(Sauráshtra) community were arrested by the governor of Madura for performing the Brahmanical ceremony of upákarma, or renewal of the sacred thread. The queen convened a meeting of those learned in the Sástras to investigate the Patnálkaran’s 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.” From this time onward the caste followed “many of the customs of the southern Brahmins regarding food, dress, forms of worship and names, and has recently taken to the adoption of Brahmanical titles, such as Aiyar, Ácharya and Bhágavatár. 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 PAHÁRI LANGUAGE,¹
BY SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K. C. I. E.

The word ‘Pahári’ 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 Bhadrawáh, north of the Panjáb, to the eastern parts of Nepál. To its North and East various Himalayan Tibeto-Burman languages are spoken. To its west there are Aryan languages connected with Káshmiri and Western Pañjábí, and to its south it has the Aryan languages of the Panjáb and the Gangetic plain, viz:— in order from West to East, Pañjábí, Western Hindi, Eastern Hindi and Bihári.

The Pahári languages fall into three main groups. In the extreme East there is Khas-Kurá or Eastern Pahári, commonly called Naipái, the Aryan language spoken in Nepál. Next, in Kumaon and Gaíthwál, we have the Central Pahári languages, Kumaóni and Gaíthwálí. Finally in the West we have the Western Pahári languages spoken in Jaunsár-Báwar, the Simla Hill States, Kulu, Mandi and Suket, Chambá, and Western Káshmir.

As no census particulars are available for Nepál we are unable to state how many speakers of Eastern Pahári there are in its proper home. Many persons (especially Gorkhá 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 Pahári, 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 This article is an advance issue of the Introduction to the volume of the Linguistic Survey of India dealing with the Pahári Languages.
Central and Western Pahāri 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 Pahāri speakers in British India are therefore as follows:

- **Eastern Pahāri (1901)**: 143,721
- **Central Pahāri (1891)**: 1,107,612
- **Western Pahāri (1891)**: 816,181

**Total**: 2,087,514

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

To these speakers of Western Pahāri must be added the language of the Gujuris who wander over the hills of Hazāra, Murree, Kashmir, and Swat and its vicinity. Except in Kashmir and Hazāra, these have never been counted. In Kashmir, in the year 1901, the number of speakers of Gujurī was returned at 126,949 and in Hazāra, in 1891, at 83,167, and a mongrel form of the language, much mixed with Hindīstānī and Pañjābī is spoken by 226,949 Gujars of the submontane districts of the Panjāb, Gujar, Gurdaspur, Kangra, 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 Pahāri speakers including Gujurī at about 2,670,000.

It is a remarkable fact that, although Pahāri 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 Khaṣās and the Gurjaras of Sanskrit literature. The Sanskrit Khaṣā and Gurjarā are represented in modern Indian tongues by the words Khas, and Gujar, Gujar, or Gujur respectively. The mass of the Aryan-speaking population of the Himalayan tract in which Pahāri is spoken belongs, in the West, to the Kanēt and, in the East, to the Khaṣā caste. We shall see that the Kanēts themselves are closely connected with the Khaṣās, and that one of their two sub-divisions bears that name. The other (the Rāo) sub-division, as we shall see below, I believe to be of Gurjarā descent.

Sanskrit literature contains frequent references to a tribe whose name is usually spelled Khaṣā (वर्त ), with variants such as Khasa (ल ), Khaṣa (ल ), and Khaṣīra (ल ).

The earlier we trace notices regarding them, the further north-west we find them.

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Before citing the older authorities it may be well to recall a legend regarding a woman named Khasā of which the most accessible version will be found in the Vishnu Purāṇa, but which also occurs in many other similar works. The famous Kaśyapa, to whom elsewhere is attributed the origin of the country of Kashmir, had numerous wives. Of these Krūḍhavāśa was the ancestress of the cannibal Piśāchas or Piśāchas and Khasā of the Yakshas and Rākshasas. These Yakshas were also cannibals, and so were the Rākshasas.

In Buddhist literature the Yakshas correspond to the Piśāchas of Hindū legend. Another legend makes the Piśāchas the children of Kapiśa, and there was an ancient town called Kāpiśa at the southern foot of the Hindū Kush. That the Piśāchas were also said to be cannibals is well known, and the traditions about ancient cannibalism in the neighbourhood of the Hindū Kush have been described elsewhere by the present writer. Here we have a series of legends connecting the name Khasā with cannibalism practised in the mountains in the extreme north-west of India, and to this we may add Pliny’s remark about the same locality,—next the Attacori (Uttarakurus) are the nations of the Thuni and the Forcar; then come the Casiri (Khaśiras), 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 Khasās. The Mahābhārata gives a long account of the various rarities presented to Yudhishthīra by the kings of the earth. Amongst them are those that rule over the nations that dwell near the river Sālīḍā where it flows between the mountains of Mēru and Mandara, i.e. in Western Tibet. These are the Khasas . . . . . the Pāradas (! the people beyond the Indus), the Kulindas and the Taṅganas. Especially interesting is it to note that the tribute these people brought was Tibetan gold-dust, the famous pipulika, or ant-gold, recorded by Herodotus and many other classical writers, as being dug out of the earth by ants.

