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[NEW SERIES.]

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JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Contributions towards a Glossary of the Assyrian Language.
BY H. F. TALBOT.

PART II.

140. **Guza.** 𐎠-𐎵 𐎠, a Throne.—Very frequent in the inscriptions. It always has the sign 𐎠, the determinative of “wooden objects,” prefixed to it. I believe it to be a mere dialectic variation of the Hebrew 𐤍𐤐𐤃 solium regium (etiam Dei.—Jerem. iii. 17). In *shurrat sarti-ya, sha as guza sarti rabish usibu*; *In the beginning of my reign, when I sat proudly on my royal throne.*—Obel. line 22. *Izpa u guza likim-su*; *Sceptre and throne may they take from him.*—R 42, 73. *Guza abi-su*; *his father's throne.*—2 R 38, 32. *Guza billuti*; *throne of power.*—R 39, 9. *Guza nimidi*; *a palanquin.*—R 39, 36.
141. **Izpa.** 𐎠 𐎠, Sceptre.—I think that the syllable 𐎠 is was sounded in this word, because it is also written 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 *ishapa*. And I think that the sign for “wood” 𐎠 was purposely omitted because the word itself began with that sign, so that it was present by implication. *Nabo nasi izpa illuti*; *Nabo who carries the golden sceptre.*—Obel. line 11. *Tamikh izpa*; *holder of the sceptre.*—R 14, 56. *Izpa isarti*; *the sceptre of justice.*—B.M. 38. 5. *Ishapa isarti usatmikh gatu-ya*; *he hath caused my hand to hold the sceptre of justice.*—E.I.H. i. 45. *Sha idinnam ishapa isarti*; *who has given me the sceptre of justice.*—E.I.H. iv. 19.

142. **Agu.** $\Upsilon\Upsilon \text{ 𐎠-𐎡 } \langle$, a Crown; *pl.* Agie, $\Upsilon\Upsilon \text{ 𐎠-𐎡 } \triangle \text{ 𐎠-𐎡}$.—
 Agu raba sha reshdu-sha; *the great crown upon her head.*—
 Slab K, 162. In 2 R 25, 23 and 44, 31, $\Upsilon\Upsilon \text{ 𐎠-𐎡 } \text{ 𐎠-𐎡}$ is
 explained by 𐎠-𐎡 mir, which is known to mean “a crown.”
Examples of the plural:—Agie belluti; *crowns of royalty.*—
 R 8, No. 6, line 11. Nadin izpa u agie; *giver of sceptres and*
crowns.—Fig. i. 2.

In 2 R 38, 52 the images of Marduk and Zarpanita are adorned by the king with crowns of royalty (*agie billuti*) and crowns with lofty peaks? (*agie garni tsirati*).

143. **Agü.** $\Upsilon\Upsilon \text{ 𐎠-𐎡 } \text{ 𐎠-𐎡}$, a Crown.—This word is the same as the last; a mere change in the fashion of spelling in the time of Ashurbanipal. It occurs in a very curious passage in 2 R 38, 45, a prayer for the king's happiness: “Sha sar agü (*of the lord of the crown*), tami-su lu-ar(ka), (*may the days be long!*) shanati-su lirika, (*may his years be prolonged!*) bul-su as tuki lu-bullul, (*may he live his life in happiness!*) tsirrit shamie rapsuti libbita-su,—*the summit of high heaven may he behold (it)!* Sabita (*the seventh*) [the rest is lost or uncertain].” This remarkable passage evidently refers to a future life in heaven reserved for the king. For, having prayed for earthly felicity and length of life, the scribe now speaks of heaven; therefore no doubt he is asking for a heavenly life.

After the word *Sabita* $\text{𐎠-𐎡} \text{ 𐎠-𐎡} \text{ 𐎠-𐎡}$, *the seventh*, the tablet is broken; which is a pity, as perhaps the scribe was about to speak of “the seventh heaven.”

Some words in the above require explanation. *Arka*, Heb. ארך longus; *li-rika*, Heb. ריק and Assyrian ruku longinquus, remotus. “Years” is written as usual $\text{𐎠-𐎡} \text{ 𐎠-𐎡}$ *Mu*, with a plural sign: this P.C. word I have replaced by *shanati*. *Libbita*, written $\text{𐎠-𐎡} \text{ 𐎠-𐎡} \text{ 𐎠-𐎡}$, is from the Heb. נבט to behold, of which the future is יביט and the imperative קבט (Furst's Lex. 897); from which we

get the optative *libit*. The verb means "to behold," with the accusative following.—Job xxxv. 5, Genesis xv. 5. The passage of Genesis illustrates and remarkably confirms the explanation which I have given: "Look now toward heaven and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them; and he said unto him, So shall thy seed be!" **הבט נא השמימה** look now toward heaven! Here the verb is used exactly as in the Assyrian writing—of looking up to heaven. Hebrew: Ebit ha shamima! *behold the heavens!* Assyrian, in the optative: (l)ibbita shamie! *may he behold the heavens!* And also in the fine passage in Job xxxv. 5: "Look unto the heavens and see; and behold the clouds which are higher than thou!" the verb employed is **הבט** as before.

144. **Aga.** A King.—Derived from *Agu* (see preceding articles). *Aga nu-bila; king everlasting* (epithet of Marduk in R 70).

145. **Kudur.** **𒊕 𒊕𒊕 𒊕𒊕**, a Crown, or some kind of royal head-dress.—This word was altered by the Greeks into *Kidapris*, which is explained by Liddell and Scott as a Persian head-dress, probably the same as the royal *Tiapa*.

Kudur as *reshdu-ya assim*, *I placed the "Kudur" on my head; usassab ramani, and I seated myself.*—Bl. Stone of Esarhaddon, R 50, col. iv. 10. *Assim* from the Heb. *sim* **שׂים** *ponere*.

146. **Sakkanakku.** **𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪**, the High Priest (only at Babylon).—This word is derived in my opinion from **סגן** *sagan* (a priest) and *ukku* (great), making *sagan-ukku*, the high priest. **סגן** is only used in the Bible during and after the Babylonian captivity. It is clearly a Babylonian word. Daniel was appointed by the King of Babylon *rab saganin* or chief *sagan*. In that capacity he had rule "over all the wise men of Babylon."—Dan. ii. 48.

Ukku is a Scythian or Median and probably also Proto-Chaldean word, meaning "great" (Norris's Scythian Glossary, p. 181, in Journ. R. A. S., Vol. xv.). Moreover the capital city of Maniah, "king of the rebellious Dahæ," was called

Ukku (R40, 3). But the Dahæ were a Median or Scythian race, and *ukku* only meant the "great city" of that kingdom. In line 13 we read "He fled from Ukku his royal city and went to a great distance from it. I took and destroyed the city of Ukku and carried off its spoil."

147. **Ishakku.** 𐎠𐎶𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎶𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎶𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎶𐎢𐎺, a Priest.—R52, 6; and in the Birs Nim. inscr., R51, 3.

Ishakku tairi, *the high priest*. I think it probable that the termination *akku* meant "great," as in *Sakkanakku* (see last article).

In Heb. 𐤇𐤄𐤃 is *senex* = *πρεσβυτερος presbyter*. I do not find it used for *priest*. It may have been so, however, in Babylonian. If so, it was perhaps the root of *Ish-akku*, or *Ishakku*.

148. **Imga.** 𐎠𐎶𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎶𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎶𐎢𐎺, a Priest, of the order of Magi.—The father of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, was a priest of high rank, who bore the title of 𐎠𐎶𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎶𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎶𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎶𐎢𐎺 Rubu Imga, which is also written 𐎠𐎶𐎢𐎺 Imga, where 𐎠𐎶𐎢𐎺 is a monogram for Rubu.

See the inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 in R, plate 68. The first letter 𐎠𐎶𐎢𐎺 is sometimes omitted, and the word is spelt 𐎠𐎶𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎶𐎢𐎺 Im-ga.

This personage, the father of Nabonidus, was the Rab Mag mentioned in Jeremiah xxxix. 3, who entered Jerusalem in triumph, along with many other princes of Babylon, in the days of Nebuchadnezzar. If not the same, at any rate he bore the same title and rank. *Imga mutninnu, most liberal high priest*, is a title of Nebuchadnezzar in R52, 11. *Muda imga* occurs in the Birs N. inscr., R51, 4.

149. **Mutninnu.** 𐎠𐎶𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎶𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎶𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎶𐎢𐎺, Generous, Liberal, full of Gifts.—*Imga mutninnu*, R52, 11, a title of Nebuchadnezzar; see last article. *Ashri kansu mutninnu*, R51, line 2 of the Senk. inscr.—here the word is spelt as before, except 𐎠𐎶𐎢𐎺 in the place of 𐎠𐎶𐎢𐎺.

From the Chald. *mutnin* מתנ gifts, plural of מתנא. *Ex.*, Daniel ii. 48, "Then the king made Daniel a great man, and gave him many great gifts." מתנ רברבן *mutnin rabrabin*.

Another form of the word is מתן donum; whence a generous man is called איש מתן. All from the root תן or נתן to give.

Another title given to Nebuchadnezzar on account of his great generosity, "mustihu baladam," dispenser of gifts, will be considered in the next article.

150. **Balat.** 𐤁𐤏 𐤁, a Gift.—Also written *Balada* and *Balathu*. See Art. 36. That article requires correction. In 2 R 66, Part 2, we read: "O Beltis, I have built for thee a splendid temple and altar. Grant me in return for it a long life!" Grant! is expressed by the word *tin* 𐤏𐤍, which is exactly the Hebrew תן *tin* (give!), the imperative of *natan* נתן to give, which drops the *n* in the tenses, like most other verbs which begin with that letter. *Ex.*, תן לחכם "give to a wise man!" Proverbs ix. 9. But instead of *tin*, another tablet in the British Museum has *balat* 𐤁𐤏 𐤁 in this passage, although the rest of the inscription is the same in both tablets. Hence we perceive that *balat* is a verb, in the imperative mood, meaning *give!* or *grant!*

At first this may seem surprising, if not doubtful, but if we examine we find other proofs that *balat* meant a grant or gift. Thus in Phill. i. 4, Nebuchadnezzar, among other titles of excellence which he assumes, calls himself Mustihu baladam, giver of gifts; and this corresponds exceedingly well with his boast in another inscription (R 52, 11), that he was *Imga mutninnu*, "the generous high priest" (see No. 149). Hence in Senk. ii. 18, we should translate *balut tami rukuti*, "the gift of a long life" (here the other cylinder reads *balathu*). And in Birs N. ii. 20, *baladam dara* is "the gift of long time."

That 𐤏𐤍 *tin* is equivalent to *balat* or *balathu* is further

proved by No. 152 of the Syllabary (quoted by Norris, p. 97):
 >|< >|< >|< . >|< . >|< >|< >|< >|<, which means that
 >|< was sounded *ti-in* (i.e. *tin*), and its meaning is the same
 as *balathu*.

Another and very remarkable example of the word *balat*,
 “a gift,” occurs in the E.I.H. col. 2, line 1: *Sha baladi-ya*
lu-tippish, when I had made my offering [at the shrine of
 Marduk]. The verb here employed, *ebus* (fecit), becomes in
 the *t* conjugation *etibus* (fecit). And the preter-perfect tense
 is *etibbus*, *etippish*, &c. (feceram).

¶ *Balat*, a gift, must be distinguished from >|< >|< *balat*,
 “life,” which occurs in the next article, with the variant
 reading >|< >|< *bullat*.

151. **Akhadat.** >|< >|< >|< >|< >|< Some.—Agrees with the
 Heb. וְאֵלֶּיךָ *unus*. So the Greeks say *Εἰνοι* “some,” derived
 from ‘*Ev* “one.” And in French, *les uns* “some;” *ex. gr.*, *les*
uns dissent, *some say*. It is strange that the Lexicons do not
 give this easy and natural etymology of the word *Εἰνοι*,
 especially as the analogy of the German is so strong;
viz., plur. *einige*, “some.” The German has likewise the
 singular, which the Greek has not, *ex. gr.*, *Er hatte einiges geld*,
 “he had *some* money.”

Akhadat was first explained I believe by Norris (dict. p. 26):
 “The rebels came to me, and embraced my feet. Some of them
 I slew; some of them I pardoned (or let live); some of them I
 expelled from the place.” *Akhadat dukū*; *akhadat bullat*;
akhadat shazibkani ebus.—R19, 81. The words are >|< >|<
duku, I slew; >|< >|< *balat*, I let live (with a variant
 reading >|< >|< *bullat*). >|< >|< >|< >|< *shazib*
kani, expelled, driven away. The last word is derived from
shazib שָׁזַב *eripere*, *eruere* [homines]; to remove forcibly,
 expel, root out. Runaways or exiles were called *mushazib*
 מוּשָׁזַב.—Buxtorf, p. 2358.

¶ The letter >|< is very frequently *Zib*. Its other value is *Lip*.

152. **Bulthut.** 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫, Alive.—A good example of this word will be found in R 14, 75: “Ten (*buffaloes?*) I slew; four I took alive (*bulthut*). Their skins and their horns, together with the live buffaloes (*bulthut*) to my city Ashur I brought home.”—Diku u bulthu, *killed and taken alive*.—Beh. line 83, in the account of a battle. The root is 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫, *bul, life*.


¶ *Bulthut* is the participle of the verb *Bullith*, “to give life,” which occurs in 2 R 36, 17.



153. **Isinati.** 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫, otherwise written 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫, Religious Festivals.



Isinati-su as arkhi 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫 u arkhi 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫 lu-ashkun; *I fixed his annual festivals in the 11th month Sebat and in the 6th month Elul (January and August)*.—R 23, 134. This is said of the god Ninev.


Another example is found in Phill. iii. 7. The King honors Nebo and Marduk, and says that he has appointed “*isinati-sun damgati*,” *their holy festival days*; “*hakit-sun rabi*,” *and their great solemnities*. The word *hakit* is the plural of 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫 *hag*, which in Assyrian as in Hebrew signifies a religious festival, and also the victim there sacrificed.

154. **Nimidi.** 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫, The *guza nimidi* was the king's travelling Palanquin (see No. 140). I believe no etymology has yet been offered of this word. I will, therefore, suggest that it comes from the Hebrew נִרְמַי *num*, to sleep. The great distances the monarch had to travel when he accompanied his army on foreign expeditions must have rendered some *lectica* necessary, on which he could sleep, or at any rate repose at full length. This view of the word *nimidi* is, I think, confirmed by the verbal gloss in 2 R 24, 20, where *mazzar nimidi* is rendered *iskibbu* (*lectica, cubile, lectus*), from Hebrew שָׁכַב *cubare, dormire*. A similar substantive, *askup* or *askupat*, is used for a flat stone *lying down* and covering an object. So we say in English “the *sleepers* of a railway.”

In Opp. Khors. 131, among other articles of plunder are enumerated a *Guza* of gold, a *Nimatti* of gold, a *Sceptre* of gold, &c. (in that order). This *nimatti*  may be the same as the *guza nimidi*, since it is mentioned immediately after the *guza*.

155. **Ikribi.** , Prayers, accompanied by Sacrifices.—Ashur ikribi-su ishimmi; *Ashur will hear his prayers*.—Inscr. of Bellino, last line. In the invocation to Beltis, 2 R 66, 7, that goddess has the title *Shamat ikribi*, “she who hears our prayers.” *Shamat*  is the *feminine* participle of Heb. שמע to hear. Many other *female* participles occur in that inscription.

The singular *ikribu*  is explained in a bilingual list in 2 R 31, 24, by the monogram , which means *a sacrifice*. The same word is found in the Heb. הקריב *ekrib*, fut. יקריב *ikrib*, which is the Hiphil of קרב, and means *to sacrifice*.—Furst, p. 1255. The substantive formed from it is קרבן *korban*, *a sacrifice*; a word well known to the English reader from its occurrence in Mark vii. 11, where it is taken in a wider sense.

156. **Mir.** , a Crown.—The version which I have given (see Trans. R.S.L., Vol. 8, p. 244) of the tablet K, 162, concerning the jewels of the goddess Ishtar, has been considerably improved by a correction made by Mr. Norris, p. 355. It will now commence thus:

1. The first time I deprived her of an ornament,
2. Was taken off the great Crown upon her head.

The Assyrian has *Mir raba sha reshdu-sha*.

When the jewels are restored, this one has a different name—*Agu raba sha reshdu-sha*. But *Agu* means a crown (see No. 142); therefore *Mir* also means a crown. The version gains very much by this, for assuredly the *Crown* of the goddess was her principal glory, and (in my version) it was not found anywhere. But now we find it, and on her head. The proof

which Norris gives is from the bilingual lists in 2 R 25, 23, and 44, 31—𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 rendered 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶. That is, *Mir* in P.C. is *Agu* in Assyrian. But *Agu* means a crown.

Having thus established that the *Mir* worn by the goddess was her *crown*, let us consider what is the origin of the word? It is, I think almost indubitable that it is the Persian *Mitra* or *Crown*, which was very much ornamented with divers colours, as we see by this line of Theocritus (xvii. 19):

Περσαισι βαρυς θεος αιολομιτραϊς.

Herodotus says (i. 195) "The Babylonians wear mitres on their heads"—*τας κεφαλαις μιτρησι αναδεδονται*.

In Cyprus only the kings wore mitres (Herod. vii. 90). This is sufficient to show that it was a head-dress of honour.





The *mir raba* of the goddess may have been a jewelled mitre. The *μιτρη* was worn in Asia by women as well as men, else it would not have been adopted by the Greek women,



πεπλοι ποδηρεις, επι καρα δεσται ΜΙΤΡΑ.

(description of Pentheus disguised as a woman.)—Eur. Bacch. 831.






















In common conversation *Mitra* would easily be contracted into *Mir*, just as *pater* became *père*; *mater*, *mère*; and *frater*, *frère*. A closer instance is seen in the name of the god *Mithra*: Persian, *Mihr*, the Sun.















157. **Nu-tarda.** 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶. A Proto-Chaldæan word, which probably means "a man without authority," "an ordinary person," "a poor man."—It is put in contrast with *aklu*, a man of rank, which is the Hebrew לְכָל יָדוֹ *potens*. This P.C. word designates a class of men in some of the Michaux inscriptions in the British Museum. It occurs again on tablet 169, where *Tarda* 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 is explained by the Assyrian word *Dinu* 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶, which I consider to be the Hebrew אֲדוֹן, Adon = lord, signor, seigneur; or to be at any rate derived from the same root with אֲדוֹן, which is also cognate with אָדָן to rule (regere, moderari, imperare.—*Gesen.*).

In the next line of tablet 169 we find our word *Nu-tarda*  explained by  *val dinu* (not a *Dinu*). For,  *nu* in P.C. and  *val* in Assyrian, both mean "not." From the preceding bilingual gloss this much at least is certain, viz., that *nu-tarda* is a negative term, and the contrary of *tarda*. And from what I have said above it appears to mean "an ordinary person," "not a man of rank," "a poor man," &c. &c.

¶ The Hebrew  to govern, and  *Adon*, *Lord*, seem to be cognate with the Greek *Δυν*, the root of *δυναμαι*, *δυναμις*, *δυναστης*, &c. &c.

