called Baráhamah from some connection with Abraham (on whom be peace!); but that is a mistake, because it is a peculiarity of these people to altogether deny prophecies: how then could they acknowledge Abraham, and the people among the Hindus who believed in the prophetship of Abraham? Then there are among them the dualists, who hold the tenets about light and darkness according to the sect of dualists whose religion we have described [in a former part of the book], only that these Baráhamah are descendants

of a man among them whose name was Barhám, برهام, who expounded to them the total negation of prophecies, and demonstrated to them the impossibility thereof according to reason, on various grounds, some of which he stated as follows :—‘ That which an apostle promulgates must be of either of the two following kinds : it must be reasonable or unreasonable ; if the former, our common sense will suffice to grasp it and to attain it ; what need then have we for an apostle ? But if the latter, it will not be acceptable, since the acceptance of what is unreasonable is an overstepping of the bounds of humanity, and an entering into the illicit region of animality. Another ground is this :—Reason informs us that God (Whose name be exalted !) is a sage, but a sage exacts only such duties from the people as are indicated to them by their understanding ; but the indications presented by the intellect show that the world has an omniscient, omnipotent, and all-wise Maker, and that He confers on His worshippers favours that demand gratitude ; so that when we contemplate by the aid of our intellects the miracles of His creation we ought to thank Him for the benefits He has granted us. Accordingly when we have known and thanked Him we deserve His reward ; but if we have denied and disbelieved Him we deserve His punishment. What need then have we to follow a man like ourselves ? If he commands us that which we have mentioned concerning the knowledge of and gratitude to God, we are by our own intellects made independent of him ; but if he orders us to do the contrary thereof his words plainly point to his falsity. A further ground is this :—The intellect points to an all-wise Maker, but a sage will not exact duties from the people which are disgraceful according to their intellects. The founders of religions have nevertheless enjoined ordinances that appear disgraceful to the intellect : such, for instance, as turning towards a particular house during worship, the walking round it, the running, the throwing of stones, the putting on of the Ehram [pilgrim’s dress], the Talabbayyah [shouting Labbayka,] the kissing of the dumb [inanimate] stone, as well as the slaughtering of animals for sacrifice, the prohibition of that which may serve as food to man, the permission of what may hurt the constitution, &c. ; all of which things are contrary to the judgments of reason. A further ground is this :—The greatest transgression in apostleship is that you should obey a man who is like yourself in stature, in soul and intellect, who eats as you do, and drinks as you do ; nevertheless you occupy with reference to him the position of a stone which he

takes up or puts down, or a beast which he drives forward or pulls back, or a slave to whom he issues his commands and prohibitions. Then by what difference from you, or by what excellence of him over you, are you bound to obey him? What is the argument for the truth of his pretensions? If you are deluded merely by his assertions, verily there is no difference between one assertion and another; but if you have been overcome by his arguments and miraculous assertions, verily we possess numberless statements concerning the peculiarities of qualities and substances, as well as instructors about the mysteries of invisible things, the instructions about which are unequalled. "Their apostles have said to them: Verily we are only human beings like yourselves, but God bestoweth His gifts on those of His servants whom He willeth"<sup>60</sup>; but if you confess that the world has a wise Creator and Maker, then confess that He is also the judge of His creation, and that there is a command and decision of His for everything we do, vow, know, or think. Nor is every human intellect prepared to understand His command, or to receive His decision; but [in lieu of creating all intellects of the same capacity] His bounty required that there should be an arrangement of intellects and souls, and His decree made it necessary that some of them should be raised "degrees above the others, that the one may take the other to serve him, but the mercy of thy Lord is more valuable than the [riches] which they gather together;"<sup>61</sup> and the great mercy of the Lord is prophecy and apostleship, and this is more valuable than what they gather with their intellects."

"Of them are the adherents of the Buddadah [i.e. Buddhists, the word Buddadah being the plural of Budd, a statue first of Buddha, and by extension any other idol]; and of them are the adherents of meditation, and of them are the adherents of metempsychosis.

"Among them Budd means an individual in this world who is not born, does not marry, does not eat, does not drink, does not become decrepit, and does not die. The name of the first Budd who appeared in the world was Shákmyñ, شاكمين [Çakyamúni], which means 'the noble prince;' and from the time of his appearance to that of the Hijret five thousand years have elapsed [!]. They state that under the degree of the Budd is that of the Bódysa'yah, البوديسعية [Bodhisattva], which means 'the man who seeks the way of the truth';

<sup>60</sup> *Kandah* XIV. 13.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibiden*, XLIII. 31.

this degree is attained by patience, by alms, by striving for what it is necessary to strive after, by abstinence and isolation from the world, by keeping aloof from its lusts and pleasures, by abstinence from what is prohibited in it, by compassion for all created beings, and by avoiding the ten transgressions—namely, taking the life of any living being, covetousness of the goods of others [euphemism for stealing], fornication, mendacity, calumny, obscenity, insulting expressions and epithets, foolishness, and denial of a requital in the next world; and by practising the ten virtues—the first of which is benevolence and magnanimity; the second, pardoning offences, and warding off anger by meekness; the third, refraining from worldly desires; the fourth, meditating on purification from this perishable for the imperishable world; the fifth, exercising the intellect by science, culture, and manifold contemplation of the sequels of things; the sixth, the power to employ the soul in striving after exalted matters; the seventh, soft words and fair speech to everybody; the eighth, pleasing intercourse with brethren by preferring their opinions to one's own; the ninth, total isolation from mankind, and turning to the truth entirely; and the tenth, abandoning the spirit from a craving for the truth, and for union with the lord of truth. They believe that the Buddadah had come to them according to the number of the river Kyl الكيل<sup>62</sup>, and that they had come to them with the sciences, appearing to them at various times as incarnations, but only in royal families, on account of the nobleness of their essence. They assent, without any difference, to what is recorded concerning them about the eternity of the world, as well as about their belief in the requital [in the next world], as we have reported. The appearance of the Buddadah is peculiar to the country of Hind, on account of the great variety of its regions and climates, as well as of the multitude of persons devoted to asceticism and religious striving. Budd, as they describe him, resembles, if they have spoken the truth, only Khider,<sup>63</sup> whom the professors of Islám acknowledge.

“These are the men of science among them, who know the sphere, the stars and the decisions connected with them. The method of Hindus is contrary to that of the Greek and the Persian astronomers, because they draw most of their decisions from the con-

<sup>62</sup> A mistake for الكنك, the Ganges; see also footnote 52; as the Ganges has seven branches, so there were seven Buddhas.

<sup>63</sup> His adventures with Moses are narrated in the XVIIIth Surah of the Korán.

junctions of the fixed in lieu of the moving stars [*i.e.* planets], deriving their decisions from the peculiarities of the stars, and not from their natures. They consider Saturn to be 'the greatest luck,' on account of his high position and large size, and to bestow general benefits as well as partial misfortunes. Thus all the stars have their own natures and peculiarities; but the Greeks draw their decisions from the former, and the Hindus from the latter. The case is the same with their medical science, as they consider the peculiarities of diseases, and not their nature, wherein the Greeks differ from them.

"These adherents of meditation think very highly of it, and assert that it mediates between physical and metaphysical things, because the forms of physical things, and likewise the truths of metaphysical things, are referable to it; accordingly it is the receptacle of the two sciences of both worlds [the visible and the invisible]; hence they strive most diligently until they separate imagination and meditation from physical things by practising a great deal of self-subjugation [asceticism] with laudable efforts, so that when meditation becomes emancipated from this world the next world is revealed to it; thus meditation may give tidings of the mysteries of affairs, and may acquire the power of withholding rain, or may cause imagination so to overwhelm a living man that it kills him instantly. This ought not to be surprising, because imagination exerts wonderful influence on the movements of the body [which is governed by the soul], and action is in the soul [which in its turn may be overpowered by imagination]. Is not the effect of the evil eye an act of the imagination in a man? Does it not happen that a man walking on a high wall falls down instantly, without stepping in any manner different from that in which he walks on the ground? When imagination works alone it performs wonderful feats; to accomplish this the Hindus keep their eyes shut for many days and nights, lest meditation and imagination should be distracted by physical things. When in this isolation another imagination joins it, both work together, especially if they agree extremely well with each other; for this reason they are, in an emergency, in the habit of assembling forty men of unblemished character, intimate with each other, and of the same opinion concerning that which has happened; whereupon the weighty business which was difficult to them to bear becomes plain, and the hard trial, the load of which pressed on them, is removed.

"The Bakrantynyah means 'those who are girded with iron.'

The Bakrantynyah.

Their tenets require them to shave their heads and beards, to bare their bodies,

except the sexual parts, and to gird their bodies, from the middle to the breast, lest their bellies should burst, from their great science, their impetuous imagination, and the force of meditation. Perhaps they have discovered some property in iron which it has in common with imaginations ; how else could it prevent the bursting of the belly, and how could much science make it necessary ?

“ We have already mentioned the tenets of the adherents of metempsychosis, nor is there any religion in which metempsychosis has not a firm footing ; only the methods of demonstrating it are different. The faith of the Hindus in metempsychosis was strengthened

Adherents of metempsychosis.

when they beheld a bird making its appearance at an appointed time, alighting on a tree, laying eggs, and producing little ones. When the bird had thus propagated its species, it rubbed its beak and talons together, whereupon fire issued from them and consumed the bird. During this process of cremation oil had distilled from the bird, which accumulated in a hole at the root of the tree. When a year has elapsed, and the time of the re-appearance of the bird is at hand, one like the first is formed from this oil ; it flies about, settles on the tree, &c., and this goes on for ever. They say that within the universe and its inhabitants in the circles and rings [thereof] nothing occurs except in this manner : [thus for instance] they assert that, as the movements of the spheres are undoubtedly circular, the point of the compass arrives there where it began from, and describes a second circle upon the first which is undoubtedly identical therewith. Nor will there be any difference between the two circles, unless a difference be assumed between the two effects ; but these are repeated as they had begun, so that the stars and spheres rotate around the first centre, and their distances, conjunctions, aspects, and relations do not differ in any way ; it is therefore necessary that neither the effects originating from them should differ in any way ; and this is the metempsychosis of circles and rings. There is a difference among them concerning the [duration of the] greatest circle [or period] in the number of years, the majority reckoning it to consist of thirty thousand, whilst others assign to it three hundred and sixty thousand years. In these circles they take into account the motion of the fixed stars, but not of the planets. Most Hindus also believe that the celestial sphere is composed of water, fire, and wind, and that the stars therein are fiery, airy, and that, excepting only the earthy element, the upper existences are not subject to annihilation.

“Among the Hindus there is a community which has established spiritual mediators, who come to them with a message from God (Whose name be glorified and honoured!); they come in the form of human beings and bring no book; they command some things, and forbid some things; they establish a religious law for the people, and explain its limits. The veracity of such a man is known by freedom from the frailties of the world, and by his abstaining from food, drink, sexual intercourse, &c.

Spiritualists.

“They believe their apostle to be a spiritual angel who came down to earth in the form of a man. He commanded them to magnify fire, to make to it offerings of perfumes, odours, oils, and victims; to abstain from murder, and not to slaughter any animal except as due to fire. He made it a law for them to put on a string, which they knot together from their right till its ends meet under their left shoulder. He prohibited to them also mendacity, the drinking of wine, or eating food with persons not of their own religion, and eating of animals slaughtered by such persons; but he allowed to them adultery, lest their posterity might be cut off. He ordered them to make an idol resembling him; to approach it, to adore it, and to walk round it every day thrice, with musical instruments, fumigation, song and dance. He ordered them to magnify cows, and to worship them whenever they perceived any, and to take refuge in penitence by stroking them. He also enjoined the people not to go beyond the river Gauges.

The Basuyah.<sup>64</sup>

“They believe their apostle to be a spiritual angel in human form, and his name is Bahuvadh.<sup>65</sup> He came riding on a bull, having on his head a crown made of human skulls, and wearing a necklace of the same material. In one of his hands he held a human cranium, and in the other a trident. He ordered them to adore the Creator (Whose name be honoured and glorified!), and his own self likewise, by making an idol resembling him, which they should worship; they should not abominate anything, as all things are of the same kind, made by the Creator; they should take human bones as necklaces, as well as crowns of the same, and wear them on their heads; they should smear their bodies and heads with ashes. He prohibited them from slaughtering victims and from accu-

The Bahuvadiah.

<sup>64</sup> The word transliterated above is spelt *إله مسوية* in Causton's edition, but Haubrücke, p. 363, has *Bismū'ya*, which is indeed closer to *Vaishnavya* than the above.

<sup>65</sup> Paṇupati—Siva? Haubrücke, p. 264.





the world, and produces the lower existences. He is the king of the firmament, deserving of glorification, adoration, fumigation, and invocation. They are called Al-Dynkytyah, *الد ينكيتية*, that is to say, 'the sun-worshippers.' According to their law, they take for a god an idol holding in its hand a precious stone of the colour of fire. He has a special temple built in his name, to which revenues from landed estates and villages are attached, as well as guardians and officers; and they come to the temple, where they pray thrice; also decrepit and sick persons arrive, who fast for the idol, pray to it, and invoke it for the purpose of recovery.<sup>67</sup>

"The moon-worshippers believe that the moon is one of the angels deserving of magnification and service; that the direction of this nether world and some of the special affairs therein pertain to it, as well as the ripening of produced things and their attaining perfection; by its increase and decrease the seasons and hours are known; it follows and accompanies the sun, obtains its light therefrom, and the aspect thereof entails its own increase and diminution. These are called Jandrikanyah, *الجندريكنيه*,<sup>68</sup> namely, worshippers of the moon. It is a part of their religious law to make an idol in the shape of a calf, and in the hand of the idol there is a jewel. According to their religion they worship and serve the idol, and during one-half of every month they keep a fast, which they do not break till the moon rises, whereupon they bring to its idol food, drink, and milk; then they pray to him, look at the moon and ask him about their affairs. When the new moon is just beginning to appear, they mount the roofs, kindle fumigatories, invoke it as soon as they perceive it, adore it, and then come down from the roofs to eat, to drink, to rejoice and to take their pleasure; nor do they look at it except with a pleased countenance; and when they have in the middle of the month broken the fast, they begin dancing, playing, and making music in front of the idol and the moon.

"Be aware that all the sects we have just mentioned are after all referable to the worship of idols because they have no other conception of a method [of adoration] unless in the presence of a simulacre at which they may look, and to which they may assiduously devote themselves; for this

<sup>67</sup> Nearly the same words in the *Kitáb-al-fihrist*, p. 348

<sup>68</sup> Haarbrücker has Jandrikiya, from Tchandraka moon.

reason the spiritualists [or worshippers of spiritual beings] and the astrolaters have constructed idols which they believed to represent the absent objects of their adoration ; in short, such is the case whenever idols have been set up ; so that they are constructed according to the form, shape, or figure of the objects as representing them and standing in their place ; as we certainly know that no reasonable man would carve a piece of wood with his own hand, and then believe it to be his god, his creator and the creator of all, because his own existence would thus precede the existence of his maker, his figure having been produced by the carver's art. When the people devoted themselves to the worship of idols and connected their affairs with them without any permission, approbation, reason or power to do so, from God (Whose name be exalted !), their devoting themselves and worship and imploring [idols] in their affairs is an attribution of divinity to them. Wherefore they said ' we worship them only that they may bring us nearer unto God.' <sup>69</sup> If they were in their [worship of] simulacres to confine themselves to the belief of Majesty and Deity, they would not go beyond them to the Lord of Lords.

"They have an idol called Mahákál, <sup>70</sup> مہاکال, with four hands and much hair dangling from the head. In one of its hands is a large serpent with open mouth, in the other a staff, in the third a human skull, which is repelled by the fourth. In its two ears there are two serpents like two earrings, and on its body there are two large serpents coiling around it ; on its head is a diadem of skull bones, and on his neck a collar of the same materials. They believe him to be a goblin deserving of worship on account of his great power, as well as for both his good and his bad qualities ; for his giving and withholding ; beneficence and maleficence, and because he is a refuge to them in their necessities. He has great temples in India, which the adherents of his sect visit thrice daily ; they worship him and walk round him. They have a large place called Akhtar, اختر, <sup>71</sup> containing a large idol in the shape of this idol, to which they come from all parts to worship it there, and to ask for worldly necessities, so that a man says in his prayers :—' Marry me to such and such a woman and give me such

<sup>69</sup> Korán XXXIX. 4.

<sup>70</sup> Confer this with the *Kiláb-ul-fhris* here, or text p. ۳۴۸.

<sup>71</sup> Both Haubrúcker and Reinaud (*Mém.* p. 292) consider this to be 'اجین', *ajin*.

and such a thing." Some of them visit the idol, remaining there days and nights without eating anything, and asking for something until it perhaps actually happens.

The Barkas-hykyah adopt for themselves an idol which they worship and to which they offer gifts; and for the place of their worship of it they search for a high and thick tree, such as are in the mountains, and selecting the handsomest and longest of them, they constitute that place the spot of their adoration. Hereupon they take the idol and carry it to a large tree of those trees, selecting on it a place for setting up the idol; then they worship and walk round that tree.

According to their religion the Dahkynyah make an idol in the shape of a woman [the wife of Shiva] having a crown on her head, and many hands. They have a festival once a year about the equinox when the Sun enters the sign of the Balance. On that day they erect a large arbour in front of that idol, to which they bring offerings of sheep and other animals; they do not slaughter them, but strike their necks with swords. They also kill human beings for sacrifices when they can catch them by stratagem, until the festival is completed, but they have a bad reputation among all Hindus on account of the stratagem.

The Jalahakyah, namely, the worshippers of water [Jala], believe water to be an angel with other angels, and to be the origin of all things, so that it produces all things, such as sprouting, growing, duration, purification and fertility, and that no operation in the world takes place without requiring water. When a man is about to adore water he undresses himself, covers his sexual parts and enters it until it reaches his waist; then he remains an hour or two or more, takes as many aromatic plants as he can, cuts them into small pieces, and throws them gradually into the water, whilst he is engaged in adoration and

<sup>72</sup> Plainly connected with *Vraksha*, tree. There was once a very celebrated tree of this kind, probably a *Ficus Indica*, at Prayaga, the ancient site of which corresponds to the present Allahabad; it is described as follows by Albyrúny (Reinard, footnote 2 to p. 103, *Fragments*, &c.):—"At the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges there is a large tree called *Prayaga* [place of sacrifice]. This tree has the peculiarity that from its trunk two kinds of branches issue—the one, like those of any other trees, rise into the air, and the other sink into the ground without bearing leaves. The latter branches serve, so to say, as columns to the former, which spread out to an immense distance. The Hindus mount the tree in order to leap from it into the river."

<sup>73</sup> *Dakshinā*, dexter; there is also a caste of the sinister, i.e. left hand.

recitation. When he wishes to depart he agitates the water with his hand, besprinkling his head, face, and whole body whilst departing, then he worships and goes away.<sup>74</sup>

The Agniwátryah, namely, the worshippers of fire, believe that fire is the greatest of the elements in body, the widest in extent, the highest in position, the noblest in its essence, the most luminous in light, and the most subtle in its volume and nature ; that it is more needed than any other substances in nature, that there is no light in the world except through it, no life, no growth, no connection except by commingling therewith. They worship fire by digging a quadrangular pit in the earth and placing it therein ; they do not fail to throw into it savoury food, pleasant beverages, nice garments, aromatic perfumes, and costly jewels, as a means of approaching it and obtaining blessings from it, but they hold it illicit to throw living beings into it or to burn bodies therein, contrary to the tenets of another community of Hindu ascetics ; and according to this sect most of the kings and grandees of the Hindus magnify the fire for the sake of its essence with abundant magnifying, and prefer it to all other existing things. Among them are also ascetics and worshippers who sit around the fire fasting, and obstructing their nostrils so that no breath issuing from an impure breast may reach it. It is their religious law to promote good and to suppress bad qualities, namely mendacity, envy, hatred, quarrelsomeness, unrighteousness, and impudence, so that when a man emancipates himself from them he approaches the fire, and obtains proximity thereto.

The Greek philosopher Pythagoras had a disciple named Kalánús, who, after learning wisdom from him and being his disciple, went to one of the cities of India, where he propagated the doctrine

<sup>74</sup> There were also other spots besides Prayaga where Hindus sacrificed their lives, and one of them is thus described by Maçúdi (*Mém. géogr. &c.*, p. 230):—"It is said that the Hindus who wish to die in the Ganges betake themselves to a certain spot of the upper part of its course, among steep mountains and trees bared of their leaves. Near at hand there are men who preach renunciation of the world and the advantages of another life. Iron spits and swords are fixed on trees or posts destined for this purpose. Hindus who come from the most distant provinces listen to the sermons of these preachers, placed on the river-bank ; then they precipitate themselves from the height of the mountains upon the trees and iron spits, and fall piece-meal into the river."

<sup>75</sup> The word *اگنوطریہ* is probably formed from Agnihotra : *Haarbrücker*. See on this sect and the preceding ones the transl. of the *Dabestán* by D. Shea, Vol. II. pp. 242 seq.

of Pythagoras. Brahmanan was a man of great intelligence, of considerable acuteness, of very accurate thought, and desirous of obtaining information about the upper worlds; he had learnt wisdom from Kalánús<sup>70</sup> the philosopher, and appropriated his science and art. When Kalánús died Brahmanan became the leader of all the Hindus, whom he taught to purify their bodies and to cultivate their minds. He said that to him who cultivates his mind, hastens to abandon this impure world, and purifies his body from its defilements, everything will be revealed, every secret will be plain, he will obtain power over all difficulties, he will enjoy pleasure, joy, ecstasy, and lovely feelings without satiety or fatigue, nor will he ever become tired or weary. When he had explained to them the system and had demonstrated it with satisfactory arguments, they became very zealous. He also said to them, "The abandonment of the pleasures of this world will procure you those of the next, so that you will join it and be received in the ranks thereof, enjoying its pleasures and delights for ever." Accordingly the Hindus accepted this speech and it took root in their hearts; then Brahmanan was taken away from them by death, but his doctrine had, on account of their great anxiety, and on account of their haste to participate in that world, already become incarnated in their minds. They became, however, divided into two sects, one of which said that in this world there can be no sin more evident than sexual propagation, because it results from physical pleasure and is the fruit of the sperm of lust; wherefore it is illicit, as well as the savoury food and the generous beverage, with everything else that excites lust, physical pleasure, and awakens the animal spirits. Accordingly they limited themselves to a small quantity of food, just sufficient to support their bodies, whilst some of them disregarded even that slender allowance in order the more quickly to reach the upper world; and others, who perceived that their life had indeed been defiled, threw themselves into the fire as a purification of their soul, an ablution of the body, and a liberation of the mind; and, lastly, others collected the enjoyments of the world, such as food, drink, raiment, and the like, placing them before their eyes, so that at the sight thereof the animal spirit may be moved to covet these things, whilst the force of the rational spirit prohibits the enjoyment of them, until the body becomes emaciated and the spirit weakened, so that they separate on account of the slenderness of the bonds which had united them.

<sup>70</sup> He is mentioned also in the "Indika of Megasthenes." See *Ind. Antiquary*, Vol. VI., p. 334.

The other sect [on the contrary] believed sexual propagation, food, drink, and every other pleasure to be lawful according to the right way of using them, and but few overstepped this way by excess. There were adherents of both parties who followed the philosophical and scientific system of Pythagoras, so that they improved themselves to be able to perceive the good and the evil in the souls of their companions, and to give accounts thereof; thereby the latter were incited in their zeal for the practice of meditation, and of the subjugation of evil desires, in order to attain that [degree of perfection] which their [more advanced] companions had attained. Their tenet about the Creator (whose name be exalted!) is that He is pure light, but that He has put on a body for a covering so that only he who is deserving of it may behold Him, just as when in this world anybody dresses himself in the skin of a beast; so that on putting it on, any person whose sight alights on him may see him, but when he does not put it on, no one can see him. They imagine that they are like prisoners in this world, and that he who contends against the lusting spirit, so as to keep it off from its pleasures, is saved from the sins of the lower world, but that he who does not keep it off remains a prisoner therein, and that he who desires to contend against all this is able to do so by renouncing pride and self-complacency, by quenching lust and covetousness, and by keeping aloof from everything pointing and leading to them. When Alexander arrived in that country and desired to make war against it, he experienced difficulty in conquering the city of one of these two sects, namely that which considers the use of the pleasures of this world licit as long as they are not injurious to the body; but he strove until he had conquered the city and slain many wise men of it; and they saw the bodies of their slain people as if they were bodies of white, pure fishes which are in the fresh water; and when they saw this they repented of their acts and let the remaining ones alone. The second sect, which believed that there is no good in the taking of women and begetting progeny, nor in any carnal pleasures, wrote a letter to Alexander in which they praised him for his love of wisdom, for adherence to knowledge, and for his honouring men of intellect; they asked from him a wise man who might dispute with them; accordingly he despatched to them one whom they excelled in speculation as well as in practice, whereupon Alexander departed, but sent them costly offerings and noble gifts; and they said, "If wisdom has such an effect on kings in this world, how would it be if we were to devote ourselves thereto as we ought, so as to adhere to it perfectly?"

Their disputations which have just been alluded to are recorded in the writings of Aristotle. One of their religious customs is to look at the rising sun, to adore it and to say :—“ How beautiful is thy light ! How brilliant ! How illuminating ! Human eyes cannot enjoy the sight of thee ! If thou art the first light, above which there is no other light, then glory and praise are due to thee ; then we seek thee and hasten to thee in order to attain an abode near thee, to contemplate thy highest creation. But if there be above thee one higher than thou, another light by which thou hast been caused, then this glory and this praise is due to it ; but we have hastened and have left all the pleasures of this world to become like thee, to reach thy world, and to join thy habitations. If that which has been caused is so full of glory and of majesty, what then will be the glory, the majesty, the praiseworthiness, and the perfection of the cause ! It is the duty of every seeker to abandon all enjoyment in order to attain close proximity to it, and to enter into the communion of its companions and associates.”

#### TIRTHAS.

According to the statement of Albyrúny<sup>77</sup> the Hindus have no obligatory pilgrimage like the Moslems. Any person desirous of undertaking a pious journey goes to some place renowned for its purity, or to some idol, or perhaps to the banks of some river considered holy for the purpose of performing ablutions, paying homage to an idol, making offerings, reciting prayers, fasting, bestowing gifts on Brahmans and servants of temples, shaving the head and beard. After completing all the customary ceremonies the pilgrim travels home again. Albyrúny expresses himself as follows :—“ In various localities, which enjoy special consideration, the Hindus construct tanks where they go to purify themselves. These tanks are places of such admirable workmanship that our countrymen are, on beholding them, seized with admiration, and, far from being able to construct similar ones, they are scarcely able to describe those which exist. The walls consist of large blocks of stone, symmetrically arranged, and connected by iron bars. Steps lead down to the bottom of the tank, and the whole is so arranged that the bathers may go up and down without confusion.” Albyrúny mentions, according to the Puráṇas, first of all, the tanks situated near the sources of the Ganges, to which pilgrims crowd through snows and frosts. Then he mentions the tanks of Tanésser, which he says

bears the name of Korukter,<sup>78</sup> which means the field of Koru. These places, continues Albyrúny, acquired new lustre afterwards, during the wars of the Páṇḍavas and the Kauravas ; he, and before him Hiwen Thsang, mentioned also the tank of Multán, which was less visited by pilgrims after the Musalman invasion than in ancient times. Benares was, according to Albyrúny, likewise a city of great sanctity to which the Hindus went on pilgrimage from the most distant localities, nearly in the same manner as Muḥammadans go to Mekkah. The greatest ambition of the Hindus was to be able to die in this city ; in fact, says Albyrúny, every criminal who succeeded in planting his foot within its holy precincts was safe from pursuit, and persons who expired there had much less cause to dread the wrath of God for their past faults.

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<sup>78</sup> کورکٲٲر or کورکٲٲٲر in Sanskrit *Kurukshetra*, and Hindustani *Kurukhet*.



ART. V.—*Notes on Inscriptions in Kachh.*

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The following notes are summarized from a letter by the Honourable Ráo Sáheb V. N. Maṅḍlik, C.S.I., to the Secretary to Government, General Department, dated 2nd April 1878, on the subject of certain inscriptions in Kachh, copies of which had been submitted to the Committee for remark.

The inscriptions in question are comparatively modern, and of little more than local interest. Abstracts of them are inserted here, not for any intrinsic value they may possess, but in order to warn any intending inquirers in Kachh that there is little or nothing of special archæological interest within the scope of such cursory searches as those which resulted in the collection of the transcripts herein briefly described. With regard to the locality of *Náráyaṇ Sarovar* it is quite probable that extended or more systematic investigations might bring to light remains, relics, or indications of considerable interest. The only places that present any obvious antiquarian interest in Kachh are Koṭeśvar and *Náráyaṇ Sarovar*. Koṭeśvar suffered considerably in the great earthquake in Kachh 1819, and most of the buildings situated there had either to be rebuilt or repaired (*Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Vol. III., reprint, pp. 97, 124, and *Lyell's Principles of Geology*, 11th edition, Vol. II., pp. 98-104).

*Náráyaṇ Sar* (*Náráyaṇ Sarovar*, 'lake of *Náráyaṇ*') is a place of pilgrimage sacred to Vishṇu. In the *Bhágavat Purána* it is described as a sacred place on or near the mouth of the Indus, where the sons of Daxa used to resort for religious devotion (*Bhágavat Purána*, 6th *Skanda*, 5th *Adhyáya*, verses 2 and 3—*Náráyaṇ Sarovar Máhátmya* being part of the *Vishṇu Purána*).

The following abstract will suffice to indicate the nature of the inscriptions which have been referred to the Society for notice :—

No. 1. On the temple of Santináth at Kothara; is quite modern, being dated Samvat 1918 (A. C. 1861). It comprises the names of the then Ráo of Kachh, H. H. Prágmalji, Mr. Keahavaji Naik of Bombay, and Mr. Shivji Nensi of Kachh and Bombay.

No. 2. On the shrine of Trikamráya at *Náráyaṇ Sar*. Date Samvat 1790, Śaka 1656. The shrine was built in the time of Mahárája Ráo Śri Desalji.

No. 3. On the shrine of Śri Lakshmi at *Náráyaṇ Sar*. Built in Samvat 1797, Śaka 1662, the reigning prince being Mahárája Ráo Śri Desalji.

No. 4. On the shrine of Ranchodji at Náráyaṅ Sar, built in the same year as the above.

No. 5. On the shrine of Govardhananáth at Náráyaṅ Sar, also dating from the same year.

No. 6. Also of the same date, on the shrine of Adya Náráyaṅ at Náráyaṅ Sar, built by Vaghelibai, the principal wife of Ráo Śrí Desalji.

No. 7. On the shrine of Lakshmi Náráyaṅ at Náráyaṅ Sar, built in Saṁvat 1790, by Vaghelibai Śrí Mahákuvarbai, principal wife of Ráo Śrí Desalji.

No. 8. On the left side of the gate of the courtyard at Koṭeśvar. It records the construction of the walls and the granary of the temples of Śrí Koṭeśvarji and Kalyáṇeśvarji, together with the city hall, in Saṁvat 1878 (A.C. 1821).

No. 9. On the right side of the temple of Koṭeśvar. This inscription mentions the destruction of the temple of "the auspicious Koṭeśvar" by earthquake in Saṁvat 1875 (A. C. 1818), and its reconstruction, "under an inspiration from God," in Saṁvat 1877, during the reign of Ráo Śrí Desalji.

No. 10. On the left side of the temple of Koṭeśvar; also relates to the reconstruction of the temple mentioned in No. 9.

No. 11. On the marble slab in the middle of the floor of the *maṅḍapa* of Koṭeśvar; bears the names Khatri Jeṭhá and Sundaraji Śivaji.

No. 12. On the left side of the temple of Kalyáṇeśvar at Koṭeśvar. This refers to the inauguration of the temple by Khatri Jeṭhá and Sundaraji Śivaji in Saṁvat 1878, Śaka 1743 (A.C. 1821).

No. 13. On a stone in the burying-ground at Guntri, probably commemorative of a *sati*.

No. 14. On the left side of the temple of Avapura at Madha; records the completion of the temple, as well as of another, dedicated to Śiva, in Saṁvat 1880, Śaka 1746 (A.C. 1821).

No. 15. On the left side of a tomb near Pipper, dated Saṁvat 1612.

No. 16. On the wall above the door on the eastern side of Modeś Kuba at Gholai.

No. 17. On the wall of the temple of Kakheśvar at Vinjana; is (with the exception of No. 2) one of the oldest of these. It mentions the commencement in Saṁvat 1688, Śaka 1554 (A. C. 1631), during the reign of Ráo Śrí Bhármalji of that temple by a Bháṭiá merchant, Ṭhakar Jeráj, and its completion in Saṁvat 1697.

No. 18. On the right side of the temple of Ohaturbhujá Raya, showing that it was built in Saṁvat 1776.

No. 19. On the jamb of the entrance of Dhoramanáth's temple at Ryannu, dated Saṁvat 1605. Recites names of Bhikárináth and his disciples of the sect of Dhoramanáth, and of Ráo Bhármalji.

No. 20. On a marble pedestal in the shrine of Dhoramanáth at Ryannu. Mentions the construction of a throne in the shrine by Pir Śrí Śankarnáth in Saṁvat 1916 (Śaka 1781, A.C. 1859).

No. 21. On the lintel of the entrance of Phuleśvar's temple near Bagda. It records the rebuilding the temple in Saṁvat 1854 (A.C. 1797).

No. 22. On the well between Bagda and Wagori. It mentions the reconstruction of the well in Saṁvat 1891 (A.C. 1834).

No. 23. On the wall of the Jain temple of Vaspujaji at Sikra. The temple was built in Saṁvat 1773, Śake 1638 (A. C. 1716).

No. 24. On a *palia* at Sikra, bearing five incomplete, unintelligible lines. Date Saṁvat 1060 (A.C. 1003).

Nos. 25-35. On the temples at Kanthakot. These are not correctly taken, but they are evidently important.

No. 36. On a pillar near the Sun temple at Kanthakot. The temple of the Sun is a novelty in India, for although worship of the Sun is included in most of the cults in the country there are but few temples dedicated thereto.

No. 37. On a grooved lintel of the Malan Vao in the temple of Achalesvar, Gedi. Refers to the repair of the Sabha mandapa in Samvat (1)533, Saka (1)398.

No. 38. On the right side of the wall of the temple of Lakshmi Nārāyan, Gedi, showing the temple to have been repaired in Samvat 1877, in the time of Bānā Śri Sartanji.

No. 39. On the pedestal of the image of Ganpati; Gedi gives the date Samvat 1675.

No. 40. On the back of the marble image of Adīśvar in Mahāvira's temple, Gedi; gives the date Samvat 1534.

No. 41. On the back of the 5th Santināth's image in Mahāvira's temple at Gedi. Gives the date Samvat 1786 (Saka 1786, A.C. 1864).

No. 42. In the temple of Ravechi at Bāo, showing the temple to have been built in Samvat 1878 (A. C. 1821), at the expense of Korees 24,000, by Bai Śri Sāmabai.

