

IX. *TRANSLATION of a SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION, relative to the last Hindu King of Delhi, with Comments thereon. By Captain JAMES TOD, M.R.A.S.*

Read May 1, 1824.

THE Inscription, of which I have the honour to present a copy and translation to the Society, is a memorial of an important period in the History of India, especially that part familiarly, though restrictively, denominated *Hindust'hán*. To define the limits of this somewhat vague application, is of no great moment; but I believe it is generally to be understood as denoting the space between the mountains of *Himálaya* and the *Nermadú* river, north and south: a line in the meridian of the source of this river at *Ameracantac*, passing through *Prayág*, and meeting the great northern chain, forms the eastern limit; and westward, towards the Indus, it comprehends all the tracts within the limits of cultivation. This is generally understood to be *Hindust'hán* proper. What antiquity may be assigned to such restrictive definition of a word, implying the abode of the whole of the Hindu race, I know not; * nor should I have deemed it worth mention, but from its comprehending the space to which the inscription has especial reference, the greater part of which acknowledged the power of the Prince, whose name it records. This name is *PRĪTHWÍRÁJA*, signifying "Sovereign of the Earth."

It was at *Hánsí Hisár*, in the beginning of the year 1815, I obtained the Inscription, when I left my post at *Sindia's* court on a visit to a friend, now no more: one well known, and whose memory is honoured by some members of this Society; whose services were appreciated, and his loss publicly lamented, by the late illustrious Governor-General of India, because talents, zeal, and honour, were synonymous with *JAMES LUMSDAINE*. I need ask no pardon for this digression: when met for the purpose of recording what is worthy in the History, Physics, and Antiquities of India, a passing tribute to one, who, in his own bright example, raised the moral

* *Hindust'hán* proper, contradistinguished from the southern peninsula, and eastern India (*Dacshin* and *Púrb*) is the same with the *Med'hya dés'a*, or central region. See *Menu*, 2. 21. The *Narmadá* river is the limit of the *Vind'hya* range of mountains there mentioned. *Vinásana* is the place where the *Saraswatí* river terminates; losing itself in the great sandy desert.—H.T.C.

estimation, in the minds of the governed, of those to whom the destinies of a great empire are intrusted, cannot be deemed intrusive. I might say, it was due to his memory : but for my visit to him on this occasion, I might not have trespassed on the indulgence of this Society for the remarks I am about to offer.

Hánsí and *Hisár* are two conspicuous and contiguous places in the more remote geography of British India ; being on our north-west frontier, touching the commencement of the Desert. ABUL FAZIL, in the Institutes, according to Akber's division, constitutes *Hisár Fírózeh* a subdivision of one of the twenty-two *Subahs*, or Satrapies, of the Empire. The great Emperor FÍRÓZ bestowed his own name on this subdivision ; which, remote as it was, yet was embraced in his munificent designs for the prosperity of his subjects. The remains of one of his many canals, conducted from the *Jamundá*, flowing past *Hisár*, are perfectly distinct ; and the *Chitang* river is supposed to be a canal in all its extent. The recent re-opening of the grand canal excavated by this monarch, whereby not only the health and comfort of the great city of *Delhi* is secured, but irrigation afforded to an immense tract of country, is one of the most conspicuous works of national benefit, we have bestowed on our Indian subjects.

FÍRÓZ had intended this as a royal residence. The remains of the palace, within the fortress (or *Hisár*), the noble artificial lake into which the canal flowed, with the mausoleums on its banks, are sufficient evidence, that a great mind had there been exerting its action. The natural fertility of the soil is seen in the richness of its pastures, and even in its miniature forests of the grand shrub of the desert, the *Pilú*, an evergreen, if I err not, and in which the lion still finds shelter. To supply the deficiency of water, lying very deep from the surface, these canals were carried on by FÍRÓZ, who perhaps contemplated the junction, by these arms, of the waters of the *Jamundá* and the *Setlej*, which I believe is not physically impracticable. In establishing *Hisár*, FÍRÓZ appears to have had in view the necessity of a more extensive post than *Hánsí*, which the Hindus seemed to think the key to the capital of the empire, covering it in the line of the fords of the *Setlej* or *Garah*, by which invasion often came from the west, whether led by MAHMÚD, by SHAHÁBUDDIN, or by TIMÚR. *Hánsí* is one hundred and twenty-six miles nearly W.N.W. from *Delhi*.

According to the Inscription, *A'sí* is the proper name. It is a singular place ; and if ever fire-worship had been prevalent on those plains, I would

rather say it had the appearance of a grand fire-temple, than that of being intended for defence. It is in shape the frustrum of a pyramid, from eighty to one hundred feet in height, artificially raised: the exterior slope of each side (faced with brick) forming an angle of about seventy-two degrees with the horizon. Still the terre-pleine at top is considerable; and the palace of PRĪTHWÍRÁJA would have been standing to grace it, but for the guns of Mons. Perron, when he put a stop to the schemes of sovereignty of George Thomas, who had established his court in these "Halls of the Cæsars," now a heap of ruins. Nor are there any traces of those erected by KILHAN and HAMMÍR, "in which they placed the spoils of the foe."

The Inscription, which I obtained through the kindness of my friend Colonel Skinner, had been saved from the general wreck of these *halls*, by the materials being taken to erect a small Musleman place of worship; and this slab was built into the wall in a reversed position. It was afterwards presented to the Marquis Hastings: but, as it reached this nobleman at a very busy period of his career, in 1818, I know not what became of it.

Of the precise import of the term *A'sí*,* I am ignorant; but, most probably, it is derived from some ancient tribe now extinct. *Aśwa* was a very common termination of the names of the princes of the ancient dynasties of India, with probably similar import to that used by the Persian monarchs. The *Assaceni* were a nation in the Indies, described by Alexander's historians.

Asigarh, or *Asidúrg*, is celebrated as the scene of contest between the Hindús and early Muhammedans. It was by this route, that most of SHAHÁBUDDÍN's attempts were made to wrest the throne of *Hind* from the subject of the Inscription, PRĪTHWÍRÁJA; and often did the warriors of the mountains of *Cábul* find their graves before *A'sí*. Even now it presents the appearance of a great sepulchre all around, but especially to the west. The route was by *Pácapattan*, the town of Purity, on the *Setlej*, to *Bhatnér* and *Fateh-ábád*, to *A'sí* and *Delhi*. It was by this route TIMÚR, in the very commencement of the ninth century of the *Hejira*, taking advantage of civil strife, entered India, when the last of the race of KHILJÍ filled the imperial throne.

