Published under the authority of the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

PART DCXCII. (VOL. LV.) MAY, 1926.

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

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

EDITED BY

SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, BT., C.B., C.I.E., F.B.A., F.S.A.,

HON. FELLOW, TRIN. HALL, CAMBRIDGE,

FORMERLY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL, INDIAN ARMY,

AND

STEPHEN MEREDYTH EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.,

FORMERLY OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

AND

PROF. RAO SAHEB S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., (HONY.) PH.D.,

HONORARY CORRESPONDENT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT

OF THE [illegible] INDIA.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE BRITISH INDIA PRESS, MAZGAON, BOMBAY

Agents for Europe and America :

BERNARD QUARITCH, LTD., 11 GRAFTON STREET, NEW BOND STREET, LONDON, W.

Annual Subscription in advance, Rs. 20.

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

Contributors in India are requested to be so good as to address papers and correspondence to the EDITOR, care of the British India Press, Mazgaon, Bombay.

Contributors in Europe are requested to be so good as to send their manuscripts and corrected proofs to SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BART, C.B., C.I.E., F.S.A., c/o Messrs. H. S. King & Co., 9, Pall Mall, London.

Contributors of Articles to this Journal will greatly oblige the Editor if they will leave the upper half of the first sheet of manuscript blank, for the convenience of the Editor, in entering instructions to the Press regarding titling, style of printing, submission of proofs, etc., etc. Such instructions, when sent separately, are liable to result in confusion and delay.

Contributors will also greatly lighten the task of the Editor, as well as lessen the cost of composition and correction, by observing the following suggestions :—

1. In preparing copy, please leave a margin of at least three inches on one side. The revision of a crowded manuscript is excessively troublesome and laborious. When the last sheet of the article has been finished, the last footnote or other interpolation added, and the last subtraction made, please number the folios consecutively with the actual numbers from 1 to the end.

2. Write plainly, especially proper names and foreign words. If foreign characters are to be employed, let them resemble as closely as possible the type in our fonts. If Roman or Italic characters with diacritical points are used, see that the points are distinct and rightly placed. Words to be printed in Italics should be once underscored. Words to be printed in **Clarendon type** may be once underscored with blue pencil. Typewritten copy always needs to be carefully revised, with especial attention to mechanical faults and to the punctuation.

3. Indicate paragraphs clearly by a wide indention at the beginning; or, if the break is an after-thought, by the usual sign (¶). Begin all larger divisions of an article on a fresh sheet of paper. It is hardly necessary to say that the proper construction of paragraphs is far more than a matter of external appearance.

4. Punctuate the copy precisely as you wish it to appear in print. Double marks of quotation (" ") should be used for actual quotations, single marks (' ') for included quotations, definitions, and the like.

5. In citing the titles of books, give the title full where it first occurs. In subsequent citatic the work may be referred to by the significant wor of the titles; but abbreviations which may not at once understood are to be avoided, and, abo all, entire uniformity should be observed throughou the article. Where some conventional system citation is in general use, as in the case of the Vedas and the Brahmanic literature, the established custom of scholars should be followed. Titles of books will be printed in Italics; titles of articles in periodicals, in quotation marks, with the name of the periodical in Italics. But the well-established method of abbreviating the titles of the Journals of the five principal Oriental Societies (*JA.*, *JAOS*, *JASB.*, *JRAS.*, *ZDMG.*) should be adhered to.

6. It is desirable, for reasons of economy as well as good typography, that footnotes be kept within moderate limits. References to footnotes should be made by brief series of natural numbers (say from 1 to 10), not by stars, daggers, etc. As to the method of inserting footnotes in the copy, good usage differs. A way convenient for author and editor and printer is to insert the note, with a wider left-hand margin than that used for the text, beginning the note on the line next after the line of text to which it refers, the text itself being resumed on the line next after the ending of the note. But if the note is an after-thought, or if it is long, it is well to interpolate it on a fresh sheet as a rider.

7. Contributors are requested to kindly remember that additions and alterations in type after an article is printed in pages, are in many cases technically difficult and proportionately costly, the bill for corrections sometimes amounting to as much as the first cost of composition, and that such alterations entail a most trying kind of labour, not only on editors and compositors, but on the authors themselves as well, and they are accordingly advised that a careful preparation of their manuscript in the manner above indicated will save both the Editor and themselves much unnecessary trouble.

Remittances, correspondence relative to Subscriptions, and notices of change of address to be sent to—

The Superintendent,
British India Press,
Mazgaon,
Bombay, No. 10.

Notes and Queries will always be gladly received and inserted in the *Indian Antiquary*.

MARRIAGE SONGS IN NORTHERN INDIA.

FROM THE COLLECTION MADE BY THE LATE DR. W. CROOKE, C.I.E., D.C.L., F.B.A.

Prefatory Note.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

AMONG the papers left behind by Dr. William Crooke was a collection of Hindu and Muhammadan marriage songs (27 Hindu and 3 Muhammadan) from various districts in Northern India. Some of them are of peculiar value. For instance, there are a complete set of Hindu songs from the Mirzâpur District from the commencement to the end of the marriage ceremonies, and two incomplete sets from the Itâwâ District. There are also two sets of songs at the nail-paring ceremony: one attributed to Tulasî Dâsa and the other from the Mainpurî District. And lastly there are seven separate Hindu songs connected with various marriage ceremonies from different places and districts of Northern India. Three Muhammadan songs are further in the collection.

They will all be given now with text and translation.

I.

Hindu marriage songs of Mirzapur.

This set of eight songs were told and recorded by Râjkalî, Head Mistress of the village girl-school at Kachhwâ in the Mirzapur district. It is valuable, as the set is complete from the commencement to the end of the marriage ceremonies.

1. The Phaldân song sung at the first betrothal.

It will be observed that this set of songs refers in a confused way to well-known incidents in the Hindu sacred classics relating to the marriage of Râmachandra, and have often no direct bearing on the matter in hand. The singing of them would therefore appear to be strictly conventional.

Text.

Manchiyâ baithîṅ Kaushalyâ Rânî; sinhâsan Râjâ Dasrath ho.
"Are, Râm ke tilak charhawahu; ab sukh dekhab ho."
Baur bhaitîṅ Kaushalyâ Deî: kin bhaurâwal ho?
Ek din mualîṅ janam keṅ: ab jhankhaiṅ byâhan ke.
Haukaṛ nagârâ ke Biprâ begahiṅ chalî awahiṅ hoṅ.
Thârî jo bharalîṅ sopariyâṅ; newatî deî âwo ho.
Newatahu argan pargan sagarî Ayodhyâ.
Ek jin newato Rânî Kekâî, jin apane garab se ho.
Sone kai kharanâṅ Râjâ Dasrath: hathwâṅ sumirinî liye ho.
Sone kai tilak, lilâr Kekâî manâwal ho.
Kekaî manai; jangh baithai:—"kaun gunah ham kihal hamare nahiṅ âya ho?"
Mangan:—"ek ham mângahiṅ, jo ham pâwahiṅ ho?
Râm Lakhan ban dehu; Bharath karaiṅ râj ho."
Mangai ke "Rânî, mâṅgyo mâṅgahi na jânyo ho.
Mangailu prân adhâr Kaushalyâ kai bâlak ho."

Translation.

Kaushalyâ Rânî sat on her seat: Râjâ Dasrath on his royal throne.
"Ho you, mark Râm's forehead with the *tilak*, and then I shall have the pleasure of seeing him."
Kaushalyâ Rânî has become mad (with joy): who has maddened her.
One day she was nearly dying at his birth: now she is bought and sold (for joy) at his marriage.
When the drums begin to play, the Brâhmans flock to the palace.
The dish is full of betel nut: take it away and distribute it.[1]

[1] By way of invitation.

Invite friends and neighbours and the people of Ayodhyâ and the *parganâ*.
But don't invite Rânî Kekâî ; she is very proud.
Râjâ Dasrath has golden sandals and in his hand a rosary.
He has a golden[2] *tilak*, and is trying to conciliate Kekâî.
He has soothed Kekâî and seated her on his thigh ; " what crime have I committed that you do not come to me ? "
Says she : " I wan't a boon if I can obtain it.
Send Râm and Lakhan to the forest, and let Bharat rule."
Says he : " Rânî, you know not what you ask,
You are demanding the son of Kaushalyâ Rânî, the guardian of my life."

2. The Nahacchu song, sung at the paring of the bridegroom's nails.

Text.

Ghar ghar phirai le nauniyâñ ; " âju more Râm kai nahuchhu gotin sab âyo ho."
Awailiñ ainthali au itrâti alahin, pâte kai jâjim ; jhârî bichhâib ho.
Awalin gotin sau tin châr, sumangal gâwai lin ho.
Nanâ ke hâtheñ naharanî, nauniyâñ gorî
Râm kai badan nihârî, haṅsai mukh morî :—
" Kâhe gun Râm bhaye sâñwar ? Kâhe gun Lakshman gor ho ? "
" Râm to haiñ Râjâ Dasrath ke, aru Lakshman mor ho."
Rânî Kaushalyâ Deî kaise jiâye tapsi gaî tor ho ?
Lehaliñ khainchhâ bhar dhebuâ besahaliñ ghor ho.
Nanâ to charhailâ ghoṛawâ, nauniyâñ keñ le gail choṛ ho.

Translation.

The barber's wife has gone round the houses :" come to the nail-paring of our Râm"
The clansmen come to the house, stately and proud : the carpet is spread.
Three or four hundred clansmen assemble and songs of joy are sung.
The barber has the nail-parer in his hand, and the barber's wife,
Seeing the body of Râm, laughs and turns back her face :
" Why is Râm swarthy ? Why is Lakshman fair ? "
" Râm belongs to Râjâ Dasrath, and Lakshman to us."
" How burning has your Rânî Kaushalyâ Deî become ? "
" Take your parer's full and mount your horse."
The barber mounted the horse, and the barber's wife stopped her abuse.

3. Marriage song, sung during the actual marriage ceremony.

The recorder of this song notes that it is really a call for help by the bride against the bridegroom to her father, and is therefore a survival of marriage by capture. She complains that the bridegroom is by force putting the red spot (the sign of the married state) into the parting of her hair. The bride sings :—

Text.

' Bâbâ, bâbâ ' goharâilâ : bâbâ ta bolaiñ na ho.
Janghiyâñ kî bariaiyâñ sendur monkoñ nâwaiñ na ho.
Haṭiyâ meñ sendurâ mahang bhailaiñ, bâbâ ; chunari bhail anmol.
Ehî re, sendurwâ ke kâran chhoroñ maiñ des tohâr.

Translation.

' Father, Father [3]' I cry : but my father does not hear.
By his personal strength he is putting the *sendûr* [4] into the parting of my hair.

[2] *I.e.*, he has a saffron *tilak* on his forehead.

[3] The vernacular term may also read " grandfather."

[4] Red lead in the form of a round spot put on the forehead just below the parting of the hair: the sign of a married woman.

In the market the price of *sendûr* is rising, father : coloured (marriage) garments are beyond price.

Ah me, on account of the *sendûr* I am leaving your country.

4. The Kaṇyâdân song, sung when the father gives his daughter solemnly to the bridegroom.

The gist of this song is that the father shudders when he has completed the marriage ceremony. The reason for his shuddering is the thoughts of the sacredness of the union accomplished and the great responsibilities that the married pair are assuming, of the vengeance of supernatural powers (Fire, Water, Air, Sun, Moon and the Gods) on any violation of the marriage vows, of the troubles of widowhood which Indian women cheerfully undergo on the death of their husbands. There are signs that this short song is very old.

Text.

Kâṅpaile, thârî : kâṅpaile, jhârî : kâṅpaile, kuso kai dabh :
Mandye meṅ kanpailâ betî kai bâbâ det kaṅwarî kaṇyâdân.

Translation.

Shuddering, the dish,—shuddering, the jug ;—shuddering ; the bundle of *kusâ* grass ;
In the marriage-shed the shuddering father of the girl gave his daughter in marriage.

Note.

The sense of this song is that, while the father is completing the marriage ceremonies and placing the articles of worship in a dish, the sacred water in a jug, the *kusâ* grass round the sacrificial pit in the marriage shed, he shudders at giving away his daughter.

5. The Barât song, sung when the bridegroom starts for the bride's house.

Text.

Râm je chalalaiṅ biyâhan, run-jhun bajen bajâî.
Are, uprân je sagawâ menrarâîlâ na ; " ham hûṅ chalab biyâhan ke."
Unch nagar pur Pâṭan ale bâṅseṅ chhaile mandô.
Bahaile jhur-jhur byârî, uhaiṅ dal utrailâ ho.
Are, Râm sâsu je chalalîṅ parîchhan kekarî artî utarahu ho :
" Kawan bar sundar sâṅwar baran ? kanhaiâ orhale pitambar ho ? "
" Unhiṅ ke artî utarahu ; unhîṅ bar sundar ho."
Hot bihân phat-phatat chiraiâ ek bolailâ ho.
" Kholahu, tuṅ Sâsu bajrâ kewâṛ : hamhuṅ jâbai kohbar ho."
" Kaisâ maiṅ kholoṅ bajrâ kewar ? To Râm jaihaiṅ kohbar meṅ ho."
" Are, torî laṛikâ bâl adân : bolahî nahiṅ jânaile ho."
Tori dhiyâ laṛikâ adân : hamhûṅ kawal kai phûl :—"dunoṅ jaṅeṅ bihansab ho."