158. **Nu-kimmut.** — Unassailable, unconquerable.—

In R 35, No. 2, line 2, Nebo bears the title of                 which Oppert reads Son of the god Nukimmut. I have come round to that opinion, having mistaken the meaning at first. In R 17, 2, the same epithet is applied to Ninev; but instead of   "Son," we find   *bukur*, "eldest son," the Hebrew .

In 2 R 67, 67, Nebo bears the same epithet; but now   is replaced by     *rubu*, "chief" or "great." I presume that this is equivalent to *bukur*, "eldest." The above explanation of   is due to Norris, p. 374, who found it used as an epithet of Ninev, "eldest son of Bel," in R 32, 16. The epithet *nu-kimmut* consists of two words, for they are sometimes found in separate lines. And since *nu* has no other meaning than "not," the word  *nu-kimmut* must mean "the god who is not *kimmut*," and the latter word has all the appearance of a participle from the verb *kim*  or . This verb signifies *insurgere*, and I would, therefore, translate  *nu-kimmut* by "the god who is unassailable," or "against whom resistance is vain." It is remarkable that the same phrase exists in Hebrew, only it is applied to a king and not to a god. We read in Proverbs xxx. that a king is *al kum*   *אל קום*, which Schindler, p. 1602,

explains "contra quem nemo audet insurgere," from לָמַן *non*, and קוּמַ *surgere*. Now, if we replace the Hebrew לָמַן by the P.C. *Nu*, and *kum* by the participial form *kimmut*, we obtain the epithet *nu-kimmut*.

In the remarkable inscription of Sargina, B.M. 33, 6, he calls himself, the fierce destroyer, "sha emukan tsirati >𐎶𐎵 Nukimmut ishruku-su, 𐎶𐎵 kuti tsirri ustibbu idussu; to whom the god Nukimmut has given his lofty 'emukan,' and has placed his long arrows in his hand." Here, I think, *ustibbu* is the Chald. שָׁתַבּ "to give," "to communicate." But the meaning of *emukan* is doubtful. It sometimes seems to mean Arms or Weapons; sometimes other things. But since it is followed in this passage by 𐎶𐎵 *kuti tsirri*, "long arrows," it is probable that we should take *emukan* also in the sense of *weapons*. The passage is very like one in Tigl. Pil. vi. 57: "The gods Ninev and Sidu gave to my hands their piercing arrows and their long spears." In Sargina's inscription, instead of Ninev and Sidu, we have Nukimmut, whose name (the unconquerable) may, I think, be safely paraphrased as "the god of War."

¶ On further consideration I think that the *Emukan* in the above quoted passage, B.M. 33, 6, are "Spears." Compare the clause in Sargina's prayer to the god of war (Opp. Exp. p. 333), where he says, speaking of himself in the third person, "Protect his horses! preserve his chariots! make to fly far his unconquerable spears! and make his arrows sharp, to destroy his enemies!" The only part of this which I need analyse is that regarding the Spears. It stands thus: *Sutali-su emukan lashanan!* Now, לָמַן *tal* is the proper verb in Hebrew for "throwing a Spear." Schindler renders it *jactavit, vibravit, projecit*. In 1 Sam. xviii. 11, Saul threw his spear with the intention of slaying David. The original Hebrew text has לָמַן *tal*, "he threw." It is plain, then, that the imperative *Tal* is Throw [the spear]. But the imperative of the *Shaphel* conjugation *Sutal* is, Cause it to be thrown!

Therefore, when we find in a prayer to the god of war for his aid and blessing, "Sutali-su emukan," this must mean "Cause his spears to be *well* thrown!" The adjective *lashanan* probably means "unconquerable," from *Shanan*, to conquer. This verb in the T conjugation forms *ashtanan*, "I conquered," and *ishtananu*, "they conquered."

Another argument for rendering *emukan* "spears" is the following:—When Sennacherib fought with the Egyptians (B.M. 38, 75) the latter brought up against him *emuki la nibi*, which seems to mean "Spearmen without number."

159. **Nu-bila.** 𐎠 𐎢 𐎠 𐎠𐎠, Everlasting, Eternal (see the next article).

160. **Bila.** 𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠, otherwise 𐎠 𐎠𐎠, the End.—Also, that which comes to an end: finite: mortal. This P.C. word occurs in the Michaux inscription, R70, col. iii. 13, where the god Marduk has the title or epithet *Aga nu bila*; "king without end," or "living for ever." The phrase is explained in a tablet lithographed in 2R 13, 50, where the P.C. 𐎠 𐎠𐎠 is rendered by the Assyrian *gamru* 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠; and in the next line 𐎠 𐎢 𐎠 𐎠𐎠 is explained *la gamru*. Now, the Hebrew *gamar* גמר means "to come to an end, to cease" (Furst's Lexicon, p. 293); and therefore 𐎠 𐎢 𐎠 𐎠𐎠 *nu-bila* means "never ending." These explanations of *bila* and *nu-bila* are, each of them, given three times in the above-mentioned tablet, 2 R 13, lines 50 to 55.


¶ In R 59, 66, Nebuchadnezzar says that he is the Vicegerent of Marduk, or his Vicar on Earth. He says in his prayer to Marduk: "Thou hast clothed me with the sovereignty of the World, *kima dumuk-ka bilu* 𐎠 𐎠𐎠, like thy Mortal Image." To illustrate this, I will give another example of the word *dumuk*, which is written both 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 and 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠, "I made an Image (*dumuk*) of his great divinity in (*white marble?*) stone, and shining gold."—B 23, 133.

151. **Itzutzu.** 𐎢𐎣 𐎢𐎣𐎢𐎣 𐎢𐎣𐎢𐎣, He said; they say. *Dixit, dicunt, ut aiunt, &c. &c.*—The origin of this verb appears to me to be the Heb. *itza* 𐤇𐤆, to go forth, with the last letter reduplicated 𐤆𐤆. So the English verb “to utter;” Germ. *äussern*, come from *out*, and *aus* respectively, and are, in fact, the same word in different dialects. So *edere* and *efferre*, from the preposition *e* or *ex*—*Ede tuum nomen* (Ovid), Speak out thy name!—*Decenter aliquid efferre* (Quint.), to speak with propriety. Also we have the *sha*-conjugation of 𐎢𐎣𐎢𐎣 *shatza* or *shazza*, to speak (see the next article). The verb *itza* 𐤇𐤆 is used in Hebrew not only for *solemn* utterances as a decree, the sentence of a judge, the promulgation of *doctrine*, or the like, but also for common conversation and vulgar rumour.

Example of the word *itzutzu*.—In line 75 of the Obelisk we read—“Marduk-bel-utzati akhu dubut-zu itti-su ibbuluk, malmalish *itzutzu*; *Marduk-bel-utzati, his younger brother, split with him (as they say).*” In fact the brothers quarrelled, and a civil war arose (all which is again related in 2 R 65, 51). The important phrase here is *malmalish itzutzu*, “as they say in common parlance,” or perhaps “as people say *in that dialect.*” *Malmalish* is an adverb, derived from Hebrew *mala* (מלא) to speak, מלה a word). The reduplicate form is partly preserved in מלל. This adverb, doubtless, means “in common conversation.” The parenthesis thus suddenly interposed, like the Latin “*ut aiunt,*” refers to some unusual word that has just preceded. But what is that word? This seems difficult to decide. I think it must be either *dubut* or *ibbuluk*; more likely the latter, because it precedes the remark *more immediately*. But I do not see that *ibbuluk* is so unusual as to call for a special remark on the part of the scribe. *Buluk*, “to rebel,” is not unfrequent, *ex. gr.*, in bulukti-su rabi, *in his great rebellion*.

The account of this fraternal quarrel in 2 R 65, 51, which is unfortunately much mutilated, is not copied from the Obelisk, but from some more copious annals of those times.

In this second account, *Marduk-bel-utssti* is simply called "his brother," and not "his younger brother." Instead of "*itti-su ibbuluk*" it has "*ki-su*," with him; and it omits the parenthesis *malmalish itsutzu*, which perhaps this later scribe considered to be unnecessary.

I will now give another example of the verb *itsutzu*, from 2R8, 37, in which it is spelt precisely in the same way: . But I must preface it by a few observations to make it intelligible. King Ashurbanipal was a great patron of literature, and to him we owe the fine collection of Grammatical tablets which are now in the British Museum. He took a great personal interest in the matter, as is evident from the boast inscribed by his orders on so many of the tablets "that no king before him had ever done so much for Learning," with thanks to the gods for having so enlarged his intelligence and sharpened his eyesight. He had founded in his palace what, for want of a better term, I may call a College, in which he employed many scribes, who covered the tablets with records of omnigenous learning. Who the pupils were who frequented this college and were initiated into the learning of the age is not ascertained. Many of the tablets contain brief allusions to some course of study. Thus one tablet speaks of "so many months, so many days, and half a day;" which, I think, refers to the time in which some particular branch of study had been completed by some class of pupils. If the pupil was one of the young princes, we can easily imagine that a notice of his progress, or something of his writing, would be often submitted to the King; or, if he were a more ordinary person, to the Governor of the Palace.

The passage in 2R8, 37, to which I wish to draw attention, contains a kind of Certificate from one of the Teachers that the lessons in grammar or languages have been thoroughly mastered by some one, who, of course, must have been one of the scholars.

It is as follows:—

𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 malvasu bikharish itsutsu.
 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 malvasu bikharish ibatsu.

The whole of the foregoing he has said perfectly;
The whole of the foregoing he has understood perfectly.

The monogram 𐎠𐎵 is very common on the tablets: it is a compendious mode of expressing “the same with what precedes” or “the same as before.” It serves the same use as our *ditto* or *d°* [that which hath just been *said*; the Italian “*detto*”]. I have rendered it “the foregoing.”

Malvasu, “the whole of it,” is an extremely common word. See the Art. *Malvasu*.

Bikharish, “in a first-rate manner,” is derived, if I mistake not, from the Heb. בכר “*primus fuit*.” It is a very common adverb, usually employed in praise of the king’s success in war, who frequently says: All that country I reduced to obedience “in a first-rate manner” or “admirably well.”

Ibatsu, in the second sentence, is written 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵. It may come from either of the roots 𐎠𐎵 or 𐎠𐎵. Of these I prefer the first, *matza* 𐎠𐎵 *assecutus est*; for this is used in the sense of “learning,” *ex. gr.*, *assequi sapientiam*, to learn wisdom.—*Ges.* The other verb, the Syriac *batza* “*investigavit*,” suits very well, *ex. gr.*, 𐎠𐎵 *batzu*, examine (the Scriptures),—Schindl. 226: but it was, I think, hardly an ancient word. At any rate, it was much less commonly employed than 𐎠𐎵, of which Kurst gives the meanings, “to attain to, acquire, understand, comprehend.”

162. **Shatza.** To Speak, Call, Proclaim.—The *sha* or *shaphel* conjugation of *isa*, Heb. 𐎠𐎵.

Sha Ashur Marduk zigir sumi-su ushatzu ana risheti, whom *Ashur and Marduk have proclaimed the renown of his name to the end of time* (Praises of Sargina, B.M. 33, 2); written 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵. The same is found in Botta 36, 4, where more gods are named, and *sumi* 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 is replaced

by the monogram 𒀭 . And on Sargon's Cylinder, line 3, where the verb is written $\text{𒀭𒀭𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$. In Opp. Khors. line 4, the same recurs, with the adjective $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ *damku*, "holy," or "fortunate," added; so that the sentence is—"the gods sounded the fame of his *happy* or *sacred* name." The adjective *damku* is of frequent occurrence, and is always rendered by the P.C. $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ "holy" or "fortunate."

Zigir is not only "nomen," but also "renown" (like *renommée*, from *nomen*). It is the Heb. זִכָּר *nomen*.


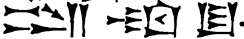
Risheti is rendered by Norris, p. 321, "the ends [of the world]." But there is no word in the text answering to "world." I render it "the end of time," and derive it from רִשְׁתָּהּ *summu*, and רֵעַ *tempus*.

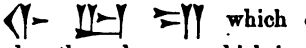

¶ The Art. *Ishazzu*, No. 110, should probably be conjoined with this one. *Shazza* or *Shatza*, "to call;" thence *ishazzu-su*, "they call it."


163. **Litash**, *plur.* **Litassi**. $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$, a Teacher.—In a grammatical tablet in the British Museum, published by Oppert (*Exp. sc. en Més.* p. 359), Ashurbanipal says that he caused these tablets to be made and placed in his Palace for the enlightenment of the Teachers; *ana tamarti litassi-ya kireb haikal-ya ukin*.

Litash is the Heb. *Lutash* לֹּטֵשׁ , a Master or Teacher; see Sch. p. 947. Thus, in Genesis, Tubal-cain is the *lutash* or teacher of all workers in metal. The Talmud renders it *rabbon* or great master. *Tamarti*, "enlightenment;" from the root *mar*, to see, to be seen, to be bright, &c. &c., of which the compounds are frequent and various, *ex. gr.*, *Ini namirti: far-seeing eyes*. *Ashar la mari; a place in which a thing cannot be seen, a dark place*. *Namari; the dawn of day, when things just become visible*. *Namir; to make bright*. *Namri; bright, glittering, &c. &c.*





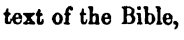



The letter 𒀭 is sounded as *li* in this word *Litash*. This

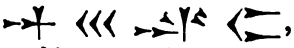
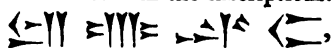
usage is frequent. Thus, in R19, 103, *illiku* (they went) is written . But the other copy of the inscription reads .

Mr. Norris has pointed out (*dict.* p. 418) a remarkable spelling of this word,  which occurs in 2 R 42, 57. Here  has the value *tas*, which is not unfrequent in other words.

164. **Nebuzaradan.** , 2 R 64, 13, *i.e.* Nebo has given seed (or, a son).

This proper name is very interesting, because it occurs in the Bible: "And in the fifth month, on the seventh day of the month, which is the nineteenth year of King Nebuchadnezzar, came Nebuzaradan, captain of the guard, a servant of the king of Babylon, unto Jerusalem. And he burnt the house of the Lord," &c. &c.—2 Kings xxv. 8. See also Jer. xxxix. 10. Another captain of Nebuchadnezzar's host was called Rab Mag, Jer. xxxix. 3. His name is also found in the Assyrian inscriptions, as I have already stated in the article *Imga* (No. 148).

The name of Nebuzaradan in Hebrew letters will be  from  *semen*;  *dedit*. But admitting a Chaldee form  *dedit* (as in Marduk-bal-adan, and many other names), we obtain the name as it stands in the Hebrew text of the Bible, ; where  stands for , the final of which is lost by reason of the vowel  following.

165. **Sanballat.** This is another very interesting Biblical name. Sanballat was a Moabite, very hostile to the Jews, in the time of Nehemiah (see *Nehem. vi.*). His name was, doubtless, written in the Cuneiform character , "The Moon gave him life," or "was his creator." I deduce this from two very similar names which occur in the inscriptions. One of these is *Nergal-ubullat* , "Nergal gave him life," or "brought him into existence." He was one of the Eponyms, and is named in the Canon.—2 R 68, col. iii. line 38. The other name is *Nebo-bullat*

𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵, "Nebo gave him life."—2R64, 16. I have already (in the article No. 151) given an example of the verb *bullat* (to give life), spelt in the same manner, from the ancient Annals printed in R19, 81.

Compare also the verb *bullith* (of the same meaning) which is found, 2R36, 18, in the praises of Ashurbanipal; "whom Nebo and Ashur have brought into life as a King (*Sar ubullithu su*), and have always guarded his throne."

¶ These two last etymologies (of Nebuzaradan and Sanballat) are as certain as they are simple. Those proposed by Gesenius and Furst are extremely wide of the truth in both cases. I do not impute it as a blame to them, for, before the recent rise of Assyrian studies, these and many other Chaldaean names could not be interpreted.

166. **Atzib.** 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵, a Stone set up as a Landmark, Monument, or Memorial.—This word seems to have hitherto escaped recognition, perhaps from being disguised in the uncouth hieratic form of 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵. Or, it may have been confounded with 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 *Ekil*, "a field," Heb. עֵקֶל, which is written exactly in the same manner. *Atzib* is, however, a pure Hebrew word from the root יצב *statuit, posuit*; which is the same as יצב (of same meaning). The latter verb, like most others beginning with N, loses that letter in its tenses and derivatives. Of this verb the Hiphil is *etzib* עֲצִיב, *posuit, collocavit, erexit*; ut columnam, Genes. xxxv. 20; altare, Genes. xxxiii. 20; monumentum, 1 Sam. xv. 12 (*Gesenius*). It especially marked a terminus or boundary of land (*constituit fines—Ges.*), as in Deuter. xxxii. 8, authorised version—"The Most High set the bounds of the territory of the children of Israel." Here, "he set" is in the original text יצב. The principal derived word is *matziba* מַצְבָּה, *statua, monumentum, cippus*. In the latter senses, *cippus* or *monumentum*, the word is also found in Phœnician monuments, of which Gesenius gives nine instances on monuments still extant, one of which is now preserved in a museum

at Oxford. Its translation is: "I Abd-Osiria, son of &c. &c., have erected this memorial stone (*matziba*) to the memory of my wife, &c."—[From Gesenius, *Monumenta Phœnicia*, p. 130.] But the Assyrians called a memorial stone *Atziba*, without the letter M. This, of course, is perfectly legitimate as a grammatical form. This was about 1150 B.C. It is but a slight change for so long an interval. We read in 2 Sam. xviii. 18— "Absalom during his lifetime set up a monument (*itzeb matziba* מִצֵּב מִצְבֵּה), which he called by his own name. And it is called even unto this day *Id Absalom*, "the place of Absalom" (authorised version).

In the Michaux stone, R70, col. ii. 7, we read: "If any one in future days, for the purpose of destroying this memorial stone (*ana tabul atzib suatu*) shall deface (or fracture) this monument (*itzatzu atzib suatu*)," &c. The sense of the word *atzib* is here unequivocal. It goes on at great length: "Whoever shall deface the writing, and then write on it words of his own (*ramani-su*, line 12), or shall throw it into the river, or burn it with fire, or bury it in the earth, &c. &c., may he be accursed!" All this applies to a monumental stone, and to nothing else. But it appears to me that $\Upsilon\Upsilon \triangleleft\Upsilon\Upsilon\Upsilon$, in another part of the very same inscription, means "a field," as it does in the later Assyrian inscriptions. I can only account for this by supposing that "a field" and the stone which marked it were so identified in popular opinion and language, that in speaking of the one, a person virtually implied the other also.

¶ The sign $\triangleleft\Upsilon\Upsilon\Upsilon$ has the value *Tzib* in this and many other words, sometimes modified into *Sib*. It is also very frequently used for *Lib*.