In another passage the Khasas are mentioned together with the Kāśmīras (Kāśmīris), the inhabitants of Urasa (the modern Panjāb district of Hazara), the Piśāchas, Kāmbōjas

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5 Wilson, II, 74 ff.
6 Bhāgavata Purāṇa, III, xix, 21. They wanted to eat Brahmā himself!
7 So Kaliṣa, Rājatarāgīni, i, 184, equates Yaksha and Piśācha. See note on the passage in Stein’s translation.
10 XVI, 17; McCrindle—Ancient Indi on Classical Literature, p. 113. Is it possible that ‘Thuni and Forcar’ represent ‘Hūya and Tukhāra’?
11 II, 1822 ff.
13 Vide post.
14 The Tārāyana of Ptolemy. The most northern of all the tribes on the Ganges. They lived near Bārdhānā. Here was the district of Taṅgāspaṇa, mentioned in copper-plate grants preserved at the temple of Pāṇḍukēśvara near Bārdhānā (Atkinson, op. cit. p. 357).
15 III, 104.
17 According to Yāska’s Nīrūtaka (II, i, 4), the Kāmbōjas did not speak pure Sanskrit, but a dialectic form of that language. As an example, he quotes the Kāmbōja sāvati, he goes, a verb which is not used in Sanskrit. Now this verb sāvati, although not Sanskrit, happens to be good Kāndā, and occurs in the Avesta, with this meaning of ‘to go.’ We therefore from this one example learn that the Kāmbōjas of the
(a tribe of the Hindū Kush), the Daradas (or Dardes) and the Sakas (Scythians), as being conquered by Krishṇa.

In another passage Duḥśāsana leads a forlorn hope consisting of Sakas,18 Kāmbōjas,18 Bāhlikas (inhabitants of Balkh), Yavanas (Greeks), Pāradas,18 Kuliṅgas (a tribe on the banks of the Satlaj),19 the Taṅgaśas,19 Ambhīṭhas (of the (?) middle Panjāb, probably the Ambastai of Ptolemy),20 Piśāchas, Barbarians, and mountaineers.21 Amongst them,22 armed with swords and pikes were Daradas,23 Taṅgaśas,23 Khaśas, Lampākas (now Kaḥirs of the Hindū Kush),24 and Pulindas.25

We have already seen that the Khaśas were liable to the imputation of cannibalism. In another passage of the Mahābhārata, where Karna describes the Bāhlikas in the 8th book, they are again given a bad character.26 Where the six rivers, the Satadru (Satlaj), Vipaśā (Bis), Iravati (Ravi), Chandrabhāgā (Chinab), Vitastā (Jehlam), and the Sindhu (Indus) issue from the hills, is the region of the Āṛaṭṭas, a land whose religion has been destroyed.27 There live the Bāhlikas (tōe 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 Piśāchas who lived in the river Vipaśā (Bis). They are without the Vēda and without knowledge.

Hindū 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 Iranian languages. We may further note that Yāska does not consider the Kāmbōjas to be Aryans. He says this word is used in the language of the Kāmbōjas, while only its (according to his account) derivative, śavas, a corpse, is used in the language of the Aryanas.

Again in the same passage Yāska states that ‘the northerners’ use the word dātrā to mean ‘a sickle’. Now we shall see that in Western Pahlā and in the Piśācha languages generally, tr continually becomes ch or sh. Thus the Sanskrit word putra, a son, becomes puch or puch in Shīk. We may expect a similar change to occur in regard to the word dātra. This word actually occurs in Persian in the form dēt, but the only relation of it that has been noted in the Piśācha dialects is the Kshāmbāri dōt, which is really the same word as dātra, with metathesis of the r.

18 See above.
19 I. e., if they are the same as the Kuliṅgas of Mārk. P., LVII, 37.
20 VII, 1, 66.
21 VII, 4318.
22 VII, 4848.
23 See above.
25 There were two Pulindas, one in the south and another in the north. See Hall on Wilson, Vīśāmu P., Vol. II, p. 159.
26 VIII, 2032 ff. A clan of the Bāhlikas is the Jartikas (2034), who perhaps represent the modern Jāṭṭas. If they do, the passage is the oldest mention of the Jāṭṭas 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 Āṛaṭṭas 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,\textsuperscript{28} the Madras,\textsuperscript{29} the Gandhāras (a people of the north-west Panjāb, the classical Gandhari), the people named Ārātīs, the Khaśas, the Vasātīs, the Sindhus and Sauvāras (two tribes dwelling on the Indus), are almost as despicable.\textsuperscript{30}

In the supplement to the Mahābhārata, known as the Harivamsa, we also find references to the Khaśas. Thus it is said\textsuperscript{31} that King Sagara conquered the whole earth, and a list is given of certain tribes. The first two are the Khaśas and the Tukhāras. The latter were Iranian inhabitants of Balkh and Badakhshan, the Tukhāristān of Musalmān writers.

