

(Saurâshtra) community were arrested by the governor of Madura for performing the Brahmanical ceremony of *upâkarma*, or renewal of the sacred thread. The queen convened a meeting of those learned in the *Śâstras* to investigate the Patnûlkarans' right to perform such ceremonies. This declared in favour of the defendants; and the queen gave them a palm leaf award accordingly, which is still preserved in Madura.¹ From this time onward the caste followed "many of the customs of the southern Brahmans regarding food, dress, forms of worship and names, and has recently taken to the adoption of Brahmanical titles, such as Aiyar, Âcharya and Bhâgavatar.² Similar acts of state interference or arbitration made the conflicts between the various communities less serious than they would otherwise be, and before long the close proximity of the conquerors and the conquered, the services of the former in exploiting the country and increasing its resources, the growth of mutual acquaintance, the community of action and interest as against outsiders, and other causes contributed to greater cordiality among them; and the advent of the Badugas thus came to mean no other thing than an innocent complication of an already highly complex plethora of castes and tribes.

(To be continued.)

THE PAHARI LANGUAGE.¹

BY SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K. C. I. E.

The word '*Pahârî*' means 'of or belonging to the mountains,' and is specially applied to the groups of languages spoken in the sub-Himalayan hills extending from the Bhadrawâh, north of the Panjâb, to the eastern parts of Nepâl. To its North and East various Himalayan Tibeto-Burman languages are spoken. To its west there are Aryan languages connected with Kâshmirî and Western Pânjâbî, and to its south it has the Aryan languages of the Panjâb and the Gangetic plain, viz :—in order from West to East, Pânjâbî, Western Hindî, Eastern Hindî and Bihârî.

The Pahârî languages fall into three main groups. In the extreme East there is Khas-Kurâ or Eastern Pahârî, commonly called Naipâlî, the Aryan language spoken in Nepâl. Next, in Kumaon and Garhwâl, we have the Central Pahârî languages, Kumaunî and Garhwâlî. Finally in the West we have the Western Pâhârî languages spoken in Jaunsâr-Bâwar, the Simla Hill States, Kulu, Mandi and Suket, Chambâ, and Western Kashmîr.

As no census particulars are available for Nepâl we are unable to state how many speakers of Eastern Pahârî there are in its proper home. Many persons (especially Gôrkhâ soldiers) speaking the language reside in British India. In 1891 the number counted in British India was 24,262, but these figures are certainly incorrect. In 1901 the number was 143,721. Although the Survey is throughout based on the Census figures of 1891, an exception will be made in the case of Eastern Pahârî, and those for 1901 will be taken, as in this case they will more nearly represent the actual state of affairs at the time of the preceding census.

¹ *Madu. Gaz. I*, p. 111.

² *Madu. Gaz. I*, p. 111.

¹ This article is an advance issue of the Introduction to the volume of the *Linguistic Survey of India* dealing with the Pahârî Languages.

Central and Western Pahārī are both spoken entirely in tracts which were subject to the Census operations of 1891, and these figures may be taken as being very fairly correct. The figures for the number of Pahārī speakers in British India are therefore as follows :—

Eastern Pahārī (1901)	..	..	..	..	..	143,721
Central Pahārī (1891)	..	..	..	..	..	1,107,612
Western Pahārī (1891)	..	..	..	..	..	816,181
TOTAL						2,067,514

It must be borne in mind that these figures only refer to British India, and do not include the many speakers of Eastern Pahārī who inhabit Nepāl.

To these speakers of Western Pahārī must be added the language of the Gujurs who wander over the hills of Hazāra, Murree, Kashmīr, and Swat and its vicinity. Except in Kashmīr and Hazāra, these have never been counted. In Kashmīr, in the year 1901, the number of speakers of Gujurī was returned at 126,849 and in Hazāra, in 1891, at 83,167, and a mongrel form of the language, much mixed with Hindōstānī and Pañjābī is spoken by 226,949 Gujars of the submontane districts of the Panjāb, Gujrāt, Gurdāspur, Kāngra, and Hoshiārpur. To make a very rough guess we may therefore estimate the total number of Gujurī speakers at, say, 600,000, or put the total number of Pahārī speakers including Gujurī at about 2,670,000.

It is a remarkable fact that, although Pahārī has little connexion with the Pañjābī, Western and Eastern Hindī, and Bihārī spoken immediately to its south, it shows manifold traces of intimate relationship with the languages of Rājputāna. In order to explain this fact it is necessary to consider at some length the question of the population that speaks it. This naturally leads to the history of the Khasās and the Gurjaras of Sanskrit literature. The Sanskrit Khasa and Gurjara are represented in modern Indian tongues by the words Khas, and Gūjar, Gujar, or Gujur respectively. The mass of the Aryan-speaking population of the Himalayan tract in which Pahārī is spoken belongs, in the West, to the Kanēt and, in the East, to the Khas caste. We shall see that the Kanēts themselves are closely connected with the Khasās, and that one of their two sub-divisions bears that name. The other (the Rāo) sub-division, as we shall see below,² I believe to be of Gurjara descent.

Sanskrit literature contains frequent³ references to a tribe whose name is usually spelt Khasa (खस), with variants such as Khasa (खस), Khasha (खष), and Khasīra (खसीर).⁴ The earlier we trace notices regarding them, the further north-west we find them.

² See the continuation of this article in the next number.

³ Authorities on Kanēt and Khas :—Cunningham, Sir Alexander, —*Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. XIV, pp. 125 ff. Ibbetson, Sir Denzil, —*Outlines of Panjāb Ethnography* (Calcutta, 1883), p. 268. Atkinson, E. T. —*The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India*, Vol. II (forming Vol. XI of the Gazetteer, North-Western Provinces), Allahabad, 1884, pp. 268-70, 375-81, 439-42, etc., (see Index). Stein, Sir Aurel. —*Translation of the Rāja-Tarānginī*, London, 1900, Note to i, 317, II, 430, and elsewhere (see Index). Hodgson, B. H. —*Origin and Classification of the Military Tribes of Nepāl*. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* II (1833), pp. 217 ff. Reprinted on pp. 37 ff. of Part II of *Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepāl and Tibet* (London, 1874). Vansittart, E., —*The Tribes, Clans, and Castes of Nepāl*. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LXIII (1894), Part I, pp. 213 ff. Lèvi, Sylvain, —*Le Nepāl*, Paris, 1905. Vol. I., pp. 257, ff., 261-267, 276 ff.; Vol. II, pp. 216 ff., etc. (see Index.)

⁴ *E.g.* *Mahābhārata*, VI, 375:—*Daradāh Kāsmīrāh*, . . . *Khasīrāh*, Dards, Kāshmīrs, and Khasīras. Regarding the equation of the last named with Khasās, cf. Wilson, *Vishnu Purāṇa* II, 186.

Before citing the older authorities it may be well to recall a legend regarding a woman named Khasâ of which the most accessible version will be found in the *Vishnu Purâṇa*,⁵ but which also occurs in many other similar works. The famous Kaśyapa, to whom elsewhere is attributed the origin of the country of Kashmîr, had numerous wives. Of these Krôdhavaśâ was the ancestress of the cannibal Piśitâśis or Piśâchas and Khasâ of the Yakshas and Râkshasas. These Yakshas were also cannibals,⁶ and so were the Râkshasas.

In Buddhist literature the Yakshas correspond to the Piśâchas of Hindû legend.⁷ Another legend makes the Piśâchas the children of Kapiśâ, and there was an ancient town called Kâpiśâ at the southern foot of the Hindû Kush.⁸ That the Piśâchas were also said to be cannibals is well known, and the traditions about ancient cannibalism in the neighbourhood of the Hindû Kush have been described elsewhere by the present writer.⁹ Here we have a series of legends connecting the name Khasâ with cannibalism practised in the mountains in the extreme north-west of India, and to this we may add Pliny's remark¹⁰ about the same locality,—‘next the Attacori (Uttarakurus) are the nations of the Thuni and the Forcari; then come the Casiri (Khasîras), an Indian people who look towards the Scythians and feed on human flesh.’

