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**STEPHEN AUSTIN,**



**PRIDYER, HERTFORD.**

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[NEW SERIES.]

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ART. I.—*Contributions to a Knowledge of the Vedic Theogony  
and Mythology.* No. II.—By J. MUIR, Esq.

THE AṢVINS.

THE Aṣvins seem to have been a puzzle even to the oldest Indian Commentators. Yāska thus refers to them in the Nirukta, xii. 1: "Next in order are the deities whose sphere is the heaven; of these the Aṣvins are the first to arrive. They are called Aṣvins, because they pervade (*vyāṣṇuvāte*) everything, the one with moisture, the other with light. Aurnabhāva says they are called Aṣvins, from the horses (*aṣvaiḥ*, on which they ride). Who, then, are these Aṣvins? 'Heaven and Earth,' say some; 'Day and Night,' say others; 'The Sun and Moon,' say others; 'Two kings, performers of holy acts,' say the legendary writers. Their time is subsequent to midnight, whilst the manifestation of light is delayed; [and ends with the rising of the sun, *ibid.* xii. 5]. The dark portion [of this time] denotes the intermediate (god, = Indra), the light portion Aditya (the Sun)."<sup>1</sup> Professor Roth, on the strength of this passage considers that Yāska identifies the two Aṣvins with Indra and the Sun (*Illustrations of Nirukta*, p. 159).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the different interpretation given by Professor Goldstücker, below.

<sup>2</sup> R. V. i. 181, 4, is quoted by Yāska in illustration of his view:—"Born here and there, these two have striven forward (?) with spotless bodies according to their respective characters. One of you, a conqueror and a sage [is the son of] the strong one (?); the other is born onward, the son of the sky." Comp. Roth's transl. in illustration of Nirukta, p. 159.

In the Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv. 425, the same author thus speaks of these gods: "The two Aṣvins, though, like the ancient interpreters of the Veda, we are by no means agreed as to the conception of their character, hold, nevertheless, a perfectly distinct position in the entire body of the Vedic deities of light. They are the earliest bringers of light in the morning sky, who in their chariot hasten onward before the dawn, and prepare the way for her." <sup>1</sup>

In a passage of the R. V., x. 17, 2 (quoted in my paper on Yama, p. 288), the Aṣvins are represented as the twin sons of Vivasvat and Saranyû. They are also called the sons of the sky (*divo napātā*) in R. V., i. 182, 1; i. 184, 1;<sup>2</sup> x. 61, 4; and in i. 46, 2 *sindhumatara*, the offspring of the Ocean<sup>3</sup> (whether aerial or terrestrial). In viii. 75, 1, they are said to have sprung (?) from the word of Daksha.

In i. 180, 2, the sister of the Aṣvins is mentioned, by whom the Commentator naturally understands Ushas. In vii. 71. 1, Ushas appears to be called the Sister of Night, whilst in i. 123, 5, she is said to be the sister of Bhaga and Varuna.

The Aṣvins are in many parts of the R. V. connected with Sûryâ, the youthful daughter of the sun (called also in one place, i. 119, 2, Urjânî (?)), who is represented as having chosen them for her husbands (i. 119, 5; iv. 43, 6; vii. 69, 3; comp. x. 39, 11); and as having eagerly ascended their chariot (i. 34, 5; i. 116, 17; i. 117, 13; i. 118, 5; iv. 43, 2, 6; v. 73, 5; vi. 63, 5 f.; vii. 68, 3; vii. 69, 4; viii. 8, 10; viii. 22, 1; comp. viii. 29, 8).<sup>4</sup>

The commentator (on i. 116, 17) following the Brâhmanas, explains these allusions by saying that Savitri had destined his daughter Sûryâ to be the wife of Soma. But all the gods were anxious to obtain her hand, and resolved that the victor

<sup>1</sup> For some speculations of Professors Müller and Weber, on the Aṣvins, see the lectures of the former, 2nd series, p. 439, f, and the Indische Studien of the latter, vol. v., p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> In i. 181. 4, only one of them is said to be the son of the sky.

<sup>3</sup> On this the commentator remarks that although it is the Sun and Moon that are sprung from the sea, yet the same epithet applies equally to the Aṣvins who in the opinion of some are identical with the former.

<sup>4</sup> See also A. V. vi. 82, 2.

in a race which they agreed to run, should get her. She was accordingly won by the Aṣvins, and ascended their chariot.

Allusion is also made to Sûryâ in connection with the Aṣvins in x. 85, 9, where, however, they no longer appear as her husbands: "Soma was the wooer, the Aṣvins were the two friends of the bridegroom,<sup>1</sup> when Savitri gave to her husband Sûryâ consenting in her mind . . . 14. When ye came, Aṣvins, to the marriage procession of Sûryâ, to make enquiries, all the gods approved, and Pûshan<sup>2</sup> as a son chose you for his parents."

The daughter of the Sun is connected with the Soma plant in ix. 1, 6: "The Daughter of the Sun purifies thy distilled Soma," etc.; and in ix. 113, 3, she is said to have brought it after it had been expanded by the rain.

If we look on Soma as the plant of that name, the connection between it and Sûryâ is not very clear; but if Soma be taken for the moon, as he appears to be in x. 85, 3 ("When they crush the plant, he who drinks fancies that he has drunk Soma; but no one tastes of him whom the priests know to be Soma,")<sup>3</sup> it is not unnatural, from the relation of the two luminaries, that he should have been regarded as son-in-law of the sun.

The Aṣvins are described as coming from afar, from the sky or from the lower air (i. 22, 2; iv. 44, 5; viii. 5, 30; viii. 8, 3, 4, 7); or as arriving from different unknown quarters, whether above or below, far or near (v. 73, 1; v. 74, 10; vii. 70, 3; vii. 72, 5; viii. 9, 2; viii. 10, 1, 5; viii. 26, 17; viii. 62, 5). Sometimes the worshipper enquires after their locality (i. 184, 1; v. 74, 2, 3; vi. 63, 1; viii. 62, 4). In one place (viii. 8, 23,) they are said to have three stations. The time of their appearance is properly the early dawn, when they yoke their horses to their car and descend to earth to receive the adorations and offerings of their votaries (i. 22, 1;

<sup>1</sup> Comp. A.V. xi. 8, 1, "when Manyu brought his bride from the house of San-kalpa, who were the bridegroom's friends?" etc.

<sup>2</sup> Weber asks (Ind. S. v. 183, 187,) whether Pûshan here is not meant to designate Soma the bridegroom. In vi. 58, 4, the gods are said to have given Pûshan to Sûryâ.

<sup>3</sup> See the part of my former paper referring to Soma, p. 140; and Weber's Ind. Stud. v. 179.

i. 184, 1; iv. 45, 2; vii. 67, 2;<sup>1</sup> vii. 69, 5; vii. 71, 1-3; vii. 72, 4; vii. 73, 1; viii. 5, 1, 2;<sup>2</sup> viii. 9, 17;<sup>3</sup> x. 39, 12;<sup>4</sup> x. 40, 1, 3; x. 41, 1, 2; x. 61, 4).<sup>5</sup> In i. 34, 10, Savitri is said to put their car in motion before the dawn. In other passages their time is not so well defined. Thus, in i. 157, 1, it is said: "Agni has awoken; the sun rises from the earth; the great and bright Ushas has dawned with her light; the Aṣvins have yoked their car to go; the divine Savitri has enlivened every part of the world:" where both the break of dawn and the appearance of the Aṣvins appear to be made simultaneous with the rising of the sun. The same is the case in vii. 71, 4. In v. 76, 3, the Aṣvins are invited to come at different times of the day, and in viii. 22, 14, it is said that they are invoked in the evening and during the day, as well as at dawn. It need not, however, surprise us that they should be invited to attend the different ceremonies of the worshippers, and therefore conceived to appear at hours distinct from the natural periods of their manifestation.

It may seem unaccountable that two deities of a character so little defined, and so difficult to identify, as the Aṣvins, should have been the object of so enthusiastic a worship as appears from the numerous hymns dedicated to them in the R. V. to have been paid to them in ancient times. The reason may have been that they were hailed as the precursors of returning day, after the darkness and dangers of the night. In one passage (viii. 35, 16 ff.) they are represented as being, like Agni, the chasers away of evil spirits.

The Aṣvins are said to be young (vii. 67, 10), ancient (vi. 62, 5), beautiful (vi. 62, 5; vi. 63, 1), honey-hued (viii. 26, 6), lords of lustre (viii. 22, 14; x. 93, 6), bright (vii. 68, 1),

<sup>1</sup> vii. 67, 2, "Agni, being kindled, has shone upon us; even the remotest ends of the darkness have been seen; the light preceding the dawn has been perceived, springing up for the glory of the daughter of heaven (Ushas). 3. Now, Aṣvins, the priest invokes you with his hymns," etc.

<sup>2</sup> viii. 5, 1, 2; "When the rosy-hued dawn, though far away, gleams as if she were near at hand, she spreads the light in all directions. 2. Ye, Aṣvins, like men, follow after Ushas in your car which is yoked by thought, and shines afar."

<sup>3</sup> viii. 9, 17, "Wake, o great and divine Ushas, the Aṣvins," etc.

<sup>4</sup> x. 39, 12, "The daughter of the sky (the dawn) is born when your car is yoked; as are also day and night."

<sup>5</sup> x. 61, 4, when the dark [night] stands among the tawny cows (rays of dawn), I invoke you, Aṣvins, sons of the sky."



of a golden brilliancy and sun-like radiance (viii. 8, 2), agile (vi. 63, 5), fleet as thought (viii. 22, 16), swift as falcons (v. 78, 4), possessed of many forms (i. 117, 9), wearing lotus garlands (x. 184, 2, and A. V. iii. 22, 4, Ṣ. P. Br. iv. 1, 5, 16); strong (x. 24, 4), mighty (vi. 62, 5), terrible, (*rudrá*, v. 75, 3; x. 93, 7), skilful (*māyínā* or *māyāvínā*, vi. 63, 5; x. 24, 4), and profound in wisdom (viii. 8. 2). They are overthrowers of pride (viii. 22, 16); and traverse a golden (v. 75, 3), or terrible (viii. 5, 11; viii. 8, 1; viii. 22, 1, 14; x. 39, 11), path.<sup>1</sup>

The car, golden in all its various parts (i. 180, 1; iv. 44, 4, 5; v. 77, 3; viii. 5, 28, 29, 35; viii. 22, 9), on which they ride, flying as on bird's wings (i. 183, 1), was formed by the R̥ibhus (x. 39, 12), and is singular in its formation, being three-wheeled, and triple in some other parts of its construction (*trivrt*, *trivandhura*)<sup>2</sup> (i. 34, 2, 9; i. 47, 2; i. 118, 1, 2; i. 157, 3; vii. 71, 4; viii. 74, 8; x. 41, 1; comp. iv. 36, 1).

This car moves lightly (viii. 9, 8) and is swifter than thought (i. 117, 2; i. 118, 1; v. 77, 3; vi. 63, 7; x. 39, 12), or than the twinkling of an eye (viii. 62, 2). It is decked with a thousand ornaments and banners (*sahasra-nirñij*, *sahasra-ketu* (i. 119, 1; viii. 8, 11, 14, 15) and has golden reins (viii. 22, 5). It is sometimes said to be drawn by a single ass, as the word *rāsabha*<sup>3</sup> is, in two places at least,

<sup>1</sup> Two epithets very commonly applied to them are *dasrā*, and *násatyā*. The former term is explained by Śāyana to signify destroyers of enemies, or of diseases (note on i. 3, 3), or beautiful (on viii. 75, 1). Professor Roth *s.e.* understands it to signify wonder-workers. The second word *násatyā* is regarded by Śāyana, following one of the etymologies given by Yāska (vi. 13) as equivalent to *satyā*, truthful. If this is the sense, *satyā* itself might as well have been used. In the later literature *Dasra* and *Násatyā* were regarded as the separate names of the two Āsvins. See Müller's Lectures, 2nd Series, p. 491.

<sup>2</sup> The word *vandhura* is variously explained by Śāyana as *niḍabandhanādhāra-dhātum* (on i. 34, 9), *umnatānatarāpa-bandhana-kḍaḥṭham* (on i. 47, 2), *veshṭhitam sārathēḥ sthānam* (on i. 118, 1), *sārathyāpraya-sthānam* (on i. 157, 3), *sārathyādhishṭhāna-sthānam* (on vii. 71, 4), and *trivandhura* as *triphalakāsanghaṭitena* (on viii. 74, 8). The epithet would thus mean either (1) having three perpendicular pieces of wood, or (2) having a triple standing place or seat for the charioteer. In i. 34, 2, the chariot is said to have three props fixed in it to lay hold of (*trayaḥ skambhāsah skabhitāsa ārabhe*) which the commentator says were meant to secure the rider against the fear of falling when the chariot was moving rapidly. This explanation would coincide with one of the senses assigned to *vandhura*. In i. 181, 3, their chariot is called *ṣypra-vandhuraḥ*, which according to the commentator is = *viśṭṛya-purobhāgaḥ*, "having a wide fore-part."

<sup>3</sup> See the legend in the Aitareya Brahmana, p. 270-273 of Dr. Haug's translation.

explained by the commentator (i. 34, 9; i. 116, 2; viii. 74, 7); but more frequently by fleet-winged, golden-winged, falcon-like, swan-like horses, (i. 46, 3; i. 117, 2; i. 118, 4, 5; i. 180, 1; i. 181, 2; iv. 45, 4; v. 75, 5; vi. 63, 7; vii. 69, 7; viii. 5, 7, 22, 33, 35; viii. 10, 2; x. 143, 5). They carry a honied whip (*kaṣā madhumatī*, i. 22, 3; i. 157, 4),<sup>1</sup> and traverse the regions (*tīro rajāmsi*, vii. 68, 3).

The Aṣvins are fancifully represented as doing, or as being requested to do, a variety of acts thrice over, viz., to move thrice by night and thrice by day, to bestow food thrice at even and at dawn, to bestow wealth thrice, come to the worship of the gods thrice, to bestow celestial medicaments thrice, and earthly thrice, etc. (i. 34, 1 ff; viii. 35, 7-9).

They are elsewhere compared to different twin objects, to two vultures on a tree, to two priests reciting hymns, to two goats, to two beautiful women, to husband and wife, to two ducks (*chakravākā*), to two ships, to two dogs, two eyes, two hands, two feet, two lips, two breasts, two noses, two ears, two swans, two falcons, two deer, two buffaloes, two wings of one bird, etc., etc. (ii. 39, 1 ff.; v. 78, 1-3; viii. 35, 7-9; x. 106, 2 ff.).

They are physicians<sup>2</sup> and restore the blind, the lame, the emaciated, and the sick, to sight, power of locomotion, health, and strength (i. 34, 6; i. 116, 16; i. 157, 6; viii. 9, 6, 15; viii. 22, 10; viii. 75, 1; x. 39, 3, 5; x. 40, 8). See also A. V. vii. 53, 1, where it is said that the Aṣvins are the physicians of the gods, and warded off death.

They place the productive germ in all creatures, and generate fire, water, and trees (i. 157, 5). They are connected with procreation and with love (x. 184, 2; x. 85, 26; A. V. ii. 30, 2; v. 25, 3; vi. 102, 1; xiv. 1, 36; xiv. 2, 5). See Weber's Ind. Stud. v. 219, 234.

The following are a few of the modes in which the divine

<sup>1</sup> See my paper on the "Progress of Vedic Religion, etc.," p. 363. Indra has a golden whip, viii. 33, 11.

<sup>2</sup> In Taitt. Br. iii. 1, 2, 11, the Aṣvins are called the physicians of the gods, the bearers of oblations, the messengers of the universe, the guardians of immortality; and in that and the preceding paragraph (10) they are connected with their own asterism (*nakṣatra*), the Aṣvayuj.

power of the Aṣvins is declared in different hymns to have been manifested for the deliverance of their votaries.

When the sage Chyavâna had grown old, and had been forsaken, they divested him of his decrepit body, prolonged his life, and restored him to youth, making him acceptable to his wife, and the husband of maidens (i. 116, 10; i. 117, 13; i. 118, 6: v. 74, 5; v. 75, 5; vii. 68, 6; vii. 71, 5; x. 39, 4).

This legend is related at length in the S. P. Br. in a passage which will be cited further on.

In the same way they renewed the youth of Kali<sup>1</sup> after he had grown old (x. 39, 8), and had married a wife (i. 112, 15).

They brought on a car to the youthful Vimada<sup>2</sup> a bride (i. 112, 19; i. 116, 1) named Kamadyû (x. 65, 12), who seems to have been the chaste wife of Purumitra (i. 117, 20; x. 39, 7).

They restored Vishṇâpû, like a lost animal, to the sight of Viṣvaka, son of Krishna, their worshipper, who, according to the commentator, was his father (i. 116, 23; i. 117, 7; x. 65, 12).

The names both of Viṣvaka and Vishṇâpû occur in R. V. viii. 75, a hymn addressed to the Aṣvins; and the commentator connects the reference there made to them with the legend before us (on which, however, the hymn itself throws no light).

Another act recorded of the Aṣvins is their intervention in favour of Bhujyu, the son of Tugra, which is obscurely described in the following verses in R. V. i. 116, 3-5: "Tugra abandoned Bhujyu in the water-cloud, as any dead man leaves his property. Ye, Aṣvins, bore him in animated (*âtmanvatibhik*) water-tight ships, which traversed the air. 4. Three nights and three days did ye convey him in three flying cars, with a hundred feet, and six horses, which crossed over to the dry land beyond the liquid ocean. 5. Ye put forth your vigour in the ocean, which offers no stay, or standing-place, or support, when ye bore Bhujyu to his home, standing on a ship propelled by a hundred oars." R. V. i. 117, 14, 15: "Ye conveyed Bhujyu out of the liquid ocean with your

<sup>1</sup> The family of the Kalis is mentioned viii. 55, 15.

<sup>2</sup> A rishi of this name is mentioned R. V. viii. 9, 15; x. 20, 10; x. 23, 7; and a family of Vimadas in x. 23, 6.

headlong flying horses. 15. The son of Tugra invoked you, Aṣvins. Borne forward, he moved without distress over the sea. Ye brought him out with your well-yoked chariot swift as thought." Again in i. 182, 5 ff. it is said: "Ye (Aṣvins) made this animated (*ātmanvantam*) winged boat for the son of Tugra among the waters . . . 6. Four ships, in eager haste (?) impelled by the Aṣvins, convey to the shore Tugra, who had been plunged in the waters, and sunk in bottomless darkness. 7. What was that log, placed in the midst of the waves, which the suppliant son of Tugra embraced, as the wings of a bird, for support?" In vii. 68, 7, Bhujyu is said to have been abandoned by his malevolent companions in the middle of the sea. The story is also alluded to in i. 112, 6, 20; i. 118, 6; i. 119, 4; vi. 62, 6; vii. 69, 7; viii. 5, 22; x. 39, 4; x. 40, 7; x. 65, 12; x. 143, 5.

Again, when Viṣpalā's leg had been out off in battle, like the wing of a bird, the Aṣvins are said, when lauded by Agastya, to have given her an iron one instead (R. V. i. 112, 10; i. 116, 15; i. 117, 11; i. 118, 8; x. 39, 8).<sup>1</sup>

They restored sight to Rijrāṣva, who had been made blind by his father for giving a hundred and one sheep to a she wolf to eat (i. 116, 16; i. 117, 17, 18). Rijrāṣva is mentioned in i. 100, 17, as praising Indra.

They restored Parāvṛj (or an outcast), who was blind and lame, to sight and the power of walking (i. 112, 8). Parāvṛj is connected with Indra in ii. 13, 12, and ii. 15, 7.

The Rishi Rebha has been hidden by the malignant, bound, overwhelmed in the waters (a well, according to the commentator), for ten nights and nine days, and abandoned till he was nearly, if not entirely, dead. The Aṣvins drew him up as soma-juice is raised with a ladle, or as a pot full of gold is dug out of the earth (i. 112, 5; i. 116, 24; i. 117, 4, 12; i. 118, 6; i. 119, 6; x. 39, 9).

Vandana seems to have been delivered from a somewhat similar calamity according to i. 112, 5; i. 118, 6; x. 39, 8. According to i. 119, 6, 7, however, he would appear to have been restored from decrepitude. From i. 116, 11, and i. 117,

<sup>1</sup> Compare the word *viṣpalāvastī* in R. V. i. 182, 1.

5, it would seem as if some person or thing had been restored to him.

So, too, the Aṣvins bestowed wisdom on their worshipper Kakshivat, of the family of Pajra; and performed the notable miracle of causing a hundred jars of wine and honied liquor to flow forth from the hoof of their horse as from a sieve (i. 116, 7; i. 117, 6).

When invoked by the popular sage Atri Saptavadhri, who had been plunged by the malice and arts of evil spirits into a gloomy and burning abyss,<sup>1</sup> they speedily came to his assistance, mitigated the heat with cold, and supplied him with nutriment, so that his situation became tolerable, if not agreeable, till they eventually extricated him from his perilous position (i. 112, 7; i. 116, 8; i. 117, 3; i. 118, 7; i. 119, 6; v. 78, 4-6; vii. 71, 5; viii. 62, 3, 7-9; x. 39, 9). In x. 80, 3, the deliverance of Atri is ascribed to Agni.

They listened to the invocation of the wise Vadhrimatī, and gave her a son called Hiranyahasta (i. 116, 13; i. 117, 24; vi. 62, 7; x. 39, 7).

They gave a husband to Ghoshā when she was growing old in her father's house (i. 117, 7; x. 39, 3, 6; x. 40); and, according to the commentator, cured her of the leprosy with which she had been afflicted (comp. i. 122, 5).

They caused the cow of the suppliant Sayu, which had left off bearing, to yield milk (i. 116, 22; i. 117, 20; i. 118, 8; i. 119, 6; x. 39, 13).

They gave to Pedu a strong, swift, white horse, of incomparable Indra-like prowess, which overcame all his enemies, and conquered for him unbounded spoils (i. 116, 6; i. 117, 9; i. 118, 9; i. 119, 10; vii. 71, 5; x. 39, 10).

Finally, to say nothing of the succours rendered to numerous other persons (i. 112, 116, 117, 118, 119,) the Aṣvins did not confine their benevolence to human beings, but are also celebrated as having rescued from the jaws of a wolf a quail by which they were invoked (i. 116, 14; i. 117, 16; i. 118, 8; x. 39, 13).

<sup>1</sup> See Roth's explanation of the words *ṛbisa* and *gharma*, and his Illustrations of Nirukta, vi. 36.

The deliverances of Rebha, Vandana, Parâvrj, Bhujyu, Chyavâna, and others are explained by Professor Benfey, (following Dr. Kuhn and Professor Müller) in the notes to his translations of the hymns in which they are mentioned, as referring to certain physical phenomena with which the Aṣvins are supposed by these scholars to be connected. But this allegorical method of interpretation seems unlikely to be correct, as it is difficult to suppose that the phenomena in question should have been alluded to under such a variety of names and circumstances. It appears therefore to be more probable that the Rishis merely refer to certain legends which were popularly current of interventions of the Aṣvins in behalf of the persons whose names are mentioned. The word Parâvrj (in i. 112, 8), which is taken by the commentator for a proper name, and is explained by Professors Müller<sup>1</sup> and Benfey as the returning, or the setting, sun, is interpreted by Professor Roth in his *Lexicon*, *s.v.*, as an outcast.

In viii. 26, 8, the Aṣvins are invoked along with Indra, with whom they are also connected in x. 73, 4, and on whose car they sometimes ride, while at other times they accompany Vâyu, or the Âdityas, or the Ribhus, or participate in the strides of Vishṇu (viii. 9. 12). In i. 182, 2, they are said to possess strongly the qualities of Indra and of the Maruts. In x. 131, 4, 5, they are described as assisting Indra in his conflict with the Asura Namuchi (see my paper "Contributions," etc., p. 94, note), and as vigorous slayers of Vṛtra or of enemies (viii. 8, 22). They are greeted with affection (?) by the other gods when they arrive, x. 24, 5. In A. V. xii. 1, 10, they are represented as having meted out the earth.

The Aṣvins are supplicated with uplifted hands (vi. 63, 3,) for a variety of blessings, for long life, and forgiveness of sin (i. 157, 4); for offspring, wealth, victory, destruction of enemies, protection of friends, preservation of the worshippers themselves, of their houses and cattle (vii. 67, 6; viii. 8, 13, 15, 17; viii. 9, 11, 13; viii. 26, 7). They are exhorted to

<sup>1</sup> Lectures on language, second series, p. 512.

pass by and to destroy the man who offers no oblations, and to create light for the wise man who praises them (i. 182, 3).

No calamity or alarm from any quarter can touch the man whose chariot they place in the van (x. 39, 11).<sup>1</sup> The Rishi addresses them as a son his parents (vii. 67. 1). In x. 39, 6, a female suppliant, who represents herself as friendless and destitute, calls on them to treat her as parents do their children, and rescue her from her misfortunes. In another place (viii. 62, 11) they are reproached with being as tardy as two old men to respond to the summons of their worshipper. In vii. 72, 2, the Rishi represents himself as having hereditary claims on their consideration, and a common bond of union.<sup>2</sup>

The Aṣvins are described as being, like the other gods, fond of the soma juice (iii. 58, 7, 9; iv. 45, 1, 3; viii. 8, 5; viii. 35, 7-9).

The following version of the legend relating to the cure of Chyavana by the Aṣvins (to which allusion is made in the passages of the R. V. quoted above) is found in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 1, 5, 1 ff. :—

“Chyavana of the race of Bhṛgu, or Chyavana of the race of Angiras, having magically assumed a shrivelled form, was abandoned. Ṣaryāta, the descendant of Manu, wandered over this [world] with his tribe. He sat down in the neighbourhood [of Chyavana]. His youths, while playing, fancied this shrivelled magical body to be worthless, and pounded it with clods. Chyavana was incensed at the sons of Ṣaryāta. He created discord among them, so that father fought with son, and brother with brother. Ṣaryāta bethought him, ‘what have I done? in consequence of which this calamity has befallen us.’ He ordered the cowherds and shepherds to be called, and said, ‘which of you has seen anything here to-day?’ They replied, ‘this shrivelled magical body which lies there is a man. Fancying it was something worthless,

<sup>1</sup> Compare the request preferred to Indra to bring forward the chariot of his worshipper from the rear to the front (viii. 69, 4. f.)

<sup>2</sup> The commentator explains this of a common ancestry by saying, in accordance with later tradition, that Vivasvat and Varuṇa were both sons of Kaśyapa and Aditi, and that Vivasvat was the father of the Aṣvins, while Varuṇa was father of Vasistha the Rishi of the hymn. See Sanskrit Texts, i. 76, f.

the youths pounded it with clods.' Śaryāta knew then that it was Chyavana. He yoked his chariot, and taking his daughter Sukanyā, drove off, and arrived at the place where the Rishi was. He said, 'Reverence to thee, Rishi; I injured thee because I did not know. This is Sukanyā, with her I appease thee. Let my tribe be reconciled.' His tribe was in consequence reconciled; and Śaryāta of the race of Manu strove that he might never again do injury to any one. Now the Aṣvins used to wander over this world, performing cures. They approached Sukanyā and wished to seduce her; but she would not consent. They said to her 'Sukanyā, what shrivelled magical body is this by which thou liest? follow us.' She replied, 'I will not abandon, while he lives, the man to whom my father gave me.' The Rishi became aware of this. He said, 'Sukanyā, what was this that they said to thee?' She told it to him. When informed, he said, 'If they address thee thus again, say to them, 'ye are neither complete nor perfect, and yet ye speak contemptuously of my husband;' and if they ask 'in what respect are we incomplete and imperfect?' then reply, 'make my husband young again, and I will tell you.' Accordingly they came again to her, and said the same thing. She answered, 'Ye are neither complete nor perfect, and yet ye talk contemptuously of my husband.' They enquired, 'In what respect are we incomplete and imperfect?' She rejoined, 'make my husband young again, and I will tell you.' They replied, 'take him to this pond, and he shall come forth with any age which he shall desire.' She took him to the pond, and he came forth with the age that he desired. The Aṣvins then asked, 'Sukanyā, in what respect are we incomplete and imperfect?' To this the Rishi replied, 'The other gods celebrate a sacrifice in Kurukshetra, and exclude you two from it. That is the respect in which ye are incomplete and imperfect.' The Aṣvins then departed and came to the gods who were celebrating a sacrifice, when the Bahishpavamāna<sup>1</sup> text had been recited. They said, 'Invite us to join you.' The gods replied, 'We will not invite you, for ye have wandered about very

<sup>1</sup> See Haug's Ait. Br. ii. p. 120, note 13.



familiarly among men,<sup>1</sup> performing cures.' The Aṣvins rejoined, 'Ye worship with a headless sacrifice.' They asked, 'How [do we worship] with a headless [sacrifice]?' The Aṣvins answered, 'Invite us to join you, and we will tell you.' The gods consented, and invited them. They offered this Aṣvina draught (*graha*) to the Aṣvins, who became the two adhvaryu priests<sup>2</sup> of the sacrifice, and restored the head of the sacrifice. It is related in the Brāhmaṇa of the Divākirttyas, in what manner they restored the head of the sacrifice," etc., etc.

A story, varying in some particulars, is narrated in the Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, 10316 ff. We are there told that the body of Chyavana, when performing austerity in a certain place, became encrusted with an ant-hill; that king Śaryāti came then to the spot with his wives and his daughter Sukanyā; that the Rishi seeing her, became enamoured of her and endeavoured to gain her affections, but without eliciting from her any reply. Seeing, however, the sage's eyes gleaming out from the ant-hill, and not knowing what they were, the princess pierced them with a sharp instrument, whereupon Chyavana became incensed, and afflicted the king's army with a stoppage of urine and of the other necessary function. When the king found out the cause of the infliction, and supplicated the Rishi for its removal, the latter insisted on receiving the king's daughter to wife, as the sole condition of his forgiveness. Sukanyā accordingly lived with the Rishi as his spouse. One day, however, she was seen by the Aṣvins, who endeavoured, but without effect, to persuade her to desert her decrepit husband, and choose one of them in his place. They then told her they were the physicians of the gods, and would restore her husband to youth and beauty, when she could make her choice between him and one of them. Chyavana and his wife consented to this; and

<sup>1</sup> In the Mahābhārata, Sāntip. v. 7589 f. it is said that the Aṣvins are the Sūdras of the gods, the Angirases being the Brahmans, the Ādityas the Kshatriyas, and the Maruts the Vaiśyas. With the objection made against the Aṣvins of too great familiarity with mortals, compare the numerous instances of help rendered to their worshippers, which have been quoted above from the R. V., and which may have given rise to this idea.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. S. P. Br. viii. 2, 1, 3.

at the suggestion of the Aṣvins he entered with them into the neighbouring pond; when the three came forth of like celestial beauty, and each asked her to be his bride. She however recognized and chose her own husband. Chyavana in gratitude for his restoration to youth, then offered to compel Indra to admit the Aṣvins to a participation in the Soma ceremonial, and fulfilled his promise in the course of a sacrifice which he performed for king Ṣaryāti. On that occasion Indra objected to such an honour being extended to the Aṣvins, on the ground that they wandered about among men as physicians, changing their forms at will; but Chyavana refused to listen to the objection and carried out his intention, staying the arm of Indra when he was about to launch a thunderbolt, and creating a terrific demon who was on the point of devouring the king of the gods, and was only prevented by the timely submission of the latter.<sup>1</sup>

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I have been favoured by Professor Goldstücker with the following note on the Aṣvins:—

The myth of the Aṣvins is, in my opinion, one of that class of myths in which two distinct elements, the cosmical and the human or historical, have gradually become blended into one. It seems necessary, therefore, to separate these two elements in order to arrive at an understanding of the myth. The historical or human element in it, I believe, is represented by those legends which refer to the wonderful cures effected by the Aṣvins, and to their performances of a kindred sort; the cosmical element is that relating to their luminous nature. The link which connects both seems to be the mysteriousness of the nature and effects of the phenomena of light, and of the healing art at a remote antiquity. That there might have been some horsemen or warriors of great renown who inspired their contemporaries with awe by their wonderful deeds, and more especially by their medical skill, appears to have been also the opinion of some old commentators mentioned by Yâska, for some "legendary writer," he says, took

<sup>1</sup> See the similar account of Chyavana's power in the passage from the Anuṣāsana parva quoted in Sanskrit Texts, i. 167 f.

them for "two kings, performers of holy acts;" and this view seems likewise borne out by the legend in which it is narrated that the gods refused the Aṣvins admittance to a sacrifice on the ground that they had been on too familiar terms with men. It would appear then that these Aṣvins, like the R̥bhus, were originally renowned mortals, who in the course of time were translated into the companionship of the gods; and it may be a matter of importance to investigate whether, besides this *a priori* view, there are further grounds of a linguistic or grammatical character, for assuming that the hymns containing the legends relating to these human Aṣvins are posterior or otherwise to those descriptive of the cosmical gods of the same name.

The luminous character of the latter can scarcely be matter of doubt, for the view of some commentators—recorded by Yāska,—according to which they were identified with "heaven and earth," appears not to be countenanced by any of the passages known to us. Their very name, it would seem, settles this point, since *aṣva*, the horse, lit. "the pervader," is always the symbol of the luminous deities, especially of the sun. The difficulty, however, is to determine their position amongst these deities and to harmonise with it the other myths connected with them. I may here, however, first observe that though Yāska records opinions which identify the Aṣvins with "day and night," and "sun and moon," the passage relied upon by Professor Roth to prove that Yāska himself identified them with Indra and Āditya (the sun), does not bear out any such conclusion. For the passage in question, as I understand it, means: "their time is after the (latter) half of the night when the (space's) becoming light is resisted (by darkness); for the middlemost Aṣwin (between darkness and light) shares in darkness, whilst (the other), who is of a solar nature (āditya), shares in light." There is this verse relating to them: "In nights,"<sup>1</sup> etc. Nor does Durga, the commentator on Yāska, attribute to the latter

<sup>1</sup> *Nir.* xii. 1. tayoh kālāḥ ūrdhvam ar̥dharātrāt prakāṣibhāvāsyānuviṣṭambham anu (the last word is omitted in Durga MS. I. Ō. L., No. 206) tamobhāgo hi madhyamo jyotirbhāga ādityaḥ; tayor eṣhā bhavati Vasātishu sma, etc.

the view which Professor Roth ascribes to him. His words, as I interpret them, are : “ ‘ their time is after the (latter) half of the night when the (space’s) becoming light is resisted,’ (means) when, after the (latter) half of the night darkness intersected by light makes an effort against light, that is the time of the Aṣvins. . . . Then the nature of the middlemost (between them) is a share in that darkness which penetrates into light; and the solar one (âditya) assumes that nature which is a share in the light penetrating into darkness. These two are the middlemost and the uppermost : this is the teacher’s (i.e. Yâska’s) own opinion, for in order to substantiate it he gives as an instance the verse ‘ *Vasâtishu sma,*’<sup>1</sup> etc.

To judge, therefore, from these words, it is the opinion of Yâska that the Aṣvins represent the transition from darkness to light when the intermingling of both produces that inseparable duality expressed by the twin nature of these deities. And this interpretation, I hold, is the best that can be given of the character of the *cosmical* Aṣvins. It agrees with the epithets by which they are invoked and with the relationship in which they are placed. They are young, yet also ancient, beautiful, bright, swift, etc. ; and their negative character—the result of the alliance of light with darkness—is, I believe, expressed by *dasra*, the destroyer, and also by the two negatives in the compound *nâsatya* (*na + a-satya*), though their positive character is again redeemed by the ellipsis of “enemies, or diseases,” to *dasra*, and by the sense of *nâsatya*, not-untrue, i.e. truthful. They are the parents of Pûshan, the

<sup>1</sup> Durga I. O. L., No. 206; Tayoḥ kâla ūrdhvam ardhârâtrât prakâṣîbhâ-vasyânu viṣṭambham; jyotishâ vyatibhidyamânam ūrdhvam ardhârâtrât tamo yadâ jyotir anu viṣṭabhânâti so 'svinoḥ kâlah; [tataḥ prabhṛti sandhistotram purodayâd âṣvinam, udite sauryâni]; tatra yat tamo 'nuviṣṭam (The MS. of Prof. Müller, Lect. 2nd series, p. 490, reads, 'nupraviṣṭam) jyotishi tadbhâgo madhyamasya rūpam (the MS. of Prof. M., ibid: tadbhâgo madhyamaḥ, tau madhyamasya rūpam); yaj jyotis tamasy anuviṣṭam (the same, ibid. anupraviṣṭam) tadbhâgam tadrūpam âdityaḥ. Tāv etau madhyamottamâv iti svamatam âchâryasya, yataḥ samarthanâyodâharati tayor eshâ bhavati Vasâtishu smeti. Professor Roth, in his illustrations of Nir. xii. 1, very correctly observes that the verse quoted by Yâska, (vâsatishu sma, etc.) does not bear out the view that the Aṣvins are Indra and Âditya; but the proper inference to be drawn from this circumstance would seem to be, not that Yâska quoted a verse irrelevant to his view, but that Prof. Roth attributed to him a view which he had not entertained, and that it may be preferable to render âditya as proposed above: “the solar (Aṣvin)” or the Aṣvin of a solar nature.

sun; for they precede the rise of the sun; they are the sons of the sky, and again the sons of Vivasvat and Saranyú. Vivasvat, I believe, here implies the firmament "expanding" to the sight through the approaching light; and though Saranyú is to Professor Müller one of the deities which are forced by him to support his dawn-theory, it seems to me that the etymology of the word, and the character of the myths relating to it, rather point to the moving air, or the dark and cool air, heated and therefore set in motion by the approach of the rising sun. The Aṣvins are also the husbands or the friends of Sûryâ, whom I take for the representative of the weakest manifestation of the sun; and I believe that Sâyana is right when by the sister of the Aṣvins he understands Ushas, the dawn. The mysterious phenomenon of the intermingling of darkness—which is no longer complete night—and of light—which is not yet dawn—seems to agree with all these conceptions, and with the further details of a cosmical nature, which are so fully given in the preceding paper.

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#### NOTICE OF SOME OF THE GODDESSES IN THE VEDIC HYMNS.

Of the goddesses mentioned in the Rig Veda some have been noticed already in this or preceding papers, viz., Aditi, the mother of the Âdityas, and representative of the universe; Diti, her counterpart; Nishtigri, the mother, and Indrâñi, the wife of Indra;<sup>1</sup> Pṛiṣni, the mother of the Maruts; and Sûryâ, the daughter of the Sun, and spouse of the Aṣvins, or of Soma. Various other goddesses are also celebrated in the hymns of the Rig Veda, such as Agnâyi, Varuṇâni, Rodasî, Râkâ, Sinivâlti, Śraddhâ (Faith), and the Apsarases, whose names, however, occur but rarely; and Ushas, and Sarasvatî,

<sup>1</sup> Indrâñi says in R. V. x. 86, 9: "This mischievous creature treats me with disdain as if I had no husband or sons, and yet I am the wife of Indra, and the mother of a hero," etc.; and in v. 11, it is said: "I have heard of Indrâñi as the most fortunate of all these females, for never at any future time shall her husband die from decay." Indrâñi is mentioned in the Taitt. Br. ii. 4, 2, 7, from which it appears that different goddesses had been competitors for the hand of Indra, and that Indrâñi has been chosen because she surpassed them all in voluptuous attractions. In the same work, ii. 8, 8, 4, Vâch is said to be the wife of Indra.

with her cognates, who receive considerably greater prominence.

### SARASVATĪ.

Sarasvatī is a goddess of some, though not of very great, importance in the Rig Veda. As observed by Yāska (Nirukta ii. 23) she is celebrated both as a river and as a deity.<sup>1</sup> As an instance of the former character, he refers to R. V. vi. 61, 2, which I shall quote further on. She was no doubt primarily a river deity, as her name, "the watery,"<sup>2</sup> clearly denotes, and in this capacity she is celebrated in a few separate passages. Allusion is made in the hymns, as well as in the Brāhmaṇas (Ait. Br. ii. 19; Haug, vol. ii. p. 112) to sacrifices being performed on the banks of this river and of the adjoining Dṛishadvatī;<sup>3</sup> and the Sarasvatī in particular seems to have been associated with the reputation for sanctity, which, according to the well-known passage in the Institutes of Manu (ii. 17 f.) was ascribed to the whole region, called Brahmāvartta, lying between these two small streams, and situated immediately to the westward of the Jumna. The Sarasvatī thus appears to have been to the early Indians what the Ganges (which is only twice named in the Rig Veda) became to their descendants.<sup>4</sup> Already in R. V. i. 3, 10 (where, however, she is perhaps regarded as the goddess of sacrifice) she is described as "the purifier;" and in R. V. x. 17, 10 (=Vāj. San. 4, 2; A. V. vi. 51, 2), (after Sarasvatī has been mentioned, vv. 7-9), the waters are thus celebrated: "May the Waters, the mothers, cleanse us, may they (the waters) who purify with butter,

<sup>1</sup> See also Sāyaṇa on R. V. i. 3, 12: *Dvidiḥā hi Sarasvatī vighraḥavad-devatā nadī-rūpā cha.*

<sup>2</sup> *Sarasvatī sara ity udaka-nāma sartes tad-vatī* (Nir. ix. 26). The Brahmavivartta-purana, ii. 6, as referred to in Prof. Aufrecht's Cat. p. 23, col. 2, has a legend that the Sarasvatī was changed into a river by an imprecation of the Gangā. In the A. V. vi. 100, 1, three Sarasvatis are spoken of, but no explanation is given of their difference.

<sup>3</sup> R. V. iii. 23, 4: "I place thee, Agni, on the abode of Iḥā (comp. iii. 29, 4), on the most excellent spot of the earth, on the most auspicious of days. Shine, so as to enrich us, in a place of human resort, on the banks of the Dṛishadvatī, the Āpayā, the Sarasvatī."

<sup>4</sup> It is clear from the passages quoted in Sanskrit Texts, ii. 415 ff. that the Sarasvatī continued in later times also to be regarded as a sacred river, but this character was shared by other Indian streams, if not by them all.

purify us with butter; for these goddesses bear away sin; I come up out of them pure and cleansed." When once the river had acquired a divine character, it was quite natural that she should be regarded as the patroness of the ceremonies which were celebrated on the margin of her holy waters, and that her direction and blessing should be invoked as essential to their proper performance and success. The connection into which she was thus brought with sacred rites seems to have led to the further step of imagining her to have an influence on the composition of the hymns which formed so important a part of the proceedings, and of identifying her with Vâch, the goddess of speech. At least, I have no other explanation to offer of this identification.

Sarasvatî is frequently invited to the sacrifices along with several other goddesses,  $\Pi\hat{a}$ , Bhârâtî, Mahî, Hotrâ, Varûtrî, Dhishanâ (i. 13, 9; i. 142, 9; i. 188, 8; iii. 4, 8; v. 5, 8; v. 42, 12; ix. 5, 8; x. 110, 8), who, however, were never, like her, river nymphs, but personifications of some department of religious worship, or sacred science. She is also frequently invoked along with other deities (ii. 30, 8; iii. 54, 13; vii. 35, 11; viii. 38, 10; ix. 81, 4; x. 65, 1, 13; x. 141, 5).

In many of the passages<sup>1</sup> where Sarasvatî is celebrated, her original character is, as I have intimated, distinctly preserved. Thus in vi. 52, 6; x. 30, 12, she is mentioned along with rivers, or fertilizing waters; and in x. 64, 9; x. 75, 5, she is specified along with the other well-known streams which are there named. In vii. 96, 2, and viii. 21, 18, reference is made to the kings and people living along her banks. In vi. 61, 10, and vii. 36, 6, she is spoken of as having seven sisters, as one of seven rivers, and as the mother of streams. In vii. 95, 1 and 2, she is said to pour on her fertilizing

<sup>1</sup> Sâyana understands i. 3, 12, of the river, and explains it thus: "The Sarasvatî by her act (of flowing) displays a copious flood." Roth in his *Illustrations of the Nirukta* (xi. 26) p. 162, translates, "A mighty stream is Sarasvatî; with her light she lightens, illuminates all pious minds." He, however, regards the commencing words as figurative, and not as referring to the river. Benfey renders: "Sarasvatî by her light causes the great sea to be known: she shines through all thoughts." He understands the "great sea" as the universe, or as life, which he says is often designated in common Sanskrit also by the word *sâgara*. Benfey's explanation seems to me to be unsuitable. The conceptions of Sarasvatî as a river and as the directress of ceremonies may be blended in the passage.

waters, and to surpass all other rivers, to flow pure from the mountains to the sea, to be the swiftest of floods (*apasām apastamā* (vi. 61, 13); and in vi. 61, 2 and 8, to tear away the bases of the mountains on her banks with her impetuous and resounding current. In ii. 41, 16, she is called the best of mothers, of rivers, and of goddesses (*ambitame, nadītame, devitame*).

In vii. 96, 4-6, a river god called Sarasvat is assigned as a consort to Sarasvatī, who rolls along his fertilizing waters, and is invoked by the worshippers as the bestower of wives and offspring, as well as of plenty and protection.

In v. 43, 11, Sarasvatī is called upon to descend from the sky, from the great mountain,<sup>1</sup> to the sacrifice; and in vi. 49, 7, where she is called the daughter of the lightning (*pāvīravī kanyā*)<sup>2</sup> and the wife of a hero (*vīra-patnī*),<sup>3</sup> she is supplicated to combine with the spouses of the gods to afford secure protection to the worshipper. In the first of these two passages the poet may perhaps be considered as assigning a celestial origin to the river as the offspring of thunder and rain.

In vi. 61, 11 f. she is said to fill the terrestrial regions and the air, and to occupy three abodes (*trisadashthā*), and to have seven parts or elements (*sapta-dhātuh*).

When regarded as a river nymph, Sarasvatī is further described as an iron barrier or fortress, and a support (vii. 95, 1), as bestowing wealth, fatness, and fertility (vii. 95, 2), and is besought to listen to the prayer of her worshippers at their sacrifices (*ibid.* 4), to receive their praises, to shelter and protect them like a tree (*ibid.* 5), and to grant reputation to the unrenowned (ii. 41, 16). In vi. 61, 14, the rishi prays that he may not be removed to regions which are strange to her.

In vi. 61, 1, she is represented as having given to Vadhryasva a son Divodāsa, a canceller of his debts.

Viewed as the patroness of holy rites, (though it is

<sup>1</sup> Śāyana says that *Mādhyamiki Vāch*, or the goddess Vāch, who resides in the region intermediate between heaven and earth, is here intended.

<sup>2</sup> See Roth s. v. and compare x. 65, 13. Prof. Müller, in Kuhn and Schleicher's *Beiträge*, etc., iii. 448, assigns to *pāvīravī* the sense of "thundering."

<sup>3</sup> Śāyana says her husband is Prajāpati. Would it not rather be Sarasvat?



not always easy to separate the one from the other of her characters), Sarasvatî is described as coming to the place of sacrifice in the same chariot with the oblations and the forefathers (x. 17, 8), as unctuous with butter, and as stimulating, directing, and prospering the devotions of the worshippers (i. 3, 10, 11; ii. 3, 8; vi. 61, 4). She affords secure protection, conquers enemies (ii. 30, 8; vi. 49, 7), and destroys the revilers of the gods (vi. 61, 3). She is dreadful, moves along a golden path,<sup>1</sup> and is a destroyer of Vrittra (vi. 61, 7). She yields prosperity and riches of all description from her prolific breasts<sup>2</sup> (i. 89, 3; i. 164, 49; viii. 21, 17; x. 17, 8, 9; ix. 67, 32), is the receptacle of all the powers of life (*viṣvā dyūnshi*), and bestows offspring (ii. 41, 17). In x. 184, 2, she is associated with the deities who assist procreation. In ii. 1, 11, Agni is identified with her, and several other goddesses.

In R. V. x. 131, 5 (= Vâj. S. x. 34) where the Aṣvins are said to have defended Indra, Sarasvatî also is declared to have waited upon him. And in Vâj. S. xix. 12, it is said, "The gods celebrated a healing sacrifice, the Aṣvins physicians, and Sarasvatî too a physician through speech, communicated vigour to Indra." The Aṣvins and Sarasvatî are also connected with each other in Vâj. S. xix. 12, 15, 18, 34, 80-83, 88-90, 93-95; xx. 56-69, 73-76, 90. In xix. 94, it is said that "Sarasvatî, wife of the Aṣvins, holds a well-formed embryo in her womb. Varuṇa, king in the waters, produced Indra for glory, by the aqueous fluid as if by a *sâma* verse."

It does not appear that in the R.V. Sarasvatî is identified with Vâch. For the passages of that collection in which the latter goddess is celebrated, I refer to Sanskrit texts, iii. 151-156; and to my former paper on "The progress of the Vedic Religion, etc.," pp. 354 f. (note) and p. 377.

<sup>1</sup> *Hiranyavartiniḥ*. Sâyana explains *vartini* as chariot, and the compound as meaning "having a golden chariot." The same word occurs again, applied to a river, in viii. 26, 18, where Sâyana makes it mean "having a golden path," i.e. golden banks. The words *rudra-vartani*, "whose path is dreadful," and *ghṛta-vartani*, "whose path is unctuous," are also applied to different deities in the Rig Veda. *Kṛṣṇa-vartani*, "he whose path is marked by blackness," is an epithet of Agni in viii. 23, 19, and the sense of that term is fixed by the use of the synonym *kṛṣṇaddhean*. The substantive *vartani* occurs in vii. 18, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Ait. Br. iv. 1, at the end, where her two breasts are said to be truth and falsehood.

In the later mythology, as is well known, Sarasvatî was identified with Vâch, and became under different names the spouse of Brahmâ, and the goddess of wisdom and eloquence, and is invoked as a Muse. In the Mahâbhârata she is called the mother of the Vedas (Śântiparva v. 12920), and the same is said of Vâch in the Taittiriya Br. ii. 8, 8, 5,<sup>1</sup> where (and in the preceding par. 4.) she is also said to be the wife of Indra, to contain within herself all worlds, and to have been sought after by the rishis who composed the Vedic hymns (*riṣayo mantra-kritāḥ*), as well as by the gods, through austerity.

In the Śântiparva v. 6811, it is related that when the Brahmarshis were performing austerities prior to the creation of the universe, "a voice derived from Brahmâ entered into the ears of them all; the celestial Sarasvatî was then produced from the heavens."<sup>2</sup>

Excepting Aditi and Ushas the other goddesses mentioned in the Rig Veda are, as I have already intimated, of very little importance. Agnâyî, Varuṇâni, Aṣvini, and Rodasî, the wives of Agni, Varuṇa, the Aṣvins, and Rudra respectively (Nirukta ix. 33 f.; xi. 50; xii. 46) are only alluded to in a few passages, i. 22, 12; ii. 32, 8; v. 46, 8; vi. 50, 5; vi. 66, 6; vii. 34, 22. No distinct functions are assigned to them, and they do not occupy positions at all corresponding to the rank of their husbands, with whom in fact they are never associated. The insignificance of these goddesses forms a striking contrast to the prominent position assumed by the spouses of Śiva and Vishnu, especially the former, in the later mythology.

#### ARANYÂNÎ.

Aranyâni (Nir. ix. 29, 30), is the goddess of forest solitude.

<sup>1</sup> In the S. P. Br. vii. 5, 2, 52, it is said, "Mind is the ocean. From mind, the ocean, the gods, with Vâch for a shovel, dug out the triple science (*i.e.* the three Vedas). Wherefore this verse (śloka) has been uttered," etc. In the Bhisma-p. of the M. Bh. v. 3019, Achyuta (Krishna) is said to have created Sarasvatî and the Vedas from his mind. In the Vana-p. v. 13432, the Gâyatri is called the mother of the Vedas.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the verse quoted by Śankara on the Brahma sūtras (see Sanskrit Texts, iii. 68), from a Smṛti: "In the beginning a celestial voice, formed of the Vedas, eternal, without beginning or end, was uttered by Svayambhū, from which all activities have proceeded."

She is celebrated in R. V. x. 146, which I have translated in a preceding paper.

#### RĀKĀ, SINĪVĀLĪ, AND GUNĠŪ.

Rākā, Sinīvālī, and Gungū (whom Sāyaṇa on ii. 32, 8, identifies with Kuhū) are three other goddesses mentioned in the R. V. (the first in ii. 32, 4, 5, 8; v. 42, 12; the second in ii. 32, 6 ff; x. 184, 2; and the third in ii. 32, 8). Sāyaṇa (on ii. 32, 4) says that Rākā is the full moon.<sup>1</sup> She is, however, closely connected with parturition, as she is asked to "sew the work (apparently the formation of the embryo) with an unfailling needle), and to bestow a son with abundant wealth" (ii. 34, 4). Sinīvālī and Kuhū are (as we are told by Yāska, xi. 31), wives of the gods according to the mythologists (*nairuktāk*), and the two new moons (*amāvāsye*) according to the ritualists (*yājñikāk*), Sinīvālī being the earlier and Kuhū the later. Sinīvālī is, however, also connected with parturition, being called the broad-loined (or bushy-haired), the prolific, the handsome-armed, the handsome-fingered, supplicated for progeny (ii. 32, 6, 7), and asked to bestow pregnancy (x. 184, 2; A. V. v. 25, 3; vi. 11, 3). Yāska quotes from the Taitt. Br. iii. 3, 11, a verse regarding Kuhū, whose name does not occur in the Rig Veda.

#### ṢRADDHĀ.

Personifications of abstract ideas are not unknown in the Rig Veda, one hymn of which (x. 151) is addressed to Ṣraddhā, or religious faith. By her, it is said, v. 1 (= Nir. ix. 31), "the (sacrificial) fire is kindled, and by her the oblation is offered up." She is asked to prosper the liberal worshippers of the gods (v. v. 2, 3), and to impart faith; and is said to be an object of adoration in the morning, at noon, and at sunset (v. 5).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On these goddesses see Weber's Ind. Stud. v. 228 ff. and 237.

<sup>2</sup> In the Vāj. Sanhitā, xix. 30, it is said that faith (*ṣraddhā*) is obtained by gifts (*dakṣhiṇā*) and truth (*satya*) by faith. In xix. 77 of the same work it is declared that "Prajāpati beholding, made a distinction between the forms of truth and falsehood (*satyanṛte*), connecting disbelief (*apṛaddhā*) with the latter, and faith or belief (*ṣraddhā*) with the former." This declaration, that truth is the only proper object of faith, has a far deeper signification than this ancient writer could possibly have assigned to it, viz., that it is the ultimate truth, and not the so-called orthodoxy of any proposition, which can alone entitle it to reception.

Śraddhâ is also celebrated in the Taitt. Br. ii. 8, 8, 6 f., where the above hymn of the R. V. is repeated; and she is there further said to dwell among the gods, to be the universe, and the mother of Kâma. (See my paper on the "Progress of the Vedic Religion," p. 377, note). In the same Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 3, 1, we are told that through Śraddhâ a god obtains his divine character, that the divine Śraddhâ is the support of the world, that she has Kâma (or the fulfilment of desire) for her calf, and yields immortality as her milk; that she is the first-born of the religious ceremonial, and the sustainer of the whole world: and she, who is the supreme mistress of the world, is besought to bestow immortality on her worshippers. In the S. P. Br. (xii. 7, 3, 11) she is called the daughter of Sûrya;<sup>1</sup> an appellation which is repeated in the M. Bh. Śântiparva, v. 9449,<sup>2</sup> where she is styled Śraddhâ Vaivasvatî, as well as Sûryasya duhitâ and Sâvitri.

#### LAKSHMÎ AND ŚRÎ.

Lakshmî is not found in the R. V. in the sense which the word bears in the later mythology, of a goddess personifying good fortune, though the word itself occurs in x. 71, 2,<sup>3</sup> in another signification. In the A. V., however, we have the following hymn which speaks of a plurality of Lakshmis, some good and some bad: vii. 115, 1: "Fly away hence, o unlucky (or miserable) Lakshmî (*pâpi lakshmi*), perish hence, fly away from thence: with an iron hook we fasten thee to our enemy. 2. Savitri, do thou who art golden-handed, be-

<sup>1</sup> See what is said of the daughter of Sûrya above, in connection with the Aṣvins.

<sup>2</sup> In this passage a great deal is said in praise of Śraddhâ. She smites the man who smites her. The gods, it appears, had decided that the offerings of a niggardly student of the Veda (*gotriya*) and a liberal usurer were of equal value. But Prajâpati determined that they were wrong (see the same sentiment in nearly the same words in Manu, iv. 224 ff.), and that the liberal man's oblation, being purified by his faith (*śraddhâ*), was to be accepted, whilst the other man's, being vitiated by his unbelief, was to be rejected. Unbelief, it is added, is the greatest of sins, but faith takes away sin.

A similar sentiment is expressed in the Vana-parva, 13461 ff.: "The doubter enjoys neither this world nor the next, nor any gratification. Those ancient sages who possess true knowledge have said that faith (*pratyaya*) is a sign of final liberation. . . . Abandoning fruitless (*lit. dry*) argumentations (*śukha-tarkam*), adhere to the *ṛuti* and the *smṛti*" (the Vedas and other books dependent on them).

<sup>3</sup> In the words *bhadrâ sakām lakshmi nihitâ adhi vāchi*, "an auspicious fortune is attached to their words."

stowing on us wealth, send away from us to some other quarter the flying and inauspicious Lakshmî who mounts up on me, as a creeper<sup>1</sup> upon a tree. 3. A hundred Lakshmîs are born together with the body of a mortal at his birth. Of these we chase away hence the most unlucky. Do thou, Jâtavedas, retain for us those which are fortunate. 4. Thus I divide them like the cows standing upon barren ground. May those Lakshmîs which are auspicious (*punyâh*) rest here. Those which are unlucky (*pâpîh*) I destroy." (The expression *punyâ Lakshmî* occurs also in A. V. xii. 5, 6).

In the Vâj. S. xxxi. 22, Śrî and Lakshmî are said to be the two wives (of Âditya, according to the commentator). In the Ś. P. Br. xi. 4, 3, 1, Śrî is described as issuing forth from Prajâpati when he was performing intense austerity. Beholding her then standing resplendent and trembling,<sup>2</sup> the gods were covetous of her and proposed to Prajâpati that they should be allowed to kill her, and appropriate her gifts. He replied that she was a female, and that males did not generally kill females. They should therefore take from her her gifts without depriving her of life. In consequence, Agni, took from her food; Soma, kingly authority; Varuṇa, imperial authority; Mitra, martial energy (*kshattra*); Indra, force; Brihaspati, priestly glory (*brahma-varchasa*); Savitri, dominion; Pûshan, splendour; Sarasvatî, nourishment, and Tvashtri, forms. Śrî then complained to Prajâpati that they had taken all these things from her. He told her to demand them back from them by sacrifice. This she accordingly did, and succeeded.

<sup>1</sup> *Vandana*. This word does not occur in Wilson's Dictionary, but I find there *vandâ* in the sense of a creeping plant.

<sup>2</sup> *Laldyanti*. As fixing the sense of this word Prof. Aufrecht refers me to Ś. P. Br. p. 136; Bṛhad âraṇyaka p. 737; Muṇḍaka Up. pp. 274, 276; and Svetâsvatara Up. p. 332.

ART. II.—*Miscellaneous hymns from the Rig and Atharva Vedas.*<sup>1</sup> By J. MUIR, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D.

THE hymns of the Rig Veda are, as is well known, almost entirely of a religious character, designed, or at least, adapted, for recitation at the worship of the various popular deities, or at some of the ceremonials connected with various important events in the domestic or public life of the ancient Indians. Among these, however, are interspersed a few of a different description, which, from the wide celebrity they had acquired, were carefully preserved by the descendants of their authors, or by other interested persons, and have been incorporated in the great collection of sacred songs. Some of these productions, like the colloquy of Yama and Yamī (translated in a former paper), the very obscure conversation between the hero Purūravas and the Apsaras Urvaṣī (R. V. x. 95),<sup>2</sup> and the Vrishākapi hymn (R. V. x. 86), derived their importance from the interlocutors being personages regarded as divine, or ranked among the ancestors of the human race. Others, like the 72nd, the 90th, and the 129th hymns of the 10th Book (also quoted in previous articles) were venerated from the nature of the topics which they handled, or the depth or gravity of the speculations which they contain. Others, again, such as the hymns referred to by Professor Roth in his dissertation "on the historical matter contained in the Rig Veda,"<sup>3</sup> would possess an interest for the descendants of

<sup>1</sup> I have again to acknowledge the valuable aid which I have received from Professor Aufrecht in rendering some of the more difficult parts of the hymns translated in this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Max Müller's *Essay on Comparative Mythology*, in the *Oxford Essays for 1856*, contains a translation of this myth as narrated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. The *Brāhmaṇa*, however, only quotes and illustrates the easiest verses of the hymn (R. V. x. 95), making no reference to its most obscure and difficult portions. Some of the verses not cited in the *Brāhmaṇa* are explained by Professor Müller. See also Roth's *Illustrations of Nirukta*, pp. 153 ff. and 230.

<sup>3</sup> *Sur Litteratur and Geschichte des Weda*, pp. 87.

the contending priestly races to whose rivalries they made allusion, and might even be valued for the purposes of imprecation to which they could be applied.<sup>1</sup> And those compositions which celebrate the liberality of different princes to their domestic priests would naturally be handed down with care by the successors of those favoured individuals.

In the following paper I shall adduce some other hymns, both from the Rig and the Atharva Vedas, which are only in part of a religious character, and possess a greater general interest than the bulk of those with which they are associated, from the references which they make to human character, dispositions, feelings, passions, and circumstances; from the light which they throw on the progress of sacerdotal pretensions, or from some other feature of their contents. In some of these hymns it will be seen that a considerable amount of shrewdness and worldly wisdom is expressed in a sententious form.

#### HYMN TO ARANYĀNĪ, R. V. x. 146.

The first hymn which I shall adduce, addressed to the goddess of forest solitude, is distinguished by the poetical feeling which pervades it, and the natural manner in which the emotions arising from the situation there described are depicted, though some of the allusions which it contains are difficult to explain or comprehend. It is repeated in the Taittirīya Brāhmana, and explained by the Commentator on that work. (See also Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 132).

1. "Aranyānī, Aranyānī, thou who seemest to lose thyself there, why dost thou not ask [the way to] the village? Does not terror seize thee (at thy solitude)? 2. When the chichika (a bird) answers to the roar of bulls when it is uttered, flying about as if with cymbals, then [by their voices] Aranyānī is lauded [as if by hymns]. 3. And the cows seem to eat, and the house appears to be seen, and at evening Aranyānī seems to discharge the carts.<sup>2</sup> 4. One man calls to his cow,

<sup>1</sup> See Sanskrit Texts, i. 127 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Aufrecht thinks this clause (*sakatir iva sarjati*) should be rendered, 'In the evening the forest moves like a cart,' with reference to the agitation of the branches by the evening air.

another fells a tree ; a man lingering in the forest (in Araṇyâni) fancies that she [or some one] has screamed. 5. Araṇyâni is not [herself] murderous, if no one else (a tiger, etc.) assails ; but after eating of sweet fruit, a man rests there at his pleasure. 6. I laud Araṇyâni, the mother of wild beasts, the unctuous-scented, the fragrant, who yields abundance of food, though she has no hinds to till her."

The next hymn which I shall quote refers to the great variety by which the aims and pursuits of different men are characterized. It is distinguished by a vein of naive observation, not unmingled with satire ; and is curious as revealing to us the occupations pursued by the poet's father and mother, though it makes no reference to the class to which they belonged.

RIG VEDA, ix. 112.

1. "We different men have all our various imaginations and designs. The carpenter seeks something that is broken, the doctor a patient, the priest some one who will offer libations. O Indu (Soma), flow forth for Indra.<sup>1</sup> 2. With dried-up sticks, with birds' feathers, with metals, the artizan continually seeks after a man with plenty of gold. O Indu, etc., etc. 3. (= Nirukta, vi. 6) I am a poet, my father is a doctor, and my mother is a grinder of corn. With our different views, seeking to get gain, we run after [our respective objects] as after cattle.<sup>2</sup> O Indu, etc. 4. The draught horse desires an easy-going carriage ; merry companions a laugh ; the female sex the male ; and frogs a pond. O Indu," etc.

RIG VEDA, x. 34.

The next hymn, which may possibly be the production of one who lays before us the sad results of his own bitter experience, describes with great vividness, graphic power, and truth of observation the seductions and miseries of gambling,

<sup>1</sup> This last clause, which is repeated at the end of each of the verses, and transforms the hymn into an address to Soma, is perhaps a later addition to an older song ; as it seems to have no connection with the other parts of the verses to which it is attached.

<sup>2</sup> The three preceding verses are translated by Roth in his *Illustrations of the Nirukta*, p. 74.



which, we see, were as acutely felt in those early ages as they are in these later times.

1. (= Nirukta ix. 8). "The tumbling, air-born [products] of the great Vibhīdaka tree (*i.e.* the dice) delight me as they continue to roll on the dice-board. The exciting dice enchant me like a draught of the soma-plant growing on mount Mūjavat. 2. She (the gamester's own wife) never wronged or despised me. She was kind to me, and to my friends. But I for the sake of the partial dice, have spurned my devoted spouse. 3. My mother-in-law detests me; my wife rejects me. In his need [the gamester] finds no comforter. I cannot discover what is the enjoyment of the gambler any more than I can perceive what is the happiness of a worn-out hack horse. 4. Others pay court to the wife of the man whose wealth is coveted by the impetuous dice. His father, mother, brothers, say of him, "We know nothing of him; take him away bound." 5. When I resolve not to be tormented by them, because I am abandoned by my friends who withdraw from me,—yet as soon as the brown dice, when they are thrown, make a rattling sound, I hasten to their rendezvous, like a woman to her paramour.<sup>1</sup> 6. The gamester comes to the assembly, glowing in body, and inquiring, "shall I win?" The dice inflame his desire, making over his winnings to his opponent. 7. Hooking, piercing, deceitful, vexatious, delighting to torment, the dice dispense transient gifts, and again ruin the winner; they are covered with honey, but destroy the gambler. 8. Their troop of fifty-three disports itself [disposing men's destinies] like the god Savitri whose ordinances never fail. They bow not before the wrath even of the fiercest. The king himself makes obeisance to them. 9. They roll downward; they bound upward. Having no hands, they overcome him who has. These celestial coals, when thrown on the diceboard, scorch the heart, though cold themselves. 10. The destitute wife of the gamester is distressed, and so too is the mother of a son who goes she knows not whither. In debt and seeking after money, the gambler approaches with trepidation the

<sup>1</sup> These words are quoted in Nirukta xii. 7.

houses of other people at night. 11. It vexes the gamester to see his own wife, and then to observe the wives and happy homes of others. In the morning he yokes the brown horses (the dice); by the time when the fire goes out he has sunk into a degraded wretch. 12. He who is the general of your band, the first king of your troop,—to him I stretch forth [my] ten [fingers] toward the east [in reverence]:<sup>1</sup> I spare no expense [in my offering]. That I declare with perfect truth. 13. Never play with dice; practice husbandry; rejoice in thy property, esteeming it sufficient. ‘There, o gamester, are thy cows; [this is] thy wife;’—so the adorable Savitri addresses me. 14. Be friendly [o dice]; be auspicious to us; do not bewitch us powerfully with your enchantment. Let your hostile wrath abate. Let others be subject to the fetters of the brown ones (the dice).”

That the passion for gambling prevailed very extensively at the time when the hymns of the Rig- and Atharva-vedas were composed is clear, from various other allusions to the practice which we find there. Thus in R. V. vii. 86, dice are mentioned along with wine, anger, thoughtlessness, etc., as causes of sin. The following verses from the A. V. prove the same point:

A. V. vii. 50-1. “As the lightning every day strikes the tree irresistibly, so may I to-day irresistibly smite the gamester with the dice. 2. May the wealth of the rich and of the poor unresisting be collected from every side into my hand as winnings.”

vii. 109. 1. “This reverence be paid to the brown [die], who is ruler among the dice. With butter I worship Kali; may he thus be auspicious to us. 2. Bring, o Agni, butter to the Apsarases, but dust, sand, and water to the dice. Seeking oblations according to their several shares, the gods delight in both offerings. 3. The Apsarases hold a festival between the oblation and the sun. May they anoint my hands with butter, and overwhelm the gamester who is my opponent. 4. Dispense bad luck to our adversary, but moisten

<sup>1</sup> Compare A. V. v. 28, 11, and Vâjasaneyi Sanhitâ, xvi. 64.

us with butter. Strike, as lightning does a tree, the man who plays against us."

vi. 118, 1. "Whatever sins we have committed with our hands, seeking to obtain the host of dice,—remit to us to-day that debt, ye Apsarases Ugrampasyâ and Ugrajit."

A. V. iv. 38. 1. "I invoke hither the skilfully-playing Apsaras who cuts up and conquers, and gets gains in the game of dice. 2. I invoke hither the skilfully-playing Apsaras, who collects and scatters, and receives gains in the game of dice. 3. May she who dances about with the dice when she wins by gaming, grant gain to us, and obtain superiority, through her skill. May she come to us with abundance of riches. Let them not conquer our money. 4. I invoke hither the joyful and exulting Apsarases—those [goddesses] who delight in dice, and bring with them grief and anger."

It will be seen from these verses that the Apsarases are intimately connected with gambling. In A. V. ii. 2, 4, they are said to be "fond of dice," and "soul bewitching."

The next two hymns which I proceed to quote are in praise of generosity. The first of them celebrates liberality to the destitute in general; the second eulogizes the same virtue when exhibited in giving presents to priests.

#### RIG VEDA, x. 117.

1. "The gods have not ordained hunger to be our destruction. Even those who are full-fed are overtaken by various forms of death (*lit.* deaths). The prosperity of the liberal man never decays; while the illiberal finds no comforter. 2. He who, himself well provided with sustenance, hardens his heart against the poor man who approaches him, starving, and who has long courted him, desirous of food,—such a man meets with none to cheer him. 3. He is the bountiful man who gives to the lean beggar who comes to him craving food. Success attends that man in the sacrifice, and he secures for himself a friend in the future. 4. He is no friend who bestows nothing on his friend who waits upon him, seeking

for sustenance. Let every one depart from such a man ;—his house is no home,—and look out for some one else who is liberal, even though he be a stranger. 5. Let the powerful man be generous to the suppliant ; let him look along the path [of futurity]. For, oh, riches revolve like the wheels of a chariot : they come, now to one, now to another.<sup>1</sup> 6. In vain the fool obtains food : I tell the truth ; it becomes his destruction (comp. v. 1). He nourishes neither his friend nor his companion. He who keeps his food to himself, has his sin to himself. 7. The ploughshare furrowing the ground, brings men plenty. A man moving onward with his feet, accomplishes his journey. A priest who speaks is more acceptable than one who is silent. A kinsman who is beneficent excels one who is stingy. 8. A one-footed being advances faster than a two-footed. The two-footed comes after the three-footed.<sup>2</sup> The four-footed follows in the rear of the two-footed, and moves on observing his steps. 9. The two hands, though alike, do not perform an equal amount of work. Two cows with the same mother do not yield the same quantity of milk. Two men, though twins, have not the same strength. And two others, though kinsmen, are not equally liberal.”

## RIG VEDA, x. 107.

1. “The great [lustre] of these opulent ones has been manifested. The whole living [world] has been liberated from darkness. The great light given by the Fathers<sup>3</sup> has arrived. The broad path of Largess has been beheld. 2. The givers of gifts abide aloft in the sky ; the bestowers of horses live with the Sun ; the givers of gold attain immor-

<sup>1</sup> It is curious to find in so ancient a composition this now trite comparison of the changes of fortune to the revolutions of a wheel. The same idea occurs in the Mahābhārata, iii. 15489 : “After happiness, suffering, and after suffering, happiness, visit a man in succession, as the spokes of a wheel [revolve round] the nave.” According to Herodotus i. 207, Croesus said to Cyrus : “If thou knowest that even thou art human, and rulest over mortals, learn first this lesson, that in the affairs of men there is a wheel which, by its revolution, renders it impossible for the same persons always to enjoy prosperity.”

<sup>2</sup> Professor Aufrecht suggests that the one-footed may mean a cripple, and the three-footed, an old man with his staff.

<sup>3</sup> Compare R. V. x. 68, 11. “The Fathers have adorned the sky with stars . . . and placed darkness in the night, and light in the day.”

tality; the bestowers of raiment prolong their lives. 3. A gift which is a satisfaction of the gods, an offering to the deities, [proceeds] not from the illiberal; they bestow nothing; and many men of extensive liberality are bountiful merely through fear of reproach. . . . 5. The giver of gifts, invited, advances first; he walks in the front as leader.<sup>1</sup> I regard as the king of men him who first presented a gift. 5. They call him a rishi, a priest, a reverend chanter of hymns and reciter of verses,—he knows the three forms of the resplendent (Agni),—the man who was the first to crown [his religious service] with a gift. 7. Largess bestows a cow, a horse, silver (P) and gold. Largess bestows (P) food, which is our life. The wise man makes largess-giving his breastplate. 8. Bountiful men neither die nor fall into calamity; they suffer neither wrong nor pain. Their liberality confers on them this whole world as well as heaven. 9. The bountiful conquer for themselves first, a pleasant abode, a well-dressed wife, and a draught of wine; they conquer those who walk in the front (P), uninvited. 10. A fleet horse is trained for the generous man; he obtains a brilliant damsel for his portion; this house of his resembles a lotus-pond, beautiful, embellished like a palace of the gods. 11. The liberal man is borne along by rapid horses. The car of largess rolls forward on easy wheels. Preserve, ye gods, the bountiful man in battle. He overcomes his enemies in the fight.”

The next hymn, from the Atharva Veda, sets forth with great liveliness and vigour the advantages accruing to princes from the employment of a domestic priest.

#### ATHARVA VEDA, iii. 19.

1. “May this prayer of mine be successful; may the vigour and strength be complete, may the power be perfect and undecaying, of those of whom I am the victorious priest (*purohita*). 2. I fortify their kingdom, and augment their

<sup>1</sup> Compare R. V. iv. 50, 8 f, where the prosperity and honor which attend a prince who retains and cherishes a domestic priest are described. See Professor Wilson's translation, and note on v. 9, in p. 214; and Roth's Art. on Brahma and the Brāhmana, Journ. Germ. Or. Society, i. 77 ff. See also the hymn from the A. V. iii. 19, next quoted in the text.

energy, valour, and force. I break the arms of their enemies with this oblation. 3. May all those who fight against our wise and prosperous [prince] sink downward, and be prostrated. With my prayer I destroy his enemies, and raise up his friends. 4. May those of whom I am the priest be sharper than an axe, sharper than fire, sharper than Indra's thunderbolt. 5. I strengthen their weapons; I prosper their kingdom rich in heroes. May their power be undecaying and victorious. May all the gods foster their designs. 6. May their valorous deeds, o Maghavat, burst forth; may the noise of the conquering heroes arise; may their distinct shouts, their clear yells, go up; may the gods, the Maruts with Indra as their chief, march forward with their host. 7. Go, conquer, ye warriors: may your arms be strong. Ye with the sharp arrows, smite those whose bows are powerless; ye whose weapons and arms are terrible (smite) the feeble. 8. When discharged, fly forth, o arrow, sped by prayer. Vanquish the foes, assail, slay all the choicest of them; let not one escape."

The two following hymns from the Atharva Veda declare the guilt, the peril, and disastrous consequences of oppressing Brâhmanas, and robbing them of their property. The threats and imprecations of haughty sacerdotal insolence could scarcely be expressed more energetically.

ATHARVA VEDA, v. 18.

1. "King, the gods have not given thee [this cow] to eat. Do not, O Râjanya (man of royal descent), seek to devour the Brâhman's cow, which is not to be eaten. 2. The wicked Râjanya, unlucky in play, and self-destroyed, will eat the Brâhmîn's cow, saying, 'Let me live to-day, [if I can] not [live] to-morrow.' 3. This cow, clothed with a skin, contains deadly poison, like a snake. Beware, Râjanya, she is ill-flavoured, and must not be eaten. 4. He [who eats her] forfeits his strength, destroys his own splendour, consumes everything like a fire which has been kindled. The man who looks upon the Brâhman as mere food to be eaten up, drinks serpent's poison. 5. Indra kindles a fire

in the heart of that contemner of the gods who slays the Brâhman, esteeming him to be inoffensive, and foolishly covets his property. Heaven and earth abhor the man who [so] acts. 6. A Brâhman is not to be wronged, as fire [must not be touched] by a man who cherishes his own body. Soma is his (the Brâhman's) kinsman, and Indra shields him from imprecations. 7. The wicked (?) man who thinks the priests' food is sweet while he is eating it, swallows [the cow] bristling with a hundred sharp points, but cannot digest her. 8. The priest's tongue is a bow-string, his voice is a barb, and his windpipe is arrow-points smeared with fire. With these god-directed, and heart-subduing bows, the priest pierces the scorers of the gods. Brâhmans bearing sharp arrows, armed with missiles, never miss their mark when they discharge a shaft. Shooting with fervour [austerity?] and with anger, they pierce [the enemy] from afar. 10. The descendants of Vîtahavya who ruled over a thousand men, and were ten hundred in number, were overcome after they had eaten a Brahman's cow. 11. The cow herself, when she was slaughtered, destroyed them,—those men who cooked the last she-goat of Kesaraprâbandhâ. 12. Those hundred persons whom the earth shook off, after they had wronged the priestly race, were overwhelmed in an inconceivable manner. 13. He lives among mortals a scorer of the gods; infected with poison he becomes reduced to a skeleton; he who wrongs a Brâhman the kinsman of the deities, fails to attain to the heaven of the Forefathers. 14. Agni is called our leader; Soma our kinsman. Indra neutralizes imprecations [directed against us]; this the wise understand. 15. Like a poisoned arrow, o king, like a serpent, o lord of cows,—such is the dreadful shaft of the Brâhman, with which he pierces his despisers."

ATHARVA VEDA, v. 19.

1. "The Srinjayas, descendants of Vîtahavya, waxed exceedingly; they almost touched the sky; but after they had injured Bhrigu, they were overwhelmed. 2. When men pierced Brihatsâman, a Brâhman descended from Angiras, a

ram with two rows of teeth swallowed their children. 3. Those who spit, or throw filth (?) upon a Brâhman, sit eating hair in the midst of a stream of blood. 4. So long as this Brâhman's cow writhes (?) when being cooked, she destroys the glory of the kingdom; no vigorous hero is born there. 5. It is cruel to slaughter her; her ill-flavoured flesh is thrown away. When her milk is drunk, that is esteemed a sin among the Forefathers. 6. Whenever a king, fancying himself mighty, seeks to devour a Brâhman, that kingdom is broken up, in which a Brâhman suffers. Becoming eight-footed, four-eyed, four-eared, four-jawed, two-faced, two-tongued, she (the cow) shatters the kingdom of the oppressor of Brâhmans. 8. (Ruin) overflows that kingdom, as water swamps a leaky boat: calamity smites that country in which a priest is wronged. 9. Even trees, o Nârada, repel, and refuse their shade to, the man who claims a right to the property of a Brâhman. This [property], as king Varuṇa hath said, has been turned into a poison by the gods. No one who has eaten a Brâhman's cow continues to watch (*i.e.* to rule) over a country. 11. Those nine nineties [of persons] whom the earth shook off, when they had wronged the priestly race, were overwhelmed in an inconceivable manner (see v. 12 of the preceding hymn). 12. The gods have declared that the cloth wherewith a dead man's feet are bound shall be thy pall, thou oppressor of priests. 13. The tears which flow from a vanquished man as he laments,—such is the portion of water which the gods have assigned to thee, thou oppressor of priests. 14. The gods have allotted to thee that portion of water wherewith men wash the dead, and moisten their beards. 15. The rain of Mitra and Varuṇa does not descend on the oppressor of priests. For him the battle has never a successful issue; nor does he bring his friend into subjection." The attention of the reader is directed to the intensity of contempt and abhorrence which is sought to be conveyed by the coarse imagery contained in *vv.* 3, and 12-14, of the last preceding hymn.

In another hymn of the Atharva Veda, v. 17, the two following verses occur regarding the prerogative of Brâhmans;



8. "And if a woman have had ten former husbands, not Brāhmins, and a Brāhmana take her hand (*i.e.* marry her), he is the only husband. 9. It is a Brahman only who is a husband, and not a Rājanya, or a Vaisya. The Sun marches on declaring that to the five tribes of men."

The four hymns of the A. V. which follow contain incantations designed to save persons suffering under dangerous diseases, and on the point of death, from death, or rather perhaps to recall their spirits after their separation from the body. They supply various illustrations of the ideas entertained by the Indians of the period when they were composed regarding the vital principle, the relations of the different senses to the several elements, the deities by whom men's tenure of life was regulated, the power of incantations to arrest the approach of doom, and other kindred particulars.

#### ATHARVA VEDA, v. 30.

"1. From thy vicinity, from thy vicinity, from a distance, from thy vicinity [I call] to thee: remain here; do not follow, do not follow, the early Fathers. I firmly hold back thy breath. 2. Whatever incantations any kinsman or stranger has uttered against thee,—with my voice I declare thy release and deliverance from them all. 3. Whatever hurt thou hast done, or curse thou hast spoken, in thy folly, against woman or man, with my voice, etc. 4. If thou liest there in consequence of any sin committed by thy mother, or thy father,<sup>1</sup> with my voice, etc. 5. Receive the medicine which thy father, mother, sister and brother offer to thee. I make thee long-lived. 6. Come (?) hither, o man, with thy entire soul; do not follow the two messengers of Yama;<sup>2</sup> come to the abodes of the living. 7. Return when called, knowing the outlet of the path, the ascent, the advance, the

<sup>1</sup> Compare a curious passage from the Taittiriya Brāhmana iii. 7, 12, 3f. "May Agni deliver me from any sin which my mother may have committed when I was in her womb, or which my father may have committed. May my parents have received no injury from me, when I, a son, in sucking, squeezed my mother and father in my delight." Compare also R. V. vii. 86, 6, referred to in my paper, "Contributions to a knowledge of Vedic Theogony," etc., p. 82, line 19.

<sup>2</sup> See my former paper on Yama, pp. 292 and 297.

road of every living man. 8. Fear not ; thou shalt not die ; I make thee long-lived. I have charmed out of thy members the consumption by which they are wasted. 9. The consumption which racks and wastes thy limbs, and sickens thy heart, has flown away to a distance like a hawk, overcome by my word. 10. The two sages, Alert and Watchful, the sleepless, and the vigilant, these the guardians of thy life, are awake both day and night. 11. May this adorable Agni rise here to thee as a sun. Rise up from deep death,<sup>1</sup> yea even from black darkness.<sup>2</sup> 12. Reverence to Yama, reverence to Death, reverence to the Fathers, and to those who guide us. I place in front of this [sick] man, for his security, Agni who knows how to carry him across. 13. Let his breath, let his soul, let his sight come, and then his strength ; let his body acquire sensation, and stand firm upon its feet. 14. Provide him, Agni, with breath, and with sight ; restore him, furnished with a body, and with strength.<sup>3</sup> Thou hast the knowledge of immortality ; let him not depart, or become a dweller in a house of clay. 15. Let not thy inhaled breath cease ; let not thy exhaled breath vanish. Let the sun, the lord, raise thee up from death by his rays. 16. This tongue speaks within, bound, convulsive. By thee, I have charmed away the consumption, and the hundred torments of the fever. 17. This world is the dearest, unconquered by the gods. To whatever death thou wast destined when thou wast born—we call after thee, do not die before thou art worn out by old age.”

ATHARVA VEDA, vii. 53.

1. “Brihaspati, thou hast delivered us from dwelling in the realm of Yama, from the curse. Aṣvins, —ye who, o Agni, are the two physicians of the Gods, —ye have repelled death from us by your powers. 2. Continue associated, ye two breaths, inspired and expired ; forsake not his body : may they, united, remain with thee here. Live prosperously a hundred autumns. Agni is thy splendid protector

<sup>1</sup> Compare the *διωυς δλαεθρος* of Homer.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the passage quoted in my paper on Yama, p. 304.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the article just referred to, p. 8.

and lord. 3. May thy life which has been dissipated afar, may thy breaths, come back to thee again. Agni has snatched it from the lap of Nirriti (Destruction): and I introduce it again into thyself. 4. Let not his inspiration abandon him, nor his expiration quit him and depart. I commit him to the seven Rishis; may they carry him on in health to old age. 5. Enter into him, ye two breaths, like two steers forcing their way into a cow-pen. May this man flourish here, an unmo- lested depository of old age. 6. We invigorate thy life. I drive away consumption from thee. May this excellent Agni sus- tain our life on every side. Ascending from the darkness to the uppermost heaven, we have reached, among the gods, the god Sûrya, the highest luminary."

ATHARVA VEDA, viii. 1.

1. "Reverence to Death the Ender! May thy inhaled and exhaled breaths rejoice here. May this man remain here united with his spirit in the domain of the sun, in the world of deathlessness. 2. Bhaga and Soma with his filaments, the divine Maruts, Indra, and Agni, have raised him up to health. Here is thy spirit, here thy breath, here thy life, here thy soul. We rescue thee from the bonds of Nirriti by a divine utterance. 4. Rise up hence, o man. Casting off the fetters of death, do not sink downward. Do not depart from this world, from the sight of Agni and the Sun. 5. May the Wind, Mâtariṣvan, blow for thee; may the waters shower immortality (or ambrosia) on thee; may the Sun shine healingly upon thy body; may Death pity thee; do not die. 6. Thou must ascend, o man, and not descend; I give thee life and vital power. Mount this pleasant and imperishable car; then, when aged, thou shalt declare a festival.<sup>1</sup> 7. Let not thy soul go away thither, let it not dis- appear; do not wander away from the living; do not follow the Fathers. May all the gods preserve thee. 8. Do not long after the departed, who conduct men afar. Ascend from the darkness; come into the light. We lay hold of thy hands. 9. Let not the two dogs sent by Yama,<sup>2</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> Compare R. V. x. 86, 17.

<sup>2</sup> See A. V. v. 30, 6, above.

black and the brindled [seize thee]. Come hither; do not hesitate; do not remain here with averted mind. 10. Do not follow this path; it is terrible; I speak of that by which thou hast not hitherto gone. This, o man, is darkness; do not enter it. Beyond, thou hast fear; on this side, thou hast security. 11. May the fires which are in the waters preserve thee; may the fire which men kindle preserve thee; may Jâtavedas Vaiṣvânara (the fire which is common to all men) preserve thee; let not the celestial fire together with the lightning, consume thee. 12. Let not the flesh-devouring fire<sup>1</sup> be hostile to thee; go far from that wicked one. May the sky, the earth, the sun, and moon, preserve thee; may the air protect thee from the bolt of the gods. 13. May Wakeful and Watchful, may the sleepless and the waking preserve thee. May the guardian and the vigilant protect thee. 14. May they protect and guard you. To them be reverence. 15. May Vâyu, Indra, Dhâtri, and Savitri the deliverer, restore thee to converse with the living. Let not breath and strength abandon thee; we call back thy spirit. 16. Let not any violent devourer, let not darkness find thee. May the Âdityas and Vasus, with Indra and Agni, raise thee up to health. 17. The sky, the earth, Prajâpati have rescued thee. The plants with Soma their king, have delivered thee from death. 18. Let this man remain here, o gods; let him not depart hence to the other world. We rescue him from death with a charm of boundless efficacy (*sahasra-vtryena*). 19. I have delivered thee from death; may the vigorous breathe upon thee.<sup>2</sup> Let not the she-devils with dishevelled hair, or those that howl dreadfully, yell at thee. 20. I have snatched thee; I have caught thee; thou hast returned renewed. I have got, o man perfect in thy members, thy entire eye, and thy entire life. 21. [Life] has breathed upon thee. Light has come to thee. Darkness has departed from thee. We remove from thee death, Nirriti and consumption."

<sup>1</sup> There are three kinds of fire, the *kravyâd*, or funeral (here referred to), which devours dead bodies, the culinary (*âmâd*), and the sacrificial. See the Vâj. S. i. 17, and the commentary there.

<sup>2</sup> See the 4th verse of the next hymn.

## ATHARVA VEDA, viii. 2.

1. "Seize this boon of immortality; may long life, which cannot be cut off, be thine. I restore to thee breath and life; do not depart to the mist (*rajas*) or to darkness (*tamas*); do not die. 2. Come hither to the light of the living; I rescue thee that thou mayest survive a hundred autumns. Loosing the bands of death and imprecation, I lengthen out thy existence. 3. I have recovered thy breath from the wind, thine eye from the sun.<sup>1</sup> I place in thee thy soul. Receive sensation in thy limbs. Speak, articulating with thy tongue. 4. I blow upon thee with the breath of bipeds, and of quadrupeds, as on Agni when he is born (*i.e.* on fire when kindled). I have paid reverence, o Death, to thine eye, and to thy breath. 5. Let this man live and not die. We restore him. I make for him a remedy. Death, do not kill the man. I invoke for his safety a vivifying . . . , living, delivering, strong, and powerful plant. 7. Befriend him; do not seize him; let him go; though he is thine only, let him abide here with all his strength; o Bhava and Śarva, be gracious; grant deliverance; remove evil, and confer life. 8. Befriend him, Death, pity him; let him arise. Unharmed, with all his limbs, hearing perfectly, let him obtain enjoyment during a life of a hundred years. 9. May the shaft of the gods pass thee by; I bring thee across from the mist (see v. 1); I have rescued thee from death. Removing far away the flesh-devouring Agni, I draw round thee a circle (see R. V. x. 18, 4) that thou mayest live. 10. Preserving him from that misty egress of thine, o Death, which no one may escape by menaces, we make prayer a protection for him. 11. I give thee thy breaths, death at thy full age,<sup>2</sup> long life and health. I drive away all the messengers of Yama, who roam about, sent by the son of Vivasvat. 12. We remove afar evil, Nirriti, Grāhi, and flesh-devouring Piśāchas, and hurl all wicked Rakshases, as

<sup>1</sup> See my paper on Yama, p. 294, note 7.    <sup>2</sup> Compare A. V. xix. 24, 4, 5, 8.

it were into darkness. 13. I seek thy life from the immortal, living, Agni Jâtavedas. I procure that thou mayest suffer no injury, that thou mayest also be immortal. May this be the fortunate result. 14. May heaven and earth in unison be auspicious and innocuous to thee. May the sun shine and the wind blow pleasantly to thy heart. May the celestial streaming waters drop down upon thee favourably. 15. May the plants be auspicious to thee. I have raised thee from the lower to the upper earth. There may both the sons of Aditi, the Sun and the Moon,<sup>1</sup> preserve thee. 16. Whatever garment for clothing, or whatever girdle thou makest for thyself, we cause it to be agreeable to thy body; may it be soft to thy touch. 17. When, as a barber, thou shavest our hair and beard with a sharp and cleansing razor, while cleansing our face, do not rob us of our life. 18. Let the rice and barley be auspicious to thee, innocuous, undisturbing. These destroy consumption, and deliver from suffering. 19. Whatever thou eatest or drinkest, the grain derived from husbandry, or liquid, whatever is or is not to be eaten—all that food I render for thee free from poison. 20. We commit thee to both the Day and the Night: preserve him for me from the goblins who seek to devour him. 21. We allot to thee a hundred, ten thousand, years, two, three, four, ages (yugas).<sup>2</sup> May Indra and Agni, may all the gods regard thee favourably, without anger. 22. We commit thee to autumn, winter, spring, summer. May the rains be pleasant to thee, in which the plants grow up. 23. Death rules over bipeds; death rules over quadrupeds. From that Death the ruler I rescue thee; do not fear. 24. Thou who art uninjured shalt not die; thou shalt not die; do not fear. They do not die there; they do not go to the nethermost darkness, (25) every thing lives there, cow, horse, man, beast, in the place where this prayer is used, the bulwark of life. May it preserve thee from curse from thy equals and friends. Be

<sup>1</sup> The Moon is not in the Vedas generally reckoned among the Âdityas. See my "Contributions to a knowledge of Vedic Mythology," etc., pp. 75-77.

<sup>2</sup> It would be difficult to say how great a duration is here denoted by this word; but it must be one of great length, if the long periods of years which are mentioned just before, may be taken as any indication.

undying, immortal, long-lived; let not thy breaths abandon thy body. 27. May the gods deliver thee from those hundred deaths, from those dangers which are surpassable, and from that Agni Vaiṣvānara (fire of the funeral pile?). 28. Thou art the body of Agni, the deliverer, the slayer of Rakshases, and of rivals; and thou, the medicament named *Pātudru* (*Butea frondosa*), art the chaser away of diseases."

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ART. III.—*Five Hundred Questions on the Social Condition of the Natives of Bengal.*<sup>1</sup> By the Rev. J. LONG, of Calcutta.

(Read before the Royal Asiatic Society, 19th June, 1865).

DESIDERATA and Inquiries connected with the Presidency of Madras and Bombay were issued by the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1827, on points relating to the language, literature, ancient history of families, antiquities, coins, people, architecture, landed tenures, arts and manufactures, of India.

The British Admiralty has published a Manual of Scientific Enquiry, so have the Statistical and other Societies.

Haxthausen, in his work on the Caucasus, remarks: "My travels and observations during more than twenty years, have convinced me that an acquaintance with the manners of a people, their moral and material interests, domestic relations, corporate associations, and specially the commercial relations of the lower classes, is indispensable to a real knowledge of the history and constitution of peoples and states."

The present time seems favourable in India to prosecute enquiries on this subject; with the rapid spread of education literary tastes are springing up among natives.

The following five hundred questions and desiderata—suggestive of a wide range of subjects, on "the proper study of mankind is man"—shew that a wide field is opened out for enquiry into the social life of the natives of India and their *folk-lore*, a species of knowledge not to be found exclusively in *books*, but mainly in the memories and traditions of the people. These questions were framed by the Rev. J. Long, in Calcutta, for an Association of educated native

<sup>1</sup> The majority of these questions are applicable to natives in other parts of India.



gentlemen of which he was the President; they were designed to map out the field of action on subjects relating to native social life in India.

Now is the time to "note the passing manners as they fly." Hindu society in various parts of India is in a *transition* state, and it is desirable to treasure up in writing the records of the past and the passing; an educated class of natives is rapidly rising, qualified not only to investigate but also to write in English the results of their investigations; literary societies, and periodical literature, are increasing among them. Natives alone can penetrate into native society. Europeans must remain on the surface; but the two classes can work in harmony. The natives are able and willing to supply the data and facts,—while the European can classify and arrange them on the plan laid down by Statistical and Sociological Societies, and publish them hereafter for the information of persons both in Europe and the East.

There is a wide field opened out, as the five hundred questions and desiderata in this paper shew, and the co-operation of the following classes of Europeans in India is earnestly solicited:—

1. *Collectors, Magistrates, and Commissioners in Districts*, who, associating much among the people, might through their native employés secure a large amount of valuable information on various points, and would find the inquiry profitable to themselves in promoting good feeling between them and the natives, deepening their interest in the country and occasionally relieving the tedium of a solitary hour.

2. *European Settlers* would find these questions of use in gaining a better acquaintance with the social condition of the natives with whom they are thrown so much in contact; it would shew them that natives can talk and think of other subjects besides rupees, while on the other hand the natives would see that the Sahibs are not mere indigo, tea and coffee producing machines, but take an interest in the welfare and condition of their dependents,—thus the asperities arising from antagonism of race would be softened.

3. *Principals and Teachers in Schools and Colleges*, would

find many of these questions suitable as subjects for essays to be given to native students, testing and calling out not only their powers of composition, but also their faculties of observation and knowledge of common things,—checking the tendency of education to make mere book-worms, separated from and having few sympathies with the masses.

4. *Missionaries* in their itinerancies and in mixing with the natives have excellent opportunities of filling up these gaps in our ignorance of social life, and by conversation on social questions of smoothing down any rancour that may arise from theological discussion.

5. *Students of the Vernacular, and Travellers*, would find an ample supply of materials for conversation with natives and teachers, which would in an agreeable manner facilitate the study of the vernacular.

## I.

### ABORIGINES.

The *Dhangars* and other hill tribes who do such important though dirty work in the drainage of Calcutta, are deserving notice as to their habitations, religion, customs, language. Sir J. Malcom's Essay on the Bhils—Hodgson's valuable papers on the Aboriginal tribes, etc., suggest various subjects of enquiry. Dr. Pritchard, Hodgson, etc., etc., devoted much labour to it; and Sir G. Grey, when Governor of New Zealand, learned the language of the Aborigines, and has since published a most interesting work on "the Poetry of the New Zealanders." He lived among them for a time, and has recorded all their legends, traditions, etc. The Maoris living in the *ultima Thule* of civilization speak a language in which there are many words derived from Sanskrit. The Santals, met with one hundred miles from Calcutta, use a language having strong affinities with that of the Tartars of Central Asia, who are Russian subjects. The Hindu poetical legends describe those aborigines as monkeys; Megasthenes writes of them as one-eyed, without noses, wrapped up in their ears (*hastikarnas*).

1. The mode of living, habits, morals; and food of the *Dhangars*,

and other aborigines in foreign places, contrasted with their native place?

2. Ditto of the hill men who go as *coolies* to the Mauritius, Ceylon, and the West Indies.

3. The social position and relation of the coolies to Zemindars on their return, how far do they acquire habits of thought and independence, a knowledge of improved means of cultivation, a taste for a higher order of amusements, and a greater pride of personal appearance?

4. Do the wives and families of the Aboriginal emigrants accompany them in their emigrations? What connexion do they keep up with their native villages?

5. The ceremonies observed by the Aborigines, etc., at births, marriages, funerals? What mode have they of settling their disputes? How far do they believe in witchcraft, omens?

6. Any traces of the Aborigines ever having lived in the plains of India?

## II.

### AGRICULTURAL CLASSES.

How desirable it would be in India to see the native landlord, like the English country gentleman, attending agricultural shows—joining with his tenants in the sports of the field—administering justice on the bench—sympathising with the peasants in their difficulties—deriving, from an agricultural education, that scientific knowledge of rural husbandry which would interest him in the country, and thus enable him to be independent of the false information of the agent (*gomasta*).

1. How far is the charge true that the *ryot* is *lazy*—if so, is it owing to his not having a proper incentive to industry, or to his natural disposition?

2. In what cases have *ryots* risen to be *peasant proprietors*?—what effect would a class of peasant proprietors have on cultivation as compared with large capitalists? Would the results be similar to those in France, where peasant proprietorship fosters economy, a respect for property, forethought and industry?

3. How far are *zemindars*, *absentees*?—the causes, remedies?

4. To what extent is a taste for *gardening* spreading among *zemindars*, and educated natives—how could it be more extensively promoted as a morning amusement for natives in offices? instances of any natives who have devoted much time and money to gardening.

5. How far could *public gardens*<sup>1</sup> be established in native towns?
6. In what respect would the introduction of the study of *agricultural chemistry* and of *the elements of Botany* in a popular form in Anglo-Vernacular schools tend to lessen that gulph which now exists between the educated classes and the rural population?
7. The practicability of *evening classes* for teaching the ryots to read.<sup>2</sup>
8. How far are the ryots becoming more aware of "the great world beyond their *market town*?"
9. *Poverty* among the ryots, how pre-disposing to disease? to cheating?
10. Would an *encumbered estate commission*, which has worked so well in Ireland, be suited for India?
11. Is there a strong desire among *ryots* for the possession of land, so as to lead to habits of prudence and economy?
12. Are there many remains of old *Jaghires* in Bengal?
13. Is the minute *sub-division of land* according to Hindu law carried out much? what are its effects?
14. The proportion of *landholders* to the rest of the population?
15. To what extent do the ryots purchase things not *produced* in their own district?
16. Any cases of poor *ryots* who have risen to be zemindars or to a good social position?
17. Many *sub-tenures* amounting to ten?
18. Do many of the rural population *emigrate to towns*? the effects on their morals and on wages?
19. To what extent are the *zemindars* "rotting in idleness?" its causes and remedies?
20. Are the ryots as attached to their *native villages* as formerly?
21. Has the *naib* (agent) as much influence as formerly over the zemindar?
22. Are *zemindars* as *litigious* as formerly?
23. Are the peasantry, though *unlettered*, not ignorant? Give examples, illustrations.
24. Signs of *agricultural improvement* within the last twenty years as contrasted with manufacturing improvement?

<sup>1</sup> In the North West Provinces of India in 1852, 10,000 Rupees were spent by Government in the establishment of public gardens. The author of *Seir Mutakherim* remarked last century "a garden, an orchard—being time out of mind as free to all the world all over India as is a well or a tank, nothing amazes and disgusts the Hindustanees more when they come to Calcutta than to find so many seats and gardens all shut up."

<sup>2</sup> I have met with cases of evening schools attended solely by ryots. In England one per cent. of the rural population attend such schools. In France 12 per cent. In Russia they are rapidly on the increase.

25. How far is there a growth of a feeling of *independence* among ryots? its causes and probable results?

26. Are *Middlemen* on the increase? the evils inflicted by them in rack-renting, etc., etc.

27. The condition of the *ryots* before the Permanent Settlement, and their relation at that period to the landlords?

28. The different *abwabs* (fees) levied by zemindars?

29. *Torture*, how far practised now and formerly? the different modes?

### III.

#### ASTROLOGY AND WITCHCRAFT.

Human nature in India, as in Europe, wishes to pry into the future, whether the fingers, the chattering of crows, or the stars are to be guides; in India the feeling against witches even lately was as strong as in England two centuries ago, thus in Mhow between 1800 and 1823, 2,500 witches were put to death.<sup>1</sup>

1. *Charmers for snake bites*, their numbers, pay, and how far really successful? the influence of music over snakes?

2. Are reputed *Expellers of Bhuts or Devils* many, their influence?

3. Various kinds of *mantras*, such as the *panoh mantra*, etc., etc.?

4. *Witches*, their localities, emoluments, number, how detected, any put to death last century in Bengal, the various kinds of witchcraft?

5. *Divination* by the hand; its various kinds,—books on,—is the practice general?

6. *Auguries*, by what birds? how taken? what is the reliance placed on them now?

7. *Mesmerism (Jhârdn Mantra)*, to what extent known to the *old Hindus*—how practised now and by whom?

8. *Sleight-of-hand* tricks, the number and emoluments of its professors—instances of common tricks practised in Bengal?

9. Belief in *Fairies, Apparitions*, illustrations of its extent and influence? much on the decline?

10. *Gypsies or Naths*, their numbers, morals, means of support? influence among the people, language, religion, ceremonies at marriages, births, funerals?

11. Are casting the *evil eye* and other *incantations* common?

<sup>1</sup> See the Asiatic Annual Register, 1801; the Asiatic Journal 1823, on trials for witchcraft among Hindus.

12. *Treasure-finders*,—*thief detectors*, *fortune-tellers*, *astrologers*, their numbers, profits?

13. *Dreams*, various kinds of? who interpret them? their profits? analysis of vernacular books that treat of them?

14. *Omens*, *Charms*, and signs of futurity, various kinds in use?

#### IV.

##### BEGGARS AND VAGRANTS.

The beggar class are not unworthy of consideration in India—in England they are the subjects of various books: who does not remember Burns's poem on the Jolly Beggars, or some of the exquisite traits about them in Goldsmith's and Crabbe's Poems?

1. The proportion of beggars from *choice* or from *necessity*, or on *religious* grounds?

2. The extent of beggars' beats?—more beggars in town or country? their profits, their amusements?

3. Are beggars much addicted to *thieving* or other crimes? Do many beggars feign *blindness*, *dumbness*, *lameness*, or practise other impositions?

4. *Fakirs* or *Sanyasis*—their habits, beat, profits, impositions,—which are worse, Hindu or Musulman fakirs? why do they call themselves *Padris*?

5. Mendicant *musicians*—their number, profits, skill, social position? Vagrant tradesmen, ditto.

6. Is not the present indiscriminate *charity to beggars* the mother of idleness and crime?

7. Where do beggars find shelter in the *rains*, in *illness*?

8. Are *Hindus* or Musulmans kinder to beggars?

9. Why do most of the mendicant orders choose *Ram* for their patron?

10. Do many beggars flock to towns? the causes? how far is the want of peasant proprietorship a cause of beggary?

#### V.

##### CALCUTTA.

Calcutta, the "city of palaces and pigsties," requires a separate Sociological niche for itself,—yet how little is really known of this *colluvies* of nations! Purnea furnishes to it

syces,—Orissa, bearers,—Behar, Durwans,—Central India, opium merchants,—Kabul, horses and fruit-sellers,—Chittagong, boatmen;—while those semi-Asiatics, the Greeks, supply leading merchants.

In prosecuting enquiries on the various classes of population, the trades and handicrafts in Calcutta and the large cities of India, there is a model paper on that subject, published in the Royal Asiatic Society's Transactions, in relation to Bareilly, 1826, vol. i. pp. 467-484, treating of the progress in civilization, dress, amusements, food, houses, peculiar usages, habits and wants of the people of Bareilly. Many of the questions there propounded are applicable *ceteris paribus* to Benares, Bombay, Madras, etc.

1. The proportion of the *adult population* born in the city.<sup>1</sup>
2. The grouping of the population into classes inhabiting different localities according to *occupation, social grade, and birth place?*
3. *Afghans*, their numbers, occupation, moral condition—do they assert their Jewish descent?
4. *Armenians*,<sup>2</sup> ditto, their decrease; any connection kept up with Armenia or Russia; their colloquial language?
5. *Chinese*,<sup>3</sup> how far do they retain their country's mode of living? their morals, localities, numbers, language used, employments?
6. *East Indians*.<sup>4</sup> Not a welding of the European and Asiatic as the English were of the Norman and Saxon—effect of intermarriage among themselves; are they dying out?
7. *Feringhoes*, who so called—origin of the word?
8. *Greeks* ditto, how far do they adopt English habits and customs—their habits as contrasted with those of English merchants; any connection kept up with Russia or Greece?
9. *Jains*, their numbers and social position?
10. *Jews*,<sup>5</sup> their numbers, wealth, and social position? what impression do they make on Hindus? their language, how far Indianised?<sup>6</sup>
11. *Merchant princes*, is the name still applicable in Calcutta and Bombay?
12. *Mixed Classes*, many such, as *Piralis*, etc., etc.

<sup>1</sup> Half the adult population of London is born in the Provinces.

<sup>2</sup> 636 Armenians in Calcutta in 1837.

<sup>3</sup> There were 362 in 1837.

<sup>4</sup> There were in Calcutta 307 Jews in 1837.

<sup>5</sup> 4,746 in 1837.

<sup>6</sup> The Alexandrian Jews were hellenised.

13. *Moguls*, their numbers, morals, social position,—many directly of Persian or Tartar origin?

14. *Musulmans*; are they very stationary? are they rising in social importance? their social morality as contrasted with that of the Hindus? are coffee shops common among them? ditto gambling? the number of Arabic and Persian schools among them? their feelings towards Hindus? many Hajis or Saids among them? Do they read the *Kulma* on Friday, in the mosques?

15. *Parsces*, their number, social status—are their prejudices decaying? their *Panchayats*? observance of New Year's day, and of the birth day of Zoroaster,—ceremonies in honor of the dead.—Commercial enterprise, charities, language, literature, caste disputes; when did they first come? the condition of their females,—their liturgies,—how far do they adopt Hindu customs; ditto English?

16. *Portuguese*, their number,<sup>1</sup> are they increasing? their influence; the language used; are any of pure origin? are their priests improving? the effect of their example on Hindus?

17. *Sanskrit Colleges*. Are there more than 100? the highest emoluments in them as contrasted with former days? state of learning among pupils and teachers?

18. *Seiks*; their numbers,—are many able to read the *Granth*? their occupations?

19. *Young Bengal*; how far does he really differ from his countrymen, and how far is it mere varnish? are his peculiarities on the increase or decrease? are there many out of Calcutta? The period when young Bengalism arose?

20. Account of the following *classes*, their numbers, profits, and social position,—bird sellers, glass-blowers, firework-makers, dyers, shell-workers, smiths, cattle doctors, yogis, weavers, divers, butchers, fowlers, bookbinders, druggists, bakers, gardeners, washermen, confectioners, barbers, sweepers, shoemakers, carpenters, masons?

21. The origin of the names of the *streets* with notices of the individuals, or of the circumstances or particular trades, that gave them those names?

22. The various cries made in the streets by hawkers or sellers?

23. Describe the numbers, profits, and social condition of the following classes—street sellers, street buyers, street finders, street performers, artists, showmen, street artizans or working pedlars, street laborers.

<sup>1</sup> 3,181 in 1837.



## VI.

## CEREMONIES, RITES.

1. *Shraddhas*, the ceremonies and expenses connected with them now, as contrasted with former times, and in the various castes?

2. The chief *gram devatas* (village gods); the origin of their worship, the mode of conducting it. Are there more than 100?

3. Do *Hindus* or *Musulmans* expend more on their rites and ceremonies?

4. The profits and numbers of those who *burn the dead*?<sup>1</sup>

5. Is the practice of *shaking hands* and of other English customs increasing much?

6. On *investiture of the Poita*, is it usual to keep a piece of iron as a charm against *bhuts* (ghosts)? is the party confined for eleven days?

7. Are *compulsory pujas* much practised, such as throwing an image at night at a rich man's door that he may be compelled to perform a *puja*?

8. Describe the worship of *Sitola*, *Nag Manasa*, *Ulauta Devi*; the *Shasti*, *Dheki*, *Govardan*, and *Ganesh Pujas*,—their origin, extent, expenses, by what classes conducted, the temples, festivals connected with them?

9. *Agni Puja* and *Surjea Puja*, to what extent—with what pomp and expense, celebrated in former times? by what classes?

10. The various prayers and gesticulations connected with the *ahnik*, how far observed, and by what classes now?

11. Parrots, how trained to repeat *Radha Krishna*?

12. How far are the following practices now generally observed and by what classes? First morning prayer to the *Guru*? the *Gangástak*; 24 *Mudrás*; *prandyam*? *Gumukhi*, *Gaytrijap*, *Artipancha pradip*, *Panchagni*, *Das sanskar*?—marks of caste or sects in the forehead?—women worshipping the *dheki* to cure the sourvy and itch?

13. *Fasting*, how far observed now, compared with former days; the *Ekadasi* how kept, and by whom?

14. *Funerals*, their expense; ceremonies; period of mourning, in different castes; do women accompany the corpse? four modes of disposing of a corpse.—How far observed now, compared with former days?

15. Are *lamps* often sent floating down a stream as an omen?

<sup>1</sup> *Rama Murda Farish* died at Calcutta about 1835, worth five or six lacs, which he gained by burning the dead at Nimtollah.

16. Are thorns often put under the feet of a woman who dies pregnant?

17. Is there much observance now of *Das Snán, Das Dán*?

18. Describe the ceremonies, and among what classes practised, in the worship of books, birds, stones, fish?

19. Jogi's suspension of breath, postures, etc., etc., how far kept up now, and by what training?

20. In the *Holi festival*, are there less obscene words and figures than formerly? is the castor oil tree planted as a kind of maypole?

21. Is the *Navami* generally practised?<sup>1</sup>

22. *Chagdd*, near Calcutta, the reason for its being a city of refuge for outcasts, the numbers that resort to it? other similar places in Bengal.

23. Was the burying lepers alive much practised formerly? ditto burning alive?

24. *Human sacrifices* were formerly offered up at Kshir near Burdwan, at Yogadyea, at Kerilatta near Moorsheadabad, to Kali at Brahmanitola near Nadaya, to Manasa, at Chitpore, Kalighat,—instances handed down by tradition?

25. How was the *charak* celebrated formerly? instances in its practice of the tongue being pierced with a bayonet? of a snake's tail put through the tongue?

26. *Birth ceremonies*; such as Jal karan or giving honey at first seeing a son; naming a child twelve days after birth; bringing him out at three months' old; feeding him at six months old; shaving the head at three years old—how far practised and by what castes?

27. In *marriages*, are the *laganpatrika*, tying the garments of parties together, much used? how do marriage ceremonies differ according to caste, rank, etc.

## VII.

### CLASSES.

1. In the *upper classes*, do many families die out? the causes?

2. Causes tending to create a *middle class* in Bengal?

3. Any probability of *approximating* the Hindus and *East Indians* in closer mutual sympathy—was the aversion less in former days than now?

4. The *Portuguese*—how many of European origin, their peculiar customs and mode of life? their influence over natives? their morals and energy as contrasted with those of natives?

<sup>1</sup> That is, placing the first fruits of grain in harvest time at the door.

5. The use of a native *landed aristocracy* as a shield against the despotism of a ruler or of a multitude?

6. Are there many *black Brahmans*? is their colour the effect of climate? are they of Hindu origin?

7. The *duration of life* among the upper and lower classes of Hindus, and the professional classes particularly, as showing the effect of temperance, mental occupation and bodily exercise?

8. Are *old men* very garrulous? are there many old men? to what age have some lived?

9. *Caste*, how far on the decline, and the causes of the decline? are the *varna sankara* or mixed castes on the increase? illustrations of the lower castes rising in the social scale, the causes? are the rules for expulsion from caste strictly observed?

10. *Families* that existed before the Muhammadan invasion.

## VIII.

### COMMERCE.

The commercial classes in India have always occupied a conspicuous place; even in Menu's time they held the purse strings, and have been less than other classes subject to priestly influence; hence the great sects of Jains in Rajputana and Central India, the Oswals of Behar, and Vaishnabs of Bengal have the greatest number of converts among the traders; the Marwari merchants are Jains, and the Ghosains are Vaishnabs. Religious reform found its votaries most in France among the Huguenot merchants; in the middle ages among the Belgian and Italian traders; and in Russia among the mercantile classes; the municipalities in the middle ages, mainly composed of the trading classes, were buffers against feudal and priestly oppression.

1. Why do *Buniyas* (shop keepers) in Behar rank with Vaisiyas? their education and social position in Bengal—are many of them sureties—many foreigners among them—their profits?

2. *Mahajans* (money lenders) how far do their exactions extend—are they less now than formerly—their numbers—do many rise to a high position in native society?

3. The *native merchant princes*—their rise and social influence—do their sons follow their father's pursuits?

4. To what extent has the *decay* in ancient Indian articles of

production and trade been compensated by new sources of production and trade ?

5. Indigo,<sup>1</sup> the accounts of it in Hindu books—also of tobacco, sugar, cotton ?

6. The influences of *foreign trade* on the dress, food, habits, opinions, of natives ?

7. How far are native merchants likely to form a quasi *aristocracy*, or an upper middle class ?

8. *Native merchants*, how far liable to the charge of ostentation, avarice, vulgarity ? how far do they rise into a higher grade, and their conduct in it ?

9. The effect of *commercial legislatures* on commercial morality, as shown in the Small Cause and Insolvent Courts ?

10. *Shroffs* (bankers), their number, emoluments, social position ?

11. Causes of the decreasing social intercourse between Europeans and natives—remedies ?

## IX.

### CONVERSATION AND SOCIAL INTERCOURSE.

Conversation, or the “feast of reason and the flow of soul,” is as popular with the Bengali as with the European.

1. The subjects of conversation 20 *years ago* as contrasted with the present.

2. The subjects of conversation common to the *educated* and *uneducated* classes.

3. The favourite *times* for conversation ; how different from the English ?

4. Do any classes converse on subjects not relating to their *daily life and occupations* ?

5. Are *Riddles* much used ?—a collection of them a desideratum.

6. *Jesters* how far employed, their numbers and emoluments— is jesting much used ? illustrations of it ?

7. *Vaishnabs' or Saktas'* conversation—how do they differ in subject and moral tone ?

8. Is there much *discussion* in Hindoo society—on what topics ? is it angry at times ?

9. The effect on conversation of the absence of *female society* ?

10. Topics in the *zenana*, among educated, uneducated ? among country or town people ?

11. Among what classes are *Ghost stories* most common ? mention twelve specimens of different kinds. .

<sup>1</sup> In the *Pancha Tantra*, a work twelve centuries old at least, we have an account of a jackal who tumbled into an indigo vat.

X.

CRIMINAL, OR DANGEROUS, CLASSES.

1. How can a system of *education* be extended adapted to the circumstances of those who form the raw materials of the dangerous and criminal classes ?

2. How far is *poverty* the parent of crime in Bengal? Do. *oppression*? Do. the *Guru Mahashay system*?

3. *Jails*, how far objects of terror and shame to natives? in what districts is the name "our father-in-law's house" given to the jail? are re-committals frequent? Are *Reformatories* for juvenile criminals desirable? the effect of teaching prisoners agriculture?

4. Is the *thannah* looked upon as a school where old offenders teach young ones crime?

5. Receivers of *stolen goods*; any approximate estimate of their number and profits?

6. Has the *punishment of death* much effect in lessening capital offences?

7. The proportion that can *read and write* intelligibly in the different jails?<sup>1</sup>

8. Is *infanticide* common among the poor?<sup>2</sup> Do. *incest*?

9. Is perjury or forgery on the increase? the causes?

10. River *Thagi* common? Ditto professional *poisoners*?

11. The influence of *age* and *sex* on crime?

12. Crime in different districts, and in various castes, particularly among Hindus and Muhammadans, how it differs in number, variety, heinousness?

13. Is there more crime in *town* or in the country?

14. Juvenile delinquents; their number, offences?

15. Has the autobiography of a thief ever been written?

16. Is Professor Wilson's remark correct, "in the great towns of India the profligacy bears no comparison to that of London or Paris?"

XI.

DEBATING SOCIETIES.

Debating Societies or Literary Clubs have sprung up in shoals both in Calcutta and the Mofussil within the last twelve

<sup>1</sup> In Liverpool it was ascertained lately that out of 19,336 persons apprehended in nine months, only 3 per cent. could read or write well enough for any available purpose.

<sup>2</sup> It is so in the manufacturing districts of England, and among the Rajputs,

years; they are nuclei for educated young men, and are congenial to the oriental habit which loves *dals*: we need a kind, however, like the Young Men's Associations of England, in which not only lectures might be delivered or essays read, but night classes might be formed for improvement in literature and science.

1. The number and duration of *Debating Societies* in cities during the last twenty years, the subjects discussed and social status of the members?
2. Ditto in the country?
3. In what respects are they improving as to the *choices of subjects* and the mode of conducting the meetings?
4. What *social influence* do they exercise in the family or on others?
5. A history of the *Dharma Sabha*, its leaders, quarrels, influence?
6. Of the *Brahma Sabha*, ditto, ditto?
7. Account of any other meetings or reunions among Hindus with their social influence?

## XII.

### DISEASES.

1. The social and moral causes of *insanity* among natives? Among what castes is it more prevalent, and why?
2. Are *Albinos* numerous, the causes?
3. What nervous diseases are regarded as being from a *bhut* (demon), requiring mantras?
4. *Nakra*—*Inoculation* for small pox—*Leprosy*,—their respective modes of treatment in ancient and modern times? how they differ? are lepers now treated kindly?
5. *Hindu Physicians*, their various remedies for *eye diseases*?
6. Are diseases from *dissipation* among Young Bengal on the increase?
7. What diseases indicate the *social condition* of the people, such as those of the eye, brain?
8. *Hospitals*, by what castes most attended, particularly Brahmans, Khaistas, Musulmans—and from what localities?
9. The relative *mortality and vitality* of each sex, and of the leading castes in Bengal.
10. Is the *duration of life* in inverse ratio to fecundity?
11. The influence of *employments* on health in Bengal, how shewn?

12. Various remedies for *snake bites*? any of real efficacy?
13. *Native medicines*, in what estimation held by educated natives?
14. Is mortality in *parturition* on the increase?
15. Was *Cholera* an epidemic among natives a century ago?

### XIII.

#### DOCTORS.

The *kabiraj* (indigenous doctor) is a great favourite in native society and has been the cause of an enormous number of deaths. The Bengali class of the Medical College is, as it gradually develops, lessening this evil; Dr. Wise has written ably on this class and on Hindu medicine.

1. *Kabirajis*, whether are Hindu or Musulman ones more numerous or more skilful—their castes—their pay now and in former days?
2. *Inoculators*, are there more Hindus or Musulmans—the incantations used—their invocations of *Sitola*—their fees—caste—mode of treatment?
3. *Vaidyas* (native doctors), their chief localities in Bengal, the proportion that can read Sanskrit, their pay and social position—an account of the *Atai Vaidyas*, *Dehatu Vaidyas*, *Chasi Vaidyas*, *Haturya Vaidyas*?
4. *Midwives*, *Cuppers*, *Leech sellers*, their skill, pay, numbers?
5. English educated native doctors, are their social position and pay increasing?
6. Ditto Bengali educated?

### XIV.

#### DOMESTIC.

Home has well been styled the “seed vessel of society, where the next generation must germinate.”

1. Is *hospitality* as much practised now as formerly? and with as rigid a regard to caste?
2. The *home* influences of wives and daughters on educated natives?
3. Is the family tie very strong among Hindus? illustrate by examples.

## XV.

## DRAMAS, JATRAS.

The Sanskrit Drama, so well translated by Dr. Wilson, presents a rich harvest of information on the social condition of the Indian aristocracy, females and Pandits, eighteen centuries ago. In the *Sārada tilaka* of the twelfth century, we have sketches of the various classes of females, of the Jogis, Buddhists, snake catchers, Pandits; the *Mṛiganlekḥā* treats of the kings of Kalinga and Assam—as the Ramayan does of society 2,500 years ago. Nor have the last ten years been barren in the department of dramatic vernacular literature—as the many Bengali dramas on the subjects of “Kulinism,” “Widow re-marriage,” etc. show.

1. Account of the *bhairs* or professional jesters.
2. A list of the various *jātras*, their authors, subjects, influence.
3. Ditto *Rāsas*.
4. An analysis of the vernacular dramas written during the last twenty years.

## XVI.

DRESS.<sup>1</sup>

1. Is the *Musulman* dress superior in any points to the Hindu?
2. Was the *needle* totally unknown to the Hindu? is there any Hindu word to express sewing with the needle?<sup>2</sup>
3. Do any Hindus now object to garments made by a *Moslem needle*?
4. Were there any *tailors* in ancient times among the Hindus?
5. Do Hindu *females* wash their linen often—is *soap* coming into use among them?

<sup>1</sup> A suitable dress for females, decent, yet national, is a desideratum. Some Hindu females have adopted the English dress, but they look exactly like Portuguese Ayahs, or the black dolls that hang in London over pawn-brokers' shops. Why should this be? The *sari*, it is true, is not sufficient, but in Bahar we find the petticoat (*lohanga*) and boddice (*kurta*) have been introduced from the west of India, and more than one-fourth of the Bahar women have adopted it. Some of the Rajput women in Bahar use long-drawers like the Musulman ladies. The males are better off as to dress, but in their disuse of the turban, substituting for it a cap, they benefit only the eye doctors and spectacle makers, furnishing them with more patients,—as the eyes having no shade like what the turban gives, become weak;—such has been the case in Egypt, since the Turkish Fes has been introduced.

<sup>2</sup> *Sui* properly means passing the shuttle in the act of weaving.



6. What Hindus will not drink water out of a girl's hands unless she is first *tattooed* on the arms and breast?
7. Would the wearing of *beards* be useful for Hindus?
8. Should Hindus take off their *shoes* in an European house, or their turbans on entering a place of worship?

## XVII.

## DRINKING HABITS.

In Menu's days liquors were allowed, and ancient Hindu history gives many a curious revelation on this point.

1. Are drinking habits more prevalent among the *Hindus* or among *Musulmans*? how was it 30 years ago compared with the present time?
2. Are Hindus quarrelsome in their cups?
3. Is smoking *Ganja, Charus, or Opium* more destructive;—which is more common? Do Hindu females *smoke* much? When was *smoking* introduced? Ditto *snuffing*?
4. How far is the increase of drinking owing to *domestic discomfort*?
5. How far do crimes attended with violence, arise from *intoxication*? how far is insanity the result of intemperance?
6. The effect of *intemperance* in producing pauperism?
7. The connection between *abkari shops*, public-houses, and crime?
8. Is *drinking brandy* a frequent practice with Young Bengal?

## XVIII.

## EDUCATION, IN ITS SOCIAL BEARING.

The consideration of the School system in its *social* influences is a very important subject, as well as the enquiry, how far the competitive system is injurious so far as it treats boys as race horses,—trains them not for general use but to run for particular prizes,—promotes cramming, and mere book-knowledge;—leads to the neglect of the mass of the boys in a school, tempting the Masters, by attending to a few "fugle boys," to gain more praise for their school.

There is a tendency among Hindus like the man in the fable, to cry out nothing like leather, and to regard education as the panacea for *all* evils. Lord Brougham describes such persons as being like those who would trust to the effects of

diet and regimen when the plague is raging, and Dr. Arnold remarked, "Education is wanted to improve the physical condition of the people: and yet *their physical condition must be improved, before they can be susceptible of education.*" You may educate the upper classes highly, but the masses are the basis of the social pyramid; without this being secure, the apex has no stability; brute force and the black cap are at best but temporary expedients.

1. How far are improved *habits* of cleanliness, order, punctuality, truthfulness, an improved standard of dress and living, and a development of character promoted by Anglo-Vernacular Schools?

2. Ditto by *Guru Mahashay* or village Schools?

3. The action of Anglo-Vernacular and *Guru Mahashay* Schools on the *family circle* in raising the moral and intellectual tone?

4. Any social evils arising from the training adopted for native girls in some *Mission female schools*? The remedy?

5. How far are the following remarks, made in England, applicable to India?

"There is a practical standard in the minds of the people, beyond which the education of the masses cannot be carried. If Government raise the standard, people diminish the time of children's attendance."

6. The social importance of teaching in all schools, the doctrines of *political economy* on labour, capital, wages, interchange, money, —as also the elements of agricultural chemistry.

7. Mental ignorance, how far productive of *moral depravity*?<sup>1</sup>

8. How far do *social discomforts* fret and enfeeble the masses, and render them unfit for higher thoughts?

9. Is *intemperance* greater in proportion among the educated or uneducated classes?

10. How far is the following statement, made by an educated native, correct?

"Natives educated in the *Government Colleges*, do not often fulfil the hope inspired by their academic career; they do not follow up their studies; they unlearn what they have learnt, sink in the mass with all the enervating environments of Indian life—the hookah and the zenana do their sure work."

11. Does not the social condition of the masses render a *grant-in-aid system* as inapplicable, as would be a voluntary system at the time of plague and pestilence?

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Mouat, Inspector of Jails in Bengal, shows in his Returns for 1860, that out of 73,000 criminals in the Bengal and Behar jails that year, 93 per cent. were utterly ignorant of reading and writing.

12. How far does school education mould the social institutions of the country and how far is it moulded by them?

13. The social importance of schools of *Industrial art*?

14. Ditto ditto of Agricultural schools?

15. The *tolas* (or Sanskrit Colleges)—the social causes leading to their decline. Any improvement in the subjects taught, or the mode of teaching? What great teachers are there now?

16. The probable reflex influence of requiring a knowledge of *reading and writing* from all classes, as a qualification for office?

17. The probable influence of the *university examination* in giving a preponderance to cramming and memory work, to the neglect of cultivating the faculty of observation?

18. Is it desirable that up to 6 years of age *girls* should be taught with boys? <sup>1</sup>

19. How far are the *Guru Mahashays*, as a class, guilty of the charges of teaching their pupils theft and lying, and of inflicting severe punishments? What has been the occupation of the fathers of those teachers generally?

20. A list of Vernacular authors and able teachers produced by the Sanskrit Colleges?

## XIX.

### FEMALES.

1. How far are the following remarks on Hindu females correct in different localities: "Ministers to the capricious sensuality of their arrogant lords.—The feeling of *natural affection* is comparatively weak—held under the jealousy of restraint, they become callous to all finer sensibilities?" Cases of *crim. con.* very seldom occur in respectable Hindu families. The life of a Hindu *widow* is wretched in the highest degree.

2. To what extent can *natch* (dancing) *girls* read? their influences and emolument now as compared with former days?

3. Do Hindu females often hear religious or other *books read* to them? <sup>2</sup>

4. What is the knowledge females acquire *independent of books*?

5. Mention female *authors* of past and present times.

6. Is the practice of females blackening their teeth and eyes, of *Moelem* origin?

7. Are the *angia*, *kurti*, *pyjamahs* much in use?

<sup>1</sup> In Kabul the custom is for boys and girls from 5 to 12 years of age to attend the same school.

<sup>2</sup> In Kabul many of the females are better acquainted with religious books than the males.

8. At what age are females considered old *women*? Do females become really *old* at thirty? what is their influence and conduct then?
9. Are Musulman females less luxurious and *extravagant* than Hindu ones?
10. What are the *recreations* of females? is kite flying such?
11. Are Hindu and Musulman females fond of *embroidering* and of *flowers*?
12. Are *quarrels* numerous among females? are they very jealous?
13. How far do females win and retain their *husband's affections*?
14. What is the average time men remain *widowers*?
15. How far practically is a system of austerity carried out with regard to *widows*? what means of support have they generally?
16. If a woman washes off *paint* from her forehead, is it considered a sign of her wishing her husband's death?
17. What has been the success of the working of the act for the remarriage of Hindu widows as to numbers and respectability?
18. How far do women rule their husbands at home? Many Hindu gentlemen "henpecked?"

## XX.

## FESTIVALS.

Festivals for religious or commemorative purposes have always exercised great influence on social life, whether we look to the national games and assemblages of ancient Greeks, to those of the middle ages in Europe, or to those of recent times in England and France. Who can forget Washington Irving's vivid picture of Christmas and merry England in the olden time? But among the Hindus they have been pre-eminently influential as being interwoven so closely into the religion of the country. All the mighty minds of India in former days saw what a great effect they produced on all classes: hence Vaishnabs and Saktas alike, though differing in other points widely, have agreed in patronising them.

1. The *classes of society* that do not attend festivals now, but did once—why have they discontinued?
2. The influence of festivals on the *family relation*, particularly on women and children?
3. Any change and improvements in the mode of *conducting* festivals?

4. How far are festivals become more occasions of *trade* or *amusement* than formerly ?
5. What festivals have become more *popular* than others—the causes ?
6. How far is the observance of festivals on the *decline* ?
7. Is there much *sale* of native books or of European articles at festivals ?
8. Are festivals good times for holding *religious discussions*, such as are practised by missionaries ?
9. The moral and social influence of festivals in bringing the male and female *sexes* more together ?
10. The various customs, ceremonies, connected with the first day of *new year* ?
11. How far festivals, such as the *Holi*, contribute to *idleness* and dissipation ?
12. Any observance like April fool or the Maypole in the *Holi* ?
13. Mention *Obsolete festivals*, and new ones, such as the *Jagadatri* ?
14. *Barwari puja*, how far observed now, and by whom ; its origin ? Ditto the *Nag panchami* in Bengal.
15. An accurate description of the Hindu fasts and the festivals in the district ? of their origin, the significance of their peculiar ceremonies, how observed by different castes ?
16. Ditto of the Musulman.
17. *Sunday*, how spent by different classes of natives ? Is it a day of pleasure ?
18. On *Makar Sankranti*, *til* seeds are eaten after dinner, and the sun is the only deity worshipped—why ?
19. Is the *Holi* a kind of All Fool's day ?
20. Describe the following practices—On *Gadi padva*, *nim* leaves are chewed, and *puja* paid to an Almanac ; on the *Ram Nabami* a recitation of Ramayun. *Narujal Purnima*, cocoa nuts are thrown into the sea. On the *Dewali* worship is paid to books.
21. What festivals are observed by particular castes or by women only ?

## XXI.

### FISHERMEN AND BOATMEN.

1. What *boats* are not in build of indigenous origin ?
2. The *castes* that almost exclusively furnish boatmen, — why chiefly from Chittagong or Furrirdpore ?
3. The *morals* of boatmen when separated from their families ?
4. In what respects are *boatmen* equal in skill to sailors ?

5. The peculiarities of the boatmen's *language*; is it the same as the Musulman-Bengali; a collection of the songs they sing when rowing?

6. Why few *Hindus* are boatmen?

7. The number of *boatmen* in Calcutta, are they on the increase or decrease? the causes?

8. *Sailors*, how victimised on landing, in punch-houses, and by crimps?

9. The various classes of *fishermen*, their profits now and formerly?

## XXII.

### FOOD.

The nature of food has much to do with bodily and mental vigour, although different nations in this point have their respective tastes; a Frenchman will eat a rat or a frog or horseflesh with a *gout*, that will make an Englishman almost vomit. The Englishman in like manner dislikes the oceans of ghi and quantities of high seasoning that enter into a Bengali's cuisine, while on the other hand the Bengali shudders at a calf being an object of mastication.

1. The different kinds of *curries*, their use, expense of preparation, and how far their high seasoning is conducive to health?

2. How far does the *diet of Hindus* preserve from certain diseases, but promote others?

3. The effect of a *vegetable diet* on certain mental qualities, such as courage?

4. *Tea* drinking, how far is it becoming popular?

5. Why was a *fish diet* allowed to Bengal, but prohibited to up-country Brahmans?

6. Is *adulteration* of food common? illustrations of it with its evils.

7. Illustrate the following statement: "the fare on which a Sonthal, a Cole, and a Garrow, will thrive, is utterly unsuited to the Bengali, the Assamese, and the Mugh."

## XXIII.

### HOUSES.

The dwellings of the poor and of the working classes have occupied much of the attention of philanthropists in England,

and ought to do so in India, where floors, walls, windows, are closely connected with questions of health and decency.

1. How far are the present *native houses* so built as to conduce to indecency, vice, quarrels, drunkenness, filth, bad ventilation?<sup>1</sup>
2. Is the *boitakhana* of Hindu origin?<sup>2</sup>
3. How far is the use of *chairs* preferable to the *Asan* or seat?
4. How can the following defects in tiled houses be remedied : exposure to wind and rain, cold in winter, hot in summer?
5. *Mud huts*, means to secure them against snake holes?
6. Is not the building of *suburban houses* for workmen in large towns desirable?
7. Is the northern side of a house invariably the *Thakur khana*?

#### XXIV.

##### KERANIS OR NATIVE CLERKS.

The Kerani system is so much the child of English trade and government as to demand special attention. One thing is clear, that as certain as English education has been limited almost exclusively in Bengal to the caste of Brahmans and Khaistas, so have the chief occupations of its alumni been those of keranis or copyists—an effectual way in many cases to turn an educated youth into a mere machine, and to render him simply an imitator or *copyer*—as he is a *copyist*. It is true in Northern India, from Katamandu to Mhow, the Bengali is the Englishman's right hand—in what?—is it not too often as a machine for copying, as a sort of looking glass to reflect his views without having any views of his own. A writer on Indian history remarks on the kerani in his work : “The eye seemed to communicate directly with the hand : there was no intervention of the brain. The intelligence of

<sup>1</sup> I allude here to an evil felt in England and Russia as highly demoralising, viz., a single sleeping-room for parties of different sexes. The Santals, semi-civilized though they be, are in this respect ahead of Bengalis; boys and girls arrived at the age of puberty, have to sleep separately away from their parents in a particular part of the village.

<sup>2</sup> Hamilton Buchanan's Bengal and Bahar, vol. ii. p. 697, states, “Its name is moalem and that a place of receiving company was introduced, when the example or command of these haughty conquerors rendered it necessary to secrete the women; this practice is not common in the South of India, where the manners of the Hindus are less altered; the sofa made of wood, the carpets, and quilts seem to have been introduced by the Muhammadans.”—See *Kirdt Arjunga*.

the well tutored boy was seldom carried into the practicalities of actual life." I trust this taint on the Bengali may soon cease. Happily the introduction of iron copying machines will reduce in many cases the demand for machines of flesh.

1. The total number of *keranis* employed in the different offices in Calcutta; the average amount of their salaries?

2. The occupation of *keranis'* *leisure hours*; how far does the business of their offices afford material for conversation in their leisure hours?

3. Do *keranis* keep up *reading habits*—if not, why?

4. How far does their knowledge of *English* acquired at School decline in office?

5. How far do *keranis* read the new class of books in *Vernacular literature*?

6. Are *keranis* chiefly of the *khaista* caste or of the Brahman?

7. *Banians* (native) their past and present influence over Europeans, their profits?

## XXV.

### LANGUAGE.

1. What is the source of that part of the *Vernacular language* which is not of Sanskrit or Persian origin? Has it, like the languages of South India, an affinity with the Tartarian dialects spoken in Central Asia.<sup>1</sup>

2. The *dialectical varieties in the vernacular*, how far are they divergencies of pronunciation and spelling, similar to those in the English and Italian dialects—their extent and causes? Are they on the increase or decrease?

3. How far is *Urdu* declining in certain parts of India, as a colloquial and written language? the causes?

4. What influence is likely to be produced on the *Bengali* language by increased intercourse with Central India and the North West?