In another place,\textsuperscript{32} the Harivamsa tells how an army of Greeks (Yavanas) attacked Krishṇa when he was at Mathurā. In the army were Sakas (Scythians), Tukhāras,\textsuperscript{33} Daradas (Dardas), Pāradas,\textsuperscript{34} Taigānas,\textsuperscript{35} Khaśas, Pahlavas (Parthians), and other barbarians (Mīchchhas) of the Himālaya.

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

The Viśṇu Purāṇa\textsuperscript{36} tells the story of Khaśa, the wife of Kaśyapa, with her sons Yaksha and Rākshasa and her Fiścha stepson already given. It also tells (IV, iii) the story of Sagara, but does not mention the Khaśas in this connexion, nor does the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in the corresponding passage (IX, viii). The Viśṇu Purāṇa, 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 Bhāgavata Purāṇa (II, iv, 18) gives a list of a number of outcast tribes, which have recovered salvation by adopting the religion of Krishṇa. The tribes belong to various parts of India, but the last four are the Abhiras,\textsuperscript{37} the Kaukasas,\textsuperscript{38} the Yavanas, and the Khaśas (v. i, Sakas). Here again we have the Khaśas mentioned among north-western folk.

Again in the story of Bharata, the same Purāṇa tells how that monarch conquered (IX, xx, 29) a number of the barbarian (Mīchchha) kings, who had no Brāhmaṇas. Those were the kings of the Kritas, Khaśas, Yavanas, Andhraas, Kaukasas, Khaśas, and Sakas. The list is a mixed one, but the last three are grouped together and point to the north-west.

\textsuperscript{28} Locality not identified.

\textsuperscript{29} In the Panjāb, close to the Ambasāthas (see above). Their capital was Sākala, the Sagala of Ptolemy. In verse 2049 of the passage quoted, we have a song celebrating the luxury of Sākala.—"When shall I next sing the songs of the Bāhikas in this Sākala 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, porc, 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?"

\textsuperscript{30} At the time that the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa was written, the Bāhikas were not altogether outside the Aryan pale. It is there (I, vii, iii, 8) said that they worship Agni under the name of Bhava.

\textsuperscript{31} 784.\textsuperscript{32} 6440. \textsuperscript{33} See above.

\textsuperscript{34} I, xxii.\textsuperscript{35} On the Indus, the Abirias of Ptolemy.

\textsuperscript{36} Kaukasas have not been identified, but in the list of nations who brought presents to Yudhishthīra already mentioned (Mahābhārata, II, 1860) they are mentioned together with the Sakas, Tukhāras, and Rōmas (? Romans), i. e. as coming from the north-west.
The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (LVII, 56) mentions the Khaṣas 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 Khaṣas had already reached Nepal 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 Khaṣas from the Brahmanical point of view, he says (X, 22) that Khaṣas are the offspring of outcast Kshatriyas, and again (X, 44), after mentioning some south Indian tribes he says that Kāmbājas,38 Yavanas,38 Sakas,38 Pāradas,38 Pahlavas,38 Chinas,38 Kirātas,40 Daradas48 and Khaṣas are those who became outcast through having neglected their religious duties,41 and, whether they speak a barbarous (Mālchchha) or Aryan language, are called Dasyus. Here again we see the Khaṣas 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 Nāyika Sāstra and the Bṛihat Saṃhitā of Varāhamihira. The former42 in the chapter on dialects says, ‘The Bāhlikī language is the native tongue of Northerners and Khaṣas.’ Bāhlikī, as we have seen above, is the language then spoken in what is now Bakh.43 Here again we have the Khaṣas referred to the north-west.

Varāhamihira mentions Khaṣas several times. Thus in one place (X, 12) he groups them with Kulūtas (people of Kulu), Tāṅgaṇas (see note44), and Kāśmīras (Kāśmīrīs). 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 Ship race, still surviving in Gilgit and the vicinity.
40 At present mostly in Nepal.
41 So Kulūka.
42 xvii, 52. Bāhlikabhāshābhāshādhyānāḥ Khaṇḍānām cha svadhikād: I am indebted to Dr. Konow for this reference.
43 Lakṣmhīdhara, a comparatively late Prakrit Grammarian, says that the language of Bāhlikī (Bakh), Kēkaya (N. W. Panjāb), Nepal, Gandhāra (the country round Peshāwar), and Bhōta (for Bhōta, i.e., Tibet), together with certain countries in South India is said by the ancients to have been Paścaḥ. 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 (mātṛkādhyān), the nomads (pāśupādas, i.e. worshippers of Pāśupati), the Kīrās (a tribe near Kashmir, Stein, Rāja Tarā-qiś, trans. II, 217) the Kāśmīras, the Abhiśīras (of the lower hills between the Jehlām and the Chinab), Dāradas (Dards) Taṅgaṇas, Kulūtas (Kulu), Sairindhīras (not identified), Forest men, Brahmaṇapuras (Bharmaur in Chamba), Darvas (close to Abīstanta), Dāmara (apparently a Kashmir tribe, Stein II, 304 ff.), Foresters, Kirātas, Chinas (Shins of Gilgit, see note49, or Chinese), Kauṣīndas (see below), Bhalas (not identified), Paṭolas (not identified), Jaṭāsuras (f Jefts), Kunāṣas (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. Bhāṭṭotpala, in his commentary to the 
Bṛihatsaṁhitā, quotes Pārvära as saying the same thing.\textsuperscript{15}