Numerous passages in Sanskrit literature give further indications as to the locality of the Khasâs. The *Mahâbhârata*¹¹ gives a long account of the various rarities presented to Yudhishthira by the kings of the earth. Amongst them are those that rule over the nations that dwell near the river Sailôdâ where it flows between the mountains of Mëru and Mandara, i.e. in Western Tibet.¹² These are the Khasas . . . the Pâradas (? the people beyond the Indus), the Kulindas¹³ and the Taṅgaṇas.¹⁴ Especially interesting is it to note that the tribute these people brought was Tibetan gold-dust, the famous *pipîlika*, or ant-gold, recorded by Herodotus¹⁵ and many other classical writers, as being dug out of the earth by ants.

In another passage¹⁶ the Khasas are mentioned together with the Kâśmîras (Kâśhmîrîs), the inhabitants of Urasa (the modern Panjab district of Hazara), the Piśâchas, Kâmbôjas¹⁷

⁵ Wilson, II, 74 ff.

⁶ *Bhâgavata Purâṇa*, III, xix, 21. They wanted to eat Brahmâ himself!

⁷ So Kalhapa, *Râjatarāṅgīnī*, i. 184, equates Yaksha and Piśâcha. See note on the passage in Stein's translation.

⁸ Thomas in *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 461.

⁹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, pp. 285 ff.

¹⁰ XVI, 17; McCrindle,—*Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 113. Is it possible that ‘Thuni and Forcari’ represent ‘Hûṇa and Tukhâra’?

¹¹ II, 1822 ff.

¹² II, 1858. Cf. Pargiter. *Mârkandêya Purâṇa*, p. 351.

¹³ *Vide post.*

¹⁴ The *Táyyavoi* of Ptolemy. The most northern of all the tribes on the Ganges. They lived near Badrinâth. Here was the district of Taṅgaṇapura, mentioned in copper-plate grants preserved at the temple of Paṇḍukêśvara near Badrinâth (Atkinson, *op. cit.* p. 357).

¹⁵ III, 104.

¹⁶ VII, 399.

¹⁷ According to Yâska's *Nirukta* (II, i, 4), the Kâmbôjas did not speak pure Sanskrit, but a dialectic form of that language. As an example, he quotes the Kâmbôja *śavati*, he goes, a verb which is not used in Sanskrit. Now this verb *śavati*, although not Sanskrit, happens to be good Eranian, and occurs in the Avesta, with this meaning of ‘to go.’ We therefore from this one example learn that the Kâmbôjas of the

(a tribe of the Hindû Kush), the Daradas (or Dards) and the Śakas (Scythians), as being conquered by Kṛishṇa.

In another passage Duṣśāsana leads a forlorn hope consisting of Śakas,¹⁸ Kāmbôjas,¹⁸ Bâhlîkas (inhabitants of Balkh), Yavanas (Greeks), Pâradas,¹⁸ Kuliṅgas (a tribe on the banks of the Satlaj¹⁹), the Taṅgaṇas,¹⁸ Ambaśthas (of the (?) middle Panjâb, probably the Ambastai of Ptolemy),²⁰ Piśâchas, Barbarians, and mountaineers.²¹ Amongst them,²² armed with swords and pikes were Daradas,²³ Taṅgaṇas,²³ Khaśas, Lampâkas (now Kâfirs of the Hindû Kush),²⁴ and Pulindas²⁵.

We have already seen that the Khaśas were liable to the imputation of cannibalism. In another passage of the *Mahâbhârata*, where Karṇa describes the Bahîkas in the 8th book, they are again given a bad character.²⁶ Where the six rivers, the Satadru (Satlaj), Vipâśâ (Bias), Irâvatî (Ravi), Chandrabhâgâ (Chinab), Vitastâ (Jehlam), and the Sindhu (Indus) issue from the hills, is the region of the Âraṭṭas, a land whose religion has been destroyed.²⁷ There live the Bâhlîkas (the Outsiders) who never perform sacrifices and whose religion has been utterly destroyed. They eat any kind of food from filthy vessels, drink the milk of sheep, camels, and asses, and have many bastards. They are the offspring of two Piśâchas who lived in the river Vipâśâ (Bias). They are without the *Vêda* and without knowledge.

Hindû Kush spoke an Aryan language, which was closely connected with ancient Sanskrit, but was not pure Sanskrit, and which included in its vocabulary words belonging to Eranian languages. We may further note that Yâska does not consider the Kāmbôjas to be Aryans. He says this word is used in the language of the Kāmbôjas, while only its (according to his account) derivative, *śava*, a corpse, is used in the language of the Aryas.

Again in the same passage Yâska states that 'the northerners' use the word *dâtra* to mean 'a sickle'. Now we shall see that in Western Pahari and in the Piśâcha languages generally, *tr* continually becomes *ch* or *sh*. Thus the Sanskrit word *putra*, a son, becomes *puch* or *push* in Shina. We may expect a similar change to occur in regard to the word *dâtra*. This word actually occurs in Persian in the form *dâs*, but the only relation of it that has been noted in the Piśâcha dialects is the Kâshmîrî *drôt*, which is really the same word as *dâtra*, with metathesis of the *r*.

¹⁸ See above.

¹⁹ I. e., if they are the same as the Kalingas of *Mârk. P.*, LVII, 37.

²⁰ VII, 1, 66.

²¹ VII, 4818.

²² VII, 4848.

²³ See above.

²⁴ *Mârk. P.*, LVII, 40, and Pargiter's note thereon.

²⁵ There were two Pulindas, one in the south and another in the north. See Hall on Wilson, *Vishṇu P.*, Vol. II, p. 159.

²⁶ VIII, 2032 ff. A clan of the Bahîkas is the Jartikas (2034), who perhaps represent the modern Jatts. If they do, the passage is the oldest mention of the Jatts in Indian literature.

²⁷ Note that their religion has been destroyed. In other words they formerly followed Indo-Aryan rites, but had abandoned them. They are not represented as infidels *ab initio*. In this passage the Âraṭṭas are mentioned in verses 2056, 2061, 2064, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2081, 2100 and 2110. The name is usually interpreted as meaning 'a people without kings', but this is a doubtful explanation.

The Prasthalas,²⁸ the Madras,²⁹ the Gandhâras (a people of the north-west Panjâb, the classical Gandarii), the people named Âraṭṭas, the Khaśas, the Vasâtis, the Sindhus and Sauvîras (two tribes dwelling on the Indus), are almost as despicable.³⁰

In the supplement to the *Mahâbhârata*, known as the *Harivaṃśa*, we also find references to the Khaśas. Thus it is said³¹ that King Sagara conquered the whole earth, and a list is given of certain tribes. The first two are the Khaśas and the Tukhâras. The latter were Iranian inhabitants of Balkh and Badakhshan, the Tôkhârîstân of Musalmân writers.

In another place,³² the *Harivaṃśa* tells how an army of Greeks (Yavanas) attacked Kṛishṇa when he was at Mathurâ. In the army were Śakas (Scythians), Tukhâras,³³ Daradas (Dards), Pâradas,³³ Taṅgapaś,³³ Khaśas, Pahlavas (Parthians), and other barbarians (Mlêchchhas) of the Himâlâya.

Many references to the Khaśas occur in the *Purâṇas*. The most accessible are those in the *Vishṇu* and *Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇas*, which have translations with good indexes. I shall rely principally upon these, but shall also note a few others that I have collected.

The *Vishṇu Purâṇa*³⁴ tells the story of Khasâ, the wife of Kaśyapa, with her sons Yaksha and Râkshasa and her Piśâcha stepson already given. It also tells (IV, iii) the story of Sagara, but does not mention the Khaśas in this connexion, nor does the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa* in the corresponding passage (IX, viii). The *Vâyu Purâṇa*, on the other hand, in telling the story mentions the Khaśas, but coupling them with three other tribes. Of these three, one belongs to the north-west, and the other two to the south of India, so that we cannot glean from it anything decisive as to the locality of the Khaśas.

A remarkable passage in the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa* (II, iv, 18) gives a list of a number of outcast tribes, which have recovered salvation by adopting the religion of Kṛishṇa. The tribes belong to various parts of India, but the last four are the Âbhîras,³⁵ the Kaṅkas,³⁶ the Yavanas, and the Khaśas (v. l. Śakas). Here again we have the Khaśas mentioned among north-western folk.

Again in the story of Bharata, the same *Purâṇa* tells how that monarch conquered (IX, xx, 29) a number of the barbarian (Mlêchchha) kings, who had no Brâhmanas. These were the kings of the Kirâtas, Hûṇas, Yavanas, Andhras, Kaṅkas, Khaśas, and Śakas. The list is a mixed one, but the last three are grouped together and point to the north-west.