The scope of the Inscription is to commemorate a victory obtained by

* *Asi* (with both vowels short) signifies a sword. *A'sa* is a bow.—H.T.C.

PRĪTHWÍRÁJA over the race of *Dóda*,* by his vassal chiefs KILHAN and HAMMÍR, names of great celebrity in the contests of that period; and, as a text sufficient to expatiate on, is far beyond the limits which I must prescribe to myself in a paper of this kind; but they shall have some mention, after noticing the foe over whom, in consequence of being victorious, trophies were reared in the halls of *A'sí*.

This tribe, *Dóda*, with many others of more transcendant lustre, have long ceased to be conspicuous among the nations of *Hind*. Though it never produced independent sovereigns, yet it was a highly respected tribe, even on the invasion of MAHMÚD of *Ghizni*, and is noticed by the historians, both of the Court of *Nerwala* and of *Delhi*, as one of the thirty-six royal races of India. When the first grand calamity of foreign invasion occurred, involving spiritual as well as temporal change to the Princes of India, all rallied round what appears to have contained the palladium of their liberties and religion, *Chítór*. The *Dóda*, from *Kasóndí*, is mentioned among the princes who repaired to aid the descendant of RÁMACHANDRA on this occasion. But no such place of any consequence now exists, though there are several of the name in different parts of India, and one not a great way to the westward of *Ajamér*.

The race of *Cháhamána*, of which PRĪTHWÍRÁJA was the head, as well as sovereign of India, is still one of the most distinguished of the thirty-six royal tribes of India: but to trace its origin satisfactorily, is a task of difficulty; though all the knowledge those belonging to it yet possess, either from books or tradition, is not unfamiliar to me. At what period the limit was fixed to *thirty-six*, or rather amplified to this number, we must also remain in ignorance; but a glimpse is to be obtained, through a long vista of obscurity, of a period when there were not more than six or eight grand races; the same number which, I believe, the Tartar and Chinese genealogists admit. The chief races are those termed *Surya* and *Chandra*, or the Sun and Moon, which probably at one period comprehended the whole, as the greater portion of the *thirty-six* are still resolvable into one or other of these, and have every claim to be termed the most ancient of those belonging to India. From these, however, the *Cháhamána* is totally distinct, and, with three other very conspicuous races in the annals of India, the *Sólánkí*, the *Prámára*, and *Parihdra*, form the *Agnicula*, or race produced from the

* Vulg. *Dóre*.

element of fire; as the others have, figuratively given to them, the greater luminous orbs for progenitors. Hereafter I may embody some distinct remarks on the martial races of India, and attempt an approach to the origin of some. It will involve some speculative notions, and without, perhaps, much solid foundation. The restless migratory hordes of Higher Asia, never found the *Attok* to be the Rubicon, which the more modern Hindu wished it to be considered, to keep him from the impure contact of the barbarian (*Mléch'ha*) to the westward; and the plains of *Hindust'hán* have been often trod by swarms of the same race, who deluged Europe under the names of Kimbri, Goths, Huns, Juts, &c. The colony of Getæ, or Juts, led by Odin into Scandinavia, gave their name, Jutland, to what is termed the Cimbric Chersonese. They were still celebrated as a nation in the time of JANGÍZ KHÁN, and even in that of TIMÚR, who carried on successive wars of extirpation against them. A grand colony of them, settled where the Malli opposed Alexander, combated MAHMÚD of *Ghizni*, in a novel warfare on the waters of the Indus, but were slaughtered and driven across the *Setlej*. The *Getæ*, or *Jits*, have a place amongst the thirty-six races; and I have an Inscription, in an ancient character, recording the power of a *Jit* prince in the fifth century; his capital, *Sálpúr*, doubtless that situated high in the *Penjáb*, mentioned in the twelfth century as being amongst the conquests of CUMÁRA-PÁLA, of *Nehr-wáldá Pattan*, and perhaps the *Syalcote* of our modern geography. What I mean to surmise is, that these, and many others of the tribes now assimilated as Hindus, have an appearance (from their manners and mythology, and the unsatisfactory details of their first appearance) foreign to the aboriginal inhabitants of the plains of India. The remark is more particularly extended to the peninsula of *Sauráshtra*, which comprehends tribes, with every appearance (though for ages settled there) of foreign and of northerly origin.

Though the tribe, of which PRĪTHWÍRÁJA was head, is classically written *Cháhamána*, its invariable pronunciation by themselves is *Chóhán*.* How-

* The orthography of names of persons and places, purporting to represent the pronunciation, is not uniform in manuscripts of the vernacular language. In the same copy of CHAND's poems, entitled *Prat'hirdj-Chóhán-rása*, the hero's name is generally written PRAT'HIRA'J; but sometimes PRIT'HIRA'J; at other times PRĪT'HIRA'J; making, in the last instance, a near approach to the Sanscrit equivalent PRĪTHWÍRÁJA. His family appellation is variously written, *Chóhán*, *Chauhán*, *Cháhuván*, or *Chahúán*: the Sanscrit of which also varies, *Cháhamána*,

ever much of the Scythian they possess in their ancestry, it might be going rather too far to suppose them a ramification of the *Cho-han* dynasty of China, and one of the most powerful. According to De Guignes, they had penetrated into the Transoxiana, in the second century before Christ, nearly about the period that other tribes overturned the Bactrian kingdom. The Tartar tribe of *Yue-chi** (the Assaceni of the Greek writers) is mentioned, in the Chinese histories, as having, after aiding in this event (the overthrow of the Bactrian kingdom) penetrated into India, and settled there in the second century before Christ. To these, De Guignes applies the term Indo-scythian. In the second century after Christ, Gibbon has recorded, from the same authorities, an invasion which even reached Guzzerat; and Cosmas is given as authority for another, in the sixth century. But we have inscriptions, decyphered by a learned member of this Society, which record the *Huns* having even penetrated to Bengal; and I have met with a remnant of them, under their pristine name of *Hún*, in my travels in Guzzerat.