5. What language is likely to supplant the *Santal*, is it the Bengali, Hindi, or Urdu? Ditto as regards the Asamese?

6. What effect on the structure of the vernaculars is likely to be produced by *English* educated natives?

7. What *idioms* in the vernacular language are most striking in contrast with those of the English and Urdu languages?

8. The language used at *Gour*, had it a closer affinity to Hindi than to Bengali.

<sup>1</sup> Caldwell's Dravidian grammar affords many valuable hints on this subject.



9. What old *Vernacular MSS.* exist among private families? <sup>1</sup>
10. Is the *Musulman-Bengali*, used chiefly by persons who cannot read or write the Bengali, increasing as a dialect?
11. The past and present influence of *Persian* in Bengal?
12. The *boundaries* of the Bengali language in the Midnapur district bordering on Orissa and in Birbhum on the Hindi-speaking districts?
13. The vernacular language, how far in its progress does it illustrate the varying features of *national character*, habits, pursuits, social and mental development? <sup>2</sup>
14. Are the educated Bengalis so different from Italians, Poles, or Hungarians, as to have little *patriotic feeling* in favour of their native language?
15. Words in the vernacular having affinities with any Tartar or *aboriginal* language?
16. Illustrations of the language of *Flowers* as used by Musulmans and Hindus?
17. A list of those *vernacular words* not derived from Sanskrit or Persian—their probable origin?
18. Names of places, persons, or things in the vernacular throwing any light on the origin and affinities of the *native race*?
19. *Cant* language used by particular classes? <sup>3</sup>

## XXVI.

### LAW AND SOCIAL STATE.

The laws of a people have a very important bearing on their social development; hence jurisprudence has well been defined, “the law of humanity in society,” and the subject from this point of view has been taken up by the Social Science Association.

1. How far is the new *Penal Code*, as contrasted with the Regulations, likely to affect the social condition of the people and mould their character; and how far is the social condition of the people likely to modify the working of this Code?

<sup>1</sup> Research in other quarters ought to encourage it here: thus we find that the Pushtu, until lately considered a colloquial dialect, had, as Captain Raverty shows, MS. as early as 1417 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> Language has well been called a map of the manners and science of the people who speak it. Thus the term for a widow, *Vidhava*, showed that all widows were not burnt; so *pati*, a lord, the term for husband, indicated that he ruled.

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Sleeman in his *Ramaseana* gives the language of Thugs. We have in Bengal the language of boatmen.

2. How far has the *Punchayat* or native jury system tended to raise the character of the people? how far is it popular? would the English Jury system be more efficient in this respect?

3. The *Income Tax*, its probable bearings on the physical, social, and moral condition of the people?

4. Menu's laws, how far did they influence the masses?

5. The probable effects of making *English* the language of the Courts in its increasing the gulph between the English Judge and the masses? and in leaving the judge and the people at the mercy of the interpreter?

6. The effect on society of the Hindu law of *intestate property*.

7. Which is more favorable to the creation of a middle class and the elevation of the masses, a zemindary, a village, or a ryotwary system?

8 How would a law of *primogeniture* be likely to work in India?

9. Ditto a law like the French law of equal *sub-division*?

10. In what respects is the social condition of the people different now from what it was in the *Vedic* age—in Menu's—in Ram's—in Kalidasa's—in the Musulman ditto?

11. How far has law in India been the offspring, how far the parent of *public opinion*?

12. The working of the *Small Cause Courts* in checking or increasing a love for litigation and in promoting a regard to truth in dealings?

13. How far have native Educational *endowments* made the Pandits indolent by making them independent of their Scholars?

14. The value of village *Municipal Institutions* in preparing a people for self-government? the remains of the old system in different parts of India?

15. The importance to India of *English lawyers in India* having a training not only in law books, but also in a knowledge of the social condition of the people?

## XXVII.

### MARRIAGES.

1. Illustrations of the effects of *early marriage* physically, mentally, socially?

2. The causes and consequences of the *expense* of marriage ceremonies?

3. How far do *marriage ceremonies* vary according to caste, social position, etc.?

4. What practices in the *marriage ceremonies* as to length, expense, rites, ought to be discountenanced, what to be continued?
5. Does *early marriage* in India tend to check vice?
6. Is there a marriage in practice among the Hindus corresponding to the *Muhammadian nikka*?
7. How far do marriages take place at a later period among *educated natives*—the effects?
8. Are *Ghataks* (Go betweens) many, their fees,—any ghatak registries extant from Bullal Sen's time, or three centuries ago?
9. The *expense* of marriage among the various castes or classes; are they on the increase or the decrease?

## XXVIII.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

1. The different modes of *calculating time*, such as by sand, water, the sun, the stars?
2. Is the *Punchayat* much practised now? was it ever in Bengal as much a part of the village system as in Central India?
3. The practicability and advantage of *Mofussil Savings and Loan Banks* for the middle classes in the Mofussil, to promote provident habits and to rescue the Rayats from the Mahajans?<sup>1</sup>
4. Is the *cycle theory* for nations, of weakness, vigour, maturity, decay, inapplicable to India?
5. The *emigration* to the Mauritius and W. Indies in its effects on the social condition of the emigrants and their families; on the parties themselves on their return—are many remittances from emigrants made to their families?
6. To what type of the *European character* are the Bengalis likely to approximate—to the English or German, French or Italian?
7. Are not mere *English institutions* as little adapted for India as they would be for France?
8. *Oriental Epistles*, their various ornaments, superscriptions and envelopes?
9. Have cases been known in modern times of the following punishments being enforced—cutting off a Hindu's *tika* (top knot), putting lime on one side of his face and ink on the other side, and leading him about on an ass?

<sup>1</sup> In Birmingham in 1856, 84,000 accounts were opened for one penny and upwards; £4,600 being paid in. Through Dr. Chalmers' influence penny banks were established, fifty years ago in Scotland. Dr. Duncan established in Scotland Savings Banks for deposits of a shilling and upwards, and thirty-two-millions sterling have been deposited by 1,340,000 contributors.

10. *Names*, any change desirable in *Hindu names*; the various modes of giving them? are all expressive? are they ever *changed*? how many different *names* are there of men and of women?

11. *Salutations*, different modes of, any change in the form of in operation?

12. Are *large towns* in Bengal less favourable to morals than the country?

13. *Bazars*, their profits to the proprietors, changes in them within the last 20 years?

14. Are many new *Hindu temples* being built, where and at what cost?

15. *Spitting*, why practised so much by Hindus?

16. The history of the rise of the *old families* in Calcutta?<sup>1</sup>

17. What are the subjects of *national pride* with Bengalis?

18. Various forms of *oaths* among different castes; which are considered specially binding?

19. Are dwarfs numerous?

20. *Bankrupts* were formerly compelled to sit bare-headed before a blazing lamp, how long since that was practised?

21. Why do Hindus *count and divide* by 4? does it relate to time, such as 4 weeks, 12 hours?

22. To what extent is the *rise of prices* leading, among ryots and the working classes, to independence of feeling and action, to a desire for education and to increased domestic comfort?

23. Is *dasturi*, or servants' perquisites, in vogue in the same proportion among natives as among Europeans? was it practised in the Mogul time and at different rates according to occupation?

24. Does a *fixed price* for articles exist in any branch of Hindu trade?

25. Is there much *competition* among Hindus? Is the "cheap and nasty" system much practised?

26. Does population increase more in *town* or in the country?

27. *Longevity*, how does it vary in different districts—in *various employments*?

28. Has a variety of *soils* any influence on the character of the people, as low and marshy coasts are said to furnish a sordid, degraded race?

29. How far is there *real* tenderness to *animals* in India? Any places of refuge for lost or starving ones, or old ones?

30. Is *suicide* common in India? among what classes? the kinds? causes? on the increase?

<sup>1</sup> When I was in England 18 years ago, the late Professor Wilson directed my attention to this subject as one of great interest; only a native can write on it.

31. Different kinds of *ordeal* now among the Hindus, the balance, fire, water, poison, chewing rice, boiling oil, red hot iron?<sup>1</sup>

32. Twelve instances of English misunderstanding of native practices, ditto of natives mistaking English.

33. When were the natives first called *niggers*?

34. Refute the statement that natives have neither a word for gratitude in their language, nor a sense of it towards Europeans.

35. The advisability of introducing *fountains* and Turkish baths?

36. Any *Mahratta* females settled in Bengal?

37. The causes of the rise in *prices* in the district?

## XXIX.

### MUSULMANS.

The Musulmans live *among* the Hindus, but are not of them; they even now are in Europe objects of much interest to various nations, and in the middle ages they left in Europe undying memorials of their knowledge and progress in the arts and social life. The Musulmans in *Bengal* read Bengali, but speak a mixed dialect.

1. In what localities are there Musulmans of *Patan* or *Mogul* descent?

2. In what districts have Hindus become proselytes to Muhammadanism—how far by conviction? how far by compulsion? or from other causes?

3. To what extent do the Musulmans differ in their social life, hospitality, kindness to the poor, amusements, *manners and customs*, from the Hindus? do they practise polygamy or sensuality to a greater extent than the Hindus?

4. The number, education, emoluments and influence of *Kajis* and *Mullas* in various localities?

5. To what extent have the *Musulmans* and *Hindus* mutually adopted each other's religious and social practices?<sup>2</sup>

6. How far have the residence and influence of Musulmans diminished Hindu *superstitions*, as well as indecent and cruel practices?

7. Is not the following Hindu practice of Musulman origin—

<sup>1</sup> The trial by ordeal has been handed down in India from ancient times; it was prevalent in Europe in the middle ages.—See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> In Purnea, Hindus contribute to the expense of the Mohurram; while caste has throughout Bengal obtained a complete ascendancy over the Moelems.

writing with the *reed* instead of the style or iron pen? other instances?

8. How far have the strictness of Hindu caste and the easy terms on which Musulmans received converts, contributed to *Moslem proselytism*?

9. Is Muhammadanism on the increase? how has it gained so many converts from the *ryot* class?

10. Are the following *sects of Fakirs* in lower Bengal, Benawas, Takyahdars, Jalalis, Madari?

11. Murids—many? their conduct?

12. Many Hajis or *pilgrims*; do many go to *Mecca* from Bengal? by what route? do women often proceed? the effect on them when they return?

13. What line of *trade*, profession or art, are Musulmans taking to?

14. What are the descendants of the Moslem *gentry* doing; are they beginning to apply to trade? do they seek Government employ? their influence?

15. The number and endowments of *Pirsthans*; *Durgahs*? are many offerings made?

16. How far is *Sufeyism* spreading, and among what classes? any secret meetings among them? much asceticism?—their text books?—has the *Vedantic* system influenced Sufeyism in India? how far has Christianity?

17. How far are the *Ferasis* an offshoot of the Wahabees? are they spreading beyond Furridepore? are their influence and numbers on the increase?

18. Are the *Ramsan* and other feasts observed as strictly now as formerly; if not, in what particulars?

19. Do the *Ferasis* practise widow remarriage? what Musulman ceremonies do they reject—is any connection kept up by them with Arabia?

20. The difference between Hindu and Musulman *funerals*, birth-days, marriages, as to the number of ceremonies, expense, popularity?

21. How did *Musulmans* in former days persecute the Hindus—by conferring office and landed property on converts only—by rejecting Hindu evidence in Courts—by bringing Hindu children up as proselytes?

22. Are *Saids* numerous in Bengal? what estimation are they held in?

23. In Musulman *burial grounds*, describe the various monuments erected, the state in which they are kept?

24. In the *marriage ceremonies* are sitting in state—carrying and applying tumeric—measuring for wedding garments, kept up?

25. Describe *Kodali marna* at the Mohurrum; *Kadami rasal*; *Mui Mobarak*.

26. Is the singing by *Dervishes* much practised?

27. Any practical checks to frequent *divorce*?

28. *Circumcision*, the ceremonies and expense attending it in different classes?

29. Is a musket fired at the *birth* of a male child?

30. Hindus or Musulmans, which are stronger believers in witches, ghosts?

31. The numbers, profits, and social position of the Arab seamen and Moguls who come to Calcutta and other ports for trade?

32. Anecdotes or MSS. illustrating the past and present social condition of the Musulmans in Calcutta, Dacca, Hugly, Murshidabad, Pandua?

33. Are drinking habits on the increase? the causes?

34. Are women more secluded among Musulmans or Hindus?

35. Is the attachment of the Musulmans to their religion declining in proportion to the political decay of the Moslems?

36. Is the hatred between Shiahhs and Sunis lessening? ditto between other Musulman sects?

37. Describe the Musulman ceremonies at birth, circumcision, puberty, betrothal, marriages, funerals, exorcism, as practised now by different classes, and how different formerly?

38. Is there as strict a regard to omens in travelling now as formerly?

39. The effects still remaining of former Moslem rule in Bengali.

### XXX.

#### THE NATIVE PRESS.

This power, though young at present, is gradually rising to a giant's strength; and even Young Bengal is coming round to acknowledge it to be a power, if not for himself, at least for his wife and daughters, who, not requiring to be copyists, do not need to work up a certain amount of China Bazar English; the publication of half a million copies of Bengali works in Calcutta annually for sale cannot be without its effects. It is very desirable to procure manuscript literature, such as ballads, proverbs, songs, family traditions. Of what great value, in an historical point of view to the Rajputs, are the ballads of Chand?

1. The circulation and profits of the following works: *Almanacs*, *Panchalis* or popular songs, tales.
2. Past and present *patrons* of native literature?
3. The use of *Vernacular Libraries* in making known new publications and creating a taste for reading?
4. A list of the various *libraries* for natives established in the Mofussil, their origin, success or failure, and the causes? the classes using them, the kind of books most popular?
5. A sketch of the history of native *editors*, past and present, of the former editors of the Bhaskar, Chandrika, Purna Chandraday, and Prabhakar *newspapers* in Calcutta?
6. The native press, how far an index of the *social*, moral, and intellectual condition of the people?
7. The recent *copyright* law, in its action on native authorship?
8. *Ballads*, are there many? any very old? how far illustrative of customs, history, morals?<sup>1</sup>
9. The *book trade*, its profits, mode of selling, canvassing, advertising?
10. *Pictures* of the gods and goddesses, where sold, in what numbers, by whom executed?<sup>2</sup>
11. *Female book hawkers*, the number, what class of books do they sell?
12. The working of the Act against *obscene publications*?
13. The practicability of procuring a volume of *Anecdotes of native social life* as drawn from their literature?
14. It has been affirmed that last century the Bengalis had no *moral books*, how far was that true?

## XXXI.

## PANDITS.

Pandits once occupied more important positions in social life than they do now. Many anecdotes are still afloat of the wonderful acquisition in Sanskrit lore made by the Tarkalankars and others of former days, of the lengthened period

<sup>1</sup> Ballad literature is not to be despised as an index of a popular mind, as Sir W. Scott has shown with regard to the Scotch, and Bp. Percy with respect to the English ballads. A queen of Denmark, ten centuries ago, had the Danish ballads published: they have lately been translated into English; they are chiefly written by women, and treat of history, and legends. The Guzerat Vernacular Society in its report for 1849 states that one of its great objects was the collecting and copying ancient MS. ballads and tales.

<sup>2</sup> It is calculated there may be two hundred shops for the sale of these; now Brahmanas and Khaistas come into the field as book agents.



of their grammatical studies, their profound acquaintance with the shastras, and their wonderful feats of memory. Their influence and emoluments are on the decay; the endowments they formerly had, which enabled them to maintain pupils according to the Hindu rule, that the master is to support the scholar, have been in many cases alienated. English education also has called for a more practical and paying knowledge than Sanskrit, though the latter is of the utmost value for philological and antiquarian purposes.

Raja Krishna Chundra Roy of Nuddea was the Mecenaz of Pandits last century, and bestowed on them an immense amount of land. Adams, in his reports on education, has given us much information on the position of Pandits in 1835, so has Buchanan Hamilton on those of Behar at the beginning of this century. Though pandit learning is on the wane, still it is to be wished that Sanskrit studies were placed in this country on a proper basis—as a key to the chief Indian vernaculars—as a capital training in Philology—and as a means of throwing a flood of light on the origin of nations: how striking the fact, brought to light by Sanskrit, that the Highlanders of Scotland, the priests of Russia, and the Brahmans of Benares, use radically the same language!

1. *Pandits*—illustrations of their abstruse studies, deep knowledge as well as extensive reading on subjects now little studied?
2. The emoluments, fees, and endowments of *cols* (colleges), and their influence over the pupils in various localities?
3. The various causes that have led to the *decline* of the emoluments, influence, and studies of Pandits?
4. Were *Mithila brahmans* numerous and influential in Bengal?
5. Do *Pandits*, *Purohites*, or *Gurus* gain more emoluments, or have greater influence?

### XXXII.

#### PROVERBS.

Proverbs present a rich field in illustrating the social condition of the people, as is pointed out in Trench's admirable work on the Proverbs.

1. The *origin* of Vernacular Proverbs, how many are modern, how many from the Sanskrit?

2. The *extent* to which they are used, which are local?
3. Their contrast and similarity with Hindi, Urdu, Mahratta, Telugu?
4. Their resemblance to European Proverbs?
5. Proverbs illustrating the moral and social condition of the people.
6. Proverbs throwing any light on the history of the country?

## XXXIII.

## READERS.

In oriental countries where the masses cannot read, it is very common for the people to assemble to hear one read a book to them, and explain its more difficult passages; illustrations can be seen in the Arabian Nights. Among the Bengali this class of Readers or Reciters is called a *Kathak*.

1. The *Kathaks*; their number, mode of being trained, emoluments and chief localities; are they on the increase or decrease?
2. How far could the system be adopted of employing men like *Kathaks* to read interesting works?
3. Vernacular *lectures* on popular subjects illustrated with diagrams, pictures, the desirableness and practicability of having them?

## XXXIV.

## RECREATIONS—MUSIC.

Music, since the days of Orpheus, as well as before, has exercised a mighty spell on the popular mind: we know the famous saying "Give me the making the ballads of a nation, and I will give you the making its laws." Sir W. Jones has written well on Hindu music and has vindicated its claims, though Europeans and Asiatics will never agree on this point.

There is a Bengali work on this, but I have met very few pandits that could explain it.

1. The *popular songs* in use, their description, number and influence?
2. An account of the most popular *ballad writers*?
3. Any *English music* likely to be popular in this country?

4. Any men corresponding with the *Bhats* of Rajputana or the wandering minstrels of Europe in the middle ages?<sup>1</sup>
5. The numbers, profits of *musicians* who play for hire, their different classes?
6. Are *athletic exercises* as much practised now as formerly?
7. How far do Bengalis *sleep* more than Englishmen?<sup>2</sup>
8. What *English games* or athletic exercises might be naturalised in India?
9. The advantage of having a *half holiday* on Saturday?
10. *Field sports*, as fowling, fishing, riding, pigeon fancying, kite flying, how far practised?
11. *Gambling*, various kinds of—numbers of gamblers—gains—gambling houses?
12. The mode of spending the *evenings* among educated natives? much *discussion* on politics or religion?
13. Are *feats of skill*, such as balancing a row of water-pots on the head, dancing on poles, balancing, tumbling, rope-dancing, sleight of hand, common?
14. Native *musical instruments*, the various ones, by what classes used? the ones most popular?
15. *Analysis of Vernacular books* on music?
16. *Cock fighting*, bulbul fighting, ram fighting, how far practised?
17. The Hindu notation of music? any music on *European notation*; any counterpoint, describe the various *ragas*; any harp?
18. *Listening to tales*, and riddles of an evening, how far practised?
19. Various modes of *swimming* practised, can any women swim?

## XXXV.

## SECTS.

Without trenching on theological controversy, there is a wide field in considering the social influence of the various sects of Hindus and Musulmans. Professor Wilson has almost exhausted the theological part of the question in his elaborate work on the "Sects of the Hindus," but there is much to fill up in the social part.

<sup>1</sup> In Behar zillah those *Bhats* rank next to the military tribes, amount to 380 families, most of which have endowments in land. "They are very impudent fellows, and when any one offends them, they make an image of cloth, and call it by their enemy's prototype."

<sup>2</sup> I mention this as the Bengalis sit up late.

1. How far are the *Vaishnabs* ahead of other sects in elevating the people or women, or in proselyting? have they made any proselytes among Muhammadans? their ceremonies for the initiation of converts?

2. The extent of the *Guru's* power and emoluments now? do they travel far? the greatest number of disciples any have? their visits, instruction, morals? the various kinds of *Upadesh* they whisper into the ear?

3. The duties, influence and punishment of the *Dalpati's*?

4. Is this remark of Wilson correct: "In Bengal the *Lingum* worship has no hold on the people's affections, it is not interwoven with their amusements, nor must it be imagined that it offers any stimulus to impure passions." Lecture I. 22.

5. The *Saktas*, their mystical diagrams, rites, and gesticulations?

6. *Lingamites*, are their priests *Jangams*? are any *Sudras*?

7. Was *Sati* practised more among *Saktas* or *Vaishnabs*?

8. Who worship *Ola Bibi* (the goddess of cholera), when did it begin, and in what districts is it observed? ditto of *Shitola*, of the *Karta Bhojas*, of *Dakin Ray*, of *Gazi*?

9. What sects originating in the Upper Provinces have followers in Bengal, and what Bengali sects have adherents in the Upper Provinces?

10. Is the Tantric system spreading? its social influence?

11. The three leading divisions of *Hindu monks*? how far do they observe caste?

12. Among what sects is *Pantheism* spreading—is it spiritual or material pantheism?

13. The resemblances and differences between *Pantheism* and *Sufyism*?

14. The number of sects among the *Musulmans*? their respective social influences?

### XXXVI.

#### SERVANTS.

1. Do natives keep the same *number of servants* as Europeans in a corresponding rank of life? how do their pay, treatment, work, differ in the service of Europeans, East Indians, Hindus, and *Musulmans*?

2. The state of *slaves* in former days—their price and treatment?<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Slavery was once very prevalent in Bengal, and especially in Behar; the *Musulmans* in the latter place, forbidden by their religion to purchase a freeman, in order to give a sop to their conscience, call it taking a lease of a man for ninety years.

3. The causes that *servants in Calcutta* and other parts in India are said to be inferior to what they used to be—is it that those who govern ill are served ill?

4. How far is the practice of exchanging *certificates* of character carried?

5. *Chuddars* (macemen) their numbers and pay in former days? when did their numbers become less?

6. Anecdotes, illustrative of the number, treatment, and cost of *slaves* in Bengal in former times.

7. How far are the rules of *caste* among servants really such? how far are they an invention for their own ease and profit? '(In Madras, the land of real caste, one servant does the work of many).

8. *Ayaks*, their castes, emoluments, morals?

9. The moral and social effect of so many servants being separated from their wives and families? is it like the Scotch booth system?

### XXXVII.

#### TRAVELLING.

Though pilgrimages may have conduced to encourage the Hindus to a love of adventure and to season them to hardship, still there is among Bengalis a strong clinging to their native place and their *bhâilok*, and yet Bengalis are found like Jews everywhere in India, but with better effect now than what Hamilton records "of the Calcutta Babus sent to Dinagepore, which is invaded by strangers from Calcutta, most of them rapacious as kites, and eager to accumulate fortunes in order to be able to retire to their native country." We trust that one of the effects of the railroad will be to lead a different kind of Bengalis to visit Behar, viz., the educated native who wishes to see the remains of the former greatness of his country, as seen in the Buddhist ruins of Behar, the Hindu monuments of Benares, the Moslem grandeur of Agra and Delhi, the beauteous scenery in the valley of the Soane and the Jain buildings of Rajputana, with the wide Champaign of Rewa—we hope this Indian *grand tour* may be considered necessary to crown a book education.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From Katamandu to Indore, the Bengali Babu is the copying machine in offices; in Benares alone there are about 7000 Bengalis settled.

1. Do the Bengalis travel more than the *Behar* men? is their love to it on the increase?
2. Do *pilgrimages in Bengal* contribute more to a travelling spirit than in the Agra Presidency?
3. Is much *correspondence* kept up between Bengalis located in the Agra Presidency and their friends in Bengal?
4. How far is *cheap postage* leading the lower classes to a desire to learn to write and read.
5. Different kinds of *lodging houses* for travellers, their various prices—accommodation—are they over crowded—do scenes of vice or robbery often occur?
6. *Railways*, their effects on third class travellers, in lessening caste prejudices—enlarging the powers of observation—promoting social comfort—how far are women availing themselves of them?
7. *News*, the various modes of procuring and publishing?
8. *Planting trees* by the road sides, how far practised in ancient and modern times?
9. The causes leading to natives *emigrating* to the Mauritius and other parts?

## XXXVIII.

## VEHICLES.

1. The various changes in shape the *palankeen* has undergone.<sup>1</sup>
2. How far is it feasible to introduce into lower Bengal the use of the *ekka*, which is both cheap and expeditious?
3. *Palki bearers*, in Calcutta—their numbers, mode of life, localities, character, profit—their native country—many from Behar? *Ghari wallas* ditto ditto.<sup>2</sup>
4. *Syces* in Calcutta ditto ditto—were not syces formerly more swift of foot?<sup>3</sup>
5. The origin of the shape of the present *kiranchis*. Is it taken from old English coaches?

## XXXIX.

## WORKING CLASSES.

In England, much interest has been taken in the working classes, as the great pillars of the social system.

In India in the *present* state of things, the working classes

<sup>1</sup> Last century they were arched.

<sup>2</sup> In Berlin, the cab drivers, while waiting for a fare, are to be often seen reading.

<sup>3</sup> The author of *Seri Mutakherim* writes that they make nothing of following and preceding Englishmen on a full gallop, and that common servants have been seen who would run down a hare.

afford a fine field for education and social improvement, as their improved social condition, the rise of wages, and their wants lead them to feel a stronger desire for education and its accompaniments; to them a knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic, is rendered by their daily occupations a matter of necessity, while a little colloquial English would in some cases be of use to them. What they especially need is not a smattering of book English, but a sound vernacular education, embracing the elements of mathematics and manufacturing skill, on the plan of the commercial schools in England, from which, a smattering of Latin has been excluded. How many eminent men have risen from this class, such as Stephenson and Hugh Miller, an encouragement to others; like as in the French army, every soldier is said to carry the baton of field marshal in his knapsack, or in Russia where several millionaires were originally serfs. In Jehanabad a century ago a Musulman tailor founded a sect composed of Musulmans and Hindus, who respect the Koran and Shastras; this tailor composed 18 sacred books in Hindi, and his followers now amount to 20,000. *Kabir*, sprung from a weaver family, was the founder of one of the greatest sects in north India, while among the village gods worshipped in Behar are those who were boatmen, domes, oilmen. Chandra Gupta's maternal grandfather was a barber.

The London Working Men's College, established in 1854, has 270 students in Mathematics, Drawing, French, Natural History; there are other Colleges in Manchester, Halifax, having among their alumni, carpenters, shoe-makers, weavers, tailors, porters. When will Bengal have hers—the working men now can scarcely read. When is India to have the literature of labour—like that of Burns the bard and ploughman—Clare the peasant poet—Hogg the shepherd poet—Cooper the shoemaker poet—Miller the stonemason geologist. Hood's literature of labour and the achievements of mind among the cottage, or “mind among the spindles” suggest many reflections on this.

1. *Weavers*, their numbers, profits, social position, localities; do many read; have many risen in the world?

2. *Tailors*, are all Musulmans?
3. *Shoemakers*, do any become rich? is the prejudice against them declining?
4. *Potters*, why inferior to those of former days?
5. *Dyers*, different kinds and nature of dyes?
6. *Masons and Stone cutters*, are they chiefly immigrants?
7. *Smiths*, the profits and social position of various classes as coppersmith, tinsmith, blacksmith, goldsmith.
8. *Confectioners*, any poisonous matter used in their colouring confectionery?
9. *Bookbinders*, any Hindus, if not, why?
10. *Shopkeepers*, why so many readers among them? what *class in society* do they come from?
11. *Idol makers*, their localities, profits, numbers?
12. *Firework makers*, ditto.
13. *Pansaries, or Grocers*, ditto.
14. Instances of *Revolutions in trade* in this country from change of employment, like that in Europe among weavers, manuscript copiers, coach proprietors?
15. Instances among the working classes of men who have *risen to wealth* or social distinction, or who have educated their sons well?
16. Is the *Shilpa Shastra* in use among any priests?<sup>1</sup>
17. Any strikes among the *working classes*?
18. The *middleman system*, its evils?

Among the most thriving trades is that of keepers of tatties, who profit as much by this dirty work as English undertakers do by their other division of it. I have heard of some of those men near Dharamtola bazar, Calcutta, who earn between two and three hundred rupis monthly. In the Congress General of Hygiene in France, 1852, one resolution passed was, "That the instruction of the young in the labouring classes ought to comprise all which relates to the cleanliness of their person and of their dwellings, to the benefits resulting from good ventilation and the evils arising from humidity." There is on the Continent the Association International de Bienfaisance, whose main objects are to bring into relationship all interested in the condition of the working classes, reformatory institutions and popular education.

<sup>1</sup>, It is so among certain stonemasons in Behar zillah.



## CORRECTIONS TO ART. IV.

- Page 4, note, line 1, instead of *dhinnuang* read *dhinnuung*.  
 „ 10, l. 6 and 7, instead of *جمجا* read *جمجا*  
 „ 14, note 4, instead of *Hënu* read *Idënu*.  
 „ 28, note 1, instead of *فنج* read *فنج*. In the same note read  
*Tamil* instead of *Hindi*, and *Panchatantra* instead of *Hitopadesa*.  
 „ 36, line 8, instead of *shamsu-ibarrin* read *shamsu-ibarrî*.  
 „ „ 16, instead of *Qamsru-Ibahrin* read *Qamsru-Ibahri*.  
 „ 49, note 2, instead of *الرؤبويه* read *الرؤبويه*

Page 3, line 26, add: It may not, perhaps, be devoid of interest to quote a remarkable passage from the Panja Tandāran (lithographed edition, p. 30), in which also mention is made of the human sacrifice performed by Yudhishtira before commencing the war. It occurs in the first book, in the story of the jackal, crow, and tiger persuading the lion, their master, to devour a camel:

مک سمبه گانگى تونک ادله فد زمان درماراج تنکل مریکیت  
 هندق فرگى میرغ سبوه نگری مک کات اهل التجومن یغ برنام  
 کسنا جکلو تونک بونه اتق تونک این بوتکن قربان نسچای دافتله  
 نگری ایت مک سبب ضرورت دالم ایت مک دونهپله انقن  
 تیادله بردوس کارن کیت مملہراکن پاواورغ بایق

“The Crow said to the King Lion: Lord! in the time of King *Dārmaraṣa*, when they intended to go to attack a certain state, that King’s astrologer, called *Kāna*, said: ‘If your Majesty kills this your Majesty’s child, making a sacrifice of it, that town (or state) is sure to be conquered.’ Then, on account of the urgency of the case, the King killed his own child. Such an act is sinless, as we preserve by it the lives of the many.”



ART. IV.—*Short Account of the Malay Manuscripts belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society.* By H. N. VAN DER TUUK.

[Presented July 3, 1865].

A.—RAFFLES COLLECTION.

No 1 (large folio of 460 pages) contains the *حكاية هغ توه*. About the hero see *Malayan Annals*, translated by Leyden, chapters xiv. and xvi. A small extract is found in Crawfurd's "History of the Indian Archipelago," ii. p. 51. Manuscripts of this work, the text of which might be available, are in the possession of Mr. J. Pijnappel, at Leyden; and of Mr. E. Netscher, at Riyow.<sup>1</sup> The last chapters of this tale are found in No. 2607 of the manuscripts of the India Office, commencing with that part where the king of Malaka intends to make one of his sons king on Mount *Siguntang*.<sup>2</sup>

This composition is very interesting, as it exhibits a faithful picture of Malay life, and is written in genuine Malay.

No. 2 (large folio of 288 pages; the last four pages are filled up with doggrel rhymes by some transcriber). This manuscript appears to be a transcript made by a native of Java, for a great many words belonging to the Malay dialect of Java occur in it; as, for instance, *uribang*, flower of the

<sup>1</sup> I shall make mention of other copies, as it is my opinion that no Malay composition ought to be published without a supply of manuscripts bearing on the same subject. Texts from one manuscript, such as those published by Mr. J. J. de Hollander, in Holland, are not to be depended upon. Even quotations, found somewhere, I shall take notice of, as it may be useful to the editor of a Malay text to consult them.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 66 of my *Kort Verlag der Maleische Handschriften in het East India House, London*, where the reader will find a full account of those closing chapters. As the numbers in that account have been since changed, I shall give here the present numbers.

hibiscus rosa Sinensis; *bòpèng*, pock-marked; *kulòn*, west,<sup>1</sup> etc. It also abounds with Javanese titles, as *dèmang*, *ngabéhi*, *kandurúwan*, etc. The manuscript is in many passages too corrupt to be of use in editing the text. The transcriber has often changed words he did not understand into such as resembled them in sound, or nearly so.<sup>2</sup> But what is very strange, it has now and then a form less corrupted than the Javanese; v.g. *nantabóga* (p. 188) instead of the Javanese *antaboga* (a corruption of the Kawi *anantabhoga*). As to the contents, it follows the Javanese poem only to a certain extent, whilst it often contains passages which are not explicable otherwise than by supposing that a Javanese original has been translated or imitated, which did not deviate so much from the original Kawi poem, as the one published by Mr. A. B. Cohen Stuart. Although it is evidently taken from the Javanese, its first and last pages contain matter not found either in the Kawi or Javanese work, whilst no trace is found of the introduction, wherein the king *Jáya Báya*, in whose reign *Mpu Sèdah*, the Javanese author, lived, is spoken of in laudatory terms; moreover, the title *Bàrata yuda* (*Bhàrata-yuddha*) which is given to the Javanese version, is not known in Malay; and the great war between the *Korawas* and *Pāṇḍawas*, wherever it is alluded to in Malay compositions, is always called *pàrang Pandáwa Jáya*, "the war of the victorious Pāṇḍawa." Not until p. 134 do the contents of this manuscript resemble the Kawi and Javanese composition. The Malay author says in the opening that his work, although containing the story of the *Pandawa Pancha Kalima*,<sup>3</sup> gives a great many beautiful tales in the beginning, and afterwards the tale named *Hikayat Pandawa Jaya*. These beautiful tales are, he says, a collection of Javanese dramatic compositions (*lálakon*), to which he gives no particular names. I shall, on another occasion, make an analysis of the whole

<sup>1</sup> Even Dutch words, as, for instance, *بلاو* (*blaauw*, blue), occur in it. (See p. 115).

<sup>2</sup> So, for instance, we find *passim* درهم (Ar.) instead of درما (*alms, largesses* of a king to priests and religious mendicants).

<sup>3</sup> Translation of *pancha*.

and divide it into three parts. The first will give a rapid view of the contents from page 1-134, being what is not found either in the Kawi or Javanese work. The second will be more circumstantial, as it may illustrate the difficult passages of the Kawi original, and will comprise what is found from p. 134-208, being the record of the great war. The third will give only a brief account of the contents from p. 208 to the end, as it deviates in this part almost in every respect from the Javanese version,<sup>1</sup> which closes with a eulogy of king *Jāya Bāya*, of which no trace is found in this manuscript. The library of the India Office is possessed of two manuscripts bearing on the same subject, but only containing the description of the war. They are numbered 2384 (small 4to. 234 pages), and 2605 (8vo. 176 pages). Both commence with introducing to the reader the chief heroes who figure in it, and then speak of *Kāsna's*<sup>2</sup> mission to demand the half of the kingdom in behalf of the five sons of *Pandu*.<sup>3</sup> To enable the reader to form a judgment of the difference of the texts of the three manuscripts, some specimens are here given.

The names of the four holy men (*rēṣi*) that join *Kāsna* when setting out for *Hastinapura* as mediator are in No. 2603 :

رم فرسو , چکرس , چنتیک , نراد , رم فرسو ; in No. 2384, روما فرسو , جترکتر , چتیک , ادیکاون , کوار ,  
رام فرسو , بروسي , کنفي .<sup>4</sup>

The passage where the Javanese version speaks of a human sacrifice being performed by either of the contending parties runs in No. 2384 as follows :

ستله هار سیخ درفاڠ<sup>۱</sup> هار مک ماسخ<sup>۲</sup> مملنتس کوت کروا ایت  
برهمان سکترا نمان دان ممفالس کوت فندو ایت اتق سخ رنجون

<sup>1</sup> Of the Kawi version only twelve copies (!) have been lithographed by order of the Dutch government. It is not complete, ending with the combat of *Arjuna* and *Aśwatthāmā*.

<sup>2</sup> *Krēṣṇa*.

<sup>3</sup> Leyden (*As. Res.* x. 178) mentions the following separate tales about the *Pāndawas* : 1st. *The tale about their gambling* ; 2nd, *that about their borrowing a hall* ; 3rd, *that about their selling lime*.

<sup>4</sup> In the Kawi poem they are *Parakurūma*, *Kaṇwa*, *Janaka*, and *Nārada* (the Javanese has the same, only differently spelt, according to the Javanese pronunciation).

دان سخ رون نماں تله سده ممفلسن کوت ایت مک فندوا  
فون کلورله در دالم کوتان مغادف مھار مات دان سرت ممبلاکغکن  
سوشي فنچاک ایت etc.

No. 2603 has :

تله هار سیخ مک ماسخ ۲ ممفلس کوتان ادفون اکن ممفلس کوت  
کروا ایت برھمان سکنتر نماں دان اکن ممفلس کوت فندو ایت  
سخ ایراوان تله سده مک فندو فون کلورله در دالم کوتان مغادف  
مھار مات دان ممبلاکغکن سوشي فنچاک etc.

This manuscript has (p. 147) :

ستله هار سیخ مک ماسخ ۲ اکن ممالیس کوتان ادفون فمالیس  
کوت کوراو برنسکترا نماں مک فمالیس کوت فنداو ایت اتق  
سخ ارجون روفان ترلال ایلق اروان نماں ستله سده ممالس مک  
ایفون کلورله در دالم کوتان مغادف کمھار مات ممبلاکغی سوشي  
فنچاک etc.

The Kawi (x. 6) has : *tuwin pada tlas makaryya bhisuweng<sup>1</sup>*  
*tgat paprangan | rawan ngaran i kang tawur nrèpati pandawā*  
*murwani | kunang tawur i sang nrèpeng kuru ya kārīlud*  
*brahmana | rikan sira śināpa sang dwija sagotra mātyāлага.*  
“Then they all performed a sacrifice on the field of battle,  
*Rawan* was the name of the victim of the Pandawa king,  
commencing ; as to the victim of the Kuru king, a brah-  
mana was . . . . , thence he was cursed by the twice  
born, to die with his [whole] family in fighting.” This re-  
markable passage will perhaps attract the attention of some

<sup>1</sup> Instead of *bhisuwa* (*bhisuwang* is *bhisuwa* + *ing*) a manuscript on palm leaves in my possession has *bhisu-eng* (*bhisuwa* + *ing*). I should like to read here *bhisuwa* (*abhisuwa*). The Malay text gives no explanation, as it is evidently influenced by the Javanese version, where *sagotra* has become the name of a person. Moreover it identifies *Rawan* with a son of Arjuna (of the name of *Irawan*), who is afterwards killed by a demon (xii. 17). The word فمالیس in the Malay version is probably a substantive made from ممالس, which occurs in the *Hikayat Kumala bahrin* with the sense of *to turn off the evil influence of a ghost from a person who is supposed to have been visited by a ghost, and in consequence of it has got some disease* (compare the Ngaju-Dayak *pali*). فمالس must then have the meaning of what is used to turn off the evil influence of ghosts.

Sanskrit scholar, who may succeed in explaining it. In No. 21 (see below) I have not been able to find it.

No. 3 (large folio of 244 pages, imperfect at the end) contains the *حكاية رشك اري كود نستاف*. It is one of the *Panji* tales, containing the adventures of *Inu Kārtapati*, prince of Kurípan. This manuscript commences with the king of Kurípan's getting a son, called on his birth *Asmāra ning rat Ondākan Jáya*. Then the birth is related of *Lasmīning puri Chandra-kirana*, the princess of Daha, who was also named *Puspaning rat*,<sup>1</sup> and betrothed to the above-named prince of Kurípan. This princess, when yet a girl, was carried off by *Batāra Kāla*, and placed with her attendants in a forest, where she changed her name and that of her waiting women. The prince of Kurípan goes, attended by his followers, in quest of his intended bride, and in his rambles for that purpose takes the name of *Rangga Ariya Kuda Nāstapa*, his followers too changing each his name.

No. 4 (folio of 246 pages and ending abruptly) and No. 73 (small 4to. of 420 pages) both contain the *حكاية باين بديمن*, an imitation of the Persian *طوطي نامه*. On comparing the introduction, where the owner of the parrot (*خواجه ميمون*) is spoken of, I found the readings to be nearly the same. In my possession is a copy (folio of 90 pages) wherein the parrot tells thirteen tales. In the library of the India Office there are two manuscripts of this composition (Nos. 2604 and 2606). The former contains twenty-two tales, but the latter only ten, whilst the introduction about *Khajah Meymún* is wanting in it.<sup>2</sup> According to Abdu-llah<sup>3</sup> the Moonshee this composition also goes by the name of *حكاية خوجه ميمون* after the parrot's owner. The two manuscripts of the India Office seem to belong to one and the same version, and only differ in the proper names, which have been changed to Malay ones in No. 2606. The versions in both differ from my manuscript.

No. 5 (folio of 315 pages) contains the *حكاية دامر بولن*.

<sup>1</sup> Compare under No. 14.

<sup>2</sup> See further Kort Verslag der Maleische Handschriften van het E. I. Hous.

<sup>3</sup> See his Journal, p. 95 of the Singapore edition. Of this Journal there is also a reprint in the fourth volume of Meursinge's *Maleisch Leesboek*; and a French translation by Dulaurier.

It is an imitation in prose of the Javanese poem, the commencement of which has been published by Mr. J. J. de Hollander in the Reader, p. 158 sqq. at the end of his *Handleiding bij de Beoefening der Javaansche Taal- en Letterkunde* (Breda, 1848). A translation, as it would seem, of the Javanese poem is to be found in Roorda van Eysinga's *Indië* (Breda, 1843), p. 502 (3de boek, eerste deel.). No. 11 (folio of 151 pages, only written half way down, the open spaces being perhaps intended for a translation) contains the same tale, but considerably abridged.

No. 6. See No. 31.

No. 7 (folio) contains :

I. (71 pages) شعر بیدسار . This poem has been edited with a Dutch translation and annotations by Mr. R. van Hoëvell, in vol. xix. of the Transactions of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, but may be had separately. A review of this edition is to be found in the *Indisch Magazijn & Gids* (1847), and quotations from another manuscript in Roorda van Eysinga's *Maleisch-Nederduitsch Woordenboek*, under بوکن , سنیم and سندیر , سندر , راون , دشر , دافت , جمیم . Another copy is contained in No. 36 (folio of 130 pages, and ending abruptly). Both manuscripts may serve to correct the edited text. I subjoin here a specimen of the various readings :

The printed edition, page 3, line 9 from below, has :

*Satälak (baginda sampey)*<sup>1</sup> *kapantey | di lihatna pãrahu (di atas lantey)*<sup>2</sup> || *langkah (lah sakaliyan)*<sup>3</sup> *kajang dan lantey | (bãik)*<sup>4</sup> *lah putari duduk bãrjuntey* ||

Page 5, line 5 from above :

*Tidurlak anakku bulang hulu | biyarlah ayahnda bãrjalan dãhulu* || *(anakku pandang)*<sup>5</sup> *hatiku pilu | bagey di hiris dangan sãmbilu* ||

Page 6, line 4 :

*Sãmbilan bulan sãmbilan hari | (ku kandung)*<sup>6</sup> *di dalam (hutan duri)*<sup>7</sup> ||

<sup>1</sup> No. 7 has *sampey baginda*, and No. 36, *sampey tuwan turun*.

<sup>2</sup> No. 36, *tãrlalu bãsey*.

<sup>3</sup> No. 36, *dan*.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 7 and 36, *ndik*.

<sup>5</sup> No. 7, *anak kupandang*.

<sup>6</sup> No. 7, *kukandung*.

<sup>7</sup> No. 7, *diri*.



Page 6, line 2 from below :

*Bārjalan lah baginda (laju manulih)<sup>1</sup> | rasa'na hāndak (bār-balik)<sup>2</sup> kāmbali ||*

II. (69 pages) شعر کن تموهن . This poem has been twice edited by J. J. de Hollander, once in the Reader of the first edition of his Handleiding bij de beoefening der Maleische Taal- en Letterkunde, and once separately (Leyden, 1856), from a transcript evidently made in Java, and badly mutilated. The version of this manuscript has hardly anything in common with that of the one edited, but corresponds in many respects with that recension of the poem, from which Marsden has given extracts in the Reader at the end of his Grammar. The king mentioned in the opening is called here *Sāri nara indra di Chāmpaka Jajar*, but in the one edited *Ratu Socha windu pura nagara*. As proper names of females, *Kin Tādahan* and *Kin Pangalipur* occur here ; whilst the name of the heroine is sometimes shortened into *Kin Tabuh* for the sake of rhyme and metre. *Wira Dandani*, *Wira Pāndapa* and *Wira Kārta* are found as proper names of males. The hero, the prince who fell in love with the heroine, goes here by the names of *Puspa Kānchana*, *Raden Inu*,<sup>3</sup> *Anak Mantāri*, *Inu Bangsawan*, *Raden Inu Kārtapati*,<sup>4</sup> and *Anak Inu*. The beauty of the heroine is compared to that of *Januwati*,<sup>5</sup> the goddess of love (*yangyang ksuma*), and the celestial nymph *Nila-utama*. Instead of *taman* (garden), this manuscript makes often use of the *Kawi lālangun*.<sup>6</sup> *Paduka Mahādewi*, *Paduka Matur* (?), and *Paduka Liku* are mentioned as inferior wives of the old king. The pages of the king employed on errands are called here *pangdlasan*, instead of *bāduwanda*. This version, moreover, does not end so tragically ; Indra bringing the two lovers back to life, accost-

<sup>1</sup> A correction by the editor instead of the words of the manuscript, *sayang tārjalan*. No. 7 has the true reading (*sayang tārjali*).

<sup>2</sup> No. 7, *balik*.

<sup>3</sup> Rhyming on *tārmangu*. See also the extracts in the Reader of Marsden's Malay Grammar.

<sup>4</sup> A name of *Panji*.

<sup>5</sup> The name of *Samba's* sweetheart (see under No. 15).

<sup>6</sup> e.g. *mari-lah āmas ariningun, kita mandi kalālangun, and tēngah hari baginda bangun, pārgi mandi kalālangun*. The native tales speak always of delightful gardens, where a bathing-place is one of the first requisites.

ing the heroine with *anak galuh*.<sup>1</sup> One of the characters represented is *Si-Tuguk*,<sup>2</sup> who is described as a kind of Falstaff, big-bellied and fond of fun. There is also a version in prose which goes by the name of *حكاية انداكن فنورت*. In this version, the heroine is the daughter of a king of *Wanggar*, and the waiting-maid, who dies with her, is called here, as in the printed edition, *Kin Bayan*. One of her most beloved nurses has the name of *Antaradsmi*, and is addressed by her with *kakak* or the Javanese *embök* (elder sister). The principal attendants of the hero are *Panta Wira Jaya* and *Jaran Angsoka*. The place where the heroine is killed is here the wood (Jav. *alas*) *Puchangan*. The lovers are brought to life by *Bätara Kala*, who changes them into lotus flowers, and then veils them in a cloud of incense. The residence is called in the end *Sochawindu*, but elsewhere only *Pura nagara*. Mr. H. C. Millies, at Utrecht, has a manuscript of this version. It is not worth publishing, but may be available for a new edition of the poem, of which there is a manuscript also in the library of King's College, if I recollect right. It is beyond all doubt, that the poem as well as the tale belong to the widely-spread cycle of the tales in which the adventures of *Panji* are related.<sup>3</sup>

III. (26 pages) شعر سلندغ دليم This poem is known on the west coast of Sumatra by the name of *شعر سري بانين*.<sup>4</sup> I possess two manuscripts of it (8vo. of 36 pages, and small 4to. of 68 pages). A prose version of it is contained in No. 2715 of the manuscripts of the India Office, and has been described in my *Kort Verslag der Mal. Handschriften van het E. I. House*.

IV. (10 pages) شعر ايكن تمبرا . This is a collection of erotic

<sup>1</sup> In the *Panji* tales the princess of Daha, the intended wife of *Chekel*, is commonly called *Raden-galuh*.

<sup>2</sup> One of the personating characters in the *Panji* tales.

<sup>3</sup> See Raffles' *History of Java*, ii., p. 88 sqq., i. 335 and 392; Cohen Stuart's *Djaja Lenggara*, and Roorda's *Lotgevallen van Raden Pandji*, in the *Bijdragen tot de taal-land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, vol. ii., p. 167 sqq., and vol. vii. *nieuwe volgreeks*, p. 1 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> In the end of this manuscript this proper name of the mother of the heroine is spelt *سري بانين*.

verses put into the mouths of two fishes (a *tambāra* and a *kakap*) who seem to be desperately in love.

No. 8. See under No. 17.

No. 9 (folio of 160 pages) contains, as do No. 37 (151 pages, and ending abruptly) and No. 55<sup>1</sup> (small 4to. of 262 pages) *حكاية اندرا فترا*. This tale contains the adventures of *Indra Putra*, son of *Bakarna Puspa*,<sup>2</sup> king of *Samanta-pura*, and is replete with wonderful narratives. The hero is carried off by a golden peacock; is sent by the king *Shahsiyān* to *Bārma Sāqti*; kills a giant or demon on Mount *Indra Kila*;<sup>3</sup> finds the wonderful sea in the midst of the world (*tasik samudra*); meets with the princess *Kumāla Rātna Sāri*; contends with the prince *Lela Mangārna* in exhibiting supernatural feats; is carried off by a genie (of the name of *تمربوت*), whose son (called *تمرجلس*) he kills; meets consecutively with mountains of gold and other precious metals, the seas of wonder and love; journeys in a cavern during a month; kills a serpent (of the name of *مندود*), and a demon (called *غورقسا*); meets with *Dārma Gangga*, who instructs him in supernatural means of conquering his enemies, and with *Bārma Sāqti*, etc. At last our hero comes home, and is made king of *Samanta-pura* with the title of Sultan *Indra Mangindāra*. No. 55 terminates with a great many erotic verses not found in the other copies. Many quotations from this work are to be found in Werndly's *Maleische Spraakkunst* (pp. 133, 157, 162, 170 (twice), 171, 174 (three times), 176, 185, 186, 191, 193, 194 and 195), in Roorda van Eysinga's *Maleisch-Nederduitsch Woordenboek* (under *pantas*, *pandey*, *puji* and *gārak*), and in the annotations of Mr. van Hoëvell on the *Sair Bidasari* (pp. 289, 305, 333, 335, 348, 352, 375 and 399). Specimens of the reading of the three manuscripts:—

No. 9:

اد سورغ راج دنڠري سمنت فوري برنام راج بکرم بسف ترلال بسر

<sup>1</sup> Another copy is in the possession of Dr. Reinhold Rost (small 4to. 148 pages).

<sup>2</sup> Of course most proper names occurring in this account are transliterated guessingly, such as they would be pronounced by a Malay at first sight.

<sup>3</sup> Where *Arjuna* performed penance to get supernatural arms. Such proper names deserve being taken up in a Dictionary, as they occur very often.

کرجا'نن براف راج<sup>۲</sup> یخ تعلق کفد راج دان ممبری افتي کفد  
سگنڤ تاهن شهدان امفت فوله راج<sup>۲</sup> یخ مماکي ماکت کا'ماسن  
دباوهن دان بیراف هلبالغ حاضر دشن سنجان ددالم استان  
دمکینله کبسارن راج ایت حتی ستله براف لمان مهاراج بکرم  
بسف دالم کرجا'ن مک استریین راج ایتفون حاملله برنام استری  
راج فتری ججما رتن دیوی ادفون ستله براف لمان مک تون  
فتری ججما رتن دیوی ایت حامل

No. 27 :

مک اد سورغ راج دنڠري سمنت فوری برنام مهاراج بکرم فسف  
اکن راج ایت ترلال بسر کرجا'ن شهدان بیراف راج<sup>۲</sup> یخ تعلق  
کفد بگنډ ایت مغنتر افتي کفد ستاهن سكال شهدان امفت فوله  
راج<sup>۲</sup> مماکي کله یخ کا'ماسن ننتیاس اد حاضر دشن سنجان دباوا'  
مهاراج فسف دمکینله کبسارن بگنډ دیاتس تخت کرجا'نن ایت  
مک اد بیراف لمان مک استری مهاراج بکرم فسف یخ برنام  
تون فتری ججما رتن دیوی ایتفون برانق سورغ لاک<sup>۲</sup>

No. 55 :

اد سورغ راج دنڠري سمنت فور برنام راج بکرم بسف دان اکن  
راج ایت ترلال بسر کرجا'نن شهدان بیراف راج<sup>۲</sup> یخ تعلق کفدان  
ممبری افتي کفدان گنڤ تاهن شهدان امفت فوله راج<sup>۲</sup> یخ  
مماکي کله کا'ماسن دباوهن دمکینله کبسارن مهاراج بکرم بسف  
سرمول مک استری مهاراج بکرم بسف یخ برنام تون فتری جنجم  
رتن فون حاملله

No. 10 (folio) contains a collection of transcripts of treaties between the Dutch E. I. Company and several native states in the Indian Archipelago. The first treaty is that between Admiral Speelman and the king of Gowa (Mangkasar), and the last that between the E. I. Company and the king of Johor and Pahang.

No. 11. See under No. 5.

No. 12 (folio of 444 pages) contains the *حكايت برما شهدان*. It is very seldom that tales are divided into chapters (فصل), of which there are here sixteen. In the commencement of the tale there is a kind of summary, wherein the hero is said to be a great king, who visited Mount *Qāf*, China, and the land of the inferior gods (*dewa*), subjecting men and ghosts to his sovereignty. On p. 2 a state *Samanda-puri* is mentioned. Its king was called *Sāriyawan*, and was sprung from *Indāra Dewa Maharāma Rupa*, whilst his queen was of mere mortal extraction. He had two sons called *Raja Ardān* and *Raja Marsādan*. The two princes went with a large retinue to the forest *Samanta Baranta*, where a *dewa* of the name *Sarāma Dewa* was in the habit of enjoying himself. This god hated the king, their father, who had caused his residence to be destroyed in former times. He changed himself into an old man and visited the princes, saying that he wished to serve them. Contriving to separate them from their followers when engaged in hunting, the god transformed himself into an elephant, whom *Ardān* so hotly pursued, that he got the start of his brother, and at last found himself entirely alone. The god then flew away with the prince to the sky, but was killed by the young hero. *Ardān*, having arrived again on this sublunary orb, made the acquaintance of a *rēṣi* called *Bāyu Rāma*, who told him that he was not to revisit his country for many years. The prince remained in the dwelling of the holy man, who instructed him in all sorts of supernatural sciences. *Marsādan* goes in quest of his brother, and in his rambles arrives at *Indārapura*, where he marries the king's only daughter, and succeeds his father-in-law.<sup>1</sup> *Ardān* has a great many adventures of the same kind, delivering a princess with her waiting women, etc. *Bārma Shahdān*, the hero of the tale, is a son of *Marsādan Shāh*, king of *Kalīngga dewa*,<sup>2</sup> and his eldest brother is

<sup>1</sup> Called *Bakārma Ddli raja*. The proper name *Bakārma* is very frequent in Malay tales, and is a corruption of the Sanskrit *wikrama*; it is often confounded with *Pakārma*.

<sup>2</sup> The manuscript has *كالكث ديو* (p. 32).

called here *Rájadirája*. This work is replete with *pantuns*, some of which are worthy of notice. The late Mr. P. P. Roorda van Eysinga possessed a manuscript (two volumes in folio), which he would have published, but for want of a sufficient number of subscribers: what has become of it I cannot say. J. J. de Hollander (*Handleiding bij de Beoefening der Mal. Taal-en Letterkunde*, 3d edition, p. 332) says, I know not on what authority, that the author was *Sheikh Ibn Abu Omar*.

No 13 is a number I could not find. Dulaurier has also omitted it in the list he gives (*Journal Asiatique*, 3rd series, x. 69) of titles of the manuscripts of this collection.

No. 14 (folio of 456 pages: on the back of the cover, *Charang Kurina*) contains the *حكاية چارغ كلين*. It is a tale belonging to the *Panji* cyclus. The commencement is about the king of Kuripan having two sons, the eldest being *Kárta Buwána*, and the youngest *Raden Asmára Jaya*, surnamed *Ondakan Rawisárangga*, who was betrothed to the princess of Daha, called *Raden Puspita-ning Rat*.<sup>1</sup> The name by which this tale goes is the assumed name of the princess when she had fled from her father's residence in order to follow the prince, in the garb of a man.

No. 15 (small folio of 180 pages) contains the *حكاية مهراج بوم*. The plot of this tale is nearly the same as that of the *Bhaumakawya*,<sup>2</sup> relating the adventures of *Boma* (the Sanskrit *Bhāuma*, son of the earth). He was the son of *Bisnu* (*Wiṣṇu*) by the goddess *Pártiwi* (Sans. *prēthiwi*, earth), and became a powerful king, whom even the gods stood in dread of. As he, demon-fashion, annoyed the penitents, *Kásna* (*Kṛṣṇa*) sends his son *Samba* against him. *Boma* is at last killed by *Hanoman*, after having himself killed *Samba* and *Arjuna*, who were, however, called into life again by *Naráda* (*Nārada*) sent by *Batara Guru* for the purpose. The celebrated episode<sup>3</sup> of *Dármadewa* and *Dármadewi* is here inserted in the same way as in the Kawi poem, *Dármadewa* following *Bisnu* when

<sup>1</sup> Compare under No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Friederich in the Transactions of the Batavian Society.

<sup>3</sup> This episode is often alluded to in Malay tales and poems (comp. under No. 7, II.)

incarnating himself into *Kāsna* and becoming *Samba*, whilst *Dārmadevi*, after having burnt herself, becomes *Januwāti*,<sup>1</sup> and so is reunited to her former love. This tale is also named *حكاية سب*. The R.A.S.'s MS. (see also under No. 21) slightly differs from the one in the India Office (No. 2905, 4to. 120 pages). Raffles (History of Java, i. p. 388, first edition) mentions the Javanese version under the titles *Buma Kalantaka* and *Embatali*. The first name is no doubt *Bhaumakalāntaka* (the death of the demon Bhauma, *kala* being used in Javanese to denote demons and Titans), as may be inferred from the Kawi poem p. 233, where it is *Bhaumāntaka* (Bhauma's end, the hero dying by the hand of *Wiṣṇu*<sup>2</sup>). The Kawi version bears ap. Raffles l. l. the name *Anrakasura*, which is to be corrected into *Narakāsura* (the demon *Naraka*, another name of Bhauma). I shall give on another occasion an analysis of this Malay composition.

No. 16 (folio of 206 pages). A duplicate is No. 62, 1. (158 pages). The two manuscripts differ but slightly. They contain the *حكاية اسما يتيم*. The work has been edited by Mr. P. Roorda van Eysinga (Batavia, 1821), who has also given an analysis of it in the tenth volume of the Transactions of the Batavian Society. The episode of the singing peacocks has been published from another version by Meursinge in the third volume of his *Maleisch Leesboek*. In the library of the India Office there are two manuscripts, Nos. 2429 and 2430 (P). Mr. J. Pijnappel has also a manuscript. A new edition of this work is desirable, as that by Roorda van Eysinga has long been out of print. Quotations from it are found in Werndly's *Maleische Spraakkunst*, pp. 142, 157, 170, 171, 172, 180, 182, and in the preface xl., xli.

<sup>1</sup> *Jajñawati* is her constant name in the Kawi poem, where she is never called *Dārmadevi*.

<sup>2</sup> The Sanskrit words I transliterate according to the ancient Javanese pronunciation. The labial semi-vowel is represented by *w*, as it is very improbable that it was sounded *v*, the Sanskrit not having an *f*, of which the *v* is the corresponding sonant. The vowels *r* and *l* are represented by *rē* and *lē*, the *anuswara* by *ṅ*, the *visarga* by *h*, and the lingual sibilant by *s*, in accordance with the other linguals. The palatal sibilant is here represented by *ś*, and might be transliterated by *sh*, as it was probably pronounced as the French *ch*, which in the same way originated in a *k*, were it not that *sh* is in use with the English to represent the lingual *s*.

No. 17 contains :

I. the 7th book of the *بستان السلاطين* (*artina kabonsagala raja raja*). No. 42 (folio of 440 pages : on the back, *Makota sagala raja raja*) contains but five books of this work, and No. 8 (folio of 367 pages) only four books and a few pages of the fifth ; this copy is written with vowel-signs. This excellent work, complete copies of which are very rare, is divided into seven books, each book containing a certain number of chapters. The author calls himself *Nuru-ddin ibn 'Alī ibn Hasanjī*, son of Muhammad of the Hamid tribe, and a native of Rānir (see No. 78, iv.), and composed it at *Achih* (*Acheen*) in the year of the Muhammadan era 1040, by order of Sultan *Iskander II. Aliyu-ddin Murayat*<sup>1</sup> *Shāh Johan bār dawlat lillu-llahi fi'l'alam*.<sup>2</sup> The first book (many chapters) treats of the creation of heaven and earth ; the second (many chapters) is about prophets and kings ; the third (six chapters) on just kings and clever ministers ; the fourth (two chapters) on pious kings and holy men<sup>3</sup> ; the fifth (two chapters) on unjust kings and foolish ministers ; the sixth (two chapters) on honoured liberal men and heroes ; the seventh (five chapters) on intelligence, and on all sorts of sciences, medical, physionomical, historical, etc. Everywhere a great many tales are given, which might be used for a new Malay Reader. This work gives more than it promises, which in Malay literature may be called a miracle. The twelfth chapter of the second book contains a summary of the history of Malay states ; the thirteenth the history of *Achih* up to the time of the author. In the first chapter of the fourth book there are several tales about the celebrated *Ibrahim Ibn Adham*, corresponding to some extent with the tale, published by Mr. P. Roorda van Eysinga (Batavia, 1822) and D. Lenting (Breda, 1846) under the title *Geschiedenis van Sultan Ibrahim vorst van Irak*.<sup>4</sup> I have in my possession a manuscript (4to. 194 pages) containing only the first four chapters of the seventh book.

<sup>1</sup> مغاية      <sup>2</sup> The shadow of God on the world (ظل الله في العالم).

<sup>3</sup> أولياء.      <sup>4</sup> The Sundanese version has the title *Hikayat Surtan Otisya Hënu Ibrahim waliyullah*, a copy of which is in my possession (small 4to. 90 pp.)



II. An incomplete copy of تاج السلاطين (see under No. 42).

No. 18 (folio of 202 pages) شجرة ملايم. This collection of historical tales has been published for the greatest part by Dulaurier in his *Chroniques Malayes*, and translated by Leyden (*Malay Annals*, edited by Sir Stamford Raffles). This MS., however, contains chapters not found in other copies, and not translated by Leyden. The last chapter but one, for instance, is about *Sang Naya's* conspiracy against the Portuguese at Malaka. There are several versions of these chronicles, as the reader will see from the various readings in Dulaurier's edition. No. 35 (folio of 117 pages), No. 89 (folio 120 pages), and No. 68 (small 4to.) end with the death of *Hang Kasturi*, the last-named number having besides an entirely different introduction, and being properly but an abridgement. In No. 76 (small 4to.) only a part is found commencing with the chapter on the depredations of a Mang-kasar prince (كرايخ مجوكو), and ending with the conquest of Malaka by the Portuguese. No. 80 (4to. of 312 pages), and No. 5 of the Farquhar collection (small 4to. 259 pages) both end also with the conquest of Malaka by the Portuguese. There are a great many copies of this work<sup>1</sup> in Holland as well as in the Indian archipelago, in the government offices, and in the possession of individuals.

No. 19 (folio of 331 pages) and No. 20 (folio of 365 pages) contain the حكاية دالغ فعود اسمار. This is again one of the *Panji* tales. The title is after a name by which the prince of *Kuripan* was known when he was changed by *Bátara Indra* into a woman. The beginning of the second volume is not connected with the last words of the first, being—القصة مكـ ترسبتله فركتان ستله ايت مكـ فغيرن كسوم آڭخ فون اغنديك اده كاڭخ امفو كدو بڭمان بچار كاڭخ كدو. No. 43 (small folio of 142 pages; on the back of the cover, *Hikayat Pangeran Ke-*

<sup>1</sup> That it contains for the greater part but fabulous history is beyond all doubt, as even the history of Malaka is tainted with the *Panji* tales; see, for instance, the chapter about the king of Malaka going to the court of Majapahit, and marrying a princess of the name of *Chandärakirana* (compare under No. 3).

*suma Agung*) contains the same, but only its last part,<sup>1</sup> the beginning words being—قصه مك ترستله فركتان فغيرن كسوم—اڠخ ددالم نڠري فكمباغن سهارا دغن ممال بون ۲ دن دغن سڠل داڠ فودق etc. The name of the hero is in this volume اسمار. No. 51 (small 4to. of 149 pages; on the back of the cover, *Hikayat Dalang pudak Asmara*) is the same, but the usual commencement is wanting, its first words being—قصه مك ترستله فركتان سري بقات اڠ كريفن سلام اي برفترا اكن انقد بڠند رادن اينو كرتافات etc.

No. 20. See under No. 19.

No. 21 (small folio of 669 pages) contains the حكاية فنداو ليم. This is a collection of loosely connected tales, the greater part of which relate to the persons involved in the contest between the *Kaurawas* and *Pāndawas*. To distinguish this composition from that which only relates to the war, I propose to call the last حكاية فرغ فنداو جاي, on account of its being so popular (see under No. 2), and the first حكاية فنداو فنج كلیم.<sup>2</sup> As to the contents of this number, it is evident that it is an entirely different work, and by no means to be identified either with No. 2, or the two MSS. at the India Office (see under No. 2). The commencement narrates the birth of *Parásu Rama* and *Dewa Bārata*, sons of بسنو روفن by the celestial nymph *Manik*. Then *Santānu* is mentioned, and the birth of his children, who had a peculiar fishy smell about them, as they had been cut out of the belly of a fish, who had swallowed the seed of *Santānu*. On p. 2, *Parasāra* cures the stinking princess *Durgandini*, and calls her afterwards *Sayojana Suganda* (sweet-scented at the distance of a *yojana*), taking her as his wife. She becomes the mother of *Biyāsa*. Another part of the narrative is about *Bāsmaka*, king of *Mandira-sāpta*, who had three daughters, called

<sup>1</sup> This part is often found separately, as may be inferred from Bahru-ddin's list (containing an account of Malay compositions found at *Surabaya*), wherein we find a حكايت فغيرن كسوم اڠخ.

<sup>2</sup> This title I derive from the first pages of No. 2, where the author calls the part of his work not bearing directly on the war by this name (see under No. 2.).

*Amba*, *Ambi*, and *Ambalika*. *Amba* becomes the wife of *Dewabrata*, who kills her by inadvertence. He therefore vows to surrender his life to a woman, burns his wife's body, and then goes to his brother, *Parasurama*, who consoles him and changes his name into *Bisma*. On p. 34 we find mention made of the birth of *Dāstarāta*,<sup>1</sup> *Pandu Deva Nata*,<sup>2</sup> and *Widura Sāgma*.<sup>3</sup> *Dāstarāta* was born blind, because his mother, when visited by *Biyasa*, from fear closed her eyes; *Pandu's* body was white as crystal, because his mother had covered herself with a white veil when she conceived him; *Widura Sāgma* was born with one lame leg, as his mother had pulled his leg (?). On p. 38 the birth of *Karna* is related: he was the son of *Sangyang Rawi*,<sup>4</sup> by *Dewi Pāta*.<sup>5</sup> After this, the meeting is related of *Bisnu* and the goddess *Pārtiwi* (see under No. 15), and then the birth of *Dārmadewa* and *Dārmadewi* (see under No. 15). On p. 91 we have the birth of *Kāsna* (*Krēṣṇa*) and *Kakārsana* (a surname of *Baladewa*). The last chapters relate the contest of *Boma* against *Samba* (see under No. 15). Although this composition is but a collection of narratives with no plot whatever to deserve the name of *hikayat*, it is very interesting, as it introduces nearly all the persons acting in the *hikayat pārang Pandāwa Jaya*, and the *hikāyat Mahārāja Boma*.

No. 22 (folio of 720 pages; the commencement is wanting) contains the *حكاية سري رام*. It is a very elaborate recension of the Malay Ramayana, from which Marsden has given extracts in the Reader at the end of his Grammar. A far shorter version has been published by Mr. P. P. Roorda van Eysinga (Amsterdam, 1843). A MS. in the Dutch India Office contains also a version of it as elaborate as this; it is in two small 4to. volumes (marked Ned. Kolonien. Handschriften C. No. 1), the first volume being of 475, and the second of 654 pages.

No. 23 (folio of 698 pages) and No. 45 (4to. of 278 pages). Two copies of the *چیکل وانبیغ فات*. The first number corresponds in version with a manuscript belonging to the

<sup>1</sup> *Dārētarāṣṭra*.

<sup>4</sup> The god Sun.

<sup>2</sup> In Malay the name of *Pāṇḍu*.

<sup>5</sup> Instead of *Pārta*, Sansc. *Prēthā*, i.e. *Kuntī*.

<sup>3</sup> *Widura*.

Dutch India Office (folio of 185 pages, and marked Ned. Kolonien. Handschriften C. No. 21 ; it is not finished), but is more elaborate. No. 45 seems to belong to the same recension as the two copies of the India Office (No. 2875 small folio, and No. 2691 large 4to.<sup>1</sup>). Another version is contained in No. 27 (folio of 347 pages), and No. 28 (folio of 348 pages: on the back of their cover, *Hikayat Dalang Indra Kesuma*). Both these volumes are divided into chapters, each of which contains a tale, connected with the chief story; the first volume contains fifty-four tales and the beginning of the fifty-fifth, whilst the second commences with the fifty-sixth tale. The title, *حیکل* etc., of this *Panji* tale is after a name which the hero takes on his rambles in search of the princess of Daha, disguising himself as a man of the lowest class. This is one of the most interesting Malay compositions, and has influenced almost every literary production of the Malays; on another occasion I shall give an analysis of it. This cycle of stories has received by mistake also the name of *حکایة نای* *کوسوم* from its commencement, where a *Bātara Naya Kāsuma*, an inhabitant of *Indra's* heaven, is spoken of as the grand-father of *Kārtapati*.

No. 24 (two folio volumes of 446 and 450 pages) contain the *سلسله راجہ دتانه جاو*. The first volume commences of course with Adam, whose son was *Shith* (شيث), whose son was *Nūrchaya*, whose son was *Sangyang Wénang*, whose son was *Sangyang Tunggal*, whose son was *Guru*, who had four sons and one daughter, being *Sangyang Sambu*, *Bārahma*, *Mahādewa*, *Bismu*, and *Dewi Sāri*. *Bisnu* became king of Java with the title *Prabu Seta* (سیت). Then a chapter treats of the *Ratu Sela Pārвата* of *Giling Bāsi*. It ends with *Pangeran Dipati* taking the title of *Susunan Mangku Rat Senapati*, etc. The second volume commences with *Susunan Mangku Rat* being at *Baṅu Mas*, and ordering the *Dipati* of *Tegal* to be fetched, and terminates with *Susunan Pakubuwana's* reign in *Kārtasura*. Two quotations from this work have been given by *Dulaurier* in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1846.

<sup>1</sup> See my "Kort Verlag der Mal. Handschriften van het East India House te Londen."

No. 25 (folio of 304 pages). This *Panji* tale goes by the name of *حكاية اندغ مالت رسمي*<sup>1</sup> from a name the heroine assumes when leading the life of a penitent. The commencement treats of the prince of *Kuripan*, called *Kuda Jaya Asmara*, surnamed *Kärtapati*, who was betrothed to the princess of Daha, *Raden Galuh Chandrakirana puspaning rat*. A god falling in love with the said princess asked her of *Batara Guru*, but meeting with a refusal, as she was to be the wife of *Kärtapati*, dropped her with her two waiting women into a forest, where she led the life of a penitent, and changed her name and that of her companions. She is afterwards married to the prince, here passim called *Raden Inu*, who succeeds his father with the title of *Pärabu Anom ing Kuripan*, the old king retiring to the woods to do penance.

No. 26 (folio of 239 pages). This *Panji* tale goes by the name *حكاية فنج ويل كسوم*. The commencement is almost the same as that of No. 23, relating the birth of *Inu Kärtapati*, and that of the *Raden Galuh Puspaning rat*, surnamed *Chandrakirana*. Going in quest of his love, who is carried off by *Batara Kala* into a forest, the hero takes the name *Mesa<sup>2</sup> Taman Panji Jayeng Käsuma*. Afterwards in the course of the narrative he is called *Sira Panji Wila Käsuma* (p. 73 of MS.), but often merely *Sira Panji*. After a great many adventures he becomes king of all Jawa.<sup>3</sup> Werndly in his *Maleische Boekzaal* mentions a *Hikayat Mesa Taman Wila Käsuma*, and van Hoëvell in his annotations on the *Sair Bidasari* has given quotations from a *Hikayat Panji Wila Käsuma*, pp. 301, 326, 334, 339, 362, 363, and 374.

Nos. 27 and 28. See under No. 23.

No. 29 (folio, 645 pages; ends abruptly). This *Panji* tale has the lettering *Hikayat Naga Bersru* (on the fly-leaf within). I dare not decide whether this is right, as I did not succeed in finding the reason for this title. Leyden, in his *Dissertation on the Indo-Chinese Nations* (As. Res. x.) speaks of a

<sup>1</sup> From the Javanese *epjang* (a female penitent or nun).

<sup>2</sup> Jav. *Maèsa* (*Mahisa*, buffalo) is frequent in proper names of Javanese personages, and is sometimes rendered by the equivalent Javanese *kébo*.

<sup>3</sup> *Amutèr jagad jawa* (Jav.).

*Hikayat Naga Bisaru*,<sup>1</sup> or story of a princess of *Daha*, who was changed into a serpent, and banished to a lake. It is a pity he gave no explanation of the name. At all events this manuscript belongs to the *Panji* tales. It opens with the king of *Kuripan* asking for his son, the Raden *Inu Kärtapati*, the hand of the princess of *Daha*, *Chandarakirana*. The hero is here passim called *Sira Panji* and *Sári Panji*.

No. 30 (small folio of 74 pages; the wrong lettering on the back of the cover, *Salasilah nabi Muhammad*, is owing to the first words, which make *Nuru-ddin* a descendant of the prophet's) contains the دفتر شجره چربون. It is a genealogical account of the kings of Cheribon (properly, *Chi-rëbon*), commencing with a confused tale about Sheykh *Nuru-ddin*, surnamed the *Suhunan Gunung Jati*, one of the apostles of the Islâm in Java. It is probably translated from a peculiar dialect of the Javanese, its language being anything but Malay, and mixed up with Javanese and occasionally with Sundanese words too. Besides the said *Suhunan* ("Reverend"), other celebrated apostles, as the *Suhunan's Kali Jaga*, *Ampel Danta*, and *Bonang* are personated here as people endowed with miraculous gifts, and the conquest of *Majapahit*, *Bantën* (Bantam), and *Pajajaran* (called here too by its ancient name *Pakúwan*) is briefly narrated. The Panëmbahan *Sura Sehan*, called also *Mowlânâ Hasanu-ddin*, introduces, according to this chronicle, the Islâm in *Pajajaran*, the *Lamong* country, *Indrapura*, *Bangka-ulu* (Bencoolen), and *Balo*. His elder brother, the Panëmbahan *Pakung Wati* rules the country from *Krawang* to Cheribon, he himself that from Bantam to *Krawang*. This manuscript makes use occasionally of the linguals *ç* and *ç̣*.<sup>2</sup> From it some valuable materials might be gleaned for a work on Javanese history, the last pages containing an account of the kings of Cheribon down to Sultan *Anom*.

No. 31 (folio of 411 pages) contains the حكاية شاه قباد .

<sup>1</sup> This *bisaru* and *beraru* of the lettering, I should like to explain by برسرو in the sense of to cry invoking the gods.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. بطار and منوڤشكن (*bhatra*).

The hero is the son of *Shāh Partsād*<sup>1</sup> *Indāra Lāqsana*, king of *Thāraf*,<sup>2</sup> situated in the neighbourhood of Mount *Qāf*. This king, although powerful, was forced to pay tribute to the monkey-king *Bakiya Indāra*,<sup>3</sup> whose residence was *Kurdari* (کورداری). The king's eldest son, called in the commencement *Qubād Lela Indāra*,<sup>4</sup> and afterward *Shāh Qubād Johan 'Arifin*, could not put up with his father's disgrace, and resolved to deliver his parent from the allegiance to the monkey-king. He is in several ways assisted by genii, who prove to be his relatives, and wages war against the powerful enemy. This manuscript ends abruptly, the last words being

مکت بگند شاه قباد فون ممبري تيته اکن اتق راج<sup>2</sup> توجه فوله دان  
 کفد سري فادک کاه اندران دان کفد راج مئرن چندرا دان کفد  
 سئل راج یخ سلقسا توجه ریب انم راتس ایت کفد بچار همب  
 بایکله سئل سودار همب

Another copy, in which some of the proper names are different, goes by the name of *حکایة شهر القمر* (No. 6, large folio of 414 pages). The father of the hero is called here *Shāh Pārmāt Indāra Lāqsana*, and the residence of the monkey-king *Kārdar* (کردر). An entirely different version is 1. (85 pages, and ending abruptly) of No. 58; it goes by the name of *حکایة راج شاه جوهن اندرا مئندرا*. The hero is in this recension the son of *Bakārma*<sup>5</sup> *Chandāra*, king of *Baranta Indāra*. A specimen of the readings of No. 31 and No. 6 deserves being inserted :

طرف<sup>2</sup>                      فرصاد<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to the Malay history of *Rāma* the same as *Bakī*, and brother of *Sugrīva*. Malay compositions borrow from each other proper names; so, for instance, we find *Indāra Kila* (mountain, where Arjuna lived as penitent), *Mintaraga* (name of a cave, where Arjuna did penance, Sanscr. and Kawi *wītarāga*, passionless), and other proper names from the Kawi poem *Wiwāha* (in Malay *حکایة داتی نیل کواج* from a Titan conquered by Arjuna) occurring in other compositions. Such proper names ought to be received into the Dictionaries.

<sup>2</sup> Wernndly in his *Maleische Boekzaal* mentions a tale about a person of this very name, and Bahru-ddīn (list of Malay works to be had at Surabaya) has a *حکایة راج قبات لیا*.

<sup>3</sup> See under No. 12.

## No. 6 :

اد سبوه نڅري اتوق نمان همفر بوکت قاف نڅرين ايت ترلال  
 بسر کوتان درفد بات فوته فنجغن کوت ايت تيڅ بولن فد  
 فرجلانن دان نام رجان شاه فرمت اندرا لقسان ادفون اکن بځند  
 ايت اصلن درفد جن برمول اکن بځند ايت ترلال بسر کرجانن  
 بايق منترين توجه راتس دان بايق هلبالغن تيڅ کتي دان  
 رعيتن تيا د ترکير<sup>۲</sup> لاڅ بايقن ادفون اکن نڅري ايت ترلال جاوه  
 درفد نڅري يڅ لاین<sup>۲</sup> جاغنکن نڅري مانسي يڅ اد اکن همفر کفد  
 نڅري بځند ايت ادفون بځند ايت سنتياس اي مغنترکن افتي  
 کفد راج کرا درفد ساعت جاوه درفد نڅري يڅ لاین شهدان دمکينله  
 ملن مک سبب راج ايت مغنتر افتي کفد راج کرا کارن اد  
 سوات راج کرا کدر نام نڅرين دان رجان برنام مهاراج بليا ليا  
 اندرا. etc.

## No. 31 :

اد راج سبوه نڅري طرف نمان همفر بوکت قاف دان نام بځند  
 ايت راج شاه فرصاد اندرا لقسان برمول اکن بځند ايت ترلال امت  
 بسر کرجانن دان کوتان درفد بات هيتم تيڅ بولن فرجلانن  
 جاوهن برمول اکن بځند ايت اصلن درفد جن دان بايق منترين  
 توجه راتس دان هلبالغن سفوله کتي رعيتن تيا د ترکير<sup>۲</sup> لاڅ بايقن  
 ادفون اکن نڅري ايت ترلال امت مشهور کفد سگل مانسي دان  
 جن فري مميڅ ديوا اندرا چندرا سکلين فون تيا د دافت همفر  
 کفد نڅري بځند تواف اکن بځند ايت سنتياس موسم مغنترکن  
 افتي کفد راج کرا دمکينله اصلن يڅ جاد بځند ايت مغنترکن  
 افتي کفد کرا ايت القصه اد سبوه نڅري کورداري نمان نڅري ايت  
 دان نام رجان مهاراج بليا اندرا. etc.



No. 32<sup>1</sup> (P folio) contains :

I. (11 pages). An account of various ceremonials, customs, and laws, *e.g.* of the chief ministers a king should have, the flags they wear, etc.

II. (5 pages). A short story about *Indrapura* being attacked by *iodak*-fishes,<sup>2</sup> and the stratagem by which they were defeated.

III. (5 pages). The first arrival of the Portuguese, and their stratagem to get possession of Malaka.<sup>3</sup> A translation of it by Sir Stamford Raffles is to be found in the *Asiatic Researches*, xii. p. 115.

IV. Coloured figures representing the flags used by the sovereign and his chief ministers (belonging to I).

V. (63 pages). A tale the commencing words of which look more like a chapter than like a real commencement. They are :

القصة ترسبتله فرکتان اد سبوه نڳري برنام طوغان فوري رجان برنام  
سلطان اممس ديو مک راج ايت ترلال امت بسر کرجانن  
استريين برنام فتري انتن چهيريم مک تون فتري ايتفون ساعت  
هندق برانتي etc.

The last words are :

حتي راج طاهر فري فون برفلق برچيم کفد راج ديو بسنو برتاغس  
تغيسن لال بڳند فون تورن برجالن حتي بڳند راج سلطان اممس  
ديو فون دودقله يخ بڳمان سلمان

It relates the adventures of *Dewa Bisnu*, son of the king spoken of in the commencement; from which it is probable that the title should be *حکایة ديو بسنو*.

No. 33 (folio) contains :

<sup>1</sup> Dulaurier in his list speaks of two folio volumes, both containing اندڳ ۲, but I have only found one, on the back of which the number was obliterated. That number is consequently all but certain.

<sup>2</sup> The same is told of Singapore (see *Malayan Annals*, p. 83) and of *Barus* according to the *Sair Raja Tuktung* (شعر راج تکتڻ).

<sup>3</sup> The same narrative is found in one of the last chapters of No. 1.

I. (11 pages). A collection of laws, commencing with the finding of goods, and what is to be done with them.

II. (44 pages). Laws, some of which are maritime.

III. (8 pages). Fragments of a law book, beginning with the fencing of cultivated fields.

IV. (6 pages). باب فد مپتاکن کتیک رجح. About the ominous qualities of the days of the months, having mystical names, mostly those of animals. The same is found in II. of No. 74.

V. (3 pages). باب فد مپتاکن کتیک توجه. On the seven ominous times. The same is XVI. and XXXVII. of No. 34, and IV. of No. 74.

VI. (6 pages). فصل فد مپتاکن کتیک لیم. On the five ominous times. Compare the Bataksch Woordenboek, p. 419. The same in No. 34 (x. and xxxv.) and No. 74 (v.)

No. 34 (folio; the number obliterated, and on the back of the cover, *undang undang*) contains :

I. (1 page). A fragment from a law book.

II. (1 page). باب فد مپتاکن ناگ معیدر درین. On the serpent turning itself round in the sky, the position of which is to be known, especially when going to war.

III. (3 pages). Charms and antidotes.

IV. (15 pages). Malay laws, commencing with the fencing of cultivated fields. The maritime part has been published by Dulaurier in the sixth volume of Pardessus's *Collection de Lois Maritimes*.

V. (7 pages). Treaty between the Admiral Speelman and Hasan-uddin, king of Gowa, and other Mangkasar chiefs (compare No. 10).

VI. (1 page). Chronicle of Mangkasar, commencing with اینله اصل یغ فرتام مول<sup>۲</sup> یغ کرجان دتلی ایت برنام کرایغ لوی<sup>۱</sup> etc. (continued in VIII.)

VII. (1 page). Contract of *Aliyu-uddin* of Gowa with the Malay merchants.

VIII. (3 pages). Continuation of VI. (continued in XII. and XVII.)

IX. (9 pages). A chapter on the law of inheritance (فرائصل).

- X. (2 pages). See vi. of No. 33.
- XI. (6 pages). Customs and laws commencing with the duties of the Bāndhara, Tumānggung, and other functionaries of the Malays.
- XII. (2 pages). Continuation of vi.
- XIII. (1 page). A fragment about the discontinuance of praying according to the words of the prophet.
- XIV. (1 page, 54th page). Formulas used as charms.
- XV. (1 page). On ominous days (نحس).
- XVI. (3 pages). The same as v. of No. 33.
- XVII. (1 page). فصل ميٲاكن<sup>١</sup> رجال الغيب
- XVIII. (4 pages). Continuation of vi. (continued in xix.)
- XIX. (3 pages). A fragment of a work on superstitions and continuation of vi. (continued in xxvi.) on charms, commencing with the means of seducing a woman, etc.
- XX. (11 pages). Receipts against diseases, commencing with a precept about the regular course of a woman's sperm (ترتيب مني فرمفون).
- XXI. (p. 78). Table of ominous events, which have to be expected on each day of the month.
- XXII. (p. 79). Receipts, commencing with a prescription against stomach-ache.
- XXIII. (p. 81). The letters of the alphabet with their mystical meaning under each of them.
- XXIV. Regulations for the chief of the Malays settled at Mangkásar, his power, etc.
- XXV. Prescription to conquer a woman's obduracy.
- XXVI. (p. 82). Fragment of a chronicle (vi.) and continued in xxviii.
- XXVII. Continuation of xxiv.
- XXVIII. Continuation of vi.
- XXIX. Combination of letters attributed to prophets, angels, and holy men.
- XXX. (p. 98). A precept of the wise *Loqmān* about the future of a just-born child.
- XXXk. (p. 99). On the ominous signification of earth-

<sup>1</sup> See Herklots' Customs, etc. p. 395.

quakes, lightning and eclipses, according to the time of their appearance. A fragment of a similar work is to be found in de Hollander's Reader, p. ۲۶۸.

XXXII. (p. 103). About the choice of the ground to erect a house upon, to make a field of, etc.

XXXIII. (p. 106). Means to know how a man and woman live together.

XXXIV. (p. 110). Means to know whether stolen goods may be recovered.

XXXV. (4 pages). See vi. of No. 33.

XXXVI. Astrological tables of the planets according to the days of the week.

XXXVII. See v. of No. 33. On p. 120, an illustrative table.

XXXVIII. (p. 121). A figure illustrative of the serpent's position (see II.).

No. 35. See under No. 18.

No. 36. See under No. 7.

No. 37. See under No. 9.

No. 38 (small folio of 87 pages), No. 59 (small 4to. of 138 pages), and No. 71 (small 4to. of 196 pages) contains the *حکایة کلیله و دمنه*<sup>۱</sup>. In the last-named number the introduction is wanting. Some fables from this book have been published by J. J. de Hollander in his Malay Reader, p. 18 sqq. I possess a manuscript of it (4to. of 205 pages). A specimen of the various readings of these four manuscripts may not be out of place. The reader may compare with it the fable published on p. 18 of the above-cited work.

No. 38:

اد سيگر دندغ برسارغ دياتس سفوهن برقس مها بسرادفون برقس  
 ايت برلوبغ مك د لوبغ فوهن برقس ايت اد سيگر اولر بسر  
 ددالم كايو ايت ديم دسان مك افيل دندغ ايت برانق دماكن  
 اولر ايت دمكين جو سلمان مك دندغ ايت فرگي كند صحابتن

<sup>1</sup> On the west coast of Sumatra it goes by the name of *سُتروبه* *حکایة* (*si-tārubbah*) after the name of the bull who became the lion's friend.

سيڪر سريڱال مک کات سريڱال ايت افاته ڪهندم داتخ ڪفدات  
 مک کات دندخ ايت هي تولنڪ ادفون اڪ داتخ اين تله  
 برفا کال اڪ برانق دماکن جو اوله اولر بسر ايتله مک اڪ اين  
 داتخ ڪفدام مغدوکن حالڪ

No. 59 :

اد سيڪر دندخ برسارخ دياتس فوهن برقس مها بسر ادفون فوهن برقس  
 ايت اد برلويخ فوهن فرقس ايت اد سيڪر اولر بسر ديم دسان مک  
 تيف<sup>۲</sup> دندخ ايت برانق دماکن اولر ايت دمکين جو سلمان مک  
 دندخ ايتفون فرڳي ڪفد سيڪر سريڱال مک کات سريڱال هي دندخ  
 اف ڪهندي اڻڪو داتخ ڪفدات مک کات دندخ ايت هي تولنڪ  
 ادفون اڪ داتخ اين کارن تله برفا کال اڪ برانق دماکن جو  
 اوله اولر بسر ايتفون مک اڪ داتخ ڪفدام مغدوکن حالڪ

No. 71 :

مک ادله سيڪر دندخ برسارخ دياتس فوهن کايو بسر مک ادله  
 فوهن ايت برلويخ<sup>۲</sup> مک اولر يڃ بسر سيڪر دالم لويخ کايو ايت افيل  
 برانقله دندخ ايت داتخله اولر دماکن هابس سننتياس له يڃ دمکين  
 ايت مک دندخ فون امت حيرانله اڪندرين لال اي مڱادف ڪفد  
 سريڱال ڪتان هي هنديڪ افله داي افاياڪ سننتياس دالم  
 فرچنتا<sup>۲</sup> نڪ افيل اڪ برانق دماکن اوله اولر ددالم کايو ايت

My manuscript :

اد سيڪر دندخ برسارخ دياتس کايو برقس مها تڱد مک اد سيڪر  
 اولر ديم فد رڱڪ کايو برقس ايت تڪل دندخ ايت برانق مک  
 دماکن اوله اولر ايت اڪن اتق دندخ ايت دمکينله سدیکال مک  
 دندخ ايتفون ترلال دڪچت مک دندخ فون فرڳيله ڪفد سريڱال  
 مغدوکن حالن دمکين ڪتان سننتياس همب برانق دماکن اوله اولر  
 ايت تولقله بچاراکن اولهم اڪنداڪ مڱوچر سريڱال هي هنديڪ

Hence it appears that the manuscript from which de Hollander published some fables must belong to another recension than these four manuscripts. All these versions are from the Persian.<sup>1</sup>

No. 39. See under No. 18.

No. 40 (folio of 320 pages) contains the *حکایة میس لار کسوم*. The hero is the son of a king of *گوناتن* in West Java. This king had two wives, the youngest being *Āmas Ajèng*, who bore him a son called *جناکر نیت*. She slanders the eldest, making the king believe she had tried to poison him. The elder queen is defended by her son, who in consequence falls into disgrace, and is incarcerated. The queen herself is conducted into a forest to be killed, but the executioner, pitying her condition, leaves her in a grotto, where *بتار بناو* supplies her wants. She is there delivered of a son, who receives the name of *رادن میس اریا مٹکوستر*. The story ends in a strange and abrupt way, as if not finished. I do not think it probable that this composition is the same as that mentioned by *Bakru-ddin* under the title *حکایة سیر فنچ لار کسوم*, which is decidedly a *Panjī* tale.

No. 41 contains a Malay translation of a Javanese *Wukon*.<sup>2</sup> It is a miserable composition, not readable without the Javanese original.

No. 42<sup>3</sup> and No. 64. Two copies of the *تاج السلاطین*. This work has been published with a Dutch translation by P. P. Roorda van Eysinga (*De Kroon der Koningen*, Batavia, 1827). A great many quotations in Werndly's *Maleische Spraakkunst* are from a better manuscript than that used by Roorda van Eysinga.

No. 43. See under No. 19.

No. 44 (4to. of 303 pages) contains the *حکایة جابت تغل* a *Panjī* tale; the title is derived from a banner (*tunggul*), the

<sup>1</sup> The Hindi version has been translated by *Abdu-Uah* the Moonshee and published at Malaka. It is divided in the same way as the *Hitopadesa*, and bears the title of *فنچ تندران*.

<sup>2</sup> See Raffles' *History of Java*, i., p. 475 sqq. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- en Volkenkunde* (Batavia, vol. vi. and vii.)

<sup>3</sup> See also Nos. 17 and 47 ff.

baneful influence of which occasioned a great mortality in the land,<sup>1</sup> being extracted (*chabut*) by the hero. It opens with the god *Naya Kāsuma* (see under No. 23) descending into the world, and taking the name of *Mesa Pārta Jaya Kālana Banjāran*. He becomes king of *Majapahit*, with the title *Pārabu Wirā Kārta*, after having married the only daughter of the old king, who retired to do penance. His sons became kings of *Kuripan*, *Daha*, *Gagālang*, and *Singasāri*. In the course of the narrative *Kārtapati* and *Chandā-rakirāna* are again the most conspicuous characters. In his perambulations the said prince calls himself *Ki-ramang Panji Wauhan*<sup>2</sup> (?), and the princess of *Daha*, when leading the life of a penitent, assumes the name of اندغ اسمای دفوری (compare under No. 25). The language of this tale is crowded with Javanese words and expressions. As humble pronoun of the first person *pun titiyang*<sup>3</sup> (the man) is here used as in the Balinese.

No. 45. See under No. 23.

No. 46 (large 4to. of 306 pages) contains the حكاية دیو مندو . The hero's father is *Kārma Indāra*, king of *Kangsa Indāra*. This king has heard of a certain white elephant, and orders *Pārba Indāra* to catch it. *Pārba Indāra*, failing in executing the orders of his master, is discarded the court, and leaves with his family. He arrives at a hamlet, where a *Sheykh Jādīd* was living in religious solitude, and settles there. He afterwards begot there a daughter called *Siti*<sup>4</sup> *Mangārna Lela Chakya*, with whom the new king, *Pakārma*<sup>5</sup> *Raja*, falls in love when coming accidentally to her father's hermitage. *Siti Mangārna* is after due time delivered of a son, who is the hero of this tale. This prince leaves the residence, and rambles about to increase his knowledge of the world. In the course of his rambles he meets with the white elephant,

<sup>1</sup> Compare Cohen Stuart, l.l. p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> The manuscript: وأوهن. A *Hikayat Mesa Kiramang* is mentioned in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1833, by Jaquet.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the use of *ulun* as pron. of 1st person, being the same as *ulun* (Lampong) and *ulunā* (Malagasy spelling *olona*) which signify *man*, and *ngwang* (pron. 1st person) and *wwang* (*man*) in Kawi.

<sup>4</sup> The Arabic ستي .

<sup>5</sup> See under No. 12.

who was a princess of the name of *Lela Rātna Kumāla*, and had been transformed by a demon, of the name of *Deva Rāqsa Malik*, out of spite, as he wanted her for his wife, but met with a refusal at her father's hands. Another copy of this tale is in the library of the India Office (No. 2871, folio-volume), where the introduction is entirely different. According to the last words of that manuscript this tale goes also by the name of *حكاية راج كغس اندرا فكرم راج*.

No. 47 (4to.) contains :

I. The *حكاية ميس اندرا ديو كسوم*. The hero is a son of a king of *Kuripan* by *Sakārba*,<sup>1</sup> a daughter of *Indāra*, a king of *Kāling*, who had made himself universal sovereign of the world (*چکرا بوان وات*); having subjected the kings of *Gujārat*, *Mogol*, *Abyssinia*, *Machulipatam*, *Bengal*, etc., he sends a fleet to conquer Java, going himself thither with his sons through the air. *Mesa Indāra Dewa Kāsūma* opposes the conqueror. Amongst the places the Indian king besieged is *Pajajāran*, the king of which had a son called *Āmas Tanduran*, and two daughters, called *Raden galuh Kumūda Rāsmi*, and *Raden galuh Dewi Rina* (?). The opening of this tale is anything but clear. It is besides crowded with Javanese expressions, as for instance, *māngambah jumantāra*<sup>2</sup> (to tread the air).

II. (64 pages). Fragments of the *تاج السلاطين* (see No. 42).

III. (18 pages). *معزجة رسول الله ممثقل بولن*. Another copy in No. 62. This short tale about Muhammad's miracle of making the moon pass by halves through his sleeves, has been published by Robinson at the end of his "*Principles to elucidate the Malay Orthography*."<sup>3</sup> There are a great many manuscripts of this legend.<sup>4</sup>

IV. (5 pages) *حكاية فرتن اسلام*. On the duties of a married woman, about which the heroine of this tale consults the

<sup>1</sup> Corruption of the Sansk. *Suprabhā*.

<sup>2</sup> The Sansk. *dyumāntara*.

<sup>3</sup> P. 222 sqq. of the Dutch translation by E. Netscher.

<sup>4</sup> One in the possession of Mr. H. C. Millies at Utrecht, and another in mine (small 8vo. of 28 pages).



prophet.<sup>1</sup> A copy is in the possession of Mr. H. C. Millies, where the proper name is spelt فرتنا.

No. 48 (small 4to. of 210 pages) contains the شرح يث لطف 2. It is translated from the Arabic of *Ibrāhīm Laqānī*, by the Sheykh *Shihabu-ddīn*, surnamed the pilgrim, and son of 'Abdu-llah Muhammad, surnamed the Malay (الجاوي).

No. 49 (4to. of 56 pages).<sup>3</sup> A poem the title of which is uncertain. It contains the celebration of a king of *Bintan*, and the splendour of his palace, garden, etc. The first verses are :

بگ الله توهن يث كاي	الحمد لله فوج يث سدي
برتمبه دولة راج يث ملي	بركة محمد سيد الانبيا
د فرنهكن فادك ادند سودار	دولة مگت تله سجهترا
امقام شمس منراعي نگار	عارف بالله تاجم بچار
ممرننهكن كرجان فادك ككند	كامل فرنته سلطان مود

The last verses are :

مغارق فترا ماسق كدالم	برشكتله كدوماكت عالم
مغنتركن فترا دار السلام	دايرغكن نصب وزير الاعظم
دولة استعادة ددالم كوت	سجهتراله فكرجان دلي ماكت
سوات فون جاعن مار سغكيت	دغن انگرا توهن سمست
كلوره هداغن برلاين	سلسيله فترا دلي سمفاين
ممبري ايانن هلبالغ سكلين	برفوله سمبرف بردداين
دكارغ فقير همب يث هين	تمتله قصه دلي يث غنا

<sup>1</sup> It goes also by the name of حكاية بردان سلامة according to de Hollander, l. l. p. 315.

<sup>2</sup> Another commentary on the same work is called, تحاف المرید شرح علي جوهره التوحيد .

<sup>3</sup> The lettering on the back of the cover (*Karangan Bantan*) is wrong. Du-laurier infers from it, that it is about the foundation of Bantam.

دمتري ددالم قرطاس چين      <sup>1</sup> سجقن لرت بايق تا كنا  
 تمته رنچان دلي ماكت      دكارغ ضعيف همب كفتست  
 جك اد <sup>1</sup> سيق بيغ لت      بربايق امنف دلي ماكت

No. 50 (small 4to. of 96 pages) contains the *حكاية تميم* *i.e.* the adventures of *Tāmīmu-ddāri*, an inhabitant of *Madīnah*, and originally a Christian. It is taken from the *تاريخ الحجرات*. He was carried off when bathing during the night, which the prophet had prohibited, by a spirit (*jīn*) to the country of the genii, that were yet infidels, and stayed there seven years and four months. He meets in the course of his rambles with the Antichrist (*دجال*), appearing in the form of a bitch big with barking puppies, and becoming large when hearing bad reports about the Muslims, and small when they are favourable; with female cannibals on a certain island, with the angels *Jabarāil* and *Mikāil*, and the prophet *Hilīr* (*حضر*), who gives an explanation of the wonderful things *Tāmīm* sees and cannot account for. He meets a bird, too, which gives him a delicious beverage out of its bill, and is no other than the bird of *Ishāk*, and leads the erring faithful upon the right way. He sees a man filling out of a pond a pierced tub, being an usurer. On his return to this sub-lunary orb, he finds his wife re-married, and squabbles with her husband. '*Umar* (*عمر*) could not settle the quarrel, as *Tāmīm*, not having shaved and pared his nails during his absence, looked quite another man, and was not recognised. '*Alī* (*علي*) then recollects a communication from the prophet about a sign by which *Tāmīm* could be identified, being a whitish spot as large as a *dārham* behind the knee.

No. 51. See under No. 19.

No. 52 (4to. of 140 pages) contains the *حكاية راج باب*. In the opening a king of *Gunung bārapi Rantow panjang tābing bārukur* is introduced, called *طاهير شاه فري*. He had forty wives, one of whom only, called *Indāra Sori*, became pregnant. Sending away the other thirty-nine on account of

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic *سجق*.

their sterility, he was cursed by them to have a hog as a son. After a pregnancy of seven years the queen was delivered of a boar of a terrifying appearance, with tusks as yellow as a ripe plantain fruit.<sup>1</sup> The king ordered his minister to throw his son into the woods, where the young hog conquered the king of the hogs, being assisted by a princess who was doing penance on the field of their contest. Having been victorious, he was bathed by that princess, and treated in her residence as her son. After taking leave of her, he is carried away by a *jīn*, etc. This composition is replete with *pantuns*, and the text is not much corrupted. The language is genuine Malay as far as I have read it. After a great many adventures, the hero returns in a human shape to his father's residence, and is then called *Indāra Bārma Kala*.

No. 53 (small 4to.) contains :

I. (98 pages)<sup>2</sup> the *حكاية سمسكين*. It has been published at Singapore (lithographed). There are a great many manuscripts of this tale. The one in my possession is badly mutilated by a Batavian transcriber, who has, for instance, changed *سمايم* into *سمهيه* !

II. (26 pages) *شعرايكن*. It commences with exhortations to children, and is a miserable jingling of rhymes about a great many fishes, introduced in it as would-be poets. The composition may be serviceable in correcting the existing Malay Dictionaries in the wrong pronounciation of fish-names. I possess a manuscript of it.

No. 54 (small 4to. of 293 pages) contains the *حكاية احمد بسنو*. In the commencement there is a kind of summary, relating that the hero was harmed by a genius called *طبرسفتي*, that on his rambles he came upon Mount *Langkārī Rātna*, where he saw two princes of the genii, that he encountered the princesses *Sākanda Kumāla Indāra* and *Bumāya Indāra*, fought the king *Makuta Indāra* on account of the first-named princess, and was thrown by order of that prince into

باب تغل ترلال هيبه رفان تارغن كونغ سفرت فيسغ ماسق<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The lettering *Angkasa Dewa* is a mistake owing to the tale commencing with these words. <sup>2</sup> *Si-miskin* ("the poor one").

the lake *Indära Sätunang*, where he was swallowed up by a serpent, in whose belly he met the princess *Bāranta Maya*; and a great many other adventures of the same kind are told. The hero was the son of *Sakfar Tsaf Indära*,<sup>1</sup> king of *Burangga Dewa*. In one of the chapters *طبر سقتي* is said to be king of a state situated in the cavern of Mount *Dewa Rangga Indära*.

No. 55. See under No. 9.

No. 56 (4to. of 412 pages; on the cover, *Badiulzaman Anak Hamzah*). In the commencement are contained the adventures of *بديع الزمان*, said to be the son of *Hamzah*;<sup>2</sup> then follow those of his father, and of '*Umar Maya*, with whose death it closes. Perhaps it is but a part of the *حكاية حمزه*.

No. 57 (4to. of 332 pages) contains the *حكاية اندرا كياغن*. *Mangindära Chuwácha*, king of *Indära Pärchangga*, had two sons called *Raja Sháh Johan Mangindära Rupa* and *Raja Thahir*<sup>3</sup> *Johan Shah*. The king having dreamt of a wonderful musical instrument, which sounded one hundred and ninety times when but once struck, and longing to have it, the two young princes go in quest of it. They are adopted by a ghost, of the name of *راج سلم*, who tells them where to find the wonderful instrument. He changes their names, calling the eldest prince *Indära Mahádewa Ságti*, and the youngest *Bisnu Dewa Kaindära-an*, surnamed *Indära Láqsana*. The brothers are separated afterwards, each of them achieving a great many stirring feats by the assistance of the *jin*, their adoptive father. Extracts from this composition are to be found in Marsden's Malay Reader at the end of his Grammar, according to a manuscript but slightly differing from this one, of which the lettering on the back of its cover, *Indra layang-*

<sup>1</sup> *سكفر صف اندرا*.

<sup>2</sup> Of the *حكاية حمزه* de Hollander in his Reader (p. 82 sqq.) has published extracts; and another extract is to be found in Roorda van Eysinga's *Beeknopte Maleische Spraakkunst* (Breda, 1839), p. 102 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> *طاهر*.

an, is a mistake for *Indāra Kiyāngan*, as the extracts published by Marsden have it.

No. 58 (small 4to.) contains :

I. See under No. 31.

II. (34 pages). *حكاية فتري جوهر مانك*, which is a more elaborate version of this tale than that published by de Hollander (Breda, 1845), and corresponds more with that of the manuscript from which quotations are found in Roorda van Eysinga's *Maleisch-Nederduitsch Woordenboek* (s. vv. *harām, hajī, chiyum, churi, khīyanat, khemah, darah, dapat, dakap, dandam, diri, ridlā, rambut, zadah, salāsey, sālām, sandšchaya, surat, sayid, sisi, shetan, tsahib, pandey, and sahāya*). In this manuscript the heroine's brother is called *منب شاهد*. There was, and perhaps still is, also a MS. copy of this tale in the possession of Mr. Frederick Muller, at Amsterdam. On the west coast of Sumatra the heroine goes by the name of *Johor Malègan*, which name occurs in Bahru-uddīn's list too. Of the Sumatra version<sup>1</sup> I possess an incomplete copy.

No. 59. See under No. 38.

No. 60 (small 4to. of 106 pages) contains the *حكاية شاه* *مردان*.<sup>2</sup> Another copy is No. 66 (small 4to. of 223 pages). The hero assuming in the course of his rambles the name of *Indāra Jaya*, this very popular tale goes also by the name of *حكاية اندرا جاي*. Part of it has been published by de Hollander in the first edition of his *Handleiding bij de beoefening der Maleische Taal-en Letterkunde*, p. 117-116. It is also called after the hero's father, *حكاية بكرم دتي راج*.<sup>3</sup> It is mentioned by Leyden (*Asiatic Res.* x.) under the title *Hikayat*

<sup>1</sup> About a Javanese version, see Raffles' *History of Java*, i., p. 394 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> The Persian pronunciation, *shā-i mardān* has occasioned the name *شيخ مردان* cited by van Hoëvell in the annotations to the *Sair Bidasari*. On the west coast of Sumatra *شاه عالم* is pronounced *sa-i alam*; hence confusion in the title of the dwarf deer between *shā-i 'ālam dī rimba* and *shaykh 'ālam dī rimba*.

<sup>3</sup> *Wikramāditya*. No. 60 and the extracts in de Hollander's *Handleiding*, ll., have *بكرم دنت جاي*.

*Bikermadi(tya)*. A translated extract about the creation of the world is to be found in No. 60 of the Indo-Chinese Gleaner. A copy, too, is found in a volume, containing the *Hikayat Pālanduk Jānaka*, belonging to the library of the India Office (No. 2673?). I possess a manuscript copy of it of 38 pages folio.

No. 61 (small 4to. of 150 pages) contains the *حكاية شمس البر* (*shamsu-lbarrin*). The hero, called "the sun of the earth,"<sup>1</sup> is the son of *Dārma Dikāra*, king of *Paruwa Chakāra Nagara* in Hindustan. His name he owes to his being predestined to be a powerful king, ruling over the earth and sea, whence he was surnamed "the moon of the sea."<sup>2</sup> When twelve years old he was carried off by an infidel *jīn*, in consequence of which he had a great many adventures before he returned home. On his return he succeeds his father with the title of Sultan *Qamru-lbahrin*.

No. 62 (quarto) contains :

I. See under No. 16.

II. See under No. 49 III.

III. (about 60 pages) *سريب مسائل*. It contains one thousand questions put to Muhammad by a learned Jew of the Khaybar tribe. Having been answered by the prophet satisfactorily, a great many Jews of the said tribe embrace the Islām. It is translated from the Persian. A manuscript of this composition (small 4to. of 156 pages) I saw at Barus in the possession of the Tuwanku of *Sigambo-gambo*. A copy is also in the possession of Prof. H. C. Millies at Utrecht. It is a very interesting work, and reproduces the popular belief of the Malays about a great many questions of the Muhammadan faith. The orthodox priests condemn it as well as the *حكاية محمد خفيه*.

IV. (8 pages) *جرترا نبي الله موسى مناجاة د بوكت طور سين*. Moses' ascent on Mount Sinai.

V. (5 pages) *حكاية فاطمه كاون* is a tract about the duties of a married woman, expounded by the prophet to his daughter.

<sup>1</sup> The manuscript explains the Arabic name by *artūna matahari di darat*.

<sup>2</sup> *قمر البحر* explained by *bulan yang ditāpi laut*.

A copy of it is in the possession of Prof. H. C. Millies at Utrecht.

VI. (6 pages) *حكاية رسول الله برچوكر*. The prophet is shaved by Gabriel, and his hair gathered by the celestial nymphs for the purpose of making amulets of them. Published at Batavia (1853, in 12mo. Lange and Co.)

No. 63 (4to. of 349 pages; on the cover, *Raja 'adil*). It contains the *حكاية بختيار*.<sup>1</sup> The wrong lettering is owing to the commencement, where a just king (*Raja 'adil*) whose name is not mentioned, is forced to flee from his dominions, and is afterwards made captive by an unjust king. This MS. however, contains another version than that from which de Hollander has given extracts in his Reader (p. 131 sqq.) and transliterated in his *Handleiding tot de Kennis der Maleische Taal* (Breda, 1845). The name of the person who found the child of which the queen was delivered during her flight with her consort, and which she was forced to leave, is here *رسدس*. The last tale in this manuscript is the story of Salomon and the queen of Sabā.<sup>2</sup> The text is pretty good, but occasionally corrupted. The introduction especially differs widely from that of other versions I know. I possess a copy (folio of 50 pages), wherein the number of tales told by *Bakhtiyār* amounts to nine. Its version differs from that of de Hollander's text. This tale goes also by the name of *حكاية زاده*, *حكاية از باح* (from the name of the hero's father), and according to de Hollander, also *حكاية غلام*, which last name is by far not so popular, and does not convey an idea about its contents.

No. 64. See under No. 42.

No. 65 (small 4to. of 152 pages) contains the *شعر اثريني*, a poem the plot of which is taken from the Javanese. It belongs to the *Panjī* tales<sup>3</sup> relating the adventures of

<sup>1</sup> The Persian original was translated by Lescalier (*Bakhtiyar, ou le Favori de la Fortune*, Paris, 1806).

<sup>2</sup> Of this story there is an elaborate novel on the west coast of Sumatra, where it is called *حكاية فتري بلقس*. I possess three manuscripts of it, all written in the Menangkabow dialect.

<sup>3</sup> Other tales belonging to this cyclus, and not existing in this collection are—1.

*Panjī* and *Angāreni*, daughter of the *patih*, with whom he fell in love after having been betrothed to *Sēkar Tajī*, the princess of *Kādiri*. His father ordered *Angāreni* to be killed when *Panjī* was absent, having gone in quest of game.<sup>1</sup> This composition proves to be the story which has suggested the plot of the شعرکن تمبوھن (see under No. 7). This manuscript breaks off abruptly, and is to such an extent replete with Javanese words, that a Malay would not understand it.

No. 66. See under No. 60.

No. 67. حكاية راج فاسي . Published by Dulaurier in his *Chroniques Malayes*. A list of countries dependent on Majapahit, found in this manuscript, is published by the same in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1846.

No. 68. See under No. 18.

No. 69 (small 4to. of 128 pages). According to the lettering on the back of the cover, the title would be باب العقل كنف . سگل اورغ بسر . It is an ethic work, laying down rules for ministers and great functionaries as to their conduct when officiating. It is illustrated by tales. In the commencement the manuscript says, that the tale came from Sultan *Aliyu-ddin Shāh*, son of *Mantsūr Shāh*, king of *Pātani*. On page 10 there is a story about the sagacity of the dwarf-deer

حكاية فنج جايع كسوم (*Jayeng kāsuma* is Javanese and means "victorious on the battle field," and is often changed in Malay into *Jaya Kāsuma*), from which quotations are to be found in van Hoëvell's annotations (p. 301, 326, 334, 362, 363, and 374). II. حكاية فنج سميرغ سمرنتاك (after an assumed name of *Chandārakirana*, when dressing as a male, and roving about to subject the states she came upon). III. حكاية ميس تندرامن (No. 2602, India Office). IV. حكاية چارغ ميس گمبرسار . (؟) حكاية سير فنج چترا . (see under No. 40). V. حكاية سير فنج لركسوم . يع برگلررات انوم اغ ملاي . VI. (see II. under No. 7). VII. حكاية جاي لكار (a translation of which into Mangkasar is to be found in Mathes's *Makassaarsche Chresthomathie*). There are more tales belonging to this cyclus, as may be inferred from some manuscripts in the British Museum.

<sup>1</sup> The plot does not differ materially from that of the tale of which Mr. Taco Roorda has given an elaborate analysis (see *Lotgevallen van Raden Pandji* in the *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van N.I.* Vol. vii. *Nieuwe Volgreeks*). Compare also Raffles, *History of Java*, ii., 88.



(*pālanduk*<sup>1</sup>) settling a contest between an alligator and a young man about the propriety of the alligator eating the young man, who had delivered it when about to die on the dry. The last tale is about a Sultan *Al-'ālam Shāh*.

No. 70 (small 4to.) contains :

I. (186 pages). The seventh book of the *بستان العارفين*, an ethic work illustrated by a great many tales. According to the last words of this manuscript, the whole work is divided into seven books. On p. 163 the narrative about *Siti 'Abasah* (see No. 76) is found.

II. (8 pages). A small collection of tales,<sup>2</sup> belonging most probably to a larger composition (to 1. ?). The first tale is about Moses and *Qārūn*, who bribed a pregnant woman to say, that Moses had committed adultery with her. The second is about a certain *بليم* trying to outstrip Moses by the force of his penance. The third is about Moses' death. The fourth is about a woman called *ربيعة العدوية* getting ten-fold back what she had given to the poor. The fifth is about a man of the name of *دائن مسر* seeing the mercy of God to the just.

No. 71. See under No. 38.

No. 72 (small 4to. of 44 pages; on the back of the cover, *Kitab rasul*). It contains the *حكاية مهراج علي*, another version of the *Story of King Skull*<sup>3</sup> (*حكاية راج جمجمه*), the plot being the same as that of the *حكاية بسف وراج*.<sup>4</sup> There are a great many copies of this tale. Prof. H. C. Millies at

<sup>1</sup> The *حكاية فلندق جناك*, two copies of which are in the Library of the India Office (Nos. 3049 and 2603), has a great similarity with the European tale about Reinard the fox. (See Kort Verslag der Maleische Handschriften van het E. I. Hous te London). The *pālanduk* acts in the Indian Archipelago the part that the fox acts with us.

<sup>2</sup> Such small collections of tales, the title of which is either arbitrary, or not to be fixed from the contents, are often found in the possession of the poor, who cannot afford to buy manuscripts of the extent of the *Bustānu-salāthīn*, *Tajju-salāthīn*, and the like. A collection of the same kind is the *حكاية ليم فصل* in No. 2603 (Library of the India Office).

<sup>3</sup> Translated Asiatic Journal, 1823.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by Fraissinet under the title of *Geschiedenis van Vorst Bispos Radja* (Breda, 1849).

Utrecht, possesses a copy (small 8vo.) bearing the title *حكاية علي پادشاه* (the Persian *p* is here strange). Of the story of King Skull there is a copy in the India Office, being the third tale in the *حكاية ليم فصل* (No. 2603). I myself possess two copies of it (one evidently mutilated by a Batavian transcriber).

No. 73. See No. 4.

No. 74 (small 4to.) contains:

I. Laws of Malaka, Johor, and Salangor.

II. (11 pages). See iv. of No. 33.

III. (1 page). Receipts, commencing with that against a kind of leprosy.

IV. (10 pages). See v. of No. 33.

V. (8 pages). See vi. of No. 33.

VI. Fragments of a religious work. On the last pages are found coloured tables representing the *five ominous times* (belonging to v.)

No. 75 (small 4to.; on the cover, *undang undang*) contains:

I. (6 pages). A fragment from a law book. The first chapter is about people having plantations and neglecting to fence them.

II. A fragment from some work on Muhammadan law, commencing with the rules about selling and buying (بيع), and ending with the law of inheritance (فرائض).

III. (2 pages). A fragment from an Arabic work on law with Malay interlinear translation.

IV. (15 pages). An Arabic-Malay Dictionary. Under each Arabic word the corresponding Malay is written. The last seven pages are not filled up with the Malay. I possess a complete copy, and a fragment of another work of the same kind.

No. 76 (small 4to.) contains:

I. See under No. 18.

II. (9 pages). *حكاية ستي عباسه*. It is properly but a tale taken from the *بستان العارفين* (I. No. 70), but often found separately. Two copies are in my possession (small 4to. of 20 pages, and small 8vo. of 24 pages).

III. (23 pages). A fragment from a work on religious observances, commencing with the sacrifices (قربان).

IV. (small 8vo. of 13 pages). Fragments of a work containing Malay laws, and commencing with goods found on the road.

No. 77 (small 4to.) contains :

I. (4 pages). شعر نيفت دان اشنگ .

II. (61 pages). Maritime laws.

III. (20 pages). Orders issued by Sultan *Ahmad Tajuddin Halim Shah* of *Kedah* (قده), some of which refer to the suppression of piracy (Muh. year 1133).

No. 78 (small 4to.) contains :

I. (62 pages) شعر فرغ اشنگرس د بتاوي . A poem, celebrating the conquest of Java by the English forces under Lord Minto. The first words are :

دغرکن تون سوات القصه جندرل مسکالت<sup>1</sup> امفون ماس  
تکل بگند بربوت جاس د مستير کورنيلس<sup>2</sup> ساعت فرقس  
بربوت بنتخ د مستير کورنيلس برهمفنه کونن سکلين فرنجس

It closes with the description of a market, and teems with Batavian Malay words.

II. (2 pages) شعر چنت براه . A short love-letter<sup>3</sup> in verses, of which the following lines may serve as a specimen :

ککند ملايکن قرطاس سچارق د تريکن اغن بچان العاشق  
گنت فرتمون يخ امت بانگت کفد ادند وجه يخ تحقيقت

<sup>1</sup> The Dutch *Maarschalk* (Marshal).

<sup>2</sup> *Mooster Cornelis* is the name of a district of Batavia, where there are barracks.

<sup>3</sup> In No. 2609 (India Office) there is a love-letter, the title of which is yet to be ascertained. Its commencing verses are :

سلام دعا در فد ککند يخ دلهراکن الله تعالي  
داتخ کفد تون ادند بدن يخ سوچ سدي ترعالي  
ايوهي امس مانس شهدا تمباهن فولتی ادند يخ ملي  
تله ترمذکور ددالم داد اورغ يخ عارف مندافتکن دي

It contains 18 pages.

No. 79 (small 4to.) contains :

I. (46 pages) the laudatory terms Malay letters commence with, varying according to the rank of the person addressed. The specimens given here are nearly all in Arabic (continued in III.)

II. (7 pages). Fragments of a Muhammadan law work containing the fines to be paid for wounds inflicted. The *امشال* is here explained by *فوتہ نگری قدہ یانت* . *تیڈ سوک ریل* . Each of the Arabic law terms is explained by a Malay phrase written under it, and containing the amount of the fine ; an example will suffice :

*سماق* (wound touching the pericranium) is explained by :

*بوک فوتس داگخ لال سمفی فد سلاف تونغ امفت مشال هرگان*  
*امفت ایکرانت*

III. (49 pages) continuation of I. It closes with the model of a letter to the Dutch Governor-General and the Dutch India counsellors (Raden van Indie). I. and III. are consequently fragments from the *kitab tarāsul*, a book in which precepts are laid down how to write letters.

IV. (7 pages) *رسالة سفاء القلوب* (a figurative title, "the physic of hearts"). The author calls himself *Nūru-ddīn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Hasanjī Ibn Muhammad Hamīdī*.<sup>2</sup> This is a treatise about the sense to be attached to the word *شهادة*. He composed it, he says, in order to combat those that entertain wrong opinions about the nature of God.

V. (8 pages). A tract, the title of which I could not ascertain without reading it through. It begins with stating the best time for building a house, and contracting a marriage, and closes with a recommendation of forbearance towards a slave, even when guilty. It is addressed to 'Ali (علي), each article ending with *يا علي*.

VI. (2 pages). Questions and answers about the sense of *سقشی* (testimony), perhaps belonging to IV.

<sup>1</sup> حسنجي .

<sup>2</sup> حميدي (See about this author Note 1, p. 47.)

VII. (9 pages). رسالة فد ميتاكن صفة دو فوله . A tract on the qualities of God.

VIII. (34 pages). 1. محمدة الاعتقاد . This treatise is divided into two introductory chapters (مقدم), four books (باب), and one concluding chapter (خاتم).

The first introductory chapter: فد ميتاكن اعتقاد اكن عالم . دان الله سبحانه و تعالي .

The second introductory chapter: فد ميتاكن اكم .

The first book: فد ميتاكن ايمان دان سكلين ركنن .

The second book: فد ميتاكن اسلام دان سكل ركنن .

The third book: فد ميتاكن توحيد .

The fourth book: فد ميتاكن معرفة .

IX. (15 pages). Arabic fragment from a commentary on the Qur'an, with Malay translation.

No. 80. See under No. 18.

### B.—FARQUHAR COLLECTION.<sup>2</sup>

No. 1 (small 4to. of 51 pages; within, *Cherita Sultan Iskander*). It contains a pretty good copy of the اندغ<sup>2</sup> راج commencing with what is reserved for the sovereign. The seventeenth chapter is about people going to hunt.

No. 2 (small 4to. of 202 pages; imperfect at the end). It contains the حكاية راج انكندر ذو الفرنين . The last pages give the history of the defeat by Alexander of a king who was a worshipper of the sun. A small extract from this tale is to be found in Roorda van Eysinga's Malay Reader at the end of his *Beknopte Maleische Spraakkunst* (Breda, 1839), p. 120-123; and innumerable quotations from it are to be found in Werndly's *Maleische Spraakkunst*, and in Roorda van

<sup>1</sup> It is translated by اوتبن فوهن اعتقاد . A note by a transcriber calls the author شيخ نور الدين (the same as the author of iv. ?).

<sup>2</sup> The manuscripts of this collection were not numbered. I have put numbers on them in accordance with the list Dulaurier gave of them, with the exception of two volumes he did not examine.

Eysinga's Mal. Nederduitsch Woordenboek ; some also in van Hoëvell's aant. op de Sair Bidasari.

No. 3 (small 4to. of 175 pages) شعر کمفني ولند بفرغ دشن جين, relating the war of the Dutch Company with the Chinese, and the well-known murder of the Chinamen of Batavia under Valkenier. It is translated from the Javanese.

No. 4 (small 4to. of 80 pages) عاده سگل راج ۲ ملايو . This interesting work was composed at the request of the Señor Gornador دبرين at Malaka in the Muhammadan year 1193. It is an account of Malay observances during the pregnancy of the wives of chiefs, the birth of their children, etc. After the introduction it continues thus : القصه فري ميٽاڪن عاده سگل راج ۲ ملايو يڃ فرب كال راج يڃ بسرا تنڪال استري بگند ايت حامل سمني توجه بولن لمان مڪ دفعگل بيدن اوله بگند . On p. 71 there is an elaborate description of the bier of a king.

No. 5. See No. 18 of the Raffles Collection.

No. 6 (small 8vo.) contains :

I. (17 pages). An erotic poem, the title of which I could not ascertain. The first verses are :

دشركن تون سوات رنچان      فقير مغارغ سوات بين  
اوصل يڃ مانس مود ترون      لاش جوھري بجقساں

And the last :

دغ ساجي دودق مپوج      منڪت اون تيگ لافس  
افاته داي دشن بود      قلمن فاته قرطاسن هابس

II. (14 pages). A love-letter in verses. The last verses are literally the same as those on the two last pages of II. of No. 9, commencing with

تون سولت سيا لراش      سام له سام ممبله دير  
فاته فارغ لوت تمؤ دان      اورغ مموكت بتورس باتغ  
سمني سكارغ دراستق دندم      كاسه ترايكت بنچان داتغ  
تتف بوله فاگرڪن دلیم      دغ جوده ددالم فون  
متهار توجه بولن ليم      باروله سده دشن مو تون

The last verses are

اگرس لوت ملاک      کناله ريبت دتاجخ تون  
تاجمله کرس هلت سنجات هندق مريت پاو تون

III. (11 pages). The same as I. of No. 9.

IV. (27 pages). According to the end the title is شعر فنتن.

The beginning verses are literally the same as those of II. of No. 9.

V. (23 pages). A poem without title, commencing :

کود د اون بردنديغن      باگي کن فوتس راس تلين  
مود بفساون برتنتاغن      باگيکن فوتس راس هتتين

The last words are :

انچي علي فرگي کبشک      سارت برموت لاد سبيج  
هارة سكال تيدق کسشک      گاجه دتلن سئولر ليد

No. 6\* (small 4to.) contains :

I. (14 pages). The same as I. of No. 6.

II. (19 pages). A love-letter in verses. The last verses are :

مرفات برتلر ليم      برتکر دياتس تاجخ بالي  
منجاد بسي افاله کيت      هندق د تمف توکخ يخ فندي  
توکخ برنام نخود براهيم      فافن فنتولب برگنتخ  
چيت تيدق فد يخ لاین      کفد تون تمفت برگنتخ  
بهأبت کتاشن در فساشن      لنتشکن باتخ تيشد دفا  
فسن فتري در کياشن      اين سکارغ هندق برجمفا

No. 7 (small 8vo. of 55 pages). According to the end the title should be شعر جوهن اتق راج فيرق . It is a tragic love-story, as the hero dies.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On page 45 we find :

ملک الموت داتخ در حضرة      منجانجشکن فرمان ترلال برت  
جوهن سگرا لال له معرفت      کمبال فولخ کنگري اخره  
معراج (frequent spelling of the Ar. *merat*, is in poetry used for *to die*.) معرفت

No. 7\* (small 8vo. of 55 pages). Another copy of No. 7.

No. 8 (small 4to. of 175 pages, imperfect at the end ; within: Presented by Colonel W. M. G. Colebrooke, 6th July, 1832), contains the *بداية الهداية*.<sup>1</sup> The Malay author calls himself *Muhammad sayn*,<sup>2</sup> son of *Jalálu-ddin*, an Achinese of the Shafî-î sect. A quotation from this composition is to be found in van Hoëvell's annotations on the *Sair Bidasari*, p. 378, where he cites p. 983 of the manuscript. The author of this work says, that he took the subject from the *أم البراهين* of *Abu 'Abdillah Muhammad ben Yusuf Assanûsi Alhasanî*.

No. 9 (small 4to.) contains :

I. (17 pages) *شعر بوغ*. A poem where flowers are introduced singing *pantuns*, in this way :

مول برمدج كنتم دلیم	وجهن سفرت بولن فرنام
لقسان ديوي نیلا اوتام <sup>3</sup>	سكلین عالم تیاد اكن سام
دلیم د سوربای	بغان جاته كدالم كولم
تیاد كسیهن ممندغ سهیا	دودق برچنت سیخ دان مالم
مهوتی مدح بوغ فندن	مننتغ درجا ترلال حیران

II. (7 pages). A collection of *pantuns*, commencing with :

نخود راگم رقنا سولي	بوغ تنجغ دياتس كوت
راج مانكم انتن بدوري	د جنجغ بانك جاد ماكت

(See No. 6, II.)

No. 10 (small 4to. of 53 pages). اندغ<sup>2</sup> راج ملاك وقتو اي . كرجان ددالم نگرې ملاك هغك سمفي كنگرې جوهر . This work deserves being published ; its language is pure, and the text, as far as I have examined it, not mutilated.

<sup>1</sup> Also mentioned in Bahru-ddin's list.

<sup>2</sup> He is the author also of a Malay work called *كشف الكرام في بيان النية* (a copy of which I saw at Batavia, small 4to. of about 30 pages).

<sup>3</sup> *Nila-utdama*, name of a celestial nymph (*Tobasche Spraakkunst*, § 30, VII. 8).



NOTE 1.

*About the Author of IV. of No. 79 (Raffles Collection).*

The author, who calls himself also الرانيري, from *Banir* the place where he lived (مسكنا), composed, besides the بستان السلاطين (No. 17), also the following works :

I. (No. 39, large 4to. India Office at Batavia) درة الفرائد بشرح العقائد يائت متيار يخ تركارغ فد ميتاكن سكل اعتقاد.

II. (No. 3, small 4to. India Office at Batavia) هدية الحميب في ترغيب والترهيب ياءيت هلون اكن نبي محمد صلي الله عليه وسلم فد ميتاكن سكل عمل كبجيكن دان منجاوهي درند سكل عمل كجهاتن.

III. (No. 24, Library of the India Office at Batavia) اسرار الانسان في معرفة الروح والرحمن II. 'Alā uddīn, and finished under the queen *Tāju-l'alam Tsafiyatu-ddīn*.

IV. (No. 14, Library of the India Office at Batavia) جواهر العلوم في كشف المعلوم.

V. فتح المبين علي الملحدین ارتين كمفاغن يخ امت پات, composed by order of Sultan *Muqul Marāyat Shāh*,<sup>1</sup> against the tenets of the Pantheistical sect, the followers of which were put to death by the said king of Achih, their books being burnt before the mosque *Beyturrahman*. I saw a copy of this work at Barus (small 4to. of 40 pages), from which I took this notice.

VI. نبذة في دعوي الظل مع صاحبه ارتين رساله فد ميتاكن دي, دعوي بايخ<sup>2</sup> دغن يخ امفون دي, a refutation of *Shamsu-ddīn's* heretical tenets. (cf. VII.)

VII. تبيان في معرفة الاديان فكانه ماء الزلال علي قلب الضمان الي.

<sup>1</sup> مقل مغاية شاه

الطريق الرحمن ارتين مپتاكڤ سڤل اڤم مك ادله سؤله ۲ ايريج امت  
 سجت مومسكن هات يڤ دهائڤ كفد جالڤ توهڤ يڤ برنام رحمن  
 composed under queen *Tāju-l-'ālam Tsafiyatu-ddīn Shāh*,<sup>1</sup>  
 daughter of Sultan *Iskandar Muda Johan bārdowlat*, son of  
 Sultan *'Alā u-ddīn 'Alī Ri-'āyat Shāh*, son of Sultan *Farmān*  
*Shāh*, son of Sultan *Mutlafar*<sup>2</sup> *Shāh*, son of Sultan *'Ināyat*  
*Shāh*. It is divided into two books, the first giving an account  
 of the religions from Adam till Muhammad, and the second  
 summing up the heterodox tenets of several Muhammadan  
 sects. The purpose of the author was to combat the opinions  
 of *Shamsuddīn of Pasey*<sup>3</sup> and his followers. A copy in small  
 4to. (of 72 pages) is in my possession.

VIII. ما الحياة لاهل الممات. A fragment of this work  
 is found in a manuscript belonging to the Batavian Society  
 (No. 55 ?).

IX. حجة الصديق لدفع الزنديق. A copy of this work exists  
 in the Library of the Batavian Society (No. ?).

Most of these works are directed against the popular writings  
 of *Hamzah of Barus*,<sup>4</sup> and the above-named *Shamsu-ddīn of*  
*Pasey*. The works of *Hamzah* are, as far as I know :

I. اسرار العارفين. I saw a copy of this at Barus (small  
 8vo. of 24 pages). I read only the preface, which says, that  
 it is an abridgement of a greater work of the same name and  
 by the same author; and that there are three works of this  
 name, the two already mentioned, the large and the abridged  
 one, and one treating on عشق وعاشق ومعشوق. This is  
 all I could read, as the owner would not lend it me even for  
 a day.

مظفر.<sup>2</sup> تاج العالم صفية الدين شاه.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>3</sup> الشمطرائي as the Arabic introduction has. *Shamatarū* is an Arabic cor-  
 ruption of *Samudāra*, the ancient name of *Pasey*, which occasioned the whole  
 island to be called by the Portuguese, who sailed with Arabic pilots, *Sumatra*, a  
 name with which natives, not used to mix with Europeans, are not acquainted.

<sup>4</sup> الفنتوري *Fantsour* being the ancient name of Barus; hence the Barus  
 camphor (كافور بارس) is called in Arabic كافور الفنتوري.

II. شعر سبورغ فيغي, an allegorical poem,<sup>1</sup> wherein the soul of man is spoken of as that of a bird (*kalow tãrbang si-burung pingey*, 'alamat badan di makan ulat, if the pingey flies away, it is a sign that the body will be eaten by the worms).

III. شعر فراه. An allegorical poem, wherein mankind is spoken of as a vessel tossing about on the waves. A small fragment is in my possession.

IV. شعر سيدغ فقير. A copy is in my possession (small 4to. of 14 pages). It is also an allegorical poem, speaking of mankind as forlorn and indigent.

V. كشف السراجلي السبحانى, a short exposition of God's nature, qualities, and works. Werndly knew it (see his Boekzaal, p. 354). It is quoted in the second book of the *Tabyân* (see above, p. 47, VII.) as a book deserving to be burnt.<sup>2</sup>

VI. كتاب منتهي فد مراجناكن سبد نبي. It is mentioned in the *Tabyân*, and seems to be an exposition of the sayings of the prophet.

VII. شعر ذاكغ. A fragment is in my possession. It has the same tendency as No. III.

The works of *Shamsu-ddin*<sup>3</sup> of *Pasey* are:

I. مرآة المحققين كتاب فري نسبة ارتين بئس مخلوق دشن حق تعالي. It is cited in the second book of the *Tabyân*. A badly mutilated copy is in the Leyden University Library (No. 1332). The Sultan in whose reign it was composed is there only called مرحوم ماكت.

<sup>1</sup> The poems of Hamzah were yet much read in Valentyn's time, but that he was a native of Barus that author did not know (see Beschrijving van Sumatra, p. 21).

<sup>2</sup> The other books, the author of the *Tabyân* speaks of in this way are the مرآة الحقيق, حرقه, حق اليقين, دثيرة الوجود, سر ربوبيه and سر الانوار.

<sup>3</sup> He calls himself sometimes ابن عبدالله. He seems to have lived at *Achik* (Ar. اشية). A namesake of his is شمس الدين الحانق محمد ابن and is cited as the author of تحفة المرسله and is cited as فضل الله.

II. شرح رباي حمزة الفصوري. I saw at Padang a copy (8vo. of 16 pages), but the owner would not part with it. It is a commentary on the anything but transparent poems of *Hamzah of Barus*.

III. مرآة المؤمن. Werndly (Maleische Boekzaal) knew it, and says of it, that it is divided into 211 questions and answers, explaining the principal religious terms. In the preface to his Grammar a small quotation from this work is given.

#### NOTE 2.

*The Manuscripts of the India Office Not Mentioned in my  
"Kort Verlag der Maleische Handschriften van het  
E. I. House te Londen."*

1. حكاية مهاراج يوم. (See No. 15 of the Raffles Collection.)

2. حكاية فرغ فنداو جاي. (See No. 2 of the Raffles Collection.)

3. سمرقندي (17 pages in No. 2906,<sup>1</sup> 4to.). Arabic with an interlinear Malay translation. It contains the first precepts of the Islām in questions and answers. The commencement is: "If people enquire of you: what is the *imdn*? the answer is: I believe in God, etc." The author is ابو الليث محمد ابن ابي نصر ابن ابراهيم (السمرقندي), surnamed of *Samarqand*. This little book goes universally by the name of *Samarqandī*. Copies with an interlinear Javanese translation<sup>2</sup> are numerous in the west of Java. A commentary on it (شرح علي السمرقندي) is in the Library of the Batavian Society (No. 29); it has an interlinear Javanese translation. Two

<sup>1</sup> The other 51 pages of this volume contain, 1. the several positions of the body when praying; 2. the application of the five letters of الحمد to the five obligatory prayers; 3. the formulas of prayers for the dead; and 4. on marriage (حكم نكاح).