Translation.

When Râm starts for the marriage, beautiful music is played.
Ha, a parrot is hovering over his head : " I, too, will go to the marriage. "
In a city lofty as Paṭnâ is the marriage-shed set up, and made of fresh bamboos.
Where the wind blows pleasantly, there does the procession[5] halt.
Ha, Râm's mother-in-law comes to wave the lamps[6] over the bridegroom's head :

[5] The word used is *ḍal*, an army and the reference may be to the time when the bridegroom's party was his ' army ' came with him to capture the bride.

[6] *I.e.*, to wave the lamps of propitiation : *artî* or *parchhan karnâ*.

" Over whom must I wave the lamps ? " " The beautiful dark boy that wears the yellow robe."

" Over him do *artî* : over him wave the lamps."

In the early morning a bird begins to chirp and sing :

" Mother-in-law do thou open the iron gate ; I too would go to the *kohbar*.[7]

" How can I open the iron gate ? It is Râm that goes into the *kohbar*."

" Ha, thy daughter is an innocent child : she does not know how to speak.

Thy daughter is an innocent child. I, too, am a flower of the lotus. We two will talk together and laugh and joke."

6. Sung at the fixing of the Marriage contract, after which the married couple cannot be parted.

Text.

Âṅgan lîpaiṅ Debî Saraswatî chandan se.

Gajmotî chauk parâî, Ganesh manâî ke.

" Uthahu na Mâî Kaushalyâ Rânî ; chumahu dalrû kai mâth,

Jîaiṅ jagaiṅ Râjâ Râm Chandra." Debi Saraswatî manâwain na ho :—

" Belsaiṅ Ayodhyâ kai râj." Ganesh manâî ke na ho.

Translation.

Saraswatî Devî plasters the courtyard with sandal-wood.

She plasters it with large pearls,[8] after worshipping Ganesh[9].

" Up, mother Kaushalyâ Rânî and kiss the bridegroom on the forehead,

By which Râjâ Râm Chandra will live long and prosper. And Saraswatî Devî prays :

" May he have rule over Ayodhyâ." And she worships Ganesh.

7. The Gawanâ song, sung when the bride goes to her husband's house.

This song illustrates the grief of the bride's mother at parting with her daughter. Children are much petted and the recorder of the song states :—I do not exaggerate when I say that most mothers do not touch food for several days after the *gawanâ*. Fathers, too, will cry like children when their daughters leave them on marriage.

Text.

Aju rain daf bajai ; bhaiwarâ udayâ bhaî.

Uthahu na râjkumârî : gawan niâr bhaî.

Mâî je rowaile mandir charhî, jaise jharai Sâwanawâṅ kai nîr :—

" Are, more bajrâ kai chhatiyâ naihareṅ, dhiyâ bhailîn pâhun."

Paithî jagâwai morî mâî, suhenu sir sâheb :—

" Bhor bhayul bhinsâr to nauniyâṅ bolâwahu ; goṛâ bharâwahu."

Bhaujî kothariyâ meṅ thâṛh jharâ jhâr ravailî nâ.

---

[7] The *kohbar* is usually held to mean the house when the bride and bridegroom go after the wedding to worship certain family gods, but this passage and certain others point to its being really the bridal chamber.

[8] The recorder of the song here has a remarkable note. " It is usually supposed that *gajmuktâ* means " the pearl in the elephant's head." I disagree with this view. *Gaj* means simply ' great' when applied as an adjective. Just as *Indra*, when it precedes a noun and is not a proper name, means simply large.

[9] The recorder also notes that the song makes the goddess Saraswatî worship her own son Ganeśa, the god of good luck.

Sanjhahiñ danṛiyâ phanâîñ bidwâ karaiñ na ho.
" Bhorahin chhoṛainlîñ mor des dhiyâ bhailîñ pahun na ho."

Translation.

To-day at night the drums are being played : the result of the walking round the fire[10] is come.
Up, princess; the time for departure has arrived.
Mother[11] is weeping and her tears fall, as falls the rain in Sawan[12].
(Says mother) : " Alas, my breast must be of iron that I can bear my daughter's becoming but a guest in my house."
My mother goes to my father and reverences him :—
" The day has dawned, so call the barber's wife and dye my daughter's feet " [13]
My brother's wife is standing in the room weeping copiously.
In the evening my husband got ready the palankeen and I bade adieu to my parents.
(Said my mother)—" My daughter forsook my home in the morning and is now but a guest in my house."

8. The Baṛhâr song, sung when the bridegroom's procession (Barât) goes to dine at the bride's house.

On the second day after the marriage the bridegroom goes in procession at noon or in the evening to dine at the bride's house. In the Eastern Districts this is called *khicharî khânâ*, or the day itself is called *Baṛhâr kâ din*, the day of the Great Feast.

Text.

Maiñ toñ señ puchhailoñ ghuawâ nariâr ; kauñ birauâ se jorale saneh ?
Jaṛ mor gailan, " Patâlpur meñ chandan biranâ se joralîñ saneh."
Maiñ toñ se puchhailoñ ; " Janak Râjâ Kawan samadhiyâ se jorale saneh ?
Jaṛ mor ropailîñ : " Sîtal Rânî Râjâ Dasrath samadhiyâ se jorîle saneh."

Translation.

I ask thee, cocoa-nut tree, a riddle: with what plant hast thou entered into relationship?
The tree replied : " In the Lower Regions (Pâtâla) I made friends with the sandal-wood."
I ask thee again : with which father-in-law did Râjâ Janak enter into relationship ?
The tree replied : " Sîtal Rânî and I made friends with Râjâ Dasrath as father-in-law." [14]

II.

Some marriage songs of the Chaube Brâhmans of Mathurâ.

This incomplete set of three songs was recorded by Prâg Dâs Chaube of the Town School, Itâwâ. It will be observed that these Brâhman songs are more modern in form and more poetical than those recorded from Mirzâpur. It will also be observed that final vowels are unstable, *â*, *o*, *e*, and even *u* : perhaps on account of accent and rhythm in singing.

10 An essential point in the marriage ceremony.

11 The bride is supposed to be speaking throughout this song.

12 August—the wet month.

13 With the auspicious dye called *mehawâr*.

14 The song here seems to follow the old Indian custom of asking and answering stock riddles.

1. Hazârî[15] Bannâ, tû bhale âyo re.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.

Text.

Hâthî to lâye, Bannâ, Kajarî desh ke.
Hazârî Bannâ, tû bhale âyo re.
Ghore to lâye, Bannâ, Qâbul desh ke.
Hazârî Bannâ, tû bhale âyo re.
Naubat to lâye, Bannâ, Bûndî desh ke.
Hazârî Bannâ, tû bhale âyo re.
Sono to lâyo, Bannâ, Lankâ desh ke.
Hazârî Bannâ, tu bhale âyo re.
Rupo to lâyo, Bannâ, Danhdal desh ke
Hazârî Bannâ, tû bhale âyo re.
Môtî to lâye, Bannâ, Sûrat desh ke.
Hazârî Bannâ, tû bhale âyo re.
Chunnî to lâye, Bannâ, Daryâbâd ko.
Hazârî Bannâ, tû bhale âyo re.
Sâlu to lâye, Bannâ, Dakshin desh ko.
Hazârî Bannâ, tû bhale âye re.
Missî to lâye, Bannâ, dhur Gujrât ke.
Hazârî Bannâ, tû bhale âyo re.
Dâsî to lâye, Bannâ, Chanchal desh ko.
Hazârî Bannâ, tû bhale âye re.
Dulhin to lâye, Bannâ, Singhaldwîp ke.
Hazârî Bannâ, tû bhale âyo re.

Translation.

Hast brought an elephant, Bridegroom, from the Kajarî[16] land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought a horse, Bridegroom, from Kâbul land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought music[17], Bridegroom, from Bûndî land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought gold, Bridegroom, from Lankâ[18] land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought silver, Bridegroom, from Danhdal[19] land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought pearls, Bridegroom, from Sûrat land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought gems, Bridegroom, from Daryâbâd.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought silk[20], Bridegroom, from the Dakhan land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.

15 *Lit.*, 'of the thousands', *i e*, wealthy.

16 The Kajalî Ban is usually a fabled forest, but the country beyond Hardwâr, where the Ganges ves the hills was once described to the Editor as the Kajalî Ban.

17 *Naubat*, often known as *roshan chauki*.

18 Usually held to be Ceylon by all Indians.

19 The locality of this country has not been traced.

20 *Sâlu*., the bride's garment of red silk. Dakhan means here the country to the South generally.

Hast brought tooth-paste, Bridegroom, from far Gujrât.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought maids, Bridegroom, from Chanchal [21] land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast a bride, Bridegroom, from Singhaldwîp.[22]
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.

2. Ektâî Mahmûdî Naurangî—The oranges are Mahmûdî and are peerless.

Text.

Ektâî Mahmûdî naurangî ; sûtan lâl ; chamelî châmpâ ras bhînî cholî chatar amol.
Sîr kesariyâ pâg par sohai khajûrî ka mor.
Bar barnî barî ankhaiñ : tispar kâjar atî chhabî det.
Mere kol dîpak ajab bano bâre bannâ.
Ratan jarit makhmalî panhî lâge hîrâ lîl.
Bâr bar jal pîwat jananî. Dhanî dhanî jahanî mâî.
Mere kul dîpak bâre bannâ.
Byâhî chalo Barsâne awo, milî Vrîndâban Chand.
Mero kul dîpak ajab bano re bare bannâ.

Translation.

Her oranges[23] are Mahmûdî and peerless ; her trousers are red ; her bodice[24], soaked in the juice of jasmines, is clever and beyond price.
On her head a saffron-coloured turban shines, crowned with a palm-leaf peacock.
Her large eyes look beautiful with lamp-black.
The lamp of my family, the young bridegroom is dressed wonderfully.
He has velvet shoes studded with diamonds and rubies
Her mother drinks water again and again. Blessed art thou, O mother.
The lamp of my family has the bridegroom become.
Married let us go to Barsânâ and meet the moon of Vrindâban[25].
The lamp of my life, the young bridegroom has dressed himself beautifully.

3. Bannâ hai nâdân—The bridegroom is an innocent.

This is a maiden's song and contains a common complaint in Indian marriage songs. It refers to the extreme youth of the bridegroom and is really an indirect appeal on the part of maidens for a change in marriage customs.

Text.

Chirâ to bândhe sañwaliyâ :
Bannâ hai nâdân.
Jâmâ to pahire sañwaliyâ :
Bannâ hai nâdân.
Patuke khâtir machalâ :
Bannâ hai nâdân.

21 This country has not been traced. 22 *I.e.*, Ceylon.

23 By 'oranges' (*naurangî*) is meant the breasts of the girl, who is young. By 'Mahmûdî,' the recorder thinks that a reference to Mahmûd of Ghaznî, who sacked Mathurâ is meant. But Mahmûd's raids occurred at the end of the 4th century A.H. and the beginning of the 11th century A.D., and Mahmûd is a common personal name. It is more likely that 'Mahmûdî oranges' merely refers to a well-known variety much valued.

24 The recorder has a quaint and interesting note here. "The Indian woman's bodice is in reality no covering at all. It rudely shelters the breasts and leaves the stomach exposed. But chiefly on account of its indecency it has been the subject of many praises in the compositions of authors and poets, who only think of love in its meanest form."

25 *I.e.*, Krishna or Śrî Krishna Chandra.

Sûthan pahire saṅwaliyâ :
Bannâ hai nâdân.
Moti khâtir machalâ :
Bannâ hai nâdân.
Dolâ to lâwai saṅwaliyâ :
Bannâ hai nâdân.
Banarî khatir jhâgṛâ.
Bannâ hai nâdân.
Mere re bâbul ko piyârî hai nâdân.

Translation.

He wears a turban like a beau :
But the bridegroom is an innocent.[26]
He wears a long coat[27] like a beau :
But the bridegroom[28] is an innocent.
He grieves for the want of his girdle :
But the bridegroom[28] is an innocent.
He has on trousers like a beau :
But the bridegroom is an innocent.
He grieves for the want of pearls :
But the bridegroom is an innocent.
He brings a palankeen[29] like a beau :
But the bridegroom is an innocent.
He is quarrelling for a monkey[30].
But the bridegroom is an innocent.
The beloved of my father is an innocent.

(*To be continued.*)

---

26 *Nâdân* means literally ignorant, but both Hindus and Musalmans use the term to mean a little innocent child.

27 *Jâmâ* means the long loose coat worn by bridegrooms at the marriage ceremony. It is a relic of the coat formerly worn by all men in public, just as Muhammadans still wear them.

28 The term often used here is *bânṛâ* not *bânnâ*. *Bânṛâ* means apparently mean 'monkey,'—'the young monkey.'

29 There is a pun here and this expression might read "he takes a bride." *Cf. Hindu râje Musalmân bâ[illegible]hoṅ ko dolâ dete hain*—Hindus offer brides to Râjâs and Musalmâns to kings."