No. 43. On Palia standing outside the courtyard near Ravechi's temple, Bāo, commemorating the building of a well in Samvat 1326 (A.C. 1271).

No. 44. On a Palia in the Chhatri of Bāo Bhārmalji at Bhuj, commemorating the burning as *sati* in Samvat 1688 (A.C. 1631) of Bai Śri Lilavati, daughter of the tributary prince of Junāgadh, and queen of Bāo Bhārmalji.

No. 45. On a Palia in the Chhatri of Prāgji at Bhuj; gives the date Samvat 1637 (A.C. 1715) as the time of the death of Bāo Prāgmalji, son of Bāo Rayadhanji.

No. 46. On the marble slabs in the temple of Śivara Mandapa at Bhuj. It is dated Samvat 1805, Saka 1671 (A.C. 1748), and refers to the inauguration of the hall in front of the temple of Śivarām (?).

ART. VI.—*A few analogies in the "Thousand and one Nights" and in Latin authors.*—By E. REHATSEK.

It would be superfluous to rehearse in this place all that has been written concerning the origin of the tales called the "Thousand and one Nights," the majority of which are undoubtedly of purely Arabic or of arabized origin. Hammer Purgstall communicated his views on the Persian origin of these Arabic tales in the *Journal Asiatique* for August 1839. According to the *Kitáb-al-fihrist*, the book *Hezár efsaneh* had been composed already during the first dynasty of Persia; these stories, in which Shehrazádeh and Dunyazádeh practise the ruse upon the king, are said to have been composed by Homái the daughter of Behrám, and Alexander is believed to have had these tales read to him at night.

We possess only the Arabic translation of the Pehlvi tales, under the name of *Kalilah va Demnah*, and the modernized Persian, *Anvar-i Sohaili*, but their Sanskrit original has long ago been pointed out by the illustrious Silvestre de Sacy. The existence of some of these tales in the "Thousand and one Nights" in a still recognizable form, and also referable to the *Anvar-i Sohaili* (e. g. Macnaghten's ed., vol. I., p. 70 in the *Híkayet al-melik-al-Sindibád*, where the falcon is killed by the king on account of spilling the water of the cup which he meant to drink, but which the falcon knew to contain poison from the snake nestling on the tree), to the *Vikramacharitra* (the machine horse for flying in the air; *ibid.*, Night 357), to the *Kathá Sarit Sagara* and to other Indian works, also shows that not only Persian but Indian materials were used in the composition of the "Thousand and one Nights," most of which, however, are, as already stated above, purely Arabic, and even when the scene is laid in Persia or India the persons are all made to speak and act according to the usages of the Arabs. The animal fables, which occupy but an insignificant portion of the work, are undoubtedly Indian, but may, in spite of their passage from Sanskrit into Pehlvi, Persian, and Arabic, still be recognized as such.

It would be curious to know how Van Helmont, who died in 1644, obtained a prediction about the invasion of the Arabs in Spain, which

he says had been made two hundred years before it took place. According to him, a knowledge of the stars, upon which all events depend, enabled the devil to make this prediction; therefore he exclaims, "Esto Diabolus harum predictionum auctor."<sup>1</sup> This prediction is recorded also at the end of the 72nd and the beginning of the 73rd night of Macnaghten's edition of the "Thousand and one Nights," and in Zakrya Kazvini's A'jáyib-al-buldán, or "Wonders of countries,"<sup>2</sup> whence it probably found its way into them.

Now we shall give the three accounts of this *ex post facto* prophecy, which differ somewhat from one another, but are identical in the main points:—

*Account of the "Thousand and one Nights."*—I. "There was a town called Labtyt, the capital of the country of Rúm. In it there was a castle perpetually locked; so that whenever a king died, and another succeeded him of Rúm, another padlock was put on it. At last there were twenty-four padlocks on the gate, one for each king. Then a man who was not of the royal dynasty succeeded after them. He was desirous of opening the padlocks, in order to see what that castle contained. The magnates of the kingdom opposed themselves to his intentions, but could not prevail; they then offered him all their riches to prevent him from opening the padlocks, but ineffectually. Accordingly he removed the padlocks, opened the door, and found in it pictures of Arabs riding on their horses and camels. They wore their large head-dresses, were girded with swords, and had long spears in their hands. He also found a writing the contents of which were as follows:—'After this door is opened, this country will be conquered by Arabs, of whom these are the pictures. Therefore let him take care who opens it.' That town was in Andalús, and was taken by Tárek, the son of Zyád, during that year," &c.<sup>3</sup>

II. The passage of Zakrya Kazvini is as follows:—"And among wonderful things are two houses which were found in Andalús when it was conquered, in the city of the kings. In one of these houses there was a number of crowns which had belonged to their

<sup>1</sup> Johannis Baptistæ Van Helmont Opera Omnia, 1707, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Written in the 13th century.

<sup>3</sup> Lane omitted this piece, as he probably thought it uninteresting; but his greatest omission appears to be the interval between the 44th and the 145th night, from which he has given only two stories, one of which he says, "that of Táj-el-Mulook and the Lady Dunya, bears apparent indications of Persian origin."

kings; in it was also found the table of Solomon the son of David (peace be upon them both!). On the other house there were twenty-four padlocks. Whenever a new king began to reign he added a padlock, and they knew not what there was in the house until the time of Rodrik, who was their last king, and who said, 'I want to know what is in this house,' because he thought it contained property. The bishops, however, and the deacons assembled, and opposed his intention, but he persisted therein. Accordingly they said to him, 'Look according to your fancy, and whatever property you may see in it we shall give it to you, but shall not open it;' nevertheless he would not comply, but opened the door, and, lo! in the house there were pictures of the Arabs on their horses, with their turbans, their sandals, their bows and their arrows; and the Arabs entered their country during the year in which this house had been opened, and at that time the name of the king of Andalus was Lódryk [Roderick]."<sup>a</sup>

III. The statement of Van Helmont is as follows:—"During the time of Roderick IV., the last king of the Goths, the castle of Toledo, which had remained shut from the time of king Bamba, was opened by the curiosity of Roderick, but nothing was found therein except a cupboard; in it, however, a silken sheet wrapped up, and containing

<sup>a</sup> The text of Kazvini in the MS. at my disposal is as follows:—

ومن العجايب يبتين و جدا بالاندلس عند فتحها في مدينة الملوك  
في احدها عدد تيجان لملوكها وفي هذا البيت وجد ما يدعى سليمان بن  
داود عليهما السلام وعلى البيت الاخر اربعة وعشرون قفلا كلما ملك  
منهم ملك زاد عليه قفلا ولا يدرون ما في البيت حتى ملك الردرىق  
وهو اخر ملوكهم فقال لابد ان اعرف ما في هذه البيت وتروهم ان  
فيه مالا فاجتهدت الا ساقفه والشامسة واعظموا ذلك عليه فابى فقالوا له  
انظر ما يخطر ببالك من مال تراه فيه فنحن ندفعه اليك ولا نفتحه  
فعضاهم وفتح الباب فاذا في البيت تصاوير العرب على خيولهم بعوامهم  
وزعالمهم وقيمهم ونبلهم فدخلت العرب بلادهم في السنة الذي فتح فيها  
ذلك البيت وكان ملك الاندلس حين يسمى لردرىق

It may here be added that in the *A'jáyib-al-makhlúkát*, or "Wonders of created things," by the same author, the origin of the story of Sindibad of the "Thousand and one Nights" has been traced. See Lane's "Thousand and one Nights," Vol. III., notes to ch. xv., pp. 80 seq.

pictures of Africans in their garments, with the following inscription :—  
 'When this castle and the cupboard are opened, a nation of this kind,  
 with these garments, will obtain the victory over the Spaniards.'  
 But the Moors were depicted in a dress as it would be less than two  
 hundred years afterwards." <sup>5</sup>

The name of Tárek, who conquered a part of Spain A.H. 92 (A.D. 710-11), occurs in the above account taken from the "Thousand and one Nights;" but Roderick, who actually fell during the same year in battle, is mentioned only in the last quoted two authors. According to the opinion of Van Helmont the above-mentioned inscription was two hundred years old when Roderick perused it, and shortly afterwards perished in consequence of the prediction it contained. To me there appears to be no doubt that this piece has been incorporated into the "Thousand and one Nights" from Kazvini, just like many other statements in the tales of that work about Sindibad, and the Vák islands.

In the *Zeitschrift d. D. M. G.*, vol. XXX., pp. 141 seq., Dr. W. Bacher draws attention to a story of the "Thousand and one Nights" in Habicht's text, vol. XI., pp. 140-145, bearing the title of the "Story of the butcher, his wife, and the soldier," the contents of which agree in the main point, namely, the love intrigue, to a certain extent, with the comedy of the "Miles gloriosus" of Plautus. The abstract of Habicht's edition, is, according to Dr. W. Bacher, as follows :—“In a town there lives a butcher with a beautiful wife, who receives, during the absence of her husband, visits from a soldier. As the latter desires to be more at ease, and always near her, he makes her the following proposal :—‘I shall hire a house in the vicinity of yours, and dig a subterranean passage مراداب between both; then you are to tell your husband that your sister has arrived with hers, in these days, from a journey after a long absence, and that you have made her lodge in the vicinity, in order to be able to be with her at any time. You are further to say to your husband :—“Go to the husband of my sister, who

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Regnante Roderico IV. Gothorum Rege ultimo, castrum Toletanum, quod jam inde a diebus Regis Bambæ clausum steterat, curiositate Roderici aperiebatur; in eo autem præter unicam arcam, nil fuit repertum. In arca vero linteum bombacinum, obvolutum, Africanorum vestes, et personas referens. Erat autem in eo sic scriptum: Quando hoc castrum, et arca reserabuntur, in Hispaniam irrumpet gens, hujus similitudinis et amictus, et potietur victoria super Hispanos. Erant autem depicti Mauri amictu, qualis infra annos 200 post futurus esset.

is a soldier, and talk the matter over with him; then you will also perceive that I and my sister cannot be distinguished from each other." The plan is carried out entirely in this manner. Whenever the deceived husband goes to visit his pretended brother-in-law, he is forestalled by his wife through the secret passage, in order to play the part of her pretended sister, and when the visit is over she returns in the same way to her house." This tale is contained neither in Macnaghten's Calcutta edition nor in Lane's translation, the last chapter of which begins with part of the 952nd, and terminates with part of the 959th night. The intrigue, however, of two lovers communicating by a subterranean passage occurs not only in another tale of Macnaghten's edition,<sup>6</sup> but also in the Persian "Shamsah-va-Quhqubah of Mirza Berkhordár Turkmán," a portion of which I translated and printed in 1871 under the title of "Amusing Stories." As Plautus died in the 3rd year of the 149th Olympiad, *i.e.* 182 years before the Christian era, during the sixteenth century of which the "Thousand and one Nights," as they are known in their present form, were composed, he could not have obtained the plot of his comedy from them. Accordingly two conjectures only remain, the first of which is the more probable, namely, that this is either one of the numberless Indian tales which reached Europe from the East, or that Plautus had himself invented it, and that from him it found its way to the Arabs, and especially to Cairo, where this great collection of stories was written.

Here follow, for the purpose of comparison, three abstracts—of the comedy of Plautus, of the tale in the "Shamsah," and of Macnaghten's edition of the "Thousand and one Nights" :—

I. The lady of Plautus was not married, and appears to have been of a gay disposition.<sup>7</sup> The prologue occurs in the beginning of the second Act, the first being intended to show only the character of

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<sup>6</sup> Vol. IV., beginning at p. 616 at the end of Night 963, and not yet completely finished on p. 617 Night 976, when Kamar-al-zamán narrates his adventures to his father, to whom he had returned, and wants permission to marry Halymah, the lady with whom he had eloped, but is refused on the plea that a woman who had been treacherous to her husband, whom she had deserted, would be so to him likewise.

<sup>7</sup> In the argument prefixed to the edition of Camerarius she is called the friend of the Athenian youth, but in that of the London edition of 1823, the argument of which is by some attributed to Priscianus, her character is dealt



the soldier who converses with his parasite ; the latter applauds everything that is said, but makes his appearance no more during the rest of the comedy,—and is to the purport that the speaker Palæstrio had been at Athens the servant of Pleusides, who loved a damsel and was accepted by her. But the soldier—Pyrgopolinices—seized her and carried her off against her will to Ephesus ; whereupon the servant embarked on board of a vessel to carry the sad news to his master, who was at that time at Naupactum. This vessel is captured by a pirate, who presents the servant to the soldier, in whose house he was not a little astonished to see the damsel. She at once beckons to him not to take notice of her, but afterwards informs him that she hated the soldier and loved his master, to whom she desired to return. The servant immediately writes to his master, Pleusides, who arrives and takes a house adjoining that of the soldier ; whereupon a passage is dug by the servant from one house to the other, so as to bring about the meeting of the lovers. The soldier's slave, Sceledrus, is a silly fellow, imposed upon first by Palæstrio and the damsel, who pretends that her twin sister from Athens has also arrived ; and when she begins to play the two characters the plot thickens, and ludicrous confusion ensues. Now Palæstrio, to detach the soldier from the damsel, brings him as a present a ring from a lady—a courtesan—who pretends to have fallen violently in love with him, and the soldier is highly pleased. His perplexity is, however, great when the *soi-disant* husband of the woman comes forward with some assistants and gives him a sound drubbing ; but his dismay culminates on being informed that Pleusides,

with more severely. The points in which the Arabic, the Persian, and the Latin pieces agree are here shown in italics :—

Meretricem Athenis Ephesum miles avehit.  
 Id hero dum amanti servus nuntiare volt  
 Legato peregre, captu'st ipsus in mari ;  
 Et ill eidem militi dono datu'st  
 Snum arcessit herum Athenis et forat  
*Geminis communem clam parietem in œdibus*  
*Licere ut quiret convenire amantibus.*  
 Obhærentois custos hos vidit de tegulis.  
 Ridiculus autem, quasi sit alia, luditur.  
 Itemque impellit militem Palæstrio,  
 Omissam facit concubinam, quando ei  
 Senis vicini cupiat uxor nubere.  
 Ultro, abeat, orat ; donat multa. Ipse, in domo  
 Senis prehensus, penas mœcho luit.

the lover of the damsel whom the soldier had discarded so easily, returned to Athens with her in great joy. Perceiving at last how he had been duped, the soldier confesses that he had been served right, expresses his wish that others who act like himself may be dealt with in the same way, and invites all to clap their hands.

II. The 26th of the "Amusing Stories," in which three women make a bet as to which of them could play the greatest trick on her husband, contains three smaller tales; and the one in which the Kádi's wife causes a carpenter to dig a subterranean passage between two houses embodies the intrigue expatiated upon above. The carpenter requests the Kádi to perform the marriage ceremony between him and a girl he desired to wed. The Kádi agrees, but finding, to his astonishment the bride to be his own wife, quickly returns home, and sees her sitting quite unconcerned, as she had forestalled him by running back through the underground passage. As the carpenter had engaged to pay a very high price for the ceremony, the Kádi bethought himself and returned to him, when he was not a little puzzled again at encountering his wife. After going several times backwards and forwards the Kádi could no longer excuse himself, and pronounced the matrimonial formula. As it was at that time customary for the bride to kiss the hand of the Kádi after the termination of the ceremony, the woman stepped forward to do so; the Kádi, however, was so anxious to have a new mark by which to confront his wife that he struck her a blow with his fist on the jaw, so that she bled profusely. Then he immediately ran to his own house, where he was met by his wife, disfiguring her own face, scratching it, and exclaiming, "I renounce such an adulterous husband, who is carrying on intrigues with the carpenter's wife." The woman and her maids took the Kádi by the throat, pulled off his turban, and he fled into the street.

III. The abstract of the long tale in the Calcutta edition of the "Thousand and one Nights" is as follows:—The father of Kamar-al-Zamán was a rich merchant, who allowed him to go to Boçrah, where he became acquainted with Halymah, the wife of the Sheikh of the jewelers. He had already at home been informed by a certain Durwaish of the striking resemblance that existed between himself and a fascinating lady in Boçrah. She proved to be no other than Halymah, with whom he became acquainted through her own husband, who had praised to him the beauty and liberality of Kamar-al-Zamán. The curiosity of the lady having thus been aroused, she advised her husband that it would be handsome on his part to entertain the stranger at his house.

The young man is invited to the house one evening, feasted, and falls asleep with his entertainer, the Sheikh of the jewellers, after having copiously partaken of food and drink. The lady, desirous of having a good look at the youth, enters, and falls so violently in love with him that she not only kisses him, but bites his lips and cheeks. Then she sends her slave girl, who puts something to the nostrils of the two men, whereupon they awake. When Kamar-al-Zamán washes himself he is astonished at the marks on his cheeks and lips, but his host assures him that they are only the bites of mosquitos. The next time, however, he was invited, the young man, being on his guard, found means to avoid swallowing the coffee in which the soporific was administered by the slave girl; accordingly he remained awake, whilst the unsuspecting master of the jewellers fell asleep. As soon as Halymah entered the apartment the adulterous intercourse began; she moreover instructed Kamar-al-Zamán to induce her husband to hire to him the next house, which was also their own, so that the two friends might be together oftener without Kamar-al-Zamán's encroaching on the privacy of the family. This being done, the lady got the underground passage—*serdab*—dug to communicate with the next house, to which she also removed a good deal of her husband's property. Now the two lovers played many tricks upon the deceived husband, the most perplexing of which was Kamar-al-Zamán's presentation to the jeweller of his own wife as a slave girl whom he pretended to have bought, asking him whether he had made a good choice, and telling him that her name was Halymah. It would be superfluous to narrate the various intrigues which culminated in an elopement, as the point of resemblance between this tale and the "Miles gloriosus" of Plautus has already been fully elucidated.

The next analogy to be pointed out between the "Thousand and one Nights" and a Latin author occurs in the Calcutta edition, Vol. III., pp. 791-91 *seq.*, Nights 689-91, and in the 4th book of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, who was born about 43 years before the Christian era. According to Ovid a young man of the name of Pyramus had fallen in love with a girl, Thisbe, who reciprocated his passion. Not being able to meet openly, they were determined to do so privately in a lonely spot without the city. The girl arrived first at the rendezvous.

" But at the very time a lioness,  
Dripping with gore and slaughtered oxen, sought  
The fount; and Thisbe, as the beast she saw

Clear in the moonlight, to a cave which stood  
 Hard by in terror flying, in her flight  
 Her mantle dropped. The lioness—her thirst  
 With copious draught assuaged, and to her lair  
 Returning—saw the robe, and tossed, and tore,  
 And marked with crimson stain."<sup>8</sup>

When Pyramus arrives and beholds the blood-stained veil of his mistress, he believes her to have been torn to pieces by some wild beast, and plunges a sword into his own bosom. Now Thisbe comes forth from the cave.

"She knows her Love, and wild with piercing cry  
 Her snowy bosom beats, and scattering wide  
 Her tresses rent, and flinging round the corpse  
 Her white arms—mingling with his blood her tears,  
 As if her grief might staunch its flow,—with kiss  
 On kiss—ah ! vainly on that icy cheek  
 Imprinted—' Pyramus ! ' she shrieks... ..  
 ... .. [24 lines]  
 She said, and pointed to her breast drove deep  
 The blade yet reeking with that earlier Death."<sup>9</sup>

This tale is also translated by Lane—not, however, in its proper place, but among his notes to ch. XXII., pp. 247-252. It agrees most accurately with the Arabic text of the Calcutta edition, which had not yet been printed when he made his translation. He only omitted the short preamble, but gave the four little pieces of verse. The story of the young man is narrated by an Arab to the Khalifeh Harún-al-Rashyd ; here, however, the damsel perishes first, and then her lover. The young man, arrived at the rendezvous, was unable to meet his mistress, and the narrator says :—"Then he entered the tent and sat awhile weeping ; after which he said, ' O son of my uncle, verily something hath occurred to the daughter of my uncle this night, and some accident hath happened to her, or some obstacle hath prevented her from coming to me.' He then said to me, ' Stay in thy place until I bring thee the news.' And thereupon he took his sword and his shield, and after he had been absent from me for a period of the night he approached, bearing something upon his hands, and called out to me. So I

<sup>8</sup> H. King's translation, p. 107. See also the last two pages of Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 108-9.

hastened to him, and he said, 'O son of my uncle, knowest thou what hath happened?' I answered, 'No, by Allah.' And he said, 'Verily I have been afflicted with respect to the daughter of my uncle this night; for she was coming to us, and a lion opposed her in the way, and rent her, and there remained not of her aught save what thou seest.' Then he threw down what was upon his hand; and, lo! it was the ends of the bones of the damsel, and what else remained of her bones. And he wept violently, and, having cast the shield from his hand, took into his hand a bag, and said to me, 'Go not hence until I come to thee, if it be the will of God, whose name be exalted!' He then departed, and was absent from me a while; after which he returned with the head of the lion in his hand, and he threw it down from his hand, and demanded water. So I brought it to him; and he washed the mouth of the lion and began to kiss it and to weep. His mourning for her was excessive; and he recited these verses:—

'O lion, who hast exposed thyself to destruction, thou hast perished, and hast roused up my grief for my beloved!

Thou hast rendered me solitary who was lately her companion, and made the bowels of the earth to be her grave!

I say to Time, that hath afflicted me with separation, God forbid that thou shouldst show me a friend in her stead!

He then said, 'O son of my uncle, I implore thee by Allah, and by the claim of relationship and consanguinity that subsisteth between me and thee, that thou keep my charge. Thou wilt see me presently dead before thee; and thereupon do thou wash me, and shroud me together with these remains of the bones of the daughter of my uncle in this garment, and bury us both in one grave, and inscribe upon our grave these two verses:—

'We lived upon the earth a life of comfort, united in fellowship, and in abode and home;

But fortune, with its changes, parted us from each other, and now the grave-clothes have united us.'

Then he wept violently and entered the tent, and was absent from me awhile; after which he came forth; and he began to sigh and to cry out, and, uttering a deep groan, he quitted the world. So when I beheld him thus die, the event grieved me and afflicted me so that I almost joined him by reason of the violence of my sorrow for him. I then advanced to him, and laid him on the ground, and did with him as he had ordered me. I shrouded him with the remains of the damsel together, and buried them in one grave, and remained by their grave

three days, after which I departed; and I continued for two years to visit them frequently. Such were the events of their history, O Prince of the Faithful."

The *Gesta Romanorum*, a book greatly admired during the Middle Ages, was no doubt compiled by monks—in the commencement of the 14th century, if not before—from old chronicles; and its popularity must chiefly be attributed to the circumstance that the sentiments inculcated are embodied in pleasing stories, with moral and religious reflections, called "moralizations," to each, which if presented alone would not have been alluring. Swan, in the introduction to his English translation (pp. lvi. *seq.*), mentions also the "English *Gesta*," which he says was intended for the original, but "that in the transcription, with the latitude which the *Adam Scriveners* of old invariably allowed themselves, many alterations (miscalled improvements) were made, together with some additions. The English translations of this last compilation vary frequently from their original." Many of the tales of the *Gesta* appear to have originally come from the East, and in a review of the latest English translation of the work<sup>10</sup> the writer points out several analogies with Indian tales; he also adds that numerous other parallels would no doubt present themselves to those better versed in Sanscrit folklore than he can pretend to be. In this place, however, we have to deal with the "Thousand and one Nights." The resemblance of the 5th tale, *Fidelity*, in the *Gesta* to the 236th right (ed. Macnaghten, Vol. II., p. ૨૯), alluded to in Swan's Notes to the *Gesta*, amounts only to the circumstance that in both works a girl takes pity on an imprisoned youth, whom she visits, and they fall in love with each other.

In Eastern tales virtue is sometimes miraculously rewarded by animals or inanimate things being made to carry out the behests of Providence. Thus, in the 119th chapter of the *Gesta* (Latin edition), a proud seneschal is drawn out of a pit by a poor fellow named Guido, who on making his appearance at the castle to obtain the promised reward is cruelly beaten. The lion, however, whom Guido had drawn out of the same pit is grateful, and helps him to riches. A parallel story occurs not only in "Kalilah wa Demnah," but also in the "Thousand and one Nights" (Vol. II., p. ૨૦૨, Night 348), where a tyrannical king punishes a woman for giving away two loaves of bread as alms, by cutting off her two hands, which are, however, at

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<sup>10</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII., p. 31.

last miraculously restored to her by two men, who assure her that they are the two loaves she had given away. The idea that a blind and a lame man acting conjointly may supplement the defect under which each of them labours is also frequently exemplified; in the *Gesta* (cap. 71, ed. of Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1842) two such manage with the aid of each other to make their appearance at a banquet to which all men are invited, but in the "Thousand and one Nights" (Vol. IV., p. ૨૧૧, part of Night 610) two such men are in a garden; the lame man sees beautiful fruits, and induces the blind one to carry him to the trees, by which means they rob the garden. Also the Arab storyteller appends reflections, and compares the body, which cannot act without the soul, to the blind man; whilst the soul resembles the lame man, &c.; and the simile is carried out beautifully.

There are many tales in the *Gesta* in which only one or two incidents are analogous to corresponding ones in the "Thousand and one Nights." But a whole story of the *Gesta*<sup>11</sup> which is altogether so much like one of the "Thousand and one Nights"<sup>12</sup> that not the least doubt can arise about their identity is the one in which a hypocritical old crone causes her dog to weep by administering pungent substances to it. In this state she presents the dog to a virtuous young woman, who on asking why the dog weeps is informed that it had once been a beautiful but hard-hearted girl, unwilling to yield to the entreaties of her lover, and had thus been punished. The virtuous young woman, thus frightened and threatened, fell into the trap set for her.

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<sup>11</sup> Cap. 28, p. 53, ed. Stuttgart.

<sup>12</sup> Vol. III, p. 1૮A

**ART. VII.—*Some parallel Proverbs in English, Arabic, and Persian.*—By E. REHATSEK.**

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Read 7th September 1878.

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Proverbs survive during the lapse of ages because they have made strong impressions on men, either through the persons who first uttered them, or by the maxims they embody, as well as by the occasions which called them forth, and even by their absurdity or strangeness; also the sayings of great men, orators, and poets, when they satisfied one or several of the just-mentioned conditions, became proverbs.

It is certainly curious how nations differing so much from one another in everything as the English, the Arabs, and the Persians do, should nevertheless possess a number of proverbs analogous in sense. Although the manner of thinking and of expressing ideas varies infinitely, it is certain that all men agree in considering happiness to be the opposite of misery, wealth of poverty, abundance of want, and virtue of vice. On ideas like these the similarity of proverbs is based; as, however, the peculiar state of civilization in various nations induces them to appreciate various conditions of life differently, homogeneity of sentiment is excluded. Thus the happiness of an Arab of the desert is perfect, and he considers himself rich, when he and his cattle have abundant food; hence milk in plenty is often synonymous with good, and scarcity of it with evil. His mode of life requires patience in difficulties, and bravery in danger; accordingly these are the greatest virtues to him; and as with him riches are very perishable they have no great value in his eyes: accordingly he esteems liberality above measure. In ancient proverbs also hospitality was much extolled, and avarice re-proved; in course of time the mode of thinking on many subjects became so much altered that not only among European nations, but also among the Arabs, who live under a different sky and in other states of society, proverbs contradicting each other came into vogue.

No attempt is made in this paper to treat the subject in an exhaustive manner, because such a proceeding would result in the production of a large volume; nevertheless, small as it is, some care and



trouble was required in selecting from three languages such proverbs as would pretty nearly express one and the same idea in each of them; for this purpose Ray's *Collection of English Proverbs*, Dr. Freytag's *Arabum Proverbia*, and Roebuck's *Persian Proverbs* had to be compared. The few vulgar Arabic proverbs which occur are from Burton's *Proverbia communia Syriaca* (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* 1871, Vol. V., Pt. II., pp. 341 *seq.*), and have no vowel marks.

A.

It is easy to take ADVANTAGE of a weak man.

الْعَجْزُ اخْرُ حَيْلَةَ الْإِنْسَانِ Weakness is the last remedy of man.

هُوَ حَمِيرُ الْحَاجَاتِ He is the little donkey of necessities.

اتَّخَذُوهُ حِمَارَ الْحَاجَاتِ They used him as the donkey of necessities.

آبُ از كَرَّة كُوتَا مِي كُذَرْد Water flows over a low wall.

ADVERSITY makes strange bedfellows.

حَرُّ الشَّمْسِ يُلْجِي إِلَى مَجْلِسِ سَوَاءٍ The heat of the sun forces a man to sit in a bad place.

بَا خَرَسَ دَر جِرَالِ شَدَّ He entered the bag with a bear.

Consider your AGE.

الْعَبِيُّ صَبِيٌّ وَلَوْ خَاطَبَ النَّبِيَّ A boy will be a boy, although he speaks to a prophet.

اَز رِيشِ خُودِ شَرْمِ دَارِ Be ashamed of your own beard.

To build AIR-castles.

فِي ذَنْبِ الْكَلْبِ يَطْلُبُ الْإِهَالَةَ He hopes to find tallow in a dog's tail.

گَرَبِه شب بخواب ببند دنبه The cat sees in the night in his sleep a sheep's tail.

AN ASS is always imposed upon.

مِنْ حَمِيرِ الْحِجَارَةِ الشَّقَاءُ وَالضَّرْبُ Misery and blows are the lot of donkeys destined to carry stones.

مزیمة الحمار لغرمس یا للحطب یا للمویة The invitation of a donkey to a wedding is either for carrying wood or water.

خرا نرا کسی در عرسي نخواند } Nobody invites asses to a wedding,  
مگر آن زمان که آب و هیزم نماند } Unless when no water or wood is left.

An APE is an ape, and a varlet a varlet,  
Though they be clad in silk and scarlet.

طبع اغلب Nature is most powerful.

خرا ار جل اطلس پوشد خراست An ass if he puts on housings of atlas will be an ass.

**B.**

Make the best of a bad BARGAIN.

بشرفک بالظفر بعد الصبر Congratulate your soul with victory after patience.

سنگی را که نتوان برداشت نباید بومید و گذاشت A stone which cannot be lifted is to be kissed and left.

He sells the BEAR-skin before the bear is taken.

بطن جاب و وجه مدهون An empty belly and a face shining with oil.

اهوی نا گرفته می بخشد He presents away an antelope which is not yet taken.

BEAUTY unadorned is best.

لیس الجمال بالثیاب Beauty is not in the clothes.

لا حسن کحسن الخلق There is no beauty like the beauty of temperament.

حاجت مشاطه نیست روی دلارام را The mistress of the heart needs no tire-woman.

To BELL the cat.

طبل بری He drummed my secret out.

لا اعلق الجلیل من عنقی I shall not suspend the tinkling bell from my neck.

طشت از بام افتاد The large basin has fallen from the roof.

It is difficult to rob a BEGGAR.

افقر من ود Poorer than a peg.

سک از دکان آهنگر چه خواهد برد What will a dog take from the shop of a smith?

A BIRD in the hand is worth two in the bush.

بيضة اليوم خير من دجاجة غدَا The egg of to-day is better than the hen of to-morrow.

مصفور في الكف خير من كركي طائر A sparrow in the hand is better than a flying crane.

صعرة در مشت به از کلنگي در هوا A sparrow in the hand is better than a crane in the air.

The BIRD that will not sing must be made to sing.

جذب آلزمام يربض التّعبّ The pulling of the reins tames the obstinate cattle.

احمدك به مكتب نميرود ميبرندش Little Ahmad does not go to school—they carry him.

BIRDS of a feather flock together.

الجنس الي الجنس يميل The genus to the genus inclines.

نزلت سلمى بسلمى Salma came to live with Salma.

الطيور تلي الاقربا The birds alight near their friends.

جسبة علت ضم است Congeniality is the cause of union.

Who are of the same kind fly together,  
Dove with dove, falcon with falcon.

The BITER bitten.

من حفر مقواة وقع فيها Who digs a trap falls into it.

من حفر لآخيه جبا وقع فيه منكبا Who digs a hole for his brother falls headlong into it.

كُلُّ شَاةٍ بِرِجْلِهَا مَتَنَاطٌ Every sheep will be suspended by her own leg.

In the realm of the BLIND the one-eyed are kings.

الْقِرْنِيُّ فِي عَيْنِ امِّهَا حَسَنَةٌ The beetle is a beauty in the opinion of its mother.

خَرَسُ دَرَكُوهِ بَرَعَلِي سَيْنَا اَمْتِ The bear in the mountain is Avicenna.

} If the peasant were a saint,  
 } The bear in the mountain would be  
 } Avicenna.

One BLOW is half the battle.

بَوْمُ السَّفَرِ نِصْفُ السَّفَرِ The starting day is half the journey.

ضَرْبُ ضَرْبِ اَوَّلِ اَمْتِ The blow is the first blow.

What is bred in the BONE will never wear out of the flesh.

كُلُّ اَنْاءٍ يَرْشَحُ بِهَا فِيهِ Every vessel exudes what is in it.

نَمْدُ سِيَاةٍ اَزْ صَابُونٍ مَقْيِدٌ نَشُوْدُ Black felt will not become white from soap.

گدا اگر همه عالم باو دهند گدا اَمْتِ A beggar will be a beggar if the whole world be given to him.

عاقبة گرک زاده گرک شود At last a wolf's whelp will be a wolf.

Whatever king shall reign, I'll still be Vicar of BRAY.

اِذَا لَمْ تَغْلِبْ فَاصْبِرْ If you do not conquer, be cunning.

اَمْتِ هَرْ خَرِيكِهْ بَاشْدُ مِنْ پالانِ اَوِيْمِ Whatever ass there may be I shall be his dorser.

Cast your BREAD on the waters, &c.

اِحْسَنْ اِذَا ارَدْتَ اَنْ يَحْسَنَ اِلَيْكَ Do good if you wish good to be done to you.

نِيكُوِي كُنْ وَ دَر اَبْ دَجَلِهْ اِنْدَازِ Do good and throw it into the river Tigris.

His BREATH cannot turn a windmill.

ظَفْرَةُ يَكَلِّ عَنْ حَكِّ مِثْلِي His nail is too blunt to scratch one like me.

بدعای گربه باران نمی بارد By the prayer of a cat the rain will not come.

You cannot take **BREKES** from a Highlander.

ترکنه علی انقی من الراحة I left him more clean (empty) than the palm of the hand.

از بیوه گیر شوهررا Take a husband from a widow.

A new **BROOM** sweeps well.

لا تحمد امه عام اشترائها ولا حرة عام بنائها Do not praise a slave girl in the year she was bought, nor a free woman in the year she was married.

کوزه نو آب را دو روز سرد دارد A new jug keeps the water cold for two days.

ملازم نو تیز رو A new servant runs swiftly.

Take the **BULL** by the horns.

من الأول حسن الآخر The beauty of the end depends upon the beginning.

گربه کشتن روز اول [It is necessary] to kill the cat on the first day.

### C.

Aut **CÆSAR** aut nihil.

احرص علی الموت توهب لك الحياة Court death and life will be given to you.

یا تخت یا تخته The throne or the bier.

یا تن رسد بجانان یا جان زتن برآید [I shall] obtain the object of desire or die.

It is better to hold a **CANDLE** to the devil.