167. *Nimiki*. $\triangleleft\Upsilon\Upsilon\Upsilon \triangleleft\Upsilon\Upsilon \triangleleft\Upsilon\Upsilon$, the Gods.—This important word occurs in *Phill. i. 4*, and again in *E.I.H. i. 7*, where it is spelt $\triangleleft\Upsilon\Upsilon \Upsilon \triangleleft\Upsilon\Upsilon$. In these two passages Nebuchadnezzar has the following title of honour: *Mustalam akhiz nimiki*;

Preserver of the possessions of the Nimiki. This phrase has not hitherto been explained. The most likely meaning seems to be "Preserver of the possessions of the Gods, Priests, or Temples."

I have found a passage which seems to prove that the *Nimiki* were the Gods. It occurs in 2 R16, 65, where the P.C. words $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ "his god (and) his king" are rendered by the Assyrian *nimik-su bel-su* $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$. Here I would remark that $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ "a King" is often rendered in P.C. by $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}$ "a Lord," and that both $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ and 𐎶 (*ni* and *bi*) stand frequently for "his." It would seem to follow that *Nimik* means "a god." Observe now how well this suits the passage in E.I.H. i. 7, where "Preserver of the possessions of the *Nimiki*" is followed by "sha aratti iluti-sun istinihu;" "he who increased the of their divinities." Since, therefore, they possessed *divinity*, the *Nimiki* were the gods. The other words in the phrase *Mustalam akhiz Nimiki* are easy of explanation. *Mustalam*, "preserver," is the participle of the T conjugation of *Salam* $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$, "to preserve." *Akhiz* $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ is the Heb. $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ "possessio."

Since writing the above, I have noticed the following passage in which *nimiki* occurs, and in which the sense of "gods" suits perfectly well. Opp. Exp. en Més. p. 339 (Prayer of Sargon to his deity): $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$, *Oh Lord of the Bright Eye* (or *bright face*); $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *Bel Nimiki; king of the gods.* Patiku kal gimir; *Creator of the universe:* ana Sargina sar Ashur, &c. &c.; *unto Sargina king of Assyria, grant every blessing!* &c. &c.

In the above, $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *Nin* is "Lord." $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ is sometimes *inu*, "the eye;" sometimes *pan*, "the face;" it is a P.C. word. $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *illu*, means "splendour, riches;" therefore we may render *nin pan illu* "lord of the bright face." The verb *patik*, "to form," is frequent, *ex. gr.*, eptik pitik-su; *he formed its form.* $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *kal* is the Heb. $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ "all."

M. Oppert remarks that the most usual name of the

god whom Sargina invokes in the preceding passage is
 >𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶.

The point to which I wish to draw attention is, his title of
 >𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 <𐎶𐎶 Bel Nimiki, *king of the gods*. I have
 found another passage in 2 R 38, 51, in which the same god
 >𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 has the same title (slightly varied in the
 spelling) >𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 > 𐎶 Belnu Nimigam. It will be
 remembered that *Belnu* is frequently used for *Bel*. As to the
 final *am* in *nimigam* it is like the title *rabu nadam* instead of
nadu, and many others. I believe it was an *emphatic* pronun-
 ciation. With regard to the etymology of the word *nimiki* I
 think there can be no doubt that it meant the Mysterious Beings
 or Mysterious Powers, from the Heb. 𐤍𐤏𐤃 *profundus, inex-*
ploratus (Ges.), a term which is frequently used in speaking of
 the Deity, *ex. gr.*, Ps. xcii. 5: "The thoughts of the Lord are
 very *deep*." "He (the Lord) discovereth the *secrets* of the
 darkness."—Job xii. 22. "Canst thou by searching find out
 God? canst thou find out the Almighty's perfection? It is as
 high as heaven, what canst thou do? *deeper* than hell, what
 canst thou know?"—Job xi. 8. It is evident from these
 passages how suitable the word 𐤍𐤏𐤃 and its compounds were
 to furnish a designation worthy of the gods, and therefore my
 derivation of *nimiki* from that root is, I think, sufficiently
 probable.

I will add an example in which *nimiki* does not mean the
 gods themselves, but their divine or mysterious nature. In
 2 R 36, 19, there are praises of Ashurbanipal—"Sha Nabo u
 Ashur Sar ubullithu-su; *whom Nabo and Ashur caused to be*
born a King (or, *brought him into life, a King*): itsuru
 sarrut-zu, *and have been the guardians of his reign*." It then
 goes on—"Nimiki sun bulku; *I offer a sacrifice to their divine*
power (for the health of his life, the stability of his years, and
 the security of his royal throne)." An unfortunate mutilation
 of the tablet obscures the sense of one or two other following
 phrases.

N.B. *Bulku* "sacrifice" is given by Norris, p. 99. *Ubullithu* is from the verb *bullith* "to give life." *Itsuru* from *natsir* נציר "to protect." *Nimiki* is here spelt as in E.I.H. i. 7 (see above).

¶ The god 𐎎𐎗𐎚 𐎎𐎗𐎚 𐎎𐎗𐎚 bore the title (as we have seen) of "king of the gods." But he was also *Sar tzuab*, "king of the Abyss." This *Tzuab* (which answers in some respects to the mysterious *Ωκεανος* of the Greeks) was the Sky—the Heavenly Ocean—the "waters above the heavens" of Genesis—the "Heavenly Nile" of the Egyptian mythology—a "profound" of endless depth—the abode of the gods.

In 2 R 67, 81, the gods are called "Children of the Abyss," *binut tzuab*. But 𐎎𐎗𐎚 𐎎𐎗𐎚 was "King of the Abyss," *sar tzuab*. Therefore, he must have been king of the gods, and, in fact, we find him so called. The mythology is, therefore, in accordance with itself. The gods of Greece were also the children of the "Ocean:"

ωκεανον τε θεων γεγενειν—Hom. II. ̒ 201.

¶ In the Syllabary 687, 𐎎𐎗𐎚 *ni*, and its plural 𐎎𐎗𐎚 𐎎𐎗𐎚, are rendered *Ili*, "the gods." This is obscure, but I think it may be merely the initial letter of *nimiki* used for the whole word (a frequent usage).

¶ Another example is found in R 36, 38, where the same god is called *Sar tzuab*; *Bel Nimiki*. And another curious passage in which these words occur is the following: B.M. 43, 3, "Ashurakhbal, *irsu mudu*, the wise king; *khasitzu*, the intelligence; *parit*, bringing forth; *uzni nimiki*, divine thoughts; *sha*, whom; 𐎎𐎗𐎚 𐎎𐎗𐎚 𐎎𐎗𐎚, the god 𐎎𐎗𐎚 𐎎𐎗𐎚; *sar tzuab ilimanni*, king of the heavenly abyss; *ana isi*, unto the of the great gods of heaven and earth; as *kini lib-su*, on account of his noble soul; *uduni su*, has exalted him."

Here note especially *nimiki* as an adjective 'divine,' and the epithet of the Abyss *ilimanni* 'heavenly.' 𐎎𐎗𐎚 𐎎𐎗𐎚 himself was a divine *khasitzu* or 'Intelligence' (see R 27, 4, the invocation to the great gods on the Monolith). Therefore it is

in that quality that Ashurakbal here invokes him. The other words I will treat of elsewhere. *Uduni* seems 'he exalted, or rewarded;' compare *dunni zikruti*, 'the prize of valour.'

168. **Abari.** 𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶, the Gods: the Celestials.

The prayer of Sargina to Ninev, to give him aid in war, was published by Oppert in his *Exp. en Més.* p. 333. It begins: "Ninev bel Abari; *O Ninev, Lord of the Celestials!*" This translation is, in the first place, probable, because the very similar invocation of Sargina to the god 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 which I believe was found at the same time and place, begins: 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 bel Nimiki; *O 'divine (. . . .) King of the Gods!*" [see the last article].

When, therefore, we find that in Hebrew poetry the word *Abari* signified 'the Deity,' the above-mentioned 'probability' becomes almost a certainty. The Hebrew word is *Abir* אביר; the Deity is so called in Gen. xlix. 24, and Isaiah i. 24.

¶ The sequel of the invocation increases the probability of this explanation. Ninev bel Abari, sha sutsu dannut-su, ana Sargina sar Ashur, &c. &c.; *O Ninev, Lord of the Celestials, whose pinnacle is lofty, unto Sargina, king of Assyria (grant every blessing)!* &c.

Sutsu 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 is the summit or pinnacle of a mountain; it has the same meaning as *Ubanat*, which it replaces frequently. Ninev was the Meridian Sun, as appears by many passages in the inscriptions. That the Meridian Sun occupies 'a lofty pinnacle' is a poetical image of self-evident truth, and 'Lord of the Celestials' is a natural and proper title for him.

169. **Sahat.** 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, an Hour.—Agrees with the Chald. שעה שעה emphat. שעתא *Hora*. "I rode all night. I crossed the river Thurnat. I reached the city of Arastu *at the hour of dawn.*"—R 21, 53. In the version which I gave of this passage (Art. 67) I mistook this word. 'As bikhar sahati,' *at the hour of dawn*, is the Heb. בקר *manè*; *prima lux*.

170. **Nisikti.** 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁, Pearls.—2 R 67, 28; where it is said they were offered to Tiglath Pileser II. by the tribes near the Persian Gulf. The epithet *binut tamti* 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 (productions of the sea) proves them to be pearls. At the same time “gold and silver of the country” were offered; but the word 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 (silver) has been misprinted 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 in the lithograph published by the British Museum. I propose, therefore, to cancel the article *Ephar* (No. 102) which was founded entirely upon this passage. Such misprints add considerably to the difficulty of explaining these ancient records.

171. **Inzabati.** Earrings.—“Inzabati sha uznu-sha; *the earrings of her ears.*”—Tablet 162. The Hebrew word corresponding is נזם ‘inauria,’ an earring. But *b* and *m* are nearly the same in Assyrian.

172. **Subibulti,** a Necklace (see Art. 91).—I have since found the word *Subib* in the form שׁבב ‘a bracelet’ in Buxtorf’s Lex. p. 2304. This completes the evidence. The Assyrian word is a diminutive.

¶ Commentators have had great difficulty in explaining the article of female dress called *subisim* שׁביסים mentioned in Isaiah iii. 18. See Lowth on Isaiah, p. 250, who says he had consulted on this word the learned Dr. Hunt, professor of Hebrew and Arabic at Oxford, who could find nothing in the Arabic dictionaries that threw any light upon it. Now, if we suppose a very ancient error of a letter ס substituted for ב, the word was originally שׁביבים *Armilla*, which gives a very satisfactory sense, since one of the commentators, Aben Ezra, renders the word *subisim* שׁביסים ‘ornaments of the legs,’ of course merely from conjecture, the sense seeming to require that meaning.

Lowth himself says, p. 249, that this “inventory as I may call it, of the wardrobe of a Hebrew Lady must from its obscurity have been peculiarly liable to the mistakes of tran-

scribers." This remark of the learned Bishop justifies me in proposing the above emendation.

¶ The tablet 162, 'the jewels of the goddess Ishtar,' from which I have taken the two last words *inzabati* and *subibulti*, receives a very good illustration from Ezek. xvi. 11, where he describes Jerusalem under the image of a bride dressed out in all manner of splendid ornaments. I quote Lowth's translation, p. 251, of his work on Isaiah :—

And I decked thee with ornaments :
 And I put bracelets upon thine hand,
 and a chain on thy neck :
 And I put a jewel on thy nose,
 and earrings on thine ears,
 and a splendid crown upon thine head.

Three of the lines correspond exactly to what we find written on the Assyrian tablet :—

Subibulti sha tzuri-sha;	And a chain on her neck;
inzabati sha uznu-sha;	and earrings on her ears;
mir raba sha reshdu-sha.	and a splendid crown upon her head.

This close coincidence shows how familiar Ezekiel must have been with Chaldean customs and modes of expression. He was nearly contemporary with this tablet ; which may have been written about thirty years before his birth.

¶ I may add that I was not aware of the parallel passage in Ezekiel when I published my translation of this Assyrian tablet in June 1865, in the Trans. R.S.L. vol. 8. I mention this because some are still incredulous concerning Assyrian decipherment.

173. **Mamitu.** $\Xi\Upsilon \langle \gg \gg \gg \Xi\Upsilon \rangle$. I translated this word 'a Promise' in No. 49 of this Glossary. But it is more than a *promise* ; it is an *oath*. It is derived from the Ch. and Syr. verb ימא *jurare* ; whence מומתא *juramentum*, which is almost exactly the Assyrian *mamita*. I will give another example of the word. Tiglath Pileser had taken prisoners all the kings of the Nahiri. "But," he says, "I pardoned them ;

and I only bound them by an *Oath* on the great gods, for all future time to submit to my authority." Riema arsa sunuti; napishta-sun ekhir. Mamit ili rabi ana arkat tami, ana tamu zati, ana arduiti utami sunuti.—Tig. v. 11-16.

Here *Mamit* 'an oath,' is spelt $\Xi\Upsilon \langle \Xi \Xi \rangle \Xi \Upsilon$. *Arduiti* is homage, prostration, submission; but I think that *arduiti* means 'submission to me,' the final *i* being equivalent to the possessive pronoun $\Xi \Xi \Upsilon$. *Utami* $\Xi \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Xi \Upsilon \langle \Xi \Xi \rangle$ (or with Υ for the last letter) means 'I bound by an oath.' This is the same verb נמ *juravit* in the T conjugation. This usage is very frequent of coupling a verb to a substantive derived from it, as *eprik pitik-su*; *ana zikipi uzikip*, &c. &c.

¶ The Greek *Omi* an Oath, root of *ομνυμι*, resembles the Chaldee and Syriac נמ *adjuravit* (which is a conjugation of נמ). And if so, perhaps the curious phrase *ταμειν ὀρκια, ταμειν φιλοτητα*, 'to swear friendship,' is not unconnected with the Semitic verb *tami* 'to bind by an oath,' which we have just been considering: *φιλοτητα και ὀρκια πιστα ταμουντες*.—Hom. II. γ 73. Of course the notion of *cutting up* a sacrifice is also present in the phrase, which may, therefore, have had a mixed origin, partly indigenous, partly borrowed from the East.

174. **Shamami.** $\Upsilon \Xi \Upsilon \langle \Xi \Xi \rangle$, the Heavens.—Agrees entirely with the Heb. שמימי .—Genes. xv. 5.

Ishtar sarrat shamami; *Ishtar queen of heaven*.—Tablet 100.

$\Xi \Upsilon \Upsilon \langle \Xi \Xi \rangle$ $\Upsilon \langle \Xi \Xi \rangle$ *Itti* (*signs or wonders*, Ch. תת , Syr. נתנת) $\Upsilon \Xi \Upsilon \Upsilon \langle \Xi \Xi \rangle$ $\Upsilon \langle \Xi \Xi \rangle$ $\Upsilon \langle \Xi \Xi \rangle$ as *shamami hakkari*, [*were seen*] *both in heaven and earth*.—Black stone of Esarhaddon, col. iii. 13. The original hieratic text has *ri* for the last syllable: the cursive is given wrongly.

¶ I have given in No. 2 of this Glossary another and more abbreviated form of this word.

175. **Salimat.** $\Upsilon \langle \Xi \Xi \rangle \Xi \Upsilon \Upsilon$, Peace.—From the Ch. and Syr. שלם emph. שלמש *Pax*. *Habir salimati, la adiru*

tukumti ; *loving peace, but not fearing war.*—Stand. inscr. l. 13.
 Habir 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶—𐎶𐎶𐎶 otherwise 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎶 is Ch. 𐤁𐤎𐤁 *amicus*.

176. **Nigab.** 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶, Supreme Lord (only in Egypt).

Idi-Bi'il ana nigabuti as eli mat Musri askun ; *I raised Idi-Baal to the supreme authority over the land of Egypt.*—Inscr. Fig. Pil. II. 2 R 67, 56. Written 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶, This is a very curious word. It represents, if I mistake not, the Assyrian pronunciation of the Egyptian word *Néb*, 'a Lord,' which is of the most frequent occurrence in that language. It is also found in Coptic as *Nηβ* ; which Tattam renders *κυριος, δεσποτης, dominus* (dict⁷ p. 302). The Assyrians seem to have heard an aspiration in the middle of the word, as if it were *nihb* or *nihab*.

177. **Nigab,** a Priest, or High Priest.

I do not venture to consider this word the same as the last, because it has apparently no connection with Egypt. I am not sure that it meant 'high priest,' yet that may be the sense intended in a very difficult passage of the tablet 162, which I have published in the Transactions of the R.S.L. vol. 8, p. 252 and 294 :—

1. Alik nigab! pitas-si babati!
2. uppit-si ma kima panni labiruti!
3. illik nigab iptas-si babati.

1. *Go Priest, and open the gates for her!*
2. *And take a pledge from her as on former times!*
3. *The Priest went, and opened the gates for her.*

For, it appears from the sequel of the tablet that an oath was exacted from the queen, to return the jewels of the goddess which she borrowed.

Pita 'to open' is the Heb. 𐤐𐤂. We find often in Botta's inscra. *pitie kirubi* 'opened earth,' meaning wells sunk in the earth, or tanks to retain the rain-water against dry seasons. *Pitas-si*, 'open to her!' not *pita-si*, because the pronoun *si* being an enclitic, throws back the accent on the former word.

Examples are very common, such as *panús-su* 'to him;' *tsirús-sun* 'upon them,' &c. &c.

Uppit 'a pledge,' Heb. עֶבֶט verb and subst. Hiph. הֶעֱבִיט 'to take a pledge from one.' *Panni* 'times,' i.e. returning occasions, Lat. *vices*. Heb. פָּנָה 'to turn.'

178. **Patitsi** or **Patizi**. פִּיטִי פִּיזִי, High Priest.—This sacerdotal title remained in use for an immense length of time, from the days of Shems-Yem and Ismi-Dagon, eighteen centuries before Christ, until the time of Nebuchadnezzar and probably longer. Before there were kings at Nineveh that country was governed by high priests of Ashur, as is manifest from the following passage: "The temple of Anu and Yem which Shems-Yem, *Patitsi* of Ashur, son of Ismi-Dagon, who was also *Patitsi* of Ashur, in ancient times had made; that temple had fallen to decay."—Tigl. vii. 60. And Nebuchadnezzar in the E.I.H. inscr. i. 5 gives himself the same title, viz. *Patitsi tsiri*, 'High Priest.' And it is spelt in the same way.

¶ I suspect that the Patizeithes of Herodotus is not a name but a title, viz. *Patizi* 'high priest.' We know that he was a Magian priest, and doubtless a man of high station, for he was Comptroller of the King's household when he revolted against Cambyses. And he is called by Ctesias 'Sphendadates,' which is not a name but a Zend title 'given to the Holy One;' see Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. 2, p. 456. Such a title would be nearly equivalent to 'High Priest.'

179. **Nuab**. נֹאֵב, Vicegerent, vicar, substitute.—This is the Arabic *Naiḥ*, deputy, substitute, lieutenant; superl. *Nuab*, viceroy (Gilchrist's Vocabulary, p. 81). Schindler writes the word in Hebrew letters נֹאֵיב *Naiḥ*, and renders it 'substitutus, delegatus, prorex,' and derives it from the Arab. root נֹרַב 'substituit, posuit in suo loco,' p. 1084.