30 Here the sense is "the young monkey is quarrelling for his mate."

BUDDERMOKAN.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT

(*Continued from page* 65.)

VII.

Water and river worship in India.

Commencing with the Punjab, Maclagan, *Census Report*, 1891, vol. I, p. 105, tells us: "The veneration of rivers—of the various rivers venerated in the Punjab the Ganges is the most famous. It is very often worshipped under the title of Bhâgîrathî, after the name of the Puranic hero Bhagîratha, who is said to have brought the Ganges down from heaven. A large number of those who worship the river under this name are of the Ōḍ caste, which is said to be descended from Bhagîratha. The Ōḍs of the south-west are a wandering caste of workers in earth, who say they are Hindus, but none the less they bury their dead, and hence are not associated with by ordinary Hindus. They are often found wearing a black blanket, the origin of which custom is explained in two different ways. According to one story the Ganges, which was brought from heaven by the austerities of Bhagîratha, has not flowed to the place where the bones of the ancestors repose, and until it does the Ōḍs must continue to wear mourning. Another account is that the ancestor of the Ōḍs, the father of Bhagîratha, swore to himself that he would never drink twice of the same well and that he used to dig a new well for himself each day; but one day he had to dig very deep and the earth fell over him, and he was seen no more. This story is also given to explain why the Ōḍs do not burn their dead."

Passing down the West Coast, in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. V, (Cutch), p. 55, we read that the Lohânâs in Cutch "are devout worshippers of the Spirit of the Indus, Darya Pîr, who is said to have saved them when they fled from Multân. Every Lohânâ village has a place built in honour of this spirit, where a lamp, fed with clarified butter, is kept burning day and night, and where in the month of Chaitra (March–April) a festival is celebrated." See also Burton, *Hist. of Sindh*, p. 315.

In Baroda, J. A. Dalal, *Census Report*, 1901, vol. I, p. 157, it is stated that: "There are special deities for particular tribes . . . . the Magar Dev, the Alligator God of the Dublâs, Chodhâras, Vasâvâs and Kukanâs. It is worshipped once a year to avoid injury from alligators to men and animals, and also as a preventive against illness. This deity is found only in isolated places under a roof and is merely a piece of wood, somewhat resembling an alligator and propped up on two posts." And in regard to the alligator and crocodile, Campbell, *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, pp. 275-276, has as usual some pregnant remarks to make: "The alligator is held sacred and worshipped by the Hindus. To be eaten by an alligator of Gangasagar is considered happiest of deaths (Ward's *View of Hindus*, I, lxvi). It is a lucky sign if a man drowning himself is seized by an alligator (*op. cit.* II, 117).

"One of the meritorious suicides in the *'Ain Akbarî* is to go into the sea at the Ganges' mouth, and be eaten by an alligator (Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, II, 164). Alligator canopies are favourite Buddhist ornaments. Crocodiles eat the bodies of men and frequent the banks of rivers, one of the great spirit haunts, and so the crocodiles are worshipped and tamed at the well-known crocodile pond near Karâchî in Sind. The crocodile is eaten by Upper Egyptians and Nubians (Burkhardt's *Nubia*, 36). Food for the crocodile is a Nubian phrase for one thrown into a river (*op. cit.* 146). In Melanesia they are believed to contain the spirit of a friend, and are tamed (*Jour. Anthropological Institute*, X, 306). Crocodiles are prayed to in Madagascar. The people are much afraid of them, and so they offer them prayers that they may not be troubled (Sibree's *Madagascar*, 270). Many persons in Madagascar won't kill them, except in revenge, and many wear the tooth as a charm. A golden crocodile's

tooth is the central ornament in the royal crown (*op. cit.* 269). In Guinea they are worshipped as containing the spirits of men (*Primitive Culture*, II, 8) ; so also in the Philippine Islands (*op. cit.* 230). Some South Africans put a man out of tribe who has been bit by an alligator (Livingstone's *South Africa*, 255). This is because the man is the alligator's prey and the alligator will punish them. Compare the Burmans not helping a drowning man, because he is the victim of the water nymphs. The Zaparo Indians of South America though enjoy killing all animals, still they won't kill the big alligator (*Jour. Anthropological Institute*, VII, 504). In Tahiti at the king's coronation two deified sharks are said to come and congratulate the king. The kings used to play with them (Jones' *Crowns*, 453). According to Pliny (*Natural History*, XXVIII, 8), the crocodile cures fever, ague, weak eyes, and many other complaints."

In *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. II (Broach), on pp. 567ff. is described a Sukaltîrtha, the most important fair in the Broach district, and at p. 569 it is stated that "the ceremony of launching on the Narbadâ a boat with black sails to become white in token that the sins of the penitent are taken from him, is still practised ; but nowadays the pilgrims, not being kings, use instead of a boat a common earthen jar. This they set afloat, having set inside of it a lighted lamp, and as it drifts down the stream it carries away with it their sins."

Campbell, *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, p. 169, says : In the Konkan water spirits live in the round holes found in river-bed rocks. River beds are favourite spirit haunts, and so in Poona every year, when the rivers swell, all villagers come together, take a green *sâḍî* or waist cloth, and *chôlî* or bodice cloth, flowers, fruits, frankincense, and betelnuts and leaves with them, and throw them in the river. In Melanesia holes in water rocks are sacred to spirits (*Jour. Anthropological Institute*, X, 277) In Scotland pot-holes are called fairies' cups (Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, 462)

General quotations on Water and River Worship might be indefinitely extended, but the whole question is well summed up to the information obtainable at the beginning of the present century in Sir James Campbell's admirable *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Customs*, pp. 325-327. His remarks on the universal aspect of water worship go far to show us that in the legends surrounding Badaru'ddîn Auliâ and Khwâja Khizar we are in the presence of beliefs going back to the beginnings of human thought and of superstitions that are world wide. He says : "Water as one of the chief scarers or foes of evil spirits rose to a high position among the Hindu objects of worship. Certain rivers and ponds are held very sacred and are often resorted to by thousands of pilgrims. In the *Rig Veda* the waters are personified, deified and honoured as goddesses, and called the mothers of the earth. They cleanse their worshippers from sin and untruthfulness and give birth to fire (Monier Williams' *Religious Thought in India*, 346-347). They are also praised for their power of healing (*ibid*).

"The Ganges is considered the most sacred of all the rivers, and next to it in importance are the Jamnâ, the Sarasvatî. the Narmadâ, the Sharâyu, and several other minor rivers. To bathe daily in the rivers and seas, especially in the months of Kârtika, Mârgashîrsha, Pausha and Mâgha—that is, from December to March—is considered very meritorious ; and to bathe on a new-moon day that falls on a Monday is still more meritorious. To bathe in the sea as well as some sacred ponds, like bathing in the rivers, is held holy. All high class Hindus in the Kônkan, especially Brahmans, daily worship a pot filled with water, called *varuna*, with flowers, rice and red powder. Among the Hirekurvinavarus of Dhârwâr on the twentieth day after a child-birth the mother and five married women, whose first husbands are alive, go to a tank, well, or river, and worship the water with turmeric and red powder (*Bombay Gazetteer*, XXII, 168-169). The Kanara Halvaki Vakals at the Dîvâlî festival in the month of November worship an earthen vessel full of water with a row of lighted lamps round it (*op. cit.*, XIV, 207).

"Among the Belgaum Kunbîs the day before Dîvâlî (October-November) large earthen pots are bought, smeared with lime, put on the fire-place, and filled with water (*Bombay Gazetteer*, XXI, 117). Among the Areres, a class of Kanarese husbandmen, a copper pot full of water, its mouth stopped by a cocoanut ornamented with flowers, mango leaves and vermilion paste, is worshipped as the abode of the marriage gods (*op. cit.*, XV, 215). On the sixteenth day after death the Kanara Jains put on heaps of rice, and putting from nine to one hundred and nine pots filled with water on them worship them with flowers and red powder (*op. cit.* 236).

"According to Buchanan (*Mysore*, II, 71), in Mysore a pool was worshipped, and money was thrown in it. At the spring of the Kaveri, in Coorg, in October all pilgrims try to bathe at the same moment just as the sun enters the sign of Libra (Rice's *Mysore*, III, 243). The Ganges is worshipped because it purifies everything (Ward's *View of the Hindus*, I, xlv). The Japanese worship wells and gods of water (Reed's *Japan*, I, 51). Rivers and seas are the object of worship of the Shinto religion of Japan (*op. cit.* I, 27). There is a sacred well at Mecca, in Arabia, which cures all diseases (Burkhardt's *Arabia*, I, 262–263). In East Africa presents of clothes are made to sacred springs (Cameron, *Across Africa*, I, 144). The Romans had service rites of *fontanalia*. Seneca says : "Where a spring rises, or a river flows, there should we build altars and offer sacrifices" (Dyer's *Folk Lore*, 4). Water was held sacred in Scandinavia (Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, II, 584), and the Franks and Alamanns worshipped rivers and fountains (*op. cit.* 583). In Germany whirlpools and waterfalls were held in special veneration, and were thought to be put in motion by a superior being—a river sprite (*op cit.*, 592) : so also above all was the place honoured where the wondrous element leaps up from the lap of earth, and the first appearance of a spring was often ascribed to divine agency or a miracle (*op. cit.* 584). It is the custom of Esthonia for a newly married wife to drop a present into the well of the house (*op cit.* 598)

"In Great Britain many wells were held sacred, and were often resorted to by patients and pilgrims till the beginning of the eighteenth century. The worship of wells in the holy pool of Strathfillan near Tyndrum, in Scotland, in 1798 is thus described. In August hundreds of people were said to bathe in it. After bathing each person picked up nine stones and took them to a hill near where were three cairns They went three times round each cairn, at each round dropping a stone. If they bathe to get rid of any sore or disease, they leave on the cairn a piece of cloth which covered the diseased part. If a beast was ill at home, they brought its halter, laid it on the cairn, kneaded some meal on the water of the pool, and gave it to the cattle. The cairns were covered with old halters, gloves, shoes, bonnets, nightcaps, rags, petticoats and garters (Anderson's *Early Scotland*, I, 192).

"To the well of many virtues in St. Kilda, in West Scotland, pilgrims brought shells, pebbles, rags, pins, needles, nails and coins (Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, I, 119). The well of St. Michael was held very holy in Scotland. In the *Statistical Account of Scotland* (XII, 464) parish of Kirkmichael, Banffshire, it is said : 'Near the kirk of this parish there is a fountain, once highly celebrated, and dedicated to St. Michael. Many a patient has by its waters been restored to health, and many more have attested the efficacy of their virtues. But as the presiding power is sometimes capricious and apt to desert his charge, it now lies neglected, choked with weeds, unhonoured, and unfrequented. In better days it was not so ; for the winged guardian under the semblance of a fly was never absent from his duty. If the sober matron wished to know the issue of her husband's ailments, or the lovesick nymph that of her languishing swain, they visited the well of St. Michael. Every movement of the sympathetic fly was regarded in silent awe ; and as he appeared cheerful or dejected the anxious votaries drew their presages' (Brand's *Popular Antiquities* II, 372).

"In North Wales there was a holy well called the Holy Well or St. Winifride's Well. Pennant in his account of this well says : 'After the death of that saint the waters were as sensitive as those of the pool of Bethesda : all infirmities incident to the human body met with relief : the votive crutches, the barrows, and other proofs of cures to this moment remain as evidences pendent over the well. The resort of pilgrims to these fontanalia has, of late years, been considerably decreased. In the summer still a few are to be seen in the water in deep devotion up to their chins for hours sending up their prayers or performing a number of evolutions round the polygonal well, or threading the arch between well and well a number of times' (Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, II, 367).

"In the curious manuscript account of the customs in North Wales by Pennant he says : About two hundred yards from the church in a quillet called Gwern Dugla, rises a small spring. The water is under the tutelage of the saint, and to this day held to be extremely beneficial in the falling sickness. The patient washes his limbs in the well, makes an offering into it of four pence, walks round it three times, and thrice repeats the Lord's prayer. These ceremonies are never begun till after sunset, in order to inspire the votaries with greater awe' (Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, II, 375).

"In England people offered pins, shells, needles, pebbles, coins, and rags to sacred wells (Chamber's *Book of Days*, II, 7), and on Holy Thursday people used to throw sweet garlands and wreaths of pansies, pinks and gaudy daffodils into the streams (Dyer's *Folk Lore*, 4). In some parts of North England it has been a custom from time immemorial for the lads and lasses of the neighbouring villages to collect together at springs or rivers on some Sunday in May to drink sugar and water where the lasses give the treat : this is called Sugar-and-water Sunday. They afterwards adjourn to the public-houses, and the lads return the compliment in cakes, ale and punch. A vast concourse of both sexes assemble for the above purpose at the Giant's Cave near Eden Hall in Cumberland on the third Sunday in May (Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, II, 375).

"Hutchinson in his *History of Cumberland* (II, 323), speaking of the parish of Bromfield and a custom in the neighbourhood of Blencogo, says : 'On the common to the east of that village not far from Ware-Brig, near a pretty large rock of granite called St. Cuthbert's Stane, is a fine copious spring of remarkably pure and sweet water which is called Helly Well, that is, Holy Well. It formerly was the custom for the youth of all the neighbouring villages to assemble at this well early in the afternoon of the second Sunday in May, and there to join in a variety of rural sports' (Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, II, 37)."