In the section dealing with those men who are technically known as ‘swans,’\textsuperscript{16} Varā-
hamihira says that they are a long-lived race ruling over the Khaśas, Sūrasūnas (Eastern 
Panjab), Gāndhāra (Peshawar country), and the Gāndhārī Dāb. This passage does not 
give much help.

Kalhaṇa’s famous chronicle of Kashmir, the Rājatarāgīra, 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 Kashmir 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 Pir Pantsāl range, 
between the middle course of the Vitastā (or Jehlam) on the west, and Kāshṭavāṭa (Kishtwār) 
on the east.

“In numerous passages of the Rājatarāgīra we find the rulers of Rajapur, the modern 
Rajauri, described as ‘lords of the Khaśas,’ and their troops as Khaśas. Proceeding from 
Rajapur to the east we have the valley of the Upper Anś River, now called Panīgbābar .

... as a habitation of Khaśas. Further to the east lies Bānākāla, the modern Bānahāl, 
below the pass of the same name, where the pretender Bhikshāchāra 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 Bānahāl to the Chandrabhāgā (Chenab), which is now 
called ‘Bīchhlāri’ and which in the chronicle bears the name of Vīśkalāṭā, was inhabited 
by Khaśas.

“Finally we have evidence of the latter’s settlements in the Valley of Khaśālaya ...

... Khaśālaya is certainly the Valley of Khaśal (marked on the map as ‘Kasher’) which 
leads from the Marbal Pass on the south-east corner of Kashmir down to Kishtwār ... .

“Turning to the west of Rajapur, we find a Khaśa from the territory of Parnīta or 
Prīnta mentioned in the person of Tuṅgga, who rose from the position of a cowherd to be

Regarding the Kauśīndas or Kuśindas, it may be mentioned that Cunningham (Rep. Arch. Surv. India, 
XIV, 125) identified them with the Kanets of the Simla Hill States, whose name he wrongly spells 
‘Kunset.’ The change from ‘Kuśinda’ to ‘Kanet’ is violent and improbable, though not altogether 
impossible. It would be simpler to connect the Kanets with Varāhamihira’s Kunaśas, but here again 
there are difficulties, for the t in ‘Kanet’ is dental, not cerebral. Such changes are, however, not 
uncommon in the ‘Pāśōha’ languages.

\textsuperscript{15} A similar but fuller list is also given in Varāhamihira’s Samādesaṁhitā, in which the Khaśas are 
classed with Daradas, Abhisāras and Chinas.

\textsuperscript{16} LXVIII, 28.
chosen Queen Diddā's all-powerful minister. The Queen's own father, Śiṅharāja, the ruler of Lāhara or Lāhārin, is designated a Khaśa, . . . . and his descendants, who after Diddā occupied the Kashmir throne, were looked upon as Khaśas.—That there were Khaśas also in the Vīstā valley below Varaḥamūla, is proved by the reference to Vīrānaka as 'a seat of Khaśas' . . . . . Of this locality it has been shown . . . that it was situated in the ancient Dwāravati, the present Dwārbdī, a portion of the Vīstā valley between Kathai and Muṣaffarābād.

"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 Vīstā valley below Kashmir belong. The name Khakha (Pahārī; in Kāshmīrī sing. Khokhu, plur. Khakhi) is the direct derivation of Khaśa, Sanskrit š being pronounced since early times in the Panjāb and the neighbouring hill-tracts as kh or h (compare Kāshmīrī k < Sanskrit ś).

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

We have already noted that another name for the Khaśas was Khaśiras. The name Kāmīra (Kashmir) is by popular tradition associated with the famous legendary saint Kaśyapa, but it has been suggested, with considerable reason, that Khaśa and Khaśira are more probable etymologies. At the present day, the Kāshmīrī word for 'Kashmir' is 'kashir,' a word which is strongly reminiscent of Khaśira. 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 Khaśāras. 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 Khaśās. Atkinson (l. c.) quotes Ptolemy's Achasia regio as indicating the same locality, and this word not impossibly also represents 'Khaśa'. Perhaps more certain identifications from Ptolemy are the Kādrī Mountains and the country of Kādrī. 48

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

47 The change of initial kh to k is not uncommon in Piśācha languages. Thus, the Sanskrit khara, an ass, is kūr in Bashgali Kāthr, and in Shipā a language very closely connected with Kāshmīri, the root of the verb meaning 'to eat' is ka not khā.
48 Serica VI, 15, 16, in Lassen J.A. I, 23.
49 VI, 16, 2, 3, 5, 8; VIII, 24, 7, in Lassen J.A., I, 1018.
Kasia mountains. The latter therefore represent either the Hindū Kush or the mountains of Kashgar in Central Asia. 30