<sup>2</sup> A copy is in the Library of the Batavian Society (No. 26).

copies in Sundanese are in my possession, one of which is in the Arabic character.

4. (No. 2672, folio) contains :

I. (133 pages). Another copy of the شعر جاران تماس. It is of the same version as the other manuscript (No. 2610).

II. (127 pages). Another copy of the حكاية بودق مسكين (or حكاية فارغ فونج so called after a miraculous chopping-knife, the hero was possessed of). It seems to belong to the same recension as No. 2877.<sup>1</sup>

AMSTERDAM, November 25, 1865.

<sup>1</sup> There may be other Malay manuscripts in the Library of the India Office which I have overlooked, the Persian, Arabic, and Malay manuscripts being mingled together. I am in hopes the deficiencies in this notice may be filled up by other scholars, who will also call attention to the many valuable Malay manuscripts in the Libraries of London. A new Malay Chrestomathy is urgently needed at the present time, as those published by Marsden, Meursinge, and de Hollander, are anything but trustworthy, each of the texts they contain having been taken from a single manuscript only. It is only by a careful comparison of many that a text can be furnished which may be depended upon by persons desirous of obtaining an adequate idea of the grammatical structure of the Malay language, and reluctant to trust the assertions of those who pretend that Malay is devoid of grammar.

ART. V.—*Brief Prefatory Remarks to the Translation of the Amitâbha Sûtra from Chinese.* By the Rev. S. BEAL, Chaplain R. N.

[Read 6th February, 1865.]

The following translation of the Amitâbha Sûtra is made from the Chinese edition of that work, prepared by Kumârajîva, and bound up in a volume known as the "Daily Prayers of the Buddhist Priests belonging to the Contemplative School" (Shan-mun).

No doubt the Chinese version is much abbreviated. We are told that Kumârajîva omitted repetitions and superfluities in making his translations. We have reason to be thankful that he did so.

The Amitâbha Sûtra contains a description of the Western Heavens, the Sukhavatî, or Happy Land, to which so many millions of Buddhists look as their reward in another life. It is a question of some importance at what time this belief in a Western Paradise incorporated itself with Buddhism.

In fixing the period we may be certain that it was before the date of Kumârajîva, *i.e.* 400 A.D.; and if it be correct that the Chinese translation of the "Wou-liang-sheu-king," *i.e.* the Sûtra of Amitâbha, under the name of the "Eternal," dates from the Han dynasty (Edkins), we may go back to the first century A.D. as the latest admissible date for the origin of this belief.

Wassiljew hazards the remark that the idea of a Western Paradise was borrowed from foreigners, with whom the Buddhists of Southern India were brought into contact (Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus*, § 121). We know that merchants from Alexandria frequented the Western shores of the peninsula at an early date. There was a Christian mission established in the same direction as early as the days of Pantænus (Fabricius, *Lux Evang.*, c. 36, p. 637; Hough's

Christianity in India, I. 51). We know also that two of the principal writers in the developed schools of Buddhism, viz., Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva, were born and lived in South India (Wassiljew, § 212). Taking the date of Āryadeva to be about 100 A.D., for he was the fourth patriarch after Aśvaghosha, who was contemporary with Kanishka, we may again regard this as an approximate date for the origin of the belief in a Western Paradise, and of the writings bearing on that belief. The connection of this worship with South India is still further illustrated by the reverence paid to Avalokiteśvara, the reputed son of Amitābha, in that quarter. Hiouen Tshang relates that "in the country of the Mo-lo-ye (Malayas), in South-western India, there is a celebrated peak called Potalaka, on which Kwan-tseu-tsai, i.e. Avalokiteśvara, frequently locates himself in coming and going, and appears under various shapes to pilgrims visiting the neighbourhood" (Julien). Now this peak Potalaka may be either the celebrated Pedura-talla-galla, one of the highest mountain crags in Ceylon, and belonging to the Malaya-giri of Burnouf, or the Maleæ Montes of Pliny and Ptolemy; or it may be one of the eminences of the southern ghāts of Malabar. In either case it is certain that with this mountain is connected the extensive worship paid to Avalokiteśvara; and he again is spoken of as the Bodhisattva, or active power of Amitābha, whose worship may therefore be presumed to have arisen in the same locality, i.e. South India. Avalokiteśvara, being spoken of as the son of Amitābha, seems to confirm the idea of the presence of a foreign, and perhaps a Christian, element in this singular cultus. Whether the term "Western Paradise," and its description found in the Sūtra which follows, bears out this idea we leave others to judge.

In popular Buddhist language, Amitābha is spoken of as the fourth Dhyāni Buddha, corresponding to Śākya Muni amongst the Mānushi Buddhas. Respecting the land over which he rules, we find the following description in a popular work on the subject:—"Amitābha reigns over the land Sukhavatī, which, compared with our world, bears due west exactly 100,000 billions of Sakwalas. In respect to the tiers

of Sakwalas, which rise one above the other, springing from the mystic Lotus, this land Sukhavatī belongs to the thirteenth tier. In about the middle of this tier is our own world, and at the extreme western border of it the land of Amitābha" (Fah-kai-lih-to).

The hold which the worship of Amitābha has taken upon the popular mind, in China and Japan, can hardly be exaggerated—in every direction his name is engraved or inscribed, to call the attention of the passer-by to the efficacy of repeating it, and the great majority of popular Buddhist writings have relation to the same subject. Amongst many thousand tracts, which came under my own notice, in the Temples of Canton, after its capture in 1857, the larger number related either to Kwan-yin (Avalokiteṣvara) or to the Western Paradise of Amitābha. One particularly attracted my attention,—this was a sheet representing a boat, full of people, passing over the sea to the opposite shore, guided by Amitābha himself, and steered by Kwan-yin; upon this sheet there was an exhortation within, in which the power of Amitābha is set forth, by way of comparison with other modes of salvation, much to the advantage of the former—for it asserts "other methods of deliverance are like the progress of an insect up a high mountain, but this method (*i.e.* of Amitābha) is like the advance of a boat sailing with a fair wind and propitious tide; on once entering the Western Paradise (continues the exhortation) there is no return—the highest rank there, is that of Buddha, the lowest, that of the most exalted Deva. Again, whilst the happiness of this condition is so great, the mode of attaining it is equally simple. In this mode of salvation, there are no distinctions of rich and poor, of male and female, of people and priests: all are equally able to arrive at this condition. Let every virtuous person therefore nourish in himself a principle of faith—let him with constant and undivided attention, invoke the name of Amitābha Buddha, and thus he shall eventually be saved in the Paradise of the Western Heavens."

On the sail of the boat (which bears a flag, inscribed with the word Sukhavatī, and which is represented as being full



of happy disciples, male and female,) is written this scroll. "The one name of O-mi-to (Amitābha) is a precious sword for destroying the whole concourse of evils. This one name, O-mi-to, is the brave champion that defies the power of hell—this one name, O-mi-to, is the bright lamp that dissipates darkness—this one name, O-mi-to, is the boat of mercy, on which we may cross the sea of trouble—this one name, O-mi-to, is the direct path for escaping the entanglement of frequent transmigration—this one name, O-mi-to, is the perfect mode by which to avoid life and death—this one name, O-mi-to, is the mysterious power which endows us with superhuman faculties—this one name, O-mi-to, is the best mode for divining secrets. These six letters, *i.e.* Na-mo, O-mi-to, Fuh, include all the 84,000 methods of salvation; they are able, with one stroke, as it were, to divide the bonds that hold us captive; there is no such invocation as that of O-mi-to, which, in the twinkling of an eye, is able to transport us to the Western Heavens."

This is a fair sample of the popular mode of Buddhist teaching among the lower orders in China, and as a natural result, the highest aim of the convert to this doctrine is to repeat, with little intermission, the name of O-mi-to, Fuh, O-mi-to, Fuh, till the desired result be attained—*i.e.*, emancipation from all earthly troubles, and a certain admission after death to Paradise.

The southern schools of Buddhism, *viz.*, in Ceylon, Siam, and Annam, know nothing of Amitābha or his Western Paradise. This fact seems to point to the late development of the doctrine in India. Probably, however, intercourse between the island and the mainland was prevented at an early date by the warlike character of the Malabar population. Fah Hian, we know, arrived at the island by sea, and Hiouen Tshang, for some reason or other, avoided all the southern portion of the peninsula, and did not visit Ceylon. In fact, there appears to be an early break between the Buddhist current of teaching followed by the Indian teachers and those in Ceylon, the result of which is the vastly different aspect under which that religion presents itself in

those countries. It was, however, from Southern India that the great teacher of the doctrine of a Western Paradise arrived in China. Bodhidharma, the twenty-eighth patriarch, and the founder of the contemplative school, reached that country by sea A.D. 526. He seems to have brought with him the very name which is now used in China to denote the school of which he was the first patriarch. The word "Shan," according to Edkins, was formerly written "jan," and this contracted from jan-na, pointing evidently to the Indian word Jaina. This confirms the opinion that the Jaina religion is but an off-shoot of later Buddhism. With respect to Bodhidharma, there is a legend still existing in China which exemplifies his belief in the doctrine of a Western Heaven, "for as he lay in his coffin (we are told) he held one shoe in his hand. Whilst thus situated, his remains were visited by a celebrated priest called Sung-yun, who asked him where he was going; to which he replied, 'To the Western Heavens.' Sung-yun then returned home; but afterwards the coffin of Bodhidharma was opened and found empty, except one of his shoes, which still remained. By imperial command this shoe was preserved as a sacred relic. Afterwards, in the Tang dynasty, it was stolen, and no one now knows where it is" (Edkins).

I now pass at once to the translation.

#### THE AMITĀBHA SŪTRA.

*Extracted from the work called "Shan Mun Yih Tung," or Daily Prayers of the Contemplative School of Priests.*

Thus have I heard. On a certain occasion Buddha was residing at Śrāvastī, in the garden of Kita, with the great Bhikshus, 1,250 in all, being great Rahats, possessed of perfect knowledge, to wit, the venerable Śāriputra, the great Maudgalyāyana, the great Kāśyapa, the great Kātyāyana, the great Gochira, Revata, Śrutaviṃśatikoti, Nānda, Ānanda, Rahula, Gavāmpati, Piṇḍola, Bharadvāja, Kālāditya, the great Kapphiṇa, Vakula, Aniruddha, and so forth, all great disciples. And in addition to these were all the great Bodhisattvas; to wit, Manjuśrī, king of the law, Ajita, Maitreya,

and so forth, all great Bodhisattvas; and, moreover, there were present Śakra rājā and others, with innumerable Devas. At this time Buddha addressed the venerable Śāriputra as follows:—"In the western regions more than one hundred thousand myriads of systems of worlds beyond this, there is a Sakwala named Sukhavatī. Why is this region so named? Because all those born in it have no griefs or sorrows: they experience only unmixed joys; therefore it is named the infinitely happy land. Again, Śāriputra, this happy region is surrounded by seven rows of ornamental railings, seven rows of exquisite curtains, seven rows of waving trees—hence, again, it is called the infinitely happy region. Again, Śāriputra, this happy land possesses seven gemmous lakes, in the midst of which flow waters possessed of the eight distinctive qualities (viz., limpidity and purity, refreshing coolness, sweetness, softness, fertilizing qualities, calmness, power of preventing famine, productiveness of abundance). Spreading over the bottom of these lakes are golden sands, whilst the four sides have pleasant walks enriched with gold, silver, crystal, lapis lazuli, beryl, ruby, and cornelian. In the middle of the lakes are lotus flowers, large as a chariot wheel, blue, yellow, red, and white, each reflecting brilliant hues of its own colour, and possessed of the most perfect and delightful fragrance. Thus, O Śāriputra, this blessed region is perfected and thoroughly adorned.

"Again, Śāriputra, the land of that Buddha ever shares in heavenly delights (or, music), the ground is resplendent gold, at morning and evening showers of the Divine Udumbara flower descend upon all those born there, at early dawn the most exquisite blossoms burst out at their side: thousand myriads of Buddhas instantly resort here for refreshment, and then return to their own regions, and for this reason, Śāriputra, that land is called most happy. Again, Śāriputra, that region is possessed of every species of pleasure delightful to the senses, birds of every hue, the white stork, the peacock, the macaw, garudas, birds of every kind, all these, at morning and evening, unite to sing the praises of the Law, so that all born in that land, hearing these notes, are led to invoke

Buddha, the Law and the Assembly. But, Śāriputra, you must not suppose that these birds are born in this state in the way of retribution for sins in a superior condition, and why not? Because, in that region there exists not either of the three evil ways of birth (*i.e.*, as a beast, demon, or asura). Śāriputra! that land being emphatically free from these evil ways of birth, is thereby more fully possessed of the superior ways of birth, and these different kinds of birds are all of them the different apparitional forms of superior beings, whom Amitābha Buddha causes thus to chaunt the various sounds of the land. Śāriputra! in that land of Buddha, whenever a gentle breeze moves softly, then the various precious waving trees, and the gemmous curtain that surrounds the land, emit a gentle and mysterious sound, like a thousand different kinds of music, all at the same time; on hearing which, the dwellers in that land conceive, spontaneously, a heart full of adoration for Buddha, the Law, and the Assembly.

“Śāriputra, this land is thus perfectly adorned, and complete in pleasure.

“But now, Śāriputra, you would perhaps enquire, why the Buddha of that region is called Amitābha. Śāriputra! it is because he is unmeasurably bright and glorious, so that his splendour fills the lands of the ten regions, and no obstacle can oppose the diffusion of the rays of his glory,<sup>1</sup> for this reason, he is called Amitābha. Again, Śāriputra, the years of the life of that Buddha, as men compute them, are endless, and without bound, in asankhyas of years—for this reason, also, he is called Amitābha. For ten kalpas of years, that Buddha has enjoyed his present condition, and has for his disciples an endless and incalculable number of Śrāvakas, all of them Rahats, innumerable, and not to be expressed for multitude, and Bodhisattvas equally vast in number. So it is, Śāriputra, that land of Buddha is perfected. Again, Śāriputra, in that land of perfect joy all who are born, are born as Avaivartyas (never to return),<sup>2</sup> whilst among these there are numbers who make *this* their resting place, before

<sup>1</sup> Burn. Introd., p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Lalita Vistara, 267.

that one birth more (which shall end in their arriving at Buddhahship); infinite are these in number, not to be expressed for multitude, simply innumerable.

“Śāriputra! all mortals who hear this account, ought to offer up this one vow—that they may be born in that country—and why? because, if once born there, they obtain the felicity of only one more appearance as superior sages (and then obtain the condition of Buddha.) Śāriputra, it is not possible to be born in that country possessing an inferior Karma; Śāriputra! if there be a virtuous man or woman, who hears this account of Amitābha Buddha, and who assiduously invokes his name for one day or two, up to seven, and during this time maintains a heart unaffected by worldly thoughts, or confused ideas—that man or woman, when about to die, shall be blessed with a clear vision of Amitābha and all his saints, and at the last moment, if his heart be not turned back, he shall depart, and forthwith be born in that most blessed land of Amitābha Buddha. Śāriputra! I perceive that such will be the happy consequence (of so doing) and therefore I repeat these words; whatever men they be who hear them, they ought at once to utter this vow, that they may be born in that land.

“Śāriputra! thus it is I would recite in stanzas of commendation, the excellences of that infinitely glorious land of Amitābha Buddha.

[The Sūtra then proceeds to speak of the various Buddhas towards each of the four points, and also in the zenith and nadir. This being a mere recital of names, is omitted here.]

“Śāriputra! what say you as to the meaning of this expression, the saving power which resides in the repetition of the names of all the Buddhas? Śāriputra! if there be a virtuous man or woman who hears and receives this Sūtra, and who hears the names of all the Buddhas, these virtuous men or women, in consequence of the saving power which resides in the repetition of these names, shall all obtain the privilege of not passing through and revolving in the condition of Anuttara Samyak Sambodhi, *i.e.* the unsurpassably just and enlightened heart. (This is the condition usually

assigned to the Bodhisattva, before arriving at the state of Buddha). Wherefore, Śāriputra, ye all ought to receive and believe these my words, and the words of all the Buddhas.

“Śāriputra ! if there be a man who has vowed, or now vows, or shall vow and desire, to be born in that region, all these men shall be privileged not to remain or revolve in the condition of Anuttara Samyak Sambodhi, but to be born at once in their various conditions in the land of that Buddha, whether in time past, now, or henceforth. Wherefore, Śāriputra, whatever faithful man or woman there be, they ought all to put up this prayer, that they may be born in that land. Śāriputra, as I have now thus recounted the praises of all these Buddhas, their indescribable excellences, so those Buddhas likewise recount my praises and infinite excellences, and speak thus :—‘Śākya Muni Buddha is he that is able (सक्त्वा) to accomplish most difficult results (prompted by) his exceeding love—he it is who is “able” in the So-ho world (Sahālokadhātu), the evil world of five impurities (viz., violence, perception, calamities, birth, death) ; he it is who is “able,” in the midst of these, to arrive at the condition Anuttara Samyak Sambodhi, and on account of all sentient creatures to repeat his Law, difficult to be embraced by those for whom it is said.’

“Śāriputra ! know, then, that I, in the midst of this evil and calamitous world, preaching these difficult doctrines, have arrived at the condition of Anuttara Samyak Sambodhi, and now, on account of all creatures, have declared this Law difficult to be believed, and this is that which is most difficult.”

Buddha having repeated this Sūtra, Śāriputra and all the Bhikshus, and all the assembly, the Devas, Asuras, and so on, having heard what Buddha said, joyfully received and believed it, and having prostrated themselves in adoration, departed.

ART. VI.—*The Initial Coinage of Bengal.* By EDWARD THOMAS, Esq.

TOWARDS the end of August, 1863, an unusually large hoard of coins, numbering in all no less than 13,500 pieces of silver, was found in the Protected State of Kooch Bahár, in Northern Bengal, the contents of which were consigned, in the ordinary payment of revenue, to the Imperial Treasury in Calcutta. Advantage was wisely sought to be taken of the possible archæological interest of such a discovery, in selections directed to be made from the general bulk to enrich the medal cabinets of the local Mint and the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The task of selection, and with it of inevitably final rejection, was entrusted to Bábu Rajendra-lál-Mitra,—an experienced scholar in many branches of Sanskrit literature, and who, in the absence of more practised Numismatists, courageously encountered the novel study and impromptu exposition of Semitic Palæography as practically developed in his own native land six centuries ago. The Bábu, after having assiduously completed his selections for the Government,<sup>1</sup> was considerate enough to devote himself to renewed and more critical examinations of this mass of coined metal, with a view to secure for Colonel C. S. Guthrie (late of the Bengal Engineers), any examples of importance that might have escaped his earlier investigations. The result has been that more than a thousand additional specimens have been rescued from the Presidency Mint crucibles, and now contribute the leading materials for the subjoined monograph.

An autumnal fall of a river bank, not far removed from the traditional capital of *Kunteswar Rájá*, a king of mark in provincial annals,<sup>2</sup> disclosed to modern eyes the hidden trea-

<sup>1</sup> J. A. S. Bengal, 1864, p. 480.

<sup>2</sup> Col. J. C. Haughton, to whom we are mainly indebted for the knowledge of this *trouvailla*, has been so obliging as to furnish me with some interesting

sure of some credulous mortal who, in olden time, entrusted his wealth to the keeping of an alluvial soil, carefully stored and secured in brass vessels specially constructed for the purpose, but destined to contribute undesignedly to an alien inheritance, and a disentanglement at a period much posterior to that contemplated by its depositor. This accumulation, so singular in its numerical amount, is not the less remarkable in the details of its component elements—whether as regards the, so to say, newness and sharpness of outline of the majority of the pieces themselves, the peculiarly local character of the whole collection, or its extremely limited range in point of time. It may be said to embrace compactly the records of ten kings, ten mint cities, and to represent 107 years of the annals of the country. The date of its inhumation may be fixed, almost with precision, towards the end of the eighth century A.H., or the fourteenth century A.D. A very limited proportion of the entire aggregation was contributed by external currencies, and the imperial metropolis of Dehli alone intervenes to disturb the purely indigenous issues, and that merely to the extent of *less* than 150 out of the 13,500 otherwise unmixed produce of Bengal Mints.<sup>1</sup>

details of the site of discovery and illustrations of the neighbouring localities. Col. Haughton writes:—"The place where the coin was found is about three miles S.W. of Deenhatta, not far from the Temple of Kuteswaree (or Komit-Ewaree) on the banks of the river Dhurla. Near to this temple is a place called Gosain Morae, a short distance from which are the ruins of Kutesaur Raja's capital called Kuteswaree-Pat, consisting of a mound of considerable extent, which has been surrounded with several ditches and walls, which are again protected at the distance of a mile or two by enormous mounds of nearly 100 feet high. The brass vessels, in which the treasure was deposited, were ordinary brass *lotahs*, to which the top or lip had not been fixed, but in lieu thereof the vessels were covered by canister tops, secured by an iron spike passing from side to side."

<sup>1</sup> I wish to explain the reservations I make in thus stating this total below that given in Rajendra lál's list of 150 coins of seven Dehli kings (J.A.S.B., September, 1864, p. 481). In the first place, I greatly mistrust the reading of the sixth king's title. Muhammad bin Tughlak was called *Fakhr-ud-din Júnah* in his youth only; on his first mission to the Dakhin in 721 A.H. the higher title of *Ulugh Khán* was conferred upon him by his father, but from the date of his accession to the throne of Hindustan, he contented himself with the use of his simple name and patronymic; no longer the "glory of the faith," he was the far more humble *الوثنى بتائيد الرحمن*, or the conventional *المجاهد في سبيل الله* (Ziá-i-Barni, Calcutta edit., p. 196), both of which were so persistently copied by the independent Bengal Sultan. Certainly no such title as *فخرالدين* occurs on *any* of the specimens of the *Kocob*



The exclusively home characteristics of the great majority of the collection are enlivened by the occasional intrusion of mementos of imperial re-assertions, and numismatic contributions from other independent sources aid in the casual illustration of the varying political conditions of the province, and of the relations maintained from time to time between the too-independent governors of a distant principality and their liege suzerains at Delhi.

Muhammadan writers have incidentally preserved a record of the fact, that on the first entry of their armies into Bengal, they found an exclusive *cowrie* or shell currency, assisted possibly by bullion in the larger payments, but associated with no coined money of any description;<sup>1</sup> a heritage of primitive

*Bahdr* collection, that the Bábu has selected for Col. Guthrie, with the exception of those bearing the names of Fakhr-ud-din *Mubdrak Sháh*.

The second question, of the altogether improbable intrusion of coins of Muhammad 'Adil Sháh ("new type"), I must meet in a more direct way, by assigning the supposed examples of his money to the potentate from whose mints they really came, that is, *Ikhtidr-ud-din GHÁZÍ SHÁH* (No. vii. infra), giving a difference in the age of the two kings, as far as their epochs affect the probable date of the concealment of this *trouvaille*, of more than two centuries (753 A.R. against 960 A.H.). The Bábu has himself discovered his early error of making Shams-ud-din Firúz, *one of the Delhi Patháns* (as reported in the local newspapers), and transferred him, in the printed proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to an anomalous position at the end of the Bengal Patháns (p. 483), while omitting to deduct him from the total number of "eight Delhi Patháns," which reckoning has been allowed to stand at p. 480. In the matter of date, we are not informed why this king should be assigned to A.D. 1491, instead of to the true 1320 A.D. which history claims for him.

<sup>1</sup> Minháj-ul-Siráj, who was resident in Lakhnauti in A.R. 641, writes

چنان تقریر کردند کہ دران بلاد کودہ بعض جیتل روان است

Tabakát-i-Násiri, p. 149, Calcutta printed edition (1864). Ibn Batutah gives an account of the collection of the cowrie shells in the Maldivé Islands, from whence they were exported to Bengal in exchange for rice; the gradational quantities and values are detailed as follows: سیاد = 100 cowries. فال = 700.

كُتِي = 12000. بُسْتُو = 100,000, four *bustús* were estimated as worth one gold *dinár*; but the rate of exchange varied considerably, so that occasionally a *dinár* would purchase as many as twelve *bustús*, or twelve laks of cowries! (French edit., iv., p. 121. Lee's Translation, p. 178.) Sir Henry Elliot mentions that "in India, in 1740, a rupee exchanged for 2,400 cowries; in 1756, for 2,560 cowries; and (in 1345) as many as 6,500 could be obtained for a rupee."—Glossary of Indian Terms, p. 373. They were estimated in the currency scheme of 1833 at 6,400 per rupee.—Prinsep's U.T., p. 2. Major Rennell, who was in Silhet in 1767-8, speaking of the cowrie money, remarks: "I found no other currency of any kind in the country; and upon an occasion when an increase in the revenue of the province was enforced, several boat loads (not less than 50 tons each) were collected and sent down the Burrampooter to Dacca." As late as 1801 the revenues of the British district of Silhet "were

barter, indeed, which survived undisturbed in many of the outlying districts up to the early part of the present century. The consistent adherence of the people to this simple medium of exchange, goes far to explain an enigma, recently adverted to,<sup>1</sup> as to the general absence of all specimens of money of high antiquity within certain limits northward of the seaboard, and may serve to reconcile the anomaly of conterminous nationalities appearing in such different degrees of advancement when tried by similar isolated tests of local habitudes. For the rest, the arms of Islám clearly brought with them into Bengal what modern civilization deems a fiscal necessity—a scheme of national coinage; and the present enquiry is concerned to determine when and in what form the conquerors applied the theory and practice they themselves had as yet but imperfectly realized.

When Muhammad bin Sâm had so far consolidated his early successes in India into a design of permanent occupancy, leaving a viceroy and generalissimo in Dehli, in the person of Kutb-ud-dín Aibek, while his own court was still held at Ghazní, the scattered subordinate commanders each sought to extend the frontiers of *the* faith beyond the limits already acquired. In pursuance of this accepted mission, Muhammad Bakhtíár Khiljí, *Sipahsálár* in Oude, in A.H. 599, pushed his forces southward, and expelled, with but little effort, the ancient Hindu dynasty of Nuddeah, superseding that city as the capital, and transferring the future metropolis of Bengal to the proximate site of Lakhnautí, where he ruled undisturbed by higher authority till his own career was prematurely cut short in A.H. 602.

Considering the then existing time-honoured system of valuation by shells—which would certainly not invite a hasty issue of coin—and Muhammad Bakhtíár's acknowledged subordination to Kutb-ud-dín, who, so far as can be seen, uttered no money in his own name, it may fairly be inferred that if a single piece was produced, it formed a part only of an occasional, or special,

collected in cowries, which was also the general medium of all pecuniary transactions, and a considerable expense was then incurred by Government in effecting their conversion into bullion."—Hamilton's *Hindustan*, London, 1820., i. p. 195.

<sup>1</sup> J.R.A.S., vol. i., N.S., p. 473-4.

medallic mintage—a numismatic Fatah-námah, or assertion and declaration of conquest and supremacy alone, designedly avoiding any needless interference with the fixed trade by adventitious monetary complications, which so unprogressive a race as the Hindus would naturally be slow to appreciate.

Similar motives may be taken to have prevailed in the north, where the least possible change was made in the established currency of the country, extending, indeed, to a mere substitution of names in the vernacular character on the coin, which was allowed to retain the typical “Bull and Horseman” device of Prithvi Rája and his predecessors. The pieces themselves, designated from their place of mintage *Dehli-wálas*,<sup>1</sup> were composed of a mixture of silver and copper in intentionally graduated proportions, but of the one fixed weight of thirty-two ratis, or the measure of the old *Purána* of silver of Manu’s day. Progressive modifications were effected in the types and legends of these coins, but no systematic reconstruction of the circulating media took place until the reign of Altamah; who, however, left the existing currencies undisturbed, as the basis for the introduction of the larger and more valuable and exclusively silver التفضة popularly known in after times as the *Tankah*,<sup>2</sup> a standard which may also be supposed to have followed traditional weights in the contents assigned to it, as the 96 rati-piece modern ideas would identify with the *Tolah*: or it may possibly have been originated as a new 100 rati coin, a decimal innovation on the primitive

<sup>1</sup> The name is written **دلي ال** in Kutb-ud-dín Aibek’s inscription on the mosque at Dehli. (Prinsep’s *Essays*, i. 327). The *Táj-ul-Maásir* and other native authorities give the word as **دهليوال**. Hasan Nizámi, the author of the former work, mentions that Kubáchah, ruler of Sind, sent his son with an offering of 100 láks of Dehli-wálas to Altamah, and no less than 500 láks of the same description of coin were eventually found in Kubáchah’s treasury, many of which were probably struck in his own mints. (See *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xx., fig. 19; *J.A.S.B.*, iv., pl. 37, figs. 28, 29, 47; and *Prinsep’s Essays*, i., pl. xxvii., figs. 28, 29, 47.)

<sup>2</sup> Erskine derives this name from the Chagatai Túrki word, *tang*, “white.” (*History of India under Báber*. London, 1854, vol. i. p. 546). Vullers gives a

different and clearly preferable derivation in **تنگ** (fort. ex. **تنك** **تنگ**, tenuis, suff. **گ**). Ibn Batutah carefully preserves the orthography as **تنگه**,

s. **टंक** and **टङ्क**.

Hindu reckoning by fours, a point which remains to be determined by the correct ascertainment of the normal weight of the rati, which is still a debated question. My own results, obtained from comparative numismatic data of various ages, point to 1.75 grains,<sup>1</sup> while General

<sup>1</sup> In attempting to ascertain the relation of the weights of ancient and modern days, and to follow the changes that time and local custom may have introduced into the static laws of India, the capital point to be determined is the true weight of the *rati*, as it was understood and accepted when the initiatory metric system was in course of formation. Two different elements have hitherto obstructed any satisfactory settlement of the intrinsic measure of this primary unit—the one, the irregularity of the weight of the *gunja* seeds themselves, which vary with localities and other incidental circumstances of growth; <sup>o</sup> the other, the importance of which has been rather overlooked, that the modifications in the higher standards, introduced from time to time by despotic authority, were never accompanied by any rise or fall in the nominal total of *ratis* which went to form the altered integer. From these and other causes the rate of the *rati* has been variously estimated as † 1.3125 grains, 1.875 grains, 1.953 grains, and even as high as 2.25 grains.

We have Manu's authority for the fact that 32 *ratis* went to the old silver *dharsna* or *purāna*, and we are instructed by his commentator, in a needlessly complicated sum, that the *dharsna* was composed of 80 *ratis* of copper. We have likewise seen that this *dharsna* constituted a commercial static measure, its double character as a coin and as a weight being well calculated to ensure its fixity and uniformity in either capacity within the range of its circulation. I shall be able to show that this exact weight retained so distinct a place in the fiscal history of the metropolis of Hindustān, that in the revision and re-adjustment of the coinage which took place under Muhammad bin Taghlak, in A.D. 1325, this integer was revived in the form of silver coin, and was further retained as a mint standard by his successors, till Shir Shāh re-modelled the currency about the middle of the sixteenth century. In the same way I have already demonstrated elsewhere, ‡ in illustration of an independent question, that a coin retaining with singular fidelity the ponderable ratio of the ancient *purāna*, was concurrent with the restored *dharsna* under Firūz Shāh (A.D. 1351-1388) and other kings. And to complete the intermediate link, I may cite the fact that when the effects of Greek and Scythian interference had passed away, the 32-*rati purāna* re-appeared in the Panjāb and Northern India, as the silver currency of the local dynasty of SYĀLA and SAMANTA DEVA, § and furnished in its style and devices the prototype of the Delhi CHOHĀN series of "Bull and Horseman" coins, the *Dehliwālas*, which were retained, unaltered in weight, by the Muhammadans, in joint circulation with the silver double *Dirhams* of 174 grains of their own system. ¶

Extant specimens of Syāla's coins in the British Museum weigh 54.4 grains and upwards.

If this double series of weights, extending over an interval of time represented by 24 or 25 centuries, and narrowed to an almost identical locality, are found not only to accord with exactitude in themselves, but to approach the only rational solution of the given quantities, the case may be taken as proved.

The ancient *purāna* hall-marked silver pieces range as high as 55 grains; copper coins of *Rāmadata* ¶ are extant of 137.5 grains; and other early coins of

<sup>o</sup> Colebrooke, As. Res. v. 93.

† Sir W. Jones, As. Res., ii. 154, "Rati =  $1 \frac{2}{16}$  of a grain." Prinsep, U. T. (180+96); Jervis, Weights of Koonan, p. 40; Wilson, Glossary, sub voce Rati.

‡ Num. Chron., xv., notes, pp. 138, 153, etc.

§ J. A. S. Bengal, iv. 674; J. R. A. S., ix. 177; Ariana Antiqua, p. 428; Prinsep's Essays, l. 313.

¶ N. C., xv. 136; Prinsep's Essays, U. T., p. 70.

¶ Prinsep's Essays, l. p. 216, pl. xx., figs. 47, 48.

Cunningham adheres to the higher figures of 1.8229 grains.<sup>1</sup>

about 70 grains; while, in parallel exemplification, the latter standard weights, under the Muhammadans at Dehli, are found to be 56 and 140 grains. Hence—

$$140+80 \text{ ratis} = 1.75 \text{ grains}$$

$$56+32 \text{ ,,} = 1.75 \text{ ,,}$$

and this is the weight I propose to assign to the original *rati*; there may be some doubt about the second decimal, as we are not bound to demand an exact sum of *sees* grains, but the 1.7 may be accepted with full confidence, leaving the hundred at discretion, though from preference, as well as for simplicity of conversion of figures, I adhere to the  $1\frac{1}{2}$ . Under this system, then, the definition of each ancient weight by modern grains will stand as follows:—

SILVER.....	{	1 Masha	=	2 Ratis or	3.5 grains.
		1 Dharana or Purana	=	32 ,,	56.0 ,,
		1 Satamana	=	320 ,,	560. ,,
GOLD .....	{	1 Masha	=	5 ,,	8.75 ,,
		1 Suvarna	=	80 ,,	140. ,,
		1 Pala or Nishka	=	320 ,,	560. ,,
COPPER ....	{	1 Dharana	=	3200 ,,	5600. ,,
		1 Karsha	=	80 ,,	140. ,,
Subdivisions of Karsha .....	{	$\frac{1}{2}$	=	40 ,,	70. ,,
		$\frac{1}{4}$	=	20 ,,	35. ,,
		$\frac{1}{8}$	=	10 ,,	17.5 ,,

—*Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. iv., N.S. p. 131, March, 1864.

<sup>1</sup> General Cunningham's deductions are founded on the following estimates:—"I have been collecting materials for the same subject [Indian Weights] for nearly twenty years, and I have made many curious discoveries. I see that Mr. Thomas quotes Sir William Jones as fixing the weight of the *Krishnala*, or *Rati* seed, at  $1\frac{1}{12}$  grain; but I am satisfied that this is a simple misprint of Jones's manuscript for  $1\frac{1}{2}$  or 1.833 grain, which is as nearly as possible the average weight of thousands of seeds which I have tested. The great unit of mediæval and modern times is the *deka* of not less than 145 grains, of which six make the *chha-deka*, or *chhatak*, equal to 870 grains, or nearly two ounces; and 100 make the *sataka*, or *ser*, the derivation being *sat-deka*, or 100 *dekas*. For convenience I have taken, in all my calculations, the *rati* seed at 1.8229 grain. Then 80 *ratis* or 145.832 was the weight of the *tangka* of copper, and also of the golden *suvarna*, which multiplied by six gives 874.99 grains, or exactly two ounces for the *chhatka* or *chhatak*."—J.A.S. Bengal, 1865, page 46.

Mr. N. S. Maskelyne, of the Mineral Department, British Museum, who, some time ago, entered into an elaborate series of comparisons of Oriental weights, with a view to determine the identity of one of our most celebrated Indian diamonds, has been so obliging as to draw up for me the following memorandum, exhibiting the bearing of an entirely independent set of data upon the question under review, the true weight of the Indian *Rati*. The value of this contribution in itself, and the difficulty of doing justice to it in an abstract, must plead my excuse for printing it *in extenso* in this place:—

I shall confine my answer to your question about the *rati* to the estimate of it as derived from the *Mishkal*. The other channel of enquiry, that namely of Hindoo metrology and numismatics, is too complicated, and so far as I have been able to follow it, too unsatisfactory in its results, to justify my urging any arguments derived from it. Indeed, the oscillations in the currencies, and our knowing so few very fine coins of reigns before Shîr Shâh, of critical value, make this branch of the subject almost unapproachable to one who is not an Oriental scholar. I would premise, however, that I do not believe very accurate results are to be obtained solely from the weights of coins, except in the few cases where, as in the coins of Akbar, or of Abd-el-Malek ben Merwân, we have some literary

However, these silver coins of Altamsh—let their primary static ideal have been based upon a duplication of the dirhams

statements about them. Nor can you get any result from weighing carob beans to determine the carat, or abras seeds to determine the *rati*. I weighed, long ago, hundreds of *ratis*, that Dr. Daubeny lent me, with an average of 1.69½ troy grains. Sir William Jones found, I believe, one of 1.318, and Professor Wilson, I think, another value again. They vary according to the soil and climate they are grown in, and the time and atmosphere they have been kept in.

My investigation of the *rati* originated in a desire to determine whether the diamond, now the Queen's, was the same that Baber records as having been given to Humáyún at the taking of Agra, after the battle of Paniput, and which had once belonged to Alá-ed-din (Khilji). I also was led to suppose that the diamond Tavernier saw at the Court of Aurungzebe was the same, and that he had confounded it with one that Meer Jumla gave to Sháh Jehán, and that had been recently found at Golconda. I would here observe that Tavernier's weights can be very little trusted; I can give you my reasons for this assertion, if you wish for them.

Báber, in his memoirs, says the weight of Humáyún's diamond, was about 8 mishkál. In his description of India, he gives the following ratios of the weights in use there:—

8 ratis	=	1 másbah.	
32 „	=	4 „	= 1 tang (tank).
40 „	=	5 „	= 1 mishkál.
96 „	=	12 „	= 1 tola.

Jewels and precious stones being estimated by the tang. Furthermore he states 14 tolas = 1 sir, 40 sírs = 1 man, etc. Thus, then, the 8 mishkál would be 320 ratis.

Tavernier says the diamond he saw weighed 319½ ratis. The Kob-i-Nûr, in 1851 (and, I believe, in Baber's day also), weighed 589.5 grains troy. The theory that it was Alá-ed-din's diamond, would demand—

a mishkál (8)	weight of	73.7	grains.
a tola (3½)	„	176.85	„
a tank (10)	„	58.95	„
a másha (40)	„	14.745	„
a rati (320 of 8 to the másha)	„	1.8425	„
— (240 of 6 „)	„	2.533	„

Now, as to the mishkál—the Mahommadan writers speak of it as not having altered from the days of the Prophet. Doubtless, it has been a pretty permanent weight, and very likely, in Makrizi's time, was but slightly various in different places. At present, the following table represents the different mishkál, so far as I have been able to ascertain them.

The gold and silver mishkál of <i>Bassorah</i>	= 1½ dirham	.....	= 72 grains.
The „ „ mussal or mishkál of <i>Gamroon</i>	(71.75 miscals		
= 100 mahmoudias = 5136 grains)	.....		= 71.6 „
The gold and silver miscal of <i>Mocha</i>	= 24 carats = 24 $\frac{1}{100}$ vakyá		
(of 480 grains, nearly)	.....		= 72 „
That of <i>Bushire</i>	= $\frac{1}{720}$ of a maund of 53784 grains		= 74.7 „
The metical of <i>Aleppo</i> and <i>Algiers</i>	.....		= 73 „
The „ of <i>Tripoli</i>	.....		= 73.6 „
In <i>Persian</i> , the demi mishkál	= $\frac{1}{1200}$ of the batman of Chessay		
(of 8871 grains)	.....		= 73.96 „
The taurid batman and mishkál	= half the above		
The mishkál corresponding to the ( $\frac{1}{3}$ ) dirham used for gold and silver, in <i>Persia</i>	.....		= 74.5 „
The abbasi corresponding to 1 mishkal, Marsden says	.....		= 72 „
The modern debased mishkál of <i>Bokhara</i>	.....		= 71 „

Báber, in speaking of the mishkál, may either mean his own Bokharan mishkál, or, as seems more probable, the current mishkál as existing at that time in India;

of Ghazní, or, as is more probable, elaborated out of the elements of ancient Indian Metrology—may be quoted in their

in short, the “Indian or Syrian mishkál” of the Mahommadan writers—which was the Greek mishkál + 2 kirats. The modern debased mishkál of Bokhara we may leave out of our comparisons. It is surely a degraded weight in a country that has undergone an eclipse.

The old “Greek Dinar” is of course the Byzant, or solidus aureus—the denarius of Byzantium. It was nominally coined 72 to the Roman lb. The Byzantian Roman lb. in the British Museum weighs 4995 grains, so the solidus was nominally coined at 69.4 grains. It really issued from the mint at a maximum weight of 68 (a very few of the most finely preserved coins reaching this amount). Now taking Makrizi’s statement that the mishkál was 24 kirats, and that of the Ayin-i-Akberi that the Greek mishkál was 2 kirats less than this; we find the weight of the mishkál =  $68 + \frac{68}{11} = 74.18$  grains troy. Again, Makrizi mentions that Abd-el-malek ben Merwan coined dinars and dirhams in the ratios of  $21\frac{1}{2}$  kirats : 15 kirats. Now this Caliph’s gold coins in the British Museum (in a very fine state of preservation), weigh 66.5 grains, and his silver, also well preserved, 44.5. Taking the former as coined at 67, we have the ratio :

$$\text{Dinar : Dirham} = 21\frac{1}{2} : 15 = 67 : 46.2,$$

which latter gives a probable weight for the dirham as originally coined. (In Makrizi’s time the ratio was dinar : dirham = 10 : 7 = 21.75 : 15.22; or supposing the gold coin unchanged at 67, the silver dirham would become 46.88). Then, as the ratio of the dinar (or gold mishkál) to the mishkál weight =  $21\frac{1}{2} : 24$  we have for the mishkál weight a value of 73.93 grains.

These two values, thus severally adduced from different data—viz., 74.18 and 73.93—sufficiently nearly accord to justify, I think, our striking the balance between them, and declaring the ancient mishkál—(“the Syrian or Indian mishkál”) to have been very nearly 74 grains. Hence the kirat would be 3.133 grains, troy. The modern carat varies from 3.15, the modern Indian carat, to 3.28, the old French carat (made thus probably to be an aliquot part of the old French ounce). The English carat = 3.168; the Hamburg = 3.176, and the Portuguese = 3.171.

The above value of the mishkál accords extremely well with my theory about the diamond.

That the “Greek Dinar” of Makrizi was the Sassanian gold is not at all likely, although the silver dirham was, no doubt, originally derived from the Sassanian drachma. Of the few gold pieces of Sassanian coinage, the one in the Museum, of Ardashir I., weighs now 65.5, and could not have been coined at less than 66.5 grains—which would give a mishkál of 72.04. But under the Sassanids, the gold coinage was quite exceptional, and was not large enough to have formed the basis of the monetary system of the Caliphs, which was professedly founded on Greek coins, *current*.

As to the Bokhárán mishkál of Báber’s time, how are we to arrive at it? You—and if you can’t, who can?—are able to make little firm ground out of the weights of Sassanian, or Ghasnavid coins—nor will the coins of the Ayubite, Mamluke, and Mamluke Bahrite, Caliphs (of which I have weighed scores), give any much more reliable units on which to base the history of the progress of change in the mishkál. The limits of its variation in modern times seem to have lain between 74.5 and 72 troy grains; I believe 74 as near as possible its true original weight, the weight of the Syrian and of the Indian mishkál. This would give the ratio on the goldsmith’s standard of 8 to the másha, and 40 to the mishkál, as 1.85 grains, and the limits of this ratio would be 1.862 and 1.80. The value of the jeweller’s ratio (6 to the másha) would be for the 74 grain mishkál 2.47 grains, and its limits would be 2.483 and 2.40.

That Báber’s and Humáyún’s now worn and dilapidated coins of 71 and 71.5 grains were mishkáls is not improbable; but they certainly were not coined at less than 74 grains.

Without entering into the Indian numismatical question, I may remind you of

surviving integrity of weight and design, as having furnished the prototypes of a long line of sequent Dehli mintages, and thus contributing the manifest introductory model of all Bengal coinages.<sup>1</sup>

The artistic merits of the produce of the southern mints,

Tuglak's coin of 174 grains (one in the British Museum = 172.25), probably coined at 175 or 176; a fair weight of issue for a coin nominally of some 177 or 178 grains. These coins, I believe, you consider to represent the tola. A tola of 177.6 would accord on the ratios of Báber's table with a mishkal of 74 grains. I am strongly tempted to enter further into this question of the ponderous systems of India, but I am warned by your own able papers of the difficulties in the path of one who deals only in translations and in the weight of coins.

24th Nov., 1865.

<sup>1</sup> There are three varieties of Altamsh's silver coinage, all showing more or less the imperfection of the training of the Indian artists in the reproduction of the official alphabet of their conquerors. The designs of these pieces were clearly taken from the old Ghazni model of Muhammad bin Sâm's Dirhams and Dinârs, and the indeterminate form of the device itself would seem to indicate that they mark the initial effort of the new Muhammadan silver currency which so soon fixed itself into one unvarying type, and retained its crude and unimproved lettering for upwards of a century, till Muhammad bin Tughlak inaugurated his reign by the issue of those choice specimens of the Moneyer's art, which stand without competitors in the Dehli series.

No. 1, Silver. Size, vii.; weight, 162.5. Supposed to have been struck on the receipt of the recognition of the Khalif of Baghdâd in 626 A.H.

Obverse: Square area, with double lines, within a circle.

Legend, لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Reverse: Square area, with double lines, within a circle.

Legend, في عهد الامام المستنصر امير المومنين

No. 2, Silver. Size, viii.; weight, 163.5. Date, 630 A.H.

Obverse: Square area, with double lines,

Legend, السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا والدين  
ابو المظفر اليتمس السلطان ناصر امير المومنين

Reverse: Circular area.

Legend, لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله المستنصر

امير المومنين

Margin,

ضرب هذا ال

Mr. Bayley notices the occasional change of the name of the piece to the generic السكه as well as the ignorant substitution of المستنصر بامر الله for the Khalif's true title. J.A.S.B., 1862, p. 207. Col. Guthrie's coin (Type No. 2) discloses a similar error.

Legend, في عهد الامام المستنصر امير المومنين

Margin,

ضرب هذه الفضة

No. 3, Silver. Size, viii.; weight, 163.5 gr.

Obverse, as No. 2, but the square area is enclosed in a circle.

Reverse: Square area enclosed within a circle, identical with the obverse design.



though superior in the early copies to the crude introductory issues of Altamsh, seldom compete with the contemporary design or execution of the Dehli die-cutters, and soon merge into their own provincialisms, which are progressively exaggerated in the repetition, until, at last, what with the imperfection of the model, the progressive conventionalism of the designers, and the ignorance and crude mechanical imitation of the engravers, their legends become mere semblances of intelligible writing, and, as the plates will show, like Persian *shikastah*, easy to read when one can divine what is intended, but for anything like precision in obscure and nearly obliterated margins, a very untrustworthy basis for the search after exact results.

The different mints each followed its own traditions, and the school of art stood generally at a higher level in the eastern section of the kingdom, especially when Sonárgaon was held by its own independent rulers. The lowest scale of die execution, exemplified in the present series, was reserved for the capital of the united provinces under the kingship of Sikandar (No. 22 *infra*). The numismatic innovations of Muhammad bin Tughlak were felt and copied in the south, especially in the reproduction of the titular legends; but his own coins struck at the "city"—he would not call it capital—of Lakhnautí, evince the haste and carelessness of a temporary sojourn, and still worse, the hand of a local artist, all of which short-comings may be forgiven to a monarch who, in his own imperial metropolis, had raised the standard of the beauties of Arabic writing, as applied to coin legends, to a position it had never before attained, and which later improved appliances have seldom succeeded in equalling.

The Bengal Sultáns, mere imitators at first, were original in their later developments of coin illumination, and the issues of the fully independent kings exhibit a commendable variety of patterns in the die devices, damaged and restricted, however, in the general effect by the pervading coarseness and imperfection of the forms of the letters. Then, again, the tenor of the inscriptions is usually of independent conception, especially in the refusal to adopt the ever recurring *kalimah*, and in

the suggestive mutations of titles assigned to the lieutenants of the prophet on earth, whose names they did not care to learn. So also was their elaboration of the titular adjuncts of the four Imáms uninfluenced by northern formulæ; many of which conventionalisms survived for centuries, till Shír Sháh, in the chances of conquest, incorporated them into the coinage of Hindustán, during the exile of the temporarily vanquished Humáyún.

The standard of the Bengal coinage was necessarily, like the pieces themselves, a mere imitation of imperial mint quantities, and the early issues will be seen to follow closely upon the proper amount in weight contemplated in the Delhi prototypes; but one of the curious results the Kooch Behár collective find determines is, that, though the first kings on the list clearly put forth money of full measure, their pieces were, in most cases, subjected to a well understood Indian process of boring-out, or reduction to the exact weight to which we must suppose subsequent kings lowered the legal standard of their money, so that, although some of the silver pieces of Kai Káús and Fírúz have escaped the debaser's eye, and preserve the completeness of their original issue denomination, the great majority of the older coins have been brought down to the subsequent local standard of 166 grains, at which figure, in troy grains, the bulk of the hoard ranges, or, in more marked terms, 166 grains is the precise weight of the majority of the very latest and best preserved specimens, which must have been consigned to their recent place of concealment when very fresh from mints but little removed from the residence of the accumulator of the treasure, and be held to represent coin which could scarcely have changed hands.

The intrinsic value of the money of these sovereigns follows next in the order of the enquiry. This department of fiscal administration might naturally have been expected to have been subject to but limited check or control, when regulated by the uncertain processes of Oriental metallurgy; but, in practice, it will be seen that some of the native Mint-masters were able to secure a very high standard of purity, and, what is more remarkable, to maintain a singularly uniform scale in

the rate of alloy. In the case of the imperial coins subjected to assay in Calcutta, specimens spreading over, and in so far, representing a sequent eighty years of the issues of the northern metropolis, vary only to the extent of six grains in the thousand, or 0.6 per cent. As the Dehli coinage proves superior, in point of weight, to the southern standard, so also does it retain a higher degree of purity; the 990 and 996 of silver to the test total of 1,000 grains, sinks, in the earliest examples of the Bengal mintages, to 989, from which figures it experiences a temporary rise, in possibly exceptional cases, under Bahádur Sháh, who may be supposed to have brought down, with his reinstated honors and the coined treasure so lavishly bestowed upon him by Muhammad bin Tughlak on his restoration to the government of Sonárgaon, certain implied responsibilities for the equity and fulness of his currencies; while in the subsequent irregularly descending scale, Aázam Sháh's officials arrived at the most unblushing effort of debasement, in the reduction of silver to 962 grains. Among other unexpected items for which the aid of modern science may be credited, is the support which the intrinsic contents of the erroneously-classed coins of 'Adil Sháh under native interpretation, lend to the correctness of the revised attribution of the pieces themselves suggested by the critical terms of their own legends, in the manifest identity of their assay touch with the associate coins of the lower empire of India.

Colonel Guthrie has furnished me with the following data, concerning the assay of the various coins composing the Kooch Bahár hoard:—"When the Bengal Asiatic Society made their selection of coins from the trove, they set apart four of each description for the Mint, two being for special assay, two for the Mint collection. The result of the assay was as follows (1,000 represents absolute purity):"

## DEHLI COINS.

1. Balban (A.H. 664) ... 990 and 996
2. Kai Kobád (A.H. 685) 990 and 996
3. Ghías-ud-dín Tughlak (A.H. 720) 990.
4. 'Adil Sháh [*i.e.* Ghází Sháh of Bengal, A.H. 751] 989.

## BENGAL COINS.

1. Shams-ud-dín Firdz..... 989
2. Bahádur Sháh ..... 988 and 993
3. Mubárák Sháh..... 987
4. Ilfás Sháh (1st type) 939; (2nd) 982; (3rd) 988.
5. Sikandar Sháh (return lost).
6. Aázam Sháh (1st type) 981; (2nd) 989; (3rd) 962; (4th) 977; (5th) 985.

A question that has frequently puzzled both Oriental and European commentators on the history of India, has been the intrinsic value of the current coin at the various epochs referred to, so that the most exact numerical specifications conveyed but a vague notion of the sterling sum contemplated in the recital of any given author. Numismatists have been for long past in a position to assert that the Dehli Tankah contained absolutely 173 grains, which would presuppose a theoretical issue weight of 174 or 175 grains, and a touch of nearly pure silver; but assuming this specific coin to have been a *white* or *real* "Tankah of Silver" (تنكه نقره), a doubt necessarily remained as to what was to be understood by the alternative black Tankah (تنكه سياد). Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad, in his *Tabakát-i-Akbari*, seems to assign the introduction of these black Tankahs to Muhammad bin Tughlak, who notoriously depreciated the currency to a large extent, before he resorted to the extreme measure of a forced currency, though it may be doubted whether any such depreciation would have been thought of, even if there had been time to effect the conversion, at the very commencement of his reign, to which period Nizám-ud-dín attributes the issue of these pieces, in the apparent desire of explaining the bare possibility of the possession of such numerical amounts as are stated to have been squandered in largesses by the newly-enthroned monarch. However, the real debasement of the coin need not have extended much beyond the point indicated by the superficial aspect of his own Bengal mintages, and Aázam Sháh's coins of the same locality probably exceed that accusatory measure of debasement; while, on the other hand, Muhammad bin Tughlak, on reverting to specie currencies, after his futile trial of copper tokens, seems to have aimed at a restoration of the ancient purity of metal in his metropolitan issues, as I can quote a coin of his produced by the Dehli Mint in A.H. 734, which has every outward appearance of a sole component element of unalloyed silver, and equally retains the fair average weight of 168 grains.<sup>1</sup> All

<sup>1</sup> This coin is similar, but not identical in its legends with the gold piece,

these evidences would seem to imply that the Bengal ratio of purity was intentionally lower, and that a very slight addition to the recognised alloy would bring the local issues fairly within the category of "black Tankahs." Such a supposition of the inferiority of the coinages of the southern kingdom appears to be curiously illustrated by Báber's mentioning that, in A.H. 932, a portion of the revenues of the district of Tírhút, a sort of border-land of his kingdom, which did not extend over Bengal, was payable in *Tankah Nukrah*, and the larger remainder in *Tankah Siáh*,<sup>1</sup> an exceptional association of currencies in a given locality, which can scarcely be explained in a more simple and reasonable manner than by assuming the lower description of the conventional estimate piece to have been concurrent with a better description of the same coin, constituting the prevailing and authorized revenue standard of the northern portions of the conquering Moghul's Indian dominions.

Another important element of all currency questions is the relative rate of exchange of the precious metals *inter se*. And this is a division of the enquiry of peculiar significance at the present moment, when Her Majesty's Government are under pressure by the European interest to introduce gold as a legal tender at a fixed and permanent rate, or, in effect, to supersede the existing silver standard, the single and incontestable measure of value, in which all modern obligations have been contracted, and a metal, whose present market price is, in all human probability, less liable to be affected by

No. 84, of 736 A.H., p. 50, Pathán Sultáns. The following are the inscriptions :

*Obverse*—والله الغني وانتم الفقرا

*Reverse*—في عهد محمد بن تغلق

Margin—بدار الاسلام سنة اربع وثلثين وسبعماية

<sup>1</sup> Báber has left an interesting account of the revenues of his newly-acquired kingdom in India, as estimated after the battle of Panipat, in A.H. 932, to the effect that "the countries from Bhíra to Bahár which are now under my dominion yield a revenue of 52 krores" of Tankas. In the detail of the returns from different provinces, Tírhút is noticed as Tribute (Khidmatána) of the Tírhúti Raja 250,000 *tankah nukrah*, and 2,750,000 *tankah siáh*. William Erskine, History of India under Báber and Humáyun, London, 1854, vol. i., p. 540. See also Leydeu's Memoirs of Baber, London, 1826, p. 334.

over production than that of gold : the bullion value of which latter had already begun to decline in the Bazárs of India, simultaneously with the arrival of the first-fruits of Australian mining.

If the contemplated authoritative revolution in the established currency had to be applied to a fully civilized people, there might be less objection to this premature experiment; but to disturb the dealings of an empire, peopled by races of extreme fixity of ideas, to give advantages to the crafty few, to the detriment of the mass of the unlettered population, is scarcely justified by the exigencies of British trade; and India's well-wishers may fairly advance a mild protest against hasty legislation, and claim for a subject and but little understood nationality, some consideration, before the ruling power forces on their unprepared minds the advanced commercial tenets of the cities of London and Liverpool.

The ordinary rate of exchange of silver against gold in Marco Polo's time (1271-91 A.D.),<sup>1</sup> may be inferred to have been eight to one; though exceptional cases are mentioned in localities within the reach of Indian traders, where the ratios of six to one and five to one severally obtained.

Ibn Batutah, in the middle of the fourteenth century,

<sup>1</sup> The Province of KARAIAN. "For money they employ the white porcelain shell found in the sea, and these they also wear as ornaments about their necks. Eighty of the shells are equal in value to a saggio of silver, or two Venetian groats, and eight saggi of good silver to one of pure gold." Chap. xxxix.

The Province of KARAZAN. "Gold is found in the rivers, both in small particles and in lumps; and there are also veins of it in the mountains. In consequence of the large quantity obtained, they give a saggio of gold for six saggi of silver. They likewise use the before-mentioned porcelain shells in currency, which, however, are not found in this part of the world, but are brought from India."—Chap. xl; also Pinkerton (London, 1811), vol. vii., 143.

The Province of KARDANDAN. "The currency of this country is gold by weight, and also the porcelain shells. An ounce of gold is exchanged for five ounces of silver, and a saggio of gold for five saggi of silver, there being no silver mines in this country, but much gold; and consequently the merchants who import silver obtain a large profit." Chap. xli.

The Kingdom of MIEN (*Loa*). "You then reach a spacious plain [at the foot of the Yunnan range], whereon, three days in every week, a number of people assemble, many of whom come down from the neighbouring mountains, bringing their gold to be exchanged for silver, which the merchants who repair thither from distant countries carry with them for this purpose; and one saggio of gold is given for five of silver." Chap. xliii. Travels of Marco Polo, by W. Marsden, London, 1818; and Bohn's Edition, 1854.

when he was, so to say, resident and domesticated in India, reports the relative values of the metals as eight to one.<sup>1</sup>

رايت الرزُبَاع في اسواقها خمسة وعشرين رطلاً دهلية بدينار فضي<sup>1</sup>  
والدينار الفضي هو ثمانية دراهم ودرهمهم كالدرهم النقرة سواً— iv. 10,

"J'ai vu vendre le riz, dans les marchés de ce pays [Bengale], sur le pied de vingt-cinq rithl de Dibly pour un dinár d'argent: celui-ci vaut huit drachmes, et leur drachme équivaut absolument à la drachme d'argent" (iv. 210).

The difficulty of arriving at any thoroughly satisfactory interpretation of the obscure Arabic text, as it now stands, may be frankly admitted, nor do I seek to alter or amend the French translation, farther than to offer a very simple explanation of what probably the author really designed to convey in the general tenor of the passage in question. It was a crude but established custom among the early Muhammadan occupying conquerors of India, to issue gold and silver coins of equal weights, identical fabric, and analogous central legends; hence, whenever, as in the present instance, the word *Dindr* is used in apposition with and contrast to the secondary term *Dirham*, the one *primâ facie* implies gold, the other silver; and there can be little doubt but that the original design of the text was to specify that one gold piece of a given weight passed *in situ* for eight silver pieces of similar form and of slightly greater bulk. It is possible that the term *Dindr* may in process of time have come to stand for a conventional measure of value, like the "pound sterling," susceptible by common consent of being liquidated in the due equivalent of silver; but this concession need not affect the direct contrast between the *Dínárs* and *Dirhams* so obviously marked in the case in point.

Ibn Batutah in an earlier part of his work (iii. 426) [Lee's edition is imperfect at this portion, p. 149] gives us the comparative Dehli rate of exchange—of which he had unpleasant personal experiences: he relates that he was directed to be paid (55,000 + 12,000 =) 67,000 pieces of some well understood currency neither the name or the metal of which is defined, but which may legitimately be taken to have been "Silver Tankahs," and in satisfaction of this amount, deducting the established one-tenth for *Dastúri*, which left a reduced total of 60,300, he received 6,233 gold tankahs. Under this scale of payment the gold must have borne a rate of exchange of one to 9·67 of silver, or very nearly one to 10, a proportion which might be supposed to clash with the one to eight of the more southern kingdom, but the existing state of the currencies of the two localities afford a striking illustration of the consistency of the African observer's appreciation of money values in either case. His special patron, Muhammad bin Tughlak, Emperor of Dehli, had, from his first elevation to the throne, evinced a tendency to tamper with the currency, departing very early in his reign from the traditional equality of weights of gold and silver coins; he re-modelled both forms and relative proportions, introducing pieces of 200 grains of gold, styled on their surfaces *dínárs*, and silver coins of 140 grains, designated as *adalis*, in supercession of the ancient equable tankahs, both of gold and silver, extant examples of which in either metal come up to about 174 grains. More important for the present issue is the practical result, that, from the very commencement, Muhammad Tughlak's silver money is invariably of a lower standard than that of his predecessors, whether this refers to the early continuation of the full silver tankah, or to his own newly devised 140 grain piece, a mere reproduction of the time-honoured local weight, which the Aryan races found current in the land some twenty-five centuries before this Moslem revival, but in either case, this payment to Ibn Batutah seems to have been made after the Sultan had organised and abandoned that imaginary phase of perfection in the royal art of depreciating the circulating media, by the entire supercession of the precious metals, and following the ideal of a paper currency, the substitution of a copper simulacrum of each and every piece in the

The Emperor Akbar's minister, Abúl Fazl, has left an official record of the value of gold in the second half of the sixteenth century, at which period the price was on the rise, so that the mints were issuing gold coin in the relation of one to 9·4 of silvre. But a remarkable advance must have taken place about this time, as in the second moiety of the seventeenth century, Tavernier<sup>1</sup> found gold exchanging against fourteen times its weight of silver, from which point it gradually advanced to one to fifteen, a rate it maintained when the East India Company re-modelled the coinage in 1833.<sup>2</sup> Afterwards, with prospering times, the metal ran up occasionally to fabulous premiums, to fall again ignominiously, when Californian and Australian discoveries made it common in the land.

I revert for the moment to a more formal recapitulation of the computations, which serve to establish the ratios of gold and silver in Akbar's time.

Abúl Fazl's figured returns give the following results:—

First.—Chugal, weight in gold Tolah 3, Másha 0, Rati  $5\frac{1}{4}$  = 30 Rs. of  $11\frac{1}{2}$  Máshas each : 549·84 ::  $172\cdot5 \times 30$  (5175·0) : 1::9·4118.

Second.—Áftábí, gold, weight t. 1, m. 2, r.  $4\frac{3}{4}$  = 12 Rs. : 218·90 ::  $172\cdot5 \times 12$  (2070·0) : 1::9·4563.

order of its degree from the *Dindr* to the lowest coin in the realm, the values being authoritatively designated on the surface of each. This forced currency held its own, more or less successfully from 730 to 733, when it came to a simple and self-developed end. Taking the probable date of this payment as 742-3 A.H. (Ibn. B. vi., p. 4, and vol. iii., p. xxii.), it may be assumed that the 174 (or 175) grain old gold tankah, which had heretofore stood at the equitable exchange of one to eight tunkas of good silver, came necessarily, in the depreciation of the new silver coins, to be worth ten or more of the later issues. Pathán Sultáns, p. 53).

<sup>1</sup> "All the gold and silver which is brought into the territories of the Great Mogul is refined to the highest perfection before it be coined into money."—Tavernier, London Edition, 1677, p. 2. "The roupie of gold weighs two drams and a half, and eleven grains, and is valued in the country at 14 roupies of silver."—Page 2. "But to return to our roupies of gold, you must take notice that they are not so current among the merchants. For one of them is not worth above fourteen roupies." The traveller then goes on to relate his doleful personal experiences, of how, when he elected to be paid for his goods in gold, "the king's uncle" forced him to receive the gold rupee at the rate of fourteen and a half silver rupees, whereby he lost no less than 3428 rupees, on the transaction. Sir James Stewart, writing in 1772, also estimates the conventional proportionate value of silver to gold, as fourteen to one—"The Principles of Money applied to the present state of the Coin of Bengal." Calcutta, 1772.

<sup>2</sup> Prinsep's Useful Tables, pp. 5, 72, 79.



Third.—Ilahí, or Lál Jaláli, also Muíanni, gold, weight m. 12, r.  $1\frac{2}{3}$  = 10 Rs. : 183·28 :: 172·5 × 10 (1725·0) : 1::9·4118.

3 A.—The larger piece, the Sihansah, in value 100 Lál Jalális, gives an identical return. Weight in gold, r. 101, m. 9, r. 7 = 1000 Rs. : 18328· :: 172,500 (172·5 × 100 × 10) : 1::9·4118.

Fourth.—Adl.-Gutkah, or Muhar, also called Mihrábí, gold, weight 11 Máshas = 9 Rs. : 165 :: 172·5 × 9 (1552·5) : 1::9·40909.

4 A.—The higher proportions specified under the piece of 100 round Muhars, produce a similar result. Weight in gold, r. 91, m. 8 = 900 Rs. : 16500 :: 155250· (172·5 × 100 × 9) : 1::9·40.

These sums are based upon the ordinary Tolah of 180 gr., Másha of 15, and Rati of 1·875 grs. The question of corresponding values in the English scale need not affect the accuracy of comparisons founded upon the conventional measure by which both metals were estimated.

I have given more prominence to the above calculations, and even tested anew my earlier returns by the independent totals afforded by the larger sums now inserted, because the obvious result of gold being to silver as one to 9·4, has been called in question by an official of the Calcutta Mint (a Dr. Shekleton), who, however, while unable either to correct my data, or to produce any possible evidence against my conclusions, ventures to affirm, that "9·4 to one is a relative value of gold to silver, which never could really have existed."<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, here is a series of comparative weights and values, furnished by the highest authority of the day, and each and all produce returns absolutely identical up to the first place of decimals. My original estimates were sketched and published at Dehli, in 1851, where I had access to the best MSS., to the most comprehensive range of antiquarian relics, and at command the most intelligent oral testimony in the land. When reprinting Prinsep's "Useful Tables" (London, 1858), I had occasion to quote these calculations, and was able to fortify them, had it been needed, by the precisely analogous

<sup>1</sup> Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1864, p. 517.

results obtained by Colonel W. Anderson, who had tried Abúl Fazl's figures, from a different point of view, and for altogether independent purposes.<sup>1</sup> But if there were the faintest reason for doubting so moderate a rate as one to 9·4, the whole discussion might be set at rest by Abúl Fazl's own statement as translated into English in 1783 when, in concluding a very elaborate review of the profit and loss of refining gold, for the purpose of coinage, he concludes, and the process "leaves a remainder of about *one-half a tolah* of gold, the value of which is four rupees."<sup>2</sup> It may be as well that I should add, that some of my totals differ from those to be found in Gladwin's translation of the original Persian text.<sup>3</sup> I do not recapitulate the several divergencies, but it is necessary to prove the justice of one, at least, of my emendations. Gladwin's MSS. gave the rupee at  $11\frac{1}{2}$  *máshas* (i. p. 34). The more carefully collated Dehli texts showed the real weight to be  $11\cdot5$  *máshas*, a static fact of some importance, which is curiously susceptible of proof from Gladwin's own data: at page 46 of his Calcutta edition, a sum is given of the refining charges and profits, as understood by the mints of those days, wherein 989 tolas, 9 *máshas* of impure silver is stated to be reduced by 14 t. 9 m. 1 r. in refining, and a further 4 t. 10 m. 3 r. in manipulation, leaving 11641 *máshas* of silver ( $989\cdot9\cdot0 - 14\cdot9\cdot1 - 4\cdot10\cdot3 = 11641$ ) which is officially announced as ordinarily coined into 1012 rupees, ( $1012 \times 115 = 11638$ ) giving, as nearly as may be, the essential  $11\frac{1}{2}$  *máshas*, which the translated text *should* have preserved in its earlier passages.

Richard Hawkins, who was at Agra, in A.D. 1609-11, during the reign of Jahángír, has left a notice of certain accumulated treasures of that prince which he was permitted to behold, and amongst the rest he specifies "In primis of Seraffins Echeri, which be ten rupias apiece;" to this passage is added in a marginal note, that, "a tole is a rupia challany [current] of silver, and ten of these toles are of the value of one of gold."<sup>4</sup> This evidence might at first sight seem to militate against the conclusion arrived at from the official

<sup>1</sup> U.T., vol. ii., p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Gladwin, i. 44.

<sup>3</sup> 4to., Calcutta, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> Purchas' Travels, folio, 1625-26, i. 217.

returns above summarized, but the value of gold was clearly on the rise, and one of the aims of Akbar's legislation on metallic exchanges, which had necessarily been disturbed by progressive modifications in the relative values of the precious metals, was manifestly to secure an authoritative *even* reckoning by tens and hundreds. The old round *muhar*, (No. 4 of the above list) represented the inconvenient sum of nine rupees, or 360 *dáms*; by raising the weight of the piece to the higher total given under No. 3, the gold *ilahi* was made equivalent to ten rupees, or in fiscal reckoning to 400 *dáms*. Similarly, in the case of the silver coin, the old rupee passed for 39 *dáms*; in the new currency a value of 40 *dáms* was secured, not by an increase of weight, but by the declared and doubtlessly achieved higher standard of the metal employed, aided by the advantage that contemporary mintages so readily secured in India.

The subdivisions of the standard silver Tankah, as well as the relative exchange ratios of silver and copper in their subordinate denominations, claim a passing notice. Though Bengal proper probably remained satisfied with its lower currency of cowries, supplemented by the occasional intervention of copper, for some time after the introduction of gold and silver money, yet as the earliest copper coins of that kingdom must have been based upon and, in the first instance, supplied by Dehli mintages, the Imperial practice comes properly within the range of the local division of the general enquiry.

It has been seen that Minháj-ul-Siráj, in comparing the circulating media of Hindustán and Bengal, speaks of the currency of the former as composed of *Chitala*, a name which is seemingly used by himself and succeeding authors in the generic sense for money, as if these pieces continued to constitute the popular standard both in theory and practice, notwithstanding the introduction of the more imposing *tankahs* of gold and silver. Up to this time it has not been possible satisfactorily to demonstrate the actual value of the coin in question; in some cases indirect evidence would seem to bring its intrinsic worth down to a very low point; while, at times, the money calculations for large sums, in which its name

alone is used, appear to invest it with a metrical position far beyond the subordinate exchanges of mere bazár traffic.

In the details of the "prices-current" in the reign of Aláud-dín Muhammad, as well as in the relation of certain monetary re-adjustments made by Fírúz Sháh III., the name of the *Chital* is constantly associated in the definition of comparative values with another subdivision entitled the *Káni*, which may now be pronounced with some certainty to have been the  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the original *Tankah*, of 175 grains, and  $\frac{1}{5}$  of the new silver coin of 140 grains, introduced by Muhammad bin Tughlak. The temporary forced currency of this Sultán necessitated in itself the positive announcement of the names, and authoritative equivalents of each representative piece, and in this abnormal practice contributes many items towards the elucidation of the quantitative constitution of the real currency of the day, which these copper tokens were designed to replace. In illustration of this point, I insert a woodcut and description of a brass coin, which was put forth to pass for the value of the silver piece of 140 grains, to whose official weight it is seemingly suggestively approximated.

Brass; weight, 132 grs.; A.H. 731; *Common*.



*Obverse*.—مهرشد تنكه پنجاه كاني در روزگار. بنده امیدوار محمد تغلق. Struck (lit. sealed), a tankah of fifty kánis in the reign of the servant, hopeful (of mercy), Muhammad Tughlak.

*Reverse*.—Area, من اطاع السلطان فقد اطاع الرحمن. "He who obeys the king, truly he obeys God."<sup>1</sup>

Margin, در تخت كاه دولت اباد سال برهفصد سي يكت. At the capital Daulat-ábád, year ? 731.

In addition to the 50 *káni*-piece may be quoted extant specimens of this Sultán's forced issues, bearing the definitive names of "*hast-káni*" (8 kánis). "*Shush-káni*" (6 kánis) and *Do-káni* (2 kánis).

An obverse of the latter is given in the margin. The reverse has the unadorned name of محمد تغلق.

<sup>1</sup> In other examples of the forced currency, he exhorts his subjects in more urgent terms to submit to the Almighty, as represented in the person of the

Next in order, may be quoted historical evidence of Fírúz Sháh's fiscal re-organizations, in the course of which mention is made of pre-existing pieces of 48, 25, 24, 12, 10, 8, and 6 káñis, the lowest denomination called by that name; afterwards the narrative goes on to explain that, in addition to the ordinary *Chital* piece already in use, Fírúz Sháh originated, for the benefit of the poorer classes of his subjects, subdivisional  $\frac{1}{2}$  Chital and  $\frac{1}{4}$  Chital pieces.

As the spoken languages of the Peninsula enable us to restore the true meaning to the misinterpreted Sanskrit *karsha*,<sup>1</sup> so the Dravidian tongues readily explain the term *káñi*, which finds no place in Aryan vocabularies, but which was incorporated into the vernaculars of Hindustán, during the southward migrations of the Scythic tribes. In Telugu, *káñi* means  $\frac{1}{16}$ , or one quarter of a sixteenth" (Brown). In Canarese  $\frac{1}{16}$  (Reeve), and in Tamil  $\frac{1}{16}$  (Winslow). Wilson's Glossary gives "*Káni*, corruptly, *Cawney*. Tel. Tam. Karn.  $\frac{1}{16}$ , or sometimes  $\frac{1}{8}$ ."<sup>2</sup>

The term *káñi*, in addition to its preferable meaning of  $\frac{1}{16}$ , was, as we see, also used for the fraction  $\frac{1}{8}$ , but its application in the former sense to the ruling integer in the present instance, seems to be conclusively settled by the relative proportions assigned to the modified *tankah* of Muhammad bin Tughlak, when compared with the normal weight of the earlier coin (: 64 :: 175 : 50 :: 136·718).

The method in which the subdivisional currency was arranged, consisted, as has already been stated, of an admixture of the two metals, silver and copper, in intentionally varying proportions in pieces of identical weight, shape and device; so that the traders in each case had to judge by the eye and hand of the intrinsic value of the coin presented to them. To European notions this system would imply endless doubt and uncertainty, but under the practiced vision and delicate perceptive powers of touch, with which the natives of India are endowed, but little difficulty seems to have been experi-

ruling monarch, and to adopt, in effect, the bad money he covers with texts from the Kurán—the "Obey God and obey the Prophet and those in authority among you," and "Sovereignty is not conferred upon every man," but "some" are placed over "others"—were unneeded on his coinage of pure metal.

<sup>1</sup> Num. Chron. iv. 58; J. A. S. B. xxxiii. 266.

<sup>2</sup> There is a coin called a "Do-gáni or Dooder," still quoted in the Madras Almanacks.

enced; and I myself can testify to the accuracy of the verdicts pronounced by the experienced men of Dehli, whose instinctive estimates were tested repeatedly by absolute assay. I published many of these results, some years ago, in the Numismatic Chronicle,<sup>1</sup> where the curious in these matters may trace many of the gradational pieces of the *kānis* above enumerated. As some further experiments in reference to the intrinsic values of these coins were made, at my instance, in the Calcutta Mint, I subjoin a table of the authoritative results, which sufficiently confirms the previous less exhaustive assays by the native process.

## LIST OF DEHLI COINS,

*Composed of Silver and Copper in varying proportions forwarded for examination by Edward Thomas, Esq., C.S., 10 June, 1853.*

No. of Packet.	A. H.	Reference to Numbers of Coins in "Pathān Sultāns."	No. of Coins in Parcel.	Weight in Grains.	Dwts. Fine Silver per lb. in each.
1	716	Mubārak Shāh. No. 66.	1	53-22	5-375
2	726	Muhammad bin Tughlak. No. 91.	1	55-15	13-300
3	895	Sikandar Bahlol. No. 163.	1	143-438	1-900
4	896	" "	4-1	142-163	2-025
"	"	" "	1	142-936	1-925
"	"	" "	1	138-913	1-615
"	"	" "	1	140-088	2-200
5	898	" "	1	141-500	1-5625
6	900	" "	2-1	140-800	2-6000
"	"	" "	1	127-600	3-0125
7	903	" "	1	143-100	4-650
8	904	" "	3-1	142-500	5-624
"	907	" "	3-1	143-250	15-5
"	"	" "	1	141-150	18-0
"	"	" "	1	139-900	16-0
9	905	" "	1	144-500	17-5
10	909	" "	1	141-500	15-0
11	910	" "	1	140-200	15-0
12	912	" "	2-1	142-500	12-0
"	"	" "	1	135-500	15-0
13	913	" "	2-1	132-250	15-0
"	"	" "	1	140-750	15-0
14	914	" "	4-1	140-000	15-0
"	"	" "	1	138-500	15-5
"	"	" "	1	141-000	16-5
"	"	" "	1	140-500	16-0
15	918	" "	4-1	138-250	10-0
"	"	" "	1	133-250	10-0
"	"	" "	1	139-750	9-0
"	"	" "	1	125-000	8-0
16	919	" "	3-1	135-250	32-0
"	"	" "	1	137-250	8-0
"	"	" "	1	137-500	8-0

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xv. 1852, p. 121, *et seq.*

The Institutes of Manu have preserved a record, reproduced in the subjoined table, of the various weights in use, some centuries before Christ,<sup>1</sup> and among other things explain, that the values of gold and copper, were calculated by a different metric scheme, to that applied to silver. A larger number of Ratis went to the Masha in the former, and the progression of numbers commenced with a five ( $5 \times 16$ ), while the silver estimates were founded on the simple arithmetic of *fours* ( $2 \times 16$ ), which constituted so special a characteristic of India's home civilization. Still, the two sets of tables starting from independent bases, were very early assimilated and adapted to each other in the advancing totals, so that the 320 ratis constituting the *satamana* of the quaternary multiplication, is created in the third line by the use of a *ten*, and the quasi exotic scheme corrects its independent elements by multiplying by *four*, and produces a similar total in the contents of the *Pala* or *Nishka*. The second lines of the tables are severally filled in with the aggregate numbers, 32 and 80, and as the duplication of the former, or 64, has

<sup>1</sup> Manu, viii. 131.—“Those names of copper, silver, and gold (weights) which are commonly used among men for the purpose of worldly business, I will now comprehensively explain. 132.—The very small mote which may be discerned in a sunbeam passing through a lattice is the first of quantities, and men call it a *trasareṇu*. 133.—Eight of those *trasareṇus* are supposed equal in weight to one minute poppy-seed (*likṣhā*), three of those seeds are equal to one black mustard-seed (*rājasarshapa*), and three of these last to a white mustard-seed (*gaura-sarshapa*). 134.—Six white mustard-seeds are equal to a middle-sized barley-corn (*yava*), three such barley-corns to one *kṛshṇala* [*raktika*], five *kṛshṇalas* of gold are one *māsha*, and sixteen such *māshas* one *suvarṇa*. 135.—Four *suvarṇas* make a *pala*, ten *palas* a *dharāṇa*, but two *kṛshṇalas* weighed together are considered as one silver *māshaka*. 136.—Sixteen of those *māshakas* are a silver *dharāṇa* or *purāṇa*, but a copper *kārṣhapa* is known to be a *paṇa* or *kārṣhapaṇa*. 137.—Ten *dharāṇas* of silver are known by the name of a *satamāna*, and the weight of four *suvarṇas* has also the appellation of a *nīṣhka*.” These statements may be tabulated thus as the

## ANCIENT INDIAN SYSTEM OF WEIGHTS.

SILVER.					
2 ratis	=	1 māsha			
32 „	=	16 „	=	{ 1 dharāṇa, or purāṇa.	
320 „	=	160 „	=	10 „	1 satamāna.
GOLD.					
5 ratis	=	1 māsha.			
80 „	=	16 „	=	1 suvarṇa.	
320 „	=	64 „	=	4 „	= { 1 pala, or nishka.
3200 „	=	640 „	=	40 „	= 10 „ 1 dharāṇa.
COPPER.					
80 ratis	=	1 kārṣhapaṇa.			

been seen to do duty in the one case, the probability of the use of the 160 naturally suggests itself in connexion with the theoretical organization of the copper coinage.

In proceeding to test the relations of the minor and subordinate currencies, the cardinal point to be determined is, the exchangeable value of copper as against silver. It has been affirmed by Colebrooke,<sup>1</sup> that the ratio stood in Manu's time at 64 to 1: accepting the correctness of this estimate, which has, I believe, remained unchallenged, and supposing the rate to have remained practically but little affected up to the Muhammadan conquest, the 175 grains of *silver* of Altamsh's new coinage, would be equivalent in metallic value to 11,200 grains of *copper*. The ancient copper *kārshāpaṇa* is recognised and defined as 80 *ratis* in weight, so that under the above conditions, and calculating the *rati* at 1·75 grains, each *kārshāpaṇa* was equal to 140 grains, and eighty of these, under the same calculations, give a return of 11,200 grains. Without at present advancing any more definite proposition, or quoting dubious coincidences, it may be as well to test these preliminary results by the Numismatic data Fírúz Sháh's Mints have left as an heritage behind him. Among the incidents quoted regarding that monarch's monetary innovations, he is stated to have introduced, for the first time, *half* and *quarter* Chitals. On the occasion of a very elaborate revision of my monograph on the Pathán Sultáns of Dehli, while residing under the very shadow of so many of their memorial edifices, I acquired and described, among others, two specimens of the money of this king, which seemed to be closely identifiable with his Utopian productions of new and infinitesimal subdivisions of the leading copper coinage, in his expressed desire of securing for the poorest of the poor, the fractional change they might be entitled to in the most limited purchases.<sup>2</sup> These coins responded singularly in their mutual proportions, and contributed in the form of once

<sup>1</sup> As. Res. v. 95.

<sup>2</sup> Shams-i-Siráj, in his work entitled the *Táríkh-i-Fírúz Sháhi*, gives the following incidents regarding Fírúz Sháh's coinages:—

شرح بیان احوال سکہ مبر شش کانی نقلست سلطان فیروزشاه در



current money, definitive weights in copper amounting severally to 34·5 and 17·8 grains, from which a very low estimate was deduced of 34·8 and 17·4, as a normal official standard. If the 34·8 grain of the first of these be multiplied by 160, it will give a return of 5568·0 grains, and accepting this trial piece, conditionally, as Firúz's novel *half-Chital*,<sup>1</sup> it will be seen to furnish a general total of 11,136 grains for the copper equivalent of the 175 grains of silver contained in the old Tankah, and confirms the range of the Chital at 69·6 grains, or only ·4 short of the full contents tradition would assign it, as the unchanged *half kárshápana* of primitive ages.<sup>2</sup> To pass to the opposite extreme for a test of the copper exchange rate, it is found that when Shír Sháh reorganised the northern coinage of Hindustán, by the lights of



‡ Chital of Firdas.

طور عظمت و دور مکنت خویش چون سلاطین اہل گیتی سبکہ چندین نوع پدید آورد چنانچہ زر تنکہ و نقرہ و سکہ چہل و ہشت کانہ و مہر بیست و پنجکانہ و بیست و چہار کانہ و دوازده کانہ و دہ کانہ و ہشتکانہ و ششکانہ و مہریک جیتل چون فیروز شاہ بچندین اجناس بی قیاس مہر وضع کردانید بعدہ در دل مبارک بالہام حضرت حق تبارک تعالیٰ گذرانید اگر بیچارہ فقیران از اہل بازار چیزی خرید کنند و از جملہ مال نیم جیتل و یا دانکی باقی ماند آن دوکاندار دانکہ خود ندارد اگر این راہ گذری ان باقی بر او بگذارد ضایع رود اگر از ان دوکاندار طلب کند چون این مہر نیست از کجا چہ دہد باقی او دہد برین وجوہ میان بایع و مشتری مقلت این حالت بتطویل کشید سلطان فیروز شاہ فرمان فرمود کہ مہر نیم جیتل کہ انرا انہ گویند و مہر دانک جیتل کہ انرا پنکہ گویند وضع کنند تا غرض فقرا و مساکین حاصل شود

The original and unique MS., from which the above passage is extracted, is in the possession of the Nawáb Zifá-ud-dín of Lohárá, in the Dehli territory.

<sup>1</sup> I once supposed these two coins to be whole and half Chitals, instead of the half and quarter pieces now adopted.

<sup>2</sup> It may be as well to state distinctly that the most complete affirmation of the numismatic existence of a *Chital* of a given weight and value, supported even by all anterior written testimony, in no wise detracts from the subsequent and independent use of the name for the purposes of account, a confusion which perchance may have arisen from the traditional permanency of the term itself, which

his southern experience, and swept away all dubious combinations of metals, reducing the copper standard to its severe chemical element; his Mint statistics show that the 178 grains of silver, constituting his revised Tankah, exchanged against 40 *dáms*, or quadrupled chitals of copper, of an ascertained weight of 323·5 grains each, producing in all a total of 12,940 grains of the latter metal, as the equivalent of 178 grains of silver, or in the ratio of 72·69 to 1; though, even in the altered weights and modified proportions, still retaining inherent traces of the old scheme of *fours*, in the half *dám* of 80, and the quarter *dám* of 160 to the new "Rupee."

in either case might eventually have been used to represent higher or lower values than that which originally belonged to it. Zíá-i-Barni at one moment seems to employ the term as a fractional fiftieth of the *Tankah*, while in other parts of the same or similar documents he quotes a total of "sixty Chitals," and in his statement of progressive advances of price, mentions the rise from twenty Chitals to *half a Tankah*. Ferishtah following, with but vague knowledge, declares that fifty Chitals constituted the *Tankah*; while Abúl Fazl, who had real information on these matters as understood in his own day, asserts that the *dám* was divided "in account" into twenty-five Chitals. (See Suppt. Pathán Sultáns, p. 31; N. C. xv. 156; Ferishtah, p. 299; Gladwin A. A., L, p. 36.) Then again there seems to have been some direct association between *Chitals* and *Kádis*, as General Cunningham has published a coin which he as yet has only partially deciphered, bearing the word چیتله on the one side, and بکائی [؟ یکانی] on the other. J. A. S. B., 1862, p. 425.

I have received from Mr. C. P. Brown the following note in reply to my queries as to the probable derivation of the word Chital:—

"I have been considering the inquiry you make regarding *chital* چیتل. You probably are aware that it is mentioned in the *Ayín-i-Akbári*, in the chapter on coins. There it evidently is an ideal money, like the farthing. You believe it may be connected with *chho tol* چھ تال, but I rather judge it to be merely the Sanskrit *chitra* चित्र meaning 'odd' as a species; or as an odd sum, a fraction; the smallest coins in copper, which in Marata and Dakhni are called *khurda* خوردہ (see Wilson's Glossary, p. 288), and in America *bills*; or a fraction even of these, which in the bazar are often represented or paid in a few pinches of grain. As the Sanskrit month *Chaitra* is in Bengali *Chait*, and the *Chitra-durgam*, or 'odd coloured hill,' is in Dakhni called چیتل درگ *Chittle droog*, I think this may be the true derivation. The *cauri*, kowry, is not mentioned in the *Ayín-i-Akbári*, and probably was not yet introduced into India. We still call the smallest fractions 'grains;' and that which is indefinite would be *chitra*, or, according to the Musulmáni pronunciation, *cheetul*. There is also a form of it, *chillara* चिल्लार or *chitra* چیلرا used in the Madras countries. Wilson notices it in his Glossary, p. 112, but fails to perceive its origin. It is precisely the same in sense. In Sanskrit scientific treatises, after a general rule, *chitram* is given as being a species, or sub class: *chillars* may often be rendered miscellaneous; and this is the same in idea."

It remains to discover upon what principles the new silver coinage of Altamsh was based. That copper was the ruling standard by which the relative values of the more precious metals were determined, there can scarcely be a doubt. The estimate by Panas of the ancient Law-giver, the constant reckoning by Chitals of the early Muhammadan intruders, down to the revenue assessments of Akbar, all of which were calculated in copper coin, sufficiently establish the permanency of the local custom, and the intrinsic contents of Altamsh's *Sikkah* or الفضة of 174 or 175 grains, must primarily have been regulated by the silver equivalent of a given number of Chitals. Had the old silver *Purānas* been still in vogue, the new coin might have been supposed to have been based upon their weights and values; three of which *Purānas* would have answered to an approximate total of 96 ratis; but although the weight of the old coin had been preserved in the more modern *Dehli-wālas*, the metallic value of the current pieces had been so reduced, that from 16 to 24 would probably have been required to meet the exchange against the original silver *Tankah*; on the other hand, although the number of 96 ratis does not occur in the ancient tables, the combination of the inconvenient number of *three* *Purānas* into one piece, is by no means opposed to Vedic ideas; and there can be no question but that the traditional 96 ratis, of whatever origination, is constant in the modern *tolah*; but, as I have said before, the question whether the new coin was designed to constitute an even *one hundred* rati-piece, which, in process of time, by wear or intentional lowering of standard weights, came to settle down to the 96 rati *tolah*, remains to be proved by the determination of the decimals in troy-grains, which ought to be assigned to the normal *rati*.

I now proceed to notice the historical bearings of the coins of the Bengal series.

Any general revision of a special subject, coincident with the discovery of an unusually large amount of new illustrative materials, owes a first tribute to previous commentators—whose range of identification may chance to have been circumscribed by more limited archæological data, the application

of which may equally have been narrowed by the inaccessibility of written history, heretofore confined, as in the present instance, to original Oriental MSS., or the partial transcripts and translations incidentally made known to the European world. At the head of the list of modern contributors must be placed, in point of time, M. Reinaud, who, so long ago as 1823, deciphered and described several types of the Bengal Mintages, commencing with those of Ilías Sháh (No. viii. of this series).<sup>1</sup> Closely following appeared Marsden's elaborate work, which, among other novelties, displayed a well-sustained sequence of Bengal coins, with corresponding engravings *still unequalled*, though in point of antiquity, producing nothing earlier than the issues of the same Ilías Sháh, who had inaugurated the newly-asserted independence of the southern monarchy, with such a wealth of coinages.<sup>2</sup> Next in order, must be cited a paper, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, by Mr. Laidlay, which added materially to the numismatic records of the local sovereigns, though still remaining deficient in the development of memorials of the more purely introductory history of the kingdom.<sup>3</sup> I myself, in the course of the publication of the Imperial Coins of the Pathán Sultáns of Dehli,<sup>4</sup> had occasion to notice two pieces of Bahádur Sháh, one of which proved of considerable interest, and likewise coins of both Shams-ud-dín Fírúz, and Mubárák Sháh, whose defective marginal legends, however, defeated any conclusive assignment to their original producers.

The chronicles of a subordinate and, in those days, but little accessible country were too often neglected by the national historians at the Court of Dehli, even if their means of information as to the course of local events had not necessarily been more or less imperfect. Two striking exceptions to the ordinary rule fortuitously occur, at conjunctions specially bearing upon the present enquiry, in the narrative of

<sup>1</sup> Journal Asiatique, Paris, vol. iii., p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> Numismata Orientalia, London, 1826, pp. 561-585.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. xv. (1846), p. 323.

<sup>4</sup> Wertheimer, London, 1847, pp. 37, 42, 82, and Supplement printed at Dehli in 1851, p. 15. See also Numismatic Chronicle, vol. ix., pp. 176, 181; vol. x., p. 153; and vol. xv. p. 124.

Minháj-ul-Siráj, Juzjáni, and the "Travels of Ibn Batutah," the former of whom accompanied Tughán Khán to Lakhnauti, in A.H. 640,<sup>1</sup> where he resided for about two years. The Arab from Tangiers,<sup>2</sup> on his way round to China, as ambassador on the part of Muhammad bin Tughlak, found himself in Eastern Bengal at the inconvenient moment when Fakhr-ud-dín Mubárak was in a state of undisguised revolt against the emperor, to whom they jointly owed allegiance; but this did not interfere with his practical spirit of enquiry, or his placing on record a most graphic description of the existing civilization and politics of the kingdom, and further compiling a singularly fresh and independent account (derived clearly from *visá voce* statements) of the immediately preceding dynastic changes to which the province had been subjected. So that, in effect, Ibn Batutah, with his merely incidental observations, has done more for the elucidation of the obscurities of the indigenous history of the period represented by the earlier coins of the Kooch Bahár hoard than all the native authors combined, to whose writings we at present have access.

The merits of these authors may or may not appear upon

<sup>1</sup> The *Tabakát-i-Násiri* of Abú Umar Minháj-ud-dín bin Siráj-ud-dín, *Juzjáni*, has been printed and published in the Persian series of the Bibliotheca Indica, under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta, 1864, pp. 453). The chapters on Indian and Central Asian affairs, with which the author was more or less personally conversant, have alone been reproduced. The usual Oriental commencement with the history of the world, the rise of Muhammadanism, etc., being mere compilations from secondary sources, have been very properly excluded from this edition. A full notice of the original work will be found in Mr. Morley's Catalogue of the MSS. of the R. A. S., p. 17 (London, 1854). Several other works of native historians, bearing upon the subject of this paper, have also been made accessible to the public in a printed form in the same collection, among which may be noted the *Tárikh-i-Firáz Sháhi* (the third king of the name in the Dehli list), by Zifá-i-Barni (Calcutta, 1862, pp. 602), and the *Muntakhab-ul-Tawárikh* of Abd ul Kádir, *Buddúni* (Calcutta, 1865, pp. 407). The editors have unadvisedly, I think, omitted the early portions of the original relating to India, and commence the publication with the accession of Akbar. An outline of the entire contents of the work will be found in Sir H. Elliot's *Historians of India* (Calcutta, 1849, p. 305).

<sup>2</sup> An English version of Ibn Batutah's *Travels* (taken from an abridged text), by Dr. S. Lee, was published in the series of the Oriental Translation Fund in 1829 (1 vol., 4to., London). A new and very complete edition of his entire Arabic Text, with a French Translation, chiefly the work of the late M. C. Defrémery, has been issued within the last few years by the Société Asiatique of Paris (4 vols. 8vo., Paris, 1853-1858).

the surface in the subsequent pages, as it is only in doubtful or difficult cases that their aid may chance to be invoked, but for the obscure series of the first Governors of Bengal, the one stands alone, and for the space of time intervening between the provincial obscurity of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the unambitious son of Balban, to the revival of public interest in Bengal, consequent upon the subjection and capture of a rebel vassal by Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh, the chance traveller describes more effectively the political mutations and varying monarchical successions than the professed historiographers treating exclusively of the annals of their own land.

The following list of Local Governors has been compiled, the early portion from the precise statements of Minháj-ul-Siráj, the latter part from the casual notices of Bengal, to be found in Zíá-i-Barni, who professed to continue the history of India from the latest date reached by the former author, or from A.H. 658 to 753, being a period of 95 years, covering the reigns of eleven kings. The last-named work was finally completed in A.H. 758.

The arrangement of the names and the dates of accession of the chiefs will be found to depart occasionally from the details given by Stewart,<sup>1</sup> in his excellent History of Bengal, but I have designedly sought to draw my materials independently from the original authorities, whom he was perhaps in a less favourable position for consulting than the student of the present day.

## GOVERNORS OF BENGAL.

ACCESSION. A.H.	NAMES OF GOVERNORS.	REMARKS.
600	1. محمد بختيار خلجي	First Muhammadan conqueror of Bengal, under Kutb-ud-din of Dehli.
602	2. عزالدين محمد شيران خلجي	Succeeds to the local government after the death of Muhammad Bakhtíár.

<sup>1</sup> The History of Bengal, by Charles Stewart. London, 1813. 4to.

GOVERNORS OF BENGAL—*continued.*

ACCESSION, A.H.	NAMES OF GOVERNORS.	REMARKS.
605	علاء الدين تلي مردان خلجي	Nominated to the government by Kutb-ud-din, on whose decease in A.H. 607, he assumes independence. <sup>1</sup>
608	حسام الدين عوض خلجي (سلطان غياث الدين)	Commandant at Deokót, establishes his power and assumes royal honors. He submits to Altamsh in A.H. 622, but almost immediately commences an active revolt, which is put an end to in his capture by Násir-ud-din Mahmúd, the eldest son of Altamsh, in A.H. 624.
624	ناصر الدين محمود بن سلطان المتمس	Násir-ud-din had been appointed by his father Governor of Oudh, in A.H. 623, from whence he advanced against Hisám-ud-din in 624, and recovered the kingdom of Bengal, where he remained as subking till his death early in 626.
627	علاء الدين جاني	After temporary disturbances in the province, Altamsh, having restored order in A.H. 627, designated Alá-ud-din Jání to the charge of Bengal.
	سيف الدين ابيك يغان تت	Nominated to Bengal on the dismissal of Alá-ud-din Jání (date not given). Dies in 631 A.H.

<sup>1</sup> Minháj-ul-Siráj, who treats of the history of his own and immediately preceding times, introduces the reigns of the more powerful sovereigns with a full list of the Court notabilities, forming a sort of *Almanach de Gotha* of Muhammadan India. These lists embrace the various branches of the Royal Family, Ministers,

Judges, and Governors of Provinces. The following names of the ضابط's or military administrators of Bengal, which appear in the official returns, may serve to check or confirm the imperfect data obtained from the casual notices of local history to be met with in the general narrative of the events of the Empire at large. There is this discrimination, however, to be made that these imperial nominations were often merely titular, while the effective executive was in other and independent hands:

Under Altamsh, A.H. 607-633.

ملك لكهنوتي ملك اختيار الدين محمد برادر زاد

Under Násir-ud-din Mahmúd, A.H. 644-664.

الملك الكبير عز الدين طغرل طغانخان ملك لكهنوتي

الملك الكبير تمرخان قيران ملك اوده و لكهنوتي

الملك الكبير جلال الدين خلع خان ملك جاني ملك لكهنوتي وكرة

GOVERNORS OF BENGAL—*continued.*

ACCESSION. A.H.	NAMES OF GOVERNORS.	REMARKS.
631.	8. عزالدین طغرل طغان خان	Pledges his allegiance to Riziah on her elevation in A.H. 634; continues in the government till 642 A.H., when he surrenders the kingdom to No. 9. (Minhāj-ul-Sirāj, the historian, was at his court at this latter period.
642	9. قمرالدین تمرخان قیران. 10. اختیار الدین یوزیکت طغرل خان	Obtains possession of Lakhnauti on the 6th Zul Kāad, A.H. 642—dies in 644. Dates uncertain. First appointed during the reign of Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd of Dehli. He seems to have been a powerful ruler and a daring commander, and finally met his death in his retreat from an over-venturesome expedition into Kāmrup. He had previously assumed independence under the title of سلطان مغیث الدین.
656	11. جلال الدین مسعود ملک جانی	Appointed in A.H. 656. (قتلغ خان subsequently in temporary possession).
657	12. عزالدین بلبن اوزبکی	Recognised, on receipt of his tributary presents at head-quarters, in the early part of A.H. 657.
657	13. تاج الدین ارسلان خان سنجر خوارزمی	Obtains a momentary advantage over No. 12 in his absence from his capital; eventually taken prisoner and superseded by No. 12.
659	14. (محمد ارسلان خان) تتر خان	Son of No. 12. <sup>1</sup> On the accession of Balban in A.H. 664, he forwards elephants and tribute to Dehli.
676?	15. مغیث الدین طغرل	Appointed by Balban. <sup>2</sup> He afterwards asserts his independence, and assumes the title of سلطان مغیث الدین. Balban sends armies against him without success, and at last proceeds in person to Bengal. Finally, Toghral is surprised and killed.
681	16. بَعْرَاخان ناصرالدین محمود	Second son of Balban, installed with royal honors.

<sup>1</sup> Zia-i-Barni in one place, page 53, calls him تترخان پسر ارسلان خان, and again, at page 66, محمد ارسلان خان که اورا تتر خان گفتندی.

<sup>2</sup> Zia-i-Barni, pp. 82-92.



As I have such frequent occasion to quote the names of the Kings of the Imperial Dynasty of Dehli, I annex for facility of reference a full list of these Sovereigns.

LIST OF THE PATHAN SULTANS OF HINDUSTAN.  
(DEHLI).

DATE OF ACCESSION. A.H.	NO.	NAMES OF SULTANS.
589	1	Mūiz-ud-dīn Muhammad bin Sām (1st Dynasty).
602	2	Kutb-ud-dīn Aibek.
607	3	Arām Sháh.
607	4	Shams-ud-dīn Altamah.
633	5	Rukn-ud-dīn Firúz Sháh I.
634	6	Sultán Rizíah.
637	7	Mūiz-ud-dīn Bahrám Sháh.
639	8	Alá-ud-dīn Mas'ūd Sháh.
644	9	Násir-ud-dīn Mahmúd.
664	10	Ghíás-ud-dīn Balban.
686	11	Mūiz-ud-dīn Kaikubád.
688	12	Jalál-ud-dīn Firúz Sháh II., <i>Khāijī</i> (2nd Dynasty).
695	13	Rukn-ud-dīn Ibráhm.
695	14	Alá-ud-dīn Muhammad Sháh.
715	15	Shaháb-ud-dīn Umar.
716	16	Kutb-ud-dīn Mubárák Sháh I.
720	17	Násir-ud-dīn Khusrá.
730	18	Ghíás-ud-dīn Tughlak Sháh (3rd Dynasty).
725	19	Muhammad bin Tughlak.
752	20	Firúz Sháh III., <i>bin Salar Rajab</i> .
790	21	Tughlak Sháh II.
791	22	Abdúbakr Sháh.
793	23	Muhammad Sháh bin Firúz Sháh.
795	24	Sikandar Sháh.
795	25	Mahmúd Sháh bin Muhammad Sháh (Timúr, 800).
797	26	Nusrat Sháh, <i>Interregnum</i> , Mahmúd restored, 802.
816	27	Daulat Khán Lodí.
817	28	Khizr Khán <i>Synd</i> (4th Dynasty).
824	29	Mūiz-ud-dīn Mubárák Sháh II.
839	30	Muhammad Sháh bin Faríd Sháh.
849	31	'Aálam Sháh.
854	32	Bahlól Lodí (5th Dynasty).
894	33	Sikandar bin Bahlól.
923	34	Ibráhm bin Sikandar (Báber, 930 A.H.)
937	35	Muhammad Humáyún, <i>Moghal</i> .
946	36	Faríd-ud-dīn Shír Sháh, <i>Afghan</i> .
952	37	Islám Sháh.
960	38	Muhammad 'Aádil Sháh.
961	39	Ibráhm Súr.
962	40	Sikandar Sháh (Humáyún, 962 A.H.)

The unenlivened Chronicles of the Local Governors of Bengal enter upon a more interesting phase, in the nomination of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the son of the Emperor Balban, who subsequently came to prefer the easy dignity of Viceroy, in the more even climate of the south, in derogation of his birth-right's higher honours, and the attendant dangers of Imperialism at Dehli. One of the most touching chapters of Indian history is contributed by the incidents of this monarch's meeting with his own arrogant son, Muiz-ud-dín Kaikubád, who had succeeded to the superior dignities abjured by the father.<sup>1</sup> They then met as nominal Vassal and Suzerain, but little unequal in power, and each occupying independent and preparedly hostile camps, on the ordinary route between their respective capitals. Oriental etiquette, and more reasonable distrust, for a time, delayed the interview, in which, at last, nature was destined to re-assert its laws, and to reconcile even conflicting royal interests, by subduing, for the moment, the coarse vices of the son in the presence of the tempered virtues of the father. Repeated amicable conferences, however, merely resulted in each returning on his way, with but little change in the relative political position of either; and the comparatively obscure repose of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd remained undisturbed, while other successors filled his son's throne at Dehli. The more immediate question bearing upon the attribution of the earliest coins in the Kooch Bahár treasure, is exactly how long did Násir-ud-dín continue to live and reign. Zíá-i-Barni,<sup>2</sup> and those who follow his ill-digested history, affirm that he retained his provincial kingship till 699 A.H., when he divested himself of all symbols of royalty in the mere dread of the confessedly overwhelming power of Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh, to be, however, reinstated by that Sultán; and, finally, it is asserted that Násir-ud-dín was still in existence, and once again reinvested with the full insignia of a king, by Tughlak Sháh, in A.H. 724.

Zíá-i-Barni, p. 142; Ibn Batutah, iii., p. 178; Lee's Translation, p. 117; and *قران السعديين* of Amir Khusrú, *Dehlii*.

<sup>2</sup> Printed edition, p. 461; Budauni MS.; Ferihtah (Briggs, i. p. 406).

Ibn Batutah, a higher authority in proximity of time, and obviously more intimate with the purely indigenous history, states that Násir-ud-dín, on his return from his interview with his son, reigned some years (سنتين),<sup>1</sup> an expression which is scarcely compatible with the idea of a nearly continuous rule of "forty-three solar years," and a decease in A.H. 725, as adopted by Stewart:<sup>2</sup> a prolongation of administrative functions indeed altogether inconsistent with the direct evidence of the dates on the money of Kai Káús, or the parallel proof of Shams-ud-dín's exercise of the functions of sovereignty in 702 A.H., associated as they are with the uncontested historical and numismatic demonstration of the succession of one grandson, Shaháb-ud-dín, whose ejection from his inherited section of the kingdom by his more powerful brother, Bahádur, formed so prominent a ground for imperial interference in the affairs of Bengal, are each and all too well ascertained to leave any doubt that the authors who make Násir-ud-dín's reign extend to 725 must be in error; the source of the mistake seems as simple as it is obvious, the mere omission of the son's name as preceding that of the father, in Persian MS. writing, or simple ignorance of the order of local successions, would account for the whole difficulty. And, as is obvious, Ibn Batutah's own personal knowledge, and possibly correct autograph version, reproduced independently in other lands, have not saved later transcripts of his work from analogous imperfections.<sup>3</sup>

But there are other and more direct internal evidences in the texts of the Indian authors, of confusion and imperfect knowledge in the relation of the incidents attendant upon the re-settlement of Bengal by Alá-ud-dín in A.H. 699, where it is stated that "a chief, named Bahádur Khán," was at this time appointed to "the eastern districts of Bengal,"<sup>4</sup> with the object of dividing the province, and thus rendering its rulers

<sup>1</sup> French edition, iii., p. 179, and xiii. Dr. Lee's سنتين "two years," p. 118, is an error.

<sup>2</sup> Stewart's Bengal, p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> Ex.gr., Bahádur is made the son of Násir-ud-dín, at p. 179, vol. iii., instead of the grandson, which the text at p. 210, vol. iii., and p. 213, vol. iv., affirms him to have been. Lee's MS. authorities again, in omitting the intermediate name of Násir-ud-dín, skip a generation, and ante-date Shams-ud-dín (Fíróz) in constituting him a son of Ghíás-ud-dín Balban (p. 128).

<sup>4</sup> Ferishtah, Briggs, i., p. 406; Stewart, p. 79.

“more subservient to the Court of Dehli.” It is highly improbable, had Násir-ud-dín been living at the epoch in question, that a grandson of his should have been selected for such a charge to the supercession of his own father, Shams-ud-dín, or in priority to the son of that father, Shaháb-ud-dín, who was the elder or perhaps better-born brother of Bahádur, each of whom, Ibn Batutah certifies, in turn succeeded to royal honours in the old capital of Bengal.

Having completed this simple outline of the historical data, I now proceed to describe the coins in their due order; first on the list in priority of time is a piece which I can only doubtfully assign to Bengal, and whose individual appropriation, moreover, must remain to a certain extent inconclusive. The coin itself will be seen to bear the hereditary name of the first Moslem Conqueror of India, *Mahmúd* of Ghazní, and the oft-revived title of the founder of the dynasty, *Násir-ud-dín* Subuktagin, a conjunction of royal designations already seen to have been applied to a succession of Pathán princes, whose intitulation followed antecedent conventionalisms.

*Násir-ud-dín.* Mahmúd Sháh.

No. 1.

Silver. Size, viii. Weight, 163.1 grs. Unique, *British Museum.*

OBV.

REV.

السَّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ  
نَاصِرُ الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ  
أَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ مُحَمَّدُ  
شَاهُ بْنُ سَلْطَانَ

فِي عَهْدِ الْإِمَامِ  
الْمُسْتَنْصِرِ بِاللَّهِ أَمِيرِ  
الْمُؤْمِنِينَ لِلَّهِ

Margin, illegible.



The incidental details of the legends restrict the assignment of this piece to one of *two* individuals, the eldest or the youngest son of Altamsh, the latter of whom was authoritatively designated by the like name and title on the decease of his brother, in 626 A.H.<sup>1</sup> The citation of the formula, "during the reign of (the Khalif) Al Mostansir billah," on the reverse, limits the final period of the issue of the coin, not exactly to the 5th month of the year A.H. 640, when that Pontiff died, but with clear precision to A.H. 641, when the knowledge of his death was officially declared by the substitution of a new name in the Mintages of the capital of Hindustán.<sup>2</sup>

This younger son was destined eventually to succeed to the throne of his father at Dehli, in 644 A.H., after the intervening reigns of Rukn-ud-dín Fírúz Sháh, Rizíah, Muiz-ud-dín Bahrám Sháh, and Alá-ud-dín Masáúd Sháh, in all, however, extending only over a space of eleven years, posterior to the death of Altamsh. The second Mahmúd, must, under these conditions, have been but of tender years, and though, at this conjuncture, promoted to the titular honours of an elder brother, not in any position to exercise authority in his own person, and less likely to have had medallie tribute paid to him by his father, should such have been the origin of the exceptional specimen under review. To the first-born Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, no such objections apply; he was very early invested by his sire, with the administration of the important government of Hánsi, and in 623 A.H., advanced to the higher charge of the dependencies of Oudh, from which *quasi* frontier, he was called upon to proceed against Hisám-ud-dín Avaz, (No. 4 in the list of Governors, *suprà*), who had already achieved a very complete independence in the province of Bengal. Here, his arms were fortuitously, but not the less effectually, successful, so that he had honours thrust upon him even to the Red Umbrella, and its attendant dignities,<sup>3</sup> what-

<sup>1</sup> سلطان اسلام ناصرالدين محمود چنانچه وارث اسم و لقب او است  
Tabakát Násiri, p. 181; و نام پسر مهتر مخصوص گردانیده; p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Pathán Sultáns of Dehli, coin No. 33, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> His title is usually limited by Minháj-ul-Siráj to ملك pp. 177, 181, 201;

ever the exact measure of these may have been. Under such triumphant coincidences, it is possible that the universal favourite, the still loyal heir-apparent, may have placed his own name on the coinage, without designed offence, especially as at this time Moslem Mints were only beginning to adapt themselves to their early naturalization on Indian soil, and when the conqueror's camps carried with them the simple machinery, and equally ready adepts, for converting bullion plunder on the instant into the official money of a general, or his liege sovereign. Altamsh's own circulating media were only in process of crude development at this period, and had scarcely risen superior to the purely Hindu currencies it had served the purpose of his predecessors to leave virtually intact: his own strange *Türki* name,<sup>1</sup> and that of many of his successors, continued to figure in the *Nāgarī* letters of the subject races on the surfaces of the mixed silver and copper coins of indigenous origin, at times commemorative of imperfectly achieved conquests, and the limited ascendancy implied in the retention of the joint names of the conqueror and the momentarily subject monarch;<sup>2</sup> while the Sultán's own trial-

but on one occasion سلطان crops out incidentally in the Court list where, in his place among the sons of the Emperor Altamsh, he is so designated, p. 178.

<sup>1</sup> This name I have, as a general rule, retained in the form accepted as the conventional English orthography—*Altamsh*. The correct rendering of the original is still an open question, but the more trustworthy authors reproduce the designation as التتمش, a transcription supported in a measure by the repetition of the third letter in the Kufic dies, and made authoritative, in as far as local pronunciation is concerned, by the Hindi correlative version of खितितिमिसि (Pathán Sultáns, Coin No. 14). The inscription on the KUTB MINÁR, at Dehli, has ايلتمش, which accords with the Arabic numismatic rendering on the reverses of the Hindi Coins now cited.

See also Táj-ul-Maásir, *Alitimiash*: Wasáf, *Alitimiash*, and at times اتلمش Badauni, *Alitimiash*.

Elliot's *Historians of India*, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> See coins of *Chahir deva*.

*Obverse*. Bull. Legend: चसावरी श्री समसोरसदिवि

*Reverse*. Horseman. Legend: श्री चाहृ देव

—Pathán Sultáns, No. 15; *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xix. 16. 31, 34; Prinsep's *Essays*, i. 333, pl. xxvi. 31; Minháj-ul-Siráj, pp. 215, 240; Tod's *Rajasthan*, ii. 451; and *J.A.S. Bengal*, 1865, p. 126.

pieces, in silver, were indeterminate in their design and legends, as well as utterly barbarous in their graphic execution.

Had the coin under review followed the usual phraseology and palæography of the Imperial Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd's Mint legends, it might have been imagined that an ancient and obsolete reverse had been by hazard associated with a new obverse. But the obverse inscription in the present instance differs from the later Dehli nomenclature in the addition of the word *Sháh* after the name of *Mahmúd*,<sup>1</sup> and contrasts as singularly in the forms of the letters, and the insertion of the short vowels with the more deferred issues, as it, on the other hand, closely identifies itself in these marked peculiarities with the initial dies of Altamsh and the closely sequent coinages of Rizíah, two of which latter are now known to be the produce of the Lakhnauti Mint.

#### RIZIAH.

The earliest coins that can be definitely attributed to a Bengal mint, are those of the celebrated Queen Regnant of Muhammadan India—Rizíah, the daughter of Altamsh. The ministers at her father's court were scandalized at the preference it was proposed to extend to a daughter, in supercession of the claims of adult male heirs to the throne; but the Sultán justified his selection, alike on account of the demerits of his sons, and the gifts and acquirements of his daughter, who had been brought up under the unusual advantages of freedom from the seclusion enjoined for females by the more severe custom of ordinary Moslem households, aided by the advantages incident to the exalted position occupied by her mother as the leading and independently-domiciled wife. After the brief reign of Rukn-ud-dín Firúz, extending over

<sup>1</sup> So, in written history, Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the Emperor, is called by his own special biographer, سلطان المعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين محمود بن السلطان (pp. 9, 177, 178, 201, etc.) which is in contrast to the nominal adjunct so constant with his predecessors, Firúz Sháh, Bahráh Sháh, Masáúd Sháh. On one occasion only does the additional Sháh appear in a substituted list of Altamsh's Court (p. 178), where the text gives—1. Sultán Násir-ud-dín \* \* 2. Sultán Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd; and at the end, after the name of Rukn-ud-dín Firúz Sháh, comes "Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd Sháh."

less than seven months—who freely exemplified by his misconduct his father's prophetic reproach—Rizíah succeeded in establishing her supremacy in the city of Dehli (A.H. 734), and Eastern eyes witnessed the singular spectacle of an unveiled and diademed Queen—the first in India—directing the hosts of Islám, under the canopy of the immemorial regal seat on an elephant. Rizíah's early inauguration was attended with no inconsiderable danger and difficulty, arising from the organised military resources of the various governors of provinces, who hesitated in conceding their allegiance. Eventually, however, to use the expression of Minháj-ul-Siráj, quiet was established throughout the empire, and Rizíah's sway was acknowledged from "Daibal to Lakhnautí." In A.H. 737, the Empress proceeded in person to quell an outbreak on the part of Ikhtíár-ud-dín Altúníah, Governor of Tiberhind; but was taken captive in the engagement that ensued, and, possibly with scant ceremony, introduced into the harem of the conqueror, who shortly afterwards advanced upon Dehli in the hope of recovering the sovereignty, to which he had thus acquired an adventitious claim; but his army was in turn defeated, and himself and Rizíah met their deaths near Kaithal in the month of Rabi-al-Awal, A.H. 738.<sup>1</sup>

The contemporary biographer in his official lists styles this queen *السلطان رضية الدين*, a title which she affects on the ordinary copper coins,<sup>2</sup> but on the silver money she adopts the designation of *جلالة الدين*.

*Jalálat-ud-dín. Rizíah.*

Coin No. 2.

Lakhnautí, A.H. ?

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 168 grs. Plate I., figure 1.

Type, *Obverse*, the whole surface is occupied by the legend.

*Reverse*, circular area, enclosing a double-lined square.

Narrow margin.

<sup>1</sup> Tabakát Násiri, pp. 183, 185, 251. See also Ibn Batutah, iii. pp. 167, 168.

<sup>2</sup> Pathán Sultáns, Nos. 28, 29.

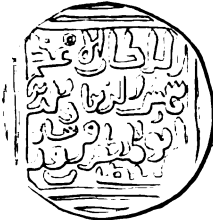




1



2



3



6



4



5



8



7



9





OBY.

السلطان الاعظم  
 جلالة الدنيا والدين  
 ملكه ابنت المتشم السلطان  
 مهرة امير المؤمنين

REV.

في عهد الامام  
 المستنصر امير  
 المؤمنين

Reverse Margin, \* \* هذا الفضة بلكنوتي سنة \* \*

(See also a similar coin from the Laknauti Mint, Plate i., fig. 27, page 19. Coins of the Pathán Sultáns of Hindústán.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It would seem from the orthography adopted in this earliest record of the name of *Laknauti* (لكنوتي) that the original Semitic transcription was designed to follow the classical derivation of *Lakshmanavati* (लक्ष्मणवती), which was soon, however, adapted to the more colloquial *Luchhman* (لجهمن) by the addition of an *h* after the *k*, as لکهنوتي; in which form it appears under the first local Sultáns (coin No. 3, etc.), Minháj-ul-Siráj relates its elevation to the rank of the capital in supercession of Nuddeah by Muhammad Bakhtíár in the following terms:

چون محمد بختيار آن مملکت را ضابط کرد شهر نو ديه را خراب  
 بگذاشت و بر مرضعي که لکهنوتي است دارالملک ساخت

Printed edit. p. 151. The same author at p. 162 gives a full account of the remarkable size, progress, and general topography of the city as existing in 641 A.H. on the occasion of his own visit.

It is difficult to say when the name of the city was changed to *Gaur*, a denomination which is never made use of by the older authorities. Abul Fazl says, "Formerly it was called Lucknouty, and sometimes Gour" (A. A. ii. p. 11); while Budáuni gives a ridiculous version of the origin of the designation as being derived from غوري. He writes محمد بختيار معابد و بتخانهاي

كفار را ويران ساخته مساجد و خوانق و مدارس کرد و دارالملک

بنام خویش تعمیر فرمود که کور نام دارد. The obvious imperfection of the critical philology of the derivation, however, debars it reception, as does the caustic alternative of گور = "grave," which the often deserted site, under the speedy action of water and a semi-tropical vegetation, may have deservedly earned for it. But it is quite legitimate to infer that as গৌড় was the ancient name for central Bengal (Wilson, Glossary, *sub voce*; Albirúni, quoted J.R.A.S. i., N.S., p. 471), and so intimately associated with the tribal divisions of the indigenous Brahmans, that the designation originated in the popular application of the name of the country to its own metropolis, and that the town continued to be called *Gaur* in vernacular speech in spite of the new names so frequently bestowed upon it by its alien lords.

## I.—RUKN-UD-DYN KAI KAUS.

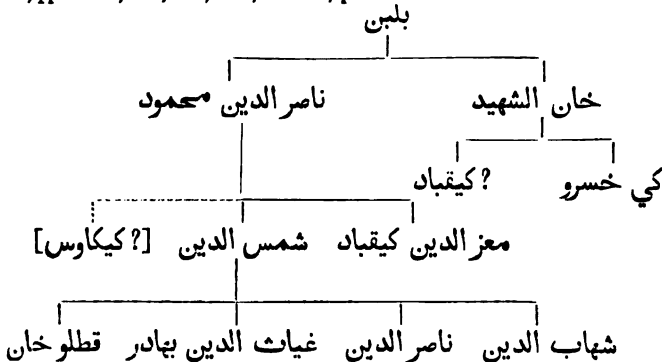
The full and satisfactory identification of the king who ruled under the designation of Kai Káús has yet to be accomplished. Rajendra lál Mitra has suggested a notion that Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the son of Balban, so often mentioned in this article, sought, as local ruler of Bengal, "to continue his allegiance to his grandson Kaimurs [momentarily king of Dehli], even after his deposition, and possibly after his death,"<sup>1</sup> by retaining his name on the public money. I should be disposed to seek a less complicated explanation of the numismatic evidences. Kai Káús' date, tested by the examples of his mintages in the Kooch Bahár hoard, is limited, in range of time, to five years (691-695 A.H.);<sup>2</sup> a latitude might be taken beyond the ascertained units, which are somewhat indeterminate in their tracings, and have equally suffered from abrasion, on the exposed margins of the coins, but the *ninety* and the *six hundred* can scarcely be contested. If we examine the political state of India at this period, we find that Hindustán was abnormally quiet under the feeble rule of Jalál-ud-dín Fírúz (687-695 A.H.): Alá-ud-dín's conquests in the Dakhin could have but little affected Bengal, so that any changes that may have taken place in the latter kingdom were probably due to successional or revolutionary causes arising within its own limits. We can scarcely build up a theory of an access of vigour and assumption of independence by Násir-ud-dín himself; nor is it probable that, in such a case, he would have changed both his title and his name. Besides, the array of titles on the coins in the triple succession of *Sultáns* is altogether inconsistent with his actual origin. Though he was the son of one emperor of Dehli, and the father of another, he could scarcely ignore the rise of the former from a state of slavery, or conceal the fact that Balban himself never pretended to have been the offspring of a king. The two alternatives remain of either supposing

<sup>1</sup> Jour. As. Soc. Beng., 1864, p. 508.

<sup>2</sup> Rajendra lál says, "the units *one* and *three* are perfectly clear." Col. Guthrie's three coins are imperfect in the word for the unit. I observe traces of a *four* on two specimens; and I read, with some certainty, 695 on another.

that Násir-ud-dín died before 691 A.H., a question discussed elsewhere, or to conclude that his son Rukn-ud-dín Kai Káús temporarily assumed kingship during the lifetime of his father,<sup>1</sup> and that his limited reign and local obscurity saved his memory from the comments of history. I fully endorse Rajendra lál's suggestion that Kai Káús would have been likely to be selected as a name for one of a family who took so many of their designations from Persian heroic ages, and the elaborate intitulation adopted by that prince, on his coins, of the "Son and grandson of a Sultán," favours such an identification.<sup>2</sup> It will be seen that although the opening terms of his obverse legends follow the conventional and unvarying mint phraseology in the use of السلطان, *the* (reigning) Sultán, yet after his own proper name he styles himself merely سلطان, and seemingly desired to strengthen his position by the insertion of the regal titles of his father and grandfather, though there is so far room for questioning this supposition in the fact that the father had fallen short of supreme power, and was only doubtfully authorized to call himself Sultán, while in strictness the Imperial *Balban* should have been designated *the Sultán* (past *regnant*); but, on the other

<sup>1</sup> The following is the genealogical tree, according to Ibn Batutah. See vol. iii., pp. 174-5, 179, 210, 462; vol. iv., p. 212.



<sup>2</sup> The name of the son of Kai Kobád, who was elevated to the throne of Dehli on the death of his father, is variously given by Oriental writers as Shams-ud-dín كياوس and كيو مرث. Budáuní and the *Mirát-ul-Alam* (MS.) give *Kai Kíús*, but the majority of authors prefer the *Kaiomurs*. Zíá-i-Barni does not state the name of the boy, but mentions a son of Altamsh, in the previous generation, as having been called *Kaiomurs* (printed ed. p. 126).

hand, Násir-ud-dín had been so long virtually a king in the south, that the complimentary use of the term was quite within heraldic licence; and it is to be remarked, that a similar omission of the supreme prefix occurs in *Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd Sháh's* coin (No. 1), which, if correctly attributed, would prove the legitimacy<sup>1</sup> of the optional use of one or the other form.

These are avowedly mere speculations; but when it is considered how much attention was paid in India, in those days, to every varying shade and degree of honorary rank, how much importance was attached to even the colours of official umbrellas,<sup>2</sup> and other, to us, minor observances, it cannot but be felt that these subordinate indications may chance to prove of material aid in illustrating doubtful interpretations.

Kai Káuś.

No. 3.

Lakhnautí, A.H. "691, 693,"<sup>3</sup> and 694-695.

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 168 grs. Very rare. Plate I. fig. 2.  
Type, as in the previous coins.

OBV.	REV.
السلطان الاعظم	الامام
ركن الدنيا والدين ابو	المستعصم
المظفر كيكاسو سلطان	امير المومنين
بن سلطان بن سلطان	

ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرت لکنوتی ستہ خمس وتسعين وستماية، Margin

<sup>1</sup> The Bengal Mints, after the initial uncertainty, soon settle themselves down to follow the established Dehli models. In the latter, it will be seen, great care was taken by all those sovereigns who could boast of a Royal descent, to define the fact upon their coins. Bahram Sháh, Mas'úd Sháh, Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd bin Altamsh, and Ibrahim bin Fírúz all entitle themselves **بن السلطان**. Balban, Kai Kubád, Jalál-ud-dín Fírúz, and the great Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh have to be content with their own self-achieved **السلطان**.

<sup>2</sup> Minháj-ul-Siráj, p. 263; **وسه چتر برداست لعل و سیاہ و سپید** ditto, p. 181, A.H. 625. **چتر سبز یافت**

<sup>3</sup> Babu Rajendra lál Mitra notices four coins of this king with the dates 691 and 693. Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1864, p. 579 He was disposed to read the mint as Sunárgaon. Of Col. Guthrie's three specimens, two bear distinct traces of the name of Lakhnauti.

## II.—SHAMS-UD-DĪN FIRUZ.

Whatever may have been the actual date of Násir-ud-dĭn's decease or political obscurity, we tread upon more firm ground in the conjoint testimony of the coins and the historical reminiscences of Ibn Batutah, in the assurance that his son, Shams-ud-dĭn Fírúz, was in full possession of power in Western Bengal at the time of Muhammad bin Tughlak's abortive revolt against his own father, in 722-3 A.H.<sup>1</sup> The African traveller incidentally mentions that, to the court of this southern monarch fled the nobles who had engaged in the contemplated treason, which originated in the camp of the army of the Dakhin, of which the imperial heir was commander. Professedly written history is altogether at fault in establishing the existence or illustrating the reign of this sovereign; and even Ibn Batutah<sup>2</sup> does little more than place upon

<sup>1</sup> As this passage presents no particular difficulty, beyond the difference of the texts from which English and French translators have drawn their inspiration, I merely annex the rendering given in the amended Paris edition, vol. iii., p. 210. "Les autres émirs s'enfuirent près du Sultan Chems eddĭn, fils du sultan Nâcir-eddĭn, fils du sultan Ghiyâth eddĭn Balaban, et se fixèrent à sa cour. . . Les émirs fugitifs séjournèrent près du sultan Chems eddĭn. Dans la suite, celui-ci mourut, léguant le trône à son fils Chihâb eddĭn. Ce prince succéda à son père; mais son frère cadet, Ghiyâth eddĭn Behâdoûr Boûrah (ce dernier mot signifie, dans la langue indienne, *le noir*), le vainquit, s'empara du royaume, et tua son frère Kothloû Khân, ainsi que la plupart de ses autres frères. Deux de ceux-ci, le sultan Chihâb eddĭn et Nâsir eddĭn, s'enfuirent près de Toghlok, qui se mit en marche avec eux, afin de combattre le fratricide. Il laissa dans son royaume son fils Mohammed en qualité de vice-roi, et s'avança en hâte vers le pays de Lacnauty. Il s'en rendit maître, fit prisonnier son sultan Ghiyâth eddĭn Behâdoûr et reprit avec ce captif le chemin de sa capitale." See also Lee's Translation, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Batutah in the following extract tells us so much about the real history of Bengal at, and previous to his own visit, that I quote the Arabic text *in extenso*; I feel it is the more necessary to reproduce the original version on this occasion, as Dr. Lee's translation is altogether deficient in any reference to the passage, which was clearly wanting in the MSS. at his disposal.

\* \* ذكر سلطان بنجالة وهو السلطان فخر الدين الملقب بفخره \* \*  
 سلطان فاضل محب في الغرباء وخصوصاً الفقراء والمتصوفة وكانت  
 مملكة هذه البلاد للسلطان ناصر الدين بن السلطان غياث الدين  
 بلبن وهو الذي ولي ولده معز الدين الملك بدهلي فتوجه لقتاله والتقى  
 بالنهر وسمى لقاؤهما لقاء السعدين وقد ذكرنا ذلك وانه ترك الملك  
 لولده وعاد الى بنجالة فاقام بها الى ان توفي وولى ابنه شمس الدين

record the affiliation, elevation, and decease of Shams-ud-dîn, whose own coins alone furnish the additional item of his regal name of Fîrûz; and in their marginal records establish the fact of his possession of Lakhnautî during the period embraced between the years 702-722, and at some moment of

الى ان توفى فولى ابنه شهاب الدين الى ان غلب عليه اخوه  
غياث الدين بهادور بور فاستنصر شهاب الدين بالسلطان غياث الدين  
تغلق فنصره واخذ بهادور بور اسيراً ثم اطلقه ابنه محمد لما ملك  
على ان يقاسمه ملك فنكث عليه فقاتله حتى قتله وولى علي هذه  
البلاد صهراً له فقتله العسكر واستولى على ملكها على شاه وهو إذ ذاك  
ببلاد اللكنوتى فلما رأى فخر الدين ان الملك قد خرج عن اولاد  
السلطان ناصر الدين وهو مولى لهم خالف بسدكاوان وبلاد بنجاله  
واستقل بالملك واشتدت الفتنة بينه وبين على شاه فاذا كانت ايام  
الشتاء والوحل اغار فخر الدين على بلاد اللكنوتى فى البحر لقرته فيه  
واذا عادت الايام التى لامطرفيها اغار على شاه على بنجاله فى البر  
لقوته فيه

Vol. iv. p. 212, Paris edition.

TRANSLATION.

C'est le Sultan Fakhr eddîn, surnommé Fakreh, qui est un souverain distingué, aimant les étrangers, surtout les fakirs et les soufis. La royauté de ce pays a appartenu au Sultan Nâssir eddîn, fils du Sultan Ghiyâth ed dîn Balaban, et dont le fils, Mo'izz eddîn, fut investi de la souveraineté à Dihly. Nâssir eddîn se mit en marche pour combattre ce fils; ils se rencontrèrent sur les bords du fleuve, et leur entrevue fut appelée la rencontre des deux astres heureux. Nous avons déjà raconté celâ, et comment Nâssir eddîn abandonna l'empire à son fils et retourna dans le Bengale. Il y séjourna jusqu'à sa mort, et eut pour successeur son (autre) fils, Chams eddîn, qui, après son trépas, fut lui-même remplacé par son fils, Chihâb eddîn, lequel fut vaincu par son frère, Ghiyâth eddîn Bêhâdour Boûr. Chihâb eddîn demanda du secours au Sultan Ghiyâth eddîn Toghlok, qui lui en accorda, et fit prisonnier Bêhâdour Boûr. Celui-ci fut ensuite relâché par le fils de Toghlok, Mohammed, après son avènement, à condition de partager avec lui le royaume du Bengale; mais il se révolta contre lui, et Mohammed lui fit la guerre jusqu'à ce qu'il le tuât. Il nomma alors gouverneur de ce pays un de ses beaux-frères, que les troupes massacrèrent. 'Aly Châh, qui se trouvait alors dans le pays de de Lacnaouty, s'empara de la royauté du Bengale. Quand Fakhr eddîn vit que la puissance royale était sortie de la famille du Sultan Nâssir eddîn, dont il était un des affranchis (ou clients), il se révolta à Sodcâwân et dans le Bengale, et se déclara indépendant. Une violente inimitié survint entre lui et 'Aly Châh. Lorsqu'arrivaient le temps de l'hiver et la saison des pluies, Fakhr eddîn faisait une incursion sur le pays de Lacnaouty, au moyen du fleuve, sur lequel il était puissant. Mais quand revenaient les jours où il ne tombe pas de pluie, 'Aly Châh fondait sur le Bengale par la voie de terre, à cause de la puissance qu'il avait sur celle-ci.



his ownership the Eastern Province of Bengal represented by the mint of Sonárgaon. A subordinate incident is developed in the legends of the coins, that he felt himself sufficiently firm in his own power to discard the superogatory adjuncts of descent or relationship, and relied upon the simple affirmation of his own position as السلطان.

*Shams-ud-din.* Fírúz Sháh.

No. 4.

Lakhnautí, A.H. 702,<sup>1</sup> 715 (Col. Bush) 720, 722.

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 168.4 grs. Very rare. Plate I., fig. 3.  
Type as above.

OBV.

REV.

السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان	الامام المستعصم امير المومنين
--	-------------------------------------

Margin, [سبعماية] و ضرب هذا الفضة بحضرت لهنوتي سنة عشرين و

No. 5.

Sonárgaon, A.H. ?

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 168 grs. Unique.

Type as above.

### III.—SHAHAB-UD-DYN. *BUGHRAH* SHAH.

Neither history, incidental biography, nor numismatic remains avail to do more than prove the elevation, as they seem to indicate the brief and uneventful rule, of Shaháb-ud-dín, the son of Shams-ud-dín Fírúz, and grandson of the once recognised heir-apparent of Balban.

<sup>1</sup> See also Pathán Sultáns of Hindústán, p. 37, coin dated 702 A.H. This coin was published by me in 1848. I then read the date as 702 A.H. I was not at the time unversed in the decipherment of Arabic numbers, and probably from the very difficulty of placing the piece itself, I may the more rely upon the accuracy of my original interpretation. I mention this fact as I am at present unable to refer to the coin itself.

The singularly limited number of the coins of this prince, confined—if Calcutta selections be not at fault<sup>1</sup>—to three examples amid the 13,500 accumulated specimens of the currencies of other kings of the land over which he temporarily held sway, sufficiently mark his status in the general list of the potentates of the century in which he lived. No date or place of mintage is preserved on his extant money, and the single additional item supplied by their aid is his personal or proper name, which appears on their surfaces as *سعد*; a crude outline which might suggest a doubt as to the conclusiveness of the transcription of *بغرة*, now confidently adopted as expressing an optional rendering of the grandfather's title of *بغراخان*,<sup>2</sup> a name which was even further distorted from the *Túrki* original by the conversion of the medial *r* into the vernacular *cerebral*  $\text{ڤ}$  or  $\text{ڤ} = d$ . For the rest, the pieces themselves, under the mechanical test, in their make, the forms of their letters, and the tenor of their legends, evidently follow closely upon Shams-ud-dín's mintages, and as clearly precede the money of the same locality, issued by Ghíás-ud-dín *Bahádur Sháh*, who in 724 A.B. drove this, his own brother, Shaháb-ud-dín to take refuge with Ghíás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh. Bahádur's career has yet to be told in connexion with his own coins; but to dispose of Shaháb-ud-dín,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The name of this king does not appear in any of Rajendra lál's lists.

<sup>2</sup> The ancient name of *طنجاج بغراخان* of Bokhára notoriety in 350 A.H. (Fræhn *Recensio Numorum Muhammadanorum*, pp. 139, 593, 578), was subjected to strange mutations on Indian soil. My authority for the substitution of the final *ج* in place of the vowel *ا* is derived from Ibn Batutah, who uniformly writes the word with an *ج* (iii. 231, 5, 293). Ferishtah (*text*, p. 131) has *بقر*, whence Stewart's *Bagora* (p. 74). Dow gave the name as *Kera*, and Briggs as *Kurra* (i. pp. 265, 270, etc.).

<sup>3</sup> Those who delight in interesting coincidences might see, in this name of Shaháb-ud-dín, a most tempting opportunity for associating him with a really important record by the Indigènes themselves, inscribed on a stone slab in the fort of Chunár, setting forth their victory over a "*Malik*" Shaháb-ud-dín, quoted as acting under Muhammad bin Tughlak, in Samvat 1390 (A.H. 734); but I confess I do not myself encourage the identification. Chunár is certainly not out of the range of access from Bengal; but other men of mark may have filled this command, and the name of the fortress itself is never heard of in reference to the affairs of the kingdom of Lakhnauti, in those early days, though the main road of communication between the two capitals of the north and the south took its course through Budáun or Kanauj and Jaunpore. The inscription

as far as the exercise of his Mint prerogatives are concerned, he seems to have been lost to fame, from the date when he was absorbed with an associate fugitive brother (Násir-ud-dín) under the ægis of the Emperor of Dehli.

is otherwise well worthy of further examination, in as far as it concerns the history of imperial influence upon proximate localities; and as such I transcribe both the text and Dr. Mills' translation of the brief passages which may chance to illustrate the general subject.