اسجد لقرود أسوء في زمانه Worship the bad monkey in his time.

سگ گزنده همان به که آشنا باشد It is better to make a biting dog friendly.

You talk of CHALK, I of cheese.

قد يخرج من الصدفة غير الدرّة      Another thing than a pearl issues  
from the shell.

تكلم فجمع بين الأروى والنعام      He spoke and united mountain goats  
with ostrichea.

سوال از آسمان جواب از ریمان      The question was about the sky,  
and the answer about a rope.

CHARITY begins at home.

خياركم خيركم لأهله      The best of you is he who is best to his family.

كل يجر النار إلى قرصه      Everybody draws the fire to his own bread  
(to bake it well).

كل أمرئ مكثر يجمع الخشب      Every man collects wood for his own  
rope.

ما نظر لأمرئ مثل نفسه      No one cares for a man as much as he  
himself.

اول خویش بعد از آن درویش      First self, then the Durvaish.

جگر جگر است و دیگر دیگر      The liver is the liver, and another  
another.

پیغمبر اول دعای برای خود کند      The prophet prays for himself  
first.

Every cock is great on his own dunghill.

الدّيبُ خالياً أسدٌ      When the wolf is alone he is a lion.

كل ديك علي مزبلته صياح      Every cock crows on his own dunghill.

الحجر بحمله قنطار      A stone in its place is a hundredweight.

هر سگی که هوعو کند در کورچه خود شیر غران است      Every barking  
dog is in its own lane a roaring lion.

هر سگی بخانه خود دلیر است      Every dog is valiant in its own kennel.

سنگ بجای خود سنگین است      Every stone is heavy in its own place.

Show your COLOURS (Loquere ut te noscam).

كَلَامُ الْإِنْسَانِ بَيَانُ فَضْلِهِ وَتَرْجَمَانُ عَقْلِهِ  
The speech of a man explains  
his worth and interprets his intellect.

كَلَامُ الْعَاقِلِ قُوَّةٌ وَكَلَامُ الْجَاهِلِ فُوتٌ  
The speech of a wise man is  
food, and the speech of a fool destruction.

اگر مرغی تخم بگذارد و اگر خروسی بانگ بگو  
an egg ; if a cock, crow.

Evil COMPANY corrupts good manners.

رافق الدیک وشوف وین یودیگ  
Associate with the cock and see  
where he will take you.

دیک سیاہ جاہہ سیاہ میکاند  
A black pot will make the clothes black.

دامن پاک را بادامن آلودہ بندند پاک ہم پلید شود  
Clean skirts  
tied to soiled ones will also become dirty.

CONTENT is great talent (Cœur content grand talent).

مَنْ قَنَعَ فَنِعْ  
Who is contented is rich.

عَشْ قَنَعًا تَكُنْ مَلِكًا  
Live contented, you will be a king.

القناعة كنز لا يفنى  
A contented mind is a treasure which perishes not.

قناعت توانگر کند مرد را  
Contentment makes a man powerful.

Too many cooks spoil the broth.

كثرة الأيدي تحرق الطعام  
Many hands burn the victuals.

دیک شراکت بجوش نمی آید  
The pot of partnership will not boil.

ماما چه دوتا شود سر بچه کج براید  
When there are two nurses the  
child's head will be crooked.

All cannot go to CORINTH (Non est omnibus adire Corinthum).

النَّاسُ كَأَبْلِ مِائَةِ لَا تَجِدُ فِيهَا رَاحِلَةً  
Men are like a hundred camels  
not one of which is fit to carry burdens.

نقّی نقیقک فما انت الا حباری  
Chatter as is your wont, but you are  
only a Hubura (owl).

هر کارے ہر مردی Only one business (science) will one man (or genius) fit.

آرہ کشیدن کار بوزنہ نیست To draw the saw is not the business of a monkey.

از بیضهٔ خاکی چوزہ نزیاد Earthen eggs will not produce chickens.  
 ہر مرغی نمی تواند انجیر بخورد Every fowl cannot eat figs.

Keep COUNSEL thyself first.

یا طبیب طب لنفسک O physician, heal thyself.

تذہانا امنا عن القی و تعدو فیہ Our mother prohibits us from error and gallops in it.

رنگریز بر ریش خود در ماندہ The dyer failed to dye his own beard.  
 Stretch yourself according to your COVERLET (Man muss sich strecken nach der Decken).

اطمین علی قدر ارضک Enjoy yourself according to the extent of your land.

مد رجاک علی قدر الکساء Stretch your foot according to the extent of your blanket.

باندازہ کلیم یا دراز کن According to the size of your carpet you are to stretch your leg.

CROWING before it is time.

لا تدعن البحر الا ما بعا Do not enter the sea unless you can swim.

لا تقول قول حتی بصیر باله کیول Do not say 'Beans!' till you see them in the measure.

حساب الحقلہ با بیچی علی حساب البیدر The account of the field is taken when it comes into the account of the threshing-floor.

ہنوز مسجد نساختہ کہ گوری بردرش نشست The mosque was not yet completed when a blind beggar sat at its door.

What cannot be CURED must be endured.

الصبر حیلۃ من لا حیلۃ لہ Patience is the remedy of him who has no remedy (against a calamity).

غرق شدہ را بفریاد چہ شود What will shouting avail a drowning man?



D.

Enough for the DAY is the evil thereof.

ذُهِبَ امْسِ بِهَا فِيهِ Yesterday is gone with what was in it.

لَا تُؤَخِّرْ عَمَلِ الْيَوْمِ لِقَدِّ Do not delay the work of to-day to the  
morrow.

ان مع اليوم غدا يا مسعدة To-day has its to-morrow, O Masa'dah!

غم فردا را امروز نباید خورد The grief of to-morrow is not to be  
eaten to-day.

چو فردا رسد کار فردا کنم When to-morrow comes I shall do the  
work of to-morrow.

امروز خوش باش غم فردا صخور Enjoy yourself to-day; do not  
grieve for to-morrow.

ساقیا امروز می نوشم فردا که دید Cupbearer, I drink wine to-day;  
who has seen to-morrow?

DEAD folks cannot bite.

المذبوحة لا تالم ألسنخ The slain beast feels no pains when it is  
flayed.

مار مرده نمیکزد A dead serpent does not sting.

DEAD men tell no tales.

كفي بالهوت نايًا و آغترابًا Death is a perfect departure and exile.

سربریده سخن نکند A cut-off head speaks not.

Quem Deus perdere vult dementat.

إذا أراد الله هلاك الأملة أنبت لها جناحين When God wishes to  
destroy an ant, he gives it two wings.

إذا جاء أجل البعير حام حول البئر it straggles around a well.

إذا أراد الله أن يسلب نعمة من عبده فاول ما يسلبه عقله When God  
wants to deprive a man of his grace, he first takes away the man's  
intellect.

چو وقت مرگ مار آید بگرد رهگذر کردد When the time of a snake's death is near, it crawls about thoroughfares.

صیدرا چون اجل آمد سوي میاد رود When game is to die, it goes towards the hunter.

Speak of the DEVIL and he will appear.

اذکر الذیب وھی القزیب Speak of the wolf and prepare the club.

ابن الحلال عند ذکره بیان appears. When an honest man is mentioned he

نام سگ گیزی چوب در دست گیری If you mention the name of a dog, take a stick in your hand.

DIAMOND cuts diamond.

ان الحديد بالحديد یقلع Iron is split by iron.

لا یقلع الحديد الا بالحديد Only iron will split iron.

سنگ سنگ را می شکند A stone breaks a stone.

A DOG in the manger.

السلیم لا ینام ولا ینیم Who is stung by a serpent sleeps not, nor allows others to sleep.

نه خود خورد نه کس را بد He neither eats himself nor gives to anybody.

Let sleeping DOGS lie (Quieta non movere).

لا تحركن ساکنا Do not move what is quiet.

لو ترک القطا لیلانا Had the Kaṭá birds been left alone in the night, they would have slept.

فتنه در خواب است بیدارش مکن The trouble is asleep, do not awaken it.

A live DOG is better than a dead lion.

راس کلب احب الیه من ذنب اسد A dog's head pleases him more than a lion's tail.

جارک القرب و لا اخوک البعيد Your near neighbour, and not your far brother.

موش زنده به از گربه مرده A live mouse is better than a dead cat.  
شلغم پخته به از نقره خام Boiled carrots are better than raw silver.

Every DOG has his day.

دع الشر يعبر Allow the evil to pass away.

اخر گذر پوست بد باغان است The last journey of the skin is to the tanners.

What is DONE cannot be undone.

من يرد النيل علي ادراجہ Who will force the torrent back into its bed?

من يرد الفرات عن دراجہ Who will force the Euphrates back from its course?

چون تیر از کمان رفت ناید بشت When the arrow is shot from the bow it returns not to its grasp.

A DRAFT on the pump of Aldgate.

اُخلف من نار الجباب More disappointing than the fire of a glow-worm.

تخراہ بر عالم بالا A bill on the next world.

**E.**

He came EMPTY (Much ado about nothing).

غاب حولین و رجع بحفین He was absent two years and returned with two shoes.

غبر شهرین ثم جاء بکلین He was abroad two months, then he brought two dogs.

صام حولاً ثم شرب بولاً He fasted one year, then he drank urine.

بيک بيني و دو گوش آمد He came with one nose and two ears.

They are EQUAL.

حدو القدة با القدة Equal, like the feathers of an arrow.

حذوا الذعل بالذعل Equal, like a pair of sandals.

الناس كامنان المشط Men are like the teeth of a comb.

مثل الكلاب شبعه أو جوعه Like dogs full or empty (it is all the same).  
هم را يك مار گزیده است They have all been stung by the same  
serpent.

Fair EXCHANGE is no robbery.

رغيف برغيف ولا يبات جيعان A loaf for a loaf, and your  
neighbour will not go to bed hungry.  
هرچه عوض دارد كله ندارد Wherever there is reciprocity, there is  
no complaint.

EXERT yourself.

من سعى رعى Who works enjoys.

من جال نال Who strives obtains.

من أحترف أعترف Who works at a trade gains his livelihood.

جوز بشكن و طالع بيدن Break the nut, then see the luck.

اشترکه گاو میخواست گردن دراز میکند The camel which wants grass  
stretches out his neck.

نابرده رنج گنج میسر نشود No gain without pain.

## F.

He had not a FARTHING to bless himself with.

بات فلان يشوي القراح He spent the night in boiling water (instead  
of food).

ناخن ندارد که پشت بخارد He has not a nail to scratch himself  
with.

A burnt child shuns the FIRE.

من لمعنه الحية حذر الرمن Whom a serpent has stung will fear a  
rope.

لا يخدع إلا واحداً The little Arab is deceived only once.

کسي که از شیر سوخته شد دوغ را پف کرده می خورد Who was  
burnt by hot milk blows on sour milk ere he drinks it.

A FLEA in the ear.

فِي رَأْسِهِ نَعْرَةٌ He has a blue fly in his head.

كَيْفَ دَرَّ شَلْوَارٍ A flea in the trowsers.

G.

Not all is GOLD that glitters.

أَنَّمَا يُخَدَعُ الصِّبْيَانُ بِالزَّبِيبِ Only children are deceived by raisins.

مَا كُلُّ بَيْضَاءٍ شَكْمَةٌ وَلَا كُلُّ سَوْدَاءٍ تَمْرَةٌ Not everything white is tallow, and not everything black a date.

فَرِيهِ شَيْءٌ دَيْكِرٌ وَأَمَّا سٌ دَيْكِرِي دَيْكِرٌ است Fatness is one thing, and swollenness another.

You cannot gather GRAPES from thorns.

أَنْكَ لَا تَجْنِي مِنَ الشُّوكِ الْعِنْبُ Verily you will not reap grapes from thorns.

لَا تَنْبِتُ الْبَقْلَةَ إِلَّا الْحَقْلَةُ Only a good field will produce vegetables.

مَنْ يَزْرَعُ الشُّوكَ لَا يَحْصِدُ بِهِ الْعِنْبَ Who sows thorns will not reap grapes from them.

أَزْ كَفْجَةٍ مَارَ حَلْوَانِ تَنْوَانِ خُورِدِ It is not possible to eat sweetmeats from the hood of a snake.

أَزْ نِي بُورِيَا شُكْرٍ نَخْرِي You will not eat sugar from canes of which mats are made.

Everything is GRIST to his mill.

كُلُّ شَيْءٍ عِنْدَ الْعَرَبِ صَابُونٌ All things are soap to the Arabs.

هَذِهِ حَجَرٌ مَسْجِدِ كُورْشِيِّ This stone is the house-top of Kurshi.

H.

A HAIR from the dog that bit you.

أَعْطَى فَيْضًا مِنْ فَيْضٍ He gave a trifle from abundance.

أَزْ خُرْسِ مَوْيِ بَسِ اسْتِ One hair of the bear is enough.

شَرَابٌ زَدُّرَا شَرَابِ دَوَا اسْتِ To the crapulous, wine is a medicine.

One HAND washes the other.

أضي لي اكدح لك Light my light, and I will help you.

اطلب الخير لجارى تجده بدارك Desire the good of your neighbour,  
you will find it in your house.

احفظني انفعك Keep me and I shall be a profit to you.

اكدح لي اكدح لك Help me, I will help you.

ازيك دست صدا بر نخيزد One hand will not produce a sound (but  
two will).

To make HAY while the sun shines (Dum ferrum calet, &c.).

كلما كثر الجراد طاب لقطه When the locusts are numerous, it is good  
to collect them (for eating).

نور تا گرم است نان توان بخت Whilst the oven is warm, bread can  
be baked.

چون ميدان فراخ است كوي بزن Whilst the field is spacious, strike  
your ball.

Where HONEY is, the bees will congregate.

ان آلدنا حيث توى ااضقاط There will be moisture where the camels  
push each other.

اذا خصب الزمان جاء الهاوي والفاوي When time produces  
abundant food the wandering (locusts) and the falling (flies) come.

اذا وقعت البقرة كثرت السلاخين When the cow fell the knackers  
flocked to her.

هر كجا چشمه بود شيرين مردم و مور و مرغ گورد آيند Where a  
sweet spring is, men, ants, and fowls will congregate.

هر كجا كه شكرستان بود مگس باشد Where much sugar is, flies will  
be found.

هر جا كه ميوه خوب است كلاغ مي خورد Where nice fruits are, the  
crows will eat them.

HONOUR among thieves.

و كيف يعير الأعرس من هو اعرور How could the one-eyed insult the one-eyed ?

دزد بدزد نيفتد A thief does not poach on a thief.

ماهي ماهي را نهي خورد A fish does not eat a fish.

HOPE deferred maketh the heart sick.

رضي الناس غاية لا تدرك The satisfaction of men is a purpose which cannot be attained.

از آتش او گرم نشدم از دود او کور شدم His fire has not warmed me, his smoke has blinded me.

اي بسا آرزو که خاک شده O for the wishes which have turned to dust ?

Who HUMBLER himself will be exalted.

التواضع شبكة الشرف Humility is the net for catching nobility.

مأرت البئر المعطلة قصرا مشيدا A neglected well has become a high palace.

Whoever sat on the ground } بر که شد خاک نشین برک و بری پیدا کرد  
acquired leaves and fruits, } سبز شد دانه چو با خاک سری پیدا کرد

The grain became green after it had produced a head with the earth.

I.

Where IGNORANCE is bliss it is folly to be wise.

نعمة الجاهل كروضه علي مزبلة The prosperity of an ignorant man is like a garden on a dunghill.

زهي مرانب خوابي که به از بيداريت How excellent is sleep, which is better than being awake !

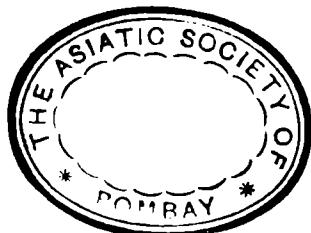
J.

JACK of all trades.

بيت الإسكان فيه من كل جلد رقعة The house of a shoemaker, there is a scrap of every leather in it.

پیش ناظم نائر و پیش نائر ناظم } With a poet an orator, and with  
پیش برد و پیش و پیش بیج برد و } an orator a poet,

And with both neither, and with neither both.



L.

A LANE has its turns.

الدنيا فبحة فيوم عند عطار و يوم عند بيطار  
 The world is a courtesan,  
 one day she is with a perfumer, and another with a veterinary surgeon.  
 دايمًا يكسان نباشد كار دوران غم مسخور  
 The turn of affairs is not  
 always the same; grieve not.

LAUGHING on the wrong side of the mouth.

ضحك الجوزة بين حجورين  
 The laughing of the nut between two  
 stones.  
 خند مردم از شادي باشد و خند بوزنه از غم  
 Men laugh for  
 pleasure, monkeys for grief.  
 خند گل كبريه گلاب بار آرد  
 The laughter of the rose has the tears of  
 rose-water for its fruit.

LIKE and like.

ظالع يعود كسيراً  
 The lame man visits him who has a broken foot.  
 كركبني البعير  
 Like the two knees of a camel.  
 لا تلد الفارة الا الفارة ولا الحية الا الحية  
 A mouse begets only a  
 mouse, and a snake a snake.  
 تبيغ كعب را نيام كعب  
 A crooked sword has a crooked scabbard.

The LIPS will overflow with what fills the heart.

كل شي علي بابي يشابه اصحابه  
 Everything at his door resembles  
 his companions.  
 كل اناء ينضح ما فيه  
 Every pot pours what is in it.  
 مينراود آنچه در آوند دل است  
 That flows out which is in the jug  
 of the heart.

LOOK before you leap.

ان اظلاعا قبل اينسا  
 Inspection before certainty (and familiarity).  
 اجرة لا تشترى ار قلطم  
 An earthen pot is not bought before striking  
 it (for a trial).



أَوَّلُ الْفِكْرِ آخِرُ الْعَمَلِ First the consideration, then the action.

اول اندیش و انگهی گفتار First consider, and then make your speech.

سپاس دیوار پس دیوار The foundation was laid first, and then the wall was built.

Love's labour lost.

فَلَانٌ يَدُهْنَ مِنْ قَارُورَةٍ فَارِغَةٍ A fellow oils from an empty oil-box.

تَضْرِبُ فِي حَدِيدٍ بَارِدٍ You strike cold iron.

غَاصَ غُوصَةً فَجَاءَ بِرُوثَةٍ He dived into the water but brought up only dung.

أَبٌ دَرَّ حَوْضًا كَوَيْدَانٍ To pound water in a mortar.

كَفَّحْتُ زِدْمًا كَفَّحْتُ زِدْمًا كَفَّحْتُ زِدْمًا كَفَّحْتُ زِدْمًا I dipped the ladle, I dipped the ladle, but where is the sweetmeat?

### M.

MANY a little makes a muckle.

قَطْرَةٌ بِقَطْرَةٍ تَصِيرُ غَدِيرًا Drop with drop will make a lake.

الْتِمْرَةُ إِلَى التَّمْرَةِ تَمْرٌ One date added to another will make dates.

قَطْرَةٌ وَقَطْرَةٌ جَمْعٌ شَدِيدٌ يَجْعَلُ بَحْرًا Drops and drops collected make a sea.

أَلِيبَةٌ وَأَلِيبَةٌ يَجْعَلُ كَثِيرًا Little and little will make much.

بِنَاءٌ بِبِنَاءٍ تَبْنِي السَّيْلَ Grain by grain the corn went to the barn.

There is NO MEDICINE against death (Contra vim mortis non est medicamen in hortis).

إِذَا جَاءَ الْحَيَاةَ حَارَتْ الْعَيْنُ When death has come the eye is confounded.

إِذَا جَاءَ الْقَدْرَ غَشِيَ الْبَصْرَ When fate comes the sight is covered.

بِأَنْجٍ دَلَّوْرٍ سَيْرٌ تَبْرُ قَضَايَتِمْ No hero has a shield against the arrow of fate.

چون قضا آید طبیب آبله شود When fate arrives the physician becomes a fool.

One MISFORTUNE on another.

فوق كل طامة طامة Above every calamity there is another calamity.

إذا قطعنا علما بدا علم When we cross one mountain another appears.

الامر يعرض دونه الامر success. In one matter another matter prevents its success.

داغ بالا داغ One spot over another spot.

To bark at the MOON.

لا يضرب السحاب نباح الكلاب A cloud is not hurt by the barking of dogs.

لا يفزع البازي من صياح الكركي clamour. The falcon dreads not the crane's clamour.

اهون من النباح على السحاب More contemptible than barking at the moon.

سوراخ در آسمان نمي شود A hole will not be made in the sky.

ابرا بانگ مگ ضرر نکند of a dog. A cloud cannot be injured by the barking of a dog.

از فریاد خرگسي نرنجد No one is distressed at the braying of an ass.

تف بر آسمان انداختن To spit against the sky.

MURDER will out.

قد تخرج الخمر من الضنين jug. The wine has indeed come out from the jug.

في شكك الیسك شعل من مذاقته not taste it. When you smell musk, you need not taste it.

قد بين الصبح لذي عینين has two eyes. The dawn has indeed appeared to him who has two eyes.

هرچه در دیک است بکفچه مي آید into the ladle (and be known). Whatever is in the pot will come into the ladle (and be known).

بوي مشک پنهان نمي ماند concealed. The smell of musk does not remain concealed.

N.

A man's NATURE does not change (Naturam si furca expellas tamen redibit).

عَادَةٌ نُرَضَّتْ بِرُوحِهَا تَنْزَعَتْ A custom imbibed with the mother's milk ceases when life ceases.

ذَنْبُ الْكَلْبِ لَا يَنْقُومُ وَلَوْ اُنْدَقَ فِي الْقَالِبِ A dog's tail cannot be made straight, even if beaten in a mould.

اِذَا تَعَوَّدَ اَلْسَنُورُ كَشْفَ الْقَدْرِ فَاعْلَمْ اِنَّهُ لَا يَصْبِرُ عَنْهَا When a cat has the habit of uncovering pots, know that it will not abstain from them.

رِبْسَانٌ مَرُوحْتُهُ لَيْكِنَ كَجَيْشٍ يَبْرُونَ نَرَقْتَهُ The rope is burnt, but its crookedness has remained.

دَمٌ صَكَّ رَاسَتَ نَشُودِ A dog's tail will not become straight.

To carry coals to NEWCASTLE.

يَحْمِلُ اَلتَّمْرَ اِلَى اَلْبَصْرَةِ He carries dates to Baçrah.

اِنَّهُ لِيَفْرِغُ مِنْ اِنَاءٍ ضَخْمٍ نِي اِنَاءٍ نَعِيمٍ into a full vessel.

اَبٌ دَرْدَرِيَا اِنْدَاخْتِنِ To throw water into the sea.

P.

PARTURIUNT montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.

اَعْطَى غِيضًا مِنْ فَيْضٍ He gave a trifle from abundance.

بُرْسٌ مِنْ عَدٍ Little water from a perennial water.

زَمِيْنٌ تَرَكِيْدٌ وَ يَهْدَا شَدْ مَرُ خَرٍ The earth opened and a donkey-head appeared.

PATIENCE is a plaster for all sores.

ثَمْرَةُ الصَّبْرِ نَجْحُ الْفَقْرِ The fruit of patience is successful victory.

اَلصَّبْرُ مِفْتَاحُ اَلْفَرْحِ Patience is the key of joy.

106 PARALLEL PROVERBS IN ENGLISH, ARABIC, AND PERSIAN.

صبرك يورث الظفر Your patience will produce victory.

صبر مفتاح کارها است Patience is the key to affairs.

PENNY wise, pound foolish.

يبنى قصرًا ويهدم مصرًا He builds a palace and destroys a city.

آتش به قیصریه میزند از برای دست مالی He sets fire to the warehouse for one handkerchief.

AS POOR as a church mouse.

غد آوه مرهون بعشابه His breakfast is pledged for his supper.

يا ويل الذي ماله اظانرويا ويل الذي ماله ظهر Woe to him who has neither nails to attack, nor friends to back him?

پشمي در کلاه ندارد He has not (even) wool in his cap.

نه مالي دارد که سلطان گیرد نه ايمان که شيطان property which the Sultan may take, nor religion which Satan may take.

POVERTY makes men poor-spirited.

علي شماماً ترى عيش الشقي In poverty you see the life of a wretch.

آنکه شیرانرکند روبه مزاج That which imparts to lions the nature of foxes

Is poverty, poverty, poverty.

False PROMISES, pie-crusts.

اربي خالاً ولا مطر I see a heavy cloud and no rain.

يدهن من قارورة فارغة He anoints from an empty box (of ointment).

توبه براي شکستن است Repentance is for breaking.

قسم براي خوردن است An oath is for swearing.

A PROUD man and a beggar's purse.

بطن جايع و وجه مدهون The belly hungry and the face oiled.

بخت رفته بلدي مازده Luck has gone and pride remained.

People do not marry by PROXY.

لَا خَيْرَ فِي وَدِّ يَكُونُ بِشَافِعٍ There is no good in love through a mediator.

بوسه به پیغام راست نیاید A kiss by message will not come right.

PROVERBS are instructive.

الأمثال مصابيح الأقوال Proverbs are the lamps of words.

مثل معروف بپرايه زانها A well-known proverb is the ornament of tongues.

### R.

From the RAIN into the gutter (from the pan into the fire).

ذُذْتُ أَلَسْبَاعَ ثُمَّ تَفَقَّرَ صَنِيَّ الْفِئْبَاعِ I repelled the lions, then the hyenas tear me up.

رَبِّ نَارِ كَيْ خِيلَتْ نَارِ شِيٍّ Often a fire for burning was imagined to be a fire for roasting.

رَبُّ نَعْلٍ شَرٌّ مِنَ الْحَفَا Sometimes a sandal is worse than barefootedness.

فَرَمَ مِنَ الْقَطْرَةِ وَقَعَدَ تَحْتَ الْمَرْزَابِ He fled from a drop and sat under the water-channel.

از بیم باران بزیر ناودان می گریزد For fear of the rain he runs under the spout.

After RAIN comes sunshine.

كُلُّ هُمٍّ إِلَيَّ فَرْحٍ Every grief leads to joy.

بَعْدَ الْبَلَاءِ يَكُونُ الثَّنَاءُ After calamity there will be praise.

بَعْدَ اذْرَنْجٍ رَاحَتٌ اسْتِ After exertion there is repose.

بَعْدَ نَشِيبِي رَافِرَازِي دَرِييِ اسْتِ After every valley comes a hill.

REQUIRE evil with good.

اُدْفَعُوا الشَّرَّ بِالْخَيْرِ يَغْلِبْهُ فَمَنْ دَفَعَ الشَّرَّ بِالشَّرِّ رَجَعَ عَلَيْهِ Repel evil

with good, thus the latter will overcome the former; who repels evil with evil, it will return to him.

جزا } بدبرا بددي مهل باشد جزا } It is easy to return evil for evil.  
 اسا } اگر مردی احسن الی من اسا } If you are a man, do good to him  
 who treats you ill.

**ROBBING Peter to pay Paul.**

شفتِ نَفْسِي وَ جَدَعْتُ اَنْفِي I healed my soul and cut off my nose.

از ریش کند و بر بردت بست He pulled off some of his beard and tied it to his moustache.

از دامن برید و بر شانه پیوند کرد He cut off a piece from his skirt and joined it to his shoulder.

**Spare the ROD and spoil the child.**

اَخْتَمُ بِالطِّينِ مَا دَامَ رَطْبًا Press the seal on the loam whilst it is soft.

جورِ اَسَدٍ بَهْ زَهْرٍ پَدْرِ The strictness of the teacher is better than the leniency of the father.

اگر نبودى چوب تر } If it were not for the green wood,  
 فرمان نبردى گا و خر } Neither ox nor ass would obey.

**If you are in ROME do as Romans do.**

اِنْ كُنْتَ فِي قَرْيَةٍ فَاَحْلُبْ فِي اِنَائِهِمْ If you live among people, then milk (your milk) into their jugs.

اِذَا دَخَلْتَ قَرْيَةً فَاحْلِفْ بِاللَّهِمَا When you enter a village, swear by its god.

جواب تركي بتركي The reply to a Turk (ought to be) in Turkish.

جاي گل باش و جاي خار خار Be a rose in the place of a rose, and a thorn in the place of a thorn.

**He makes a ROPE of sand.**

هُوَ يَرْقُمُ فِي الْمَاءِ He is writing in water.

آب بریسمان می بندند They are tying water with a rope.

باد در قفس میکند He puts the wind in a cage.

در میان دریا گود میخراهد He looks for dust in the sea.

No ROSE without thorns.

مع كل تمرّة زنبور With every date there is a wasp.

ما من غرّة إلا والي جنبها عرّة There is no white spot without a scab  
by its side.

هر بهار بهار اخزاني در پي است After every spring there is an autumn.  
هر جا که پري رخي است ديوي با او است Wherever a Peri is, there  
is a Div with her.

هر جا که گلي است پهلو خاري هست Wherever a rose is, a thorn is by  
its side.

There came nothing out of the SACK but what was in it.

S.

طب الجرة علي فمها تطلع البنت مثل امها Turn the jar mouth down ;  
the daughter will turn out like the mother.  
از کوزه همان برون تراود که در او است That will percolate from  
the jug which is in it.

The SADDLE is dearer than the horse.

الجل خير من الفرس The trappings are better than the horse.

بز مرده شاخ زرین A dead goat with a golden horn.

SAUCE for the gander is not sauce for the goose.

طعمه الأسد نخمة الذئب The food of a lion is indigestion to the  
wolf.

از خوردان خطا و از بزرگان عطا The sin of little folks is a virtue  
of big ones.

SAVED by the skin of his teeth.

تخلصت منه بشعرة I escaped from it by one hair.

نجا فلان جريضا Such a one escaped with agony.

از ته ريشی گذشت It (the sword) passed just under his beard.

Everybody knows where the SHOE pinches him.

كل راس به صدع Every head has its ache.

بزراغم جان است و قصاب راغم بیه The goat is distressed for his life,  
and the butcher for his fat.

هر کسی مصلحت خود خوب میداند Everybody knows well what is  
good for him.

There is not a **SHOT** in the locker.

مَا فِي كِنَانِهِ أَهْزَعُ There is not one (arrow) left in his quiver.

کاسه در کا پدان نماند Not a blade is left in the grass-box.

آه در جگر نماند Not a sigh is left in the heart.

Out of **SIGHT** out of mind.

مَنْ غَابَ عَنِ الْعَيْنِ غَابَ عَنِ الْخَطْرِ Who is absent from the eye is  
absent from the mind.

از دل برود هر آنچه از دیده برفت That goes from the heart which  
has gone from the sight.

عجب رسمي است رسم آدهمي زاد } A wonderful habit is the habit  
که دور آفتاده را کم میکند یاد } of man

To remember but little him who is far.

هر که از دیده دور از دل دور Whoever is far from the sight is  
far from the heart.

Be **SLOW** and sure (*Festina lente*).

فِي الْعَجَاةِ تُكُونُ الدَّامَةُ وَفِي التَّوَانِي السَّلَامَةُ In haste there is re-  
pentance, and in delay safety.

الْإِسْتِعْجَالُ يُورِثُ الْإِسْتِحْجَالَ A desire for great haste entails shame.

هر کار نیکو شود لیکن بصبر Every business turns out well, but with  
patience.

دیر آید درست آید It comes slowly, but properly.

There is no **SMOKE** without fire.

هَلْ يَرْجَى مَطَرٌ بَعْدَ سَحَابٍ Is rain expected without clouds?

تا نباشد چیزی کسی مردم نکوبند چیزها Unless there be a little thing,  
men talk about no things.



SOFT SOAPING.

بَعْلَةَ الزَّرْعِ يَسْقِي الْقَرْعِ For the seed the pumpkin fruit is watered.

بَعْلَةَ الدَّائِيَةِ يَقْبَلُ الصَّبِيَّ For the sake of the nurse the infant is kissed.

رَوَّغْنَ قَازَ مَالِيَدْنَ To rub with goose oil.

Every SORE has its salve.

لِكُلِّ دَاءٍ دَوَاءٌ Each ailment has its remedy.

هر کجا که دردی است درمانش مقرر کرده اند Wherever there is a pain, they have fixed its remedy.

What you sow, that you will reap.

تَحْمِلُ عَصَا جَنَاهَا A thorny bush produces its own fruit.

كَمَا تَزْرَعُ تَحْصُدُ As you sow, so you will harvest.

از مکافات عمل غافل مشو } Disregard not the retribution of acts ;  
 گندم از گندم برآید و جو از جو } Wheat will grow from wheat, and  
 barley from barley.

Fair SPEECH and form ; but foul.

بَدَنٌ وَافِرٌ وَقَلْبٌ كَافِرٌ A perfect body and perfidious heart.

بَاغٌ سَبْزٌ هِيَ نَمَائِدُ The garden looks green.

To SHUT the stable when the horse is gone.

أَلِيَّ انِّ يَجِيَّ التِّرْيَاقُ قَدَمَاتُ الْهَلْمَلُوعِ While the antidote is coming  
 the snake-bitten man dies.

شَرُّ الرَّأْيِ الَّذِي آتَى بَعْدَ الْوَقْتِ The worst advice is that which comes after (the  
 occasion for it has elapsed).

بَعْدَ مَا حَبَلَتْ سَكْرَتِ الْوَابِ After she had become pregnant she closed  
 the door.

بعد از مردن شهرباب نوش دارو After the death of Shohrab the  
 medicine (comes).

To fall between two STOOLS.

كَمَا سَاقَطَ بَيْنَ الْفِرَاشَيْنِ As he who falls between two carpets.

اخْلَفَكَ الْوِزْنَ وَسَهْلٌ لَا يَبْرِي The Alwazn star deceived you, and the star Sohail is not visible.

مَثَلُ الَّذِي اسْلَمَ الظَّهْرَ وَمَاتَ العَصْرَ عَيْسَى تَبَّرَ مِنْهُ وَمُحَمَّدٌ مَعْرَفٌ فِيهِ  
Like him who became a Moslem at midday and died in the afternoon ; Jesus got rid of him and Muḥammad knows him not.  
از اینجا رانده و از آنجا مانده Driven away from here, and too late there.

If I cannot move the SUPERIORS I will inferiors (Superos flectere si nequeo Acheronta movebo).

إِنَّ الْأَسَدَ لَيَفْتَرِسُ الْعَيْرَ فَإِذَا أَعْيَا صَادَ الْأَرْنَبَ The lion tears up the onager, but if he finds him not he hunts the hare.

زور بخرنمی رسد ده بیالانش Your strength takes no effect on the ass, exert it on the saddle.

T.

TIME cures every ill.

نِعْمَ الْعُودِبُ الدَّهْرُ The best teacher is time.

وَقْتُتْ آيْدُ خُودِ كَشَائِدِ When the time comes it will itself open (the knot of difficulty).

TRR for tat.

جِدْ لِأَمْرِي لَجْدَ لَكَ Be diligent towards a man, he will be so to you.

جَزَيْتَهُمْ حَذْوُ الْبَعْلِ بِالْبَعْلِ I requited them as a shoe is applied to a shoe (to see whether they are equal).

رَدَّ الْحَجْرَ مِنْ حَيْثُ جَاءَ كِ Return the stone whence it came to you.