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 Hindū Kush and the mountainous tracts to the south, and in the western Panjāb there was a group of tribes, one of which was called Khaṣṣa, 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 Mēchchhas, or barbarians, owing to their non-observance of the rules for eating and drinking observed by the Sanskritic peoples of India. These Khaṣṣas 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 Kashmir. Kashgar in Central Asia, and the Kashgar of Chītral were named after them. They were closely connected with the group of tribes nicknamed 'Piṣāchas' 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 Himālaya as far east as Nepal, and in the twelfth century they certainly occupied in considerable force the hills to the south, south-west and south-east of Kashmir.

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 Khaṣṣas, and so are some of the Kanāts of the hill-country between Kānpā and Gārhwāl. The Kanāts are the low-caste cultivating class of all the Eastern Himālaya of the Panjāb and the hills at their base as far west as Kulu, and of the eastern portion of the Kangrā district, throughout which tract they form a very large proportion of the total population. The country they inhabit is held or governed by Hill Rājpūts of pre-historic ancestry, the greater part of whom are far too proud to cultivate with their own hands, and who employ the Kanāts as husbandmen. Like the ancient Khaṣṣas, they claim to be of impure Rājpūt (i.e. Kshatriya) birth. They are divided into two great tribes, the Khasī and the Rāo, the distinction between whom is still sufficiently well-marked. A Khasī observes the period of impurity after the death of a relation prescribed for a twice-born man; the Rāo that prescribed for an outcast. The Khasī wears the sacred thread, while the Rāo does not. 31

There can thus be no doubt about the Khasī Kanāts.

30 According to Lassen, p. 1020, the Kāπu ḍry of Ptolemy are the mountains of Kashgar, i.e. 'Khaṣṣagari,' the mountain of the Khaṣṣas. See, however, Stein, Ancient Khotan, pp. 50 ff. The same name re-appears in Chītral, south of the Hindū Kush, where the river Khōmār is also called the Khasgar. For further speculations on the subject the reader is referred to St. Martin, Mémo. de l' Acad. des Insor. Sav. Étrang. 1ère série vi, i, pp. 284 ff., and to Atkinson (op. cit.), p. 377.

31 Ibbetson, op. cit., § 487. Regarding the Rāos, see the next instalment of this article.
Further to the east, in Garhwal and Kumaon, the bulk of the population is called Khasiā, and these people are universally admitted to be Khaśas by descent. In fact, as we shall see, the principal dialect of Kumaunī is known as Khasparjiyā, or the speech of Khas cultivators. Further east, again, in Nepal, the ruling caste is called Khas. In Nepal, 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 Khas descent also in the tribe is not denied.22

In this way we see that the great mass of the Aryan-speaking population of the Lower Himalaya from Kashmir to Darjeeling is inhabited by tribes descended from the ancient Khaśas of the Mahābhārata.

(To be continued.)

THE TRADITIONAL DATES OF PARSİ HISTORY.

Prof. S. H. Hodivala, M. A., of the Junagadh College has been lately devoting considerable attention to the early history of the Indian Parsees, 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 Parsees 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 Sanjān) 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. 900). 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 639 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 Bansāh to Navsāri 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 Rûz Māhres-pand, Māh 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 Rûz Bahman, Māh Tir, V. Samvat 772 (A.D. 716) the date of the first landing of the Parsi "pilgrim fathers" at Sanjān. That the Parsi rûz māh here given does not tally with the Hindu sēṭh 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 Kadum Tārikh Pārsiōnī Kasar a pamphlet on the Kabisā controversy written by Dastur Aspandārji Kâmdinji of Brosch 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 Maneckji R. Unwalla, which is at least a hundred and fifty years old. There can be no doubt that Dastur Aspandārji

22 Regarding the origin of the Nepal Khas, see Hodgson and Sylvain Lévi, op. cit.
THE PAHARI LANGUAGE.

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

(Continued from page 151.)

While Sanskrit literature, commencing with the Mahābhārata contains many references to the Khaṣas, until quite late times it is silent about the Gurjaras. They are not mentioned in the Mahābhārata or in the Vīshṇu, Bhāgavata, or Māraṇḍeya Purāṇa. In fact the earliest known reference to them occurs in the Śrīharṣashācharita, 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 Hāyas and other marauding tribes, about the sixth century A.D. They rapidly rose to great power, and founded the Rājpūt tribes of Rājputāna. 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 Brāhmaṇas as equivalent to Kṣatriyas and were called Rājpūts, and some were even admitted to equality with Brāhmaṇas 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 Gujrat and Gujranwāla districts of the Panjāb, and the Province of Gujarāt in the Bombay Presidency. The Gujrat District is a Sub-Himalayan tract with a large proportion of Gujars. It is separated by the river Chināb from the Gujranwāla 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-Birānī (A.D. 971-1039) mentions a Guzarāt situated somewhere in Northern Rājputāna.