On the connected question of Water Spirits. Campbell is equally explicit (*op. cit.*, pp. 149 f.) : "The most important and widely known of the Konkan spirits that are supposed to live in water are *Asras, Bâpdev, Girâ* and *Hadal* or *Hedalî*. *Asras* are the ghosts of young women who after giving birth to one or more children, committed suicide by drowning themselves. They always live in water, and attack any person who comes to the place of their abode at noon, in the evening, or at midnight. When they make their rounds they generally go in groups of three to seven. Their chief objects of attack are young women, and when a woman is attacked by the *Asras* generally, a female exorcist is called in to get rid of them.

"Their favourite offerings are cooked rice, turmeric, red powder, and green bodice cloths. *Bâpdev* is the ghost of a sailor or mariner drowned in a channel or sea. He is much feared by the mariners, who please him with the offerings of fruits and cocoanuts. *Girâ* is the spectre of a man drowned in a well, tank, channel, river or sea. He has his feet turned backwards. Whomsoever the *Girâ* attacks, the feet of that person become crooked. He is said

to allure travellers by calling them by their names. Sometimes he offers to become a guide to lonely travellers, and taking them into deep water drowns them, and thus makes them members of his clan. The *Girâ* is supposed to get frightened at the sight of knives and scissors. It is said should any person happen to cut the *shendi* or top-knot of the *Girâ* he would come to him at night to ask for the top-knot, and in return would do any work the person may require him to do. *Hadal* or *Hedalî* is supposed to be the spectre of a married woman drowned in a well, tank or a river. She wears a yellow robe and bodice and green bangles, and lets her hair fall loose on her back. She is said to be plump in front and a skeleton behind. She generally attacks women. A woman who is attacked by a *Hedalî* lets her hair fall loose, shakes all over, and shrieks. The *Hedalî* is said to be much afraid of the sacred thread of Brahmans."

To the above remarks Campbell adds the following : Compare—The Romans worshipped water nymphs. The Greeks believed the inspired men. The Swedish believe that drowned men, whose bodies are not found, have been drawn into the dwelling of the water spirits, *Hafsfru* (Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, II, 497). The Germans had water spirits called Nichus and Nix (*op. cit.* II, 489). Scott (*Border Minstrelsy*, 444) mentions a class of water spirits called *Dracæ* who tempted women and children under water by showing them floating gold. The water spirit was greatly feared in Mexico (Bancroft, III, 422). The Nix or water-man was also greatly feared in Middle-Age Europe (Primitive Culture, I, 108, 109, 131 ; II, 209). Heywood quoted in Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, 445, writes :

> . . . . ' another sort
> Ready to cramp their joints who swim for sport
> One kind of these the Italians Fatae named,
> Fée the French, we Sibyls and the same,
> Others white nymphs, and those that have them seen,
> White ladies, some of which Habundia queen.'

" It was also known as the Kelpi. It appeared in the form of a horse, a bull, or a man, and deceived people by sending dancing lights or will-o'-the-wisp (*Eastern Races of Scot.*, II, 437 ; Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, 540). Some of them lived in the sea, where they caused whirlpools and shipwrecks (Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 124 ; Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, 507, 509).

" In Denmark the popular belief pictures the Ellekone as captivating to look at in front, but hollow at the back like a kneading trough " (Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, II, 449)."

It seems, therefore, quite clear that in the " Buddermokâns " we have a series of shrines on the Burmese Coast representing really a very ancient universal faith in the God of the Flood, introduced under Muhammadan influence from India, where it had become mixed up with indigenous Hindu and animistic beliefs. In Burma it has become further confused with Buddhist and Far Eastern animistic traditional superstitions.

PALOURA-DANTAPURA.

(A translation of a Note by M. Sylvain Lévi.)

THE issue of the *Journal Asiatique* (Tome CCVI) for January-March, 1925, contains a collection of 'Notes Indiennes' by M. Sylvain Lévi, one of which is concerned with the identification of the place called "Paloura" by Ptolemy the geographer. As M. Lévi's conclusions cannot but be of interest to students of the early history of India, I give below as faithful an English rendering as I can of his erudite note.—S. M. EDWARDES.

"Ptolemy mentions a locality named Paloura on the eastern side of India (VII, 1, 16), which he took as one of the bases in the construction of his map. He locates Paloura in 136° 40′ E and 11° 20′ N, near the mouths of the Ganges, 20 degrees north of the *aphetêrion*, where vessels bound for the Golden Peninsula (Khrusê Khersonêsos) ceased to hug the shore and sailed for the open sea. Ptolemy's map locates this *aphetêrion* at the southern extremity of an imaginary peninsula, which inclines in a south-easterly direction from a point approximately corresponding to Point Calimere, immediately to the north of Ceylon, and then after running straight northward finally bends west-by-east towards the Gangetic delta. In his first book (I, 13, 5-7) Ptolemy discussed at length the position assigned to Paloura by his predecessor, Marin of Tyre, and corrected according to his own ideas his predecessor's estimate of the distance between Paloura and the port of Sada, situated on the opposite shore.

"It is surprising to find that, except by Ptolemy, no mention is made of a locality situated in so exceptional a position on the maritime trade-route between India and the Far East. The name belongs to the Dravidian type, and is one of the large series of names ending in *our* and *oura*,—suffixes which have long been recognized as derived from the Dravidian term *ûr* (town). Caldwell (*Comp. Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, Introduction, p. 104) derives the name Paloura from the Tamil *pâl-ûr, i.e.*, 'milk-town.' But there is an alternative explanation. The Tamil word for 'tooth' is *pallu* (Tel. *pallu*; Kan. *hallu*; Mal. *pallu*; Gond. *pal*; etc.; cf. *Linguistic Survey*, vol. IV, 650—652, No. 37). Paloura can quite well signify "the city of the tooth." Indian tradition has known from a very remote date of a "tooth-city," Dantapura, in the country of Kalinga, the very region in which we meet with Paloura. Dantapura is renowned chiefly in Buddhist tradition, which associates the name of the city with a famous relic, the tooth of Buddha, worshipped to-day at Kandy in Ceylon. The ordinary tradition regarding the division of the relics soon after the Parinirvâṇa related that one of the teeth of the Master was taken to the kingdom of Kaliṅga (*Digha*, II, p. 167; *Buddhavamsa*, chap. XXVIII; Dulva in Rockhill, *Life*, p. 147). A late poem in Pali, the *Dâṭhâvamsa* by Dhammakitti, gives the supposed history of this relic. It was carried to Dantapura by the sage Khema, in the reign of Brahmadatta of Kalinga, and was worshipped there until the reign of Guhasîva, who, to save it from profanation, entrusted it to his son-in-law, Dantakumâra of Ujjayinî. Carried by the latter to Tamralipti, the tooth was thence carried by sea to Ceylon, where it was piously welcomed by Mahâsena's successor, Kitti-siri-megha (middle of the 4th century), the same prince who despatched an embassy to Samudragupta in connexion with the Mahâbodhi monastery. The two facts are closely connected; Kitti-siri-megha appears as the champion of Buddhist interests, while India is experiencing a wave of reaction against Buddhism.

"According to Buddhist tradition, Dantapura is one of the most ancient Indian cities; it stands first on the list of the six towns founded by Mahâgovinda in the time of king Reṇu :—

Dantapuram Kâlingânaṁ Assakânaû cha Potanaṁ
Mâhissatî Avantînaṁ Sovîrânañ cha Rorukam
Mithilâ cha Videhânaṁ Campâ Aṅgesu mâpitâ
Bârâṇasî cha Kâsînaṁ ete Govindamâpitâ.

This list in verse is included in the Mahâgovinda Sutta of the *Dîgha Nikâya*, XIX, 36; it is also found in the corresponding *sûtra* of the *Dîrghâgama* and has thence passed into the two Chinese versions of this text. It has also been introduced into the *Mahâvastu*, III, 308 The scene of several incidents in the *Mahâvastu* is laid at Dantapura in Kaliṅga, III, 361, 364 It is the same case with the *Jâtaka*: *Kurudhamma*, II, 67; *Culla Kaliṅga*, III, 3; *Kumbhakâra*, II, 376; *Kalingabodhi*, IV, 230. One is always finding in it stories which belong to the time "when the Kâliṅga was ruling at Dantapura in the kingdom of Kaliṅga" (*Kaliṅgaraṭṭhe Dantapuranagare Kâliṅge rajjaṁ kârente*). In the *Kumbhakâra*, the king who rules Kaliṅga from Dantapura is the famous Karaṇḍu, whose name is associated with those of Naggaji of Gandhara, Dummukha of Uttara-Pañchala, and Nimi of Videha, who abdicated in order to embrace asceticism. They are equally famous in Jain literature, in which Karaṇḍu is transformed into Karakaṇḍu, likewise king of Kaliṅga at Daṅtapura. The magnificent Jain encyclopædia, now in course of publication, the *Abhidâna-Râjendra*, gives a long biography of Karakaṇḍu and refers to a series of texts: it will suffice here to recall that of the *Uttarâdhyayana sûtra*, XVIII, 45-46, with the commentary of Devendra. Among the Jains, Dantapura in Kaliṅga is also famous as the capital of king Dantavakra, "the greatest of the Kshatriyas," according to the testimony of the *Sûtrakṛitâṅga*, I, 6, 22, who is specially known for having involuntarily incited two friends to rival one another in heroic devotion, namely Dhanamitra and Dṛidhamitra, the Indian counterparts of Orestes and Pylades, of Damon and Pythias, etc. The word *danta*, signifying 'tooth' and 'ivory,' has supplied the basis of the first episode in the story: the wife of king Dantavakra, being pregnant, expresses a wish for a palace constructed entirely of ivory, and the king issues orders for all the ivory available to be kept for his use. Unfortunately the wife of the merchant Dhanamitra, likewise pregnant, expresses the same desire; and in order to satisfy her, the merchant and his friend contravene the royal orders. Each of them demands thereafter to pay the penalty; the king, greatly moved, pardons them both. (Cf. *Abhidâna-Rajendra*, s.v. *pacchitta*, vol. V, p. 186, and for the references, s.v. *Dantavakka*.)

"The *Mahâbhârata* speaks of a prince named Dantavakra, but he is king of Kârûṣa, the country lying between Chedi and Magadha, to the south of Kâśî and Vatsa. Dantavakra of Kârûṣa appears fairly often in the *Harivaṁśa*, nearly always in company with the Kaliṅga; he is the bitter enemy of Kṛishṇa who ends by slaying him. This no doubt is the origin of the reading adopted by the Southern manuscripts in the passage of the *Mahâbhârata* quoted below (p. 96): "He (Kṛishṇa) has crushed the Kaliṅgas [and] Dantavaktra."

"I have not succeeded in finding any mention of Dantapura in Brahmanic literature. At the same time there is late epigraphical evidence to prove that the name of this place remained for a long time in common use. The Ganga King Indravarman dates a gift from his residence at Dantapura (*Dantapuravâsakât: Ep. Ind.* XIV, 361), whereas the rulers of that dynasty generally date their donations from Kaliṅganagara. Indravarman presents to a Brahman the village of Bhukkukûra in Kurukarâṣṭra (modern Bhukkur in Pâlakoṇḍa tâluka), where the inscription was discovered. G. Ramadas, who edits the inscription, remarks: "On the road from Chicacole to Siddhântam, and close to the latter spot, a wide stretch of land is pointed out as the site of the fort of Dantavaktra. The peasantry often used to pick up there ornaments, images, coins and so forth, and even to this day there is a general belief that the site once contained great treasures." Mr. Ramadas concludes:— "These facts show that Dantapura once existed on the spot which is now pointed out as the site of Dantavaktra's fort." If Mr. Ramadas had been conversant with the Jain legends, he would not have failed to remark the extraordinary persistence of the memory of this king Dantavaktra or Dantavakra (the two forms of the name are equally common and both merge into the Prakrit form Dantavakka), the legend about whom, connected with the name of Dantapura, I have just recounted.

"Although the *Mahâbhârata* contains no mention of Dantapura, it mentions several times, in connexion with the country of the Kaliṅgas, a name containing the element *danta*. In the fifth canto (*adhy.* 23, verse 708) Yudishṭhira, recalling the exploits of his brethren, cries :—"The son of Mâdrî, Sahadeva, has vanquished the Kaliṅgas assembled at Dantakûra, firing his arrows to right and left."