De Guignes adds, that the *Yue-chi* were fixed in sovereignty, in the northern parts of India, touching the Thibet mountains, in the fifth century. The *Jit* of *Sal-indra-púr*, already mentioned, of whom I possess a memorial of this very period, may have affinity to this branch.

But it is not in mere name, that we are to trace resemblances; but in manners, and religious opinions.

The Hindu genealogist is inferior to none of the class on earth, in giving a "local habitation, and a name," to his kings, hierarchs, and heroes; and of the ancestry of the family under discussion, we have the staple of the chain of pedigree rivetted in the *Agnicunda*, or fire fountain, whence they sprung, on the summit of the Olympus of India, the celebrated *A'bú*. I had the pleasure of visiting this classical spot in the mythology of both religions, where *Adindá'h* and *Adís'wara*, *Rishabhadéva* and *Nandís'wara*, have their primitive shrines, and their common origin in name, and in

Cháhumána, or *Cháhuvána*. The metropolis of his empire, likewise, is diversely spelt: *Dilli*, *Dulí*, *Dillí*, *D'hilí*, *D'hillí*, or *D'hillí*. In short, consonants are interchanged, and vowels confounded: not always by carelessness of transcribers; for the exigence of the metre sometimes supports the variation. There is, consequently, much uncertainty in the proper orthography of names — H. T. C.

* De Guignes, Vol. I. p. 168.

symbols. The superior wealth of the ministers of the *Balhara* sovereigns (in whose territory *A' bú* was a tributary fief), following the *Jain* doctrines, has eclipsed, in the splendour of the temples to *Rishabhadéva*, the simplicity of the shrine of Father Adam, as *Mahádéva* is often termed in these countries. He is here also worshipped as *Patáleswara*, or Lord of the Infernal Regions. There are no temples in India, which can for a moment compete with these, whether in costliness of materials, or in beauty of design.

The *Chóhán* genealogist has chosen a most celebrated spot for his birth, and has invested it with all the interest of a classical originality. He was, with the three others, created for the express purpose of defending the religion of *Brahma*, when the *Daityas* rebelled and threw down the altars and statues of *Mahádéva*, and defiled the pit of sacrifice. This evidently alludes to a period when probably these two grand sects were contending for superiority : but unluckily we shall never learn who these *Daityas* were, or who the tribes, evidently only spiritually born again for the purpose of fighting the battles of the Brahminical sect. I placed myself on the top of the *Guru-sikhar*, or saint's pinnacle, the highest of all the numerous peaks of this curious mountain, "where European foot had never been;" and but one gentleman besides myself had ever been on any part of *A' bú*. Here I had the pleasure, among other discoveries, to meet with some of the fruits of Europe, the nectarine, peach, and citron, indigenous on the mountain, upon the edge of the Indian desert, and on the very verge of the tropical zone. It was a place of wonders, independent of its temples ; which, however fine and costly the fabric, were surpassed, in my ideas, as a lover of antiquity, by the gigantic temples of *Girínár*, constructed from the rock on which they stand, and supported by numerous columns of the same dusky granite and sienite.

The height of *A' bú* may be judged by the variation of temperature. In thirty-six hours I passed from that of 108° in the plains of *Marwár*, to 60° on the summit of *A' bú*, under a vertical sun. The barometer indicated a height of near five thousand feet above the sea.

Such is the first acknowledged seat of *Chóhán* power ; and the *Déöra* tribe, a branch of it, whose capital, *Sarowí*, lies about eighteen miles north, has held the sovereignty of *A' bú* for about five hundred years. The *Cháhamána* possessions extended, at very early periods (and when MAHMÚD visited India), on both sides of that stupendous chain of mountains, the

Arabullah, dividing the rich lands of central, from the more sterile of western India, and serving as a great bulwark to the further drifting of the sands of the great desert.

From AGNI-PÁLA, the first *Cháhamána* (or him who was fostered, or reared by fire), we have a long list, to MÁNIKYA RÁYA,* the sovereign of *Sámbar*, or *Sácambhari*, and of *Ajamér*, to whom is allotted the period of S. 740, or A.D. 695. Between AGNI-PÁLA and MÁNIKYA RÁYA, we have a CHANDRAGUPTA, who would certainly answer much better, as far as locality, for the ally of SELEUCUS, than the monarch of *Ráj-gríha*, in Bengal. I have an inscription also of a CHANDRAGUPTA, stiled *Avanti-Nát'h*, or lord of *Ujjayan*, in a very ancient character, and given to me by one of the *Jain* hierarchs, bearing date 427, but whether of the *Virdta* or *Vicramáditya Samvat*, I can but surmise. With this exception, there is but one other name in the list, from AGNI-PÁLA to MÁNIKYA RÁYA, of whose actions history has kept any record. This one is AJAYA-PÁLA, the reputed founder of *Ajamér*, or the hill of *Aja*, which interpreted, is a goat,† not the hill of *Ajaya*, victory, as its general acceptance would induce to believe. It is even said, that AJAYA-PÁLA was posterior to MÁNIKYA RÁYA, in whose time this celebrated fortress is called in their poetical legends, *Garh-Bítli*.

MÁNIKYA RÁYA appears to have been one of the first who suffered, when, to use an Oriental metaphor, “the star of Islam first shone on the plains of Hind.” Tradition has handed down a very bare outline of the event; and this by the bard, always more solicitous to amuse and surprise, than to instruct: but we have no other guide. He is our sole historian; and we are compelled to follow wherever he leads, though it is unnecessary to repeat all which he says. But even where reason is sacrificed to rhyme, we may be allowed sparingly to glean. This, the first invasion of India, is to be traced, at the same time, in the annals of *Meywdr*, at the period to which I have already alluded. Upon this invasion, *Garh-Bítli* was captured from the *Chóhans*. On this occasion LÓT, the infant heir of MÁNIKYA RÁYA, was slain by an arrow, while playing on the battlements; and ever since, LÓT PUTRA has been worshipped amongst the penates of the *Chóhans*: and,

* Generally written MA'NICCA RA'í. *Mánicya*, in Sanscrit, is a ruby.—H.T. C.

† *Aja*, goat; and *mér*, hill.—J.T.