اَسْمَحْ بِسَمْحِ لَكَ Be generous and others will be generous to you.

هَذَا بِتِلْكَ This for that.

صحت زني سخت خوري Hit hard and you will be hit hard.  
 در کسي را مزني با انگشت تا نزنند در ترا بمشت Strike not a man's  
 door with your finger, that he may not strike yours with his fist.  
 گوي هر چه گويدت باز Sometimes a dome will speak back  
 to you whatever you speak.

Set a THIEF to catch a thief.

الطير با لطير بصطاد Birds are caught by birds.

الطيور علي الانها تقع Birds fall down on their friends.

شغال بيشه مازندرانرا نگیرد جز سگ مازندرانى A hyena of the  
 wilds of Mazanderán is taken only by a dog of Mazanderán.  
 دزد دزدرا مي شناسد A thief knows a thief.

He that strikes with his TONGUE must ward with his head.

زلّة اللسان لا تقال A slip of the tongue is not condoned.

زم لسانك تلم جوارك Tie your tongue, your limbs will be safe.

طاعة اللسان ندامة Obedience to the tongue is repentance.

طول اللسان يقصر الاجل A long tongue makes life short.

رب راسي حصيد لسان Some heads were cut off on account of their  
 tongues.

اياك و ان يضرب لسانك عنقك Take care lest your tongue should  
 cut off your head.

خير الخلال حفظ اللسان The best quality of man is the restraining  
 of his tongue.

حفظ اللسان راحة الانسان The guarding of the tongue is the quiet-  
 ness of a man.

من يحفظ فاه يحفظ من الضيق نقسه Who guards his tongue pre-  
 serves himself from calamity.

زبان در دهان پاسبان سر است A silent tongue is the preserver of  
 the head.

U.

UNION makes strong.

اثنین علی قلب واحد یا خذوا بلد  
Two of the same mind take a town.

پشه چو پر شد بزند قیل را  
When gnats become a swarm they conquer an elephant.

دو دل یک شود بشکند کوه را  
Two hearts coalescing break a mountain.

آری بانفاق جهان توان گرفت  
Yea, by union the world may be conquered.

V.

One VACANCY, a hundred applicants.

کثر الحلبه و قل الرعاء  
Milkers many, herdsmen few.

الف صییز و لا غواص  
A thousand ferrymen and no diver.

یک انکور و صد زنبور  
One grape and a hundred wasps.

یک آهو و صد سگ  
One antelope and a hundred dogs.

صد گربه یک موش  
A hundred cats and one mouse.

یک انار و صد بیمار  
One pomegranate and a hundred sick persons.

یک یوسف هزار خریدار  
One Joseph, a thousand purchasers.

The dog has returned to his VOMIT.

عاد ابي مکره  
He has returned to his root.

عاد الامر علی نصابه  
The affair has returned to its beginning.

آب رفته باز بجو آمد  
The water which was gone returned again to the river.

W.

Boasting of WEALTHY relatives.

الحمار بتکني بان الحصيان خاله  
The donkey prides himself that the horse is his uncle.

استررا گفتند پدرت کیست گفت اسب خال من است یا مادرم  
 They asked the mule, "Who is your father?" he  
 replied, "The horse is my uncle," or, My mother is a mare.

There are **WHEELS** within wheels.

ان وراء الأكمة ما وراءها That is in the hill's rear which is  
 there.

وعلى الكبير يساع الصغير The big vase contains the small one.

زیر کاسه نیم کاسه هست Beneath the cup there is half a cup.

زبان زیر زبان دارد He keeps a tongue under his tongue.

Where there is a **WILL** there is a way.

ان جانب اعدای فالحق بجانب If one side fatigues you, turn to  
 another.

کوه هر چند بلند است راه بر سر دارد Although the mountain is  
 high, it has a way on its top.

آدم بآدم میرسد کوه بکوه نمی رسد Man can reach man ; moun-  
 tain cannot reach mountain.

ففي الجملة بهر چه دست شای } Whatever you put your heart to  
 هست چو قوی بود برای } will be crowned with success if  
 you try with all your might.

A **WOLF** in sheep's clothes.

ذئب استذمج ذئب آستذمج A wolf desirous to be taken for a sheep.

تحت جلد الضان قلب الأذوب Beneath a lambskin there is a wolf's  
 heart.

ذئب في صك منخلة A wolf in the skin of a lamb.

ظاهرش از شیخ و باطنش از شیطان He has the exterior of a Sheikh,  
 but the interior of Satan.

در برابر چو گوسفند سلیم } Face to face like a gentle lamb,  
 در قفا همچو کرم مردم خوار } Behind the back like a man-eating  
 wolf.

Much talk and little wool.

رَبِّ صَافٍ نَحْتُ الْرَامِدَةِ      Often but little rain falls from a thundering  
 cloud.

جَمْعَةٌ وَلَا أَرِي طَحْنًا      The noise of the mill (I hear), but I see no  
 flour.

أَوَازِ آسِيَا مِي شَنُومِ وَأَرْدَنِ مِي بِيَنَمِ      I hear the voice of the mill,  
 but I do not see the flour.

ART. VIII.—*Notes on some Plants undescribed in the  
“Bombay Flora,” by Dr. Gibson and Mr. Dalzell.*—  
By J. C. LISBOA, G.G.M.C.

[Read November 9th, 1878.]

In my paper read on the 5th of April last year, I laid before the Society dry and fresh specimens of about twenty-seven plants not mentioned in Gibson and Dalzell's *Bombay Flora*, and I then remarked that many other species, of which no mention is made by either of them, might be discovered on investigation. I have since found, both in Bombay and Bandora, several plants unnoticed in the said *Flora*, specimens of which I now present before the Society.

Although Dr. Gibson and Mr. Dalzell have paid great attention to the study of plants growing in the Mofussil, which they visited in the course of their duties, yet there is still left a vast field for investigation. I have with me a list of several plants, which will shortly be laid before the Society, discovered by Mr. Nairne in various parts of this Presidency; and I believe that Major Lee, R.E., Colonel Palin, and other botanists have brought to light many plants not described by the authors of the *Bombay Flora*.

It is certainly not possible for two botanists, under any favourable circumstances, to produce on a first attempt a complete Flora of such a vast country as this Presidency without faults of omission and commission. The authors of the *Bombay Flora* were excellent practical botanists, and as Conservators of Forests had many opportunities of visiting the country; besides, they had received some help from the labours of Graham, Law, Dr. Stock, and others, and had they had occasion to bring out a second edition of their book they would certainly have produced a better work. At the end of the preface they express themselves thus:—“The authors are far from supposing their work as free from errors, or that the lists are even complete; and they may mention, for the encouragement of the young and ardent explorers of Nature, anxious to make discoveries, that the field is not yet exhausted, that new species of plants have been found while the last sheets were passing through the press. The Cryptogamic portion of the Catalogue has, in order to meet the present wants of our readers, been

literally transcribed from that of Mr. Graham; but we hope on a future opportunity to be able to present it to the public in a more complete and enlarged form."

The whole of the Cryptogamic flora lies unexplored; with the exception of a few species, we know nothing of the numerous ferns said to grow at Matheran, Mahábleswar, and other places; fungi and marine and sweet-water algæ are not yet described by any botanist;\* and I believe also that *Cyperaceæ* and Grasses require careful examination. I am acquainted with some species belonging to these orders which are not mentioned by Mr. Dalzell and Dr. Gibson; their description will form part of another paper, which I will have the honour of reading before the Society hereafter.

After identifying a plant, I have carefully referred to several works describing it, and in making the present notes I may have used here and there words from one or more authors, the object in view being not the introduction of a new description, but giving the names of the plants not described before, and the localities of their growth. In my future papers, after giving the names of plants and the localities of their growth, I will quote the authors who have described these plants, thus following the practice adopted by botanists.

Before proceeding with the subject of this paper, I beg to bring again to the notice of this Society the want of an herbarium in this city: hoping that the Society will strive, if possible, to supply this deficiency, as without an herbarium no real and satisfactory progress can be made in the study of the botany of this Presidency. In my first paper, above alluded to, I showed how an herbarium and a geological museum could be established in Bombay by Government without much expense. In the Museum of this Society there is a large collection of shells, mineral and geological specimens from various parts of India; but, from want of classification, they are scarcely of use to one who begins his studies or tries to improve his knowledge. If I mistake not, Dr. Henry John Carter, who was for several years Secretary to this Society, made an attempt to have a scientific classification of the collection possessed by the Society; but, unfortunately, before he could succeed, he was obliged to retire from the Government service.

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\* Dr. Smith gives in his book on Matheran the names of a few ferns he saw on the hill; and Col. J. C. Hobson is said to have read a paper on the Cryptogamic Flora of Bombay, but it is not published in the Transactions of the Society.



## AMPELIDÆ.

*Vitis latifolia*, Roxb. *Flor. Ind.* I. p. 661; *Hort. Bengal.* p. 18. The whole plant glabrous. Stem long, slender, striate, hollow; climbing over trees to a great extent. Leaves simple, alternate roundish-cordate, acutely 3 to 7 angled or lobed, serrate, prominently nerved beneath, 6 to 9 by 6 to 9 inches. Petiole 3 to 5 inches long. Tendril long, leaf-opposed, forked; one division cyme-bearing. Flowers rather numerous, very small, reddish-brown, in simple cymes. Calyx absolutely five-toothed. Petals oblong, at last reflexed. Pedicels short. Ovary superior, style none. Berry the size and shape of a black currant, two-seeded; seed  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch, elliptical, with a small oblong tubercle on the back.

W. & Arnold, *Prodr. Fl. Ind.* p. 130; Drury, *Hand-book Ind. Fl.* I. p. 178; Lawson in Hooker's *Fl. of Ind.* I. p. 652; *V. Kteinir*, Wall, *Cat.* 6008; *V. glabrata*, Heyne in Roth. *Nov. Sp.* 156; De Cand. *Prodr.* I. p. 634; Spr. *Syst.* I. p. 778; *V. indica*, Wall, *Cat.* 5993, e. d.; *V. Zeylanica*, Wall, *Cat.* 5993; D. Rheed. *Hort. Mal.* VII. t. 11.

*Habitat.*—Common in Bombay and all over India.

## Ord. LEGUMINOSÆ.

## Sub-Ord. PAPILIONACEÆ.

Tribe *Genistæ*.

*Rothia trifoliata*, Pers.; DeC. *Prodr.* II. p. 382. A diffuse or prostrate annual, attaining 1 to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet, thickly sprinkled with soft silky hairs in all its parts. Leaves petioled, palmately trifoliolate. Leaflets nearly sessile, from almost obovate to narrow oblong, rather fleshy, quite entire,  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch; rarely,  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch, or even 1 inch long; stipules ovate and foliaceous, but small. Flowers small, rarely above 2 lines long; pedicels short, solitary or twin, leaf-opposed. Bracts and bracteals small, setaceous. Corolla, sulphur-coloured, at last becoming reddish: Wall, *Cat.* 5821; W. & Arnold, *Prodr.* p. 195; Wight,  *Ic.* t. 199; Drury, *Hand-book Ind. Fl.* I. p. 273; Baker in Hook. *Fl. of India* II. p. 63; Benth. *Fl. Austral.* II. p. 185; *Lotus indicus*, Desv. in Lamb, *Enc.* III. p. 606; *Trigonella indica*, Linn.; Roxb. *Fl. Ind.* III. p. 389; *Dillwynia trifoliata*, Roth, *Cat.* III. p. 71; *Glycine leptocarpa*, Grah. in Wall, *Cat.* 5515; *Hosachia indica*, Grah. in Wall, *Cat.* 5940; Pluk. t. 200, fig. 7, and t. 231, fig. 5.

*Habitat.*—Dadur fields. Uncommon in tropical plains from Bandelkand to Ceylon, and also in Australia.

## CROTALARIA, L.

*Crotalaria prostrata*, Roxb. *Hort. Beng.* p. 54; *Fl. Ind.* III. p. 270. Stem slender, diffuse, 1 to 2 feet long, clothed with short adpressed or spreading silky yellow-brown hair. Leaves alternate, bifarious, nearly sessile,  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches long and  $\frac{1}{2}$  broad, obovate, oblong, rather oblique, obtuse, pale, glaucous below, produced (cordate) on the lower side at the base. Stipules none. Racemes 2 to 4, or sometimes 12 flowered. Peduncles finely silky, leaf-opposed, axillary or terminal, usually two to four times longer than the leaves. Bracts subulate, very minute. Flowers small, yellow. Calyx  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch, densely silky; teeth linear, long. Corolla small, not exerted. Legume nearly sessile, glabrous,  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 inch long, linear-oblong; broader upward, 4 to 6 longer than the calyx, 12 to 15 seeded (16 to 24 seeded, Roxb.).

Rothl. in Willd. *Enum.* p. 747; DeC. *Prodr.* II. p. 130; Wall, *Cat.* 5410; W. & Arnold, *Prodr. Fl. Ind.* p. 189; Mart. in *Munch. Denk.* 6 t. E.; Drury, *Hand-book Fl. Ind.* I. p. 267; Baker in Hooker's *Fl. of Ind.* II. p. 67.

*Habitat.*—My specimens are from Bandora. It is found also in the "Plains from the Upper Gauges to Ceylon, ascending to 6,000 feet in the Chenáb Valley, and also in Java." Dr. Roxburgh says that this is an uncommon species on the coast, grows on pasture grounds, and has a perennial woody root. W. & Arnold, *Prodr. Fl. Ind.* p. 189, states: "When a specimen of the first year's growth is gathered, the root is slender and appears as if annual; such forms the state called *C. obliqua* by Hamilton, Wall, *Cat.* 5388 *b, c*; and *C. ferruginea*, Grah. in Wall, *Cat.* 5398, as well as *C. canescens*, Wall, *Cat.* 5415, appear to be the same with *C. crassifolia*, Ham. in Wall, *Cat.* 5416.

Mr. J. G. Baker, Hooker's *Fl. of Ind.* II. pp. 67 and 68, thinks that *C. ferruginea*, Grah. in Wall, *Cat.* 5398, and *C. canescens*, Wall, *Cat.* 5415, and *C. crassifolia*, Hamilt. in Wall, *Cat.* 5416, are different from *C. prostrata*. See Benth. in Hook. *Lond. Jour.* II. p. 476.

For comparison I beg to copy here Mr. Baker's description of *Crotalaria ferruginea*:—

"*C. ferruginea*, Grah. in Wall, *Cat.* 5398. Finely silky or shaggy, stipules lanceolate, spreading, leaves obovate-oblong, racemes laxly 2 to 8 flowered, bracts small linear, corolla middle-sized, pod linear-oblong, glabrous, 20 to 30 seeded."

Benth. in Hook. *Lond. Jour.* II. 476 ; *C. canescens*, Wall, *Cat.* 5415 ; *C. crassifolia*, Ham. in Wall, *Cat.* 5416 ; *C. obliqua*, Wall, *Cat.* 5388 ; *C. leioloba*, Bartl. *Ind. Sem. Hort.* Gott. 1837 ; *Linnaea* XII. Littb. 80 ; *C. pilosissima*, Miguel, *Fl. Ind. Bat.* I. 327.

Nipal to Assam, ascending to 5,000 and 6,000 feet ; Ava, Martaban, Ceylon. Distrib. Java, Philippines, Formosa.

More robust than all the preceding. Branches in the type finely silky. Leaves short-stalked, moderately thick, pale beneath, obtuse equal-sided, 1 to 2 inches long ; stipules persistent, foliaceous, often deflexed. Peduncles usually 2 to 3 times the leaves ; racemes much elongated ; bracts persistent, spreading or deflexed. Calyx  $\frac{3}{8}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch, shortly silky ; teeth long, upper lanceolate, lower linear. Corolla not distinctly exerted. Pod short-stalked, 1 to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches long.

Var. *B. pilosissima*, Benth. MSS. ; leaves and flowers larger, calyx and branches densely clothed with longer, bright, yellow-brown silky hairs. Khasia ; 3,000 to 5,000 feet. Hook. fil. and Thomson.

*Crotal. hirta*. Willd. DC. *Prodr.* II., p. 130. A diffuse, suffrutescens annual ; hairy, with slender branches, thinly covered with short spreading hairs. Leaves short-peduncled,  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 inch, moderately close, linear-oblong, obtuse, mucronate, sometimes rounded or cuneate at the base. Stipules none, or small and subulate. Flowers few, 2 to 4, racemose, crowded at the end of the leafy branches ; pedicels very short. Bracts lanceolate, foliaceous, twice as long as the pedicels. Calyx densely silky, small ; teeth long linear, acuminate. Corolla scarce exerted. Pod oblong, sessile, glabrous, shining, about twice the length of the calyx, 15 to 20 seeded.

W. & Arnott, *Prodr.* p. 182 ; Benth. in Hook. *Lond. Jour.* II. p. 567 ; Drury, *Hand-book Fl. Ind.* I. p. 261 ; Baker in Hooker's *Fl. of Ind.* II. p. 70 ; Mart. in *Munch. Denks.* 6, t. I. ; *C. chinensis*, Roxb. *Fl. Ind.* III. p. 268 ; Wall, *Cat.* 5385 ; non Linn. *C. pilosa* ; Roxb. in *E. I. C. Mus.* 370 ; Rottl. *Nova Acta*, 1808.

My specimen is from Bandora. It is said to grow also in Hyderabad of the Deccan.

This specimen is so closely allied to *C. chinensis* that both are described under one name by Dr. Roxburgh and W. & Arnott. Mr. Bentham, however (Hook. *Lond. Jour.* II. pp. 566 and 567) separates them. Mr. Baker (Hook. *Flor. of Ind.* II. pp. 70 and 71) gives the following description, which I beg to copy for the benefit

of the Members who having opportunities may think of setting this subject at rest:—

*Cro. Chinensis*, Linn.; DC. *Prodr.* II. p. 130. Annual, laxly silky. Leaves linear or oblanceolate, obtuse, or subacute. Flowers 3 to 6, densely capitate, all terminal. Calyx middle-sized, teeth long, upper lanceolate, pod oblong, as long as calyx.

Benth. in Hook. *Lond. Jour.* II. p. 566 (not of Roxb.).

Upper Gangetic Plain, Konkanā, Melabar, Pegu, and Tenasserim. *Distrib.* Sumatra, the Philippines and China.

Stem 1 to 2 feet high, usually with several stout ascending branches, densely clothed with long brown silky hairs. Leaves moderately firm, sparsely silky, 1 to 2 inches, pale below, base rather rounded. Stipules 0. Calyx  $\frac{3}{8}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch, densely laxly silky; lower teeth linear. Bracts and bracteoles linear, persistent. Corolla glabrous, not exserted. Pod sessile, glabrous, 15 to 20 seeded.

The former differs from the latter by its small obtuse leaves, much shorter calyx, and much exserted pod.

*C. Mysorensis*, Roth; DC. *Prodr.* II. p. 126. Annual (root perennial, Roxb.), suffruticose, copiously branched from one to several feet long, the stems clothed with long dense erecto-patent brown silky hairs. Leaves membranaceous, alternate, short-petioled, 1 to 3 inches long, linear-oblong, obtuse, rounded at both ends, thinly silky. Stipules linear, persistent, sometimes reflexed. Racemes terminal and lateral or leaf-opposed, three or four times longer than the leaves. Flowers large, yellow, distant 6 to 9 (opening in the evening only, Roxb.). Bracts lanceolate, foliaceous. Calyx large, densely clothed with long silky hairs; teeth all long, acuminate, upper lanceolate, lower linear. Corolla not exserted (the back of the banner and sometimes the wing beautifully spotted with purple, Roxb.). Pod sessile, oblong, glabrous, twice longer than the calyx; broader upwards, 20 to 30 seeded. Wall, *Cat.* 5361; W. & Arnott, *Prodr.* p. 182; Baker in Hook. *Fl. of Ind.* II. p. 70; Drury, *Hand-book Fl. Ind.* I. p. 260; *C. stipulacea*, Roxb. *Fl. Ind.* III. p. 264; *C. hirsuta*, Roxb. in *E. I. C. Mus.* I. 1595.

*Habitat.*—Tropical regions, all through India proper, ascending to 4,000 feet in Kumaon. It grows also at Kaubálá Hill, in Bombay.

#### SECT. TRIFOLIOLATA POLYSPERMÆ.

*C. clavata*, W. & Arnott, *Prodr.* p. 194. A low, erect shrub, glabrescent or covered with very short adpressed pubescence, with

arcuate, ascending terete branches. Leaves trifoliolate; leaflets thick, rather fleshy, obovate, obtuse, mucronate cuneate in the lower half, pale sub-glabrous. Stipules very small, setaceous, patulous. Racemes terminal and lateral or leaf-opposed, elongated, 20 to 30 flowered, short-peduncled. Bracts minute, setaceous, reflexed; bracteoles lanceolate, reflexed, attached to the base of the calyx half the length of the glabrous corolla, campanulate, thinly silky; teeth lanceolate as long as the tube. Corolla yellow, glabrous. Pod deflexed and parallel to the rachis, oblong-cylindrical, tapering at the base into a kind of short peduncle, slightly covered with adpressed pubescence, 10 to 12 seeded.

Benth. in Hook. *Lond. Jour.* II. p. 587; Baker in Hook. *Fl. of India*, II. p. 83; Drury, *Hand-book Fl. Ind.* I. p. 271; *C. cytisoides*, Wight in Wall, *Cat.* 5424 D.

*Habitat.*—The Carnatic, Dindigal Hill—Wight. My specimen was collected in the compound of the Grant Medical College in 1877.

### Tribe HEDYSAREÆ.

#### ALYSICARPUS, Neck.

*A. monilifer*, DC. *Prodr.* II. p. 353. Suffruticose, diffuse. Stems densely tufted, and clothed with fine spreading hairs  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 feet high. Leaves simple, orbicular, cordate-ovate, oblong-obtuse, glabrous  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  or sometimes 1 inch long; petiole small, finely downy. Stipules about the length of the petiole. Racemes close, leaf-opposed, short, 4 to 8 flowered, pedicels very short. Calyx  $\frac{1}{5}$  to  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch, scarcely so long as the lower joint of the pod, obscurely hairy, deeply four-cleft, the upper segment bifid; teeth linear, erecto-patent. Legume  $\frac{1}{12}$  inch thick, four to eight jointed,  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch long, moniliform, much contracted between the joints; densely clothed with minute pubescence, not at all reticulate-venose.

Wall, *Cat.* 5769; W. & Arnott, *Prodr.* p. 232; Drury, *Hand-book of Fl. Ind.* I. p. 311; Baker in Hook. *Flor. of Ind.* II. p. 157; *Hedysarum moniliferum*, Linn.; Burm. *Flor. Ind.* t. 52, fig. 3; Roxb. *Fl. Ind.* III. p. 345; *Hort. Beng.* 56; *A. rubibarna*, Wall, *Cat.* 5771 *ex parte*.

*Habitat.*—Kambálá Hill and other parts of the island, common. Mr. Baker says that it exists in the "tropical zone: Himalayas, through India proper, Burma and Tenasserim (Wallich), and also in Nubia and Abyssinia."

*A. Heyneanus*, W. & Arnott, 234. Shrubby, erect, 3 to 4 feet high ; every part except the upper surface of the leaves permanently pubescent. Leaves very short, petioled, large, ovate-oblong, retuse, mucronate ; stipules longer than the petioles. Racemes axillary and terminal ; short, often 4 to 6 inches long, not so close as in *A. rugosus*. Bracts solitary, cordate. Calyx short, ciliated on the edges only, four-partite, all the teeth acute. Pod  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch broad, often exserted, three to five jointed, contracted between the joints, mucronate ; joints transversely regulose, slightly compressed, with the edges thin.

Thwait. *Enum.* p. 88 ; Baker in Hook. *Fl. of Ind.* II. p. 159 ; Benth. *Fl. Austral.* II. p. 240 ; Drury, *Hand-book of Ind. Fl.* I. p. 313 ; *A. styracifolius*, Wall, *Cat.* 5770 ; non DC. ; *Hedysarum styracifolium*, Roxb. *Fl. Ind.* III. 347 ; *Hort. Beng.* p. 56 ; *A. obovatus*, Edgw. *Cat. Bund. Pl.* p. 45.

*Habitat.*—Plains of Bandelkand, Western Peninsula, and Ceylon. The specimens on the table were collected in the compound of the Grant Medical College. *A. styracifolius*, described by Dalzell and Gibson in their *Bombay Flora*, p. 65, by DC. *Prodr.* II. p. 353, and W. & Arnott, *Prodr.* p. 234, as a distinct species, is considered to be a variety of *A. rugosus* by Baker and Bentham in the works above mentioned. It appears that all the species of *Alysicarpus* have a tendency to vary very much ; and it is only with the aid of several books and a good herbarium that one is enabled to identify the various forms which are met with in Bombay. From the description of Mr. Baker in Hook. *Fl. of Ind.* one would be led to think that *A. rugosus* and *vaginalis* have compound leaves ; but this is not the case—they consist of a single leaflet. See Benth. *Flor. Hongk.* p. 80 ; *Fl. Austral.* II. p. 239.

#### DESMODIUM, DESV.

*D. laxiflorum*, DC. *Prodr.* II. p. 335. An erect under-shrub, 3 to 5 feet high, branches spreading, recurved, obtusely angled, clothed with dense short adpressed hairs ; young shoots triquetrous, leaves bifarious, trifoliate ; petiole 1 to 2 inches, leaflets membranous or subcoriaceous, glabrous above, clothed with minute adpressed hairs beneath ; end one usually ovate or broad oblong, acute, sometimes obovate, sub-obtuse, 4 to 6 inches long ; stipules lanceolate, acuminate. Racemes copious, axillary and terminal, the latter often compound, often a foot or two long. Flowers several to a node, and the nodes close ; pedicels  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch, finally spreading. Bracts minute, linear subulate. Calyx small,

densely hairy, teeth lanceolate, longer than the tube. Legume 1 to  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch, rarely 2 inches, by  $\frac{1}{12}$  inch, straight on both sutures, clothed with short hooked hairs, not at all or slightly constricted at the joints; joints more than twice as long as broad.

Drury, *Hand-book of Ind. Fl.* I. p. 304; Baker in Hook. *Fl. of Ind.* II. p. 164; *D. bicolor*, Wall, *Cat.* 5719; *D. elongatum*, Wall, *Cat.* 5715; *D. leptostachyum*, Wall, *Cat.* 5697, 13; *D. sulcatum*, Wall, *Cat.* 5636; *D. recurvatum*, Grah.; Wall, *Cat.* 5717; W. and Arnott, *Prodr.* p. 226; Wight, *Icon.* t. 374; *D. diffusum*, DC. *Prodr.* II. p. 335, not 336; *D. Rottleri*, G. Don, *Gen. Syst.* II. p. 296? not Baker; *Hedysarum recurvatum*, Roxb. *Fl. Ind.* III. p. 358; *Hort. Beng.* 57; Wight. *Icon.* t. 409; *H. diffusum*, Roxb. *Fl. Ind.* III. p. 357; not Willd.; *H. Roxburghii*, Spreng. *Syst. App.* 292; *H. Rottleri*, Spreng. *Syst.* III. p. 320.

*Habitat.*—Near old Sonápur cemetery. Also "Himalayas, temperate and tropical regions from Garhwal and Kumaon to Assam, ascending to 6,000 feet in Sikkim and Kumaon, Western Peninsula, Ava, Pegu, Tenasserim, Java, Borneo, the Philippines."

*D. diffusum*, DC. *Prodr.* II. p. 336, not 335. Herbaceous; pro-cumbent, diffuse, branched; branches long, stout, capitate, prominently four to five angled or deeply sulcate, clothed with spreading grey hairs; leaves trifoliolate; petiole 1 to  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch long; leaflets subcoriaceous, rather scabrous above, with obscure adpressed hairs, reticulose-venose, finely grey downy below; leaflets oval, end one obtuse, obovate, rarely roundish or oblong, 2 to 3 inches long. Stipules large, leafy, auricled, amplexicaul. Racemes copious, lateral and terminal, lax or moderately close, very long, reaching more than a foot, the end one paniced; bracts small, lanceolate, two or three together; flowers in pairs or threes; pedicels  $\frac{1}{8}$  to  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch, pubescent, erecto-patent. Calyx small, teeth deep, setaceous. Corolla twice longer than the calyx, the smallest of all the species. Legume ascending or nearly erect, four to six jointed, notched on both sutures, more distinctly on the upper, densely clothed with minute spreading hooked grey hairs; joints orbicular, tumid in the middle, when mature. Seeds oval, compressed with the hilum at one of the narrow ends.

W. and Arnott, *Prodr.* p. 226; Wight, *Icon.* t. 298; Drury, *Hand-book Ind. Fl.* I. p. 304; Baker in Hook. *Fl. of Ind.* II. p. 169, *D. dichotomum*, DC. *Prodr. loc. cit.*; *D. Roxburghii*, Wall, *Cat.* 5716; *D. Willdenowii*, G. Don, *Gen. Syst.* II. p. 295, *D. quinquan-*

*gulare*, Wight, *Icon. t.* 293; *Hedysarum diffusum* and *dichotomum*, Willd. *Sp. Pl.* III. 1180; *H. articulatum* and *quinquangulatum*, Roxb. *Ft. Ind.* III. p. 355.

*Habitat.*—Back Bay. Also "plains of the Western Peninsula, Bundelkund and Prome, ascending to 4,000 feet in the Vindhya chain." (Edgeworth.)

#### Tribe PHASEOLEÆ.

##### Sub-tribe GLYCINEÆ.

*Teramnus mollis*, Benth. in *Jour. Linn. Soc.* VIII. 265. Twining, stems clothed with long hairs. Leaves pinnately trifoliolate, leaflets broadly ovate or elliptical, thin, subcoriaceous, thinly hairy above, densely pubescent beneath. Stipules minute, setaceous, lanceolate at their base. Racemes 1 to 4 inches long, usually lax. Flowers fascicled, small, rose-coloured. Calyx about the length of the corolla, teeth shorter than the tube, very hairy; hairs on the tube patent, on the teeth erect. Legume with short pubescence, recurved, long pointed,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 inches long, 8 to 12 seeded. Baker in Hook. *Flor. of Ind.* II. p. 184; *Glycine mollis*, W. and Arnott, *Prodr.* p. 209; Drury, *Hand-book Ind. Fl.* I. p. 287; *G. parviflora*, Wall, *Cat.* 5508.

*Habitat.*—Common in hedges in Bombay. Is said to grow in the plains from the foot of the West Himalayas to Ceylon, Burma, Penang, and Natal, and all over the tropics.

This plant, described by W. and Arnott in their *Prodr.* as a distinct species, is put down by Mr. Baker, *l. c.*, as a variety of *Teramnus labialis*. This latter is described in the *Bombay Flora* by Dalzell and Gibson, p. 68, under the name of *Glycine labialis*, of which *Teramnus* has exactly the same habitat.

##### Sub-tribe ERYTHRINEÆ.

*Mucuna hirsuta*, W. and Arnott, *Prodr.* 254. Annual, branches slender, densely clothed with short fine silky deflexed ferruginous or grey hairs. Leaflets ovate rhomboid, obtuse membranous, thinly pubescent above, densely grey silky beneath, ferruginous on the veins, 4 to 6 inches long. Racemes long, drooping,  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 foot long, with a densely silky rachis. Peduncle short, floriferous part long. Flowers purple. Calyx short with a few irritating bristles, teeth broadly lanceolate, acuminate, as long as the tube, pedicels as short as the calyx. Bracts small, ovate or lanceolate. Legume 3 to 4 inches long, reflexed at the end, very densely covered with rigid stinging brittle brown or ferruginous



hairs, 5 to 6 seeded. Drury, *Hand-book Ind. Fl.* I. p. 333; Baker in Hook. *Fl. of Ind.* II. p. 187.

*Habitat.*—Plains of Western Peninsula. I received specimens from the Vehar Valley.

Sub-tribe EUPHASEOLEÆ.

*Phaseolus*, Linn.

*P. semierectus*, Linn.; DC. *Prodr.* II. p. 396. Tall, sub-erect and shrubby in the lower part, quite terete with flexuose branches clothed with long deciduous, deflexed hairs. Leaves pinnately trifoliolate; leaflets entire, membranous, soon glabrescent, thicker than in most of the species of the genus, lanceolate, acute, the end one ovate, entire, acute or subobtusate, 2 to 3 inches long, usually deltoid at the base. Stipules lanceolate, subulate, setaceous, erect, striated, persistent. Racemes 5 to 8 times longer than the leaves: peduncle very long, stout, terete; pedicels very short, acuminate. Bracts and bracteoles subulate, setaceous, longer than the calyx, caducous. Calyx 5-toothed,  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch long. Corolla deep purple and white, 3 to 4 times longer than the calyx. Legume 3 to 5 inches long by  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch, glabrous pendulous, or rather recurved, nearly straight, slightly compressed, many-seeded; seeds compressed, short, oval, slightly truncated at both ends.

Jacq.  *Ic. t.* 558;  *Bot. Reg. t.* 743; Baker in Hook.  *Fl. of Ind.* II. p. 201;  *P. psoraleoides*, W. and Arnott,  *Prodr.* p. 244; Wight,  *Icon. t.* 249; Drury,  *Hand-book of Ind. Fl.* I. p. 323.

*Habitat.*—Spread through the Western Peninsula and Ceylon. It exists also in Malaya and tropical America. Mr. Baker,  *l. c.*, thinks that it is probably not wild in India. I have found it growing very tall in a dry well in the Sewree cemetery.

" *P. aconitifolius*, Jacq.  *Obs.* III t. 52. Stems numerous, slender, suberect, diffuse, procumbent, and extending from two to twelve feet every way; succulent, angular, and slightly hairy, more or less copiously. Leaves trifoliolate; leaflets deeply divided into three or five linear, lanceolate, somewhat hairy, entire lobes (central division ligulate, Baker); petioles longer than the leaflets, channelled above, with slight ridges underneath. Stipules of the petioles attached below the middle, ovate lanceolate, those of the leaflets subulate. Racemes capitate; peduncles hairy, like the stems, axillary, solitary, nearly as long as the petiole, but much more slender, angular; pedicels short. Flowers capitate, minute, yellow. Bracts lanceolate, ciliate, twice as long as the calyx;

their setaceous ciliated tips protruding beyond their buds. Legume horizontal, cylindrical, nearly glabrous. Roxb. *Fl. Ind.* III. p. 299; W. & Arnott, *Prodr.* p. 247; DC. *Prodr.* II. 394; Drury, *Hand-book Ind. Flora* I. p. 325; Baker in Hook. *Fl. of Ind.* II. p. 202; *P. trilobus*, Wall, *Cat.* 5588 L. N.; *Dolichos dissectus*, Lam. *Dict.* II. p. 300.

*Habitat.*—Himalayas to Ceylon; tropical region up to 4,000 feet in the North-West. The specimen on the table is from Malabar Hill. Said to be cultivated in the Dakhan, Gujarát, and the Upper Provinces, and used for feeding cattle.