Mâdrîputraḥ Sahadevaḥ Kaliṅgân samâgatân ajayad Dantakûre |
vânmenâsyan dakṣiṇenaiva yo vai mahâbalaṁ kaccidenaṁ smaranti ||

"A little further on, in the same canto, when Saṁjaya repeats the words of Arjuna in praise of Kṛishṇa (*adhy.* 47, v. 1883), "It is he," he says, "who broke the Pâṇḍya at Kavâṭa and crushed the Kaliṅgas at Dantakûra."

ayaṁ kavâṭe nijaghâna Pâṇḍyaṁ
tathâ Kaliṅgân Dantakûre mamarda ||

"P. C. Roy's rendering of this passage is as follows :—"It was he who slew king Pâṇḍya by striking his breast against his, and mowed down the Kaliṅgas in battle." He adds the following note : "Some texts read *Kapâṭe nijaghâna*," meaning "slew in the city of of Kapâṭa." He for his part follows the text of the Calcutta edition : *kapâṭena jaghâna*. Obviously the two texts give very different meanings. The translator has followed the commentary of Nîlakaṇṭha, who accepts *kapâṭena jaghâna*, and translates *kapâṭa* as "thorax, chest as large as the leaf of a folding door," and who, in the second place, arbitrarily interprets *dantakûra* as 'a battle in which one gnashes the teeth.'

"The Southern edition (*adhy.* 48, v. 76) reads *Kavâṭe nijaghâna* and *dantavaktraṁ mamarda*. A gloss interprets *Kavâṭe* by *nagarabheda*, 'a particular town,' but says no more. It is curious, in any case, to find this king Dantavaktra, so persistently associated with Kaliṅga, reappearing here in defiance of the rules of syntax, which forbid the juxta-position of two accusatives (*tathâ Kaliṅgân dantavaktraṁ mamarda*).

"The word *dantakûra* appears again in the *Mahâbhârata*, VII, 70, 7, at least in the Southern edition. The poet recalls the exploits of Paraśurâma in his great struggle against the Ksatriyas : "There, fourteen thousand enemies of the Brahmans, and yet others, he checked and slew at Dantakûra."

brahmadviṣâm châtha tasmin sahasrâṇi chaturdaśa
punar anyân nijagrâha Dantakûre jaghâna ha.

The commentator mentions an alternative reading, *dantakrûram* ; "in this case," he remarks "this word refers to the ruler of the country." In other words, if it is not a place-name formed with *kûra*, it is a personal name formed with *krûra* (cruel), and one must take it to be an accusative : 'he slew Dantakrûra'. P. C. Roy's translation accepts the reading *Dantakûre* and gives the following rendering :—"In that slaughter were included fourteen thousand Brahman-hating Kshattriyas of the Dantakûra country." The Calcutta edition prefers to read *Dantakrûraṁ jaghâna ha*, which is the reading followed by Nîlakaṇṭha, whose gloss (*taddeśâdhipati*) has been reproduced by the annotator of the Southern edition. The authors of the Petersburg Dictionary have, under the heading *dantakrûraṁ*, treated this word as an adverb and have translated it 'in a savage manner with the teeth,' giving a reference to this particular passage. Subsequently, however, in the abridged edition, Böhtlingk has substituted for the adverb *dantakrûram* the noun *dantakrûra*, which he renders as follows :—"Name of a place (according to Nîlakaṇṭha) ; one ought unquestionably to read *dantakûre* for *dantakrûram*."

"The choice between *Dantakûra* and *Dantakrûra*, which the *Mahâbhârata* translations leave in uncertainty, and the very meaning of the word, which has also remained uncertain, are definitely established by the testimony of Pliny. In Book VI, xx, he states that he will estimate the length of the coast as far as the Indus, as it appears to him, by distances, although there is no agreement between the various itineraries, and he describes the first

stage as *ab ostio Gangis ad promontorium Calingôn et oppidum Dandagula DCXXV M. passuum*, *i.e.*, "from the mouth of the Ganges to the promontory of the Kaliṅgas and the fortified town of Dandagula, 625000 paces." The promontory of the Kaliṅgas, which serves as so clear a guide-mark to the line of the coast, is evidently, and beyond all doubt, the place where Ptolemy locates the starting-point of the deep-sea route to the Golden Peninsula, and which marks for him a sudden alteration in the geographical direction of the coast. The neighbouring town (*oppidum*) can be none other than the Paloura of Ptolemy, otherwise called Dantapura; and in Pliny's title of Dandagula it is easy to recognize the name of Dantakûra. The distance of 625,000 paces, chosen by Pliny from among the discordant data of the itineraries, is equivalent to 3645 *stadia*. Ptolemy reckons 500 *stadia* to a degree at the equator, and therefore also on each of the meridians. Accordingly, by Ptolemy's reckoning, the distance from the Ganges to Dandagula would correspond approximately to 6° 36′. Between Paloura and the westernmost mouth of the Ganges, Ptolemy marks a distance of 7° 50′ in longitude (136° 40′—144° 30′) and of 6° 55′ in latitude (11° 20′—18° 15′). Apparently, therefore, Ptolemy was working on data closely allied to the approximate calculations of Pliny; without the combination of ideas which forced him to wholesale misconception of outline, he would probably have been able to produce a tolerably faithful representation of this part of the coast-line. The delta of the Ganges is situated near the 22° degree N; the region, in which one must search for Dantapura and in which local tradition still locates the fort (*oppidum*) of Dantavaktra, lies in proximity to Chicacole and Kaliṅgapatam, 'the city of the Kaliṅgas,' a little to the north of the 18° degree; the distance between these two places, following the shore-line, is from 5 to 6 degrees.

"In a work which is included in *Études asiatiques*, published by the French School of the Far East on the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary, I have pointed out that the *aphetêrion eis Khrusen* (starting-point for the golden Chersonese) of Ptolemy is identical with the Charitrapura of Hiuen-tsang and of various Sanskrit texts. I should like to draw attention to another feature, common both to the Greek and Chinese writers. As we have seen, Ptolemy locates the *aphetêrion* at a promontory where the coast bends sharply from the direction W.N.W. by E.S.E. to the direction S by N, and then is inflected eastwards, separating the Argaric and Gangetic gulfs. The Charitrapura of Hiuen-tsang is situated on the south-western boundary of the kingdom of Orissa and to the north-east of the kingdom of Malakuṭa. Towards the south-west, Orissa borders on the kingdom of Kong-yu-t'o or Koṅgoda, which forms a province of Southern Kosala and corresponds with the modern Ganjam District. "The frontiers of this kingdom" writes Hiuen-tsang "include several dozens of little towns which are near some hills and are situated at the meeting of two seas."—This, at any rate, is Julien's rendering of the passage, which Watters criticises as follows:—"The word *two* does not appear in the original Chinese text; the term *hai-kiao* here signifies the meeting of the sea and the land. The pilgrim wished his readers to know that the towns at one end joined the hills and at the other were situated on the coast." I do not propose to join in this controversy on the Chinese translation, but I feel bound to remark that the word *kiao* signifies, as a general rule, 'crossing, exchange, mingling,' and that the expression 'situated at the crossing (or intermingling) of the seas' is a very apt rendering of the geographical idea which Ptolemy adopted for the *aphetêrion*.

"To find a sufficiently conspicuous promontory along the eastern coast, one has to travel as far as point Palmyras, which marks the beginning of the Gangetic delta, situated in 20° 44′ 40″ N. and 87° 2′ E, to the north of the mouth of the Mahânadi. But Ptolemy locates the *aphetêrion* well to the south of the latter river, which he styles the Manadas, half-way between its mouth and the mouth of the Maisôlos, by which latter term he signifies both the Godâvari and the Kistna. Moreover, the deflected current which, during the south-west monsoon, runs from the coast of India to the coast of Burma, breaks away from the Indian coast in

approximately the 18th degree, in the vicinity of Chicacole and Kaliṅgapatam. Once more I repeat here the statement of Valentijn (1727), to which Yule drew attention (*Proceed. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, 1882) :—"At the beginning of February, a little boat was sailing to Pegu with a cargo loaded at Masulipatam . . . . From this point it followed the coast as far as the 18th degree North latitude, and there took to the open sea, in order to reach the opposite coast in about the 16th degree." As late as the seventeenth century maps of India, as for example that of William Blaeu, continued to show a bold promontory and a sharp bend of the coast, precisely according with Ptolemy's views, between the ports of Masulipatam and Bimlipatam (to the north of Vizagapatam in 17° 53′ 15″ N. and 83° 29′ 50″ E.)

"In conclusion, it would be scarcely wise to interpret Ptolemy's data for the whole of this locality too literally ; but the precision of his statements should not blind us to the real value of his information. He locates Paloura a little to the north of the *aphetêrion :* Pliny, on the contrary, starting from the mouths of the Ganges, mentions first "the promontory of the Calingae," and secondly,—and therefore further to the south, "the fortress of Dandagula." Thus Pliny places Dandagula within the country of "Calinga" : Ptolemy ignores the name of Kaliṅga, whether inland or coastal. Possibly we may recognise an echo of this famous name in the town of Kalliga, which Ptolemy, (LII, 1, 93) mentions among the inland cities of the Maisoloi. Pitundra, of which I shall speak hereafter, also figures in Ptolemy's list. I have already had occasion to remark the curious inversion whereby he transfers Tosali from Orissa to the territory of Pegu ; and I cannot help thinking that the whole of Orissa and a portion of the neighbouring countries have been subjected to a transfer of the same kind, in consequence probably of a confusion between the land-routes, running south by north, and the maritime routes, running west by east.

"Now that the name Dantakura is definitely proved to be a geographical designation analogous to or identical with Dantapura, one is hardly surprised to find the obscure word *kûra* occurring in the name of the kingdom of Kûraka-râṣṭra, which included the village of Bhukkukûra granted by King Indravarman during his residence at Dantapura. The editor of the grant, Mr. Ramadas, expresses his surprise at meeting in it the term *râṣṭra* (kingdom), in view of the fact that the provinces of Kaliṅga are elsewhere termed *visaya*. Possibly 'the kingdom Kûraka' or 'kingdom of Kûra,' was an ancient expression, consecrated by long usage, signifying the territory adjacent to the capital Dantapura.

"This curious word *kûra*, which seems to be used alternatively with the Sanskrit *pura* to designate, in combination with *danta*, the capital of Kaliṅga, recalls by analogy the final syllables of the name of the town which Ptolemy writes Hippokoura (VII, 1, 83). Hippokoura is situated in the southern portion of Ariake, to the south of Paithana (Paithan on the Godâvari) and Tagara (Ter in Naldrug), and to the north of Banaonasei (Banavasi in Mysore). Like Dantakûra, Hippokoura is a royal capital ; it is *basileion Baleokourou*, 'the royal residence of Baleokouros'. The name of the king also appears to embody the element *kûra*. Baleokouros is without doubt an approximate transliteration of the mysterious Viḷivâyakura, —a word which appears, coupled with the name of Sâtakarṇi Vâsiṣṭhîputra and Sâtakarṇi Gautamîputra, on a peculiar type of coin, differing from the usual coinage of these two kings and found only in the southern part of the Marâṭhâ country, or more precisely in the Kolhapur State, an area which in situation corresponds very closely with the directions given by Ptolemy for Hippokoura. As to the title Viḷivâyakura, I can only repeat what Mr. Rapson writes in his excellent *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra dynasty*, 1908 : "No satisfactory explanation has yet been given of the forms Viḷivâyakura and Sivalakura." Sivalakura, which is coupled in the same way with the name of King Mâḍharîputra, also contains this element *kura*.

"The name Hippokoura reappears, in the Tables of Ptolemy (VII, 2, 6), as the name of a port situated in the immediate vicinity, and a little southward, of Simulla (Chaul, 23 miles

south of Bombay). The Periplus makes no mention of it. Since this second Hippokoura is located by Ptolemy on the coast of Ariakê, which he distinguishes by the name of Ariakê Sadinôn, one may well ask whether we are not here dealing with the original Hippokoura, transferred to the seashore from its proper location by an erroneous interpretation of routes.

" One is tempted to identify the final *koura* in Hippokoura with *kourai*, which appears like a plural termination in the name Sôsikourai (VII, 1, 10). Sôsikourai is unquestionably identical with Tuticorin ; and *kourai* is clearly the equivalent of the Tamil word *kuḍi*, signifying 'place of habitations, town' (see the quotations s. v. *Tuticorin* in Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*). On the other hand the identification of *kûra* with *kourai* is open to serious doubt.

" Whatever the meaning of the term *kûra* may be, the identity of Paloura with Dantapura seems definitely established. Thus Pliny and Ptolemy provide new data in the geography of Ancient India, enabling us to identify the site of a great city of antiquity. The alternative use of the words Paloura-Dantapura shows also that in the age of Ptolemy the Dravidian language shared the territory of Kaliṅga with Aryan forms of speech. In these days also, Chicacole, Kalingapatam, and the Palakonda tâluka are in the Telugu-speaking region ; the boundary between the Aryan and Dravidian tongues lies plainly more to the north, about half-way between Chicacole and Ganjam (cf. *Linguistic Survey*, IV, 577)."

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE KAVERI, THE MAUKHARIS AND THE SANGAM AGE, BY T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN. University of Madras, 1925.

I am not surprised that this thesis won the Sankara-Parvati Prize of the Madras University for 1924, as in 122 pp. of rather small print it contains enough historical research to keep a student busy for a month in order to assimilate it. Mr. Aravamuthan has sat down to his work with all the detachment of a lawyer asked to give his opinion on the evidence laid before him, only in this case he has collected the evidence himself. The result is an investigation which is altogether admirable.