Verse 8 :

सहाब्दीनादिदुष्टात्मयवनेकमहम्मदा ।

सीराजो मि[खितोऽम]ाखो वैरियापि कृपाभिधिः ॥

“By MUHAMMAD, lord of the hostile YAVANAS SHAHÁB-UD-DÍN and the rest, though an enemy, was SAIRÁJA, the treasure of benignity, employed as prime minister.”

Verse 11 :

संवत् १३९० भाद्रपदि ५ गुरी सीराबदेवनगर

यागतमलिकसहाबदीनरचितं ॥

“Samvat 1390, in the month of Bhadra, fifth day of the waning moon, on Thursday, was the kingdom set free from MALIK SHAHÁB-UD-DÍN, acting under the protecting favour of SAIRÁJA DEVA aforesaid.”

—(See Journal As. Soc. Bengal, vol. v., 1836, p. 341).

A subordinate but still more open inquiry also suggests itself in connexion with the mention of Shaháb-ud-dín in 734 A.H., as to whether, amid the strange confusion of names and titles, the “Kadr Khán,” who is noticed by Ferishta under the original designation of Malik Bídár Khilji, may not, perchance, have been the identical Shaháb-ud-dín *Bughrah* reinstated as simple governor in Lakhnauti as his brother Bahádúr was restored to power in Sonárgaon. I am aware that this is treacherous ground to venture upon; but such a supposition is not without other incidental support, especially in Ibn Batutah's passage (original, iii. 214, quoted at p. 192), where Kadr Khán is spoken of as if he had been in effect the last scion of the family of Násir-ud-dín Máhmúd Bughrah.

The original passages in Ferishta are as follows (i. p. 237):—

و ملک بیدار خلجی را قدر خان خطاب کرده چون شاه ناصر  
الدین فوت شده بود اقطاع لکهنوتی باو داد (i. p. 244). درین وقت  
یکی از نوکران قدر خان که اورا ملک فخر الدین گفتندی بعد از  
فوت بیرام خان در بنکاله بغی ورزید و قدر خان را کشته خزاین  
لکهنوتی متصرف شد

See also Briggs' Translation, i. pp. 412, 423.

The Táríkh Mubárah Sháhi has the name in manifest mistranscription as *Bandúr*.

و ملک بندار خلجی قدر خان شد و اقطاع لکهنوتی یافت

A difficulty necessarily suggests itself in regard to the tribe of *Khilji*, but the use of the name in its non-ethnic sense might readily be explained by the old subordination of the Bengal family to the Khilji dynasty of Firúz, or the specially *Khilji* serial succession of the earlier governors of Bengal.

*Shaháb-ud-din.* Bughrah Sháh.

No. 6.

Mint, ?

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 168.5 grs. Two coins only, *Col. Guthrie*. Plate I., fig. 4.

Type as usual.

OBV.

السلطان الاعظم  
 شهاب الدنيا والدين  
 ابوالمظفر بغده شاه  
 السلطان بن سلطان

Margin, (remainder illegible)

REV.

الامام  
 المستعصم  
 امير المؤمنين  
 ضرب هذا

## IV.—BAHADUR SHAH.

The single point in the biography of Bahádur Sháh, which remains at all obscure, is the date of his first attaining power. Ibn Batutah records with sufficient distinctness, that he conquered and set aside his regnant brother *Shaháb-ud-din*, sometime prior to Ghíás-ud-dín Tughlak's reassertion of the ancient suzerainty of Dehli over the lightly-held allegiance of Bengal, and his eventual carrying away captive the offending Bahádur, who was, however, soon to be released, and restored with added honours,<sup>1</sup> by Muhammad bin Tughlak, almost immediately on his own accession. Indian home-authors, who so rarely refer to the affairs of the Gangetic delta, give vague intimations of the first appointment of Bahádur to Eastern Bengal by 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad in A.H. 799,<sup>2</sup> assigning to him an inconceivable interval of

<sup>1</sup> چون سلطان بهادر سنارکامی را بملک اوده رخصت کرد آنچه زر

نقد در خزانه بود بیکبار در انعام اوداد. *Tabakát-i-Akbari*.

See also *Ziá-i-Barni*, printed edit. p. 461.

<sup>2</sup> Stewart, p. 75. *Ferishtah* (Briggs) i. 406.

placid repose until A.H. 717, when he is stated to have broken out into the turbulent self-assertion for which he, was afterwards so celebrated.

The two statements are certainly at variance, but Ibn Batutah's is the most readily reconcilable with probabilities, and the demands of the up to this time legible dates on the coins which Bahádur put into circulation in Bengal. I might have some doubt as to the conclusiveness of the reading of the date 710 on his money in the Kooch Bahár *trouvaille*, but I have none as to the clear expression of A.H. 711 and 712, though the singular break occurring between 712 (or 714) and 720 suggests a suspicion of an originally imperfect die-rendering of the عشر = 10 for عشرين = 20;<sup>1</sup> which would bring the corrected range of Bahádur's dates to 720-724; but even these figures leave something to be reconciled in reference to their associate place of mintage, for in 720-722, his father, Shams-ud-dín Fírúz, was clearly in possession of the already commemorated "*Lakhnauti*;" but such an anomaly might be explained by the supposition that Bahádur, in the earlier days, used the name of *Lakhnauti* as a geographical expression for a portion of the dominions ordinarily administered from that capital. Undoubtedly the first appearance of the contrasted designation of the Eastern capital "*Sonárgaon*," occurs on a coin of his father; but even this sign of discrimination of Urban issues would not be altogether opposed to a continuance by Bahádur of the loose usage of Camp Mints, of naming the metropolis as the general term for the division at large, or inconsistent with the subsidiary legitimate employment of the designation of the province on a coinage effected anywhere within its own boundaries,—either of which simple causes may have prevailed, and been utilized with a new motive, if any covert ulterior meaning might be designed, as implying that Bahádur himself had special successional or other claims to the metropolitan districts.

<sup>1</sup> Among more critical Arabic scholars than the Bengal Mint Masters ever affected to be, this point would have been easily determined by the insertion or omission of the conjunction *wa*, which, as a rule, is required to couple the *units* and the *centies*, but is not used with the *units* and *tens*.

Tughlak Sháh's intervention in the affairs of Bengal seems to have originated in an appeal on the part of the ejected Shaháb-ud-dín against the usurpation of his brother Bahádúr. The result of the Imperial expedition to the South was the defeat, capture, and transport to Dehli of Bahádúr Sháh; but among the first acts of the new Sultán, Muhammad bin Tughlak, was the release and re-installation of the offender, showing clearly that he was something more than an ordinary local governor, transferable at will, and that possibly the interests of the father and son, in their newly-established dynastic rank, and the confessed insubordination of the latter, were independently advocated by the opposing members of the royal line of Bengal, whose family tree could show so much more ancient a series of regal successions than their parvenu Suzerains, whose elevation dated scarce five years back. One of the most interesting illustrations of the present series is contributed by coin No. 9, in the legends of which Bahádúr acknowledges the supremacy of Muhammad bin Tughlak over Eastern Bengal during A.H. 628.<sup>1</sup> The subjection seems, however, to have been of brief duration, as sometime in or after the year A.H. 730 Bahádúr appears to have reverted to an independent coinage, in a new capital called after his own title *Ghiáspur* (coin No. 8), and in A.H. 733 Muhammad bin Tughlak is found issuing his own coin in Bengal, and Bahádúr, defeated and put to death, contributed an example to insurgent governors in his own skin, which was stuffed and paraded through the provinces of the empire.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Batutah gives the following additional particulars of Bahádúr's reinstallation:—"Il [Muhammad bin Tughlak] lui fit de nombreux cadeaux en argent, chevaux, éléphants, et le renvoya dans son royaume. Il expédia avec lui le fils de son frère, Ibráhím Khán; il convint avec Behádour Bofúrah qu'ils posséderaient ledit royaume par égales moitiés; que leurs noms figureraient ensemble sur les monnaies; que la prière serait faite en leur nom commun, et que Ghiyáth eddín enverrait son fils Mohammed dit Berbath (برباط), come otage près du souverain de l'Inde. Ghiyáth eddín partit, et observa toutes les promesses qu'il avait faites; seulement, il n'envoya pas son fils, comme il avait été stipulé. Il prétendit que ce dernier s'y était refusé, et, dans son discours, il blessa les convenances. Le souverain de l'Inde fit marcher au secours du fils de son frère, Ibráhím Khán, des troupes dont le commandant était Doldji altatiry (دُلجِي التتري). Elles combattirent Ghiyáth eddín et le tuèrent; elles le dépouillèrent de sa peau, qu'on rembourra de paille, et qu'on promena ensuite dans les provinces."—Vol. iii. p. 316.

## iv. Bahádur Sháh.

No. 7.

Lakhnautí, A.H. 710?, 711, 712, 7-3, 7-4,<sup>1</sup> break, 720, 721, 722.

Silver. Size, vii. to viii. Weight, ordinarily, 166 grs.; one example is as high as 167.5 grs. Rare.

OBV.

السلطان الاعظم  
غياث الدنيا والدين  
ابوالمظفر بهادر شاه  
السلطان بن سلطان

REV.

الامام  
المستعصم  
امير المؤمنين

Margin, هذا الفضة بحضرت لهنوتي سنة احد عشر وسبعماية

No. 8.

Second Mint, Gháspúr. Date, 730.

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 166 and 164.5 grs. Very rare.  
Two coins. Col. Guthrie. Plate I., fig. 5.

Margin, \* هذا السكة قصبه غياثپور سنة ثلاثين \*

iv. Bahádur Sháh,

as Vassal under Muhammad bin Tughlak.

No. 9.

Sonárgaon, A.H. 728.

Silver. Weight, 140 grs. Unique. *Dehli Archaeological Society.*

Obverse, السلطان المعظم غياث الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر بهادر شاه  
السلطان ابن السلطان

Reverse, Area, ضرب بامر الوائى بالله محمد بن تغلق شاه

Margin, هذه السكة بحضرة سناركانو سنة ثمان وعشرين و سبعماية

<sup>1</sup> The dates 7-3, 7-4, may perchance be obliterated records of 723 and 724. I have placed them among the lower figures, but I have no sanction for retaining them in that position.

Muhammad bin Tughlak Sháh, Emperor of Hindustán,  
(in his own name) after the re-conquest of Bengal.

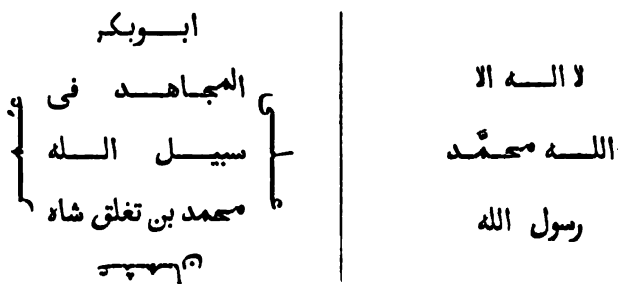
No. 10.

Lakhnauti, A.H. 733.

Silver. Small coins. Size, v. to  $v\frac{1}{2}$ . Weight of well-preserved  
coins, 168.5 grs. Five specimens, *Col. Guthrie*. Plate I., fig. 6.

OBV.

REV.



Reverso, Margin,

ضرب هذه الفضة بشهر لکهنوتی سنه ثلاث وثلثین وسبعمايه

If the place of mintage of these imperial coins had been illegible, I should almost have been prepared, on the strength of the peculiarity of the forms of the letters, to have assigned their execution to a Bengal artist. The original model for the type of coinage may be seen in fig. 90, page 54, Pathán Sultáns. The late Mr. G. Freeling, of the Bengal C.S., has left on record his acquisition of a gold piece of the same design (from the Dehli Mint) dated A.H. 725.

#### V.—FAKHR-UD-DIN. MUBARAK SHAH.

On the departure of Muhammad bin Tughlak from Bengal, Tátár Khán, honorarily entitled Bahrám Khán, an adopted son of Ghíás-ud-dín Tughlak, seems to have been left in charge of the provinces included in the government of Sonárgaon, while the Lakhnauti division of the kingdom of Bengal was entrusted to Kadr Khán. On the death of Bahrám Khán,<sup>1</sup> which is stated to have taken place in 739—but may probably have to be antedated to 737—Fakhr-ud-dín Mubárah, his *Siláhdár*, took possession of the government, and proclaimed his independence. He was in the first instance defeated by

<sup>1</sup> Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad says, Mubárah killed Bahrám Khán; while Abul Fazi affirms that Mubárah put Kadr Khán to death.—*Ayin-i-Akbari*, ii. 21.



the troops sent against him from Lakhnauti, but finally succeeded in maintaining his authority, and, as the coins prove, in retaining his hold on Sonárgaon and its dependencies throughout the nine years, from 741 to 750 A.H., comparatively undisturbed. The history of the period is confused and the dates given by the native authors prove of little value;<sup>1</sup> but the coins establish the fact that in 751 another ruler, designated *Ikhtiár-ud-dín* Ghází Sháh, presided over the Mints of Eastern Bengal.

v. *Fakhr-ud-dín*. Mubárák Sháh.

No. 11.

Sonárgaon, A.H. 737, — 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750.

Silver. Size, vi. to vi½. Weight, 166.0 grs. Unique.

Plate I., fig. 7.

Obv.

السلطان الاعظم  
فخر الدنيا والدين  
ابو المظفر مبارکشاه  
السلطان

Rev.

يمين خليفه الله  
ناصر امير  
المومنين

Margin,

ضرب هذه السكة بحضرة جلال سناركانو سنه سبع وثلثين وسبعماية

The above specimen is unique in date, and varies in the opening legend of the reverse from the less rare coins of later years, which commence with *يمين الخليفة*<sup>2</sup>

VI.—'ALÁ-UD-DYN. 'ALÍ SHAH.

'Alí Sháh, whom Muhammadan writers, by a strange jumble, have endowed with the surname of his adversary Mubárák, and ordinarily refer to as "'Alí Mubárák,"<sup>3</sup> assumed kingship on the death of Qádr Khán, Muhammad Tughlak's representative at Lakhnauti, entitling himself 'Alá-ud-dín. The

<sup>1</sup> Ferahtah, Briggs, i. pp. 412-423; iv. 328. Stewart, pp. 80-83.

<sup>2</sup> See also an engraving of his coin (dated 750) Pathán Sultáns, fig. 151 and page 82.

<sup>3</sup> Budauni MS. Ferahtah, iv. 329. Stewart, p. 82. *Ayín-i-Akbari*, ii. 21.

more important incidents of his reign are confined to his hostilities with his rival, Fakhr-ud-dín Mubárák of Sonárgaon, who possessed advantages in his maritime resources, while the rivers remained navigable for large vessels during the rainy season, but which were more than counterbalanced by Alí Sháh's power on land, which availed him for the greater part of the year, and which finally enabled him to establish his undisputed rule in the Western provinces.

His coins exhibit dates ranging from 742 to 746 A.H., and bear the impress of the new mint of the metropolis, Fírúzábád, an evidence of a change in the royal residence, which clearly implies something more than a mere removal to a new site proximate to the old Lakhnauti, whose name is henceforth lost sight of, and may be taken to indicate a strategetic transfer of the court to the safer and less exposed locality of the future capital, Pandua.<sup>1</sup> 'Alí Sháh is stated to have been assassinated by his foster brother, Hájí Ilías.<sup>2</sup>

'*Alá-ud-dín.* 'Alí Sháh.

No. 12.

Fírúzábád, 742, 744, 745, 746

Silver. Size, vi½. Weight, 166.7 grs. Rare. Plate I. fig. 8.

Type as usual.

OBY.	REV.
السلطان الاعظم	سكندر الزمان
علاء الدنيا والدين	المنحـصـوص
ابو المظفر عيشاه	بعنايت الرحمن ناصر
السلطان	امير المومنين

Margin,

ضرب هذه الفضة السكة في البادية فيروزاباد ستة اثنى اربعين وسبعماية

<sup>1</sup> Stewart, speaking of Fírúz's advance against Ilías, says, "the Emperor advanced to a place now called Feroseporeábad, where he pitched his camp and commenced the operations of the siege of Pundua," p. 84. There is a *Mahal* Fírúzpúr in *Sircar* Tandah, noticed in the *Ayin-i-Akbari*, ii. p. 2. See also the note from *Shams-i-Siráj*, quoted below (p. 206), under the notice of Ilías Sháh's reign.

<sup>2</sup> Stewart, p. 83.

## VII.—IKHTYAR-UD-DYN. GHÁZI SHÁH.

At the period of this king's accession to the sovereignty of Sonárgaon in A.H. 750 or 751, we lose the aid of our most trustworthy recorder of the annals of Bengal during his own time. The conclusion of Ibn Batutah's narrative leaves Fakhr-ud-dín Mubárák still in power, while the native authorities are clearly at fault in their arrangement of dates and events, and altogether silent as to any change in the succession in Eastern Bengal except in their allusions to the more than problematical capture of Fakhr-ud-dín and his execution by 'Alí Mubárák in 743 A.H., with the final accession of Ilías "one year and five months afterwards."<sup>1</sup>

The numismatic testimony would seem to show that Mubárák was succeeded by his own son, as the *Ul Sultán bin Ul Sultán* may be taken to imply. The immediately consecutive dates, and the absolute identity of the fabric of the coins, as well as the retention of the style of Right-hand of the Khalifat on the reverse, alike connect the two princes; while the cessation of the issues of Gházi Sháh simultaneously with the acquisition of Sonárgaon by Ilías, in A.H. 753, would seem to point to the gradual spread of the power of the latter, which is stated to have been at its zenith just before Fírúz III. assailed him in his newly consolidated monarchy in 754.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stewart, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Shams-i-Siráj, speaking on hearsay, affirms that Shams-ud-dín Ilías captured and slew Fakhr-ud-dín after Fírúz III.'s first expedition into Bengal; and that the main object of the latter's second invasion of that province was for the purpose of reasserting the rights of Zafar Khán, the son-in-law of Fakhr-ud-dín (who had fled for protection to Dehli), to the kingdom of Eastern Bengal. It is asserted that although Fírúz succeeded in obtaining this concession from Sikandar, who, in the interval, had succeeded to his father's throne, Zafar Khán himself was wise enough to decline the dangerous proximity to so powerful a rival monarch, and to return in the suite of the Sultán. The Bengálí troops, under Zafar Khán, subsequently distinguished themselves in an opposite quarter of India, near Tattah, and their commander was eventually left in charge of Guzrát.—Shams-i-Siráj, book ii. cap. 9, etc.—See also Journal Archaeological Society of Dehli (Major Lewis' abstract translation), 1849, p. 15.

The *Tárkh-i-Mubárák Sháhi* (dedicated to Mubárák II.), the concluding date of which is 838 A.H., also declares that Háji Ilías killed Fakhr-ud-dín in 741 A.H. This last date is a manifest error; as is also, probably, the omission, by both authors, of the words *son of* before the name of Fakhr-ud-dín.

*Ikh̄tār-ud-dīn. Ghāzī Shāh.*

No. 13.

Sonārgaon, A.H. 751-753.

Silver. Size, vi. Weight, 166 grs. Very rare indeed. Three coins, *Col. Guthrie*. Plate I. fig. 9.

Obv.

السلطان الاعظم  
 اختيار الدنيا والدين  
 ابو المظفر غازيشاه  
 السلطان بن السلطان

Rev.

يمين الخليفة  
 ناصر امير  
 المومنين

Margin,

ضرب هذه السكه بحضرة جلال سناركانوسنه احدى وخمسين وسبعماية

## VIII.—SHAMS-UD-DYN. ILYAS SHAH.

The modern application of old coins divides itself into two branches—the suggestive development of obscure tradition and the enlargement and critical revision of accepted history. The transition point between these archæological functions, in the present series, declares itself in the accession of Ilías Sháh, the first recognised and effectively independent Moslem Sultán of Bengal, the annals of whose reign have been so often imperfectly reproduced in prefatory introduction to the relation of the magnificent future his successors were destined to achieve as holders of the interests and the commercial prosperity of the Delta of the Ganges, to whose heritage, indeed, England owes its effective ownership of the continent of India at the present day.

The compiler of the English version of the early history of Bengal<sup>1</sup> adopts the conclusion that Hájí Ilías first obtained power on the assassination of “’Ali Mubárak” in 745-6, but the previous rectification of the independent personality and status of the two individuals thus singularly absorbed into one, will prepare the reader for the corrections involved, though not,

<sup>1</sup> Stewart, p. 83.

perhaps, for the apparent anomalies the coins disclose. Medallio testimony would seem to indicate a long waging of hostile interests between the real 'Alī Sháh and Hájí Ilías, before the latter attained his final local triumph; for although Ilías is seen to have coined money in Fírúzábád in 740 A.H., the chance seems to have been denied him in 741; and in 742 his adversary, 'Alī Sháh, is found in full possession of the mint in question. The Kooch Bahár hoard reveals no coin of either party dated 743, but in 744 the two again compete for ownership, which 'Alī Sháh for the time being continues through 745 into 746, when the annual series is taken up and carried on successively for an uninterrupted twelve years by his more favoured opponent. It is needless to speculate on the varying course of these individual triumphs; suffice it to say, that the increasing power of the ruler of Pandua, in 754, excited the Emperor Fírúz III. to proceed against him in all the pomp and following of an Oriental suzerain—resulting only in the confession of weakness, conveniently attributed to the periodical flooding of the country<sup>1</sup>—which effectively laid

<sup>1</sup> Stewart felt a difficulty about the right position of *Akdallah*, the real point of attack, and a place of considerable importance in the local history of Bengal. The following is Zia-i-Barni's description of the place, taken from the concluding chapters of his history on the occasion of Fírúz Sháh's (III.) invasion of Bengal in 754 A.H. :—

واكداله نام موضعي است نزديك پندوه كه يك طرف ان آب  
است و طرف دوم جنگل است دران اكداله تحصين كرد و از پندوه

M. 588, printed edit. برد و بچه در اكداله برد

Rennell gives another Akdallah north of Dacca. "Map of Hindoostan."

In the following passage Shams-i-Siráj desires to make it appear that Fírúz III. gave his *own* name to the city of Pandua; but, as we have seen that the designation was applied to the new capital either in 740 or 742—that is, long before Fírúz became king of Dehli, it will be preferable to conclude that the name was originally bestowed in honour of the Shams-ud-dín Fírúz of Bengal, of the present series. The quotation is otherwise of value, as it establishes, beyond a doubt, the true position of the new metropolis :—

(فيروز شاه) در پندوه رسيد در آن مقام خطبه بنام حضرت فيروز  
شاه خواندند و نام شهر فيروز آباد نهادند چون سلطان فيروز شاه  
اكداله را آزاد پور نام كرد و شهر پندوه را فيروز آباد \* \* \* \* \*  
آزاد پور عرف اكداله و فيروز آباد عرف پندوه

From the original MS. in the possession of Zia-ud-dín Khán of Lohárú.

the foundation of the ultimate independence of Bengal. A monarchy which was destined so to grow in power and material wealth as to be competent, indirectly, in the person of Shír Sháh, to recover for the old Muhammadan interest the cherished capitals of the north, and to eject from Hindustán the Moghuls who too hastily boasted of an easily-achieved conquest of the country "from Bhíra to Bahár."

*Shams-ud-dín.* Ilías Sháh.

No. 14.

Fírúzábád, ا.ه. 740, 744, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758.

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, selected specimens, 168.0 grs.; ordinary weights, 166.0 grs.

Type No. 1. The old Dehli pattern.

*Obverse*, Square area.

*Reverse*, Square area, within a circle.

OBV.

REV.

السلطان الغازي

شمس الدنيا والدين

ابو المظفر الياس

شاه السلطان

Margin,

ضرب هذا الفضة السكة في البلد فيروزاباد سنة اربع وخمسين وسبعماية

Type No. 1. Variety A. Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 166 gra.

*Obverse*, Lettered surface.

*Reverse*, Small circle, area.

No. 15.

Fírúzábád, ا.ه. 758.

Type No. 2. Broad coin. Size, ix. Weight of the best and selected specimens, 166.0 grs. only.

*Obverse*, Plain lettered surface.

*Reverse*, Circular area, with narrow margin.

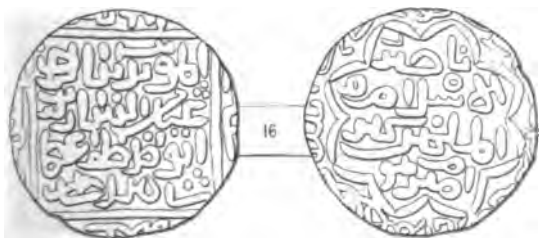
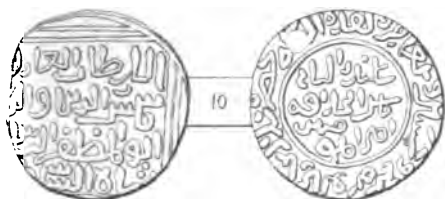
Legends, both obverse and reverse as in No. 1 type.

Marginal legend,

ضرب هذه السكة بحضرة فيروزاباد سنة ثمان وخمسين وسبعماية

BENGAL COINS

PL.II.







The Kooch Bahár trove must have been rich in this type of coin, and of the particular year A.H. 758, as out of 109 specimens in Col. Guthrie's collection, there is no single example of any other date.

No. 16.

Sonárgaon, A.H. 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758.

Type No. 3. Size, vii. Present weight, 166 grs. after the obvious reduction by boring out. Plate II., fig. 10.

*Obverse*, Square area.

*Reverse*, Circular area, with broad margin.

Obv.

Rev.

السلطان العادل شمس الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر الياس شاه السلطان	سكندر الثاني يمين الخلافة امير المؤمنين
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Margin,

ضرب هذه السكه بحضرة جلال سناركانوسنة خمس وخمسين وسبعماية

IX.—SIKANDAR BIN ILIYAS.

This king—the second only in the still-incomplete assertion of local independence of allegiance to the throne of Dehli—exhibits in the material wealth of his national coinage the striking progress incident to comparative freedom and identity of home interests, which may be achieved, almost on the instant, by the denizens of a commercial centre so favoured by nature as the Delta of the Ganges.

Tried by such a test, few statistical returns could present more effectively the contrast disclosed in the Kooch Bahár treasure between the accumulated produce of the Bengal Mints, representing a century and a quarter's limited activity, attended with all the advantages of a diffused circulation, but under a subordinate government, as compared with the overwhelming array of coins bearing the impress of a single unfettered monarch, whose money was, in effect, new from the dies. To numismatists the enhanced proportion will

be more significantly shown by a reference to the additional number of Mint-cities, the singular variety of new types produced, and above all, by the sustained series and corroborating repetitions of annual dates. It is under the latter aspect alone that I have now to comment on the history of a reign already sufficiently told in other pages. Sikandar Sháh' placidly succeeded his father towards the end of 759 A.H., and the coins of the period sufficiently support the date of such a transfer of power, in the final 758 recorded on the issues of the father, though proof of the accession of the son is less marked, as the seeming anomaly obtained—under the conjoint efforts of father and son to achieve release from thralldom to a distant suzerain—of a concession to the son of much independent power, and, coincidentally, the right to coin money in his own name, whether in his own camps or in his father's royal cities. Though some of the earlier designed coins give evidence of due humility in titular phraseology, the same simplicity is adhered to, in continuous mintages, long after the removal of any possible impediments or restrictions to the adoption of comparatively exalted titles; though in the more independent governmental mintages of 758 A.H. (No. 21) the *السلطان المعظم* is affected even during the life-time of the father, and, after his own accession, higher assumptions, and a more definite approach towards personal hierarchical honors, are discovered in the metropolitan issues of 766-780 (No. 22), while special service against the infidels seems to be implied in the novel intitulation of *القاهر الأعداء الله*, "The conqueror of the enemies of God," on the Fírúzábád money of 769 A.H. (No. 23).

But the most interesting details furnished by Sikandar's coins are those which illustrate the geographical distribution of the chief seats of government. Unlike the Northern Moslems, who, in the difficulty of moving the Eastern hosts—conventionally deemed essential to an Imperial progress—over the imperfect highways of Hindustán, confined themselves ordinarily to one fixed metropolis, the kings of Bengal enjoyed facilities of river communication almost un-

precedented: their various capitals, situated within easy distance of one another, were at all times accessible by water,—a differently constructed State barge secured at any season free approach to the seaboard cities of the Great Ganges or the towns on the narrow channels of the western streams. These frequent regal visitations are incidentally recorded on the coinage of the day, by the insertion of the prefix of حضرت to the name of the selected residence, which term colloquially marked the presence of royalty within the limits of the favoured fiscal division.

Sikandar's mint cities were five in number—No. 2, *Firúz-ábád*; 3, *Satgaon*; and 4, *Shahr Nau*, in Western Bengal; with 5, *Sonárgaon*; and 6, *Muúzamábád*, in the Eastern division of the province.

2. The first-named mint, in addition to the preferential *Hazrat*,<sup>1</sup> is styled variously *Baldat* and بلدة المحروسة “fortified city,” a specification which probably refers to the separate though closely proximate citadel of *Akdálah*, so celebrated in the military annals of the time (coin No. 26).

3. *Satgaon* is distinguished by the prefix of عَرَصَة (*Atrium*) a term which, in India, came to be conventionally used for a tract or geographical division of country,<sup>2</sup> a sense which would well accord with its application to *Satgaon*, as the third circle of government of Bengal proper.<sup>3</sup> In the subsequent reign of *Aázam* the mint specification is more directly brought into

<sup>1</sup> حَضْرَة “Præsentia, Majestas; urbs, in qua est regis sedes.”

<sup>2</sup> عَرَصَة زَمِين in Persian, means “surface of the earth.” Sir Henry Elliot remarks, “The words used before Akbar's time to represent tracts of country larger than a *Pergunnah* were سق, خطه, عرصه, ديار, ولايت, and اقطاع—Glossary of Indian Terms, sub voce, “Circár.”

<sup>3</sup> Zifá-i-Barni, in introducing his narrative of Tughlak Sháh's expedition to Bengal (A. D. 724), speaks of that province as consisting of the three divisions of “*Lakhnauti*, *Sunárgaon*, and *Satgaon*” (p. 450, printed edit.).

The *Ayín-i-Akbari*, in the xvi. cent. A. D., thus refers to *Satgaon*, “There are two emporiums a mile distant from each other; one called *Satgaon*, and the other *Hoogly* with its dependencies; both of which are in the possession of the Europeans.”—Gladwin, ii. p. 15. See also Rennell, p. 57. Stewart's Bengal, pp. 186, 240, 243, 330.

association with the town itself in the seemingly more definite localization involved in the word *قَصَبَة*<sup>1</sup>

4. *Shahr Nau*, I suppose to have been the intitulation of the new city founded near the site of the old Lakhnauti:<sup>2</sup> it is variously denominated as the simple 'Arsat or *عَرَصَة المَعْمُورَة* (populous, richly cultivated).<sup>3</sup> This progressively less appropriate name may be supposed to have merged into the official Jannatábád, which follows in Mint sequence.

4. *Sonárgaon*, as a rule, retains its ancient discriminative designation of *حصرة جلال*, a title which it eventually had to cede to its rival Muázamábád.

6. *Muázamábád*. There is no definite authority for the determination of the site of this city, which, however, seems to have been founded by Sikandar about 758-759 A.H.,

<sup>1</sup> From *قَصَب* "amputavit:" hence *قَصَبَة* "oppidum, *vel* potior, præcipua pars oppidorum."

<sup>2</sup> The decipherment of the name of this mint (as Col. Yule reminds me) determines for mediæval geography the contested site of Nicolò Conti's *Cernove*. The Venetian traveller in the East in the early part of the fifteenth century is recorded to have said that "he entered the mouth of the river Ganges, and, sailing up it, at the end of fifteen days he came to a large and wealthy city called Cernove. . . . On both banks of the stream there are most charming villas and plantations and gardens. . . . Having departed hence he sailed up the river Ganges for the space of three months, leaving behind him four very famous cities, and landed at an extremely powerful city called Maarazia . . . having spent thirteen days 'on an expedition to some mountains to the eastward, in search of carbuncles' . . . he returned to the city of Cernove, and thence proceeded to Buffetania."—The travels of Nicolò Conti, Hakluyt Society, London, pp. 10, 11.

See also Purchas, vol. v. p. 508; and Murray's Travels in Asia, ii. 11.

There are also many interesting details regarding the geography of Bengal, and a very full and lucid summary of the history of the period, to be found in "Da Asia de João de Barros" (Lisboa, 1777, vol. iv. [viii.], p. 465 *et* seq.). At the period of the treaty of Alfonso de Mello with, "El Rey Mamud de Bengala" (the king whom Shîr Shâh eventually overcame) the name of Shahr Nau had merged into the old provincial designation of *Gaur*, which is described as "a principal Cidade deste Reino he chamada *Gouro*, situada nas correntes do Gange, e dizem ter de comprido tres leguas das nossas, e duzentos mil vizinhos" (p. 468). Satigam makes a prominent figure on the map, and Sornagam is located on a large island within the Delta, the main stream dividing it from Daca, which is placed on the opposite or left bank of the estuary.

More modern accounts of the old city may be found in Purchas, i. 579; Churchill, viii. 54; also Rennell, Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan, London, 1788, p. 55; Stewart, p. 44, and in a special work entitled "The Ruins of Gour," illustrated with maps, plans, and engravings of the numerous Muhamadan edifices extant in 1817, by H. Creighton, 4to., London, Black, Parbury and Allen. See also Elliot's Glossary of Indian Terms, *sub voce*, Gour Brahmin.

<sup>3</sup> The adjective (derived from *عَمْر*, Coluit) will admit of other meanings, and, if understood as applying to a town, might signify "well-built," locally *Pakka*.

when his own coins record that he himself assumed the title of المعظم, without trenching upon the superlative الاعظم usually reserved for the reigning monarch. I conclude that there was a gradual migration from the ancient Sonárgaon to the new city, which grew in importance from the governmental centre implied in the اقليم معظم اباد (No. 19) of 760 A.H., to the بلدة المعظم معظما اباد, "the great city of Muázam-ábád" (No. 28) of about 780 A.H., till, on the disappearance of the name of Sonárgaon from the marginal records of the general currency, the new metropolis appropriates to itself the immemorial حضرة جلال of Eastern Bengal (No. 32 A.)

With a view to keep these brief geographical notices under one heading, I advert for the moment to No. 7, *Ghiáspúr*, of which locality I have been able to discover no trace; and likewise anticipate the due order of the examination of Aázam Sháh's mint cities in referring to the sole remaining name of *Jannatábád*, an epithet which is erroneously stated to have been given by Humáyún to the re-edified Lakhnauti,<sup>1</sup> but which is here seen to have been in use a century and a half before the Moghuls made their way into Bengal.

The single item remaining to be mentioned in regard to Aázam's mints is the substitution of the word قسبة in lieu of بلدة<sup>2</sup> as the prefix to Fírúzábád (No. 35), in parallel progress towards centralization with the Mint phraseology adopted in the case of Satgaon.

Sikandar Sháh bin Illás Sháh.

No. 17.

Fírúzábád, A.H. 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 758, 759, 760.

Type No. 1. Ordinary simple obverse, with reverse circular area and margin.

<sup>1</sup> *Ayin-i-Akbari*, ii. p. 11; *Stewart's Bengal*, 124. Bengal itself was called جنة البلاد, "The Paradise of Regions." *Ibn Batutah*, iv. p. 210, says the Persians called Bengal بور نعمة, "ce qui signifie," en arabe, "un enfer rempli de biens." *Marsden*, *Num. Orient.* p. 578, gives a coin of 'Alá-ud-dín Husain Sháh, of A.H. 917, purporting to have been struck at "*Jannatabad*."

<sup>2</sup> بد "regio;" also "oppidum." The plurals are said to vary, in correspondence with the independent meanings, as بِلْدَان and بِلَاك.

OBV.	REV.
سكندر شاه	المجاهد
ابن الياس شاه	في سبيل
السلطان	الرحمن

Margin,

ضرب هذا القصد السكه في البلده فيروز اباد سنه ثلاث وخمسين وسبعمايه

No. 18.

Sonargaon, A.H. 756, 757, 759, 760, 763.

Type No. 2. The usual lettered obverse with circular area and margin reverse.

OBV.	REV.
المجاهد في	يمين خليفه
سبيل الرحمن	الله ناصر امير
سكندر شاه ابن الياس	المؤمنين
شاه السلطان	

Margin,

ضرب هذه السكه بحضرة جلال سنارگانوسنه ستين وسبعمايه

No. 19.

Muāzamābād, A.H. 760, 761, 763, 764. Plate II. fig. 12.

Variety A.

Margin,

ضرب هذه السكه اقليم معظم اباد سنه اهدى وستين وسبعمايه

No. 20.

Fīrūzābād, A.H. 764.

Variety B.

## No. 21.

Sonárgaon, A.H. 758, 759.

Type No. 3. As usual.

OBV.	REV.
السلطان العظيم	يمين خليفه
سكندر شاه	الله ناصر امير
ابن الياس شاه	المومنين
السلطان	

Margin as usual.

## No. 22.

Fírúzábád, A.H. 765, 766, 770, 771, 772, 773, 776, 779, 780.

Type No. 4. Coarse coins, badly formed letters. *Obverse*, simple lettered surface. *Reverse*, circular area.

OBV.	REV.
المام	يمين خليفه
العظيم ابو	الله ناصر امير
المجاهد سكندر	المومنين
شاه ابن الياس	خلد الله خلافة
شاه السلطان	

Margin, هذه السكه بحضرت فيروزآباد سنه سبعين وسبعماية

## No. 23.

Fírúzábád, A.H. 769.

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 166 grs. Very rare. Plate II. fig. 11.

Type No. 5. Similar design to type 1.

OBV.	REV.
ابوالمجاهد	الناصر
سكندر شاه	لدين الله
السلطان ابن	القاهر
السلطان	لاعدا الله

Margin,

\* \* ضرب هذا الفضة السكه في البلده فيروزاباد سنه تسع وستين و \*

No. 24.

Satgaon, A.H. 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 788. Plate II. fig. 13.

Type No. 6. *Obverse*, a quadrated scalloped shield, with open bosses on the margin containing the names of the "four friends," the intermediate spaces being filled in partially with the king's titles.

*Reverse*, hexagonal star-shaped lozenge, with exterior marginal legend.

OBV.	REV.
سكندر شاه	يمين
ابن الياس شاه	خليفه الله ناصر امير
السلطان	المومنين خلد الله
	خلافة

*Obverse* Margin,

الامام العالم العادل ابوالمجاهد — ابوبكر عمر عثمان علي

*Reverse* Margin,

ضرب هذه السكه المباركه في عرصه ستكانو سنه احد وثمانين وسبعماية

<sup>1</sup> The pattern legend of this mint-die seems to have been taken from oral data, as it is engraved as القاهر لاعد الله instead of the more critical القاهر لاعد الله

The increased facilities of intercourse by sea probably aided the colloquial knowledge of Arabic in the estuaries of Bengal; while the learned of Dehli had to rely more upon books and occasional teachers. Ibn Batutah tells us, that Muhammad bin Tughlak, though pretending to speak Arabic, did not distinguish himself in the act, while *Haji* Iltas must himself have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.



## No. 25.

Shahr Nau, A.H. 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786. Plate II. fig. 14.

Type No. 7. *Obverse*, a simple octagon, with four circlets in the margin containing the names of the four friends of the Prophet, the rest of the exergue being filled in with the king's own titles.

*Reverse*, a diamond-shaped area with the crossed lines prolonged to the edge of the piece; the lines are slightly scalloped outwards to form an ornamental field.

OBV.	REV.
سكندر شاه	يمين خليفه
ابن الياس شاه	الله ناصر امير المؤمنين
السلطان	خلد خلافة
<i>Obverse Margin,</i>	
الوثنى بتايد الرحمن ابو المجاهد	ابوبكر عمر عثمان علي

*Reverse Margin,*

ضرب هذه السكه المباركه في عرصه شهرنو سنه اثني وثمانين وسبعمايه

The name of the mint is imperfectly expressed on even the best specimens, and great latitude has been permitted in the omission or insertion of entire words in the reverse marginal legend.

Variety A. differs merely in the pattern of the reverse area, which is ornamented with double instead of single scallops.

## No. 26.

Firúzábád, A.H. 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792.

Type No. 8. *Obverse*, circular area, with a broad margin divided by circlets enclosing the names of the four friends of the Prophet, the intermediate spaces being filled in with their titles.

*Reverse*, octagonal rose scalloped lozenge, with narrow margin.

*Obverse,*

الوائى بتايد الرحمن ابو المجاهد سكندر شاه ابن الياس شاه السلطان  
Margin,

ابوبكر الاعظم عمر ابوالخليفه عثمان المعظم علي الامام

*Reverse,*

بميين الخليفة ناصر امير المومنين عون السلام والمسلمين خلد خلفته

*Margin,*

ضرب هذه السكة المباركة في بلدة المحروسة فيروز اباد سنة ثمانين وسبعماية

No. 27.

Satgaon, A.H. 780.

Variety A. *Reverse* *Margin,*

ضرب هذه السكة المباركة في عرصه المعمورة ستكانو etc.

No. 28.

Muḡzamábád (the great city), A.H. ?

Variety B. *Mint,*

بلدة المعظم معظم اباد

No. 29.

Shahr Nau, A.H. 781.

Variety C. *Mint,* عرصه المعمورة شهرنو سنة احدى ثمانين

No. 30.

Col. Guthrie has a gold piece of type No. 8, size vii. and a half, weighing 158 grains. The coin is inferior in execution to the ordinary silver money. The letters are badly formed, and the marginal legend is altogether obliterated.<sup>2</sup>

No. 31.

Fírúzábád, A.H. 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787.

Type No. 9. *Obverse*, circular area, with a broad margin, broken by small shields containing the names of the four companions of the

<sup>1</sup> M. Reinaud interpreted the word as *عون*, *Defensor* (*Journal Asiatique*, 1823, p. 272), in which he is followed by Marsden (ii. p. 567). Sayud Ahmad again, in his transcript of 'Alá-ud-dín's Inscription of 710 A.H., reproduces the title as *غوث الاسلام والمسلمين*, which, in effect, carries a nearly identical meaning (*Asár-ul-sunnádíd*, p. 53).

<sup>2</sup> The only other Bengal gold coins I am at present able to refer to are a well-preserved piece of *Jiddi-ud-din* Fatah Sháh bin Mahmúd (dated A.H. 890), now in the possession of Colonel Guthrie, weighing 161.4 grains, and a coin in the B. M. assigned to 'Alá-ud-dín Hussin (A.H. 906-927) which weighs 159.5 grains.

Prophet; the intermediate spaces are filled in with titles which occasionally pertain to the king, but at times exclusively belong to the Imáms.<sup>1</sup>

*Reverse*, hexagonal field; narrow margin.

OBY.	REV.
ابو المجاهد	يمين خليفه
سكندر شاه ابن الياض	الله ناصر امير المؤمنين
شاه السلطان	عون السلام والمسلم
	خلد ملك

*Obverse Margin*,

الامام (ابوبكر) الاعظم (عمر) الواثق (عثمان) بتايد الرحمن (علي)

*Reverse Margin*,

ضرب هذه السكه المباركه في بلدة فيروز اباد سنه ست وثمانين وسبعماية

#### X.—A'AZAM SHAH.

The accession of Ghíás-ud-dín Aázam Sháh was disgraced by rebellion against his own father and coincident open war, in the course of which Sikandar fell in a general action between his own and his son's troops. Native historians are more than ordinarily obscure in the narration of these incidents, and the dates relied upon are singularly untrustworthy when brought to the test of numismatic facts. Aázam's initial revolt is admitted to have gained force chiefly in Eastern Bengal, where his coinage substantially proves his administrative supremacy, whether as nominally subordinate or covertly resistant to paternal authority, dating from 772 A.H.,—an increase of power seems to be associated with the mint record of a hold over Satgaon in 790 A.H., and a real or pretended occupancy of a portion of the territory of Pandua in

<sup>1</sup> الواثق in many instances is replaced by ابو الخليفه while المعظم follows the name of عثمان .

791, though the final eclipse of the royal titles of the father is delayed till 792 A.H.<sup>1</sup>

Ghías-ud-dín Aázam Sháh, *bin Sikandar Sháh.*

No. 32.

Muázamábád, A.H. 772, 775, 776.

Silver. Size, viii½. Weight, 166 grs. Plate II. fig. 16.

Type No. 1. *Obverse*, square area occupying nearly the whole surface of the coin, as in the old Dehli pattern.

*Reverse*, scalloped lozenge, forming an eight-pointed but contracted star.

OBV.	REV.
الموید بتائید الرحمن	ناصر السلام و
غیاث الدنيا والدين	المسلمين كین
ابو المظفر اعظم شاه	امیر المومنین
السلطان	

*Obverse* Margin: On the upper edge, ابوبکر; on the left, عمر; in consecutive reading at the foot, عثمان; and on the right, علی

*Reverse* Margin,

هذه السكه المباركه في بلدة معظماباد سنة ثمان وسبعين وسبعماية

Variety A. In one instance حضرت جلال supplies the place of في بلدة.

There is a doubt about the reading of the word كین "being humble;" the عين "Oculus" of Marsden would certainly be preferable in point of sense, but the forms of the letters of the word scarcely justify such a rendering, unless we admit of an unusual degree of even Bengálí imperfection in the fashioning these dies.

On two examples of this mintage *in silver*, the marginal legend bears the words هذه الدينار in clearly cut letters; but I imagine this seeming anomaly to have arisen from a fortuitous use of the dies for gold coins, which, in device, were identical with those employed for the silver money.

<sup>1</sup> Stewart supposes that Sikandar met his death in 769 A.H. (p. 89); and an even more patent error places the decease of Aázam in 775 A.H. (p. 93). The *Tabakát-i-Akbari*, which devotes a special section to the history of Bengal, implies an amiable and undisturbed succession in this instance.

No. 33.

Jannatábád, A.H. 790.

Variety A. Similar obverse with circular reverse.

Mint, جنتاباد سنة تسعين و

REV.

OBV.



No. 34.

Type No. 2. There is a subordinate class of coins, following the devices of Type No. 1 (in size vii. and upwards), struck from less expanded dies, and generally of very inferior execution in the outlining of the letters. These are also from the mint of Muñzamábád, and are dated in bungled and almost illegible words—*احدوثمانما*, *ثمانما*, *ثماوسعو*, *ثماوسجمايه*, *سبعوسجمايه*, which may be designed to stand for 770 odd, 778, 780, and 781 respectively.

No. 35.

Fírúzábád, A.H. 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799.

Type No. 3. Size, viii. to viii½. Weight, 166 grs. Plate II. fig. 15.

*Obverse*, scalloped diamond field; broad margin.

*Reverse*, circular area.

OBV.

REV.

غياث الدنيا

ناصر امير

والدين ابو المظفر

المومنين عون السلام

اعظم شاه

والمسلمين

السلطان

خلد ملكه

*Obverse Margin*, السلطان الاعظم المويديبتايد الملك الرحمن

*Reverse Margin*,

هذة السكة بقصة فيروزاباد سنة ثلاث وتسعين وسبعماية

The Reverse marginal records vary in the prefix to the name of the mint from the Kasbah above given, *في حضرة المباركه* and *في حضرة* being occasionally used.

No. 36.

Satgaon, A.H. 795, 798.

Variety A.

No. 37.

Satgaon, A.H. 790, 795, 796.

Type No. 4. *Obverse*, area, a square, with a looped semicircle at each of the sides, forming a kind of amalgamation of the margin with the central device.

*Reverse*, area, a four-pointed star-shaped lozenge; the outside spaces being filled in with the marginal legend.

OBV.

REV.

ابوبكر المويد بتايد الرحمن { غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر اعظم } شاه السلطان ۞	ناصر الاسلام و المسلمين كين امير المومنين
--	---

*Reverse* Margin,

فرب هذ السكه \* \* في عرصه ستكانو سنه تسعين وسبعمايه

No. 38.

Type No. 5. Size, v. Weight, 166 grains.

*Obverse*, lettered surface.

*Reverse*, circular area; narrow margin.

OBV.

REV.

غياث الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر اعظم شاه السلطان Margin?	ابد الله خلد الله دولته ملكه معظمابان سنه احد *
---	--

The singular orthography adopted in the rendering of the term *Abdallah*, and the substitution of an initial *alif* in lieu of the grammatical *ع ain*, affords another instance of the ignorance of the local mint officials, and their tendency to reproduce the approximate *sounds* of words, without regard to the true powers of the letters employed.

A vacant space in the final setting up of this article invites me to extend it so far as to notice a limited series of coins which have hitherto been erroneously associated with the mintages of Bengal proper,—I allude to the money of Táj-ud-dín Fírúz, whose date has, in like manner, been misapprehended by Marsden (p. 575), and by Mr. Laidlay, who follows his interpretation (J.A.S.B. xv. p. 330). The subjoined examples will show that the supposed date of 897 A.H. should be 807; and the consecutive numbers on the different coins now cited establish the fact that the potentate, whose name they bear reigned at least from 804 to 823, having a capital entitled *Hájiábád*, which may, with sufficient reason, be identified with the *Hájiপুর* of modern nomenclature. The introductory piece A. seems to have been issued by Táj-ud-dín's predecessor, and their several mintages alike depart from the ordinary style of Bengal coinages in the phraseology and finished execution of the Arabic legends, as well as in the weights of their currencies, which approximate closely to the full Dehli standard, in contrast to the reduced southern range of 166 grains.

A. Silver. Size, vii½. Weight, 165 grs. Unique. A.H. 797.

OBV.		REV.
الناصر لدين لدنان الحامى الأهل الأيمان		الواثق بتايد الرحمن ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان

B. Silver. Size from  $vi\frac{1}{2}$  to  $viii\frac{1}{2}$ . Weight, 168 grs., the full and *sustained* weight of several specimens.

Obv.		Rev.
سَلْطَان الْعَهْدِ وَ الزَّمَانِ الْوَالِي بِتَأْيِيدِ الرَّحْمَنِ أَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ		تَاجُ الدُّنْيَا وَالْأَمِينِ فَيَرُوزِ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ <hr style="width: 20%; margin: 0 auto;"/> ٨٠٤

*Obverse*, lettered surface.

*Reverse*, square area, with imperfect marginal records, usually consisting of ضرب بحضرت حاجيآباد with the figured dates *at the foot*, ranging onwards from 804 to 807 [Marsden], 810, 813, 814, 818, 819, 820, 822, and 823 A.H.

These coins are chiefly from the collection of the late Sir R. Jenkins, but have now passed into Colonel Guthrie's possession.

Among other rare and unpublished coins, having more or less connexion with the progress of events in Bengal, I may call attention to the subjoined piece of Shír Sháh (C.), which seems to mark his final triumph over Humáyún in 946 A.H. and his own assumption of imperial honours in Hindustán. The gold coin (D.) is of interest, as exhibiting the model from whence Akbar derived one of his types of money, which Oriental authors would have us believe were altogether of his special origination, even as they attribute so many of Shír Sháh's other admirable fiscal and revenue organizations to his Moghul successor. In coin E. we follow the spread of Shír Sháh's power northwards to the ancient capital of the Patháns, and the piece F. illustrates the retention of the family sway over the other extreme of the old dominion.



- C. Silver. Size, vi½. Weight, 163 grs. A.H. 946. Well executed Western characters.

*Obverse*, السلطان العادل المويد بتأييد الرحمن فريد الدنيا والدين

*Reverse*, أبوالمظفر شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه ٩٤٦

- D. Gold. Square coin. Weight, 168½ grs. Unique. (R. J. Brassey, Esq.).

*Obverse*, the Kalimah.

*Reverse*, شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه

At the foot, श्री चेर सहि.

- E. Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 168 grs. Dehli. A.H. 948.

*Obverse*, Square area. لاله الاالله محمد رسول الله

Margin, the names and titles of the four Imáms.

*Reverse*, Square area. ٩٤٨ السلطان شير شاه خلد الله ملكه

At the foot, श्री सीरी साह.

Margin, ضرب بحضرت دهلي \* \* \*

- F. Silver. Size, viii. Weight, ? Satgaon, A.H. 951 (from the collection of the late G. H. Freeling, Bengal C.S.)

Circular area, اسلام شاه ابن شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و

سلطانه واعلي امرة وشانه

Margin,

جلال الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر شاه اسحام شاه ضرب ستكانو ٩٥١

BENGAL MINTS.						
	1 Lakhnauti.	3 Firdzábád.	3 Satgaon.	4 Shahr Nau.	5 Sonárgaon.	6 Mukámábád.
I. Kai Káás .....	A.H. 691.....695	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..
II. Shams-ud-din .....	702.....722	... ..	... ..	... ..	in possession.	... ..
III. Shabáb-ud-din .....	.. ..	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..
IV. Bahádur Sháh .....	710, 712.....720-722	... ..	... ..	... ..	IV. Under <i>Muhammád bin Tughlak</i> , 728	... ..
<i>Muhammed bin Tughlak (Nawaz)</i>	.....733	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..
V. Mubárák Sháh.....	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..	737.....741 to 750	... ..
VI. 'Alí Sháh .....	... ..	742.....746	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..
VII. Gházi Sháh .....	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..	751.....758	... ..
VIII. Ilías Sháh .....	... ..	740.....758	... ..	... ..	758.....768	... ..
IX. Sikandar Sháh.....	... ..	750.....792	780.....784	781.....786	756.....764	760.....764
X. Akram Sháh .....	... ..	791.....799	790.....798	... ..	... ..	772.....781
Mint No. 7. Gháspúr.....	IV. Bahádur Sháh, 730 A.H.					
						Mint No. 8. Jannatábád.....
						X. Akram Sháh, 790 A.H.

ART. VIII.—*Specimen of an Assyrian Dictionary.* BY  
EDWIN NORRIS, ESQ., HON. SEC.

THE following paper is a Specimen of what pretends to be no more than a Skeleton Dictionary of the Assyrian Language, which the few who know anything of the matter will assuredly expect to find incomplete, and often erroneous. The compiler, though well aware that such expectation will not be disappointed, believes that no apology is required; for many years must necessarily elapse before an approach can be made to completeness in such a work, and the best Assyrian decipherers are the most assured of the vague character of their interpretations, whenever the subject goes much beyond plain narration, or whenever words of infrequent occurrence are made use of. He ought rather, with Semitic knowledge limited to a superficial acquaintance with Hebrew, and with but little leisure, to apologize for venturing at all upon such an attempt; but having got together a very large number of words while assisting Sir Henry Rawlinson in the preparation of inscriptions for publication, and being, moreover, of opinion that a work like the present, which requires little more than persevering industry, will never be compiled by men of greater powers who are better employed, he was unwilling that his labour should be thrown away, and hopeful that it might be of some use. He believes that his compilation may serve as a repository in which Assyrian students may jot down their difficulties, and where they may occasionally look for help, by collating passages containing the words they are

investigating. He only asks credit, in the words of an early critic lately reprinted, for "his diligence in breaking "the yce, and givinge lighte to others, who may moore "easely perfecte then begyne."\*



If the Specimen given should be thought satisfactory, the compiler would propose to commence at once the printing of the whole Dictionary; and he hopes that our Rawlinsons and Hinckses will gradually fill up deficiencies, and correct the errors which they will certainly find in most pages; he scarcely ever looks over the sheets himself without making additions, and, he trusts, improvements.

















He has to acknowledge, with thanks, much valuable help from Dr. Hincks in a considerable part of this Specimen, and he feels bound to declare that he is indebted for almost everything he knows of Assyrian to the direct communications or to the writings of Sir Henry Rawlinson.



\* Francis Thynne's *Animadversions*, &c., page 9; reprinted in 1865.

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THE arrangement of words written with a syllabary must always be more difficult than with an alphabet; but with the Assyrian syllabary, encumbered as it is by monograms, determinatives, polyphones, unpronounceable proto-Babylonian symbols, and varying orthography, the difficulty is greatly increased. We must work by compromise, and sometimes elude a difficulty we cannot conquer. After trying and giving up several schemes, the compiler has adopted the following:—

Words are arranged according to the order of the Hebrew alphabet, and no notice is taken of inherent unwritten vowels, or of the complementary vowels following them, which serve at most only to lengthen the syllable. Thus,   [bu ur] is

entered as BR,    [e mu uk] as EMK,    [as ti] as ST,   or    [a ga, a ga a] as AG,    [su a tu] as SAT.   is entered as H.

, which appears to be etymologically equivalent to *y*, is often used as a complementary vowel to a syllable with inherent *i*; and is transliterated as *e*.\* As Assyrian writing made no distinction between the hard and soft sounds [surds and sonants] of final consonants, using only one form for *ab* and *ap*, one for *ug*, *uk*, and *uq*, &c., such consonants are always arranged as soft [sonants], mainly because *b*, *g*, *d*, come before *p*, *k*, *t*, in the alphabet. Polyphones will also be entered under their earliest initial;  for example, which may be read *dan*, *kal*, or *lib*, will come under D. This rule, limiting each character to one place, is in accordance with our own usage: we place Caius and Cicero under C, although the initial sound of one is *k*, of the other *s*; and the words *physic*, *psalm*, *ptisan*, and *paper*, appear in our dictionaries under P, although pronounced with initial *f*, *s*, *t*, and *p*. An exception to the rule of taking the earliest letter of the alphabet is made when the polyphone is a character of the ordinary syllabary, and likewise when the polyphone has usually one sound only, any other being rarely found.

In this way the student will generally know where to look for any given word; the few which remain doubtful will be placed, if the initial be known, at the end of the class of words having that initial; other doubtful words will be put at the end of the Dictionary.

In all this the notation for purposes of arrangement must be distinguished from the transliteration, which will be mentioned presently.

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\* It is curious that when the Jews write German in Hebrew letters, they have for centuries represented the vowel *e* by *y*, making *der Mensch* דער מענש, &c.

In the body of the work the compiler, of course, begins each paragraph with the word to be explained—he will give it first in the cuneiform character, in all the forms he has noted, and then in Roman letters; the English equivalent will follow, and any cognate word known to him in another Semitic language. He will quote one or more phrases containing the word in question, with a literal translation, word for word; when he is unable to read or translate a passage, he must leave it for more advanced students. The cuneiform character may be occasionally omitted in these phrases, to save room and avoid repetition, when the original is published in some work easily procurable. He apprehends that this plan will exhibit pretty clearly the limits of his knowledge, but he disclaims any pretence of knowing all, or even a very large proportion of all that is known; he has not read carefully, with the idea of preparing a dictionary, even all that is in print, and not a twentieth part of what remains on the clay slabs, which may be fairly termed “in manuscript.”

The verbs will follow separately, with classified examples of all the forms which the compiler has recorded, together with any obvious nominal derivatives, which may be referred to the earlier part of the Dictionary.

He has included in his plan the names of persons and places, which may be useful historically and geographically; also extracts from syllabaries and bilingual lists, sometimes fragmentary, mostly without any attempt at explanation. Some groups of characters may also be found which are no words at all, but only parts of one or more words from sentences of which he could make nothing.

The transliteration will be, so far as practicable, the most usual representation of the Hebrew letters, with the phonology

of which language that of the Assyrian appears to have a greater analogy than with that of any other Semitic idiom. The  $\Pi$ ,  $\Omega$ ,  $D$ , and  $\Upsilon$ , will be distinguished from  $\Pi$ ,  $\Omega$ ,  $\Psi$ , and  $\Im$ , by a dot below— $\dot{h}$ ,  $\dot{t}$ ,  $\dot{s}$ , and  $\dot{z}$ ; the ambiguous characters representing both  $m$  and  $v$  will be made  $m$  or  $v$ , as accordant with etymology; in doubtful cases  $m$  will be preferred. What is called *mimnation* will be made by a line over the vowel so affected, e.g.,  $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$  will be made  $i\bar{a}$ ,  $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $li$ , &c.

Accad or proto-Babylonian words will be generally rendered as if they were Assyrian, and left to take their chance in that form; with the exception of a few of frequent occurrence, whose Assyrian equivalents are well known from vocabularies and variant readings, and which could not be conveniently transliterated, such as  $\text{𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶}$ ,  $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶}$ ,  $\text{𐎶}$ ,  $\langle\text{𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶}$ ,  $\text{𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶}$ ,  $\text{𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶}$ ,  $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶}$ ,  $\langle\text{𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶}$ ,  $\langle\text{𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶}$ , which will be written *nahr* (river), *same* (heaven), *yom* (day), *eni* (eyes), *uzni* (ears), *kappi* (hands), *naru* (tablet), *huraz* (gold), *kaspu* (silver), and perhaps a few more. No positive rule can be laid down, but in any uncertainty both forms will be given; there is no doubt whatever, strange as it may appear, that the Assyrians in such cases wrote a word in one language and pronounced it in another.\* Determinatives before

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\* This we ourselves do when we write "viz." and pronounce it "namely." It appears from the following French translation of a passage in the "Fihrist" by Mons. de Quatremère, that this was also done by another eastern nation, many centuries ago:—"Les Perses ont aussi un alphabet appelé *zewaresh*, dont les lettres sont tantôt liées, tantôt isolées. Le vocabulaire se compose d'environ mille mots, et ils s'en servent pour distinguer les expressions qui ont une forme semblable. Par exemple, quiconque veut écrire le mot *goucht*, qui, en arabe, signifie *lahm* (chair), écrit *bisra*, qu'il prononce *goucht*; si l'on veut écrire *nam* qui signifie *pain*, on trace le mot *lahm*, que l'on prononce *nam*. Il en est ainsi des autres mots, à l'exception de ceux qui n'ont point besoin d'être déguisés, et que l'on écrit comme ils se prononcent."—Journ. Asiat. Paris, March, 1835. p. 256. This refers, of course, to the so-called Pahlavi language.

proper names will be generally omitted in transliteration, and the name printed with a capital letter. Throughout the work a normal character will be used, as near to the older Assyrian forms as the disposable typographical arrangements will admit; consequently all the hieratic and the more recent Babylonian and Persian words will be written in the same ancient alphabet.

*List of Abbreviations used in Referring to Inscriptions.*

Beh.	.. ..	Behistun Inscription, in Journ. R.A.S., 1851.
1 Beltis	..	R. I., Vol. II, Sh. 66. To Beltis as Goddess of War.
2 "	..	" " " Execution of Susian Chiefs.
Birs	.. ..	" Vol. I, Sh. 51. No. 1. Nebuchadnezzar, from Birs Nimrud.
Bl. St.	.. ..	" " Sh. 49, 50. Lord Aberdeen's Black Stone; Easar Haddon.
B.M.	.. ..	Layard's Inscriptions, published by the British Museum in 1850; the figure preceding denotes the number of the sheet, the following figure shows the line.
Botta	.. ..	From Botta's Monument de Ninive. 1849-1850, Paris. When a double reference is given, the second denotes Oppert's Inscription, printed in the Journal Asiatique, Paris, 1863.
Br. Cyl.	..	R. I., Vol. I, Sh. 69. Nabonidus. Fragments.
Br. Obel.	..	" " Sh. 28. Sardanapalus.
E. I. H.	..	" " Sh. 53-64. Nebuchadnezzar. First published by the Hon. East India Company, in 1807.
Easar	.. ..	" " Sh. 45-47. Annals of Easar Haddon.
Gyges	.. ..	Notice of Gyges, King of Lydia, from a fragment of Assurbanipal. Not published.
1 Mich.	..	R. I., Vol. I, Sh. 70. A block of basalt, usually called Michaux' Stone. First published in Millin's Monuments Antiques Inédits; Paris, 1802.
2 "	..	} Two similar stones, in the British Museum, in Hieratic. Not published.
3 "	..	
Monolith	..	R. I., Vol. I, Sh. 27. Sardanapalus, in British Museum.
Nabonid.	..	" " Sh. 68. Cylinder of Nabonidus, from Mugheir.
Neb. Bab.	..	" " Sh. 52, No. 3. Nebuchadnezzar, from Babylon.
Neb. Gr.	..	" " Sh. 65, 66. Ditto. First published by Grotefend, Göttingen, 1848.



- Neb. Senk. . . R. I., Vol. I, Sh. 51, No. 2. Ditto, from Senkereh.
- Nebi Yun. . . " " Sh. 43, 44. Sennacherib, from Nebi Yunna.
- Nerig. . . " " Sh. 67. Cylinder of Neriglissar, from Babylon.
- Obel. . . L. I., Sh. 87-98. Nimrud Obelisk, Shalmaneser.
- New Div. . . Monolith of the same King. Not published.
- 1 Pal. . . }  
 2 " . . } All in R. Ins., Vol. I, Sh. 35. No. 3 was first printed in L. Ins.,  
 3 " . . } No. 70, with some slight differences.  
 4 " . . }
- Rich . . . R. I., Vol. I, Sh. 52, No. 4. Nebuchadnezzar. First published  
 in Rich's Babylon and Persepolis, 1839; Pl. 9.
- Sarg. . . " " Sh. 36. Sargina, from Khorsabad.
- Sard. . . " " Sh. 17-26. Annals of Sardanapalus.
- Sen. B. . . Sennacherib, on four large alabs, in British Museum. Not  
 published.
- Sen. Gr. . . Sennacherib. Published by Grotefend, Göttingen, 1850.
- Sen. T. . . R. I., Vol. I, Sh. 37-42. Sennacherib, from Koyunjik. Taylor's  
 Cylinder.
- Sh. Ph. . . " " Sh. 29-34. Shamas-Phul or Shamas Vul. From  
 Nimrud, Hieratic.
- St. . . L. I., Sh. 1-11. The Standard Inscription of Sardanapalus.
- Tig. . . R. I., Vol. I, Sh. 9-16. Annals of Tiglath Pileser I.
- Tig. jun. . . " Vol. II, Sh. 67. " " " II.

\* \* In the above List L.I. refers to Layard's Inscriptions, printed in 1850; and R.I. to Rawlinson's Inscriptions, in 2 vols., 1861 and 1866.

The smaller Inscriptions of the Persian empire will be designated by capital letters, as is done in the publications of Westergaard, and by the numbers in Rawlinson's Memoir, Journ. R.A.S., 1845.

Many additions and corrections were communicated by Sir H. Rawlinson while this specimen was preparing for the press; they are denoted by the letter R.



*Conventional Alphabet for the Arrangement of Words in the Dictionary.*

A	𐄎.
B	𐄎 ba, 𐄎 bi, 𐄎 bu, 𐄎 ab, 𐄎 ib, 𐄎 ub.
G	𐄎 ga, 𐄎 gi, 𐄎 gu, 𐄎 ag, 𐄎 ig, 𐄎 ug.
D	𐄎 da, 𐄎 di, 𐄎 du, 𐄎 ad, 𐄎 id, 𐄎 ud.
H V	𐄎 h, or y, or hiatus.—V 𐄎 hu, < u.
Z	𐄎 z, 𐄎 zi, 𐄎 zu, 𐄎 az, 𐄎 iz, 𐄎 uz.
H	𐄎 ha, 𐄎 hi, 𐄎 hu, 𐄎 h, 𐄎 uh.
T I K	𐄎 tu.—I 𐄎 i, 𐄎 ya.—K 𐄎 ka, 𐄎 ki, 𐄎 ku.
L	𐄎 la, 𐄎 li, 𐄎 lu, 𐄎 al, 𐄎 il, 𐄎 ul, 𐄎 li.
M	𐄎 ma, 𐄎 me, 𐄎 mi, 𐄎 mu, 𐄎 am, 𐄎 im, 𐄎 um.
N	𐄎 na, 𐄎 ni, 𐄎 nu, 𐄎 an, 𐄎 in, 𐄎 un.
S E	𐄎 s, 𐄎 si, 𐄎 su.—E 𐄎 e.
P Z	𐄎 p, 𐄎 pi, 𐄎 pu.—Z 𐄎 z, 𐄎 z.
Q	𐄎 q, 𐄎 qi, 𐄎 qu.
R	𐄎 ra, 𐄎 ri, 𐄎 ru, 𐄎 ar, 𐄎 ir, 𐄎 ur.
S	𐄎 s, 𐄎 sa, 𐄎 se, 𐄎 si, 𐄎 su, 𐄎 as, 𐄎 is, 𐄎 us.
T	𐄎 ta, 𐄎 te, 𐄎 ti, 𐄎 ta, 𐄎 ti.

A  , in Scythic , equivalent to *a* or *ha*.















Dr. Hincks, in the Report of the British Association, 1857, page 186. derives the character from *drops of water*; sounded in Accadian *a* or *hwa*, the meaning would be *water*; sounded *pur*, *river*; as in Purrat, *Euphrates*.

  .  - .       <, giltanú.—Syl. 562.





 , A SON, much used in filiation, and pronounced *pal*, or *bal*. The full pronunciation was *ablu*, in const. *abil*.

             , *Merodach-bal-adan*.—Esar. ii. 32.

         . sa Arame, bal Agusi, of Aramu, son of Agusu.\*—Obel. 130.

  would be *son's son*, as          
    , *pal pal* sa Mutaggil Nebo, *grandson of Mutaggil Nebo*.—Tig. vii. 45.

           . *Thy tents (?) son of Babel*, or perhaps, *O Babel*.—Sen. T. v. 23, 24.

I do not know the phonetic power of   < , but it probably had a final dental, being followed by  in Sen. T. i. 22, and v. 29.

  .     , *abu*, FATHER.—Vol. II, pl. 31, ii. 28.

Cf. also      .—Vol. II, pl. 32, ii. 59.

And         .       ”       ”       61.

\* I usually put a name in the nominative case in the translation, when I think I am sure of it, but the distinction of cases is not always clear to me.

𐤎 𐤍 WATER, written phonetically <𐤎 𐤍, *mie*, Heb. מֵי, is generally in the plural, but when followed by 𐤎 was perhaps sounded *miat*; it is, however, more commonly followed by 𐤎.

𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎, *ana mie inadú*, into waters shall cast (moisten R.).—Fig. viii. 65.

𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎, *asar muzú sa mie*, place of exit of waters.—Obel. 69.

𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎, *mie nahri-su*, waters of his rivers.—Botta 151, 22 (10)=130.

𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎, *mie nakbi*, water-courses.—Botta 151, 20 (8)=128.

𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎, *miat-su nádi kazuti ana zumme-ya lu asti*; of its flowing nauseous waters for my thirst I drank.—Sen. T. iii. 80.

Doubtful; see 𐤎 Gen. xxvii. 46. Hincks reads "Its clear waters were abundant for my thirst when I drank."—Polyph. p. 45. Rawlinson suggests "the muddy overflow of its waters for my thirst I drank."

𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎, *rádu sa mie*, tempest of the waters.—Nab. Brok. Cyl. ii. 57. Cf. Birs. ii. 1.

Ezar. iii. 54. Sard. ii. 132; iii. 32, 136. Sh. Ph. iv. 25, 29.

𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎, *water of gods = rain*. 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎, *mie ili sa mie ili* [zunu sa zunni] *salgu*, much rain and snow.—Sen. T. iv. 77. Given repeatedly as 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 in the meteorological tables.—R.

𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎, *waters of the Turnat*.—Obel. 76; 15BM24. Name of a town in Kardunia, written 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 𐤎 in Sh. Ph. iv. 4. The river Turnat is mentioned in l. 9. Torna of the Arabs, and Tornadatus of Pliny.—R.

𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶.—1 Mich. i. 3. Oppert reads *Mi Kaldas* (Gyndas, Dials). Tal., *Ami kalkal* (Tigris); but see Vol. II, pl. 51, l. 31.

𐎶 . . . . . 𐎶, suffixed, *my*; more commonly 𐎶𐎶𐎶.

𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎶, *bili-a, my lords*.—Sh. Ph. iv. 6.

𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎶, *niri-a, my yoke* (my feet).—Ibid.

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎶, *ummanati-a, my soldiers*.—Sh. Ph. iv. 25.

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶, *gatú-a, my hand*.—Birs. i. 14.

AA 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, *ai, the female power of the sun*.

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 . . 𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 . . 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎶𐎶𐎶.

*Bit . . ana Shams va Ai . . epus, a house . . for the sun and for . . . . . I made*.—Neb. Gr. ii. 40, 42.

See Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Vol. I, p. 612. See also *R. Insc.*, Vol. II, pl. 57. i. 11–32, for the twenty names of this goddess.

𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, negative particle, usually of deprecation, *let it not, be it not*, perhaps the Hebrew 𐤊; Job. xxii. 30; 1 Sam. iv. 21.

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠, *ai isi nakiri, may I not have enemies*.—E. I. H. x. 15; Neb. Bab. ii. 31.

𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠, *mugallitu ai arsi [arli]*.—Neb. Bab. ii. 31.

𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠, *mugalliti ai arsi*.—E. I. H. x. 16.

These readings are doubtful. A comparison of the concluding lines of E. I. H. of Neb. Gr. and of Neriqlissar, may, perhaps, suggest a translation to a good Semitic scholar. Dr. Hincks's copy of Neb. Bab. ii. 31, has 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 at the end, instead of 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠.

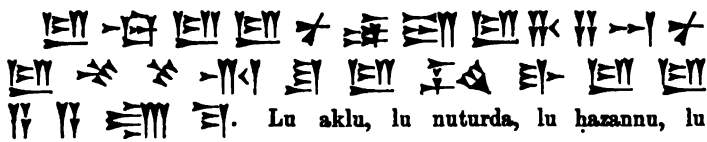
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Nabon. ii. 29; Brok. Cyl. ii. 27. In Br. Cyl. i. 23, we have  
the same sentence, with the word printed 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 →𐎶,  
irsán.

Dr. Hincks would translate "may he not give way to sinners;"  
perhaps agree or consort with sinners.

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, ai ipparkú  
idá-sa, *may its walls (?) not be broken.*—Sen. B. iv. 43 = 42 BM 53.







𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, followed by umma, which is like the Latin cunque, or  
Sanskrit chiya, means *any one whatever* (cf. 𐤀𐤓𐤏𐤍𐤏 Heb.),  
as 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
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aiumma ina libbi-  
sunu aar-su ul umasé ma susub-su ul idi ma hire nahr-su  
ul izkur; *any one among them its site not touched, and its  
restoration not undertook, and the digging of its water not laboured  
at.*—Sarg. 36.

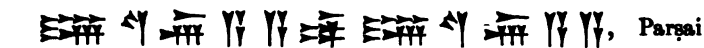
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𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶;  
aiumma ina libbi-sunu ana bit rab garbi-su tamu ribat  
biluti-sa nin aḥḥar, subat ṣuleṣu ul idá, libbús ul iḥṣuṣ;  
*any one among them to the palace therein in the height of its  
power (?) stayed not, the seat of its buildings knew not, into it  
ventured not.*—Sen. Gr. 40 —Some words doubtful.


 Lu aklu, lu nurda, lu hazannu, lu muserisu, lu tiggallu, lu aiumma; *whether aklu, or nurda, or hazannu, or muserisu, or tiggallu, or any one whatever.*—2 Mich. i. 33.


 lu itú, va lu aiumma; *whether nurda, or itú, or any one whatever.*—1 Mich. ii. 6.

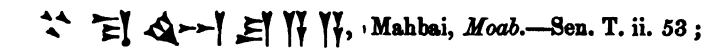
All these Accadian words appear to designate classes of men; some additional appellations occur in a like passage in 8 Mich. iii. 8—14.

 . .   as a termination, makes a gentile noun, signifying the *people*, or *country*, or *city*, as preceded by the respective determinative , , or .

 Paršai tur Paršai, a *Persian*, son of a *Persian*.—N. R. 6, 7. In the Persian, Párša, Pársahyá putra.—l. 13, 14.

 Madai, *Media*.—N. R. 11; Beh. 14, 16, 23, 26, 43, 47, &c. In Persian, Mada.

1 Pul 7; Botta 145, 5=17; 147, 5=65; Sen. T. ii. 80; Sarg. 14, 80; Esar. iv. 9, 22.

 Mahbai, *Moab*.—Sen. T. ii. 53; Tig. jun. 60.

 Azdudai, *Ashdod*.—Sen. T. ii. 51.

 Sal Dur Sarginaiti, a *woman of Dur-Sargina*.—1 Mich. i. 14.

The final *ti* represents the oblique case, feminine.

AAB 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, ayab,  
 st. const., aibi, aibut, pl. ENEMY. Heb. ֹאֵיבִי.

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, ayab Babel, *enemy of  
 Babylon.*—Esar. ii. 43. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, zaibat aibi,  
*smiter of enemies.*—Tig. i. 8. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 var. 𐎶, kasid aibi-su, *capturing his enemies.*—Sard. i. 40.  
 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, kasid aibut Assur,  
*capturing the enemies of Assur.*—Sard. i. 28.

Fig. i. 11; Sard. i. 15; E.I.H. vi. 89; Neric. i. 27.

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, Aibursabû.—  
 E.I.H. v. 38.

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶.—Ibid. v. 45.

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶.—Ibid. v. 15.

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶.—Ibid. vii. 46.

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶,—Neric. ii. 17;  
 Rich. i. 22.

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, Aibursabû sa Nabiupafuzur ina libni  
 ipsivu, *Aibursabû which Nabopolassar in brick had extended.*—  
 E.I.H. vii. 46.

A piece of water near Babylon, often connected with *gule Babel*, the  
 mound of Babylon. Probably an artificial pond, lined with brick.  
 Dr. Hincks would read this name *Aya-ipur-sapu*, "let not the edge  
 crumble," connecting *ipur* with 𐎶𐎶, dust. May it not be rather from  
 the verb 𐎶𐎶, to break in pieces?—See Oppert's note in E. M. p. 290.



AB , abu, nom., abi, gen., FATHER.  
Heb. אב.

NOM.—, abu ili, *father of gods*.—42 BM 52 ;  
Botta 152, 23=167 ; Obel. 4.

GEN.—, abi alidi-ka, *of the father begetting thee*.—Birs. ii. 27.

, abi alidi-ya, *of the father begetting me*.—E.I.H. vii. 12.

*Di* is not on the printed copies, but it is clear on the slab.














, kima abi va ummi, *like a father and a mother*.—K. 66, quoted by Oppert, Journ. Asiat. Aug.-Sept. 1857, p. 172.

Abi appears to be irregularly *my father* in the nom. case in the following :

, itti sa abi ipusu,  
*with what my father did*.—E.I.H. v. 51.

, sa Nabupalhuzur abi  
banu-a ipusu; *which Nabopolassar, my father begetting me, made*.—E.I.H. iv. 71.





, itti kar abi igzuru ezniq, *with the fortress my father had damaged I joined*.—E.I.H. v. 30.—  
Doubtful.

Aba.   , &c.        
   , sa N. aba banú-a ina libni ipsánu,  
*which Nabopolassar, the father begetting me, in brick had extended.*—  
 E. I. H. vii. 48.






Dr. Hincks suggests that a in aba, is *my*, in this passage.






  .  .  .—Syl. 92.

 is very generally used for abu, *father*.




  , Abu, *the fifth month* (Heb אָב), on a slab containing all the months, written phonetically. Usually written .—See Neb. Yun. 42.


 , Aba, *some law officer*. Accadian.

    , Aba of the Assyrians.—Vol. II, Sh. 31. l. 64.

    , Aba of the Arameans.—l. 65.

The officer who signs the legal tableta, treated of by Sir Henry Rawlinson, in Journ. R.A.S. 1864, is so called.—See p. 246 of Journal, where it is rendered *judge*.

  , abba (habba), The SEA.—Any large river?

           
            
*istu ebirtan nahr Tiggar adi Libnana va habba rabte, from the passage of the river Tigris to Lebanon and the great sea.*—Stand. 8. Nearly the same in Sard. ii. 127.















           
   , ultu habba eliniti sa salam Shamsi,  
*from the upper sea of the setting sun.*—Sen. T. i. 13.

Fig. iv. 4, 50, 99; vi. 48. Sard. iii. 85. Br. Ob. i. 8. Neb. Yun. 21.

𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠, *ina ebirtan habba, which (is) in the crossing of the sea.*—Neb. Yun. 21.

𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠, *nahira in habba rabte iduk, a porpoise in the great sea he killed.*—Brok. Ob. i. 3.

𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠, *istamdabu sate u habbai, hath passed over mountains and seas.*—N. Div. i. 10. A parallel passage in 12BM9 has *tamdte*.

𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 . 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠, *abba, f., CAMEL.* Accadian.

𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠, *habbai sa sunai ziri-sina, camels which two (are) their backs.*—Obel. Epig. 1 and 3.

To judge from the Hebrew שׁוֹנֵי הַבָּבִי, *shen-habbim, ivory, habba* should be *elephant*, but the obelisk with its figures is decisive; we have a similar confusion in the Gothic *ulband*, for *a camel*; also in the Slavonic dialects. It would appear, from several parallels cited by Sir Henry Rawlinson, that *gammal* and *habba* are used indiscriminately; the former word being Semitic, the latter Accadian.—See Vol. II, p. 44, iii, l. 6 and 7. But in pl. 81, l. 54, 55, we have the 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 and 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠, apparently contrasted.

𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠, 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠, *abub, const. abubi, obl., CORN.*—Heb. אֲבוּבִי.

𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠, *abub uthari, green corn of battle, i.e., warriors.*—Fig. i. 50; v. 43. *Sickle of war.*—R.

𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠, *kima tel abubi ashup, like a heap of corn I swept away.*—Fig. iii. 75; v. 100. 13 BM 11.

𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠, *kip abubi, giver of corn.*—Sh. Ph. i. 10.

𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 . 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 . 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠- 𐎠𐎠-—Syl. 394.

𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠- 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠, abubis, adv., *like corn*. 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠  
 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠- 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠- 𐎠𐎠𐎠, rizi-su abubis asbun, *his  
 helpers like corn I swept*.—Neb. Yun. 7.

Abubis appears to be used in Fig. ii. 78, instead of abubi.

𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠- 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠, abunania, adv., *like a field  
 of corn*.

𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠- 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠- 𐎠𐎠𐎠,  
 mat-sunu abubania asbun; *their country like a field of corn I  
 swept*.—Obel. 158. See Obel. 21; 12BM 14.

𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠, abbanú, *I was made (?)*. *Niphal of  
 Bana*.—E.I.H. i. 27. See Verbs.

ABG 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠, 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠,  
 abikti, obl., abikta, acc., DEFEAT; a frequent variant is  
 𐎠𐎠- 𐎠𐎠-, an Accadian word.

𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠- 𐎠𐎠𐎠- 𐎠𐎠𐎠,  
 abikta-sunu lu askun, *their defeat I effected*.—Fig. i. 76.

𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠- 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠,  
 abikti ummani-su liskunu, *the defeat of his troops may they  
 effect*.—Fig. viii. 81.

I do not see why the oblique case is put here.

𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠- 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠.—Sard. iii. 39.

𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠- 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠.—N. Div. i. 38.

See also Fig. iii. 28; iv. 17; v. 76, 89; viii. 81.

ABD 𐎠 𐎡, abat, PETITION. 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡, abat tur-sal sarri, *petition of the daughter of the king.*  
A small unpublished slab, l. 1. Usually 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡.—R.

𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 . 𐎠 𐎡 . 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡.—Syl. 261.

Printed copy imperfect; a fresh fragment has been found recently.

ABI 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡, abaya. Proto-Babylonian.

𐎠 𐎡 . 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 . 𐎠 𐎡 . 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡—

Vol. II, pl. 37, i. 6.

𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 . 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 . 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡—

Vol. II, pl. 37, i. 56.

Umme mee, *mother of waters*; perhaps pelican.—R.

ABL 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡, ablu, n., abil, con., A SON.

𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡, ablu kenū, *eldest son*,  
var. 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡.—Birs. ii. 16. See p. 6.

𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡, abil-su kinū, *his eldest son*.—E.I.H. i. 33; vii. 28.

𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡, abal, *title of an Official*.—Vol. II, pl. 31, l. 80.


This title is Accadian.—R.

𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡, abulli.—





















Vol. II, pl. 37, ii. 63. Abulli is proto-Babylonian.






















ABM 𐎠 𐎡 . 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡, abime, *wood of some sort*. Hincks suggests doubtfully abies.











𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡, iz abime kulab babi emad, *wood for posts of gates he placed*.—Esar. vi. 2.

ABN , abn, STONE; Var.  .—Sard. iii. 55, 63.

 is phonetically *tag*, or *tak*.

         , var.          , iltakkanu, var. iltakanu.—Sard. i. 30.

           
           
abni zipa ina eli-su azru, *stones firm upon it I laid down*.—Tig. vi. 14. A variant omits .






















         , lamassi sa abni, *sacred figures of stone*.—Esar. v. 41.—R.






















        .—Syl. 175.



See Esar. v. 41; vi. 53. Sen. T. vi. 52; and Rawlinson's note in J. R. As. Soc., 1864, p. 240.




         , Tel Abnai, "*Mound of stones*." *Name of a city near Orfa and Arbela*. See Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. I, p. 466.

Determ.           
IV urmaḥi sa admas, *four lions of adamant (?)*—Br. Ob. ii. 17.

ABS                
abuša, var. abubuša; *stable, manger*.  
Heb.    ; *granary*, Heb.    .




           
          .—Sard. i. 7.


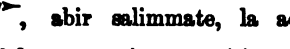
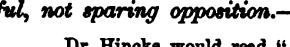
Dr. Hincks has collated many copies, and has not seen one with the omission of the second . He has seen one copy with  beginning a line, which would militate against the above meaning. I do not understand the passage.

           
Bit Abušate, sa bit rab biluti-ya; *Bit Abušate, which is the palace of my lordship*.—Brok. Obel. ii. 1.

ABE  .  , Abaeni, a country of Nairi.—  
Fig. iv. 79.




ABQ  .  , Abuqu, a city of Susiana,  
[] with several other towns.—Sard. i. 46.

ABR  var.  , strengthening.  
 Heb.

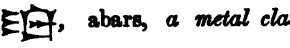
   , abir salimmate, la adiru tukmate, strengthening the  
peaceful, not sparing opposition.—R. Sard. i. 19 ; St. 13.

Dr. Hincks would read "not fearing opposition."

 , abari, mighty deeds.—Opp.

   , Ninib bil abari,  
Ninib, lord of mighty deeds.—Oppert's Harem Inscription, l. 1 ;  
E. M. p. 333.

 .  .  , Syl. 726.

 , abars, a metal classed with iron, tin, &c.—Oppert  
makes it *antimony*.—Botta 152, 16 = 160.


The Gold Tablet in the Expédition en Mésopotamie, p. 343, has

 , which Dr. Oppert reads as

one word, *i.e.*, puyâk, *antimony* ; but we have in Botta

 , anna, anbar, abars ; lead,

iron (?), *antimony*. A Bilingual slab has anna=anaku ;

Heb.  , lead.—R.

 .  , Abaršihuni, a country of  
Nairi.—Fig. iv. 82. Amaššihuni.—R.

𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣𐎤, abarti, across, over, along, from Heb. אַבְרָתָא.

𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎤 𐎥𐎦 𐎧 𐎨𐎩 𐎪 𐎫𐎬 𐎭 𐎮𐎯 𐎰 𐎱𐎲 𐎳𐎴𐎵,  
𐎶𐎷 𐎸𐎹 𐎺𐎻 𐎼𐎽 𐎾𐎿 𐏀𐏁 𐏂𐏃 𐏄𐏅 𐏆𐏇 𐏈𐏉 𐏊𐏋,  
makát agurri abarti Buratti urakkiṣu; buttresses of brick along  
the Euphrates he constructed.—E.I.H. v. 8.—R.

ABT 𐎠𐎡𐎢 . 𐎣𐎤 𐎥𐎦 𐎧𐎨𐎩 𐎪𐎫𐎬 𐎭𐎮𐎯, Abitigna, with other  
towns of the country of *Kakmi*.—Sarg. 28.

Botta 146, 21=57 imperfect. Oppert refers to 139, 10, and 140, 1.

I do not remember seeing any of the following pronouns in documents  
older than those of the Persian period:

AG 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢𐎣𐎤 𐎥𐎦 𐎧𐎨 𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬 𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰, 𐎱𐎲 𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶 𐎷𐎸𐎹,  
𐎺𐎻 𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿 𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃, agá, agah, agata, THIS.

𐎠 𐎡 𐎢𐎣𐎤 𐎥𐎦 𐎧𐎨 𐎩𐎪 𐎫𐎬 𐎭𐎮𐎯 𐎰𐎱𐎲 𐎳𐎴𐎵, agá sa anku  
obusu, *this which I have done*.—Beh. 11.

𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤 𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨 𐎩𐎪 𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯 𐎰𐎱, bit agá, *this house*.—No. 17, C. 17.

𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤 𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨 𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬 𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰 𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵, ziqqaru agah, *this  
earth*.—No. 15, D. 2.

𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤 𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨 𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬 𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰 𐎱𐎲, ziqqaru agá, *this earth*.—  
No. 5, O. 2; No. 13. E. 1.

𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤 𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨 𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬 𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱, Parṣa agah, *this Persia*.—  
No. 15, D. 13.

𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤 𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨 𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬 𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰 𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵, ana mati-ya  
agá, *to this my country*.—No. 6, N.R. 33.

𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤 𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬 𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵 𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹 𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿 𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅,  
adi eli sa sarrutu agata . . . . . until that this kingdom (I  
obtained).—Beh. 10.





The following are compounds of aga and the demonstrative annu:—

*sú agannu ana sar ittur, he here became king.*—Beh. 12.

*sa aganna ibnu, which here he made.*—No. 3, H. 14.

*sa anaku aganna ebussu, which I here made.*—No. 13, E. 8.

In the above passages the Persian inscription has *idá*, “here.”—R.

Pl. mas., *zalmánu agannutu, these images.*—Beh. 106.

Pl. fem., *agannitá mati, these provinces.*—No. 3, H. 13.

*máti aganetú, these provinces.*—Beh. 8, 9.

*aganetú mati, these provinces.*—Beh. 7.

*aganetú, doubtful, seems to mean we are.*—Beh. 3.

The declension appears to be as follows:—Sing. com., *agá* and *agah*; fem., *agata*; plural, *agá*. Compounded with *annu*:—Sing. nom., *agannu*; accus., *aganna*; plural mas., *agannut*; fem., *agannet*.

*agú, nom., agá, acc., age, pl., CROWN.*

*agú rabá sa risdu, a crown large for the head.*—Slab K. 162, i. 45.

The example is completed from ii. 16, a parallel passage.

*agá zira tuppíra-su, a crown lofty ye have granted him.*—Tig. i. 21.

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, bil age, *lord of crowns*.—Tig. i. 5.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, sar age, *king of crowns*.—Obel. 6.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, nadin harut (ispa) va age, *giver of sceptre and crowns*.—Tig. i. 2.

Query.—Sen. Gr. 47; = 28 BM 18; = Sen. B. iii. 29.

¶ Aga: Sir H. Rawlinson considers this a genitive or possessive termination allied to the terminal nasal in Scythic, Turkish, &c.:—𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶, rabaga, *greatness*. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶, Bil rabaga nu bilá, *Lord of greatness without end*.—1 Mich. iii. 13.—See 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶.

AGB 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶.—Brok. Cyl. ii. 29, 48.

Mr. Talbot reads this Agaba, and renders it *Arbela*; it is more probably Agani.—See Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Vol. I, p. 611.

Vol. II, pl. 50, i. 9, 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶, Bit-andadia, a tower (ziggur) in Agani.

AGZ 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶, Agazi, a country in Media.—Botta 147, 9=69. Oppert has Agagi.

AGL 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶, agali, GOATS. اجل cervus rupicapar, bos sylvestris.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶, pare, agali, cows, goats.—N. Div. ii. 65.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶, pare, agali, va marsit; cows, goats, and young.—Tig. v. 6.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶; sumuli, agali, ibili; mules (?), goats, rams.—Sen. T. vi. 55.

The identification of these animals is somewhat doubtful.

AGM 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢, 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢, agammu, agamme, 𐎠𐎡𐎢, A POOL.

𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥 𐎦 𐎧 𐎨 𐎩 𐎪 𐎫, nahr agammu usapsi, the water Agammu I expanded.—42 BM 44.

𐎠𐎡𐎢 𐎣𐎤 𐎥𐎦 𐎧𐎨 𐎩𐎪 𐎫𐎬 𐎭𐎮, kirib nahr agamme va apparatus, near the pools and lakes.—Sen. T. iii. 59.

An artificial lake, made by Sennacherib.—Hincks.

AGN 𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎤𐎥 𐎦𐎧 𐎨𐎩, aganáte, BASONS, BOWLS.— 𐎠𐎡 Heb., pelvis.

𐎠𐎡𐎢 𐎣𐎤 𐎥𐎦𐎧 𐎨𐎩 𐎪𐎫 𐎬𐎭 𐎮𐎯 𐎰𐎱 𐎲𐎳 𐎴𐎵 𐎶𐎷 𐎸𐎹 𐎺𐎻 𐎼𐎽 𐎾𐎿, sapli utkabar, aganáte utkabar; bowls of copper and basins of copper.—Sard. ii. 122.

AGŠ 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢𐎣𐎤 𐎥𐎦𐎧, Aguš, the father of Aramu.—Obel. 130; N. Div. ii. 27. Made Guši in N. Div. ii. 12, and I think in ii. 83.

AGR 𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣, agar, FIELD.—1 Mich. i. 2. 𐎠𐎡𐎢, ager, acre! 𐎣𐎤 𐎥𐎦 in E.I.H. iv. 64.

𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧 𐎨𐎩𐎪 𐎫𐎬 𐎭𐎮 𐎯𐎰, agar-su l'irhis, his field may he inundate.—1 Mich. iv. 11.

𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧 𐎨𐎩𐎪 𐎫𐎬 𐎭𐎮, eli agari-sun, upon their fields.—Sen. Gr. 30.

𐎠 𐎡 𐎢𐎣𐎤 𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩 𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭, agarin, MOTHER.

𐎠 𐎡 𐎢𐎣𐎤 𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩 𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭 . 𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱 . 𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵 𐎶𐎷.— Syl. 192. In another copy 𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱.

This singular word is found in the following passage:

𐎠𐎡 𐎢𐎣𐎤 𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩 𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭 𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱 𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵 𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹 𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽 𐎾𐎿, ina lib ibba agarinni alatti-ya, in the fair body of the mother who bore me.—38 BM 3.

𐤀 𐤃 𐤉 -𐤃𐤃𐤃, 𐤃 𐤃𐤃𐤃 𐤃𐤃𐤃𐤃 -𐤃𐤃𐤃, 𐤃 -𐤃𐤃 -𐤃𐤃𐤃,  
aguri, agurri, obl. case, BURNT BRICK.

𐤃 𐤃𐤃 𐤃 𐤉 -𐤃𐤃𐤃 𐤃𐤃-𐤃𐤃𐤃 𐤃𐤃𐤃 𐤃𐤃, var.  
𐤃𐤃-𐤃𐤃𐤃 𐤃, ina aguri arzip, in brick I built.—Fig. viii. 8.

𐤃𐤃𐤃 𐤃 𐤃𐤃 𐤃 𐤉 -𐤃𐤃𐤃 𐤃𐤃𐤃 𐤃 𐤃𐤃, sa ina  
aguri raspu, which of brick (was) built.—Fig. vi. 11 ; see also  
vi. 19, &c.

𐤃 𐤃𐤃𐤃 𐤃𐤃-𐤃𐤃𐤃 -𐤃𐤃𐤃.—E.I.H. iv. 12 ; vi. 51. Bira. ii. 3.

𐤃 𐤃𐤃 -𐤃𐤃 -𐤃𐤃𐤃.—Birs. i. 25 ; E.I.H. iii. 16, 69. Porter's  
transcript of vi. 51.

Agurri differs from liban, which is sun-dried only.

𐤃 𐤃𐤃𐤃 𐤃𐤃-𐤃𐤃𐤃 <<<, aguris, made of brick. Porter's  
transcript is 𐤃 𐤃𐤃 -𐤃𐤃𐤃 <<<, agurris.

𐤃𐤃 -𐤃𐤃 -𐤃𐤃 𐤃𐤃𐤃𐤃 𐤃 𐤃𐤃𐤃 𐤃𐤃-𐤃𐤃𐤃 <<< 𐤃𐤃 -𐤃𐤃𐤃 𐤃𐤃  
..... 𐤃𐤃𐤃𐤃 𐤃𐤃 -𐤃𐤃 <𐤃𐤃, malak bit aguris mare . . . . .  
ubannū, further (?), a house of brick conspicuous . . . I built.—  
E.I.H. iii. 56.

𐤀 𐤃 𐤃𐤃 𐤃𐤃𐤃, agartu, VALUABLE. 𐤀𐤃𐤃𐤃, a piece of  
silver, 1 Sam. ii. 36. Hunutu, huraz, kaspu, agartu, nintaksu ;  
wealth, gold, silver, valuables, furniture.—Sen. T. i. 28.

𐤀𐤃𐤃𐤃 𐤃 𐤃𐤃 𐤃𐤃, abn agartū, precious stones.—  
Sen. B. i. 6 ; Esar. i. 19.

𐤀𐤃𐤃𐤃 𐤃 𐤃𐤃 𐤃𐤃𐤃, idem.—Botta 154, 12=180.

Always accompanying gold, silver, &c.

𐤃𐤃 𐤃𐤃 -𐤃𐤃 𐤃𐤃 𐤃𐤃𐤃 -𐤃𐤃𐤃 𐤃 𐤃𐤃 𐤃𐤃𐤃 -𐤃𐤃𐤃,  
kima napsati agarti, like precious work.—E.I.H. vii. 30 ; ix. 52.

AGS  $\mathbb{Y} \rightarrow \mathbb{Y} \triangle \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y}$ , agis, *urgently, strongly*.  $\frac{62}{\mathbb{C}}$  *properare, instigare.*

$\mathbb{Y} \rightarrow \mathbb{Y} \triangle \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \rightarrow \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \rightarrow \mathbb{Y} \triangle \rightarrow \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y}$ , agis umahruni, *urgently they impelled me.*—43 BM 6.

See aggis  $\rightarrow \mathbb{Y} \triangle \rightarrow \mathbb{Y} \triangle \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y}$  and  $\rightarrow \mathbb{Y} \triangle \rightarrow \mathbb{Y}$  in passages very nearly parallel; Sard. i 42, and N. Div. i 14.

AD  $\mathbb{Y} \triangle \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y}$ , adi, prep. *to*; conj. *also, together with.*

$\mathbb{Y} \triangle \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y}$   
 $\mathbb{Y} \rightarrow \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \triangle \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y}$ , adi habba elinite lu ardi sunuti, *to the upper sea I pursued (?) them.*—  
 Tig. iv. 99.

$\mathbb{Y} \triangle \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \rightarrow \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \rightarrow \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y}$ , adi mahri-ya isbura, *to my presence he sent.*—Botta 153, 9 = 153.

With ultu, istu, ta, from:—

$\mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \rightarrow \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y}$   
 $\mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \rightarrow \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y}$   
 $\mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \rightarrow \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y}$   
 v.  $\mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y}$  istu ebirtan nahr Zabi supali . . . . . adi ebirtan nahr Buratta, *from the crossing of the lower Zab . . . . . to the crossing of the Euphrates.*—  
 Tig. vi. 42.

$\mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \rightarrow \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \rightarrow \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y}$   
 $\mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \rightarrow \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y}$ , istu ris sarruti-ya adi 5 pal-ya, *from the beginning of my reign to my fifth year.*—Tig. vi. 45.

$\mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \rightarrow \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y}$   
 $\mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \rightarrow \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y} \mathbb{Y}$ , ultu zit shamsi adi erib shamsi, *from rising of sun to setting of sun.*—Esar. i. 7.

¶ And, together with. Interchanges with >||; cf. Obel. 80 and 15 BM 26, parallel passages. >||, var. ¶ <¶.—St. 8.

<< ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ >¶ ¶ >¶¶ ¶ ¶ <¶  
 ¶¶¶ ¶ >¶ ¶ ¶¶ ¶¶¶ >¶¶ ¶¶ ¶  
 ¶¶¶ >¶¶ ¶¶ ¶¶, sarrani mati Nairi, adi sa ana  
 niraruti-sunu illikuni; *Kings of the countries of Nairi, together  
 with (those) who to their aid went.*—Tig. iv. 97.

¶¶¶ ¶¶ ¶ <¶¶ ¶¶¶ <¶ >¶¶ ¶ ¶, nisi  
 adi marsiti-sunu, *people and their children(?)*—Botta 147, 11 = 71.

See also Tig. III. 8. Sen. T. i. 20; ii. 18. Obel. 158, 169. New Div. ii. 52.

¶ ¶ <¶¶ <¶¶¶ ¶, adi eli sa, *until that, whilst.*

¶ <¶¶ <¶¶¶ ¶ ¶ ¶¶¶ ¶¶¶ ¶¶¶ ¶  
 ¶¶ ¶¶¶¶ ¶¶¶, adi eli sa anku allaku an Madai, *until  
 that I went to Media.*—Beh. 47.

¶ <¶¶ <¶¶¶ ¶ ¶¶¶¶ ¶¶¶ >¶¶¶ ¶ >  
 ¶¶ >¶¶¶ ¶ . . . adi eli sa bit attunu in asri-su . . . *until  
 that our house to its place (imperfect).*—Beh. 27.

¶ <¶¶ <¶¶¶¶ ¶ ¶¶¶¶ ¶¶¶ ¶¶¶ >¶¶¶  
 adi eli sa agá ebuz, (*Ormuzd gave me help*) *whilst I was doing  
 this.*—N. R. 32.

¶ ¶ <¶¶ <¶¶¶, over, adverbially.

¶ <¶¶ <¶¶¶ ¶ ¶¶¶¶ ¶¶¶¶¶ ¶¶¶¶¶  
 adi eli mie la umbil, *over (it) the water I brought.*—Sard. ii. 132;  
 iii. 136.

𐤀 𐤃 𐤀𐤃𐤁 𐤁𐤃, *ade, acknowledgment [religious], 𐤁𐤃.*  
*Dependence on, union with.—Hincks. Precepts.—Oppert.*

𐤃 𐤀𐤃𐤁 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃,  
*ade ili rabi ebuk, the acknowledgment of the great gods he*  
*forsook.—Botta 148, 7=79 ; 151, 14=122.*

𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤀𐤃𐤁 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃  
 𐤀𐤃𐤁 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃,  
*sa Padi sar-sunu, bil-ade va mabad sa Assur . . . iddu, who Padi*  
*their king, holding the belief and service of Assyria . . . had*  
*expelled.—Sen. T. ii. 70.*

*Avaient trahi leur roi Padi, inspiré d'amitié et de zèle pour l'Assyrie.—Op.*

In Sen. B. i. 23, parallel passage, we have 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤀𐤃𐤁 𐤁𐤃  
 for 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤀𐤃𐤁 𐤁𐤃. *Commander of troops (?)*

𐤀 𐤃 𐤁𐤃, *equ. 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃.*—Vol. II, pl. 31, ii. 24.

ADA 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 . 𐤃 𐤀𐤃𐤁 𐤃, *Adia, one of 27 strong cities.—*  
*Sh. Ph. i. 45.*

ADL 𐤃 𐤀𐤃𐤁 𐤁𐤃𐤀𐤃 𐤁𐤃, *Adile, one of several tribes.—*  
*Fig. jun. 6.*

ADM 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 . 𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤀, *Adumú, Edom.—Esar. ii. 55.*  
*Edom is written Udomu in 1 Pul. 12, and Udommasi in Sen. T. ii. 54.*  
*See also Fig. jun. 61.*

𐤀 𐤃 𐤃 𐤁𐤃𐤁 𐤁𐤃 . 𐤁𐤃𐤃𐤃 . 𐤃 𐤁𐤃𐤁 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃𐤁.—Syl. 357.

𐤀 𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 . 𐤁𐤃𐤃𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 . 𐤃 𐤁𐤃𐤁 𐤁𐤃𐤁 .  
*Adammumu.—Vol. II, pl. 37, ii. 14 ; Trilingual list of Birds.*



ADN 𒀠 𒀡𒀢, two Accad. words, *water great*, i.e., FLOOD; in Assyrian, *mili*. See 𒀠 𒀡𒀢. 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤, Vol. II, pl. 39, iv. 7; and 𒀠 𒀡𒀢 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤, in E.I.H. vii. 51.

𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 (𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤) 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤, ina mili kissati (ina ussi-sa abbu usapsu va) uribbu timmen-sa; doubtfully rendered, *by the gathered floods (in its foundation hollows abounded, and) was dilated its platform.*—Sen. Gr. 48.

Same in Sen. B. iii. 30, and 38 BM 14, omitting the clause bracketed.

𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤, ina mili kissati timmen-su la enise, *by the gathering floods its platform was not damaged.*—Sen. Gr. 53=39 BM 18.

𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤, kima mili kissati sagabtā ūmani va munnī-sunu usardá.—Sen. T. v. 78.

𒀠 𒀡. 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤, Adani.—Sard. iii. 98. See Adani, p. 32.

𒀠 𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢, adanni. Opp. *old age*; Talbot renders it *foundation*, from 𒀠𒀡𒀢.

𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤, huzurat adanni iksuda-ssū, *the maladies of old age seized him (?)*.—Botta 151, 9=117. Oppert.

𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤 𒀠𒀡𒀢 𒀣𒀤, ina aruh II yommu adanni ede pan matti.—38 BM 10.

𐎠 𐎢 𐎢 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠, Adini, *father of Ahunu*.—Sard. iii. 61 ;  
 Obel. 36, 46 ; frequent in Obelisk and New Div.

𐎠 . 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎢 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠, Bit Adini, *country beyond the  
 Tigris*.—Sard. iii. 64. Without 𐎠 in l. 60 and 134.

𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 . 𐎢 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠, Adiunu, *a city of Hamath*.—  
 N. Div. ii. 88.

𐎠 𐎠 . 𐎢 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠, Adaeni, *a country of Nairi*.—  
 Fig. iv. 79. See Adani, p. 31.

ADR 𐎢 𐎠𐎫𐎠, adir, *honouring*. Heb. אָדִיר.

𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎢 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠, la adir sikri  
 ili, *not honouring the memory of the gods*.—Botta 151, 4=112.

𐎠 𐎢 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠, adiru, *timid, cowardly; avoiding*.

𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠  
 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠, bulhu  
 adiru melam Asur bil-ya lu ishup sunuti, *timid fear of the  
 approach (?) of Assur my lord overwhelmed them*.—Fig. ii. 38.

𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠  
 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠, ri'u [sab] tabrate la adiru tukmate, *prince . . . . .  
 not sparing opposition*.—Sard. i. 13=St. 3.

𐎢 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠, adiris, *like a coward, cowardly*.

𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠  
 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠, in buzrat sadi marzi adiris usib, *in the fastnesses of  
 rugged mountains covering he remained*.—Botta 146, 5=41.

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ART. VIII.—*On the Relations of the Priests to the other Classes of Indian Society in the Vedic Age.*<sup>1</sup> By J. MUIR, Esq.

IN a former paper on “Manu, the progenitor of the Aryan Indians,” published in the Society’s Journal,<sup>2</sup> I have attempted to shew that in general the authors of the hymns of the Rig-veda regarded the whole of the Aryan people, embracing not only the priests and the chiefs, but the middle classes also of the population, as descended from one common father, or ancestor, whom they designate by the name of Manu. This reference to a common progenitor excludes, of course, the supposition that the writers by whom it is made could have had any belief in the myth which became afterwards current among their countrymen, that their nation consisted of four castes, differing naturally in dignity, and separately created by Brahmâ.

That essay, however, leaves out of consideration any notices which the Rig-veda may contain regarding the different classes of which the society contemporary with its composition was made up. As this great collection of hymns embodies numerous references, both to the authors themselves and to the other agents in the celebration of divine worship, it may be expected to supply, incidentally or indirectly, at least, some

<sup>1</sup> This subject has been already treated in Professor Roth’s book, *Zur Litt. u. Geschichte des Weda*; in his essay “*Brahma und die Brahmanen*,” in the 1st vol. of the *Journal of the Germ. Or. Society*; in Dr. Haug’s Tract on “*the Origin of Brahmanism*,” and in the 1st vol. of my “*Sanskrit Texts*.”

<sup>2</sup> Vol. xx. p. 406 ff.

information respecting the opinion which these ministers of religion entertained of themselves, and of the relation in which they stood to the other sections of the community. I shall now endeavour to shew how far this expectation is justified by an examination of the Rig-veda.

I have elsewhere<sup>1</sup> enquired into the views which the authors of the hymns appear to have held on the subject of their own authorship. The conclusion I arrived at was, that they did not in general look upon their compositions as divinely inspired, since they frequently speak of them as the productions of their own minds (*ibid.* pp. 128–140). But though this is most commonly the case (and especially, as we may conjecture, in regard to the older hymns), there is no doubt that they also attached a high value to these productions, which they describe as being acceptable to the gods (R.V. v. 45, 4; v. 85, 1; vii. 26, 1, 2; x. 23, 6; x. 54, 6; x. 105, 8), whose activity they stimulated (iii. 34, 1; vii. 19, 11), and whose blessing they drew down. In some of the hymns a supernatural character or insight is claimed for the Rishis (i. 179, 2; vii. 76, 4; iii. 53, 9; vii. 33, 11 ff.; vii. 87, 4; vii. 88, 3 ff.; x. 14, 15; x. 62, 4, 5), and a mysterious efficacy is ascribed to their compositions (Sanskrit Texts, vol. iii. pp. 173 f.) The Rishis called their hymns by various names, as *arka*, *uktha*, *ṛch*, *gir*, *dhi*, *nītha*, *nivid*, *mantra*, *mati*, *sūkta*, *stoma*, *vāch*, *vachas*, etc. etc.; and they also frequently applied to them the appellation of *brahma*, as, for instance, in the whole, or most, of the following passages:—i. 31, 18; i. 37, 4; i. 61, 16; i. 62, 13; i. 80, 16; i. 117, 25; i. 152, 5, 7; i. 165, 14; ii. 18, 7; ii. 23, 1, 2; ii. 34, 6; ii. 39, 8; iii. 18, 3; iii. 29, 15; iii. 51, 6; iii. 53, 12; iv. 6, 11; iv. 16, 20, 21; iv. 22, 1; iv. 36, 7; v. 29, 15; v. 40, 6; v. 73, 10; v. 85, 1; vi. 17, 13; vi. 23, 1, 5; vi. 38, 3, 4; vi. 47, 14; vi. 50, 6; vi. 52, 2, 3; vi. 69, 4, 7; vi. 75, 19; vii. 22, 3, 9; vii. 28, 1, 2, 5; vii. 31, 11; vii. 33, 3, 4; vii. 35, 7, 14; vii. 37, 4; vii. 61, 2, 6; vii. 70, 6; vii. 72, 3, 4; vii. 83, 4; vii. 97, 3, 9; vii. 103, 8; viii. 4, 2; viii. 32, 27; viii. 51, 4; viii. 52, 2; viii. 55, 11; viii. 78, 3; viii. 87, 8; x. 13, 1; x. 54, 6;

<sup>1</sup> Sanskrit Texts, vol. iii. pp. 116–164.

x. 61, 1, 7; x. 80, 7; x. 89, 3; x. 114, 8. That in these passages *brahma* has generally the sense of hymn or prayer is clear from the context of some of them (as in i. 37, 4; viii. 32, 27, where *brahma* is joined with the verb *gáyata* "sing," and in vi. 69, 7, where the gods are supplicated to hear it), as well as from the fact that the poets are said (in i. 62, 13; v. 73, 10; vii. 22, 9; vii. 31, 11; x. 80, 7) to have fashioned or generated it, in the same way as they are said to have fashioned or generated hymns in other texts (as i. 109, 1; v. 2, 11; vii. 15, 4; viii. 77, 4; x. 23, 6; x. 39, 14), where the sense is indisputable; while in other places (iv. 16, 21; v. 29, 15; vi. 17, 13; vi. 50, 6; vii. 61, 6; x. 89, 3) new productions of the poets are spoken of under the appellation of *brahma*.

That *brahma* has the sense of hymn or prayer is also shown by the two following passages. In vii. 26, 1, it is said: "Soma not poured out does not exhilarate Indra; nor do libations without hymns (*abrahmāṇaḥ* = *stotra-hināḥ*, Sāyana). I generate for him a hymn (*uktha*) which he will love, so that like a man he may hear our new (production). 2. At each hymn (*uktha*) the soma exhilarates Indra, at each psalm (*nītha*) the libations (exhilarate) Maghavat, when the worshippers united, with one effort invoke him for help, as sons do a father."<sup>1</sup> Again in x. 105, 8: "Drive away our calamities. With a hymn (*rchá*) may we slay the men who are hymnless (*anrchāḥ*). A sacrifice without prayer (*abrahmá*) does not please thee well."

I have said that great virtue is occasionally attributed by the poets to their hymns and prayers; and this is true of those sacred texts when called by the name of *brahma*, as well as when they receive other appellations, such as *mantra*.

<sup>1</sup> It is clear from the context of this passage that *abrahmāṇaḥ* means "unattended by hymns," and not "without a priest." After saying that soma-libations without hymns are unacceptable to Indra, the poet does not add that he is himself a priest, or that he is attended by one, but that he generates a hymn; and the same sense is required by what follows in the second verse. Accordingly we find that Sāyana explains *abrahmāṇaḥ* by *stotra-hināḥ*, "destitute of hymns." The same sense is equally appropriate in the next passage cited, x. 106, 8. On iv. 16, 9, where *abrahmá* is an epithet of *dasyu*, "demon," Sāyana understands it to mean "without a priest," but it may mean equally well or better, "without devotion."

Thus it is said, iii. 53, 12, "This prayer (*brahma*) of Viṣvāmitra protects the tribe of Bharata;" v. 40, 6, "Atri with the fourth prayer (*brahmanā*) discovered the sun concealed by unholy darkness;" vi. 75, 19, "Prayer (*brahma*) is my protecting armour;" vii. 33, 3, "Indra preserved Sudās in the battle of the ten kings through your prayer, o Vasishthas." In ii. 23, 1, Brahmanaspati is said to be the "great king of prayers," and in v. 2 to be the "generator of prayers" (*janitā brahmanām*); whilst in x. 61, 7, prayer is declared to have been generated by the gods.

Brāhmān in the masculine is no doubt derived from the same root as brāhmān neuter, and though differing from it in accent as well as gender, must be presumed to be closely connected with it in signification, just as the English "prayer" in the sense of a petition would be with "prayer," a petitioner, if the word were used in the latter sense. As, then, brāhmān neuter means a hymn or prayer, *brahman* in the masculine must naturally be taken to denote the person who composes or repeats a hymn or prayer. We do not, however, find that the composers of the hymns are in general designated by the word *brahman*, the name most commonly applied to them being *ṛshi*, though they are also called *vipra*, *vedhas*, *kavi*, etc. (see "Sanskrit Texts," vol. iii. pp. 116 ff.). There are, however, a few texts, such as i. 80, 1; i. 164, 35; ii. 12, 6; ii. 39, 1; v. 31, 4; v. 40, 8; ix. 113, 6, etc., in which the priest (*brahmā*) may perhaps be understood as referred to in the capacity of author of the hymn he utters. So, too, in ii. 20, 4 and vi. 21, 8, a new composer (or, perhaps, merely a new reciter) of hymns is spoken of under the appellation of *nutānasya brahmanyataḥ*; in ii. 19, 8, the Gṛtsamadās are spoken of both as the fabricators of a new hymn (*manma nāctyaḥ*) and as (*brahmanyantaḥ*) performing devotion; while in another place (x. 96, 5) Indra is said to have been lauded by former worshippers, *pūrvebhir yajvabhīḥ*, a term usually confined (as brāhmān was frequently applied) in after times to the offerers of sacrifice. In three passages, vii. 28, 2; vii. 70, 5; and x. 89, 16, the *brahma* and *brahmāni* "prayer" and "prayers" of the *ṛshis* are spoken of; and in vii. 22, 9,

*ṛshis* are said to have generated prayers (*brahmāṇi*). In i. 177, 5, we find *brahmāṇi károḥ*, "the prayers of the poet." The fact that in various hymns the authors speak of themselves as having received valuable gifts from the princes their patrons, and that they do not speak of any class of officiating priests as separate from themselves, would also seem to indicate an identity of the poet and priest at that early period. The term *brahman* must therefore, as we may conclude, have been originally applied (1) to the same persons who are spoken of elsewhere in the hymns as *ṛshi*, *kavi*, etc., and have denoted devout worshippers and contemplative sages who composed prayers and hymns which they themselves recited in praise of the gods. Afterwards, when the ceremonial gradually became more complicated, and a division of sacred functions took place, the word was more ordinarily employed (2) for a minister of public worship, and at length came to signify (3) one particular kind of priest with special duties. I subjoin a translation of the different passages in which the word occurs in the Rig-veda; and I have attempted to classify them according as it seems to bear, in each case, the first, second, or third of the senses just indicated. This, however, is not always an easy task, as in many of these texts there is nothing to fix the meaning of the term with precision, and one signification easily runs into another, as the same person may be at once the author and the reciter of the hymn.

I. Passages in which *brahman* may signify "contemplator, sage, or poet."

(In order to save the repetition of the word *brāhmān* in parenthesis after *priest*, I have put the latter word in italics whenever it stands for *brahman*).

i. 80, 1.<sup>1</sup> "Thus in his exhilaration from soma juice the *priest* (*brahmā*) has made (or uttered) a magnifying<sup>2</sup> (hymn)."

i. 164, 34. "I ask thee (what is) the remotest end of the

<sup>1</sup> I have to acknowledge my obligations to Professor Aufrecht for the assistance which he has freely rendered to me in the preparation of this paper, and especially in the translation of the more difficult texts which occur in the course of it.

<sup>2</sup> *Varādhānam* = *vrāddhi-karam stotram* (Śāyana).

earth; I ask where is the central point of the world; I ask thee (what is) the seed of the vigorous horse; I ask (what is) the highest heaven<sup>1</sup> of speech. 35. This altar is the remotest end of the earth; this sacrifice is the central point of the world; this soma is the seed of the vigorous horse; this *priest* is the highest heaven of speech.”<sup>2</sup>

ii. 12, 6. “He (Indra) who is the quickener of the sluggish, of the emaciated, of the suppliant *priest* who praises him,” etc.

vi. 45, 7. “With hymns I call Indra, the *priest*,—the carrier of prayers (*brahma-vâhasam*),<sup>3</sup> the friend who is worthy of praise,—as men do a cow which is to be milked.”

viii. 16, 7. “Indra is a *priest*, Indra is a rishi,<sup>4</sup> Indra is much and often invoked, great through his mighty powers.”

x. 71, 11. (See the translation of the entire hymn below. The sense of *brahmâ* in v. 11 will depend on the meaning assigned to *jâta-vidyâ*).

x. 77, 1. (In this passage, the sense of which is not very clear, the word *priest* appears to be an epithet of the host of Maruts).

x. 85, 3. “A man thinks he has drunk soma when the plant (so called) has been crushed. But no one tastes of that which the *priests* know to be soma (the moon). 16. The *priests* rightly know, Sûryâ, that thou hast two wheels; but it is sages (*addhâtayah*) alone who know the one wheel which is hidden. 34. The *priest* who knows Sûrya deserves the bride’s garment.”<sup>5</sup>

x. 107, 6. “They call him a rishi, him a *priest*, reverend, a chanter of Sâma verses (*sâma-gâm*), and reciter of *ukthas*,—he knows the three forms of the brilliant (Agni)—the man who first worshipped with a largess.”

x. 117, 7. “A *priest*<sup>6</sup> who speaks is more acceptable than one who does not speak.”

<sup>1</sup> Compare R.V. iii. 32, 10; x. 109, 4, below, and the words, “the highest heaven of invention.”

<sup>2</sup> Compare R.V. x. 71 and x. 125.

<sup>3</sup> Compare v. 19 and stoma-vâhasah, iv. 32, 12.

<sup>4</sup> Different deities are called *rshi*, *kavi*, etc., in the following texts: v. 29, 1; vi. 14, 2; viii. 6, 41; ix. 96, 18; ix. 107, 7; x. 27, 22; x. 112, 9.

<sup>5</sup> See Dr. Haug’s Ait. Br., vol. i., Introduction, p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> The word here seems to indicate an order or profession, as the *silent* priest is still a priest.



(See Dr. Haug's remark on this verse, Ait. Br. Introd. p. 20; also the contexts of the two last passages in my article "Miscellaneous Hymns from the R. and A. Vedas," pp. 32 f.)

x. 125, 5. "I (says Vâch) make him whom I love formidable (*ugram*), him a *priest*, him a *rishi*, him a sage (*sumedhâm*)."

II. In the passages which follow the word *brahman* does not seem to signify so much a "sage or poet," as a "worshipper or priest."

i. 10, 1. "The singers (*gâyatrīnaḥ*) sing thee, the hymners (*arkīnaḥ*) recite a hymn, the *priests* (*brahmānaḥ*), O Śatakratu, have raised thee up like a pole."

(Compare i. 5, 8; i. 7, 1; viii. 16, 9. See Dr. Haug's remark on this verse, Ait. Br. Introd. p. 20).

i. 33, 9. "Thou, Indra, with the believers, didst blow against the unbelievers, with the *priests* thou didst blow away the Dasyu."

i. 101, 5. "Indra, who is lord of all that moves and breathes, who first found the cows for the *priest*, who hurled down the Dasyu."

i. 108, 7. "When, o adorable Indra and Agni, ye are exhilarated in your own abode, or with a *priest* or prince (*brahmani rājani vā*),<sup>1</sup> come thence, ye vigorous (deities), and then drink of the poured out soma."

i. 158, 6. "Dirghatamas, son of Mamatâ, being decrepit in his tenth lustre, (though) a *priest*, becomes the charioteer of (or is borne upon) the waters which are hastening to their goal."

(Prof. Aufrecht understands this to mean that Dirghatamas is verging towards his end, and thinks there is a play on the word "charioteer" as an employment not befitting a priest).

ii. 39, 1. "Ye (Aṣvins) are like two vultures on a tree; like two *priests* singing a hymn at a sacrifice."

<sup>1</sup> A distinction of orders or professions appears to be here recognized. In the following verse (v. 54, 7) a *rishi* and a prince are distinguished much in the same way as a *priest* and king are in i. 108, 7: "That man, whether *rishi* or prince, whom ye, O Maruts, support, is neither conquered nor killed, he neither decays nor is distressed, nor is injured; his riches do not decline, nor his support." Compare v. 14, where it is said, "Ye, O Maruts, give riches with desirable men, ye protect a *rishi* who is skilled in hymns (*sama-vigra*); ye give a horse and food to Bharata, ye make a king prosperous." In iii. 43, 5, reference is found to Viṣvāmitra, or the author, being made by Indra both a prince and a *rishi*.

iv. 50, 7 ff. "That king overcomes all hostile powers in force and valour who maintains Bṛhaspati in abundance, who praises and magnifies him as (a deity) enjoying the first distinction. 8. He dwells prosperous in his own palace, to him the earth always yields her increase,<sup>1</sup> to him the people bow down of themselves,—that king in whose house a *priest* walks first<sup>2</sup> (*yasmin brahmā rājani pūrva eti*). 9. Unrivalled, he conquers the riches both of his enemies and his kinsmen—the gods preserve the king who bestows wealth on the *priest* who asks his assistance."<sup>3</sup>

(The benefits resulting from the employment of a domestic priest (*purohita*) are also set forth in A.V. iii. 19, translated in my former article, "Miscellaneous Hymns from the R. and A. Vedas," in the volume of this Journal, p. 33).

iv. 58, 2. "Let us proclaim the name of butter (*ghṛta*), let us at this sacrifice hold it (in mind) with prostrations. May the *priest* (Agni?) hear the praise which is chanted. The four-horned bright-coloured (god) has sent this forth."

v. 29, 3. "And, ye Maruts, *priests*, may Indra drink of this my soma which has been poured out," etc.

v. 31, 4. "The men<sup>4</sup> have fashioned a car for thy (Indra's) horse, and Tvashtṛ a gleaming thunderbolt, o god greatly-invoked. The *priests*, magnifying Indra, have strengthened him for the slaughter of Ahi."

v. 32, 12. "I hear of thee thus rightly prospering, and bestowing wealth on, the sages (*viprebhyaḥ*). What do the *priests*, thy friends, obtain who have reposed their wishes on thee, O Indra?"

v. 40, 8. "Applying the stones (for pressing soma), performing worship, honouring the gods with praise and obeisance, the *priest* Atri placed the eye of the sun in the sky, and swept away the magical arts of Svarbhānu."

<sup>1</sup> Compare R.V. v. 37, 4 f.

<sup>2</sup> Compare viii. 69, 4; x. 39, 11; x. 107, 6; and the word *purohita*, used of a ministering priest as one placed in front. Prof. Aufrecht, however, would translate the last words, "under whose rule the *priest* receives the first or principal portion."

<sup>3</sup> See on this passage Roth's Art. on Brahma and the Brāhmins, *Journ. Germ. Or. Soc.*, i. 77 ff. See also Aitareya Brāhmana, viii. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Rbhūḥ?

vii. 7, 5. "The chosen bearer (of oblations), Agni, the *priest*, having arrived, has sat down in a mortal's abode, the upholder."

vii. 33, 11. "And thou, o Vasishṭha, art a son of Mitra and Varuṇa (or a Maitravaruṇa-priest), born, o *priest*, from the soul of Urvaṣī. All the gods placed in the vessel thee, the drop which had fallen through divine contemplation."

vii. 42, 1. "The *priests*, the Angirases, have arrived," etc.

viii. 7, 20. "Where now, bountiful (Maruts), are ye exhilarated, with the sacrificial grass spread beneath you? What *priest* is serving you?"

viii. 17, 2 f. "Thy tawny steeds with flowing manes, yoked by prayer (*brahma-yujá*),<sup>1</sup> bring thee hither, Indra; listen to our prayers. 3. We *priests*, offerers of soma, bringing oblations, continually invoke the drinker of soma."

viii. 31, 1. "That *priest* is beloved of Indra who worships, sacrifices, pours out libations, and cooks offerings."

viii. 32, 16. "There is not now any debt due by the active *priests* who pour out libations. Soma has not been drunk without an equivalent."

viii. 33, 10. "Look downward, not upward; keep thy feet close together; let them not see those parts which should be covered; thou, a *priest*, hast become a woman."

"viii. 45, 39. "I seize these thy tawny steeds, yoked by our hymn (*vachyo-yujá*) to a splendid chariot, since thou didst give (wealth) to the *priests*."

viii. 53, 7. "Where is that vigorous, youthful, large-necked, unconquered (Indra)? What *priest* serves him?"

viii. 66, 5. "Indra clove the Gandharva in the bottomless mists, for the prosperity of the *priests*."

viii. 81, 30. "Be not, o lord of riches (Indra), sluggish like a *priest*.<sup>2</sup> Be exhilarated by the libation mixed with milk."

viii. 85, 5. "When, Indra, thou seizest in thine arms the thunderbolt which brings down pride, in order to slay Ahi,

<sup>1</sup> Compare viii. 45, 39, below.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Haug (Intro. to Ait. Br. p. 20) refers to Ait. Br. v. 34, as illustrating this reproach. See p. 376 of his translation. This verse clearly shows that the priests formed a professional body.

the (aerial) hills and the cows utter their voice, and the *priests* draw near to thee."

ix. 96, 6. "Soma, resounding, overflows the filter, he who is *priest* among the gods, leader among poets, rishi among the wise, buffalo among wild beasts, falcon among kites, an axe among the woods."

ix. 112, 1. "Various are the thoughts and endeavours of us different men. The carpenter seeks something broken, the doctor a patient, the *priest* some one to offer libations.<sup>1</sup>

ix. 113, 6. "O pure Soma, in the place where the priest, uttering a metrical hymn, is exalted at the soma sacrifice through (the sound of) the crushing-stone, producing pleasure with soma, o Indu (soma) flow for Indra."

x. 28, 11. (The word *brahmanah* occurs in this verse, but the sense is not clear).

x. 71, 11. (See translation of this verse below, where the entire hymn is given).

x. 85, 29. "Put away that which requires expiation (?). Distribute money to the *priests*. 35. Behold the forms of Sûryâ. But the *priest* purifies them."

x. 141, 3. "With hymns we invoke to our aid king Soma, Agni, the Âdityas, Vishṇu, Sûrya, and Bṛhaspati, the *priest*."

III. In the following passages the word *brahman* appears to designate the special class of priest so called, in contradistinction to *hotri*, *udgâtri*, and *adhvaryu*.

ii. 1, 2 (= x. 91, 10). "Thine, Agni, is the office of *hotri*, thine the regulated office of *potri*, thine the office of *neshtri*, though art the *agnidh* of the pious man, thine is the office of *prasâstri*, thou actest as *adhvaryu*, thou art the *brahman*, and the lord of the house in our abode. 2. Thou, Agni, art Indra, the chief of the virtuous, thou art Vishṇu, the wide-stepping, the adorable, thou, o Brahmanaspati, art the *priest (brahmâ)*, the possessor of wealth, thou, o sustainer, art associated with the ceremonial."

<sup>1</sup> This verse also distinctly proves that the priesthood already formed a profession. Verse 3 of the same hymn is as follows: "I am a poet, my father a physician, my mother a grinder of corn." Unfortunately there is nothing further said which could throw light on the relations in which the different professions and classes of society stood to each other.

iv. 9, 3. "He (Agni) is led round the house, a joyous *hotri* at the ceremonies, and sits a *potri*. 4. And Agni is a wife (i.e. a mistress of the house) at the sacrifice, and a master of the house in our abode, and he sits a *brāhmān*."

x. 52, 2. "I have sat down an adorable *hotri*; all the gods, the Maruts, stimulate me. Day by day, ye Aṣvins, I have acted as your *adhvaryu*; the *brahman* is he who kindles the fire: this is your invocation."

I shall now bring forward the whole of the texts in which the word *Brāhmāna*, meaning a son, or descendant, of a *brāhmān*, occurs in the Rig-veda.<sup>1</sup> They are the following:

i. 164, 45. "Speech consists of four defined grades. These are known by those *Brāhmans* who are wise. They do not reveal the three which are esoteric. Men speak the fourth grade of speech."

This text is quoted and commented upon in *Nirukta* xiii. 9.

vi. 75, 10. "May the *Brāhmān* fathers, drinkers of soma, may the auspicious, the sinless, heaven and earth, may *Pūshan* preserve us," etc. etc.

vii. 103, 1 (= *Nirukta* 9, 6). "After lying quiet for a year, those rite-fulfilling *Brāhmans*<sup>2</sup> the frogs have (now) uttered their voice, which has been inspired by *Parjanya*...7. Like *Brāhmans* at the *Atirātra* soma rite, like (those *Brāhmans*) speaking round about the full pond (or soma-bowl<sup>3</sup>),

<sup>1</sup> There are two more texts in which the word *brāhmāna* is found, viz., i. 15, 5, and ii. 36, 5, on which see the following note. The word *brahmaputra*, son of a *brahman*, is found in ii. 43, 2: "Thou, O bird, singest a *sāma* verse like an *udgātri*; thou singest praises like the son of a *brahman* at the libations."

<sup>2</sup> In the *Nighantus*, iii. 13, these words *brāhmaṇā vrata-chāriṇaḥ* are referred to as conveying the sense of a simile, though they are unaccompanied by a particle of similitude. In his *Illustrations of the Nirukta*, p. 126, Roth thus remarks on this passage: "This is the only place in the first nine mandalas of the R.V. in which the word *Brāhmaṇa* is found with its later sense, whilst the tenth mandala offers a number of instances. This is one of the proofs that many of the hymns in this book were composed considerably later (than the rest of the R.V.). The word *brāhmaṇa* has another signification in i. 15, 5; ii. 36, 5; and vi. 75, 10. (In the first of these texts, Roth assigns to the word the sense of the *Brāhman's* soma-vessel. See his *Lexicon*, s.v. It does not appear what meaning he would give to the word in vi. 75, 10. He has in this passage overlooked R.V. i. 164, 45, which, however, is duly adduced in his *Lexicon*). See Wilson's translation of the hymn; as also Müller's, in his *Anc. Sansk. Lit.* p. 494 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Saras*. See R.V. viii. 66, 4, quoted in *Nirukta* v. 11, where *Yāska* says, "The ritualists inform us that at the mid-day oblation there are thirty *uktha* platters destined for one deity, which are then drunk at one draught. These are here called *saras*." (Compare Roth's *Illustrations on the passage*.) See also R.V. vi. 17, 11, and viii. 7, 10, with *Sāyana's* explanations of all three passages).

you frogs surround (the pond) on this day of the year, which is that of the autumnal rains. 8. These soma-offering Brāhmanas (the frogs) have uttered their voice, performing their annual devotion (*brahma*); these adhvaryu priests sweating with their boiled oblations (or in the hot season) come forth from their retreats like persons who have been concealed."

x. 16, 6. "Whatever part of thee any black bird, or ant, or serpent, or wild beast has mutilated, may Agni cure thee of all that, and Soma who has entered into the Brāhmanas."<sup>1</sup>

x. 71, 1.<sup>2</sup> "When, o Bṛhaspati, men first sent forth the earliest utterance of speech, giving a name (to things), then all that was treasured within them, most excellent and pure, was disclosed through love.

2. = Nirukta iv. 10). "Wherever the wise,—as if cleansing meal with a sieve,—have uttered speech with intelligence, there friends recognize acts of friendliness; good fortune<sup>3</sup> dwells in their speech.<sup>3</sup>

3. "Through sacrifice they came upon the track of speech, and found her entered into the rishis. Taking, they divided her into many parts:<sup>4</sup> the seven poets celebrate her in concert."

4. (= Nir. i. 19.) "And one man, seeing, sees not speech, and another, hearing, hears her not;<sup>5</sup> while to a third she discloses her form, as a loving well-dressed wife does to her husband."

5. (= Nir. i. 20.) "They say that one man has a sure defence in (her<sup>6</sup>) friendship; he is not overcome even in the

<sup>1</sup> Compare A.V. vii. 115, 1 ff—xii. 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot pretend that I am satisfied with the translation I have attempted of this very difficult hymn. Verses 4 and 5 are explained in Sâyana's Introduction to the Rig-veda, pp. 30 f., of Müller's edition.

<sup>3</sup> I quote here as somewhat akin to this hymn another from the A.V. vi. 108, being a prayer for wisdom or intelligence. 1. "Come to us, wisdom, the first, with cows and horses; (come) thou with the rays of the sun; thou art to us an object of worship. 2. To (obtain) the succour of the gods, I invoke wisdom the first, full of prayer, inspired by prayer, praised by rishis, imbibed by Brahmachârinas. 3. We introduce within me that wisdom which Rbhus know, that wisdom which divine beings (*asurâh*) know, that excellent wisdom which rishis know. 4. Make me, o Agni, wise to-day with that wisdom which the wise rishis—the makers of things existing—know. 5. We introduce wisdom in the evening, wisdom in the morning, wisdom at noon, wisdom with the rays of the sun, and with speech" (*vachasâ*).

<sup>4</sup> Compare x. 125, 3; i. 164, 45; (x. 90, 11); and A.V. xii. 1, 45.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Isaiah vi. 9, 10; and Matthew xiii. 14, 15.

<sup>6</sup> *Vâk-sakhya*, Yâska.

conflict (of discussion). But that person consorts with a vain delusion who has listened to speech without fruit or flower."

6. "He who abandons a friend who understands friendship, has no portion whatever in speech. All that he hears, he hears in vain, for he knows not the path of righteousness."

7. "Friends gifted both with eyes and ears have proved unequal in mental efforts. Some have been (as waters) reaching to the face or armpit, while others have been seen like ponds in which one might bathe."

8. (= Nir. xiii. 13.) "When Brâhmans who are friends strive (?) together in efforts of the mind produced by the heart,<sup>1</sup> they leave one man behind through their acquirements, whilst others walk about boasting to be priests." (This is the sense Prof. Aufrecht suggests for the word *ohabrâhmanah*. Prof. Roth *s.v.* thinks it may mean "real priests." The author of Nirukta xiii. 13, explains it as meaning "reasoning priests," or "those of whom reasoning is the sacred science.")

9. "The men who range neither near nor far, who are neither (reflecting) Brâhmans nor yet pious worshippers at libations,—these, having acquired speech, weave their web imperfectly, (like) a female weaver,<sup>2</sup> being destitute of skill."

10. "All friends rejoice at the arrival of a renowned friend who rules the assembly; for such a one, repelling evil, and bestowing nourishment upon them, is thoroughly prepared for the conflict (of discussion)."