²⁸ Locality not identified.

²⁹ In the Panjâb, close to the Ambashṭhas (see above). Their capital was Śâkala, the Sagala of Ptolemy. In verse 2049 of the passage quoted, we have a song celebrating the luxury of Śâkala.—“When shall I next sing the songs of the Bâhikas in this Śâkala town, after having feasted on cow's flesh, and drunk strong wine? When shall I again, dressed in fine garments, in the company of fair-complexioned large sized women, eat much mutton, pork, beef, and the flesh of fowls, asses and camels? They who eat not mutton live in vain.” So do the inhabitants, drunk with wine, sing. “How can virtue be found among such a people?”

³⁰ At the time that the *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa* was written, the Bâhikas were not altogether outside the Aryan pale. It is there (I, vii, iii, 8) said that they worship Agni under the name of Bhava.

³¹ 784.

³² 6440.

³³ See above.

³⁴ I, xxi.

³⁵ On the Indus, the Abiria of Ptolemy.

³⁶ Kaṅkas have not been identified, but in the list of nations who brought presents to Yudhisṭhira already mentioned (*Mahâbhârata*, II, 1850) they are mentioned together with the Śakas, Tukhâras, and Rômas (? Romans), i. e. as coming from the north-west.

The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (LVII, 56) mentions the Khaśas as a mountain (probably Himalayan) tribe. In three other places (LVIII, 7, 12 and 51) they have apparently, with the Sakas and other tribes, penetrated to the north-east of India. This would appear to show that by the time of the composition of this work the Khaśas had already reached Nepāl and Darjeeling, where they are still a numerous body.³⁷

We may close this group of authorities by a reference to the *Laws of Manu*. Looking at the Khaśas from the Brahmanical point of view, he says (X, 22) that Khaśas are the offspring of outcast Kshatriyas, and again (X, 44), after mentioning some south Indian tribes he says that Kāmbōjas,³⁸ Yavanas,³⁸ Sakas,³⁸ Pāradas,³⁸ Pahlavas,³⁸ Chīnas,³⁹ Kirātas,⁴⁰ Daradas³⁸ and Khaśas are those who became outcast through having neglected their religious duties,⁴¹ and, whether they speak a barbarous (Mlēchchha) or Aryan language, are called Dasyus. Here again we see the Khaśas grouped with people of the north-west.

Two works belonging at latest to the 6th century A.D. next claim our attention. These are the *Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra* and the *Bṛīhat Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira. The former⁴² in the chapter on dialects says, 'The Bāhlikī language is the native tongue of Northerners and Khaśas.' Bāhlikī, as we have seen above, is the language then spoken in what is now Balkh.⁴³ Here again we have the Khaśas referred to the north-west.

Varāhamihira mentions Khaśas several times. Thus in one place (X, 12) he groups them with Kulūtas (people of Kulu), Taṅgaṇas (see note⁴⁴), and Kāśmīras (Kāshmiris). In his famous chapter on Geography, he mentions them twice. In one place (XIV, 6) he puts them in Eastern India, and in another (XIV, 30) he puts them in the north-east. The latter is a mistake, for the other countries named at the same time are certainly north-western.⁴⁴ The mistake is a curious and unexpected one, but is there nevertheless, and

³⁷ *Vide post.*

³⁸ See above.

³⁹ 'Usually translated 'Chinese,' but I would suggest that in this and similar passages, they are the great Shīr race, still surviving in Gilgit and the vicinity.

⁴⁰ At present mostly in Nepāl.

⁴¹ So Kullūka.

⁴² xvii, 52. *Bāhlikabhāṣhōdichyānāṁ Khasānām cha svadēśajā*: I am indebted to Dr. Konow for this reference.

⁴³ Lakshmīdhara, a comparatively late Prakrit Grammarian, says that the language of Bāhlika (Balkh), Kākaya (N. W. Panjāb), Nepāl, Gandhāra (the country round Peshāwar), and Bhōta (for Bhōṭa, i.e., Tibet), together with certain countries in South India is said by the ancients to have been Paisāchī. See Lassen, *Institutiones Linguae Pracriticae*, p. 13, and Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 27.

⁴⁴ The whole passage (29 and 30) runs as follows:—'In North-East, Mount Mēru, the Kingdom of those who have lost caste (*nashṭarājya*), the nomads (*paśupālas*,? worshippers of Paśupati), the Kīras (a tribe near Kashmīr, Stein, *Rāja Taraṅgīyā*, trans. II, 217) the Kāśmīras, the Abhisāras (of the lower hills between the Jehlam and the Chinab), Daradas (Dards) Taṅgaṇas, Kulūtas (Kulu), Sairindhras (not identified), Forest men, Brahmapuras (Bharmaur in Chamba), Darvas (close to Abhisāra), Dāmaras (apparently a Kashmīr tribe, Stein II, 304 ff.), Foresters, Kirātas, Chīnas (Shins of Gilgit, see note³⁹, or Chinese), Kaupindas (see below), Bhallas (not identified), Paṭōlas (not identified), Jaṭāsuras (? Jaṭts), Kunaṭas (see below), Khasas, Ghōshas and Kuchikas (not identified). It will be seen that every one of the above names which has been identified belongs to the North-West.

moreover Varāhamihira is not alone in this. Bhaṭṭotpala, in his commentary to the *Bṛīhatsaṃhitā*, quotes Parāśara as saying the same thing.⁴⁵

In the section dealing with those men who are technically known as 'swans,'⁴⁶ Varāhamihira says that they are a long-lived race ruling over the Khaśas, Sûrasênas (Eastern Punjab), Gāndhâra (Peshawar country), and the Gangetic Dôâb. This passage does not give much help.

Kalhaṇa's famous chronicle of Kashmîr, the *Rājataranginî*, written in the middle of the 12th century A.D., is full of references to the Khaśas, who were a veritable thorn in the side of the Kashmîr rulers. Sir Aurel Stein's translation of the work, with its excellent index, renders a detailed account of these allusions unnecessary. It will be sufficient to give Sir Aurel Stein's note to his translation of verse 317 of Book I. I have taken the liberty of altering the spelling of some of the words so as to agree with the system adopted for this survey :—

"It can be shown from a careful examination of all the passages that their (the Khaśas') seats were restricted to a comparatively limited region, which may be roughly described as comprising the valleys lying immediately to the south and west of the Pîr Pantsâl range, between the middle course of the Vitastâ (or Jehlam) on the west, and Kâshṭavâṭa (Kishtwâr) on the east.

"In numerous passages of the *Rājataranginî* we find the rulers of Râjapurî, the modern Rajaurî, described as 'lords of the Khaśas,' and their troops as Khaśas. Proceeding from Râjapurî to the east we have the valley of the Upper Âns River, now called *Panjgabbar* . . . as a habitation of Khaśas. Further to the east lies *Bânaśâla*, the modern *Bânahâl*, below the pass of the same name, where the pretender Bhikshâchâra sought refuge in the castle of the 'Khaśa-Lord' Bhagika . . . The passages viii, 177, 1,074 show that the whole of the valley leading from Bânahâl to the Chandrabhâgâ (Chenab), which is now called 'Bichhlâri' and which in the chronicle bears the name of *Vishalâṭṭâ*, was inhabited by Khaśas.

"Finally we have evidence of the latter's settlements in the Valley of Khaśâlaya . . . Khaśâlaya is certainly the Valley of Khaśâl (marked on the map as 'Kasher') which leads from the Marbal Pass on the south-east corner of Kashmîr down to Kishtwâr . . .

"Turning to the west of Râjapurî, we find a Khaśa from the territory of Parāṇṭsa or Prāntas mentioned in the person of Tuṅga, who rose from the position of a cowherd to be

Regarding the Kaupindas or Kuṇindas, it may be mentioned that Cunningham (*Rep. Arch. Surv. India*, XIV, 125) identified them with the Kanêts of the Simla Hill States, whose name he wrongly spells "Kunet." The change from 'Kuṇinda' to 'Kanêt' is violent and improbable, though not altogether impossible. It would be simpler to connect the Kanêts with Varāhamihira's Kunaṭas, but here again there are difficulties, for the *t* in 'Kanêt' is dental, not cerebral. Such changes are, however, not uncommon in the 'Piśâcha' languages.

⁴⁵ A similar but fuller list is also given in Varāhamihira's *Samâsasaṃhitâ*, in which the Khaśas are classed with Daradas, Abhisâras and Chînas.