Aja is in Sanscrit a goat; and *méru*, the sacred and central mountain at, or towards, the north pole, called *Suméru*. *Jaya*, signifies victory; and *ajaya*, invincible.—H. T. C.

as he wore a silver anklet at the time, when Hinduism received its first stab, the ornament is forbidden to all *Chóhán* children. The anecdote is in itself puerile, certainly ; but to see the fact pursued through so many ages, marks strongly the impression which remained of a great event in their particular history, as well as in that of the nation at large.

Sámbhari was the earliest possession of the *Chóháns*. The town stands not far from the celebrated salt lake of the same name, and which supplies a great part of India with salt, and forms a considerable branch of the revenue accruing to the prince in whose territory it lies. *PRĪTHWÍRÁJA* is called by *CHAND* to the very last, though enjoying the imperial sovereignty, the Prince of *Sámbhari*, "*Sámbhari-Ráo*."

Thirty years ago, when the knowledge of Indian antiquities was first disclosed by Sir William Jones, this distinguished character obtained inscriptions from the celebrated pillar, called *Fíróz Láth*, in one of this monarch's palaces at Delhi ; and laid a translation of it before the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was of *PRĪTHWÍRÁJA*, and dated only six years posterior to that on which I have been commenting. At this period he (*PRĪTHWÍRÁJA*) was in the very zenith of his power. Major Wilford also made comments on it, but not in a manner to elucidate the subject : indeed, the reverse ; for, taking *Sácambharí* to be the *Cambher*, or *Cambhernere* of *Mewar*, he transferred the actions of the *Cháhamánas* to a distinct race. Mr. Colebrooke, our Director, gave the most correct version ; justly pronouncing *Sácambharí* to be *Sámbhar*. This pillar is mentioned by the bard *CHAND*, in his works, as the *Jai-Khambha* (*Jaya-stambha*), or pillar of victory. But the many very ancient, and still undecyphered characters upon it, give the original erection of the pillar a very remote antiquity. It would be of the highest consequence could they be decyphered ; they might, perhaps, have reference to the *Yádava* power, which possessed universal sovereignty, and whose capital cities were placed on the great rivers of India ; and I discovered a rock, near *Jonagarh Girindr* (another great seat of this race), covered with the same characters ; likewise a triumphal pillar, in a lake in *Meywár*.

There is another pillar, now prostrate, and in detached masses, with the same characters inscribed on it, to the N. W. side of the city of Delhi ; and one on the site of the ancient Hindu fortress of *Hísár*, but without any

* See Asiatic Researches, Vol. I. 379. 7—175 and 511. 9—188 and 445.

characters. Twenty years have elapsed since the march of events conducted British authority to Delhi ; but nothing has been done to protect these prostrate monuments from further injury.

Sácambhart-Bhaváni is the guardian goddess of the whole *Rájaput* race, yet more especially claimed by the *Cháhamánas*, though *A'sa-purná* is their immediate patroness ; and a most enchanting one to have, " Hope herself."

Sácambhart-Dévi had her statue erected on a small island on the *Sar*, or salt lake, to which she gives her name, contracted to *Sámbar*.

The derivation of the term, as I was led to believe, when the subject first engaged my attention, is, "the Mother of Verdure," from *sáca*, vegetable. But she had chosen too unpropitious a spot to admit its correctness ; for the waters of this lake are deadly, as those of Asphaltites, to vegetable life. A more correct etymology is to be had, and which explains the title of this goddess to the general admiration of the *Rájaput* nation. *Sácambhari* is the universal mother of the *Sacæ* (*Sácám*), a term in classical use amongst the *Cshatriya* races of the northwest of India, meaning distinctively the races. *Sác'há* is a ramification, or branch :* I am a *Sác'há-band* *Rájput*, says the *Cshatriya* of *Rájast'hán* ; that is, one who can trace the affiliation or pedigree of his race. May we not consider the *Sacæ* of Alexander to have the same signification ?

The *Cháhamána* is right in considering *Sácambhari* as deserving more of his adoration than the more benign divinity, Hope ; for no race of the sons of Adam is less indebted to *A'sa-purná*† for "the fulfilment of their wishes," than these her votaries. A sketch of the reverses of the various *Sacæ* of this widely-extended name, would form a history ; for their misfortunes were conspicuous, as their renown was splendid. No other of the martial races of India can fill more pages of its heroic history with deeds in arms. They still live in the songs of the bard, and furnish most interesting materials to the itinerant minstrel, the *Dholi*, the Jongleur of India, who to the sound of his *rhubab*, chants the exploits of GOGA, who, with fifty sons and nephews, and all his clan, fell on the banks of the Indus, opposing MAHMÚD ; or those of the romantic HAMMÍR, the theme of eternal plaudits,

* To this etymology it may be objected, that *Sác'há*, a branch, is written with an aspirated guttural consonant ; and *Sáca*, in *Sácambhari*, without aspiration.—H.T.C.

† "The fulfiller of desire."

whenever the *Rájput* instances the sacrifices, which the rights of sanctuary and hospitality demand.

HAMMÍR CHÁHAMÁNA, Prince of *Rin-tham-bhór*,* gave asylum to a noble of the great ALLÁ-UDDÍN, when disgraced by his sovereign. This sovereign, who assumed the name of SIKANDER SÁNÍ, or Second Alexander, and who scarcely yielded to him in the rapidity of his conquests, called on HAMMÍR to surrender his suppliant, to whom he thus gives assurance of protection: "The sun will rise in the west—the sandal-tree be changed into the thorny *Thúr*—the streams will cease to flow—*Suméru* become level with the earth—the pledge of PARASU-RÁMA a bye-word, ere HAMMÍR fails in his faith. The walls of *Rin-tham-bhór* shall fall, and my head be crushed in their ruin; but, till these things occur, security is thine."

There are two works, very popular in the poetry of the Hindus, relative to the deeds of this prince—not the HAMMÍR of our Inscription, as he lived a century earlier. These are the *Hammír-Rása*, and the *Kárya*; the last is the most esteemed performance, and was composed by the grandson of CHAND, the friend and poet-laureate of PRAT'HIRÁJ. HAMMÍR did fall in defending his guest; on which occasion the grand sacrifice of the *Jóhará*† was performed, when all the females were immolated, and the males rushed on the destruction which they could not avert.