11. (Nir. i. 8.) "One man possesses a store of verses (*ṛchâm*); a second sings a hymn (*gâyatra*) during (the chanting of) the *ṣakvartîs*; one who is a priest (*brahman*) declares the science of being (*jâta-vidyâm*), whilst another prescribes the order of the ceremonial.<sup>3</sup>

R. V. x. 88, 19 (= Nir. vii. 31). "As long as the fair-

<sup>1</sup> Compare i. 171, 2; ii. 35, 2; vi. 16, 47.

<sup>2</sup> Such is the sense which Prof. Aufrecht thinks may, with probability, be assigned to *sirls*, a word which occurs only here.

<sup>3</sup> According to Yâska (Nir. i. 8), these four persons are respectively the *hotri*, *udgâtri*, *brahman*, and *adhvaryu* priests. The brahman, he says, being possessed of all science, ought to know everything; and gives utterance to his knowledge as occasion arises for it (*jâte jâte*). See Dr. Haug's remarks on this verse. Ait. Br. Introd. p. 20.

winged Dawns do not array themselves in light, o Mâtariṣvan, so long the Brâhman coming to the sacrifice, keeps (the fire), sitting below the hotri-priest."

(See Prof. Roth's translation of this verse in his *Illustrations of the Nirukta*, p. 113).

x. 90, 11 (= A.V. xix. 5, 6; Vâj. S. xxxi.). "When they divided Purusha, into how many parts did they distribute him? What was his mouth? what were his arms? what were called his thighs and feet? 12. The Brâhman was his mouth, the Râjanya was made his arms, that which was the Vaiśya was his thighs, the Śûdra sprang from his feet."

(See the translation of this entire hymn in *Sanskrit Texts*, i. 6 ff.; and in my paper on "The Progress of the Vedic Religion," in *Journal Roy. As. Soc.* vol. i. new series, pp. 353 ff.).

x. 97, 22. "The plants converse with king Soma,<sup>1</sup> (and say), "for whomsoever a Brâhman acts (*kr̥noti*, officiates), him, o king, we deliver."

x. 109, 1. "These (deities), the boundless, liquid Mâtariṣvan (Air), the fiercely-flaming, ardently-burning, beneficent (Fire), and the divine primeval Waters, first exclaimed against the outrage on a *priest* (*brahma-kilbishe*). 2. King Soma,<sup>2</sup> unenvious, first gave back the priest's wife; Varuṇa and Mitra were the inviters; Agni, the invoker, brought her, taking her hand. 3. When restored, she had to be received back by the hand, and they then proclaimed aloud, 'This is the *priest's* wife;' she was not committed to a messenger to be sent:—in this way it is that the kingdom of a ruler (or Kshattriya) remains secured to him.<sup>3</sup> 4. Those ancient deities, the Rishis, who sat down to perform austerities, spoke thus of her, 'Terrible is the wife of the Brâhman; when approached, she plants confusion in the highest heaven.<sup>4</sup> 5. The Brahmacârin<sup>5</sup> (religious student) continues to perform observances.

<sup>1</sup> Compare *oshadhîḥ Soma-râjñîḥ*, "the plants whose king is Soma," in *vv.* 18 and 19 of this hymn.

<sup>2</sup> Compare R.V. x. 85, 8 f., 40 f.; and my contributions to *Vedic Mythology*, No. ii., p. 2 f.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht for this explanation of the verse.

<sup>4</sup> See R.V. i. 164, 34, 35, above.

<sup>5</sup> See my paper on the Progress of the Vedic religion, pp. 374 ff.



He becomes one member<sup>1</sup> of the gods. Through him Brhaspati obtained his wife, as the gods obtained the ladle which was brought by Soma. 6. The gods gave her back, and men gave her back; kings, performing righteousness, gave back the *priest's* wife. 7. Giving back the *priest's* wife, freeing themselves from sin against the gods, (these kings) enjoy the abundance of the earth, and possess a free range of movement."

This hymn is repeated in the Atharva-veda, with the addition of ten more verses, which I subjoin.

Atharva-veda, v. 17.

(*vv.* 1-3 = *vv.* 1-3 of R.V. x. 109).

4. "That calamity which falls upon the village, of which they say, 'this is a star with dishevelled hair,' is in truth the *priest's* wife, who ruins the kingdom which is visited by a hare attended with meteors."

(*vv.* 5-6 = *vv.* 5-4 of R.V. x. 109).

7. "Whenever any miscarriages take place, or any moving things are destroyed, whenever men slay each other, it is the *priest's* wife who kills them. 8. And when a woman has had ten former husbands not Brâhmanas, if a *priest* (*brahmâ*) take her hand (*i.e.* marry her), it is he alone who is her husband. 9. It is a Brâhman only that is a husband, and not a Râjanya, or a Vaisya. That (truth) the Sun goes forward proclaiming to the five classes of men (*panchabhyo mânanebhyah*."

(*vv.* 10-11 = *vv.* 6-7 of R.V. x. 109).

12. "His (the king's) wife does not repose opulent (*satarâhi*) and handsome upon her bed, in that kingdom where a *priest's* wife is foolishly shut up. 13. A son with large ears (*vikarnah*) and broad head is not born in the house in that kingdom, etc. 14. A charioteer with golden neckchain does not march before the king's hosts (?)<sup>2</sup> in that kingdom, etc. 15. A white horse with black ears does not make a show, yoked to his (the king's) chariot in that kingdom, etc. 16. There is

<sup>1</sup> See A.V. x. 7, 1 ff., 9, 26.

<sup>2</sup> The word here in the original is *sânânâm*, with which it is difficult to make any sense. Should we read *senânâm*?

no pond with blossoming lotuses in his (the king's) grounds in that kingdom where, etc. 17. His (the king's) brindled cow is not milked by his milkmen in that kingdom, etc. 18. His (the king's) milch cow does not thrive, nor does his ox endure the yoke, in that country where a Brâhman passes the night wretchedly without his wife."

I will now refer to a number of texts in which liberality to the authors of the hymns is mentioned with approbation.

Of these passages i. 125; i. 126; v. 27; v. 30, 12 ff.; v. 33, 8 ff.; v. 61, 10; vi. 27, 8; and vi. 47, 22 ff., may be consulted in Prof. Wilson's translation; and a version of R.V. x. 107 will be found in my article, "Miscellaneous Hymns from the Rig and Atharva Vedas," p. 32 f. The following are further instances:<sup>1</sup>—

vii. 18, 22 ff. "Earning two hundred cows and two cars with mares, the gift of Sudâs the grandson of Devavat and son of Pijavana, I walk about, as a priest does round a house, offering praises. 23. The four robust richly caparisoned brown<sup>2</sup> horses of Sudâs, the son of Pijavana, standing on the earth, carry me, son to son,<sup>3</sup> onward to renown in perpetuity." (See the translation of these verses in Roth's Litt. u. Geschichte des Weda, p. 100.) In i. 126, 3, and vi. 27, 8, also, the word *vadhûmantah* is used as here, and is probably to be taken in the first of these passages of mares, and in the latter of cows, *vinṣatim gâ vadhûmanto*, being "twenty bulls with their cows." The same sense of cows or mares is probably to be understood in viii. 19, 36. That the preced-

<sup>1</sup> The fourth volume of Professor Wilson's Rig-veda, edited by Mr. Cowell, having been published since this paper was written, the reader may compare his version of such of the following passages as are included in it with mine.

<sup>2</sup> The word here rendered is *smaddishṭayah*. In his explanation of this passage Sâyana considers it to mean *praṣastâtisarjanapraddhâdîdânângayutkâh*, i.e. "possessing the approved constituents of a gift, viz., generosity, faith," etc. It occurs in three other texts, viz., in iii. 45, 5, as an epithet of Indra, where Sâyana takes it to signify *dhâdravâkya*, "speaking auspicious words;" in vi. 63, 9, where he takes it as = *praṣasta-darṣanân*, "of approved look;" and in x. 62, 9, Prof. Aufrecht considers the word to mean "strong," "robust," a sense which suits the context of iii. 45, 5 (where it cannot possibly bear the interpretation assigned by Sâyana on vii. 18, 23), and apparently also that of x. 62, 9. From the etymology (apparently *smat* for *sumat*, "good" or "well," and *dishṭi*, "pleasure" or "good luck.") one would suppose it ought to mean "blessed" or "fortunate," a sense which might also suit the context of iii. 45, 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Tokam tokâya*. The sense is obscure.

ing passages refer to the females of bulls or horses is made likely by comparing viii. 57, 17, which will be quoted below. In viii. 46, 37, however, reference is distinctly made to the gift of a woman (*yoshanā*).

viii. 3, 21. “(The horse?) which Indra, the Maruts, and Pākasthāman, the son of Kurayāna, gave to me, the most brilliant of all, like (the sun) careering in the sky. 22. Pākasthāman gave me a tawny (horse) well broken in, and filling his traces, an indication of riches. 23. Like to which other ten swift steeds also bear the yoke, like those which carried the son of Tugra to his home. 24. Soul, food, body, raiment, the giver of vigour, and ornament—(all this Pākasthāman is). I celebrate him as the fourth liberal bestower of a tawny horse.”

viii. 4, 19. “We have celebrated among the Turvaṣus the profuse riches, consisting of hundreds of horses (bestowed) at the festivals of Kuranga, at the distributions made by this powerful and fortunate king. 20. After sixty thousand pure cows,<sup>1</sup> I, a rishi, have driven away herds of cattle obtained by the Priyamedhas with faces upturned to heaven, through the prayers of the sacrificing son of Kaṇva. 21. Even the trees<sup>2</sup> rejoiced at my arrival, (exclaiming), ‘they have obtained cows in abundance, they have obtained horses in abundance.’”<sup>3</sup>

viii. 5, 37. “May ye, Aṣvins, take notice of my new gifts, how Kaṣu, of the race of Chedi, has bestowed on me a hundred camels and ten thousand kine. 38. The people are prostrate beneath the feet of the descendant of Chedi, and the men about him are but leather-workers (before him), who presented to me ten kings brilliant as gold. 39. Let no one try to walk in the path which these Chedis tread. No sage is regarded as a more bountiful man (than this prince.”<sup>4</sup>

viii. 6, 46. “I have received a hundred from Tirindara, a

<sup>1</sup> Sāyana explains *nirmajām* as *niḥśaṣṭha sūddhānam gavam*. Roth leaves the word unexplained; and Prof. Aufrecht suggests *nirmajām*, “garments,” as perhaps the true reading.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Psalm xcvi. 12.

<sup>3</sup> This verse is translated in Benfey's Glossary in the Sāma-veda, *s.v. meha*.

<sup>4</sup> Or, “No one, (as) the sage expects, will (prove to be) a more munificent person.”

thousand from Parṣu, the riches of the Yâdvas. 47. They gave three hundred horses, ten thousand cows, to Sâman the Pajra. 48. The exalted prince overpassed the sky, giving a yoke of four camels ; he (overpassed) the Yâdva tribe by his renown."

viii. 19, 36. "Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, the bountiful lord, the patron of the virtuous, gave me fifty females (cows or mares).<sup>1</sup> 37. And while I was travelling . . . . at the ford of the Suvâstu, Ṣyâva, the wealthy lord of the Diyas (or of gifts) brought three seventies."

viii. 21, 17. "Was it Indra who gave to me, the worshipper, all this wealth ? or was it the blessed Sarasvatî who gave this riches, or was it thou, Chitra ? 18. King Chitra and other kings who (dwell) along the Sarasvatî, diffused himself (over us) like Parjanya, in a shower, bestowing a thousand and tens of thousands."

viii. 24, 29. "May the gift of Nârîya reach the Vyâṣnas, offerers of Soma-libations, together with abundant wealth, in hundreds and thousands. 30. If any one, sacrificing, enquire of thee (o Ushas), wheresoever thou art engaged, where (he is), reply, 'This Vala dwells remote on the banks of the Gomatî.'"<sup>2</sup>

viii. 46, 21. "Let the ungodly man come forward<sup>3</sup> who has received as large a present as this which Vasa, the son of Aṣva, has received at the break of to-day's dawn from the Pṛthuṣravas, the son of Kanîta. 22. I have received the sixty thousand and ten thousand (appropriated to) the son of Aṣva, two thousand camels, ten hundreds of brown (mares), ten of (mares) with three ruddy spots, and ten thousand cows. 23, 24. Ten brown, impetuous, irresistible, swift, overbearing steeds of the bountiful Pṛthuṣravas, son of Kanîta, cause the circumference of the chariot wheel to whirl round. Bestowing a golden chariot, he has shewn himself a most bountiful sage, and acquired the most extended renown . . . . . 30. As oxen approach the herd, so they

<sup>1</sup> See in note above the remarks on vii. 18, 22.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the similar expressions in R.V. v. 61, 19.

<sup>3</sup> This challenge seems to mean that no ungodly man had received such gifts.

draw near to me. 31. Then when he had called for a hundred camels from amongst the grazing herd, and two thousand among the white cattle, 32. I, the sage, received a hundred from the Dâsa<sup>1</sup> Balbûtha, the deliverer. These men of thine, O Vâyu, protected by Indra, rejoice; protected by the gods, they rejoice. 33. Then that large woman is led away, covered with jewels, towards Vasa, son of Aṣva.”

viii. 54, 10. “May the opulent prince, who bestows on me speckled cows with golden housings, never perish, o gods. 12. Over and above the thousand speckled cows, I received a bright, large, broad, shining piece of gold. 13. Men have exalted to the gods the renown of the grandson of Durgaha,<sup>2</sup> who was bountiful to me in (bestowing) a thousand (cows).”

viii. 57, 14. “Near me stand six men in pairs, in the exhilaration of the Soma juice, bestowing delightful gifts. 15. Of Indrota I received two brown horses, from the son of Rksha two tawny, and from the son of Aṣvamedha two ruddy horses. 16. From the son of Atithigva (I received) horses with a beautiful car, from the son of Rksha horses with beautiful reins, and from the son of Aṣvamedha horses of beautiful form. 17. Along with Pûtakratu, I obtained six horses with mares<sup>3</sup> from Indrota, the son of Atithigva. 18. Among these brown horses was perceived a bay mare with a stallion, and with beautiful reins and a whip. 19. May no mortal, however desirous of reviling, fasten any fault upon you, o ye possessors of food.”

x. 33, 4. “I, a rishi, have solicited king Kuruṣravaṇa, descendant of Trasadusyu, the most bountiful of sages. 5. Let me celebrate, at the (sacrifice), attended with a thousand gifts, (that prince) whose three tawny mares convey me excellently in a car. 6. Of which father of Upamaṣravas, the agreeable words were like a pleasant field to him who uttered them. 7. Attend, o Upamaṣravas, son (of Kuruṣravaṇa), and grandson of Mitrâtithi—I am the encomiast of thy father.

<sup>1</sup> Roth, *s.v.* *dâsa*, conjectures that instead of *dâsa*, the proper reading is here *dâda*, which would alter the sense to, “I received a hundred slaves from Balbûtha.”

<sup>2</sup> Langlois *in loco* refers for illustration of this to R.V. iv. 42, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Sâyana here understands *vadhémataḥ*, of mares, *vaḍavâbhîs tadavataḥ*.

8. If I had power over the immortals, or over mortals, my magnificent (patron) should still be alive. 9. The man even of a hundred years lives not beyond the period ordained by the gods;<sup>1</sup> so hath (everything) continually revolved."

x. 62, 6. "The Virûpas, who sprang from Agni, from the sky, Navagva, and Daşagva, who perfectly possesses the character of an Angiras, is elevated to the gods. 7. The sages (princes) in concert with Indra lavished a herd of cows and of horses. Men have exalted to the gods<sup>2</sup> the renown of me, Ashtakarñi, who bestowed a thousand. 8. Let this man<sup>3</sup> now multiply; may he shoot up like a sprout, he who at once lavishes a thousand hundred horses for a gift. 9. No one equals him, as no one succeeds in grasping the summit of the sky.<sup>4</sup> The largesses of the son of Savarņa have been diffused as widely as the sea. 10. Yadu and Turva gave two robust bondmen to serve (me) with abundance of kine. 11. Let not this man, the leader of the people, who lavishes thousands, suffer calamity. Let his largesses go on vying with the sun. May the gods prolong the life of the son of Savarņa, from whom we, without fatiguing labour [or without cessation], have received food."

x. 93, 14. "I have spoken this (in praise) of Duhsîma, Pṛthavâna, Vena, and Râma,—a god among the magnificent,—who, having yoked five hundred (horses) for our benefit,—their (liberality) became renowned by (this) course. 15. Over and above this, Tânvā straightway assigned, Pârthya straightway assigned, Mâyava straightway assigned (to us) here seventy-seven."

If we consider that the various texts which have just been quoted are the productions of the class whose pretensions they represent and whose dignity they exalt, and further, if we take into account the indications, supplied by various

<sup>1</sup> Compare R.V. viii. 28, 4: "As the gods desire so it comes to pass; no one—no mortal, however hostile—can hinder that (will) of theirs."

<sup>2</sup> Compare viii. 54, 12, above.

<sup>3</sup> In my article on "Manu, the progenitor of the Aryan Indians," Jour. R. A. S., xx. p. 416, note, I translated this word *manu* as a proper name, perhaps wrongly.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Ś. P. Br. xiii. 5, 4, 14: "Neither former nor later men of the five races have reached this great work of Bharata (performed) to-day, as no mortal has reached the sky with his arms."

other passages which I shall cite below, of indifference to the gods and to their ministers manifested by the other sections of the community, we may think it necessary to make some deduction from the impression which we had at first received of the estimation in which the priestly order was held at the time when the hymns of the Rigveda were composed. But after every such allowance has been made, it will remain certain that the *brahman*, whether we look upon him as a sage and poet, or as an officiating priest, or in both capacities, was regarded with respect and reverence, and even that his presence was considered an important condition of the efficacy of the ceremonial. Thus, in i. 164, 35, the priest is described as "the highest heaven of speech;" in x. 107, 6, a liberal patron is called a *rishi* and a priest, as epithets expressive of the greatest eulogy; in x. 125, 5, the goddess Vâch is said to make the man who is the object of her special affection a priest and a *rishi*; in vi. 45, 7; vii. 7, 5; viii. 16, 7; and ix. 96, 6, the term "priest" is applied honorifically to the gods Indra, Agni, and Soma; in iv. 50, 8, 9, great prosperity is declared to attend the prince by whom a priest is employed, honoured, and succoured; and in iii. 53, 9, 12; v. 2, 6; vii. 33, 2, 3, 5; and vii. 83, 4, the highest efficacy is ascribed to the intervention and intercession of priests.

Again, although the commendations which are passed in the hymns on liberality to priests have been composed by interested parties, and though the value of the presents bestowed has no doubt been enormously exaggerated, there is no reason to doubt that the ministers of public worship, who possessed the gift of expression and of poetry, who were the depositaries of all sacred science, and who were regarded as the channels of access to the gods, would be largely rewarded and honoured.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is to be observed that, in these eulogies of liberality, mention is nowhere made of Brâhmanas as the recipients of the gifts. In two places, viii. 4, 20, and x. 33, 4, a *rishi* is mentioned as the receiver. In later works, such as the *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa*, on the contrary, the presents are distinctly connected with Brâhmanas. Thus it is said in that work, ii. 2, 2, 6: "Two kinds of gods are gods, viz., the gods (proper), whilst those Brâhmanas who have the Vedic tradition, and are learned, are the human gods. The worship (*yajna*) of these is divided into two kinds. Oblations constitute the worship offered to the gods, and presents

It is further clear, from some of the texts quoted above (ii. 1, 2; iv. 9, 3; x. 52, 2), as well as i. 162, 5, and from the contents of hymns ii. 36; ii. 37; ii. 43; and x. 124, 1,<sup>1</sup> that in the later part of the Vedic era, to which these productions are probably to be assigned, the ceremonial of worship had become highly developed and complicated, and that different classes of priests were required for its proper celebration.<sup>2</sup> It is manifest that considerable skill must have been required for the due performance of these several functions; and as such skill could only be acquired by early instruction and by practice, there can be little doubt that the priesthood must at that period have become a regular profession.<sup>3</sup> The distinction of king or noble and priest appears to be recognized in i. 108, 7, as well as in iv. 50, 8, 9; whilst in v. 47, 7, 14, a similar distinction is made between king and rishi; and it is noticeable that the verse, in other respects nearly identical, with which the 36th and 37th hymns of the eighth mandala respectively conclude, ends in the one hymn with the words, "Thou alone, Indra, didst deliver Trasadasyu in the conflict of men, magnifying prayers" (*brahmāni vardhayan*); whilst in the other the last words are, "magnifying (royal) powers" (*kshattrāni vardhayan*), as if the former contained a reference to the functions of the priest, and the latter to those of the prince.

While, however, there thus appears to be every reason for supposing that towards the close of the Vedic period the priesthood had become a profession, the texts which have been quoted, with the exception of one (x. 90, 12) which will

(*dakṣiṇā*) that offered to the human gods, the Brāhmins, who possess the Vedic tradition, and are learned. It is with oblations that a man gratifies the gods, and with presents that he gratifies the human gods, the Brāhmins, who possess the Vedic tradition, and are learned. Both these two kinds of gods, when gratified, place him in a state of happiness" (*sudhāyam*); (or "convey him to the heavenly world," as the expression is varied in the parallel passage of the same work, iv. 3, 4, 4.)

<sup>1</sup> See also i. 94, 6, where it is said: "Thou (Agni) art an *adhvaryu*, and the earliest *hotri*, a *praṣṭri*, a *potri*, and by nature a *puṛohita*. Knowing all the priestly functions (*ṛtevijyā*) wise, thou nourishest us," etc.

<sup>2</sup> See Prof. Müller's remarks on this subject, *Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, pp. 485 ff.; and Dr. Haug's somewhat different view of the same matter in his *Introd. to Ait. Br.*, pp. 11 ff.

<sup>3</sup> In regard to the great importance and influence of the priests, see Müller's *Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, pp. 485 ff.



be further adverted to below, do not contain anything which necessarily implies that the priests formed an exclusive caste, or, at least, a caste separated from all other by insurmountable barriers, as in later times.<sup>1</sup> There is a wide difference between a profession, or even a hereditary order, and a caste in the fully developed Brahmanical sense. Even in countries where the dignity and exclusive prerogatives of the priesthood are most fully recognized (as in Roman Catholic Europe), the clergy form only a profession, and their ranks may be recruited from all sections of the community. So, too, is it in most countries, even with a hereditary nobility. Plebeians may be ennobled at the will of the sovereign. There is, therefore, no difficulty in supposing that in the Vedic era the Indian priesthood—even if we suppose its members to have been for the most part sprung from priestly families—may have often admitted aspirants to the sacerdotal character from other classes of their countrymen. Even the employment of the words *brāhmaṇa* and *rājanya* in the Rig-veda does not disprove this. The former word, derived from *brahman*, “priest,” signifies, as already intimated, nothing further than the son or descendant of a priest (the word *brahmaputra*, “son of a priest,” is, as we have seen, actually used in one text),—just as the latter (*rājanya*) means nothing more than the descendant of a king or chief (*rājan*).

The paucity of the texts (and those, too, probably of a date comparatively recent) in which the word *brāhmaṇa*

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Haug, in his tract on the “Origin of Brāhmanism,” p. 5, thus states his views on this question: “It has been of late asserted that the original parts of the Vedas do not know the system of caste. But this conclusion was prematurely arrived at without sufficiently weighing the evidence. It is true the caste system is not to be found in such a developed state, the duties enjoined to the several castes are not so clearly defined as in the Law Books and Purāṇas. But nevertheless the system is already known in the earlier parts of the Vedas, or rather presupposed. The barriers only were not quite so insurmountable as in later times.” This view he supports by a reference to the Zend Avesta, from which he deduces the conclusion that the people had been divided into three classes even before the separation of the Indian from the Iranian Aryans, and adds: “From all we know, the real origin of caste appears to go back to a time anterior to the composition of the Vedic hymns, though its development into a regular system with insurmountable barriers can be referred only to the latest period of the Vedic times.” As thus stated, the difference between Dr. Haug and other European scholars is one of degree and age, not of principle, for none of them assert any distinction of race, or congenital difference, between the castes or classes.

occurs, when contrasted with the large number of those in which *brāhmān* is found, seems to prove conclusively that the former word was but little used in the earlier part of the Vedic era, and only came into common use towards its close. In some of these passages (as in vii. 103, 1, 7, 8; x. 88, 19) the Brāhman is merely alluded to as a priest, and in vii. 103, the comparison of frogs to Brāhmanas may seem even to imply a want of respect for the latter and their office.<sup>1</sup> In other places (i. 164, 45, and x. 71, 8, 9) a distinction appears to be drawn between intelligent and unintelligent Brāhmanas, between such as were thoughtful and others who were mere mechanical instruments in carrying on the ceremonial of worship,<sup>2</sup> which, however, certainly points to the existence of a sacerdotal class. In another passage (x. 97, 22) the importance of a Brāhman to the proper performance of religious rites appears to be clearly expressed. In x. 109, where the words *brāhmān* (*passim*) and *brāhmaṇa* (in *v.* 4) seem to be used interchangeably—the inviolability of Brāhmanas' wives, the peril of interfering with them, and the blessing attendant on reparation for any outrage committed against them, are referred to in such a way as to shew at once the loftiness of the claims set up by the Brāhmanas on their own behalf, and to prove that these pretensions were frequently disregarded by the nobles. In x. 16, 6, the Brāhmanas are spoken of as inspired by Soma, and in vi. 75, 10, the manes of earlier Brāhmanas are reckoned among those divine beings who have power to protect the suppliant. But in none of these texts is any reference made to the Brāhmanas constituting an exclusive caste or race, descended from an ancestor distinct from those of the other classes of their countrymen. In fact, it is proved by one of the additions (cited above) which have been made in the Atharva-veda (*v.* 17, 8 f.) to one of the hymns just referred to (x. 10, 9), that, even at that later period when that addition was made, Brāhmanas had but little regard to the purity of the sacerdotal blood, as they did not intermarry

<sup>1</sup> See Müller's remarks on this hymn in his *Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 494.

<sup>2</sup> In R.V. viii. 50, 9, it is said: "Whether an unwise or a wise man, O Indra, has offered to thee a hymn, he has gladdened (thee) through his devotion to thee."

with women of their own order only, or even with women who had previously lived single, but were in the habit of forming unions with the widows of Rājanyas or Vaiśyas,<sup>1</sup> if they did not even take possession of the wives of such men while they were alive.<sup>2</sup> Even if we suppose these women to have belonged to priestly families, this would only show that it was no uncommon thing for females of that class to be married to Rājanyas or Vaiśyas—a fact which would, of course, imply that the caste system was either quite unknown, or only beginning to be introduced among the Indians of the earlier Vedic age. That, agreeably to ancient tradition, Brāhmins intermarried with Rājanya women at the period in question, is also distinctly shewn by the story of the Rishi Chyavana and Sukanyā, daughter of king Śaryāta, narrated in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, and quoted in my former paper, "Contributions to a Knowledge of Vedic Mythology," No. ii., pp. 11 ff. See also the stories of the

<sup>1</sup> That the remarriage of women was customary among the Hindus of those days is also shewn by A.V., ix. 5, 27 f., quoted in my former paper on Yama, p. 299

<sup>2</sup> This latter supposition derives a certain support from the emphasis with which the two verses in question (A.V. v. 17, 8, 9) assert that the Brāhmin was the only true husband. Whence, it may be asked, the necessity for this strong and repeated asseveration, if the Rājanya and Vaiśya husbands were not still alive, and prepared to claim the restoration of their wives? The verses are, however, explicable without this supposition.

It is to be observed, however, that no mention is here made of Śūdras as a class with which Brāhmins intermarried. Śūdras were not Āryas, like the three upper classes. This distinction is not recognised in the following verse of the A.V. xix. 62, 1: Make me dear to gods, dear to princes, dear to every one who beholds me, both to Śūdra and to Ārya." (Unless we are to suppose that both here and in xix. 32, 8, *ārya* = a Vaiśya, and not *ārya*, is the word.) In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Kāṇva Śākhā (Adhvara Kāṇḍa, i. 6), the same thing is clearly stated in these words, for a copy of which I am indebted to Professor Müller:—*Tan na sarva eva prapadyeta na hi devāḥ sarveṇaiva sangachhante | ārya eva brāhmaṇo vā kshatriyo vā vaiśyo vā te hi yajniyāḥ | no eva sarveṇaiva samvadeta na hi devāḥ sarveṇaiva samvadante āryeṇaiva brāhmaṇena vā kshatriyeṇa vā vaiśyena vā te hi yajniyāḥ | yady enam śūdreṇa samvādo vindet " ittham enam nichakshva " ity anyam brūyād eha ākshitasyopachāraḥ.* "Every one cannot obtain this (for the gods do not associate with every man), but only an Ārya, a Brāhmin, or a Kshatriya, or a Vaiśya, for these can sacrifice. Nor should one talk with every body (for the gods do not talk with every body), but only with an Ārya, a Brāhmin, or a Kshatriya, or a Vaiśya, for these can sacrifice. If any one have occasion to speak to a Śūdra, let him say to another person, 'Tell this man so and so.' This is the rule for an initiated man."

In the corresponding passage of the Mādhyandina Śākhā (p. 224 of Weber's Edition) this passage is differently recorded.

From Manu (ix. 149–167; x. 7ff.) it is clear that Brāhmins intermarried with Śūdra women, though the offspring of these marriages were degraded.

Rishi Śyāvāśva, who married the daughter of king Rathaviti, as told by the commentator on Rig-veda, v. 61, and given in Prof. Wilson's translation, vol. iii. p. 344.

We have, however, still to consider the single text of the Rig-veda, x. 90, 11, 12, which seems at first sight to prove the existence of a belief in the separate creation of the four castes at the time when it was composed. A careful examination of the context in which these verses are found,<sup>1</sup> or even of the verses themselves, will, however, I think, lead to the conclusion that the representation is allegorical, and implies no opinion regarding the literal origination of the four classes. It is not even said that the Brāhman was produced from the mouth, the Rājanya from the arms, or the Vaiśya from the thighs of Puruṣa; but that these classes formed respectively those members of his body. It is the Śūdra alone who is asserted to have sprung from the part of the body with which he is associated—the feet.

It is further to be noticed that as this hymn probably belongs to the close of the Vedic age, no conclusion can, on any interpretation of its meaning, be drawn from it in regard to the opinion regarding the different classes which prevailed in the earlier portion of that era. Dr. Haug, it is true, denies that the hymn is comparatively modern. He thinks that there is no sufficient evidence to prove this, but that, "on the contrary, reasons might be alleged to shew that it is even old." He is of opinion that the hymn had been used at human sacrifices, which he considers to have been customary in the earliest Vedic period, though they were afterwards abandoned as revolting to human feelings ("Origin of Brāhmanism," p. 5). Notwithstanding what is here urged by Dr. Haug, I cannot help agreeing with the opinion stated by other scholars, such as Colebrooke (Essays, i. 309, note; or p. 197 of Williams and Norgate's edition) and Max Müller (Ancient Sansk. Lit., p. 570 f.), that this hymn is of a later date than the great bulk of the collection in which it is found. As compared

<sup>1</sup> The entire hymn is translated in my paper on the Progress of the Vedic Religion, pp. 353 ff., and also in "Sanskrit Texts," vol. i. pp. 6 ff., where some remarks are made on it.

with by far the larger part of the hymns, it has every character of modernness both in its diction and ideas.

It is not denied that the hymns which we find in the Rig-veda collection are of very different periods. They themselves speak of newer and older hymns. So many as a thousand compositions of this sort could scarcely have been produced within a very short space of time, and there is no reason to imagine that the literary activity of the ancient Hindus was confined to the age immediately preceding the collection of the hymns. But if we are to recognize any difference of age, what hymns can we more reasonably suppose to be the oldest than those which are at once archaic in language and style, and naive and simple in the character of their conceptions; and on the other hand, what compositions can more properly be set down as the most recent than those which manifest an advance in speculative ideas, while their language approaches to the modern Sanskrit? These latter conditions seem to be fulfilled in the Purusha Sûkta, as well as in hymns x. 71; x. 72; x. 81; x. 82; x. 121; and x. 129. The pantheistic character of the opening parts of the Purusha Sûkta alone would suffice to demonstrate its comparatively recent date.

That even the legendary genealogies of the Purânas frequently assign to members of the four so-called castes a common origin, has been shown in my Sanskrit Texts, vol. i. chap. ii.; and for the evidence discoverable, both in the Rig-veda itself and in the epic poems and Purânas, that hymns were composed, and sacerdotal functions exercised, by persons who in later ages were called Râjanyas or Kahatriyas, as well as by Brâhmanas, I may refer to the same volume, pp. 86-151 where the stories of Viśvâmitra and Devâpi are told.

In later times, when none but Brâhman priests were known, it seemed to be an unaccountable, and—as contradicting the exclusive sacerdotal pretensions of the Brâhmanas—an inconvenient circumstance, that priestly functions should have been recorded as exercised by Râjanyas; and it therefore became necessary to explain away the historical facts, by inventing miraculous legends to make it appear that these men of the royal

order had been in reality transformed into Brāhmanas, as the reward of their superhuman merits and austerities (see Sanskrit Texts, vol. i., pp. 95 ff., 148 ff.). The very existence, however, of such a word as *rājarshi*, or "royal rishi," proves that Indian tradition recognized as rishis or authors of Vedic hymns persons who had belonged to Rājanya families. A number of such are named (though without the epithet of *rājarshi*) in the *Anukramanikā* or index to the Rig-veda; but Sāyana, who quotes that old document, gives them this title. Thus, in the introduction to hymn i. 100, he says: "Rjṛāśva and others, sons of Vṛshāgir, in all five rājarshis, saw this hymn in a bodily form (*sadehaṃ sūktam dadṛṣuḥ*). Hence they are its rishis (or seers)." The 17th verse of this hymn is as follows: "This hymn the Vārshāgiras, Rjṛāśva, with his attendants Amvarīsha, Sahadeva, Bhayamāna, and Surādhas, utter to thee, the vigorous, o Indra, as their homage;" on which Sāyana repeats the remark that these persons were rājarshis. Ambarīsha is also said to be the rishi of ix. 98. Again, "Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, a Rājarshi," is said by Sāyana on R.V. iv. 42, to be the rishi of that hymn. In the 9th verse Trasadasyu is thus mentioned: "Purukutsāni worshipped you, o Indra and Varuṇa, with salutations and obeisances; then ye gave her king Trasadasyu, a slayer of enemies, a demigod." Similarly Sāyana says on v. 27: "Tryaruṇa son of Trivṛshṇa, Trasadasyu son of Purukutsa, and Aśvamedha son of Bharata, these three kings conjoined, are the rishis of this hymn; or Atri is the rishi." As the hymn is spoken by a fourth person, in praise of the liberality of these kings, it is clear they cannot well be its authors. However, the Hindu tradition of their being so, is good proof that kings could, in conformity with ancient opinion, be rishis. Trasadasyu and Trayarūna are also mentioned as the rishis of ix. 110.<sup>1</sup> The rishis of iv. 43 and iv. 44 are declared by Sāyana, and by the *Anukramanikā*, to be Purumīla, and Ajamīla, sons or descendants of Suhotra. Though these persons

<sup>1</sup> In the Vishṇu Purāna, Trayyārūna, Pushkarin, and Kapi are said to have been sons of Urukahaya, and the last of them to have become a Brāhman. In the Matsya P., Trayyarūni, Pushkarārūni, and Kapi are said to have all become Brāhmanas. (Wilson, V. P., p. 461, and note.)

are not said by either of these authorities to be kings, yet in the Vishṇu Purāṇa they are mentioned as being of royal race, and as grandsons of Suhotra, and according to the Bhāgavata P. a tribe of Brāhmins is said to have been descended from the son of Ajamīlha. In the sixth verse of iv. 44, the descendants of Ajamīlha are said to have come to the worship of the Aṣvins. The following hymns are said by tradition to have had the following kings for their rishis, viz. : x. 9, Sindhudwīpa, son of Ambarīsha (or Triṣiras, son of Tvasṭr); x. 75, Sindhukṣhit, son of Priyamedha; x. 133, Sudās, son of Pijavana; x. 134, Māndhātṛ, son of Yuvanāṣva; x. 179, Sibi, son of Uṣṇara, Pratarāna, son of Divodāsa and king of Kāṣī, and Vasumanas, son of Rohidaṣva; and x. 148 is declared to have had Pṛthī Vainya as its rishi. In the fifth verse of that hymn it is said: "Hear, o heroic Indra, the invocation of Pṛthī; and thou art praised by the hymns of Venya." In viii. 9, 10, also, Pṛthī Vainya is mentioned among rishis: "Whatever invocation Kakṣhivat has made to you, or the rishi Vyaṣva, or Dirghatamas, or Pṛthī, son of Vena, in the places of sacrifice, take notice of that, o Aṣvins." Here Sāyaṇa refers to Pṛthī as the "royal rishi of that name."<sup>1</sup>

I have observed above that the contents of R.V. x. 109 not only display the high pretensions of the priestly order, but also indicate clearly that those pretensions were often disregarded by the ruling class. In fact, the hymns of the Rigveda contain numerous references to persons, apparently of different descriptions, who were either hostile or indifferent to the system of religious worship which the rishis professed and inculcated. We find there a long list of condemnatory epithets applied to these persons, such as *adeva*, *adevayu*, *anindra*, *abrahman*, *ayajyu*, *ayajvan*, *anyavrata*, *apavrata*, *avrata*, *devanid*, *brahmadvish*, etc., etc.; i.e., "godless," "destitute of Indra," "without devotion," "unsacrificing," "following other rites," "averse to religious rites, or to law," "without rites, or lawless," "revilers of the gods," "haters of

<sup>1</sup> Even females are said to be authors of hymns or parts of hymns, as Romāṣā, "daughter of Bṛhaspati, an utterer of hymns" (i. 126), Lopamudrā (i. 179, 1), and Viṣvavārā, of the family of Atri (v. 28).

devotion," etc. (i. 33, 3, 4; i. 51, 8, 9; i. 101, 2, 4; i. 121, 13; i. 131, 4; i. 132, 4; i. 147, 2; i. 150, 2; i. 174, 8; i. 175, 3; ii. 12, 10; ii. 23, 4, 8, 12; ii. 26, 1; iii. 30, 17; iii. 31, 9; iii. 34, 9; iv. 16, 9; v. 2, 9, 10; v. 20, 2; v. 42, 9, 10; vi. 14, 3; vi. 49, 15; vi. 52, 2, 3; vi. 61, 3; vi. 67, 9; vii. 6, 3; vii. 61, 4; vii. 83, 7; vii. 93, 5; viii. 31, 15 ff.; viii. 45, 23; viii. 51, 12; viii. 53, 1; viii. 59, 7, 10, 11; ix. 41, 2; ix. 63, 24; ix. 73, 5, 8; x. 22, 7 f.; x. 27, 1 ff.; x. 36, 9; x. 38, 3; x. 42, 4; x. 49, 1; x. 160, 4; x. 182, 3.) In most of these passages, no doubt, the epithets in question are connected with the words *Dāsa* or *Dasyu*, which—whether we understand them of barbarous aboriginal races, then partially occupying the Punjab, or of the evil spirits with which the darkness was peopled by the lively imagination of the early Indians—certainly did not ordinarily designate tribes of Aryan descent. But there are other texts containing denunciations of religious hostility or indifference, where no express reference is made to *Dasyus*, which may with more or less probability be understood of members of the Aryan community. Such are the following:—

i. 84, 7. "Indra, who alone distributes riches to the sacrificing mortal, is lord and irresistible. 7. When will Indra crush the illiberal (*arddhasam*) man like a bush with his foot? when will he hear our hymns?"

i. 101, 4. "Indra, who is the slayer of him, however strong, who offers no libations."

i. 122, 9. "The hostile man, the malicious enemy, who pours out no libations to you, o Mitra and Varuṇa, plants fever in his own heart, when the pious man has by his offerings obtained (your blessing)."

i. 124, 10. "Wake, o magnificent Dawn (*Ushas*), the men who present offerings; let the thoughtless niggards (*paṇayak*)<sup>1</sup> sleep." (Comp. iv. 51, 3.)

i. 125, 7. "Let not the liberal suffer evil or calamity; let not devout sages decay; let them have some further term; let griefs befall the illiberal (*apṛnantam*)."

<sup>1</sup> This sense of the word is confirmed by i. 33, 3, where the rishi says to Indra, "*má paṇīr bhār amad adhi*," "Be not niggardly towards us."



i. 147, 2. "One man contemns (*ptyati*), whilst another praises, thee. Reverent, I adore thy manifestation, o Agni."

i. 176, 4. "Slay every one who offers no oblations—though difficult to destroy<sup>1</sup>—who is displeasing to thee. Give us his wealth; the sage expects it."

i. 182, 3. "What do ye here, o powerful (*Aṣvins*)? Why do ye sit in the house of any man who offers no sacrifice, and yet is honoured? Assail, wear away the breath of the niggard (*paṇer asum*), and create light for the sage who desires to praise you."

i. 190, 5. "Those persons who, flourishing, but wicked, regarding thee, o god, as a feeble being, depend upon thee who art gracious—thou bestowest nothing desirable upon the malignant, thou, o *Bṛhaspati*, avengest thyself on the scorner (*piyārum*)."

ii. 23, 4. "By thy wise leadings thou guidest and protectest the man who worships thee: no calamity can assail him who hates devotion (*brahma-dvishah*), and the queller of his wrath: this, o *Bṛhaspati*, is thy great glory."

ii. 26, 1. "The upright worshipper shall slay those who seek to slay (him); the godly shall overcome the ungodly; the religious shall slay in battle even him who is hard to conquer; the sacrificer shall divide the spoils of the unsacrificing."

iv. 24, 2. "In battle Indra bestows riches upon the man who offers prayers (*brahmanyate*) and libations. . . . .  
5. Then some men worship the mighty (Indra); then the cooker of oblations will present his offering of meal; then Soma will abandon those who offer no libations; then (the impious) will be fain to worship the vigorous (god)."

iv. 25, 5. "Dear is the righteous man, dear to Indra is the man who reveres him, dear is the worshipper, dear to him is the offer of soma. 6. This impetuous and heroic Indra regards as peculiarly his own the cooked oblation of the devout soma-offerer; he is not the relation, or friend, or kinsman, of the man who offers no libations; he destroys the prostrate irreligious man. 7. Indra, the soma-drinker, approves not

<sup>1</sup> Roth, *s.v.* understands *dīpāman* to mean "continually."

friendship with the wealthy niggard (*revatâ pañind*) who offers no libations. He deprives him of his riches, and destroys him when stripped bare, whilst he is the exclusive favourer of the man who offers libations and cooks offerings."

iv. 51, 3. "The magnificent dawns, appearing, have to-day aroused the liberal to the bestowal of wealth. Let the niggards (*pañayah*) sleep in gloom, and the regardless in the midst of darkness." (Compare i. 124, 10.)

v. 34, 3 (= Nirukta vi. 19). "Whoever offers soma-libations to Indra, either in sunshine or darkness, becomes glorious. The mighty god drives away the ostentatious; the opulent god (drives away) the man who decks out his person, and is the friend of the degraded. (Yâska adds to these epithets of the objects of Indra's enmity that of *ayaj-vânânam*, 'one who does not worship.') 5. Indra desires no support from five or from ten (allies); he consorts not with the man who offers no libation, however flourishing; but overwhelms, and at once destroys such a person, whilst he gives the godly man a herd of kine as his portion. 6. . . . The enemy of him who makes no libations, the promoter of him who offers libations, Indra, the terrible subduer of all, the lord, brings the Dâsa into subjection. 7. He gathers together the goods of the niggard (*pañeh*) to be spoiled; he allots to the sacrificer wealth beneficial for men. Every one who provokes his fury is deeply involved in difficulty."

v. 42, 7. "Praise the first depository of gems, Brhaspati, the bestower of riches, who is most propitious to the man that hymns and lauds him, who comes with abundant wealth to the man that invokes him. 8. Those who are attended by thy succours, Brhaspati, are unharmed, affluent, rich in men. The possessions of those who bestow horses, cows, and raiment, are blest. 9. Make unblest the wealth of those who enjoy themselves while they do not gratify (thee) with our hymns.<sup>1</sup> Drive away from the sunlight those haters of devotion (*brahma-dvishah*) who are averse to religious rites, while they increase in progeny. 10. Hasten, o Maruts, with-

<sup>1</sup> Or, according to Sâyana, "who do not satisfy us who are possessed of laudatory hymns."

out wheels<sup>1</sup> against the man who attends at the sacrifice of a Rakshas (or sinner).<sup>2</sup> He who reviles the man who celebrates your service secures but contemptible pleasures, however much he may sweat."

vi. 13, 3. "That lord of the virtuous by his power destroys Vrittra (or the enemy); o wise Agni, offspring of the ceremonial, that sage whom thou in concert with the son of the waters prosperest with wealth, divides the spoil of the niggard (*paneḥ*)."

vi. 44, 11. "Abandon us not, o vigorous god, to the destroyer; let us not suffer injury whilst we live in the friendship of thee who art opulent. Thy former bounties to men (are known); slay those who offer no libations; root out the illiberal (*apṛnataḥ*)."

vi. 52, 1. "By heaven or by earth I approve not that, nor by (this) sacrifice, nor by these rites.<sup>3</sup> Let the strong mountains crush him; let the priest (*yashṭā*) of Atiyāja fall. 2. Whoever, o Maruts, regards himself as superior to us, or reviles our worship when performed, may scorching calamities light upon him; may the sky consume that hater of devotion (*brahma-dvisham*).<sup>4</sup> 3. Why, o Soma, do they call thee the protector of devotion, or our preserver from imprecations? Why doest thou see us reviled? Hurl thy burning bolt against the hater of devotion (*brahma-dvishe*)."

(These verses perhaps refer to the struggles of rival priests. Professor Aufrecht renders the words *atiyājasya yashṭā*, by "he who tries to outdo us in sacrifices." Sāyana, who is followed by Professor Goldstücker, makes *atiyāja* the name of a rishi. Professor Roth takes it to mean "very pious.")

vi. 53, 3. "Impel to liberality, o burning Pūshan, even

<sup>1</sup> *Achakrebhīḥ*, easily, swiftly, noiselessly, suddenly. Compare the phrase *achakrayā svadhayā varttamānam* in x. 27, 19, and *nichakrayā*, viii. 7, 29.

<sup>2</sup> This latter rendering of the words *ya dhate rakshaso devavitau*, is suggested by Professor Aufrecht. Compare the words *mā no martīya ripavo rakshasvine*, etc., viii. 49, 8, and *yo naḥ kaśchid rivikshati rakshastvena martyaḥ*, etc., viii. 13, 13. Sāyana renders the words under consideration by "who brings Rakshases to the sacrifice,—by irregular observances, etc., makes it demoniacal (*āsura*)."

<sup>3</sup> The sense of this is not very clear, unless, as Professor Aufrecht proposes, we understand the words as an oath.

<sup>4</sup> This verse occurs in a modified form in the A.V. ii. 12, 6, but without any perceptible difference of sense.

the man who wishes to give nothing. Soften<sup>1</sup> the soul even of the niggard (*pañeh*). 4. Open up paths by which we may obtain food; slay our enemies; let our ceremonies be successful, o terrible god. 5. O wise deity, pierce the hearts of the niggards (*paññām*) with a probe; and then subject them to us. 6. Pierce them with a goad, o Pûshan; seek (for us) that which is dear to the heart of the niggard (*pañeh*); and then subject them to us. 7. Penetrate and tear the hearts of the niggards (*paññām*), o wise deity, and then subject them to us. 8. With that prayer-promoting probe (*brahmachodinim ārām*) which thou holdest, o burning Pûshan, penetrate and tear the heart of every (such man)."

vii. 83, 4. "O Indra and Varuṇa, unrivalled with your weapons, slaying Bheda, ye preserved Sudâs; ye listened to the prayers of these men in the battle; the priestly office of the Tritsus proved efficacious. . . . 6. Both invoke you, Indra and Varuṇa, for the acquisition of spoil (as) in the conflicts where ye protected Sudâs with the Tritsus, when he was assailed by the ten kings. 7. Ten unsacrificing (*ayajyavaḥ*) kings did not, o Indra and Varuṇa, vanquish Sudâs. The praises of the men who partake in the sacrificial feast were effectual; the gods were present at their invocations. 8. O Indra and Varuṇa, ye gave succour to Sudâs when surrounded in the battle of the ten kings, where the devout white-robed Tritsus, with knotted hair, worshipped you with reverence and prayer."

[In the first verse of this hymn Indra and Varuṇa are said to have slain both the Dâsa and Ārya enemies of Sudâs. His enemies were therefore in part Āryas, and the ten kings alluded to in the verses I have quoted were no doubt of this race. And yet it is to be observed that in v. 7 they are described as *ayajyavaḥ*, "unsacrificing." If, therefore, this expression is to be taken literally, it would follow that these Aryan kings were not worshippers of Indra and Varuṇa. Perhaps, however, the epithet is only to be understood in a general way, as meaning "ungodly." If we are to take the indefinite word "both" (*ubhayâsah*) in verse 6, as meaning

<sup>1</sup> Or, "crush" (*vi mrada*).

“both the contending hosts,” it would, indeed, result that not only Sudâs but also the ten kings who were fighting against him offered supplications to the same gods; but this would seem to be in contradiction to the literal sense of the word “unsacrificing” in the following verse; and Sâyaṇa understands “both” to refer to Sudâs and the Tritsus who were his helpers].

vii. 19, 1. “Who (Indra) bestows on the man who offers many libations the wealth of the family which does not worship (him).”

viii. 2, 18. The gods love a man who offers oblations; they do not approve sleep. The active obtain delight.” (Compare viii. 86, 3).

viii. 14, 15. “Thou, o Indra, a drinker of soma, who art supreme, hast scattered and destroyed the hostile assembly which offers no oblations.”

viii. 31, 15. “Impetuous is the chariot of the godly man, and he is a hero in every battle. The sacrificer who seeks to please the gods overcomes the man who does not sacrifice. 16. Thou dost not perish, o sacrificer, nor thou, o offerer of libations, nor thou, o godly man.”

viii. 45, 15. “Bring to us the wealth of the man who, being rich, but no sacrificer, refuses to present offerings. . . . 23. Let not violent fools, let not deriders insult thee. Love not the haters of devotion (*brahmadvishak*).”

viii. 51, 12. “Let us praise Indra truly, not falsely. Great destruction overtakes the man who offers no libations, whilst he who offers them has many lights.”

viii. 53, 1. “Let our hymns exhilarate thee; give us wealth, o Thunderer. Slay the haters of devotion (*brahmadvishak*). 2. Crush with thy foot the niggards (*panṭn*), who bestow nothing;<sup>1</sup> thou art great; no one equals thee.”

viii. 59, 7. “O long-lived god, the ungodly man shall not obtain food. . . . 10. Thou, Indra, lovest our rites; thou satiatest (? ironically) those who revile thee. . . .” Perhaps these expressions may refer to the Dâsas and Dasyu, who are mentioned in the context.

<sup>1</sup> In ix. 101, 13, we find *ṣvānam arādhasam*, “the dog who bestows nothing.”

viii. 86, 2. "Bestow, o Indra, upon the worshipper who offers libations and gives presents, and not upon the niggard (*panau*), the horse and cow which thou possessest, as an undecaying portion. 3. Let the godless man who performs no rites, and sleeps an incessant sleep, destroy by his own acts<sup>1</sup> the wealth which sustains him; sever him from it."

x. 27, 1. "The impulse comes upon me (says Indra) to bestow (blessings) on the sacrificer who offers libations. I slay the man who utters no praises, who is an enemy of truth, a sinner, and empty."<sup>2</sup>

x. 32. "May the (worshippers) who constantly bring thee to the sacrifices slay the boasters (or talkers) who give no presents" (*vagoanân arâdhasaḥ*).

x. 38, 3. "Whatever godless man (*adevāḥ*), whether Dâsa or Ârya, o much-lauded Indra, seeks after us to vanquish us, let these enemies be easy for us to overcome; through thee may we slay them in the conflict."

[This passage shows that Âryas as well as Dâsas were charged with being deniers of the Aryan gods (compare vii. 83, 7); unless we are to consider the term "godless" as employed, as in modern times,<sup>3</sup> to describe persons who were practically, though not theoretically, unbelievers. This latter view is confirmed by A.V. v. 8, 3, where an enemy plotting against the worshipper, and employing a *priest* (v. 5), is yet described as "godless."]

x. 42, 4. . . "Here the hero (Indra) takes for a friend the man who brings offerings; he desires no friendship with the man who pours out no libations."

x. 49, 1. . . "I (says Indra) bestow the earliest riches on the man who praises me: I have made for myself a hymn which magnifies me. I am the encourager of the man who sacrifices. I overwhelm in every conflict those who do not sacrifice."

x. 160, 4. "Whoever, loving the gods, offers libations of soma to Indra with an ardent soul, with his whole heart,—Indra does not give up his kine (to spoliation), but makes for

<sup>1</sup> Compare viii. 18, 13.

<sup>2</sup> "Empty-handed," *âbhum*, as explained by Böhlingk and Roth *s.v.*

<sup>3</sup> *s.g.* in the case of the Government Colleges in Ireland.

him (the soma-libation) approved and pleasing.<sup>1</sup> 4. That man is observed by Indra who, though rich, offers to him no libations of soma. Maghavat grasps him in his fist,<sup>2</sup> and slays the haters of devotion (*brahmadvishah*) though unsolicited.”

That the wealthy man here referred to is an Âryan is rendered probable by the tenor of the following text, where the rich man there alluded to, after contemning Indra during a period of security, concludes by invoking the god when he has been terrified into devotion by the manifestations of his power and anger :

viii. 21, 14. “Thou takest not a rich man for thy friend. Drunkards contemn thee. When thou utterest a sound, and musterest (thy hosts), then thou art invoked as a father.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Aufrecht suggested that the words “the soma libation,” should be understood in this verse, and compares vii. 84, 3, and x. 39, 2. The blessings which attend a devout worshipper of Indra are also described in vi. 28, 2 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Prof. Goldstücker's Sanskrit Lexicon *s.v. aratni*. Sâyana's interpretation of this verse, as there quoted and translated by Prof. G., is as follows : “Indra manifests himself (to the pious) ; (the sacrificer), who, though not wealthy, offers him the soma libation,—him, Indra, the wealthy, holds in his hand (lit. *fat*, i.e. he protects him), after having defeated (*nih* scil. *kṛshya*) his enemies; even unsolicited he slays the foes of the Brâhmins.” I am, I confess, bold enough to consider the rendering I have given in the text as preferable to Sâyana's in the parts where mine differs from his. His connection of the negative particle *na* which follows *revân* with that word (so as to make it = *arevân*), instead of with the verb *sunoti*, seems forced and unnatural, especially as rich men are often censured as non-sacrificers (as in iv. 25, 7; v. 34, 5, v. 42, 9; viii. 45, 15). Prof. Roth conjecturally interprets *aratnau nirdadhâti* as meaning “he finds him out in a corner.” Prof. Aufrecht would render, “holds him at arm's length, despises him.”

<sup>3</sup> Compare the following additional passages :—i. 110, 7; i. 113, 18; i. 121, 13; i. 131, 4; i. 132, 4; i. 133, 7; i. 151, 7; i. 152, 2; i. 174, 6; vi. 22, 8; vi. 23, 2, 3, 9. We read in i. 51, 8 : “Distinguish between the Âryas and those who are Dasyus; chastising the men who are destitute of rites (or lawless), subject them to the sacrificer. Be a strong supporter of thy worshipper,” etc.; and in i. 130, 8 : “Indra preserved the sacrificing Ârya in battle.” But it does not follow from such texts that the Âryas are always identifiable with the worshippers of the gods, though the two classes would generally include the same persons.

As the people named in the following verse (iii. 53, 14), the Kikâṭas, seem to have lived on the outskirts of Âryan civilization, no conclusion can be drawn from it in reference to the point before us. “What are thy cows, (o Indra) doing among the Kikâṭas? (These people) neither draw (from these cows) milk to mix with the soma, nor do they heat the sacrificial kettle. Bring to us the wealth of Pramaganda (or the usurer); subject to us the degraded people.” The Kikâṭas, according to Yâska (Nir. vi. 32), are a non-Âryan race; though he and Sâyana give *nâstikas* or atheists as an alternative sense. Prof. Weber (Indische Studien, i. 186) thinks that as Kikâṭa is an old name for Magadha or Behar, we may understand the word *anâryya* used by Yâska as meaning an Âryan tribe which

(See "Contributions to Vedic Theogony," etc., p. 101, note 1.) In vi. 47, 16, Indra is said to be the enemy of the prosperous man (*edhamánadvit*), probably an Árya who rendered him no service.<sup>1</sup>

In two other passages we are even told that doubts were entertained by some in regard to Indra's existence; ii. 12, 5: "Have faith in that terrible being of whom men ask 'where is he?' and declare that he is not. He destroys the possessions of the foe, etc. . . . 15. Thou art true, who being irresistible, continually providest food for him who pours out libations and cooks oblations."

viii. 89, 3. "Seeking food, present a hymn to Indra, a true hymn, if he truly exists. 'Indra does not exist,' says some one; 'who has seen him? whom shall we praise?' 'This is I, o worshipper (exclaims Indra), behold me here, I surpass all beings in greatness.'"

It seems evident from the preceding texts that the *parcus deorum cultor et infrequens* was by no means a rare character among the Áryas of the Vedic age, and that the priests found no little difficulty in drawing forth the liberality of their lay contemporaries towards themselves, and in enforcing a due regard to the ceremonials of devotion. It would even appear that the ministers of religion had to encounter a considerable amount of contempt and hostility from the ungodly, for such words as *brahmadovish*,<sup>2</sup> "hater of devotion," and *piyāru*,

did not follow Áryan rites, but were in the same condition as the Vrātyas described by him in p. 33, and by Prof. Aufrecht at pp. 138 f. of the same volume, who were admissible by a particular rite within the Brahmanical pale. From Atharva Veda, v. 22, 14, however, it would appear that the Magadhas were regarded by the writer with enmity, and the people designated in the verse before us as Kikāṣas, are described as hostile or indifferent to Áryan rites. (See Sanskrit Texts ii. 362 ff. and Wilson's note *in loco*.)

<sup>1</sup> As however it is said in the same verse that Indra subdues the terrible, and brings forward others, it is possible that these expressions may be meant merely to declare Indra's absolute control over the destinies of men, and to describe the Nemesis that overtakes pride, with an indication of the Herodotean idea *ἄθλιον φθονερόν*. (Herod. iii. 40; vii. 10, and 46.)

<sup>2</sup> This word *brahma-dovish* might mean either "hater of priests," or "hater of devotion," but in the R.V. it seems to have the latter sense. Sāyana, on ii. 23, renders it *mantrāṇām brāhmaṇānām vā dveshṭuḥ*, "hater of mantras (hymns), or of Brāhmins;" and similarly, on v. 42, 9, *brāhmaṇa-dveshṭrīṃ mantra-dveshṭrīṃ vā*, "hater of Brāhmins or of mantras;" whilst on iii. 30, 17, he explains it by *brāhmaṇa-dveṣha-kāṣṭrīḥ*, "hater of Brāhmins;" and the same on vi. 22, 8; vi.



“despiser,” which seem to be sometimes applied to irreligious Āryas, express something more than passive opposition. It may perhaps be further gathered from a few passages, which I shall now cite, that the recognized Āryan worship of the national gods, Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, etc., was not kept free from a certain admixture of demonolatry borrowed most probably from the aboriginal tribes; and it is indeed easy to conceive, or even a thing to be assumed as natural and necessary, that the religion as well as the language, manners, and customs of the Āryans should, in process of time, have undergone some modification from the close contact into which they must have been brought with these barbarous neighbours.<sup>1</sup>

From the first text which I shall quote, and which is ascribed by tradition to the rishi Vasishṭha, it seems that that distinguished personage himself had been accused, whether truly or falsely, of worshipping false gods, of familiarity with evil spirits, and the practice of devilish arts. A charge of this kind could scarcely have been made with any chance of being credited, unless such demonolatry was commonly known to have been practised either by him, or by other members of the same community. The passage referred to (R. V. vii. 104, 12 ff.) is as follows: “The intelligent man can easily discern, (when) true and false words contend together, which of them is true, and which of them is correct. Soma protects the former, and destroys untruth. 13. Soma does not prosper the sinner, nor the man who wields royal power deceitfully.

62, 3; vii. 104, 2; viii. 45, 23; and viii. 53. 1. The context of ii. 23, 4; v. 42, 9; vi. 52, 2, 3; x. 160, 4, seems to be in favour of the sense “haters of devotion,” and the other passages contain nothing inconsistent with this interpretation. No use can therefore be made of this word to prove the importance of priests in the Vedic age.

<sup>1</sup> The demons mentioned in the Rig-veda are called by various names, such as *Rakshas*, *Yātu*, *Yātudhāna*, of which the feminine *Yātudhāni* is also found, and apparently also *Dasyu* and *Dāsa*. The word *piśāchi* (masculine) also occurs in R. V. i. 133, 5, and *piśācha* frequently in the A. V. The *Yātus* are conceived as of different kinds, *śva-yātu*, *ulūka-yātu*, *susulūka-yātu*, *koka-yātu*, *suparṇa-yātu*, *grāhṛa-yātu*, the dog-, owl-, vulture-, etc. etc. formed *Yātus* (vii. 104, 22); and *sapharṇy yātus*, perhaps, such as wound with their hoofs (x. 87, 12). Indra and Agni are the destroyers of the *Yātus* who seek to disturb and vitiate the sacrifices and to slay these deities (vii. 104, 18, 20 f.; x. 87, 9 ff.). The *Yātus* are described as devouring, insatiable, eaters of raw flesh, of the flesh of men and cattle, drinkers of milk, haters of devotion, maleficent, glaring-eyed, furious, the offspring of darkness (vii. 104 and x. 87 *passim*).

He slays the Rakshas, he slays the liar, they both sleep in the fetters of Indra. 14. If I am either one whose gods are false,<sup>1</sup> or if I have conceived of the gods untruly;—why art thou angry with us, o Jâtavedas; let slanderers fall into thy destruction. 15. May I die to-day if I am a Yâtudhâna, or if I have injured any man's life. Then let him be separated from his ten sons, who falsely addresses to me (the words) 'o Yâtudhâna.' 16. He who addresses to me who am no Yâtu<sup>2</sup> (the words), 'o Yâtudhâna,' or who (being) himself a Rakshas says, 'I am pure;'<sup>3</sup> let Indra slay him with his mighty bolt; let him sink down the lowest of all creatures." Sâyaṇa in his note on v. 12 refers to a legend according to which a Râkshasa had taken the form of Vasishṭha, and killed a hundred sons of that rishi, and that these verses were uttered by Vasishṭha to repel the charge of his having been possessed by the demon. This legend, however, which was no doubt manufactured to explain the verses, does not in reality answer this purpose. And it would seem, as I have above assumed, that Vasishṭha, or the speaker in these verses, whoever he may have been, had been charged with worshipping false gods, and with being under the influence of demons; and that while repelling the accusation, he here retorts upon his accuser by calling *him* a Rakshas.

Again in vii. 34, 8, the rishi says: "I who am no Yâtu (undemoniacal) invoke the gods; fulfilling (the ceremony) in due form, I offer a hymn." In another place<sup>4</sup> (vii. 21, 5) it is said: "Neither, o Indra, have Yâtus inspired<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Anṛta-devāḥ*: i.e. *asatya-bhūtā devā yasya*, "one whose gods are untrue, or unreal" (Sâyaṇa). Prof. Goldstücker *s.v.* interprets the word as meaning, "one to whom the gods are untrue." Prof. Max Müller renders the phrase, "If I had worshipped false gods." Prof. Roth who had originally *s.v.* taken the word to mean "a false prayer." withdraws this sense, and adheres to that given by Sâyaṇa, at the close of his article on *deva*.

<sup>2</sup> Roth *s.v.* explains the word *ayātu* as meaning, "not demoniacal, free from demoniacal (magic)." Goldstücker *s.v.* defines the word, "a no-demon, a being different from, or the reverse of, a fiend."

<sup>3</sup> See Prof. Goldstücker's Dict. *s.v.* *ayātu*.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted with its context in Sanskrit Texts, iv. 345.

<sup>5</sup> Or, "impelled," *jâjuvuh*. This is the sense given by Roth *s.v.* who explains the words thus: "Demons do not impel us:" i.e. "We are not in league with demons." Compare *deva-jûta*, "god-inspired," or "god-impelled," applied to

us . . . . .<sup>1</sup> Let the lord (Indra) triumph over the hostile race; let no priapic (or long-tailed) demons,<sup>2</sup> approach our ceremony."

In vi. 62, 8, a person characterized as *rakshoyuj* is devoted to the vengeance of the gods. The commentator explains the term as either "the lord, or the instigator, of demons, or a priest possessed of, or by, demons" (Rakshases).

In vii. 85, 1, the word *arakshas* is used in a sense perhaps akin to that of *ayātu*: "I consecrate (or polish, *puntshe*) for you twain an undemoniacal (*arakshasam*) hymn, offering a libation of soma to Indra and Varuṇa." The same word is also employed in viii. 90, 8, where the Aṣvins are thus addressed: "Since we offer to you an undemoniacal gift (*rātim arakshasam*)," etc. Compare ii. 10, 5; v. 87, 9.

If we should assign to the words *Rakshaso devavitau* in R. V. v. 42, 10 (a passage quoted above), the sense of "the sacrifice offered to a Rakshas," the preceding conclusions would be still further confirmed.

If such demonolatry really existed to any extent among the Āryas, it is quite conceivable (I throw this out as a mere conjecture), that the intense hatred of the evil spirits whom, under the appellations of Yātudhānas, Rakshases, Asuras, etc., Agni, Indra, and other deities, are so frequently represented in the R. V. (i. 133; iii. 15, 1;

Viṣvāmītra in iii. 53, 9; and, on the other hand, *dasyujūtaya* in vi. 24, 8, where it is said: "Indra does not bow to the strong nor the firm, nor to the bold man impelled by a *Dasyu* (or evil spirit)."

<sup>1</sup> The sense of the following words *na vandanaṁ vedyābhīḥ* is obscure.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣiṅnadevāḥ*. The same word occurs in x. 99, 3: "When, irresistible, he conquered by his force the treasures of the (city) with a hundred gates, slaying the priapic (or long-tailed) demons." (See Sanskrit Texts, iv. 346). If this word *ṣiṅnadeva* is correctly rendered as above, the demons in question may have some affinity with the Gandharvas, who are represented as objects of apprehension in A. V. iv. 37, in consequence of their propensity for women, whom, though themselves hairy like dogs or monkeys, they attempted to seduce by assuming an agreeable form (vv. 11, 12). The author of the hymn accordingly wishes that they may be emasculated (v. 7). [Professor Aufrecht thinks that *ṣiṅnadevāḥ*, being a *bahuvrīhi* compound, must mean "lascivious" (*ṣiṅgam devo yeshām*).] These Gandharvas are also described (vv. 8, 9) as *havir-adān*, "eaters of oblations." In A. V. xviii. 2, 28, the *Dasyus* (who must here be demons) are spoken of as mingling with the *Pitris* under the appearance of friends, though they had no right to partake in the oblations; and Agni is besought to drive them away from the sacrifice. Compare the disputes regarding the admission of Rudra to a share in sacrifices, Sanskrit Texts, iv. 203, 241, 312 ff.

vii. 13, 1; vii. 15, 10; vii. 104; viii. 23, 13; viii. 43, 26; x. 87; x. 187, 3, etc.) as destroying or chasing away from the sacrifices which they disturbed and polluted (vii. 104, 18; x. 87, 9, 11), may not have been inspired by the dread which the superstitious worshippers entertained of those goblins, so much as by the fact that they were rival objects of adoration for whom their votaries claimed a share in the oblations, whilst the adherents of the gods described their patrons as triumphing by their superior power over the hostile intruders, and their magical arts (vii. 104, 20, 21, 24; x. 87, 19).<sup>1</sup>

Is it possible to look upon Rudra as having been originally a demon worshipped by the aborigines as the lord of evil spirits, and subsequently introduced into the Aryan worship? And that he was then, as well as originally, supplicated to abstain from inflicting those evils of which he was regarded as the author, and flattered by being addressed as the great healer of those sufferings which had their origin in his malevolence? (See the reference made to the late Rev. Dr. Stevenson's paper on the "Ante-Brahmanical Religion of the Hindus," and to Lassen's *Ind. Antiq. in Sanskrit Texts*, iv. 344). His malignant, homicidal, and cattle-destroying character (R.V. iv. 3, 6; i. 114, 10, *Sanskrit Texts* iv. 339), assimilates him to the Rakshasas and Yâtudhânas (though it is true that they are not, as he is, specifically described as the inflictors of disease and death); and he is described in the *Ṣatarudriya* (Vâj. S. xvi. 8, 20), as having attendants (*satvânah*), while in A.V. xiii. 4, 27, all the Yâtus are said to obey his commands, and in *v.* 25 of the same hymn he is declared to be death, and immortality, vastness (*abhoam*), and a Rakshas (*sa eva mrtyuh so 'mrtam so 'bhvam sa rakshah*); and in xi. 2, 30 f., reverence is offered to his wide-mouthed howling dogs, and to his shouting, long-haired, devouring armies. It is true that in the 11th verse of the same hymn he is asked to drive away dogs and shrieking female (demons) with dis-

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, however, it is unnecessary to resort to this supposition in order to account for the dread and hatred of Rakshases which prevailed in the Vedic age. Such horror and hatred of demons appear to be natural to men in a certain stage of civilization. See Lecky's *History of the Rise and Progress of Rationalism*, i. 17 f.

hevelled hair ; that in A.V. iv. 28, 5, Bhava (a deity akin to, or identical with, Rudra) and Śarva are solicited to destroy the Yātudhāna who uses incantations (compare x. 1, 23) and makes men mad ; that in Vaj. 16, 5, Rudra is besought to drive away Yātudhāntis ; that in A.V. xi. 2, 28, Bhava is asked to be gracious to the sacrificer who has faith in the existence of the gods, and in v. 23 is said to destroy the contemners of the deities who offer them no sacrifice ;—all of these latter traits being common to him with the other Vedic gods. If, however, Rudra really represents a god or demon borrowed by the Āryas from the aborigines, it was to be expected that when adopted by the former he would be invested with the general characteristics which they assigned to their other deities, and that his connection with the evil spirits, of whom he was originally the chief, should as far as possible be kept out of sight and ultimately forgotten.

It is true that this theory leaves unexplained the connection of Rudra with the Maruts, in conformity with which he ought to be the god of tempests. (See the extract from Weber's Ind. Stud. in Sansk. Texts, iv. 334 ff.). But Rudra may be a composite character, and modified by the addition of heterogeneous elements in the course of ages.

There is no proof in the Rig-veda that the introduction of the worship of Rudra, even if it was more recent than that of the other Vedic gods, was met with any opposition. But we find there are hints that the adoration of the Rudras or Maruts was regarded as an innovation. These deities are described in many places (see my paper, "Contributions to a Knowledge of Vedic Theogony," etc., p. 110), as the sons of Rudra and Pṛṣṇi, and might, therefore, be supposed to have had some connection with Rudra. In one passage, too, (R.V. vii. 56, 17), a cattle-destroying and homicidal character (*gohā nṛhā vadho vaḥ*), akin to his, is ascribed to them. On the other hand, they are frequently represented as in close relation with Indra ; and in fact it is almost inevitable that these deities of the tempest should be associated with the Thunderer, who could scarcely fulfil his function as dispenser of rain without their co-operation. But there are some hymns,

viz., the 165th, the 170th, and the 171st, of the first *Maṇḍala*, in which Indra is introduced as regarding them with jealousy, and as resenting the worship which was paid to them. Thus in i. 160, 6 ff., he boasts that he is quite independent of their aid, while they reply that their assistance had been of importance to his success in battle. (Compare viii. 7, 31, and viii. 85, 7; iv. 18, 11). Again, in i. 170, Indra, who complains (*v.* 3) that the rishi Agastya was despising him and neglecting his worship, is besought (*v.* 2) to come to terms with the Maruts, and to associate with them at the sacrifice (*v.* 5); and in i. 171, 4, the rishi asks forgiveness from the Maruts, because, through dread of Indra, he had discontinued the sacrifice which he had begun in their honour. From all this it would seem as if the worshippers of Indra had entertained some objection to the adoration of the Maruts, and ascribed to the god the aversion to it which they themselves entertained. If there is any truth in the hypothesis that Rudra may have originally been a deity or demon who was introduced from the worship of the aborigines into that of their Aryan conquerors, the same may have been the case with the Rudras or Maruts, the sons of Rudra. Only, if this be the fact, these gods have been transformed in character in the course of their reception into the Indian pantheon, and rehabilitated by the ascription to them of different functions and milder attributes than those which belonged to them as deities, or demons of the aborigines.

The supposition which I have here made of the gradual transformation of Rākshasas into deities, is illustrated by the story told in the *Mahābhārata* of the Rākshasi Jarā, who is called a household goddess, and is represented as seeking to requite by benefits the worship which was paid to her. (See *Sanskrit Texts*, iv. 247).

I have already quoted from the *Atharva-veda* (*v.* 17) some evidence of the greater development which the Brahmanical pretensions had received subsequently to the age when the greater part of the *Rig-veda* was composed. Farther illustration of the same point may be found in the two hymns which follow the one just referred to, viz., A.V. v. 18, and

v. 19, which have been already translated in my former paper, "Miscellaneous Hymns from the Rig and Atharva Vedas," pp. 34 ff.). There is another section of the same Veda, xii. 5, in which curses similar to those in the last two hymns are fulminated against the oppressors of Brâhmanas. The following are specimens: "4. Prayer (*brâhmân*) is the chief (thing); the Brâhman is the lord (*adhipati*). 5. From the Kshatriya who takes the priest's cow, and oppresses the Brâhman, (6) there depart piety (*súnṛta*), valour, good fortune, (7) force, keenness, vigour, strength, speech, energy, prosperity, virtue, (8) prayer (*brahman*), royalty, kingdom, subjects, splendour, renown, lustre, wealth, (9) life, beauty, name, fame, inspiration and expiration, sight, hearing, (10) milk, juice, food, eating, righteousness, truth, oblation, sacrifice, offspring, and cattle;—(11) all these things depart from the Kshatriya who takes the priest's cow. 12. Terrible is the Brâhman's cow, filled with deadly poison. . . . 13. In her reside all dreadful things and all forms of death, (14) all cruel things, and all forms of homicide. 15. When taken, she binds in the fetters of death the oppressor of priests and despiser of the gods." A great deal more follows to the same effect, which it would be tiresome to quote.

I subjoin some further texts of the Atharva-veda in which reference is made to priests (*brâhmân*) and Brâhmanas, and as I suppose these two words had by this period become nearly synonymous, there will no longer be any sufficient reason for separating the passages in which they respectively occur.

iv. 6, 1. "The Brâhman was born the first, with ten heads and ten faces. He first drank the soma; he made poison powerless."<sup>1</sup>

In xix. 22, 21 (= xix. 23, 30) it is similarly said: "Powers are assembled, of which prayer (or sacred science, *brahman*) is the chief. Prayer in the beginning stretched out the sky.

<sup>1</sup> I may mention for the benefit of any Indian Student who may see this article that this hitherto undiscovered variety of Brâhman, who was never anything but a "sky-flower," created by the prolific imagination of the author of this verse, was not again heard of, as far as I am aware, till he was resuscitated as Râvana by the author of the Râmâyana and his followers, who describe the enemy of Râma and ravisher of Sitâ as a monstrous Brâhman with ten heads.

The *priest* (*brāhman*) was born the first of beings. Who, then, ought to vie with the *priest* ? ”

A superhuman power appears to be ascribed to the priest in the following passages,—unless by *priest* we are to understand Bṛhaspati :—

xix. 9, 12. “ May a prosperous journey be granted to me by prayer, Prajāpati, Dhâtri, the worlds, the Vedas, the seven rishis, the fires ; may Indra grant me felicity, may the *priest* (*brahman*) grant me felicity.”

xix. 43, 8. “ May the *priest* conduct me to the place whither the knowers of prayer (or of sacred science) go by initiation and austerity. May the *priest* impart to me sacred science.”

The wonderful powers of the Brahmachârin, or student of sacred science, are described in a hymn (A.V. xi. 5), parts of which are translated in my paper on the progress of the Vedic Religion, pp. 374 ff.

And yet with all this sacredness of his character the priest must be devoted to destruction, if, in the interest of an enemy, he was seeking by his ceremonies to effect the ruin of the worshipper.

v. 8, 5, “ May the *priest* whom these men have placed at their head (as a *purohita*) for our injury, fall under thy feet, o Indra ; I hurl him away to death” (compare A.V. vii. 70, 1 ff.).



ART. IX.—*On the Interpretation of the Veda.* BY J. MUIR, Esq.

I AM led to make some remarks on the subject of this paper by a passage in Mr. Cowell's preface to the fourth volume of the late Professor Wilson's translation of the Rig-veda, which appears to me unduly to depreciate the services which have already been rendered by those eminent scholars both in Germany and in England who have begun to apply the scientific processes of modern philology to the explanation of this ancient hymn-collection. Mr. Cowell admits (p. vi.),—

“As Vaidik studies progress, and more texts are published and studied, fresh light will be thrown on these records of the ancient world; and we may gradually attain a deeper insight into their meaning than the mediæval Hindus could possess, just as a modern scholar may understand Homer more thoroughly than the Byzantine scholiasts.”

But he goes on to say :—

“It is easy to depreciate native commentators, but it is not so easy to supersede them; and while I would by no means uphold Sâyaṇa as infallible, I confess that, in the present early stage of Vaidik studies in Europe, it seems to me the safer course to follow native tradition rather than to accept too readily the arbitrary conjectures which continental scholars so often hazard.”

Without considering it necessary to examine, or defend, all the explanations of particular words proposed by the foreign lexicographers alluded to by Mr. Cowell, I yet venture to think that those scholars have been perfectly justified in commencing at once the arduous task of expounding the Veda on the principles of interpretation which they have adopted and enunciated. This task is, no doubt—(as those who undertake it themselves confess)—one which will only be properly accomplished by the critical labours of many scholars, I may even say, of several successive generations. This is clear, if any proof were wanted, from the parallel case of the Old

Testament; on the interpretation of which Hebraists, after all the studies of many centuries, are yet far from having said their last word. But what are those texts, and additional materials and appliances which Mr. Cowell desires to have within reach before we are to suffer ourselves to distrust the authority of native commentators, and to make any efforts to attain that deeper insight into the meaning of the Vedas which he feels to be desirable? The Rig-veda, as every one admits, stands alone in its antiquity, and in the character of its contents, and must therefore, as regards its more peculiar and difficult portions, be interpreted mainly through itself. To apply in another sense the words of its commentator, it shines by its own light, and is self-demonstrating.<sup>1</sup> But the whole text of the Rig-veda Sanhitâ has been already published with the commentary on the first eight books. The texts of the Sâma-veda (which contains only a few verses which are not in the Rig-veda) and of the White Yajur-veda, have also been printed. It is true that only a part of the Black Yajur-veda has yet been given to the world, but there is no reason to suppose that it contains any very large amount of matter which will throw light on the real sense of the older hymns. Besides, we already possess in print the texts of the two most important Brâhmanas, and a portion of a third, so that any aid which can be derived from them is also at our command. But even if additional materials of greater value than are ever likely to be brought to light were still inaccessible, why should not competent scholars proceed at once, with the very considerable means which they already possess, to lay the foundation of a true interpretation of the Rig-veda, leaving the mistakes which they may now commit to be corrected by their own future researches, or by those of their successors, when further helps shall have become available? *Ars longa vita brevis.*

I propose in the course of this paper to show, by a selection of instances from the Nirukta, and from Sâyaṇa's commentary, the unsatisfactory character of the assistance which those works afford for explaining many of the most difficult

<sup>1</sup> See Müller's Rig-veda, vol. i., p. 4, lines 21ff.

passages of the hymns, and the consequent necessity which exists that all the other available resources of philology should be called into requisition to supply their deficiencies. But before proceeding to this part of my task, I wish to allow the representatives of the different schools of Vedic interpretation to state their own opinions on the subject under consideration.

Professor Wilson professes to have based his translation of the hymns of the Rig-veda on the commentary of Sâyaṇa Acharya, who lived in the fourteenth century of the Christian era, and on whose work he remarks that—

“Although the interpretation of Sâyaṇa may be occasionally questioned, he undoubtedly had a knowledge of his text far beyond the pretensions of any European scholar, and must have been in possession, either through his own learning or that of his assistants, of all the interpretations which had been perpetuated by traditional teaching from the earliest times.”—Introduction to Translation of Rig-veda Sanhitâ (published in 1850), vol. i., p. xlix.

And in a note to his translation of the 10th hymn of the 1st Book (vol. i., p. 25) he observes, on certain proposed renderings of Prof. Roth and M. Langlois, that “Sâyaṇa, no doubt, knew much better than either of the European interpreters what the expression intended.” In the introduction to his second vol., p. xix. (published in 1854), Prof. Wilson returns to the subject, and remarks, among other things, as follows :—

“With respect to unusual words, there are no doubt a great number employed in the Veda, and it is possible that the lexicographic significations given by the commentators may be sometimes questionable, sometimes contradictory; but from what other authority can a satisfactory interpretation be derived? It has been supposed that a careful collation of all the passages in which such words occur might lead to a consistent and indisputable interpretation; but this assumes that they have always been employed with precision and uniformity by the original authors, a conclusion that would scarcely be tenable even if the author were one individual, and utterly untenable when, as is the case with the Sûktas, the authors are indefinitely numerous: it is very improbable, therefore, that even such collation would remove all perplexity on this account,

although it might occasionally do so ; at any rate such a concordance has still to be established, and until it is effected we may be satisfied with the interpretation given us by the most distinguished native scholars, availing themselves of all the Vaidik learning that had preceded them," etc. etc.

Again in p. xxii. he says :—

"The more unmanageable difficulties are those which are utterly insuperable except by guess : they are not the perplexities of commission, but of omission : not the words or phrases that are given, but those that are left out : the constant recurrence of the abuse of ellipsis and metonymy, requiring not only words, but sometimes sentences, to be supplied by comment or conjecture, before any definite meaning can be given to the expressions that occur. . . . . It may not always require extraordinary ingenuity to hit upon what is intended by such elliptical expressions from correlative terms or context ; but such a mode of interpretation by European scholars, whose ordinary train of thinking runs in a very different channel from that of Indian scholarship, can scarcely claim equal authority with the latter," etc.

In regard to one of these elliptical texts, Prof. Wilson expresses himself very unhesitatingly when he says (p. xxiii.) :

"The original author alone could say with confidence that he meant '*riṣṛa*,' which thenceforward became the traditional and admitted explanation, and is, accordingly, so supplied by the scholiast."

In the following passage (p. xxv.), however, Prof. Wilson admits that it is doubtful whether these explanations had always actually come down from the age of the authors of the hymns :—

"How far his" (*i.e.* the author's) "lecture and amplification may have been preserved uncorrupted through successive generations, until they reached Yâska, and eventually Sâyaṇa, may be reasonably liable to question ; but that the explanations of these scholiasts were not arbitrary, but were such as had been established by the practice of preceding schools, and were generally current at their several eras, can admit of no doubt. Even if it were not so, their undeniable learning and their sympathy with the views and feelings of their countrymen, amongst whom were the original authors and expounders of the Sâktas, must give a weight to their authority which no European scholar, however profound his know-

ledge of Sanskrit or of the Vedas, can, in my opinion, be entitled to claim."

The following is Prof. Rudolph Roth's explanation of the system which he has pursued in the interpretation of Vedic words in the great Sanskrit and German Lexicon published by himself and Dr. Boehtlingk. I translate from the preface to the first vol. of the Lexicon published in 1855 :

"As the aids furnished to us by recent authors for the understanding of the Vedic texts are but scanty, we are the more dependent on the contributions made to their interpretation by Indian scholarship itself, *i. e.*, on the commentaries. And, in fact, so far as regards one of the branches of Vedic literature, the treatises on theology and worship, we can desire no better guides than these commentators, so exact in all respects, who follow their texts word by word, who, so long as even the semblance of a misconception might arise, are never weary of repeating what they have frequently said before, and who often appear as if they had been writing for us foreigners rather than for their own priestly alumni who had grown up in the midst of these conceptions and impressions. Here, where their task is to explain the widely-ramified, ingenious, and often far-fetched symbolism of their ceremonial, to elucidate the numberless minutiae on the observance of which in religious worship, eternal salvation or perdition depends, they are on their proper ground. For in the Brāhmaṇas there breathes the same spirit which works downward through the whole course of orthodox Indian theology, and in particular has pervaded those Brahmanical schools which some centuries ago were so zealously engaged in investigating and explaining the most prominent treatises of their ancient theological literature.

"The case, however, is quite different when the same men assume the task of interpreting the ancient collections of hymns. These texts are not the creations of theological speculation, nor have they sprung out of the soil of that rigidly prescribed, minute, liturgical ceremonial to which we have alluded, but they are for the most part productions of the oldest religious-lyrical poetry, the artistic cultivation of which was as little confined to particular families or castes as was the offering of daily sacrifice and prayer: in them a world of deities lives, and a worship is mirrored, which are essentially distinct from the system taught in the Brāhmaṇas; they speak a language divided from that of the Brāhmaṇas (which scarcely differs from the so-called classical Sanskrit) by a chasm as wide as that which separates the Latin of

the Salic hymns from that of M. Terentius Varro. Here, therefore, there were required not only quite different qualifications for interpretation, but also a freedom of judgment and a greater breadth of view and of historical intuitions. Freedom of judgment, however, was wanting to priestly learning among all the nations of heathen antiquity, whilst in India no one has ever had any conception of historical development.

“Thus the very qualities which have made those commentators excellent guides to an understanding of the theological treatises, render them unsuitable conductors on that far older and quite differently circumstanced domain. As the so-called classical Sanskrit was perfectly familiar to them, they sought its ordinary idiom in the Vedic hymns also. Since any difference in the ritual appeared to them inconceivable, and the present forms were believed to have existed from the beginning of the world, they fancied that the patriarchs of the Indian religion must have sacrificed in the very same manner. As the recognized mythological and cosmical systems of their own age appeared to them unassailable and revealed verities, they must necessarily (so the commentators thought) be discoverable in that centre-point of revelation, the hymns of the ancient Rishis, who had, indeed, lived in familiar intercourse with the gods, and possessed far higher wisdom than the succeeding generations.

“It is unnecessary to enlarge on this state of things, or to illustrate it by examples.<sup>1</sup> Nor will it be expected that we should here indicate at length the very considerable advantage which is derivable from the works of these interpreters, in spite of all their imperfections. The whole state of the case is neither difficult to recognise, nor singular in its kind. The sacred books of the ancient nations were, as a general rule, explained in the same manner by later generations according to the prevailing systems of theology and the higher or lower state of science; and in every case this interpretation was given out as being a tradition, that is, it claimed for itself an antiquity and a dignity of which it could not always boast with truth. Besides, to give an example, it has never occurred to any one to make our understanding of the Hebrew books of the Old Testament depend on the Talmud and the Rabbins, while there are

<sup>1</sup> [Though Prof. Róth does not consider it necessary to give instances in proof of his assertions, I may allude to the way in which Sāyaṇa considers the dwarf-incarnation of Viṣṇu to be referred to in R.V. i. 22 16 ff., and identifies the Rudra of the hymns with the husband of Pārvatī; see his note on R.V. i. 114, 6; and Sanskrit Texts, iv. 57 and 267. Yāska, however, and the older authors referred to by him, Nir. xii. 19, seem to know, or, at least, they say, nothing of the dwarf-incarnation.—J.M.]

not wanting scholars who hold it as the duty of a conscientious interpreter of the Veda to translate in conformity with Sâyaṇa, Maṭṭhara, etc. Consequently, we do not believe, like H. H. Wilson, that Sâyaṇa, for instance, understood the expressions of the Veda better than any European interpreter; but we think that a conscientious European interpreter may understand the Veda far better and more correctly than Sâyaṇa. We do not esteem it our first task to arrive at that understanding of the Veda which was current in India some centuries ago, but to search out the sense which the poets themselves have put into their hymns and utterances. Hence we are of opinion that the writings of Sâyaṇa and the other commentators do not form a rule for the interpreter, but are merely one of those helps of which the latter will avail himself for the execution of his undoubtedly difficult task, a task which is not to be accomplished at the first onset, or by any single individual. . . . .

“We have, therefore, endeavoured to follow the path prescribed by philology, to derive from the texts themselves the sense which they contain, by a juxtaposition of all the passages which are cognate in diction or contents;—a tedious and laborious path, in which neither the commentators nor the translators have preceded us. The double duty of exegete and lexicographer has thus devolved upon us. A simply etymological procedure, practised as it must be by those who seek to divine the sense of a word from the sole consideration of the passage before them, without regard to the ten or twenty other passages in which it recurs, cannot possibly lead to a correct result. Such a procedure, even if practised in conformity with philological principles, moves in far too wide logical circles to admit of its always hitting the right point, and gives rise to conceptions which are far too general and colourless, which, perhaps, indeed, include within them the firmly defined and sharply stamped meaning which the word contains, but fail to reproduce it in its peculiarity, and therefore in its power and beauty.

“Of this nature is the procedure which the commentators have adopted, and whereby they clearly demonstrate that they have not simultaneously mastered the entire vocabulary of these books, and at the same time that they have not handled the individual passages according to any fixed traditional interpretation. Hence it happens that they have assigned to a large number of nouns in the Veda the sense of *power, sacrifice, food, wisdom*, etc., and to many verbs, that of *going*,<sup>1</sup> *moving*, etc., when all these words are distinct from one

<sup>1</sup> [The Nighaṇṭu ii., 14, contains no less than 122 verbs, to which the sense of *going* is assigned.—J.M.]

another, have a definite value and a clear significance of their own, and in many cases have scarcely the most distant connection with those general conceptions. And it is only by the reinstatement of these misapprehended words in their lost rights that the Veda acquires a striking meaning, force, and richness of expression, and gives us an entirely different image of the world of thought in the earliest antiquity.

“No one who knows the difficulties of such an occupation will refuse us indulgence for our undoubtedly numerous mistakes, mistakes which, in the progress of the work, will become first and most distinctly manifest to ourselves.”

I have considered it proper to give this long extract from the preface to the St. Petersburg Lexicon, as though Prof. Roth is by no means the sole representative of the school of interpretation which he here defends, he has, by the compilation of the large portion of his Dictionary which has already appeared, done far more than any other Sanskritist has yet accomplished to carry his principles into practice.

Before adverting to the criticism which this passage has received from Prof. Goldstücker, I shall make a short quotation from Prof. Max Müller's preface to the 3rd vol. of his Rig-veda, which must be understood as laying down principles of interpretation similar to those which are advocated by Roth. After remarking that “the conviction seems to be growing more and more general, that without this (Sâyaṇa's) Commentary an accurate and scholarlike knowledge of the Veda could never have been obtained;” Müller goes on to say:—

“It would have been equally wrong, however, to consider Sâyaṇa's commentary as an infallible authority with regard to the interpretation of the Veda. Sâyaṇa gives the traditional, but not the original, sense of the Vaidik hymns. . . . If, therefore, we wish to know how the Brahmans, from the time of the composition of the first Brâhmaṇa to the present day, understood and interpreted the hymns of their ancient Rishis, we ought to translate them in strict accordance with Sâyaṇa's gloss. . . . Nor could it be said that the tradition of the Brahmans, which Sâyaṇa embodied in his work, after the lapse of at least three thousand years, had changed the whole character of the Rig-veda. By far the greater part of these hymns is so simple and straightforward, that there can be no doubt



that their original meaning was exactly the same as their traditional interpretation. But no religion, no poetry, no law, no language can resist the tear and wear of thirty centuries; and in the Veda, as in other works, handed down to us from a very remote antiquity, the sharp edges of primitive thought, the delicate features of a young language, the fresh hue of unconscious poetry, have been washed away by the successive waves of what we call *tradition*, whether we look upon it as a principle of growth or decay. To restore the primitive outlines of the Vaidik period of thought will be a work of great difficulty." pp. vii., f. He then goes on to quote a passage from a previous essay of his own, in which, after laying it down as a rule that, "not a corner of the Brâhmanas, the Sûtras, Yâska, and Sâyaṇa should be left unexplored before we venture to propose a rendering of our own," he, a little further on, proceeds thus: "To make such misunderstandings" (as are found in the Brâhmanas) "possible, we must assume a considerable interval between the composition of the hymns and the Brâhmanas. As the authors of the Brâhmanas were blinded by theology, the authors of the still later Niruktas were deceived by etymological fictions, and both conspired to mislead by their authority later and more sensible commentators, such as Sâyaṇa. Where Sâyaṇa has no authority to mislead him, his Commentary is at all events rational; but still his scholastic notions would never allow him to accept the free interpretation which a comparative study of these venerable documents forces upon the unprejudiced scholar. We must therefore discover ourselves the real vestiges of these ancient poets," etc.

I now come to Prof. Goldstücker's strictures (Pāṇini, pp. 241 ff.) on the principles of Vedic interpretation laid down by Prof. Roth. He thus expresses his opinion of the value, and of the method, of the Indian commentators:—

"Without the vast information these commentators have disclosed to us,—without their method of explaining the obscurest texts,—in one word, without their scholarship, we should still stand at the outer doors of Hindu antiquity. . . . The whole religious life of ancient India is based on tradition. . . . Tradition tells us, through the voice of the commentators, who re-echo the voice of their ancestors, how the nation, from immemorial times, understood the sacred texts, what inferences they drew from them, what influence they allowed them to exercise on their religious, philosophical, ethical,—in a word, on their national, development. . . . But it would be utterly erroneous to assume that a scholar like Sâyaṇa, or even a copy of him, like Mahidhara, contented himself with being

the mouthpiece of his predecessors or ancestors. They not only record the sense of the Vaidik texts and the sense of the words of which these texts consist, but they endeavour to show that the interpretations which they give are *consistent with the grammatical requirements of the language itself.*"

Prof. Goldstücker then quotes (pp. 245 f.) a portion of the remarks of Prof. Roth which I have cited above, and proceeds to controvert a statement, which he ascribes to that scholar, that Sâyaṇa and the other commentators give us "only that sense of the Veda which was current in India some centuries ago :"—

"A bolder statement," writes Prof. Goldstücker (p. 248), "I defy any scholar to have met with in any book. Sâyaṇa incessantly refers to Yâska. All his explanations show that he stands on the ground of the *oldest legends and traditions*,—of such traditions, moreover, as have no connection whatever with the creeds of those sects which represent the degenerated Hindu faith of his time."

Prof. Goldstücker then goes on (pp. 248 ff.) to argue that Prof. Roth, from imperfect acquaintance with the labours of the Indian commentators, is not entitled to depreciate their qualifications for the correct interpretation of the Veda, or to assert the superior fitness of European scholars for this task ; rejects as absurd the idea of the former not being able, as well as the latter, to bring together and compare all the passages in which particular words occur ; maintains that in the case of those words which occur but once in the Veda, and in regard to which, therefore, no comparison with other passages is possible, the guesses of Sâyaṇa are as good as those of his critic ; reiterates his opinion that Sâyaṇa's method of procedure was not purely etymological, but involved a reference to tradition ; and ridicules the assertion that a European scholar can understand the Veda more correctly than Sâyaṇa, or arrive more nearly at the meaning which the Rishis gave to their own hymns.

With reference to the strictures of Prof. Goldstücker on the assertion which he attributes to Prof. Roth, that Sâyaṇa and the other later commentators give "*only that sense of the Veda which was current in India some centuries ago,*"

I would remark that I find nothing in the passage quoted by Prof. Goldstücker, and by myself, from Roth, to show that the latter scholar, although he refuses to be bound by the interpretations of the mediæval scholiasts, and may regard these interpretations as having been in great part initiated by those scholiasts themselves, is therefore disposed to deny that they may in part have been founded on older materials handed down by former generations. Because a body of interpretation is spoken of as *existing* at a particular date, it does not follow that no part of it is admitted to have had an earlier origin. In fact, Prof. Roth cannot for a moment be imagined to have ignored the assistance which Sâyaṇa had derived from the older work of Yâska, the Nirukta, a book of which he himself had, only three years before the preface to his Dictionary was written, published an edition. From the concluding pages of that work (which appeared in 1852), I translate the following additional observations on the Indian commentators, which shew that in Roth's opinion Yâska, though much more ancient, and otherwise more advantageously situated, than Sâyaṇa, stood yet essentially on the same footing with the latter, being rather a learned exegete, working, in all cases of difficulty, by an etymological process, than the depositary of any certain interpretation of the hymns handed down by tradition from the period when they were intelligible to every one who recited them :—

“ In regard to the point how much or how little the Indian commentators from Yâska downwards contribute to the understanding of the Veda, a more correct judgment than that hitherto current will be formed as soon as some of them shall have become completely known. The interpretation of the Veda can lay upon itself no heavier fetters than by believing in the infallibility of these guides, or in the existence of a valuable tradition supposed to have been enjoyed by them. A superficial observation has already shown that their mode of interpretation is simply the reverse of a traditional one, that it is in fact a grammatical and etymological one, which has only so much in common with the traditional method, that it explains each verse, each line, each word by itself, without enquiring how far the results so obtained agree with those derived from other quarters.

“ If any person is disposed to find tradition in the fact that the

commentators coincide in having in their minds one tolerably simple scheme of conception, *e.g.*, in regard to the functions of a particular god, or even in regard to the entire contents of the hymns, which they unceasingly force into the texts, he may indeed call that tradition, but he will at the same time admit that this poverty of intuition is nothing which we should very much covet. This scheme embraces the scholastic conceptions, which had become fixed at an early period, but yet not before the date when the Vedic hymns had already become the object of a purely learned study, and when the religious ideas and social circumstances on which they are based had for a long time lost their vitality. In spite of all the irregularities of their imaginative faculty, the Indians have at all times had a longing for arrangement, classification, systematizing, and have through these, in themselves praiseworthy, tendencies very frequently given rise to the greatest confusion. The Vedic literature, too, affords numerous proofs of this.

“The same remarks apply, in all essential points, to Yāska, as to Sāyaṇa, or any other of the later writers. Yāska, too, is a learned interpreter, who works with the materials which science had collected before his age; but he has a prodigious advantage in point of time before those compilers of detailed, continuous commentaries, and belongs to a quite different literary period, when Sanskrit still existed in a process of natural growth. And his work gains for us a greater importance from the fact that it is indeed the only one of its kind which has been preserved. Even those commentators who lived five centuries and more before us know of no other comparable to it in rank and antiquity, and are consequently unwearied in their appeals to Yāska’s authority. The half of the Nirukta might be restored out of Sāyaṇa’s Commentary on the Rig-veda.”

Prof. Roth then goes on to give some account of the different schools of interpretation, as well as the names of individual teachers, anterior to Yāska (pp. 220 ff.).

I will add here the opinion of one other eminent scholar, Prof. Benfey, on the points at issue between Profs. Roth and Goldstücker. I quote at second hand from the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1858, p. 1608 f., as extracted by Prof. Weber at the end of his reply to Prof. Goldstücker’s Pāṇini, in the *Indische Studien*, v. 174 f. :—

“Every one who has carefully studied the Indian interpretations is aware that absolutely no continuous tradition, extending from the composition of the Vedas to their explanation by Indian scholars,

can be assumed; that, on the contrary, between the genuine poetic remains of Vedic antiquity and their interpretations a long-continued break in tradition must have intervened, out of which at most the comprehension of some particulars may have been rescued and handed down to later times by means of liturgical usages and words, formulæ, and perhaps, also, poems connected therewith. Besides these remains of tradition, which must be estimated as very scanty, the interpreters of the Veda had, in the main, scarcely any other helps than those which, for the most part, are still at our command, the usage of the classical speech, and the grammatical and etymological-lexical investigation of words. At the utmost, they found some aid in materials preserved in local dialects; but this advantage is almost entirely outweighed by the comparison which we are able to institute with the Zend, and that which we can make (though here we must of course proceed with caution and prudence) with the other languages cognate to the Sanskrit,—a comparison which has already supplied so many helps to a clearer understanding of the Vedas. But quite irrespectively of all particular aids, the Indian method of interpretation becomes in its whole essence an entirely false one, owing to the prejudice with which it chooses to conceive the ancient circumstances and ideas which have become quite strange to it, from its own religious stand-point, so many centuries more recent; whilst, on the other hand, an advantage for the comprehension of the whole is secured to us by the acquaintance (drawn from analogous relations) with the life, the conceptions, the wants, of ancient peoples and popular songs, which we possess,—an advantage which, even if the Indians owed more details than they actually do owe, to tradition, would not be eclipsed by their interpretation."

It appears, therefore, that the views of Prof. Roth, in regard to the proper principles of Vedic interpretation, are shared by Professors Müller, Weber, and Benfey; whilst even my learned friend, Prof. Goldstücker himself, cannot be altogether acquitted (as I shall hereafter show) of a certain heretical tendency to deviate in practice from the interpretations of Sâyaṇa,—a tendency which may, perhaps, as his Dictionary advances, become by and by developed into a more pronounced heterodoxy.

I now proceed to inquire, in some detail, whether any considerable traces exist in ancient Indian literature of a tradition of the sense of the Vedic hymns handed continuously down from the earliest period. If any such

traces are extant, they must be found primarily in the Brâhmanas, or the Âraṇyakas, or in Yâska. Do these works then contain any interpretations, at once positive and satisfactory, of any considerable portion of the hymns? I begin with the oldest works,—the Brâhmanas. In a quotation which I have made above from Prof. Max Müller, he states his opinion that “we must assume a considerable interval between the composition of the hymns and the Brâhmanas.” There is no doubt that this is true. The language and the contents of these two classes of works are alike widely different. Referring to the same author’s “History of Ancient Indian Literature” for a complete account of the Brâhmanas, I will merely quote from it a few sentences, to show how little in his estimation these books are likely to aid us in understanding the hymns:—

“There is throughout the Brâhmanas,” he writes, p. 432, “such a complete misunderstanding of the original intention of the Vedic hymns, that we can hardly understand how such an estrangement could have taken place, unless there had been at some time or other a sudden and violent break in the chain of tradition. The authors of the Brâhmanas evidently imagined that those ancient hymns were written simply for the sake of their sacrifices, and whatever interpretation they thought fit to assign to those acts, the same, they supposed, had to be borne out by the hymns. This idea has vitiated the whole system of Indian exegesis. . . . Not only was the true nature of the gods, as conceived by the early poets, completely lost sight of, but new gods were actually created out of words which were never intended to be names of divine beings.”

Müller goes on, p. 433, to illustrate this by referring to the fact that a god, Ka (Who), was invented out of certain interrogative verses of the Rig-veda in which the worshipper asks to *whom* he shall address his worship. Thus, for example, the Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa, vii. 4, 1, 19, after quoting the first verse of R.V. x. 121, ending with “to what god shall we offer our oblation?” says, “Ka (Who) is Prajâpati; to him let us offer our oblation.”<sup>1</sup> Müller then refers to the taste-

<sup>1</sup> Compare “Sanskrit Texts,” iv. 18, note.

less explanation given in a Brâhmana of the epithet "golden-handed" applied to the Sun in the hymns, that the Sun had lost his hand, and had got instead one of gold.<sup>1</sup> The Śatapatha Brâhmana, xiii. 6, 1, 2, understands, very improbably, the Virâj alluded to in Rig-veda, x. 90, 5 ("From him (Purusha) was born Virâj, and from Virâj, Purusha"), to be the metre of that name, and declares that Purusha, the sacrifice, was begotten by Purusha on Virâj. Again, Rig-veda, x. 61, 7, which apparently refers in a figurative manner to some atmospheric phenomenon, is explained in Śatapatha Brâhmana, i. 7, 4, 1, as referring to a legend about Prajâpati having literally had sexual intercourse with his own daughter, so as to occasion scandal and indignation among the gods. The same Brâhmana contains (xi. 5, 1, 1 ff.) the legend of Purûravas and Urvaṣî, in the course of which five verses of the 95th hymn of the 10th book of the R.V. are introduced as part of the conversation which passed between the hero and the nymph, but it does not give any detailed explanation of these verses, and it does not quote at all the verses which make up the rest of the hymn, and which are generally far more difficult to interpret. Again, in the Aitareya Brâhmana vii. 13-18, where the story of Śunahṣepa is told, a large number of verses, composing the 24th to the 30th hymns of the first book of the R.V., and a few from the fourth and fifth books, are referred to as having been uttered by the hero of the legend, but are not even quoted at length, much less explained. (See Dr. Haug's Ait. Br., vol. ii. pp. 466 ff.) There is indeed in Ait. Br. viii. 26 (see Haug, vol. ii. pp. 530 ff.) an interpretation given of three verses of R.V. iv. 50 (vv. 7-9), but this, whatever its value otherwise may be, is but an inconsiderable contribution to the exposition of the hymns. Ś. P. Br. x. 5, 3, 1, contains a paraphrase of R.V. x. 129, 1, which is not without value. (See my former article on the "Progress of the Vedic Religion," p. 346 f.) Some explanation of R.V. i. 25, 10, also is given in Ś. P. Br. v. 4, 4, 5. But as far as I have looked into the Brâhmanas,

<sup>1</sup> See "Contributions to a Knowledge of Vedic Theogony," etc. in this Journal, for 1864, p. 116, note.

I have seen but very little which can be of much service in throwing light on the original sense of the hymns.

I observe, indeed, that Professor Müller thus expresses himself (*Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 153) in regard to the use which he thinks may be made of the *Brâhmanas*, etc., for the purpose referred to :—

“For explanations of old Vedic words, for etymologies and synonymous expressions, the *Brâhmanas* contain very rich materials. . . . Whole verses and hymns are shortly explained there; and the *Âranyakas* and *Upanishads*, if included, would furnish richer sources for Vedic etymologies than even the *Nirukta* itself. The beginning of the *Aitareya Âranyaka* is in fact a commentary on the beginning of the *Rig-veda*; and if all the passages of the *Brâhmanas* were collected where one word is explained by another with which it is joined merely by the particle *vai*,<sup>1</sup> they would even now give a rich harvest for a new *Nirukta*.”

This passage, however, must be taken in connection with those which have been quoted above from the same writer. I am unable to refer to the *Aitareya Âranyaka* to which he alludes. But judging from the views which he has expressed elsewhere, I conclude that he does not expect, as the result of the researches which he recommends (even if pushed to the utmost extent) into all the existing remains of Indian literature exterior to the hymns themselves, any very extensive or material assistance towards the restoration of the original sense of the latter. But whatever might be the issue of the course of investigation thus suggested, it is at least presupposed in Prof. Müller's recommendation that this process of carefully searching the *Brâhmanas* and *Âranyakas* for interpretations of obsolete Vedic words and phrases has not yet been pursued to a sufficient extent by any of the Indian etymologists or commentators. But if this be true—if any considerable amount of important materials suitable to their purpose has been neglected by *Yâska* or *Sâyana*—it is clear that we cannot look to either of those writers as our final or sufficient authority.

<sup>1</sup> [As, for instance, in the cases *vipo vai pastyâh* (*Ś. P. Br. v. 4, 4, 5*) *Prājapatir vai Kâh*, *Ś. P. Br. vii. 4, 1, 19*.—J.M].



I now come to the Nighaṅṭus, and the Nirukta of Yāska. The Nighaṅṭus<sup>1</sup> form a vocabulary of terms, many of which are obsolete. The first three sections are almost entirely made up of lists of so-called synonymes, varying in number from two to one hundred and twenty-two, of nouns or verbs of well-known signification, such as *prthivi*, "earth," *hiranya*, "gold," *antariksha*, "atmosphere," *jval*, "to burn," *gam*, "to go." The remaining two sections consist of mere lists of words of different significations, which are left unexplained. There does not seem to be any reason to doubt that in the first three sections of this work the general sense of many obsolete words has been preserved by tradition; though as the terms declared to be synonymous are often very numerous, it is clear from the nature of the case, as Prof. Roth observes (see above), that the specific sense, and particular shade of meaning, represented by each, must be often left in the dark. And an examination of the lists puts this beyond a doubt. Thus under the synonymes of *vāch*, "speech," we find such words as *śloka*, *nivid*, *ṛk*, *gāthā*, *anushṭup*, words denoting different kinds of verses or compositions, which can never have been employed as simple equivalents of speech in the abstract. The value of these lists therefore for the purpose of defining the precise signification of words is very limited. And even if the first three sections were of more value than they are in this respect, they are far from embracing the whole of the difficult words in the Veda. The fourth section contains two hundred and seventy-eight words which are not explained at all, though there are, no doubt, a good many among them which do not require any explanation, as their sense is notorious. The Nirukta of Yāska is a sort of commentary on the Nighaṅṭus. It begins with these words: "A record has been composed, which we have to explain. It is called the Nighaṅṭus." The introduction to the work (i. 1—ii. 4) contains the outlines of a grammatical system, and an ex-

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Roth considers this vocabulary to be older than Yāska. (Introduction to Nirukta, p. xii. f.). Müller, too, (Anc. Ind. Lit. 154), says, "probably these lists existed in his family long before his time."

planation of the advantages, objects, principles and methods of exegesis. This is followed (ii. 5—iii. 22) by remarks suggested by the lists of explained synonymes composing the first three sections of the Nighaṅṭus. In the succeeding chapters (iv.—vi.) of the Nirukta, the unexplained terms in the fourth section of the Nighaṅṭus are interpreted; whilst in the last six books the list of words, chiefly names of deities, contained in the fifth section of the Nighaṅṭus, is elucidated.<sup>1</sup> The thirteenth and fourteenth chapters, styled Nirukta-parīśiṣṭa, appear to be the work of a later writer.

The Nirukta makes frequent reference to the Brāhmanas, adduces various legends, such as those about Devāpi (xi. 10) and Viṣvāmītra (ii. 24), and also alludes to various schools of Vedic interpretation which existed anterior to the time of its author, such as the Nairuktas or etymologists, the Aitihāsikas or legendary writers, and the Yājñikas or ritualists.<sup>2</sup> In the course of his work, Yāska supplies some specimens of the mode of explaining the hymns adopted by these different classes of expositors, from which it would appear that each school interpreted from its own special point of view, and according to its own literary, moral, or professional tendencies and prepossessions. Thus we are told (Nirukta, xi. 29 and 31) that the Nairuktas understood Anumati, Rākā, Sinivālī, and Kuhū to be goddesses, while the Yājñikas took them for the new and full moons. On one point the greatest diversity of opinion prevailed. The gods called Aṣvins were a great enigma. The Nirukta (xii. 1) gives the following answers to the question who they were: “ ‘Heaven and Earth,’ say some; ‘Day and Night,’ say others; ‘the Sun and Moon,’ say others; ‘two kings, performers of the holy acts,’ say the Aitihāsikas.”<sup>3</sup> In his explanation of R.V. i. 164, 32, Yāska

<sup>1</sup> See all this more fully stated in Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> See Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 220 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Sāyaṇa also mentions some of these different schools of interpreters in different parts of his commentary. Thus on R.V. i. 64, 8, he says: *Ṛṣhatyaḥ*, the Maruts' instruments of conveyance, are does marked with white spots according to the Aitihāsikas, and a line of variously coloured clouds according to the Nairuktas." Again, he tells us that writers of the former class understood R.V. i. 174, 2, of the cities belonging to Vṛtra's Auras, whilst those of the latter class

(ii. 8) refers to the Parivrâjakas (ascetic mendicants) as attributing one sense to the close of that verse, while the Nairuktas assigned a different one.<sup>1</sup> It is thus clear that from the earliest period there were diversities of opinion in regard to the sense of the hymns. As we come down to later times, when speculation had been further developed, we find some new varieties of interpretation. Thus in the Nirukta-pariśiṣṭa, i. 9, the "four defined grades or stages of speech" referred to in R.V. i. 164, 45, are said to be diversely explained, "by the Rishis as meaning the four mystic words *om*, *bhûh*, *bhuvah*, *svah*; by the grammarians as denoting nouns, verbs, prepositions, and particles; by the ritualists as referring to the hymns, the liturgical precepts, the Brâhmanas, and the ordinary language; by the etymologists as designating the Rik, the Yajush, the Sâman texts, and the current language; whilst by others they are thought to signify the languages of serpents, birds, reptiles, and the vernacular; and the spiritualists (*âtmapravâddâh*) understand them of the modes of speech in beasts, musical instruments (?), wild animals, and soul."

Yâska gives also the names of no less than seventeen interpreters who had preceded him,<sup>2</sup> and whose explanations of the Veda are often conflicting. Thus we are informed (Nir. iii. 8) that some understood the "five peoples" (*panchajanâh*) mentioned in R.V. x. 53, 4, to be the Gandharvas, Pitris, gods, Asuras, and Rakshases; whilst Aupamanyana took them for the four castes and the Nishâdas.<sup>3</sup> From Nir. iv. 3, it appears that while Yâska himself understood the word *ṣitâma* which occurs

understood it of the clouds. In like manner, on viii. 66, 10, he gives us two separate interpretations of that verse, the first that of the Nairuktas, who expounded it of natural phenomena, of showers brought by the sun (represented by Vishnu), and the second that of the Aithâsikas, who explained it mythologically in conformity with a story drawn from the Brâhmana of the Charakas.

<sup>1</sup> The ascetics, influenced, perhaps, by their own feelings of estrangement from family life, gave to the words in question the meaning "The father of many children suffers distress." The Etymologists understood the same clause of the fructifying effects of rain.

<sup>2</sup> Roth, Illustrations, pp. 221 f.

<sup>3</sup> In Nir. iii. 15, several different derivations of the word *vidhavâ*, "widow," are given. It is said to be either = *vidhâtrkâ*, "without a supporter;" or, according to Charmaṣiras (one of Yâska's predecessors), to come from *vidhavana* or *vidhâvana*; or to be derived from *vi* + *dhava*, "without a man."

in the Vâjasaneyi Sanhitâ, xxi. 43, of the *shoulder* of the sacrificial victim, Śâkapûni took it for the *female organ*, Taitiki for the *liver*, and Gâlava for the *fat*. Again, Nir. vi. 13, tells us that Aurnabhâva understood the word *Nâsatyau* (an epithet of the Aṣvins) to mean "true, not false" (*satyau, na asatyau*; Âgrâyaṇa took it to mean "leaders of truth" *satyasya pranetârau*); whilst Yâska himself suggests that it may signify "nose-born" *nâsikâ-prabhavau*). From Nir. vii. 23, it appears that whilst the early ritualists held the deity lauded in R.V. i. 59, 6, to be the Sun, Śâkapûni on the contrary held that it was Agni Vaiṣvânara. Further, in Nir. viii. 2, we are informed that Kraushtuki held Draviṇodas to mean Indra, but Śâkapûni considered the term to denote Agni. Kâtthakya was of opinion that the word *idhma* signified merely the wood employed in sacrifice, while Śâkapûni thought it stood for Agni (Nir. viii. 4, 5). So, again, Kâtthakya understood Narâṣansa to designate "sacrifice," but Śâkapûni took it for a name of Agni (*ibid.* 6); Kâtthakya explained the "divine doors" (R.V. x. 110, 5), of the house-doors at sacrifice, but Śâkapûni took them to stand for Agni (*ibid.* 10); the former interpreter held Vanaspati to be the sacrificial post, but Śâkapûni asserted that it was a name of Agni (*ibid.* 17). In like manner, Yâska's predecessors were not agreed as to what was meant by Vishṇu's three steps mentioned in R.V. i. 22, 17, Śâkapûni maintaining that they were planted on the earth, the atmosphere, and the sky respectively; and Aurnabhâva that it was the hill over which the sun rises, the meridian, and the hill where he sets, that were the localities referred to. Finally, the etymologists declared that the word *Sâdhya*s in R.V. x. 90, 16, denoted the gods residing in the sky, whilst according to a legend (*âkhyâna*) it represented a former age of the gods (*pûrvam deva-yugam*: comp. R.V. x. 72, 2, 3).

There was one of Yâska's predecessors who had actually the audacity to assert that the science of Vedic exposition was useless, as the Vedic hymns and formulæ were obscure, unmeaning, or mutually contradictory. As instances of obscurity, he cites the texts in which the words *amyak* (R.V.

i. 169, 3), *yâdr̥ṣmin* (R. V. v. 44, 8), *jârayâyi* (R. V. vi. 12, 4), and *kâṇukâ* (R. V. viii. 66, 4), occur. In regard to this charge of obscurity, Yâska replies that it is not the fault of the poet that the blind man does not see it; it is the man's fault.<sup>1</sup> It would appear from the objections of this rationalist, that in his day many learned men had great difficulties in regard to the sense of different passages of the hymns. It is true indeed that Durgâchârya, the commentator on the Nirukta, seems to consider Kautsa a mere man of straw, into whose mouth these objections are dramatically put for the sake of their being refuted;<sup>2</sup> but I do not see why Kautsa should be regarded as a fictitious personage any more than any of the other predecessors of Yâska who are named in the Nirukta. And even if he were admitted to be so, it may be assumed as certain that Yâska, an orthodox believer, would never have alluded to sceptical doubts of this description unless they had been previously started by some of his predecessors, and had been commonly current in his time. We shall see further on how he succeeds in the attempt he makes to explain some of the texts which Kautsa charges with obscurity.

The question how far Yâska can be regarded as the depository of a real and satisfactory Vedic tradition has been thus already, in part, answered, and in an unfavourable sense, by the account I have given of the differences of opinion existing among his predecessors. I now proceed to enquire further how far his own language and method of interpretation show him to have been walking in the clear light of day, or groping in the dark, and merely guessing at the sense of the hymns.

It is extremely unlikely that, with all the appliances which it appears he had at his command in the works of his predecessors, which he quotes, and probably others besides, Yâska should not have been able to determine the sense of many words which later scholars like Sâyana had no means of dis-

<sup>1</sup> See Nirukta, i. 16 f.; Roth's Illustrations, pp. 11 f.; and "Sanskrit Texts," ii. 181 ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Sanskrit Texts," ii. 184.

covering. According to Prof. Max Müller,<sup>1</sup> Yāska lived in the fourth century before our era. Prof. Goldstücker holds that he was anterior to Pāṇini, whose date he considers to be involved in impenetrable obscurity, and yet, he thinks, must have been anterior to that of Buddha, whose death again he speaks of as the remotest date of Hindu antiquity which can be called a real date,<sup>2</sup> agreeing apparently with Lassen in placing it in 543 B.C.,<sup>3</sup> whilst Müller refers it to 477 B.C. Yāska was thus some two thousand years older than Śāyaṇa. We may therefore often assume, that when he affirms positively that a word unknown to later Sanskrit has such and such a meaning, even though he attaches to it an etymology, and when the sense suits the passage, he had grounds for his assertion. Thus, when he says (iv. 15) that *tugvan* means a "ford," or (v. 22) *svaghnin*, a "gambler," or (vi. 26) that *bekandāta* signifies a "usurer," there is no reason to dispute his affirmation. But whenever he seems to draw the meaning from the etymology, and his interpretation does not yield a good sense, we must doubt whether his opinion rested on any trustworthy tradition. And again, when he gives two or more alternative or optional explanations of the same word, all apparently founded on mere etymology, we are justified in supposing that he had no earlier authority for his guide, and that his renderings are simply conjectural. Many instances, I believe, can be given where the phenomenon last described occurs; and I shall proceed to bring forward some specimens. There are also cases in which Yāska is positive as to the meaning he assigns, but in which the sense of the passage, or a collation of other texts, justifies us in departing from his rendering. In all these passages I shall at the same time give the interpretation proposed by Śāyaṇa, if it be within my reach. And as it will sometimes be found that Śāyaṇa departs from Yāska, we shall, in such instances, either have to conclude that the older interpreter is wrong—in which event ancient tradition must in that particular instance

· <sup>1</sup> "Last Results of Sanskrit Researches" in "Bunsen's Christianity and Man-kind," vol. iii. p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> Pāṇini, pp. 225, 227.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 231, 233.

be of no value—or that Sâyaṇa does not there follow tradition at all. In such cases either the value of the supposed tradition, or its faithful reproduction by the later commentator, will be disproved.

The following are specimens of these different cases, together with some instances of words which do not occur in the Nirukta, but in which Sâyaṇa gives a variety of inconsistent explanations :—

1. *Atharyu* is an epithet of Agni. Yâska (v. 10) renders it by *atanavantam*, “going” or “moving.” Sâyaṇa, in R.V. vii. 1, 1, explains it by *âgamyam atanavantam vâ*, i.e., either “to be gone to, approached,” or “going,” “moving.”<sup>1</sup> It thus appears that he does not implicitly follow Yâska, and was not sure of the sense. Prof. Goldstücker, s.v., renders it “moving constantly.” Prof. Roth, s.v., thinks it means “having sharp points like a lance.”

2. *Anânuda* is an adjective not found in the Nirukta, but in different passages of the R.V. On i. 53, 8, Sâyaṇa explains it as *anuchara-rahitaḥ*, “without followers;” on ii. 21, 4, and ii. 23, 11, as “one after whom no other gives,” i.e., “unequaled in giving.” On this Prof. Goldstücker remarks : “Both meanings of the word, as given according to the Comm., seem doubtful;” but he proposes no other. Roth, s.v., translates it by “unyielding.”

(1) *Anushvadhām*, (2) *anu svadhām*, (3) *svadhām anu*, (4) *svadhayâ*, (5) *svadhâbhiḥ*, (6) *svadhâvat*. The first of these words occurs in various texts of the R.V., one of which, iii. 47, 1, is quoted in Nir. iv. 8, where the word is explained by *anv annam*, “after food.” Prof. Goldstücker, s.v., explains it thus: 1, “in consequence of (partaking of) food, through food, viz., soma, etc.; 2, food for food, to every food (as clarified butter); 3, after every oblation.” The sixth word, *svadhâvat*, occurs in two places in the Nirukta, viz., in x. 6 (where R.V. vii. 46, 1, is quoted), when it is an epithet, in the dative, of Rudra; and in xii. 17 (where R.V. vi. 58, 1, is quoted), when it is an epithet, in the vocative, of Pûshan. In both places the

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Wilson has misunderstood the latter of the two words when he translates it, “not spreading or dispersing.” See his note *in loco*.

word is rendered by *annavat*, "having food." *Anushcadham* is found in R.V. i. 81, 4; ii. 3, 11; iii. 47, 1.<sup>1</sup> In the first of these texts Sâyaṇa explains it to mean "during the drinking of food in the shape of soma;" in the second by "at every oblation" (*prati haviḥ*); and in the third by "followed by," or "following," the oblations (*savantya-puroḍāṣḍi-rūpenānnenānugatam* . . . . . *svadhām anugamiya varttamānam*). The words *anushcadham* are found separately in R.V. i. 33, 11; viii. 77, 5; and in the reverse order *svadhām anu* in i. 6, 4, and viii. 20, 7.<sup>2</sup> In the first of these texts Sâyaṇa renders the words by "the waters flowed with reference to Indra's food in the shape of rice," etc. (*annaṃ vrthy-ādi-rūpam anulakṣhya*); in the second (viii. 77, 5), by "after our food or water;" in the third (i. 6, 4), by "with reference to the food or water which was about to be produced;"<sup>3</sup> and in the fourth (viii. 20, 7), by "with reference to food having the character of an oblation." *Scadhayā* is found in R.V. i. 64, 4, applied to the Maruts, where it is correctly rendered by Sâyaṇa *svaktyena balena*, "by their own strength." In iv. 13, 5, too, *kayā svadhayā* is explained as = *kena balena*, "by what strength?" It also occurs in vii. 78, 4; ix. 71, 8; x. 27, 19; x. 88, 1; x. 129, 2. In the first of these passages the word is rendered by *annena*, "by food."<sup>4</sup> Surely there can be little doubt that here it means "by its own power," "spontaneously." To say, "she (Ushas) ascended her car yoked by food,"<sup>5</sup> which her well-yoked horses

<sup>1</sup> It also occurs in ix. 72, 5; but I have no access to Sâyaṇa's Comm. on that passage.

<sup>2</sup> See also R.V. i. 165, 5; vii. 56, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Sâyaṇa here gives the following derivation of *svadhā*, viz.: *svam lokam dadhāti pūshnāti iti svadhā*. This word has three senses assigned to it in the Nighantus, viz. "water" (i. 12), "food" (ii. 7), and "heaven and earth" in the dual (iii. 30).

<sup>4</sup> The same general sense is assigned in i. 154, 4; v. 34, 1; vii. 47, 3. See also Sâyaṇa on i. 164, 38.

<sup>5</sup> I am not aware that in any passage the chariots or horses of the gods are said to be yoked by food, as denoted by any word which certainly bears that sense. The horses of Indra are, indeed, represented as being yoked by prayer (*brahma-yuj*) in R.V. i. 177, 2; iii. 35, 4; viii. 1, 24; viii. 2, 27; viii. 2, 17; and as being yoked by a hymn (*vachō-yuj*) in viii. 45, 39; but in these cases, generally, at least, the god is supposed to yoke his car in consequence of this invitation to come and partake of the oblation, or libation, and not after partaking of it. It is true that the word *brahman* (neuter) has sometimes the sense of "food" or "oblation" ascribed to it, and that in two of the above texts, viii. 1, 24, and viii. 2, 27, one of the optional senses assigned by Sâyaṇa to *brahma-yuj* is, "yoked by our oblation," two other senses, "yoked by the lord, Indra," and "yoked by our



bring hither," makes but an indifferent sense, whilst it would yield an appropriate poetical meaning to say that she ascended her car yoked "by its own inherent power." Compare R.V. iv. 26, 4, where the phrase *achakrayâ svadhayâ* is rendered by Sâyaṇa a "wheel-less car," the word *svadhâ* having here, he says, the sense of chariot (*atra svadhâ-ṣabdo ratha-vâchî*); and for proof he refers to R.V. x. 27, 19,<sup>1</sup> where we have the words *achakrayâ svadhayâ varttamânam*, etc., "I beheld the troop borne from afar, moving by a wheel-less inherent power," which is no doubt the proper rendering in iv. 26, 4, also. It is clear that *svadhâ* could not have the sense of chariot in vii. 78, 4, above cited, as it would be absurd to speak of the *car (ratha)* of Ushas being yoked by a *car (svadhâ)*. Having no access to Sâyaṇa's comment on x. 27, 19, I am not aware how he translates it; but he probably adheres to the rendering given on iv. 26, 4, as it would make nonsense to say, "moving by wheel-less food."<sup>2</sup> As regards R.V. x. 129, 2, 5, I gather from Mr. Colebrooke's translation (Misc. Essays, i. 34), than even Sâyaṇa abandons the sense of food as appropriate in that hymn, since *svadhâ* is there rendered by "her who is sustained within him." It seems, however, better to render it in verse 2 by "through its inherent power," and in v. 5, by "a self-supporting principle." The sense, "by their own power" seems appropriate in x. 88, 1, though here too it is rendered by "food," Nir. vii. 25. *Svadhâbhiḥ* (*loc. pl.*) is explained in i. 95, 4, and i. 164, 30, by "sacrificial food;" in v. 60, 4, by "waters;" in vii. 104, 9, by "forces;" and in viii. 10, 4, by "praises which are the cause of strength." I come lastly to *svadhâvat*, which I find in R.V. v. 3, 2; vi. 58, 1; vii. 20, 1; vii. 37, 2; vii. 46, 1; vii. 86, 5, and elsewhere. In vi. 58, 1, and vii. 46, 1, as we have already seen, the word is rendered by Yâska, "having food;" and in

hymn," being proposed in the former case, and one alternative sense, "yoked by our hymn," being proposed in the latter. In i. 177, 2; iii. 35, 4; and viii. 17, 2, however, "yoked by our hymn" (*mantra*) is the only rendering given. *Vachoyuj* in viii. 45, 39, is explained, "yoked by our hymn."

<sup>1</sup> This and some other instances show that Sâyaṇa did occasionally resort to parallel passages for the elucidation of the text under his consideration, but he did not carry the practice far enough.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *achakrobhiḥ* in R.V. v. 42, 10, and *nichakrayâ* in viii. 7, 29.

these passages (as well as in vii. 31, 7; vii. 88, 5), he is followed by Sāyana, who, again, in i. 95, 4; v. 3, 2, translates it by "having sacrificial food." In vi. 21, 3; vii. 20, 1; vii. 37, 2; and vii. 86, 4, however, Sāyana departs from Yāska, and from his own practice elsewhere, in rendering *svadhāvat* by *balavat* or *tejasvin*, "strong," or "vigorous." Prof. Roth has treated of *anushvadhā*, etc., in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 40 f.; and in his Lexicon he translates the word in question by "willingly," "spontaneously," "gladly." In his new translation of the R. V., in the "Orient und Occident," Prof. Benfey renders *svadhām anu*, *anu svadhām*, and *anushvadhā*, in i. 6, 4; i. 33, 11; and i. 81, 4, in a similar manner. This interpretation, in fact, will probably be found to suit nearly all, if not the whole, of the texts in which the phrase is found.

*Aprāyu* is explained in Nir. iv. 19, where R. V. i. 89, 1, is quoted, as meaning in that passage (where it is an epithet of the gods) *apramādyantaḥ*, "not careless." Sāyana, in his comment on the same text, declares it to be equivalent to *apragachhantaḥ svaktyam rakshitavyam aparityajyantaḥ*, "not departing, not forsaking him whom they have to protect." (Mahīdhara, the commentator on the Vāj. S. (where this text is repeated, xxv. 14), explains the word by *andhasāḥ*, "not sluggish.") The word occurs again in R. V. viii. 24, 18, as an epithet of sacrifices, where Sāyana interprets it to mean *either* sacrifices which are conducted by men who are "not careless" (*apramādyat*), or by "careful men who perform the rite remaining together, and do not go elsewhere after they have begun it." In the first passage, at least, he departs from Sāyana. Prof. Goldstücker, *s. v.*, renders the word "attentive," "assiduous," adding, "according to Yāska . . . ; but Sāyana gives to this word in one verse the meaning, 'not going forth, not leaving' . . . ; while in another he admits also the former meaning, which seems more congenial to the context."

*Ambhrīṇa* is given in Nigh. iii. 3, as one of the synonyms of *mahat*, "great." It occurs in R. V. i. 133, 5, as an epithet of *piśāchi*, "a goblin," and is interpreted by Sāyana as mean-

ing either "shrieking very terribly" or "very huge." It is clear, therefore, that Sāyana did not know by any certain tradition what the sense of the word was.

*Amyak*.—This word is found in one of the passages which Kautsa (see above) charges with obscurity, R.V. i. 169, 3; *amyak sâ te Indra ṛshtir asme*; and I therefore think it as well to give some account of it, although it does not afford any very strong evidence in favour of any of the propositions I have undertaken to establish. Yâska, Nir. vi. 15, explains the term by *amâkteti vâ abhyakteti vâ*, meaning apparently either "arrived near," or "arrived towards." The fact of his giving an alternative etymology shows that he did not know for certain what the real derivation was, though his mind may have been made up as to the sense. Prof. Roth (Illustrations of Nir. p. 81) considers *amyak* to be the third per. aor. of *myaksh*, which, from a comparison of other passages, he believes to have the sense of "gleaming." The words would thus mean: "Thy bolt *gleamed* upon us, o Indra." Sāyana, without offering any etymology, translates the clause thus: "Thy thunderbolt *comes* (*prâpnoti*) near the clouds for us, for rain to us." As both Yâska (in the passage above cited) and Sāyana in his introduction to the R.V. (p. 5 of Müller's edition) had referred to and ridiculed the objection taken against the intelligibility of this verse, they were bound in honour to make it yield some sense or other; though from the obscurity of which it was cited as an instance—perhaps a proverbial instance—even so far back as the time of the former, it seems difficult to suppose that they had any certain tradition to go upon as to its meaning. Prof. Goldstücker translates the word *amyak* (see *s.v.*) "towards, near;" and adds: "This is apparently the meaning of the word in the following Rig-veda verse, where it seems to be used with the ellipsis of 'come.'" He then, after quoting the verse before us, goes on: "Yaska, who, in a discussion in his introduction, denies that this word can be called obscure, renders it in this verse *amâkteti vâbhyakteti vâ*, 'come here,' or 'come towards;' and Sāyana explains it by *prâpnoti*, without, however, giving its etymology. This formation of the word corresponds with that of other com-

pounds ending in *ach*." Prof. Goldstücker holds that it would be "against all grammatical analogy" to take *amyak* for an aorist, as Roth proposes. There is no proof, however, that either Yâska or Sâyaṇa concurred with Prof. Goldstücker in holding the word for a particle in *ach*.

*Alâtr̥ṇa* occurs in two passages of the Rig-veda. One of these, iii. 30, 10, is quoted in Nir. vi. 2, where it is explained as = *alam âtardanaḥ*, "greatly-splitting, or split." If this explanatory phrase be understood in the passive sense, it will coincide with Sâyaṇa's interpretation, "that which, from being full of water, is exceedingly broken." In i. 166, 7, the word is an epithet of the Maruts, and is explained by Sâyaṇa as susceptible of three different senses, viz., as standing either—1st, for *anâtr̥ṇasaḥ* = *âtardana-rahitâḥ*, "free from splitting;" or, 2nd, as *alam âtardanaḥ śatrūṇām*, "great cleavers of their enemies;" or, 3rd, as *alam datârah phalâṇām*, "great bestowers of rewards." Who will say that Sâyaṇa is here either a confident, or a satisfactory, guide?

*Askṛdhoyu* is explained by Yâska (in Nir. vi. 3, where he quotes R. V. vi. 22, 3) as = *akṛdhv-âyukḥ*, "not short-lived;" *kṛdhu*, being = *hrasva*, "short." Sâyaṇa renders it in two passages (vi. 22, 3; vi. 67, 11) by *avichhinna*, "not cut off," which would coincide with Yâska's interpretation; but on vii. 53, 3, he takes it for *ahrasvam analpam*, "not short," "not little," which seems to differ somewhat from the former sense, inasmuch as it refers not to duration but to quantity.

*Asridh* does not occur in the Nirukta. It is variously interpreted by Sâyaṇa either as "free from decay," or "desiccation" (i. 3, 9; i. 13, 9), or as "free from desiccation, always remaining in the same state (the Maruts," i. 89, 3), or as "innocuous" (iv. 32, 24; iv. 45, 4; v. 46, 4).

*Ahimanyu* does not occur in the Nirukta. It is applied to the Maruts in R. V. i. 64, 8, where Sâyaṇa offers a choice of interpretations, making it either = *âhanana-ṣṭla-manyu-yuktâḥ*, "filled with wrath disposed to smite," or = *ahtna-jnânâḥ*, "of eminent wisdom." He was, therefore, only guessing at the sense.

*Ahimâya* is not found in the Nirukta. It is understood by

Sâyaṇa on i. 190, 4, as an epithet of Vṛtra and his class, and translated as either—"those whose enchantments come and destroy," or "those whose enchantments come in the atmosphere." On vi. 20, 7, he understands it as = "those who have destructive enchantments;" and on vi. 52, 15, as = "those who have destructive wisdom." I am not aware how he renders it in x. 63, 4. Another epithet of the gods, *ehimāya*, which Roth thinks may be a corruption of *ahimāya*, occurs in R.V. i. 3, 9, where Sâyaṇa assigns two possible senses—1st, "having all-pervading wisdom;" and, 2nd, that of a designation of the deities, derived from their having said to Agni when he had entered into the waters, *ehi mā yāsth*, "come, do not go."

*Āṣuṣukshani*, which occurs R.V. ii. 1, 1, and Vāj. S. xi. 27, as an epithet of Agni, is explained in Nir. vi. 1 as meaning either "one who quickly slays, or gives, by his flame" (*āṣu ṣuchā kshanoti iti vā sanoti iti vā*), or "desiring to consume." Sâyaṇa translates the word "flaming on all sides," or "one who quickly gives pain to his enemies by consuming," etc. Mahîdhara, on Vāj. S. xi. 27, translates *āṣuṣukshani* as either = "quickly drying the wet ground," or as = "quickly destroying the darkness with his flame, or giving, distributing, by his flame." Roth (Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 72) compares *ṣuṣukvani* in R.V. viii. 23, 5, where Sâyaṇa renders "glowing."