⁴⁶ LXVIII, 26.

chosen Queen Diddâ's all-powerful minister. The Queen's own father, Simharâja, the ruler of Lohara or Loharin, is designated a Khaśa, . . . and his descendants, who after Diddâ occupied the Kashmîr throne, were looked upon as Khaśas.—That there were Khaśas also in the Vitastâ valley below Varâhamûla, is proved by the reference to Virânaka as 'a seat of Khaśas' Of this locality it has been shown . . . that it was situated in the ancient *Dwâravatî*, the present Dwârbidî, a portion of the Vitasta valley between Kathai and Muzaffarâbâd.

"The position here indicated makes it highly probable that the Khaśas are identical with the modern *Khakha* tribe, to which most of the petty hill-chiefs and gentry in the Vitastâ valley below Kashmîr belong. The name *Khakha* (Pahârî; in Kâshmîrî sing. *Khokhu*, plur. *Khakhi*) is the direct derivation of *Khaśa*, Sanskrit *ś* being pronounced since early times in the Panjâb and the neighbouring hill-tracts as *kh* or *h* (compare Kâshmîrî *h* < Sanscrit *ś*).

"The *Khakha* chiefs of the Vitastâ valley retained their semi-independent position until Sikh times, and, along with their neighbours of the Bomba clan, have ever proved troublesome neighbours for Kâshmîr."

We have already noted that another name for the Khaśas was Khaśîras. The name Kaśmîra (Kashmîr) is by popular tradition associated with the famous legendary saint Kaśyapa, but it has been suggested, with considerable reason, that Khaśa and Khaśîra are more probable etymologies. At the present day, the Kâshmîrî word for 'Kashmîr' is '*kashîr*,' a word which is strongly reminiscent of Khaśîra.⁴⁷

Turning now to see what information we can gain from classical writers, we may again refer to Pliny's mention of the cannibal Casiri, who, from the position assigned to them, must be the same as the Khaśîras. Atkinson in the work mentioned in the list of authorities gives an extract from Pliny's account of India (p. 354.) In this are mentioned the Cesi, a mountain race between the Indus and the Jamna, who are evidently the Khaśas. Atkinson (*l. c.*) quotes Ptolemy's Achaasia regio as indicating the same locality, and this word not impossibly also represents 'Khaśa'. Perhaps more certain identifications from Ptolemy are the Κάσιαι Mountains and the country of Κάσια.⁴⁸

In other places⁴⁹ he tells us that the land of the Ὀρτοροκόρροι (Uttarakurus) and the city of Ὀρτοροκόρρα lay along the Emodic and Seric mountains in the north, to the east of the

⁴⁷ The change of initial *kh* to *h* is not uncommon in Piśācha languages. Thus, the Sanskrit *khara*, an ass, is *kur* in Bashgalî Kâfir, and in Shipâ a language very closely connected with Kâshmîrî, the root of the verb meaning 'to eat' is *ka* not *khâ*.

⁴⁸ *Serica* VI, 15, 16, in Lassen *I.A.* I², 28.

⁴⁹ VI, 16, 2, 3, 5, 8; VIII, 24, 7, in Lassen *I.A.*, I², 1018.

Kasia mountains. The latter therefore represent either the Hindû Kush or the mountains of Kashgar in Central Asia.⁵⁰

To sum up the preceding information. We gather that according to the most ancient Indian authorities in the extreme north-west of India, on the Hindû Kush and the mountainous tracts to the south, and in the western Panjâb there was a group of tribes, one of which was called Khaśa, which were looked upon as Kshatriyas of Aryan origin. These spoke a language closely allied to Sanskrit, but with a vocabulary partly agreeing with that of the Eranian Avesta. They were considered to have lost their claim to consideration as Aryans, and to have become Mlêchhas, or barbarians, owing to their non-observance of the rules for eating and drinking observed by the Sanskritic peoples of India. These Khaśas were a warlike tribe, and were well known to classical writers, who noted, as their special home, the Indian Caucasus of Pliny. They had relations with Western Tibet, and carried the gold dust found in that country into India.

It is probable that they once occupied an important position in Central Asia, and that countries, places and rivers, such as Kashmîr. Kashgar in Central Asia, and the Kashgar of Chitral were named after them. They were closely connected with the group of tribes nicknamed 'Piśâchas' or 'cannibals' by Indian writers, and before the sixth century they were stated to speak the same language as the people of Balkh. At the same period they had apparently penetrated along the southern slope of the Himâlaya as far east as Nepâl, and in the twelfth century they certainly occupied in considerable force the hills to the south, south-west and south-east of Kashmîr.

At the present day their descendants, and tribes who claim descent from them, occupy a much wider area. The Khakhas of the Jehlam valley are Khaśas, and so are some of the Kanêts of the hill-country between Kângrâ and Garhwâl. The Kanêts are the low-caste cultivating class of all the Eastern Himâlaya of the Panjâb and the hills at their base as far west as Kulu, and of the eastern portion of the Kângrâ district, throughout which tract they form a very large proportion of the total population. The country they inhabit is held or governed by Hill Râjpûts of pre-historic ancestry, the greater part of whom are far too proud to cultivate with their own hands, and who employ the Kanêts as husbandmen. Like the ancient Khaśas, they claim to be of impure Râjpût (*i.e.* Kshatriya) birth. They are divided into two great tribes, the Khasiâ and the Râo, the distinction between whom is still sufficiently well-marked. A Khasiâ observes the period of impurity after the death of a relation prescribed for a twice-born man; the Râo that prescribed for an outcast. The Khasiâ wears the sacred thread, while the Râo does not.⁵¹ There can thus be no doubt about the Khasiâ Kanêts.

⁵⁰ According to Lassen, p. 1020, the *Kâria óρη* of Ptolemy are the mountains of Kashgar, *i.e.* 'Khaśa-gairi,' the mountain of the Khaśas. See, however, Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 50 ff. The same name re-appears in Chitral, south of the Hindû Kush, where the river Khônâr is also called the Khashgar. For further speculations on the subject the reader is referred to St. Martin, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. Sav. Étrang.* I série vi, i, pp. 264 ff., and to Atkinson (*op. cit.*), p. 377.

⁵¹ Ibbetson, *op. cit.*, § 487. Regarding the Râos, see the next instalment of this article.

Further to the east, in Garhwâl and Kumaon, the bulk of the population is called Khasiâ, and these people are universally admitted to be Khaśas by descent. In fact, as we shall see, the principal dialect of Kumaunî is known as Khasparjiyâ, or the speech of Khas cultivators. Further east, again, in Nepâl, the ruling caste is called Khas. In Nepâl, however, the tribe is much mixed. A great number of so-called Khas are really descended from the intercourse between the high-caste Aryan immigrants from the plains and the aboriginal Tibeto-Burman population. But that there is a leaven of pure Khaś descent also in the tribe is not denied.⁵²

In this way we see that the great mass of the Aryan-speaking population of the Lower Himâlâya from Kashmîr to Darjeeling is inhabited by tribes descended from the ancient Khaśas of the *Mahâbhârata*.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

THE TRADITIONAL DATES OF PARSI HISTORY.

PROF. S. H. Hodivala, M. A., of the Junagadh College has been lately devoting considerable attention to the early history of the Indian Parsis. and read on the 25th of October last, before the "Society for the Prosecution of Zoroastrian Researches" a paper on the "Traditional dates of Parsi History" of which the following is a summary.

The lecturer first pointed out that chronological statements about certain interesting events in the early annals of the Indian Parsis many are found noted down at random on the margins and flyleaves of many manuscripts, but that very few of them are properly authenticated, that some of them are nameless, and even where the name of the writer happens to be known we are left entirely in the dark as to the sources of his information or his competence to form a judgment. Moreover, not one of them has been hitherto traced to any book or manuscript written before the middle of the eighteenth century. Lastly, they exhibit among themselves the most bewildering diversity and the same event (the first landing at Sanjân) is placed by one in V. Samvat 772, (A.D. 716) by another in V. Samvat 895, (A.D. 839) and by a third in V. Samvat 961 (A.D. 906). There is the same conflict as to the year in which the Persian Zoroastrians were, according to these entries, obliged to abandon their ancestral homes. According to one, it was in 638 V. Samvat

(A.D. 582), according to another in 777 V. Samvat (A.D. 721). A much later event, about which for that reason, if for no other, we might suppose they would be in agreement, is the subject of a similar conflict. The old Fire Temple is said to have been brought from Bansdâh to Navsâri according to one of these entries in 1472 V. Samvat (A.D. 1416), but another would place the event three years later, giving the actual day and month, as Rôz Mâhres-pand, Mâh Shahrivar, V. Samvat 1475 (A.D. 1419); and not the least instructive fact about these rival dates is that both of them are demonstrably wrong.