#### Sub-tribe CAJANEÆ.

*Atylosia albicans*, Benth. *Jungh.* p. 243. A shrubby twiner, branches slender, thinly canescent with many grooves. Petiole 1 to 2½ inches long; leaflets 1 to 2 inches long, obovate, obtuse, or subacute, mucronate, rigidly coriaceous, densely, finely persistently white, canescent beneath, not reticuloso-venose, greenish and obscurely canescent above, much narrowed in the lower half, the base subdeltoid or a little rounded; stipules minute, caducous. Racemes lax, short-peduncled, 4 to 12 flowered, often corymbose, usually shorter than the leaves, sometimes as long or longer than the leaves. Bracts small, round, silvery on the back, caducous; pedicels ¼ to ½ inch. Calyx small, 4 to 5 times shorter than the corolla, thinly canescent, teeth short, ovate, shorter than the tube. Legume 1 to 2 inches long, ⅔ to ½ inch oblong, straightish, distinctly lineate, narrowed to the base, beaked with the base of the style; velvety.

Baker in Hook. *Fl. of Ind.* II. p. 215; *Cantharospermum albicans*, W. and Arnold, *Prodr.* 256, excl. syn.; Drury, *Hand-book Ind. Fl.* I. p. 335; *Cajanus albicans*, Grah. in Wall, *Cat.* 5582; *C. Wightianus*, Grah. in Wall, *Cat.* 5583.

*Habitat.*—My specimens were gathered at the Tank Bunder. It is also found in Dindigal, on the hills of the Western Peninsula, and in Ceylon.

#### Tribe DALBERGIÆ.

*Derris scandens*, Benth. in *Jour. Linn. Soc.* IV. suppl. 103. This is in my Notes as a new plant to *Bombay Flora*, but on examination I find it described by Dalz. and Gibs. *Bomb. Fl.*, p. 76, as *Brachypterum scandens*, and by Roxb. *Fl. Ind.* III. p. 232, *Cor. Pl.* t. 192, as *Dalbergia scandens*.

It is a very beautiful woolly climber, with dark green shining leaves, and numerous drooping racemes of whitish or light rose-coloured flowers.

## Sub-Order CÆSALPINIÆ.

## Tribe CASSIÆ.

*Cassia Absus*, Linn. *Vog. Syn. Cass.* 50. An annual or biennial herb or under-shrub, glandular, pubescent, or pilose, erect or ascending, much-branched, 1 to 4 feet high, generally  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet. Leaves with two pairs of leaflets; common petiole, rather long,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 inches in length, slender, patent, glandular-pilose throughout, interpetiolar glands small between the leaflets of the lowest or both pairs. Leaflets membranous, varying from obliquely ovate or obovate to elliptic oblong, obtuse, mucronate, or sometimes broadly pointed, thinly pubescent or subglabrous. Stipules narrow and subulate. Flowers rather small, yellow (or red, Oliver, *Fl. Afric.* p. 279), in short, lax, pilose or pubescent, terminal or leaf-opposed racemes. Bracts very small, reflexed, persistent, ovate, often acuminate, shorter than the pedicels. Bracteoles minute about the middle of pedicels. Sepals subequal, narrow linear-lanceolate, rather obtuse, pubescent, about three or four times long. Petals broadly oblanceolate to obovate, narrowed below, slightly longer than the calyx. Stamens usually 4, 5, or 6, all perfect. Anthers linear-oblong dehiscent from the minutely mucronate apex more or less longitudinally. Style dilated at the end, with a broad fringed stigma. Legume two-valved, linear, obliquely pointed at both ends,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches long,  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch broad; valves slightly convex. Seeds 6 to 9, compressed, oblique, with very little albumen.

DC. *Prodr.* II. p. 500; W. and Arnott, *Prodr.*, p. 291; F. Mueller, *Fragm.* III. p. 50; Drury, *Hand-book Ind. Fl.* I. p. 383; *Senna Absus*, Roxb. *Fl. Ind.* II. p. 340; Burm. *Fl. Zeyl.* t. 97; Pluk. t. 60, fig. 1; *Cassia viscosa*, Schum. and Thonn. *Pl. Guin.* p. 205.

*Habitat.*—Kambálá Hill, Mahim, &c. Common everywhere in tropical Asia, Africa, and Australia. It flowers throughout the year.

Adopting the opinion of Dr. Roxburgh, I have described in my last paper a specimen received from Worlee field as *Cassia exigua*. It has, however, such a close affinity to *C. Absus* that I had a doubt whether that botanist had not described one plant under two names. Major Lee, R.E., also thinks, as I gather from his letter, that *C. Absus* and *C. exigua* are one. Still I must state that my specimen was not higher than half a foot, was not glandular pubescent, nor were the leaves ovate, but almost round, and the interpetiolar glands absent. I have given above a full description of *C. Absus*, which I hope will induce Members interested in the subject to settle the question.

*Cassia mimosoides*, Linn. *Vog. Lyn. Cass.* 68. An annual or perennial suffruticose plant, about 2 inches high, much-branched; branches diffuse or ascending, more or less pubescent. Leaves  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 inches long, leaflets numerous (from 20 to 60 pairs), linear oblong, unequal-sided, falcate, mucronate, two to four lines long and one line to a line and a half broad, nearly glabrous or sprinkled with very short hairs, with an obsolete concave gland below the lowest pair. Stipules lanceolate, subulate. Pedicels axillary (or supra-axillary), solitary (as on the specimen on the table) or several together, about half an inch long. Flowers yellow. Sepals three lines long, very acute. Petals slightly larger. Legume linear, flat, mucronate,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 inches long, and scarcely 2 lines broad, 15 to 20 seeded, constricted between the seeds. Benth. *Flor. Hongk.* p. 98; *Fl. Austr.* II. p. 291; *C. angustissima*, Lamb. *Enc. Meth.* I. p. 650; DC. *Prodr.* II. p. 505; Spr. *Syst.* II. p. 343; *Cassia sensitiva*, Roxb. *Fl. Ind.* II. p. 354.

*Habitat.*—Widely spread over tropical Asia, Africa, and in Australia. My specimen is from Byculla, where the plant was discovered by Dr. Gray, who kindly allowed me to include it in this paper (*Acacia Suma*), to enable any Member interested in the subject to settle the question.

#### Sub-Order MIMOSEÆ.

##### Tribe MIMOSEÆ.

*Desmanthus virgatus*, Willd.; DC. *Prodr.* II. p. 445. A shrub, stems erect or ascending, slender, attaining 2 or 4 feet in height; branches angular, owing to prominent decurrent lines from each leaf. Pinnæ usually in two to four pairs; rachis, with a large oblong concave sessile gland between the lowest pair; leaflets sensitive, 10 to 20 pairs, linear-oblong, subapiculate, base obliquely truncate, sessile,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 lines long. Stipules subulate. Peduncles axillary, solitary, about as long as the leaves, bearing a globose few-flowered head. Flowers small, white at first, then yellowish. Petals five. Stamens 10. Legume usually straight, narrow, linear, 2 to 4 inches long, 2 to 3 lines broad, 10 to 30 seeded.

W. & Arnott, *Prodr.* p. 270; Curtis, *Bot. Mag.* t. 2454; Jacq. *Vind.* t. 80; Drury, *Hand-book Ind. Fl.* I. p. 358; Oliver, *Fl. Trop. Afric.* II. p. 334; *Mimosa virgata*, Linn.

*Habitat.*—All over the Peninsula. Flowering in the rainy season. The specimen on the table is from the Sewree cemetery. This is the

only species which exists in India, and is widely spread in cultivated places in Africa and cultivated places between the tropics. Two other species of *Desmanthus* are described by W. and Arnott in their *Prodr.*, but they belong to *Neptunea*.

## CUCURBITACEÆ.

### CYMBATARIA.

*Momordica Cymbataria*, Fenzl. *Pl. Kotschy*, No. 147. Monœcious. Root woody, perennial, tuberous with stout fibres. Stem slender, scandent, smooth, angular (?), sparingly branched. Tendrils simple and undivided. Leaves glabrous or pilose, reniform cordate orbicular, about two inches each way, rather fleshy, obtusely 5 to 7 lobed or angled, when dry with raised points on both surfaces, but not scabrid; lobes very short or obtuse, toothed or serrate; petioles variable. Male flower, peduncles  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch, axillary, slender, hairy, ebracteate, racemose at the apex; pedicels short, spreading. Calyx lobes lanceolate. Corolla  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 inch in diameter (white, Roxb.), yellow; filaments two, short, stout, flattened, one two-partite, the other three-partite; anther cells flexuose surrounding the division of the broad connective. Female flowers axillary, solitary. Corolla  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 inch in diameter, yellow. Ovary fusiform, beaked; style rather stout, stigmas three, spreading subconical. Fruit  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches long and  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch broad, smooth, oblong pyriform, or broadly fusiform, narrowed into the short, stout and curved peduncle, fleshy, green, eight-angled. Seeds very far, strophiolate,  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch long; testa polished, crustaceous, dark-brown. Oliv. *Fl. of Africa*, II. p. 540; *Luffa tuberosa*, Roxb. *Fl. Ind.* III. p. 717; Drury, *Hand-book Ind.* I. p. 459.

It is a rare species, and is found in tropical Africa, and here in India in the Circars, Mysore, Tuticorin, growing in hedges and amongst bushes, on the banks of watercourses: Drury. My specimens are from Solápur, sent for examination by Mr. A. K. Nairne, C.S., who had traced it to Dr. Roxburgh's *Luffa tuberosa*. Mr. Oliver makes the following observations:—

“A Peninsular Indian plant of which Wight states the fruit to be eatable. Roxburgh describes the flower as white, and the internal structure of the fruit as fibrous, like that of the *Echinata*; but the flowers appear to be yellow, and the fruit, both in Indian and African specimens, is wholly destitute of internal fibres. These errors are no doubt due to the editing of the third (posthumous) volume of Roxburgh's work.”

## FICOIDEÆ.

## Tribe MOLLUGINEÆ.

*Mollugo stricta*, Linn.; Fenzl. in Walp. *Rep.* II. p. 241. A diffuse, straightish, much-branched, angular, glabrous annual, from a few inches to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet high, of reddish-brown colour. Leaves linear-lanceolate, pointed, thin, green, in false whorls of four or six, much narrower and acute at both ends. Stipules minute, subulate, sometimes absent. Flowers numerous, very small, in slender elongated panicles or dichotomous cymes, on slender peduncles. Pedicels very short, filiform. Sepals greenish or brownish-green with white edges, about a line long. Corolla none. Stamens 3 to 5, generally 3. Styles or stigmas 3, distinct but short. Capsule three-celled, opening loculicidally in 3 valves. Seed rough with minute tubercles, which under microscope present a beautiful appearance, resembling the eyes of a fly.

W. and Arnott, *Prodr.*, p. 44; DC. *Prodr.* I., p. 391; Benth. *Fl. Hongk.* p. 23; Burm. *Fl. Ind.* t. 3, f. 3; Pluk. t. 257, f. 2; *Pharmaceum strictum*, Spreng, *Syst.* I. p. 249.

*Habitat.*—It is very common in the island of Bombay and Colaba; is said to be common also throughout India and the Archipelago, and northward to south of China. Mr. Bentham (*Fl. Hongk.* p. 23) says, "The Hongkong specimens are narrow-leaved; when nearly all the leaves are broad and obtuse it becomes the *M. triphylla*, Linn., or *M. pentaphylla*, Linn., neither of which are specifically distinct."

My knowledge of botany is very limited, and we have no herbarium here to test the assertion of Mr. Bentham. I have found no intermediate forms to join the three plants given as distinct species by various authors on Indian botany, and the figures given by Pluk, Burman in his *Flor. Zeyl.* and *Fl. Ind.* do not appear to support the opinion of Mr. Bentham.

## RUBIACEÆ.

*Hediotis auricularia*, Linn. *Sp.* 147; DC. *Prodr.* IV. p. 420. A decumbent, straggling herb of 1 to 3 feet, the branches four-angled or somewhat compressed; when young, hairy all round, or on the opposite side only, or almost glabrous, hirsute at the joints. Leaves nearly sessile, varying from ovate lanceolate to oblong lanceolate, 1 to 3 inches long; glabrous, or pubescent with very oblique raised veins, diverging from the midrib and very prominent underneath. Stipules short,

with long bristle-like lobes or teeth. Flowers in dense, axillary, sessile clusters, or verticels, very small, scarcely exceeding the stipules. Calyx lobes subulate and recurved, about as long as the tube, the corolla scarcely exceeding them. Capsules small, spherical, glabrous, crowned by the calyx-teeth, and quite indehiscent or rarely separating into two hard indehiscent cocci, each containing 4 to 6 angular seeds. W. and Arnott, *Prodr.* p. 412; Benth. *Fl. Hongk.* 150; *Fl. Austr.* III. p. 404; Drury, *Hand-book Ind. Fl.* I. p. 546; *H. geniculata*, Roxb. *Fl. Ind.* I. p. 364; *Metalobus venosus*, Blume; DC. *Prodr.* IV. p. 435; Rheede, *Hort. Malab.* X. t. 32; Burm. *Fl. Zeyl.* t. 108, f. I.

*Habitat.*—Travancore, Malabar, and all over the Indian Archipelago, Hongkong, Australia, and the islands of the South Pacific. The specimens on the table are from Malabar Hill and Mahim.

#### COMPOSITÆ.

In a note appended to my last paper, at the end of the description of several *Compositæ* I stated that the plants therein described were almost all found growing in the island of Bombay, and if the inquiry were extended to other parts of the Presidency more species might perhaps be discovered, and that there were already in my hands two or three plants which I had not then succeeded in identifying. During the last rainy season, I had occasion to examine two of these plants, and found them to be, one a species of *Enhydra*, and the other of *Tridax*.

As I have known that some students of Bombay botany have experienced, like myself, difficulty in identifying them, chiefly from want, in books on Indian botany, of a description of their generic and specific characters, I have thought it advisable to insert the following:—

#### Tribe HELIANTHOIDEÆ.

##### Sub-Tribe *Verbesineæ*.

*Enhydra*, Lour. *Fl. Cochinch.* 510 (*Enydra*); (*Meyera*, Schreb. *Gen. Pl.* 570; *Sobreyra*, Ruiz and Pavon. *Prodr. Fl. Pers.* 109, t. 23; *Sobrya*, Pers. *Syn. Pl.* II. 473; *Tetraotis*, Reinw. in Blume, *Bijdr.* 892; *Hengtsha*, Roxb. *Fl. Ind.* III. p. 448). Flower-heads heterogamous, subradiate; ray-florets, female, in several rows, with very short ligulas; disk florets hermaphrodite, fertile, or the innermost usually sterile, tubular, 5-toothed. Involucre of four broad leafy bracts, closely enveloping the florets, the two outer ones larger than the inner ones. Receptacle conical or convex, chaffy, the scales closely enclosing

the florets and achenes. Corolla of female floret shorter than the style, ligula being 3 to 4 dentate; corolla of hermaphrodite floret regular, tubular, limb campanulate, 5-fid at the apex; anthers obtuse at the base; style-branches rather obtuse, hardly appendiculate, slightly hispid towards the apex. Achenes oblong, those of the ray are flattened on the dorsum, with obtuse edges, without any pappus; those of the disk usually abortive, slightly laterally compressed. Herbs glabrous or scabro-puberulous, with opposite, sessile, subdentate leaves. Flower-heads in the forks of stems or in the axils of the leaves, unilateral or alternate. (Copied from Hook. and Benth. *Gen. Pl.* II. p. 360.)

*E. paludosa*, DC. *Prodr.* V. p. 637; *E. Heloncha*, *E. fluctuans* and *longifolia*; DC. *Prodr.* V. p. 637; *E. Hengcha*, Drury, *Handbook Ind. Fl.* II. p. 55; *E. Helærch*, Clarke, *Comp. Ind.* II. p. 133; *Meyeria Heloncha*, Ham. in Wall, *Cat.* 3195; *E. Woolsii*, F. Muell. *Fragm.* III. p. 139; *Hingtsa repens*, Roxb. *Fl. Ind.* III. p. 448; *Tetraotis paludosa*, Reinw. in Blume *Bijdr.* 872.

Stem glabrous or slightly scabrous pubescent, elongated, procumbent, rooting at the base or creeping in the mud; the flowering branches ascending, simple or forked. Leaves scarcely petioled, glabrous, oblong or lanceolate, coarsely serrated or nearly entire, narrowed at the base, or sometimes, specially those under the forks, somewhat hastate, the petiole often dilated at the base and stem-clasping. Involucral bracts broadly ovate, the two outer larger ones 4 to 6 lines long, exceeding the flower-heads.

*Habitat.*—In Poona, Bengal, Silhet, Burma, the Archipelago, and Australia.

#### Tribe HELIANTHOIDEÆ.

##### Sub-Tribe *Galinsogææ*.

*Tridax* (generic characters), Linn. *Gen. W.* 972. (*Balbizza*, Willd. *Sp. Pl.* III. 2214; Bartolina.—Adam, *Fam.* II. 124.) Flower-heads heterogamous, radiate. Ray-florets female, of the disk fertile. Involucre ovoid, campanulate or sub-hemispheric; bracts in a few rows, generally in two rows, slightly irregular or the outermost ones shorter, large membranaceous or herbaceous. Receptacle flat or convex, the palæ, which are membranaceous, subtending the florets. Female corolla ligulate or subligulate; the external lip 3-dentate, 3-fid or 3-partite; the internal one is very small, 2-lobed or 2-partite, or sometimes obsolete. Hermaphrodite corolla regular tubular, the limb



elongated and short, 5-fid at the apex. Anthers sagittate with short acute auricles at the base; style-branches appendiculate. Achenes turbinate. Pappus filaments numerous, aristato-acuminate or plumose, ciliate. Ramous herbs, glabrous or hirsute. Leaves opposite, incisedentate or pinnato-sect. Flower-heads long-peduncled. Corolla yellow, or that of the disk florets greenish.

*Tridax procumbens*, DC. *Prodr.* V. p. 679; Linn. *Sp.* ed. 1, p. 900; Wall, *Cat.* 3197; Clerk, *Comp. Ind.* p. 149; *Balbizza elongata*, Willd. *Sp.* III. p. 2214; *Balbizza pedunculata*, Hoffm. *Verz.* 1824, p. 228; *Balbizza divaricata*, Cass. *An. Sc. Nat.* 1829; *Dict. Sc. Nat.* V. 60, *et opusc.* 3, p. 91. A small herbaceous plant, stem 3 feet long or more, filiform articulate, declinate or creeping, and rooting at the first or second articulations, hispid. Leaves short-petioled, ovato-lanceolate or acute at both ends, coarsely serrated, serratures rather distant and small, except one or two situated a little below the middle of the leaf; the lowermost of these is deeper. Peduncles 5 to 7 inches long, bearing only one flower-head. Ligula of ray-floret is tridentate, the middle tooth smaller. The other lip is obsolete.

*Habitat.*—Common in Bengal, Burma, and Singapore. It is indigenous in Central America. My specimens were collected at Parell, in the field adjoining the Gas Works; but I am informed by my friend Mr. Nasarvánji Mervánji Khán Sáheb that it is also seen growing at Sion and in Salsette along the track of the G. I. P. Railway.

#### CONVOLVULACEÆ.

*Ipomea bracteata*, Wight, *Icon.* IV. t. 1374. A slender twiner, not tall, everywhere clothed with long hairs. Leaves long-petioled, entire, sub-reniform or broadly cordate, ovate-acute, mucronate, 1 inch long and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches broad, covered on both sides with long pubescence; petioles very slender, hairy, 1 to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches long; peduncles axillary, hairy, about the length of the petioles, cymosely 3-flowered. Flowers sessile, small, the lateral ones each furnished with three ovate, cordate, obtuse, or acute leafy bracts. Calyx deeply divided, tube very small; sepals hairy, narrow, acute; corolla a little longer than the calyx, pink-coloured, subcampanulate. Limb angular, with pubescence on the angles. Stamens included. Style filiform. Stigma with two short globular lobes. Drury, *Hand-book Ind. Fl.* II. p. 316.

*Habitat.*—Seen running over a cactus at Tank Bunder, in this island. Also at Quilon.

## SOLANACEÆ.

*Physalis minima*, Linn. *Sp. I.* 263; Dun. in DC. *Prodr.* XIII. Part I. p. 445. An erect herbaceous annual of about  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 foot with diffuse branches, more or less pubescent, with scattered simple hairs. Leaves petiolate, subcordate or ovate, acute or acuminate, irregularly sinuate-toothed, or rarely entire, thin and membranous, mostly one to three inches long, and covered here and there with small simple hairs. Flowers small, on filiform pedicels, sometimes very short, sometimes above half an inch long. Calyx when in flower very short (about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 lines long), segments triangular, acuminate, shorter than the tube. Corolla about twice as long as the calyx, pale yellow (the centre often purple, Benth., but no spot in my specimen). Anthers yellow. Fruiting calyx about one inch long, vesicular, with five prominent angles, and acuminate, connivent teeth, and reticulate, with the five central veins prominent, but not reaching to the end of the connivent teeth. Berry globular.

Drury, *Hand-book Ind. Fl.* II. p. 350; Benth. *Fl. Austral.* IV. p. 466; *P. parviflora*, R. Br. *Prodr.* 447; Rheedee, *Hort. Mal.* X. tt. 70 and 71.

*Habitat.*—This species flowers all the year round, is very common throughout India, and is dispersed over tropical America, Asia, and Africa. My specimens are from plants growing at the back of Mr. Cama's house on the road to Sewree.

Mr. Bentham describes *Pangulata* (Dun., DC. *Prodr.* XIII. Pt. I. 448) as occurring in Hongkong, and in a note says, "Frequent in tropical America and Africa, and very common in India. The species should also perhaps include as a pubescent variety the common Indian *P. minima*, Linn."

## CHENOPODIACEÆ.

*Salsola spinescens*, Moquin in DC. *Prodr.* XIII. p. 179. A hard, tough, divaricately branched shrub,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 feet high, stem thick, pale green, glabrous; branches numerous, alternate, unarticulate, pale green, and here and there some subrecurved (new branches spinescent, pubescent). Leaves scattered, alternate, sessile, hard and rigid, minute, thick, ovato-triangular, obtuse, glabrous, pubescent on the back; deciduous. Bracts round-ovate, obtuse, somewhat shorter than the fructiferous calyx (not differing much from the upper floral leaves—in fact these latter appear to be graduating into bracts and bracteoles). Flowers

sessile, solitary in the axils of each bract. Sepals five, obovato-elliptic; obtuse, subciliolate. Anthers five, very minute, thin. Style thick, terete. Stigmas three. Wight, *Icon*. V. t. 1795.

*Habitat*.—During the last rainy season there were found growing near the Dadur station of the G. I. P. Railway, three plants. One of these, on being removed for examination, was found to agree with the description of *Salsola spinescens* of Moquin, and with the figure of Wight, except that it was not glabrescent, but young branches green, not spinescent, and the fruit, though angular, not expanded into aæ; perhaps these are developed when the ovary becomes mature. Unfortunately, the other two plants, left in the field for a subsequent visit, were cut down on clearing the ground, by the villagers. Might the three individual plants found at Dadur have been brought by the G. I. P. Railway from a distant country? Though in deference to the opinion of Wight I have ascribed the plant in question to *Salsola spinescens*, it appears to me that it is to be placed between the latter and *S. ericoides*.

#### AMARANTHACEÆ.

*Ærva floribunda*, Moquin in DC. *Prodr.* XIII. pars 2, p. 304. An erect or decumbent annual, suffruticose at the base from half a foot to nearly two feet, much-branched; pubescent, branches short, terete, slightly striated, ascending, flexuose. Leaves alternate, on very short petioles, varying from narrow elliptical to obovate, obtuse, slightly pubescent, above villous and pale beneath, 8 to 10 lines long, thin, soft, pale-green. Spikes sessile, axillary, solitary or two or three together; in young plants about the length of the leaves, in older often two or three times the length, very woolly, snow-white, compact, ascending. Bracts broad ovate, mucronulate, pubescent on the nerves, glabrous on the margin. Flowers minute, very white. Sepals oblong, elliptic, obtuse, 3-nerved, very woolly on the back. Staminodes equalling the filaments, subulate. Style short; stigma deeply two-cleft; lobes reflexed. Wight, *Icon*. vol. V. t. 1776; Drury, *Hand-book Ind. Fl.* III. p. 25.

*Habitat*.—Courtallum, Mysore, Coimbatore. It grows in several places in Bombay. It assumes sometimes an erect posture, but has great affinity to *Ærva lanata*. Dr. Wight has separated the former from the latter, and raised it into a distinct species. He says: "At first I considered this plant Moquin's E. variety of *Ærva lanata*, and named it accordingly; perhaps it is so, but on comparing it with what I

presume to be the true plant it appeared to me distinct; I have therefore raised it to the rank of a species, retaining his name, which seems very appropriate."

## EUPHORBIACEÆ.

*Euphorbia elegans*, Spreng. *Syst.* III. 794. A villous, glaucous, diffuse or procumbent perennial or annual. Stem none. Branches humifuse, flexuose or geniculate, terete, slender, clothed with white hair; from a few inches to  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a foot long. Leaves on short petioles, numerous, opposite, somewhat remote at the lower part of the branches; but higher up densely imbricate, distichous, round or round-ovate, obtuse, subcordate, at the base, oblique, unequilateral, entire towards the base, serrulate towards the apex, clothed on both sides with white hairs, 4 to 6 lines long and 4 to 5 lines broad, venoso-reticulate. Principal veins penninerved, smaller reticulately anastomosed, petioles dilated at the base. Stipules small, membranaceous, lanceolate, acute or subulate, caducous. Flower-heads terminal. Floral leaves or bracts coloured, especially at the margins, with lines of red or pinkish colour, mostly as long or rather somewhat shorter than the flowers. Flowers solitary in the axils of each bract. Involucre turbinate or pyriform, submembranaceous, pilose on both sides, produced below into a short setaceous, reddish peduncle; superiorly it is divided into five processes, or lobes, which are denticulate at the apex. Glands transversely oblong, appendages five large, petaloid, white, with faint rose-colour; cuneate, obtusely repand, base red. Stamens generally eight, five shorter, included, three longer than the involucre. Filaments somewhat thick. Anthers globose, yellow, opening by a small slit. Ovary stipulate, villous, trigonous, trilocularis. Styles united at the base, bifid, oblong, clavate. Seed oblong, transversely 4 or 5 furrowed, minutely tubercled.

DC. *Prodr.* XV. sect. 2, p. 19; Drury, *Hand-book Ind. Fl.* III. p. 113; *E. variegata*, Roth; *E. dichotoma*, Roxb. *Fl. Ind.* II. p. 471; *E. platylepis*, Decais. in Jacq. *Voy.* p. 156 and t. 157; *E. strobilifera*, Dalz. in Hook. *Jour. Bot.* 1851, III. p. 229; Dalz. and Gibs. *Bomb. Fl.* p. 226.

*Habitat.*—Malabar and Concan, Asseerghur, Deccan, Aurungabad. My specimens were collected, as stated before, at Sholapore, by Mr. Nairne. Flowers in February.

In deference to the opinion of Drury, I have given *E. strobilifera* of Dalzell as a synonym, but I believe that this is a distinct species; it is

an erect shrub about 2 to 3 feet high, stem naked at the base, smooth and the bracts large, 1 to 2 inches long; whilst *E. elegans* has no stem, the branches are nodose, and the bracts very small. This agrees well with the description of Roth and Jacquemont.

*Phyllanthus reticulatus*, Par. Muell.; DC. *Prodr.* XV. part 2, p. 344; var. *Genuinus*. A much-branched, tall shrub; branches slender, sometimes partly scandent: branchlets softly grey, or mostly somewhat tomentose, or pubescent with sordid hairs. Leaves distichous on short petioles, broad or narrow, oblong elliptic, ovate or obovate, mostly obtuse, acutish at the base or obtuse at both ends, green, brownish-green above, of the same colour or glaucescent beneath, the young ones covered with minute pubescence on both surfaces, or only on the veins. Veins reticulately anastomosed. Stipules triangular linear; those on the lower part of the branches more or less distinctly spinescent, hard, and recurved. Flowers small, white, mostly of red colour, in axillary fascicles, usually 3 to 4 males and a single female, all on filiform pedicels, rarely exceeding 2 lines; female pedicel a little longer than the male. Male perianth segments 5, broad, concave, obtuse,  $\frac{1}{2}$  line long, or one or two outer ones shorter. Stamens usually 5, the 2 or 3 inner ones with their filaments more or less united, the outer ones free or nearly so, or all united into a single column, dividing into three, four, or five, each with an anther. Glands variable, usually 5, sometimes absent. Female perianth rather larger. Ovary ovate, usually from 3 to 5 cells, deeply 2-cleft. Fruit when young succulent, berry-shaped, dark-red, depressed-globose; but at length dry, obtusely 3 to 12 ribbed, usually 3 to 5 ribbed. Two seeds in each cell, *coccus* sometimes less by abortion.

Variety *A. genuinus*, Poir. *Phyllanthus multiflorus*, Willd.; Roxb. *Fl. Ind.* III. p. 664 (not Poir.); *P. pentandrus*, Thwaite's *Enum. Pl. Ceyl.*; *P. Wightianus*, Wall, *Cat.*; *P. Priewrianus*, Muell. *Arg.* in *Linnæa* V. 32, p. 12; *Anisonema reticulatum*, And. Juss. *Euph.* t. 4, fig. XI.; *A. multiflorum*, Wight,  *Ic. Pl. Ind. Orient.* t. 1899; *A. dubium*, Blume, *Bijdr.*; *Kirganelia reticulata*, Baill. *Étud. Gen. Euph.* p. 613; *Kirganelia dubia*, Baill. *Étud. Gen. Euph.*; *Kirganelia puberula*, do.

Var. *Glaber*, Poir. Muel.; DC. *Prodr.* XV. pt. II. p. 345. The whole plant is glabrous, or the young branches and leaves clothed with minute, dispersed pubescence. Leaves as in the variety *genuinus*, sometimes orbicular, and mostly larger, about 1 in. long. Flowers

as in the other variety, said to be sometimes white—not seen by me. Ovary usually with about 8 cells, but varying from 6 to 12. Variety *C. Glaber*, Muell. *Arg.* in *Linnæa*. V. 32, p. 12; Benth. *Fl. Austral.* p. 11, p. 345; *P. Wightianus*, Wall, *Cut.*; *P. multiflorus*, Wall. (not Poir.); *P. Kirganelia*, Roxb. *Fl. Ind.* III. p. 668; *P. Jamaicensis*, Grisebach, *Fl. West. Ind.* p. 34; *Kirganelia multiflora*, Thwaites, *Enum. Pl. Ceyl.*; *K. Wightiana*, Baill. *Étud. Gen. Euph.* 614; *K. eglandulosa*, Baill. *Étud. Gen. Euph.*; *K. intermedia*, Baill. *loc. cit.*; *Anisonema eglandulosum*, Dene, *Herb. Tim. Descr.* 154.

*Habitat.*—Common all over India. Also in Australia and at Timor. In the island of Bombay it is seen on the Malabar and Mazagon Hills.

There is a beautiful variety cultivated in gardens, which accords with the description of *Phyllanthus Kirganelia* as given in Dr. Roxburgh's *Flora Indica*. He says, "It is a stout handsome shrub loaded with abundance of delicately small evergreen foliage. The flowers are too small to add to its beauty, except when narrowly inspected." Children make use of the juice of the purple fruit as ink: hence probably it was named *Phyllanthus tinctorius* by Kônig, as related by Dr. Roxburgh.

*Anisonema multiflorum* of Dr. Wight, *lc. Pl. Ind. Or.* t. 1899, has larger, broader, and acute leaves.

#### CERATOPHYLLÆ.

*Ceratophyllum demersum*, Linn.; DC. *Prodr.* III. p. 73. An aquatic, grasslike, glabrous, perennial herb, floating in still fresh-water tanks and wells. Leaves verticillate, divided into dichotomous segments, either filiform or subulate, or rather broader and denticulate. Flowers small, monœcious, sessile in the axils of the leaves, each surrounded by a whorl of numerous minute bracts, considered by some botanists as calyx divided into many segments. Male flowers consist of several (12 to 20) almost sessile, oblong, mucronate anthers. Ovary with one pendulous ovule and filiform oblique style. Fruit oblong or oval oblong, one-celled, indehiscent, of dirty brown colour, crowned by the hardened style, slightly compressed, 2 or 3 lines long, more or less covered with minute tubercles, and bearing below the middle 2 to 4 reflexed prickles, very variable in length (wings not seen).

Benth. *Fl. Austral.* II. p. 491; *C. submersum*, Linn.; DC. *Prodr.* l. c.; *C. verticillatum*, Roxb. *Fl. Ind.* III. p. 624; Drury, *Hand-*

*book Ind. Fl.* I. p. 455; *C. muricatum*, Cham.; W. & Arnott, *Prodr.* p. 309; *C. tuberculatum*, Wight's  *Ic. Pl. Ind. Or.* VI. t. 1948, figs. 2, 3, and 4.

*Habitat.*—Is dispersed all over India, Australia, and Europe. It is found at Bandora in tanks and some wells, and also in Bombay,—always, I believe, in fresh water.

The genus *Ceratophyllum* is considered by some as containing but one species, by others as divided into several by the excrescences, tubercles, or spines in the fruit.

The authors of the *Prodr. Fl. Penins. Ind. Or.*, after stating the differences there are in several plants of the genus found in India, say: "Perhaps the whole three species (*C. muricatum*, *C. tuberculatum*, and *C. missionis*) ought to be combined as varieties under Roxburgh's name *C. verticellatum*, characterized as a species by the ellipsoidal tubercled, or muricated 3-spined, not gibbous fruit ..... except in the presence or absence of the wing; there is however no difference, and we have merely separated them in deference to Chamisso's observations on the genus."

Botanists are not agreed regarding the affinities of this genus, nor as to the place it should occupy amongst the natural orders. One example will show this:—Mr. Bentham, in his *Fl. Austral.* II. p. 491, places it in *Halorageæ*; but in *Genera Plant.* (vol. I. p. 674), of which he is a joint author, we read the following:—" *Ceratophyllum* L., inter Ordines, monochlamydeos invenitur."

#### HYDROCHARIDEÆ.

*Vallisneria spiralis*, Linn. *Sp. Pl.* 1441. An aquatic herb. Leaves entirely submerged, ensiform, long and narrow, when the water is deep, short in shallow water, obtuse or acute, and more or less serrulate at the end, with minute teeth, or sometimes perhaps quite entire. Male spathes about three lines long on a peduncle usually short, but said to break off and enable the flower to float to the surface and fecundate the female. Flowers minute, apparently forming an ovoid or globular head, not quite so long as the spathe, but the pedicels really three or four times as long as the minute perianth. Female spathe usually about half an inch long, very narrow, on a spirally coiled filiform peduncle, which unfolds, so as to carry the flower to the surface, till after fecundation, when it contracts and brings the ovary down to the bottom to mature. Perianth very small, but larger than in the males.