*Āśā* occurs frequently in the Rig-veda, and is diversely explained by Sâyaṇa. In his comments on ii. 1, 14; iv. 5, 10; vi. 3, 4; vi. 32, 1, he renders it by *āsyena*, "with the mouth;" on v. 17, 2, by *āsyena vāchā*, "with the mouth, by speech;" on v. 17, 5; v. 23, 1, by *āsyena stotrena*, "with the mouth, with a hymn;" on i. 76, 4; vi. 16, 9, by *āsyena āsya-sthāntiyā* (or *āsyā-bhūtayā*) *jvālayā*, "with the mouth, with the flame in the mouth;" on vii. 16, 9, as an epithet of *jihvayā*, "the tongue," by *āsyā-sthāntiyā*, "situated in the mouth;" on i. 129, 5, by "near, in the place of sacrifice;" and on i. 168, 2, by "near." Similarly, he varies in the sense of *āsāyā*, making it stand in one place (i. 20, 1) for "with the mouth," and in another (i. 127, 8) for "near."

In the Nighaṅṭus, ii. 16, the word *śat* is found as one of the synonyms of "near."

*Ishmin* is variously interpreted by Sāyaṇa in different places, viz., on i. 87, 6, and vii. 56, 11, as "going, moving;" on v. 52, 16; v. 87, 5, as "going," or "possessing food." Yāska gives the three derivations of *ishaninah*, *eshaninah*, and *arshaninah* (Nir. iv. 16).

*īvat*.—This word occurs in R.V. iv. 4, 6; iv. 15, 5; iv. 43, 3; v. 49, 5; vi. 73, 2; vii. 23, 1; vii. 56, 18; viii. 46, 21. In all these passages, without exception, Sāyaṇa renders it either simply by "going," "moving," or by some modification of that sense, as "coming," "approaching," "coming with prosperity," "occupied," "moving creatures." And yet there seems no reason to doubt that the word signifies "so much," "so great," as it is explained by Roth, *s.v.*, as being an old Vedic form for *iyat*, just as *ktvat* is for *kiyat*, as is (in the latter case) recognised both by Yāska (Nir. vi. 3) and by Sāyaṇa on R.V. iii. 30, 17, the only passage where it occurs. From this it appears that just as in ordinary Sanskrit *tār* and *ktār* are formed in the same way as *etār*, *tār*, *yār*, so, too, in ancient times the series of *etvat*, *tvat*, *yvat*, was completed by *ivat* and *ktvat*, though at a subsequent period the two latter forms became obsolete, whilst *iyat* and *kiyat*, which are also found in the R.V., were regarded as alone correct. Their sense of "so much," "so great," etc. etc., appears, as far as I can judge, to suit all the passages of the R.V. where the word *ivat* occurs.

*Urugāya* (generally an epithet of Viṣṇu) is interpreted by Yāska (Nir. ii. 7) in his comment on R.V. i. 154, 6, as = *mahāgati*, "making large strides." Sāyaṇa, however, wavers in his explanation, making it either "hymned by many" (on i. 154, 3; ii. 1, 3); "wide-going," or "much-praised" (on iii. 6, 4); "hymned by many," or "of great renown" (on iv. 3, 7); "great goers" (of the Aṣvins, iv. 14, 1); "celebrated by many" (on vii. 100, 1); "to be hymned by many," or "moving in many places," or "of great renown," or "one who, by his power, makes all his enemies howl" (on viii. 29, 7); "hymned by the great" (on i. 154, 1); "to be hymned by

many great persons" (i. 154, 6). See also i. 155, 4; vi. 28, 4; vi. 65, 6; vii. 35, 15; x. 109, 7, where Prof. Roth considers the word to be a substantive. Looking to R.V. i. 22, 16 ff., about the striding of Vishṇu, there can be little doubt that the adjective *urugāya* means "wide-striding."

*Rdūdara* occurs in R.V. viii. 48, 10, as an epithet of Soma, and is interpreted by Yāska (vi. 4) in his explanation of part of that verse as = *mṛdūdara*, and as meaning "soft-bellied," or "soft in (men's) bellies." Sāyaṇa (on the same verse) renders it, "not hurting the belly" (*udarābādhakena*). On ii. 33, 5, where the word is applied to Rudra, he adopts the first of Yāska's two meanings; whilst on iii. 54, 10, where it is applied to the Ādityas, he repeats both of his predecessor's interpretations, modifying the second so as to signify, "those in whose bellies Soma is soft."<sup>1</sup>

*Rjīshin*, according to Yāska (v. 12, where he explains R.V. x. 89, 5), means Soma, but is also an epithet of Indra. "That which remains of soma when it is being purified is *rjīsha*, or rejected; therefore *rjīshin* is soma. There is also a text referring to Indra as *rjīshī vajri*." Mahīdhara, on Vāj. S. xix. 72, says that *rjīsha* is the squeezed and juiceless refuse of the soma-plant. Sāyaṇa generally interprets the word *rjīshin* as an epithet of Indra by, "he who has the soma after it has been pressed and has lost its juice or taste" (on iii. 32, 1; iii. 36, 10; iv. 16, 1, 5; vi. 20, 2). On i. 64, 12, and i. 87, 1, where *rjīshin* is an epithet of the Maruts, he explains that at the third libation when those deities are worshipped this *rjīsha* is offered, and hence they are said to have it. On v. 40, 4 (where the word is applied to Indra) he says that after the soma has been offered at the first and second libations, and has become juiceless, that which is offered at the third libation is called *rjīsha* = *soma*. On iii. 46, 3, he makes *rjīshin* simply equivalent to *somavān*, "having soma." In two places, however, where the word is applied to the Maruts, Sāyaṇa gives alternative interpretations, viz., on ii.

<sup>1</sup> The Sanskrit scholar may also examine Yāska's desperate attempt (vi. 33) to explain the two words *rdūpā* and *rdēvrāḥ*, which occur in R.V. viii. 66, 11. Sāyaṇa merely repeats Yāska; but his text of the passage differs somewhat from Roth's.

34, 1, he says it means either "having water," or "having tasteless soma;" and on i. 87, 1, "either having such soma, or, being providers(?) of moisture" (*prārjayitāro rasānām*). In i. 32, 6, where the word *ṛjisha* (not *-shin*) is applied to Indra, Sāyana makes it = *ṣatrūnām apārjakam*, "repeller of enemies." It thus appears that he wavers in his interpretation. The sense of "drinker of tasteless or spiritless soma" is not a very probable one. Indra is generally represented as greatly exhilarated by the beverage he quaffs, and it seems a poor compliment to him to call him the drinker of a vapid draught. Besides, in one of the texts of which *ṛjishin* is the first word, *soma-pāvan*, a term which indubitably means soma-drinker, is found at the end of the same line, and it is unlikely that two epithets so closely resembling each other as "soma-drinker" and "spiritless-soma-drinker" should occur so near. In his glossary to the Sāma-veda, and in his translation of S.V. i. 248 and ii. 789, Prof. Benfey renders the word by "victorious;" and it appears from his note on the last of these two texts that the commentator there gives a choice of interpretations. Prof. Roth *s.v.* translates it by "forward-rushing;" and Benfey, in his translation of R.V. i. 87, 1, renders it similarly by "gradaus schreitenden" (Orient und Occident, ii. 249).

*Evayāvan*, which is not found in the Nirukta, is diversely interpreted by Sāyana as—"moving with horses" (applied by him to the Maruts, i. 90, 5); as—"going to the hymn or sacrifice to which they should go" (ii. 34, 11, spoken of the same); as—"moving with horses, or with the waters of the atmosphere,—coming with showers for the pleasure of others also" (vi. 48, 12, *evayāvart*, spoken of the cow); or as—"bringing to his worshippers the objects which they desire to obtain" (on vii. 100, 2, spoken of Vishṇu).

*Kānukā* is one of the terms objected to by Kautsa as obscure (see above). It occurs only once, in R.V. viii. 66, 4; and Yāska does his utmost to explain it in Nir. v. 11. The whole verse runs thus: "Indra drank at one draught thirty lakes (or cups) of soma. . . .," the word *kānukā* being the last of the verse. Yāska takes it either for a neuter plural, agreeing



with *sarāmsi* (cups) and meaning "desired" (*kāntakāni*), or "entirely full" (*krāntakāni*), or "properly formed" (*kṛtakāni*), or for an epithet of Indra, signifying "fond or beloved of soma" (*somasya kāntaḥ*), or "overcome by love of soma" (*kane ghāta iti vā kane hataḥ kāntihataḥ*). "The ritualists" (*yājñikāḥ*), (Yāska proceeds), "say that the thirty bowls which are destined for one deity at the mid-day libations, and are drunk off at once, are denoted in this verse by the word *sarāmsi*, whilst the etymologists (*nairuktāḥ*), consider that they stand for the thirty nights and days constituting respectively the first and second halves of the month. In the second half the rays drink up the collected waters of the moon." According to the latter interpretation, Indra is (as Sāyaṇa remarks) the deity personifying time (*kālābhimāni*). In his explanation Sāyaṇa merely abridges Yāska's.

*Kārudhayaḥ* is in three places (vi. 21, 8 : vi. 24, 2 ; vi. 44, 12) explained by Sāyaṇa as "upholder of poets or worshippers" (*kārūṇām dhāraḥ*, or *dhārayitā*.) In another passage (iii. 32, 10) he gives a different sense, "maker of works" (*karmanām vidhātā*). This latter sense would be appropriate enough here if it exists in the component elements of the word.

*Kiyedhāḥ* is explained by Yāska (vi. 20, where he quotes R. V. i. 61, 12), in two ways, as = either to *kiyaddhāḥ* "holding how much?" or to *kramamāṇa-dhāḥ*, "holding those who advance." Sāyaṇa, on i. 61, 6, renders it by *balavān*, "strong," and declares the two interpretations of the Nirukta to mean (1) "one who has strength of which no one knows the extent," and (2) "one who stops the advancing might of others. On verse 12 of the same hymn, he repeats the same explanations. It appears from Roth's Illustrations, *in loco*, that Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, refers the epithet to Vṛtrā, whilst others referred it to Indra. And Roth remarks, that by his double interpretation, "holding how much (water or power)?" and "holding the advancing (waters or hostile powers)," Yāska has left the application to one or other of these personages open.

*Kuchara* is explained by Yāska i. 20 (where R. V. i. 154, 2,

is quoted), as meaning (if applied to a wild beast) "doing an evil deed," or if taken for a designation of the god (Vishṇu), as signifying "whither does he not go?" Sāyaṇa, on the same passage, gives it the sense either of "door of evil deeds, such as killing," or "going to inaccessible places," or, if understood of the gods, as meaning either "doing evil deeds, such as the slaughter of enemies," or "one who ranges in all places throughout the three worlds." (*Kushu, sarvāsu bhū-mishu, lokatrāye, sanchārti.*) We have thus between Yāska and Sāyaṇa three derivations, according as we conceive the word to be compounded of *ku*, "bad," *ku*, "earth," or *kva*, "where," prefixed to *chara*, "going," or "acting." Such a play upon words in a double sense, though common enough in the modern rhetorical poetry of the Hindus, is scarcely to be looked for in the ancient hymns of the Veda.

*Kunḍru* is explained by Yāska (Nir. vi. 1, where he quotes R. V. iii. 30, 8) as meaning a "cloud" (*parikraṇanam megham*). Sāyaṇa (on the same passage) gives two interpretations of the words *sahaddnum kshiyantam sam pinak kunḍrum*, viz., either (1) "crush the destroying (*kshiyantam*) *kunḍru* = a certain yelling Asura, associated with Dānu, Vṛtra's mother, or with the Dānavas," or (2) "Crush the thundering (*kunḍru*) Vṛtra, having the gift of bestowing water (*sahaddnum*), dwelling (*kshiyantam*) in the sky." Thus there are no less than three words in this single line (viz., *sahddanum, kshiyantam, and kunḍrum*), of which Sāyaṇa offers alternative explanations.

*Kshayadatra* does not occur in the Nirukta. It is variously explained by Sāyaṇa as "very strong, he in whom all heroes are destroyed" (on i. 106, 4); or, "he in whom heroes perish, or whose sons, the Maruts, rule" (on i. 114, 1, 2); or "he who has heroes, sons and servants, dwelling with him" (on i. 125, 3); or "possessed of heroes, sons and others, dwelling or moving" (*nicasadbhir itvarair vā*, on R. V. viii. 19, 10). It will be seen, that as regards the root *kshi*, which forms the first member of this compound, Sāyaṇa wavers between the three senses of "perishing," "ruling," and "dwelling."

*Girikshit*, an epithet of Vishṇu (in i. 154, 3), is translated

by Sāyaṇa as “residing in speech” (*giri* locative of *gir*), or “in a region high as a mountain.” In this passage, however, it has, probably, one single sense.

*Jātūbharman* is not in the Nirukta. Sāyaṇa explains it as meaning either “having the lightning for a weapon,” or “supporter of creatures.”

*Jārayāyi* is another of the words objected to by Kautsa as obscure. (See above.) It occurs only once in the R.V., vi. 12, 4, which is quoted by Yāska in vi. 15, where he explains it by *ajāyi*, to which his commentator Durga gives the meaning “is, or was, born.” (See Roth’s Illustrations, etc., p. 82.) Sāyaṇa, on the contrary, renders it by *stūyate* “is praised.”

*Jtradānu* is not found in the Nirukta, though *jtra* is given in the Nighaṇṭus, ii. 15, as one of the synonyms of *kshipra*, “quick.” In one passage (i. 165, 15) it is rendered by Sāyaṇa *jaya-ṣṭla-dānam*, “having victorious gifts;” but in all the following texts he takes it for, “whose gifts are quick” (ii. 34, 4; v. 53, 5; v. 54, 9; v. 62, 3; v. 83, 1; vii. 64, 2; viii. 51, 3).

*Joshavāka* is found in R.V. vi. 59, 4, and is explained by Yāska (v. 21, 22, where he quotes this passage) as “that of which the name is unknown, that which is to be pondered (?)” (*atijnāta-nāmadheyam joshayitavyam bhavati*). He renders the whole verse thus: “Ye, o Indra and Agni, eat the offering of the man who praises you when the soma libations are poured out. Ye do not eat (that) of the prater (?) who speaks *joshavāka*.” Sāyaṇa renders: “Ye, o Indra and Agni, do not eat the (offering) of the man who, when the soma-libations are poured out, praises you badly, who, in the midst of them, speaks unpleasing words when he ought to speak pleasing ones.” It is to be observed, however—and I perceive that Wilson also, in his note on the passage, has adverted to the fact—that in the quotation made from Yāska (v. 22) in Müller’s edition of the R.V., the reading of the passage is different from what it is in Professor Roth’s edition, as in Roth’s text the first clause has no negative particle (*na*), whilst the negative particle is found there in Müller’s. The meaning of that clause of the Nirukta is thus reversed. The

sense given by Roth's reading appears to me to be the most conformable to the apparent meaning of Yâska, as two kinds of worshippers evidently appear to be contemplated in his explanation, one of whom the two gods approve and whose oblation they eat, and another whose oblation they do not eat. Sâyaṇa, in conformity with the reading of Yâska given by Müller, makes both clauses of the verse relate to one kind of worshipper, *i.e.*, to one whose offering the two gods disapprove. There would thus appear to be a difference between Yâska and Sâyaṇa as to the sense of the verse of the R. V. which they are expounding. What is its real sense, it is not necessary for me to decide. Roth considers that the future participle *joshayitavyam*, employed by Yâska, means "requiring consideration." Wilson renders the clause of which it forms a part, "that being of unknown name is to be propitiated." (Compare Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.*, and his remarks in his Illustr. of Nir. p. 68.)

*Daksha-pitaraḥ* is an epithet of the gods which is not found in the Nirukta. It occurs in three passages of the R. V. On the first (vi. 50, 2) Sâyaṇa takes the word for "those who have Daksha for their forefather," and refers to two other texts (R. V. x. 15, 3, and x. 72, 5), the one to prove that the word *pitṛ* may stand for "forefather," and the second to show that the gods are elsewhere declared to have Daksha for their ancestor. On the second passage (vii. 66, 2) Sâyaṇa translates the word by "preservers, or lords, *i.e.* givers, of strength;" and on the third (viii. 52, 10) by "preservers, lords, of food." The word also occurs in the Taittiriya Sanhitâ, i. 2, 3, 1, where the commentator explains it much as Sâyaṇa on vi. 50, 2, does; and in Vâj. S. xiv. 3, where it is explained by "preserver of vigour."

*Danaḥ* is a word occurring in R. V. i. 174, 2, in regard to which Yâska (vi. 31) and Sâyaṇa contradict each other; the former taking it for an adjective meaning "liberally-minded" (*dâna-manasaḥ*), whilst the latter makes it a verb in the second person singular imperfect, meaning either "thou didst subdue," or "thou didst cause to cry."

: *Dasrâ*, a frequent dual epithet of the Aṣvins, and sometimes

of other gods (Indra and Vishṇu, vi. 69, 7), is explained by Yâska (vi. 26, where he quotes R.V. i. 117, 21), as=*darṣanti-yau*, "to be seen, sightly." Sâyaṇa sometimes understands it in that sense (as on i. 47, 6; i. 117, 5, 20, 21; i. 118, 3; i. 120, 4; vi. 69, 7; viii. 22, 17); sometimes as "destroyers of enemies" (on i. 92, 16; i. 139, 3; i. 158, 1; i. 180, 5; i. 182, 2; i. 183, 4; iii. 58, 3; iv. 43, 4; v. 75, 2); once, at least, as either "destroyers of enemies," or "from their being the physicians of the gods, destroyers of diseases" (on i. 3, 3); sometimes as either "to be seen," or as "destroyers of enemies" (on viii. 5, 2; viii. 8, 1; viii. 26, 6; viii. 75, 1); sometimes as gods "having the name of Dasrâ," or as "to be seen" (on i. 116, 10). See my article on the Aṣvins, above, p. 5, note. It appears from Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 92, that Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, explains Dasrâ by "destroyers of enemies," or "causers of works, agriculture," etc.

*Divishti* is explained by Yâska (vi. 22, where he quotes R.V. viii. 4, 19), as, in the loc. pl.=*divaḥ eṣhaṇeshu*, "longings after the sky." Sâyaṇa, on the same passage, makes it mean "sacrificial rites which are the causes of obtaining heaven." Similarly, on iv. 9, 2, he makes it = *yâgeshu*, "sacrifices." On iv. 46, 1, he takes it for "sacrifices which confer heaven," or "our longings after heaven being the causes."<sup>1</sup> And, again, on iv. 47, 1, he interprets it *divo dyulokasya eṣhaṇeshu satsu*, "there being longings after the sky;" on i. 139, 4, he translates, "longings after heaven, or longings, or goings, of sacrifice which enlightens, being causes;" on i. 86, 4, he renders it by "sacrificial days;" on viii. 65, 9, by "the arrivals of our days, or longings for heaven, being causes;" on vii. 74, 1, by "people who desire heaven, priests;" and on i. 141, 6, "longings after days being the cause."

*Dvibarhas* means, according to Yâska (vi. 17, where he quotes R.V. vi. 19, 1), "lord (*parivṛdhaḥ*) in both regions, the middle and the upper" (*i.e.* atmosphere and sky). Sâyaṇa,

<sup>1</sup> Sâyaṇa's note on this verse (iv. 46, 1) affords another instance of his referring to a parallel text (R.V. vii. 92, 1) to prove that the first draught of soma was offered to Vâyu.

on the same passage, and also on iv. 5, 3; vii. 24, 2; viii. 15, 2, follows Yâska. On i. 71, 6, he has, "grown (*çrmhito varddhitah*) in the middle and upper regions." On i. 114, 10, he makes it, "lord in the two regions, the earth and the sky, or in the two paths, the southern and the northern, or lord of knowledge and of works." On i. 176, 5, he renders it, *stotra-hart-rûpa-dvividha-parivṛdha-karmavatah-yajamânasya*, "of the worshipper who is eminent in both kinds of worship, i.e. hymns and oblations."

*Nichumpuṇa* is explained by Yâska (v. 17, 18, where he quotes R.V. viii. 82, 22), as a designation of soma, "that which pleases by being swallowed" (*nichânta-prṇo nichamâna prṇâti*). The ocean, too, he says, is called *nichumpuṇa*; as is also the *avabhṛtha* (or cleansing of vessels and worshippers after a sacrifice), as that "in which they sound lowly, or place lowly" (*nichair asmin kvaṇanti nichair dadhati iti vâ*). Sâyaṇa explains in conformity with Yâska. The word also occurs in the Vâjasaneyi Sanhitâ, iii. 48, and viii. 27, on the former of which passages Mahîdhara explains it as meaning either "slow-going" (*nitarâm chopati mandam gachhati nichumpuṇah*), or "that in which they sound lowly, perform the rite with a low voice." On viii. 27, he mentions only the first of these two explanations. The sense of the word is thus left doubtful.

*Naichâṣâkha* and *pramaganda* are two words occurring in R.V. iii. 53, 14, a text which is quoted and explained in Nir. vi. 32. Yâska there gives various senses to *pramaganda*. He first says *maganda* is "a usurer." The descendant of such a person is *pramaganda*, "a person sprung from a very usurious family." Or, secondly, the word is = *pramadakah*, "one who desires that there should be no future state." Or, thirdly, it is = *paṇḍakah*, a "catamite," or "eunuch." He derives *naichâṣâkha* from *nichâṣâkha*, apparently "of a low stock." Sâyaṇa understands it of the property of degraded people. He adopts the first of the three senses of *pramaganda* proposed by Yâska. It appears from an objection made to the eternity of the Veda which Sâyaṇa quotes in his Introduction, p. 7, and answers in p. 10 (as cited in Sanskrit Texts, iii. 62), that

*Pramaganda* was considered by the objectors to be the name of a king, and *Naichâṣṭkha* that of a town.

*Nema* is given in Nir. iii. 20 as = *arddha*, "half," in which sense it is taken by Sâyaṇa on R.V. v. 61, 8. In other places (i. 54, 8; iv. 24, 4, 5; vi. 16, 18), he translates it by "these," "some," "others." But in viii. 89, 3, he holds it to be the proper name of a descendant of Bhrigu. In this he appears to be wrong. Compare R.V. ii. 12, 5.

*Nishshidh*, *nishshidhvan*, *puru-nishshidh*, *puru-nishshidhvan*. These words are not found in the Nighaṅṭus or Nirukta. The first of them, which occurs in the R.V. in different numbers and cases, is variously interpreted by Sâyaṇa in different places; as = "constantly discharging rain-clouds" (on R.V. i. 169, 2); or "commands, ordinances" (*anuṣāsanāni*, iii. 51, 5);<sup>1</sup> or "destructive light" (*himsikām dṛptim*, iii. 55, 8); "hinderers, enemies" (iv. 24, 1), or "hindrances to enemies," or "cords to restrain enemies" (vi. 44, 11). *Nishshidhvarth* (the feminine form of *nishshidhvan*) occurs in iii. 55, 22, where Sâyaṇa makes it = *nitarām tvat-karṭṛka-siddhimatyah*, i.e., "having eminently perfections created by thee" (Indra). *Puru-nishshidh* is found in i. 10, 5,<sup>2</sup> as an epithet of Indra, and is there translated by Sâyaṇa as = "hinderer of many enemies; and *puru-nishshidhvan*, in iv. 38, 2, as a designation of Dadhikrâ, where it is understood by him in the same sense. It is, therefore, quite impossible to suppose that the commentator could have had any certain tradition of the sense of these words. Prof. Wilson, who translates *pūrṣṭr asya nishshidho martyeshu* in iii. 51, 5, by "many are his [Indra's] prohibitions (against evil enjoined) to men," has a note on this verse, in which he remarks that "a similar phrase in a former passage [i. 10, 5] *purunishshidhe* has been rendered 'repeller of many foes:.' there is no material incompatibility, the latter being a compound epithet, and the substantive in both cases being derived from *shidh*, to succeed, to go, with the preposi-

<sup>1</sup> We have, in his comment on this verse, a further instance of Sâyaṇa quoting another passage for illustration, as he here cites i. 10, 5 as referring to Indra's function of command. See further on.

<sup>2</sup> This verse is repeated in Sâma-veda i. 363, where Benfey renders it "vielgebetend," "many ruling."

tion *nir*, out, *ex*, to exclude, to prohibit." Prof. Wilson, however, while taking notice of this one passage to which Sâyaṇa himself had drawn his attention, has not adverted to the other texts which I have adduced: and when words identical in tenor with those in iii. 51, 5, are repeated in vi. 44, 11, viz., *pūrtish te Indra nishshūho janeshu*, he translates them differently, thus: "many are the hindrances (opposed) to thee amongst men." This does not, however, correctly reproduce Sâyaṇa's meaning.

*Paritakmyā* is translated "night" in Nir. xi. 25, where R.V. x. 108, 1 is explained. This sense is adopted by Prof. Müller in translating the verse. (Lectures on Language, second series, p. 464, and note.) Prof. Aufrecht, on the other hand, renders the word by "necessity." (Journal of Ger. Or. Society, vol. xiii., pp. 496 and 498.) Prof. Roth, who in his Illustr. of the Nir. had taken the same view, assigns in his Lexicon, *s.v.*, another signification, that of "wandering," as the proper one for this passage. For most other texts of the R.V. he adopts the sense of "night," "darkness." In two passages he gives it the sense of "causing anxiety," "dangerous." Sâyaṇa renders the word by "night" in i. 116, 15; iv. 43, 3; vi. 24, 9; by "dark," apparently, in v. 30, 13; by "night," or "battle," or "sacrifice," in vii. 69, 4; by "surrounding," (*paritakane nimittabhūte sati*) or "night" in iv. 41, 6; by "battle" in v. 31, 11; by "to be gone round, or surrounded," as an epithet of *dhane*, wealth, in i. 31, 6; and by "surrounding," as an epithet of *rātri*, "night," which goes before, in v. 30, 14. It thus appears that in some places he is uncertain about the sense.

*Paryabhūshat* in R.V. ii. 12, 1, is explained by Yâska (x. 10) as = *paryabhavat paryagrhnât paryarakshad atyagrâmad iti câ, i e.*, "overcame, or comprehended, or protected, or surpassed." He could not, therefore, it would appear, have been very sure of its meaning. Sâyaṇa renders simply *rakshakatvena paryagrahit*, "surrounded as a protector." The same word is found in the imperative (*pari bhūsha*) in R.V. i. 15, 4, where Sâyaṇa renders it, "adorn," and Benfey, "encircle;" and in i. 31, 2, where Sâyaṇa, followed by Benfey, translates the clause, *devâ-*



*nām pari bhūshasi vratam*, "thou adornest the ceremonial (*karma*) of the gods." The same root, preceded by the particle *vi*, occurs in i. 112, 4, *vi bhūshati*, where Sāyaṇa offers two explanations, "is diffused," or "eminently adorns," and in vi. 15, 9, *vi bhūshan*, where he renders, "adorning." The word *ābhūsha*, in R.V. vii. 92, 1 (= Vāj. S. vii. 7) is understood by both commentators, Sāyaṇa and Mahīdhara, in the sense of "come."

*Pānta* is explained in Nir. vii. 25 (where R.V. x. 88, 1 is quoted) as = *pāntya*, "to be drunk." It occurs also in R.V. i. 122, 1, where Sāyaṇa renders it by "preserving, or to be drunk, sacrifice, or instrument of sacrifice." On i. 55, 1, also, he gives it the sense of either "protecting, or to be drunk."

*Puruksu* is not found in the Nirukta; but *kshu* is given in the Nighaṇṭus, ii. 7, as a synonyme of *anna*, "food." Sāyaṇa interprets it variously, for the most part as = *bahvanna*, "having much food" (on i. 68, 5; iii. 25, 2; iii. 54, 21; iv. 34, 10; vi. 19, 5); also as = "greatly renowned" (ii. 40, 4); as having one or other of the two preceding senses (iv. 29, 5; vi. 68, 6); and, again, as "having much food, or many cattle" (vi. 22, 3). The commentator on the Vaj. S., xxvii. 20, renders it "that which dwells in many" (*bahushu kshiyati nirasati*).

*Prthupājas* does not occur in the Nirukta; but *pājas* is given in the Nighaṇṭus, ii. 9, as one of the synonymes for *bala*, "strength." In Nir. vi. 12, it is said to derive its name from preserving. *Prthupājas* is variously rendered by Sāyaṇa as "having great strength" (iii. 27, 5; iv. 46, 5); as "having great vigour (or lustre," *tejas*, iii. 5, 1; iii. 27, 5); as "having great strength or much food" (iii. 3, 1; viii. 5, 2); as "having great vigour (or lustre) or great velocity" (iii. 2, 11).

*Prthushṭuka* occurs as an epithet of Sinīvālī in R.V. ii. 32, 6. This passage is quoted in Nir. xi. 32, and the word is there explained as either "broad-loined," or "having broadly plaited (or a broad mass of) hair" (*prthukeṣa-stuke*), or *prthustuke*. Sāyaṇa renders by *prthu-jaghane prthu-saṃhate vā*, "having broad loins," or "broadly built" (?) The passage

is repeated in Vaj. S. xxxiv. 10, where Mahîdhara makes the word = *he prthukeṣa-bhâre mahâstute vâ prthukâme vâ* "having a large mass of hair, or greatly praised, or having large desires." On the sense of the word *stukâ*, compare Weber, Ind. Stud., v. 233 and 237.

*Poadivaḥ* is met with in the Nighaṅṭus, iii. 27, as one of the synonymes of *purâna*, "old." The same sense is assigned to it in the Nirukta, viii. 19, as well as in iv. 8, where it is rendered by *pûrveshu api ahassu* "even in former days." Sâyaṇa, in his note on the passage here illustrated by Yâska (R.V. iii. 47, 1), adheres to the interpretation of the latter. He also retains the sense "old" in i. 53, 2; ii. 3, 1; iii. 36, 2; iv. 6, 4; iv. 7, 8; v. 8, 7; vi. 5, 3; vi. 23, 5; but in iii. 38, 5 and iv. 34, 3 he assigns to the word the meaning of "extremely shining" (*prakarshena dyotamâna*).

*Bakura* is found in R.V. i. 117, 21, a passage quoted by Yâska (vi. 25, 26), where (after saying that *bakura* is = *bhâskaro bhayankaro bhâsamâno dravati iti vâ*, "illuminator, terrible, or that which runs shining") he assigns to the word the sense of "light or water" (*vyotishâ udakena vâ*. Sâyaṇa gives it the meaning of the "shining lightning." Prof. Roth thinks it denotes a wind instrument. Whether he is right or not, it is clear that Yâska had no certain knowledge of its sense.

*Briṭa*, as we are told in Nir. v. 27, means, according to Taiṭṭiki, the "atmosphere," the first syllable being from *ṛ*, "to go," and the second being from *ir*, "to go," and the whole denoting that wherein the birds or the clouds move. Yâska then quotes the only passage in which it occurs, R.V. vii. 39, 2 (= Vâj. S. xxxiii. 44), giving it first the sense of atmosphere, and next suggesting the sense of "assemblage of men." Sâyaṇa repeats the two interpretations of Yâska. Mahîdhara adopts the second, but quotes Yâska.

*Madachyut* does not occur in the Nirukta. It is generally understood by Sâyaṇa as "humblers of the pride of enemies" (on R.V. i. 51, 2; i. 81. 3; viii. 1, 21; viii. 85, 5), or, "humblers of enemies," viii. 22, 16. But on i. 85, 7, he takes it for "that which sheds forth joy, the sacrifice."

*Mṛdhravāch* is explained by Yāska (vi. 31, where he quotes R.V. i. 174, 2) as = *mṛdu-vāchah* "softly-speaking." This translation is quoted by Sāyaṇa at the end of his note on the passage without remark. His own rendering is different, as he either, according to the interpretation of the Aitihāsikas (legendary writers), makes the word = *marshana-vachanāḥ*, "uttering angry words," or, according to that of the Nairuktas, takes it as = *marshana-dhvani-yuktāḥ*, "having a threatening sound." On v. 29, 10; v. 32, 8; and vii. 6, 3, he understands the term to stand for "with organs of speech destroyed," or "with speech destroyed;" and on vii. 18, 13, he assigns a sense similar to that given on i. 174, 2, viz., *bādhravācham*, "injuriously speaking." The meanings he assigns are thus mutually inconsistent, as well as at variance with that proposed by Yāska.

*Amṛdhra* occurs frequently in the R.V., as in v. 37, 1; v. 43, 2, 13; vi. 19, 7; vi. 22, 10; vi. 75, 9; vii. 67, 5, in all which places it is rendered by Sāyaṇa *ahimsita*, or *himsā-rahita*, "uninjured," or *himsitum aśakya*, "uninjurable." On iii. 58, 8, he translates "not despised by any one." On i. 37, 11, besides "uninjurable," he proposes an alternative sense, "not wetting," which Prof. Goldstücker regards as not very probable (see *s.v.*). On viii. 69, 2 (where, however, Müller puts the texts in brackets), he renders it in an active sense, *ahinsaka*, "not injuring." On Vaj. S. xxix. 46, Mahīdhara renders the word "hard-limbed, or giving stern commands."

*Mehanā* (an undeclined word) is found in Nir. iv. 4 (where R.V. v. 39, 1 is quoted), and is explained as either = *mamhantiyam*<sup>1</sup> *dhanam*, "to be given, wealth," or *me iha na* "(that which) I have not here."<sup>2</sup> Sāyaṇa, following Yāska's first interpretation, understands *mehanā* as = *mamhantiya*, on v. 38, 3 and v. 39, 1. On viii. 4, 21, repeating both Yāska's explanations, he makes it either *mamhantiyam praśasyām*, "laudable,

<sup>1</sup> The verb *mamh* is found in Nigh. iii. §20, as signifying "to give."

<sup>2</sup> See on this word Roth's Illust. of Nir. p. 39, where other passages in which it occurs are given. Roth mentions that Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, says that, in the R.V., *mehanā* is one word, whilst in the Sāmaveda it is considered to be made up of three. On the sense of the term see also Benfey's Gloss. to S.V., p. 161.

excellent," agreeing with both *gām* (fem.) "cow," and *aṣṭa* (masc.) "horse," or, *me iha na*; and the latter words he explains thus: "In this king (*iha*) there was not (*na*) to me (*me*) that gift of excellent wealth." On viii. 52, 12 (=V.S. 33, 50), he takes the word as = *udaka-sechana-yuktāḥ*, or *sechanena yuktāḥ*, "shedding water." Mahidhara, on the same verse, explains, "shedders of wealth," etc., *dhanādi-sektārah*. In iii. 49, 3, the word *mehanāvān* is met with, which Sāyaṇa explains thus: *mihyate sichyate dīyate arthibhyaḥ iti mehanam dhanam tadvān*, "*mehana* is wealth, that which is shed forth, given, to suppliants; he who has it is *mehanāvrat*."

*Renukakāta* is not mentioned in the Nirukta. It is found as an epithet of *arvan*, "horse," in R.V. vi. 28, 4, where Sāyaṇa takes it for "stirring up dust," spoken of a horse come for battle. The word is also found connected with *arvan* in Vāj. S. xxviii. 13, where it is differently understood by Mahidhara as follows: *kātaḥ kṛpāḥ, kutsitaḥ kātaḥ kakātaḥ, reṇubhiḥ kṛtvā kakātaḥ reṇukakātaḥ*, "*kāta* is a well; *kakāta* is a bad well; a bad well with dust is a *reṇukakāta*." Such a well, into which calves and youths fall, is to be removed. Wells, etc., which obstruct sacrifices and offspring are to be removed from the road. Such is this scholiast's explanation. It will be seen that the two Commentators are far from agreeing, and the word is so constructed that there is no reason to suppose it has both senses.

*Vavakshitha* and *vicakshase* are given in Nigh. iii. 3, among the synonymes of *mahat*, "great;" and in Nir. iii. 13, are said to be derived from the root *vach*, "to speak," or from *vah*, "to carry." Sāyaṇa seems (except in one case, vii. 100, 6), to regard the different forms of this word as coming from *vah*, "to bring," and interprets as follows: *vavakshuh*, "they wish to bring" (R.V. i. 64, 3); *ati vavakshitha*, "thou exceedingly wishest to carry, art a supporter of" (i. 81, 5); ditto, "thou exceedingly wishest to carry" (i. 102, 8; iii. 9, 3); *vavakshitha*, "thou wishest to carry all" (ii. 22, 3); *vavakshē = vavāha*, "he carried" (iv. 16, 5); *vavakshatuh = avahatām*, "they two carried" (viii. 12, 25-27); *anuvavakshitha =*

*anuvodhum ichha*, "desire to carry" (viii. 77, 5). *Pravavakshe*, in vii. 100, 6, is rendered both by Yâska (v. 8) and by Sâyaṇa in loco, as = *prabrûshe*, "thou sayest." Setting aside the last passage, it appears to me that in most of the rest which I have quoted the sense of "carrying" is inappropriate. In i. 64, 3, Sâyaṇa has to supply the words, "what is desired by their worshippers," in order to make the word "bring" yield a tolerable sense; whilst, if we take the verb to signify "waxed, grew," the meaning will be "the Rudras waxed like mountains." So, too, in i. 81, 5, and i. 102, 8, it makes a better sense to say of Indra, "thou hast waxed greater than the whole universe," than to say, "thou exceedingly wishest to bear the universe." And in iii. 9, 3, where Sâyaṇa explains the words *ati tr̥ṣṭam vavakshitha*, "thou (Agni) exceedingly wishest to bring, in order to fulfil the desire of thy worshipper, by bestowing an appropriate reward." Roth (*s. v. tr̥ṣṭa*) proposes to render "thou (Agni) hast overcome that which bites, i.e. the smoke." Similarly, in ii. 22, 3; iv. 16, 5; viii. 77, 5, the sense of "waxing" seems by far the most appropriate (though not, apparently, in ii. 34, 4). Even in viii. 12, 25-27, where at first sight the meaning "carried" seems to suit the context,—“when, Indra, the gods placed thee in the front in the battle, then thy beautiful steeds *carried (thee)*”,—the other sense, "grew great," would be admissible, especially as there is no noun in the line to be governed by *vavakshatuh*, and as in the next verse following the three where this verb occurs, another verb with that very signification (*vavrdhâte*, "grew") is actually applied to the horses. Other forms of this verb, *vakshati* and *vakshatah*, occur in R.V. i. 2, 2; iv. 8, 2; viii. 6, 45; where they are treated by Sâyaṇa as futures, or precatives. Can *vakshati* be a third per. pres., "he brings?" *Âvakshat* and *vakshat* (R.V. x. 20, 10, and x. 176, 2) seem to have the sense of "bringing." *Vakshatha* occurs as a substantive in vii. 33, 8, where Sâyaṇa assigns the sense of *prakâṣa*, "brightness." Perhaps it may mean "full splendour." Roth (Illustr. of Nir. p. 30) thinks the root *vaksh* has the sense of "waxing;" so, too, Benfey (gloss to S.V.), who, however, gives it the sense

of "carrying" in R.V. iv. 7, 11. In his translation of i. 64, 3; i. 81, 5; i. 102, 8, he translates "growing." Westergaard also *s.v.* adopts the sense of "growing," "being strong," etc.

*Sarman* has in the Nighaṅṭus, iii. 4, the sense of "house." In Nir. ix. 19, 32; xii. 45, it has the meaning of "refuge" (*ṣaraṇam*). In i. 174, 2, Sāyana renders *ṣarma* by *sukham yathā bhavati*, "easily," whilst in another verse, vi. 20, 10, where the context is the same, he translates it by "thunder-bolt" (*ṣarma ṣarmanā vajrena*).

*Sārada*, "autumnal," (which is not found in the Nirukta), is a word applied in several passages of the R.V. to the cities of the Dasyus. On i. 131, 4, Sāyana explains it as = "fortified for a year;" on i. 174, 2, as "new," or "fortified for a year;" on vi. 20, 10, as "belonging to an Asura called Sarad."

*Surudh*, in the plural, means, according to the Nirukta, vi. 16, "waters," which "prevent distress" (*sucham samrun-dhanti*). The word is mentioned in two other passages of the Nir. viz., x. 41 and xii. 18 (where R.V. iv. 23, 8, and vi. 49, 8, are cited), in the former of which no further explanation of it is given, whilst in the later (xii. 18) it is rendered by *dhanāni*, "riches." Sāyana, on i. 72, 7, takes the word for "food which prevents suffering in the shape of hunger" (*kshud-rūpasya sokasya rodhayitrī ishah*); on iii. 38, 5, for "preventives of thirst, waters;" on iv. 23, 8, for "waters;" on vi. 3, 3, for "preventives of suffering, cows;"<sup>1</sup> on vi. 49, 8 (=Nir. xii. 18) the same (in opposition to Yāska, who here renders it "riches"); on vii. 23, 2, for "things which prevent suffering, herbs;" and on vii. 62, 3, for "preventers of suffering," but taken as nom. masc. and as an epithet of Varuṇa and other gods; or, optionally, in the accus., for "plants." In i. 169, 8, the word is interpreted of "distress-preventing desiccating lines of clouds," *sokasya rodhayitrīḥ ṣoshakāḥ . . . megha-panktīḥ*. R.V. vi. 49, 8, is repeated in the Vāj. S. xxxiv. 42, where *surudhah* is explained as "a means of removing suffering."

<sup>1</sup> These cows belong to the Rākshasas, whom Sāyana considers to be denoted by the word *aktu*, "night," in which such spirits move about.

*Salalūka* is explained in Nir. vi. 3 (where the only text in which it occurs, R. V. iii. 30, 17, is cited), as—"covetous (*samlubdha*), wicked, according to the Nairuktas, or etymologists; or it may be for *sararūka*, from *ṣṛ* (to go), reduplicated." Durga understands it to mean "confounded," or "fugitive," of the Rākshases. Sāyaṇa takes it for *saraṇa-sīla*, "moving."

*Santya* is found as an epithet of Agni in R. V. i. 18, 2; i. 36, 2; viii. 19, 26. In the first of these passages Sāyaṇa explains it as meaning "bestower of rewards," and in the second as "liberal," deriving it in both cases from the root *san*, "to give." In the third passage he makes it = *sambhajantya*, "to be served, or possessed."

*Sarvatāti* is interpreted in Nir. xi. 24 (where R. V. i. 94, 15, is quoted) by *sarvāsu karma-tatishu*, "in all performances (*lit.* extensions) of works." Sāyaṇa on the same passage repeats these words of Yāska, and adds, "or to him who is present at all sacrifices." On iv. 26, 3, he translates it simply by "sacrifice." On vi. 12, 2, also, he renders it by "sacrifice" ("performed by all," *sarvais tīyamāne yajne*), or, (taking *tāti* for a suffix), the "totality" of worshippers (*sarvāḥ stotā*). On i. 106, 2, he renders it by "that which is extended by all heroes, battle," which sense he also assigns to it in vii. 18, 19. On iii. 54, 11, he gives it the signification of "every desired good." In this last text, where Savitṛ is asked to give the worshippers *sarvatāti* (*ād asmabhyam āsuva sarvatātim*), it could not well signify either battle, or sacrifice, or anything but blessing in some form or other. On vi. 56, 6, the scholiast assigns the sense of "sacrifice," or "the extension of all enjoyments," *sarvashāṃ bhogānāṃ vistārāya*. The word also occurs in ix. 96, 4; x. 36, 14; and x. 100, 1 ff., but Sāyaṇa's explanations of those passages are not within my reach. See Prof. Benfey's Excursus on the word *sarvatāti* in his "Orient und Occident," ii. 519 ff., referred to in my article on "Vedic Theogony," etc., p. 70, note.

*Sumajjāni* (not in the Nirukta), is an epithet of Viṣṇu in R. V. i. 156, 2. Sāyaṇa thinks it may mean one of two things, either "self-born" (*sumat* being = *svayam* according to Nir. vi. 22, and *jāni* being taken for "birth"), or "having a wife

(*jāni*) who gladdens" (*sumat* being here = *sutarām mādayati*). The epithet will in the latter case be equivalent to the "lord of the world-gladdening Śrī." Here we have an importation of later ideas into Vedic mythology. I am not aware of any other passage of the R.V. in which a wife is assigned to Viṣṇu. In the Vāj. S. xxix. 60, Aditi is called his wife; as Sinivāli appears to be in A.V. vii. 46, 3.

*Spaṣ*, as a verb, is found in R.V. i. 10, 2. where Sāyaṇa translates it by "touched, began;" in i. 22, 19 (= Vāj. vi. 14; Sāma-veda, ii. 1021), where he renders it by "(every worshipper) touched, performed," the root *spaṣ* having the two senses of injuring and touching (*bādhana-sparṣanayoḥ*). Mahīdhara on Vāj. S. vi. 4, explains the same word by "bound, fashioned," or "bound in himself," or "fixed," *spaṣ* having the sense of binding (*bandhane*). In i. 128, 4, Sāyaṇa translates by *atyartham sprṣati stīkaroti*, "touches exceedingly, accepts," (the sense of "oblations, etc.," being given to *jātāni*); in i. 176, 3, by *bādhayasra*, "injure." The verb also occurs without a preposition in x. 102, 8, and with *anu* prefixed in x. 14, 1, and x. 160, 4. I am not aware what sense Sāyaṇa assigns in the first two passages, but in the third he translates *anuspaṣhṭa* by *dr̥ṣṭigochara*, "visible" (see Goldstücker's Dict. s.v. *aratni*). *Spaṣ*, as a noun, is found in R.V. i. 25, 13; i. 33, 8; iv. 4, 3; v. 59, 1; vi. 67, 5; vii. 61, 3; vii. 87, 3; viii. 50, 15; ix. 73, 4, 7; and A.V. iv. 16, 4. In the first passage Sāyaṇa renders it, *hiranya-sparṣino rasmin*, "gold-touching, rays;" in the second (i. 33, 8), *bādhakān Vṛttrānucharān*, "the injurious followers of Vṛttra;" in the third (iv. 4, 3) by *parabādhakān rasmin chārān vā*, "destroying others, rays, or spies;" in the fourth (vi. 67, 5) by "rays, or spies; in the fifth (vii. 61, 3)<sup>1</sup> by *rūpam*, "form;" in vii. 87, 3, by *charāḥ*, "spies," (though here, too, the root *spaṣ* is said to have the sense of *sprṣ*, "touch.") In v. 59, 1, *spat*, nom. sing., is said by the scholiast to be = *sprashṭā hotā*, "priest;" whilst in viii. 50, 15, where it is an epithet of Indra, he makes it mean *sarvasya jnātā*,

<sup>1</sup> In vii. 61, 3, there is another instance of Sāyaṇa's making a reference back to a preceding passage, i. 61, 9. See also his notes on i. 154, 1; ii. 2, 5; iii. 17, 1; vi. 26, 4, vii. 76, 4.



“knower of all things.” The sense of the noun *spaṣ* is pretty well fixed by A.V. iv. 16, 4, to be generally that of spies or messengers. And I do not see why in some, at least, of the texts of the R.V. above quoted the verb too should not have the sense of “seeing,” or “shewing.” The root *spaṣ* has the significations of “making evident,” “informing,” given to it among others in Wilson’s Dictionary. The participles *spashta* and *anuspashta*, “manifest,” seem to come from a verb meaning “to see.” *Spas*, “a spy,” also appears to be derived from a root having the same sense. And in the cognate languages the root has the same signification. See Roth’s Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 138 f.

*Smaddishti*, *smadishta*, are not to be found in the Nirukta. The former word (divided into *smad* + *dishti* in the Pada text) occurs several times in the R.V., viz., in iii. 45, 5, as an epithet of Indra, where Sâyaṇa translates it by *bhadra-rākya*, “auspiciously speaking;” in vi. 63, 9, where he takes it for an epithet of chariots or horses, and renders it “handsome-looking,” *prasasta-darsanân* (where *dishti* must be taken to stand for *dr̥sh̥ti*); in vii. 18, 23, where it is an epithet of *dânâh*, “horses,” and is explained by him as “possessing all the approved attributes of a gift, liberality, faith,” etc. (*prasastâti-sarjana-ṣradhâdi-dânânga-yuktâh*). These interpretations seem to be mutually discrepant. His commentary on x. 62, 10, where the word is also found, is not accessible to me. The second word, *smadishta*, differs from the first, in that it ends not in *ti* but in *ta*, and is compounded of *smat* + *ishta*, occurs in R.V. vii. 87, 3, where Sâyaṇa renders it, “either good goes, or, sent together,” according as *smat* is taken in the sense of “good,” or “with.”

*Kundṛnâcht* is explained by Sâyaṇa on R.V. i. 29, 6, as denoting the tortuous movement of the wind; whilst in Vâj. S. 24, 35, as interpreted by Mahîdhara, it signifies some kind of wild animal. The words *prâco yudhyantam ṛshabham daṣadyum* occur both in R.V. i. 33, 14, and in vi. 26, 4, but are differently explained by Sâyaṇa in these two places. In the former he renders, “thou hast preserved the eminent (rishi) Daṣadyu when fighting;” whilst in the latter he makes Vṛshabha a

proper name and Daśadyu an epithet, translating, "thou hast preserved (the king) Vṛshabha fighting for ten days." This discrepancy is pointed out by Prof. Benfey in his note 294 to the former text (*Orient und Occident*, i. p. 51), and he then proceeds: "I am far from imputing this to Sāyaṇa as an offence. He was as little aware of it as we are now. I make the remark only for the sake of those who attach so great importance to him that, instead of the Veda, they translate his Commentary, and while doing so, pretend to be giving a translation of the hymns."

*Prṣhta* in R.V. i. 98, 2, is explained by Sāyaṇa as meaning either *saṃsprṣhta*, "touched," or *nishikṭa*, *nihita*, "shed, placed."

*Prashti* is explained by Sāyaṇa on R.V. i. 39, 6, as "a particular kind of yoke between the three animals which draw the chariot," *etat-sañjako vāhana-traya-madhya-cartti yuga-viṣeṣaḥ*. On viii. 7, 28, he takes *prashti* to mean either "swift," or "a buck yoked in front." See Prof. Wilson's note on the former passage. The words *puruṅthā jarasva* in R.V. vii. 9, 6, are interpreted by Sāyaṇa to mean either "praise with much laudation," or "consume the Rākshasas who move by many paths."

*Gūrttasravas* is explained by Sāyaṇa on i. 61, 5, as *prasa-syāna*, "having approved food;" and on i. 122, 10, as *ud-gūrṇa-dṛpti*, *prakhyātanno vā*, "having exalted light," or "having renowned food."

*Vitahavya*, in R.V. vi. 15, 2, is said by Sāyaṇa either to mean a rishi so called, or, if Bharadvāja be the rishi of the hymn, then *vitahavya* will be an epithet signifying "he by whom an oblation has been presented." The word occurs again in vii. 19, 3, where the scholiast takes it for an epithet of Sudās, meaning, "he who has given, or generated, an oblation."

*Śvaitreya*, which in R.V. i. 33, 14, is taken by Sāyaṇa for a proper name, the son of *Śvitrá*, is in v. 19, 3, understood of the "lightning-fire produced in the atmosphere," although the word has the appearance of being a proper name in that passage also.

*Akavâri* is not in the Nirukta. It is found in R.V. iii. 47, 5, as an epithet of Indra, and is there explained by Sâyaṇa as = *prabhûta-satrukam*, "having many enemies," or *akutsitârim*, "having foes not contemptible." The last sense he illustrates by a reference to R.V. i. 61, 9, where the epithet *svâri*, "having glorious enemies," is applied to Indra, as implying that the vanquisher of such enemies must be most heroic. In vii. 96, 3, *akavâri* is spoken of Sarasvatî, and is interpreted in quite a different manner by Sâyaṇa, as *akutsita-gamaṇâ*, "not badly going." The first of the preceding verses is repeated in Vâj. S. vii. 36, where *akavâri* is taken as either "he whose enemies even are not bad," or "he who obtains what is not bad," i.e. "has eminent dominion."

*Akshnayâvan* is not in the Nirukta, but is found in R.V. viii. 7, 35, where Sâyaṇa gives two explanations, viz., either "going pervadingly" (*vyâptam gachhantah*), or "going quicker than even the eye."

*Adha-priya*, *kadha-priya*, *kadha-pri*. The first of these words occurs as an epithet of the Aṣvins in R.V. viii. 8, 4, where Sâyaṇa offers two interpretations, either (1) "fond of that which exists here below, viz., Soma," or (2) "fond of praise," *adha* standing for *kadha*, shorn of its initial *k*. Prof. Roth, *s.v.*, renders, "then pleased." Prof. Goldstücker does not give the word. *Kadha-priya* is found in R.V. i. 30, 20, as an epithet of Ushas, and *kadha-pri* in i. 38, 1, and viii. 7, 31, as an epithet of the Maruts, and both terms are uniformly rendered by Sâyaṇa "fond of praise," *kadha* being said to stand for *katha* or *kathâ*, "speaking." Prof. Roth, *s.v.*, suggests, "friendly to whom?" And, certainly, when it is observed that all the three passages in which the two words are found are interrogative, this rendering seems more probable than Sâyaṇa's. Compare *kuhayâkrte* in viii. 24, 30. Prof. Benfey translates in i. 30, 20, "where lovest thou?" and in i. 38, 1, "where do ye like to linger?"

*Anarvis*. On this word it will be sufficient to quote Prof. Goldstücker's explanation in his Dictionary: "(*ved.*) i. A car-man, one going with, or on a cart." . . . "(or, according to another explanation, which appears, however, to be an arti-

ficial one), ii. one who does not arrive where he is to go to, one not attaining the end or aim of his journey." The artificial explanation here alluded to is that of Sâyaṇa on i. 121, 7.

*Amavat* is explained by Prof. Roth, *s.v.*, as "violent," "strong," etc.; and by Prof. Goldstücker, *s.v.*, "powerful, mighty, strong." The latter scholar remarks that "this meaning of *amavat* seems to apply satisfactorily to all other instances in which the word occurs. . . . There are, however, other meanings . . . mentioned by Yâska, and accordingly by Sâyaṇa and Mahîdhara, which deserve noticing, not only because the first of them is plausible, but also on account of their high antiquity." The words of Yâska (vi. 12) explanatory of the word before us are *amâtyavân abhyamanavân svavân vâ*, *i.e.*, either "with ministers, or with diseases, or with riches." See Goldstücker, *s.v.* *amavat* and *abhyamanavat*. Yâska seems thus to have been undecided as to the sense. See also Sâyaṇa on R.V. iv. 4, 1, and Wilson's note on the same passage, as also Mahîdhara on Vâj. S. 43, 9.

*Amina* is explained by Sâyaṇa on R.V. vi. 19, as=*ahimsantya*, "uninjurable;" and on this passage he gives no other sense. Prof. Goldstücker, *s.v.*, after assigning the two senses (1) "of an unlimited measure or quantity (of strength), or (2) uninjured," goes on to say: "According to Yâska (vi. 16) the word may have either of these meanings in the following verse of the R.V. (vi. 19, 1);" and quotes Durga, the commentator on Yâska, to show that the words of the latter are to be so understood. Durga also observes that from the form of the word, and the suitability of both senses, either is admissible. But we are not yet arrived at an end of the optional meanings proposed for this adjective. I learn from Prof. Goldstücker's next article that in another text (R.V. x. 116, 4), where this same term occurs (applied, too, as in vi. 19, 1, along with *devibarhas*, as an epithet of Indra), it has two other meanings assigned to it by Sâyaṇa, *both different from those assigned by Yâska* to the word in R.V. vi. 19, 1 (and one of which he (Sâyaṇa) himself adopts in his note on that passage). These two new meanings are "going everywhere" (*sarvayantâ*), and "all-beloved" (*sarvaiḥ kâmyamânaḥ*).

Could anything show more demonstratively the conjectural and etymological character of many of Sâyaṇa's interpretations?

*Amatra* is found as an epithet of Indra in R.V. i. 61, 9, where it is explained by Sâyaṇa as either = "expert in moving in battles, etc., or devoid of any limit." It is also found in iii. 36, 4, where the Commentator renders it, "a vanquisher of enemies." This latter text is quoted in Nir. vi. 23, where the senses of "measureless, great, or uninjured," are assigned to the word. See Goldstücker, *s.v. abhyamita*.

*Amitavarna*, spoken of the Dawns in R.V. iv. 51, 9, is explained by Sâyaṇa as = *ahimsitavarṇā aparimitavarṇā vā*, "either of uninjured colour, or of unlimited colour." He could not therefore have had any precise idea of the sense.

*Amanda*, applied to hymns in R.V. i. 126, 1, is by Yâska, (ix. 10) in his explanation of that passage, rendered as = *abâliṣān analpān vā*, "either not foolish, or not few." Sâyaṇa contents himself with the second sense.

*Ayâsya* has more than one signification assigned to it by Sâyaṇa in i. 62, 7, and viii. 51, 2. See Prof. Goldstücker's Dictionary, *s.v.*

*Aptur*, said to be derived from *ap*, "water," and *tur*, "to hasten," an epithet of the gods in general (R.V. i. 3, 8), of Agni (iii. 27, 11), of Indra (iii. 51, 2, and according to the scholiast, in ii. 21, 5 also, though there it may be a nom. pl.), is declared by Sâyaṇa to have in all these passages the sense of "sender, or senders, of water." In i. 118, 4, where it is an epithet of the horses (according to Sâyaṇa), or the falcons, of the Aṣvins, he ascribes to it the signification of "quick like the waters" (*âpa iva tvaropetâh*). Prof. Goldstücker follows the Scholiast in assigning to it both these senses, viz.: "(1) sending water (*i.e.* rain), an epithet of Indra, Agni, etc.; (2) quick as water (*i.e.* as the falling rain), an epithet of the horses of the Aṣvins." I confess I do not think the commentator's opinion a sufficient reason for concluding that the word has two different meanings. It also occurs in R.V. ix. 61, 13 = S.V. i. 487, where Prof. Benfey renders it "flood-conquering" (while in his Glossary he makes it "water-shedding"). In his translation of R.V. i. 3, 8, in Orient

und Occident, he gives it the sense of "active in works," and in i. 118, 4, of "hastening through the air." Prof. Roth, in his *Lexicon*, *s.v.*, renders it "active, zealous." The substantive *aptúryam* is rendered with some variation by Śāyana in two passages, R.V. iii. 12, 8, and iii. 51, 9, as *ṛṣhti-dcārā prerakatvam*, "the quality of impelling (or stimulating) by means of rain," and *apām prerane*, "in the impelling (or sending) of rain."

In R.V. iii. 27, 11, the word *yanturam*, an epithet of Agni, is explained as either = *sarvasya niyantāram*, "the controuler of all things," or *kshipram gantāram*, "quickly going."

*Ardhadeva*, in R.V. iv. 42, 8, is interpreted by Śāyana as either "near the gods," or "half a god."

*Asaṣchat* is a participle of frequent occurrence in the R.V. One of the passages in which it is found, vi. 70, 2, is quoted in Nir. v. 2, where it is said to be equivalent to *asajyamāne*, "not attached together," or *vyudasyantyaū*, "throwing apart, scattering." Śāyana on this verse merely repeats Yāska. In i. 160, 2, where the word is again an epithet of heaven and earth, he explains it similarly, *asajyamāne paraspara-viyukte*, "not attached, separate from each other." In i. 112, 2, he takes it for an epithet of the worshippers, in the sense of *anyatrāndsaktāḥ*, "not attached to any one else." In vii. 67, 9, it is an epithet of the Aṣvins, and is in like manner interpreted by him *kuṭrāpy asajyamānau*, "not attached anywhere. In iii. 57, 6, he connects it with *pramati*, "the design" or "disposition" of Agni, derives it from *saṣch*, "to go," and explains it *asmad anyatra saṅgatim akurcāṇā*, "not forming an union with any one but us." In ii. 32, 3, it is an epithet of *dhenu*, "cow," and he there renders it *asaktāvayarām*, "having her members unattached" (to what?). In ii. 25, 4, where he regards it as an epithet of "waters," (understood), he explains it, *asajyamānāḥ, aniruddhāḥ*, "unattached, unobstructed." In viii. 31, 4, where it is an epithet of *iḍā*, "food," he derives it from *saṣch*, "to go," and renders it by *āgamana-ṣṭlam*, "that whose character is not to go, or depart." In i. 13, 6, and i. 142, 6 (two verses which are partly identical in contents), the word *asaṣchataḥ* is an epithet of

*dvārah*, "doors." In the former of the two texts (i. 13, 6), Sāyana renders it *udghātanena praceshṭṛ-puruṣa-sanga-rahitāḥ*, "destitute of the contact or presence of persons entering in consequence of their being opened" (i.e. as Prof. Wilson explains "[hitherto] unentered"); whilst in the second passage (i. 142, 6) he renders *asaḥyamānāḥ paraspara-viprakṛṣṭāḥ*,<sup>1</sup> "not attached or joined, distant or apart from each other." The renderings in the last two (parallel) passages seem to be mutually inconsistent, as the latter appears to mean that the doors, of which the two halves stood apart, were open, whilst the former, although we adopt Prof. Wilson's addition of "hitherto," imports that although they were about to be opened, they were still closed. In i. 13, 6, Rosen translates, "non frequentatæ" (which does not differ materially from Wilson's rendering); but in his note, subsequently composed, he says he should (in addition to other changes) prefer to interpret the word under consideration "non clausæ." I observe that in the quotation which he there adduces from Sāyana's Commentary, his reading differs from that given by Müller, in adding a negative particle, as it runs thus, *udghātanena na puruṣa-sanga-rahitāḥ*, which would make the sense, "doors which from their being opened are *not* destitute of the contact or presence of persons entering." Westergaard, *s.v. saṣch*, follows Rosen's note in rendering *asaṣchataḥ* by "portæ non clausæ." Sāyana, on i. 13, 6, derives the word from *saḥj*, "to go," with a negative prefixed, but in the passages where he renders it by *asaḥyamāna*, or *anāsakta*, "not attached," he must, I suppose, be understood to ascribe to this root the sense of "being joined, or attached." Wilson, in his note on i. 142, 6, has noticed the variations in Sāyana's rendering of the term *asaṣchataḥ*. In addition to this discrepancy between his translations of i. 13, 6 and i. 142, 6, I have to observe that Sāyana's explanation of the word in viii. 31, 4, as meaning "that which does not depart," seems to be scarcely consistent

<sup>1</sup> I should add that Sāyana here offers alternative renderings both of *asaṣchataḥ*—making it a masc. pl. with the sense, "devoid of persons entering,"—and of the verb *viprayantām*, which he says may be explained not only "let them be opened," but "let them seek, or approach" (*śevantām*).

with the signification "unobstructed," which he assigns in ii. 25, 4, which implies that the waters could depart elsewhere. At all events, the two meanings are quite different. I have no access to Sâyaṇa's explanations of the word where it occurs in the ninth and tenth books of the R.V. ; but R.V. ix. 57, 1, is repeated in the Sâma-veda, ii. 1111, where I find from Prof. Benfey's Glossary that the Scholiast renders it *sangarahita*, "free from contact." Benfey himself, in his Glossary, translates it "free from pursuers, unhindered," or, when spoken of rain, "thick." In his translation of the passage of the S.V. however, he renders the word by "lovely;" and the cognate word *asaṣchusht* in S.V. ii. 502, by "kindly-disposed." In his translation of R.V. i. 13, 6, in *Orient und Occident*, Benfey renders *asaṣchataḥ*, "good" (from *a* privative and *saṣchat*, "persecuting, enemy"); but in i. 112, 2, he gives "inexhaustible" (unversiegbar) as its equivalent. Prof. Roth (see his *Lexicon*, *s.v.*) proposes to render "unfailing." On the whole I think that the senses proposed by Sâyaṇa are either too various, too vague, or too forced, to be admitted as satisfactory, and have very much the appearance of being conjectural.

*Āhanas* is understood by Yâska (iv. 15, in his interpretation of R.V. ix. 75, 5, where it occurs in the plural as an epithet of *maddh*, "intoxicating draughts"), as = *āhananarantah*, "smiting." In his explanation (Nir. v. 2) of R.V. x. 10, 8, where it is an epithet of Yamî, he adheres to the same etymology, and makes it signify "smiting as it were with uncivil words" (*āhamṣṭva bhāshamāṇā iti asabhya-bhāshāṇāḍ ahanā iva bhavati etasmād āhanah syāt*). I have not access to Sâyaṇa's Commentary on these two verses, or on x. 125, 2; but on ii. 13, 1 (where he applies it to Soma) he takes it in a passive sense, "to be smitten, to be poured out" (*āhantaryo bhishotavyah*), while on v. 42, 13, he gives it the active signification of *āhantā sektā*, "smiter, shedder." It seems unlikely that the term should have both these senses.

*Ātuje* in R.V. vii. 32, 9, is explained by Sâyaṇa as an epithet (in the dative) of Indra, with the meaning either "of destroyer of enemies, or giver of wealth." Müller makes it



mean "to give." The last words of the verse, *na devāsaḥ kavatnave*, are rendered by Müller (Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 544), "the gods are not to be trifled with." Wilson has, "the gods favour not the imperfect rite." In his note he shows a curious misapprehension of Sāyana when he says: "The scholiast seems to render it, men do not become gods by such means, *devā na bhavanti*." These last words merely mean, as I take them: "The gods are not for (*i.e.*, are not favourers of) a *kavatnu*;" whether that adjective means, as Roth, *s.v.*, proposes, "a niggard," or, possibly,—as may be suggested, if we regard it as in opposition to the word *tarāṇi* in the preceding clause,—"an inert or timid man." In illustration of the construction, compare iv. 33, 11, *na ṛte śrāntasya sakhyāya devāḥ*, "the gods [are not disposed] for the friendship of the man who is tired of sacred rites" (though Sāyana renders differently); and vii. 61, 5, *na cām ninyāny achīle abhūvan*, "your secret things are not for the unthinking man." (Wilson does not translate Sāyana accurately here).

In R.V. i. 84, 16, Sāyana assigns to the word *kaḥ* the optional senses of "who?" or of "Prajāpati," and to *gāḥ* those of "horses," or "words of the Veda."

*Dhiyāvasu* is an epithet of Sarasvatī in i. 3, 10 (= Vāj. S. 20, 84), and of Agni in iii. 3, 2, and iii. 28, 1. Yāska comments on the first of these passages in Nir. xi. 26, and there explains *dhiyāvasu* by the vague equivalent *karmavasū*, which may mean, "rich in works," or "she who through works confers wealth." This last sense, though not in itself obvious, is the one extracted from the compound by Sāyana, who render *skarma-prāpya-dhana-nimitta-bhūtā*, "she who is the cause of the wealth which is to be acquired through works." He afterwards repeats the same explanation in the words, *dhiyā karmaṇā vasu yasyāḥ sakāśād bhavati sā dhiyāvasuḥ*. On iii. 28, 1 he interprets similarly, and Mahīdhara on Vāj. S. 20, 84, not very differently. On R.V. iii. 3, 2, however, Sāyana gives the word a totally different sense, *prajñayā vyāptāḥ*, "pervaded by wisdom."

*Vidāvasu* is variously explained by Sāyana in three different passages, i. 6, 6; v. 39, 1; viii. 55, 1. In the first,

where he takes it for an epithet of the Maruts, he makes it signify *vedayadbhiḥ sa-mahima-prakhyāpakair vasubhir dhanair yuktam*, "possessed of riches which make known their greatness." Further on he gives the additional explanation, *audāryātiṣayavattayā jnāpayanti vasūni dhanāni yaṃ sa vidadvasuh*, "he whom his riches make known as exceedingly generous is *vidadvasau*." In v. 39, 1, the word is applied to Indra, and there the Scholiast gives it the sense of *labdha-dhana*, "he by whom wealth has been obtained."<sup>1</sup> In viii. 55, 1, where it is an epithet of the same god, it is declared by Sāyaṇa to mean *vedayadvasum dhanāvedakam*, the god "who makes known riches." The term, however, was most probably intended by the authors of the hymns to have but one sense.

*Gabhasti*, in R.V. i. 54, 4, is interpreted by Sāyaṇa as either "taken with the hand," or "having rays."

*Hvārya*, in R.V. v. 9, 4, receives from Sāyaṇa a threefold interpretation, viz. either (1) "a wriggling serpent," or (2) "a horse performing the *āskandita* and other tortuous movements," or (3) "an unbroken colt." Compare Wilson's note.

*Kaṣā* means a "whip," but in the Nighaṇṭus i. 11, it is also said to be one of the fifty-six synonymes of *vāc*, "speech." In R.V. i. 22, 3, and i. 157, 4, mention is made of the *kaṣā madhumatt* or "honed whip" of the Aṣvins, and they are asked to moisten with it the sacrifice or the worshippers. In both these places Sāyaṇa gives an optional rendering of *kaṣā*, as signifying either "whip," or "speech." Mahīdhara on Vâj. S. 7, 11, gives the word the sense of "speech" only. See Note 1 in p. 363 of my Article on the "Progress of the Vedic Religion," etc., in the last volume of this Journal.

*Krandast* is interpreted by Sāyaṇa on R.V. ii. 12, 8, as either "heaven and earth making a sound," or "two armies, human and divine." On vi. 25, 4, he takes it for two disputants "crying and abusing" each other (*krandamānāv ākroṣantau*). I have not access to his commentary on x.

<sup>1</sup> Yāska quotes this verse (Nir. iv. 4) and explains *vidadvasu* by *vittadhana*, which may mean either "he by whom wealth is known," or "by whom wealth has been obtained."

121, 6, but I observe that Prof. Müller in his translation of the hymn (Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 569) renders the term by "heaven and earth," which is also the only sense assigned to it by Mahidhara on Vâj. S. 32, 7, where the verse is repeated.

*Nabhanya* is explained by Sâyaṇa in i. 149, 3, as = *nabhasi bhavo nabhasvân vâyuḥ*, "that which is produced, or exists, in the sky, the wind;" in i. 173, 1, as = *nabhasyaṃ nabhasi bhavam nabhocyâpinam himsakam vâ râkshasâdikasya*, either "etherial, pervading the sky," or "destructive of Râkshasas," etc.; and in vii. 42, 1, as = *stotra*, "a hymn."

*Nṛchakshas*, which is not in the Nirukta, is generally translated by Sâyaṇa, "beholder of men" (R.V. iv. 3, 3; vii. 60, 2), or, "beholder of the conductors of rites" (*nṛnâm* being taken as = *karma-netṛiṇâm*). In i. 22, 7, however, though said to mean primarily, "he who sees men" (*nṛiṣṭ chashṭe*), it is (as an epithet of Savitri) explained by the words, "illuminator of men" (*manushyânâm prakâṣa-kâriṇam*); and in i. 91, 2, by "he who shows to the conductors of sacrifices the desired fruit (of their rites)."

*Sûrachakshas* is found in Nir. xi. 16 (where R.V. i. 110, 4, is explained) as an epithet of the Ribhus. Yâska gives it the sense of "sun-speaking (?) or sun-wise," *sûra-khyânâ vâ sûra-prajñâ vâ*. Sâyaṇa does not adhere to more than one of Yâska's renderings, and proposes *sûrya-samâna-prakâṣâḥ sûrya-sadrṣa-jñânâ vâ*, "having splendour like the sun," or "having knowledge like the sun." The word also occurs in R.V. i. 16, 1, where Sâyaṇa takes it for *sûrya-samâna-prakâṣa-yuktâ ṛtvijaḥ*, "having splendour like the sun, priests." The correctness of this last interpretation seems very doubtful; and I do not see why the word should not be, as Benfey makes it (Or. und Occ.), an epithet of *harayah*, Indra's tawny horses. If so, the verse would run thus: "Let the tawny horses bring thee, the vigorous, to the soma-draught, Indra, thee, the sun-eyed steeds." The sense of "eye" or "sight" is assigned by Sâyaṇa in v. 66, 6, to *chakshas* in *tya-chakshasâ*, which he renders *vyâpta-darṣanau*; in *sahasra-chakshas*, an epithet of Varuṇa, in vii. 34, 10, which he interprets by *bahu-chakshus*, "many-eyed;" and, optionally, in the compound *ghora-chak-*

*shase* (vii. 104, 2), which he explains *ghora-darsanāya parushabhāshine vā*. *Sūrachakshas* is rendered "sun-eyed" by Benfey in i. 116, 4, also; though in his note he doubts whether this means, "with eyes gleaming like the sun," or "with eyes which see all, like the sun." To the compound *uruchakshas*, Sāyaṇa gives the sense of "seer of many," in i. 25, 5, and vii. 51, 9; of "great seers," in viii. 90, 2; of "to be seen by many," in i. 25, 16; but of "possessing great brilliancy," in vii. 35, 8; vii. 63, 4.

*Chākshma*, in R.V. ii. 24, 9, is said by Sāyaṇa to signify *sarcasya drashtā sarva-saḥ vā*, either "all-seeing," or "all-enduring."

*Jenya* is explained by Sāyaṇa on R.V. i. 74, 4, as meaning either "manifested," or "conquerors (of Rākshasas)."

*Pastyā*, though generally rendered by Sāyaṇa "people," "men," "house," "dwellers in a house" (i. 25, 10; i. 40, 7; i. 164, 30), has in one place (iv. 1, 11) the alternative sense of "river" assigned to it.

In R.V. i. 180, 7, the words *vi paṇir hitavān* are said by Sāyaṇa to mean either, "the vessel which receives the stipulated libation (?) has had the liquid put into it" (*paṇih paṇādhāro droṇa-kalaṣo vihītavān sthāpita-rasavān āstī*), or "let the trafficker, avaricious, unsacrificing, who, though possessed of wealth, does not sacrifice, be separated" (*paṇir vaṇik lubdhako 'yashṭā hitavān niyata-dhano dhanādhyo 'py ayashṭā vi yujyatām*). The difference between these two explanations is evidently prodigious, and shows how greatly the Scholiast was at a loss. Compare Wilson's note *in loco*.

*Ūtayaḥ*, generally rendered "aids," is in i. 84, 20, explained by Sāyaṇa as = *gantārah* "goers," or as standing (with the loss of the initial *dh*) for *dhūtayaḥ*, "shakers," meaning the Maruts. He also assigns to *rādhāmsi* in the same verse the unusual sense of "spirits" (*bhūtāni*). He seems to have regarded these strange interpretations as necessitated by the following verb *dabhan*, which has commonly the sense of "injure," "destroy." But it may have here, as Roth proposes, *s.v.*, the signification of "fail."

*Dhṛta-vrata* is an epithet often applied to the gods, chiefly

to Mitra, Varuṇa, and the Ādityas. It means, "one whose ordinance stands fast," "one by whom the order of nature is upheld," according to Roth, *s.v.*, and Müller, "Anc. Sansk. Lit." p. 534. Sâyaṇa on R. V. i. 15, 6, renders it by *svikṛta-karmāṇau*, "those by whom works are accepted;" or, as Wilson translates, "propitious to pious acts." In i. 25, 8, also, Sâyaṇa explains the word *svikṛta-karma-viśeṣaḥ*, "he by whom a particular work is accepted;"<sup>1</sup> whereas Müller (p. 536) makes it, "the upholder of order." In v. 1 of the same hymn the word *vrata* (with which *dhr̥ta-vrata* is compounded) is vaguely rendered by Sâyaṇa as = *karma*, "work;" and Wilson translates the phrase *vrataṃ pramintmasi* (which Sâyaṇa explains as = *karma pramâdena himsita-vantaḥ*), by "we disfigure thy worship by imperfections." Müller renders it, probably more accurately, "break thy laws." It is not clear which of the senses Sâyaṇa adopted; for in other passages, where there can be no doubt that the sense is what Müller makes it, Sâyaṇa uses the same terms of explanation. This is the case in ii. 38, 7, and v. 69, 4, where it is declared that no one can, or that the other gods cannot, hinder the ordinances of Savitri, or of Mitra and Varuṇa, in which passages it is far more likely that "decrees" or "designs," than "ceremonies," are contemplated. In ii. 28, 8, where it is said that the ordinances of Varuṇa rest unshaken on him as on a mountain, Sâyaṇa explains *vratāni* by *karmāni vidharaṇāni*, "works," "upholdings." And in ii. 38, 2, 9, he interprets the word of the "creative or impulsive act," *prasavākhyam karma*, of Savitri. So, too, in i. 101, 3, he gives it the signification of *niyama-rūpe karmanī, niyamanam* "controlling act," "control;" in iii. 30, 4, of *karmaṇe, dñāyai*, "command;" and in vii. 31, 11, of *rakṣaṇādāni karmāni*, "preservation and other works." But there are other passages in which he undoubtedly explains *vrata* by "rite," in accordance with the modern use of the word; as in i. 69, 4, where he takes it for *etāni paridr̥ṣyamānāni darṣa-pūrṇamā-sādāni karmāni*, "these rites which we see, the *darṣa, pūrṇamāsa*," etc.; and in i. 91, 3, where he takes it alternatively for *sarvāny agnishtomādāni karmāni*, "all the ceremonies, the

<sup>1</sup> On iv. 63, 4, he makes it = *dhr̥takarmā*, "he by whom work is upheld."

*agnishṭoma*," etc., or *karmāṇi lokahitakārīṇi*, "acts promotive of the good of the world;" whilst in v. 63, 7, where Mitra and Varuṇa are said to uphold ordinances by their support, "through the wisdom of the divine Spirit," (*dharmanā vratā rakshethe asurasya māyayā*), he explains these words by *jagad-dhārakena vṛṣhty-ādi-lakṣhaṇena karmanā vratā yajñādi-karmāṇi rakshethe pālayathah*, "ye support sacrifice and other rites by your world-sustaining action in the form of rain," etc. He interprets the word *vrata* in a similar manner in the following texts: i. 92, 12; i. 124, 2; ii. 28, 2; vii. 47, 3; vii. 76, 5. In most, at least, of these passages, however, there is little doubt the word *vrata* means "ordinances," or "laws." If there could be any question as to its having this meaning elsewhere, the point would be settled by R.V. x. 33, 9, *na devānām ati vratam śatātmā chana jīvati*, "even the man of a hundred years does not live beyond the ordinance of (the term ordained by) the gods."<sup>1</sup> *Avrata* probably means quite as much "lawless," as "destitute of rites." (See Roth's Lexicon, s.v.) In x. 2, 4, where it is said that Agni rectifies whatever transgressions of the ordinances (*vratāni*) of the gods may be committed by the worshippers, the word probably alludes to sacred rites.

*Raṇva* in R.V. ii. 24, 11, means, Sāyaṇa tells us, *ramayitā stotavyo vā*, either "a giver of pleasure," or "one who is to be praised."

*Rāti* in R.V. i. 60, 1, is a word about which Sāyaṇa is uncertain. He first explains it as "friend," a sense which he supports by the authority of Kapardin (whoever he may be), and then adds, "some say *rāti* means "son," and in proof of this he quotes R.V. iii. 2. 4. But when we turn to that passage we find, strangely enough, that he renders the word by *abhilashitārthapradātaram*, "giver of desired objects."

*Rudravarttani*, *hiranyavarttani* are epithets frequently applied to the gods, but diversely interpreted by Sāyaṇa. He explains the former in R.V. i. 3, 3, as meaning "leading in

<sup>1</sup> Compare R.V. viii. 28, 4, where a similar idea is expressed without the employment of the word *vrata*: *Yathā vaṣanti devās tathā id āsat tad eṣhām nakir ā sinat*, etc., "As the gods wish, so it comes to pass; no one hinders that [will] of theirs," etc.

the front of the battle like heroes, who make their enemies weep." On viii. 22, 1, and 14, he renders it "those who in battle pursue a path characterized by weeping, or those whose path is praised." *Hiranyavarttani* in viii. 5, 11, he translates "they whose path is golden, or whose car is golden, or whose conduct is beneficent and pleasant" (*hita-ramaṇtyācharaṇau*). On viii. 8, 1, he confines himself to the two latter senses. In vi. 61, 7, he makes it "having a golden chariot," and in viii. 26, 18, "having a golden path." Compare *kr̥ṣṇa-varttani* and *ghrtavarttani*.

*Str̥bhīḥ* is a word which Sāyana translates by "stars" (*nakshatraiḥ*) in i. 68, 5; iv. 7, 3; vi. 49, 3, 12. Compare x. 68, 11. It is also found in ix. 68, 4, but I am not aware how he renders it there. Yāska explains the word in the same way, referring to one of these passages, iv. 7, 3, in illustration. In i. 87, 1, however, where it occurs in the following connection, *anjibhir vyānājre kechid usrā iva str̥bhīḥ*, Sāyana explains it by *svaṣartrasyāchhādakaiḥ*, "covering their bodies," a sense, which I suppose to be a purely conjectural one, based only on etymology. He separates it from its more immediate context and makes it an epithet of *anjibhiḥ*, rendering the clause thus: "The Maruts are seen distinct in the sky through the ornaments covering their bodies, like any rays of the sun shining in the sky." The position of *str̥bhīḥ* after *usrāḥ* is, however, rather adverse to this construction and rendering; and makes Roth's translation more probable, viz., "like many oxen with stars, i.e. white spots." See s. v. *usra*. Benfey translates differently, but retains the sense "stars," and thinks spots on the forehead may be meant. See *Orient und Occident*, ii. 250.

*Sahasramushka* is translated by Sāyana on R. V. vi. 46, 3, (= Sāma-veda i. 286) as equivalent to *sahasraṣepha*, "mille membra genitalia habens;" and a story illustrative of Indra's lasciviousness is adduced from the Kaushītakins to support this sense. In viii. 19, 32 the word is applied to Agni, and there Sāyana renders it *bahutejaskam* "having many flames," *mushka* being considered as = *tejas*, from its stealing away, or removing darkness.

*Sundhyu* in R.V. i. 124, 4 is understood by Yâska (iv. 16) of the "sun," or of a "white water-fowl." Sâyaṇa repeats the same optional interpretation.

*Scarâj*, as an epithet of Indra, is differently explained by Sâyaṇa in R.V. 1, 61, 9; iii. 46, 1; vii. 82, 2; and viii. 12, 14. In iii. 46, 1, he makes it = *dhanâdhipati*, "lord of wealth," (*sra* here standing for "property"), and in the other places = *stenaira tejasâ râjamânaḥ*, "shining by his own lustre," or *stayam eva anya-nirapekshayaiva râjamânaḥ*, "shining of himself, without reference to any one else," etc. In ii. 28, 1, where it is an epithet of Varuṇa, it is said by Sâyaṇa to mean "shining of himself," or "lord."

*Sakshani* is differently explained by Sâyaṇa in R.V. i. 111, 3, and in ii. 31, 4. In the former place it is said to mean "overcoming" (*asmân abhibhavantam*), whilst in the latter it is rendered, "to be served or revered" (*sachantyaḥ seryaḥ*). In viii. 22, 15, also, it is similarly interpreted *sachantya-ṣīlau*. The word is also found in R.V. ix. 71, 4, and ix. 110, 1, but I have no access to the commentary on these two passages. The latter is, however, repeated in the Sâma-veda, i. 428, where Prof. Benfey renders the word "taming (enemies)." The sense of "overcoming" or "controlling" seems generally suitable in these passages. The word is, I presume, to be derived from the root *sah*, not from *sach*.

R.V. i. 140, 9. The word *tuvigrebhiḥ*, an epithet of Agni's attendants (*satrabhiḥ*) is explained by Sâyaṇa to mean either *prabhûtam ṣabdayadbhiḥ*, "much-sounding," or *prabhûta-gamanaiḥ*, "much-going." The apparently kindred word *tuvigraye*, R.V. ii. 21, 2 (an epithet, in the dative, of Indra) is said by him to mean either *pūrṇa-grivâya*, "with full neck," or *bahubhiḥ stotaryâya*, "to be praised by many."

*Vṛtançaya*, an epithet of Indra in R.V. ii. 21, 3, is declared by Sâyaṇa to mean either *abhîshtasyâchetâ sanchetâ dâtâ*, "the bestower of what is desired," or (*ṛt satruḥ, tam chayate hinasti iti vṛtançayaḥ*), a "destroyer of enemies." *Radhrachoda*, in the following verse, is asserted to signify *sanṛddhânâṃ prerakaḥ yadvâ himsakânâṃ ṣatruânâṃ chodakaḥ*, either "a promoter of the affluent, or a driver of enemies."



*Varútrī* appears to be explained by Sāyaṇa in i. 22, 10, as an epithet (*varantya*, "to be desired"), of Dhishanā, the goddess of speech. In vii. 38, 5, and vii. 40, 6, however, the word is treated as a proper name, denoting the goddess of speech, *Vāg-devī* or *Sarasvatī*. In Vāj. S. xi. 61, we have the word in the plural, *Varútrīh*, where Mahīdhara says they are "goddesses personifying day and night" (*Varútrayo devyo 'horátrābhīmāninyah . . . "ahorátrāni vai varútrayah | ahorátrair hi idam sarvaṃ vṛtam" iti* (S. P. Br. 6, 5, 4, 6). In R.V. i. 22, 11, the epithet *achhinnapatra* is applied to the wives of the gods, and signifies, according to Sāyaṇa, "with wings uncut." For, he adds, "the wings of the wives of the gods, who have a winged form, are not cut by any one." Mahīdhara on Vāj. S. xi. 61, explains the term somewhat differently, as "those whose course or flight is not cut or hindered, constantly going," *achhinnam patram patanam yāsam tāh satatayāyinyah*.

*Vihāyas* means, in modern Sanskrit, "sky," "bird." In the Nighaṅṭus 3, 3, it is given as one of the synonymes of *mahat*, "great." In Nir. iv. 15 (where Yāska quotes and interprets R.V. ix. 75, 5) it is said, as an epithet of *maddh*, "intoxicating draughts," to signify *vanchanavantaḥ*, "deceiving, deluding." The word occurs again as an epithet of Viṣvakarman in R.V. x. 72, 2 (= Vāj. S. 17, 26); and in Nir. x. 26, where that verse is explained, it is rendered by *vyāptā*, "pervader." Mahīdhara interprets it as meaning either, "pervading like the ether," or "one who especially forsakes, a destroyer," *nabho-vad vyāpako yadvā viśeshēṇa jahāti tyajati vihāyāh sanharttā*. *Vihāyas* is also found as an epithet of Indra in R.V. iii. 36, 2, where Sāyaṇa, after stating that its constituent elements mean "the giver of the desired objects to suppliants," ends by assigning to it the simple sense of "great" (*vijahāty utsṛjaty arthān arthibhya iti vihāyā mahān*. In iv. 11, 4, without entering into any explanation, he ascribes to it the same meaning. In his above cited comment on R.V. x. 72, 2 (Nir. x. 26), Yāska proposes no less than five different renderings for the participle *ishṭāni*, viz., *kāntāni*, *krāntāni*, *gatāni*, *matāni*, and *natāni*.

*Vishitashṭukā*, an epithet of Rodasī ("the wife of the Maruts, or lightning," *Marutpatnī vidyud vā*) in R.V. i. 167, 5, is said by Sāyaṇa to mean either "having a distinguished mass of hair," or "having a dishevelled mass of hair" (*viśiṣṭa-keṣa-sanghā viprakṛṇa-keṣa-sanghā vā*). Compare the different senses assigned to the word *prthushṭuka*, above.

*Mesha* occurs in the R.V. as a designation of Indra. On i. 51, 1 (=S.V. i. 376) Sāyaṇa renders it "striving with enemies, or ram, because Indra had come in that form to the rishi Medhātithi when sacrificing, and drunk his soma," etc. On i. 52, 1 (=S.V. i. 377) the Scholiast only mentions the first of these two senses; but on viii. 86, 12, he returns to the second and gives it as the exclusive meaning. He here, however, says that Indra, in the form of a ram, carried Medhātithi to heaven. In fact, there is a verse of the R.V. viii. 2, 40, which says, *itthā dhīvantam adrivāḥ Kāṇvam Medhyātithim | mesho bhūto 'bhi yann ayah |* "Thus, thunderer, having become a ram, and approaching the devout Medhyātithi of the 'race of Kaṇva, thou didst carry him away, (or, thou didst depart)." Sāyaṇa gives to the verb *ayah* here the causal sense of *agamayah*. Compare the words of i. 51, 13, *menā abhavo Vṛṣhaṇasvasya*, which either arose out of, or gave rise to, another story about Indra.

*Vartmabhīḥ*, in R.V. i. 55, 2, is rendered by Sāyaṇa either "coverings, or vastnesses," *samcaraṇair yadvā urutvāḥ*.

In regard to *ubhayāsah*, in R.V. i. 60, 2, it is left doubtful by Sāyaṇa, whether it means both gods and men, or priests and those for whom they officiated.

*Varāha* is given in Nigh. i. 10, as one of the names for "cloud." In Nir. v. 4, two senses, "cloud" and "boar," are assigned to it, R.V. i. 61, 7 being quoted as a passage where it has the former meaning. Sāyaṇa, *in loco*, understands it either of "cloud" or "sacrifice." See Wilson's note.

The notes to the fourth volume of Prof. Wilson's translation of the Rig-veda (verified by reference to the original Commentary), and an examination of parts of the volume itself, supply the following additional instances of double renderings by Sāyaṇa, or of variations in interpretation be-

tween him and Mahîdhara, the commentator on the Vâjasa-  
neyi Sanhitâ:—

R.V. vi. 62, 8. *Rakshoyuje* is explained by Sâyaṇa as  
“lord or instigator of Rakshases, or priest united with  
Rakshases;”

ibid. 10. *Nṛvatâ rathena*, as “chariot with a charioteer, or  
with horses;”

vi. 63, 8. *Dhenum isham*, as “gladdening food, or desirable  
cow.”

vi. 71, 3. *Hiraṇyajihva*, “golden-tongued” (so rendered by  
Wilson), is explained by Sâyaṇa as “having a kind, pleasant  
voice,” though in the next verse he translates *hiraṇyapâṇi*,  
“golden-handed.”

In vi. 75, 11 (= Vâj. S. xxix. 48) the tooth of an arrow  
is said to be *mṛga*, which Sâyaṇa (following Yâska, ix. 19)  
understands either as meaning that it is made of “deer’s  
horn,” or that it “searches out the enemy.” Mahîdhara  
adheres to the latter sense.

On vi. 75, 13 (= Vâj. S. xxix. 50), I quote Prof. Wilson’s  
note, from which it will be seen that the interpreters are at  
variance: “*Prachetasah* is applied by Yâska, ix. 20, and Mahî-  
dhara, to *aṣvân*, the intelligent horses; but Sâyaṇa is better  
advised, as there is no other nominative to the verbs *janghanti*  
and *jighnate*.” I think, however, that from the position of  
*prachetasah* in the verse it is difficult to connect it in the way  
Sâyaṇa does.

vii. 3, 7. *Pûrbhiḥ* is here rendered “cities,” but “protec-  
tors” (*pâlakaiḥ*) in vi. 48, 8, where it occurs in a similar  
connection. It probably means “rampart,” as in fact Sâyaṇa  
himself intimates on vii. 15, 14; *Pûḥ puri tad-rakshâ-  
sâdhana-bhûta-prâkâr-* (qu. *prâkâr-*) *âdir vâ*, “*Pur* is a city,  
or walls, etc., which are the means of its defence.”

vii. 4, 7. *Parishadyam* is translated either as “fit” (*paryâp-  
tam*), or “to be taken away” (*pariharttavayam*); and *araṇa*,  
here rendered “freedom from debt,” is in verse 8 explained as  
*aramamân*, “not delighting.”

vii. 5, 3. *Pûru*, here and in vi. 46, 8, explained as the  
“name of a king,” is in vii. 8, 4, interpreted as the “name

of an Asura;"<sup>1</sup> and in i. 63, 7, as an epithet of Sudâs, in the sense of, "satisfying with offerings." In iv. 21, 10, where the context is partly the same as in i. 63, 7, *pûru* is explained "man," "sacrificer." In i. 130, 7, after saying that *pûru* signifies "one who fills up, offers, what is desired," Sâyaṇa ends by telling us that the word is one of the names for "man."

ibid. 7. *Vâyur na pâthah paripâsi* is explained as, "thou drinkest soma like Vâyur," or "thou drinkest up, driest, water like Vâyur."<sup>2</sup>

vii. 6, 4. The subject of the participle *madantîh* is said to be either "creatures" (*prajâh*), or "dawns" (*ushasah*).

vii. 8, 4 (= Vâj. S. xii. 34). *Sṛṇve* is rendered by Sâyaṇa, "is renowned," whilst Mahîdhara makes it, "hears the invocation of the worshipper."

ibid. 6. *Dvibarhâh* is explained as "great in knowledge and works," or "great in two worlds."

vii. 16, 1 (= Vâj. S. xv. 32). *Arati* is explained by Sâyaṇa as goer" or "lord;" by Mahîdhara as "having competent understanding," or "of ceaseless activity."

ibid. 7 (= Vâj. S. xxxiii. 14.) *Yantârah* is rendered by Sâyaṇa "givers," and by Mahîdhara, "controlling their senses." Sâyaṇa assigns to *sûrâyah* in the same verse the sense of "impellers," or of "praisers."

vii. 18, 6. *Matsyâso niṣitâh* is rendered either "like fish confined," or "Matsyas (people so called) harassed;" and *śrushtî*, either "quick arrival," or "happiness," while in v. 10 it receives the former sense, and in vii. 40, 1 the latter.

ibid. 8. *Bheda* is explained either "unbeliever" (*nâstika*), or as the name of an enemy of Sudâs (which latter sense is also assigned in vii. 33, 3).

vii. 23, 4 (= Vâj. S. xxxiii. 18), *Āpaḥ chit pipiyuh staryo na gâvaḥ*: Sâyaṇa: "Let the waters increase like barren

<sup>1</sup> So, too, Mahîdhara on Vâj. S. xii. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Both explanations seem to be wrong. Compare the words *Vishṇuryopâh param pâti pâthah*, in iii. 55, 10, where Sâyaṇa himself renders the last three words "guards the highest place," though he adds an optional rendering of *pâthah* as the "place of water, the atmosphere."

cows." Mahîdhara: "The waters swell the soma like the Vedic texts, with which libations are offered."

vii. 32, 18 (= S.V. i. 310), compared with viii. 19, 26. In the former passage, the words *na pâpatvâya râstya*, which are common to both, are explained by *na dadyâm*: "I would not give, i.e. I would not give up, my worshipper to wretchedness." (Comp. Müller's transl. of this verse, in his *Anc. Sansk. Lit.* p. 545. In viii. 1, 22, *râsate* is explained by *dadâti*: "he gives.") In viii. 19, 26, however, the same words, *na râstya*, though employed in a similar connection, are explained by *na âkroṣayeyam*: "I would not cause thee to be reviled." Prof. Wilson there translates as follows: "May I not be accused, Vasu, of calumniating thee, nor, gracious (Agni), of sinfulness against thee," etc.: instead of which Mr. Cowell proposes to render: "Let me not abuse thee by calumny or wickedness," which is no material improvement. There can be little doubt, I think, that Sâyaṇa, followed by his translators, is wrong, and that the verse should be taken in conjunction with the preceding (v. 25) and (omitting epithets) be explained as follows: "If, Agni, thou wert a mortal, and I an immortal, I should not give thee up to execration, or to wretchedness," etc.<sup>1</sup> We have Sâyaṇa's own authority on vii. 32, 18, as I have shown, for rendering *na râstya*: "I would not give;" and although he does not explain *pâpatvâya* at all in either of these passages, he does distinctly assign to it the sense of "wretchedness" (*hinabhâvâya*) in a similar text, vii. 94, 3: "Do not, ye heroes, Indra and Agni, subject us to wretchedness (*pâpatvâya*), or to execration, or to reviling." Comp. Benfey's rendering of Sâma-veda, i. 310, and ii. 268.

vii. 41, 2 (= Vâj. S. xxxiv. 35.) *Tura* is rendered by Sâyaṇa "wealthy;" by Mahîdhara "sick," or as a designation of "Yama."

vii. 48, 3. *Uparatâti* is explained here as = *upalatâti*, "that which is carried on with stones, a battle." On i. 151, 5, it is explained as "that which has an extension of clouds."

<sup>1</sup> There are other instances in the hymns of the sense running on from one verse into another. See vv. 5 and 6 of this same hymn, viii. 19, and viii. 12, 32 f. in Prof. Wilson's translation.

vii. 64, 1. The words *ghṛtasya nirñijah* are interpreted either "forms of water" discharged by the clouds, or "forms of melted butter" offered to Mitra and Varuṇa.

vii. 66, 9. The verb *dhtmahī* is interpreted here, "we hold, or have;" on iii, 62, 10 (the celebrated *gāyatrī*), "we meditate" (*dhyāyāmah*), or "let us hold in our mind as an object of contemplation" (*dheyatayā manasā dhārayema*), or "we hold" (*dhārayāmah*). In vii. 15, 7, *nidhtmahī* is explained, "we have placed;" and in i. 17, 6, "we deposit as a treasure."

vii. 71, 4. *Viṣcapsnya* is explained as "pervading" (*vyāp-tarūpa*), or as a name of Vasishṭha.

vii. 77, 2. *Gavam mātā* is said to mean the "former, either of voices, or of cows."

vii. 79, 3. *Angirastamā*, an epithet of Ushas (the Dawn), is explained as either "the quickest of goers," or as a designation given to her, because night was produced along with the Bharadvājas of the race of Angiras, and she (the Dawn) forms the end of the night!

vii. 82, 1. *Mahī śarma* is explained as either a "great house, or "great happiness."

ibid. 5. *Subham tyate* is explained either, "obtains an ornament," or "sends water."

vii. 83, 2. *Svardṛṣ* is here explained "seeing heaven after quitting the body." In vii. 58, 2, it is interpreted, "seer of the sun, i.e. living creature," or "tree, from its seeing the sky."

vii. 90, 1 (=Vāj. S. xxxiii. 70.) *Vtrayā* is taken by Sāyaṇa for a dative masc. "to the hero (Vāyu);" whilst Mahīdhara joins with it the preceding *pra* and makes *pratrāyā* an epithet of the soma libations, with the sense, "having excellent heroes sprung from knowledge, priests."

ibid. 3 (=Vāj. S. xxvii. 24.) Sāyaṇa takes *nireke* for "in poverty," and Mahīdhara for "in a place crowded with people."

ibid. 5. *Vtravāham* is explained either to be "borne by worshippers, or by horses."

vii. 99, 3 (=Vāj. S.V. 16.) *Mayūkhaiḥ* is rendered by

Sāyana "mountains,"<sup>1</sup> while Mahīdhara understands it of "various glorious lives (*sva-tejo-rūpair nānā jīvaiḥ*), or his numerous incarnations in a Boar," etc.

vii. 104, 2. *Ghorachakshas* is explained as either "horrible in aspect," or "harshly speaking."

viii. 1, 2. *Ubhayāvinam* is explained as either "having both celestial and earthly riches," or "having both stationary and moving things to preserve," or "having persons both to praise and sacrifice to him."

ibid. 10. *Gāyatravepas* is explained here "having approved speed," whilst on i. 142, 12, it is interpreted as "having the form of the *gāyatra*."

Ibid. 31. *Yādvaḥ* is explained as either "of the race of Yadu," or "renowned among men," and *paṣu* as either "having cattle," or "a perceiver of what is minute."

viii. 3, 5. *Samṅke* is interpreted as either "at sacrifice," or in battle."

ibid. 9. *Yatibhyaḥ* is explained as either "from non-sacrificing men," or "for men practising rites."

ibid. 24. *Turtya* is explained either "fourth," or a "destroyer of enemies."

viii. 4, 8. *Dāna* is interpreted either a "breaker up," (*avakhandayitā*) or a "giver."

viii. 5, 9. *Vi pathaḥ sitam* is explained either "shut up the paths that others may not enter," or the contrary, "open up, show the paths."

ibid. 13. *Brahma janānām* is interpreted as either "the Brāhman-caste among men," or "the prayer, or the sacrificial food, of men."

ibid. 38. *Charmamnāḥ* is explained as either "practised in the wearing of cuirasses of leather," or "exercised in the use of horses and other instruments of motion." The word is interpreted by Mahīdhara on Vaj. S. xxx. 15, as "a person practised in the handling of leather (*charmābhyāsa-karam*.)"

viii. 6, 3. *Jāmi* is interpreted as either "useless," or "kinsman," *āyudham* as either "weapon," or "assailant," and

<sup>1</sup> Sāyana adds, "For mountains belong to Vishṇu as his own, as the Veda says 'Vishṇu is lord of the mountains.'"

*kaṇḍāḥ* as either "encomiasts," or "persons of the family of Kaṇva."

viii. 12, 1. *Mada* is explained as either the "exhilaration" of Indra, or "to be exhilarated," or "exhilarated."

viii. 13, 1. The words *kratum ukthyam* are explained either "the performer of the rite and the encomiast," or the "sacrifice called *ukthya*."

ibid. 3. *Bharāya* is explained either "to the battle," or "to the sacrifice," and it is added that the same words generally denote both these things.

viii. 15, 2. The word *ajrān* is taken as an epithet of the preceding term *gīrtān*, "mountains or clouds," and explained as "quickly moving." It is diversely interpreted in other passages. On viii. 27, 18, it is made to signify the "city of the enemy, although impregnable against the assaults of others," or "level ground;" on iv. 1, 17, "the undecaying, mountains," or "the moving, rays;" on iv. 19, 7, "traveling on the road;" on v. 54, 4, "clouds." I do not know how Sāyaṇa renders it in x. 44, 8, and x. 59, 3. Prof. Roth renders it "ager, field," and Prof. Goldstücker, "field, acre, plain," and also as an adjective, "quick." The sense of "plains" is fixed by the context of x. 59, 3, as, at least, one of the right ones: "Let us by our manly deeds overcome our enemy, as the sky (is over) the earth, and the mountains (over) the plains" (*girayo na ajrān*).

viii. 17, 5. *Kukshyoḥ* is interpreted either, in Indra's "two bellies; (as it is written 'fill both bellies, that of the slayer of Vṛtra, and that of Maghavat') or "the right and left sides, or the upper and lower parts, of a single belly."

Ibid. 12. *Sāchigu* is explained as either "he who has strong cows," or "he who has manifest, famous, rays, or cows."

ibid. 13. *Ṣṅgaor̥sho napāt* is explained as either "the son of *Ṣṅgaor̥sh*," or *ṣṅgaor̥sh* is "the showerer of rays, the sun," and *napāt* "he who causes not to fall, who establishes," and therefore the two words together mean "the establisher of the sun."

ibid. 15. *Pr̥dākusānu* is explained as either "having the



head erect like a serpent," or "to be propitiated like a serpent."

viii. 18, 21. *Trivarátha* is explained as either "affording protection from three inconveniences—cold, heat, and rain," or "having three stories."

The following are some additional instances of the same description, chiefly from the earlier books of the Rig-veda.

i. 31, 2, and i. 112, 4. *Dvimátá*, an epithet of Agni, is explained by Sâyana as either "born from two pieces of wood," i.e. by friction, and so having two parents, or "maker of the two worlds." Compare *doiñanmá* in i. 140, 2, and i. 149, 4, which, in the former place, he interprets either "born from two pieces of wood," or by "friction and the subsequent rite of consecration;" while in the second passage a third sense of "born from heaven and earth," is added. In i. 112, 4, the verb *vibhúshati* is rendered either "pervades," or "adorns." So, also, *paribhúshathaḥ* in iii. 12, 9, is declared to mean either "ye are adorned" (*alankṛtau bhavathaḥ*), or, "ye overcome" (*paribhavathaḥ*). See, above, the different senses assigned by Yâska to *paryabhúshat*.

i. 64, 10. *Vṛsha-khâdayaḥ*, an epithet of the Maruts, is explained as either, "having Indra for their weapon," or "having soma for their beverage." The word is rendered "adorned with ear-rings," by Bollensen (in Benfey's *Orient und Occident*, ii. 461, note), who refers for the meaning he assigns to *vṛsha* to Wilson's Dictionary, *s.v.*, *vṛshabha*, where one of the senses given is, "the orifice of the ear." *Khâdi* occurs frequently in the R.V. in the sense of an ornament worn by the Maruts, as in v. 53, 4; v. 54, 11, where it is rendered by Sâyana *kaṭaka*, and in vii. 56, 13, where he renders it *alankâra-viśeṣha*. On i. 168, 3, he makes it mean "a guard to the hand," *hastatrâṇaka*, and on i. 166, 9, either "estables" or "ornaments." In the last passage he takes *prapatheshu* either for "resting-places," or "toes." Roth, *s.v.*, conjectures that the proper reading here must be *prapadeshu*.

i. 92, 10. *Seaght* is here taken by Sâyana for the feminine of *ścdhâ* (*lit.* dog-killer), and is rendered *vyâdha-stri*, a "hunter's wife." The word is, however, explained by Yâska

(Nir. v. 22, where he quotes R.V. x. 43, 5) as = *kitava*, "a gamester." This sense is adopted by Sāyana himself on viii. 45, 38. On ii. 12, 4, dropping all reference to any feminine sense, he explains the word as "hunter" (*vyādha*), viz., "one who kills wild animals with dogs" (*ṣvabhir mṛgān hanti*); and in the same way on iv. 20, 3, as *mṛgayu*, "a hunter." See Benfey's note on i. 92, 10, in his version of the passage in his *Orient und Occident*, ii. 257; and Bollensen's translation of the verse in the same vol., p. 464. If Yāska is right in explaining *ṣvaghnti* as a masculine noun, signifying "gamester," it can scarcely be also the feminine of *ṣvaha*; or if it be the latter, it cannot well have a masculine sense also. I observe, also, that Sāyana renders the word *vijah* "birds" in i. 92, 10; and "one who causes distress" (*udvejaka*) in ii. 12, 5.

i. 128, 4. *Ishūyate* is said to mean either "to him who desires food," or "to him who desires coming."

i. 169, 5. The words *tvē rāyas toṣatamaḥ* are rendered either "thy riches are most gladdening," or "thy kinsmen, friends (the Maruts), are most destructive (to clouds which do not rain)."

i. 173, 6. *Opasa* is here explained as either a "horn," or "earth and atmosphere." On viii. 14, 5, the scholiast makes it either "a cloud lying near" (*megham upetya ṣayānam*), or "some particular manly power contained in himself" (i.e. in Indra, *ātmani samaveto vīrya-viṣeṣaḥ*).

i. 190, 5. The words *chayase piyārum* are explained by Sāyana as either, "thou visitest, with the view of favouring, him who drinks, offers, soma," or "thou destroyest the destructive man." The latter interpretation is supported by Nir. iv. 25, to which Sāyana refers; and is adopted by him in iii. 30, 8.

ii. 1, 4. *Asura* is explained here as either, "the expeller of foes" (*ṣatrūṅāṃ nirasitā*), or "the giver of strength, the sun." This word is very variously interpreted by Sāyana in different places. On i. 24, 14, he makes it = *anishta-kṣhepana-sīla*, "the hurler away of what is undesired;" on i. 35, 7, *sarveśhām prānada*, "the giver of life to all;" on i. 54, 3, either, "the expeller of enemies," or "he who has breath, or force,"

or "the giver of breath, or water;" on i. 64, 2, and i. 174, 1, expellers of enemies;" on i. 108, 6, "thrower of oblations, priest;" on i. 110, 3, an unexplained designation of Tvashtri, perhaps in the later sense of "evil spirit;" on i. 131, 1, "expeller of unrighteous enemies;" on i. 151, 4, "strong;" on ii. 27, 10, *ṣatrūṇām kshepaka*, "hurler away of enemies;" on iv. 2, 5; iv. 53, 1; v. 12, 1; v. 15, 1; v. 27, 1; vii. 2, 3; vii. 6, 1; vii. 30, 3; vii. 36, 2, "strong;" on v. 42, 1, "giver of breath;" *ibid.* v. 11, "strong," or "giver of breath;" on v. 51, 11, "expeller of enemies, or giver of breath, or force;" on v. 41, 3, "taker away of breath" (Rudra), or "giver of breath" (Sūrya or Vāyu); on iii. 3, 4 "giver of strength;" on iii. 29, 14, "the impelling" (*arāṇi*-wood); on v. 63, 3, 7, "the expeller (or discharger) of water, Parjanya;" on v. 83, 6, the same sense; on vii. 56, 1, "wise" (*prajñāvan*); on viii. 20, 17, "a water-discharging cloud," or "rain water;" on viii. 25, 4, "powerful," or "as pervading all things, impellers;" on viii. 79, 6, "powerful, or possessor of life." In the Nighaṅṭus i. 10, *asura* is given as one of the synonymes of "cloud." In Nir. iii. 8, it is said to be = *asu-rata*, "devoted to breath," or to come from *sthāneshu* or *sthānebhyah asta*, "thrown in, or from, places;" or *asu* is a synonyme of *prāṇa*, "life," a thing "thrown into the body. The Asuras are they who have it." And he adds, "it is well known that he (the creator) formed the *Suras* (gods) from *su*, "good," in which their essence consists, and that he formed the Asuras from *asu* (or *a + su*, "not good"), and that in this consists their essence." It is to be observed that the verse here explained by Yāska (R. V. x. 53, 4) is one of those later texts in which the word *asura* has the sense of evil spirit, as an enemy of the gods, a sense which it does not generally bear in the older hymns, in which it is a designation of the gods themselves. (In vii. 13, 1, however, Agni is called an "Asura-slayer," as is also Indra in vii. 22, 4).

ii. 11, 21. *Mā ati dhak* is explained by Sāyaṇa either "do not give to others, passing us by," or "do not burn up our objects of desire."

vi. 2, 7. *Trayāyā* is explained by Sāyaṇa as either, "to be

preserved," or "one who has the three qualifications of science, austerity and works," or "one who has attained to the three births."<sup>1</sup>

viii. 24, 24. *Paripadām* is explained by Sāyana as either "persons who are sacrificing around," or "birds which are flying around."

*Śvātra* is given in Nigh. ii. 10, among the synonymes of *dhana*, "wealth." In Nir. v. 3, it is said to mean "quick" (*śvātram iti kshipra-nāma āṣu atanam bhavati*); and the words of R.V. x. 88, 4, *sa patatrivaram sthā jagad yach chhvātram Agni akṛnoj jātavedāḥ* are explained: "Agni Jātavedas made quickly whatever flies, goes, stands or moves." The term is also found in R.V. i. 31, 4, where the clause *śvātreṇa yat pitror muchyase pari*, spoken of Agni, is rendered by Sāyana: "When thou art released from thy parents (the two pieces of wood) by rapid friction (*śvātreṇa*)," etc. In viii. 4, 9 (= S.V. i. 277), the word is found in the compound *śvātrabhāj*, an epithet of *vayas* (there stated to mean "food"), and is declared to signify "associated with wealth." In viii. 52, 5, it occurs again in the phrase *śvātram arkā anūshata*, which the Scholiast interprets, "the worshippers praise very quickly, very long." I am ignorant how he explains the word in x. 46, 7, where it occurs in the plural as an epithet of "fires;" but Mahīdhara on Vāj. S. xxxiii. 1 (where the verse is repeated), assigns to it the sense of *kshipra-phalaprada*, "quickly bestowing rewards." In Vāj. S. iv. 12, and vi. 34, *śvātra* is found as an epithet of *āpah*, "waters," and in the former of these verses (where "waters" are said to stand for milk) it is explained "quickly digested" (*kshipra-parināmāḥ śghram jirṇāḥ*), whilst in the second the sense of "quickly effecting the desired object," or "auspicious" (*kshipra-kārya-kārinyāḥ śivā vā*), is assigned. In Vāj. S. v. 31, *śvātru* is used in a sacrificial formula as an epithet of a particular sort of little altar called *Maitravarundhishnya*, and is explained as signifying "friendly" (*mitrah*). *Śvātrya* appears to be an epithet of Soma in R.V. x. 49, 10,

<sup>1</sup> In v. 11 of this hymn Sāyana explains the pronoun *tā*, "these," as meaning the "sins committed in another birth,"—a further instance of his ascribing more modern notions to the Vedic age.

as it is of *gīrah*, "hymns," in x. 160, 2; but I am not aware how it is explained in those passages by the Commentator. On the whole, looking to the variety of senses ascribed to the word *ṣṛātra*, and to the artificial processes by which those senses are sometimes reached, I cannot but think that the Scholiasts were not always sure of its real signification.

I have, perhaps, already adduced a superabundance of instances in which Sāyaṇa, or Yāska, gives double, and, therefore, uncertain, interpretations of obscure words in the Rigveda. But if any reader desires to pursue the subject further, he may examine for himself the following additional illustrations of the same fact which are indicated in the notes to the first three volumes of Prof. Wilson's translation of the Rigveda, and have been verified by a reference to the Commentary of Sāyaṇa :—

R.V. i. 43, 4; i. 50, 4; i. 51, 4; i. 62, 4; i. 65, 3; i. 68, 1; i. 84, 16, 18; i. 89, 6; i. 95, 6; i. 97, 1; i. 100, 14; i. 102, 9; i. 105, 1, 8; i. 110, 6; i. 115, 1; i. 122, 2, 14; i. 123, 3; i. 124, 7; i. 125, 7; i. 127, 7; i. 129, 10; i. 130, 9; i. 132, 3; i. 141, 3; i. 143, 3; i. 145, 4; i. 146, 1; i. 149, 4; i. 150, 1 (comp. Nir. v. 11); i. 150, 3; i. 151, 2; i. 152, 1; i. 154, 4; i. 155, 2; i. 156, 4; i. 157, 2, 4; i. 164 (*passim*); i. 165, 5, 15; i. 169, 4, 6; i. 173, 2; i. 174, 7; i. 175, 4; i. 178, 2; i. 180, 7; i. 181, 3, 6; i. 182, 1, 2; i. 188, 5; i. 191, 8; ii. 2, 5; ii. 6, 2 (comp. viii. 50, 7); ii. 11, 3; ii. 12, 8; ii. 13, 11; ii. 18, 8; ii. 19, 4; ii. 20, 7; ii. 23, 17; ii. 24, 10; ii. 27, 8, 15; ii. 34, 2; ii. 38, 10; iii. 15, 1, 2; iii. 17, 1, 3; iii. 51, 3; iii. 60, 6; iii. 61, 2 (compared with i. 113, 12); iii. 61, 5; iv. 1, 5, 16; iv. 2, 1, 11; iv. 3, 7; iv. 9, 4; iv. 42, 1, 4, 8; iv. 44, 2; iv. 50, 6; iv. 53, 1; iv. 55, 1; iv. 56, 6; iv. 58, 1 and *passim*; v. 4, 6, 8; v. 7, 3; v. 8, 2; v. 9, 4; v. 33, 1; v. 36, 3; v. 50, 3; v. 69, 1; v. 73, 5; v. 74, 1, 8, 10; v. 75, 9; v. 76, 1; v. 79, 5; v. 86, 1; v. 87, 1; vi. 1, 4; vi. 4, 7; vi. 15, 3; vi. 17, 7; vi. 18, 14; vi. 26, 4;<sup>1</sup> vi. 26, 6; vi. 29, 2; vi. 34, 4;

<sup>1</sup> Sāyaṇa here refers, in illustration of one of his views, to another passage, x. 49, 4.

vi. 35, 5; vi. 44, 7; vi. 49, 7, 14; vi. 51, 6; vi. 56, 3; vi. 59, 6; vi. 61, 3.

In addition to these numerous instances, in which Sāyaṇa proposes double interpretations, Prof. Wilson points out in his notes frequent differences of opinion between Sāyaṇa and Mahīdhara in regard to the rendering of passages which are common to the Rig-veda and the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā.

I will add some specimens of what appear to me to be mistranslations on the part of Sāyaṇa.

R.V. i. 22, 20 (=Vāj. S. vi. 5) he explains thus: "The wise ever behold with scriptural gaze (*śāstra-dṛṣṭyā*) that supreme station of Viṣṇu, as the eye extended on every side in the sky, clear from the absence of any obstacle, beholds." He thus makes *chakshus*, "the eye," a nominative, and supplies *pasyati*, "beholds." Mahīdhara, however, taking *chakshus* as an accusative, renders, as it appears to me, correctly, "like an eye extended in the clear sky," or (dropping the particle denoting resemblance) "that eye, the orb of the sun, which is extended in the sky;" and he quotes Vāj. S. vii. 42 (=R.V. i. 115, 1) and xxxvi. 24 (=R.V. vii. 66, 16) to show that the orb of the sun (represented here by Viṣṇu) is called an "eye." Compare also R.V. vi. 51, 1; vii. 61, 1; vii. 63, 1; vii. 76, 1; x. 37, 1. "The wise" thus, according to Mahīdhara, "behold the highest station of Viṣṇu fixed in the sky, like an eye." This construction is also adopted by Benfey in his version of the hymn.

i. 25, 11, is rendered by Wilson, following Sāyaṇa, "through him (*ataḥ = asmād Varuṇāt*), the sage (*chikītvān*) beholds," etc.; but better by Müller (Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 536), "from thence perceiving (*chikītvān*)," etc., "he (Varuṇa) sees," etc. Similarly Benfey.

ibid. v. 13. The words *pari spaṣo nishedire* are explained by Sāyaṇa: "the gold-touching rays were diffused (*nishan-ṇāh*, placed) on every side." Müller renders better: "the spies sat down around him." So, too, Benfey. Compare A.V. iv. 16, 4, where there can be no doubt that the word *spāṣah* means "messengers" or "spies." See also the remarks which I have made above on this term.

i. 91, 3. The first words of this verse are rendered by Wilson, "thy acts are (like those) of the royal Varuṇa," in conformity with the second of the two interpretations proposed by Sāyana. The first, which Wilson rejects, is as follows: "*Varuṇa* is soma bought for sacrifice and covered with a cloth (*vastrendvṛtah*): all the ceremonies, the *agnishthoma*, etc., are connected with thee when purchased; hence thou art the instrument in all sacrifices."

vii. 32, 18 (on which, as well as on the passage to be next quoted, viii. 19, 25 f., I have already made some remarks), is rendered as follows by Professor Müller (*Anc. Sansk. Lit.* p. 545:) "If I were lord of as much as thou, I should support the sacred bard, thou scatterer of wealth, I should not abandon him to misery. 19. I should award wealth day by day to him who magnifies; I should award it to whosoever it be. We have no other friend but thee," etc. But Sāyana understands the first clause of *v.* 19, not as a continuation of the words of the worshipper, as it appears to be, but as spoken by Indra: "Having heard these words of Indra," he says, "the rishi, delighted, exclaims, 'we have no other friend,'" etc. This appears to be wrong.

viii. 19, 25 f. is a passage closely resembling the preceding. It begins thus: *Yad Agne martyas tvam syām aham mītramaho amartyah*, and should, I think, be translated as follows: "If, Agni, thou (wert) a mortal, (and) were I, o amicably-shining<sup>1</sup> god, an immortal, o invoked son of strength,—(26) I would not abandon thee to malediction, or to poverty; my worshipper should not be poor or distressed," etc. Verse 25 would thus form the protasis and verse 26 the apodosis. But Sāyana takes the 25th verse by itself and explains it thus: "If I, a mortal, were thou, *i.e.* if I should, by worshipping thee, acquire thy nature, then I should become an immortal, a god." My interpretation is borne out by a parallel passage (which is not, like the preceding, elliptical in construction), viii. 44, 23. *Yad Agne syām aham tvam tvam vā gha syā aham | syus te satyā ihāśishah*, which Sāyana renders, "If I were thou,

<sup>1</sup> I adopt here Sāyana's rendering of *mītramaḥas*, whether it be correct or not.

(wealthy), or thou wert I (a poor worshipper), then thy wishes would be fulfilled." Compare also viii. 14, 1, 2.

It is true R. V. i. 38, 4, 5, may be quoted on the other side. The original of this passage is as follows: 4. *Yad yūyam pṛṣnimātaraḥ martāsaḥ syātana | stotā vo amṛtaḥ syāt. | 5. Mā vo mṛgo na yavase jaritā bhūd ajoshyaḥ | pathā yamasya gād upa |* which Sāyaṇa renders: "Although you, sons of Priṣni, were mortals, yet your worshipper would be immortal, a god. (Prof. Wilson's version of this verse does not correctly represent Sāyaṇa). 5. Let not your panegyrist be an object of disregard (as a wild animal is not regardless of grass in a pasture), or go along the path of Yama." Rosen renders: "4. Licet vos, Priṣnis filii! mortales fueritis, *tamen* laudator vester immortalis esse poterit. 5. Nunquam vester laudator, cervi instar in prato, sit negligendus, *neque* Yamæ viam calcet." Benfey translates: "4. If you, o children of Priṣni, were mortals, an immortal would then be your panegyrist. 5. Let not him who praises you be an object of indifference to you, like a wild animal at grass; let him not walk along the path of Yama." And he gives the following paraphrase of v. 4: "Ye are so great, that if ye were men, the gods would sing your praises." Professor Aufrecht would render: "Even if ye were mortals (and not gods, as you are in reality), it would require an immortal to praise you (worthily)." I cannot say that these interpretations appear to me particularly satisfactory. If we could suppose an aposiopesis at the end of v. 4, the sense might be: "If ye were mortals, and your worshipper an immortal, *i.e.* if you and I were to change places, I would not be so careless about my worshippers as you are about yours." Or can we suppose that the Rishi is expressing an aspiration that he could change places with the objects of his adoration? Or, possibly, the meaning might be: "If ye were mortal [*i.e.* if ye knew by experience the sufferings of mortality], your worshipper should be [ye would make him] immortal." This perhaps derives some confirmation from the deprecation of death in the next verse.

vii. 89, 1, is thus explained by Sāyaṇa: "Let me not go, o



king Varuṇa, to thy earthen house; but may I attain to thy resplendent golden house." The sense seems simply to be what Müller makes it: "Let me not yet, o Varuṇa, enter into the house of clay," *i.e.* the grave. Compare A.V. v. 30, 14, *mā nu gād mā nu bhūmigrho bhuvat*, "let him not go; let him not have the earth for his house."

x. 160, 4, is also, as it appears to me, incorrectly rendered by Sāyana. His explanation, as translated by Prof. Goldstücker, in his Dictionary, *s.v. aratni*, is as follows: "Indra manifests himself (to the pious); (the sacrificer), who, though not wealthy, offers him the soma libation,—him, Indra, the wealthy, holds in his hand (lit. *fiat*, *i.e.* he protects him), after having defeated his enemies," etc. I would propose the following as a correcter translation: "That man is observed by him (Indra) who, being rich, pours out to him no soma libation," etc. See my former paper "On the relations of the priests to the other classes of Indian Society," p. 293, note 2, where this translation is vindicated.

Some instances have already been given, in which Sāyana imports the ideas of a later age into his interpretation of the hymns. I give a few more illustrations of this tendency, both as it regards mythological and speculative conceptions.

In i. 170, 2, it is said: "Why dost thou seek to kill us, Indra? the Maruts are thy brothers." On this the Commentator remarks: "The Maruts are Indra's brothers, from having been produced from the same womb of Aditi; and this production is celebrated in the Purāṇas." On this Professor Wilson annotates: "Here, probably, nothing more is meant than affinity of function." The Maruts are not Âdityas according to the Rig-veda, and even Indra himself is not generally so called in the hymns. See my Art. on "Vedic Cosmogony," etc., p. 39. In iii. 53, 5, the worshippers address Indra as "brother."

In vii. 72, 2, the Aṣvins are thus addressed: "For there are paternal friendships between us, a common bond,—acknowledge it." On this Sāyana annotates: "Vivasvat and Varuṇa were both sprung from Kaṣyapa and Aditi. Vivasvat was the father of the Aṣvins (see my Art. on the Aṣvins,

in "Contributions to a knowledge of Vedic Theogony," etc., No. ii. p. 2), and Varuṇa of Vasishṭha;" and then he quotes the Brihaddevatā to prove the second of these relationships, which is also alluded to in R.V. x. 17, 2. The third is perhaps deducible from R.V. vii. 33, 10, ff.; see Sanskrit Texts, i. 75, ff., and Prof. Wilson's translation of the passage. It may be doubtful whether either of those other texts of the R.V. is so old as the one before us. Prof. Roth thinks the verses of R.V. vii. 33, in which Vasishṭha's birth is alluded to, are conceived very much in the taste of the epic mythology, and are attached to an older hymn. But even if both these Vedic legends about the birth of the Aṣvins and Vasishṭha, respectively, are as ancient as the verse I have quoted, vii. 72, 2, still the link by which Sāyaṇa connects them, and which is necessary to establish the relationship of the author of the hymn (supposing him to be Vasishṭha, or a descendant of Vasishṭha) with the Aṣvins, is certainly not Vedic, as we are nowhere told in the hymns that Vivasvat and Varuṇa were sons of Kaśyapa and Aditi. If Vivasvat be identified with Sūrya, he would, indeed, be, according to some parts of the R.V., an Āditya, or son of Aditi, but not otherwise. See Art. on Vedic cosmogony, p. 75, f. In a later work, the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka i. 13, 3, he is named among the Ādityas. There is no difficulty in supposing that the passage before us does not contain any mythological allusion. In other places also reference is made to the former (vi. 18, 5) or ancestral (vi. 21, 8; i. 71, 10) friendship of the worshippers with the gods.

In i. 114, 6, Rudra is called the father of the Maruts. To explain this Sāyaṇa *in loco* tells a story that: "Indra, once on a time, overcame the Asuras, when Diti, their mother, desiring to have a son who should be able to avenge her vanquished sons by slaying the Thunderer, practised austerities and became pregnant by her husband. Indra, learning this news, entered into her womb in a very minute form, with a thunderbolt in his hand, divided her foetus into seven parts, and again made each of those parts into seven. These fragments all issued from the womb and wept. At this con-

junction Parameṣvara (Rudra), and Pārvatī (his wife), were passing by for amusement, and saw them. Pārvatī said to her husband: 'If you love me, make all these bits of flesh become severally sons.' He accordingly made them all of the same form and age, and decked with similar ornaments, and gave them to her, saying: 'Let them be thy sons.'" The Maruts ought thus to be ( $7 \times 7 = 49$ ) forty-nine in number. In R.V. viii. 28, 5, however, (if, indeed, the Maruts are there intended) they are only spoken of as seven. Sāyaṇa there gives a modified version of the story, to the effect that when Aditi (not Diti) desired to have a son equal to Indra, and her foetus had, from some cause, been split into seven by Indra, the seven parts became seven troops (of Maruts).

It may be questioned whether, in styling Varuna, in conformity with modern ideas, "the deity presiding over the waters" (*jalābhimānt devaḥ*), (as he does in R.V. i. 161, 14; viii. 53, 12), Sāyaṇa does not derive some support from expressions in the hymns themselves. (See the passages quoted in pp. 86 f. of my "Contributions to a Knowledge of Vedic Theogony," etc.) In one of those texts, however, vii. 49, 3, the waters, in the midst of which Varuna is said to move, "beholding the truth and falsehood of men," seem to be rather aerial than oceanic, as the former, from their position above the earth, would appear to afford to the god (when anthropomorphically regarded) a more convenient post of observation than the latter. And in vii. 64, 2, the epithet, *sindhupati*, "lords of the sea," (or "of rivers," *nadyāḥ pālayitārau*, Sāyaṇa), is applied not only to Varuṇa but to Mitra also, who is not, that I am aware of, ever connected with the sea, even in later mythology. If we add to this, that these two gods are solicited to send *food and rain from the sky*, it may result that they are called *sindhupati*, as supplying the aerial waters by which terrestrial streams are filled. But Sāyaṇa does not generally style Varuṇa the god of the sea, but in conformity with older conceptions, the deity who presides over the night. (See the paper above quoted, pp. 77 f.)

The epithet *Kauṣika* is applied in R.V. i. 10, 11, to Indra.

Sâyaṇa says it means son of Kuṣika, and repeats a story from the Anukramaṇikâ, or Index to the R.V., which relates that that person, wishing a son like Indra, practised chastity, in consequence of which Indra was born to him in the form of Gâthin. Roth, *s.v.* thinks the epithet may have originally meant "belonging, devoted to the Kuṣikas." The word is given in the Amara Kosha as denoting Indra, bdellium, owl, and snakecatcher.

I have mentioned above that Sâyaṇa understands R.V. i. 22, 16, 17, to refer to one of the incarnations of Vishṇu. On *ṛ.* 16, he speaks of Vishṇu as *parameṣvara*, "the supreme deity." On i. 156, 4, he proposes either to take Vishṇu for the sacrifice, according to the idea of the Brâhmaṇas, or as the creator (*redhas*) of the Maruts, whose function as preserver Varuṇa and the other gods recognize.

On i. 43, 1, Sâyaṇa derives the name Rudra from the root *rud*, "to weep," denoting the god who "makes everything to weep at the time of the end," and thus identifies him with the Mahâdeva of later mythology. (See Wilson's note *in loco*).

Sâyaṇa gives, optionally, a spiritual meaning to the words in i. 50, 10: "looking aloft to the upper light above the darkness, the Sun, a god among the gods, we have arrived at the highest luminary." He says the phrase "above the darkness" may mean "above the night," or "above sin;" and quotes a text which explains this passage and declares that "darkness is sin," etc.

On R.V. i. 71, 4, Prof. Wilson's note will further illustrate Sâyaṇa's practice of introducing later ideas into his explanations: "Mâtariṣvan is a common name of Vâyu, or wind; but it is here said to mean the principal vital air (*mukhya-prâṇa*) divided (*vibhṛta*) into the five airs so denominated, as in a dialogue between them, cited by the Scholiast, etc., etc."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Wilson has the following remarks in a note on R.V. v. 2, 1: "According to what is no doubt the most accurate interpretation of this verse, and of those which follow, they contain only a metaphorically obscure allusion to the lighting of the sacrificial fire: the mother is the two pieces of touchwood, which retain fire, the child, and will not spontaneously give it up to the father, the *yajamâna*, until

R.V. i. 115, 1 ("The sun, soul of whatever is moving or stationary, has filled heaven, air, and earth") is thus explained by Sâyaṇa: "The sun, existing within such an orb, being, from his pervasiveness, the supreme spirit (*paramât-mâ*), the mover of the universe, is the soul, the substance (*svarûpa-bhûtaḥ*) of whatever is moving or stationary. For he is the cause of all effects stationary or moving; and the effect is not distinct from the cause," etc. "Or, he is the life-soul (*jîvât-mâ*) of all creatures stationary or moving; for when the sun rises, all the world which was before nearly dead, is perceived to be again sentient." Though the latter explanation, no doubt, most nearly approaches the true one, still the first is also proposed by Sâyaṇa as admissible, at least, if not preferable.

Sâyaṇa translates *redhasaḥ śaṣṇataḥ* in i. 72, 1, by *nityasya vidhâtur Brahmaṇaḥ* "of the eternal creator Brahmâ." Though this sense of "eternal creator" is adopted by Benfey, in his version (Or. und Occ. i. p. 601), I should hesitate to admit that it can correctly represent the sense of the ancient bard.

The word *brahmâ* in R.V. i. 164, 35, is explained by Sâyaṇa as *Prajâpati*, though there does not appear to be any reason for supposing that it has that sense anywhere in the R.V., and though the other three clauses of the verse, which relate to sacrifice and objects connected therewith, the altar and the soma-juice, lead to the conclusion that "priest" is the proper rendering.

R.V. iii. 53, 9, is another passage in which Sâyaṇa's interpretation seems to have been influenced by post-vedic legends. We are told in the Râmâyana (i. 60, 2 ff.; see Sanskrit Texts, i. 103), that Viṣvâmitra on a certain occasion created new constellations. Sâyaṇa appears to find a reference to this story in the words *mahân ṛshir devajâ devajûtaḥ*, "the great Rishi, god-born, god-impelled," which

forced by attrition: till then, also, people, the priests, do not behold it, but they see it when bursting into ignition: this, however, has not satisfied the commentators, and a curious and strange legend has been devised for the interpretation of the text, or has been, perhaps, applied to it by way of explanation, having been previously current: it is more probably, however, suggested by, than suggestive of, the verses," etc., etc.

refer to this personage, and which he explains: "The great Rishi, seer of objects beyond the reach of the senses, who had by austerity acquired intense power, generator of shining lights (*devajā dyotamānānām tejāsam janayitā*), drawn by those lights" (*devajūtas tais tejohhir ākr̥ṣhṭah*), etc. The real sense of the terms *devajā devajūtah* seems to be that which I have given above. *Jāh* is found in the Nighaṅṭus, ii. 2, as one of the synonymes of *apatya*, "offspring;" and *devajūta* is explained by Sāyaṇa in R.V. vii. 25, 5; viii. 31, 3, as "impelled by the gods" (*devaiḥ prerita*). [It is to be observed, however, that Yāska (x. 28) gives a double interpretation of this latter word, as meaning (in R.V. x. 178, 1) either *deva-gatam deva-prītam vā*, "gone to the gods," or "beloved by the gods."] Prof. Wilson partly follows, and partly deviates from, Sāyaṇa, in his translation of R.V. iii. 53, 9, which runs thus: "The great Rishi, the generator of the gods, the attracted by the deities," etc.; and observes, in a note: "*Devajāḥ* is explained by Sāyaṇa, the generator of radiances or energies . . . . the compound is not *devajā*, god-born, nor was Viṣvāmitra of divine parentage." In reference to this last remark see Wilson's note on R.V. i. 10, 11, and Sanskrit Texts, i. 82. The non-existence of any Puranic legend ascribing a divine origin to Viṣvāmitra ought not, however, to influence our translation of a Vedic text. And it is not undeserving of notice that, following Sāyaṇa, Prof. Wilson had but shortly before translated R.V. iii. 29, 15, thus: "The Kuṣikas, the first-born of Brahmā," etc. etc. The Kuṣikas were the tribe to which Viṣvāmitra belonged. Sāyaṇa's words in explanation of this last text are these: *Brahmaṇaḥ sarvasya jagataḥ sraṣṭuḥ prathamajūḥ prathamotpannaḥ*, "the Kuṣikas, the first-born of Brahmā, the creator of the whole world." This translation is, however, the result of modern ideas, as I believe it is generally recognized (as already intimated) that there is no passage in the R.V. in which the personal creator (Brahman in the masculine) is mentioned, and in the present case the accent shows that the word is neuter, and therefore signifies "prayer." See the story about the birth of Vasīṣṭha in R.V. vii. 33, 10 ff. (Sanskrit Texts, i. 75 ff.), and compare

the word *decaputra* applied to the Rishis in x. 62, 4, where, though the traditional accent makes the word a *Bahuvr̥thi* compound, with the sense, "having gods for their sons," Prof. Roth, *s.v.*, thinks that, with a different accentuation, changing it into a *Tatpuruṣha*, the meaning may be conjectured to be, "sons of the gods." But if other Rishis were sons of the gods, why should not Viṣvâmitra also have been fabled to be so?

In R. V. iii. 62, 10, (the celebrated Gâyatri), Savitri is interpreted "the supreme lord, the creator of the world, who impels by his all-pervading presence;" and *bhargas* is "the self-resplendent light, the glory of the supreme Brahma." Another explanation of Savitri as the sun is however given.

The word *tredhâ* in the last clause of R. V. vi. 69, 8, *tredhâ sahaṣram vi tad airayetham* ("ye then scattered a thousand into three parts"), is explained by Sâyana as meaning "existing in the threefold form of world, veda, and speech;" and a Brâhmana is quoted to support the interpretation. (See the entire passage in "Sanskrit Texts," iv. 72, note 42).

In vii. 59, 12. *Tryambaka* is explained as "the father of the three gods, Brahmâ, Vishṇu, and Rudra." This conception of a triad, consisting of these three gods, seems, however, to have been unknown in the Vedic age. Yâska mentions a triad, but it consists of Agni, Vâyu (or Indra), and Sûrya. (See "Sanskrit Texts," iv, 136 f.) I should observe that the passage of Sâyana's Commentary from which this explanation is taken is put by the Editor, Prof. Müller, in brackets, as being derived from only one MS. See the extracts given from the other MSS. in p. 14 of the "Varietas Lectionis" prefixed to the 4th vol. of Müller's R. V. But even if the passage is not genuine, the style of interpretation found in it is that of the modern Indian commentators generally. Mahîdhara explains *tryambaka* as the "three-eyed Rudra." Prof. Wilson holds this text of the Veda to be spurious. The Śatapatha Brâhmana, ii. 6, 2, 9, gives another sense of the word *tryambaka*: "He (Rudra) has a sister called Ambikâ, with whom he has this portion: and since he has this portion along with a female (*striyâ saha*), he is called Tryambaka," (*i.e.* Stryam-

baka). This passage of the Brâhmana refers to Vâj. S. iii. 57, where it is said : " This is thy portion, Rudra, with thy sister Ambikâ."

In vii. 100, 4, it is said that " Vishṇu strode over this earth to give it for an abode to man (or Manu)." Sâyaṇa explains this last word, " to the host of gods who praised him," to whom he was about to give it, " after taking it from the Asuras." This explanation is, apparently, in conformity with more modern legends.

vii. 101, 1. The first clause of this verse, viz., " utter the three words of which light is the first," are explained by Sâyaṇa as meaning " the threefold praises in the form of rich, yajush, and sâman verses, preceded by the brilliant *praṇara*" (or sacred monosyllable Om). An alternative explanation is, however, given, according to which the three words or sounds are " the rapid, the slow, and the intermediate (thunderings), preceded by lightning."

viii. 12, 27. The first words of the verse, addressed to Indra, (which, translated literally, run thus : " when of thee Vishṇu, by the strength," and mean apparently, " when by thy strength Vishṇu strode," etc.), are rendered by Sâyaṇa, " when thy younger brother Vishṇu," etc. Prof. Wilson also observes that they might be translated " when Vishṇu by thy strength." The words " younger brother," *tarânujâh*, are not in the original. This idea of Vishṇu being the younger brother of Indra is, I believe, unknown to the Veda, and of modern origin.