The most important of these statements is the one which makes Roz Bahman, Mâh Tir, V. Samvat 772 (A.D. 716) the date of the first landing of the Parsi "pilgrim fathers" at Sanjân. That the Parsi *roz mâh* here given does not tally with the Hindu *tithi* was proved to demonstration by the late Mr. K. R. Cama in 1870, but the year has for all that been accepted by many inquirers, perhaps only for want of anything more satisfactory to take its place. The earliest authority for this entry hitherto known was the *Kadim Tarikh Pârsioni Kasar* a pamphlet on the Kabisâ controversy written by Dastur Aspan-diârji Kâmdinji of Broach in A.D. 1826. The lecturer first showed that this entry can be carried back somewhat further, as it occurs in a manuscript of miscellaneous Persian verses belonging to Ervad Manekji R. Unwalla, which is at least a hundred and fifty year old. There can be no doubt that Dastur Aspan-diârji

⁵² Regarding the origin of the Nepal Khas, see Hodgson and Sylvain Lâvi, op. cit.

THE PAHARI LANGUAGE.

BY SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K. C. I. E.

(Continued from page 151.)

While Sanskrit literature⁵³ commencing with the *Mahābhārata* contains many references to the Khasās, until quite late times it is silent about the Gurjaras. They are not mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* or in the *Vishṇu*, *Bhāgavata*, or *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. In fact the earliest known reference to them occurs in the *Śriharshacharita*, a work of the early part of the 7th century of our era.

According to the most modern theory, which has not yet been seriously disputed, but which has nevertheless not been accepted by all scholars, the Gurjaras entered India, together with the Hūṇas and other marauding tribes, about the sixth century A.D. They rapidly rose to great power, and founded the Rājput tribes of Rājputāna.⁵⁴ The Gurjaras were in the main a pastoral people, but had their chiefs and fighting men. When the tribe rose to power in India, the latter were treated by the Brāhmanas as equivalent to Kshatriyas and were called Rājputas, and some were even admitted to equality with Brāhmanas themselves, while the bulk of the people who still followed their pastoral avocations remained as a subordinate caste under the title of Gurjaras, or, in modern language, Gūjars, or in the Panjāb, Gujars.

So powerful did these Gurjaras or Gūjars become that no less than four tracts of India received their name. In modern geography we have the Gujrāt and Gujrānwāla districts of the Panjāb, and the Province of Gujarāt in the Bombay Presidency. The Gujrāt District is a Sub-Himalayan tract with a large proportion of Gujars. It is separated by the river Chināb from the Gujrānwāla District, in which Gujars are more few. In the Province of Gujarāt there are now no members of the Gūjar caste, as a caste, but, as we shall see later on, there is evidence that Gūjars have become absorbed into the general population, and have been distributed amongst various occupational castes. In addition to these three tracts Al-Birūnī (A.D. 971-1039) mentions a Guzarāt situated somewhere in Northern Rājputāna.⁵⁵

In ancient times, the Gurjara kingdom of the Panjāb comprised territory on both sides of the Chināb, more or less accurately corresponding with the existing Districts of Gujrāt and Gujrānwāla. It was conquered temporarily by Saṅkaravarman of Kashmīr in the 9th century.⁵⁶ The powerful Gurjara kingdom in South-Western Rājputāna, as described by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century, had its capital at Bhinmāl or Śrīmāl, to the North-West of Mount Abu, now in the Jodhpur State, and comprised a considerable amount of territory at present reckoned to be part of Gujarāt, the modern frontier between that Province and Rājputāna being purely artificial. In addition to this kingdom of Bhinmāl, a southern and smaller Gurjara kingdom existed in what is now Gujarāt from A.D. 589 to 735. Its capital was probably at or near Bharēch. Between these two Gurjara States intervened the kingdom of the princes of Valabhi, and these princes also seem to have belonged either to the Gurjaras or to a closely allied tribe.⁵⁷

⁵³ Authorities on the connexion of Rājputas and Gurjaras or Gūjars:—

Tod, J.,—*Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han*, London, 1829-32. Introduction. Elliot, Sir H. M., K.C.B.,—*Memoirs on the History, Folklore and Distribution of the Races of the North-Western Provinces of India*. Edited, etc., by John Beames. London, 1859. I, 99 ff., etc., (see Index). Ibbetson, Sir Denzil, K.C.S.I.,—*Outlines of Panjāb Ethnography*. Calcutta, 1883, pp. 262 ff. [Jackson, A.M.T.].—*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Pt. I., App. III. (by A. M. T. J.), Account of Bhinmāl, esp. pp. 463 ff. Smith, Vincent A.—*The Gurjaras of Rajputana and Kanauj*, J. R. A. S., 1909, pp. 53 ff. Bhandarkar, D. R.,—*Foreign elements in the Hindu Population*. *Indian Antiquary*, XII. (1911), pp. 7 ff. esp. pp. 21 ff.

⁵⁴ See Mr. V. Smith's note below.

⁵⁵ *India* (Sachau's translation, I, 202). Mr. Bhandarkar (l.c., p. 21) locates in the north-eastern part of the Jaipur territory and the south of the Alwar State. The Gujurī dialect spoken in the hills of the North West Frontier Province is closely connected with the Mēwāṭī spoken in Alwar at the present day. On the other hand, as stated in a private communication, Mr. Vincent Smith considers that it must have been at or near Ajmer, about 180 miles to the North-East of the old capital Bhinmāl.

⁵⁶ *Rājataranginī*, v. 143-150, and Stein's translation, I, 99.

⁵⁷ *Bombay Gazetteer* (1896), Vol. I, Part I, pp. 3, 4.

The Gurjaras who established the kingdoms at Bhinmāl and Bharôch probably came from the West, as Mr. Bhandarkar suggests. The founders of the Panjab Gurjara kingdom which existed in the 9th century presumably reached the Indian plains by a different route. There is no indication of any connection between the Gurjara kingdom of the Panjâb and the two kingdoms of the widely separated Province of Gujarat.⁵⁸

As may be expected, the Gûjar herdsmen (as distinct from the fighting Gurjaras who became Râjpûts) are found in greatest numbers in the north-west of India from the Indus to the Ganges. In the Panjâb they are mainly settled in the lower ranges and submontane tracts, though they are spread along the Jamna in considerable numbers, Gujrat District is still their stronghold, and here they form 13½ per cent. of the total population. In the higher mountains they are almost unknown.

In the plains tracts of the Panjâb they are called 'Gujars' or 'Gujjars' (not Gûjars), and they have nearly all abandoned their original language and speak the ordinary Panjâbî of their neighbours.

On the other hand, in the mountains to the north-west of the Panjâb, *i.e.*, throughout the hill country of Murree, Jammu, Chhibhal, Hazâra, in the wild territory lying to the north of Peshawar as far as the Swat river, and also in the hills of Kashmîr, there are numerous descendants of the Gurjaras still following their pastoral avocations. Here they are called 'Gujurs' (not 'Gujar' or 'Gûjar') and tend cows. Closely allied to them, and speaking the same language, is the tribe of Ajars who tend sheep.

The ordinary language of the countries over which these last mentioned people roam is generally Puṣhtô or Kâshmîrî, though there are also spoken various Piâcha dialects of the Swât and neighbouring territories. In fact, in the latter tract, there are numerous tribes, each with a Piâcha dialect of its own, but employing Puṣhtô as a *lingua franca*. The Gujurs are no exception to the rule. While generally able to speak the language, or the *lingua franca*, of the country they occupy, they have a distinct language of their own, called Gujurî, varying but little from place to place, and closely connected with the Mêwâtî dialect of Râjasthâni, described on pp. 44 ff. of Vol. IX, Pt. II of the *Survey*. Of course their vocabulary is freely interlarded with words borrowed from Puṣhtô, Kâshmîrî, and what not; but the grammar is practically identical with that of Mêwâtî, and closely allied to that of Mêwârî.