ALLA-UD-DÍN was the angel of destruction to every tribe in India, but especially to the race of *Chóháns*. During the twenty years (from A. D. 1295 to 1316) he swayed with most absolute power the sceptre, he almost extirpated these, the bravest of his foes: *Jálór*, *Sewána*, *Nadól*, *Asér*, *Déögir*, *Pawagarh*, *Gógraun*, all independent *Chóhán* principalities, and though last not least, *Rin-tham-bhór*; each fell, and in turn was sacked by ALLA.

He was detained, upwards of a year, before the last, from the great difficulty of approach; and it is considered still, in this point, the most inaccessible of the Indian fortresses, being situated in the middle of several ranges. In FERISHTA's account of the siege, he mentions the death of one of ALLA's generals by a stone thrown by a Balista (from the walls), which he terms *Munjdánika*.

* Sometimes written *Ran-t'hamb-bháwer*, which is nearer to the Sanscrit *Ran'a-st'hamba-bhṛa-mara*, the bee of the pillar of war.—H.T.C.

† Most commonly a grand funeral pyre, in which the whole are consumed.

When captured at length, and the prince slain, the unfortunate Moghul chief, MUHAMMED, was brought wounded before ALLA. The King tauntingly asking how he would shew his gratitude, if he caused his wounds to be cured, was answered, in a spirit that showed how worthy he was of the protection which he had received, and which ended so fatally to his friend, "I would put you to death, and make the son of HAMMÍR my sovereign."

In 1808 my travels led me by this famed place. I reached the gate of *Mádhópúr*, the fortified city in the mountains, through which a road leads to the fort, but was denied entrance. I marched, through a narrow valley, sixteen miles, between high perpendicular rocks, its breadth seldom, to my recollection, one hundred yards, and which merely brought me to another gate of *Mádhópúr*, three miles opposite the former. At the foot I ascended a rock, from which I was told I should have a view of the walls of the fortress, but was disappointed, and with difficulty descended. I then marched about eight miles to the westward of the hills, and had a slight view of merely the tops of the edifices of *Rinthambhór*, which now belongs to *Jayapúr*.

In the most remote parts of India I have found traces of ALLA ; and one inscription in Sanscrit, apparently set up at his command. He was one of the greatest of the sovereigns India ever had. He reduced every part of *Hindust'hán* ; and while he was constantly engaged in repelling irruptions of the Moghuls, he cultivated, at the same time, the arts of peace. FERISHTA gives an outline of his administration of government, which was then consulted as the *Kanún Alláhi*.

There are metrical legends of the wars of ALLA with all those principalities ; but this paper is already too prolonged to touch even on these. The *Haras*, the *Khichís* of central India, possess all the bravery of the *Chóhán* race, of which they are conspicuous branches ; and HAMMÍR, mentioned in our Inscription, as having, conjointly with KILHAN, overcome the foe of PRÍTHWÍRÁJA, was the great forefather of the *Hara* race, and is mentioned as such in their domestic annals, as well as in the works of CHAND. There are twenty-four ramifications (*sác'hás*), *sacæ*, or tribes of the *Chóhán* race, but several of them are now extinct, and others but little known ; I possess, however, several memorials of them.

Those brilliant periods in their history, when petty isolated chieftains defied for a time the efforts of the Empire, are recorded, some of them in poems of merit, and are never-ending themes to the erratic scald of

Rājwāḍī, though it requires some patience and enthusiasm to listen to the tale, and, from the Doric dialects, transfer any thing like the spirit of the originals into an European dress. I shall presume to embody a few passages from CHAND, which may be listened to from feelings of curiosity, and as belonging to the subject of our Inscription, PRĪTHWĪRĀJA.

VISALA DÉVA, whose name appears on the pillar at Delhi, was his great grandfather, and lived at a most momentous period in Hindu history, when MAHMÚD of *Ghizni*, with his legions from the north, carried his desolating visitations into the most remote part of India. The *Chāhamāna* annals record victories gained by VISALA DÉVA over these his foes; in one of which he lost his life. FERISHTA tells us of the failure of MAHMÚD in his attack on the citadel of *Ajamér*, in his route to *Sómanát'h*. It may have been on some one of these occasions, that an addition was made to the various inscriptions on the pillar of Delhi, as a memorial of his having delivered *Aryavarta* from the barbarian. SÁRNGADÉVA succeeded him, but he appears to have been driven from *Ajamér*. SÓMÉSA, his son, was the father of PRĪTHWĪRĀJA, who was the first and last of the *Chāhamāna* race that enjoyed the sovereignty of Delhi. His ancestors, however powerful, appear to have become tributary, if not vassals, to the imperial dynasty of the *Tuārs*. This (the *Tuār*) dynasty, descending from the ancient *Pándavas* of the *Mahābhārata*, still enjoyed supreme power. SÓMÉSA *Chāhamāna*, and VIJAYA PÁL (*Rhatore*) Prince of *Canouj* (*Canyacubja*, *Canarwajja*), had each married a daughter of ANANGA-PÁL, the *Tomāra* sovereign, but had no male issue. SÓMÉSA had supported the imperial throne, when shook by rebellion, headed by the chief of *Canouj*. This service, and the circumstance of his having married the favourite daughter, obtained for her son, PRĪTHWĪRĀJA, adoption to the *Tuār* family, and nomination to the succession, during ANANGA-PÁL's life: and at this court he was brought up from infancy, while his father enjoyed his independent sovereignty; and continued to do so after his son's accession, who, at length, united both crowns. This is not the first instance, of what I may (to borrow an appropriate term) call the Salique law of India, being set aside; but the instances are rare. I at present recollect but two which are conspicuous: one was the succession of the *Sólankí* successor to the *Chaora* dynasty of *Nehrwāla-Pattan*; the other was the *Chóhán* heir to the *Sólankí*, in the same family. The female is never the medium of the transmission of honours amongst these martial races, though they pay her high deference and respect on all occasions.

*Sálá** means sister's husband, in these regions. Whether the Franks, or Frisians, had as good a foundation for using the word, which denotes exclusion of female succession, might be doubted. The old German tribes had much in their mythology, manners, and institutions, analogous to these Sacæ of India.

Delhi had ceased to be an imperial residence, from the period of SANC'HADWAJA of *Kemaon*, expelled by VICRAMADITYA, until the middle of the eighth century, when a remnant of the old *Pándava* line once more obtained this ancient seat of power; and a dynasty of twenty-one princes filled the throne, until ANANGA-PÁL adopted his grand-child, the subject of our inscription.