The book investigates in a wonderfully detailed examination certain statements of the Tamil Śaṅgam as to invasions of North India by Tamil kings. One has often heard of the invasions of South India by the kings from the North, but here we have a story of reverse statement, of which there has been practically no investigation. The thesis goes, however, much further. It attempts to fix the dates of these invasions and hence of the Śaṅgam, following up this attempt by an essay on the Kâvêri "an excursus into a subject hitherto untouched," and another on the Maukharis of Magadha.

In his preface Mr. Aravamuthan draws attention to four footnotes on p. iv: (*a*) the probability of Adityasêna, the later Gupta having invaded the Chola country : (*b*) an identification of a temple in Mâlwa as probably one built by the Mâlwa kings in honour of the Tamil goddess ' Our Lady of Chastity ': (*c*) an explanation of the origin of the names Śatakarṇi and Śatavâhaṇa : (*d*) a theory that the Kâvêri might have changed its course some miles to the west of Kumbhakonam." I have quoted the preface here in full, as my own attention in the course of the perusal of the book was forcibly drawn thereto.

Enough has been said above to show the extraordinary interest and value of this work as to ancient Indian history, but space forbids my following Mr. Aravamuthan in his many arguments. The general result, as I read it, is that the Śaṅgam writers refer to three Tamil kings having invaded Northern India as far as the Himâlayas—Kariḳâlaṇ, Śaṅguṭṭuvan, and the latter's father, Imayavarambaṇ. The dates of them all are within 25 years of each other and they had for *protégés* some of the Śaṅgam authors. So if their dates can be fixed, that of the Śaṅgam is also fixed. Assuming then that the Śaṅgam statements as to these three kings are reliable, the step necessary to fix the dates of their expeditions is to find the period in which the countries between South India and the Himâlayas were weak enough to admit of the Southern armies being able to penetrate as far as the Himâlayas.

It will be perceived that the question is of great historical importance, as it fixes the date of the Śaṅgam. But the first question to settle is the reliability of the statements of the Śaṅgam authors as regards the expeditions of the three kings, Karikâlaṇ, Seṅguṭṭuvaṇ and Imayavarambaṇ. Into this point Mr. Aravamuthan goes in the minutest manner, and his conclusion is that "the historicity of the invasions" of the three kings "is indisputable." As to the corollary of the date of these invasions, Mr. Aravamuthan considers that "in the general state of our knowledge of Indian history we might be safe in fixing the close of the third century A.D. as the lower limit." That then is a date for the Śaṅgam. The reader will perceive that for all his care in research Mr. Aravamuthan is still most cautious.

Karikâlaṇ, the greatest of the early Cholas, among other things, built flood-banks for the Kâvêri. This has remained as his chief achievement in the popular mind. Among those who had to help in the great work was a feudatory king named Mukari. He was not a Tamil and Mr.

Aravamuthan suggests that he was a Maukhari of Magadha. This sets him on a special enquiry, including a valuable review of North Indian history from B.C. 320 to A.D. 650. It also leads him to an examination of the history of the Kâvêri with reference to Mukari as a possible place name, and he decides that "Mukari" cannot be one. Mr. Aravamuthan then goes into the obscure history of the Maukhari clan of Magadha and their possessions, with the patience that distinguishes the rest of his work.

The above is the veriest outline of the substance of this extraordinarily full book, and I now turn to notice some of the notes. First, there is an exceedingly ingenious footnote to p. 31 to show that Âdityasêna, the Later Gupta, invaded the Chola kingdom in A.D. 674 with Vikramâditya I, the Western Chalukya. This note is well worth study. Another note equally worth attention is one (p. 41) on a suggestion that the cult of Pattini-Devi, 'Our Lady of Chastity' spread to Eastern Mâlwa. Then there is a well thought out note on the names Śatavâhana and Śatakarṇi as those respectively of a race and its kings, both meaning possibly "a hundred ships"—a new equivalence for them. To these must be added the whole story of the Kâvêri River and its changes, which is admirably told. In reading this, sight should not be lost of the long footnote on pp. 118-122 on Paḷaikâvêri and Paḷaiyaru.

So far Mr. Aravamuthan has himself drawn attention to his notes, but I would add one or two more on my own account. On p. 28 there is an identification of Vajra as a kingdom mentioned beside Magadha and Avanti. As to the latter there is no difficulty, but Vajra presents many, though it may fairly be accepted now as having extended from the banks of the Son in a south-easterly direction to the Bay of Bengal, so that it touched the sea and skirted the Son.

At pp. 101-102 is a remarkable suggestion which I merely quote in full in order to draw attention to it. It gives a probable origin of Harsha's greatness: "The possibility of the Maukharis having been able to control all these territories during a period when the Vardhanas of Thanesar are not known to have been very powerful, and the circumstance that the Vardhana line comes to the forefront on the extinction of the Maukhari dynasty, suggests a rather startling conclusion in respect of the origins of Harsha's greatness. If the Maukharis had before Grahavarman's days extended their power over the major portion of North India, if before Harsha the Vardhanas of Thanesar were inconspicuous rulers—which there is no reason to doubt—and if Harsha ostensibly placed Grahavarman's widow, Râjya-Śrî, on the throne and himself professed to be only a 'Kumara', we have adequate basis for a belief that Harsha came into an empire by stepping dexterously into the shoes of the Maukharis."

With these inadequate remarks I close my observations on one of the fullest books on history that it has been my fortune to peruse. I should add these there is an excellent index for which scholars will no doubt be grateful.

R. C. TEMPLE.

PANTSCHAKHYANA-WÂRTTIKA, vollständig verdeutscht von JOHANNES HERTEL. 1923, Verlag: H. Haessel, Leipzig.

The booklet under review is the sixth volume of a well-known German series *Indische Erzähler*. The former volumes of this series contained translations from Sanskrit, but this one is from Old-Gujarâtî, a novelty inasmuch as it is the first complete attempt of the kind. The original text was edited by the same learned scholar in 1922 (Markert and Petters, Leipzig. The book can also be had of Harshachand Bhurabhai, Benares) and its contents have been made known to the public by him still earlier, in 1914, in his well known work on the *History and Spread of the Pañcatantra*. The chief interest of the book lies in the fact of its being quite popular. The stories have been taken, as Hertel has shown, not only from the *Pañcatantra* but also from other sources. They depict the actual conditions of Indian life among common classes. Again the style is not at all learned, but very simple: just one suited to the people. And the translator has tried to imitate it in his German. It goes without saying that it is very difficult to edit and translate a text written in an unknown language, especially when the MS. is full of mistakes and when the words are not separated therein. Mistakes in the edition due to haste have been corrected in the translation. Some of them have been noted in the second appendix of this work, and the careful reader will find that others too have been silently corrected. It is no wonder therefore if the writer of these lines suggests some corrections elsewhere. Numerous footnotes deal with grammatical and exegetical points. The introduction touches upon the author and the language of the text, the latter subject being continued in the first appendix with detailed discussion upon some words. The whole book gives a fair idea of manners and customs, beliefs and superstitions of India not very old, and some pieces are really charming as stories. Thus it is both interesting and instructive. Its importance to the students of the Old-Gujarâtî language cannot be too much emphasized. Prof. Hertel has prepared grammatical and glossarial studies on this and other old Gujarâtî works. Their publication should no longer be delayed, and we hope that the learned author will soon find time for it.

J. C. TAVADIA.

Malabarese.

382. One Captain Freake, having been wrecked in Madagascar, managed to secure a sloop at Johanna, on which he saved the treasure carried on board his ship. Thence he made his way to Patta on the coast of Africa, where he was well treated by the officers of the Muscat Government. Hearing at Patta that Bombay was besieged by the Mughal forces (*i.e.*, by the Sidi Yakub. *Bomb. Gaz.*, XXVI, ii, 512; Bruce, II, 641) he made his way to Vingurla, which was held by "Kinsamutt" (*i.e.*, Khem Sawunt), a tributary of the Mughal, though the Castle was commanded by an officer of the Marathas. He hoped for friendly treatment from the latter, but they combined with the " Kinsamutt " to plunder him, making a fine booty of the treasure which he had preserved with so much difficulty and danger. At last he and his surgeon made their escape to Carwar, whence, on the 8th December 1689, he reported his adventure (*Ind. Off. O. C.*, 5690).

383. On the 7th August 1689 one John Stevens, belonging to a Galivat, then lying off Cross Island, was seized, after some resistance, by two boats belonging to the Sidi from Maraga, and he and six others were forced to turn Muhammadans under pain of being starved or decapitated (*Ind. Off. O. C.*, 5689).

384. In 1690 Kanhoji Angria, son of Tukaji Angria, who had distinguished himself in the service of Sivaji, was appointed second in command of the Maratha fleet by Sambhaji (Duff., I, 368). This is the accepted account of the founder of a piratical dynasty which gave much trouble to Europeans for some sixty years, but there are others which are not very flattering. Colonel Miles (p. 267) says that, in 1643, a Muscat dhow was wrecked near Rajapore and the crew made captives. One of them, a half caste Arab named Sumbhoo, established himself as a pirate, but was killed in fight with the Mughal troops in 1675. His son Poora then carried on the lucrative profession and was killed in 1686. He was succeeded by his son Kanowji *i.e.*, Kanhoji. The same account was given in 1756 by the author of the *Authentic History of Tulajee Angria*, who calls the founder of the dynasty Sambo Angria and says (p. 14) that he was a " Coffree " and (p. 15) an Arabian. Pura (he says) died in 1686 leaving two sons, *viz.*, Pura, aged seven, who died young, and Connajee, about three, who was brought up by his uncle "the South" (*i.e.*, Sahu) Raja, and when about twenty, was placed by him in command of the Island of Khanderi in the mouth of Bombay Harbour. This author dismisses as absurd the further story that Khanoji Angria was an impostor who had murdered the sons of Pura Angria and successfully assumed the name and person of the younger.

Anglo-Americans.

385. Early in 1689 the Dutch at Pulicat sent to Madras 9 English pirates, whom they had taken in Ceylon. Tried by Court Martial on the 12th April, two were sentenced to death and six to be 'stigmatized' with a hot iron in the forehead (*Madras Cons.* 12th April 1689), but apparently only one was hanged aboard ship at the yard arm ; another was whipt on board all the ships in the Road and then, with the remainder, branded with the letter P. [72] in the forehead and banished. (Letter from *Madras to Commissary General Rhede*, 28th April 1689.)

386. Amongst the prisoners in the Marshalsea in 1692 was one " Rand Pye by suspition of the murder of John Riddall, 28th April 1690, on board the pinnace belonging to the ship called the *Kempthorne* on the high sea off of a place called Mariegon in the East Indies by wounding him on the head with a stretcher, whereof he languished and dyed within nine months." (*Calendar of Prisoners, &c.*. H. C. A. I. No. 13).

Sanganians.

387. In 1690 Ovington described the Sanganians as occupying the coast from Sind to Cape Jagat (*i.e.*, Dwarka), infesting all the western coast, and cruising as far as Ormuz (*Bomb. Gaz.*, IX, 528).

72 When Dante was about to enter Purgatory, seven P's were marked on his forehead, denoting the seven deadly sins. Cary's Dante *Purgatory*, IX, 101; XXI, 53.

French.

388. In 1689 war broke out between France and England. In July 1690 the English Company's ship *Herbert*, or *Philip Herbert*, was surprised at Johanna by a fleet of French ships under Admiral Duquesne.[73] The *Herbert* was a ship of 800 tons (Astley, III, 391), built for 80 guns (but carrying only 54), and had a crew of 250 men. About 80 passengers were on board. Though in those days male passengers were expected to take part in the defence of a ship, the odds were still so great that a successful defence was well nigh impossible. Captain Burton therefore attempted to escape under Dutch colours. This ruse being discovered, he still refused to surrender, though after the first few shots Duquesne informed him that he would hang him from his own yard arm if he persisted in a useless resistance. Finally, the *Herbert* caught fire and blew up and almost every one on board perished. Some six men escaped to Johanna in the longboat, where they met the Dutch ship *Pearl* and carried the news to India (*Madras Cons.*, 20th October 1690). The English account (*Ind. Off. O. C.*, 5724) says that Duquesne refused quarter. Le Maire (*Relation*, p. 49) says that Burton, after setting the ship on fire, escaped in a boat with a few men, leaving the rest to their fate, and that the French could not give any succour as the heat prevented them from approaching the burning vessel. As Captain Burton was never heard of again, the aspersion on his character may be disbelieved, whilst as to the cruelty of the French, another French account (*Journal d'un voyage aux Indes Orientales*, 1721) says :—"Several of the English threw themselves into the sea, hoping to find in the French more humanity than they had found in their own captain who was their countryman. They swam to the *Oiseau* [Capitaine, le Chevalier d'Aire. "Il est Normand, par conséquent ennemi mortel des Anglois et malheur à ceux de cette nation qui tombent sous sa coupe." *Ibid.*, I, 4] which vessel was the nearest, and cried their Kom-Frenchman [*sic*]. Leurat (Maître d'Equipage ou Capitaine des Matelots) pitied them though a Provençal, a nation little inclined to pity. He told M. d'Aire that some Englishmen were crying for help. 'Can you feed them ?' said M. d'Aire coldly. 'They will live with the crew and can be divided amongst the squadron,' answered Leurat. 'You are a fool,' said M. d'Aire, 'It is better to let them drink as they are already doing,' and he did not save a single one. I make no remarks on this. The people who are the chief approvers of his action are the Jesuits." Duquesne held a royal commission but flew a flag of his own. On one side were his arms ; on the other Pope Adrian's motto, '*Libertas sine Licentia*' (Leguat *New Voyage*, p. 5).