Fruiting spathe only slightly enlarged. (Copied from Bentham.) Linn. *Sp. Pl.* 1441; Rich, *Mem. Inst. Fr.* 1811, t. 3; Reich,  *Ic. Pl. Germ.* t. 60; Hook. f. *Fl. Tasm.* II. p. 37; *V. spiralis* and *V. nana*, R. Br. *Prodr.* p. 345; Benth. *Fl. Austral.* VI. p. 259; Drury, *Hand-book Ind. Fl.* III. p. 461; Grah. *Cat. Bomb. Pl.* p. 200; *V. spiraloïdes*, Roxb. *Fl. Ind.* III. p. 750.

*Habitat.*—It was collected by my friends Mr. N. Khán Sáheb and Dr. Sakhárám Arjun in the Vehar valley. No notes were taken at the time, so I have thought best to copy Mr. Bentham's description:—"It is spread over India, Europe, New Holland, North America, and Australia."

### AMARYLLIDÆ.

#### Tribe HYPOXIDÆ.

*Curculigo ensifolia*. Drury describes, in his *Hand-book of Ind. Fl.*, five species of the genus *Curculigo*—*C. malabarica*, *C. brevifolia*, *C. orchioïdes*, *C. graminea*, and *C. recurvata*.

There is a plant belonging to this genus growing during the rains at Mahim, which I think is *C. ensifolia*, and agrees with the description given by Mr. Bentham in *Fl. Hongk.* VI. p. 448. It is so good that I beg to copy it here, with the remark appended to it:—

"*C. ensifolia*, R. Br. *Prodr.* 290. Stem short, produced into a descending rhizome with fibrous roots, and more or less covered with the scarious sheathing bases of old leaves. Leaves usually 6 to 9 inches long and  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch broad, tapering at both ends, with prominent nerves, and more or less hairy, especially towards the base. Spikes short and erect at the base of the leaves, the scarious sheathing bracts subulate-acuminate, often 1 inch long. Ovary almost sessile, elongated, enclosed in the bract. Perianth tube filiform, hairy,  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch long above the ovary; segments of the limb usually 3 to 4 lines long, with lanceolate-pointed segments, more or less hairy outside. Filaments short. Anthers linear, the parallel cells shortly free at the base. Style column very short below the stigmas, which are as long as the anthers, and connate or shortly free at the top. Capsule oblong, enclosed in the sheathing bract. Seeds several, the black testa elegantly striate but not tubercular. *C. stans*, Labill. *Sert. Austr. Caled.* 18, t. 24; *C. orchioïdes*, Miq. *Fl. Ind. Bat.* III. 585, and others, but not of Roxb."

"*Note.*—The species has a wide range in eastern tropical Asia, for I can find no difference in the numerous specimens I have seen from



Australia, New Caledonia, the Indian Archipelago, Bengal, China, and Japan. The Asiatic ones have been generally referred to the *C. orchoides*, Roxb. *Corom. Pl.* I. 14, t. 13, and I had myself considered them as a small variety of that species in the *Hongk. Fl.* p. 366 (where, however, I had by mistake described the perianth as 5 to 6 lines long, instead of 3 to 4); but upon a more careful comparison with Roxburgh's plate and description, and with specimens probably authentic from Rottler's herbarium, it appears that the latter may be a distinct large-flowered species of limited range in the Indian Peninsula, and possibly the same as Wight's *C. Malabarica*. The South American (Guiana and W. Indian) *Hypoxis scorzonifolia*, Lam., is scarcely distinguishable from the true *Curculigo ensifolia*, although, for reasons unexplained, it is still retained in *Hypoxis* by Seubert in the great *Flora Brasiliensis*."

"Var. *longifolia*.—This may prove to be a distinct species if the characters are found constant. It is more slender and glabrous. Leaves rigid,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet long and only 3 to 4 lines broad, in the broadest part, tapering into a long point and into a still longer petiole. Spike loose and elongated, each flower with its spatha or sheathing bract on a pedicel of  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch or rather more. Perianth tube not so slender as in the typical form; but the segments of the limb, the stamens, style and fruit, quite those of *C. ensifolia*."

The following is the passage from *Fl. Hongk.* which has been alluded to in the above:—

"Dispersed over India, from the Peninsula to Khasia and the Archipelago. It is also closely allied to the S. American *Hypoxis scorzonifolia*, Lam., which is surely a *Curculigo*, and to the Australian *C. ensifolia*. It is only at first sight that it resembles the *Hypoxis minor*, Don, which has no tube to the perianth."

#### AROIDEÆ.

*Arum divaricatum*, Linn.; Roxb. *Fl. Ind.* III. p. 503. Root small, tuberous, with numerous slender fibrous rootlets. Stem none. Leaves radical on long petioles, cordate-hastate acuminate,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 6 inches long, 2 to 3 inches broad, smooth on both sides; the two auricles or basal lobes ovate lanceolate or oblong and divergent, obtuse or acutish. Petioles nearly as long or a little longer than the laminæ of leaves. Scape solitary, much shorter than the petioles. Spathe longer than the spadix, tubular, ovate-oblong, green at the base for about 1 to  $\frac{1}{2}$

inch, then expanded into an ovate lamina, near 2 to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad, and beyond the middle tapering into a long, recurved, slender, spirally twisted point; of a deep purple colour inside; ferruginous-green outside. Spadix also deep purple, nearly straight, ending in a long, subulate appendix or point. Ovaries at the base in a few rows, with mostly one erect ovule or two in each cell; then follow several rows of short bristle-shaped or subulate erect barren organs, and, after an interval of 3 to 6 lines, several rows of sessile anthers.

Benth. *Fl. Hongk.* p. 342; Wight,  *Ic. Pl. Ind. Orient.* III. t. 790; *Arum trilobatum*, var. *Bot. Mag.* t. 2324 and 339; Lamb, *Encycl.* III. p. 10; *A. Orizense*, R. Brown, *Prodr.* p. 336 (*ex parte*); *Bot. Rep.* t. 356; *Bot. Reg.* t. 450; *Typhonium divaricatum*, Blume, *Rumphia* 1 to 132; Drury, *Hand-book Ind. Fl.* III. p. 484; Dene, *Descr. Herb. Tim.* 39; *Arisarum Amboienicum*, Rumph. *Amb.* 5, t. 110, fig. 2; Lodd. *Bot. Cab.* t. 422.

*Habitat.*—It was found flowering in the last rainy season in the compound of the Grant Medical College. Is widely spread over India, from the Peninsula and Ceylon to the Archipelago and Hong-kong.

I must remark here that the old genus *Arum* is split up by modern authors into several genera, and the above species is placed in the genus *Typhonium*.

The tubers when fresh are exceedingly acrid. The natives of India use them in poultices to disperse or bring forward scirrhus tumours. They also apply them externally to bites of venomous snakes, at the same time giving them internally in quantities about the size of the field bean. "It is certainly a most powerful stimulant in proper hands." Roxb.

#### TYPHACEÆ.

*Typha angustifolia*, Linn.; Kunt. *Enum.* III. p. 9. Root perennial. Stems straight, erect, round, smooth, from 4 to 12 feet high. Leaves smooth, convex externally, concave internally, often as long or longer than the stems and from 4 to 8 lines broad, the lower portion of the lower leaves forming a smooth sheath of 6 inches to 1 foot. Flowers in dense cushion-like, cylindric spikes, 6 to 8 inches long, 4 lines in diameter. The upper spike, male, terminating the rachis, contiguous with the lower female one, or generally separated from it by a naked portion of the rachis, about 2 inches long. Male flowers

consisting of numerous fine filaments, two or three arising from a short common stipes; anthers small, linear, yellowish-brown, one to each filament, the cells crowned with the hemispherical end of the connective: each flower or stipes is surrounded by many filiform white hairs. Female spike. Ovaries fusiform, surrounded by hairs. Style very short. Fruit small oblong, or obovoid. R. Br. *Prodr.* 338; Roxb. *Fl. Ind.* III. p. 567; *Engl. Bot.* I. 1456; Drury, *Hand-book Ind. Fl.* III. p. 495.

*Habitat.*—It is found all over the Peninsula, and flowers in the rainy season. It is seen in Bombay at Sewree and near the Victoria Gardens, probably cultivated.

*Typha elephantina* is called *Pauna grass* in Sind, and is of great importance in binding the soil on the banks of the Indus, with its long tortuous roots, of which great care is taken when the culms are cut down.

They are also made into bundles and used like sedges (*Sparganium ramosum*); in England as buoys to swim with (Dr. Heddle's MS. Report). The stem and leaves are used for thatching houses. The pollen of *Typha* is said to be made into bread in Sind and New Zealand (see *General Syst. of Bot.* by Muell, Le Maout, and De-caisne). The starchy rhizome possesses slightly-astringent and diuretic properties, which has led to its use in India for the cure of dysentery, urticaria, and apthæ.

#### LILIACEÆ.

*Iphigenia Indica*, Kunt. *Enum. Pl.* III. p. 213. A small herbaceous plant, glabrous all over. Stem about one foot high, slender, round, simple, or emitting one or two small erect branches at the top. Leaves few, resembling those of grasses, alternate, long, linear, or linear-lanceolate, sheathing at the base. Flowers one, or few, at the end of stem and branches. Pedicels rather long, about one inch, shorter than the leaves. Perianth dark purple, inodorous: segments narrow-linear, about 4 lines long. Stamens short, also dark purple. Ovary sessile, 3-celled, obtuse, smooth, green, with numerous ovules in each cell. Styles 3, shortly united at the base, recurved, and stigmatic along the inner surface, also purple-coloured. Capsule ovoid, obtuse, or obovate, smooth, truncate, opening loculicidally in three valves, about 5 lines long.

Drury, *Hand-book of Ind. Flor.* III. p. 307; T. Mueller, *Fragm.* VII. p. 74; Benth. *Flor. Austral.* VII. p. 31; *Melanthium indicum*, Linn.; Roth. *Nov. Sp. Ol.* p. 198; *Anguillaria indica*, R. Br. *Prodr. Flor. Nov. Holland.* I. p. 273; Spr. *Syst.* II. p. 146; Wall, *Pl. As. Rar.* III. t. 259.

*Habitat.*—The plant is found in various parts of India in the plains and on high mountains; my specimens, collected at Malabar Hill, are in all respects similar to the species growing in Australia. The specimens from Nepal and the Himalayas are much larger. Dr. Wallich says:—"Notwithstanding the great size of the Nepal, Kumaon, and Prome plants which have been described above (*Pl. As. Rariores*), I hesitate not to consider them as belonging to one and the same species as the specimens from the Peninsula of India preserved in the Honourable Company's herbarium under my charge. I suspect that Both's *Melanthium racemosum* and *caricinum* are specifically distinct from our plant. Mr. Bentham, who has removed the genus *Iphigenia* to *Liliaceæ*, says (*Flor. Austr.* VII. p. 30): "Hunt places it (*Iphigenia*) in a different order, as having the anthers introrse, not extrorse. I have failed to detect this difference; in both cases the cells appear to me in the bud to be strictly lateral, placed back to back, the filament attached, emarginate base of the anther, and when the flower is expanded the anther becomes versatile with the attachment, if not basal, rather dorsal than towards the inner face."\*

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\* In the identification of the plants described in this paper, I had great assistance from my friends Dr. Bakhárám Arjun and Mr. Nasarvánji M. Khán Sáheb, who, as stated in my last paper, have considerable knowledge of the plants growing in the island of Bombay.

**ART. IX.—Memorandum on some Antiquarian Remains found in a Mound and in the Brahmapuri Hill, near Kolhâpur.—By Professor R. G. BHÂNDÂRKAR.\***

[Read 9th November 1878.]

The stone box found at Kolhâpur contained a casket made of crystal. This casket must have contained a relic. Such caskets of relics placed in stone receptacles of various shapes are found in Buddhistic *stûpas* or *topes* in all parts of the country, including Afghânistân. In the *topes* Nos. 2 and 3 at Sanchi, the receptacles found by General Cunningham were stone boxes of the same shape as the one before us (see *Bhilsa*

\* No. 6686 of 1877.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.  
*Bombay Castle, 29th November 1877.*

FROM JOHN JARDINE, Esq.,  
Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay,  
TO THE SECRETARY BOMBAY BRANCH  
OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

SIR,—I am directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to forward to you herewith copy of a letter from the Political Agent, Kolhâpur and Southern Marâthâ Country, No. 650, dated the 16th instant, and of its accompaniment, and to intimate that Colonel Schneider has been requested to send to you direct the stone box and the contents referred to by him.

2. The sketch alluded to in para. 4 of the State Kârbhâri's letter is also appended.

I have, &c.,  
(Signed) JOHN JARDINE,  
Acting Secretary to Government.

No. 650 of 1877.

*Political Agent's Office,  
Kolhâpur, 16th November, 1877.*

FROM COLONEL F. SCHNEIDER,  
Political Agent, Kolhâpur and S. M. Country,  
TO C. GONNE, Esq.,  
Secretary to Government, Bombay.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward the accompanying papers received from the State Kârbhâri of Kolhâpur relating to a stone box found underground in

*Topes*, pp. 286 and 297); while those discovered by him at Mânikyâl in the Panjâb and at Kiyul in Bêhar had the shape of a *stûpa* (see *Arch. Reports*, vol. II., p. 167, and vol. III., p. 157). The caskets found at Mânikyâl and in a *tope* at Sonari, near Bhilsa, were, like the Kolhâpur

one of the State gardens at Kolhâpur, and to request that they may be forwarded to the Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Bombay for information. The box and the contents will be sent to the Society direct on receipt of Government instructions.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) F. SCHNEIDER,

Political Agent,  
Kolhâpur and S. M. Country.

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No. 890 OF 1877.

FROM MAHADEO WASUDEO BARVE,

State Kârbhâri, Kolhâpur,

TO COLONEL F. SCHNEIDER,

Political Agent,  
Kolhâpur and S. M. Country.

*Kolhâpur, 16th November, 1877.*

SIR,—I have the honour to submit a short report on the discovery of a stone box bearing an inscription in the Mâgadhî dialect, and holding in it a small casket made of a transparent stone, or crystal *sphatik*, in the Kharala Garden, situated on the eastern slope of the town of Kolhâpur. This interesting discovery took place on 27th October, 1877, under the following circumstances.

2. The ground about the little bungalow in the said garden is lately being put into order, and, to make the place even, extra earth was required for filling up the gaps which lay here and there. The convicts who were engaged in preparing the ground were ordered to take the earth for this purpose from a small piece of rising ground which stood uncultivated at the distance of about 250 yards to the east of the bungalow, and which was shaded with a *bâbul*-tree grown over it. This rising ground was in the shape of a gently sloping irregular-shaped mound about eighty feet in diameter, its height nowhere exceeding seven or eight feet over the level of the adjoining fields. It was overgrown with grass, and appeared a proper place from whence to take supplies of earth required elsewhere. About a foot beneath the grassy surface the spade encountered a layer of burnt bricks, which excited curiosity. Nothing extraordinary was at first expected, as burnt bricks are often discovered in several places in and about the town, being the remnants of old brick clamps or mounds of ruined brick structure. In the course of digging, the convicts came to what appeared to be a block of stone, which they at once turned up by thrusting a crowbar

one, made of crystal, those at Kiyul of gold and silver, while those at Sanchi of steatite. The mound, therefore, at Kolhâpur, which contained this receptacle of a relic-casket, must have an old *stîpa* buried in it about that part where the receptacle was found, and this is confirmed by the

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under it. When it was extricated from the surrounding bricks it was found to be a box consisting of two pieces, one a hollow quadrangular stone trough of soft red laterite, as is found in the bed of the Panchagaṅgá river here, holding a small transparent crystalline casket within, and the other a lid of the same stone exactly filling the mouth of the trough. But unfortunately the act of extrication proved so violent that before it was discovered to be a box the lid fell off, and the inside transparent casket was thrown out, which broke into two pieces. Its contents, if at all any, were evidently scattered about and lost, and escaped the sight of those present at the time. This circumstance was reported soon after, and I repaired to the spot and made the necessary inquiries. Some old letters were seen engraved on the inside of the lid, and a facsimile of the inscription was made and sent to Mr. Bhagavánlál Paṇḍit, of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay, who has considerable experience in deciphering old inscriptions.

3. Mr. Paṇḍit Bhagavánlál is of opinion that the inscription is in Mágadhi characters, and consists of the following words:—

ब्रह्मस दानं धर्मगुणेन कारितं.

From the characters employed, the inscription appears to be two thousand years old, or even older still, and seems to be a monument of the veneration in which the remains of Buddha were held by his followers long after the *Nirváṇa* or decease of their great founder. The *Nirváṇa* took place about 500 or 450 before the Christian era, and the remains were buried in four places; namely, (1) Kushi Nagar, in the Gorakhpur district, where the dead body was burnt; (2) Gaya Kshetra, where Buddha received his education; (3) Benares or Kási, Kshetra, where he first proclaimed the tenets of his religion; and (4) Kapilavastu, in the Gorakhpur district, where he was born. Splendid tombs were constructed to protect these remains, but in the time of king Aśoka, about 225 years after Buddha, the devotional feeling ran so high, that the remains were taken out of the several tombs, and distributed among the numerous disciples scattered over the whole country. The fortunate receivers of these precious relics, which consisted generally of ashes or bones of the body of Buddha, carefully deposited their invaluable possessions in gold or marble caskets, which were securely placed in stone receptacles prepared for the purpose, the whole being protected by mounds of bricks or stones.

All these circumstances closely correspond with the particulars of the present discovery.

4. I beg to append a sketch of the ground with the bungalow standing on it, and of the mound wherein the box was discovered, also drawings of the box and of the little casket. Perhaps a careful reading of the above by Mr. Bhaga-

fact of the workmen who dug this out having come across some brickwork while they were doing so. The whole mound itself cannot, I think, be the *stūpa*; for while the diameter of the mound is about eighty feet, its height is only about eight. Even making allowance

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vánál Pandit, or some other gentlemen well versed in deciphering such hieroglyphics and inscriptions, will throw more light on the subject; and I beg that this brief account may be submitted to Government, that the same may be referred to the Royal Asiatic Society.

5. The stone box and casket are well preserved, and kept here. A careful search was made in the brick mound and the surrounding ground, but nothing of any importance was discovered.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) MAHADEO WA'SUDEO BARVE,  
State Kárbhári, Kolhápur.

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No. 7020 OF 1877.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

*Bombay Castle, 18th December, 1877.*

FROM JOHN JARDINE, Esq.,

Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay,

TO THE SECRETARY, BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

SIR,—I am directed by His Excellency the Governor in Council to forward to you herewith a copy of a letter (with accompaniments in original) from the Political Agent, Kolhápur and Southern Maráthá Country, No. 695, dated the 8th instant, together with the parcel of coins and other articles of antiquarian interest therein referred to, and to request that they may be brought to the notice of the President and Members.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) JOHN JARDINE,  
Acting Secretary to Government.

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No. 695 OF 1877.

FROM COLONEL F. SCHNEIDER,

Political Agent, Kolhápur and S. M. Country,

TO JOHN JARDINE, Esq.,

Secretary to Government, Bombay.

*Political Agent's Office, Kolhápur,  
Shírol, 8th December, 1877.*

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward the accompanying papers received from the State Kárbhári of Kolhápur, regarding the discovery of old coins and



for the possibility of the *stūpa's* having sunk into the earth, the diameter is out of proportion to the height. Very likely, therefore, along with a *stūpa* some other structures, such as *vihāras* or chapels and cells for the Buddhist mendicants, of the nature of those

other articles of antiquarian interest on the Brahmapurí Hill, near the town of Kolhápur, and to request that they may be forwarded to the Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Bombay for information.

2. The articles alluded to in the Kárbhári's report have been sent by parcel post.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) F. SCHNEIDER,  
Political Agent, Kolhápur and S. M. Country.

No. 963 of 1877.

From MAHA'DEO WA'SUDEO BARVE,  
State Kárbhári, Kolhápur,

To COLONEL F. SCHNEIDER,  
Political Agent,  
Kolhápur and S. M. Country.

*Kolhápur, 6th December, 1877.*

SIR,—I have the honour to report the discovery of a copper vessel containing some lead and copper coins, metallic vessels, and articles of various sizes and shapes, and some gold beads and pieces of gold ornaments, which was found buried underground about six feet below the surface of the earth on the top of the Brahmapurí Hill, situated on the north-western side of the town of Kolhápur close to the river Panchagaugá. This treasure of old and interesting antiquities was found under the following circumstances.

2. There is a bridge under construction over this river, and the hill itself forms the eastern abutment side of it. Some cuttings in the hill were made about four years back, to provide easy approaches, and in one of these some lead and copper coins were then discovered, a few of which were at the time sent to the Royal Asiatic Society. For a few days past some convicts have been at work here effecting a further cutting for the wing walls of the hill-side abutment pier, and on the 22nd November 1877, in the course of digging, they came to some metallic vessel, which was afterwards carefully unearthed and extricated. The rim of the vessel was sunk inside under the pressure of the earth above it, and the pan had so far corroded, evidently owing to its being embedded in earth for centuries past, that its mouthpiece was found almost separated from the body. In the pan were found the undermentioned articles:—

- (a) Brass or *kāśa* metal vessels of various shapes, such as are to be seen in old Jain temples in connection with idol-worship. Many of them, of the shape of saucers, are very thin and much oxidized and crumbled; others with ornamental mouldings on.

found by General Cunningham at Jamâl-garhi (*Arch. Reports*, vol. V., p. 47), are buried in the mound.

The articles found in the Brahmapurî Hill contain amongst them objects of Buddhistic adoration, and also what may be called the apparatus of Buddhistic worship. We have an image of a *stûpa* or *chaitya*, several circular things which look like prayer-wheels, and a flower or incense pot. Along with these, a number of old copper or lead coins were also found, and of these twenty have been presented to the Society. The metallic vessel which contained these articles was, we are told, found between "two brick walls about eight feet apart." These must be the walls of a hollow parallelopiped, or a well such as was found by General Ventura in the great *tope* at Mânikyâl, at a distance of twelve feet from the top. The depth of this well was thirteen feet, and its length and breadth ten; that is, the walls of the well were

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(b) Several lead and copper coins having impressions on both sides quite like those that were found on the same hill in 1873.

1,865 lead, 100 copper.

(c) Amongst the mass of earth and coins were found some perforated beads of gold and pieces of gold ear ornaments well worked up. The metal is found to be superior gold. The beads are composed of twelve concave sides each, and are hollow inside.

Gold beads, 33.

Pieces of ornaments, 4.

3. The digging exposed some old brickwork, and the copper pan was lying between two brick walls about eight feet apart, which probably formed part of some building of the time. The top of the hill was, it appears, once inhabited by certain people, which is evident from the brick structures that are discovered here and there. Tradition goes that the place was deserted about seven hundred years ago by the Jains as a place of residence, and the antiquities now found may have been the property of some party who had to give up his house abruptly and leave everything behind. He was probably a brazier, who made castings of such utensils. Some of those now discovered look as if they were simply taken out of the cast moulds and left unfinished. Close by, the pieces of some metallic vessel were unearthed subsequently. The metal is evidently copper, and a few pieces are herewith submitted.

4. I beg to append photographs of some of the vessels and pieces that were found entire, as also of the big pan, all of which were arranged for the purpose on a camp table; also drawings on transfer linen of the same.

5. I beg also to forward ten coins of each sort, lead and copper, having the best impressions on, and four gold beads and two pieces of gold of the ear ornament. All the remaining articles are retained here for exhibition at the State Museum at the Town Hall.

I have, &c.,

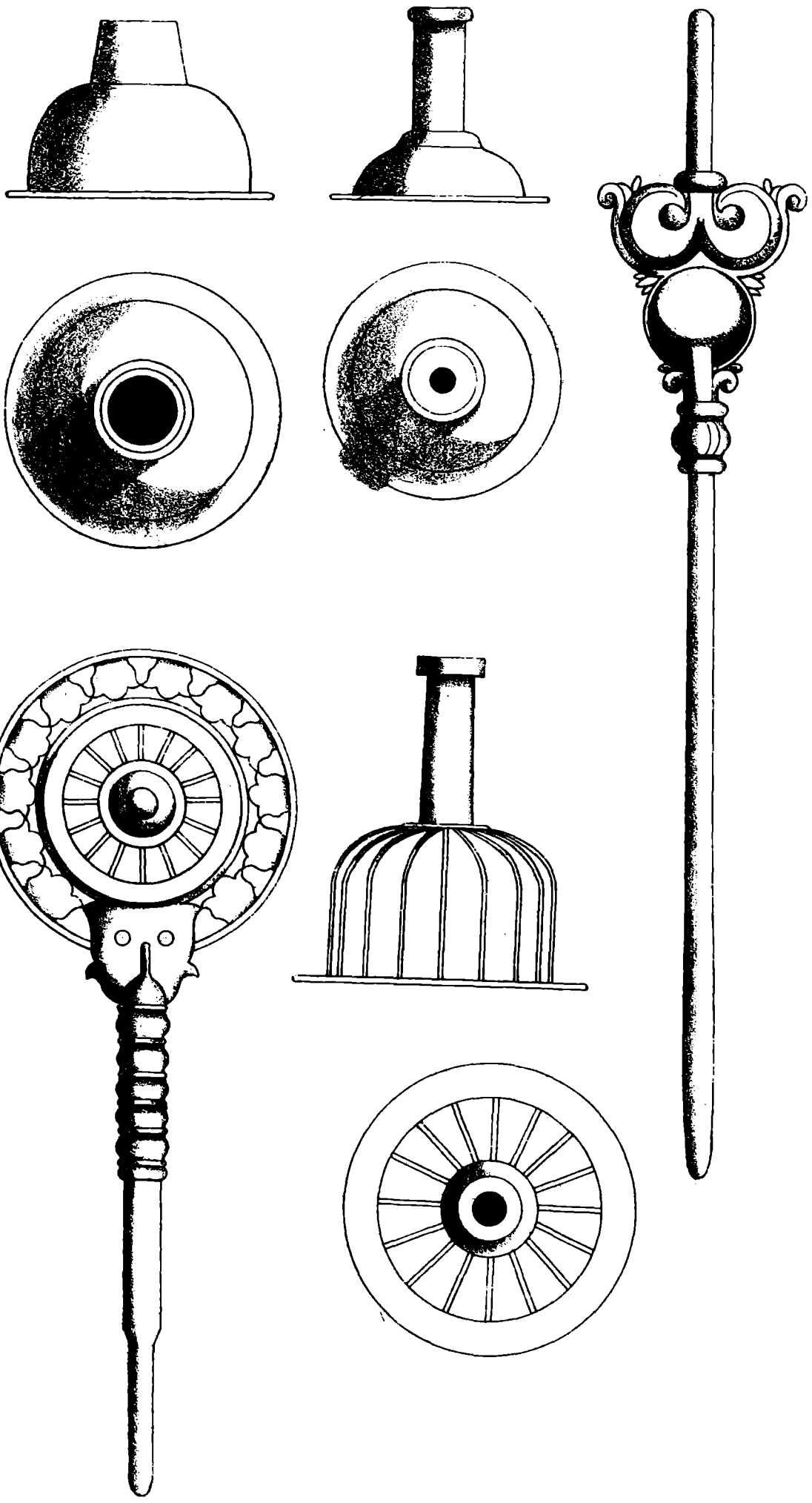
(Signed) MAHA'DEO WA'SUDEO BARVE.

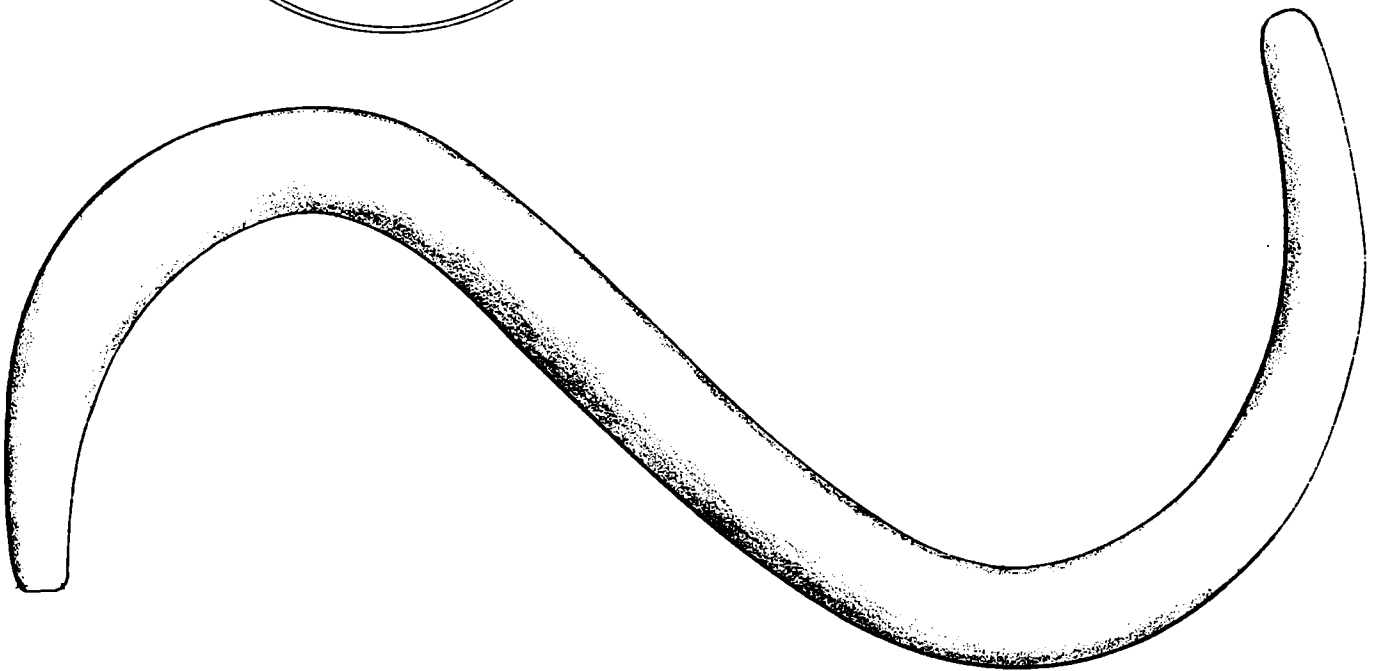
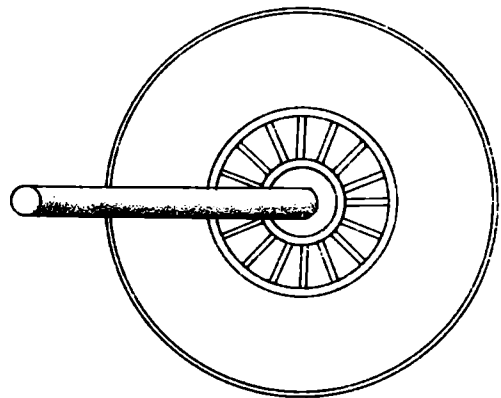
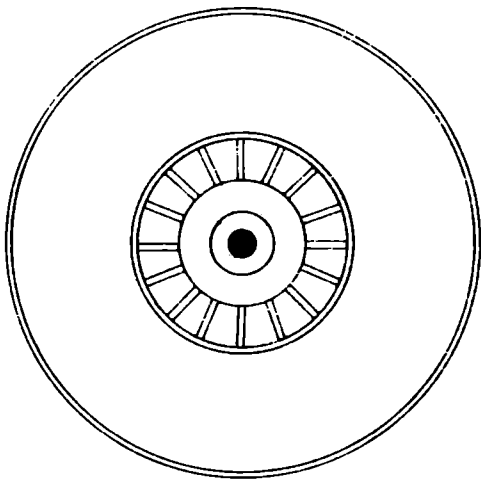
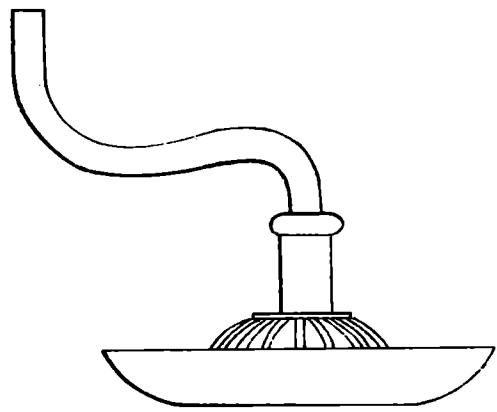
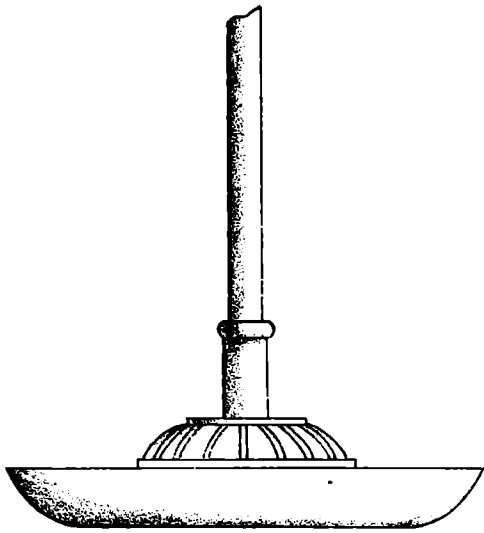
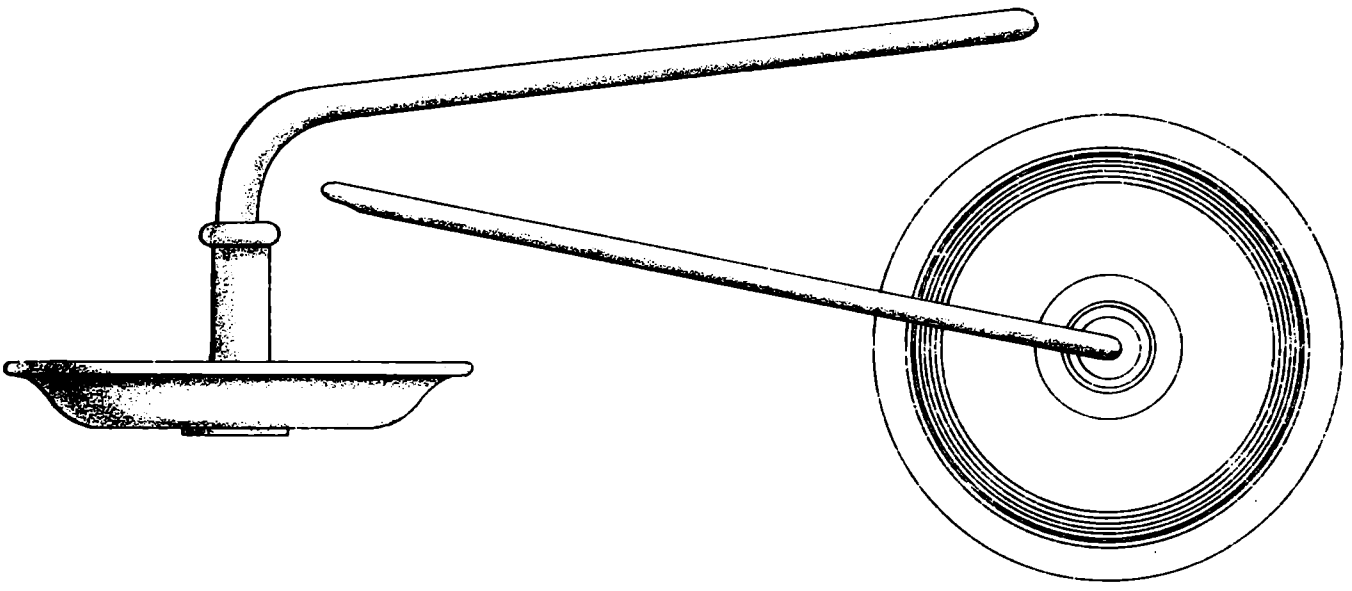
ten feet apart. At its bottom was found a copper vessel, just like the Kolhâpur one, containing coins, a gold ring, and other articles (see Mr. Thomas's ed. of Prinsep, vol. I. pp. 93-96, and *Arch. Reports*, vol. V., pl. xxii.). I therefore think that the Brahmapuri hill also has a *stûpa* buried in it at this place. From the fact that a hoard of coins was found in the vicinity of this some years ago, and from other indications, it appears that the Brahmapuri hill conceals the ruins of an old city. Everywhere in India we find such ruins in the form of mounds or hillocks; and in some places the new cities are built on these hillocks, that is, on the ruins of the old.