SÓMÉSÁ, during his son's minority, gained many victories over his foes; but was at length slain by the Prince of *Guzzerat*, which entailed the feud on PRĪTHWÍRÁJA, ending in the death of his opponent, and in the annexation of several of his provinces to the empire.

The history of this feud forms one of the most interesting of all the sixty-nine books of the works of CHAND: each book is the subject of some great event in his sovereign's reign, to the last fatal battle, fought on the plains of the *Kaggar*.

It would occupy too much time, to give even an outline of the history of PRĪTHWÍRÁJA, following the guidance of this poem. It forms an useful history of the period, and contains much of geographical description. In this, every noble family of India can trace some of his ancestry, amidst the foes or warriors of PRĪTHWÍRÁJA: it becomes accordingly the grand volume of faith and knowledge, in every *Rájput's* hands; for he amongst them, who cannot quote CHAND on occasion, must be a dolt. The poem is the authority for every action of his life; and from which he may glean passages applicable to every transaction. The bard, in his introduction, gives the reader to understand and expect this. Grammar, the rules of composition, languages, religion, he promises a little of every thing.

That sort of *mauvaise honte*, which might prevent the modern bard from lauding his own skill, seems not to have been known to the scalds of old, whether of India, or their brethren of Scandinavia: and CHAND attributes as supernatural, an effect to the power of his verses, as did the scald with his runics. "I have a song (says one of these) of such virtue, that, were "I caught in a storm, I can hush the winds, and render the air calm:"

* From the Sanscrit *Syála*.

which is beautifully embodied by Gray (in his bards) from the Edda. So CHAND says, "My poem shall be a sea; and my verses, like waves, shall course each other. It shall be an ocean, that I may enjoy the bliss of knowledge. Whoever reads it, will find it to be as a vessel to cross him over the difficulties of life. Its meaning lies not deeply concealed, nor yet altogether displayed, but as water whose transparency is hid by the sea-weed. My words I shall cull and place therein; but they shall be as the necklace in the breast of bashful beauty, veiled to the sight." But we need not follow the strain of hyperbole of the poet, in lauding himself. He sometimes runs quite riot in the exuberance of his genius; and I recollect on one occasion, when almost raving, he checks himself, and asks in a very ingenuous manner, "but surely the bard has got intoxicated with his own verses." CHAND also lays claim to prophetic powers: hence his title of *Tri-cála*.*

The actions of PRĪTHWÍRÁJA and his heroes, afford fine themes for the bard; for, in peace, this monarch was never idle, and always engaged in some pursuit which led to war: and in those days, when the princesses of India chose their own lords, there were abundant opportunities. The eratic bards made him the general theme of their songs; and his personal appearance and actions, were sounded at every court in India, and he became the beau ideal of every princess of the time. CHAND has embodied, or composed for her, the stanzas sent by the Princess of (*Canawajja*). *Canouj*, inviting him to come and bear her away from the princes assembled as suitors for her hand; and, in the true spirit of chivalry, he went and bore her off in open day, from her father's court, in the face of the whole of his rivals: but it caused ultimately his own destruction, and that of the monarch of *Canawajja*, though, as CHAND says, "it gained him immortality in the song of the bard." At least five of his grand battles arose from similar daring acts. He married none of his many wives, whom he did not win by the sword. It was enough to hear of beauty being betrothed, to hazard every danger; and this barbaric chivalry obtained him abundance of support. These daring adventures gave him so much celebrity, that every young and valorous *Rájput* enrolled himself under the banners of PRĪTHWÍRÁJA. He had one hundred and eight great leaders, or *Sámants*, some of whom were independent, and many tributary princes.

* As. Res. ix. 77.

Their names, their pedigrees, and their actions, are all touched on occasionally ; nor is there a high family of *Rájwára*, who cannot point out his ancestors in these volumes. The *Rájput* of the present day, or at least he who has not mixed much with the faithful, has lost none of the feelings of admiration for these actions. When this is the case, it is no longer a question if he could imitate them.

Six invasions by SHAHÁBUDDÍN occurred ere he succeeded. He had been often defeated, and twice taken prisoner, by the Hindu sovereign of Delhi, who, with all the lofty and blind arrogance of the *Rájput* character, set him at liberty. CHAND records the terms of release, and the treaties concluded. But PRĪTHWÍRÁJA lost the chief of his warriors in the plains of *Canawajja*. Sixty-four of the hundred and eight *Sámants* were left dead, in different stages of a succession of battles, which continued from the scene of *enlèvement* to his own frontier. Each chief had the select of his clan : for he carried her off in disguise, entering the court of her father, and witnessing all the nuptial preparations in the halls of *Canawajja*, as the attendant of his bard CHAND. PRĪTHWÍRÁJA, on his return, became a slave to the fair, and neglected his government. SHAHÁBUDDÍN invaded him unprepared, and had reached the plains of the *Penjáb*, ere he would rouse himself from his voluptuous sloth ; and the *Sultan* might have approached his capital, but for his brother-in-law, SAMARASÍ of *Chitór*, who came to his aid, and gave up his life, and thirteen thousand of his kin and clan, in his defence. The last general battle was fought on the *Kaggar* river. The inferior forces of PRĪTHWÍRÁJA, after three days' incessant fighting, were cut to pieces, he himself made prisoner, and carried to *Ghizni*. Thither the bard, like Blondel in pursuit of Richard, followed his royal master, but it was to die with him. He tells us, that they tried to prevent his finding his sovereign ; but " the music of his tongue overcame the resolves of the guardian of the prison." But ere he enters, he very artfully introduces the royal captive, deprived of sight by the ferocious *Patán*, lamenting, in a fair strain of soliloquy, the fickleness of fortune, at the same time combining a rapid review of his own follies, which produced this reverse. The subject is good, and is magnificent in the original ; nor can the sternest *Rájput* hear it without emotion, for the *Chóhán* sovereign is his model : and indeed the last book, as it records only misfortunes, he is not fond of reading. PRĪTHWÍRÁJA and the bard perished by their own hands, after causing the death of SHAHÁBUDDÍN.