Anglo-Americans.

389. In November 1690 the Madras Council were embarrassed by the necessity of dealing with some twenty English pirates sent them by the Dutch from Batavia. These men had been taken in Malacca, and some had been brought to Madras in June and others in September. As they were "importunate for their tryall" and expensive to keep, a Court-Martial was held on the 17th. Two were pardoned on condition of giving evidence against the rest, all of whom the Court found "equally guilty, but in consideration of the small execution they had done, and that Justice is inclined to mercy, the Court thought fit to sentence two to death as well for example as Terrour sake, taking the fortune of the dice, the rest to be branded [with the letter P] in the forehead at the execution post" (*Madras Consultations*).

390. Towards the end of 1690 or beginning of 1691, Mr. Samuel Blackmore reported from Tonquin to Madras that he had sent a quantity of the Company's goods to Siam for sale, but could not do any trade, it being demanded that he should first make good the losses of the Siamese by an English pirate (*Madras Cons.*, 20th Feb. 1690-1).

73 Duquesne's fleet consisted of *Le Gaillard* (50 guns, 300 men), *L'Oiseau* (44 guns, 250 men), *L'Escueil* (42 guns, 200 men), *La Florisjante* (42 guns, 230 men), *Le Dragon* (40 guns, 200 men), and *Le Lion* (38 guns, 176 men) (Leibbrandt. *Rambles* ; p. 106).

391. On the 27th August 1691 all the English in Surat were placed in confinement by the Mughal Governor, owing to the capture of another (*see para.* 366 *above*) of Abdu'l Ghafûr's ships (cargo valued at Rs. 9,00,000. *Madras Cons.*, 18th Nov. 1691) on its return from Mocha to Surat, by pirates who had shown English, French and Dutch colours ; but it was believed that they were Danes and in November the English at Surat were released. This supposition was, I am afraid, incorrect. A certain Captain Adam Baldridge, who had killed a man in Jamaica and thought it best to absent himself for a while (*Home Misc.*, XXXVI., p. 346) had settled in Madagascar, at St. Mary's, in January of this year and established a little fort as a centre of trade with the natives, slavers and pirates (*Deposition*, 5th May 1699 at New York before Lord Bellamont. *Col. Off. Records*, 5-1042, No. 30, ii; 384 ; 323 (2) No. 90). He tells us that on the 13th October there arrived at St. Mary's Captain George Raynor (*Bachelor's Delight* of Jamaica, 180 tons, 14 guns, 70 or 80 men), who had taken in the Red Sea a Moor ship so rich that each man received £1,100 as his share. Raynor returned to Carolina and paid the owners of the *Bachelor's Delight* £ 3,000 for the damage done to the vessel during his cruise.

392. Nor was Raynor the only English pirate in the Indian Seas in 1691, for in this year the English Chief at Calicut received the following two letters :—

(1) " Sir, Though unknowne to each other, I presume to write to you, being countrymen, to lett you know that wee designe to cleane our shipp att your Haven, and gett a little wood and water, as alsoe some provisions for refreshing our men, which wee designe honestly to pay for, likewise one hundred weight of chunam. I suppose I neede not acquaint you what wee are. You may easily conceive, as alsoe by the bearer who can more at large informe. Wee designe no harme to any of our country. It is the troublesomeness of the tymes[74] att home that occasions us to come out on this Account. If you please to come on board of our shipp I then can with more freedom discourse then now either tyme or volume will admitt off. And upon the word of a souldier there shall not be anything offerred but what shall be civill, and you safe putt on shoare. Being all that offers from Your unknowne friend. Oct. the 29th 1691." (*Ind. Off. O. C.*, 5775).

(2) " Sir, I wrote to you by one of your white people that I designed to wood and water and cleane our shipp and what other necessarys your place can afford for money. I now send this by the Master of the shipp, whom I intended to had kept till such tyme I had received your answer that I may know whither I may expect it or not, otherwise I must take itt. Send us a hogshead of Rack and Sugar equivolent, as also Dammar [resin] and Brimstone. Your speedy answer is desired by him who is unknowne to continue your friend " (*Ind. Off. O. C.*, 5776).

It is to be noticed that the writer of these letters thinks that the fact of his being a pirate may be overlooked on the ground that he intends no injury to his own countrymen and is prepared to pay cash for what he might take forcibly without payment. Another proof of the presence of Anglo-American pirates in these waters in 1691 is that in 1692 fifteen pirates arrived in Pennsylvania from the Red Sea and shared £1,000 per man. Two of them, George Paris and William Orr, are described as Masters and so, presumably, had been in command of piratical vessels. (*Cal., S.P. Col.* 1696, No. 149, x).

393. The freedom of movement granted to the pirates in America appears suspicious, but it must be remembered that it was very difficult for even honest Colonial Governors to distinguish between pirates and genuine traders. Not only were there Interlopers and Privateers, but there were also at this time the Permission ships which were allowed by the

[74] In the English Records there are a few references to cases of piracy by ships cruising under commissions from King James II granted after he had fled from England. Possibly one of them found its way to India.

English Government to make voyages to the East Indies upon certain definite conditions. These ships seldom observed the conditions of their charters and, like the Interlopers and Privateers, were strongly suspected of piracy (Bruce, III, 126, 187).

394. In 1692 another of Abdu'l Ghafûr's ships was taken by pirates in the Persian Gulf (*Surat to Bombay*, 4th April 1697), and on his complaint the English in Surat were again confined. But it should be remarked that the action of the Mughal Governor was due not so much to any belief in the charges brought against the Company as to a desire to protect its agents from the anger of the people, who were unable to understand how contrary it was to the interest of the English Company to favour piracy of any kind. At the same time it was probably an English pirate who made the capture just recorded, for Baldridge tells us that on the 14th October 1692 Captain Edward Coats of the *Nassau* (170 tons, 16 guns and 70 men) came into St. Mary's after a cruise in the Red Sea during which they had made £ 500 a man. According to the pirate Culliford (*Deposition*, 17th June 1702, H. C. A., 1, 16), Coats was again in the Red Sea in 1694 or 1695 with Samuel Burgess in the *Jacob* and took a rich ship from Mocha, the pirates sharing 2,800 pieces of eight each per man. Coats took his ship to New York and presented it to Governor Fletcher.

395. On the 18th August 1692 an English rover, James Gilliam (or Gillam or Guillem) wrote to the President at Surat to say that he and 19 of his comrades had been treacherously seized by the natives at Mangalore (? Mangrol in Kathiawar, Miles, p. 227) and carried to Junagarh, where the Governor refused to release them, asserting that they were Danes, and even imprisoning as a liar a "Moorman" who knew them and testified to the fact that they were English (*Ind. Off. O. C.*, 5815). Captain George Phinney of the *Sceptre* in his Log (29th January 1696-7) says that Gilliam being on shore with some of his men at Anjengo was entertained in a friendly way by the natives. They persuaded him to give an exhibition of the skill of his men with the musket, firing at a mark, and when they were off their guard, with their weapons unloaded, seized them and made them prisoners. The President at Surat, only too pleased to have them mistaken for Danes, would not listen to the plea of their being his countrymen and left them in captivity. About 1696 Gilliam managed to escape with sixteen of his fellow prisoners to Bombay and was taken on board the *Mocha* frigate.[75] When the crew of the latter mutinied in July of that year, it is said that it was Gilliam who murdered Captain Edgcombe (*Home Misc.*, XXXVI, p. 275; *Col. Off. Records*, 5/1043, 2, x, *see para.* 434 *below*).

According to a letter from Lord Bellamont dated 29th Nov. 1699 (*Cal. S. P. Col.*), Gilliam turned renegade during his confinement and was circumcised. After his capture his ship returned to New England without him, and the crew shared £ 700 a man (*Letter from Bombay*, 15th *December* 1696). Subsequently Gilliam took passage with Kidd when the latter returned to New England and was sent to England with Kidd, Bradish and Weatherley for trial by Lord Bellamont in 1699 (*Report on the MSS. of the Duke of Portland*, VIII, 75; Dalton, *The Real Captain Kidd*, p. 280).

396. On the 7th August 1693 Captain John Churcher of the *Charles* from New York arrived at St. Mary's in Madagascar to trade with the pirates and to purchase slaves. Besides other articles which he brought for sale he had "some books, catechisms, primers and horn-books, two Bibles" (*Baldridge's Deposition*). The *Charles* was owned by Mr. Frederick Phillips of New York. Amongst other letters enclosed with Commodore Thomas Warren's letter of the 28th November 1697 (*Col. Off. Records*, 2, 233, No. 90) was a deposition of one Henry Watson who had recently been in Madagascar. Watson says that the pirates were supplied with all necessaries by Captains Adam Baldridge and Lawrence Johnstone [I find no

[75] About 350 tons, carrying 8 Patereroes and 28 guns (*Madras Council to the Netherlands Company at Malacca*, 5th Aug. 1696).

further reference to Johnstone but *see para.* 441 *below*], who were settled in the island and "were factors for one Frederick Phillips, who under pretence of trading to Madagascar for negro slaves supplies these rogues with all sorts of stores."

397. On the 19th October 1693 there arrived at St. Mary's the *Amity* of Bermuda (Captain Thomas Tew, of 70 tons, 8 guns and 60 men) which had taken a rich Moor ship in the Red Sea, the men sharing £ 1,200 each. According to Johnson (II, 85) Governor Richier of the Bermudas gave commissions to Captains George Dew and Thomas Tew to assist the Royal African Company to capture the French Factory at Goree on the west coast of Africa. Having separated from his consort in a storm, Tew determined to turn pirate, offering his crew the chance of "a gold chain or a wooden leg" which they eagerly accepted. Johnson says (II, 84) that Tew flew the Black Flag. If so, he was the first pirate mentioned as doing this in the East; but Johnson is not, I think, trustworthy on this point. The rich Moor ship above mentioned was probably another of Abdul Ghafûr's fleet, for in July or August 1693 one of these was attacked between Jeddah and Surat by a pirate, which after some resistance, boarded her, "after which they [*i.e.*, the crew] were used with all manner of cruelty to make them confess what money was in the ship. Eight more died under the torments used upon them, and after six or seven days of this kind of usage the pirates, having got what they could extort from them (which they say was about two lakhs of rupees), they took out sixteen men and let the rest with the ship go, leaving it so bare that they could hardly subsist till they came to Versava [? Vesava, a little north of Bombay] in such miserable condition that there is not any of them but can show such marks of cruelty exercised upon them, but still [though] they say all the money is gone, there is some on board still, but what quantity [they] do not tell. The ship that took them is large, about 60 guns and 250 men, all Danes, for the lascars said [that] they have sailed with English, French and Dutch, but see not one of the three nations on board, or heard a word of either language spoke. There is a Moorman on board taken amongst them, whom they have learnt their Lingo, and he is their interpreter to all they take. They further say the Captain of the Dane ship has his wife with him, who did them some good offices, otherwise they believe they should have been worse used (*George Weldon to Council, Surat, Bombay, 25th August* 1693. *Surat Factory Records*, 110). The objection to this plausible story is that only one very rich "Moor" ship was taken at this date and it is certain that Tew took one. The size and strength of his ship would naturally be exaggerated by his victim. Tew left Madagascar for America at the end of December 1693 (*Baldridge's Deposition*) and arrived at Rhode Island in 1694. On the 17th August 1696 Governor Fletcher wrote:—"Rhode Island.....is now a free port for pirates. Thomas Tew, a pirate, brought there £100,000 from the Red Sea in 1694" (*Board of Trade Plantations General*, 4, No. 6). Johnson (1, 57; II, 87) says Tew's men had £ 3,000 apiece.

398. It generally happened that when a pirate crew determined on returning home, some of the number decided to stay on for another cruise either because they were afraid of the law for offences committed in their own country, or because their share of the booty had not satisfied them, or because they had dissipated it in gambling. On the 25th August 1698 one Samuel Perkins deposed:—"This Informant further saith that he had heard upon Mallagascar that a little before his arrival there [1694 or 1695] that fourteen of the pirates (belonging to Captain Tew, Captain Mason [? Misson] and Captain Coats or some of them) had by consent divided themselves into sevens to fight for what they had (thinking they had not made a voyage sufficient for so many), one of the said sevens being all killed and five of the other, so that the two which survived enjoyed the whole booty" (*Home Misc.*, XXXVI, 346).

399. In 1694 Hamilton met at Malacca a retired pirate named Kennedy, who had married a native lady of great repute for her skilful use of love philtres and poisons (*New Account*, II, 68).

Arabians.

400. In 1692 the Arabs sent an expedition to Patta on the African coast and formed a Settlement there, prohibiting commerce with other nations (Hamilton, I, 12. *See para.* 382 *above*).