In viii. 19, 5, we have the words, " the mortal who worships Agni with fuel, with an oblation, and with *veda*" (whatever that may mean), etc. etc. Sâyaṇa understands it of " reading the Veda," which can scarcely be the sense. See on the meaning of the verse Prof. Müller's " Anc. Sansk. Lit." p. 204 f., referred to by Prof. Wilson *in loco*.

Notwithstanding these instances (which might, no doubt, be considerably multiplied) of Sâyaṇa's tendency to allow the ideas of his own time to influence his exposition of the Veda, I think it must, in fairness, be admitted that, however incapable he may have been of fully comprehending and re-



producing the real spirit and genius of the hymns, he introduces into his interpretation of them, on the whole, much less of positive modern mythology and speculation than might, in a writer of his age, have been expected. A similar remark may be made in reference to Yâska, that although in his general observations, Nir. vii. 4, ff., he regards all the deities as being, ultimately, members of the one Soul, he does not, in the sequel, allow this dogmatical view to interfere with his detailed explanations of their individual characteristics.

I extract from the notes to the fourth vol. of Prof. Wilson's translation of the R.V. a few admissions, in his own words, that he, too, occasionally failed to find in Sâyaṇa a perfectly satisfactory guide.

p. 6. "*Gârah* is rendered by Sâyaṇa *raṣmayah*, "rays:" one of its meanings it is true, but rather incompatible here with the verb *vahanti*, *rehunt*." <sup>1</sup>

p. 94. "The addition of the comment, *devânâm*, seems somewhat superfluous; human wives would have been more in keeping with the prayer." <sup>2</sup>

p. 102. ". . . . the explanation is not very clear."

p. 103. verse 4. Prof. Wilson departs here, perhaps inadvertently, and I believe wrongly, from Sâyaṇa in rendering *savam*, "birth." The word is explained by Sâyaṇa as = *prasavam*, *anuñâm*, "permission," but it is rather "impulse." (See my "Contributions to Vedic Theogony," etc., pp. 118 ff.)<sup>3</sup>

p. 144. . . . "he (Sâyaṇa) seems rather puzzled."

p. 179. In his translation of a part of vii. 88, 6, Prof. Wilson deviates from Sâyaṇa's rendering, as he understands it: "*Mâ te enasvanto bhujema*, 'let us not, offending thee, enjoy'—it is not said what: the scholiast attaches the prohibitive to the verb, but gives a different turn to the sentence:

<sup>1</sup> *Atanavat* does not mean "not spreading or dispersing" as Prof. Wilson translates it in p. 28, note 3, but "going," *atana-vat* (not *a-tana-vat*).

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Wilson proposes, in p. 92, to take *ayâtuh* as the genitive of *ayâtr*, but I know of no such word as the latter with the sense of "one not sacrificing."

<sup>3</sup> In p. 114, Prof. Wilson proposes a translation of a word left unexplained by Sâyaṇa, *svapivâta*, which is founded on an analysis not sanctioned by the Padatext, as the latter divides the compound *su + apivâta*, whilst Wilson would divide it *svapi + vâta*.

‘being freed from sin through thy favour, let us enjoy enjoyments.’”<sup>1</sup>

p. 211. “The scholiast is rather puzzled how to interpret the duality here intimated.”

p. 254. “The second part of the stanza is rendered intelligible by the scholiast only by taking great liberty with some of the terms ; and after all the meaning is questionable,” etc.

p. 285. *Sāchigo* is not very satisfactorily explained,” etc.

p. 286. “The construction is loose, and the explanation is not very satisfactory.”

To these admissions of Prof. Wilson, taken from the notes to vol. iv., I may add an observation from vol. i. p. 10, on Sāyana’s attempts to explain the word *ehimāyāsāh*: “It is more than probable that the origin and import of the term were forgotten when Sāyana wrote.” But if such was the case in this instance, why not also in many others, in which Sāyana appears to have had no other guide than a fanciful etymology ?

The following are some additional instances from the notes to the first, second and third volumes of Prof. Wilson’s translation :—

vol. i. p. 211, note. “In this stanza, as usual in the more elaborate metres, we encounter strained collocations and elliptical and obscure illusions, imperfectly transformed into something intelligible by the additions of the scholiast,” etc.

p. 215. “This . . . is rather obscure . . . Sāyana does not make it more intelligible,” etc.

p. 279. “The terms thus rendered, in conformity to the explanations of the scholiast would seem rather to be intended for proper names,” etc. etc. . . . “The meanings may be supported by the etymology of the words, but the interpretation seems to be a needless refinement.”

vol. ii. p. 5. “It would make better sense to render it,” etc.

p. 36. “The scholiast is evidently puzzled by the phrase.”

p. 82. “The scholiast repeats the *Pauranik* legend of the

<sup>1</sup> In a note to p. 193, Mr. Cowell corrects part of Prof. Wilson’s translation of vii. 97, 6 ; but I do not see that the verse contains any word which can be rendered “friendship.”

birth of Dirghatamas from Mamatá, . . . . but there is nothing in the text to warrant the application: the persons are obviously allegorical," etc. etc. (Whether Prof. Wilson is right here or not I need not try to decide).

p. 94. "Some of these notions of the commentator are rather *Paurānik* than *Vaidik*."

p. 183. "The passage is not very clear, and Sāyaṇa's explanation does not remove the difficulty."

p. 293. "But this is more of a *Paurānik* than a *Vaidik* legend."

p. 300. "But this is *Paurānik*; apparently not *Vaidik*."

vol. iii. p. 44. "But this is a *Paurānik* notion, Vṛttra, according to the Purānas, being a Brāhman, and by killing him Indra was guilty of the heinous sin of *Brahmahatyā*."

p. 155. "These explanations are rather, perhaps, derived from the *Paurānik* developments of the original legends, imperfectly handed down."

p. 173. "But this seems to be the notion of a later day."

p. 228. (R.V. v. 31, 7). Prof. Wilson does not follow Sāyaṇa in rendering *māyāḥ*, "young women," but adheres to the usual sense "devices."

Prof. Wilson also in another place notices the gradual modification of the Vedic ideas by later Indian writers, vol. ii p. 87: "The Muṇḍaka Upanishad is also quoted for the attainment of heaven, *dyuloka-prāptiḥ*; the figurative expression of the text (R.V. i. 150, 3) having been converted into the assertion of a fact by the Upanishads; instancing the advance from simple metaphor to complex mythological notions."

In the translation of a part of R.V. vi. 59, 1, Prof. Wilson departs from Sāyaṇa. He renders the words *hatāso vāṃ pitaro devaṣatravaḥ* by "the Pitris, the enemies of the gods, have been slain by you, and you survive;" whilst in his note he says: "By Pitris, in this place, the scholiast says Asuras are intended, as derived from the root *pt* to inquire, *ptyatir hiṃsā-karmā*."

[The passage is a curious one. The proper translation seems to be: "Your fathers, to whom the gods were hostile, have been slain, whilst you, Indra and Agni, survive."

Professor Aufrecht suggests to me, that a former dynasty of gods is here alluded to as having been destroyed; and he refers, in illustration of this, to R.V. iv. 18, 12: "Who (o Indra) made thy mother a widow? Who sought to kill thee lying or moving? What god was present in the fray, when thou didst slay thy father, seizing him by the foot?"<sup>1</sup> In vii. 21, 7, mention is made of earlier gods: "Even the former gods admitted their powers to be inferior to thy divine prowess." And I apprehend that the two following verses, iv. 30, 3, 5, though otherwise rendered by Wilson (following Sâyana), are to be understood of Indra fighting against the gods, and not with the gods, against the Asuras. 3. "Even all the gods assailed thee Indra, when thou didst prolong (?) day and night. 5. When thou didst fight alone against all the furious gods, thou didst slay the destructive." This interpretation is favoured by the tenor of verses 4, 6, 8-11 of the same hymn.<sup>2</sup> Earlier gods are also mentioned in x. 109, 4, though in conjunction with the seven rishis: "In regard to her the former gods said, the seven rishis who sat down to practise austerity," etc. An earlier age of the gods is mentioned in x. 72, 2, f.: "In the former age of the gods, the existent

<sup>1</sup> In explanation of this legend Sâyana refers to the Taittiriya Sanhitâ, vi. 1, 3, 6. The following is the passage referred to, which I quote to show how little light it throws on the text of the R.V.:—*Yajno dakshinâm abhyadhîyat | tâm samabhavat | tad Indro 'chîyat | so 'manyata "yo vâ ito janishyate sa idam bhavishyati" iti | tâm praviçat | tasyâ Indra evajâyata | so 'manyata "yo cai mad ito 'paro janishyate sa idam bhavishyati" iti | tasyâ anuṛṅgya yonim âchhinat | sâ sâtavaçâ 'bhavat | tat sâtavaçâyai janma | tâm haste nyaveçhâyata | tâm mṛgeçhu nyadadhât | sâ kṛshnaviçhânâ 'bhavat | "Indrasya yonir asi mâ mâ himsîr" iti | "Yajna (sacrifice) desired Dakshinâ (largess). He consorted with her. Indra was apprehensive of this. He reflected: 'whoever is born of her will be this.' He entered into her. Indra himself was born of her. He reflected: 'whoever is born of her besides me will be this.' Having considered, he cut open her womb. She produced a cow." etc. No mention is made of his killing his father.*

<sup>2</sup> I should observe that the Brâhmanas constantly speak of the gods and Asuras as being both the offspring of Prajâpati; as contending together (S. P. Br. v. 1, 1, 1; vi. 6, 2, 11; vi. 6, 3, 2); and even as being originally equal or alike (Sanskrit Texts, iv. 52). And to prove that even malignant spirits may be called "gods," Prof. Roth, *s.v. deva*, quotes from the Taitt. Sanh. iii. 5, 4, 1, a verse to the effect: "Maṅ Agni preserve me from the gods (*devâḥ*), destroyers of sacrificers, stealers of sacrifices, who inhabit the earth;" and a second text from the A.V. iii. 15, 5: "Agni, do thou through the oblation repel the gods who are destroyers of happiness" (? *sâtagnah*).

sprang from the non-existent. In the first age of the gods the existent sprang from the non-existent." See "Contributions to a knowledge of the Vedic Theogony," etc., Journ. R.A.S., vol. viii, 1864, p. 72; and compare Nirukta xii. 41,<sup>1</sup> where a former age or generation (?) of gods, *pūrvaṃ devayugam*, is referred to. I may add that A.V. vi. 64, 1, speaks of "former gods," and A.V. i. 30, 2, of some of the gods being fathers and some sons (*ye vo devāḥ pitaro ye cha putrāḥ.*) R.V. viii. 13, speaks of Soma in concert with the Fathers, having stretched out heaven and earth;" and x. 68, 11, of the Fathers having "adorned the sky with stars." But in these passages the forefathers of the worshippers, supposed to have been raised to the rank of deities, may be meant. R.V. x. 97, 1 (=Vāj. S. 12, 75; Nir. 9, 28; Ś. P. Br. 7, 2, 26) mention is made of certain plants which were produced in three ages (*triyugam*) before the gods.]

I have alluded above to the fact that Prof. Goldstücker's views do not always coincide with the interpretations proposed by Wilson. I will cite from his Dictionary a few farther instances of his disagreement.

In the sense of "one who does not praise the deity with

The verse which is illustrated in this passage occurs both in R.V. i. 164, 50, and R.V. x. 90, 16, as well as Vāj. S. 31, 16. The concluding words are *yatra śādhyaḥ santi devāḥ*, "where (in the sky) are the former Sādhyas, gods," as, as I mentioned above, tells us that the Nairuktas understood the Sādhyas as "the gods whose locality is the sky," *dyusthāḥ devayugāḥ*, whilst, according to a legend (*śādhyaḥ*), the term denoted a former age of the gods." Prof. Wilson translates the word Sādhyāḥ by, "who are to be propitiated," a sense not used by Sayana, who proposes, first, that they are *śādhyaḥ-śādhyaḥ-sādhanavantaḥ devāḥ*, "performers, performers of sacrifices, work-gods." These words are understood by Prof. Wilson in his note on the passage, "considering over the meaning of the word Sādhyāḥ, we are inclined to think that it is the real meaning of the word, and that the gods of the first age of the gods, the *śādhyaḥ*, and the gods of the second age, the *śādhyaḥ*, were the real gods of the first age, and the gods of the second age were the gods of the first age, and the gods of the first age were the gods of the second age." This is a very curious and unwarrantable interpretation. The second age of the gods, the *śādhyaḥ*, were the gods of the first age, and the gods of the first age were the gods of the second age, and the gods of the first age were the gods of the second age, and the gods of the first age were the gods of the second age." See all this and more in my "A Dictionary of the Sanskrit Language," pp. 330 f., of translation of the word Sādhyāḥ, and the proposed translation for Sādhyāḥ, "performers, performers of sacrifices."

In Wilson's Dictionary, Sādhyāḥ is translated by Wilson as "those who were raised to the rank of deities for purposes of the sacrifice." See Wilson's Dictionary, p. 6, st. 18, under the word Sādhyāḥ.

hymns," proposed for *amati*, he remarks (p. 343): "a doubtful meaning; it is proposed, besides the meaning 'poverty,' by Sâyaṇa on" (R.V. v. 36, 3).

On the word *amivâ* he observes: "The same meaning (disease) applies satisfactorily to all other Vaidik passages where I have met with the word as a feminine; but Sâyaṇa has also the following interpretations, which seem artificial," etc.

On the alternative rendering of *amûra* by "combined with," etc., he remarks: "This meaning which is given by Sâyaṇa as an *optional one*, and the etymology on which it is founded by him, have little plausibility."

Under the word *ambi* he writes "(Ved.) water. Sâyaṇa holds that the word implies as well this meaning . . . as that of 'mother,' . . . so that it would express a double sense; but there seems to be no necessity to assign to it any other meaning than water."

Under *ayâ* he says: "Sâyaṇa here takes the instrum. *ayâ* as implying the *sense* of a genitive; . . . but it seems more probable that, as in other instances, some word, *e.g.* *âhutya*, etc., has to be supplied to it."

After giving under *ayâsya* the sense assigned by Sâyaṇa to that word, he observes, "but it seems that 'unable to be conquered,' might be more congenial with the context.

Under *araṇa* he remarks: "But Sâyaṇa has the improbable interpretation, 'unpleasant, painful;'" and again, "Sâyaṇa renders here *araṇa* in a very improbable manner, 'free from debt.'"

Under *aramati* he writes: "There seems no reason for adopting the other—rather artificial—meanings proposed by Sâyaṇa, and mentioned under ii. and iii."

Under *arari* iii. he says: "Both meanings appear to have been coined by Sâyaṇa for the sake of explaining the sense of *ararinda*."

If the principle that Sâyaṇa is open to free criticism of this description be admitted at all, the lengths to which dissent from his conclusions may be allowed to go must depend upon the discretion of the critic, and upon the philological principles which he adopts.

In rendering the particle *and*, "certainly," "indeed," Prof. Goldstücker *s.v.* departs from Sāyana's explanation, at least in the only two places in which I have access to it, viz., R.V. iv. 30, 3, and viii. 47, 6, as on the former text he says it means *prāna-rūpena balena*, "by strength in the shape of breath," and on the second that it signifies *prāna-yuktaḥ*, "possessed of breath." I am not aware how he renders it in x. 94, 3, 4.

Some apology is perhaps due to the Society for the long and minute examination into which I have entered of words and passages expounded by Yāska and Sāyana. But it is evident that the only way in which a satisfactory estimate can be formed of the merits of any interpreter is by the presentation of such details. General assertions on such a subject, unless perceived to be founded on a sufficient induction of particulars carefully selected and thoroughly sifted, cannot be expected to command assent, especially if they run counter to opinions previously current.

It will be seen from the tenor of my observations that my object has not in general been to ascertain the true meaning of the words which I have discussed (though I have occasionally aimed at doing this), but to show either (1) that Yāska and Sāyana are at variance with one another in regard to the sense of particular terms; or (2) that they have each given one or more alternative explanations of many words, and cannot therefore be supposed to have had in such cases any positive knowledge of the real signification; or (3), as regards Sāyana, that he expounds numerous words differently in different places (without, as I presume, any justification of this variation in sense being in general discoverable in the context), and must, therefore, in some of those instances, at least, be held to have interpreted them wrongly.

From a consideration of these facts I am led to the conclusion that there is a large number of the most difficult words in the Rig-veda of the proper sense of which neither Yāska nor Sāyana had any certain information, either from tradition or from etymology.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In regard to Indian tradition Prof. Benfey remarks as follows in note 450 to his translation of R.V. i. 51, 5, in his *Orient und Occident*: "If we compare

And this ignorance or uncertainty regarding the meaning of Vedic terms did not, as we have already seen, begin even with Yâska. It is clear from the preceding investigation that some important discrepancies in opinion prevailed among the older expositors, and the different schools of interpretation which flourished before his time. It has further been shewn that the Nighaṅṭus and the Nirukta are too limited in scope, as well, as in many instances, too general, or too uncertain, in their explanations, to serve as adequate helps for the elucidation of the hymns. The Nighaṅṭus, as we have found, do not expound nearly the whole of the obscure and obsolete words which they cite from the Veda, and the meanings which they do assign are often so vague as to leave us quite uncertain as to the specific signification of the terms. As we cannot tell for how long a period the hymns had ceased to be commonly understood, and particular words occurring in them had fallen into disuse before these vocabularies were compiled, it is possible that, in some cases, even the general meanings to which I have alluded may be incorrect, or, at least, may be different from those which the words had had in the earliest times. As regards the Nirukta, to say nothing of the fact formerly noticed, that it is but a very small portion of the hymns which it interprets at all, I think it is evident, from the instances I have given, that in the part which it does attempt to explain, the author depends very much upon etymological considerations for the senses he assigns; and this is made still more manifest by the fact of his frequently proposing two or more alternative or optional significations for the same word. Now it is possible that one or other of these explanations may be correct, or may be useful in suggesting the true sense; but the fact that Yâska offers us a choice of meanings seems to exclude the

the Indian interpretation, we recognize, as we have so often to do, how extremely little value we ought to attach to Indian explanations of words. On the other hand the correct explanation of things seems often to have been handed down, and such appears to be the case in the present instance."

On i. 61, 7, the same writer observes, note 614: "This is a strophe which is perhaps the best calculated to show how little use can be made of Indian tradition for the understanding of the Vedas, or rather how greatly it misunderstood them."



supposition that he had any certain knowledge, from tradition or otherwise, that any of them were entitled to the preference. No one, I presume, will imagine for a moment that the writers of the hymns had, as a general rule, more than one meaning in their minds.

As regards Sâyaṇa, it seems doubtful if he had any other authorities than those which he cites, such as the Brâhmaṇas (among which he mentions the Aitareya, Kaushitakî, Taittiriya, Śatapatha, Śâtîyâyana, Shadvinṣa, Tâṇḍya, and possibly others), the Âraṇyakas, the Nirukta, the Bṛhaddevatâ, etc. In his remarks on R. V. iv. 24, 9, he also refers to "ancient teachers acquainted with tradition" (*sampradâya-vidah pûrvâ-chârîyâh*), whose verses he quotes; and as we have seen above, he adduces in one place the name of Kapardin as authority for one of his interpretations. As he so frequently quotes the works in question to support his views, there is every reason to suppose that, in all important cases, he made it a practice to prove his point by reference to an older text, when ever he found one extant which could serve his purpose; and if so, we may generally infer that when he cites no such evidence, he had none to produce.<sup>1</sup>

The specimens which I have brought together of Sâyaṇa's defects and mistakes have been collected in the course of a few weeks from a very small portion of his voluminous work. It is therefore perfectly just to conclude that, if his whole commentary were carefully examined, it would be found to be pervaded throughout by faults of the same description. But although I have no doubt whatever that such is, in reality, the case, I will not be so unreasonable as to deduce from

<sup>1</sup> In as far as Sâyaṇa was in the habit of confining his view to the single text before him (which I admit was not always the case) the following curious passage (Nirukta pariśiṣṭa 1, 12) which gives a just view of the principles of Vedic interpretation, might seem to have been written with a prophetic reference to his case, and conveys a lesson not altogether inapplicable even to Christian divines, who have been too much in the habit of expounding *their* sacred texts without reference to the connection. "This reflective deduction of the sense of the verses is effected by the help both of oral tradition and reasoning. The verses are not to be interpreted singly, but according to the context. For one who is not a rishi or a tapasvin has no intuitive insight into their meaning. . . . . When the rishis were departing, men said to the gods, 'Who shall be our rishi?' The gods gave them this reasoning for a rishi," etc., etc.

these premises the sweeping conclusion which might be expressed in the words *ex uno disce omnia*, but will merely draw the more moderate and much fairer inference that there is no unusual or difficult word or obscure text in the hymns in regard to which the authority of the Indian Scholiast should be received as final, unless it be supported by probability, by the context, or by parallel passages. It follows, as a necessary corollary, that no translation of the Rig-veda which is based exclusively on Sāyana's commentary can possibly be satisfactory.

It would, however, be preposterous to deny that there is a large proportion of his interpretations from which most material help can be derived ; that his Commentary altogether has been of the utmost service in facilitating and accelerating the comprehension of the Veda ; that it has made many things clear at once which it might otherwise have taken long and laborious investigation to discover : and that it ought to be constantly consulted before any interpretation based on etymology, on the context, or on comparison of parallel passages, is proposed. No reasonable man will deny this. It would be simply absurd to neglect any aid derivable from the productions of extant Indian scholarship.

After all, however, there is probably little information of value derived from Sāyana which we might not, with our knowledge of modern Sanskrit, with the other remains of Indian authorship, and our various philological appliances, have sooner or later found out for ourselves. It is not easy to conceive that many important problems presented by Vedic antiquity could have long remained, or can now long remain, insoluble by the resources and processes of modern scholarship,—a scholarship which has already decyphered the cuneiform writings of Persia and the rock inscriptions of India, and discovered the languages which lay hid under those mysterious characters.

But whatever may be our obligations to Sāyana or Yâska, there is no reason why we should stand still at the point to which they have conducted us, if we have the means of advancing further. If a pupil possesses advantages denied

to former generations, it is surely unreasonable to charge him with presumption if he seeks to go beyond his master. It is no disparagement to Sâyaṇa, if those European scholars who have begun by taking him for their guide should be able gradually to improve upon his lessons, and should end by rejecting a good deal that they have learned from him, as erroneous. This is the natural course of science in general, and there is no reason why Vedic philology should be an exception.

There can, as it appears to me, be no doubt that the understanding of the Veda has been already materially promoted by the labours of Professor Roth and the other philologists who belong to the same school. That in some cases their proposed interpretations are erroneous, is, if true, no argument against the judicious application of the correct and scientific principles on which they profess to proceed. The new school has existed but for a very short time; the labourers connected with it are few; and it is not to be wondered at, if, in a novel and untrodden field, some mistakes should have been committed. The merits of a method are not to be estimated by the results which have attended the first essays of its advocates. These earliest attempts may have partially failed from want of skill or experience. Complete success can only be expected to follow the efforts of several generations of scholars. The interpretation of the Old Testament is a parallel case to that of the Vedic hymns. In how many passages of the Psalms and Prophetic Books does the sense still remain obscure and disputed, notwithstanding all that has been done for their elucidation by the critical acumen of Hebraists during several centuries!

All this is admitted by Prof. Roth, who, far from claiming infallibility for his opinions, thus expresses himself in the Preface to his Lexicon (vol. i. p. vi.) :—

“ This part of our Dictionary, as it is the earliest, will also be the first to grow old, for the combined labour of many able scholars, whose attention is now directed to the Veda, will rapidly promote our understanding of it, and determine many things with greater truth and precision than was possible for us on our first attempt. Centuries have toiled at the lexicographical interpretation of Homer,

and yet his vocabulary is not entirely explained, though, in point of language, Homer presents incomparably fewer difficulties than the Vedic hymns. How could people expect to transfuse, without delay, into other languages, these monuments of a remote antiquity which is preserved to us in writing nowhere else but here, just as if they were a piece of modern book-making?"

Prof. Roth has already given sufficient proof of his readiness to correct any interpretations which further research has led him to regard as erroneous. Compare the meanings assigned to *anṛtadeva* and *antideva* with the close of the article *deva*; *arāyī*, *āpāntamanyu*, *krivi*, *nūnam*, *paritakmyā*, as explained in his *Lexicon*, with the senses previously given to the same words in his *Illustrations of the Nirukta*, p. 62, p. 95, p. 96, p. 6, p. 151.

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ART. X.—*An Attempt to Translate from the Chinese a Work known as the Confessional Service of the Great Compassionate Kwan Yin, possessing 1000 Hands and 1000 Eyes.* By the REV. SAMUEL BEAL, Royal Navy.

This work was presented to the Translator by the Priests of the Hai Chw'ang Temple of Honan.

*Imperial Preface to the Liturgical Services of the Great Compassionate Kwan Yin.* [Written by Yung Loh, of the Ming Dynasty, 1412 A.D.]

This Preface being written in the usual terse style of such compositions, and being without punctuation, is not translated *verbatim*.

It is reported that Kwan Tseu Tsai Bodhisattva, prompted by her great compassionate heart<sup>1</sup> has engaged herself by a great oath to enter into every one of the innumerable worlds, and bring deliverance to all creatures who inhabit them.

For this purpose she has enunciated the Divine sentences which follow, which, if properly recited, will render all creatures exempt from the causes of sorrow, and by removing them, render them capable of attaining Supreme Reason.

And if the virtuous man, who has already attained the happiness consequent on True Wisdom, still continue to recite these sentences, and by his correct line of conduct induce others who believe not to follow his example, and to accept the Truth and believe in it—how great his happiness!

So we, the Ruler of the Empire, because of our pity for those who ignorantly immerse themselves wholly in the affairs of the world, and are not acquainted with the virtue of these Sentences to obtain for them deliverance, do hereby bring before them a mode for attaining to the condition of Supreme Wisdom.

And we do so the rather, because Tathâgata when in the world, did principally enforce the practical duties of Fidelity

<sup>1</sup> I have followed the usual mode of considering Kwan Yin as a female.

and Obedience. From this it is plain that his religion is not a selfish system merely, but one which may do good to men and benefit the world.

As then by reciting these sentences we may attain to the Supreme condition which is termed "beholding Buddha"—so unless in practice we follow the duties of Fidelity and Obedience, naught but misery awaits us.

We therefore earnestly exhort all men, whichever course they are pursuing, carefully to study the directions of this work, and faithfully to follow them.

YUNG LOH, 9th Year, 6th Month.

*Liturgical Service of the Omnipotent and Omniscient Kwan Yin.*

PREFACE.

In preparing the altar of the great Merciful One the rules are these:—

The image of Śākya Tathāgata Buddha must be reverently placed on an altar facing the south.

The image of the Omnipotent and Omniscient Kwan Yin Bodhisatwa should be reverently placed in the western quarter of the temple, facing east.

This figure of Kwan Yin may be either the one herein supposed (*i.e.*, exhibited in the accompanying Plate, and commonly known as Kwan Yin, with 1000 arms and 1000 eyes), or it may be one with forty arms, or six arms, or four arms—provided always it be made of the purest and best material, and with the greatest care.

At the dawn of day, before any act of worship be performed, the limits of the sanctuary [maṇḍala] must be well defined. The following is the mode—

First, take a knife, and mark out on the ground the prescribed limits of the sacred place, at the same time repeating the words.<sup>1</sup>

Then take pure water, and sprinkle it towards the four quarters, repeating the words.

Then take clean ashes, and scatter them on the ground, repeating the words.

<sup>1</sup> So, at least, I understand the expression in the original.

Then take a silken cord, consisting of threads of five colours, and bind it round the four sides of the sanctuary, repeating the words.

In all there must be twenty-one repetitions of the words.

The sacred limits having been thus determined, the next care must be to provide all necessary adjuncts of worship for the sanctuary, viz., flowing streamers, burning lamps, incense, flowers, offerings of food; all these must be carefully provided.

The incense, especially, must be prepared from sandal wood, not such as is commonly used, which may not be genuine, or, at least, not free from adulteration, but of the purest kind.

If the means be not found adequate to provide these necessary articles, there should be immediate consultation as to the best manner of laying out the funds in hand for the present necessity.

The western portion of the building should be covered with mats, or, if the ground be damp, kneeling stools may be provided.

The days appointed for worship and for reciting the sentences are the three seventh days of the month; the hours are six, viz., thrice in the morning and thrice in the evening. There must on no account be any abatement of the prescribed hours.

Before worship there must be due preparation, particularly the rules prescribed for the first of the seventh days (called "Fong-pien;" these rules are probably connected with the manumission of certain living creatures).

Before entering the sacred precincts due attention must be given to personal cleanliness; the garments worn must be new ones and clean, or, if not new, at any rate the best in the possession of the worshippers.

If during the service there be occasion to leave the temple, and visit any place of impurity, the clothes must be changed, and on returning from such a place the person must be washed, and on entering the place of worship the new clothes put on again. If there be no occasion throughout the whole day to

visit such impure place, yet the person should be washed once.

One hour before and after service there should be no mixed conversation. On meeting one another there should be merely the customary mode of respectful salutation.

After the first service (*i.e.*, the service of the first canonical hour) the mind should be chiefly occupied in considering and weighing the nature of the ten vows of obligation entered on. The thoughts should be so occupied without intermission. Even whilst eating and drinking such thoughts should be persevered in, nor should the impressions received be allowed to be lost.

But if at time of prayer there be no devotional thoughts, but only a confused way of going through external duties, deceiving both oneself and others, and if after worship there be indifferent conversation, gossiping and babbling, hurrying to and fro, lounging about or sleeping, just as on ordinary days; if there be such criminal acts of careless self-indulgence, what benefit or assistance can we look for from our religious exercises?

The rules and directions for the service must also be properly studied and prepared; so that in going through it there may be outward decorum observed as well as inward devotion, whilst each portion of it is properly rendered.

Without such preparation, at the time of beginning the service, the mind and thoughts will be confused and hurried, and so the whole course of it will be unprofitable and nugatory.

Finally, let all disciples (*lit.* white-black) who have undertaken the precepts in earnest, and those who have not yet entered on a course of deep meditation (*i.e.*, laymen), strive after a firm faith, and excite in themselves an earnest intention; and so having purified the three faculties of thought, speech, and action, and engaging in this worship in a spirit of entire devotion, they shall obtain their prayers.

*End of Preface.*



*The Service of Kwan Yin.*

[*Direction.*].—The worshippers on entering the main court of the temple (*lit.* the Hall of Contemplation) shall reverently bow the head. On leaving it let them say—

[*Invocation.*].—Hail! Great Compassionate *Kwan Yin* Bodhisattva!

[*Direction.*].—Slowly and reverently reciting this invocation, let them enter the sanctuary, and having invested the altar three times, and arranged themselves in an upright position, let them reflect thus: “The body of the three precious objects of worship, and all the mass of sentient beings throughout the universe, differ in no essential respect from my own body and my own soul (heart). But all the Buddhas have arrived at complete wisdom, whilst all sentient creatures have been drawn away and deceived. For the sake, therefore, of these creatures, with a view to remove the obstacles and destroy the causes of delusion, I now enter upon this worship of the three precious objects.” Having reflected thus, begin the following Hymn of Praise:—

[*Hymn*].—

Hail diffusive INCENSE CLOUD!<sup>1</sup>

Bright mirror of the Divine excellencies!

Far spreading, boundless as the Heart of Wisdom.

Wherever lights one single ray (of that wisdom)

There is worship—there is praise—

To honor Him who reigns as king in the midst of all.

[*Invocation.*].—All Hail INCENSE-CLOUD-CANOPY, BODHISATTVA! MAHĀSATTVA. (To be repeated three times.)

[*Direction.*].—The Hymn of Praise being finished, then chant the following:—

[*Chant.*].—Profoundly Reverent,

In close communion<sup>2</sup> we adore the EVERLASTING BUDDHA, and the EVERLASTING LAW, and the EVERLASTING ASSEMBLY. (One bow after each ascription.) [Then continue], “This whole assembly, prostrate in adoration, holding flowers and incense, presents this bounden sacrifice.

<sup>1</sup> In all Buddhist Temples incense is continually burning before the various objects of worship.

<sup>2</sup> The phrase “in close communion” is an adaptation from the original, which is “one heart.” This phrase “one heart” is explained in an appendix of the present work to signify that worshippers and the object of worship are both “one.”

[*Direction.*].—Here the worshippers, holding flowers and incense in their hands, shall prostrate themselves and chant—

[*Chant.*].—Oh! may this Incense cloud and the perfume of these flowers spread through the worlds of space (*lit.* of the ten regions), and reach to every land of all the Buddhas. May each of these lands be infinitely enriched and adorned, filled with<sup>1</sup> the wisdom of the Bodhisattvas, and at length attain to the perfection of Tathâgata.

[*Direction.*].—Then let the worshippers light the incense and scatter the flowers, and with profound reflection, say—

I scatter these flowers and this incense

To signify the mysterious character and the excellence of the Doctrine we (profess),

Symbols of the harmony of Heaven and its holy joys (*lit.* precious perfume),

Emblems of angels' food and their sacred vestments.

How impossible is it to exhibit in words the infinite portions of the mysterious<sup>2</sup> universe!

Each single atom evolved from all the atoms,

Each single atom evolved from the aggregate of all,

Revolving thus unhindered they unite in one harmonious whole.

And thus diffused through space they appear before the three precious objects of worship,

And before the three precious objects of worship throughout the vast collective universe.

Thus as I with my body offer this sacrifice,

It is presented throughout each region of the universe,

Unhindered, unopposed by any external object;

And so through endless ages yet to come, discharging these sacred duties,

All sentient creatures united at length with the Divine essence,

(Thus united) shall attain the Heart of Wisdom,<sup>3</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> The expression "ku tsuh" is explained in the commentary on the twentieth section of the Kin-kong Sûtra.

<sup>2</sup> Miao fah, *i.e.* saddharma.

<sup>3</sup> I need not say that in the translation of such passages as the above I can only hope to attain to some obscure idea of the meaning of the original.

together enter on the State that admits of no Birth, the Wisdom of Buddha himself. Having concluded these offerings let all remain solemnly reverent.

[*Direction.*].—The officiating priest having finished this chant, bows once.

The body of worshippers, deeply meditating, having made their offerings, their incense still burning, and themselves still prostrate, ought to consider thus:—"The three precious objects of worship, although removed and distinct from us in respect of their essential purity, yet in respect of their very substance are one and the same with us, and therefore it is through their infinite love they continually regard and protect the whole body of sentient creatures. Can we only purify the three organs (body, speech, thought), they must of necessity come to us and remove sorrows and give joy. So let each one earnestly strive after this purity; then thrice invoked they will surely come and unite themselves with us." Let the worshippers now repeat the following chants.

[*Chant.*].—One in Spirit, respectfully we invoke thee. Hail! our own Teacher ŚĀKYA MUNI LOKAJIT.

[*Secret.*].—My nature being one with that of Tathâgata, if only the obstacles be removed, he will come and receive our offerings.

[The following invocations are similar to the above, following in order]; viz. to—

2. AMITĀBHA LOKAJIT of the world SUKHAVĀTĪ.
3. ŚĪLAPRABHA RĀJĀ LOKAJIT, of endless Kalpas past.
4. All the PAST BUDDHAS numerous as the sands of countless RIVERS GANGES.
5. CHING-FAH-MING.
6. All the Buddhas of the TEN REGIONS.
7. The 1000 BUDDHAS of the BHADRA KALPA.
8. All the DHĀRAṆĪS proceeding from the MERCIFUL HEART.
9. All the DHĀRAṆĪS spoken by KWAN YIN.
10. OMNIPOTENT, OMNISCIENT, GREATLY MERCIFUL, COMPASSIONATE KWAN SHAI YIN ĪṢVARA, BODHISATTVA, MAHĀ-SATTVA.
11. DHĀRAṆĪ RĀJĀ, BODHISATTVA, MAHĀSATTVA.
12. TAI-SI-CHI BODHISATTVA MAHĀSATTVA.

13. SŪRYAPRABHA BODHISATTVA, CHANDRAPRABHA BODHISATTVA MAHĀSATTVA.

14. RATNARĀJA BODHISATTVA.

15. LO-WANG BODHISATTVA, LO-SHANG BODHISATTVA MAHĀSATTVA.

16. AVATAMSAKA BODHISATTVA, TAI CH'WANG YEN BODHISATTVA, PO-TS'ONG BODHISATTVA MAHĀSATTVA.

17. TI-TS'ONG BODHISATTVA VAJRA BODHISATTVA, HU-HUNG BODHISATTVA MAHĀSATTVA.

18. MAITREYA B., BHADRIKA B., MANJUŚRĪ B., MAHĀSATTVAS.

19. All the BODHISATTVAS MAHĀSATTVAS of the THREE AGES of the TEN REGIONS.

20. MAHĀ KĀṢYAPA. teacher of countless great disciples.

21. The four illustrious Teachers of the Doctrine of TIEN TAI, great Doctors of the Law.

22. ŚĀNTI BRAHMĀ, GOPAKA DEVA, THE FOUR KINGS, THE EIGHT CLASSES OF DRAGONS, the large-eyed APSARASAS, Spirits of air, of rivers, of the sea, of fountains, of rivulets and pools, of plants and forests, of dwelling-places, water and fire, of wind, and sand, and mountains, of earth and rocks, Devas, dragons and demons who protect those who recite the Dhāraṇīs; and all related to these spirits.

[Prayer.]—Oh! would that our own Teacher, ŚĀKYA MUNI, and our merciful FATHER AMITĀBHA (and the rest), not passing beyond their own limits of perfect Rest and Love, would all descend to this sacred precinct and be present with us who now discharge these religious duties. Would that the Great, perfect, illimitable compassionate HEART,<sup>1</sup> influenced by these invocations, would now attend and receive our offerings. May the OMNIPOTENT AND OMNISCIENT KWAN YIN, bearing the sword of her own strong vow, now come amongst us reciting these Divine sentences, and remove from us the three obstacles (viz., of impure thought, speech, and action).

Would that the great CHE-TCHI BODHISATTVA and all the DHĀRANĪ RĀJAS, the GREAT BODHISATTVAS, the GREAT

<sup>1</sup> The word "Heart" probably corresponds to the Sanscrit *Ātmā*.

KĀṢYAPA, and all the GREAT ŚRĀVAKAS, all together manifesting (revolving) their compassionate natures, would now come and descend amongst us.

May BRAHMĀ, ŚAKRA, and the FOUR KINGS, and all the eight kinds of HEAVENLY BEINGS, according to our invocation, come now and protect this sacred place. May they defend us, as we recite these prayers, from the power of the evil demons, give us success, grant us strength ever to perform our vows.

[*Direction.*].—[All the above part of the Service, from the first invocation to Śākya Muni, down to the last words in the Text, must be repeated only on the first day; on other days, after the sacrifice of incense and flowers, proceed as follows]—

[*Chant.*].—Hail!<sup>1</sup> SADDHARMA PRABHA TATHĀGATA of bygone ages ☉.<sup>2</sup> And thou! our ever present KWAN-SHAI-YIN-BODHISATTVA, who hast perfected wondrous merit, and art possessed of Great Mercy, who in virtue of thine infinite power and wisdom art manifested throughout the universe for the defence and protection of all creatures, and who leadest all to the attainment of boundless wisdom, and teachest them the rôle of Divine Sentences ☉. Thou who protectest us ever from the evil ways of birth, who grantest us to be born in the presence of Buddha, who dispellest all troubles, evil diseases and ignorance, who by thy power of spiritual perception art able to appear always to answer prayer, causing that which is desired to be brought about, who removest all doubts, who art able to cause speedy acquirement of the three degrees<sup>3</sup> of merit, and a rapid birth in the land of Buddha (or, in the position of Buddha); possessed of infinite spiritual power, beyond the capability of language to express, we therefore adore Thee and worship, with one heart and mind!

[*Direction.*].—The worshippers should be filled with holy joy and pious reverence, their hearts without confusion; they should render

<sup>1</sup> Namō ching-fah-ming-Ju-lai.

<sup>2</sup> The mark ☉ in the original probably denotes a change of tone in the recitation of the chant.

<sup>3</sup> *Lit.* "the three vehicles."

due homage ; bowing three times at the mention of ŚĀKYA BUDDHA, or the GREAT COMPASSIONATE DHĀRANĪS, or KWAN YIN BODHISATTVA, for these are worthy of chief honour and adoration. Say, therefore, these invocations :—

[*Invocation.*].—One in heart and mind, we worship Thee our own Teacher ŚĀKYA MUNI LOKAJIT !

[*Direction.*].—Repeat three times ; bow three times ; and with deep reflection say secretly, “The nature both of the object and subject in worship is empty (immaterial). Difficult is it to explain the blending of the one with the other. I regard this sacred altar as a Royal gem (a mirror ?),—in the midst of it appears the shadow of Śākya Tathāgata ; my body also appears in the presence of Śākya ; prostrate thus upon my face and hands I worship him, that hereafter all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas when invoked may duly appear.”

[*Chant.*].—One in heart and mind we worship Thee AMITĀBHĀ of the Western world SUKHAVATĪ LOKAJIT.

[Here follow ascriptions of worship to all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas named in the former part of this service.]

[*Direction.*].—After these acts of worship, all the worshippers should bow once, then let the officiating priest proceed.

The Scripture saith : Whatever Bhikshu or Bhikshuṇī, Upāsaka or Upāsikī, layman or laywoman, desires to recite the sentences of this service, in order to excite in the midst of all sentient creatures the operation of the COMPASSIONATE MERCIFUL HEART, ought first with us to go through the following vows :—

[*Direction.*].—Then all prostrate themselves and say,—

All hail ! GREAT COMPASSIONATE KWAN SHAI YIN,  
Oh ! may I soon acquire perfect knowledge.

All hail ! GREAT COMPASSIONATE KWAN SHAI YIN,  
Oh ! may I soon attain the eyes of Divine Wisdom !

All hail ! etc.,

Oh ! may I quickly deliver all sentient creatures !

All hail ! etc.,

Oh ! may I soon acquire a glorious emancipation !

All hail ! etc.,

Oh ! may I soon cross over to the other side, in the boat of  
Prajñā !

All hail ! etc.,

Oh ! may I soon pass over the sea of sorrow !

All hail ! etc.,

Oh ! may I quickly obtain moral perfection (lit. the fixed  
way of the moral precepts).

All hail ! etc.,

Oh ! may I soon attain to Nirvāṇa (the hill of Nirvāṇa).

All hail ! etc.,

Oh ! may I quickly return to my original condition of passive  
inactivity (*wou wei*).

All hail ! etc.,

Oh ! may I soon be able to unite in one perfect whole the  
several parts of my nature ! (Law, Nature, Body.)

Though I were cast upon the mountain of knives,  
They should not hurt me !

Though thrown into the midst of the lake of fire,  
It should not burn me !

Though hurled down to the lowest hell,  
It should not hold me !

Though hungry ghosts surrounded me,  
They should not touch me !

Though exposed to the power of Asuras,  
Their malice should not reach me !

Though transformed amongst the lowest forms of life,  
I should attain to heavenly wisdom !

[*Invocation.*]—Hail ! KWAN YIN BODHISATTVA.

[*Direction.*]—To be repeated ten times, quickly. Let the wor-  
shippers here pray for deliverance from any particular calamity, such  
as fire, drowning, etc.

[*Invocation.*]—Hail ! AMITĀBHA BUDDHA.

[*Direction.*]—Ten times quickly repeated. Then let the officiat-  
ing priest continue thus,—

[*Lesson.*]—KWAN YIN, addressing Buddha, said,—World-honoured one! Whilst the recitation of these divine sentences is ineffectual to deliver creatures from the three evil ways of birth, I vow never to arrive at the condition of Buddha! So long as those who recite these divine sentences are not born in the various lands of all the Buddhas, I vow never to arrive at that condition myself! So long as those who recite these divine sentences are unable to attain every degree of spiritual perception, I vow never to arrive at the condition of Buddha! So long as those who recite these divine sentences do not receive full answer to their prayers, I vow to remain as I am! Then, in the midst of all the congregation—with closed palms, standing perfectly upright, exciting in all creatures the GREAT COMPASSIONATE HEART, her eyebrows raised, a smile on her lips—KWAN YIN forthwith began to deliver these comprehensive, effectual, complete, Great Compassionate Heart DHĀRAṆĪ, mysterious and divine sentences.

[*Direction.*]—Then let all the priests recite together—

Namo ho lo tan na to lo ye ye,  
 Namō ho li ye, Po lou ki ti lo che lo ye,  
 Bo ti sah to po ye, Mo ho ka lou ni ka ye,  
 Om!  
 Sah pa lah fah ye.

[These Dhāraṇīs being corrupt forms of Sanskrit or Pali words—chiefly names of popular objects of worship, interspersed with interjectional phrases, such as Om, svah, etc.,—I do not transcribe them further. The Sanskrit forms of the few written above appear to be Namō Ratnatrayāya, Namō Haraye, Avalokiteṣvarāya, Bodhisattvāya, Mahāsattvāya, Mahākaruṇikāya, Om, etc., etc.]

[*Direction.*]—The worshippers having recited the DHĀRAṆĪ, must prostrate themselves on their faces and hands three times; then stand up four times in succession; then walk round the altar in procession eleven times; then stand up again three times in succession. In all twenty-one times.



This being finished, all standing upright, let the officiating priest continue thus,—

KWAN YIN BODHISATTVA having delivered these sentences, the great Earth trembled six times. The Heavens rained precious flowers, which fell down in commingled profusion. All the Buddhas of the ten quarters rejoiced. The powerful demons and the heretics shook with fear, and their hair stood on end. The members of the congregation immediately entered upon the paths, some on the path Sotâpanna, some on the path Sakadâgâmi, some on the path Anâgâmi, some on the path of a Rahat; others again obtained that condition which is known as the first platform (one earth), others the second, others the third, and so on, up to the tenth (daṣabhûmi), and numberless others attained to the Heart of Wisdom (*i.e.*, complete knowledge or Bodhi).

[*Direction.*].—One bow. The worshippers having finished the repetition of the sentences, ought to consider that all the connection of obstacles which prevent spiritual progress spring from sins committed in our condition as sentient creatures; that from the first till now, the sins of all created beings have been constantly going on, and that now the web of guilt has become intricate and complicated. Every age has intertwined its own peculiar crimes, which, descending from parent to child, have caused the obstacles to deliverance and the sorrows of our present condition. Without repentance there can be no remission. The law cannot be obeyed. Our sins, therefore, ought to be well considered and weighed that so they may be forgiven and destroyed.

Bowing low, say thus,—

We, and all men from the very first, by reason of the grievous sins we have committed in thought, word, and deed, have lived in ignorance of all the Buddhas, and of any way of escape from the consequences of our conduct. We have followed only the course of this evil world, nor have we known aught of supreme wisdom; and even now, though enlightened as to our duty, yet, with others, we still commit heavy sins, which still prevent us advancing in true knowledge. Therefore, in the presence of Kwan Yin, and the Buddhas of the Ten Regions, we would humble ourselves and repent us of our sins. Oh! that we may have strength to do

so a right, and that they may cause all obstacles to be removed. [Here with a loud voice add]—

For the sake of all sentient creatures, in whatever capacity they be, would that all obstacles may be removed, we confess our sins and repent !

[*Direction.*]—A complete prostration. Then continue thus,—

We, and all men from the first, from too great love of outward things, and from inward affection to men, leading to sinful friendships, having no wish to benefit others, or to do good in the least degree, have only strengthened the power of the three sources of sin, and added sin to sin ; and even though our actual crimes have not been so great, yet a wicked heart has ruled us within ; day and night, without interval or hesitation, have we continually contrived to do wrong. There has been no desire after knowledge, no fear of misery, no alarm, no heart-chiding, we have gone on heedless of all consequences. Now, therefore, believing from the bottom of the heart in the certain results of sin, filled with fear and shame, and great heart-chiding, we would thus publicly repent us of our sins ; we would cut off our connection with worldly objects, and aspire to the Heart of knowledge ; we would separate ourselves from evil and pursue good ; we would diligently recount all our past offences and earnestly pursue the path of virtue, ever remembering the blessedness of Heaven, and the power of all the Buddhas to deliver and rescue us and all men from evil. Hitherto we have only gone astray, but now we return. Oh ! would that the Merciful Kwan Yin would receive our vows of amendment.

[*Direction.*]—An entire prostration. Then add,—

With all our heart do we (mentioning each one his name) repent of our sins. We all here prostrate ourselves before the sacred presence with all the countless beings of the infinite universe. [Here follow particular confessions of sin.] . . . . So were we helpless and lost till we found out Kwan Shai Yin, the Great Teacher of the Ten Regions, who has manifested to all the source of true wisdom, . . . . so have we repented and returned. Would that the Great Compassionate Kwan

Yin Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, possessing 1000 hands and 1000 eyes, would overcome and destroy all obstacles in our way ; . . . . . would that our original power of acquiring knowledge might develop itself, . . . . . so that quitting this body we might obtain perfect rest and repose. . . . . Amitābha Buddha ! of the world Sukhavatī, receive our offerings !

Great Compassionate Kwan Yin, who art acquainted with all the sentences, fit to deliver every sort of creature, may all emerge from the wheel of transmigration and be saved.

[*Direction.*].—Having finished these vows connected with the confession and repentance of the worshippers, let adoration be once more paid to the three precious objects of worship.

All hail ! Buddhas of the ten quarters !

All hail ! Law of the ten quarters !

All hail ! Assembly of the ten quarters !

Hail ! Śākya Muni Buddha !

Hail ! Amitābha Buddha !

[And so on as before.]

[*Direction.*].—Having walked round the altar in procession three times, once more returning before the image of Kwan Yin, proceed with these three forms of devout aspiration. (*Kwai-i.*)

Having myself returned to my duty to Buddha, I ought to pray for all men, that they may attain perfection of wisdom.

Having myself returned to my duty to the Law, I ought to pray that all men may be deeply versed in the wisdom of the Sacred Books, and acquire perfect knowledge.

Having myself returned to my duty to the Assembly, would that all men may agree in the great principles of Reason, and maintain Peace, and worship the Holy Assembly.

[*Direction.*].—(One bow.)

[*Invocation.*].—Namo ! Kwan Shai Yin Bodhisattva.

[*Direction.*].—(Three times invest the altar, and then leave the sanctuary).

Kia King, 6th year, 7th month, 8th day. •

May the merit of this book redound to the benefit of all men, so that I and all mankind may soon arrive at the condition of Buddha.

## REMARKS.

As the Paradise of Amitâbha is the desire of the great body of Buddhist worshippers in China and Japan, so Kwan Yin is revered and worshipped as the "Saviour of men," able to remove the obstacles which prevent them from attaining that happy condition. Were the highest aspiration of the Buddhist, then, after annihilation, it would be difficult to account for the belief in the existence of such a beneficent and compassionate Being as their ideal of "Kwan Yin,"—a Being who has declared his purpose, under the most solemn oath,<sup>1</sup> to manifest himself to all creatures in the universe, for the purpose of delivering them from the consequences of sin, so long as any such creatures exist. But what is the deliverance promised? is it to lead to the annihilation of all such beings? No! but to their restoration to the "one condition"<sup>2</sup> of happiness, in which all were included before the delusion of sense and of the organs of sense led them astray.

The explanation of the difficulty arising from the apparently different tenets held by the philosophical and religious schools of Buddhist believers, is to be found in the fact of a most important development having taken place in their philosophical views. Up to the time of Âryâsanga (who was contemporary with Vasubandhu, the 21st Patriarch, and who died, according to Edkins, A.D. 117,—though I would suggest a later date,) the basis of every thing that exists was regarded as a "mere void,"—in other words, that nothing really existed; but the Yogâchârya system, which developed itself under his auspices, substituted for this void a *soul*, or *âlaya*, which was at once the basis and the receptacle, so to speak, of all existence. "This soul exists<sup>3</sup> from time immemorial and in every object, it reflects itself in everything like the moon in clear and tranquil water. It was the loss of its original purity that caused it to wander about in the various spheres of existence. The restoration of the soul to its purity can be attained by the same means as

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* the end of the Translation for the form of this oath.

<sup>2</sup> Called in Chinese the "One Heart," *yi hsin*.      <sup>3</sup> Schlagintweit, p. 39.

in the other systems (viz., by the practice of the Pāramitās, etc.), but now its motive and the success become evident; ignorance is annihilated, and the illusion that anything ('except the soul') can be real is dissipated. . . . . The dogma once established that an absolute pure nature exists, Buddhism soon proceeded, in the mystical school, further to endow it with the character of an all-embracing Deity." So that we have here something very definite, emerging from the uncertainty of previous systems. And it is to bring men back to this state of purity and happiness, that Kwan Yin, in different forms, is manifested to men, and by them worshipped and adored.

The method of proof on which this system rests, is well exhibited in the work called in Chinese, the Sing yan Sūtra (Śurangama Sūtra); in which, by a laboured process, but not altogether an illogical one, the existence of a Supreme Soul is demonstrated. And it is in this same work (Book vi.) that the character and office of the Bodhisattva Kwan Yin are properly explained. His character is one of pure mercy—his office to deliver men from all their troubles, and to bring them to happiness—and the peculiar mode of gaining his assistance is there declared to be by the recitation of a certain number of Dhāraṇīs, fully detailed in the same book (these Dhāraṇīs when restored to their Sanskrit originals, are found to be simple invocations of the deities and powers, known in the religions of India). The same method is also exhibited in the work here translated—a good portion of which consists of the invocations above-mentioned, which are repeated by the priests in a low monotonous voice, and are believed to have the power of commanding the presence and assistance of superior beings. There is, however, a thread of reasonable worship running through the whole service, which commends it to our careful consideration, and suggests frequent enquiries as to the model after which it was framed. We are unable to answer any such questions at the present time: perhaps some Sanskrit original may be discovered and translated for the benefit of future students, but at present we must rest contented with what we have—satisfied to know that Bud-

dhism is not merely a cold philosophical system, or a system of morals only, or a system that binds men together as a community of religious mendicants; but beside all this, that it possesses a form of ceremonial worship, that includes in it a belief in future happiness and the existence of a Being of Supreme Power, and actuated by a principle of Supreme Love, manifested in His determination to deliver all creatures from their present evil condition.

The question now suggests itself, what do we know of the origin of the cultus herein described—Who is this Kwan Yin possessing the Power, Knowledge and Love, attributed to him in this ceremonial worship?

If written in full the Chinese title of this Bodhisattva would be Kwan Shai Yin, a title translated by Sir J. Davis, "She who hears the cries of men." By M. Rémusat it is rendered, "Vox contemplans sæculum;" whilst MM. Klaproth and Julien consider it as a mistaken version of the Sanskrit original, "Avalokiteṣvara."

Without doubt the original appellation of the Bodhisattva was Avalokiteṣvara; but I think the theory that "iṣvara" has been mistaken for "swara" is far-fetched.

It does not appear likely that the learned priests who superintended the translation of the originals into the Chinese, should have made such a mistake; on the contrary, we have proof that they did not, inasmuch as in the same chapter we frequently meet with both renderings "Kwan Tseu Tsai" and "Kwan Shai Yin" used indifferently; the first being the literal rendering of Avalokiteṣvara, and the other the popular equivalent.

With respect to the correct English translation of these titles, we know that the common rendering of Kwan Shai Yin, is "She who hears the cries of men," and hence the name, the "Goddess of Mercy," given to this Bodhisattva; but this appears rather to be a description of his character, than a true translation of the name itself. In the 6th Book of the Śurangama Sūtra, his character is fully described, as one who is always ready to assist and rescue men from trouble, hence he is always invoked in time of danger. Fah Hian,

when nearly wrecked on the coast of Ceylon, tells us that he and his fellow religionists all called on the name of Avalokiteṣvara to save them from their peril. And so in many other cases that might be cited. The Temple of "Fei-loi Kwan Yin" in the city of Canton, was erected, or rather enlarged and beautified, after the first siege of that city by the English in 1842, because, as the printed account goes, "Kwan Yin appeared on that occasion over the city to protect and save it, in consequence of which the shot and shells of the Barbarians fell harmless among the people." It was a misfortune, however, for the votaries of this worship, that on the occasion of the last bombardment of that city, the fire of the assailants happened to be directed immediately against that quarter of the city where stood that very temple, and, as might be expected, it was soon reduced to comparative ruin, and when we entered it, after cessation of the fire, we found the incense still burning and a few of the last suppliants for mercy still hovering about the ruined courts. This all shews the aspect in which Kwan Yin is regarded, and Avalokiteṣvara was regarded, by modern and ancient worshippers.

Still I cannot think that the title the Bodhisattva bears can be literally Englished by "the Goddess of Mercy," or as M. Klaproth has it, "The Being who contemplates with love." I know it is hazardous to suggest any other version after M. Burnouf has sanctioned such a signification for the passive participle, "avalokita,"<sup>1</sup> but he appears to have lent his sanction to this rendering only on the ground that the Chinese and Thibetan equivalents required it. But if I am not mistaken the Chinese title, "Kwan Shai Yin," or "Kwan Tseu Tsai," may as well be rendered the "Manifested voice," or the "Manifested Self-Existent One," as by the active participle, "She who contemplates" or "the contemplating" the voices or cries of men. And if so, it seems only reasonable to suppose that in the original the passive participle was intended to have its real force: so that "Avalokiteṣvara," or,

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to Indian Buddhism, p. 226, note.

in Chinese, "Kwan Tseu Tsai," may very justly be rendered "the Manifested Deity."

This rendering is in absolute agreement with what is related concerning the peculiar attributes of this Bodhisattva, viz., that on being invoked by suppliants he manifests himself to deliver them. Hiouen Tshang relates how those who worshipped him, were rewarded by his coming out, as it were, from the image before which they said their prayers. And so, also, as to the origin of the worship, he tells us that on the top of Mount Potalaka (perhaps Pedura-Talla-Galla, in Ceylon) this divinity was accustomed to manifest himself under various forms, sometimes as *Īṣvara*, at others as one of the *Paṣupatas*, and so on, just as the occasion required. In fact, the secret of all the reverence paid to him is the belief that *Avalokiteṣvara* would reveal himself to the devotees who frequented his shrine, and bring them deliverance; hence it appears that the title, "the Manifested Deity," or "*Īṣvara*," is not an unlikely rendering of the original.

But it may be asked whence the title *Kwan Shai Yin* is derived, and how can such a translation as the one proposed, viz., the "Manifested Voice," be supported. In reply to this, it must be considered that the worship of *Kwan Yin* was probably introduced into China from the northern school of Buddhism, and not from Ceylon. There is no such Divinity as *Kwan Yin*, or *Avalokiteṣvara*, known amongst the southern Buddhists. Yet most probably the cultus originated amongst them, if not in the island of Ceylon itself. But the worship of *Avalokiteṣvara* in those parts was simply the worship of *Vishṇu*, who we know is described as manifesting himself (as to *Vijaya*) in different forms to all those whom he regarded with favour, and we know also that Ceylon was always considered as being under the protection of *Vishṇu*; hence, I say, the possibility of this particular worship having been imported into Buddhism, from this popular belief in the South of India. But as the cultus spread further and wider, it necessarily came into contact with other legends and popular modes of religious worship, and so amongst the *Śivite* worshippers of the North, the idea of a "Manifested God"



took the form of Śiva, and as the Buddhist philosophy developed itself, other forms and characteristics would be attributed to this popular and plastic Deity.

It is well known that a later development of Buddhism taught that each of the mortal, or Mānushi Buddhas, had a corresponding Dhyāni Buddha, just as Brahmā we may say, was developed from Brahmā. Now the Dhyāni Buddha, corresponding to Śākya Muni, is Amitābha Buddha, and hence the far extended worship paid to this particular Buddha; for as Śākya Buddha is called the Saviour of our particular Sakwala, so Amitābha is described as having even a paramount interest in our welfare, and not ours only, but in that of all the infinite Sakwalas composing his "platform" of existence (if we may so speak). Hence he is called the "God above all" by the Thibetans, and, if not so called, he is so regarded, by Chinese and Japanese Buddhists.

But in the North of India the theory of each Supreme Being having a female, or Śakti, representing the active power of that Being, had developed itself at an early date. Hence we find that the Śakti of Brahmā was Vāch or Sarasvatī. But these names do but represent the power of speech, the connection being, evidently, between the faculty of speech and the hidden mind, of which speech is the exponent. Hence Buddhism (according to its facile character) was soon driven to adopt some similar theory, and as Amitābha was regarded with supreme devotion, etc., his Śakti or active power was at first spoken of as Avalokiteśvara, *i.e.* the *manifestation* of the Deity, and afterwards indifferently as Kwan Yin or the "Manifested Voice," corresponding to the female power called Vāch or Sarasvatī. Hence we find that Sarasvatī is adored in Thibet as the Śakti of Manjuśrī,<sup>1</sup> simply because *he*, *i.e.* Manjuśrī, is regarded as the chief divinity and protector of the country; and so also we may reasonably argue that as the belief in Amitābha spread towards China, and afterwards to Japan, that the worship of Avalokiteśvara under the title of Kwan Yin (or Vāch) accompanied it, and has ever after remained attached to it. We

<sup>1</sup> Schlagintweit, p. 65 n.

need not repeat that the two titles have the same meaning, and that as Sarasvatî was the Goddess of Speech, or as Vâch represented that power, so also that Kwan Yin is but the "Manifested Voice."

Hence again this Bodhisattva is nearly always represented in China under a female form, so much so, that to us she is familiarly known as the Goddess of Mercy, simply because when so represented she is the exponent of the character of Buddha, who is always regarded as being principally influenced by the attribute of *Love* in all he did for the benefit of men.

I have thus endeavoured to trace the origin of the title Kwan Yin, given in China and Japan to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteṣvara.

I may now say that Kwan Yin is there worshipped under many various shapes. It was my fortune some years ago to live for many months in the town of Hakodadi, in the North of Japan, and there on the different hills that surrounded the town, I found thirty-two images of this Being (called by the Japanese Kanōn), each possessing particular features—one, for instance, with two faces and four arms; another with three faces and six arms, etc.;—and I further discovered that these figures were well recognized models of different idols in the thirty-two chief temples of the country, in which the worship of Kanōn is particularly affected. So, also, in China, Kwan Yin is worshipped under very various shapes—at one time as "Kwan Yin of the Southern Seas," *i. e.*, no doubt, as inhabiting Potalaka (which is in Ceylon), and as such she is adored and invoked by sailors. Then she is worshipped by women as the Goddess of parturition, and so also she is represented, as in the present work, as being possessed of a thousand eyes and a thousand hands, indicating her supreme wisdom and power, to know all things and deliver all men. In the roll which accompanies the Chinese text, are representations of some forms under which Kwan Yin is known to the Chinese. Perhaps the most curious of all is the one in which he is described as the "Great Manes," no doubt referring to the Persian Manes, the founder of the Manichæan sect. We

may gather from these representations the real mode of regarding this cultus: as being in fact adoration paid to every form of Wisdom and Beneficence, idealized under a particular figure and admitted, at an early period, as a proper personification of those attributes.

The work here translated does not profess to be a version of any Sanskrit original: it forms part of the Imperial collection of Sacred Books, and has a preface written by Yung loh the second of the Ming dynasty, A.D. 1412. It appears to have been re-printed at the Hai chwang Sze, near Canton (where I procured my own copy), in the 6th year of Kea King, *i.e.*, A.D. 1802.

I have been unable to revise the translation, and I am conscious of many faults being contained in it; but should it be considered of sufficient importance, the work of revision might be subsequently attended to, and perhaps the whole rendered more intelligible.

In the translation I have not hesitated to adopt words commonly understood to represent equivalent expressions in Chinese, as *e.g.*, in rendering the phrase "the thousand-handed and thousand-eyed Kwan Yin" by the expression Omniscient and Omnipotent, and also in other cases—in all of which I hope I have not been guided by anything but a wish correctly to render the original.

I have only to add that I have not in the translation written down all the Dhâranîs, as they are (unless restored to their originals) unmeaning sounds. They are repeated by the priests merely by rote, and with "no understanding." On examination, they are found to be invocations addressed to all the Buddhas, and to the popular idols of India; interspersed with frequent recitation of the words Om, Svah, Sri, &c.

*Dec. 15, 1865.*

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ART. XI.—*The Hymns of the Gauṛpāyanas and the Legend of King Asamāti.* By Professor MAX MÜLLER, M.A., Hon. M. R. A. S.

HAVING lately received two new MSS. of Sāyana's Commentary on the Rig-veda, I thought that a few lines on the character of these MSS., and on the proper use to be made of Sanskrit MSS. in general, might be of some interest both in England and in India. I owe these MSS. to the kindness and enlightened generosity of Dr. Bhao Daji, who is well known to the members of the Royal Asiatic Society, both as an intelligent collector of Indian antiquities, inscriptions, and manuscripts, and as a careful and successful inquirer into the history and chronology of India. I had explained to him and to other friends of mine in India the great difficulties I have to contend with in editing the two final Ashtakas of the Rig-veda. Though I possess nine MSS. of Sāyana's Commentary, yet, as I have stated in the prefaces to the four published volumes of the Rig-veda, these nine MSS. are only varieties of three original types, and as the later portions of Sāyana's great exegetical work have evidently been much less read and studied in India than the former, the text is frequently in a very corrupt state, and in several passages past all hope of mending. This is the reason why I have waited so long before sending the last two Maṇḍalas of my edition of the Rig-veda to press, particularly as I had some hope of receiving an old and excellent MS. from the South of India. Whenever I heard of the existence of an old or otherwise promising MS. of Sāyana, I always sent to my correspondent in India a number of test passages, in order to find out whether the MS. in question contained any independent readings. A collation of three or four passages in which all my MSS. shared exactly the same mistake, was generally sufficient to establish whether or not the new MS. represented an independent family, and a comparison of some other passages in which one of the three families had its peculiar faults

or omissions, sufficed to show to which of the three the MS. belonged.

It is well known by this time that a mere collation of MSS. and an accumulation of various readings are of little use for critical purposes. MSS. are copied from one another, and if we have ten MSS. all copied from the same original, the various readings of these MSS. are clearly of no documentary value whatever. It is quite possible that here and there some of the more intelligent copyists may have been struck by the palpable errors of the original before them, and the corrections which they introduced may carry conviction to every reader. Yet, according to the principles of diplomatic criticism so well laid down by Lachmann, and at present adopted by all classical scholars of note, these corrections can claim no more authority than the conjectures of an individual, unless it can be proved, and this is very difficult, that the copyist had before him more than one MS. at the time. The object of diplomatic criticism is not to restore the most correct or the most plausible text, but that text, with all its mistakes and omissions, which a comparison of all the MSS. at our disposal places within our reach. Hence our first object in examining and collating MSS. must be to establish their respective worth and weight as witnesses. We ought to be most careful not to allow ourselves to be swayed either by the beautiful writing or by the age of any MS. Though the age of a MS. is always a matter of considerable importance, it happens not unfrequently that a modern copy possesses greater documentary value than an older copy, for the simple reason that it was copied straight from a MS. of greater age than any which we have access to. This is the case, for instance, with regard to the Ca. MS. of Śāyana, which, although the oldest, is of far less value critically than the modern MS. A. Colebr. Let it once be established that out of ten MSS., B, C, D, are copied from A; that E, F, G, H, I, can all be traced back to a common source; and that J stands by itself:—then the office of an editor is simply to establish for each doubtful passage the reading of A, the reading that will account for the variations, if any, in E, F, G, H, I, and the reading of J. To give one of these readings in the printed text and the others in the notes, is all

that can be required of him. After confronting in numerous places the evidence of three witnesses, it will, generally, be possible to arrive at an estimate of their respective value, and it is no doubt the greatest triumph of diplomatic criticism if it is possible, by conclusive evidence, to establish the paramount authority of one among three or more apparently independent traditions. In classical philology, where we have mostly to deal with MSS. which directly or indirectly must be traced back to the original MS. of an individual author, the establishment of one supreme authority is an object never to be lost sight of. In India, where the individual author is frequently merged in a school, and where oral teaching opens, even in modern times, so wide a door to disturbing influences, we must be prepared to arrive in the end at several independent authorities, generally localised in the principal seats of Brahmanic learning. Thus, although there may have been one original text of the Rāmāyaṇa, it would clearly be in vain to attempt to restore that text by subjecting the two traditional texts to an eclectic criticism. All that an editor can do, is to give either the one or the other text according to the MSS. and to the commentaries, belonging to the one or the other school. The same applies to literary works which are ascribed to individual authors, as the play of Śakuntalā, ascribed to Kālidāsa. Here, too, the two traditional texts or 'recensions' must be kept apart, though, in this case, it is less difficult to decide which of the two is the original. With regard to the text of the Vedas, the Brahmans themselves recognised the existence of independent traditions or branches (śākhās); they chronicled the various readings of the hymns and even of the Brāhmaṇas, and this at so early a date, that we cannot ascribe these variations to the negligence of scribes, but only to the influence of oral tradition, kept up in different families and schools. What applies to the text of the Vedas, applies with equal, or even greater, force to their commentaries. Although the commentary of Sāyaṇa was composed as late as the fifteenth century of our era, and although I possess one MS., written not more than about a hundred years later, yet that MS. (Ca.) cannot claim the supreme authority, which for instance the codex Laurentianus A.

claims among the MSS. of Sophocles. The MS. of Colebrooke (A 2), although of a much more modern date, about 1761 A.D., represents in innumerable passages a less corrupt and less mangled text; at all events a text which could not possibly have passed through that phase which is exhibited in Ca. I have repeatedly, in the prefaces to my edition of the Rig-veda, explained the principles by which I have been guided in restoring the text of Śāyana. Having to supply a text that should be practically useful, I have had to deviate from the strict principles of diplomatic criticism, so far as to place manifest blunders, even when they were supported by all the MSS., in the notes. I have chiefly done so when none of the readings of the MSS. would have yielded any sense whatever, or, when I was enabled, by consulting the originals from which Śāyana quoted, to support my corrections by independent authority. I have on two or three occasions allowed an explanation, though it appeared in one or two MSS. only, and was clearly a marginal note of a later student, and not Śāyana's own, to form part of the printed text, simply because I imagined it would be useful, and might be passed over if given only in the notes. Deviations like these from the strict rules followed by Lachmann, Haupt, and others, have always been noted in the *Varietas Lectionis*. I do not wish to defend them even in the edition of a work like Śāyana's Commentary, and I have carefully avoided them in the later volumes.

In order to show the position which the two new MSS. of Śāyana, lately received from Dr. Bhao Daji, hold in the well-established pedigree of Śāyana's MSS., I have chosen a passage where Śāyana gives a long extract from a Brāhmaṇa. These extracts are generally full of blunders, and unless they can be verified in the original from which they are taken, they are very troublesome to an editor. Their usefulness, however, for determining the relative position of our MSS. is all the greater, because the scribes, who had little difficulty in correcting blunders in the uniform and business-like style of Śāyana, found it more difficult to deal with the antiquated words and grammatical forms of the Brāhmaṇas, and therefore contented themselves generally with copying letter by letter the original before them. It will be seen at one glance, by

comparing the texts of the various MSS. in this passage, that of the two MSS. lent to me by Dr. Bhao Daji, the one which I mark B.D. belongs to the B. class, the other which I mark A.D. belongs to the A. class. The first MS. (B.D.) is written in a beautiful hand, with large and distinct letters, and contains both text and commentary. It has no date, at least not in that portion of it which I was able to examine. The other MS. (A.D.) is likewise written in a very distinct hand, but the letters are smaller and less carefully formed. In the centre of each page, space is left for inserting the text, but it is only in the sixth Ashtaka, and in the seventh as far as fol. 51, that the text has been added. In the eighth Ashtaka the commentary occupies the whole page, no space being left for the text. At the end of the eighth Ashtaka a date is given, 1813, as it would seem, of Samvat, *i.e.* 1757 A.D. The name of the writer is not clear, but it may be meant for Sadāsīm, the son of Jagannātha. Whoever the writer was, he lived, like the writer of Colebrooke's MS., at Benares, and this so far confirms my opinion that the A. class represents the Benares text, in the same manner as the B. class represents the scholastic tradition of Bombay and Poonah, and the C. class, at least in the earlier Ashtakas, that of Calcutta. In order to explain the arrangement of the following extracts, I have only to add that the first class of MSS. comprises, besides the MSS. of Dr. Bhao Daji and Colebrooke, the two C. MSS., which, as I pointed out in the preface to the second volume of my edition (p. viii.), are in the later Ashtakas derived from an A. source. Taylor's MS. too, which in the earlier Ashtakas belonged to the B. class, and was therefore marked B. 4., belongs in the eighth Ashtaka to the A. class. How this came to pass is easily explained by the fact that these MSS. were copied from different originals lent to Taylor, Mill, and Wilson by persons residing in different parts of India. The second, or C. class, is now represented by one MS. only, the oldest hitherto known in Europe, which I continue to quote as Ca. In the third, or B. class, B. 1. is the MS. of Stevenson; B. 2. the MS. of Burnouf, as copied by me in 1847; B. 3. is the new copy mentioned by me in the preface to the second volume, now in the hands of Dr. Goldstücker, and kindly collated by him for



me; B.M. is a fragment of the last *Ashtaka* which I received from Dr. Haug; B.D. is the MS. lent me by Dr. Bhao Daji. The last line gives the text as it may be re-established from an intercomparison of the three families of Śāyana's MSS. I do not maintain that it represents exactly what Śāyana wrote, still less that it gives the correct text of the Śātyāyanaka. It is simply impossible, with the MSS. at our disposal, to restore a text that might claim to be identical with Śāyana's own writing. All that can be claimed for our text is that it represents Śāyana's writing as far as it can *now* be restored with the help of our MSS. It gives what is obtainable with a strict observance of the rules of diplomatic criticism. It is not only possible, but extremely likely, that if to-morrow we obtained Śāyana's own manuscript, whether from the ruins of Vidyānagara, where a complete collection of his works is said to have been buried, or from the MS. which Dr. Haug saw at Ahmadabad, and to which he assigns the date of Samvat 1526, A.D. 1470, we should find slight variations between Śāyana's original and the nearest approach to it that is within our reach. It is still more likely that if a MS. of the Śātyāyanaka were recovered in India, there might be between it and our own restored text, considerable discrepancy. The students of Śāyana's Commentary know that this is frequently the case when Śāyana quotes from Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, of which we possess both MSS. and printed texts; and he has his choice between supposing that Śāyana quoted from memory and without caring about minute accuracy, or that he quoted from a śākhā different from that which is before us. It would be easy, no doubt, to improve the text of the Brāhmaṇa, as here printed, by conjecture. But those who know the mischief done by conjectural criticism in classical scholarship, will deprecate, most strongly, any countenance given to it by Sanskrit scholars. It may be truly said that the chief business of modern critics is to cleanse the text of the classics from the improvements introduced by the ingenious editors of the last three centuries, and we ought not to neglect this lesson in preparing our own *editiones principes*. Let an editor give what there is, and let the commentator and translator say what might be, or what ought to be.

- { A. D. अचोक्ताख्येन श्राव्यायन श्राव्यायनकं असमातिं राज्याप्रोष्ठं  
 A. अचोक्ताख्येन श्राव्यायनकं असमातिं राज्याप्रोष्ठं  
 C. M. अचोक्ताख्येन श्राव्यायनकं असमातिं राज्याप्रोष्ठं  
 C. W. अचोक्ताख्येन श्राव्यायनकं असमातिं राज्याप्रोष्ठं  
 B. 4. अचोक्ताख्येन श्राव्यायनकमसमातिं राज्याप्रोष्ठं
- { Ca. अचोक्ताख्येन श्राव्यायनकं असमातिराद्य प्रोष्ठं
- { B. 1. तचोक्ताख्याने श्राव्यायनकं । असमितिं राज्यात्प्रोष्ठ  
 B. 2. तचोक्ताख्याने श्राव्यायनकं ॥ असमितिं राज्यात्प्रोष्ठ  
 B. 3. तचोक्ताख्याने श्राव्यायनकं असमीतिं राज्यात्प्रोष्ठ  
 B. M. तचोक्ताख्याने श्राव्यायनकं असमीतिं राज्यात्प्रोष्ठ  
 B. D. तचोक्ताख्याने श्राव्यायनकं असमीतिं राज्यात्प्रोष्ठ  
 Text in M. M.'s edition. अचोक्ताख्याने<sup>1</sup> श्राव्यायनकं । असमातिं<sup>1</sup> राद्यप्रोष्ठं

- { A. D. गोपायना अभ्यगामंस्ते खांडवे सचमासताद्य हासमातौ  
 A. गोपायना अभ्यगामंस्ते खांडवे सचमासताद्य हासमातौ  
 C. M. गोपायना अभ्यगामंस्ते खांडवे सचमासताद्य हासमातौ  
 C. W. गोपायना अभ्यगामंस्ते खांडवे सचमासताद्य हासमातौ  
 B. 4. गोपायना अभ्यगामंस्ते खांडवे सचमासताद्य हासमातौ
- { Ca. गोपायनोद्यं अभ्यगामंस्तेषां खांडवे सचमासताद्य हासमातौ
- { B. 1. गोपायना अभ्यंगामंस्ते खांडवे सचमासतथा हासमातौ  
 B. 2. गोपायना अभ्यंगामंस्ते खांडवे सचमास तथा हासमातौ  
 B. 3. गोपायना अभ्यंगामंस्ते खांडवे सचमास मातौ  
 B. M. गोपायना अभ्यंगामंस्ते खांडवे सचमास मातौ  
 B. D. गोपायना अभ्यंगामंस्ते खांडवे सचमास मातौ  
 Text in M. M.'s edition. गोपायना<sup>1</sup> अभ्यगामंस्ते<sup>1</sup> खांडवे सचमासताद्य हासमातौ

- A. D. राज्वाप्रोष्ठे किंलाताकुली दूषनुरसुमीयौ त ह स्नानग्नौ  
 A. राज्वाप्रोष्ठे किंलाताकुली दूषतुरसुमीयौ त ह स्नानग्नौ  
 C. M. राज्वाप्रोष्ठे किंलाताकुली इषनुरसुमीयो त ह स्नानग्नौ  
 C. W. राज्वाप्रोष्ठे किंलाताकुली दूषनुरसुमीयौ त ह स्नानग्नौ  
 B. 4. राज्वाप्रोष्ठे किंलाताकुली दूषतुरसमीयौ त(म) ह स्नाह्नग्नौ  
 { Ca. राज्वाप्रोष्ठे किंलाताकुली दूषतुरसमीयौ न ह स्नानग्नौ  
 B. 1. राज्वात्षाष्टे कुली दूषनुरसुमीयौ तमह स्नानग्नौ  
 B. 2. राज्वात्षाष्टे कुली दूषनुरसुमीयौ तमह स्नानग्नौ  
 B. 3. राज्वात्प्रोष्ठे किंलाताकुली दूषनुरसुमीयौ नमह स्नानग्नौ  
 B. M. राज्वात्प्रोष्ठे किंलाताकुली दूषनुरसमीयौ तमह स्नानग्नौ  
 B. D. राज्वात्प्रोष्ठे किंलाताकुली दूषनुरसुमीयौ नमह स्नानग्नौ  
 Text in M.M.'s edition. राथप्रोष्ठे<sup>7</sup> किंलाताकुली ञषतुरं<sup>8</sup>सुरमायौ<sup>10</sup> तं ह<sup>11</sup> स्नानग्नौ

- A. D. निधायोदनं पवतो ग्नौ मांस यथासुरा राञ्जं दग्धेत्साकवः  
 A. निधायोदनं पवतो ग्नौ मांस यथासुरा राञ्जं दग्धेत्साकवः  
 C. M. नि ध्ययोदनं पवतो ग्नौ मांस यथासुरा राञ्जं दग्धेत्साकवः  
 C. W. नि ध्ययोदनं पवतो ग्नौ मांस यथासुरा रा ञ्जं दग्धेत्साकवः  
 B. 4. निधायोदनं पचतो ग्नौ मांस यथासुरा अञ्जं दग्धेत्साकवः  
 { Ca. निधायोदनं पचतो ग्नौ मांसं यथासुरा चं दत्त्वा कवथः  
 B. 1. निधायोदनं पचतो ग्नौ मांसमथासुरा राञ्जं दग्धेत्साकवः  
 B. 2. निधायोदनं पचतो ग्नौ मांसमथासुरा राञ्जं दग्धेत्साकवः  
 B. 3. निधायोदनं पचतो ग्नौ मांसमथासुरा राञ्जं दग्धेत्साकवः  
 B. M. निधायोदनं पचतो ग्नौ मांसमथासुरा राञ्जं दग्धेत्साकवः  
 B. D. निधायोदनं पचतो ग्नौ मांसमथासुरा राञ्जं दग्धेत्साकवः  
 Text in M.M.'s edition. निधायोदनं<sup>12</sup> पचतो ग्नौ मांसमथासुरा अञ्जं<sup>14</sup> दग्धेत्साकवः

- A. D. परावभ्रुवुः तमसमाति राचप्रौष्ट गोपायनामाऽऽतयो  
 A. परावभ्रुवुः तमसमातिं राचप्रौष्टं गोपायनामाऽऽतयो  
 C. M. परावभ्रुवुः तमसमातिं राच प्रौष्टं गोपायना मा ऽऽतयो  
 C. W. परावभ्रुवुः तमसमातिं राच प्रौष्टं गोपायना मा ऽऽतयो  
 B. 4. परावभ्रुवतुः तमसमातिं राचप्रौष्टं गोपायनानामाऽऽतयो  
 { Ca. परावभ्रुवुः तमसमातिं राचप्रौष्टं गोपायनं मा ऽऽत तो

- B. 1. परा समति राचत्प्रौष्टं गोपायनामाऽऽतयो  
 B. 2. परा समति राचत्प्रौष्टं गोपायनामाऽऽतयो  
 B. 3. परा समतिं राचत्प्रौष्टं गोपायनामां ऽऽतयो  
 B. M. परा समतिं राचत्प्रौष्टं गोपायनामां ऽऽतयो  
 B. D. परा समतिं राचत्प्रौष्टं गोपायनामां ऽऽतयो  
 Text in M.M.'s edition. परा<sup>14</sup>वभ्रुवुः । तमसमातिं राचप्रौष्टं गोपायनानामाऽऽतयो

- A. D. भ्यतपन सा च वीदिमौ किलाताकुली इमां वै मा गोपा-  
 A. भ्यतपन सा च वीदिमौ किलाताकुली इमा वै मा गोपा-  
 C. M. भ्यतपन सा च वीदिमौ किलाताकुली इमा वै मा गोपा-  
 C. W. भ्यतपन सा च वीदिमौ किलाताकुली इमा वै मा गोपा-  
 B. 4. भ्यतपन् सो ब्रवीदिमौ किलाताकुली इमा वै वै मा गोपा-  
 { Ca. त्य तयन् सो ब्रवीदिमौ कि रं सा राकुली इमा वै गोपा-

- B. 1. भ्यतपन् सो ब्रवीदिमो किलाताकुली इमा वै मा गोपा-  
 B. 2. भ्यतपन् सो ब्रवीदिमो किलाताकुली इमा वै मा गोपा-  
 B. 3. भ्यतपन् सो ब्रवीदिमो किलाताकुली इमा वै मा गोपा-  
 B. M. भ्यतपन् सो ब्रवीदिमो किलाताकुली इमा वै मा गोपा-  
 B. D. भ्यतपन् सो ब्रवीदिमो किलाताकुली इमा वै मा गोपा-  
 Text in M.M.'s edition. ऽभ्यतपन्<sup>15</sup> सो ऽब्रवीदिमौ किलाताकुली इमा वै मा गोपा-

- A. D. यनानामाहुतयो भितपंतीति तावद्भूतां तस्य वा अवमेव  
 A. यनानामाहुतयो भितपंतीति तावद्भूतां तस्य वा अवमेव  
 C. M. यनानामाहुतयो भितपंतीति तावद्भूतां तस्य वा अवमेव  
 C. W. यनानामाहुतयो भितपंतीति तावद्भूतां तस्य वा अवमेव  
 B. 4. यनानामाहुतयो नितपंतीति तावद्भूतां तस्य वा आवमेव

{ Ca. यनानामाहुतयो भिनयंतीति तावद्भूतां तस्य वा आवामच

- B. 1. यना अभिपतंतीति तावद्भूतां तस्य वा अवमेव  
 B. 2. यना अभिपतंतीती तावद्भूतां तस्य वा अवमेव  
 B. 3. यना अभिपतंतीति तावद्भूतां तस्य अवमेव  
 B. M. यना अभिपतंतीति तावद्भूतां तस्य अवमेव  
 B. D. यना अभिपतंतीति तावद्भूतां तस्य अवमेव

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यनानामाहुतयो<sup>17</sup> ऽभितपंतीति तावद्भूतां तस्य वा<sup>18</sup> आवमेव<sup>19</sup>

- A. D. भेजो स्या अवं प्रायश्चित्तिरापं तथा करिष्यावो यथा  
 A. भेजो स्या अवं प्रायश्चित्तिरापं तथा करिष्यावो यथा  
 C. M. भेजो स्या अवं प्रायश्चित्तिरापं तथा करिष्यावो यथा  
 C. W. भेजो स्या अवं प्रायश्चित्तिरापं तथा करिष्यावो यथा  
 B. 4. भिषजो स्य आवं प्रायश्चित्तिरापं तथा करिष्यावो यथा

{ Ca. भेषजौ स्यं अचं प्रायश्चित्तिराचं तथा करिष्यावो यथा

- B. 1. भेषजौ स्य अवं प्रायश्चित्तिराचं तथा करिष्यवो यथा  
 B. 2. भेषजौ स्य अवं प्रायश्चित्तिराचं तथा करिष्यवो यथा  
 B. 3. भेषजौ स्य अवं प्रायश्चित्तिराचं तथा करिष्यदो यथा  
 B. M. भेषजौ स्य अवं प्रायश्चित्तिराचं तथा करिष्यदो यथा  
 B. D. भेषजौ स्य अवं प्रायश्चित्तिराचं तथा करिष्यदो यथा

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भिषजौ<sup>20</sup> स्य आवं प्रायश्चित्तिराचं तथा करिष्यावो यथा

- { A. D. ज्वेता नाभितपंतीति तौ परेत्य सुबंधोर्गोपायनस्य खपतः  
 A. ज्वेता नाभितपंतीति तौ परेत्य सुबंधोर्गोपायनस्य खपतः  
 C. M. ज्वेता नाभितपंतीति तौ परेत्य सुबंधोर्गोपायनस्य खपतः  
 C. W. ज्वेता नाभितपंतीति तौ परेत्य सुबंधोर्गोपायनस्य खपतः  
 B. 4. ज्वेता नाभितपंतीति तौ परेत्य सुबंधोर्गोपायनस्य खपतः

{ Ca. ज्वेता नाभिनयंतीति त्वौ परेत्य सुबंधोर्गोपायनस्य खपतः

- { B. 1. ज्वेता ॥ तीति तौ परेत्य सुबंधोर्गोपायनस्य खपतः  
 B. 2. ज्वेत ॥ तीति तौ परेत्य सुबंधोर्गोपायनस्य खपतः  
 B. 3. ज्वेत तीति तौ परेत्य सुबंधोर्गोपायनस्य खपतः  
 B. M. ज्वेत तीति तौ परेत्य सुबंधोर्गोपायनस्य खपतः  
 B. D. ज्वेत तीति तौ परेत्य सुबंधोर्गोपायनस्य खपतः

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ज्वेता<sup>१</sup> नाभितपंतीति तौ परेत्य सुबंधोर्गोपायनस्य खपतः

- { A. D. प्रमत्तस्यासुमाङ्गत्यातः परिधिं न्यधत्तानमित्यादि ॥  
 A. प्रमत्तस्यासुमाङ्गत्यातः परिधिं न्यधत्तानमित्यादि ॥  
 C. M. प्रमत्तस्यासुमाङ्गत्यातः परिधिं न्यधत्तानमित्यादि ॥  
 C. W. प्रमत्तस्यासुमाङ्गत्यातः परिधिं न्यधत्तानमित्यादि ॥  
 B. 4. प्रमत्तस्यासुमाङ्गत्यांतः परिधिं न्यधत्तानमित्यादि ॥

{ Ca. प्रमत्तस्यासुमाङ्गत्यातः परिधिं न्यधत्तानमित्यादि ॥

- { B. 1. प्रमतस्यासुमाङ्गत्यांतः परिधिं न्यधतामित्यादि ॥  
 B. 2. प्रमतस्यासुमाङ्गत्यांतः परिधिं न्यधतामित्यादि ॥  
 B. 3. प्रमतस्यासुमाङ्गत्यांतः परिधिं न्यधातामित्यादि ॥  
 B. M. प्रमतस्यासुमाङ्गत्यांतः परिधिं न्यधतामित्यादि ॥  
 B. D. प्रमतस्यासुमाङ्गत्यांतः परिधिं न्यधतामित्यादि ॥

Text in  
M.M.'s  
edition.

प्रमत्तस्यासुमाङ्गत्यांतः परिधिं न्यधत्तानमित्यादि ॥

Ca. MSS. by putting दच instead slip of the writer of A.D.

the A. MSS. have the mistake corrupt Ca. उतासेन.

el of असमति; the A. MSS. svāra.

suppose to be राधप्रौष्ठ, is ष्याप्रौष्ठ except B. 4, which the slight variation of t at all events the vridhhi the faulty reading of Ca. B. 3, B.M., and B.D.; यात्प्रौष्ठ. See R.V. x, skunde (first edition), 25.

गौपयन्, the cor- ven by the nearest ly peculiar to B.M.

A. Other MSS.

गामन्ते. B. 4

The B. MSS.

द आसत, fol- re taken तथा rintelligible.

l Ca. MSS.

ng आ in

3. 1 and 2

3, B.M.,

B 1

B.D.

rb

1

prefer असुरमायी because this word is used in the Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa, xiii. 12. There we find two Māyā's, evidently treated as females, but acting a similar part to that assigned to the two priests in our legends. I subjoin the text and Śāyana's Commentary (MS. Wilson, 396, p. 161 a): नौपायनानां वै सचमासीनानां किरातकुञ्जावसुरमाये अंतःपरिष्वासुन्प्राक्किरतां ते ऽग्ने त्वं नो अंतम इत्त्वग्निमुपासीदक्षिणासूनस्युस्त्वंसदाव ते तर्ह्यकामयंत कामसनि साम मूर्दः काममेवैतिगावबंध इति । Com. नौपायनानां गी(गी?)पनोवावा सचमासीनानां सचासनं कुर्वतामृषीषामसून्प्राक्किरातकुञ्जी । किराता षेष्ठाः । तप्तु(sic)शक्ये असुरमाये असुरसंबन्धिनी माये अंतः परिधि आहवनीयस्य परिधीनां मध्यदेशे प्राक्किरतां । प्रकवेव आचिपतां । कृ विधेप इति धातुः । ततस्ते नौपायना अग्ने त्वं नो अंतम इति तुषेनाग्निमुपासीदन् । उपासच्छन् । असुवन्नित्त्वर्धः । तेनोपसदनेनाग्नेः प्रसादात्पुनरात्मीषानसूनस्युस्त्वं । अवसथन् । मावापरिचिप्तान्पुनरादाव प्रवसानकुर्वन्नित्त्वर्धः । ते नौपायनास्तस्मिन्मथ एतदेव तर्ह्यकामयंत तस्मान्मूर्दः । कामसनि कामप्रदं । नतमन्वत् ॥ Here then किरातकुञ्जी would have to be taken in the sense of "of the race of, or similar to Kirātas," it would be a feminine, corresponding to असुरमाये, and the singular in the feminine would therefore be किरातकुञ्जी, masc. किरातकुञ्जः. In our passage, on the contrary, किरातकुञ्जी must be a masculine in the non-dual, and would therefore lead us to suppose that किरात and अकुञ्जि were the names of the two sorcerers. They occur again as male demons in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa I. 1, 4, 14, and in the Bṛihaddevatā. Śāyana in his commentary on the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa explains किरातकुञ्जी by किरातश्चाकुञ्जिश्च द्वावसुरपुरोहिती बभूवतुः । In another passage, the Tāṇḍya (xiii. 7) uses the fem. termination of the dual, (अस्ते for असी) for the masc. Here, however, the commentator calls it शिञ्जित्त्वर्धः.

<sup>11</sup> The A. MSS. agree on त ह्, i.e. तं ह्, for the म् of B. 4 is from the margin. The B. MSS. on the contrary all point to तमह्.

<sup>12</sup> निधायोदन् marks the A. and Ca. MSS.; निधायोदन् the B. MSS.

<sup>13</sup> The A. MSS. agree in मांस यथा, instead of मांसमथा which is intended by the B. MSS. B. 4 has the B. reading, and alone of all MSS. supplies the reading अन्नं. Ca. mixes up the two readings.

<sup>14</sup> In the lacuna after परा and in समति we have marked features of the entire B. class. B. 4 has its own peculiar mistake, पराबभूवतुः; which could only refer to the two Asuras, while it is meant for the Ikshvākus, i.e. Asamāti and the Rathaproshtas.



<sup>15</sup> The A. class is again marked by retaining the correct **अव्ययपत्न** though not always clearly written, whereas the B. MSS. have clearly **अव्ययपत्न**.

<sup>16</sup> The B. MSS. again agree in the mistake **गोपायना**.

<sup>17</sup> The B. class is sharply marked by the lacuna of **आऊतयो** and again by **अभितपति** instead of **अभितपति**, and the short vowel in **करिष्वो**.

<sup>18</sup> The omission of **वा** shows the close relationship of B. 3, B.M. & B.D.

<sup>19</sup> The original reading was probably **आवनेव**; cf. *Satapatha-brâhmana*, I. 1, 4, 15, **आवमिति ह्रस्वीच्चारणं**.

<sup>20</sup> The mistake **नेवो** in A. D., A., C. M., and C.W. indicates a closer relationship between these three MSS.

<sup>21</sup> The lacuna after **नेता** in the B. MSS. is important; likewise the coincidences between B. 1 and B. 2 on one side, and between B 3, B.M. and B.D. on the other.

<sup>22</sup> **सुबंधुर्गो** is a mistake that distinguishes the B. MSS. from the A. and Ca. MSS. **सर्वस्व** in C.M. is a mere *lapsus calami*, repeated in C.W. So is **नीपा** in A.D. and B. 4, and again **प्रत्तस्व**. Is **आऊत्व** intended for **आहृत्व**?

<sup>23</sup> The A. MSS. agree in **व्यधत्तामि** instead of **व्यधत्ता**. Ca. stands alone with **विधत्तामि**, while the B. MSS. just miss the right reading by the omission of one **त्**. B. 3 has **व्यधाता**, where the long **â** is a blunder of the copyist.

Having thus established the fact which I wished to establish, viz., that at present, in spite of repeated researches set on foot by my friends in India, no MSS. of Sâyaṇa's have been discovered that could claim to be anterior to the branching off of the three great families, A.B.C., I only intended in conclusion once more and in this public manner to convey my thanks to Dr. Bhao Daji for his great kindness, and to express a hope that other countrymen of his might follow his example, and take an active and enlightened interest in researches concerning the ancient literature, religion, and history of their noble country. But as I have once touched on the hymns of the Gaupâyanas, and on the legend of king Asamâti, quoted by Sâyaṇa in explanation of the four hymns of the Rig-veda (x. 57-60), I gladly add a few extracts from my manuscript notes on these hymns themselves, hymns which are in many respects of peculiar interest to the student of the Veda. In offering a double translation of these hymns, one according to Sâyaṇa, the other according to my own view, I need not enter fully into the principles which I think ought to be followed

in the interpretation of the hymns of the Rig-veda. I have frequently stated my opinions on this subject in the prefaces to my edition of the Rig-veda, in the specimens that I have given in my History of Sanskrit Literature, and in my Essay on the Funeral Ceremonies of the Brahmans, and I may have to defend these opinions again when I come to publish my translation of the Rig-veda. The following is a specimen of what I intend to give in that translation, though, as the hymns of the Gaupāyanas occur in the last Maṇḍala, I have here to take account of M. Langlois' translation only, and have not to examine, as in the earlier books, the valuable explanations proposed by other scholars, such as Rosen, Nève, Benfey, Wilson, Kuhn, Regnier, Aufrecht, Muir, and others. Whenever it is possible to ascertain from his Dictionary the opinion of my learned friend, Professor Roth, with regard to the meaning of certain words in certain passages, I have to take careful account of his interpretations, and I hope to be able to avail myself in like manner of Professor Goldstücker's Lexicon and of the Vedic Glossary and translations promised by Professor Aufrecht. All I need say at present is that I am convinced as strongly as ever that all interpretation of the Vedic hymns must begin with an examination of the traditional explanations collected by Śāyana. No one can doubt that the commentary of Śāyana is the result of a long line of scholastic tradition, gathered up by Śāyana, but the first fibres of which can easily be traced back to Kātyāyana, Śaunaka, Yāska, and the authorities quoted in the Brāhmanas. We may be certain that Śāyana does not invent traditions; he hardly ventures to choose between them, but gives them as he finds them, unconcerned about their palpable contradictions. Thus, in our case, the traditions of the Brahmans, with regard to the four hymns in question, are by no means uniform, though they all agree in giving to the four hymns (x. 57-60) an historical character. How the orthodox Brahmans can reconcile these allusions to historical personages and events with the pre-Adamite or pre-Mānavite character which they claim for the Veda, it is difficult to understand. In other cases they have tried to give to proper names occurring in the hymns or Brāhmanas an allegorical character, but, as far

as I know, they seem to have made no such attempt with the names of king Asamāti and his priest Subandhu. But, however that may be, the important point to us is this, that as far as we can trace back the exegetical tradition of the Brahmanic schools, we find that these four hymns are grouped together, and are supposed to allude to certain historical events. As the simplest account of these events is given in the Sarvānukrama of Kātyāyana, it will be best to begin with this.

According to Kātyāyana, then, these four hymns were seen, i.e. composed, by the Gaupāyanas, the same Ṛishis to whom four other lines are ascribed by Kātyāyana in Rig-veda, v. 24. In that passage Kātyāyana calls them Gaupāyanas or Laupāyanas,<sup>1</sup> and gives their names as Bandhu, Subandhu, Śrutabandhu, and Viprabandhu. What Kātyāyana tells us in explanation of the events that called forth the four hymns of the tenth Maṇḍala, is simply this: "King Asamāti, of the race of Ikshvāku, left the Gaupāyanas, Bandhu, etc., who had been his chief priests, and selected two wizards whom he considered better, or the very best that he could get. Then the others were angry and used incantations against the king. Thereupon the two wizards attacked<sup>2</sup> the vital spirits of Subandhu. Then his three brothers recited<sup>3</sup> the Gāyatrī-hymn (x. 57) to obtain a blessing.<sup>4</sup> Afterwards they recited the next Anushtubh-hymn (x. 58), in order to cause the soul (of Subandhu) to return. In the next hymn (x. 59) they recited four verses to drive away Nirṛiti,<sup>5</sup> and in the fourth they likewise praised Soma. In the two next following verses they praised the divine Asunīti (fem.) in order to remove Mṛityu or death; in the seventh verse they invoked certain deities by name, and in the remaining verses Dyāvāprithivī (heaven and earth); likewise Indra in the first line of the tenth verse. Then follows the Anushtubh-hymn (x. 60) in which they praised Asamāti in four verses, and in the fifth, Indra. In the sixth verse their mother, the sister of Agastya, praised the king. With the others they invoked

<sup>1</sup> The name of Laupāyana receives no further explanation. It may be mentioned, however, that Lopāmudrā is the name of the wife of Agastya (R. V. i. 179), and that Agastya is quoted in these hymns as the ancestor, it would seem, of the race.

<sup>2</sup> आचिचिपतुः आश्चावयता .

<sup>3</sup> अग्ना, ह्यंसत्वाद्गिद्वा .

<sup>4</sup> Sāyana has अविनाशप्राप्तिहेतुभूतं.

<sup>5</sup> Nirṛiti, according to Sāyana, removes the vital spirits from the body.

the life of Subandhu, and with the last they touched him after he had recovered consciousness."

Sāyaṇa follows in general the tradition of Kātyāyana, but he likewise takes some particular points from other sources, from the Śātyāyanaka and the Brihaddevatā. The Śātyāyanaka is one of the Brāhmaṇas very frequently quoted by Sāyaṇa, but unfortunately not yet recovered in manuscript. The text, as restored above from a comparison of the principal MSS., is not always clear, but as far as it is possible to make it out, the tradition, as there given, seems to have been as follows: "The Gaupāyanas had come to Asamāti Rāthapraushṭha. They had performed a Sattrā sacrifice in Khāṇḍava. Then two demoniacal wizards, Kilāta and Akuli, dwelt with Asamāti Rāthapraushṭha. The two Asuras cooked their porridge without putting it into the fire, and then the meat on the fire.<sup>1</sup> The Ikshvākus having burnt their food, failed. The oblations of the Gaupāyanas burnt Asamāti Rāthapraushṭha. He said to those two, Kilāta and Akuli, 'These oblations of the Gaupāyanas burn me.' The two said, 'Of that we two indeed are the healers, we two are the penance. We shall so arrange that these do not burn.' Then the two, going off, and offering the soul of Subandhu Gaupāyana, who was asleep and unconscious, placed it inside the sacrificial ring." Another extract from the Śātyāyanaka follows at the seventh verse of the last hymn: "Then they praised Agni with the Dvipada-hymn.<sup>2</sup> Agni being praised, approached, and having approached, he said, 'With what desire did you come?' They said, 'Let us obtain again the spirit of Subandhu.' He said, 'That spirit is inside the sacrificial ring, take it.'"

Here then we see that some sacrificial minutiae have been added, of which the Sarvānukrama takes no notice. Though the language of the Brāhmaṇa is by no means clear, yet it would seem that its author knew nothing of any incantations

<sup>1</sup> This translation is very doubtful, and the text decidedly incorrect. अन्तु might be taken as a nominative dual, but the use of the particle अन्तु is not in accordance with the ordinary style of the Brāhmaṇas. We must wait for the help of other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the hymn R.V. v. 24.

being used by the Gaupāyanas against King Asamāti, unless the same idea is expressed by the words, "the oblations of the Gaupāyanas burn me." The Ikshvākus, *i.e.* the people of Asamāti, according to the Śātyāyanaka, simply made a mistake at the sacrifice and burnt their food in the fire. It is not even said that this failure was caused by the Gaupāyanas, as priests of Asamāti. But after it has happened, Asamāti complains to the two wizards that the oblations of the Gaupāyanas burn or hurt him. Thereupon the wizards seem to have sacrificed Subandhu, or to have placed his spirit inside the sacrificial ring, whatever that may mean. The Gaupāyanas, in order to save the life of their brother, invoked Agni, who gave it back to them from within the sacrificial enclosure.

A third, and again somewhat different, account is given in the Bṛihaddevatā<sup>1</sup> :—

सूक्तमाख्यानसंयुक्तं वक्तव्यमस्य मे शृणु ॥  
 संमोहाच्च विंशत्यस्य शत्रुणांभिहतस्य च<sup>१</sup> ।  
 जीवावृत्तिः सुबंधोर्वी यद्दिवा मनसः खंयः ॥ १ ॥  
 राजासमीतिरैत्साको रथप्रोष्ठः पुरोहितान् ।  
 ब्रुदस्य बंधुप्रभृतीन् द्विपेदा ये<sup>२</sup> ऽचिनइसे ॥ २ ॥  
 द्वी किराताकुक्षी<sup>३</sup> नाम ततो मायाविनी द्विवी ।  
 अथमातिः पुरो ऽधर्त्तं वरिंष्टी ती हि मन्वते<sup>४</sup> ॥ ३ ॥

<sup>1</sup> The text is printed from a MS. kindly presented to me by Dr. Bhao Daji, and which I mark B. The various readings (H.) are taken from a MS. belonging to a small but valuable collection presented to the Bodleian Library by Dr. Fitzedward Hall, and which, by an unfortunate mistake, was in the printed catalogue mixed up with other collections. MS. *b.* was sent to me by my friend Dr. Bühler. Another MS., belonging to Dr. Fitzedward Hall, is an incorrect copy of H.; and another, just received from Bombay, is unfortunately only a second copy of the same original from which *b.* was taken.

<sup>2</sup> पक्व H.                      <sup>3</sup> झवृ H.                      <sup>4</sup> शत्रुणां H.

<sup>5</sup> तु H.; the first and second lines wanting in *b.*    <sup>6</sup> धूर्त्ति H.; वृत्ति *b.*

<sup>7</sup> र्वा H.                      <sup>8</sup> चद H.                      <sup>9</sup> सस्य H. *b.*                      <sup>10</sup> चि H.                      <sup>11</sup> ष्टः H.

<sup>12</sup> ये रथप्रोष्ठान्पुं B.; न्युं *b.*

<sup>13</sup> ती द्वे H.; तिनद्वे *b.*                      <sup>14</sup> दाब्धि H. B.                      <sup>15</sup> ती B. *b.*

<sup>16</sup> चि H. The Anukramanī-bhāṣya says, किराताकुक्षि इति ब्रुहदे-  
 यतोक्तनामानौ । The Nītimanjarī gives किराताकुक्षी नाम ।

<sup>17</sup> ति H. *b.*                      <sup>18</sup> वंती H.; अथ *b.*                      <sup>19</sup> चि H.

<sup>20</sup> ती ह्यमन्वते is a conjecture confirmed by the Nītimanjarī.

ती ऋपोती द्विषी<sup>१</sup> भूत्वा जत्वा नीपाद्यनामनि<sup>२</sup> ।  
 मायावसाच्च योगाच्च सुबन्धुमभिपेतुः ॥ ४ ॥  
 स दुःखादभिघाताच्च मुमोह च पपार्त च ।  
 ती ततो ऽस्त्रांसुमासु<sup>३</sup> र्थं रावानमभिचरमतुः ॥ ५ ॥  
 ततः सुबन्धी पतिते जतासी<sup>४</sup> धातरस्त्रयः ।  
 जेषुः<sup>५</sup> स्वस्वयन सर्वे<sup>६</sup> मेति नीपाद्यनाः सह ॥ ६ ॥  
 मगन्वावर्तयतो ऽस्त्रं सूक्तं र्थदिति ते र्थगुः ।  
 जेषुश्च भैर्षजार्थार्थं प्र तारीति परं ततः ॥ ७ ॥  
 सूक्तस्याद्यसुचस्त्रं निर्वर्त्तेरपनोदनः<sup>७</sup> ।  
 चर्षः पादा मो ध्विति तु<sup>८</sup> सौम्या निर्वर्त्त उत्तमः ॥ ८ ॥  
 ऋक् सौम्यनिर्वर्त्ती वीषासुनीतिः<sup>९</sup> सुतिः<sup>१०</sup> परे ।  
 वृषे स्त्रानुमतं पादमेत्वं वीसासु मन्वते ॥ ९ ॥  
 भूषीः सोमर्षं पूषा च खं पथीं स्वस्त्रिरेव च ।  
 सुबन्धोरिव श्रात्रर्षं पुनर्न ऋषिं संस्रुताः<sup>११</sup> ॥ १० ॥  
 तृचः श्रमितिं<sup>१२</sup> रोदस्त्रोरिद्रोऽर्धर्षः समित्वृषि ।  
 रपसो<sup>१३</sup> नाश्रनार्थं<sup>१४</sup> ते तृष्टुवृषीर्षं रोदसी ॥ ११ ॥

- <sup>१</sup> जो H.      <sup>२</sup> त्वा युक्तानो H.      <sup>३</sup> वीपा° B.      <sup>४</sup> निह H.  
<sup>५</sup> लयात् H.      <sup>६</sup> येव H.  
<sup>७</sup> पयात् b.      <sup>८</sup> तो b.      <sup>९</sup> ती तो स्त्रा° B.      <sup>१०</sup> सुवृष्य B.; वीष b.  
<sup>११</sup> स्त्र समासुष्य राजनभ H.      <sup>१२</sup> deest H.      <sup>१३</sup> ययुः H.      <sup>१४</sup> पूर्वे B. s.m.  
<sup>१५</sup> गो H.      <sup>१६</sup> मग आचर्तनसस्त्र H.      <sup>१७</sup> यदि ते अयुः B.  
<sup>१८</sup> भयः H.; अयुः b.      <sup>१९</sup> भेष b.      <sup>२०</sup> वार्थं वं b.  
<sup>२१</sup> The whole line wanting in H  
<sup>२२</sup> यस्त्रितचः प्रेति H.      <sup>२३</sup> नाः H.      <sup>२४</sup> यव H.  
<sup>२५</sup> दो मो ध्वित्वस्त्राः H.      <sup>२६</sup> म्या जि H.  
<sup>२७</sup> नीतिः B. b. The first ऋ of *asunīti* ought to be pronounced-  
 MSS. H. b. write वीषा असुनी°.  
<sup>२८</sup> तेरतः H.      <sup>२९</sup> ताद् H.      <sup>३०</sup> दं मन्वया H.  
<sup>३१</sup> वीमश्च H.; वीः सोमसु B. b.      <sup>३२</sup> स्वययश्नाः H.      <sup>३३</sup> च H.  
<sup>३४</sup> तु स्रुताः B.; तु स्रुताः B. b.      <sup>३५</sup> चि H. B.  
<sup>३६</sup> समति H.; समिति B.      <sup>३७</sup> लु H.      <sup>३८</sup> शो H.      <sup>३९</sup> वार्थं H.  
<sup>४०</sup> वी तुष्टु B.; वी तुष्टुवृष्य b.      <sup>४१</sup> वृषित्विस्त्र H.

रप इत्थंभिधामं तु नदितं पापकृच्छयोः ।  
 अग्निभरेति धंतसुभिर्क्षत ऐत्त्वात्मसुवर्णं ॥ १२ ॥  
 इंद्र चचेत्तृधा चास्य सुत्वाग्निपुराग्निषः ।<sup>१</sup>  
 अमस्त्वैस्त्रेति माता च तेषां तुष्टाव तं नृपं ॥ १३ ॥  
 क्षुतः सं राजा सत्रीदक्षैस्त्री नीपायनानभि<sup>२</sup> ।  
 सूक्तेनाप्यसुर्वन्नग्निं द्विर्पदेन यथाचिसु ॥ १४ ॥  
 अग्निरर्थं ब्रवीदेनामयमतः परिर्ध्वंसुः ।  
 सुबंधोरस्य चेत्क्षीणोमयां गुप्तो हितार्थिनीं ॥ १५ ॥  
 सुबंधवे प्रदायासुं<sup>३</sup> क्षीवेत्क्षीत्वा सं पावकः ।  
 सुतो<sup>४</sup> नीपायनीः प्रीतो अनाम चिदिवं प्रति<sup>५</sup> ॥ १६ ॥  
 अयं मातेति दृष्टास्त्रे<sup>६</sup> सुबंधोरसुमाह्वयत् ।  
 शरीरमभिनिर्दिक्षुं सुबंधोः<sup>७</sup> पतितं भुवि ॥ १७ ॥  
 सूक्तशेषं अनुशास्य चेतसो धारणाय ते ।  
 सव्यासुं<sup>८</sup> चायमित्त्वक्षां<sup>९</sup> पृथक् पाणिभिरस्युग्रत् ॥ १८ ॥

"Hear of me the hymn together with the story which I wish to tell! It is the revival of Subandhu who from trouble had lost his consciousness, and had been struck down by his enemy; or it contains the praise of the soul. King Asamāti Rathaproshtā, of the race of Ikshvāku, having sent away the Purohitas, Bandhu and the rest, who composed the Dvipada verses in the Atri-maṇḍala (R. V. v. 24), the same Asamāti afterwards elected two Brahman wizards, Kirāta and Akuli by name, for he believed them to be the best. These

<sup>१</sup> त्वा H.    <sup>२</sup> सं H.    <sup>३</sup> चाषीत् H.    <sup>४</sup> सुमित H.; सुमित्त्वा b.

<sup>५</sup> ऐत्त्वाकुसरभूवत् H.; ऐत्त्वाकुमसुवर्णं b.    <sup>६</sup> चचेत्तृ B.; तु b.

<sup>७</sup> This line wanting in H.    <sup>८</sup> स्त्रे b.    <sup>९</sup> द्वा b.    <sup>१०</sup> सु H.    <sup>११</sup> तस्य b.

<sup>१२</sup> सुप्रीतः Sāy. संदृष्टः Nītim.; deest in H.    <sup>१३</sup> गो H. B.    <sup>१४</sup> मी b.

<sup>१५</sup> सूक्तेनैषां सु<sup>०</sup> B. b.; सूक्तेन ते ऽसु<sup>०</sup> Sāy.    <sup>१६</sup> ग्निं द्वे b.    <sup>१७</sup> अथाग्निर H.

<sup>१८</sup> पराव्यसुः B.; क्षीनामयं मत्तः परित्ससूत् H.; द्वेवानयमतः पराव्यसुः b.

<sup>१९</sup> क्षी B. b.    <sup>२०</sup> क्षो मया H.    <sup>२१</sup> तेषिणा H.    <sup>२२</sup> सु H.

<sup>२३</sup> वत्स H.    <sup>२४</sup> तु H.    <sup>२५</sup> ती b.    <sup>२६</sup> पुनः H.    <sup>२७</sup> शेषेण H.

<sup>२८</sup> दृ H.    <sup>२९</sup> धो H.    <sup>३०</sup> सव्यासुं H.; सव्यासुं b ]    <sup>३१</sup> त्वग्नां H.

two Brahmans, having become doves,<sup>1</sup> and having gone towards the Gaupāyanas, flew upon Subandhu by the strength of their spells and their magic. He, from pain and violence, staggered and fell. Then these two, after plucking out his soul, went to the king. Then after Subandhu had fallen and given up his spirit, all the three brothers, the Gaupāyanas, recited together a blessing, beginning with the word *Mā* (x. 57); and in order to cause his spirit to return they sang the hymn beginning with *Yad* (x. 58). And after that, in order to effect a cure, they recited the hymn beginning with *Pra t̄ari* (x. 59). The first three verses in that hymn are meant to drive away Nirṛiti; the three quarters beginning with *Mo shu* (x. 59, 4) are addressed to Soma, the last quarter to Nirṛiti, and the whole verse is therefore addressed to Soma and Nirṛiti. In the next two verses *Asamāti* is praised, but *Yāska* holds the last quarter of the sixth verse to be addressed to *Anumati*. The earth, heaven, Soma, *Pūshan*, the air, *Pathyā*, and *Svasti*, these are praised together in the verse beginning with *Punar naḥ*, in order to give comfort to Subandhu. The three verses (8–10) beginning with *Śam* are addressed to the two *Rodasī*, but in the verse beginning with *Śam* (10) half the verse is addressed to *Indra*. And they praised the *Rodasī* in order to destroy *rapas*, and the word *rapas* is used for sin and evil. Then with the four verses beginning with *Ā* (x. 60, 1–4) they praised the *Aikshvāka* (*Asamāti*), and having praised him, they invoked blessings upon him by the verse *Indra kshatrā* (x. 60, 5). Their mother also praised that king with the verse beginning with *Agastyasya* (x. 60, 6). Then, after thus being praised, the king felt ashamed, and went to the Gaupāyanas, and they praised also *Agni* with the *Dvipada*-hymn, as it is found among the *Atris*, i.e. in the *Atri-maṇḍala* (R. V. v. 24). And *Agni* said to them: 'This spirit of Subandhu has been kept inside the sacrificial ring by me, being a well-wisher also of this *Ikshvāku* (*Asamāti*).' And

<sup>1</sup> This change into doves is not mentioned elsewhere, and in a passage of the commentary on the *Sarvānukrama* we read अथ मायावहितपुरोहितो व्याजपो ती भूत्विति बृहद्दे० ॥



having given the spirit to Subandhu, and having said, Live !, Agni, praised by the Gaupāyanas, and pleased, went towards heaven. Then these were delighted and called the spirit of Subandhu with the verse *Ayam mātā* (x. 60, 7), pointing to the body of Subandhu that was lying on the ground. And they sang the rest of the hymn in order to confirm his mind, and they touched him separately, after he had recovered his spirit, with the verses beginning with *Ayam* (x. 60, 12)."

What is chiefly important in this version of the legend is the transformation of the two wizards into doves, always supposing that the text is correct. It should be observed also that the Bṛihaddevatā knows of the spirit of Subandhu having been preserved inside the sacrificial ring, and of Agni restoring it, after he had been praised with the four verses given in the Atri-maṇḍala. If this be so, if the four verses of the hymn (R. V. v. 24) were recited by the three brothers, before the resuscitation of the fourth brother, Subandhu, it would be difficult to reconcile with this the statement of Kātyāyana, who says that the four brothers saw or composed the four verses of that hymn.

We now come to the Nitimanjari which derives two of its moral maxims from our four hymns. The first is that one ought not to trust in kings; the second that there is no friend like a brother.

I give the extracts of this little work as they stand in my MS. in order to show how the work has been put together. If one knows the sources from which the author has taken his information, it is easy to supply the omissions and to correct palpable mistakes. Thus he begins with the Anukramaṇi; then from ततो to the next इति he quotes from Sāyaṇa. Then follows a passage from the Bṛihaddevatā, all full of mistakes, but easily corrected by a reference to the originals:—

प्रभोर्विचक्षणं न कुर्यादित्यर्थं चाह ॥ प्रभुप्रसादे विश्वासं न कुर्यात्स्व-  
प्रसन्निभे । अग्न्यास्तत्त्वात् बन्धादीनसमातिः पुरोहितान् ॥ तथा नुक्नमथी  
अथ ईक्ष्वाको राजासमातिर्गीपायनान्बन्धादीन्पुरोहितांस्वत्कान्बी मा-  
याविनी श्रेष्ठतमौ मत्वा पुरोदधे इति । ततो बन्धादयः कुशाः संतः इमं  
राजानमभिचारितवन्त इति । द्वी किराताकुशी नाम ततो मायाविनी

असमातिः पुरोहिती वसिष्ठी ती ह्यमन्वत । ती च कपोती द्विषी भूत्वा  
 तान् गोपायनानभि मायावसाञ्च योगाञ्च सुबन्धुमभिपेततुः । तदर्धेयमुक्त्वा  
 मा प्र नाम पद्यो वयं ॥ बंध्वादयस्वत्ताः संतो विश्वान्देवांसुष्टुवुः । हे  
 इंद्र वयं गोपायनाः पद्यः समीचीनाया प्र नाम मा वच्छाम । तथा  
 सोमवतो यज्ञाया प्र नाम । गोऽस्वाकर्मतर्मर्गे चरातयो मा तस्युः ।  
 मा तिष्ठतु ।

धाता महान्सुहृदित्वर्थं चाह ॥ धातासमः सुहृन्नास्ति धातरः समवी-  
 वयन् । सुबन्धुं शंतनुर्धाता नृपं कृत्वा वनं ययौ ॥ बृहद्देवता ।

ततः सुबन्धौ पतिते धातरि धातरस्त्रयः ।

यद्यौ स्वस्वयनं सर्वे मेति गोपायनाः सह ॥

शिभिः सूक्तिर्यथाव्याचं तुष्टुवुः सर्वदेवताः ।<sup>1</sup>

अनस्वस्व स्वसा माता तेषां तुष्टाव तं नृपं ॥

सुतोऽसमातिः संहृष्टस्त्री गोपायनानभि ।

सूनाप्यस्तुवन्नग्निं द्विपदेन यदचिषु ॥

सुबन्धवे प्रदायानु जीवं त्वत्का नु पावसः ।

सुतो गोपायनोः प्रीतो जगाम चिदिव पुनः ॥

ततो जीवितं धातारं हस्तेन स्युशन् हस्तं तुष्टाव अयं मेत्वनया च्चवा ।  
 अयं मे हस्तो भगवान्° अयं मे मम हस्तः भगवान् यतो जीवितं सुबन्धुं स्युशं-  
 ति । तथा चायं मे हस्तः भगवत्तरः अतिशयेन भाग्यवान् तथा चायं  
 विश्वभेषजः सर्वभेषजः । कर्षभूतो हस्तः । शिवाभिमर्शनः मंगलस्पर्शः ।

These extracts from the Nitimanjari, printed here with all the mistakes of the MS., contain nothing that is not mentioned by earlier authorities, and need not therefore be translated.

If now we turn to Sâyana's Commentary, we shall see that he explains the four hymns in accordance with the legend they are supposed to illustrate:—

#### HYMN 57

The Gaupâyanas, coming from Khândava to Asamâti in order to receive the spirit of Subandhu, say:—

1. "O Indra, may we not go away from the right way! (may we go to the house of Asamâti!) May we not go away

<sup>1</sup> This line is not in the Bṛihaddevatâ.

from the sacrifice of the Soma-sacrificer, viz., of Asamāti! May the enemies not stand in our way!"

2. "May we obtain that thread, (the fire) always offered, the accomplisher of the sacrifice, spread out by the priests!"

3. "We (Bandhu and the rest) invoke the soul (of Subandhu) quickly, with Soma offered in the sacrificial cups of our ancestors, and with the hymns of our fathers."

4. "O Subandhu, may thy soul come hither, for work, for strength, for life! and for seeing the sun a long time!"

5. "May the assembly of our fathers,<sup>1</sup> and the assembly of the gods give us life and our senses! May we obtain both, (life and our senses)."

6. "O Soma, may we (Bandhu and the rest) keeping our mind on thy service and on thy members, obtain with our offspring, both (life and our senses)."

#### HYMN 58.

1. "O dead man, thy soul which went far away to Yama the son of Vivasvat, we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

2. "O Subandhu, thy soul which went far away to heaven and earth, we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

3. "O Subandhu, thy soul which went far away to the four-cornered earth, we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

4. "O Subandhu, thy soul which went far away to the four great regions, we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

5. "O Subandhu, thy soul which went far away to the watery sea, we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

6. "O Subandhu, thy soul which went far away to the onward moving splendours, we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

7. "O Subandhu, thy soul which went far away into the water and the shrubs, we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

<sup>1</sup> Sāyana must have read अन्नः instead of मनः

8. "O Subandhu, thy soul which went far away into the sun and into the dawn, we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

9. "O Subandhu, thy soul which went far away to the great mountains, we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

10. "O Subandhu, thy soul which went far away into the whole world, we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

11. "O Subandhu, thy soul which went far away to distant distances, we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

12. "O Subandhu, thy soul which went far away into the past and into the future, we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

#### HYMN 59.

1. "May the life (of Subandhu) be increased so as to be longer and newer; as two men standing on a chariot (are increased or advanced) by an active (charioteer). Thus he (Subandhu) having fallen (from life), increases his object (his life). May Nirṛiti leave further away and well!"

2. "While the song is sung, we make also for our wealth (*i.e.* our health) treasured food; we make oblations well, and in many ways. May she who is praised (Nirṛiti) taste all our offerings; may Nirṛiti leave further away and well!"

3. "May we well overcome our enemies with power, as the sun overcomes the earth, as the thunderbolt overcomes the clouds. She who is praised (Nirṛiti) knows all our praises; may Nirṛiti leave further away and well!"

4. "O Soma, do not well surrender us to death; may we see the sun that is now rising. May old age, sent by days, be well to us! May Nirṛiti leave further away and well!"

5. "O life-leading goddess, place soul into us again! Lengthen well our life, that we may live! Place us in the sight of the sun! Swell thou the body with (sacrificial) butter!"

6. "O life-leading goddess, give to us (to Subandhu) again the eye, again here to us breath, and pleasure! May we long see the rising sun! O Anumati, pity us, hail!"

7. "May the Earth again give us life, again the bright

heaven, again the sky ! May Soma give again our body, may Pūshan give speech, and what is bliss ! ”

8. “ May the great Heaven and Earth, the mother of the sacrifice, give a blessing to Subandhu. Whatever evil there is, may they both carry it off ! O heaven, o earth ! if there is patience ! O Subandhu, may no evil whatever hurt thee really ! ”

9. “ From Heaven medicines descend, double and three-fold ; (i.e. the two Ásvins, and the three goddesses, Iḷá, Sarasvatī, and Bhāratī) ; a single medicine walks on earth. Whatever evil there is, may they both carry it off ! O heaven, o patient earth ! O Subandhu, may no evil whatever hurt thee really ! ”

10. “ O Indra, drive the cart-drawing ox, who draws near the cart of Uśinarāṇī (a herb with which they rub the sick). Whatever evil there is, may they both carry it off ! O heaven, o patient earth ! O Subandhu, may no evil whatever hurt thee really ! ”

#### HYMN 60.

1. “ We (Bandhu and the rest) bringing praise, have come to a man (viz. king Asamāti)<sup>1</sup> of bright aspect, praised by the great.”

2. “ To Asamāti, the smasher (of enemies), the brilliant, (like unto) a conquering chariot, born of the race of Bhajeratha,<sup>2</sup> the lord of the brave.”

3. “ He who by fight overcomes men, like oxen, whether he has a dagger, or whether he has no dagger.”

4. “ The king of this country, Ikshvāku, thrives in his work, rich, and killing his enemies. His five tribes are as if in heaven.”

5. “ O Indra, keep the powers with Asamāti Rathaprosṭha, as thou keepest the sun in heaven to be seen.”

6. The mother of Bandhu and the rest, the sister of Agastya, says : “ O King Asamāti, for the sake of Agastya’s

<sup>1</sup> Or, we have come to a country belonging to the life-leading goddess, to Asunīti ; not to Asamāti, as might be expected.

<sup>2</sup> Or, conquering an enemy called Bhajeratha.

nephews, harness the two red horses. Conquer all the miserly merchants !”

7. Bandhu and the other brothers say : “This is the mother, this the father, this life-giver has come. O Subandhu (who art now in a cover of life), this (thy body) is thy means of moving.<sup>1</sup> Come here, come out (of thy cover of life) !”

8. “As they tie a yoke with a rope that it may hold, so has Agni held thy soul (in the cover), for life, not for death, ay, for safety.”

9. “As this great earth has held these trees, so has Agni held thy soul, for life, not for death, ay, for safety.”

10. “I have brought the soul of Subandhu from Yama, the son of Vivasvat, for life, not for death, ay, for safety.”

11. “The wind blows down, the sun shines down, the cow gives milk down ; may thy sin go down !”

12. The brothers touching the reviving Subandhu with their hands say : “This my hand is blessed ; this my hand is more blessed ; this my hand holds all healing herbs ; this has a happy touch.”

The translation of these four hymns is a fair specimen of what a translation of the Rig-veda would be, if we followed strictly and unhesitatingly the explanation given by Sāyana. Many verses would give a perfectly satisfactory sense, nor is there any necessity for going beyond Sāyana’s interpretation, whenever that interpretation satisfies both the rules of grammar and the requirements of common sense. Three-fourths of the Veda may thus be translated by anybody who can understand Sāyana’s commentary. But there occur from time to time lines and verses where Sāyana’s interpretation offends clearly both against grammar and against sense. Here the fault must either rest with Sāyana or with the text of the Veda. The poets of the Veda, who strictly observe a grammar of their own, and who in by far the greater part of their hymns utter thoughts that are both intelligible and coherent, cannot be supposed suddenly to have forgotten themselves,

<sup>1</sup> Or, o Subandhu, this is thy mother, this the father, this thy son, come here ; all have come, full of grief.

and to have set grammar and sense at defiance. In such cases we must see whether their words do not lend themselves to a different interpretation from that given by Sāyana. Sometimes the misapprehensions of Sāyana are palpable. Thus in hymn 57, 5, it is clear that Sāyana mistakes *manaḥ* for *janaḥ*. Regardless of the accent, he takes *pitarāḥ* for a nominative, and he does further violence to grammar by making *pitarāḥ* an apposition to *janaḥ*. Instead of translating, as he does, "May the assembly of our fathers and the assembly of the gods give us life," it is clear that we ought to translate, even though adopting the rest of Sāyana's Commentary, "O fathers, may the assembly of the gods give back our soul." The following words are likewise wrongly rendered by Sāyana. He takes *jīvam* for life, and *vrātam* for the collection of the five senses. *Jīva*, no doubt, means life, and *vrāta* mean a collection. But, first of all, we should then expect the two words to be joined by *cha*; or, if that might be passed, the difficulty would still remain that *vrāta* never means the collection of the five senses, but simply collection, mass, multitude. This can be proved by many passages, such as R.V. i. 163, 8; iii. 26, 6; v. 53, 11; vi. 75, 9; x. 34, 8, and 12. It is true the phrase *jīvam vrātaṁ sachemahi*, does not occur again, but as there are many passages in which *jīva* is used as an adjective, in the sense of living, and as *jīvaloka* is used in the sense of the world of the living, everything seems to favour the natural explanation of the last line, "Let us join the living multitudes." Then the question arises, can *sach* be used with the accusative? It generally governs the instrumental, as R.V. i. 116, 17; 136, 6; 152, 1; 183, 2; 185, 9; ii. 8, 6; v. 50, 2; x. 7, 1; 64, 11; 106, 10. But there are numerous passages where it governs the accusative, such as i. 136, 3; 180, 1; ii. 41, 6; iii. 39, 3; 52, 15; vii. 88, 5; viii. 5, 2; 102, 22. We may therefore translate our passage: "May we join the living multitudes," while with the instrumental, we should have had to translate, "May we be together with living multitudes!" Thus we read R.V. i. 136, 6, *vyok jīvantaḥ prajayā sachemahi*, "May we long live and be together with offspring, i.e. possess offspring."

The question whether *daivyaḥ janah* means really the assembly of gods, or whether it should be translated by Agni, fire, the heavenly man, has been raised on a former occasion, and I still adhere, though, with regard to some passages, rather doubtfully, to the opinion which I then expressed.<sup>1</sup> I should therefore translate: "O fathers, may the heavenly man, Agni, give us back our soul, may we join the living multitude."

The next verse again is not well explained by Sāyana. The words *vrata tava manas tanūshu bibhrataḥ* cannot well mean, "keeping our mind on thy service and on thy members." *Tanu* is not used in the sense of members, nor does *bhṛi*, "to bear," with *manas*, "mind," mean to keep one's mind on something, or to attend. Here again, a little reflection shows that we ought to translate, "May we in thy service, keeping the soul in our bodies, *i.e.* keeping alive, join the living multitude." The ellipsis is somewhat unusual, yet as the two verses follow each other, *jīvam vrātam* may well be supplied after the second *sachemahi*. Although *sam sachāvahai* occurs (vi. 55, 1) in the sense of "let us join," this meaning would hardly be applicable in our passage.

But while in passages like these, a little reflection and a consideration of similar passages will generally remove all difficulties, it happens not unfrequently that the work of interpretation becomes really a work of deciphering. Nothing will avail but to look at every passage in which we may examine each single word that occurs in the verse to be deciphered; and even after that has been done, the labour is frequently in vain, and we are driven to admit either that the text is corrupt, or that we possess no longer the means of discovering behind the strange words and phrases of the Veda the thoughts which the early poets intended to express. Here lies the real work which a translator of the Veda has to perform; and although different Sanskrit scholars in England, France, and Germany have explained many words and pas-

<sup>1</sup> Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. ix. p. xxii. 1855. The heavenly host would be *daivya janah* (R.V. vi. 22, 9).



sages, and removed many difficulties that Sāyaṇa was unable to remove, yet a really satisfactory translation of the whole of the Rig-veda will for many years be simply impossible.

In accordance with the principles of translation which I have explained more fully on former occasions, I shall now endeavour to translate the four hymns which, before, were translated according to the tradition of the Brahmans. And here I have to confess, first of all, that I cannot bring myself to believe in the historical reality of the legend which, according to Sāyaṇa, forms the background of our hymns. This may seem gratuitous scepticism, and at this distance of time, and with the utter absence of historical documents, it is so safe that it seems hardly fair, to throw the burden of proof on those who believe in the legend. I do not mean to say that it is impossible that there ever was a king Asamāti; that he had four priests, brothers of the family of the Gaupāyanas; that he dismissed them and appointed two others in their place; that the Gaupāyanas injured him; that the new priests carried off one of the brothers and nearly killed him, possibly in order to sacrifice him; that the Gaupāyanas then made their peace with the king, and that their brother was finally restored to them. All this may have happened. Nor could any scholar in Europe avail himself of the argument that might be used in the theological schools in India, viz. that no historical events can be referred to in the Veda, because the Veda is believed to have been composed before all time. But what may be urged is this, that the legend itself varies, and varies on essential points; that large portions of the legend owe their origin to a misunderstanding of some antiquated expressions occurring in the Veda and the old Brāhmaṇas; and lastly, that if the hymns had been composed for the occasion, the allusion to the events would naturally be more marked and palpable.

Several variations in the legend have been pointed out before, but a more important one remains to be noticed. Who were the two priests appointed in the place of the four Gaupāyanas? Kātyāyana calls them simply *māyāvin*, which we may translate 'possessed of power,' but more particularly

'possessed of supernatural or magical power.' Sāyana speaks of them as Rishis, or sacred and inspired poets. The Śātyāyanaka is more explicit, and, if our text is correct, it speaks of them as *asuramāyau*, 'possessed of demoniacal powers,' and calls them asuras or evil spirits. The Bṛihaddevatā calls them *māyāvinau devīau*, Brahmans endowed with magic powers, and gives their names as Kirāta and Akuli.<sup>1</sup> Here we have already several conflicting statements, enough to stagger an orthodox Brahman. But a more important point remains to be noticed. In the Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa, the story of the Gaupāyanas occurs in a much more simple and primitive form, and here the two demoniacal Brahmans are no Brahmans at all, but females, whatever else they may be. Nothing is said there of King Asamāti or of the one brother Subandhu, but the legend simply states: "Two demoniacal Māyās, of the race of the Kirātas,<sup>2</sup> scattered about, inside the sacrificial enclosure, the spirits of the Gaupāyanas who were performing a Sattra sacrifice. These worshipped Agni with the hymn,<sup>3</sup> 'Agni, be thou nearest to us.' By it they took again<sup>4</sup> their spirits." If this is the foundation of the later stories of the Gaupāyanas, we can see clearly what has happened. The two Māyās, or female spirits, of the race of the Kirātas, Kirāta-kulyau, were changed into two men of the name of Kirāta and Akuli. The name of Subandhu occurring in the hymn was taken to be the name of one of the Gaupāyanas, and the name of Asamāti, likewise occurring in the hymn as a name of Indra, was supposed to be the name of a king who,

<sup>1</sup> Whether it is Akuli or Ākuli cannot be settled from the passages hitherto known. It may be right to mention that in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa the MSS. really give किराताकुली, which is explained by the commentary as किरात-साकुलिश्च द्वावसुरपुरोहिती बभूवतु :

<sup>2</sup> It may be right to mention that the MSS. of the Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa really give किरातकुली, not किराताकुली, as printed by Boehdtingk in his Dictionary, s.v. किरात. The text and commentary of this passage are given on p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> R.V. v. 24. Sāyana, in his commentary on the Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa, calls this hymn *tricha*, consisting of three verses, which would have been appropriate, according to the account of the Bṛihaddevatā, while in the Rig-veda there are four lines, forming two verses.

<sup>4</sup> अस्युखन् is explained by अवस्यन्, both meaning "to cherish."

somehow or other, was connected with the Gaupâyanas. The remaining details would be supplied at demand, and the legend would gradually grow into that form in which we now find it in the Śatyâyanaka, in the Sarvânukrama, and in the Bṛihaddevatâ. The reasons imagined for the anger of the Gaupâyanas are truly Brahmanic. It was the professional hatred of one set of priests against another, and the reason for their dismissal savours equally of modern Brahmanism, viz., some little mistake that had occurred in the cooking of the sacrificial viands.

But although we can thus explain in a natural manner the growth of the legend of the Gaupâyanas, by simply supplementing the story of the Tândya with little indications taken from the hymns themselves, I do not lay much stress on this. Whether there ever was a king Asamâti or not, whether he exchanged one set of priests for another or not, what is all that to us? The only real thing we have to deal with are the hymns of the Veda, and one single intelligible thought contained in them, and giving us an insight into the mind of those ancient poets, is worth all the genealogies of shadowy kings and spirits. That there are some valuable thoughts in the hymns which are ascribed to the Gaupâyanas, must have become clear even from Śâyana's translation. It will become still clearer if we forget altogether what we have heard about Asamâti and the Gaupâyanas, and translate the hymns as we find them, and as possibly even Śaunaka understood them, when he said that they either contained an account of the revival of Subandhu, or praises of the soul.