The *Rājput* princes of India have been, and still are, frequently poets themselves; resembling many of the princes of Europe about the same period, many of whom were no mean Troubadours. Cœur de Lion, who, with Blondel, bears some resemblance to the “*Long-armed Chóhán*”^{*} and his faithful CHAND, was no bad poet. PRATÁP SINH, Raja of *Bakanair*, was esteemed the first of the non-professional bards of his time. The great AKBER himself, partial to the Hindus and to their literature, was no mean artist in these matters; nor are there any who do not repeat, and few chiefs of intellect who do not compose, as occasion requires, *ślócas* or stanzas. The present prince of *Meywár* has them ready for every occasion, and often makes and delivers very happy impromptus.

But it is not in these points alone, that similarity of character exists between the *Rājput* and the rude noble of the dark ages of Europe. The feudal law, which guided both, may be still traced; and several of its chief incidents, except such as disagree with their notions of delicacy, may still be found. But it is time to close these remarks, or I might venture to surmise, that the colony led by Odin into Scandinavia, termed the *Así*, carried the superstitions, laws, and mythology of higher Asia with it. He, who will compare the heroic poetry of the martial *Rājputs* with the Scandinavian poetical relics, will observe the same imagery, a similar peopling of the celestial regions, the same incitements to glory, and similar rewards. *Odin's Valhalla* is not altogether so spiritual an abode as the *Súralóka*, or Hindu hero's heaven; nor is the Scandian Hebe, who pours out the mead, so enchanting as the beauteous *Apsaras*, *Rembhá*, and *Mainaká*, though the *Cshatriya* would scarcely refuse the cup he prized so much on earth, from so fair a hand.

The martial *Rājput* would hunt the boar with him on earth, but his system is too refined to have such gross food in heaven. *Serimner*, who afforded perpetual repast to *Odin's* heroes, would have as little chance of admission into *Súralóka*, as into the paradise of MUHAMMED. The *Valkyriur*, or Destinies, sent by *Odin* to summon the heroes to *Valhalla*, are the twin sisters of the celestial *Apsaras*, who summon the warrior of *Hind* from the field of battle to the mansions of the sun. The Scandian messenger of heaven has more of the attributes of Pallas; the other, more of Venus.

* A necessary sign and qualification of a true hero must be long arms, according to the Hindu ordinances.

She comes in a blaze of beauty, breathing perfumes, and covered with garlands of flowers, which she throws over, and weds, the hero of her choice, and carries him off in her embrace. The fatal sister of Scania, like the daughter of Jove, descends armed *cap-à-pied*. She is beautifully delineated by Herbert, in one of the most harmonious poems in our language, *Helga*.

Hialmar, relating to Orvarod his presentiments of approaching death in battle, says :

“ I see the stern Valkyriur nigh,
 “ All arm'd, and pointing to the sky :
 “ Virgins of fate, that chuse the slain,
 “ They bid me hence to Odin's train.”*

and the apotheosis, thus :

“ From the frail trunk of mortal clay
 “ His spirit soars to brighter day ;
 “ And these resplendent Maids of war,
 “ Through misty regions of mid air,
 “ Where fleeting motions gleam and die,
 “ Guide him to where, with fixed eye,
 “ Odin,” &c.

Odin's heroes, even in heaven, do not quit their terrestrial pursuits. They eat of the boar, quaff the mead, and bluster, and riot, as they did on earth.

The bard CHAND makes his choosers of the slain to descend with great grace and fascination; and, though their agency is tangibly corporeal, and suitable to the notions of a race of warlike mortals, yet, as the warrior ascends in the celestial cars above mortality, he casts off its grossness; and in proportion to his having lived well, and died nobly, does he approach divinity. They have even grades of celestial felicity; and though CHAND has not actually given us a topographical account of the different heroes' heavens, yet we see the gradation from *Vaicunt'ha*, the paradise of India, which more accords with *Valhalla*, to the abode of the sun, the highest. Indeed, without any great straining of etymology, we might give a Sanscrit derivation of *Odin's* heaven.†

* *Helga*, canto vi.

† *Vala*, or *Bal*, is strength, whence the common term in CHAND for a powerful warrior. *Bala*

or

In *Vaicut'ha*, choristers chaunt his praise; the *Apsaras* dance before him; and he eats from the fabulous *Calpa-vrīcsha*, which is in eternal fruition: nor is *INDRA's* heaven free from strife and battle. This is a more refined abode, perhaps, altogether, than *Odin's Valhalla*: who however has another of a more exalted order, *Gimle*, which is eternal, the other not.

The *Rájput* ascends from that, the most sensual, just described, to the most ethereal, *Bhámulóca*, the mansion of the sun, reserved for those, who, to use the poet's words, "spurned life as a vain dream, and, through the "wave of battle, performed the pilgrimage of the sword."

In illustration of *CHAND's* mode of translating his heroes to heaven, I will give in his own words, as near as my very imperfect version will allow, the death of *SULAKHA*.

It is in the twenty-seventh book, called the Battle of the *Rávé*, because fought on that stream, between *PRĪTHWÍRÁJA* and the King of *Ghizni*.

"The brother of *JAIT* lay slain in the field, *SULAKHA*, the seed of *Lakhan*.
"Where he fell, *MAHÁMÁYÁ* herself descended and mingled in the fight,
"uttering horrid shrieks. Innumerable vultures took flight from the field.
"In her talons she bore the head of *SULAKHA*: but the *Apsaras* descended
"to seize it from the unclean. Her heart desired, but she obtained it not!
"Where did it go? For *SULAKHA* will have no second birth. It caused
"amazement to the gods, for he entered none of their abodes. He was
"not seen in *YAMA's* realm; nor in the heaven of *SIVA*; nor in that of the
"Moon; nor in *Brahma-pura*; nor in the abode of *VISHNU*. Where, then,
"had he gone? To the realm of the Sun!

"The *Apsaras* in vain searched each part of the field. *REMBHÁ* asked
" *MAINAKÁ*, 'Why thus sad to-day?' 'This day,' said she, 'I expected
"guests. I descended in my chariot. The field have I searched, but he,
"whom my soul desires, is not to be found: therefore am I sad! Chiefs,
"mighty warriors, strew the ground, who conquered victory at every step!
"My feet are weary in tracing the paths in which fell the brave; but him
"whom I seek, I cannot find.' 'Listen, oh sister,' said *REMBHÁ*, 'He
"who never bowed the head to a foe, will not be found in this field. To
"convey hence the pure flame, the chariot of the planets descended. He
"even avoided the heaven of *BRAMHÁ* and of *SIVA*; his frame has gone to

or *Vala*, *Sala* or *Hala*, for the initial letters are permutable, is a hall, or abode; thus *Valhalla*, the heroes' abode.