If excavations are made in other parts of the mound and the hill at Kolhâpur, and deeper diggings at the places where the relic-box and the copper vessel were found, I have little doubt that traces of ancient buildings and several interesting articles will be found. The characters on the lid of the casket-receptacle are older than those of the times of the later Ândhrabhṛityas, and are to be referred to the first or second century of the Christian era. The inscription may be translated: "The gift of Bramha caused to be constructed by Dhamagutta (Dharmagupta)." This must refer to the *stûpa*. The coins sent to us are of two sizes, ten larger and ten smaller. On the obverse of the former we have a bow and an arrow, and round it the following legend:—रजो गौतमीपुत्रस विदिवायकुरस, "Of the king Gotamîputa Vidivâyakura." The दि appears as ङि in some of the specimens. On the reverse we have a *chaitya* composed of rows of semi-circles with a tree on the right-hand side, a *svastika* above, and a pedestal below with a wavy or serpentine line. The *svastika* is indistinct on some of the pieces. Of the smaller ones four bear the same legend as the above; but the tree on the reverse is above the *chaitya*, and the *svastika* on the left side. The others bear the same device on the obverse and the reverse, but the legend on three of them is रजो वासिठिपुत्रस विदिवायकुरस "Of the king Vasiṭhîputa Vidivâyakura;" on two, रजो मद्दरीपुत्रस सेवलकुरस "Of the king Maḍharîputa Sevalakura;" and that on one is imperfect. These coins belong to the same species as those described by Paṇḍit Bhagavânîlâl in our *Journal*, and by Mr. Thomas in the *Indian Antiquary* for September 1877. The kings Gotamîputa, Vasiṭhîputa, and Maḍharîputa belonged to the Ândhrabhṛitya or Sâtavâhana dynasty, and their names occur on the inscriptions at Nâsik, Kanheri, Nânâghâṭa, and Junar. But the words or names Vidivâyakura and Sevalakura do not occur either in the inscrip-

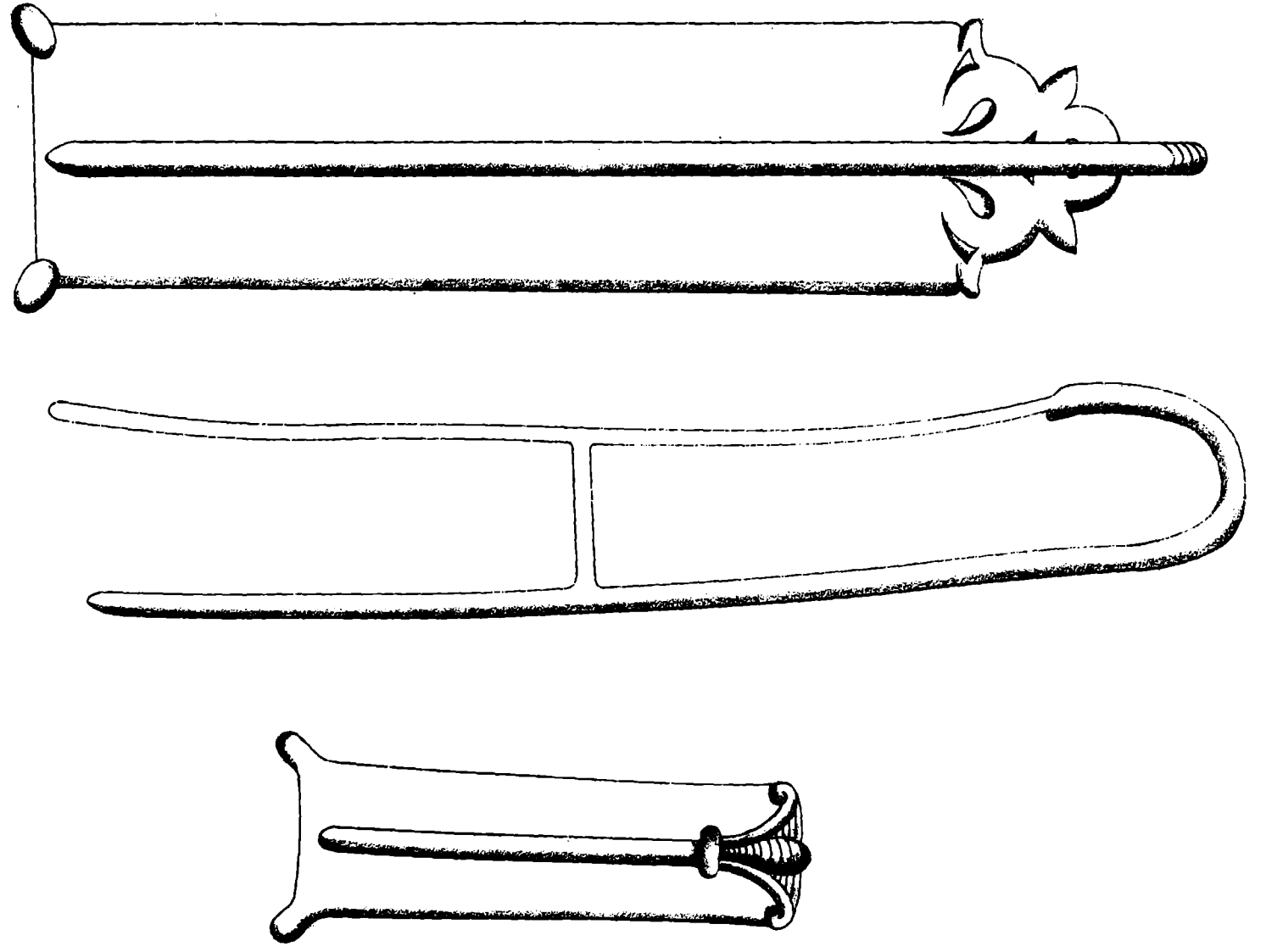
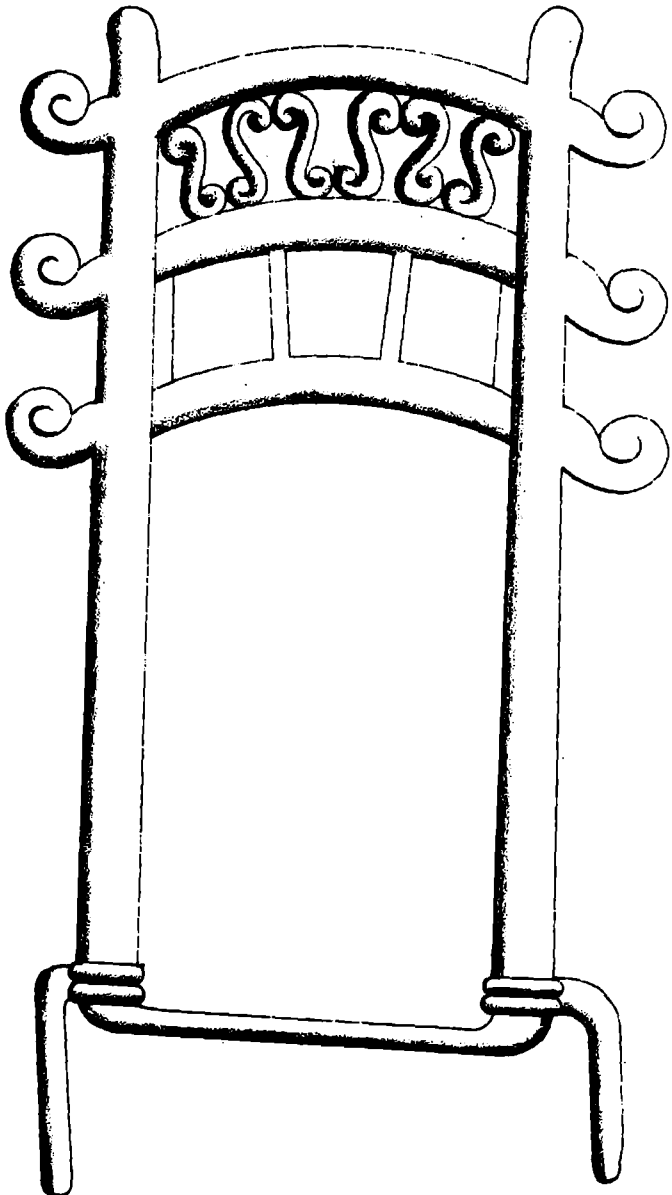
tions or on the coins found near Dharanikoṭ, in Tailangana, figured and described by Sir Walter Elliot in the *Madras Literary Journal*, vol. III., nor on those belonging to the same gentleman and described by Mr. E. Thomas in the paper I have spoken of. The legends on the latter have, after Gotamīputasa, *Siriyañña Satakaṇṇisa*, and after Vāsīṭhīputasa, some letters which certainly must be read as *Puṭumavisa*. This name occurs independently without the words Vasīṭhīputasa on another coin in the same collection. The device of the *chaitya* occurs on the obverse of these, but instead of the *svastika* we have a crescent on the top, and of the tree, a conch shell; while on the other side we have, instead of the bow and arrow, sometimes a horse, and sometimes four wheels joined by a cross. Clearly, then, the Eastern or Tailangana series is different from the Western or Kolhāpur series; and they must have been struck at different mints. As I have shown in my paper on the Nāsik inscriptions, the capital of the Āndhrabhṛitya kings was Dhanakāṭaka, which General Cunningham has identified with Dharanikoṭ, in Tailangana, in the vicinity of which the Eastern coins were found. The Western, therefore, which are somewhat different from them in type, were probably struck on this side of the country by the viceroys of those kings deputed to govern these provinces, and the names Vidivāyakura and Sevalakura are probably the names of these viceroys, *i.e.* the legends bear the names of the kings as well as of their representatives in this part of the country. The number of coins of Gotamīputa is so large that he appears to me to be the later Gotamīputa, whose proper name was Yajñaśrī, and I agree with Paṇḍit Bhagavānlāl in thinking that Maḍharīputa was the son of Puḍumayi or Vasīṭhīputa, named Śivaśrī in the Purāṇas.

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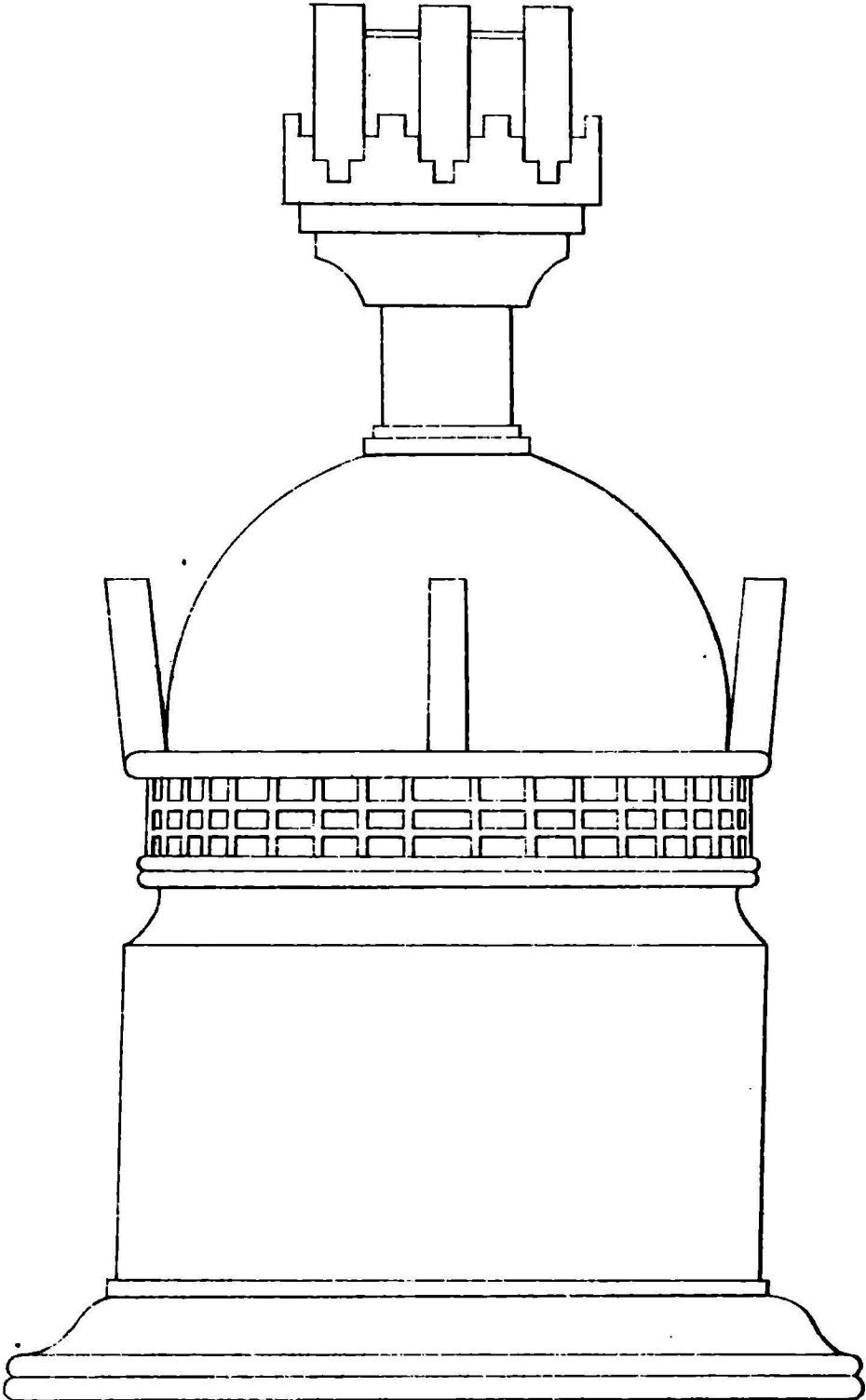


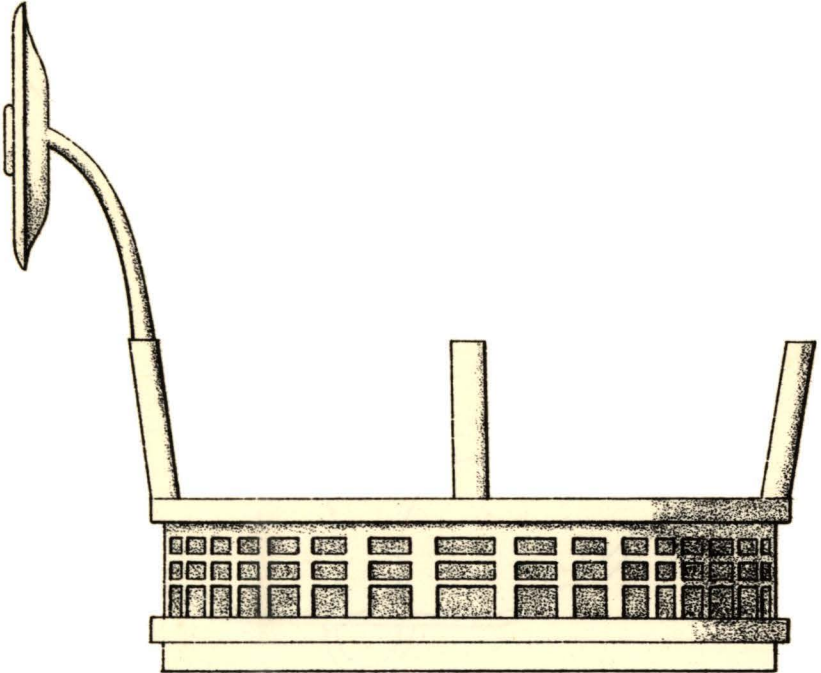
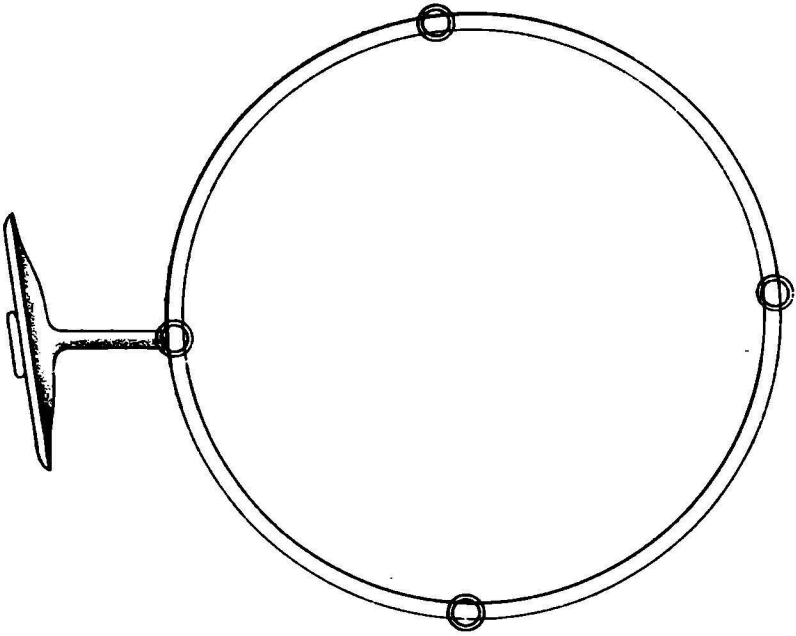


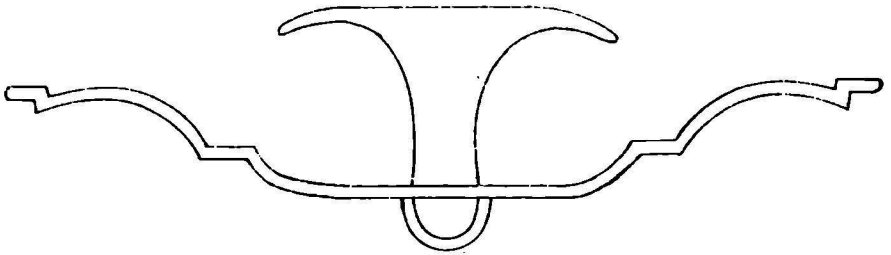
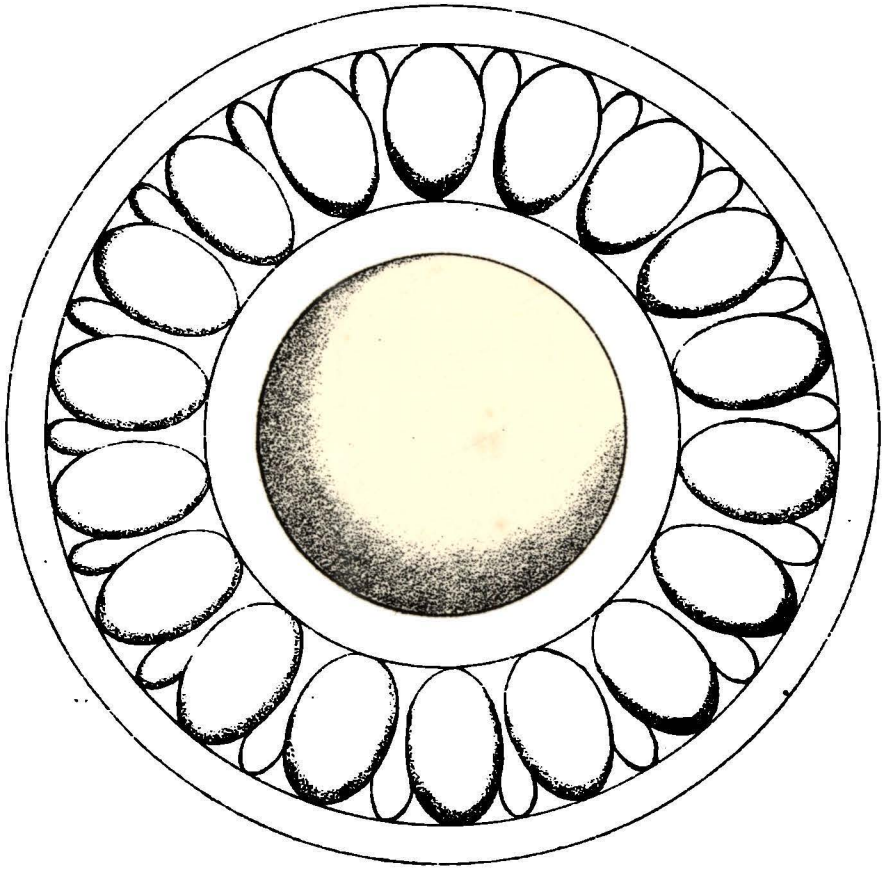






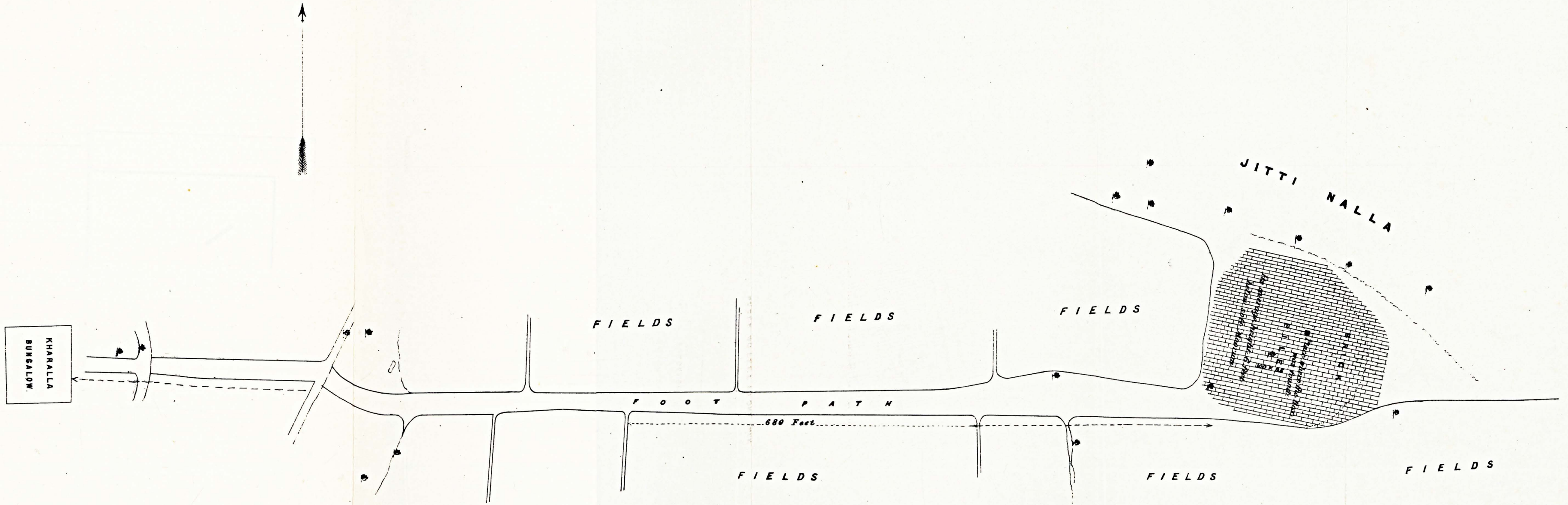






N<sup>o</sup> 1.

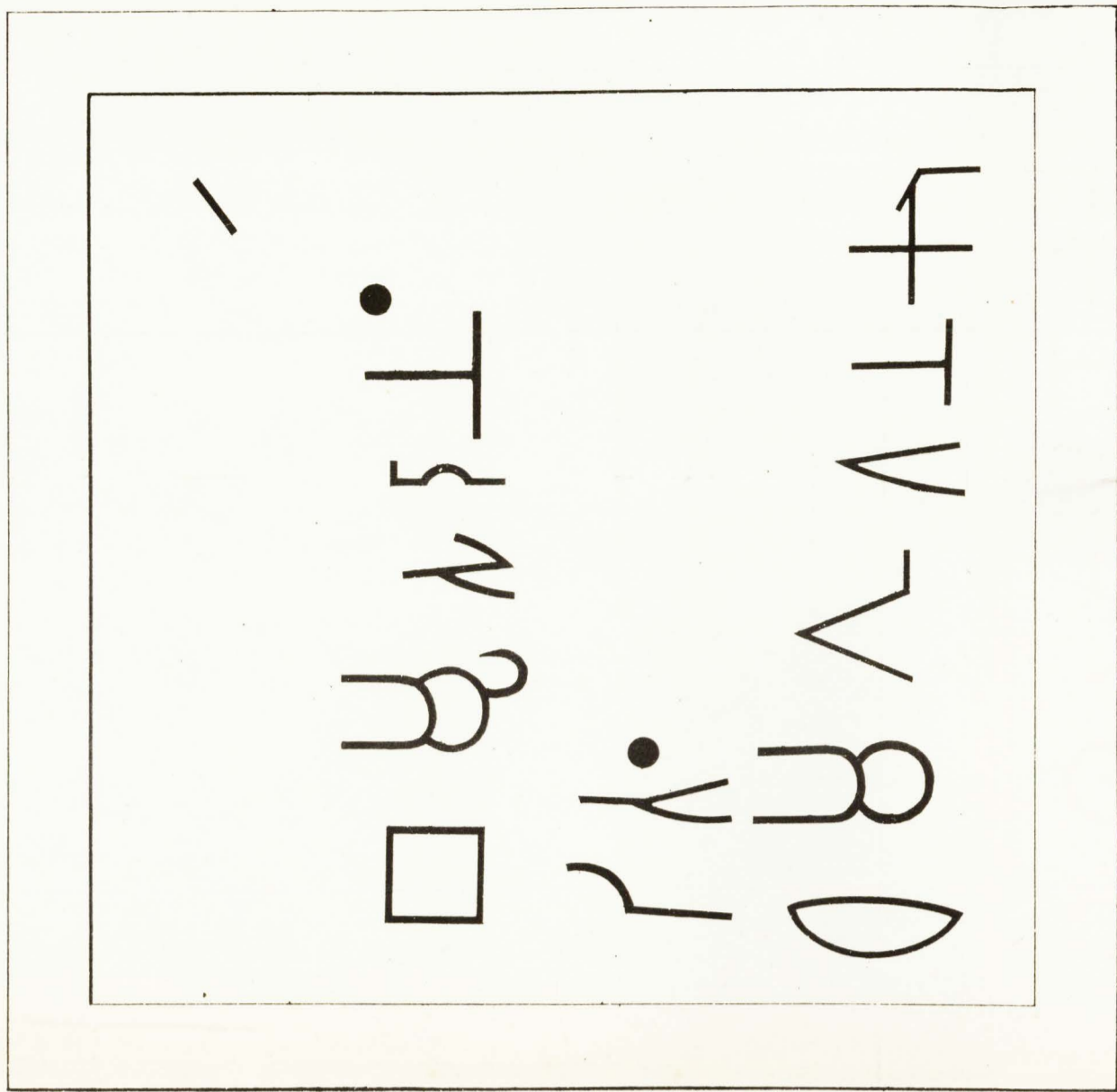
SCALE 40 FEET TO ONE INCH.



*M. W. M. M. M. M.*

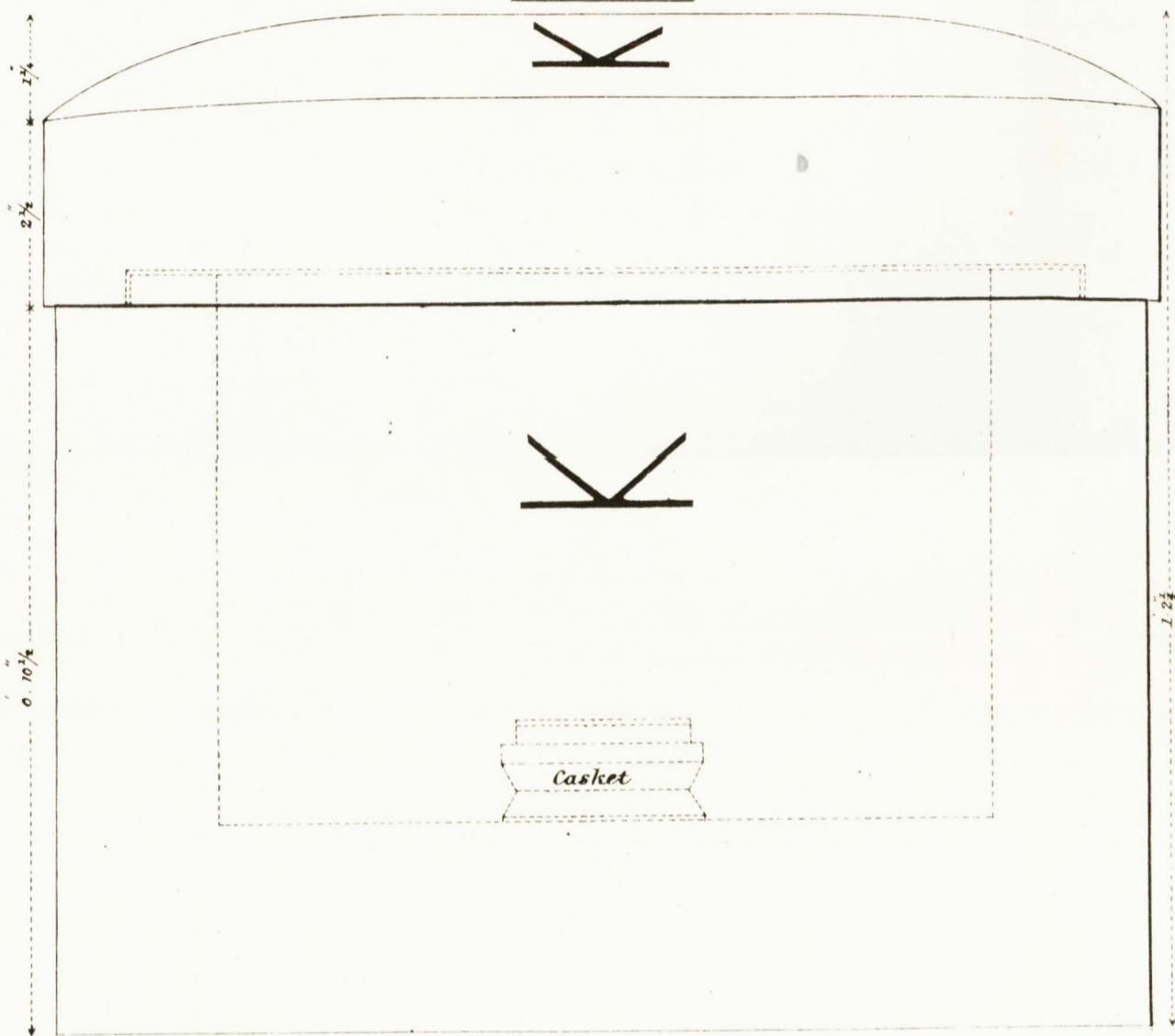
State Karbhari Kolhapur,

16<sup>th</sup> November 1877.



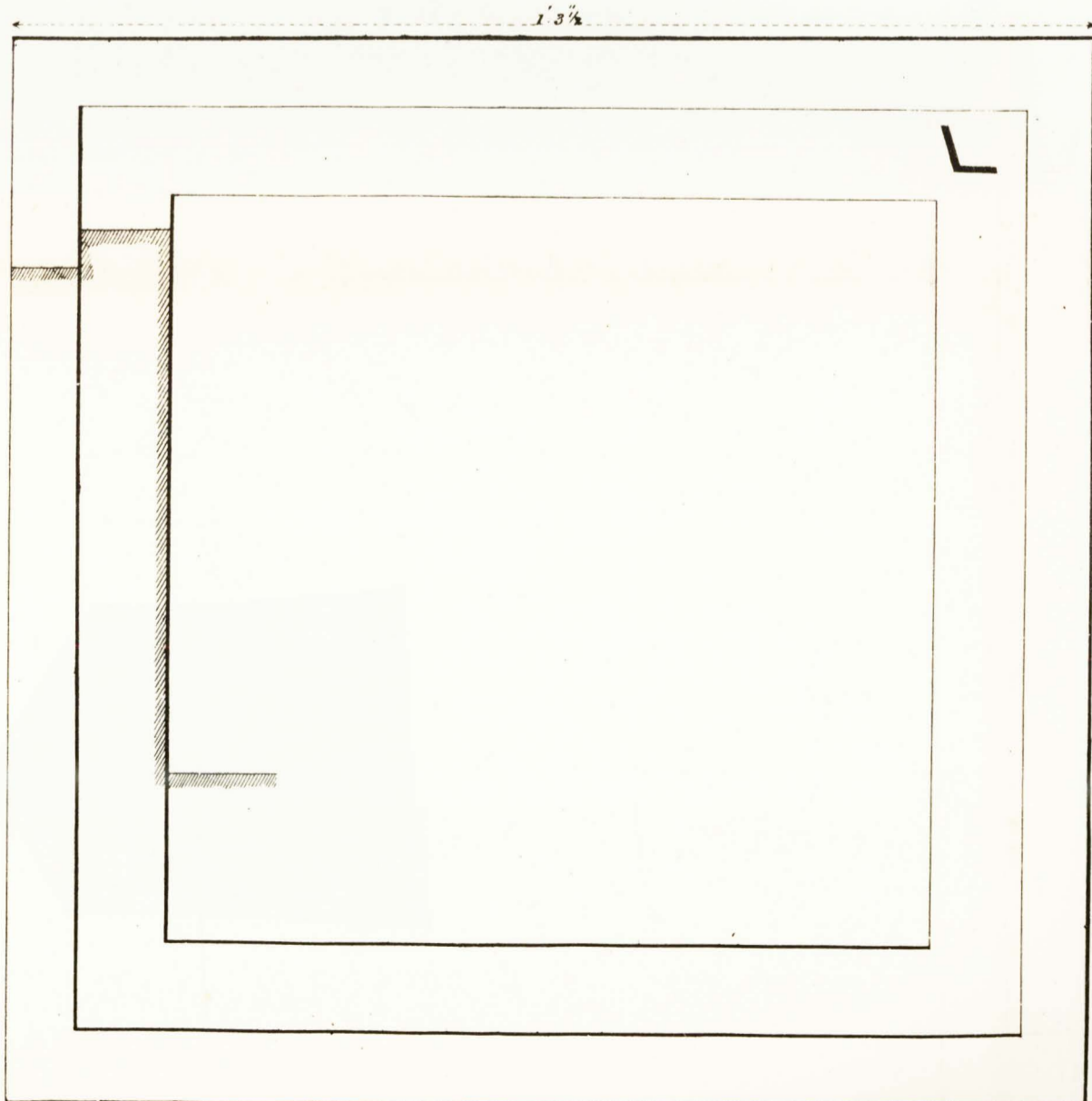
STONE RECEPTACLE

ELEVATION.