Sargina, thus boastfully commences an inscription (R36, 1): Sargina saknu Bel, nuab nahit Ashur; *Sargina the Viceroy of Bel, the glorious Vicegerent of Ashur*

Similarly Nebuchadnezzar boasted to be "the mortal Image of Marduk" (see Art. *Bila*, No. 160). And similarly the successors of Mahomet took the title of Caliphs, i.e. his Substitutes or Vicegerents, from the Arab. *Caliph* خليفة *successit in locum alterius, vicem gessit.*—*Sch.* Even the present Sultan of Turkey has for one of his titles 'the shadow of God.'

- 180 **Saknu.** 𐎲 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, a Viceroy; a Lieutenant of the great King.—Istakkan Saknuti [*over all those lands*] *he placed Lieutenants or Viceroys.*—Botta 16, 27. This word has the sign of 'rank' or 'class' prefixed 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎲 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶.

Saknu Bel, *Viceroy of Bel*, was a title of Sargina (see the preceding article). Botta's inscriptions often read Sakan Bel 𐎲 𐎶 𐎶 instead of Saknu Bel. The Chaldee *Sagan* סגן is nearly related to the Assyrian *Sakan*, for Gesenius interprets סגן Vicarius (principis), and thence Prætor, Præfectus provincię, quoting Ezra ix. 2, &c. &c.

181. **Pakhati.** 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, Chief Magistrates, Prefects, Governors.—Agrees entirely with the Heb. פחות plur. of פח otherwise פחה dux, princeps. They were divided into two classes, *akti* and *shapiri* (perhaps 'greater' and 'smaller').—Opp. Khors. line 178.

182. **Nam.** 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, a kind of Head Dress denoting high rank.—In 2 R 25, 21 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Nam Belna* is explained *Agie billuti*, crowns of lordship (or high rank). And in the next line 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Nam alik pani* is explained *Agie sarti*, crowns of royalty. *Alik pani* means 'a Leader, General, or Sovereign;' it is literally 'one who goes first,' from *alik*, Heb. הלך 'to go,' and *pani*, Heb. פנה 'before.' It is a very common title. In the P.C. language it is generally rendered 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 because 𐎶 𐎶 answers to the Assyrian *pani*, and 𐎶 𐎶 (to go) is in Assyrian *alik*. From this word 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *nam* 'a head dress or coronet,' we easily see why an Assyrian governor or other nobleman was usually called a *bel nam*

𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠. This means 'possessing the *Nam*,' having the right to wear it; decorated.

¶ Other examples of the word: In the fifth line of the Obelisk the god 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 has the title *Musim* 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 'crowner with crowns,' or 'bestower of crowns;' and in line 14, which closes the invocation, all the great gods are collectively called *Musimu* 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *musarbu sarruti-ya*, 'those who have crowned me with crowns, and have established my royal power.' Similarly in Ashurakbal's invocation, R 27, line 3 (which is misprinted) the god Anu is called *Musim* 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 'giver of divine crowns.' But this title, though shared by the other gods, chiefly belonged to 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 (pronounced possibly *Bitā*), insomuch that it coalesced with his name, and he was called *Bitā-bel-nam*, *Bitā lord of crowns*. On the stone of Zaaleh a simple individual, one of the witnesses, has the name *Arda-Bitā-belnam*, *servant of Bitā-belnam*.

183. **Namut.** The distinction of wearing the *Nam* (see the preceding article).

Sha eli gimir mati-sun sutrin-su ana namuti istakkan, *who placed his officers over all their lands, giving them the distinction of the Nam.* 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠, in another passage 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 without the vowel.—Botta 40, 24, and 36, 17, quoted by Norris, p. 459.

184. **Nebushasban.** A Chaldæan Proper Name.—It is one of great interest, being mentioned by the prophet Jerem. xxxix. 13. "So Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard, and Nebushasban and all the king of Babylon's princes; even they sent and took Jeremiah out of the court of the prison." The Hebrew text of the Bible has נְבוּשַׁשְׁבַן.

Of this name Gesenius and Furst give different etymologies, taken from Persian and Sanskrit, and altogether inadmissible. The meaning of the name is to be sought in the Semitic languages. I have already stated in Articles 164 and 165 that the Assyrian gives the most simple and natural meaning to these

names. It is easy to see the meaning of Nebushasban in Assyrian, but I did not give it in Art. 165 because at that time I had not met with the name in the Assyrian records.

Nebu-shazib-ani means 'Nebo save me!' This verb occurs under the form *suzib anni* 𐎶𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎺 𐎠𐎺𐎠 'preserve me!' in the inscription of Nabonidus ii. 20. Recently, however, Mr. G. Smith has discovered the name of Nebo-sezib-ani on a tablet in the British Museum. This Assyrian name was given as a compliment to the son of Pharaoh Necho I, king of Egypt, at that time a subordinate king of the city Athribis, but who afterwards apparently ascended the throne of Egypt by his native name of Psametik I (see G. Smith in Lepsius Zeitschrift, p. 96).

185. **Yami.** 𐎶𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎺 𐎠𐎺𐎠, the Sea.—Agrees exactly with the Heb. יָם if pronounced as *Yam*. This word, as Norris has pointed out (dict. p. 467), occurs 2R43, 59, where it is made synonymous with 𐎶𐎺 𐎶𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎺 and 𐎶𐎺 𐎶𐎺𐎠, both of which signify 'the sea;' see also 2R41, 45.
186. **Khibishti.** 𐎶𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎺𐎠, Roofing Beams.—Tie beams. Heb. שִׁבְרֵי לִיגָוִית, superalligavit, superimposit, clausit, compegit (Sch.). Botta 46, 59, "I laid its roof with *khibishti* of the land of Khamana (Mount Hermon)." These were always of fine cedar wood.
187. **Mudu.** 𐎶𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎺𐎠, Wise, Intelligent, Skilful, Cunning.—This word is probably the participle of the Heb. יָדַע 'to know.'

Irsu mudu, *the wise king [whose mind is full of divine thoughts inspired by the god Bitā].*—B.M. 43, 3. Compare this with B.M. 41, 20: "*Then I, Sennacherib asharaddan malki, the first of kings, mudie miri kala ma, who understand fine works of every kind [made great figures of Lions such as no king before me ever had made. And with the profound thoughts which the god Bitā gave me I formed a plan in my own mind how to execute this great work].* I have abridged a little.

Here *modie* is written $\text{𐎎𐎗} \text{𐎎𐎗} \text{𐎎𐎗}$. I have translated *asharaddan malki* 'first of kings,' since the phrase occurs elsewhere undoubtedly in that sense; but I should not be surprised if it meant *here* 'first of artificers or planners' from the Syr. and Chald. verb מַלְךְ *malak*, 'to take counsel,' especially since that verb occurs directly afterwards (l. 25), *ana epish miri suatu rabish amtallik* (which is the T conjugation of *malak* 'to consult'), and perhaps again in the same line, 'in *milik-ya*,' written $\text{𐎎𐎗} \text{𐎎𐎗}$.

I translate *kala ma* 'every kind' because I think it is the same phrase which is found in the name of one of the Palaces. *Haikal pakidat kala mu*, *the Palace of protection of every kind*, i.e. in which every kind of useful thing is stored up or cared for [as was in fact the case, for it comprised all manner of public offices and departments]. See *Esarhaddon vi. 26* for this name of the palace.

188. **Tila.** Life, or Health.—In Art. 38 I considered the phrase $\text{𐎎𐎗} \text{𐎎𐎗} \text{𐎎𐎗} \text{𐎎𐎗} \text{𐎎𐎗} \text{𐎎𐎗}$ *ana ti zi-su*, 'for the health of their lives,' and I said "the word *ti* is perhaps the abbreviation of some longer word." I have since found that it stands for *Tila*, used apparently in the sense of 'health.' The following passage seems decisive on that point; it occurs in a prayer for the prosperity of King Ashurbanipal, 2 R36, 20. "I sacrifice to the gods $\text{𐎎𐎗} \text{𐎎𐎗} \text{𐎎𐎗} \text{𐎎𐎗} \text{𐎎𐎗} \text{𐎎𐎗}$ *ana tila zi-su*, 'pro salute vitæ suæ.'

Another example is found in R6, No. 7, where Sargina builds a temple, '*ana tila-su*,' *pro salute suâ*; *dimu zir-su*, *the tranquillity (or security) of his race*; *tsidiki sha Ashur-ki*, *the just government of Assyria*; *salam Ashur-ki*, *and its safety*.

189. **Mitinna.** $\text{𐎎𐎗} \text{𐎎𐎗} \text{𐎎𐎗} \text{𐎎𐎗}$, a Gift.—Agrees entirely with the Heb. מִתְּנָה 'a gift.' *Mitinna* was the name of a king of Tyre who paid tribute to Tiglath Pileser II, see 2 R67, 66. His *full* name was doubtless *Mitinna-Bel*, 'gift of Bel'; but we see by many instances that names were *shortened*

in common parlance by omitting the name of the god, or in some other way. Thus we have *Zabdan* which, spoken full, was probably *Nebo-zab-dan*, 'Nebo has given a warrior.' Elsewhere (R 41, 23) we have Umman-minan, king of the Susians, addressed by an ambassador simply as "King Umman!" And so also if I am not mistaken, Ahaz, king of Judah, had in his youth been called Jeho-ahazi (Jehovah is my possession); see Art. 135. And so *Nigas* (probably for *Khumba-nigas*) is the name of a foreigner on the Zaaleh stone.

190. **Mitinti.** $\text{𒌦} \text{𒌶} \text{𒌶} \text{𒌶} \text{𒌶} \text{𒌶} \text{𒌶} \text{𒌶} \text{𒌶}$, a Gift.—This is another form of the last word. Sometimes the first letter is $\text{𒌶} \text{𒌶}$. Mitinti king of Ashdod is named in R38, 51. He submitted to Sennacherib, and was rewarded with several cities taken from Hezekiah; see R39, 24. He probably rendered still further services to the Assyrians, for in the days of Esarhaddon we find that he was king of Ascalon (R48, 4).

Mitinti is probably a contraction of Mitinti-Bel 'gift of Bel.' Another form of this name Nidinta-Bel is found in the Behistun inscription, l. 34. The root is *natan* 𒌶𒌶 'to give.'

191. **Rabshakeh.** $\text{𒌶} \text{𒌶} \text{𒌶} \text{𒌶} \text{𒌶} \text{𒌶} \text{𒌶} \text{𒌶}$. And the king of Assyria sent Rabshakeh from Lachish to king Hezekiah Then Rabshakeh stood and cried with a loud voice in the Jews' language—2 Kings xviii. The above is one of the most familiar passages of scripture. Schindler and Gesenius explain the name Rabshakeh by 'princeps pincernarum,' that is 'Chief Butler, or Cupbearer.' By a curious coincidence when Tiglath Pileser II. sent an envoy to Mitinna king of Tyre to demand tribute (2 R 67, 66) he says: "I sent an officer who was a *Rabshak* to the city of Tyre." The verb employed is $\text{𒌶} \text{𒌶} \text{𒌶}$ *ashbur* 'I sent an Envoy.'

¶ I feel some doubt about Rabshakeh being the 'Chief Butler.' The meaning seems incongruous, for why should a 'chief butler' be the chosen envoy in *two* instances? Some light is thrown upon it by the gloss in 2 R 31, 34, which explains 'the rank of Rab-sak,' or $\text{𒌶} \text{𒌶} \text{𒌶} \text{𒌶}$, by 'the rank of $\text{𒌶} \text{𒌶}$.' The

latter word appears in the glosses to have the meaning 'illustrious.' There was a great temple of $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$. Here it may be observed that $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *sak* signifies 'head or chief' in P.C. hence $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ would be 'great chief' or 'distinguished nobleman.' Such a meaning is much more probable than 'chief butler.'

In the story of Joseph (Genes. xl.) the 'chief butler' has a very different name, *Sar ha-meshkim* $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$.

Again we find $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *Sakku* explained $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *Barra* in 2R 36, 3. And the latter word (which is often reduced to its first sign) signifies 'chief' or 'first.' Hence *Rab-Sak* would be 'great Prince.'

192. **Chedorlaomer.** A celebrated king of Elam in the days of Abraham (Gen. xiv.).—Many conjectures have been offered respecting this name. The first part of the name is written $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ in the Hebrew text of Genesis. I think it is the Assyrian *Kudur*, and that it probably means 'King.' There was an ancient king Kudur-mabuk whose inscription is given in R, pl. 2. His name seems to mean 'King,' with an unknown adjective added. This *kudur* seems to represent the Arabic $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ 'potens,' whence $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ and $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *kadir* 'potens,' $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *kudra* 'power' (Schindler). Gilchrist's Vocabulary, p. 210, has *qudur* 'rank, dignity, greatness;' *qadir* 'powerful;' *al-qadir* 'the Almighty' [hence the name of the celebrated Arab chief Abd-el-Kader, 'servant of the Almighty']; *qudir* 'powerful, Almighty;' *qudrut* 'power, omnipotence, providence;' *qudruti* adj. 'divine.'

Supposing, then, that this is the meaning of the first part of the name, let us go on to the remainder. The name is written in the Greek version of the LXX Χοδολλαγομορ : in the Vulgate Chodorlahomor. Admitting (from what has been said) that the first part is $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$, the name will be $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ with the epithet $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$. Now this adjective *lo-gomor* is pure Assyrian, *la-gamar* 'living for ever.' I have shown in Art. 160 that *la-gamar* in Assyrian answers to *nu-bila* 'everlasting' in P.C. and that one of the principal gods had the title of *Aga-nu-bila*

'king living for ever.' This translation is repeated three times in the plate 2 R13, so there can be no doubt of its correctness. The pompous title of Kudur-la-gamar 'king living for ever' is in accordance with the inflation of Oriental style. See for instance the book of Daniel. 'Then spake the Chaldæans to the king in Syriac, 'O king LIVE FOR EVER!' Even at the present day the Shah of Persia is styled 'Centre of the universe!' and the Sultan of Turkey, 'Shadow of God!'

¶ In the same passage of Genesis is named "Tidal king of nations." This name is admitted to be incorrect. The LXX have *Θαργαλ*. It appears to me that this name can be well represented by the Assyrian 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎵 —*Tar-gal* 'great Chief,' a title very similar to 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *Tartax*, and having the same meaning.

¶ In the same passage is named Amraphel king of Shinar. Shinar or *Σεννααρ* שניאר is rendered *Βαβυλωνια* by the LXX and *γη Βαβυλωνος*. The meaning of the name is uncertain. Gesenius says "Origo latet." Nevertheless I think it probable that it means 'the two rivers' or Mesopotamia, since it was the level alluvial plain between the Tigris and Euphrates. From the Heb. שני or שני 'two' and נהר 'a river,' *Σεν-νααρ*. [I have since found myself anticipated in this conjecture by Professor Rawlinson in Smith's dict. of the Bible.]

193. **Sibuta.** 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 , otherwise Sabuta 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 , Old Age.—Agrees exactly with the Chald. *סיבות* 'senectus, canities,' which is also written *שיבות*. Schindler says that *שיבות* denotes a more advanced old age than *זקנה*. The latter term is applied to a man 60 years old, while *שיבות* denotes (*juxtâ Hebræos*) an age of 70 years. But it is evident that this is a mere Hebrew fancy, resting only on the resemblance between *שיבות* and the word *שבע* 'seven.' This numeral takes the vowel *i* in Assyrian (see *Siba* 'seven,' No. 196).

Examples of this word.—In R15, 54 the king celebrates the praises of his ancestor Ashur-dayan (whose name signifies

'Ashur is judge') and he says of him that his piety endeared him to the gods, so that he attained unto gray hairs and old age; 'sabuta u labiruta illiku.' A very similar phrase occurs in the prayer which terminates Sargina's long inscription, Opp. Khors. line 191, where, speaking of the Divine Bulls whose images carved in stone guarded his Palace, he says: 'Kibitús-su, by their divine will, or power; malku banu-sun, may the King who made them; sibuta lillik, attain to a very old age.' In both these examples the substantive is governed by the same verb *alik* Heb. אָלַק. The following phrase, or one very like it, occurs at the end of many inscriptions, *ex. gr.* R 66, 49. 'Bit ebusu; lala-sha lusbim! In Babilam in kirbi-su *sibuta luksut!*' (spelt $\langle \text{Y} \text{---} \text{X} \text{---} \text{Y} \text{---} \text{E} \text{---} \text{E} \text{---} \text{Y} \rangle$) 'I have made this building; may its glory endure! In Babylon, within it, may I reach old age!'

The word *sibuta* is derived from סב or שב canuit, consenuit: otherwise written סנב or שנב. When used as a substantive this word is rendered 'senex septuagenarius' by Schindler. As a verb, it appears in one of the oldest inscriptions, that of Khammurabi. That ancient king built a Castle, and he concludes his inscription with a prayer that it may 'last for many ages,' or perhaps 'grow old in glory,' in *kibrati lu-shaib!*

In an invocation to the goddess Beltis, 2R 66, 5, she is called "Queen of war and battle, 'sha balu-sha as bit-khira *sibthu val imagaru,*' whose power in Heaven old age will never destroy!" Here I have conjecturally rendered *Bit Khira* 'Heaven.' The parallel passage in the other invocation to Beltis, quoted by Norris, *dict.* p. 91, has 'balús-su as shamami' $\text{---} \text{---} \text{Y} \text{---} \text{Y} \text{---} \text{Y}$ 'her power in Heaven.'

Imagaru is the Chald. *magar* מָגַר 'to destroy.'

194. **Sibu.** $\langle \text{Y} \text{---} \text{X} \text{---} \text{Y} \text{---} \text{E} \text{---} \text{E} \text{---} \text{Y} \rangle$, a Grandfather.—This word is evidently derived from the last, viz. *Sib* (old); *Sibut* (old age). Heb. שֵׁב 'Senex,' see Job xv. 10. שֵׁיב and שֵׁיבָה 'gray hairs.' "If mischief befal him, then shall ye bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave." Genes. xlii. 38, *sibut-ya* 'my gray hairs' שֵׁיבָתִי.





A good example of the word is found in 2 R 33, 10, where it occurs among many similar phrases: Υ $\langle\Upsilon$ \times $\times\Upsilon$ Υ ana sibuti-su, to his grandfather. The meaning is well ascertained by the preceding phrases, viz. 'to his child; to his son; to his brother; to his father; to his grandfather;' all which are rendered into Proto-Chaldaean in the opposite column. The P.C. for 'grandfather' is *Abba*.