The existence of a form of Mêwâtî or Mêwârî in the distant country of Swat is a fact which has given rise to some speculation. One sept of the Gujurs of Swat is known as 'Chauhân,' and it is known that the dominant race in Mewar belongs to the Chauhan sept of Râjpûts. Two explanations are possible. One is that the Gujurs of this tract are immigrants from Mêwât (or Alwar) and Mewâr. The other is that the Gurjaras in their advance with the Hûnas into India, left some of their number in the Swât country, who still retain their ancient language, and that this same language was also carried by other members of the same tribe into Râjputânâ.

The former explanation is that adopted by Mr. Vincent Smith, who has kindly supplied the following note on the point:—

"The surprising fact that the pastoral, semi-nomad Gujur graziers and Ajar shepherds, who roam over the lower Himalayan ranges from the Afghân frontier to Kumâon and Garhwâl, speak a dialect of 'Hindî,' quite distinct from the Puṣhtô and other languages spoken by their neighbours, has been long familiar to officers serving in the Panjâb and on the North-Western Frontier.⁵⁹ In 1908 the *Linguistic Survey* made public the more precise information that the grammar of the speech of the still more remote Gujurs of the

⁵⁸ The above account of the early history of the Gurjaras is based on information kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. V. Smith.

⁵⁹ Ibbetson, *Outlines of Panjâb Ethnography* (1883), p. 265.

Swât Valley is almost identical with that of the Râjpûts of Mêwât and Mêwâr in Râjputânâ, distant some 600 miles in a direct line.⁶⁰ In the intervening space totally different languages are spoken. Why, then, do the Muhammadan Gujur herdsmen of Swât use a speech essentially the same as that of the aristocratic Hindû Râjpûts of Mêwâr? The question is put concerning the Gujurs of Swât, because they are the most remote tribe at present known to speak a tongue closely allied to the Mêwâtî and Mêwârî varieties of Eastern Râjasthâni.

"But dialects, which may be described as corrupt forms of Eastern Râjasthâni, extend along the lower hills from about the longitude of Chambâ through Garhwâl and Kumâon into Western Nepâl, so that the problem may be stated in wider terms, as :—' Why do certain tribes of the lower Himâlaya, in Swât, and also from Chambâ to Western Nepâl, speak dialects allied to Eastern Râjasthâni, and especially to Mêwâtî, although they are divided from Eastern Râjputânâ by hundreds of miles in which distinct languages are spoken? "

"It is not possible to give a fully satisfactory solution of the problem, but recent historical and archæological researches throw some light upon it. All observers are agreed that no distinction of race can be drawn between the Gûjars or Gujurs and the Jâts or Jatîs, two castes which occupy a very prominent position in North-Western India. It is also agreed that several other castes in the same region, such as Ajarîs, Ahîrs and many more, are racially indistinguishable from the Jatîs and Gûjars. The name Gujar appears in Sanskrit inscriptions as Gurjara, and nobody can doubt that the modern Gûjars represent the ancient Gurjaras. Long ago the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson recognized the fact that in the Panjâb it is impossible to draw distinctions in blood between Gûjars and many clans of Râjpûts, or, in other words, local enquiry proves that persons now known as Râjpûts may be descended from the same ancestors as are other persons known as Gûjars.⁶¹ Mr. Baden Powell observed that 'there is no doubt that a great majority of the clan-names in the Panjâb belong both to the "Râjpût" and the "Jât" sections. And this indicates that when the numerous Bâla, Indo-Scythian, Gûjar and Hûya tribes settled, the leading military and princely houses were accepted as "Râjpût," while those who took frankly to cultivation, became "Jât".⁶² Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has demonstrated recently that the ancestors of the Râûas of Udaipur (Mewâr) were originally classed as Brâhmaṇs, and were not recognised as Râjpûts until they became established as a ruling family.⁶³ In fact, there is abundant evidence to prove that the term 'Râjpût' signifies an occupational group of castes, which made it their principal business to rule and fight. That being the traditional business of the ancient Kshatriyas, castes known as Râjpût were treated by the Brâhmaṇs as equivalent to Kshatriyas, and superior in rank and purity to castes engaged in agriculture. We may take it as proved that there is nothing to prevent a Râjpût being descended from a Brâhmaṇ, a Gûjar, a Jatî, or in fact from a man of any decent caste. Consequently the Gujur herdsmen and Ajar shepherds of Swât may well be the poor relations of the Râjpût chivalry of Mêwâr, and the present divergence in social status may be the result of the difference of the occupations to which their respective ancestors were called by Providence.

"If the Swât Gujurs and the Mêwât and Mêwâr Râjpûts come of one stock, it is not so wonderful that they should speak a language essentially one. Certainly there is no difficulty in believing that all the Himalayan tribes, both in Swât and east of Chambâ, who speak forms of Râjasthâni, may be largely of the same blood as the Râjpûts of Eastern Râjputânâ. Of course, I do not mean that a pure race is to be found anywhere in India—almost every caste is of very much mixed blood.

⁶⁰ *Linguistic Survey*, Vol. IX, Part II (1908), p. 323. [In the passage quoted from Vol. IX of the *Survey*, the particular Râjasthâni dialect was Jaipurî. But further enquiry has shown me that Mêwâtî and Mêwârî are more akin to Gujurî than is Jaipurî. This is a matter of small importance. Jaipur lies between Mewât and Mewâr.—G. A. G.]

⁶¹ Ibbetson, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

⁶² 'Notes on . . . the Râjpût Clans (*J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 534).

⁶³ 'Guhilots' (*J. Proc.*, A. S. B., New Ser., Vol. V. (1909), pp. 167-187); 'Āṭpur Inscription of Saktikumāra', *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIX (1910, p. 186). [So, in *Mahābhārata* VIII, 2076. a Bahlîka Brâhmaṇa may, if he choose, become a Kshatriya.—G. A. G.]

"Not only are the Jatts, Gûjars, Aja's, etc., related in blood to the Râjpûts, but we may also affirm with confidence, that that blood is in large measure foreign, introduced by swarms of immigrants who poured into India across the north-western passes for about a century, both before and after 500 A.D. The Gurjaras are not heard of until the sixth century, but from that time on they are closely associated with the Hûṇas (Huṇs) and other foreign tribes, which then settled in India and were swallowed up by the octopus of Hinduism—tribes insensibly, but quickly, being transformed into castes. It is now certain, as demonstrated by epigraphical evidence, that the famous Parihâr (Pratihâra) Râjpûts were originally Gurjaras or Gûjars; or, if we prefer, we may say that certain Gurjaras were originally Pratihâras; and it is practically certain that the three other 'fire born' Râjpût clans—Pawâr (Pramâr), Solaiṅkî (Chaulukya), and Chauhân (Châhamâna)—were descended, like the Parihârs, from ancestors belonging to a Gurjara or cognate foreign tribe.

"We are not able to identify the locality beyond the passes from which these ancestors came, nor do we know what tribal names they bore before they entered India, or what language they then spoke.⁶⁴ Further, it is not possible at present to be certain concerning the road by which the Gurjaras, Hûṇas, etc., entered India. Probably they came by many roads. But the legend locating the origin of the fire-born clans at Mount Âbû and much evidence of other kinds indicate that the principal settlements of the foreigners were in Râjputânâ, which became the great centre of dispersion.

"We know that as early as the first half of the seventh century, Bhinmâl (Srimâla) to the north-west of Mount Âbû, was the capital of a kingdom ruled by Vyâghramukha Châpa. The Châpas were a subdivision of the Gurjaras. A coin of Vyâghramukha was found associated with numerous slightly earlier Hûṇa coins of the sixth and seventh centuries on the Manaswâl Plateau in the outer Siwâlik Hills, Hoshiyârpur District, Panjâb, which at that period undoubtedly was under Hûṇa-Gurjara rule. Early in the eighth century, Nâgabhaṭa I, a Gurjara, who had then become a Hindû, established a strong monarchy at Bhinmâl, where Vyâghramukha had ruled a hundred years earlier. Nâgabhaṭa's son, Vatsarâja, greatly extended the dominions of his house, defeating even the king of Eastern Bengal. In or about 810 A.D., Nâgabhaṭa II, son and successor of Vatsarâja, deposed the king of Kanauj and removed the seat of his own government to that imperial city. For more than a century, and especially during the reigns of Mihira-Bhōja and his son (840-908 A.D.), the Gurjara-Pratihâra kingdom of Kanauj was the paramount power of Northern India, and included Surâshṭra (Kâthiâwâr) within its limits, as well as Karnâl, now under the Government of the Panjâb.