N.B. Dotted line shows the inside of the Box.

PLAN



SCALE

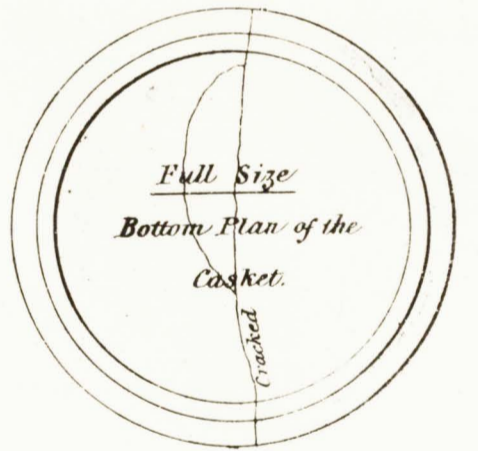
*Shri ...*

State Kumbhari Kolhapur

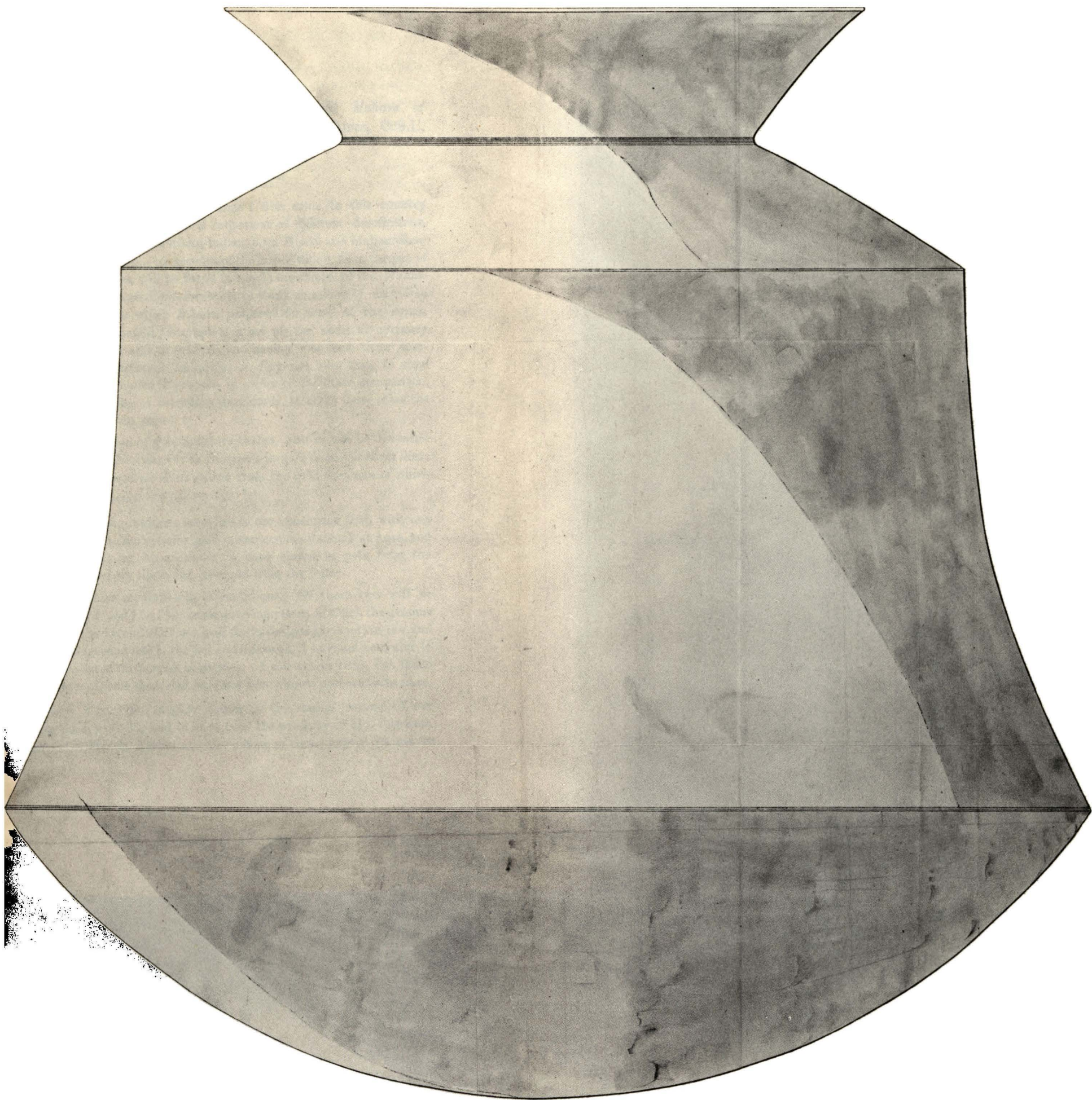
16<sup>th</sup> November 1877.



Elevation Full Size.



Nº 2.



ART. X.—*Notes on the Zodiacal Rupees and Mohars of Jehanghir Shah.*—By the Hon'ble JAMES GIBBS, C.S.I., President of the Society.

Read 14th December 1878.

Having collected coins from the time I first came to this country in 1846, and having made several collections of different descriptions, including Northern and Southern Indian, both Hindu and Mahomedan, besides Greek Bactrian,—an account of the last of which, from the pen of Mr. Edward Thomas, will be found in the Transactions of the Numismatic and Asiatic Societies,—I venture to think this Society may like to have a few notes which I have prepared on some of the series, and having now acquired as complete a set of the zodiacal currency as I am likely to be able to procure, and having also had three complete sets of the different imitations or forgeries from time to time brought under my notice, I propose, in order to facilitate comparison, and also as a warning to intending purchasers, to make these coins the subject of the present paper.

My own collection of gold numbers twelve, but, as will be hereafter shown, I believe the Aquarius to be struck in gold from the silver dies; as I have also seen silver coins struck from the gold dies, one of which (a Scorpio) I possess. (*Vide* Pl. III.  $\frac{3,4.}{II}$ ).

The result of my inquiries leads me to the conclusion that, with one or two exceptions, the genuine gold mohars were all struck at Agra, and the silver rupees at Ahmadabad. I have eleven in gold from the former mint, and six silver and one gold from the latter.

There are three separate sets of imitations. Of these two will be found in Nos. I. and II. of the accompanying plates, in which the genuine coins are in the 1st and 4th rows, and the imitations (first set) in the 2nd and 5th and (second set) in the 3rd and 6th rows. I have not been able to meet with a set of the poorest imitations. I saw one in 1861, but failed to take casts of them then, and have not been able to procure them since.

There is a set very roughly drawn in the second volume of our Transactions, page 63, said to have been the property of Mr. Bowman, a partner in Messrs. Forbes and Co. Nine of these appear to me to

have belonged to the first or best set of imitations, and three to the second. Leo is wanting, and there are two Aries. Out of the 13 in this Society's cabinet, Gemini, Sagittarius, Pisces are of the first, and Sagittarius of the second set; the others only are genuine, viz. Sagittarius and Capricornus, which were formerly in my own collection.

These coins have been pictured in several numismatic works. I believe that until Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia* was published, the best plate was that in Major Moore's Narrative of Captain Little's Detachment (4to, London, 1794), although some shown therein are imitations, I believe.

I have not been able to get at Tavernier or Tychsen's works, but as far as the plate in the former is concerned, it appears from all accounts not to have been drawn from the coins themselves, and therefore not to be relied on, while I regret that the Society has no copy of Mons. P. F. Bonneville's splendid work published in Paris in 1806 to which I could refer.

The late Colonel Guthrie, of Great Russell Street, London, who had collected many of this series, favoured me with a list of those he had and their dates, and I have also examined many specimens which have been preserved by native gentlemen in this Presidency, particularly a large number which were originally collected by the first Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, and which my late lamented friend his son kindly placed at my service. Our Vice-President and Joint Honorary Secretary, Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik, also obtained two or three sets from native friends for my inspection, and the copies of the second set of imitations are made from one of these. I can safely say that I have seen among the gold at least twenty imitations to one real coin, and during the last two years during which I have had agents on the look-out for me, I have only known three genuine gold mohars brought for sale—two were Capricornus (neither in very good condition), and the other an Aries.

It may be said, How do you determine which are genuine and which are imitations? A long experience in examining coins of all countries makes a person pretty quick at detecting even the slightest difference in workmanship, but I think that a mere glance at these plates will show the difference\*—the finely finished work of the genuine and the rough

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\* At the meeting specimens of the genuine coins and the imitations were produced, which showed the differences between them more clearly.



work of the imitations—and this is peculiarly noticeable in the Aries, the Sagittarius, the Virgo, and the Scorpio; and the same observation applies to the inscriptions on the reverse. The fineness and accuracy of the engraving on the genuine as Pl. II.  $\frac{5-6}{IV.}$ , and coarseness and imperfections in the imitations, first set  $\frac{5, 6}{V.}$ , second  $\frac{5.}{VI.}$ , is very manifest. It will be noticed that the reverses of the first set of imitations are from two dies, while those of the second set are all from one and the same die.

It appears that Marsden was of opinion that A.H. 1027 was the first year in which coins of this description were struck, and these were silver, the gold being one year later; and in a note on page 617 he disposes of three rupees mentioned by Z. O. Tychsen as preserved in Alders' Cabinet, viz. Cancer 1026, Leo 1022, Taurus 1026, by suggesting that 1022 on the Leo should be read as 1027, which is doubtless true, as the "juloos" or year of the emperor's accession on the coin is 13; "and as to those of 1026, that their dates are not recognised by any other writers on the subject, and some anomalies in the readings of these lessen their authority;" but I have a silver Pisces on which the date is clearly 1026, Pl. III.  $\frac{1, 2}{VI.}$ , but it has no juloos, so that Tychsen's dates on the Cancer and Taurus may be correct. The earliest date on the gold currency seems by common consent to be 1028, juloos 13, which date is, as far as I know, found on the Pisces only. When 1028 is found on others, it is coupled with 14 juloos; this double date of the juloos is accounted for from Jehanghir's accession having occurred in the middle of the year, on the 20th day of the sixth month in A.H. 1014.

The latest date among my own gold is Cancer, 1034-20, and among the silver 1027-13, which is the date of all but Pisces. Marsden gives 1027-13 as the latest date of silver, and 1034-19 as the latest gold, with the exception of the rare Sagittarius at Paris, which has Noor Jehan Begum's name on the reverse, and which is 1035-20. I may mention that my 'Cancer' of 1034-20 has also this empress's name on the reverse—Pl. III.  $\frac{4}{III.}$ .

A silver Leo 1028-13, with Noor Jehan Begum's name on it, is mentioned by Marsden in a note on page 620, as described by Anquetil du Perron, Tome 1, p. xiv.

I have been in correspondence with Mr. R. Stuart Poole, of the British Museum, and I append at the end of this paper a list of the Zodiacs in the National Collection, as also the list of the late Colonel Guthrie above mentioned, and which I hear is now at Berlin; and my own.

Of the coins in the British Museum the earliest and latest dates of the Agra gold are 1028-14 and 1033-19, while of the Ahmedabad silver the dates are all 1027-13. Colonel Guthrie's are gold 1028 and 1034, and silver 1028-1030; he did not send me the juloos.

As regards 6 and 7 of the silver in the British Museum list, they are clearly specimens struck from the Agra gold dies. I had four or five similar ones, which were purchased for me at a coin sale in London; but I unfortunately lost them in Sind. I have since obtained, as above noted, a Scorpio of 1031 in silver of this description.

Plate II., A and B, are the obv. and rev. of a genuine gold Aries belonging to a friend of mine, which has not the juloos date under the body, but on the rev., and for this reason curious, similar to that pictured in Bonneville's work (*vide* Marsden, pp. 624-625). It will be noticed that the imitations on Pl. I.  $\frac{1}{II. III.}$  are without juloos, while Pl. II. E from the Society's collection has it.

C is a Taurus to the right, an imitation I believe.

D I cannot describe, but it took the place of a Sagittarius in a set of imitations sent for my inspection.

E, F are variations of imitations of Aries and Capricornus.

The subject of what was the obverse of the original Aquarius is to my mind a doubtful one. The only Agra gold specimens I can hear of are those figured in Marsden, those in the B. M., and those in Pl. II.  $\frac{8}{II. III.}$ . My own, which was coined at Ahmedabad, and which is, so far as I can learn, *unique*, is very different, Pl. III.  $\frac{3,4}{I.}$ ; but I am inclined to think the Virgo No. 848 of Marsden, Pl. XL., is likely to be an Aquarius, viz. a woman carrying a waterpot. Mr. Poole has sent me a cast of a similar one in the B. M., which I now produce, Pl. III.  $\frac{3}{III.}$ ; it has clearly two *handis* on the head, one above the other, just as the women carry them now. Virgo was to me also a doubtful subject until I procured the one I now have, Pl. I.  $\frac{2}{IV.}$ ,

regarding the genuineness of which there is no doubt. Marsden (Pl. XL. No. 847) is, I think, an imitation—see Pl. I. No.  $\frac{3}{V.VI}$ . That represented by Marsden as No. 848 is similar to the gold “Virgo” of 1030-16 in the B. M., the cast of which I have just mentioned, and is in my opinion more likely an “Aquarius,” women being the principal water-carriers of India ; while No. 861, Pl. XLI., is, I believe, an attempt at the sign, but not a genuine original. I have a cast which I took from an imitation which very closely resembled my own—the figure was really tolerably well done and had some stars on the field, but the reverse was evidently from one of the same dies used in the first set of imitations shown in these plates. The one described by Marsden on page 628 in Bonneville’s plate may resemble mine, but if so the female should not be described as in an “erect attitude,” but kneeling.

Plate III. contains the silver Aries, Cancer, Taurus, Leo, Gemini, and Pisces. I have not succeeded in obtaining the Scorpio figured in Marsden Pl. XL. No. 849, but believe it to exist, while the Pisces is, I believe, unique.

This plate also contains the gold Aquarius, obv. and rev., coined at Ahmedabad  $\frac{3,4}{I}$ , the silver Scorpio struck from the Agra gold dies,  $\frac{3,4}{II}$ , the Virgo (Aquarius?) of the B. M.  $\frac{3}{III}$ , and the rev. of my gold Cancer, with the name of Noor Jehan Begum  $\frac{4}{III}$ .

I have often been asked as to the value of these particular coins, and have heard of large sums having been given for them. I should think that 30 to 50 Rs. apiece for fine specimens in gold would be fair. Of course such rare or unique coins as are alluded to would cost more. I have paid £5-5-0 apiece for some of mine at a coin sale at Sotheby’s in England ; as to the silver, it all depends on condition—if very fine, I would not hesitate giving 5 or 6 Rs. apiece. I paid much more for the silver “Pisces,” which I believe is a unique coin ; but it had been bid for by two or three others in the market, and I was obliged to pay rather largely—Rs. 20—for it. Colonel Guthrie informed me that for a gold and silver “Aries” struck at Fatipoor Sikri and considered unique he paid £8 and £3 respectively.

I have purposely abstained from any allusion to the supposed origin of these curious coins, as it will be found very fully given in Marsden and Moore. The coins are getting very scarce now, and I would end

with a word of caution to intended purchasers—never under any circumstances to be persuaded into purchasing a 'perfect set,' as such are invariably forgeries, and—study carefully the plates to this paper, as being, I trust, a sure guide.

	British Museum.		Col. Guthrie.		J. Gibbs.	
	No.	Date.	No.	Date.	No.	Date.
<i>Gold.</i>						
Aries .....	2	1028-30	3	1028-30 <sup>a</sup>	1	1028
Taurus .....	3	1028-30-32	3	1028-30-33	1	1028
Gemini .....	3	1029-32-33	3	1029-30-31 <sup>b</sup>	1	1029
Cancer .....	1	1029	2	1028-29	1	1034 <sup>c</sup>
Leo .....	2	1028-31	3	1028-29-32	1	1028
Virgo .....	1	1033	1	1033 <sup>d</sup>	1	1028 <sup>e</sup>
Libra .....	2	1030-32	3	1029-32-34	1	1032
Scorpio .....	2	1030-32	2	1030-33	1	1031
Sagittarius .....	2	1031-32	3	1030-31-32	1	1031
Capricornus .....	2	1028-32	5	1029 to 33	1	1031
Aquarius .....	3	1030-31-32 <sup>1</sup>	1	No date. <sup>2</sup>	1	1027 <sup>3</sup>
Pisces .....	1	1033	2	1028-33	1	1028
<i>Silver.</i>						
Aries .....	1	1027	3	1027-28-30 <sup>4</sup>	1	1027
Taurus .....	2	" 1029	1	1027	1	"
Gemini .....	1	" "	1	1027	1	"
Cancer .....	1	" "	1	1027	1	"
Leo .....	1	" "	1	1027	1	"
Capricornus .....	1	1029 <sup>5</sup>	1	1027	...	.....
Scorpio .....	1	1027	...	.....	1	1030 <sup>6</sup>
Pisces .....	...	.....	...	.....	1	1028 <sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Woman with waterpot on head.

<sup>2</sup> Struck at Agra from gold dies.

<sup>3</sup> Date 1030, struck at Fatipoor Sikri; very rare.

<sup>4</sup> Date 1031; very rare, not in British Museum.

<sup>5</sup> Coin not described by Colonel Guthrie.

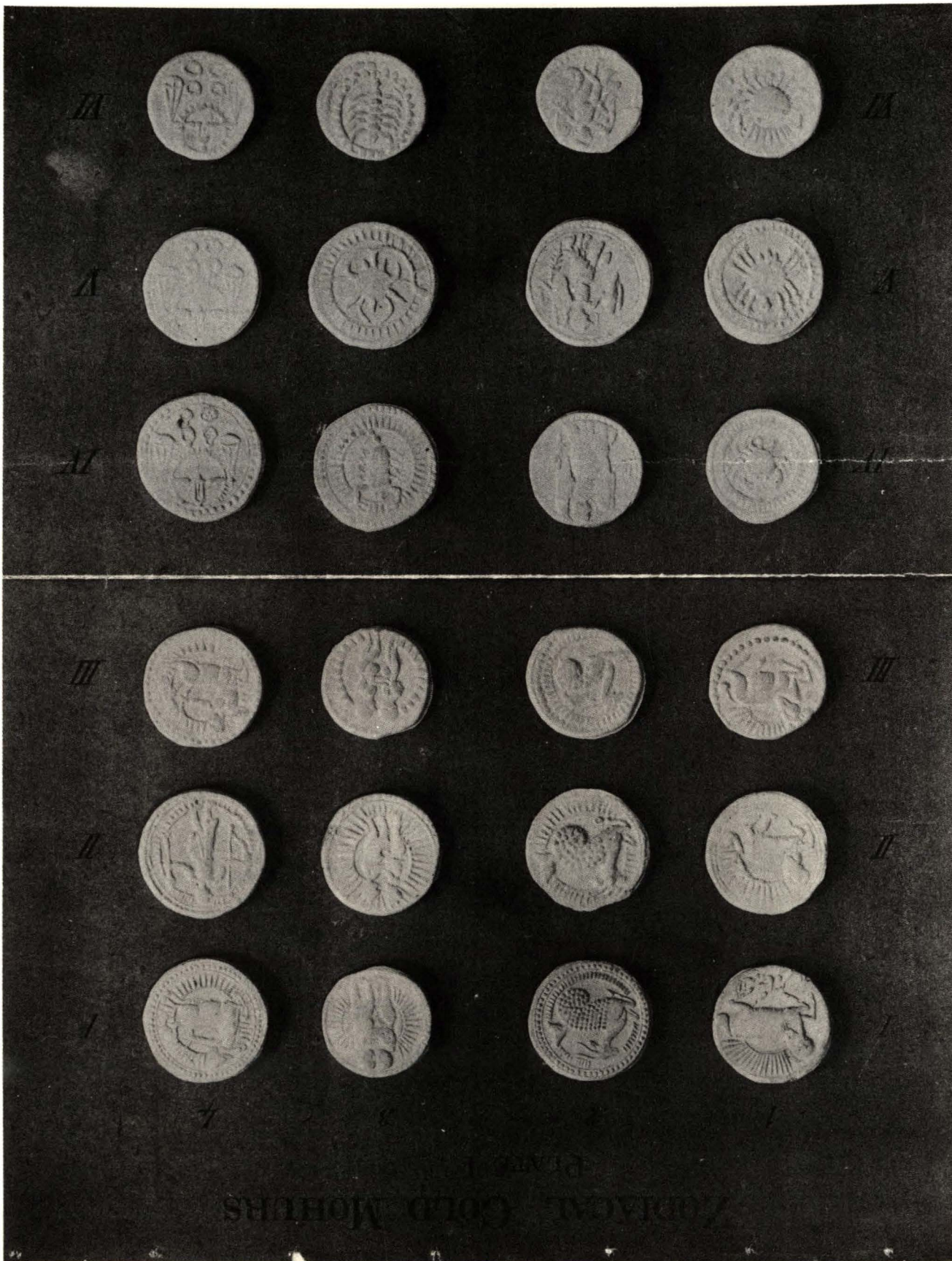
<sup>6</sup> Date 1030, Fatipoor Sikri; very rare.

<sup>7</sup> Reverse Noor Jehan Begum's name; not published, not in British Museum.

<sup>8</sup> Unpublished, not in British Museum.

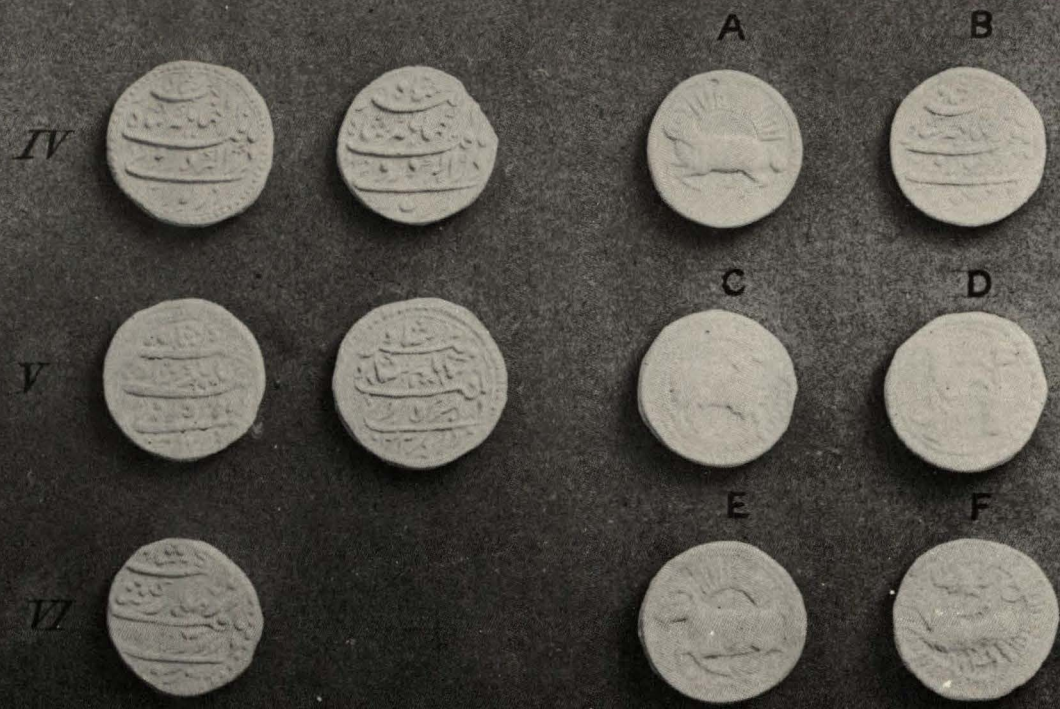
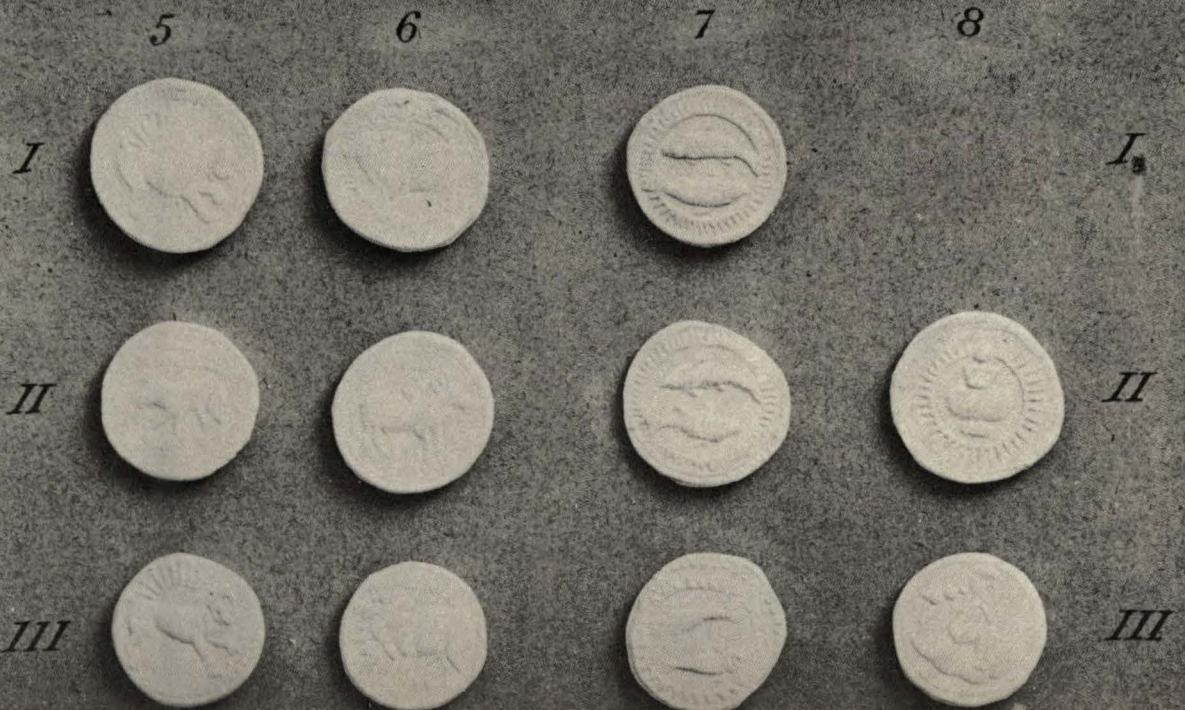
<sup>9</sup> Struck at Ahmedabad. Unpublished, not in British Museum.

<sup>10</sup> Unique, I believe.



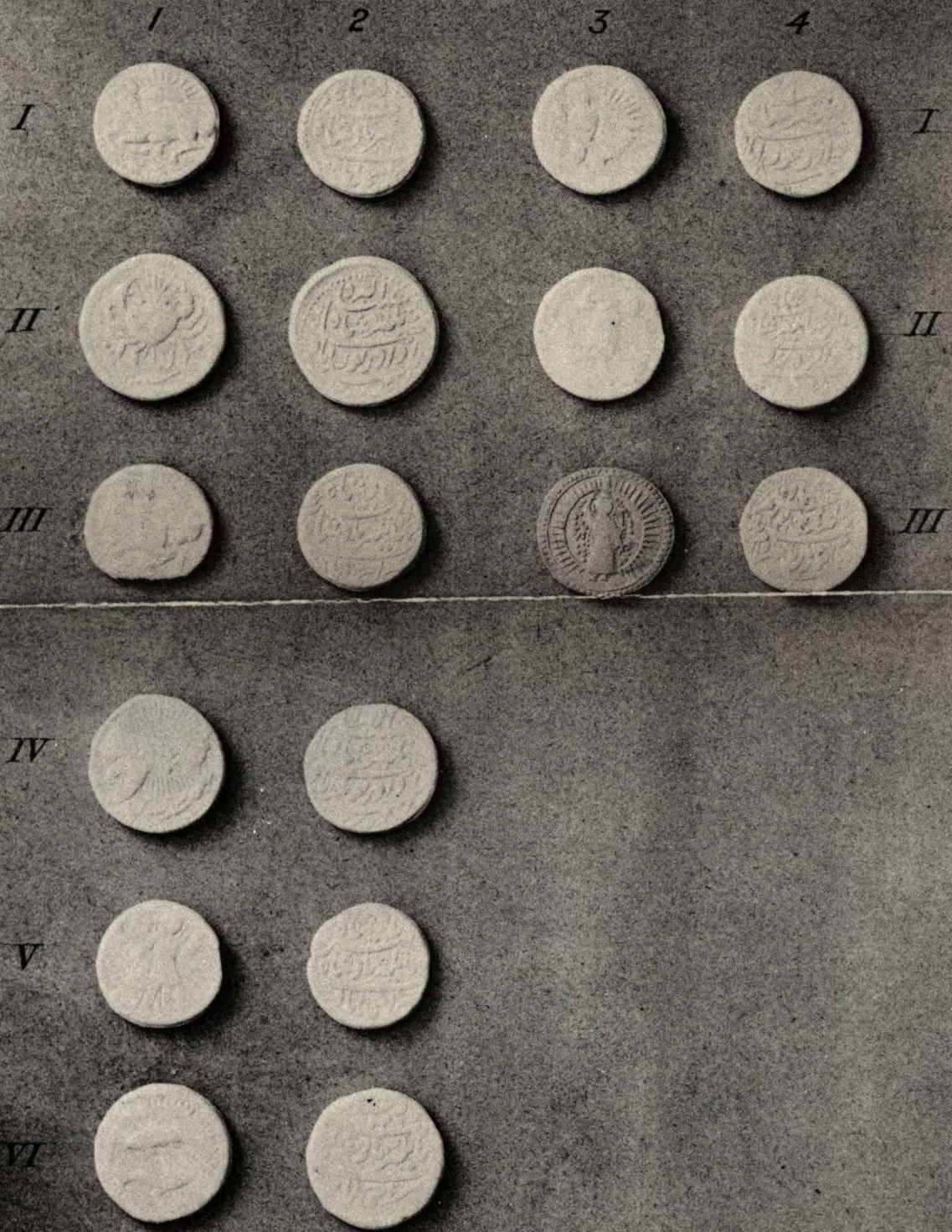
# ZODIACAL GOLD MOHURS

## PLATE II.



ZODIACAL GOLD MOHURS.

PLATE III.



ART. XI.—*Notes of a Visit to Inner Arabia.—Of 'Eypa or Medyn Çalîh, a reported Troglodyte City in North-Western Arabia.—By M. C. DOUGHTY.*

[Read 9th November, 1878.]

I was invited to make some relation of my late travels in Arabia, but, then on the point of sailing, I was unable to prepare anything, when I had little hope to be present to-day at this meeting.

Arabia is a country unknown at this day to geographers, which will appear upon the inspection of any map; to trace in few words a cold outline of vast districts were to invite you into a very Arabian wilderness of matter, unintelligible or very little interesting.

I think rather to occupy your attention for a few moments in speaking of the Rock-City, so named, of Medyn Çalîh or el-Hejjer; antiquities likely to be interesting to an audience in India, where are so many extraordinary subterraneous antiquities.

It lies upon the Haj road in Arabia at twenty camel journeys' distance from Damascus. The place being with difficulty accessible, I had no other choice than, being a Nazarene, to adventure down there with the yearly caravan of Muhammadan pilgrims from Syria. Of *Medyn Çalîh*, cities of the Prophet, Çalîh is mentioned in the Talmud, and thence is read and translated in the Koran as the famous theatre of a tremendous divine judgment which happened to the impious inhabitants by a dreadful whirlwind; and the fable is very much celebrated throughout the Muhammadan world. The chambers in the mountains were the houses of the infidel inhabitants; they are full of human bones; they died there in their homes within by the terrible empoisoned tempest. There are seven cities of them, they allege. Nay, the very houses of them in the rocks are overthrown. You may see them, with God-fearing eyes, set all upside down. Such are the fantastic reports of Arabs, and not only of these, but as well of Turkish and Persian pilgrims. Aye, say they, and you may see there a city of the living stone large as Damascus, or able to house 160,000 souls. These and the like absurd rumours have been accepted, without an



allowance for the natural fabulosity of ignorant fanatics, in some works of learned Orientalists in Europe.

To come then to that which we really find. Ptolemy makes mention of Medyn-Çaliḫ by its right Arabic name 'Eγρα, el-Hejjer. The city was an emporium at that time upon the trade road of gold and frankincense to Syria. Having got there after great fatigue, I found the Arabs' seven cities, hewn in so many mountains, to be about a hundred funereal chambers excavated in the sandstone rocks. On the monuments at Petra, and all, of what age they were, formed after one Petra fashion, a Greekish frontispiece with the ornament of degrees above. The city appears, by the traces remaining of foundations, to have been a cluster of four or five palm villages in clay, each of them surrounded by a wall, a manner ordinary in all the Arabian countries.

The funereal monuments within are a plain sepulchral chamber with sunken tombs in the floor and recesses, where, bare of sand, all open graves are seen full of human bones. In the walls are shallow shelves of a man's length, yet too narrow. I believe them to be repositories of dead bodies. In the floors, choked with sand, are old clouts of their burial clothes and shreds of leather, yet strong and tough, surrounded with a bituminous matter. The dead, I conjecture, were wound in the woven stuffs and sewn up in leather. Use was made of an aromatic and pitchy matter, of which a great quantity of fragments remain in the sands, which the Arabs believe to be frankincense, and Bedowin women have lately gathered it to sell for such in the next villages: thrown upon the coals it exhales a sorry odour of incense. I could not perceive in their burials that they affected any singular direction, for the graves are often cut crosswise. Many of the sepulchral chambers exhale an intolerable mummy-like fetor; but for this I had made some search for written documents, which all the Bedowins affirmed had never been seen by any in their time. Inscriptions are seen handsomely engraven in a panel above the doorways in many of the monuments. Of such as I could reach by any means I obtained impressions in paper. Then lay a difficulty of the examination in my not having there other than a personal authority amongst fanatics, and in the perpetual insecurity of the country, which endangered our being cut off at any time by marauders. These stamps of the inscriptions I have sent to Damascus. Above the tablets of inscriptions over the doorways are very commonly, in the nobler monuments, the thick figure of a bird with out-stretched wings. It is a buzzard, a falcon,

say the Arabs, who have no remembrance of antiquity. I should not wonder if they were effigies of those mortuary owls of the old Arabians, in the sense of their ancient poets—a fact which was lately brought to the notice of this Society by our friend the learned Mr. Rehatsek; and these are proper to Medyn Çaliğ, as well as in a high degree are the inscriptions.

[NOTE.—The specimens of inscriptions were not pertinent to this notice. It were better that all the inscriptions should be published entire in a body together.]