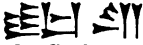

195. **Sibta.** $\langle\Upsilon$ Υ \times \times , a Grandmother.—Feminine of the last word. It occurs in a gloss in 2 R 32, 65 (unfortunately partly broken), which, compared with the following, shows that *Sibta* is equivalent to *Umma raba* or Grandmother \times \times \times \times \times . It is also made equivalent to \times \times \times \times 'mother,' followed by the epithet \times \times \times \times *sik* or *sak*, which is perhaps an abbreviation of the Heb. *zaqna* זקן 'old.'
196. **Siba.** \times Υ Υ , Seven.—The same with the Heb. שבע. In 2 R 19, 14 the numeral \times Υ Υ is rendered *Siba*. So also in 66 of the same plate (in a different phrase). And in the first line of Bellino's inscription we find 'arkhi sibuti' \times Υ Υ \times \times \times \times in the seventh month. And on tablet K 1, last line, \times Υ Υ \times \times \times \times tam sibutti, day the seventh.
197. **Sabbi.** \times \times \times \times , the name of one of the Assyrian Deities.—The inscription of Tiglath Pileser and several others commence with a list of the principal gods of Assyria, generally about twelve or fourteen in number. In one of these lists the name of *Sabbi* occurs, on the unpublished tab. 100, otherwise 73a. This is a proof of his high rank in the celestial hierarchy. In the tablet K, 255 his name occurs coupled with that of the god Anu. The tablet K, 252 contains a copious list of the families of the gods. From such lists as these the ancient Greeks may have borrowed some ideas, and we may see in them the first germ of Hesiod's *Theogonia*. In this tablet *Sabbi* stands conspicuously at the head of his family, who are named in a compartment of eight lines, the last line of which is 'Ili sha bit Sabbi,' these are the gods of the house of Sabbi. In the name of this god, the number seven \times Υ Υ stands conspicuous (see the

preceding article). I have suggested in the Trans. R.S.L. that he may have ruled specially over the seven planets, and that his worship may have been connected with that of Sabazius, an Oriental deity. It may be remembered also that the worshippers of Dionysus gave him the mystical title of $\Sigma\alpha\beta\omicron\iota$ and shouted during the orgies *Evoι Σαβοι!*

198. **Surmat.** 𐤔𐤌 , Rebellion.—Heb. סרמ 'rebellious,' related to סרב 'to rebel' (Furst's lex.). 𐤔𐤌 \langle 𐤔𐤌 𐤔𐤌 𐤔𐤌 𐤔𐤌 Amish surmat-zu, *I forgave his rebellion* (Opp. Khors. pl. 6, l. 51). Amish 'purgavi' is the Arabic verb *משע* 'purgare.' The Hebrew has not the verb, but has the derived substantive *משעו* 'purgatio.'—*Ges.*
199. **Sumila.** 𐤔𐤌 𐤔𐤌 𐤔𐤌 , the Left Hand (see Art. 46).—The present spelling is an important variation. The sign 𐤔𐤌 , though its *normal* value is *Ku*, is frequently to be read *Su*. In B42, 53 Sennacherib speaks of his palace. After mentioning the *gates* he says "I made noble figures of the divine bulls formed of stone from the province of Balada, and I set them on the right side and on the left." 𐤔𐤌 𐤔𐤌 𐤔𐤌 𐤔𐤌 𐤔𐤌 𐤔𐤌 Imna u sumila [ushazbit sisa-shin]. The conjunction 𐤔𐤌 (and) is misprinted 𐤔𐤌 in the lithographed text. In writing the sign 𐤔𐤌 *Su* it sometimes happened that the broad ends of the horizontal wedges coalesced at their points, and thus formed a continuous line. In this manner the sign 𐤔𐤌 became 𐤔𐤌 or at least not easily distinguishable from it; and thus, if I mistake not, the scribes got into the habit of writing 𐤔𐤌 for *Su* in certain words.
200. **Karaz,** a Proclamation.—"Useful works such as purifying the river, and digging wells for the use of the citizens, they (the kings my ancestors) never thought of doing, nor ever issued such decrees." Passages similar to this, but varying slightly in the expressions employed, abound in the inscriptions. Val ustabil karaz-zu, *they never made proclamation.* *Karaz* is the Ch. כרז 'proclamavit.' From hence is derived the substantive כרז *karuz* 'præco' a Crier. This *karuz* is the origin of the Greek *Κηρυξ* 'a herald' or 'public crier,' of which the Doric

form *Kapvξ* was probably the original one. Equally interesting is the verb *ustabil*, which is associated with *karaz-zu*. This is the *istaphel* or ST conjugation of the verb *יבּל*, and *יבּל* is 'to make proclamation by sound of trumpet.' Such proclamation was the *יבּל* or *יבּל יובּל* *yubil* so familiar to us in English and German under the form *Jubil*.

In 2 R 43, 42  'ustabilu karaz-zu' merely means 'he gave orders,' viz. to create a library of useful knowledge, by inscribing the clay tablets, of which so many fragments have been found. This passage makes me doubt whether *karaz-zu* is not rather the Heb. קרא 'to speak aloud; to command;' so that *karat* would be a substantive meaning a 'command.' This verb is related to כר though beginning with a different letter. The LXX renders both of them by κηρυσσειν. In Bellino line 41 the word *ustabil* is written  where  *bil* replaces  *bi lu*.

201. **Sharut.**  Instruction.— *Dibbu sharut isthur iznik ib(ri); Tablets of instruction he wrote, &c. &c.*—2 R 43, 42. This phrase often occurs. The usual spelling is *sarrut* , see No. 7.
202. **Lagamar.** A deity of the Susians, named, with many others, on the tablets of Ashurbanipal.—This word suggests a different explanation of the name of king Kudur-lagamar (*Chedorlaomer*) from that which I gave in Art. 192. Perhaps it is a purely Susian name, meaning *Servant* or *Worshipper* of the god *Lagamar*. Similar names were borne by two other kings, *Kudur*  *Nakhundi*, and *Kudur-Mabuk*. This meaning of the word *kudur* in the language of *Elam* is, however, merely conjectural, and based on the analogy of names in other languages, as *Abdallah*, *Abd-Istarte*, *Abed-Nebo*, *Shemesh-Bar* (*servant of Bar*), &c. &c.
203. **Salam, Peace.**—The following passage was omitted in Art. 175. In *Opp. Khors.* 10, 90 the king of *Ashdod* rebels against *Sargina*, who subdues him and makes *Akhimiti*, his brother, king in his

stead. But the people of Ashdod refuse to receive him, and elect as their king a native of the province of Yaman, who had no right to the throne (*la bel guza*). Then follows (line 97) "In sukhut libbi-ya, *in the vigour of my heart*; gisir ummani-ya val upakkhir, *I assembled no army*; val akzura karasi, *I collected no baggage*; itti kuradi-ya, *but with my soldiers*; sha ashar salmi itti-ya la ipparku, *who in time of peace had not quitted my standards*; ana ir Ashdudi allik, *I marched to the assault of Ashdod.*" These soldiers were his body-guard, who were never disbanded.

𐤀𐤂 𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤂 𐤀𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 *Ashar salmi* 'loco pacis' used for 'tempore pacis.' 𐤀𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 *Itti* 'standards,' Ch. 𐤀𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 'signum militare,' which the scribes often confused with 𐤀𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 *manus*, because 'troops' and 'standards' are cognate ideas. But, if preferred, we can translate "who had not quitted my side."

204. **Dapinu.** 𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀, a Physician.—Oblique case 𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀. The king named 𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 had apparently been attacked by an illness. The magistrates of the cities raised a statue to the god Nebo, imploring him to send health to the king. The inscription on the statue is given in R35, No. 2. It begins: "Ana Nebu dapini, *unto Nebo the physician [we dedicate this statue].*" The word is explained as follows in the gloss 2 R48, 50 :

𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 *the god Dapinu [means]* 𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 *'ilu tarpas utdu-a, the god who heals by means of salubrious springs.'* *Tarpa* 'the healer,' 'the physician,' seems a verbal substantive from the Heb. *רפא* 'sanavit.' *Utdu-a* 'a spring of water' is very common. The Romans were excessively fond of using medicinal springs; it now appears that the Assyrians had also discovered their virtues and efficacy. In the word Dapin I believe the final N is merely formative, as in many other Hebrew words (see Gesenius). The root is the Arab. *طب* *medicina*, which Schindler transcribes *tab*, whence *מרב* 'to heal' and *מריב* *medicus*. This Arab. *טב*

ia, I suppose, of the same origin with Heb. מַרְבּ מַרְבּ 'bonus ;' 'to do good' to a sick person might be used for 'to heal.' This gloss about 'medical waters' will, perhaps, enable us to go further in explaining this inscription, R 35, No. 2. The word *shakie* follows. Ana Nebo dapini shakie ; perhaps this means [Lord of] medicinal draughts, from the Heb. שָׁקַי 'potus' a draught.—Ps. 102, Hosea ii. Nebo is next called *tarbit sakkil*, which I think may mean *learned and wise*. *Tarbit* generally means 'educated ;' here I would say 'learned.' *Sakkil* 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 is the Ch. שָׂכֵל or סָכֵל *sapiens, intelligens*.

¶ The Talmud uses דַּפְנָא for the Greek δαφνη a bay tree. I think there may be some connection, because Phæbus was a skilful physician, *ιατρος σοφος*, says Aristophanes. Indeed he was the same as Παιων, who was the great physician of the gods. It is possible that a branch of the δαφνη hung out indicated the abode of a physician.

Dapinu in 2R 31, 70 stands opposite to *emamu*, but the two columns are independent and unconnected lists of verbs, and both are in Assyrian.

205. **Nu-bila** (see Articles 159, 160).—I will here add some further evidence. In 2R 18, 19 we see that the P.C. monogram 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 means a 'sale' or 'bargain,' in Assyrian 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *simu*. And we find the monogram used in that sense on the Michaux stones. Now when this monogram is followed by 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *bila* it is explained in Assyrian by *simu gamru*, 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 'a sale which will cease,' or 'a temporary sale.' But when it is followed by 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *nu-bila* it is explained *simu la gamru* 'a sale which is for ever.'

206. **Enuma.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *adv.* When.—Appears to agree exactly with the Arab. *نَـمَـا* *enma* (cum, quando). *Enuma haikal sātu ilabbiru innakhu, when this palace shall grow old and decay*.—Bell. l. 63. *Enuma, &c. &c. When Ashur-danin-a, in the days of Salmanubar his father, raised an insurrection, &c. &c.*—R 32, 39. I will add a curious passage from tab. 173, in which

the word $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{ } \text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ occurs four times without any variation of spelling, and its meaning admits of no doubt :—

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. Enuma tallaku urukh-ka, | When thou goest thy way. |
| 2. enuma tibbiru naru Khubur, | when thou crossesst the river Khubur. |
| 3. enuma tallaku tsir, | when thou goest beyond (i.e. the Sea). |
| 4. enuma tazakkibu bula, | when thou..... |

N.B. I have omitted several intermediate lines.

In the above, *tallaku* is twice spelt $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{ } \text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$; *tibbiru* $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$; *urukh* 'a road' $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ nearly as in Art. 55, which see. *Tsir* is written $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$, which frequently means 'beyond,' and is used as a preposition.

Going 'beyond the Sea' is meant, for a mention of 'ships' follows.

207. **Bilat.** $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$, Tribute.—Agrees with the Ch. בלו. *Ex. gr.* "*Bilat* of the kings of Syria and of the kings of Aramæa and Chaldæa."—2 R 67, 74 (the first have the title *sarini*; the others only *malki*). Sometimes spelt $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$, *ex. gr.* *Bilat mada*, the great tribute.—Phill. iii. 21. $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ *bilat-zun kabitti*, their abundant tribute.—Phill. iii. 53. *Irsu bilati* $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$, they lifted the tribute (i.e. they were carriers of it from Jerusalem to Nineveh).—R 39, 33. $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ *natar bilti*, to pay tribute.—Opp. Khors. 10, 90. *Bilut u mandatta*, tribute and presents.—R 46, 58 (spelt $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$).

$\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ *bilat*, tribute; $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ *mati u tamati*, of land and sea; 2 R 67, 85.

208. **Tila.** $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ (verb), to give Life.—We have already had the substantíve (see Art. 130). The verb is seen in the name of an ancient king of Assyria *Ashur-utila* (*Ashur gives life*), 2 R 65, 8. *Ubullat* is a similar verb, whence the names of the Eponyms, *Nergal-ubullat* (*Nergal gives life*), 2 R 68, 38, and $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ *Im-ubullat* (*Im gives life*), 2 R 69, No. 3 obv. Both the Sun and Moon were life-giving powers, see the art. *Sanballat*, No. 165, and the following passage : $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ *That man, may the Sun give him life!* 2 R 18, 55. Here the P.C. version has $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ *Life*.

- 209 **Lakhari**, Tranquillity.—I think this word is the contrary of *khari* ‘disturbance’ (whence *takhari* ‘battle’), but I am not sure about it.

Kima zudinni khu nigitsi, *like frightened zudinni birds; ipparsu, they flew away; ashar la hari, to a place that was undisturbed*; R37, 18. Spelt $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$.

The word is also found in the name of one of the Eponyms (2R68, No. 2 obv.), $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ Dimu u lakhar (probably pronounced Dimu-lakhar), meaning ‘Peace and Tranquillity.’ The word *Dimu* is very frequent in the sense of ‘peace’ or ‘repose,’ especially when prayers are offered up for the health of the king and the *dimu* or ‘repose’ of his family (see the art. *Dimu*, No. 139).

$\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ often means “and.” When so used, Norris transcribes it *adi* (dict. p. 84). I believe he is right, but 𐎶 (*u*) was probably substituted in *reading the name* as more euphonious.

¶ “Peace and Tranquillity.” As the Eponym gave his name to the year, he may have adopted this name during his year of office, *boni ominis causâ*. His real name may have been quite different, and perhaps was thought unsuitable or unlucky.

210. **Izmi**. $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$, Power.—Heb. יִצְמִי (same meaning). As izmi sha Uramazda, *by the power of Oromasdes*. This phrase occurs continually in the Behistun inscription. The meaning of the word is well shown in the name of an Eponym in 2R69, No. 4 obv. Khiga-izmi-bitkhira, who is named again in pl. 68, No. 1 reverse, but this time the word $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *izmi* is changed for $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *rubu*, ‘king’ or ‘powerful chief.’ I translate the name, “Good is the King of heaven,” meaning Ashur. Compare many other similar names, especially a Babylonian one on the Mich. stone, Khiga-sab-Marduk (*Marduk is the good king*).
211. **Salmanubar**. $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$, the celebrated ‘Obelisk King.’—He is called *Shalmanubar* by Rawlinson (Herod. Vol. 1, p. 462). With less probability he is named by Norris and Oppert, *Shalmaneser*.

I have in vain (until lately) sought for any evidence in cor-


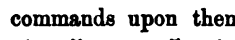
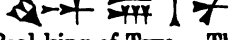

roboration of either of these names, but I now find, on comparing two lists of Eponyms in 2 R, pl. 68 that the same man is called $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \lll \text{𐎶} \langle\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} (\text{𐎶})$ San-sallim-ani (the Moon is my saviour) in one list, and $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \lll \langle\text{𐎶} \rightarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ in the other. Now $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{ani}$ and $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{anni}$ are variants of the same word, as appears by numerous examples in the lists of Eponyms. Consequently $\langle\text{𐎶}$ must have the value $\text{𐎶} \langle\text{𐎶}$ *sallim* and the meaning 'to save' or 'to give peace or rest.' Another very similar example is found in the name of the Eponym (see 2 R, pl. 69). $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \langle\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} (\text{𐎶})$ Marduk-sallim-ani, which in another column is written ($\rightarrow\text{𐎶}$) $\text{𐎶} \langle\text{𐎶} \rightarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$, showing that $\langle\text{𐎶}$ is equivalent to $\text{𐎶} \langle\text{𐎶}$ *sallim*. Accepting this new value of $\langle\text{𐎶}$, the name of the Obelisk King $\langle\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \rightarrow\text{𐎶}$ will become Salimmanubar, or Salma-nubar, somewhat (though slightly) resembling Salmaneser. Another argument tending in the same direction may be stated thus:—The setting of the Sun, which may be considered as his 'repose' or 'rest,' is called in Assyrian both *salam shemsi* and *dimu shemsi* (see Art. *Dimu*, No. 139). Here we have the same equivalence as before of the syllable $\langle\text{𐎶}$ and *salim*.


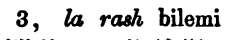

212. **Ashur-danin-ani.** $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ (Ashur strengthen me!), name of an Eponym in 2 R 68, 16. The same person is called in l. 36 of another column Ashur-danin-anni, changing $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ into $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$. These two words had, therefore, the same meaning. If we compare this name with that of $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \rightarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ Ashur-danin-a, the rebellious son of Salmanubar (R 32, 39), it will appear, I think, probable that the last sign 𐎶 is not to be read *bal* (a son) but *a* (me), a pronoun equivalent to *ani*. The pronoun 𐎶 is very common. *Ashur-danin-a* is 'Ashur strengthen me!'

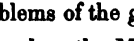
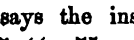
¶ An Eponym in l. 7 of same plate 68 has the analogous name *Nebo-danin-ani* (or *anni* $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ in l. 27 of another column).

213. **Ashur-shazban.** $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$, 2 R 68, No. 2 obv. l. 26. This proper name of an Eponym, meaning




'Ashur save me!' is worth notice, as illustrating and confirming the account which I have given of the biblical name Nebo-shasban (see No. 184).

214. **Minassi.** , Manasseh, king of Judah; Heb. מְנַשֶּׁה.—This name, according to Gesenius, signifies 'Amnesty,' or 'Oblivion;' for, at the time of his birth Hezekiah hoped to reconcile all parties to his rule. The facts of his life are much disputed by theologians. He had certainly on one occasion a personal interview with Esarhaddon (apparently in the Palace of Nineveh), see R 48, 2. "I assembled 22 kings of Syria, and the sea coast, and the islands. And I passed them in review (or laid my commands upon them)."  and . The first in this list of kings is Baal king of Tyre. The second is Manasseh king of Judah. . Minassi Sar Iahudi.

215. **La-rash.** , an Enemy.—"A new king of Susa ascended the throne, who was *no friend* to religion and law," R 41, 3, *la rash* bilemi u iski . .

¶ Awful emblems of the gods, , were sculptured on the Michaux stone to deter the evil-disposed, who might otherwise have destroyed it. These formidable figures have hitherto guarded the stone successfully! They were sculptured, says the inscription,  ana khuri la-rashie, for the terror of enemies. Heb. *khur* חָרַר 'metus, terror.'

I think that *la rash* is the contrary of *rash* 'a friend.'

216. **Suk.** , Wet, Watery; Filled with Water.—The Chald. verb *suka* שָׁקַח when said of a man, means 'to drink;' of a flock, 'to be watered;' of land or soil, 'to be irrigated' (Schindler). It is remarkable that the symbol  is composed of  (the sign for water), placed within a field or enclosure (see next article). Compare also the Heb. שׁוּחַ to be low, sunk or depressed.