"I take it that the Gurjaras and other foreign tribes settled in Râjputânâ, from the sixth century onwards adopted the local language, an early form of Râjasthânî, with great rapidity. They brought, I imagine, few women with them, and when they formed unions with Hindû women, they quickly learned the religion, customs, and language of their wives. I am inclined to believe that during the period of Gurjara rule, and especially during the ninth and tenth centuries, the Râjasthânî language must have been carried over a wide territory far more extensive than that now occupied by it. It seems to me that the Gujurs and Aja's of Swât, and the similar tribes in the lower Himâlayas to the east of Chambâ, should be regarded as survivals of a much larger population which once spoke Râjasthânî, the language of the court and capital. For one reason or other the neighbours of those northern Gujurs and Aja's took up various languages, Puṣhtô, Lahndû, or whatever it might be, while the graziers and shepherds clung to the ancient tongue which their ancestors had brought from Râjputânâ, and which probably was spoken for a long time in much of the country intervening between the hills and Mêwât. If this theory be sound, the forms of the Himalayan Râjasthânî, should be more archaic than those of modern Mêwâtî or the other

⁶⁴ I have a suspicion that they may have been Iranians, perhaps from Sîstân, but I cannot profess to prove that hypothesis.

dialects of Rājputānā, just as in Quebec French is more archaic than current Parisian.⁶⁵ I do not see any other way of explaining the existence of the Rājasthānī 'outliers,' if I may borrow a convenient term from the geologists. The historical indications do not favour the notion that the Gurjaras, etc., came *viā* Kābul and thence moved southwards, dropping settlements in the Lower Himālayas; they rather suggest immigration from the west by the Quetta and Kandahār routes or lines of march still further south. Settlements dropped among the Himālayan Hills by invaders speaking a Central Asian language could not possibly have picked up the tongue of eastern Rājputānā. The ancestors of the Swāt Gujurs must have spoken Rājasthānī and have learned it in a region where it was the mother tongue. The far northern extensions of that form of speech must apparently be attributed to the time when the Gurjara kingdom attained its greatest expansion. We know from inscriptions that the dominions of both Mihira-Bhōja and his son, Mahēndrapāla (*cir.* 840-908 A. D.), included the Karnāl district to the north-west of Delhi.

"My answer to the problem proposed at the beginning of this note, therefore, is that the Gujurs, etc., of the lower Himālayas, who now speak forms of Rājasthānī, are in large measure of the same stock as many Rājput clans in Rājputānā, the Panjāb, and the United Provinces; that their ancestors emigrated from Rājputānā after they had acquired the Rājasthānī speech; and that the most likely time for such emigration is the ninth century, when the Gujarā-Rājput power dominated all northern and north-western India, with its capital at Kanauj.⁶⁶"

Turning now to the other explanation, we may premise by stating that the Gurjaras may possibly have entered Rājputānā from two directions. They invaded the Sindh Valley, where they have practically disappeared as a distinct caste, the Gakkhars, Janjūās, and Paṭhāns being too strong for them.⁶⁷ But their progress was not stopped, and they have probably entered the Gujarāt Province and Western Rājputānā by this route. In Gujarāt they became merged into the general population, and there is now in that province no Gūjar caste, but there are Gūjar and simple Vāṇiīs (traders), Gūjar and simple Sūtārs (carpenters), Gūjar and simple Sonārs (goldsmiths), Gūjar and simple Kumbhārs (potters), and Gūjar and simple Salāṭs (masons).⁶⁸

Gūjars, as distinct from Rājputās, are strong in Eastern Rājputānā, their greatest numbers being in Alwar, Jaipur, Mewār, and the neighbourhood. Here they are a distinct and recognised class, claiming to be descended from Rājputās.⁶⁹ These must have come along the other supposed line of advance from the north. Several Gūjar-Rājput tribes, such as the Chālukyas, Chāhamānas (Chauhāns), and Sindas, came to Rājputānā from a mountainous country called Sapādalaksha.

⁶⁵ [As a matter of fact Gujuri is more archaic in its forms than its nearest congener, modern Mēwātī. See the Gujuri section below.—G. A. G.]

⁶⁶ For historical, epigraphical, and numismatic details, see V. A. Smith—

"The Gurjaras of Rājputānā and Kanauj" (*J. R. A. S.*, Jan., April, 1909);

"White Hun Coins from the Panjāb" (*Ibid.*, Jan. 1907);

"White Hun Coins of Vyāghramukha" (*Ibid.*, Oct. 1907);

"The History of the City of Kanauj, etc." (*Ibid.*, July 1908).

D. R. Bhandarkar—

"Foreign elements in the Hindū Population" (*Ind. Ant.*, 1911, pp. 7—37). Mr. Bhandarkar (p. 30) thinks that Eastern Rājasthānī is derived from Pāhārī Hindī; but I do not think he can be right.

⁶⁷ Ibbetson, *l. c.*, p. 263. Mr. Vincent Smith is of opinion that the position of their principal settlement, that at Bhīmāl, North-West of Mount Abū, indicates that the Gurjaras came from the West, across Sindh, and not from the North down the Indus Valley. They could have entered Sindh either *viā* Makrān, as the Arabs did later in the end of the 7th century, or through Balūchistān by roads further north. If they came from Sistān and spoke an Eranian language, they would soon have picked up an Indian tongue. On this theory, the Gujars of the Panjāb would have entered that province from the south, proceeding up the Indus Valley. Mr. Smith points out that the Panjāb Gurjaras probably are a later settlement. We hear of them first in the Kashmir chronicles in the 9th century.

⁶⁸ Bhandarkar, *l. c.*, p. 22.

⁶⁹ In 1901, the total number of Gūjars in Rājputānā was 462,739. Of these, 46,046 were enumerated in Alwar, 184,494 in Jaipur, and 50,574 in Mewār. Bharatpur, adjoining Alwar, had 44,875.

Mr. Bhandarkar⁷⁰ has shown that this Sapādalaksha included the hill-country from Chamba on the west, to Western Nepāl on the east, thus almost exactly corresponding with the area in which Western and Central Pahārī are now spoken. Now, in this tract at the present day it may be said that, while there are plenty of Rājput̃s, there are no Gūjars. The main population is, as we have seen, Khaśa, in which the non-military Gūjars must have been merged.⁷¹ The Sapādalaksha Gūjar-Rājput̃s, on the other hand, have provided Mewār with its Chauhāns. We have seen that one of the Swāt Gujur septs is also called Chauhān, and the second of the two explanations for the presence of the Gujurs in their present seats is that they are not a backwash of immigration from Rājputāna, but are the representatives of Gurjaras who were there left behind while the main body advanced and settled in Sapādalaksha. Instead of taking to agriculture and becoming merged in the population, they retained their ancestral pastoral habits and their tribal individuality.⁷²

We have seen that there were originally many Rājput̃s in Sapādalaksha. In the times of the Musalmān rule of India many more Rājput̃s from the plains of India took refuge amongst their Sapādalaksha kin and there founded dynasties which still survive. Particulars regarding these will be found in the Introduction to the three Pahārī languages and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that it is plain that down even to the days of late Musalmān dominion the tie between Sapādalaksha and Rājputāna was never broken. And this, in my opinion, satisfactorily explains the fact of the close connexion between the Pahārī languages and Rājasthānī.

We thus arrive at the following general results regarding the Aryan-speaking population of the Pahārī tract.

The earliest immigrants of whom we have any historical information were the Khaśas, a race hailing from Central Asia and originally speaking an Aryan, but not necessarily, an Indo-Aryan, language. They were followed by the Gurjaras, a tribe who invaded India about the sixth century A. D. and occupied the same tract, then known as Sapādalaksha. At that time, they also spoke an Aryan, but not necessarily an Indo-Aryan, language.⁷³ Of these Gurjaras the bulk followed pastoral pursuits and became merged in and identified with the preceding Khaśa population. Others were fighting men, and were identified by the Brāhmaṇs with Kshatriyas. In this guise they invaded Eastern Rājputāna from Sapādalaksha, and, possibly, Western Rājputāna from Sindh, and founded, as Rājput̃s, the great Rājput̃ states of Rājputāna.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ l. c. pp. 28 ff. *Sapādalaksha* becomes in modern speech *sawā-lakh*, and means one hundred and twenty-five thousand, a reference to the supposed number of hills in the tract. At the present day the name is confined to the 'Siwālik' hills.