401. In 1694 a Muscat Arab fleet burned the shipping off Salsette and stormed the Portuguese fort at Versovah (Vesava), thus putting an end to a projected Portuguese attack on Bombay (Hamilton, I, 180 ; Low, I, 88. *See para.* 425 *below*).

Dutch.

402. The Madras Consultations for May 1692 note the Council's disapproval of certain expenditure by Mr. Daniel Dubois, Chief of Vizagapatam, in protecting two Dutch pirates who had offered to become Muhammadans and enter the service of the "Moors." The Council considered that this was the duty of the Dutch and not of the English Agent and that therefore such expenditure "cannot by no reason or justice be charged upon the Company, being occasioned by his own inconsiderate passion."

French-Americans.

403. During the year 1693 there cruised in the Indian seas a French pirate whose name is not given. On the 15th May 1692 he had captured off the Madeiras, on her way to Brazil, a Portuguese man-of-war. This he did by hoisting English colours and approaching her under the guise of friendship and then suddenly boarding her. She was commanded by a Monsieur Morats, whose fate is not known, and carried 40 guns and 260 men. The pirate refitted her for his purpose, at first with 30 guns and 140 men, but later increased these to 42 guns with 150 Europeans and 50 Coffrees. In the Red Sea he plundered a number of Surat ships, cutting off the ears, noses and fingers of his prisoners and otherwise still more barbarously ill-using them to make them discover their treasure. Coming to Rajapore on the 18th September 1694, Jonas Hann, one of her original crew, who had been forced to join the pirate, escaped to Bombay (*Ind. Off. O. C.* 5939, 5941). This is the only pirate whom it seems possible to identify with Johnson's heroic Captain Misson. According to Johnson (II, 14), Misson, when he turned freebooter, refused to fly the Black Flag, and chose a white one with the motto 'For God and Liberty.' Johnson says that he consorted with Tew, and founded a Settlement in Madagascar which he called Libertatia, where for a time he enjoyed great authority and reputation for justice amongst the natives, until a Dutchman, Otto van Tyle (A man of this name was living at St. Mary's as late as 1699, *Col. Off. Rec.*, 5/1042, 40, xi) excited a rebellion amongst them and the Settlement was destroyed. Misson left Madagascar at the same time as Tew, but his ship sank in a storm with all hands, the weather preventing his consort from rendering any assistance (Johnson, II, 108). Our own Records show that there was a French pirate in these seas in 1693, but the long story in Johnson seems to me too fanciful to deserve credit.

Andamanese.

404. At Achin in 1694 Hamilton was informed that "the cannibal Andamanese" used yearly to raid the Nicobar Islands with a number of small prows (*prahus*) for the sake of taking prisoners. Sometimes, however, they sold their prisoners in Achin. According to Sir R. C. Temple, the Andamanese, in spite of their reputation, have never been cannibals (*see para.* 723 *below*).

Malays.

405. At Achin, we are told by Hamilton (II, 68) who was there in 1694, there were sold as slaves the prisoners taken by a class of freebooters known as the "Saleeters." These people were inhabitants of the coast islands between Junkceylon [then] in Siam and Mergui.

Anglo-Americans.

406. In 1694 one Daniel Smith, with John Birch and others, sailed from the Bermudas to the East Indies. At Madagascar they separated and, whilst Smith was at sea, Birch and his Company took a rich "Moor" ship, dividing £800 a man. Smith and his Company being the

stronger, took their booty by force and, as we hear no more of them, probably murdered their late partner. Smith afterwards consorted with Every and returned with him to Providence (*Court of Admiralty at Bermuda*, 13th June 1705. H. C. A. 1. No. 16).

407. Though Governor Fletcher spoke later of Tew as a pirate, this consideration had not prevented him in 1694 from giving him a commission to fight the French in Canada (*Letter from Fletcher, New York*, 22nd June 1697 ; *Col. Off. Records*, 5/1040, 860). Tew used this as he had used that given him by Governor Richier, and sailed for Canada *via* the Red Sea, where in 1695 he joined Every and was killed by a cannon shot from a "Moor" ship, probably the *Fateh Muhammad*, in September of that year (*see para.* 412 *below*). The *Amity* under John Yarland returned to St. Mary's (*Baldridge's Deposition*).

408. On the 9th August 1695 there arrived at St. Mary's the *Charming Mary* (Captain Richard Glover) with a commission, dated 1694, from Governor Fletcher (*C. O.*, 5/1040, 860), of 200 tons, 16 guns, 80 men ; Owners, Colonel Russell, etc. and a good sailor[76], from Barbadoes and the *Catherine* (Captain Thomas Mostyn with a commission, dated 1694, from Governor Fletcher, *C. O.*, 5/1040, 860. Owner Frederick Phillips) from New York to trade with the pirates etc. in Madagascar. In October the *Charming Mary* sailed to Mauratan for rice and slaves. On the 7th December arrived the *Susanna* (Captain Thomas Week, of 100 tons, 10 guns and 70 men), of Boston and Rhode Island. The last had missed the "Moor" fleet in the Red Sea and had got no booty. They stayed at St. Mary's until April 1696. The Captain, Master, and most of the men having died by this time, the rest of the men took the ship to St. Augustine's, and leaving her there, joined the pirate John Hore. On the 11th December 1695 the *Amity* under John Yarland arrived at St. Mary's, as I have already said. Wishing to change their ship her crew went to Mauratan and took the *Charming Mary*, but gave Captain Richard Glover everything on board her and the *Amity* herself to take him home. With a new ship they elected a new commander, Captain Bobbington or Babbington, and refitting at St. Augustine's sailed again for the Indian Coasts.

409. Early in 1695 one Robert Glover, an Irishman and brother-in-law of Captain John Hore (*Cal. S. P. Col.*, 15th February 1698), received a Commission from Governor Fletcher of New York for the Coast of Guinea (*C. O.*, 5/1042, 30, viii). His ship, the *Resolution*, was of 200 tons, 20 guns and 90 men (200 tons, 18 guns, 110 men, *Ind. Off. O. C.*, 6805) and the crew thought that pirating in the Red Sea would be more lucrative than privateering on the Guinea Coast. Glover, however, had no wish to turn pirate, but was forced to take the ship to the Red Sea, where having little success, the crew ascribed this to lukewarmness on his part, and when they had taken a small "Moor" ship, put him on board with 24 men of his party. This vessel being in a very leaky condition, he came with it to St. Mary's on the 29th December and was assisted by Baldridge until June 1696 when he and his companions got shipping to take them home (*Baldridge's Deposition*).

410. The most notorious of all these pirates was Henry Every (*alias* John Avery, Avory or Bridgman). There are several professedly authentic accounts of this worthy, besides the account given by Johnson in his *General History of the Pirates*, (I. 1-63), *viz.*:

(1) *The famous Adventures of Captain John Avery of Plymouth*, 1809. In this he is said to have been the son of John Avery, a victualler living near Plymouth. At Madagascar he fell in with two pirates, George Dew and Thomas Tew from Bermuda, and under their persuasion turned pirate.

(2) *The King of the Pirates* 1720. (Two letters alleged to have been written by Every himself, but possibly the work of Defoe.) In this he says that in 1691 he served under a pirate named Nichols and known as Red or Bloody hand, who used to hoist the Black Flag "a signal that we would give no Quarter," though on a certain occasion Every persuaded him to give not only Quarter but good usage after having flown this fatal signal. This unexpected

[76] In Churchill's *Voyages*, VI, 207, her Commander is named Thomas Plullips.

leniency caused several of the prisoners to join the pirates voluntarily, as well as the carpenters and surgeons, "who we always obliged to go." Red Hand was killed in fight with the Spaniards, "nor did I find that any one man in the ship showed the least concern for him, for certain it is that cruelty never recommends any man among Englishmen : no, though they have no share in the suffering under it." Every was elected to succeed him and on the 10th December 1692 arrived in Madagascar, sailing for the Red Sea on the 7th April 1693. Here definite dates are given, but they are certainly incorrect.

(3) *The life and Adventures of Captain John Avery*, published in 1709 and professedly written by one Adrian van Broeck, a Dutchman, who claimed to have been a prisoner in his hands. He says that Every was born in 1653 at Cat-Down, where his father owned some property. His father dying when Every was only ten years old, a rascally guardian embezzled his property and sent the boy to sea to prevent him from discovering the injury which had been done to him. Every served for some time in the Navy and won the good opinion of Rear Admiral Lawson in the Algiers Expedition (this took place in 1661. Possibly van Broeck means Sir Edward Spragge's expedition in 1671), and afterwards in the West Indies, where he went on a buccaneering cruise and got some booty. Then returning to England, Every served in the Dutch wars (? 1672-4) and later as Captain of a merchantman he went to Campeachy for logwood. In this capacity he enjoyed the favour of his employers and was popular with his men. He now prepared to settle down, and married, but soon discovered that his wife was a woman of indifferent character. In disgust he again went to sea and, finding himself in command of a stout, well-manned ship, determined to turn pirate. As far as I can judge, Van Broeck's statements are inaccurate and misleading, but he gives a personal description of Every, which, in the absence of any other, has a certain interest. He says :—"He was as to his proportion middle sized, inclinable to be fat and of a jolly complexion. His manner of living was imprinted in his face, and none that saw him but might easily have told his profession [*See* Portrait of John Avery, Pirate, by W. Jett, in the British Museum] . . . . His temper was of a piece with his person, daring and good humoured, but insolent, uneasy and unforgiving to the last degree if at any time imposed upon. His knowledge of affairs relating to his calling was grounded upon a strong natural judgment and a sufficient experience that was highly advanced by an incessant application to the Mathematics ; and notwithstanding the remissness of his education and converse in his minority, he had many principles of morality, which since his defection from an equitable procedure several of the subjects belonging to the Crown of Great Britain have sufficiently experienced." Compare the above picture with that of Vasco da Gama by Castanheda :—"Da Gama is said to have been of middle stature, with a ruddy complexion, but somewhat gross. His character was bold, patient under fatigue, well fitted for great undertakings, speedy in executing justice and terrible in anger." (Kerr, II, 445).

(4) *A copy of verses composed by Henry Every, lately gone to sea to seek his fortune* (Firth, p. 131. *Pepys Collection*, V, 384). According to this, Every claimed rightful ownership of much landed property near Plymouth and went to sea because deprived unjustly of his rights. He says that he holds a Commission dated 1693 and that he intends to make his fortune at the expense of the French, Spaniards, Portuguese and Heathen, that he fights under the flag of St. George and, so long as this is flying, he will give good treatment and also whilst flying his own flag—a fantastic concoction 'four chivileges [*sic*] of gold in a bloody field, environ'd in green '—he will give Quarter, but if he is compelled to hoist the bloody flag,

'No Quarters to give, no Quarters to take ;
We save nothing living : alas ! 'tis too late.
For we are now sworn by the bread and the wine :
More serious we are than any divine.'

In the Proclamation against Every it is stated that he committed piracy under English colours and, so far as I know, there is no mention of his ever using others or even flying the red flag.

BOOKS RECEIVED:—

The Rivers and Mountains of India as found in the Ramayana, by Rajani Kumar Padmapati, Tezpur, Rs. 2.

The Indian Colony of Champa, by Phanindranath Bose, M.A.

Inland Transport and Communication in Mediæval India, by B. Kumar Sarkar, A.B.

Physical Theory of Sound and its Origin in Indian Thought, by Umesha Mishra, M.A., Allahabad University.

The Jaina Gazette, March 1926.

PAPERS ON HAND:—

The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India, by Nundolal Dey, M.A., B.L. (Supplement).

Notes on Piracy in Eastern Waters, by S. Charles Hill (Supplement).

Hindu and Non-Hindu Elements in Katha Sarit Sagara, by Sir R. C. Temple.

Governor Joseph Collet of Madras on the Hindu Religion in 1712, by Sir R. C. Temple.

Malabar Miscellany, by T. K. Joseph.

Notes on Currency and Coinage among the Burmese, by Sir R. C. Temple.

Vedic Studies, by A. Venkatasubbiah.

The Sauraseni and Magadhi Stabakas of Rama Sarman, by Sir George A. Grierson.

Land's Anecdota Syriaca on the Syrians of Malabar, by Rev. H. Hosten, S. J.

The Relative age of Panini and Pratisakhyas, by Hannes Skold.

Soma, by Sir R. C. Temple.

Pihunda, Pithuda, Pitundra, by S. M. Edwardes.

The Promotion of Dravidian Linguistic Studies in the Company's days, by C. S. Srinivasachari M. A.

Origin of Caste System in India, by S. Charles Hill.

A Himyaritic Inscription, by Ch. Muhammad Ismail, M.A., M.F., M.R.A.S.

The Capital of Nahapana, by V. S. Bakhle, M.A., LL.B.

The Population of the City of Bombay, by S. M. Edwardes.

The Kshaharatas, by Y. R. Gupte.

Two Tamil Hymns for the Marghazhi, by A. Butterworth and Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.

A Note on Bhaskara Ravivarman's date, by A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

Dharavarsha Paramara of Abu and his inscriptions, by R. R. Halder.

Folk songs of the Tuluvas, by B. A. Salatore.

Printed and Published by R. Miller, Superintendent, British India Press, Mazgaon, Bombay, for The Indian Antiquary, Ltd., London.