217. **Gi.** 𐎡𐎠𐎥 , a Valley, or Wet Bottom.—So Norris (dict. 156), who compares the Heb. גַּי ‘a valley,’ no doubt correctly. Again, the syllabary 366 renders 𐎡𐎠𐎥 𐎡𐎠𐎥 or *gie* by *kitu*, which, as Mr. N. observes, means ‘the earth.’ I will add that *kitu* also means ‘down,’ or anything that is ‘low.’ Now, in the preceding article we have *suk* ‘watery.’ These two words put together make *gi sukki* 𐎡𐎠𐎥 𐎲𐎠𐎫 *marshes* (first correctly translated by Oppert *marais*). Mr. N. remarks that 𐎡𐎠𐎥 and 𐎲𐎠𐎫 are separate words, because they are in separate lines on the stone. *Example* R46, 54. The Gambuli tribe (in lower Chaldæa near the sea) are described as dwelling ‘like fishes,’ *kima nuni*, in the waters and marshes 𐎡𐎠𐎥 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎡𐎠𐎥 𐎲𐎠𐎫 *as mie u gi sukki*. It is added, that their territory extended twelve *kasbu*.
218. **Masak.** 𐎡𐎠𐎫 , the Skin.—Agrees entirely with the Chald. ܡܫܟܐ ‘pellis,’ ‘cutis.’ This word was first explained by Oppert. *Masak-su akutz*, ‘cutem ejus detraxi;’ Opp. Khors. vi. 4 and vii. 1. The verb is here spelt 𐎡𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 .
219. **ZU, or TZU.** 𐎲𐎠𐎫 , the Skin.—A Proto-Chaldæan word frequently used in the inscriptions. R19, 92, *Akutzu zu-sun*, ‘I stripped off their skins.’ Repeated in the next line in the singular ‘his skin.’ The verb in the former line is written 𐎡𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 , and in the latter line 𐎡𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 , while in Opp. Khors. vi. 4 it is 𐎡𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 . These forms are nearly equivalent. *Tzu* also means the skin of a wild beast, *ex. gr.* R14, 68: Tiglath Pileser kills four wild bulls in one of his hunting expeditions, and says “I sent home their skins and their horns to my city of Ashur.” Here ‘skins’ are expressed by 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 , which is the same symbol slightly varied. In 2R16, 57 the P.C. 𐎲𐎠𐎫 is rendered in Assyrian *masak* 𐎡𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 .
220. **Shadu.** 𐎲𐎠𐎫 , a King.—This is the Heb. שָׂדוּ dominus, fortis, potens. Bagdatti, the *Shadu* (or king) of Isdis. Opp. Khors. vi. 3. The term 𐎲𐎠𐎫 is very frequently applied to the chief of the gods, *ex. gr.* R37, 10, where Sennacherib





















says: Ashur shadu rabu, *Ashur the great King*; sarrut la shanan usatlima annima, *has given me a kingdom which is unassailable*. So also the Hebrew uses אֲדָי as an epithet of Jehovah, Job v. 17, &c. &c. Our version has 'Almighty,' and 'Shaddai.' LXX παντοκράτωρ. Vulg. Omnipotens.

¶ I am at present rather inclined to explain the second (or less frequently used) name of Nebuchadnezzar, viz. *Nebushadu-ussur*, 'Nebo protect the King.' His principal name, *Nebo-kudurri-ussur* appears to have a similar meaning, see Art. 192 for the word קָדַר 'powerful.' It may be 'Nebo protect my crown,' or 'my royal power.'


















221. **Basa**, to Dwell; to Exist.—*Ibbasu* 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎶 'he dwelt.' "Where a beast of the desert never dwelt; nor a bird of the air ever built its nest" (example quoted by Norris, dict. 357). "Nineveh the exalted city, the city beloved by Ishtar, where all manner of worship of gods and goddesses *has a dwelling* within it," *basu kiréb-su* 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎶 (Bellino, l. 35). In B.M. 18, 30 the king says: "I built a city, which I called the city of *Ashur-basha*:" → 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎶 (*Ashur's dwelling*). Of course there was a temple of Ashur there, and probably a fine one. *Ki yaati val ibassi*, 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎶 > < 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎶 *with me they dwelt not*.—2R60, 18.






¶ I do not find this verb in Hebrew. I think it may be the Persian *bashiden*, to dwell or be. *Bas* a dwelling-place, home, residence; *bash* being, living, existence (Gilchrist's Vocab. p. 35).

222. **Dalu**, to Sell.—*Ittadalu* 'he sold.' Schindler, p. 390, gives the Arabic 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎶, 𐎠𐎶 (which he reads *datal* and *dal*), and explains 'he sold by auction.' His words are 'per præconem res vendidit; auctionatus fuit; hastæ subiecit; publicavit bona.' He also gives the conjugation *astadal* having the same meaning. This word occurs on the tablet 2R13, 30. 'Bit ana kaspî ittadalu,' *he sold his house for silver* (or money). This is followed in four separate lines, by 'he sold his field for silver,—his wood or plantation—his female slave—his male slave.' The original terms are these: 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎶 'house,' 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎶 'field,' 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎶

'wood,'   (*shallat*) 'female slave,'   (perhaps *ardu*) 'male slave.' Of these     is important as showing that this sign meant woods or plantations *in general*, and not any particular sort of tree. Norris, p. 388, gives the same explanation of the term. Then, curiously enough, the whole of these valuables are crowded into a single line (l. 28)            .

The only difference is, that the male slaves are now named first. These five things are called *tsibit kaspi-su* 'his valuables' (literally *res argenti sui*). *Tsibit* being the Chaldee צִבִּית 'res, negotium' (Sch. 1513). We have had the word before (see in Art. 127 *Kamu tsibitti-sun*). These valuables of five kinds, the tablet says (l. 29) 'ana manzazani uzziz,' *he put up to* (perhaps to *auction*). The word *manzazan* is unknown to me, but probably comes from the same root as *uzziz* 'he set up,' Heb. וָצַץ 'firmavit,' a root exceedingly common in Assyrian. *Manzaz* would be a substantive formed from this root. Some light is thrown upon it by l. 20, which speaks of the 'sale' (*simat*) by the *manzazan*, which I take to be some sign *fixed up* indicating 'a sale;' perhaps it was a *spear* fixed in the ground and bearing a flag (compare the Latin expression *hastæ subijcere*, to sell publicly). Cicero says: *Sylla ausus est dicere, hastâ positâ, cum bona in foro venderet, &c.* *Emptionem ab hastâ (Nepos). Ibi nunc ad hastam locamus, we let by public auction (Livy). Sub hastâ venditis (Tacitus), &c.*

Ittadalu is spelt       in lines 30 and 38. *Manzazan* is written in two ways. In line 29 it is    . But in line 21     . The P.C. translation of this is *Duba*  .

223. **Napali** (*verb*), to Throw Down.—Agrees exactly with the Heb. נָפַל 'to fall,' and in Hiph. 'to throw down.' Dur-su raba u atsuiti-su sha agavri, ana napali akba su, *its great citadel and its towers of brick, to throw them down I gave command.*—Fig. vi. 28. So also Opp. Khors. p. 178. *Napali* is spelt     .

224. **Zahin** (*verb*), to Adorn.—When a Temple is spoken of, the king often says ‘*Uzahin*’ $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶}$ I adorned it. *Ex. gr.* 2R38, 51. Also in Phill. i. 33; “I adorned the temple of Zarpanita with images,” $\text{𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶}$ *kutsibam*, from Heb. קוצב a carved stone.

I do not find the verb *zahin* in Hebrew. It is the Arabic *Zain* زین ; ‘an ornament.’

225. **Thup.** $\text{𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶}$ (*adj.*), Good.—Agrees with the Heb. טוב *bonus*. The meaning is ascertained from R16, 61, where it is made equivalent to the P.C. *khiga* (good).
226. **Dabu.** $\text{𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶}$ (*adj.*), Good.—Closely related to the preceding. *Sha erit-zun dabu, whose forests are good.*—R39, 23.
227. **Dabish.** $\text{𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶}$ (*adv.*), Well.—Heb. טוב *bonus*. *Dabish upakhir, I well collected, I skilfully assembled* (said of precious objects of art).—Phill. iii. 24.

In R16, 62 it is spelt $\text{𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶}$ *Dapish*. “May the gods protect him *well* / (dapish lattarru-su).” Here the other copy reads *khigaish* (see the next article).

228. **Khigaish.** $\text{𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶}$ (*adv.*), Well.—An Assyrian adverb formed from the P.C. word *khiga* ‘good.’ This is very curious and important as showing that the Assyrians familiarly used Proto-Chaldaean words, and did not, as some suppose, read those words differently from what was written, by substituting an Assyrian translation. They may, of course, have done so sometimes, but it is evident that the languages had got intermixed, and many P.C. words were in actual use down to a late period. See a still more remarkable instance of this in the next article.

229. **Khukharish.** $\text{𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶}$, Completely.

Ex. gr. 2R67, 15. “All the land of Chaldæa I swept completely bare, *khukharish askhup.*” First, as to the verb *askhup* ‘I swept.’ This is the Heb. סחף ‘to sweep away.’ Furst’s Lexicon, p. 975; Gesen. p. 708. It occurs again in the same page, l. 13: ‘*kima sapari askhup, I swept away (all that tribe) like shavings of wood.* See similar passages in various inscrip-

tions, *ex. gr.* 'I left the land of Illipi a desert.' "Not one soul was left." "Not one tree was left," &c. &c. The very curious adverb *khukharish* seems to be a *proverbial expression*, composed of *khu* 𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎫 'a bird,' and *kha* 𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎫 'a fish,' which are very commonly joined together in the inscriptions. Hence *khukharish askhup* meant "I swept off both fowl and fish," that is "I swept away everything." "Nothing was left alive." This adverb occurs again, same page, l. 32: "Those districts of Media *khukharish akkir*." This verb *akkir* may come from *nakkir* 'to destroy.' Initial N is often dropped in the verbs.

230. **Salmish.** 𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫, otherwise 𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫 (*adv.*), Safely.—Salmish atura, *I returned safely.* *Ex.* given by Norris, p. 404, Salmish lattarruni, *may (the gods) protect me safely!*—R 16, 30. Atura 𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫 from the root *tur*, to turn or return.

231. **Haggarish.** 𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫 (*adv.*), Down to the Ground: from *haggar* 'the ground,' for which see Art. 109.

Haggarish ibbul, *he destroyed it down to the ground.*—Botta 87, 5. Another example in 2R 67, 21: 'I levelled that city with the earth.'

232. **Akilu.** 𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫, Corn, Cornfields.—Heb. אכיל frumentum, fruges, annona, cibus. "May the god Sanna destroy all his cornfields! *akilu bari lilabbit-su*;" from Heb. לָבַט 'perit,' R 70, col. iii. 19. Another of the Michaux inscriptions gives a different phrase, "May the gods destroy all his cornfields! *gimis lani-su lilabbit-su.*" *Sanna* 𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫 may be the god of the Year; see Bellino, l. 49, where *Sanna* (so spelt) signifies 'a year.'

Another example is found in 2R 53, col. iv. 1, 𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫 *Akilut*, 'provisions' or 'eatables,' and again in col. iv. 38.

233. **Bar.** 𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫, Corn, Wheat.—Heb. *Bar* בָּר frumentum. Gesenius remarks that the Latin *Far* is the same word (see an *ex.* of *Bar* in the last article).

234. **Lani,** Cornfields.—The meaning is manifest from the parallelism of the passages adduced in Art. 232. It appears that the Assyrians said *lani* for *lami* (so they changed N for M in many

ether words). *Lami* would be the Heb. לחם 'Corn' (*triticum*, Ges. p. 529). Isaiah xxviii. 28 has לחם יודק the wheat is ground. The Greek λαϊον, ληϊον, a standing crop of corn seems related to *Lani*.

235. **Takhumu.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, the *Terms* of a treaty; or the *bounds, limits* of territory agreed upon therein.—Agrees exactly with the Chald. תרום terminus, finis; from the verb תרום terminavit, definivit, descripsit, &c. Examples from the Synchronous History, 2 R 65, 5: Butzur-Ashur (*i.e.* Rampart of Ashur) king of Assyria, and Burna-burias king of Kardunias (or Babylonia); itmu mizri takhumi, *wrote down the boundaries and limits of their countries*; annama ukinu, *and made a treaty of peace*. Again, l. 45: "The men of Assyria and of Kardunias, itti akhati mizru takhumu, *agreed with each other and defined their boundaries.*"


236. **Mutbara.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, a Desert.—Agrees exactly with the Heb. מדבר *medbar* or *mudbar*, 'a desert.' Mutbara azbat, *I marched into the desert.*—R 13, 45.

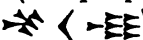
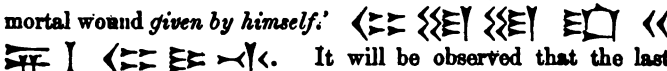
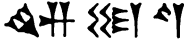
237. **Khuribta.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, a Desert.—Agrees with Heb. חרבת 'a desert.'



Khuribta azabta, *I marched into the desert.*—R 24, 28.



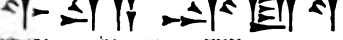
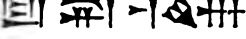
[*Azabta* and *azbat* are varieties of the same word.] I slew wild beasts in the desert, *in khuribti.*—R 14, 63. Spelt 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵.

238. **Khinki.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, the Narrows: the narrow part of a river where it is confined between two hills.—Agrees with the Heb. חנק *khinek*, 'angustus fuit: strangulavit.' "I marched or went (*azbat*) until I reached the narrows of the river Euphrates," *khinki* 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵.—R 24, 30, and again line 44. Gesenius remarks that a great many Greek, Latin, German, &c., words contain this root ANK, such as angustus, angor, anxiet, *αγγειν* to hang, enge seyn, Angst, *αγγι* (close to), &c. And in Hebrew itself חנק, חונך, ענק. It is a subject worthy of the attention of the philologist. There must be some natural cause that has induced so many nations to agree in employing this sound to express 'closeness' and 'tightness.'

239. **Mut.** , Death.—The same in Hebrew מוֹת 'mora.'

Usasdir ana mut, *I sentenced them to death.*—Bl. Stone of Esarhaddon, iii. 24. Mutu sinu asarrak sunuti, *a bad death I gave to them* (example quoted by Norris, p. 434). The word is here spelt . The next example of the word which I am about to adduce appears to me a very curious one. Herodotus relates that Cambyses killed himself, but that he did it by accident (Herod. iii. 64). The *Persian* inscription at Behistun, however, uses words which suggested to Rawlinson that Cambyses really intended suicide. I will copy the note in his Herodotus, Vol. 2, p. 459: "The words of the Behistun inscription cause a suspicion that the death may have been a suicide. Cambyses, it is said, after the whole empire had revolted, 'self-wishing to die, died' (*uvamarshiyush amariyata*)." At the time when this note was written the *Assyrian* version was not well understood, and is, therefore, not referred to by Rawlinson. Let us, therefore, now consult it. *Arku Kambuziya mitutu ramanni-su miti.* 'After this Cambyses died from a mortal wound given by himself.' . It will be observed that the last letter is doubled in *mitut*. I will give another example of this usage. "The king of Susa after his defeat only lived three months, and was then put to death,  *imtot.*"—R41, 2. So in Hebrew מוֹת 'to put to death' (Gen. 558).

We also find *Mat*  'Death,' *ex. gr.* *Mat sarri* , 'the king's death.'—2R16, 42. As the passage is a very curious one, I will give it at length. It relates to a kind of *sortilegium*, or speculating on future events by drawing lots:—

- | | | |
|----|---|---------------|
| 1. |  | Talkâ mat sar |
| 2. |  | lukul! |
| 3. |  | Talkâ bullut |
| 4. |  | luskun! |

1. If thou castest the lot of the king's death,
2. May it be false!
3. If thou castest the lot of his life,
4. May it be true!

The sign 𐎶 is doubtless to be read *tal*, as in line 14 of the same page 16, 𐎶𐎵 *tallik*, 'thou goest.' This value was first pointed out by Rawlinson, and is confirmed by Syllabary 563. *Lukul* probably from ללל 'to be false.' *Luskun*, 'may it hold fast!' 'may it be firm!' from שכנ *stabilire*, 'to fix.' The P.C. word for 'death' was *durga*, 2 R16, 42 and 2 R17, 39, where it answers to the Assyrian verb 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *imut*. *Talká* is from Heb. לקח , Gr. $\lambda\alpha\chi\epsilon\upsilon\nu$. It appears to me that the single sign 𐎶 *Mat* sometimes signifies 'death.' In 2 R65, 45 we read "In the days of Salmanubar king of Assyria, (Marduk)baladan [or possibly Nebo-baladan] who was king of Kardunias died, and Marduk-mu-mu ascended his father's throne. 'He died' is expressed by 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *mat-su e . . .* The verb, beginning with *e*, is unfortunately lost, and I am unable to supply the defect. The reign of Marduk-mu-mu is likewise commemorated on Salmanubar's Obelisk, line 73, but nothing is there said of his father's death.

240. **Marusta.** 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 , Perilous, Awful.—Arrata *marusta* *liruru-su*, *may he curse him with awful (or perilous) curses* / R16, 76, where the last sign is 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 . The meaning of the word appears from 2 R17, col. ii. 27 and 55 and 56, where the comparison of the P.C. shows that *marusta* and *murusu* 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 are both derived from the common adjective *marzu* 'dangerous,' of which the symbol is 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 . The root *marzu* 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 is found in lines 45 and 50 of the same column.
241. **Sutta.** 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 , a Dream.—I propose this word for examination. The Hebrew is שנת *sunta*, but I think this was pronounced *sutta*, just as בנת 'a daughter' was pronounced בת *Bath* (dropping the N before a T); and in Assyrian from *laban* 'a brick' we have the very frequent word *libitta*

'bricks.' In the prayer 2R17, 28, which may be called the Assyrian Litany, we find the following clause: "Sutta nu damikta, from dreams that are unholy (or unlucky) O king of heaven defend us! O king of earth defend us!" The P.C. translation of this is fortunately preserved. *Nu damikta* is rendered 'not holy,' and *Sutta* is rendered , which is known to mean 'a Dream.'

242. **Habarit.** Antimony.—This word was first explained by Oppert (*Exp. en Méa.* p. 344), but he reads it differently. Antimony is much used by women in the East, for darkening the eyes and eyebrows. I therefore think that the Assyrian name for it *Habarit* or *Habara* may be reasonably deduced from , which signifies 'blackness' (Sch. p. 518), induced by any cause on the flesh; also the black spots on a leopard's skin. Hence also the Arab. *hibar* *Ink* (Sch. 520). Related to this is the Chald. dark; obscured; drest in black, &c. (Sch. 420). A second example has been given by Norris from Botta 152, 16. I will add a third from 2R67, 62, where it occurs among the tribute paid by the kings of Syria and Palestine to Tiglath Pileser II.

243. **Urru.** a Day.—Agrees well with the Heb. *lux*; for so the Latins say *una lux* for 'one day.' The Heb. is also used for 'the Sun:' and in several languages 'one sun' is equivalent to 'one day.' *Urru musu akbud*, *I laboured day and night* [at the building of my new city].—Sarg. 39 and Botta 37, 44, quoted by Norris, *dict.* p. 125. *Urru u musu*, *day and night* (broken slab quoted by Norris, p. 225). Moreover, in 2R25, 23 *Urru* is explained by *Tamu*, 'a day.'

¶ Sarg. 39 is misprinted. The word should be *Urru*; which is followed by *u musha* [and night].

244. **Musish.** *adv.*, by Night; see Art. 68.—Another example is found in Botta 87, 1, where it is said that Merodach Baladan escaped by night from Babylon. *Musish utai*,

he fled by night; written $\{\}\{-\}\{|\}\ \{\}\{-\}\{|\}\$. This verb appears to be one of the forms of the Heb. יָצַח (see next article).