In ancient times, the Gurjar kingdom of the Panjāb comprised territory on both sides of the Chināb, more or less accurately corresponding with the existing Districts of Gujarāt and Gujranwāla. It was conquered temporarily by Śaṅkaravarman of Kashmir in the 9th century. The powerful Gurjar kingdom in South-Western Rājputāna, as described by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century, had its capital at Bihmāl 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 Bihmāl, 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 Bharoč. Between these two Gurjar 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.

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52 Authorities on the connexion of Rājpūt and Gurjaras or Gūjars:—
53 See Mr. V. Smith's note below.
54 India (Sachau's translation, I, 202). Mr. Bhandarkar ( loc. cit., p. 21) locates in the north-eastern part of the Jaipur territory and the south of the Alwar State. The Gujūr dialect spoken in the hills of the North West Frontier Province is closely connected with the Mewārī 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 Bihmāl;
The Gurjaras who established the kingdoms at Bhinmal and Bharoch 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 Panjab and the two kingdoms of the widely separated Province of Gujarat.58

As may be expected, the Gujar 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 Panjab they are mainly settled in the lower ranges and submontane tracts, though they are spread along the Jamna in considerable numbers. Gujarat 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 Panjab they are called ‘Gujars’ or ‘Gujjars’ (not Gujar), and they have nearly all abandoned their original language and speak the ordinary Panjâb of their neighbours.

On the other hand, in the mountains to the north-west of the Panjab, 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 Kashmir, there are numerous descendants of the Gurjaras still following their pastoral avocations. Here they are called ‘Gujurs’ (not ‘Gujar’ or ‘Gujar’) and tend cows. Closely allied to them, and speaking the same language, is the tribe of Ajaras who tend sheep.

The ordinary language of the countries over which these last mentioned people roam is generally Puûhto or Kashmiri, 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 Puûhto 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 Gujuri, varying but little from place to place, and closely connected with the Mewâtî dialect of Râjâstâhni, described on pp. 44 ff. of Vol. IX, Pt. II of the Survey. Of course their vocabulary is freely interlarded with words borrowed from Puûhto, Kashmiri, and what not; but the grammar is practically identical with that of Mewâtî, and closely allied to that of Mewâr.

The existence of a form of Mewâtî or Mewârî in the distant country of Swât is a fact which has given rise to some speculation. One sept of the Gujurs of Swât is known as ‘Chauhán,’ and it is known that the dominant race in Mewar belongs to the Chauhán sept of Râjpûts. Two explanations are possible. One is that the Gujurs of this track are immigrants from Mewât (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 Râjputâna.

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 Garhwal, speak a dialect of ‘Hindi,’ quite distinct from the Puûhto and other languages spoken by their neighbours, has been long familiar to officers serving in the Panjab 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\n
58 The above account of the early history of the Gurjaras is based on information kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. V. Smith.
Swát Valley is almost identical with that of the Râjpûts of Mêwât and Mêwâr in Râjpútânâ, distant some 600 miles in a direct line. In the intervening space totally different languages are spoken. Why, then, do the Muhammadan Gujur herdsmen of Swát use a speech essentially the same as that of the aristocratic Hindû Râjpûts of Mêwâr? The question is put concerning the Gujurs of Swát, because they are the most remote tribe at present known to speak a tongue closely allied to the Mêwâṭi and Mêwâṛî 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 Gâhŵâl and Kumaôn into Western Nepal, so that the problem may be stated in wider terms, as: Why do certain tribes of the lower Himalaya, in Swát, and also from Chambâ to Western Nepal, speak dialects allied to Eastern Râjasthâni, and especially to Mêwâṭi, 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 archaeological 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 Jaṭs, 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 Ajarâs, Ahrs and many more, are racially indistinguishable from the Jaṭs 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.

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 Hûsa tribes settled, the leading military and princely houses were accepted as "Râjpût," while those who took frankly to cultivation, became "Jât." Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has demonstrated recently that the ancestors of the Râjâs of Udaipur (Mêwâr) were originally classed as Brâhmaṇa, and were not recognized as Râjpûts until they became established as a ruling family. 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 Kâshatriyas, castes known as Râjpûts were treated by the Brâhmaṇa as equivalent to Kâshatriya, 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 Brâhmaṇa, a Gûjar, a Jaṭ, 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 Mêwâṭ and Mêwâṛ 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.

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60 Linguistic Survey, Vol. IX, Part II (1908), p. 328. [In the passage quoted from Vol. IX of the Survey, the particular Râjasthâni dialect was Jaipuri. But further enquiry has shown me that Mêwâṭi and Mêwâṛ are more akin to Gujur than to Jaipuri. This is a matter of small importance. Jaipuri lies between Mewat and Mewar—G. A. G.]