“ be united to the Sun, to be worshipped by *INDRÁÑÍ*. On earth he will know no second birth.’ ”

This was one of the occasions when the sultan was made prisoner. The battle was long and bloody, and many chiefs of the Hindus fell that day. The poet brings the whole of the persons of the drama forward on this occasion, celestial and terrestrial.

He talks of the “ crescent array ” of the *Chóhás* ; and names the commanders of the wings and main body : while the sultan moved in five deep columns.

“ As he beheld the red colour of the blood-stained field, *BHAIRAVA* (the God of War) danced to the cymbal, beat by the fifty-two of his train. Above, *NÁREDA* sounds his lyre. The heavenly *Apsaras* sing. The *Dévatás* dance with delight at the deeds of the men below. Such the feats of the heroes of *Gór* and *Sámbari's* Lord. Their uplifted swords, swimming in the air, form halos. Mighty chiefs lie on the field ; their bodies floating in the wave of the steel.”

In raising the mansion of the Sun above the other abodes, we have some additional reason for surmising a Scythian origin to the *Rájput* race. Absorption in the solar orb, the great God of the Scythians, was the supreme wish. Their general rites, also, have a strong analogy to those, as well as of *Odin's* sons. Herodotus informs us, that the wives, arms, and horses of the Scythian or Gete warrior, were a sacrifice with him, that he might enjoy them in the next world. The same description will nearly answer for the funeral rites of the three countries. Those of the Prince of *Udeyapur* might have been worked into Gibbon's animated description of Alaric's funeral, or might have supplied Mr. Herbert with his description of the bier of Hialmar.

It was in 1818 this prince's obsequies were celebrated. He was carried to “ the place of great sacrifice,” on a travelling throne, on which he was seated, dressed and armed as when in the vigour of life ; the heron's plume adorned his turban, his shield on his shoulder, and brand in hand. On either side of the regal bier rode, on his chargers, richly caparisoned, his three young wives, and a favourite concubine, all under nineteen years of age ; their fine countenances, this their last day on earth, unveiled to the gaze of the multitude, who saw them, with sentiments of admiration, respect, and pity, about to offer themselves voluntary and expiatory sacrifices for their deceased lord, to enjoy his society in the regions above. The chiefs headed the procession, unarmed, and on foot.

Herbert's description of Hialmar's funeral, will suit exactly the young Prince of *Udeyapura*.

“ On a rich pall the chief is laid,
 “ Clad in bright steel, with helmed head,
 “ The iron gauntlet in his hand,
 “ And in its grasp the elfin brand ;
 “ He seems like living there to lie,
 “ Save the wan cheek and rayless eye.”

These remarks were unintentionally and incidentally brought in. Our *A'si-garh* reminded me of the *Asgard*, the first city which the *Asi*, under *Odin*, had ; and CHAND's mythology has long suggested the ideas of comparison, independent of many other fancies, which afford some proofs, tending to show a common Scythian origin of *Odin's* colony, and of some, at least, of the martial races of India. Our Saxon ancestry brought customs with them into Britain, which belong to the East. But after all, if these be only coincidences, it may not be uninteresting to remark the same train of mind in countries so widely different, as Scandinavia and the banks of the Indus.

But it is time to close these remarks. I will take the liberty of doing so in the words of the son and successor of CHAND, and with which the work closes, the sack of Delhi, and death of Prince RAINA-sí, the son of PRĪTHWÍ-RÁJA.

“ Glory to PRĪTHWÍRÁJA ! Renown to the *Chóhán* ! Renown to Prince
 “ RAINA-sí, who gave his head for the land, watered with his blood. Un-
 “ fading be the wreath of praise. He, whose wisdom is blind, cannot un-
 “ derstand this story. Should princes not reward you * in reading it,
 “ murmur not, HINGULÁJ † will reward you. To hear the renown of
 “ PRĪTHWÍRÁJA, the jackall would assume the part of the lion. To hear
 “ the renown of PRĪTHWÍRÁJA, the miser would unlock his stores. To
 “ hear the renown of PRĪTHWÍRÁJA, the dumb would shake his head in
 “ delight ; for its relation is a sea of virtues. The ignorant, on hearing it,
 “ will become stored with wisdom. In hearing it, the coward will become
 “ a hero. It is not the bard who says this, it is SARASWATÍ herself : for
 “ UMÁ ‡ delights to hear it ; and the lord of the lyre § dwells in its praise.

* Addressed to his brother, and future bards.

† The patroness of bards.

‡ One of the many names of DURGA'.

§ NA REDA.

“ The ills of life it can remove ; it will remove even your foe. It can
 “ bestow offspring and riches ; and, though death it cannot remove, it can
 “ cause it to be envied.”

*Substance of an Inscription in Sanscrit on a Stone, from the Ruins of the
 Palace of PRĪTHWÍRÁJA, at A'sí (vulgarly Hānst).*

After salutation to DÉVÍ, and an invocation [comprised in one stanza] to MURÁVI, or CRĪSHŃA, it recites, that “ PRĪTHWÍRÁJA, sprung of the race of *Chāhamāna*, was sovereign of the earth (*Mahī-pati*). The brother of his mother was KILHAŃA, of the *Grahilóte* race, a glorious warrior, skilful in archery, and replete with good qualities (profundity, liberality, and beauteousness) as the ocean with gems.

“ Considering the valiant HAMMÍRA to be, as it were, the pivot of the whole earth, the prince [a string of epithets in the king's praise], pleased with his various good qualities, bestowed on him the strong fortress of *A'sí*.

“ In that fortress is a gateway of noble architecture, constructed by KILHAŃA; and, corresponding with it, two extensive apartments; and eastward of it two halls: the victorious treasury of the foe's wealth, and his own abode.”

The inscription proceeds, through six more stanzas, to laud PRĪTHWÍRÁJA, KILHAŃA, and HAMMÍRA, in a strain of hyperbole, in the course of which there is mention of the D'ÓDÁ race; and it concludes with the date *Samvat* 1224, *Mágha*, light-half, 7th.