245. **Utzā**, to Fly for life; to Escape.—In corroboration of the preceding article I will observe that $\{\}\{-\}\{|\}\ = \{\}\{-\}\{|\}\ = \{\}\{-\}\{|\}\ = \{\}\{-\}\{|\}\$ *utzu* appears to mean 'they fled' in the difficult passage R 42, 23, of which I will attempt a translation, first remarking that $\{\}\{-\}\{|\}\$ has been corrected by Norris into *ana*, and that $\{\}\{-\}\{|\}\$ sometimes stands for $\{\}\{-\}\{|\}\ \text{dir}$. "Munnadir-sun sha ana napshati utzu, ashar ibishadu uratsabu in esku : *the rest of them, who fled for their lives, I destroyed with arrows in a desert place.*" It appears that after the battle he pursued the fugitives with cavalry and overtook them in the desert. *Munnadir* I take to be a participial form of the Heb. נָחַר *nutar* (reliqui, *the rest*), which is from the verb נָחַר . *Ex.* "Thou shalt put six of their names on one stone and the six names *of the rest* (נָחַרִים *nutrim*) on the other stone."—Exod. xxviii. 10.

¶ If this verb possesses the causative or S conjugation, it will be *Sutza*. I think we may perhaps recognise this form in the word $\{\}\{-\}\{|\}\ = \{\}\{-\}\{|\}\ \{\}\{-\}\{|\}\ = \{\}\{-\}\{|\}\$ *usutzu*, which occurs in the Behistun inscription, line 34. If we adopt Mr. Norris's reading *kikki* for the broken word (see dict. p. 486) we may read and translate the passage—As *eli kikki usutzu*, *they ran to their boats* [and crossed over to the other bank of the river Tigris. I followed them, &c.]. If this is correct the conjectures offered in the article *Diklat*, No. 111, become unnecessary, and the first part of that article may therefore be cancelled.

246. **Kakkabish**. $\{-\}\{-\}\{-\}\ \{-\}\{-\}\{-\}\ \{-\}\{-\}\{-\}\ \{-\}\{-\}\{-\}\$, *adv.*, Like the Stars.—Heb. *Cocab* כֹּכַב 'a star.' "The shrine, or ark (literally *ship* or *boat*) of Kua, I adorned with bright spangles and precious stones like the stars of heaven (*kakkabish shamam*)."—E.I.H. iii. 10.

247. **Sumsut**. $\{\}\{-\}\{|\}\ = \{\}\{-\}\{|\}\ \{\}\{-\}\{|\}\ \{\}\{-\}\{|\}\$, Enslavement: reduction to servitude or submission.—In R 51, col. ii. 21 the king prays for *sumsut nakiri*, 'the making foreign enemies to be his servants.' The word comes regularly from Ch. שָׂמַע 'a servant.'

248. **Malmalish.** מַמְלִישׁ, *adv.* In common parlance; In conversation.—Heb. מַלַּל 'to speak;' מַלְלָה 'a word.' Sargina's inscriptions contain much vituperation of his great enemy Merodach Baladan king of Babylonia. In Botta pl. 19 *bis* he says: "Taksuda rabtu kat-zu gimir mat-sa rapashti malmalish itzutu; *All his kingdom calls him the Grasper with the Strong Hand.*" Taksuda, a Spoiler or Tyrant, from the very common Assyrian root *akrud*, *ekrud*, or *kasad*; to seize, take, obtain, attain. *Itzutu*, 'they call him' (see Art. 161).

The phrase *malmalish itzutu* occurs again on the Obel. l. 75.

I have given the passage in Art. 161. Here *malmalish* is written

מַמְלִישׁ מַמְלִישׁ מַמְלִישׁ מַמְלִישׁ.

249. **Tamish.** תַּמִּישׁ, *adv.*, like the Sun.—"The shrines (or images) of the gods 'tamish unammir,' *I made as bright as the Sun.*"—E.I.H. vii. 8. But very often the phrase is varied to 'kima tamu.' *Ex. gr.* Phill. i. 38. Bit kima tamu lu-nammir, *I made that temple as splendid as the sun.* So in Esarh. iv. 48: "I built ten large temples, and these unammir kima tami." In an inscription of Sennacherib, R7, slab D, the verb is in the S or causative conjugation, 'kima tami usnammir,' *I caused it to be made splendid, &c.*

The Sun was worshipped at Heliopolis in Egypt by the name of Tum. I think the Egyptians borrowed that name from the Semites. *Tamu* >— תַּמִּישׁ is 'the Sun,' but תַּמִּישׁ *tam* without the prefix is 'a day.' So in Latin, *Sol* 'a day' (*tres soles erramus—Virg.*); and in Egyptian a circle with a dot in the centre means both 'the sun' and 'a day.'


250. Under this number I propose to collect a few additional remarks on some of the preceding articles:—


(No. 13) *Kuku*.—This bird may be the *Swan*, which is called in Turkish *kughu* (cognate with *Κυκνος*).

(31) *Bul*, 'life'—"The king relied on thee, O Ninev! and in return thou didst firmly fix (or found) his life:" *tasharsidu bul-su*.—R17, 12, written >>>— תַּמִּישׁ.

(76) *Minuta*, 'number.'—R28, 28, "minut-sun itti minuti anniti :




their numbers (were placed) along with the former numbers." The king is speaking of his museum of animals, many of which were a present from the king of Egypt. It is said that all the specimens had 'names' and 'numbers' attached to them; and this in the 10th Century B.C.!


(106) *Laban*, 'a Plain.'—This important word occurs again in 2R67, 8, 'iri birtu sha labbanat,' *fortified cities of the plain*, written .


(126) *Baal*. Add the name of Abibal.  'Baal is my father;' unless it stands for Abdibal (servant of Baal).—R 48, 6. He was king of Ussimiruna (Samaria). Idolatrous kings then reigned in Samaria, which had been taken by the Assyrians some years previously. Manasseh was then reigning in Judah, Esarhaddon in Assyria.

(149) *Mutninnu*, 'generous.'—In a passage quoted by Norris, dict. p. 468, "Sar mutninnu, rat illuri su," *whose feet are golden*. Another king uses the same phrase, saying that the feet of his throne are golden (see R35, 3), "usarsidu guza-su rat illu, *the gods placed his throne upon golden feet*." 'Ribitu (or Rihu) mutninnu,' the generous Ruler (Bellino, l. 2).

(154) *Nimattu* occurs again (Botta 87, 2) amongst the plunder of Babylon, and can, therefore, hardly be the same as the *guza nimidi*.

(157) *Nutarda*.—The Michaux Stones spell this word with the sign  instead of . This sign , or *Tar*, signifies 'a Chief,' as in *Tartan*; also a man of rank or condition.

(170) *Nisikti* means not 'pearls' only, but precious stones in general. Perhaps derived from the Syriac  *nisikh*, clarus, nitidus, splendidus.—Schaaf's lex. p. 357.

251. *Lakitza*. , the city of Lachish.—The sculpture representing the capture of Lachish by Sennacherib has been well described by Mr. Layard (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 152). But the inscription is given erroneously, and the translation is not correct. I have, therefore, followed the text given in R, pl. 7, slab I: "*Sennacherib king of Assyria, as guza*

nimidi usib, *sitting on his travelling throne (or palanquin)*, shallat ir Lakitsu makhar-su etik, *has the captives of the city of Lachish brought before him.*" Layard's description of the sculpture in p. 149 says: "From the gateway of an advanced tower or fort issued a procession of captives, reaching to the presence of the king, who, gorgeously arrayed, received them seated on his throne." *Etik* is the Heb. עֵתִיק Hiph. of עָתַק 'movit, transtulit.'—Ges. 807.

Compare the slab of Ashurbanipal, R, pl. 8, No. 1, where the king, having taken a city of Armenia, says (l. 8) "the inhabitants male and female, small and great (*i.e.* young and old), *ushattiku as makhri-ya*, I made pass in procession before me." *Ushattik* is the *sha* or causative conjugation of *etik*. This verb is very common, and often applied to the march of an army.

252. **Shamir**, Diamonds.—Tablet of Ishtar, No. 162: reverse, clause 2. Shamir idi-sha u ratti-sha, *the diamonds on her hands and feet.* שַׁמִּיר 'adamas, lapis durissimus' (Buxtorf).
253. **Zummirat**, 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 , Some kind of precious stones. Diamonds?—Perhaps the same as Shamir (see the preceding article). "I captured and carried off 'zummirat sib-su,' *the precious jewels of his throne, simat saruti-su, and his royal crown.*"—R, pl. 8, No. 1. Perhaps, however, *Zummirat* was the Smaragdus or Smarad (for it loses the *g* in French Émerande).
254. **Arakh**, a Month (see No. 23).— 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 Arakh-samna, *i.e.* 'the 8th month,' has been corrupted into the month *Marchesvan* of the Jewish Calendar (see Norris, dict. p. 50). This affords a good instance of the numeral 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 'samna,' *eight*, which agrees with the Heb. שְׁמֹנֶה 'octo.' It also shows that *Marakh* was sometimes employed for *Arakh*. Another form is 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 *Arkhu*, as in the phrase *Arkhu maqru*, 'casual month.'—Norris, *ibid.* I will add a curious passage from Botta 46, 56. In the month 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 , *arakh mukin timin Ar u Bit sha' gimir nishat reshdu ana rimiti-sin ipattaka*; *i.e.* "I began my new palace, &c. &c., in the month 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 , which is the proper

month (𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 → 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *arakh*) for laying the foundation-stone of a City or a Building, and in which all (former) kings have begun their buildings." 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 signifies 'new,' which circumstance (whether accidental or not) would be a sufficient reason to a superstitious people for commencing new buildings in that month. *Nishat reshdu* is changed in another inscription to *malki sha kiprati*, 'kings of the nations.' *Rimisi* means 'foundations' or 'new buildings,' from Ch. 𐤓𐤌𐤍 'fundavit edificium, posuit, collocavit,' *ex. gr.* *irmu subat-zun, they built their dwellings*; and the derived word 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *nirmu* is equated to 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *ishdu*, 'foundation' (Heb. יסד) in 2 R35, 44. *Ipattak*, 'they began,' seems derived from Ch. 𐤍𐤕𐤍 'initium' (Sch. 1503).

255. Sandanish. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 → 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 <<, *adv.*, Continually.— This word, which had better perhaps be written *Tsandanish*, giving to 𐎶𐎵 its proper value *tea*, Heb. טע, is derived, I think, from the Heb. 𐤕𐤍𐤕 'continuare.' In R36 Sargon boasts of his numerous conquests. At line 21 he calls himself "Lihu pikhari sha in kabal tamti Yamnais tsandanish kima nuni in ruba usipsikhu mat Kue u ir Tsurri; *Conqueror of the pirates of the Ionian sea, who like fishes are continually in their ships traversing the sea between the land of Cyprus and the city of Tyre.*"

Sargon felt a great interest in Cyprus, where he gained victories and erected tablets. It was at that time probably that he attacked the pirates who infested the neighbouring sea. *Lihu* 'conqueror.' Hence the name of King Ashur-lihu, otherwise Ashur-zu (Ashur the conqueror). Perhaps *liti* 'victories' may be hence derived. *Pikhari* I render 'pirates.' Observe, the printed text has *pikhari* and not *takhari*, which makes no sense. The origin of this word is unknown to me, I think it can hardly come from the Arabic 𐤀𐤕𐤓 'the sea.' Perhaps there was another form *Pikharati* or *Piharati*: if so, I think it may be a corruption of the Greek *πειρατης* 'a pirate.' The Greek sailors had a large share in the commerce of those seas, therefore many Greek words came into vogue and got mixed with the

Semitic. 'Like fishes' is a strange expression, but it must mean that they were so *continually* at sea that the Sea was, as it were, their native element, which would strike an Assyrian writer the more who, perhaps, never crossed the sea more than once or twice in his life. *Ruba* are Ships. *Usipsikhu* 'they traverse' is the *sha* conjugation of the Heb. פָּסַח 'to traverse, to pass over.' We see a similarly formed word in the name of the city Thapsacus פָּסַחַת i.e. 'the passage,' where the great passage of the river Euphrates was situated (Ges. 832).

¶ The *Pikhari* must be *some class of persons*, for they are said 'to traverse the sea.' They cannot be peaceful navigators, for, since Sargina controlled both Cyprus and Tyre, merchants trading between those ports would not be his enemies.

256. **TAMMUZ.** The Hebrew month תַּמּוּז.—All the Hebrew months are well represented by the Assyrian names given by Norris, dict. p. 50, with the exception of Tammuz, which is written 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶. This gives only *Duz* or *Duzu*. I think the difficulty may be removed by observing that 𐎠𐎵 sometimes has the value *dam*, which gives us the word *dam-u-ru* or *Damuz*.

257. **Talatti.** 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶, Birth.—In R36, 60 Sargina dedicates one of the gates of his palace in gratitude to the Queen of the gods (*Billat-ili*) 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 *murappishat talatti-su, she who caused his birth to be noble.* This goddess, the Assyrian Juno, like Juno Lucina, presided over births, allotting to each newborn child its good or evil fortune. *Talatti* like *Alatti* (see next article) comes from the Heb. יָלַד natus est; genuit; peperit; τικτεω, γεννᾶν.

258. **Alatti.** 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶, Birth.—This word occurs in a very important passage B.M. 38, 3, in the explanation of which I am obliged to differ entirely from my friend Mr. Norris, who sees in it a word *Agarin*, which he interprets 'mother' (see dict. p. 16). As I must dissent from this, I feel it necessary to explain at some length my reasons for doing so, lest I should appear to differ on light grounds from his opinion.

The kings often thank the gods for the great favour shown to them, in causing them to be born in so high a rank. *Ex. gr.* In Birs N, l. 10 Nebuchadnezzar says "The favour of Marduk the great Lord, *kinish ibn-annima*, created me of royal rank."

Ibn 'he created' is 𐎠𐎢𐎺 from 𐎠𐎢𐎺 *bana* 'to create.' Very similar is the passage which occurs both in R 43, 4 and in B.M. 61, 2 (except that we find 𐎠𐎢𐎺 written instead of 𐎠𐎢𐎺) 𐎠𐎢𐎺 *ibna*. "*Ashur father of the gods, in kullat maliki kinish ban-annima, gave me a noble birth among the assembly of kings.*"

Kullat 'assembly' is 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺 'æstus,' from Heb. קהל congregavit (Nerrie also reads this word as *kullat*). Similarly we read in pl. 114 of Botta: "Yaati Sargina, *I Sargina king of Assyria, &c., whom Ashur, in napkhar maliki kinish uttannima;*" using *napkhar* 'assembly' (from *pakhar* 'to assemble') instead of *kullat*, and the verb *utta* 'he created' instead of *bana* or *ibna*. The difficult passage B.M. 38, 3 has the same general meaning. Sennacherib there says: 𐎠𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎺 "Billat ili, billat nabniti, *the Queen of the gods, who is the Queen of Births, in lib rubu бага talinni alatti-ya; kinish ban-annima; uzabbá nabniti.*" Now, in the first place, I must observe that Mr. N.'s transcript (in dict. p. 16) omits the important word 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺 *rubu* 'royal,' and substitutes for it 𐎠𐎢𐎺 *ib*. But Mr. Layard's annotation at foot of the page shows that he found on another copy of the Bull inscription the variant reading 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺, which is an admissible variation of 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺 and supports it; showing that 𐎠𐎢𐎺 cannot be the true reading. We must, therefore, restore the word 𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺 'royal.'

We have seen in the preceding article that Sargina attributed his noble birth to the favour of 𐎠𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎺 'the Queen of the gods.' Sennacherib now speaks of the same goddess, and calls her 'billat nabniti,' *Queen of Births. Nabniti*

'births' is from *nabna* 'to be born,' the Niphal of the verb *banu*. The last part of the line 'kinish ban*-annima' we have had before, and for 'uzabba nabniti' some of the other bulls read 'usarba nabniti,' *made my birth splendid*. The verb *sarba* means 'to exalt or glorify.' Thus on the monolith R27, 11 the gods are called 'musarbu sarti,' *exalters of my royalty*. The real difficulty of the passage, therefore, resides only in the phrase "the Queen of the gods, who is the Queen of Births, is *lib rubu biga talinni alatti-ya*," and indeed only in two of these words, *baga* and *talinni*. The first of these I believe to be a word of Indo-Germanic origin. There are not many such employed in the Assyrian language, but there are some indubitable instances, such as the preposition *In*; *Nis* for 'no one'; *Nu* for 'not'; *Tuki* 'fortune' or 'good luck.' The Persian adjective *takman* 'strong' is frequently used in Assyrian as 'biritu takmannu anbar atdi-su, *I cast on him strong chains of iron*.' *Basa* 'to dwell, be, exist,' is the Persian *bas* 'a dwelling'; *bash* 'being, living, existence,' from *bashiden* 'to dwell or be.' *Kurra* 'a horse' is very unlike the Semitic *sur* סור, but agrees with the Sanskrit *gora*.

Fortified by such instances of words borrowed by the Assyrians from their neighbours, I would suggest that *Baga* 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩 is the Persian word *Bhag*, which is rendered 'Fortune, destiny, share, lot,' in Gilchrist's Vocab. p. 76. *Talinni* 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫. This word, I think, affords the key to the meaning of the whole passage. *Tala* 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬 'she caused' is the feminine of the Chald. verb *ala* 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭 'to cause'; thence *talinni* 'she caused unto me.' *In* 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯 differs but little from the simple preposition *In*, only it is somewhat more precise. I translate the whole passage, therefore, as follows: "The Queen of the gods, who is the Queen of births, caused unto me *my birth* in a royal destiny;" or, in other words, and

* Pronounced *iba*. The sign 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯 represents the verb *banu* in general, and any tense of it which the syntax requires.

slightly paraphrased, "My lot in birth, for which I thank the Queen of heaven, was to be born a king."

¶ With respect to the Syllab. 192, quoted by Norris, p. 16, where *agarin* is rendered by *ummu*, and also by a monogram, I must observe that this monogram is quite unlike the well-known monogram for 'a mother,' and therefore it probably expresses some other meaning of *ummu*.