#### HYMN 47.

1. "Let us not swerve from the (right) path, nor from the Soma-sacrifice, o Indra. May our enemies not stand in our way!"

2. "May we obtain the fire which is (to be) offered, which is the accomplisher of the sacrifice, the thread<sup>1</sup> that reaches unto the gods."

<sup>1</sup> The sacrifice was considered as a thread or a connecting link between God and men. See M. M., Die Todtenbestattung bei den Brahmanen, Zeitschrift der D. M. Gesellschaft, vol. ix. p. xxii.

3. "We now call hither the soul, with libations as offered by our blessed ancestors, and with the songs of our fathers."

4. "May thy soul come back for work, strength, and life; and that it may long behold<sup>1</sup> the sun!"

5. "May the heavenly man, Agni, (the fire), give us back our soul, o fathers.<sup>2</sup> May we join the living host!"

6. "May we join it with our offspring, in thy service, o Soma, keeping the soul in our bodies."

#### HYMN 58.

1. "Thy soul which went far away to Yama Vaivasvata,<sup>3</sup> we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

2. "Thy soul which went far away to heaven and to the earth, we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

3. "Thy soul which went far away to the four-cornered earth, we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

4. "Thy soul which went far away to the four quarters, we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

5. "Thy soul which went far away to the watery ocean, we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

6. "Thy soul which went far away to the onward rays,<sup>4</sup> we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

7. "Thy soul which went far away to the water and the shrubs, we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

8. "Thy soul which went far away to the sun and the dawn, we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

9. "Thy soul which went far away to the great mountains, we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

<sup>1</sup> If *stodas* and *dripî* are called infinitives, why not *krîdvas* and *ddakshâya*? The name of infinitive might well be given up and replaced by a more appropriate term.

<sup>2</sup> It is more natural to join *naç* with *manaç* and translate, our soul. In that case the subject of the hymn would change, and what follows would certainly harmonise with this view.

<sup>3</sup> On Yama Vaivasvata, the king of the departed, see Ueber die Todtenbestattung, in the Zeitschrift der D. M. Gesellschaft, ix. p. xiv.

<sup>4</sup> *Marîchi* does not occur again in the R. V. (exc. *marîchinam*, x. 177, 1), but there is no reason to doubt that it had in the Veda the same meaning as in the later literature, viz., ray, splendour. *Pravat*, which, by Professor Roth, is given as a substantive only, must be taken as an adjective, not only in this, but in several other passages, such as vii. 32, 27. It means 'moving onward,' possibly 'eastern,' like *prâçâ*.

10. "Thy soul which went far away to the whole world, we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

11. "Thy soul which went far away into the distant distances, we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

12. Thy soul which went far away to the past and the future, we turn it back, here to dwell and to live."

## HYMN 59.

1. "Life has advanced forward afresh, like the two skilful drivers of the chariot; yea, moving on, man rises to the goal. May Nirṛiti (the goddess of destruction) indeed go far away!"<sup>1</sup>

2. "On our hearth are riches, our food is garnered,—let us

<sup>1</sup> There is clearly not much sense or coherence in this verse as translated according to the commentary of Sāyana. Sāyana is guided by the traditional notion that this hymn refers to certain details in the story of the death and resurrection of Subandhu, but even thus his explanation can hardly be called natural and happy. The train of thought which he discovers in the words of the poet is this: May the life of Subandhu be increased or advanced, as persons advance who stand in a chariot. Having lost his life Subandhu regains it; may the goddess of mischief fly away! This seems easy enough at first sight, but difficulties soon appear on further consideration. The first half verse means certainly, May life be lengthened, or, life is lengthened; and it will be best to take this in a general sense, without thinking much of Subandhu. Then follows a simile. Now that simile does not speak of one person, but of two, *sthātārā iva*. *Sthātṛi*, with the accent on the first (not to be confounded with *sthātrī*) means a driver, not one who stands, but one who makes stand, one who controls horses. Thus Indra is frequently called *sthātar harīṇām*, not he who stands on the horses, but he who makes them stand, who holds, checks, and drives them (viii. 24, 17; 33, 12; 46, 1). He is also called *sthātā rathasya* (iii. 46, 2), or *sthātṛi* by itself. R.V. i. 33, 5; vi. 41, 3, *harivaḥ sthātāḥ ugra*. The Maruts are called simply *sthātārāḥ*, riders or rulers (R.V. v. 87, 6), and *jagataḥ sthātāḥ* is used R.V. vi. 49, 6, and seems to mean 'ruler of the earth.'

The real difficulty, however, lies in the dual. Why two riders instead of one? We can hardly say in the Veda *metri causā*, nor can I think of any explanation except by ascribing to the simile a more special reference to the two most famous drivers in the Veda, the two *Asvins*, the *vrishṇaḥ sthātārā* (R.V. i. 181, 3), the *rathitamau* (R.V. i. 182, 2, etc.). As in their original conception, the two *Asvins* represent the succession of day and night, light and darkness, morning and evening, and other correlative powers, the simile becomes even more telling, if taken in that special sense. But, it may be said, why not take the explanation of Sāyana? Why not take *kratumat* in the sense of driver, and then translate, "like two who stand on a chariot are moved on by the charioteer." For the simple reason, that the adjective *kratumat* is never used in the Veda as a substantive, least of all in the special sense of *sdrathi* or charioteer. I confess I can make nothing of the instrumental *kratumatā*, but I have only to change it into *kratumantā* and it becomes the recognised epithet of the *Asvins*, the clever, the wise, cf. R.V. i. 183, 2, *svorit rdhiḥāḥ vartate yān abhi kshām yd tishṭhathāḥ krdtumanāḥ ānu pṛikshāḥ*. To read *sthātārā iva kratumatā rathasya* would sanction a hiatus, which might be accepted if supported by the authority of MSS., but which I hesitate to adopt in a conjectural reading.

The meaning of the next sentence is even more difficult. *Chyvedna*, though it might mean fallen, does not occur in the Veda in the sense of departed, dead.

make good and manifold feasts! The bard may enjoy all that is ours. May Nirṛiti indeed go far away!"<sup>1</sup>

3. "Let us with our forces overcome the enemies altogether, as the sky the earth, as the mountains the fields. The bard knows all that is ours. May Nirṛiti indeed go far away!"

4. "O Soma, do not altogether deliver us unto death; may we see the sun rising! May old age, sent by the days, be kind to us! May Nirṛiti indeed go far away!"

5. "Thou guide of life, preserve our soul in us, lengthen our age well, that we may live. Grant us to see the sun, and fill thy body with the offered ghee."<sup>2</sup>

6. "Thou guide of life, bestow again upon us sight, again breath, here to enjoy. May we long see the rising sun! O (increasing) Moon,<sup>3</sup> be gracious to us with mercy!"

7. "May the Earth again give us life, again the Heaven, again the Sky! May Soma give our body again, and Pūshan the path<sup>4</sup> which is bliss."

In R. V. x. 61, 2, *chyaodnaḥ* means moving on, arriving; and the same sense is, by Professor Roth, assigned to other forms of *chyu*.

The expression *utavṛti artham* is without a parallel in the Rig-veda.

Langlois translates: Que cette existence nouvelle soit prolongée, et menée (par le maître de la vie) comme un char l'est par un habile écuyer. Ainsi celui qui était tombé se relève. Que Nirriti s'éloigne.

<sup>1</sup> This is again a difficult verse, and, as it stands, simply unintelligible. I read *rāyo* instead of *rāye* in order to get at anything like sense. The two *us's* show that the first half-verse contains two sentences. The second of these is clear, literally, our food is possessed of repositories, *i.e.* our garners are full of food. The first also must have a nominative, and this we get by reading *rāyo* instead of *rāye*. *Sāman* is a locative, which I derive from *sāman*, in the sense of hearth or house. This meaning is conjectural; but there are several passages in the Veda where *sāman* cannot well mean song or poem. Whether it be derived from *saṃ*, to acquire, so as to mean acquisition, property, or from *so*, to finish, so as to mean establishment, *sāman* seems to have some meaning like hearth or home in passages such as R. V. viii. 89, 7; ix. 111, 2; 145, 3. However, I only propose this interpretation until a better one can be found, for I cannot bring myself to translate, "When there is a song sung, there are riches."

<sup>2</sup> There is nothing to show that *Asunṭi* is a female deity. *Yāska* (x. 39) takes *Asunṭi* as a masculine, *Sāyana* as a feminine. It may be a name for *Yama*, as Prof. Roth supposes; but it may also be a simple invocation, one of the many names of the deity. The metre requires a syllable in the third half-verse, which may easily be supplied by reading *sam-driṣṭke*.

<sup>3</sup> *Anumati* means compliance, grace, and *Sāyana* takes *Anumati* as a female deity, a personification of grace. *Anumati*, however, is likewise a name of one of the phases of the moon, which go by the names of *Anumati*, *Rākā*, *Sinivālī*, and *Kuhū*. In a prayer for life the moon would naturally come in for an invocation.

<sup>4</sup> The explanation of *pathyā* by speech is evidently old, for *Sāyana* supports it by a passage from the *Brāhmaṇa*. It must be confessed, too, that speech would be more appropriate in this passage; yet *pathyā* in the Rig-veda means path or

8. "Ye mighty Heaven and Earth, mothers of right, may there be happiness to our dear friend.<sup>1</sup> Whatever evil there is, may they both carry it off! Heaven and gentle Earth! may no evil whatever hurt thee!"

9. "Medicines come down from heaven, double and three-fold. A solitary medicine moves about on earth. May they both carry off whatever evil there is! Heaven and gentle Earth! may no evil whatever hurt thee!"<sup>2</sup>

10. "Indra, stir up the cart-ox that brought here the chariot of the dawn. May they both carry off whatever evil there is! Heaven and gentle Earth, may no evil whatever hurt thee!"<sup>3</sup>

## HYMN 60.

1. "Bringing praise we came to the man of radiant aspect,<sup>4</sup> who is praised by the great,—"

2. "To the matchless, the roaring, the radiant; to the crushing chariot, the good lord of Bhajeratha,—"<sup>5</sup>

3. "He who overcomes men in battle like oxen, whether he has his weapon or whether he is weaponless,—"<sup>6</sup>

walk, and only by a well-established metaphor could this have been used to express speech.

<sup>1</sup> Subandhu may be a proper name, but even then it would mean good friend, and nothing is lost therefore by keeping to the natural meaning.

<sup>2</sup> I take this and some of the later verses as formulas used by wise men or women in effecting medical cures. Such formulas are often very meaningless, and, at all events, we must not look in them for any deep wisdom. The suffixes *ke* and *kā*, used for forming repetitive adverbs, are curious. In later Sanskrit we have only *gas*, the Greek *κῆς* or *χα*.

<sup>3</sup> Another verse used for incantations or witchcraft. As the poet speaks of the ox that brought (*i.e.* that is in the habit of bringing) the chariot of Uṣṇarāṇi, we should naturally think of the chariot of the dawn. Sāyana, however, takes *uṣṇarāṇi* in the sense of a medicinal herb, and it may have been so understood by the medical charlatans of India.

<sup>4</sup> Most of the epithets here used of the man to whom praise is offered refer to Indra, who, in the fifth verse, is invoked by name. *Asamāti*, it is true, does not occur again as applied to Indra, and hence the commentators might easily have been led to take it as a proper name. But in *asamātyojas*, of incomparable strength, *asamāti* clearly is the same as *asamāna*, incomparable. Hence I surrender king Asamāti and all that the Brahmans tell us about him. I believe he took his origin from this verse, and the same verse must be his grave. Professor Roth, if I understand him right, takes the same view. He takes *nīloṣama* in the sense of dripping, evidently connecting it with *ratha*. But the verb *īṣ* expresses sound, and the sense of roaring is appropriate to all its derivatives.

<sup>5</sup> Bhajeratha must be taken as the name of a people or a country, like Ikshvāku in the next verse. It may be a dialectic form of Bhagtratha.

*Niyayinam ratham* is a simile introduced without a comparative particle. The adjectives which precede refer to Indra, not to *ratha*.

<sup>6</sup> I tried to explain *pastracān* and *apastracān* in the Beitrage zur Vergle-

4. "He in whose service Ikshvâku<sup>1</sup> grows, rich, and strong to kill, as the five tribes in heaven."

5. "O Indra, preserve the power among the matchless Rathaprosht̥has, as the sun to be seen in heaven."<sup>2</sup>

6. "Thou harnesses thy two bright horses for the descendants of Agastya. Thou steppest down upon the enemies, upon all, o king, who are ungenerous."<sup>3</sup>

7. "This is the mother, this is the father, this thy life came back. This is thy escape, o good friend; come here, come forth!"<sup>4</sup>

chenden Sprachforschung, vol. iii. p. 444 seq. Though the Pada text does not give *pavira-vân*, yet I think it right to give up my explanation of *pavi-raeda*, because I now see that it is possible to give a grammatical explanation of *pavira*. Professor Roth derives *pavira* from *pavi*, but this is impossible in Sanskrit. *Pavi*, with the Taddhita *ra* would give *pavira*, like *sushtra* from *sushi* (Pâp. v. 2, 107), but never *pavira*. There is, however, the possibility, of which I had not thought before, of classing *pavira* with such words as *iarira*, formed by the Uṇâdi *iran* from *iri*, with *gupa* of the radical vowel (Uṇâdi-Sūtras, ed. Aufrecht, iv. 30). As this seems unobjectionable, I now take *pavira-vân* as a possessive adjective in the sense of 'possessed of a thunderbolt or a weapon.' We thus get a proper climax which was wanting in former translations. As to *pavirava*, it may now be explained as formed by the possessive Taddhita *va* (Pâp. v. 2, 109), like *keśava* from *keśa*.

<sup>1</sup> This is the first mention of Ikshvâku, and the only one in the Rig-veda. I take it not as the name of a king, but as the name of a people, probably the people who inhabited Bhâjêratha, the country washed by the northern Gangâ or the Bhâgirathî.

<sup>2</sup> I think it best to take Rathaprosht̥ha as the name of a tribe. The word does not occur again in the Rig-veda. Professor Roth seems to take it in the sense of chariot, or seat of a chariot, but in that case the prayer for preservation of power would not be appropriate, for *khatra* always refers to powers wielded by gods or men. We have seen two rare proper names in the preceding verses, and we need not be surprised at a third, though none of them occurs again in the Rig-veda. In the Mahâbhârata the Proshthas occur as a people.

<sup>3</sup> Another difficult verse, chiefly on account of the word *nadbhyaḥ*, which does not occur again. Professor Roth derives it from *naḥ*, in the sense of rope, and he compares *akshânaḥ* (R. V. x. 53, 7), fastened to the axle, the name of a horse. I confess I do not see how, with such a word in the dative or ablative, any sense can be elicited from our verse. If one might indulge in conjectures, I should read *naptrîbhyaḥ*, for *Agastya* occurs both with three and four syllables. But why should so simple a word have been changed into *nadbhyaḥ*? The Pada gives *nat-bhyaḥ*, and this Sâyana derives evidently from the verb *nand*, which has given rise to several derivatives in the sense of son, or relative, or descendant. It might be possible, etymologically, to derive *naḥ* from *naḥ* or *nabh* (from which *nâbhi*, relationship), and to take it in the sense of relatives, literally, ties. But *nadbhyaḥ* may also be an old dat. plur. of *napât*. The Pada-form of *napât*, if we may judge from the fem. *napit*, *neptia*, would have been *nept*. This, before *bhyaḥ*, would have been regularly changed into *nap*, This, with *bhyaḥ*, would have become *nabbhyaḥ*. Now in order to avoid the want of euphony, we see that *ab-hyaḥ* is changed to *ad-bhyaḥ*. Why not *nab-bhyaḥ* into *nad-bhyaḥ*?

The Rîshbis Bandhu, Subandhu, S'rutabandhu, and Devabandhu, are called the sister-sons of Agastya in the Mantrârshâdhyâya. See Ind. Stud. iii. 459.

<sup>4</sup> The last verses are evidently formulas used for restoring health or life. Like most of such formulas they are not always very coherent or very wise. Their



8. "As they tie the yoke with a guard, that it may hold, thus I have held thy soul for life, not for death, ay for safety."<sup>1</sup>

9. "As this great earth has held these forest trees, thus I have held thy soul for life, not for death, ay for safety."

10. "I have brought back the soul of our dear friend from Yama Vaivasvata, for life, not for death, ay for safety."

11. "Down blows the wind, down shines the sun, down milks the cow, down be thy sin!"

12. "This hand of mine is blessed; this hand of mine is more blessed; this hand of mine is all-healing, this has a lucky touch."

If now we ask ourselves for what purpose these four hymns could have been composed, it must be confessed, first of all, that, with the exception of the second hymn, the rest are not very closely strung together, and it is by no means certain that they are not rather a collection of verses than consecutive poems. Taking, however, the hymns as they stand, we may observe a difference between the first, second, and fourth on one side, and the third on the other. The former are addressed to some friend, spoken of in the second person, whose life is in danger, while, in the third, the poet, speaking in the first person plural, seems to fear for his own safety, at least in the seven verses in the beginning. In the concluding verses the friend is addressed again in the second person, and recommended to the protection of the gods. The situation thus brought before us by these hymns seems to be a battlefield or a siege, in which the enemies have wounded one person who lies like dead among his friends, and whom his friends try to recall to life. Their endeavours of awakening the

efficacy would seem to depend on a certain amount of mysterious obscurity. Observe the apparently irregular gender in *ayam mâtâ*, also in *ayam jivâtuk*, for *jivâtuk* is usually feminine. It may be, however, that the speaker, who evidently is the enchanter or mesmeriser, points to himself, saying, as if with the Greek *ἑε*, "This is the mother, this is the father, this is thy life, *i.e.* I who bring thee back to life." Professor Roth translates *prasarpâna* by *unterkommen*. Does he mean livelihood? The *nir îâi*; come forth! seems to show that *prasarpâna* means the escaping of the soul from the place where it is supposed to be held captive.

<sup>1</sup> *Varatrâ* means a guard, *i.e.* a guard chain. *Dâdhâra* I take to be the first person, considering the construction of verse 10.

wounded from a swoon, or their attempts—whether successful or not, we know not—of calling one really killed in battle back to life, are accompanied with sacrificial oblations, with laying on of hands, and with the recitation of certain charms. If we were at liberty to re-arrange the hymns, I should propose to end the third hymn with verse 7. The three remaining verses would then form an invocation by themselves. Then, again, verses 1-6 of the fourth hymn would form a perfect address to Indra, while the concluding verses by themselves look like a collection of medical charms, such as are very common among poor and ignorant people. The last verse clearly shows that the healing powers of the hands, or what we now call mesmeric strokes, were known long before Mesmer's time. This is interesting; but far more interesting even in these hymns, which are by no means fair specimens of the best religious poetry of the Brahmans, is the constant dwelling on the divine powers which govern the life of man. Whether they are addressed as Indra and Soma, or as Heaven and Earth, or as Guide of Life and Good Lord, it is the gods who reward their worshippers with health and wealth, who give life and death, who destroy evil or sin. The hymns with which the fathers praised the gods, possibly the cups in which they offered their libations, are kept with religious care, nay, the fathers themselves, departed this life, but enjoying immortality, are invoked to bestow blessings on their descendants. The sacrifice is kept up in each family, and this sacrificial succession is looked upon like an unbroken chain uniting each generation, like a new link, with the generation that preceded, and at last with the gods themselves, who were worshipped by the ancient prophets. Let us also observe, particularly in the second hymn, the clear conception of a soul as separate from the body; of a soul, after death, going to Yama Vairasvata, the ruler of the departed, or hovering about heaven or earth, the sun, the dawn, the water or the plants, ready to be called back to a new life. If we reflect on these germinal thoughts and on the vast proportions they were intended to assume in the later history of the Aryan world down to our own time, we shall have to

admit that, even if we lose the legend of king Asamāti and the squabbles of his rival priests, there is still enough left, even in these meagre hymns, that will repay the student for the patient deciphering of the sacred records left to us by the fathers of our own, the Aryan, race.

### ॥ अथ माधवीयवेदभाष्यं ॥

मा प्र गामेति षट्कं पंचदशं सूक्तं गायत्रं वैश्वदेवं । ऐश्व-  
को ऽसमातिर्नाम राजा । तस्य बंधुः सुबंधुः श्रुतबंधुर्विप्रबंधु-  
श्चेति चत्वारः पुरोहिता आसन् । ते च गौपायनाः । स च  
राजा तांस्वक्त्रान्यौ मायाविनाटुषी पुरोहितत्वेनाटुषीत ।  
ततो बंध्वादयः क्रुद्धाः संत इमं राजानमभिचरितवन्तः ।  
एतज्जाला मायाविनी पुरोहितावेषामन्यतमं सुबंधुं प्राणै-  
र्वियोजितवन्तौ । मृतस्यास्य भ्रातरो बंधुः श्रुतबंधुर्विप्रबंधुरि-  
त्येते ऽविनाशप्राप्तिहेतुभूतमिदं दृष्ट्वा जपन्ति स्म । अतस्ते ऽस्य  
सूक्तस्पर्धयः । प्रतिपाद्यत्वादावर्तमानं मनो देवता । तथा चा-  
नुक्तांतं । अथ ऐश्वको राजासमातिर्गौपायनाम्बंध्वादीन्पुरो-  
हितांस्वक्त्रान्यौ मायाविनी अष्टतमौ मत्वा पुरोदधे । तमि-  
तरे क्रुद्धा अभिचेदः । अथ तौ मायाविनी सुबंधोः प्राणाना-  
धिचिपत्तुरथ हास्य भ्रातरस्त्वयो मा प्र गामेति षट्कं गायत्रं  
स्वस्वयनं जप्तेति ॥ अग्निस्मीपाद्देशांतरगमनसमय इदं सूक्तं  
जप्यं । सूचितं च प्रज्जेदनपेक्षमाणो मा प्र गामेति सूक्तं जप-  
यति ॥ महापितृव्यञ्जे ऽप्येतद्दृत्विग्भिर्जप्यं । सूचितं च । मा प्र  
गामाग्ने त्वं न इति जपन्तः । आ० २. १६. । इति ॥ निविदः  
स्नानातिपत्ताविदं सूक्तं ब्रह्मा सूक्तांतरे निवित्येषेत्तथा ।  
सूचितं च । स्नानं चेन्नविदो ऽतिचरेन्मा प्र गामेति पुरस्ता-  
त्सूक्तं ब्रह्मा । आ० ६. ६. । इति ॥

मा । प्र । गाम । पद्यः । वयं । मा । चञ्चात् । इंद्र । सोमिनः । मा ।  
 चंतरिति । स्युः । नः । अरातयः ॥ १ ॥

अचोक्तास्थाने शाखायनकं । असमातिं रायप्रौष्ठं न्यध-  
 त्तामित्यादि । तं सुबंधोरसुमादातुं खांडवाद्दसमातिं प्रति-  
 गच्छंतो गौपायना वदन्ति । हे इंद्र वयं गौपायनाः पद्यः स-  
 मीचीनान्मार्गाद्या प्र गाम । मा परागच्छाम । असमातिगृ-  
 हमेव गच्छाम । मा च सोमिनो ऽसमातेर्यज्ञात्प्रगाम । मा  
 स्युर्मा तिष्ठंतु नो ऽस्माकमंतर्मार्गमध्ये ऽरातयः श्रचवः । यदा  
 सोमिनः सोमवतो यागाद्या प्रगाम ॥

यः । यज्ञस्य । प्रसाधनः । तनुः । देवेषु । आस्ततः । त । आस्तत ।  
 नशीमहि ॥ २ ॥

यो ऽयमग्न्याख्यस्तं सुराहवनीयादिरूपेण विसृतो यज्ञस्य  
 प्रसाधनः प्रकर्षेण साधयिता देवैः स्तोत्रभिर्हविर्भविस्त्वारि-  
 तो वर्तते वेद्यां तमाहुतं सर्वतो ह्ययमानं नशीमहि । प्राप्नु-  
 याम । नशतिर्व्याप्तिकर्मा ॥

पिंडपितृयज्ञे मनो न्वा ऊवामह इति त्वचेन पिंडाभि-  
 मानिनः पितर उपस्येयाः । सूचितं च । मनो न्वा ऊवामह  
 इति चतसृभिरथैनाम्प्रवाहयेत् । आ० २. ७. । इति ॥

मनः । नु । आ । ऊवामहे । नाराशंसेन । सोमेन । पितृषा । च ।  
 मर्षाऽभिः ॥ ३ ॥

वयं बंधुश्रुतबंध्वाद्यो मनः सुबंधोः संबन्धि मायाविभि-  
 रपहृतं नु चिप्रमा ऊवामहे । केन साधनेनेति तदुच्यते । ना-  
 राशंसेन नराशंसचमसगतेन सोमेन । नरैः श्रक्षंत इति नरा-

ग्रंथाः पितरः । तेषां चमसानां कंपनमेव होमः । तथाविधेन  
सोमेन पितृणामंगिरसां मन्त्रभिर्मननीयैः स्तोत्रैश्च ॥

आ । ते । एतु । मनः । पुनरिति । क्रत्वे । दद्यात् । जीवसे । ज्योक् ।  
च । सूर्ये । दृशे ॥ ४ ॥

हे सुबंधो ते मनः पुनरैतु । अभिचरतः सकाशात्पुनरा-  
गच्छतु । किमर्थमित्युच्यते । क्रत्वे कर्मणे लौकिकवैदिकविष-  
याय दद्यात् बलाय च । यदा क्रत्वे ऽपानाय दद्यात् प्राणाय ।  
प्राणो वै दक्षो ऽपानः क्रतुरिति हि श्रुतिः । जीवसे जीवनाय  
च । ज्योक् च चिरकालं सूर्यं दृशे सूर्यं द्रष्टुं । अत्यंतचिरजी-  
वनायेत्यर्थः ॥

पुनः । नः । पितरः । मनः । ददातु । दैव्यः । जनः । जीवं । व्रातं ।  
सचेमहि ॥ ५ ॥

नो ऽस्माकं पितरः पितृभूता अंगिरसो जनः । तेषां संघ  
इत्यर्थः । स च जीवं व्रातं प्राणादींद्रियसंघातं पुनर्ददातु ।  
तथा दैव्यो जनः । जनशब्दः संघवचनः । देवानां संघो ऽपि  
जीवं व्रातं च ददातु । वयं च तदुभयं सचेमहि । प्राप्नुयाम ॥

वयं । सोम । व्रते । तव । मनः । तनूषु । विधत्तः । प्रजा ऽवंतः । सचेमहि ॥ ६ ॥

हे सोम देव वयं बंध्वादयस्तव व्रते त्वदीये कर्मणि । व्रत-  
मिति कर्मनाम । तव तनूषु त्वदीयेष्वंगेषु च मनो विधत्तस्ता-  
त्पर्ययुक्तां बुद्धिं धारयंतः प्रजावंतः प्रजाभिः पुत्रपौत्रादि-  
भिर्युक्ताः सचेमहि । संगच्छेमहि । जीवं व्रातं चेति शेषः ॥

॥ इत्यष्टमस्य प्रथम एकोनविंशो वर्गः ॥

यत्ते यममिति दादशर्ष षोडशं सूक्तमानुष्टुभं । बंध्वादय

अवयः सुबन्धुदेहाभिर्गतस्त्रियवर्गसहितस्य मनसः पुनस-  
स्त्रिभ्रवेश्नार्थमिदं सूक्तं वृद्धावपन् । अतस्त्रोऽस्सर्षयः । प्रति-  
पाद्यत्वादावर्तमानं मन एव देवता । तथा चानुष्ठातं । यत्त  
इति दादशर्षमानुष्टुभं मनश्चावर्तनं जेपुरिति । नतो वि-  
नियोगः ॥

यत् । ते । यमं । वैवस्वतं । मनः । जगाम । दूरकं ॥

तत् । ते । आ । वर्तयामसि । इह । चयाय । जीवसे ॥ १ ॥

पुरुषस्य स्थिमास्यस्य मनो नाम महद्भूतं ब्रह्मधा विशीर्षं  
भवति । तस्य पुनःसंभरस्यमचोच्यते । हे स्थिमास्य पुरुष यत्ते  
तव मनो वैवस्वतं विवस्वतः पुत्रं यमं दूरकमत्यंतं दूरं यथा  
भवति तथा जगाम ते तव तन्मन आ वर्तयामसि । आवर्तयामः ।  
किमर्थं । इह चयाय । इह लोके निवासाय । जीवसे चिरका-  
लजीवनायेत्यर्थः ॥

यत् । ते । दिवं । यत् । पृथिवीं । मनः । जगाम । दूरकं ॥

तत् । ते । आ । वर्तयामसि । इह । चयाय । जीवसे ॥ २ ॥

हे सुबन्धो यन्मनो दिवं जगाम यच्च पृथिवीं दूरकं । दूर-  
कमिति क्रियाविशेषणं । तदिह निवासाय जीवनाय चाव-  
तर्थासः ॥

यत् । ते । भूमिं । चतुः । भुष्टिं । मनः । जगाम । दूरकं ॥

तत् । ते । आ । वर्तयामसि । इह । चयाय । जीवसे ॥ ३ ॥

हे सुबन्धो यन्मनो भूमिं चतुर्भुष्टिं । चतुर्दिषु भ्रंशो यथाः  
सा । तां जगाम तदावर्तयामः ॥

यत् । ते । चतस्रः । प्रऽदिशः । मनः । जगाम । दूरकं ॥

तत् । ते । आ । वर्तयामसि । इह । चयाय । जीवसे ॥ ४ ॥

हे सुबंधो यत्ने मनः प्रदिशः प्रकृष्टा महादिशस्यतस्यो  
जगाम तदावर्तयामः ॥

यत् । ते । समुद्रं । अर्ष्वं । मनः । जगाम । दूरकं ॥  
तत् । ते । आ । वर्तयामसि । इह । अथाथ । जीवसे ॥ ५ ॥

हे सुबंधो यत्ने मनो ऽर्ष्वं । अर्षीसुदकानि । तदंतं समुद्रं  
मेघं वा जगाम तदावर्तयामः ॥

यत् । ते । मरीचीः । प्रऽवतः । मनः । जगाम । दूरकं ॥  
तत् । ते । आ । वर्तयामसि । इह । अथाथ । जीवसे ॥ ६ ॥

हे सुबंधो यत्ने मनः प्रवतः प्रगच्छंतीर्मरीचीर्दीप्तीर्जगाम  
तदिति गतं ॥

॥ इत्यष्टमस्य प्रथमे विंशो वर्गः ॥

यत् । ते । अपः । यत् । जीवधीः । मनः । जगाम । दूरकं ॥  
तत् । ते । आ । वर्तयामसि । इह । अथाथ । जीवसे ॥ ७ ॥

हे सुबंधो यत्ने मनो ऽप उदकं यदोषधीर्वनस्यतीनिति  
तदिति गतं ॥

यत् । ते । सूर्यं । यत् । उषसं । मनः । जगाम । दूरकं ॥  
तत् । ते । आ । वर्तयामसि । इह । अथाथ । जीवसे ॥ ८ ॥

हे सुबंधो यत्ने मनः सूर्यं सूर्यमिव यदुषसं तदिति गतं ॥

यत् । ते । पर्वतान् । बृहतः । मनः । जगाम । दूरकं ॥  
तत् । ते । आ । वर्तयामसि । इह । अथाथ । जीवसे ॥ ९ ॥

हे सुबंधो यत्ने मनो बृहतः पर्वतान् तदिति गतं ॥

यत् । ते । विश्वं । इदं । जगत् । मनः । जगाम । दूरकं ॥  
तत् । ते । आ । वर्तयामसि । इह । अथाथ । जीवसे ॥ १० ॥

हे सुबंधो यत्ते मनो विन्धमिति तदिति गतं ॥ चतस्र च्च  
निगदसिद्धाः ॥

यत् । ते । पराः । पराऽवतः । मनः । च्च । नाम । दूरकं ।  
तत् । ते । आ । चर्तयामसि । इह । चर्थाय । जीवसे ॥ ११ ॥

हे सुबंधो यत्ते मनः पराः परावतो ऽत्यंतं दूरदेशाच्च-  
गाम तदिति गतं ॥

यत् । ते । भूतं । च । भव्यं । च । मनः । च्च । नाम । दूरकं ।  
तत् । ते । आ । चर्तयामसि । इह । चर्थाय । जीवसे ॥ १२ ॥

हे सुबंधो यत्ते मनो भूतं च भव्यं चेत्यनेन भूतभव्यात्क-  
कथतिरेकेण कस्यचिदभावादर्तमानस्य पृथगेवाभिधानात्  
कृत्स्नं प्रपंचमुक्तं भवति । तच्च सर्वच्च गतं मनो जीवनाय  
निवासाय चावर्तयामः ॥

॥ इत्यष्टमस्य प्रथम एकविंशो वर्गः ॥

अ तारीति दशर्चं सप्तदशं सूक्तं बंध्वादीनां चथाषां गौ-  
पायनानामार्षं । आदितः सप्त चिष्टुभः । अष्टमी पंचाष्टका  
पंक्तिः । नवमी षडष्टका महापंक्तिः । दशमी पंक्त्युत्तरा । आद्यौ  
दशकावष्टकास्त्वथ इत्युक्तस्य चणसङ्गावात् । एकाचराधिका-  
द्भूरिभिशेषणेष्यं वेदितव्या । सूक्तस्यादितस्य तस्यो देहात्प्राणा-  
भिर्गमयिष्या निर्वृतेर्निवृत्त्यर्थं बंध्वादयोऽजपन् । मो षु षः  
सोमेति चतुर्थ्यामेव मृत्युनिवृत्त्यर्थं सोममस्तुवन् अतस्तस्य स्रं  
निर्वृतिर्देवता चतुर्थ्याः सोमस्य । असुनीते मन इति दाभ्या-  
मसुनीतिनाम्नीं देवोमस्तुवन् अतस्तयोः सा देवता । पुनर्नो  
असुमित्यस्याः पृथिव्याद्या लिंगोक्ता देवताः । ततस्त्रिष्टुभिः  
त्रिष्टुभिः पंक्तिमहापंक्तिपंक्त्युत्तराभिर्धावापृथिव्याविति द्या-



वापृथिवी देवते। समिद्रेत्यर्धर्षेन्द्रो देवता। तथा चानुक्रांतं॥  
 प्र तारीति द्रष्टुं चतस्रो निर्धत्यपनोदनार्थं अपुस्यतुर्थी  
 सोमं चास्तुवन्मृत्योरपगमाद्योत्तराभ्यां दैवीमसुनीतिं सप्तम्यां  
 खिगोक्तदेवताः शिष्टाभिः पंक्तिमहापंक्तिपंक्त्युत्तराभिर्द्यावापृ-  
 थिवी समिद्रेतींद्रं चार्धर्षेनेति। गतो विनियोगः॥

प्र। तारि। आयुः। प्रऽतरं। नवीयः। स्नाताराऽहव। क्रतुऽमता। रथस्य॥  
 अर्धे। अवानः। उत। तवीति। अर्धे। पराऽतरं। सु। निःऽक्षतिः।  
 जिहीता॥ १॥

सुबंधोरायुरायुष्यं प्र तारि। प्रवर्धतां। प्रपूर्वस्तिरतिवर्ध-  
 नार्थः। कथं प्रवर्धतामित्युच्यते। प्रतरं प्रवृद्धतरं नवीयो  
 नवतरं। यौवनोपेतमित्यर्थः। निर्धत्यनुग्रहादेवमायुर्वर्धतां।  
 तत्र दृष्टांतः। क्रतुमता कर्मवता सारथिना रथस्य स्नातारेव  
 रथे स्थिताविव वर्धते तद्वत्। अधाय अवानो जीवितात्प्रच्य-  
 वमानोऽर्थं स्वाभिलषितमायुर्लक्षणमुत्तवीति। वर्धयति। सुबं-  
 धुप्राणापहर्त्री निर्धतिः पापदेवता परातरमत्यंतं दूरतरं  
 परिजिहीतां। परित्यजतु। गच्छतु॥

सामन्। नु। राये। निधिऽमत्। नु। अर्धे। करामहे। सु। पुरुध।  
 अर्वांसि॥  
 ता। नः। विश्वानि। अरिता। ममनु। पराऽतरं। सु। निःऽक्षतिः।  
 जिहीता॥ २॥

सामन्नु साधि गीयमाने सति। नु चार्थे। राये जीवायूरु-  
 पधनार्थं निधिमभिधानवदन्नं हविष्य करामहे। कुर्मः। अच-  
 न्मिति चार्थे। निर्धत्यै स्तुतिं हविष्योभयं कुर्म इत्यर्थः। तदेवाह।  
 सु सुष्टु पुरुध पुरुधा बलप्रकारं अर्वांस्यज्ञानि हवीषि करामहे।

ता तानि हवींषि नोऽस्माकं संबन्धीनि विन्धामि सर्वाषि जरिता  
जीर्षा स्तुता वा । जरा स्तुतिः । नि० १०.८. । नमस्तु । खदतां ।  
आस्माद्य च निर्वृतिः परातरमन्थं हूरदेशं जिहीतां ।  
मच्छतां ॥

अभि । सु । अर्चः । पीक्षिः । मवेम । बीः । न । भूमि । निरयः । च ।  
• अस्मान् ॥

ता । नः । विन्धामि । जरिता । चिक्वित । पराऽतर । सु । निःऽर्चतिः ।  
जिहीता ॥ ३ ॥

वयमर्थोऽरीश्वरान्यौस्यैः पुस्त्रैर्वसैः सु सुष्टुभिभवेम । सौनं  
भूमि । सूर्यो यथा स्वरश्मिभिर्भूमिमभिभवति तदत् । गिरवो  
नास्मान् । गिरिर्वज्रः । ते यथाज्ञानजनशीलान्मोघानभिभवति  
तदत् । ता तानि यानि नोऽस्माभिः कृतानि सोचाषि तानि  
विन्धामि सर्वाषि जरिता स्तुता सती निर्वृतिश्चिकेत । जानाति ।  
शिष्टमुक्तं ॥

नो इति । सु । नः । सोम । मुखैः । परा । दाः । पञ्चम । नु । सूर्य ।  
उत्ऽचरंतं ॥

सुऽभिः । हितः । अरिमा । सु । नः । अस्तु । पराऽतर । सु । निःऽर्चतिः ।  
जिहीता ॥ ४ ॥

हे सोम नोऽस्मान् सु सुष्टु मृत्यवे नो परा दाः । मैव  
परादानं कुह । मृत्यधीनास्त्रोऽस्मात्मा कार्षीः । किंतु विदा-  
नीमुच्चरंतमूर्ध्वं गच्छंतमुदयंतं सूर्यं पञ्चम । चिरकालं जीवे-  
नेत्यर्थः । जीवाभावे सूर्यादर्शनादित्यभिप्रायः । किंच सुभिः ।  
अहर्नामैतत् । अहोभिर्दिववैर्हितः प्रेरितो अरिमा जराभावो  
नोऽस्माकं सु सुखकरोऽस्तु । शिष्टमुक्तं ॥

असु॒णीति । मनः । अ॒स्मासु । धा॒रय॒ । जी॒वा॒तवे॒ । सु । प्र । ति॒र । नः ।  
आयुः ॥

र॒रधि । नः । सूर्य॑स्य । सं॒दृ॒ग्निः । पु॒तेम॑ । लं । त॒न्व । वर्ध॑य॒स्य ॥ ५ ॥

हे असुनीते मनुष्याणामसूनां नेचि देवि अस्मासु मनः  
पुनर्धारय । किंच जीवातवे जीवितुं सु प्र तिर सुष्टु वर्धय  
नोऽस्माकमायुः । किंच रारंधि स्थापय नोऽस्मान् सूर्यस्य  
संदृग्नि चिरसंदर्शने । लं च घृतेनास्माभिर्दत्तेन तन्वं शरीरं  
वर्धयस्य । वर्धय ॥

॥ इत्यष्टमस्य प्रथमे द्वाविंशो वर्गः ॥

असु॒णीति । पुनः । अ॒स्मासु । अ॒युः । पुन॑रिति । प्रा॒णं । इ॒ह । नः ।  
धेहि॑ । भोमं ॥

ज्योत्स् । प॒श्चेम॑ । सूर्यं । उ॒त्स॑चरंत । अ॒नु॒मते॑ । मु॒क्तय॑ । नः । स्व॒स्ति ॥ ६ ॥

हे असुनीते प्राणदायिनि देवि अस्मासु । अस्मदीये  
सुबंधावित्यर्थः । पुनस्यचुः प्रकाशकं नयनं । ईक्षणसामर्थ्यमि-  
त्यर्थः । किंच पुनः प्राणमस्मासु धेहि । स्थापय । वयं च ज्योक्  
चिरमुच्चरंतमुद्गच्छंतं सूर्यं पश्चेम । हे अनुमते देवि स्वस्त्य  
विनाशं वधा स्थात्तथा नोऽस्मात्सृक्तय । सुखय ॥

पुनः । नः । अ॒सुं । पृ॒थिवी॑ । द॒दातु॑ । पुनः । बीः । दे॒वी । पुनः । अ॒न्तरि॑षं ॥  
पुनः । नः । सोमः । त॒न्व । द॒दातु॑ । पुन॑रिति । पू॒षा । प॒र्षा । या ।  
स्व॒स्तिः ॥ ७ ॥

पृथिवी देवी नोऽस्मभ्यमसुं प्राणं ददातु पुनः । सौर्देव-  
तासुं ददातु । तर्षांतरिषमंतरिषदेवतासुं ददातु । तथा  
सोमो नस्तन्वं शरीरं पुनर्ददातु । तथा पूषा पोषाभिमानिनी

देवता पथ्यां । पंथा अंतरिच्छं । नि०११.४५. । तत्र भवां वाचं ।  
वागात्मकः शब्दो ज्ञाकाशादुत्पद्यते । तां पुनर्ददातु । किंच  
या स्वस्तिर्या लोके वेदे च स्वस्तिरुच्यते तामपि पूषा प्रयच्छतु ।  
यद्वा पूषा पोषं प्रयच्छतु । या स्वस्तिर्वाग्नाम्नी देव्यस्ति सा पथ्यां  
वाचं प्रयच्छतु । वाम्ने पथ्या स्वस्तिरिति ब्राह्मणं ॥

शं । रोदसी इति । सु०बंधवे । च०इती इति । च०तस्य । मा०तरां ॥  
भरतां । अ०पं । यत् । र०पं । बीः । पु०षिवि । च०मा । र०पं । मो इति ।  
सु । ते । किं । च०न । आ०म०मत् ॥ ८ ॥

इदमादिभिस्त्रिसृभिर्द्यावापृथिव्योः स्तुतिः । रोदसी द्या-  
वापृथिव्यौ सुबंधवे शं सुखं प्रयच्छतां । कीदृश्यौ ते । यद्गी  
महत्यौ । च०तस्य यज्ञस्योदकस्य वा मातरा निर्माच्यौ । यद्रूपः  
पापं छच्छमस्ति तद्रूप भरतां । अपहरतां । अपनयतां । हे द्यौः  
हे पृथिवि हे द्यावापृथिव्यौ च०मा च०मायां सत्यां । यद्वा च०मा  
पृथगप्युच्यते । च०माप्यपहरतु । एवमुक्त्वा सुबंधुं बंधादयो  
मुवते । हे सुबंधो ते त्वां मो षु मैव सु सुष्टु किंचन परं रपः  
छच्छमाममत् । हिनस्तु ॥

अ०वं । इ०वे इति । अ०वं । पि०का । दि०वः । च०रंति । भे०ष०वा ॥  
च०मा । च०रि०ष्णु । ए०क०कं । भरतां । अ०पं । यत् । र०पं । बीः । पु०षिवि ।  
च०मा । र०पं । मो इति । सु । ते । किं । च०न । आ०म०मत् ॥ ९ ॥

दिवो द्युलोकान्नेषजा भेषजानि इके द्विकं चिका चिकं चाव  
चरंति । अ०चा०श्वि०गौ द्विकमवचरतः । इ०का चरस्वती भारती  
चिकमवचरंति ॥ च०मा च०मायां च०रि०ष्णु चरत्येककमेकं भेषज-  
मित्यभिप्रायमाह । तानि सर्वाणि सुबंधोः प्राणं रचंति तिस्रः ॥

सं । इंद्र । ईरय । नां । अनङ्गाहं । यः । आ । अवहत् । उग्नीनराखाः ।  
जमः ॥

भरता । अप । यत् । रपः । यीः । पुधिवि । चना । रपः । मो इति ।  
सु । ते । किं । चन । आममत् ॥ १० ॥

हे इंद्र समीरय प्रेरय । किं । गां गंतारमनङ्गाहमनोव-  
हमसमर्थं । यो ऽनङ्गानावहदावहृत्यस्मान्प्रति किं । अनः  
शकटं । कस्य । उग्नीनराखा एतन्नामिकाया ओषधेः । यथा-  
र्तमनुलिंपति सोग्नीनराषी । भरतामित्यादि गतं ॥

॥ इत्यष्टमस्य प्रथमे त्रयोविंशो वर्गः ॥

आ जनमिति द्वादशर्चमष्टादशं सूक्तं । गौपायना बंध्वाद्य  
सप्तमः । षष्ठ्यास्त्रगस्यस्य स्वसैषां मातर्षिका । आदितः पंच  
गायत्र्यः । अष्टमीनवम्यौ पंक्ती शिष्टा अनुष्टुभः । आदितस्य-  
तसृष्टामसमातिनासो राज्ञः स्त्रयमानत्वात् स एव देवता ।  
पंचम्या इंद्रः । षष्ठ्या अयसमातिः । ततः पंचानां सुबंधो-  
र्जीविताज्ञानरूपोऽर्थो देवता । अयं मे हस्त इत्यस्या लब्धसंज्ञस्य  
सुबंधोः स्पर्शनहेतुभूतो देवता । तथा चानुक्तांतं । आ  
जनमिति द्वादशर्चमानुष्टुभं चतस्रभिरसमातिमस्तुवम्पंचम्येद्रं  
षष्ठ्यागस्त्यस्य स्वसा मातैषां राजानमस्तौत्पराभिः सुबंधो-  
र्जीवमाह्वयंस्तमंत्यथा लब्धसंज्ञमस्तृशन् पंचम्याद्या गायत्र्यो  
ऽष्टम्याद्ये पंक्ती इति ॥

आ । जमं । श्वेषऽसदृशं । माहीनानां । उपऽस्तुत । अनज । विधतः ।  
जमः ॥ ११ ॥

इदमादिभिस्त्रिस्तृभी राजानं स्तुवंति । वयं बंध्वाद्यो जमं  
जनपदमसुनीतिस्त्रभूतमागन्म । अभिगताः ॥ गमेर्लुकि मंच

घवेति ज्ञेर्लुक् । म्योश्चेति मकारस्य नकारः ॥ कीदृशं जनं ।  
 त्वेषसंदृशं । दीप्तदर्शनं । माहीनानां महतामुपस्तुतमुपगत-  
 स्तुतिं ॥ तादौ चेति गतेः प्रकृतिखरः ॥ कीदृशा वयं । नमो  
 नमस्कारं विभ्रतो धारयंतः । कुर्वंत इत्यर्थः । यदा जनमस-  
 मातिमित्यर्थः । शिष्टं समानं । नमो विभ्रत इति राजहते  
 नमस्कारं धारयंत इत्यर्थः ॥

असमाति । निऽतोश्चन । सिध । निऽयथिनं । रथं । म्वेऽरथस्य  
 सतऽर्पति ॥ २ ॥

असमातिं राजानं नितोश्चनं श्रूषां हंतारं । नितो-  
 श्रतिर्वधकर्मा । त्वेषं दीप्तं । नियथिनं रथमित्युपमाप्रधानो  
 निर्देशः । रथवत्सर्वाभिमतप्राप्तिसाधनं भजेरथस्यैतन्नामकस्य  
 राज्ञो वंशे जातं । यदैतन्नामा कश्चिदस्य शत्रुः । तस्य नियथिनं  
 हसदंतादिति सप्तम्या अलुक् ॥ सत्यतिं सतां पासकं ॥

यः । जनान् । महिषान्ऽरथं । अपिऽतस्वी । पवीरवान् । उत । अ-  
 वीरवान् । युधा ॥ ३ ॥

योऽसमातिर्जनान् स्वविरोधिभूतानतितस्वी अतिक्रम  
 तिष्ठति । पराभावयतीत्यर्थः । क इव । महिषान् सिंह इव ।  
 कीदृशः सन् । पवीरवान् । पवीरः पविः । स्वद्ववान् । उतापि  
 चापवीरवान् । अपगतस्वद्वः सन् । शस्त्रसाहाय्यमपि कदा-  
 चिन्नापेक्षत इत्यर्थः । उतापि च किं कुर्वन् । युधा योधनेन  
 युध्मेत्यर्थः ॥

यस्य । इत्साकुः । उप । त्रते । रिवान् । मरायी । एधति । द्विषिऽरथं ।  
 येषं । हृद्यः ॥ ४ ॥

यस्य जनपदस्येत्साकु राजा त्रते कर्मणि रथवरूप उपैषते

प्रवर्धते । कीदृशः सन् । रेवान् रथिवान् मराथी शूचां  
मारकश्च सन् । विश्वेष्वद्वेन जनानां दानादिरूपेण धन-  
लाभः परराजोपद्रवापत्तिश्चोक्ता भवति । एवं सति तद्विष-  
यस्त्राः पंच कृष्टयो निषादपंचमासत्वारो वर्षा दिवीव शुलोके  
यथा संकल्पसिद्धाः संतः सुखिनो भवति तद्वत्सुखिनो भवतीति  
श्लेषः ॥

इंद्र । च॒चा । च॒समा॒तिषु । रथ॑ऽप्रो॒ष्ठेषु । धा॒र॒च । दि॒विऽर॑च । सूर्य॑ ।  
दृ॒शे ॥ ५ ॥

अनयेन्द्रमाह्वयतेऽसमात्यर्थं । हे इंद्र चचा चचाकि बलानि  
रथप्रोष्ठेष्वसमातिषु । एकस्मिन्बहुवचनं पूजार्थं । रथप्रोष्ठे  
ऽसमातो धारच । दिवीव सूर्यं दिवि यथा सूर्यं दृशे सर्वेषां  
संदर्शनाय स्थापितवानसि तद्वदच बलं धारच ।

च॒वस॑स॒स्र । नत्॑ऽभ्यः । स॒ग्नी॒ इति॑ । यु॒न॒धि । रो॒हि॒ता ॥

प॒षीन् । नि । अ॒क्र॒मीः । अ॒भि । वि॒श्वान् । रा॒जन् । अ॒रा॒घसः॑ ॥ ६ ॥

अनयागस्त्यस्र स्रसा बंध्वादानां माता राजानं स्तौति ।  
हे राजन् असमाते त्वममस्त्यस्रर्षेर्नश्यो नंदयितृभ्यो बंध्वा-  
दिभ्यो निमित्तभूतेभ्यस्तेषां धनप्राप्तये सग्नी सर्पणस्त्रभावावशौ  
रोहिता रोहितवर्षी युनधि । योजय रथे । तथा ह्यत्वा  
विश्वान् सर्वानराधसोऽदातृन् अयजमानान्पषीन् वषिजो  
सुव्यकान् नि निहृष्टं नितरां वाभ्यक्रमीः । अभिभव ॥

॥ इत्यष्टमस्य प्रथमे चतुर्विंशो वर्गः ॥

च॒च । मा॒ता । च॒च । पि॒ता । च॒च । वी॒पातुः॑ । आ । अ॒न॒मत् ॥

इ॒दं । त॒व । प्र॒ऽस॒र्प॒णं । सु॒व॒धो॒ इति॑ सु॒व॒धो । आ । इ॒हि । निः । इ॒हि ॥ ७ ॥

अथ श्लेषे शाब्दाद्यनकं । अथाग्निं दैपदेन सूक्तेनास्तुवन्  
अग्निः सुत आजगाम । आजगत् चाह किंकामा मागच्छतेति ।

सुबंधोरेवासुं पुनर्वनुचामेत्यनुवन् । एषांतःपरिधीत्वब्रवीत्त-  
मादद्भिमिति । तन्निराह । अयं मातायं पितेति । श्रौनकश्च ।

सुतः स राजा सुप्रीतस्तस्त्री गौपायनामभि ।

सूक्तेन तेऽस्तुवन्नग्निं द्वैपदेन यथाचिषु ॥

अथाग्निरब्रवीदेनामयमंतःपरिध्यसुः ।

सुबंधोरस्य चेत्साकोर्मया गुप्तो हितार्थिना ॥

सुबंधवे प्रदायासुं जीवित्युक्त्वा च पावकः ।

सुतो गौपायनैः प्रीतो जगाम चिदिवं प्रति ॥

अयं मातेति हृष्टासौ सुबंधोरसुमाह्वयन् ।

शरीरमभिनिर्दिश्य सुबंधोः पतितं भुवि ॥

सूक्तशेषं जगुस्त्राय चेतसो धारणाय त इति ॥

अयमग्निर्माता । अयमेव पिता । अयं जीवातुर्जीवयिता-  
गमत् । आजगाम । अतो हे सुबंधो जीवपरिधौ वर्तमानेदं  
तव शरीरं तत्र प्रसर्पणं प्रकर्षेण सर्पणसाधनं । अत इदं प्रत्येहि ।  
आगच्छ । निरिहि । निर्गच्छ परिधेः सकाशात् । अन्य एव  
व्याचक्षत् । हे निर्गतप्राण सुबंधो अयं । विभक्तियत्ययः । इयं  
मातायं पितायं जीवातुर्जीवनफलभूतः पुत्रस्वागमदिति संब-  
ध्यते । सर्वे त्वामागता दुःखिताः संतः । शिष्टं समानं ॥

यथा । युव । वरचया । नह्यति । धरुणाय । कं ॥

एष । दाधार । ते । मनः । जीवातवे । न । मृत्यवे । यथा इति ।

अरिष्टऽतातये ॥ ८ ॥

यथा युगं वरचया पात्रेण नह्यति वध्नति धरुणाय रथा-  
दिधारणाय । कमिति पादपूरणः । एवैवं ते मनो दाधार  
परिभावग्निः । किमर्थं । जीवातवे । जीवनाय । न मृत्यवे मरणाय  
न । अथो अपि चारिष्टतातये । अविनाशाय । स्नार्थिकस्नातिः ॥



यथा । इ॒यं पु॒थि॒वी । म॒ही । दा॒धारं । इ॒मान् । वन॒स्यती॑न् ॥  
 ए॒व । दा॒धार॒ । ते । म॒नः । जी॒वा॒त॒वे । न । मृ॒त्वि॑ । अ॒घो॒ इति॑ ।  
 अ॒रि॒ष्ट॒जा॒त॒वे ॥ ९ ॥

यथेयं पृथिवी महीमान्वनस्यतीन्वृक्षादीन्दाधार । शिष्टमुक्तं ॥

य॒मात् । अ॒हं । वै॒व॒स॒तात् । सु॒ब॒न्धीः । म॒नः । आ । अ॒भ॒रं ॥  
 जी॒वा॒त॒वे । न । मृ॒त्वि॑ । अ॒घो॒ इति॑ । अ॒रि॒ष्ट॒जा॒त॒वे ॥ १० ॥

इयं निगदसिद्धा ॥

न्य॒क् । वा॒तः । अ॒व॒ । वा॒ति॒ । न्य॒क् । त॒प॒ति॒ । सू॒र्यैः ॥  
 नी॒ची॒र्ण॑ । अ॒ग्न्या॑ । दु॒हे॒ । न्य॒क् । भ॒व॒तु॒ । ते॒ । र॒पः ॥ ११ ॥

वातो वायुर्दुस्र्लोकाद्ध्यक् निचीनमव वाति । गच्छति ।  
 सूर्यस्य न्यक् तपति । अग्न्याहननीया गौर्निचीर्णं दुहे । दुग्धे ।  
 एवं ते रपो पापं न्यक् निचीर्णं भवतु ॥

अ॒यं । मे॒ । ह॒स्तः । भ॒ग॒व॒ान् । अ॒यं । मे॒ । भ॒ग॒व॒त् । त॒रः ॥  
 अ॒यं । मे॒ । वि॒श्व॒भे॒ष॒वः । अ॒यं । शि॒व॒भे॒मि॒म॒र्श॒नः ॥ १२ ॥

अनया बंध्वाद्यो लब्धजीवं सुबंधुं पाणिभिरसृशन् ।  
 अयं मे हस्तो भगवान् यस्मात्सजीवं सुबंधुं सृशति तस्मात् ।  
 तथायं मे हस्तो भगवत्तरः । अतिशयेन भगवान् । तथायं मे  
 हस्तो विश्वभेषजो जीवचिकित्सासाधनसर्वौषधवान् तत्स्वा-  
 नीयो वा । अयं शिवाभिमर्शनो मंगलस्पर्शनः । यतो जीर्वतं  
 सृशत्यत इत्यर्थं ॥

॥ इत्यष्टमस्य प्रथमे पंचविंशो वर्गः ॥

॥ दशमे मंडले चतुर्थोऽनुवाकः ॥

ART. XII.—*Specimen Chapters of an Assyrian Grammar.*

By the Rev. E. HINCKS, D.D., Hon. M.R.A.S.

A great number of years have now elapsed since I began to collect materials for an Assyrian grammar; an object, of which I have never since lost sight. Of late, I have been preparing my materials for publication; but a preliminary question has suggested itself:—"If I were to publish a grammar, who would read it?" The persons for whose instruction I should naturally write would be either persons who were acquainted with other Semitic languages, and who were desirous of comparing the grammars of these with that of the oldest and the best developed language of the family; or else persons, who desired to study this language for its own sake, and who sought the aid of a grammar, in the absence of an oral instructor, to teach them the first principles of this "Sanskrit of the Semitic tongues," which they might afterwards improve upon by their own studies.

I believe that persons of both these classes would derive benefit from such a grammar as I should publish, if they would only make use of it. I fear, however, that no person of either of the classes has so much faith in me, and in my knowledge of Assyrian grammar, as to make use of it. My only readers would probably be my critics;—those, who have attained *some* knowledge of the Assyrian language—considerable knowledge, I may say, so far as respects *the meaning of words*,—but whose published translations show that, as respects *grammar*, their views are extremely different from mine; and, of course, if my views be correct, extremely erroneous. My only readers would thus be, with perhaps one or two exceptions, *hostile* critics, who must condemn what I have written, because, by laying down rules which they have disregarded and violated in their translations, it indirectly condemns those translations.

In the case of one eminent Assyrian writer on the con-

minent, the certainty that I should meet with hostile criticism is more obvious than it is in the case of others. Dr. Oppert has published an Assyrian grammar, of which I have already stated that, besides minor errors, it was pervaded by three erroneous general principles, "so as scarcely to leave a page free from what I consider pernicious error." One of these three principles, Dr. Oppert, in a late article in the *Journal Asiatique*, intimates that he has abandoned, or is disposed to abandon. To the other two he clings pertinaciously. Now, as I cannot retract the unfavourable opinion above expressed, and as, according to my views of Assyrian grammar, I cannot think the translations from Sargon, which MM. Oppert and Ménant have published, to be even approximately correct, I could not possibly expect any criticism from those gentlemen but of the most adverse description.

Under these circumstances, I have thought it advisable to deviate materially from my original plan. Instead of publishing an entire grammar, I will, in the first instance, publish specimen-chapters only; treating of the declensions of substantives and adjectives, and of the permissive forms of verbs;—a subject on which Dr. Oppert, in the *Journal Asiatique* for last year (Tome vi. p. 297), has mis-stated both my views and the facts to which he appeals. Instead, too, of stating what I believe to be the grammatical rules of the Assyrian language, dogmatically, as would be the natural course of the writer of a grammar, I will deduce them from those leading positions on which all are agreed, by inductive proofs, in the order which appears to me the best for this purpose; different as this order is from what I should adopt if I were exempt from the necessity of writing otherwise than dogmatically. My examples must be numerous, because they are not merely illustrative, but justificatory. It will readily be understood that where I bring forward a number of proofs in support of any assertion, it is one which is not generally accepted, and is likely to be controverted; but except in the one case of the permissive forms of the verb, which I have already mentioned, I do not mean to point out directly what I believe to be the errors of others. It will answer my end,

and will be pleasanter to myself, if I merely seek to establish the correctness of my own views. This being done, the incorrectness of any views that are inconsistent with them will follow as a matter of course.

A few words should be said here on the principles on which I have conducted my investigations. I have sought the rules of Assyrian grammar by induction from passages, the meaning of which I considered to be perfectly known, occurring in writings of a good age; the induction being guided by a general knowledge of Semitic grammar. I have taken no account of passages, however well their meaning may be known, which are found in texts of a late age, probably written by persons who had a very imperfect knowledge of Assyrian, and of whom it was not the native tongue. Neither have I assumed the identity of Assyrian and Hebrew rules of grammatical construction in cases where there is no inductive evidence of it.

As to the transcriptions of Assyrian words and texts which I give, I think that it is unnecessary to say much. Were I to publish a grammar, it should contain a list of all the characters representing syllables consisting of a single vowel, or a vowel preceded or followed by a consonant, and of all those whose values were syllables consisting of a vowel both preceded and followed by a consonant, and which occurred in any text quoted in the grammar. To each character its transcription should be attached. I represent, as every one else does, א, א, ג, ו, ח, ל, מ, נ, פ, ק, ר, and ש, by *b, g, d, z, k, l, m, n, p, r, and t*. I also represent ט by *h*, צ by *t*, כ by *s* (which was anciently sounded either *st*, or *sk*; the former being, like ש, represented by the Arabic س, the latter by ش, and by the Greek ξ, which occupied the same position in the alphabet, and had the same figure as the Phœnician ד), ז by *z*, צ by *g*, and ש by *s*. The remaining five letters, פ, פ, ו, ו, ו, are indiscriminately transcribed as *v* with the following exceptions: פפפ is transcribed by *ya*; פפפפ by *'u* or *yu*; פפ after another פפ by *'a* or *ya*; פפ, when a copulative, by *ea*; and פפפ by *h* or *ih*. I use the vowel *e* alone to represent פפ,

è standing for  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ . The grave accent over a vowel is not intended to mark a distinction of sound, but to show that a homophone of the character usually representing the syllable without the accent is used in place of that character. I use four vowels in transcriptions, *a*, *i*, *u*, and *e*, which I believe the Assyrians pronounced as long *i*, or *î*. I think that no Assyrian scholar will find any difficulty in restoring the text of my transcriptions; but if he do, he can consult the original text, to which I refer him. To explain my references, I will observe that B. means Botta's plates; L., the first series of British Museum plates, edited by Mr. Layard; I. and II., the two volumes of the second series of British Museum plates, edited by Sir H. Rawlinson. The number which precedes this is the number of the plate in each series, and the number at the end is the line in the plate; with a distinctive mark before it, *if necessary*, the meaning of which will be seen when the plate is referred to. In some of the plates of the second series, I use *r*, *c*, and *l* for right, centre, and left. In these references, and in the transcriptions, I have followed as closely as I could Mr. Norris.

I believe that the main point in which I differ from Mr. Norris in my transcriptions is that I do not attempt to distinguish in most cases between the several breathings and semivowels. I do not think that we can distinguish them by inspection of the Assyrian characters. We can only do so by knowledge derived from some other source. I find, for instance,  $\text{𐎶}$  occurring in four words; between *ma* and *du*, between *na* and *du*, between *ta* and *bu*, and between *da* and *nu*. I transcribe it in the four instances by 'a. I happen to know from the Hebrew that in the first word the 'a represents  $\text{א}$ , in the second  $\text{ה}$ , in the third  $\text{י}$ , and in the fourth  $\text{י}$ ; the four words signifying *much* or *great* from  $\text{אנא}$ , *glorious* from  $\text{הנה}$ , *good* from  $\text{טוב}$ , and *a judge* from  $\text{דין}$ . In another word which had no Hebrew equivalent, I should not know how to render the characters so as to make a distinction; and I therefore do not make it in the cases where I am able to do so. Some persons would in all these instances represent the  $\text{𐎶}$

by accenting the preceding vowel. In most cases, however, I think that this would be an error. Where it is plain to me that two characters represent together but one syllable, I cut off one of the vowels by an apostrophe; but I do not consider it a matter of course to do so, nor do I use an accent in all cases where I do so.

When two syllables are joined together without a point, it will be understood that they are, in the original, not represented phonetically, but by monograms, ideograms, or Accadian roots, as they have been variously called. In such cases I generally give the cuneiform characters in brackets, with *i.e.* after them, before I give the words that I read. When, however, the signification of the monogram is well known and universally admitted, I omit the cuneiform characters.

[CHAPTER V.] *On Verbs, and first on their permissive parts.*

1. Generally speaking, a verb admits of seven principal conjugations, of which the first six correspond to the first six of the recognized Hebrew conjugations; the seventh being the causative of the third. I denote them by the seven first Roman numerals. Other conjugations are occasionally met with, but are less frequent. It will, of course, be understood that no one verb is used in all the conjugations.

2. Each of these seven admits of a secondary or augmented conjugation, which I denote by the proper Roman numeral followed by *t*. The augmented conjugation regularly inserts *t* or *te* after the first radical letter, or in the conjugations V.–VII. after the preformative *s*. In some cases the insertion of this letter or syllable is the only difference between the augmented conjugation and its principal one; but in other cases, other changes are introduced which will be mentioned in the sequel.

3. The inserted *t* is sometimes changed into *d* or *ʔ*, through the influence of the letter with which it comes in contact; and sometimes through its influence that letter undergoes a change. Another irregularity, which is apt to be more puzzling, is that in most verbs defective in the second radical

(concave verbs) the dental precedes the first radical in place of following it. Thus, we have from 𐎢𐎺, in the aorist of I. t, *it.bu.ni*, instead of *ib.tu.ni*, "they came on" (90 L. 63).

4. Generally speaking, again, the verbal forms belonging to each conjugation may be divided into two great classes, which I call permansive and mutative. The former denotes continuance in the state which the verb signifies in that conjugation; the latter denotes change into that state. Each portion of the forms belonging to the conjugation has tenses and verbal nouns. The permansive tenses are analogous to the so-called Hebrew preterite, having no preformatives, but having terminations added, (except in the third person singular masculine, which has none, as in Hebrew), by which the number, person, and gender are distinguished. The mutative tenses, on the contrary, are analogous to the so-called Hebrew future, having one or other of the preformatives 𐎧𐎺𐎠 always prefixed to the root, whether or no there be any distinctive addition at the end.

5. The distinction here made between permansive and mutative forms is in my judgment a fundamental one, on the proper development of which all accurate knowledge of the Assyrian language must depend. Now, Dr. Oppert, has in a recent number of the *Journal Asiatique* (Tome vi. p. 297), ridiculed the existence of any such forms as what I call permansive, characterising them as being a mere fancy of mine. The first thing then that I have to do is to establish the existence of such forms by a number of clear examples.

6. I will begin with comparing two sentences from adjoining columns of Taylor's Cylinder, in which the same root occurs,—a perfect root having three letters incapable of change,—namely, 𐎢𐎺𐎠. It signifies in Arabic *celavit* (Frey. iv. 10), and this *may* be the meaning in the single passage in the Hebrew Bible where it occurs (see Ges. 723). At any rate this seems clearly the meaning in the two Assyrian passages which I will cite. In the former of these, 40 L. 68, Sennacherib, after mentioning the destruction of certain towns concluding with 'ak.mu, "I burned," proceeds thus. I omit a simile which is evidently parenthetical. *Qu.tur n'a.ak.mu.ti*.

*su.nu . . . . . p a.an* [→] *i.e.*] *same.'e rap.su.ti 'u.sak.tim*, "the smoke of their being burned (like a ponderous cloud) the face of the wide heavens I made to conceal." The verb is here in the 1. s. of the aorist of (the causative) Conjugation V., having two objects expressed, that which is made to produce, and that which is made to undergo, the change. The preceding verb *'akmu* is the 1. s. of the aorist of I. of the verb *כָּבַד*. Let us now proceed to 41 I. 45. I omit another comparison to a cloud, which is parenthetical. [→] *i.e.*] *epir sepi.su.nu . . . . . p'a.an same.'e rap.su.ti ka.'i.im*, "the dust of their feet (like, etc.) the face of the wide heavens is concealing." In my judgment, nothing can be clearer than that *katim* is the 3. m. s. of the principal permansive tense. Dr. Oppert says that I "substitute participles for the 3. s. m." By a participle I presume he means what I call the *nomen mutantis*. No doubt the latter would be *katim*, or, as I should write it for distinction, *kátim*; but this would stand before what it governs; it should then be translated "the concealer of (the face of the wide heavens)," and it would require a verb to complete a sentence. It might as well be said that the second word in Genesis was a participle, or any other 3. m. s. of the preterite in the Bible. In this portion of Taylor's Cylinder we have no less than six long lines and a half in which there is nothing that he acknowledges to be a verb. In l. 43, Sennacherib begins to describe an attack upon him by an immense multitude of his enemies, whom he compares to locusts. All are doing the same things in constant succession, and accordingly, in speaking of what they do, he uses only permansive tenses. In l. 44 we have *te.bu.'u.ni*, "they are coming on," the 3. m. p. of the permansive of I. t. of the verb *בָּאוּ*. It has exactly the same relation to *it.bu.ni*, "they came on," cited in § 3, as *ka.'i.im* in l. 47 has to *iktum*, "it concealed." Passing over a permansive verb in l. 48, the discussion of which would lead to a digression, we have in l. 49, after the description of the position taken by his enemies, *zab.tu.va*, "they are occupying, and," followed by a mutative verb. Surely it cannot be maintained with any



show of reason that *zab.tu*, followed as it is by the copulative enclitic which connects verbs, and verbs only, and this by an acknowledged verb, is anything else than a verb, and yet it has no preformative. The verb *צָבַת* is a very common one in the mutative tenses of both I. and V.

7. Before going further, I will give paradigms of the declension of the three principal tenses of the imaginary verb *פָּגַל*;—the *permanisive present*, the *aojist*, and the *mutative present*, or *present* simply. The latter is written indifferently with *g* or *gg*; the duplication of the second radical being euphonic, and not characteristic of the third conjugation. What really characterizes this conjugation is the use of *u* as the vowel of the preformative. It is *invariably* so used in Conjugations III., V., and VII., and their augmented conjugations; and *never* so in any other conjugation, unless the first radical of the verb be *י*. Each of these three principal tenses admits a secondary tense formed by the addition of *u* to forms which end in the third radical, and of *ni* to those which end in an added vowel. The most important of these secondary tenses is that derived from the present, which is clearly a *future*.

8. Paradigms of the three principal tenses of Conjugation I.:—

	PERMANISIVE PRESENT.	AORIST.	PRESENT.
1. <i>s.</i>	paglaku, or paglak	'apgul	'apaggil, or 'apagil
2. <i>m.s.</i>	pagilta	tapgul	tapaggil
2. <i>f.s.</i>	pagilti	tapguli	tapaggili
3. <i>m.s.</i>	pagil	ipgul	ipaggil
3. <i>f.s.</i>	paglat	tapgul	tapaggil
1. <i>p.</i>	pagilnu	napgul	napaggil
2. <i>m.p.</i>	pagiltunu	tapgulu	tapaggilu
2. <i>f.p.</i>	pagiltina	tapgula	tapaggila
3. <i>m.p.</i>	paglu	ipgulu	ipaggilu
3. <i>f.p.</i>	pagla	ipgula	ipaggila

The forms of the second person plural may require correction; but I believe that all the others may be depended upon. I use *i* as the vowel after the second radical in the permanisive and ordinary present, and *u* in the aorist. These are the most

common vowels, but many verbs have different ones. Perhaps the third person feminine singular sometimes ends in *a*, that is 'a, like the Hebrew אָ. An apparent example is in 18 I. 62, where the nominative is singular, *sa*, referring to 'u.ba.nu 'a.ʒi.tu, "a projecting summit;" and we have *su.ga.lu.la* in the printed text, and *lat* as a variant. The latter is, however, the reading of far the most copies, *if not of all*. In 33 I. 2'48, we have *su.ga.lu.la*; but there the nominative is plural, 'u.ba.n'a.at *ead.e*, "the summits of the mountain." In 24 I. 51, we have also *su.ga.lu.la*, but here the nominative is masculine singular; and the final *a* is, as very often happens, a representative of *ea*, the copulative enclitic, and not an inflexion of the verb.

9. What are called the personal pronouns of the first and second persons are really, as I have stated long since, permansive presents of a verb signifying "to be here," *adsum*; and 'ana, "ad," "to," or "for," is to be referred to the same root, אָד. The true personal pronouns are the affirmatives of the permansive present, 'aku, nu, and ta, with its derivatives. It is *these* which the comparative grammarian should compare with the Indo-European pronouns. By the way, I never said, as Dr. Oppert represents me to have said, that the second person of the permansive present ended in *ka* and *ki*, as in Ethiopic. What I said was, that the fact of the first persons ending alike in Assyrian and Ethiopic ought not to be relied on as proof of a special connection between those two languages, because the Ethiopians had *k* in the second person, as well as in the first, while the Assyrians had not.

10. I will now give some other examples of permansive presents: In the descriptions of permanent features of a country, which are so frequently found in the historical inscriptions, the permansive tense is constantly used. Thus *e.g.* in 11 I. 43, etc., we read of "high mountains, which, like the edge of a sword, *sam.tu*, are piercing; which, for the passing of chariots, *la.'a na.tu.'u*, are not fitted." The exact force of the roots אָד and אָד or אָד may be questioned, but the general sense is clear. The king tells us that he left his chariots behind, and crossed the mountains without them;

and *here* he uses the aorist. In 22 I. 105, we have *kir.hu.su kima 'u.ð'a.an sad.e sa.kin*, "Its top (or head) like the summit of a mountain was lying," or simply "was." The verb 𐎗𐎠 in its mutative parts signifies, actively, "to place," or "make;" in the permansive parts "to lie," or "be." This is something like what happens in several Greek verbs, as ἵστημι, and in Latin, where *facio*, as well as *fio*, is etymologically connected with *fuo*.

11. The permansive present is also habitually used in the passive conjugations; for the state denoted by these forms is generally a permanent one. So in Greek we have *τετυμμένοι εἰσι*, and in Latin, to a greater extent, *pulsatus sum*, etc., as well as *pulsati sunt*. Thus, we have 42 I. 11, *ra.ki.bu.s'i.in di.ku*, "their riders were killed," and soon after, *si.na mus.su.ra*, "they (*f.*) were abandoned." In 38 L. 8, we have *s'u.uh.hu.rat su.bat.za*, "its site (was made, *i.e.* as often in Hebrew) was judged to be small." Examples might be quoted almost without end.

12. I will now pass to the first person. Dr. Oppert objects to an example which I gave formerly. In 19 I. 101, we read, as it is printed, *ina li.me ù.ma, ina Ninua uz.ba.ku*, which I have translated "In the eponymy of a certain person, in Nineveh I am stopping." I ought, however, to have translated it, "In the same eponymy." The character in two copies that I have collated is not that for *ù*, the copulative conjunction, but that which occurs so commonly on the tablets, signifying "the same." There can, I think, be no doubt that this is the correct reading in all the inscriptions; and that the copyists have substituted a common character for one which was not familiar to them. In 18 I. 69, we have *Ina li.me an.ni.ma*, "in the eponymy of this person," that is, "of myself." This is one of the many substitutes for the pronoun "my," which we meet with in the Assyrian inscriptions. This is sometimes contracted into *an.ma*, as in 40 L. 50. The 𐎶𐎶 seems to be used to indicate that a peculiar mode of expression is used; or perhaps it may signify "and so forth." Speaking of these substitutes for the possessive pronouns, I consider it due to Dr. Oppert to acknowledge the great merit of his late dis-

covery of the signification of *raman*, which had been so long a puzzle to Assyrian students. I adopt his explanation as perfectly correct, and I have met with five or six passages, besides those cited by himself, which it explains in the most satisfactory manner. *O si sic omnia!*

13. The explanation of *u $\dot{s}$ .ba.ku* given above, "I am stopping," clashes with Dr. Oppert's view in two respects. It is a permansive present, a tense which he does not acknowledge; and it is that of the verb  $\text{בב}$ , a defective in  $\text{ב}$ , of which he has affirmed in his grammar that the Assyrians had none. It appears then absolutely necessary for the maintenance of his system that he should do away with this passage; and I will quote from p. 297, what he says on the subject: "D'abord, on ne lit jamais *usbaku*, mais toujours *usbakuni* dans les inscriptions de Sardanapale III., dans la phrase; 'Pendant qu'ils me retinrent à Ninive, etc.' *U $\dot{s}$ bakuni* est la 3<sup>me</sup> pers. du pluriel de  $\text{בב}$  à l'iphtéal avec le suffixe. Sans suffixe, ce serait *yus $\dot{s}$ abaku*  $\text{יִסְבַּכּוּ}$ , ou même *yus $\dot{s}$ abaku*  $\text{יִסְבַּכּוּ}$  (G.A. § 128), et contracté avec le suffixe (ibid. § 197)  $\text{יִסְבַּכּוּנִי}$ . Voilà à quoi se réduit la 1<sup>re</sup> personne en *ku*. Et ce *seul* exemple, si même il était avéré, ne pourrait avoir une grande portée, quand on le compare aux milliers de formes des aoristes fournies par les textes."











14. I have given the whole of this passage from M. Oppert's text; and I must say, that I think I have never read a passage of the same length, in which there are so many mis-statements as to matters of fact. The word *usbaku* does occur in the passage cited; and when he denied that it did so, Dr. Oppert must have trusted to a treacherous memory. There is no *ni* after it in the printed text; there is no various reading noted in 19 I. 101; and, moreover, I collated, some years ago, very carefully, all the copies of the inscriptions brought over by Mr. Layard, which substantially coincide with that which is printed, and I am thus in possession of some important various readings which are not printed; and I can say most positively that there is *not a single copy* which contains *any other* reading than *usbaku*, which Dr. Oppert says "on ne lit JAMAIS!" Elsewhere, *e.g.* in l. 94 of the same plate, *ni* is added; but there the sentence begins with *ki*, "when;"






and I translate "when in Şur I was stopping." This is the secondary permansive tense noted at the end of § 7. Where there is no *ki* at the beginning of the sentence, there is no *ni* at the end of *uṣbaku*. In the second place, the existence of the verb ܘܫܒܐ is, so far as I am aware, a pure fiction. I never recollect to have met it, and I believe no one else has met it. It has been imagined purely for the purpose of neutralizing a text, the existence of which is inconsistent with two grammatical dreams. But in the third place, even if the existence of this verb be granted, it could not produce by any legitimate process such a grammatical monstrosity as *yušbakuni*. Dr. Oppert cannot produce any similar form. *Išbakuni* would be legitimate; and so would *išabkuni*, or with *št* or *šš* in the place of *š*; *yušabkuni* might pass also for Conj. III.; but the substitution of *yu* for *i* before *šb*—such a form as *yupgaluni*—is unparalleled. *Yu* and *i* are not interchangeable, as he says in his grammar, the former is used in Conj. III., the latter in Conj. I.; but these two conjugations, the Pihel and Qal of the Hebrews, he has blended together in hopeless confusion.



15. But, perhaps, the most extraordinary sentence in the passage I have quoted is the last. The first question at issue is, whether the Assyrians had, like the Hebrews, at least one tense in each conjugation, in which there were no preformatives. It is in regard to this tense that we are at issue; that they had also a tense or tenses in each conjugation, which had preformatives, we are agreed. Now if I can establish even a single instance, in which a verb has no preformative, my case is proved. The fact is, however, that there are hundreds of instances of permansive verbs in inscriptions of every age, from Tiglath Pileser to Darius. Dr. Oppert says that *sarraku*, even if it should not be read *sarratus*,—a supposition which the variant form in *ak* (of which presently) proves to be untenable,—may mean "I am a king," and yet not be a verb. Here I differ from him. I say, in common I believe with all grammarians, that a word which includes in itself a pronominal subject, a copula and a predicate, is essentially a verb. It might as well be denied that *malakta* in 2 Sam. iii. 21, was a verb, because *malakē*, "kings of," is a noun. In 17

I. 32, etc., there are, after the completion of a sentence, no less than eleven words ending in *aku*. I take them to be permansive presents in the 1. s., ten of them belonging to triliteral verbs in the first, third or fourth conjugations, and the eleventh to a quadriliteral. It is not the slightest objection to this view that substantives or adjectives are in use, containing the former part of the alleged verb. So it is in all the Semitic languages. There is a *nomen permanentis*, and a *permansive present*, the beginnings of which generally agree, though their endings are generally as different as the cases of *rex* and the persons of *rego*. In the proper names *Nabu-na'id*, "Nebo is glorious," and *Na'id-Mar.duk*, "Marduk is glorious," as well as in *na.k.da.ku* in l. 32, we have the permansive present; in E.I.H. I. 3, on the contrary, *ru.ba'a na'a.dam*, "the glorious prince," gives us the *nomen permanentis*, here an adjective.

16. In the Babylonian inscriptions the *u* at the end of the 1. s. is dropped. Thus in E.I.H. I. 39, we have *p'i.it.lu.k'a.ak be.lu.ut.s'u.un*, "I am habitually worshipping their lordships." The *u*, it will be observed, is also dropped in this affix, as it sometimes is in the affix *su*, when added to a word ending with a vowel. This is the 1. s. of the permansive present in the first augmented conjugation of אלה. Before this, in l. 10, the king had used the permansive past (badly spelled), *b'i.it.lu.ku b'i.e.lu.ut.s'u.un*, "he has been habitually worshipping their lordships." In the Nakshi-Rustam inscription, l. 9, we have *s'a.al.t'a.ak*, "I am ruling," as the translation of *patiyakhshiya*, or rather of the latter part of this Persian word; for the preposition at the beginning is expressed in the Babylonian text by a separate preposition. I was curious to see what Dr. Oppert would make of this, and I turned to his transcription of it into Hebrew characters in the Z. D. M. G. XI. 136. I was no little surprised to find that he makes two words out of these four characters, namely, אלה אקש. The latter of these two words he has substituted for the termination *ak*, which he did not understand! This led me to look further into his transcriptions. In l. 24 there is a passage, the true reading and signification of the first word of

which was suggested to me by Mr. Talbot.  is *zûb* as well as *ûb*. The reading is *zûb.bu.'u sa 'ana.ku zi.ba.'a.ka*. I take the *ka* to represent *ak*, which would look very awkward after *ba.'a*; while if the  were omitted it would be natural to read *zûbak*; the word is really *zûba'ak*. I translate, "they are always made to will what I am willing." Here, again, Dr. Oppert transcribes the four characters by     instead of    , introducing a second imaginary word in place of a termination which he does not understand.

17. These are not the only instances of permansive verbs in the Nakshi-Rustam inscription. In l. 26, we have *kul.lu*, "has been holding," a deponent verb like *dominatus erat*; and in the following line we may restore the damaged word of Conj. IV. *na.su.'u*, "are carrying," from . This word occurs again l. 18 ("The Ionians who imaginat on their heads) are carrying;" as does the preceding word in l. 11 ("my laws) they are holding;"    , which must be here read *ha*, being added to the singular, to form the feminine plural. An eighth permansive form occurs in l. 21, where in speaking of the depraved state of the people before Darius became king, the obscure word *summa'hu* is used. To these eight instances of permansive words I think myself entitled to add two others in which *'anaku* is used as a verb, there being no other in the sentence. Now, I can only count thirty-one mutative verbs in this inscription; so that the permansive verbs are in the inscription about a fourth of all the verbs. In the inscriptions generally they are perhaps a fifth or sixth of the whole; but this is a very different proportion from "one to thousands."

18. I will now give some examples of permansive forms of two verbs, the meanings of which have been strangely misconceived, , "to have," and , "to be." Both are used in the mutative, as well as in the permansive tenses; and in the former verb, there is a great liability to confusion, the aorist being in both the first and third persons singular *i.si*, as in E.I.H. 10, 15, where we have the derivative form *'a.ya 'i.si na.ki.ri*, "let me not have enemies." The 3 s. of the permansive form would, I presume, be written precisely alike; and *i.su.'u* and *i.sa.'a* would be the 3 p. m. and f. in both the

aorist and the permansive tense. We have, however, in 9 I. 58, a form which is clearly permansive, *ma.ħi.ru* (in another copy *sa.ni.na*) 'as *taħazi la i.sa.'a.ku*, "a confronter (or rival) in the close combat I have not." In l. 44 of the same plate we have *ma.ħi.ru la i.su.'u*, "a confronter has not had;" and in 42 L. 40, the name given by Sennacherib to his palace is *sa sa.ni.na la i.su.'u*, "which has not had a rival."

19. The verb "to be" occurs frequently in a variety of mutative forms; as in 3 m. s. Conj. I. *sa.nin ul ib.si*, "rival (or adversary) there was not," 18 I. 43; *mal.ku gab.r'a.a.'a ul ib.si*, "king prevailing against me there was not," 145 B. 1; for which we have in 171 B. 7, *gab.r'a.a.su ul ib.su.'u*, "one prevailing against him (whom) there was not." Here the *u* at the end of the verb is not the formative of the preterperfect, but a relative enclitic; and it may be so in some of the instances of the permansive past which I have given. It is to be observed that the *u* and *ni* of all the secondary tenses are annexed immediately to the primary tense; whereas, if an objective affix follow, the enclitic is placed after it. Thus, in 89 L. 40, we have, after *sa*, *i.ga.bu.su.ni*, "which (the people of Hatti) call." Here *i.ga.bu* is the 3 p. m. of the present of קָבַר; *su* the affix "it," which, in combination with the preceding *sa*, must be translated "which," as in Hebrew; and *ni* the relative enclitic is after the affix. Were the perfect to be expressed, we should have *i.ga.bu.ni*.

20. Other forms of this verb are *i.b'a.as.su.'u*, 3 m. p. present "do not exist," E.I.H. 2, 20; I have also met *i.b'a.as.si* in the singular; and on Bellino's cylinder l. 31 we have the infinitive '*a.di la ba.s'ie 'u.sa.ħik.su.nu.ti*, "till there was none (left) I made them depart." In 38 I. 18, this is repeated with two various readings, *i* for *e*, and *su* for *su.nu.ti*. The singular *su* is very often used, when there is no definite antecedent, in the sense of "people," as in 47 B. 88, etc. In 65 I. 2, 13, we have '*u.s'a.al.m'i.is* (for '*usalmisu*) to express the *ma.da 'u.s'a.al.mi* of E.I.H. 6, 43, "the people I caused to see." Once more we have the 1 s. of the aorist of אָשַׁר in Conj. V. in 42 L. 44, '*a.gam.mu 'u.sab.si* "a lake I made" (*lit.* "I caused to be.")

21. The permansive form of this verb is most commonly



found in the parenthetic formula *ma.la* (or *mal*) *ba.su.'u*, "as many as there are." I must here observe that while I have always, in common with Sir H. Rawlinson, assigned to *mala* an affirmative signification, instead of a negative one, as Dr. Oppert assigned to it in his grammar, I never attributed to *basu'u* the signification of number, as I am represented to have done in Dr. Oppert's late paper. He now admits that *mala basu'u* means "all," though he does not yet see his mistake in supposing *ba.su.'u* to mean "bad" or "contemptible." That this word and its Accadian equivalent  $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶}$  *nal.la*, as I read it with some small doubt, means simply "to be," I feel perfectly sure. But, as this is rather a matter for a lexicographer than a grammarian, I will not discuss it here.

22. It remains for me to give the forms of the permansive tense in the different conjugations; of pagil Conj. I. enough has been said; I have also given examples of pitgul Conj. I. t. Another occurs in 37 I. 66, where Sennacherib speaks of people, "who to the kings my fathers," *la kit.nu.su*, "were not submissive," from  $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶}$ . The conjugation generally indicates repeated action, and the tense that this repeated action was continued for a length of time.

23. The permansive of Conj. II. is of the form *naggul*; and of II. t. I presume it would be *naptegul*. I have, however, met with no instance of the latter, and only one of the former. It occurs in 40 L. 3, *sa.qis n'a.an.su.zu*, "they were fixed on high." The root is  $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶}$ . The *n* of the root is here preserved, but it is often assimilated to the *z* when it comes in contact with it; and we have thus apparently, though not really, a root of which all the letters are *z*. In the present text, which is to me in great measure obscure, the verb quoted lies between two other permansive ones, *pit.hu.hu* Conj. I. t. and *n'u.us.su.ru* Conj. III., which, again, is followed by *n'u.um.mu.ru* in the same conjugation.

24. The permansive form of Conj. III. is but rare: the form is *paggal*. Examples are *qar.ra.da.ku*, "I am very strong," 17 I. 32; and *'al.la.ka bir.k'a.a.'a*, "my knees are moving briskly," 16 II. c. 30. This is the 3 f. p. from  $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶}$ . In the following line we have another permansive verb, *la.'a*

*ni.ha se.p'a.a.'a*, "my feet have not any rest." This is from נון in a conjugation peculiar to concave verbs, which is in the mutative parts analogous to Conj. III. of perfect verbs, but in the permansive parts has generally a passive or neuter signification. Another example will be found in § 11. Examples of Conj. IV., of which the form is puggul, have been already given in §§ 11 and 17. The verbs in the last section are כלה and סמח.

25. I have not met with the permansive form of Conj. III. t. or IV. t., nor of V. or V. t. The former of these I should from analogy expect to be sappal; and the latter, perhaps, satpegal. Conj. VI. makes supgul; so, at least, I infer from the defective and otherwise irregular verbs in this tense which alone I have hitherto found. From גלל we have certainly *su.lu.ku*, "they were made to go," 49 I. 4, 30; and I suspect *su.gu.ru*, in an obscure passage, 39 L. 44, to be another 3 m. p. from קר. On the other hand we have *su.qa.ku.la* and *su.gu.lu.la* from קלל in 18 I. 62, as if the form had an additional syllable. The fact, however, of the additional vowel being in different copies *a* and *u*, suggests that it is irregularly introduced; perhaps in order to distinguish to the eye a derivative of this root from one of ללל or כלל, which were both in use; or perhaps, because the liquid *l* admitted a vowel before it (see § 24 of Chap. II.) I would therefore read *sughula*.

26. There are two verbs in a permansive tense beginning with מ, of which the conjugation has been doubted. In the one this character is followed by *qu*, in the other by *ku*. There can be no doubt that the verbs are שקל and שכן; but the initial character admits two readings. It may be *sit*, and the verbs would then be in Conj. I. t.; or it may be *mus*, which, as a variety of examples prove, may be interchanged with *mus* before ק or כ. Thus, *mus.ki* and *mu.us.ki* are both used for the name of the country, *Musuk*, Heb. משק. Thinking that the significations of the verbs in question were not such as suited the Conj. I. t., it occurred to me that *m* was here substituted for *s* as a preformative, on account of the first radical being *s*, the conjugation being VI. As, however, I have found no such tense beginning with *mu*, or *mus*, and as 'u.s'a.as.kin is met with in Conj. V., with the preformative

*s* before a first radical *s*, I am now inclined to think that the sixth conjugation has never *m* for its preformative, and that we should read *sit.ku.nat su.bat.sun* in 41 B. 39, "their dwelling is lying;" and in the Equinox tablet, K. 15, *sit.qu.lu*, (the day and night) "are balancing one another."

27. Of the permansive form of Conj. VI. t. I have as yet met only one example. It is in some respects a very valuable one, as it clearly establishes the existence of a permansive past, terminating in *u*. The nominative is singular, and there is no relative particle on which it could depend. It occurs in 51 I. 1, 32, where we have *la su.te.su.ru mu.ze.'e mi.'e.sa*, "the exit of its waters had not been made straight." The verb is 𐎶𐎵, and the form is probably *sutpegul*; but from the weakness of the first radical, this is not certain. I have not met with the permansive form of either VII. or VII. t.

[CHAPTER II.]—Nouns.

1. In the present chapter I propose to consider the declension of Assyrian substantives and adjectives. In the following chapter I will treat of their syntax, endeavouring to show under what circumstances each of the forms, the connexion of which is explained in the present chapter, is found to be used. In a future chapter I will treat of the connexion between the primitive forms of nouns and their significations; nouns which have the same primitive form bearing, in a very great degree, the same relation in their meanings to their verbal roots.

2. I think it best to reserve the full consideration of the forms of nouns, as connected with their significations, till I have treated of the verbal forms of roots; but as I shall have to speak of these forms occasionally in connexion with declensional differences, I feel it necessary to define the terms of which I shall have to make use.

3. A perfect Assyrian root consists of three consonants, which are called its radical letters; and every Assyrian word derived from such a root consists of three consonants at least, and two vowels at least. Words which differ from one another only in their radical letters are said to be of the same

form. Thus *marzi* and *namri* are of the same form; as are *puluhti* and *tukulti*; *musaskin* and *musalbir*; *gabsa'ati* and *rapsa'ati*, etc.

4. If we assume a root of three letters, we can always exhibit a derivative of this root of the same form as any derivative of any other root that we may meet with. It has been the custom with Hebrew and Arabic grammarians to assume  $\text{לַעַשׂ}$  as a standard root. It was chosen on account of its signifying "to do" or "to make," which seemed the most natural type of a verbal root; but it is objectionable on account of the weakness and uncertainty of sound of the second radical. I substitute for this a  $\text{ל}$ , which gives an imaginary root, but one which is very convenient. The words in the preceding section would become, by substituting the three letters of this root for the three in each of them, *pagh*, *pugulti*, *musappgil*, *pagla'ati*; and I take these as the names of the forms to which these words respectively belong.

5. All the forms given in the preceding section are forms of nouns; but there is a difference between them. One of the four, *musappgil*, is a *primary form*, or *theme*; the three others are *derived forms*, or *cases*. Observe that, besides the principal theme, which is singular, there are plural and dual themes, and sometimes feminine themes, singular and plural. In the present chapter I will show how the cases are derived from the theme, and to a certain extent how the theme may be recovered from one of its cases. The same derived form may, however, be derived from different primary forms. For example, *pagh* is a case, the theme of which may be *pagal*, *pagil*, or *pagul*. Had we only the words *marzi* and *namri* before us, we should have no means of judging to which of three possible themes we should trace each of them. Other derivatives of the themes in question are required before we can say that the former theme is *maruz*, the latter *namir*.

6. The themes last given differ from *musappgil*, in that they contain no consonant but the three letters of the root. I call such themes as consist of the three radical letters, with two short vowels intervening, *simple themes*. Those which contain any addition, reckoning as such a quiescent letter,  $\text{א}$ ,  $\text{י}$ , or  $\text{ו}$ ,

which may be considered as lengthening a vowel, I call augmented themes.

7. The following are the different kinds of augmentation which an Assyrian root may have, and it may have two or more of them at the same time. First, it may have a prefixed addition consisting of one or more servile letters with a vowel or vowels, as in *musappil*; 2nd, it may have a medial addition of a servile letter, as in *pitgul*, or in *pāgil*, where the first syllable would be in Arabic *لُ*, in Hebrew *לְ* or *לֶ*; 3rd, it may have the middle radical doubled, as in *paggal*; 4th, it may have the final radical doubled, as in *paglat*; or 5th, it may have one or more servile letters added at the end as in *puglān* or *paglūt*. I do not consider the *at* or *it* at the end of feminine nouns as constituting an augmented theme, but as a declensional modification of a theme. The form *pugulti* in § 4 I consider to be a feminine case of *pugul*, or a case of *puglat*, the feminine theme of *pugul*.

8. There are many feminine themes of this description. Some of them are substantives denoting females, or what are considered to be such, where the true themes denote the corresponding males. Thus *ša.p'i.in* is "a sweeper away," applied to a king, 40 B. 25; *ša.pi.n'a.at* is the same, applied to a chariot, which is conventionally feminine, 41 I. 82; *mu.rap.pis*, 33 L. 9, and *mu.rap.pi.sat*, 38 L. 5, mean "enlarger," and are applied to the king and to the sceptre respectively. Adjectives, which always agree with their substantives in gender, form feminine themes of this description: they are, however, rarely used in the theme, either masculine or feminine. A few nouns are used in the masculine and feminine forms without distinction, as *pukuh* and *pulhat*, "fear;" and there are several which are only found in the feminine form, as *hirat*, "a wife;" *irzit*, "a land," or "the earth;" *isat*, "fire;" *amat* or *tamat*, "a sea."

9. Besides these, there are many feminine themes, which have a collective signification, and may very often be translated as plurals. In 42 B. 70, we have *u.kin lib.n'a.aš.šu*, "I made fast its bricks;" *aš.šu* stands for *at.su* by a euphonic change which will be explained in § 56 of this chapter. The word

is *libnat*, the feminine theme of *libin*, which would signify "a single brick." It is not a plural, as might perhaps be thought. The plural would be, according to analogy, assuming *libin* to be a feminine, *lib.na.'a.ti.su*. Besides, it is declined as a feminine singular; and similar nouns are accompanied by adjectives in the feminine singular. It is, as I have stated, a collective singular, used for a plural. There are above a score of such collectives, from perfect and imperfect roots, in frequent use in the texts.

10. *All* nouns terminating in *at* or *it* servile are feminine; other nouns *may be* so. Examples of such are *haluz*, "a castle" (I put the second vowel of the theme in roman, because I am not sure what it is; see § 5). In 52 I. N<sup>o</sup> 3, 2.16, we have *ha.al.zi ra.bi.tim*, "of the great castle;" and the plural occurs with feminine adjectives (→ being used for the first syllable) 146 B. 6, 7. In 17 II. 32 *l*. we have *li.sa.an li.mut.tu*, "a sore tongue," the adjective being feminine. Other examples of feminine nouns, not so by syllabic addition (or, as Hebrew grammarians express it, by *motion*), are *'um*, "a mother;" *'istar*, "a goddess;" (I believe, a loan word, originally signifying "a star;") *'umman*, "an army;" *'uzun*, "an ear; *qat* or *qa'at*, "a hand" (we have *qa.aṣ.ṣu*, "his hand," 49 B. 32 and 8 II. 45 *r*; the plural in the principal case is *qa.ta.tu* 8 II. 40 *r*, which proves that the *t* is radical), and all augmented forms ending in *ūt*, as *sarrūt*, "a kingdom" or "reign."

11. Nouns have three numbers, the singular, the dual, and the plural. The dual is not often used, and only, I believe, in the theme (§ 5); the cases of the dual do not seem to be distinguished from those of the plural. The dual is of course most frequently used for nouns which express objects that are in their nature double; but I think that I have met with duals of other nouns.

12. Nouns in the singular number have three cases in addition to the theme. I call these the first or principal case, the second case, and the third case. They are used so differently from the nominative, genitive, and accusative cases of European languages, that I think, on mature considera-

tion, the use of these terms decidedly objectionable, as likely to mislead. Their use will be explained in the following chapter. Here it will suffice to say that the first case ends in *u* or *um*: it appears from the grammatical tablets that the Assyrians considered this to be the leading form of the noun. The second case ends in *i*, *e*, or *im*; and the third in *a* or *am*. The third case is only used in the singular number.

13. Before I speak of the formation of these cases from the theme, I must go back to the classes of roots. I stated in § 3 that a perfect Assyrian root consisted of three radical consonants. It does not follow, however, that every root which consists of three consonants is perfect. Not to speak of roots having for the first radical a **ן**, which is often assimilated to the following consonant, and which sometimes disappears altogether; nor of surd roots, as they are called, of which the second and third radicals are the same, and which have some peculiarity consequent upon this; there are certain weak letters, the existence of which in a root renders it imperfect.

14. I consider **ס**, **ג**, **י**, **י'**, and **ע** to be weak letters; I do not include **ן** in the list; preferring to regard those roots in which a weak letter is found where cognate languages have **ן**, as substituting an **ה** or **ע** for it. This is the case in a few roots, of which the most common are **ררקה**, **פתח**, and **לקח**. I consider the corresponding Assyrian roots to be **רעק**, **רעע**, **פתע**, and **לקע**; as I consider the Assyrian root corresponding to the Hebrew **צער** to be **צורר**. In this root the second radical never exhibits any symptom of weakness.

15. All these letters are capable of causing the assimilation of the preceding and following vowels, which sometimes causes the contraction of two syllables into one; for when a weak letter has the same vowel before and after it, the two may coalesce, though they do not necessarily do so. An example may be given in the third person singular of the present of a verb with a weak letter for its first radical, suppose **הלך**. Instead of *'allak*, which would be the regular form, the Assyrians first substituted *i* for *a*, assimilating the vowels, and then contracted *i'il* into simple *il*. Thus they wrote *illak*, a dissyllable, where a regular verb would have three syllables.

16. So, when the second radical was weak, they wrote *ru'uq* for *ra'uq*, like *maruz*, and perhaps pronounced  $\text{רױױ} \text{רױױ} \text{רױױ}$   $\text{רױױ} \text{רױױ} \text{רױױ}$   $\text{רױױ} \text{רױױ} \text{רױױ}$  *ru.uq.ti* as a dissyllable, when the corresponding form of a perfect root would have three syllables. It must be observed, however, that when the two vowels of the form were characteristically different, an assimilation could not take place; for example, in the form *pâgil*, the *nomen mutantis*, no assimilation is permitted. We have  $\text{פױױ} \text{פױױ} \text{פױױ}$   $\text{פױױ} \text{פױױ} \text{פױױ}$   $\text{פױױ} \text{פױױ} \text{פױױ}$  *qâ'is*, 17 I. 9, and  $\text{פױױ} \text{פױױ} \text{פױױ}$   $\text{פױױ} \text{פױױ} \text{פױױ}$   $\text{פױױ} \text{פױױ} \text{פױױ}$  *qâ'i.sat*, 66 II. 9, "an ensnarer (of the living)," applied to a god and a goddess. See Gesenius under  $\text{פױױ} \text{פױױ}$ , 2. Examples of assimilation when the third radical is weak will be given presently.

17. Besides these irregularities, which are common to the five weak letters, three of them,  $\text{נ}$ ,  $\text{ל}$ , and  $\text{י}$ , are liable to be dropped altogether. In the case of one of these being the middle radical, this may always be considered a case of contraction, and it may be so sometimes when the first or third radical disappears; but the dropping of a letter of which I speak here, and of which I will shortly give examples, is not the result of contraction. Where a perfect root would have a complete syllable, though a short one, a root beginning or ending with one of the letters in question will sometimes drop it, apparently on the principle that a short unaccented vowel, having no substantial consonant to support it, is a nullity. Such Hebrew forms as  $\text{יױױ} \text{יױױ}$ ,  $\text{פױױ} \text{פױױ}$ , and  $\text{פױױ} \text{פױױ}$  will show what I mean. In the first and second, weak letters, called by Hebrew grammarians  $\text{י}$  and  $\text{י}$ , are altogether omitted; of these letters, the latter is in Assyrian certainly  $\text{י}$ , and the former is possibly  $\text{י}$ . In the second and third examples an  $\text{נ}$  is written, but regarded as a nullity.

18. I now come to consider the different modes of declining themes. The most natural mode is simply to add to the theme the three terminations, which I will here call *u*, *i*, and *a*, reserving till the next chapter an explanation of the modifications of these terminations indicated in § 12. This natural declension is always used when the theme terminates in a strong consonant preceded by a long vowel, such as that of



the form pagâl, the infinitive, or *nomen mutationis*, or that of the augmented forms in *ân* or *ût*, whatever may precede the last syllable. It is also used when the last consonant of a monosyllabic theme is strong, provided that the theme be not derived from a surd root. Examples are *mut*, "a husband," whence *muti*; *ab*, "a father," whence *abu*, *abi*. Lastly, it is used when, the last consonant being as before, the last vowel, though short, is so completely separated from the preceding vowel, that a contraction is impossible. This happens in many forms where a double letter intervenes, as *tapgal*, *pitgul*, *musapgil*, etc.

19. There are three cases indicated in the preceding section in which the noun is not declined in the natural manner there indicated. 1st, The last consonant may be a weak one; 2nd, the theme may be a monosyllable derived from a surd root; and 3rd, the theme may terminate in a strong consonant, preceded by a short vowel; and this may be separated from the preceding vowel by so thin a partition that a contraction becomes possible, and generally takes place; the last vowel being dropped. I will treat of these three cases in their order.

20. If the theme terminates in a weak letter, the preceding vowel is assimilated to that of the case. Thus from 'az'i, "going out" (root 𐎠𐎵), we have 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 = 'a.zu.'u, 67 I. 2. 37. So we have from the theme which signifies "a crown"—it is uncertain what it is—𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵, 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 = 'a.ge.'e, and 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 = 'a.ga.'a in the three cases. In 30 II. 19 r. we have 'a.gu.'u e.lu.'u, "the high crown," where both adjective and substantive end in weak consonants. Examples of the other cases will be found in 9 I. 5 and 21. So again from the theme for "mouth," we have 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 = pu.'u in 39 II. 1 l, 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 = pi.'i 39 II. 5 l, and 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 = pa.'a 1 L. 14. Here also the actual theme is uncertain; nor is the root itself less so. Perhaps it is 𐎠𐎵. If so, two weak letters would come together, and a contraction would take place, as it certainly does in 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 = e.pi.si 'a.hi, "another work," 16 I. 20.

I cannot think, however, that a contraction takes place as a matter of course, and that we should read 'agú, elú, pú, etc., when a second vowel is expressed.

21. In monosyllabic themes derived from surd roots, or from which surd roots are derived (for I suspect that many of these themes are adopted from foreign languages, and that the verbal form, if in use, is derived from the substantive or adjective), the final consonant is repeated before the case-ending. Thus from *sar*, "a king," we have *sar.ru*; from *lib*, "a heart," *lib.bu*; from 'um, "a womb" or "mother," 'um.mu. A few dissyllables also double their last letter, as 'agam, "a lake," whence 'a.gam.mu, 41 L. 44. Perhaps this should be considered as derived from a quadriliteral root. The word is singular, for it is referred to by  $\nabla$  sa.

22. The omission of the last vowel before the case-ending is very common. It always takes place in the forms pagal (but not pagâl, the infinitive), pigil, and pugul, and in augmented forms like muptagil, in which the second radical stands alone between the last two vowels. It takes place for the most part in the forms pagil and pagul, as in *n'a.am.ri*, from *namir*, *mar.zi* from *maruz*, and many others; but there are exceptions. In 7 I. F. 24 we have *bit.su la.bi.ru*, "his old house;" older inscriptions have *la.be.ru*, 20 I. 3; and it is only in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar that I find  $\text{𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀}$   $\text{𐤁𐤁𐤀}$   $\text{𐤁𐤁𐤀}$   $\text{𐤁𐤁𐤀}$  *ra.ab.ri*, 65 I. 2. 39. We must, however, distinguish the form pâgil, the *nomen mutantis*, and pagûl, *nomen mutati*, from pagil and pagul, which like pagal belong to the *nomen permanentis*. Both forms may belong to the same root, and to the eye may be the same. Thus  $\text{𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀}$   $\text{𐤁𐤁𐤀}$  may be "ruler," *mâ.lîk*, which would make *mâ.lî.ku*, and in the feminine *mâ.lî.kat*, 66 II. a. 4; or "king," *ma.lîk*, which would make *mal.ku*, 145 B. 1. So *dal.hu*, 74 B. 13 (whence *da.ki.'h.tu*), means "troubled, being in disturbance;" but *dâlîh*, *dâ.ki.hat*, means "the putter in disturbance, the disturber," 66 II. a. 4.

23. The three forms piggal, piggul, and puggal require special notice. The two former are derived from the third

conjugation, and the last from the fourth. It will appear very strange to an Hebraist, but it is certainly the case, that the duplication of the second radical is very apt to disappear, and the initial vowel to be the sole characteristic of the conjugation; the forms thus become pigal, pigul, and pugal, and the first two of these generally, though not always, drop the second vowel in their declension. Thus for *gissar*, the intensive form of *gasar*, we have *gisar*; and in the second case  $\text{𐎶} > \text{𐎶} < \text{𐎶}$  *gis.ri*, 17 I. 1, a little more forcible than *g'a.as.ri*, which we have in the parallel text, 32 I. 1. The meaning is "bold, daring;" and we have the feminine *gi.sar.tu*, 66 II, a. 1. The word which is constantly used for "enemies" in the Behistun inscriptions is similarly contracted. It is *nikrutu*; in the singular it would be *nikru*, from *nikar*. So  $\text{𐎶} > \text{𐎶}$  *lim.nu* in 48 B. 31 is from *liman*, for *limman*, "annoying" or "injurious." But this word gives occasion for another remark. The word *limnu* may come from a theme *limun*, as well from *liman*; from the *nomen mutati* as well as from the *nomen permanentis*. We have, in fact, in 17 II. 32.  $\text{𐎶} > \text{𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶} > \text{𐎶}$  *pu.'u lim.nu*, "an injured mouth;" followed by *li.s'a.an li.mut.tu* (for *limuntu*), "an injured tongue;" the text evidently speaks of wounds. The two adjectives are distinct in the feminine singular, which would be with active signification *li.mat.tu*, but are confounded in all other parts.

24. In some adjectives, however, of these forms the final vowel of the theme is not dropped. I have met *i.sa.ru* from *isar* for *issar*. The reason of this I take to be that the initial vowel is here virtually formed by contraction. The root is  $\text{𐎶} > \text{𐎶}$ ; and the *i* of the root and the *i* of the form combine together, so as to form an obstacle to further contraction. The retention of the vowel in *suturu* may be explained on the same principle, the root being  $\text{𐎶} > \text{𐎶}$  and the form *supgulu*, so that two *u*'s combine in the first syllable. It is less easy to account for *pumalu*; perhaps the *a* is long by nature, or perhaps the liquid third radical may have rendered it desirable that a vowel should precede it. I am the more inclined to







think this, because I find *ba.ta.lum* in 38 II. 74 r.; but in 50 I. 4, 28, I find *b'a.at.lu.ti*. The theme is *batil*, as the feminine form *ba.t'i.il.tu* in 172 B. 5 proves conclusively; the *a* before the *l* must therefore be euphonic.




25. The feminine theme may be said to be formed from the principal case of the masculine by changing *u* into *at* or *it*. I am not able to give any rule by which it can be absolutely determined which vowel should be used; and in most adjectives it cannot be known, the theme not being in use, and its vowel being dropped in the cases. On the whole, however, I find *at* to be more frequently used than *it*; and I believe it is exclusively used when the theme is a *nomen mutantis* of any of the conjugations, or a monosyllable derived from a surd root.

26. The feminine cases are generally formed by adding *tu*, *ti*, and *ta* to the theme, properly so called; sometimes, however, by adding *u*, *i*, and *a* to the feminine theme. The latter mode is the only one possible, if the theme be a monosyllable derived from a surd root. Thus from *sar*, "a king," we have *sarrat*, "a queen," in the theme, and *sarratu* in the principal case. From *hirat*, "a wife," on the contrary, we may have *hirtu*, though *hiratu* is also in use. So also from *napsat*, "a life," theme *napis*, we have sometimes *napsatu*, but more frequently *napistu*. Adjectives almost always form their feminine cases by adding *tu*, etc. to the proper theme, at least if the root be a perfect one, though they sometimes admit the other form also. Thus we have *saplitu*, "low," as well as *sapiltu*; *mahritu*, "old," as well as *mahirtu*. From *dan*, however, we could only have *dannatu*; and, on the contrary, from *eli* only *elitu*.

27. The addition of the feminine case-endings to the theme sometimes causes a change in its last letter. For instance, *n* is changed into *t*, as in the instances already given in § 23; the masculine case  $\langle \text{Y} \rangle \text{ lim.nu}$  corresponding to the feminine  $\text{E} \langle \text{K} \rangle \text{ } \text{Y} \langle \text{Q} \rangle \text{ } \text{Y} \text{ li.mut.tu}$ , for *limuntu*. So we have  $\text{E} \langle \text{K} \rangle \text{ } \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \rangle \text{ } \text{E} \langle \text{E} \rangle \text{ li.bit.tu}$ , for *libintu*, 49 B. 52. The feminine theme is *libnat*. It is probable that

*d* and *t* when final were also assimilated to *t* when they preceded it in the feminine cases; but the Assyrians did not in writing distinguish these letters from *t* when terminating a syllable.

28. The letters *s*, *z*, *š* and *z*, were sometimes, but not necessarily, changed to *l* before the *t* of the feminine cases. I believe, however, that none of the three last-mentioned letters is ever found preceding the *t*. It is changed either into *s* or into *l*. Thus in 17 II. 27 *l*. we have *ma.r'u.us.tu*, evidently the feminine of *mar.zu*. In 16 I. 76 we have *ma.r'u.us.ta*; and in a parallel text, 27 I. 92, we have *ma.ru.ul.ta*. In the upper part of 27 I. 10 we have *ris.ti* for *rižti*; and, again, in 12 I. 90 we have *ri.h'i.il.ti*, evidently for *rihizti*. As to *s* itself we have *lu.b'u.us.ti*, "clothing," 38 II. 48 *m.*, but much oftener   $\rightarrow$     $\rightarrow$   *lu.bul.ti*. A comparison of the text last quoted with 67 II. 62 must, I think, satisfy every one that these are the same word. I at one time read the initial character *tib*, and translated it, "what was dyed with;" and I perceive that Dr. Oppert and M. Ménant have done the same; but here we have *lubulti matisunu*, "clothing of their people," just as in 38 II. 48, 49 *m.* we had *lubusti ihutisunu*, "clothing of their godships." It follows that *birmi*, which usually follows *lubulti*, does not signify a dye-stuff but a material; no doubt "wool," *FepFlow*; compare *vellus* for *velves* (as *mollis* for *molvis*). The other word, which is commonly joined with *birmi*,   $\rightarrow$  , *ku.kum*, or *kum*? for I suspect that the first character is a nonphonetic determinative of names of plants, I take to mean "flax" or "cotton."

29. The Assyrians formed their plurals in several ways, of which I will treat in succession. Some plurals are formed by the addition of *n* for the theme, and  *nu* and  *ne* for the case ending, to the third case of the singular. These are sometimes written in full phonetic characters; but very often the theme, or the principal case of the singular, is accompanied by the character . This combination must be understood to denote the proper plural form, which the reader is presumed to know;—and this constitutes one of the chief

difficulties in reading Assyrian. Sometimes, however, as a guide to him  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$  is added, which I read *ne*; because, while *ne* and *ni* were expressed alike, *te* and *ti* were distinguished; and it is  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$  *te* which is used similarly to  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$  when the plural theme terminates in *t*.

30. Examples are  $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵}$   $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $\text{𐎶𐎵}$  *dup.p'a.a.ne*, "clay tablets," K. 116; where K. 131 has  $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵}$   $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $\text{𐎶𐎵}$  and K. 136  $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵}$   $\text{𐎶𐎵}$  only. All these tablets contain the same text. So we have  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $\text{𐎶𐎵}$  *hal.za.ne*, "castles." 32 I. 50 and  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $\text{𐎶𐎵}$  *hal.zu* with plural sign (to be read *halzan* or *halzane*) 146 B. 6, 7, 8. Observe that the  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$  prefixed to this word is a nonphonetic determinative. In 28 I. 1, 12, we have *har.s'a.a.nu*, "woods;" and in 145 B. 2, *har.sa.ne*, in the second case. In 39 II. 11 l., *pa'a.nu* from *pa'a* (§ 20) is "mouths," as the Accadian equivalent proves; but in 17 II. 31, *pa'an* is used for "a face;" it takes, however, a plural adjective. In 33 L. 6, *e.mu.q'a.an*, "powers," and in 30 II. 14 r., *ri.s'a.an*, "heads," are written in full. The singulars *emuq* and *ris* are in common use.

31. The plural in *an* only appears in a limited number of substantives, some of which admit also different plurals. It is, I believe, never used in the case of an adjective or of a substantive which is feminine by termination. Several plurals in *an* are, however, feminine, as well as the singulars from which they are formed, as appears from the adjectives which accompany them. Such are *emuqan*, *risan*, and *halzan*, cited in § 30. It would, therefore, be incorrect to say that *an* was the termination of the masculine plural. I believe that originally, in the language from which all of the Semitic family have diverged, the addition of *am* or *av* to the singular theme rendered it plural; and that *at* was added as a feminine termination to both singular and plural. Thus the theme alone was of either gender, as was the plural in *am* or *av*; but *at* in the singular and *avat* in the plural were distinctively feminine. From the original *am*, which was retained in Phœnician, came the Hebrew *im*, and the Assyrian and Himyaritic *an*; from



are equivalent forms (see § 26), or perhaps dialectic variations, of the principal case of *hirat*, "a wife," which is in the same relation to the former theme as *din* or *dinat*, "a law" or "judgment," to *da'an*, "a lawgiver" or "judge."

35. Besides the two plurals of which I have hitherto spoken, which I take to have been the original forms common to all the Semitic languages, there are other forms which the Assyrians appear to have developed after their separation from those who used the other languages of the family. One of these is the masculine plural in *ut* in the theme, and *utu* and *uti* in the cases. It differs from the feminine plural last mentioned in having *u* in place of *a* at the end of the theme, and  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶}$  'u for  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$  'a. The 'u is, however, oftener omitted than expressed, contrary to what takes place in the case of 'a.

36. This plural is used by all adjectives and by the *nomina mutantis* of all the conjugations. All these admit feminines by termination; and it may be laid down as a general rule that a masculine plural in *ut* can be changed into a feminine plural in *at*; or if not into that, into *et* (see § 37); but many feminine plurals in *at* do not admit masculine plurals in *ut*. For example, *sarra'ate* is good Assyrian for "queens," but for "kings" they would say *sarrane*; *sarruti* would come from *sarrut*, "a kingdom" or "reign." Examples of these plurals need not be given here. They will appear in the following chapter, and are everywhere to be met with.

37. Some feminine substantives and adjectives form their plurals in *etu*, *ete*, in place of *atu*, *ate*; or, perhaps, I should say, as well as in *atu*, *ate*. In 33 I. 10 we have 'a.na ru.q'e.e.ti, "to distant places (he fled);" in 153 B. 12 we have is.re.ti nam.ra.a.ti; the latter word is certainly an adjective in the feminine plural, "shining," or the like. Whatever, then, may be the meaning of *isreti*, it is clearly used as a substantive feminine and plural. Nebuchadnezzar speaks E. I. H. 3. 13 of having made and purified (?) the *isre'et* of Babylon, and I. 65 those of Borsippa. The spelling is not exactly the same in any two of the three passages, but there can be no reasonable doubt that the word is the same. These examples establish the existence of the feminine plural in *et*; and I confess




that I cannot affirm with confidence anything more than that it exists.

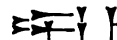
38. I may, however, mention a conjecture which has occurred to me. Can *et* be a feminine plural of adjectives used in place of *ât* when they are not accompanied by substantives, but are used as substantives, with "persons, places, or things," understood after them? This explains the *rugeti* of 33 I. 10, and the *muqalleti* of E. I. H. 10, 16, "may I not sinfully incline (*ar.si*, from 𐎠𐎺𐎠) to the blasphemous persons!" the feminine plural being used to express contempt. In a similar context in 68 I. 2. 30, *hi.te.ti*, "sinful persons," is substituted. It explains also the 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 of N.R. 8, where the adjective *an.ne.ti* cannot be attached to the substantive which follows it; but we must translate, "these (are) the countries;" and so in similar contexts. But how, it may be asked, can *isreti* be explained on this supposition? May it not be the feminine plural of 𐎠𐎺𐎠 *isar*, meaning "the straight places, the avenues?" "lightsome avenues" well suits the context in 153 B. 12; and Nebuchadnezzar may have said, "avenues of Babylon (and Borsippa) I caused to be made, and I cleansed, or kept clean." In a future chapter I will give reasons for assigning to 𐎠𐎺𐎠 the primary sense of "cleansing." It does not appear to me that the spelling of *isret* is inconsistent with its derivation from *isar*. So far as I have observed <<< *is* is preferentially used when a word begins with a radical letter, and 𐎠𐎺𐎠 when it begins with a servile *i*. In the Assyrian text, and in one of the Babylonian ones, the word begins with <<<; in the other Babylonian one the first syllable is expressed by 𐎠𐎺𐎠 <<< *e.is*, which, however, may have only meant that the initial *i* was very long, and which, on the authority of the other two passages, we may safely pronounce to be bad spelling. I do not recollect any place in which *et* occurs as a formative of the feminine plural, which is inconsistent with the theory which I have here proposed. Nevertheless, I am far from having the same confidence in it as I have in my other statements. I can only say that if the difference between *et* and *ât* be not

what I have suggested, I am quite unable to explain what that difference is.

39. A very common form of the Assyrian plural remains to be spoken of, namely, that in which no syllable is added to form it, but the plural cases are either the same as the singular, or modifications of the singular forms. The distinction between the two numbers is indeed sometimes made by a change of case, as will be shown in the following chapter; but even this is often not to be perceived, and the context becomes our only guide. I will first give examples in which the singular and plural are identical.

40. As this identity of the singular and plural is what most persons would consider very improbable, it is necessary to give some very clear instances of it. I do not rely on such a passage as *'i.lu.ti.su.nu*, "of their godships," already quoted in § 28. In fact, *'iluti* is here singular; derived nouns in *ut* not admitting a plural. In 15 I. 106, 113, it occurs joined to an adjective in the feminine singular. Neither do I rely on *lib.bi.k'u.un*, "your hearts," 9 I. 19, though I have myself no doubt that *libbi* is here plural, because words which are certainly singular occur elsewhere, accompanied by plural affixes. I will, however, bring forward clear instances of plurals, the same as the singular, accompanied by plural adjectives.

41. In 152 B. 2, 1, we have  *şuk.ki nak.lu.ti*, which I would translate "well-built houses;" but whatever be the exact translation, it is clear that *şukki* is here used as a plural, and equally clear that it is the second case of the singular. Again, we have in 41 B. 57, *mal.ki la.bi.ru.ti*, "ancient kings," another example that cannot be contested. And so in 41 I. 74, *s'u.u.ri ma.ru.ti*, "fatted oxen;" in 144 B. 10, 11, *yu.me ma.'h.du.ti*, "many days."

42. In other cases forms identical with the singular are substituted for the theme with a plural sign. Thus in 38 B. 67, we have  for "gates;" in another copy of the same inscription, 50 B. 74, *ba.bi* is substituted. This noun

admits also a plural in *at*. We have in 39 L. 22, *ba.ba.'a.ti*. Variations of this sort occur in almost all languages; and there does not appear to me to be any difference in the use of these plurals, so that one could be called definite and the other indefinite.

43. A similar example occurs as to  $\overline{\text{𐎶𐎵}}$   $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $\langle \overline{\text{𐎶𐎵}} \text{𐎶𐎵} \rangle$ , *ba.tul*, with the determinative of males prefixed, and the plural sign added, 21 I. 43; in 22 I. 109, *ba.tu.ù*, with the same determinative, but without the plural sign, is substituted. To both of these words is added *ba.tu.la.ti* with the determinative of females  $\overline{\text{𐎶𐎵}}$  prefixed. The meaning is obviously "pure boys" and "pure girls." Other instances occur in which two nouns are coupled together, one of which is evidently plural from its form, while the two are evidently in the same number. Even if the passage 21 I. 43 did not exist, we might infer that *ba.tu.ù* in 22 I. 109 was plural, from its being coupled with *ba.tu.la.ti*, which is manifestly so.

44. The same principle applied to the formula "oxen" and "sheep" gives us two more plurals of this sort. In 67 II. 41 we have  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$ , the monogram for an ox, followed by  $\overline{\text{𐎶𐎵}}$ , the plural sign, and  $\langle \overline{\text{𐎶𐎵}} \text{𐎶𐎵} \rangle$ ,  $\text{ù}$ , the copulative conjunction; then comes *z'e.e.ne*, "sheep," which the context proves to be a plural. In 41 I. 82 we have, in place of this, *rag.ge ù ze.ne*, and in E.I.H. 2. 28 *r'a.ag.ga ù z'e.e.nim*. The construction, it will be observed, in the last two passages, is different. Surely, it is a fair inference that *raggi'* is plural as well as *z'e.e.ni*. I am rather disposed to draw a further inference, namely, that *'alap*, which corresponds to  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$ , was only used in the singular number, and that *rattu* was used as its plural. On this question, however, I do not think that I have evidence which warrants a *positive* opinion.

45. The above examples, to which might be added many others, must, I think, satisfy every one that the Assyrians had a plural of the same form with the singular; though there was some slight difference in the use of the cases. I now proceed to consider plurals which are modifications of the singular, not identical with it. The principle of these

modifications is that in dissyllables, the last of which is not lengthened by a quiescent letter, the singular inclines to have the accent on the former syllable, and the plural on the latter. Monosyllabic themes admit no such modification; nor those in which, the middle radical being weak and the two vowels the same, they coalesce in the declension into one, as *zi'in*, whence *zenu*. Nor again is this distinction possible where the last vowel of the theme is necessarily long, as in *batul*, § 43.

46. As a general rule, however, such a noun as *pigil* would add its case-ending, in the singular to *pigil* with the accent on the first syllable, and would thus form *pighu*, etc., with the second vowel suppressed; while the plural would retain the second vowel; and would perhaps admit also another change consequent on this. For example *nakru* is used for "an enemy," but *nakiri* for "of the enemies," the theme being *nakir*.


47. I have spoken of this distinction being rendered more marked by another change consequent on this. The Assyrians were accustomed to double the consonant of an accented syllable. This is the reason why the second radical is commonly doubled in the present of the first conjugation, as in *i.qab.bi*, "he says," and numerous other instances, which must not be supposed to be Pihel forms. In conformity with this usage the last consonant of the noun is often doubled in the plural. Thus, in 43 I. 43, we have *sal.gu na.hal.lim*, "the snows of the valleys;" while in the parallel text, 40 I. 77, we have *na.h.hi*, "of the valley."

48. Where the first radical was a very weak one, that admitted of being altogether dropped, it was, I think, dropped in plurals of this kind. Instances of this are necessarily rare; and I am not sure that there are sufficient to establish the usage. I remark, however, that in the same nouns that could drop the initial syllable in the plural, that syllable is dropped in the singular when the noun is in what Hebrew grammarians call the state of construction. It may have appeared strange that I have spoken of the noun, when without a case-ending, as the theme and not as the construct form. I have done this

advisedly. It will be seen in the following chapter that the second case is repeatedly used,—almost, if not quite, as often as the theme,—where the Hebrews would use the construct form; and it will be seen also that the theme is repeatedly used where the Hebrews would use the absolute form. If I were, therefore, to give the name of construct form to the theme, I should be using a term that would certainly mislead. I think, however, that the theme was in some instances pronounced differently when it did and when it did not indicate a state of construction; that the theme *piḡil*, for instance, was pronounced *piḡil* when in construction, and *pígil* when not so; and I think that, consequent upon this difference, when the first radical was so weak that the first syllable might be dropped, it was dropped when the noun was in construction.

49. Taking, then, *'agal* or *'agil* as a type of such a noun as I have described, I think we should have for the theme when absolute *'ágal* or *'ágil*; for the theme in construction, *gal* or *gil*; for the first case of the singular, *'aglu*; and for the first case of the plural, *galu* or *gilu*. Such is the conclusion at which I have arrived by induction; but I give it doubtingly; the examples being few, and what others would probably explain differently from what I do. I think there are three nouns following this type which occur with and without the initial syllable, namely, those which signify “a son,” “a servant,” and “a bull.” From the first we have *'a.b'i.il.su*, “his son,” E. I. H. 1. 33; *'ab.lam*, “son,” 51 I. No. 1, 2. 16, in one of the copies, the other having the usual monogram for “son.” Without the initial syllable we have, I think, *ba.lu.sa*, “her sons,” in 66 II. 5. It must be owned, however, that this passage is obscure; and others would interpret it otherwise. On Hebrew and Greek transcriptions but little reliance can be placed, so far as the vowels are concerned; but I am disposed to take “Baladan” as authority for the theme being *'abal* as well as *'abil*.

50. As respects the second noun, we have in 95 B. 6, *'ar.du* for “servant,” before *kan.su*, “obedient,” where 145 B. 24 has the monogram  $\text{→} \text{→} \text{→}$ ; also in 10 II. 15 *l.* we have *'ar.da*, “a servant,” in the third case. On the other hand, in 1 L. 1,

we have, I think (but I admit that there is no positive proof, and others take it differently), *rid* for "servant of (Assur)." As for the third word, *r'i.i.mu* is given in Porter's transcript of portions of the E. I. H. inscription as the equivalent of , 3. 59. This group certainly signifies "bulls." On the other hand, *'ar.mi* is a singular noun in the second case, denoting some male animal; and it appears to me probable that it is the singular of the other word. A fourth example may perhaps be the plural *ni.si* from *anis*, see § 57. This is a case in which the few examples bearing on the question appear to throw light on one another. Without, therefore, maintaining that the positions advanced in the last three sections are established, I think that they are highly probable; and I state them here in order that they may be tested by further examples, should such occur.

51. It remains for me to speak of the dual number of nouns; but here again I confess that I can only speak doubtfully. It appears to me that a dual theme in *a*, formed precisely as the third case of the singular, must be admitted to exist. I have only met with it, however, in a few nouns; *qa.ta*, "hands," (where the *t* is radical, for we have the plurals *qa.ta.tu*, *qa.ta.te* in 6 II. 40, 41), *se.pa*, "feet," *bir.ka*, "knees," and perhaps *ma.ta* or *ma.da*, "peoples." I once thought that a distinction might be established between the second case of the dual and that of the plural; but I rather think now that such is not the case.

*Appendix on the possessive pronominal affixes.*

52. It has been necessary in several places to assume a knowledge on the part of the reader of the possessive pronominal affixes attached to nouns. A complete knowledge of these affixes is essential to a grammatical knowledge of the inflexions of nouns; and I believe that no complete and correct list of them has yet been published. I will therefore endeavour to supply the deficiency in the following sections.

53. The affixes attached to the case endings are always

expressed by the addition of one or two characters to those which express the noun. They are the following:

1. s.  $\text{𐎶}$  's; instead of which we find more commonly after the second case  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $\text{ya}$ , "my."
2. s.m.  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $ka$ , and f.  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $ki$ , "thy."
3. s.m.  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$  or  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $su$ , "his," f.  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$  or  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $sa$ , "her."
1. p.  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $ni$ , "our."
2. p.m.  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $ku.nu$ ; f.  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $ki.na$ , "your."
3. p.m.  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $su.nu$  or  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $s'u.un$ ; f.  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $si.na$  or  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $s'i.in$ , "their."

$\text{𐎶𐎵}$  is used for the affix of the 3. p. of both genders; it is interchanged with  $s'u.un$ , cf. 164 B. 23 and 165 B. 17; and with  $s'i.in$ , cf. 38 B. 69 and 46 B. 76.

54. The affix of the 3 s.m. after an unaccented *u* is often shortened to *s*; this happens most commonly after the feminine first case *tu*; and the *tus* is then expressed by  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$ .

On the other hand, after an accented *u*, an additional character is generally introduced after the first case, as it would be written without the affix. This character is  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$  or  $\text{𐎶}$  before 'a, the affix of the first person singular (which, however, is not to be read as an additional syllable) and before those of the second and third persons  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $uk$  and  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $us$  respectively. Before the affix of the first person plural I should from analogy expect  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$   $un$ , but I have as yet met with no example of it.

55. Although this reduplication, which may be compared with that of § 48, may be used after the *u* of the first case whenever it is not preceded by a *t*, formative of the feminine; there are some words, after which it occurs, which should be particularly noticed. Such are the prepositions, *kirbu*, "within," *ziru*, "upon," and *panu*, "before," which are used before pronominal affixes in place of the *kirib*, *zir*, and *pan*, which are used before nouns. Examples are *zi.r'u.u'a*, "upon me," 41 I. 45; *pan.uk.ki*, "before thee (f.)," 66 II. 2. 7, 8; in a similar inscription addressed to Nebo, 85 L. 15, *pan.uk.ka*;

*k'i.ir.b'u.us.sa*, "within it," E. I. H. 10, 12; *zi.r'u.us.su.un*, "upon them," 39 I. 78. Such also is the noun of non-existence *yanu*, whence *ya.n'u.u'a*, "I am not," 42 II. 14 r.; and in the two preceding lines, *ya.n'uk.ka*, "thou art not," *ya.n'u.us.su*, "he is not." I may also notice *ki.bi.t'u.uk.ka*, "it is thy will" or "in pursuance of thy will," E. I. H. 10, 1; *ki.bi.tus.su*, "in pursuance of his will," 16 B. 141. The *t* of this word is radical. I think it is invariably used of the divine will, which was not to be resisted.

56. The affixes annexed to the theme are the same as those annexed to the case endings, except for the first person singular; and for the third person in all its forms, when the theme ends in a dental or sibilant. In the last case,  $\text{ṣ}$  is substituted for  $s$  in the affix; the preceding consonant being sometimes retained, sometimes omitted, but most frequently changed into another  $\text{ṣ}$ . That is to say, the affixes of the third person given above can never follow  $\text{ṣ}|\text{}$ ,  $\text{ṣ}|\text{ṣ}$ ,  $\text{ṣ}|\text{ṣ}$ ,  $\text{ṣ}|\text{ṣ}$ ,  $\text{ṣ}|\text{ṣ}$ ,  $\text{ṣ}|\text{ṣ}$ , or  $\text{ṣ}|\text{ṣ}$ ; or any character, the value of which terminates with any of these; but after these letters  $\text{ṣ}|\text{ṣ}$  is substituted for  $\text{ṣ}|\text{ṣ}$ ,  $\text{ṣ}|\text{ṣ}$  for  $\text{ṣ}|\text{ṣ}$ , and  $\text{ṣ}|\text{ṣ}$  for  $\text{ṣ}|\text{ṣ}$ . Examples are *hi.r'i.it.ṣu*, "its ditch," E.I.H. 6. 60, or *hi.ri.ṣu*, 65, I. 2. 7, or *hi.r'i.is.ṣu*. E.I.H. 6. 30. All these are used in parallel texts, and are evidently equivalent. The last of the three forms is, however, the commonest. Other examples are *ru.pu.uṣ.ṣu*, "its breadth," from *rupus*, 7 I.F. 23; *e.pi.ṣu.un*, "their work," from *epis*, 132 B. 18. It is needless to multiply them, as they are everywhere to be met with. To the rule here laid down there are no exceptions; and the student, if he thinks that he sees it violated, may be quite sure that he is mistaken as to his reading of the text.

57. The affix of the first person attached to a theme which ends in a consonant is generally  $i$ ; sometimes  $a$  is substituted, but only, I believe, in Babylonian inscriptions. Examples are *'a.ba*, "my father," E. I. H. 7, 48; *b'i.e.la*, "my lord," 66 I. 18. This affix, whether  $i$  or  $a$ , is not represented by a separate character, but by a change of the last



character of the theme, which, with this affix, is the same as the second or third case. Examples are very numerous; but they appear to have been overlooked, or set down as mistakes, by others. I will give a very few out of a long list. In 151 B. 16, Sargon says, 'ak.zu.ra 'us.ma.ni, "I prepared my camp." Five lines after, speaking of his enemy, he says, ik.zu.ra 'us.m'a.an.su, "he prepared his camp." These translations may be only approximate; but there can be no doubt as to the "I," "my," "he," and "his." Again, b'i.in.ti 'ad.din.su, 145 B. 18, is, "my daughter I gave to him;" 'u.s'a.az.bil ra.ma.ni, 49 I. 4, 11, is, "I caused myself to carry." Both these texts are correct as they stand; and the *emendations* that have been proposed would render them the contrary. We have also qa.ti for "my hand," 10 I. 98; mu.ti, "my husband, 10 II. 4 l, 'as.sa.ti, "my wife," do. 10 l. This last is for an.sa.ti, the feminine theme of anis, "a man," from which I derive the plural ni.si mentioned in § 50. All these nouns occur with other affixes, qa.aš.su, "his hand," 49 B. 32, m'u.uš.su, "her husband, 10 II. 2 l.; and 'as.sa.ti.su, "to his wife," do. 9 l.

58. The use of šu for "her" in this ancient text must not be passed over. We have also 'at.ta for "thou (woman);" do. 10 l. This fragment of the ancient laws of Assyria is probably the oldest text in the language that we possess. The tablet, indeed, is not older than the seventh century B.C.; but it is a transcript of one of the highest antiquity. Now, it is very remarkable that, in the Hebrew Pentateuch, the masculine pronoun of the third person singular is often used for the feminine; that is to say, if we go by the written letters and neglect the Qeri and vowel points. The distinction between the pronouns of the second person, masculine, and feminine is also in several places only made in the vowel points. I think it is a fair inference from this, that in the earliest stage of the language "thou" and "thy," masculine and feminine, had but one representative; and that "his" and "her" were expressed alike, as they were in Latin, and as they still are in the languages derived from it.



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