61 Ibbetson, op. cit., p. 265.

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

“Not only are the Jaṅs, Gūjars, Ajaṛs, etc., related in blood to the Rājpūts, 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 Hūnas (Hūs) 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 Parihār (Pratihiāra) Rājpūts were originally Gurjaras or Gūjars; or, if we prefer, we may say that certain Gurjaras were originally Pratihiāras; and it is practically certain that the three other ‘fire born’ Rājpūt clans—Pawār (Pramār), Solākī (Chaulukya), and Chaushān (Chāhamāna)—were descended, like the Parihārs, 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. Further, it is not possible at present to be certain concerning the road by which the Gurjaras, Hūnas, etc., entered India. Probably they came by many roads. But the legend locating the origin of the fire-born clans at Mount Ābū and much evidence of other kinds indicate that the principal settlements of the foreigners were in Rājputānā, which became the great centre of dispersion.

“We know that as early as the first half of the seventh century, Bhinmāl (Śrimāla) to the north-west of Mount Ābū, was the capital of a kingdom ruled by Vyāghramukha Chāpā. The Chāpas were a subdivision of the Gurjaras. A coin of Vyāghramukha was found associated with numerous slightly earlier Hūna coins of the sixth and seventh centuries on the Manaswāl Plateau in the outer Śivālik Hills, Hoshiyārpur District, Panjab, which at that period undoubtedly was under Hūna-Gurjara rule. Early in the eighth century, Nāgabhāṣṭa I, a Gurjara, who had then become a Hindū, established a strong monarchy at Bhinmāl, where Vyāghramukha had ruled a hundred years earlier. Nāgabhāṣṭa’s son, Vatsarāja, greatly extended the dominions of his house, defeating even the king of Eastern Bengal. In or about 810 A.D., Nāgabhāṣṭa II, son and successor of Vatsarāja, 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-Pratihiāra kingdom of Kanauj was the paramount power of Northern India, and included Surāśṭra (Kāthiāṅār) within its limits, as well as Karnāl, now under the Government of the Panjab.

“I take it that the Gurjaras and other foreign tribes settled in Rājputānā, from the sixth century onwards adopted the local language, an early form of Rājasthānī, with great rapidity. They brought, I imagine, few women with them, and when they formed- unions with Hindū 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 Rājasthānī language must have been carried over a wide territory far more extensively than that now occupied by it. It seems to me that the Gujurs and Ajaṛs of Swāt, and the similar tribes in the lower Hīmālayas to the east of Chambā, should be regarded as survivals of a much larger population which once spoke Rājasthānī, the language of the court and capital. For one reason or other the neighbours of those northern Gujurs and Ajaṛs took up various languages, Puṣṭō, Lahnā, or whatever it might be, while the graziers and shepherds clung to the ancient tongue which their ancestors had brought from Rājputānā, and which probably was spoken for a long time in much of the country intervening between the hills and Mēwāt. If this theory be sound, the forms of the Himalayān Rājasthānī, should be more archaic than those of modern Mēwāt or the other

64 I have a suspicion that they may have been Irānians, perhaps from Sīstān, but I cannot profess to prove that hypothesis.
dialects of Rājputānā, just as in Quebec French is more archaic than current Parisian. I do not see any other way of explaining the existence of the Rājasthāni '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 Himālayan; they rather suggest immigration from the west by the Quetta and Kandahār routes or lines of march still further south. Settlements dropped among the Himalayan Hills by invaders speaking a Central Asian language could not possibly have picked up the tongue of eastern Rājputānā. The ancestors of the Swāt Gurjars must have spoken Rājasthāni 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-Bhūja and his son, Mahendrāpalā (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 Gurjars, etc., of the lower Himālayan, who now speak forms of Rājasthāni, are in large measure of the same stock as many Rājpūt clans in Rājputānā, the Panjāb, and the United Provinces; that their ancestors emigrated from Rājputānā after they had acquired the Rājasthāni speech; and that the most likely time for such emigration is the ninth century, when the Gurjara-Rājpūt power dominated all northern and north-western India, with its capital at Kanauj."

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, Janjūs, and Paṭhāns being too strong for them. But their progress was not stopped, and they have probably entered the Gurjarāt Province and Western Rājputānā by this route. In Gurjarāt they became merged into the general population, and there is now in that province no Gūjar caste, but there are Gūjar and simple Vājīs (traders), Gūjar and simple Sutārs (carpenters), Gūjar and simple Sonārs (goldsmiths), Gūjar and simple Kumbhārs (potters), and Gūjar and simple Salāṭs (masons).

Gūjaras, as distinct from Rājpūts, 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 Rājpūts. These must have come along the other supposed line of advance from the north. Several Gūjar-Rājpūt tribes, such as the Chālukyas, Chāhamānās (Chauhāns), and Sindas, came to Rājputānā from a mountainous country called Śapadalaksha.

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

[6 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. 1897);
"White Hun Coins of Vṛāghramukha" (Ibid., Oct. 1897);
"The History of the City of Kanauj, etc." (Ibid., July 1908).]