⁷¹ We see traces of this merging in the great Kanēt caste of the Simla Hills. It has two divisions, one called Khasiā and the other Rāo (Ibbetson l. c. p. 268). The former represent the Khaśas, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Rāos are Gūjars who have become merged into the general population and have adopted a name Rāo, indicating their closer connexion with the Rājput̃s.

⁷² The writer's personal opinion upon this disputed point is given at length near the end of this article (p. 166).

⁷³ It is possible that the Gurjaras, at the time that they first entered the hills, did not speak an Indo-Aryan language. We are quite ignorant on the point. But this must not be taken as suggesting that the languages of their descendants, the Rājput̃s and the Gujurs, is not Indo-Aryan. It is now-a-days certainly Indo-Aryan, and belongs to the Inner-Group of these languages.

⁷⁴ It is interesting, on this point, to note that the Central Pahārī of Kumaun and Garhwāl (i.e., of Eastern Sapādalaksha) agree with Eastern Rājasthānī in having the genitive postposition *kō* and the verb substantive derived from the *achh*, while in the Western Pahārī of the Simla Hills (i.e., Western Sapādalaksha) the termination of the genitive is the Western Rājasthānī *rō*, while one of the verbs substantive (*ā*, is) is probably of the same origin as the Western Rājasthānī *hāi*. As for Gujarātī, the genitive ends in *nō*, and the verb substantive belongs to the *achh* group. West of Western Pahārī we have the Pōthwārī dialect of Lahndā. Here also the genitive termination is *nō*, but the verb substantive differs from that of Gujarātī. On the other hand Gujarātī agrees with all the Lahndā dialects in one very remarkable point *viz.*, the formation of the future by means of a sibilant. We thus see that right along the lower Himālaya, from the Indus to Nepal, there are three groups of dialects agreeing in striking points with, in order Gujarātī, Western Rājasthānī and Eastern Rājasthānī.

The Khaśas were, we have seen, closely connected with the tribes nicknamed 'Piśāchas' or cannibals, of North-Western India. I have elsewhere contended, and I believe proved, that the wild tribes of the extreme North-West, immediately to the South of the Hindū Kush, are modern representatives of these ancient 'Piśāchas,' and I have classed the languages now spoken by them and also Kāshmirī, as belonging to the 'Piśācha Group.' This Piśācha Group of languages possesses many marked peculiarities strange to the Aryan languages of the Indian Plains, and several of these are clearly observable in the various forms of Western and Central Pahārī,—strong in the extreme west, but becoming weaker and weaker as we go eastwards. It is reasonable to infer that in this we have traces of the old language of the Khaśas, whom Sanskrit tradition makes to be related to the Piśachas.⁷⁵ But the Pahārī languages, although with this Khaśa basis, are much more closely related to Rājasthānī. This must be mainly due to the Gūjar influence. We have seen that the Gūjars occupied the country, and became absorbed in the general population, but at the same time they must have given it their language. Then there was a constant reflux of emigration on the part of the Gūjar-Rājputās from Rājputāna and the neighbouring parts of India. These re-immigrants became, as befitted their Kshatriya station, the rulers of the country and to-day most of the chiefs and princes of the old Sapādalaksha trace their descent from Rājputās of the plains. The re-immigration was increased by the oppression of the Mughul rule in India proper, and there are historical notices of tribe after tribe, and leader after leader, abandoning their established seats in Rājputāna, and seeking refuge from Musalmān oppression in the hills from which they had originally issued to conquer the Gangetic Valley.⁷⁶

In Sapādalaksha proper (the hill-tract with Chamba for its western and Kumaon for its eastern extremity) the Khaśas and the Gūjars have kept themselves comparatively pure from admixture with the Tibeto-Burmans who overflowed from beyond the Himālaya and also occupied the southern slope of the range. Here the Aryans succeeded in arresting their Tibeto-Burman competitors in the race for possession. On the other hand, in the east, in Nepāl, the Tibeto-Burmans forestalled the Khaśa-Gūjars, and when the latter entered the country they found the others already in possession of the chief valleys. The bulk of the population of Nepāl is Tibeto-Burman, and the Khas conquerors have ever been in a minority. The result has been a considerable racial mixture, which is well described by Hodgson and Professor Sylvain Lévi in the works mentioned in the list of authorities. Most of the Khaśas of Nepāl are of mixed descent. Here it is unnecessary to do more than record the fact, and to refer the ethnologist to the works above mentioned for particulars. What concerns us now is the language, and that has followed the fate of the Khas-Gūjar tribe. While still distinctly allied to Rājasthānī, the Aryan language of Nepāl presents a mixed character. Not only many words, but even special phases of the Grammar, such as the use of the Agent case before *all* tenses of the transitive verb, and the employment of a complete honorific conjugation, are plainly borrowed from the speech of the surrounding Tibeto-Burmans. These changes in the speech are increasing with every decade, and certain Tibeto-Burman peculiarities have come into the language within the memory of men alive at the present day.

⁷⁵ Attention will frequently be called to these Khaśa traces in dealing with each language in the following pages. See especially the section devoted to Western Pahārī.

⁷⁶ For details, see the Introductions to each of the three Pahārī Groups.

The question of the language spoken by the Gujurs of Swât is different and more difficult. Two opposing theories have been given in the preceding pages, and the present writer will now attempt to give his own views on the subject. It must, however, be observed that these views are founded on imperfect materials, and are only put forward as what seems to him to be the best explanation till further materials become available.

We do not know what language was spoken by the Gurjaras of Sapâdalaksha. It has been stated that it was not necessarily Indo-Aryan. This is true merely as a confession of ignorance. We simply do not know. All that we can say is that in some respects (such as the use of *handô* as a postposition of the genitive, the form *chhañ*, for the verb substantive, and the use of *li* to form the future tense) its modern descendant, Râjasthâni, shows points of agreement with the Pisâcha languages of the north-west.

These Sapâdalaksha Gurjaras came into Eastern Râjputâna, and their language there developed into Modern Râjasthâni. But as has been shown in the part of the *Survey* dealing with Râjasthâni, this is not a pure language. The Gurjaras settled among a people speaking an Indo-Aryan language of the Inner Group akin to Western Hindî. They adopted this language, retaining at the same time many forms of their own speech. The result was Râjasthâni, a mixed language in which, as has been shown elsewhere, the influence of the Inner Group of Indo-Aryan languages weakens as we go westwards. In the north-east of Râjputâna, in Alwar and Mewât, the influence of the Inner Group is strongest.

Now the Gujurs of Swât speak this mixed Mewâtî Râjasthâni, and not the language of the Sapâdalaksha Gurjaras, whatever that was. Of this there can be no doubt. Swât Gujuri therefore must be a form of Mewâtî Râjasthâni, and we cannot describe the latter as a form of Swât Gujuri, for we know that it originally came from Sapâdalaksha, not from Swât.

Mr. Smith has described how the Gûjars of Râjputâna can have entered the Panjab, and, whether the details of his theory are correct or not (and the present writer, for one, sees no reason for doubting them), we may take it, that the main point,—their entry from Râjputâna—is proved.

We are thus able to conceive the following course of events. The Mewât Gûjars went up the Jamnâ Valley, and settled in the Panjâb plains. There they amalgamated with the rest of the population and lost their distinctive language. Some of them settled in the submontane districts of Gujrât, Gujrânwâla, Kângrâ, and the neighbourhood. Here they partially retained their old language, and now speak a broken mixture of it, Pañjâbî, and Hindôstânî. The use of Hindôstânî forms in this mongrel submontane Gujarî, far from the River Jamnâ, on the banks of which Hindôstânî has its proper home, is most suggestive.

Finally, other Gûjars, more enterprising than their fellows, went on further into the mountains, beyond the submontane tract, and are now-a-days represented by the Gujurs of Swât, Kashmîr, and the neighbourhood.

These last wander free over the mountains of their new home, and have little intercourse with the other inhabitants of the locality. They have hence retained the original language which they brought with them from Mewât. But even here we shall see in the specimens sporadic waifs picked up on their journey—stray Hindôstânî and Pañjâbî forms, retained like solitary flies in amber, within the body of the Gujur speech.