D. R. Bhandarkar—
"Foreign elements in the Hindu Population" (Ind. Ant., 1911, pp. 7—37). Mr. Bhandarkar (p. 30) thinks that Eastern Rājasthāni is derived from Pahārī Hindi; but I do not think he can be right.

[7 Ibbetson, t. c., p. 263. Mr. Vincent Smith is of opinion that the position of their principal settlement, that at Bhimnāl, 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 Bālchtistān by roads further north. If they came from Sīstān and spoke an Eranian language, they would soon have picked up an Iranian tongue. On this theory, the Gurjaras 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.]

[8 Bhandarkar, t. c., p. 22.]
Mr. Bhandarkar\textsuperscript{70} has shown that this Sapādalaksha included the hill-country from Chamba on the west, to Western Nepal on the east, thus almost exactly corresponding with the area in which Western and Central Pahāṛi are now spoken. Now, in this tract at the present day it may be said that, while there are plenty of Rājpūṭs, there are no Gūjars. The main population is, as we have seen, Khaśas, in which the non-military Gūjars must have been merged.\textsuperscript{71} The Sapādalaksha Gūjar-Rājpūṭs, on the other hand, have provided Mewār with its Chauhāns. We have seen that one of the Swāt Gūjur septs is also called Chauhān, and the second of the two explanations for the presence of the Gūjurs 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.\textsuperscript{72}

We have seen that there were originally many Rājpūṭs in Sapādalaksha. In the times of the Musulmān rule of India many more Rājpūṭs 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 Pahāṛi languages and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that it is plain that down even to the days of late Musulmān 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 Pahāṛi languages and Rājasthānī.

We thus arrive at the following general results regarding the Aryan-speaking population of the Pahāṛi 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.\textsuperscript{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 Brāhmans with Kṣatriyas. In this guise they invaded Eastern Rājputāna from Sapādalaksha, and, possibly, Western Rājputāna from Sindh, and founded, as Rājpūṭs, the great Rājpūṭ states of Rājputāna.\textsuperscript{74}

\textsuperscript{70} L. c. pp. 29 ff. Sapādalaksha becomes in modern speech sawd-lākh, 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 'Sivdlik' hills.

\textsuperscript{71} We see traces of this merging in the great Kānā caste of the Simla Hills. It has two divisions, one called Khasī 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 Rājpūṭs.

\textsuperscript{72} The writer's personal opinion upon this disputed point is given at length near the end of this article (p. 186).

\textsuperscript{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 Rājpūṭs and the Gūjurs, is not Indo-Aryan. It is now-a-days certainly Indo-Aryan, and belongs to the Inner-Group of these languages.

\textsuperscript{74} It is interesting, on this point, to note that the Central Pahāṛi of Kumaun and Garhwal (i.e., of Eastern Sapādalaksha) agree with Eastern Rājasthānī in having the genitive postposition ā and the verb substantive derived from the aekh, while in the Western Pahāṛi of the Simla Hills (i.e., Western Sapādalaksha) the termination of the genitive is the Western Rājasthānī rā, while one of the verbs substantive (d, is) is probably the same origin as the Western Rājasthānī ḍā. As for Gūjarāti, the genitive ends in ndō, and the verb substantive belongs to the aekh group. West of Western Pahāṛi we have the Pūthwārī dialect of Lāhnā. Here also the genitive termination is ndō, but the verb substantive differs from that of Gūjarāti. On the other hand Gūjarāti agrees with all the Lāhnā 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 Himalayas, from the Indus to Nepal, there are three groups of dialects agreeing in striking points with, in order Gūjarāti, Western Rājasthānī and Eastern Rājasthānī.
The Khaśās 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 Kāshmiri, 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 Pahāri,—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 Khaśās, whom Sanskrit tradition makes to be related to the Piśāchas. But the Pahāri languages, although with this Khaśā basis, are much more closely related to Rājasthāni. 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-Rājput 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 Rājput of the plains. The re-immigration was increased by the oppression of the Mughul rule in India proper, and there are historical notices of tribes 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.

In Sapādalaksha proper (the hill-tract with Chamba for its western and Kumaon for its eastern extremity) the Khaśās 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 Khaśā-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 Khaśās 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 Rājasthāni, 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 Khaśā traces in dealing with each language in the following pages. See especially the section devoted to Western Pahāri.

76 For details, see the Introductions to each of the three Pahāri 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 ērandi as a postposition of the genitive, the form chhān, for the verb substantive, and the use of ēli to form the future tense) its modern descendant, Râjasthâni, shows points of agreement with the Piśâcha 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 Mêwâti 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 Mêwâti 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 Mêwâti Gûjars went up the Jamnâ Valley, and settled in the Panjab 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 Hindostâni. The use of Hindostâni forms in this mongrel submontane Gujarî, far from the River Jamnâ, on the banks of which Hindostâni 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, Kashmir, 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 Mêwât. But even here we shall see in the specimens sporadic waifs picked up on their journey—stray Hindostâni and Pañjâbî forms, retained like solitary flies in amber, within the body of the Gujur speech.