259. **Parakku.** 𐎶 𐎶- 𐎶, a Chief; or perhaps a King.—In 2 R 31, there is a list of words, all of which mean 'a king,' and are rendered by 𐎶-𐎶 *Sar*. One of these is *Parakku* (l. 42). In Syllab. 255 *Parakku* is explained by 𐎶-𐎶, which means 'first in rank,' and by *Bara* 𐎶 𐎶-𐎶. Hence perhaps *Parakku* is derived from this word *bara* and *ukku* 'great.' In 2 R 35, 14, *parakku* is rendered 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 *pan pan* 'front of the front,' and 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 *diku*, which means 'the front' (see Art. 120 of this Glossary). In line 52 of the same page 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 *ami parakki* is rendered in P.C. by 𐎶-𐎶, written twice (i.e. 'the very first') with other signs added which I do not understand. *Ami* I would translate 'men,' from the Heb. 𐤎𐤏 'populus,' unless it is short for *amilut* 'men.' These notices enable us to explain a passage which occurs in several inscriptions, *ex. gr.* R 37, 12 and R 43, 4, "eli gimir ami parakki usarbá eekuti-ya, *over all kings Ashur raised high (or triumphantly) my arms.*"

¶ The meaning of 𐎶-𐎶 as 'king' or 'chief' is shown in the following phrase of tablet 124: 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶, as *ili sha shamami, barit? sha hakkari, to the gods of heaven and the first men of the earth.*

260. **Lulimu.** 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶, otherwise 𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶, a King or Ruler.—In 2 R 31, 41 this word is rendered by *Sar* 'a king.' In B.M. 38, 2 and R 43, 2, Sennacherib is called *Lulimu irsu*, 'the noble king.'

261. **Amat.** 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶-𐎶, a Petition, Prayer, or Complaint.—When Nebuchadnezzar had offered a prayer to Marduk, he says: (E.I.H. i. 53) "Amat libi istihu, *he granted the petition of my*

heart." *Isihu*, 'he granted.' *Mustihu*, 'the giver,' *ex. gr.* *mustihu baladam*, 'giver of gifts.' *Papakha biluti-sa astihi*, *I gave a shrine to his lordship.* E.I.H. iii. 25.

The following is another example of the word *Amat*.—




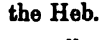

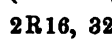
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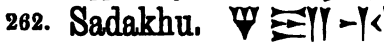
1. *Mamman amat-su val ishmi*

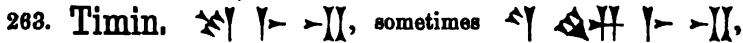

2. *Dayana din-su val itin.*

1. *No one heard his complaint :*

2. *No judge gave judgment in his cause.*

These two lines occur at the end of tablet 169. They are accompanied by a P.C. version, half of which is gone, but some interesting words remain. *Ishmi*, 'he heard,' is rendered *unduk* . *Din itan*, 'he gave judgment,' is rendered *undin* ; but  only marks the tense; the roots are  *duk*, for the Heb. שמע 'to hear,' and  *din* for the Heb. דין 'to judge.' Now, שמע means 'fame, renown,' as well as 'hearing,' and it will be remembered that *duk* has that meaning, viz. 'renown,' in the name of king Nabo-imduk (Nebo is glorious), in Assyrian Nabo-nahid. Similarly in 2R16, 32  is rendered by *simti* or *tasimti*, which apparently comes from שמע.

262. **Sadakhu.** , a Holiday : idle day : festival (Lat. *feria*).—From the Heb. פדח 'otiosus fuit : vel, felix et tranquillus fuit.' It is said, in an inscription in the British Museum, that the *Sadakhu* of the divine Queen of Babylon (the goddess Nanaia) was celebrated on the 25th of the month Sivan.

263. **Timin.** , sometimes , *timin*. The Clay Cylinder which was deposited in the foundations of a building; inscribed with the name and praises of the reigning Monarch.—I believe that no etym has been proposed for this word, I therefore venture to suggest that it comes from the Heb. תמן *temen* or *timin*, 'abscondere,' which verb Gesenius says is specially used for 'hiding treasures, &c.

under ground.' For, the clay cylinder was always carefully hidden, and protected as far as possible from spoilers and devastators, *ex. gr.* *Ashtapat pili rabbati ashuru-su usaskir, udannin subuk-su, with large flat stones I closed up the place of it, and I made its deposit secure.*—Bellino, l. 53. That the *Timin* was the *Cylinder* (not the *Platform*) appears from the inscription of Nabonidus, quoted in Norris's dict. 408: "Ana buhi timinna suati, *in the search for that Timin, I dug* (akthut) *three years in the diggings of Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon.*" Had he sought for the *platform* only, it would have been found much sooner. The verb *buhî*, which occurs in the preceding passage, is the Chald. 𐤁𐤆𐤇𐤍 'quæsit,' as was first observed by Dr. Hincks. In R 16, 63 the word is spelt 𐤁𐤆𐤇𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 *timini*. "Whoever shall injure my stone tablets and my *timini*, may the gods destroy him!"


264. **Sikhib.** 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤀𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍, Spoil, plunder.—From the Heb. 𐤱𐤃𐤁 'rapuit.' 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤀𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤀𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 "Sikhib mati kala nu, *the spoil of the land of every description.*"—Tablet K 30, l. 21; see my paper in the Transactions of the R.S. of Literature, 'On a War in Syria,' Vol. 8, p. 270. But I will now give the passage more correctly:—

1. 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤀𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍
2. 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍
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4. 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍
5. 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍, &c. (as given before).

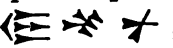

Bit tsir mutari mushabi-sun, *a great building which was their Hall of Sitzings (or House of Assembly),* 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤅𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 *usakhit-zu ibkidu ana ishati, they (my soldiers) set on fire and burnt it down; gai tsieni the oxen, sheep, mules? and (. . . .): amilut ishluluni as la (mini) and the men they carried*



off as slaves in great numbers; sikhlib mati kala nu, the spoil of the land of every description . . . [the rest is lost].

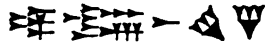

¶ I think סחב 'rapuit' is connected with סחב 'to sweep away.'
















265. **Shapi Bel.** , Name of a city, meaning 'feet of Bel.'—But perhaps it rather means 'the footstool of Bel,' implying the humble and devout submission of the inhabitants. Esar. iv. 3: "He came and kissed my feet; riemu arsi su, I had pity on him, usarakhitsu surruti, I gave him a golden bracelet [or, bound him with a chain of honour]. I strengthened the fortifications of the city Shapi-Bel, his fortress. Himself and his spearmen I left in peace within it [as libbi ushali-su]; and I made him like a column-tree [palm tree] of the land of Elam." The verb *ushali* is from שָׁלַח 'securus est, et prospera fortunâ utitur' (Ges.).

Edil su, עֲדִיל *'par, æqualis'* (Sch. 1277). It does not appear who was the monarch or chief thus favoured, the commencement of the narrative being broken off. But whoever he was, he or his successor appears to have rebelled, for a tablet of Ashurbanipal, K 30 says "Dunanu king of the Bulu, who dwelt in the city of Shapi-Bel [spelt as before] allied himself with the king of the Susians and refused to bow down before me." After a short war he was taken prisoner by the Assyrians: see p. 272 of my memoir quoted in last article.


















¶ I have treated of the word *Shabu* 'a foot' in Art. 107. It has the plural *shapa* as well as *shapi*: see 2R16, 31, where the P.C. , '(....) nu nu rapava, my feet rested not,' is rendered in Assyrian by  lá nikha shapa-ya. *Itrapava* 'quietus est' is a frequent P.C. word. Here we have the simple *Rapava* with the same meaning. *Nikha* is the Heb. *nukh* נָח 'to take rest.'

266. **Khi.** , the Knees, in Proto-Chaldean, answering to the Assyrian *birki*, Heb. בִּרְכֵי.—This meaning of  was, I think, first pointed out by Norris in his dict. p. 395. I will add a curious example from tablet K, 137, which seems to contain

prognostics for each month in the year.  the son of the king shall kneel at the knees of his father. Here  *ibar* seems to stand for *ibarak*, 'he shall kneel.'

267. **Garn.**  , a Horn: plur. **Garni**  , otherwise . The same in Heb. קרן 'cornu.'—There is an important invocation to all the great gods on tablet 100. In line 7,  <<< 'the Moon' (Lunus) is named with the epithet       *nash garni birati*, carrying great horns. It must be remembered that the images of the Moon which were worshipped were crowned with immense horns, as we see in Egyptian representations of the goddesses Hathor and Isis. So idolators in Palestine worshipped Ashtaroth Karnaim (Astarte with the two horns).—Genesis xiv. 5. Another example of the word *Garn*. In 2R38, 52 the images of Marduk and Zarpanita are said to wear *agie garni tsirati*, 'crowns with lofty horns.' In line 71 of same plate   *Garnu* is explained by  *Resh*, 'summit.'

¶ In 2R62, 60, sing. *garnu*, and plur. *garnati*, denote the yards of a ship. For, these are called in Latin *cornua antennarum*, and in Greek *κεραιαι*, and less frequently, *κερατα*.

268. **Mi**, , Night.—A P.C. word (but doubtful). In Syllab. 149 we find  .  .   as if  meant *musu* 'the night.' Tablet 74 somewhat supports this, for we find in it five lines beginning   'days,' and immediately preceding them are six lines beginning with   'nights.' But nevertheless the word remains uncertain. If *Mi* is really the P.C. for 'night,'   (dream) may mean 'Vision of the Night;' whence  would mean 'Vision.' And   (eclipse) might mean 'divine darkness,' or 'preternatural darkness,' which I believe is Mr. Norris's opinion. In 2R39, in two places,  *ta*, and  *mi*, are explained 'sunrise' and 'sunset.'

269. **Milik**,  , Counsel.—Agrees well with the Ch. מלך

'consilium' (which I think is not found in Hebrew). This word occurs in the interesting inscription on tablet K, 211. This is a public document, or decree, or letters patent, by which Ashurbanipal appoints Bulshaya, a nobleman of the city Kitsi to the office of governor of the palace. And he says that he does so 𐎶 𐎵 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 'in bibil lib-ya,' *from the deep feeling (or desire) of my heart;* 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 'milik ramani,' *and from my own impulse (or, of my own counsel.)* This is almost exactly what a modern king says when he decrees anything *ex motu proprio*. The first part of the phrase, 'in bibil lib-ya' is very common in the inscriptions. Norris renders *bibil* 'deep feeling, desire, wish,' dict. p. 70. The other clause I have not met with elsewhere. *Amtallik* 'I resolved,' is the T conjugation of the verb *malik* 'consulere.' *Rabish amtallik*, 'I nobly resolved.'—B.M. 41, 25.

270. *Izrat.* 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 , a Clay Tablet.—From Heb. *tsar* צָר 'fingere;' the same with the verb יָצַר , which Gesenius renders 'to mould clay as a potter does,' *finxit, formavit (ut figulus lutum)*, whence יָצַר *figulus* 'a potter.' There is an obscure line in Bellino (l. 36) which speaks of the first founders of Niniveh. They laid down, it says, the *timin* (or corner stone of the foundation). The next phrase is 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *izrat-zu izratu-va, and they formed (or moulded) the clay tablet (or cylinder).*

I have found another example of this curious word in the much-defaced tablet 192 (otherwise 151*a*), which relates the foundation of some new building. The following phrases taken from it, being of familiar occurrence elsewhere, show the general meaning: *usalbin libittu'a, I made bricks for it; ashli rabati misikhtha-su amukh, with a long rope I measured its measure; ussi-su atdi, I laid its foundations; ukin libnat-zu, and founded the building. Timin-su kireb subuk shadi danni udannin, I made its 'timin' secure within a deposit of vast stones. Here* 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *shadi* are 'stones,' not even 'rocks,'

much less 'mountains.' The word bears all these senses according to the context and the subject. This last phrase strongly resembles l. 53 of Bellino, which says, speaking of the *timin*: "with large stones I closed it all round, and (*udannin subuk-su*) I made its deposit secure."

Then comes the phrase which I wish to point out. $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ 'itzira izrat-zu,' I moulded its clay tablet. Compared with Bellino 36, the difference is that here the verb is placed first, and takes the form *itzira* instead of *izratu*. *Itzira* is precisely the Heb. verb יצר .

271. **Uttu.** $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$, a Parent; also *plur.* Parents.—In 2 R 40, 12 the word $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *Uttu* is explained by $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *Aladi* 'a father, parent, progenitor.' The latter word is very common in the inscriptions, *ex. gr.* 'abi alidi-ya,' *my father*.

Examples of the word *Uttu*. In B.M. 33, 2 Sargina is called 'the noble king, whom Ashur and Marduk, his progenitors (*uttu-su*) have proclaimed the renown of his name to the end of the world.' In R 35, king $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ is called "the king whom Ashur and (.....) his progenitors (*uttu-su*) 'malkut lashanan umallu gatús-su,' have filled his hand with (*i.e.* given him) an unequalled empire." Here we have $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *malkut* 'kingdom.' *Uttu* also occurs as a verb, 'to create.' "I am Sargina king of Assyria, &c. &c., whom the gods have created (or caused to be born) nobly amidst the number of kings: yaasti Sargina in napkhar maliki kinish utta-annima."—Botta, pl. 114, and again in pl. 65, 10. For *utta* other inscriptions give *ibna* 'he created,' or the monogram 𐎶 which stands for *ibna*, or for any other tense of the verb בנה 'to create.' I also think that there is a connexion between *uttu* and *utdu*, which means 'origin' or 'spring;' *utdu-a* 'a spring of water, or fountain' is very common.

272. **Mishta.** $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$, Number.—R19, 88: "I carried off as plunder his flocks of sheep, which, like the stars of heaven, had no number (*mishta la isu*). This passage is exactly the same as that quoted in No. 76 from R24, 42, except that we

read there *minuta la ira*. *Mishta* is the Heb. *mishṭa* מִשְׁטָה 'numerus' (Ges. p. 593).

273. **Mish.** <=> <<<, Numerous.—Related, like the last word, to the Heb. מִסְפָּה 'numerus.' Syllab. 139 explains <=> <<< by עַי אֶ-תְּ אֶ-תְּ אֶ-תְּ אֶ-תְּ אֶ-תְּ *mahidut* (many), and also by the monogram >-<<<. This is very important, because it shows us plainly the origin of the plural sign >-<<<, which is composed of two parts, >- mi; and <<< ish. In fact it is often written >-<<<; see four examples of this in an inscription of Nabonidus, R68, lines 28, 29. This sign for the plural is not used, I think, in Proto-Chaldaeian sentences, because מִשְׁ or *mish* is a purely Semitic root. The P.C. writers often doubled the word to express the plural; but the Assyrians wrote the word once and then added >-<<< *mish* (numerous). Hence we see the reason why the Assyrian inscriptions sometimes substitute the plural sign for the syllable *mish*.





























Thus, for the Heb. חַמִּישׁ *khamish* (five) they write >-<<< >-<<<, i.e. *kha mish* (Norris, dict. 432). So also we frequently find >-<-> >-<<< *ka mish* written instead of >-<-> >-<-> or >-<-> >-<-> *kamish* 'for ever': see an example in Norris, dict. 504. This latter word is related to the Hebrew root קָם or קִים 'manere,' 'durare.'

274. **Udini.** >-<-> <-> >-<->, Eagles.—R 18, 50. ["On these pointed and most inaccessible mountains] *kima kinni udini-khu* as *kireb shadie dannat-zun ishkunu*, they had built their strongholds like the nests of Eagle-birds among the rocks." *Udin* may be related to the Chald. דִּין *Din* 'vultures'; see Sch. 387; for eagles and vultures had often the same name.
275. **Ait.** >-<->, followed by >-<-> (bird), an Eagle.—This seems to agree well with the Heb. עֵיט a large bird of prey, which as Gesenius says, is cognate with the Greek *Aeros*, and probably the same word. R39, 68: "I made war on the people of the Tocharri, whose dwellings were built, like the nests of eagles (*kima kinni ait*) >-<-> >-<-> >-<-> >-<-> upon the highest summits and lofty crags of the Nypûr mountains."

Kisni is the plur. of Heb. *Kin* 'a nest' כן, which also came to mean (exactly as in our text) a human habitation, perched like a bird's nest on a lofty and almost inaccessible cliff. Gesenius says, 'domicilium in altâ rupe extractum instar nidi aquilini,' quoting several texts of Scripture.—Numb. xxiv. 21, Jerem. xlix. 16, &c. Hence the people called Kenites in Scripture derived their name; see the prophecy of Balaam (Numb. xxiv. 21).—"And he looked on the Kenites and took up his parable and said: 'Strong is thy dwelling-place, and thou puttest thy nest (כן) in a rock. Nevertheless the Kenite shall be wasted and Assyria shall carry thee away captive.'" The latter clause is well illustrated by the passage I have given from R pl. 39. Smith's dict. of the Bible v. Kenite does not allude to the origin of the name, which is singular, since a common Bible has the note on Numb. xxiv. 21.—'This alludes to their ordinary habitations, which were strongholds in rocky mountains; hence they are called Kenites or nest-inhabitants.'

276. **Khibishti.** Beams. (See Art. 186.)—I have since found a Hebrew word which tallies better with the Assyrian, viz. כסב 'a beam holding together a wooden building.' (Furst's Lex.)

277. **Dima.** Peace, Tranquillity. (See Art. 139.)—In tablet K 224 (or 183a) we find <|𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 dima explained 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *salamu* or *salam* 'peace,' which agrees with what I have said in the Art. *Salmanubar*, No. 211. In same tablet there are some note-worthy translations, of which I will give one. The P.C. <|𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 is rendered by the Assyrian 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *ana pani-ya* (before me), where 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *ta* answers to the Assyrian 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *ana*; 𐎠𐎵 *mu* to the Assyrian pronoun 𐎶𐎠𐎵 *ya* (my); and <|𐎠𐎵 to 𐎶𐎠𐎵 *pani* (before). The next line gives us the contrary phrase; where the P.C. 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 is rendered by the Assyrian 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *ana arki-ya* (behind me). The similarity of the two phrases is complete (observing that 𐎶 often means *ana*). Hence I conclude that the P.C. 𐎠𐎵 answers to the Assyrian *arki* 'after' or 'behind.'

278. **Tân** \equiv   \rightarrow .—When a word is terminated by these three letters, a Numeral is indicated, almost as surely as it would be in Greek by the termination *κοστος* or *κοσιος*. For example, the first line of Bellino's inscription begins with   \equiv  \rightarrow  'One Sos and three;' i.e. Sixty-three [lines of writing]. In Opp. Khors. 19, 162 we have   \equiv  \rightarrow  Six Sos and fifty, i.e. 410 [talents of shining brass]. On tablet K 268 we read \ll \equiv  \rightarrow  \rightarrow   Twenty *mukalim* or inscribed lines (this word probably comes from the Heb. קלפ 'insculpsit'). But the letter T \equiv  is sometimes omitted, and only  \rightarrow  left, to mark a numeral. Of this kind is the important passage which is often repeated in Sargon's inscriptions, "Sha   \rightarrow   \rightarrow  *malki labiruti sha illamu-ya billut Ashur-ki ebusa Of 350 former kings who reigned over Assyria before me* [not one ever accomplished such works as I did, &c. &c.]. The origin of this mode of designating numbers is perhaps the following, in which I am guided by the analogy of the Greek and Latin. *Duplex, triplex, quadruplex, &c.* in Latin; *διπλους, &c.* in Greek, involve the idea of 'folding,' from *plicare*. This has been adopted into the English language, 'two-fold, three-fold, four-fold,' &c. So also in German. *Plex* is used in Latin even when it is quite unnecessary, *ex.gr.* 'quadruplices stellas,' *four stars*. It had become habitual, and its original meaning of 'folding' was lost sight of. Now, the Assyrian word-ending *tân* \equiv  \rightarrow  appears to be the Ch. and Syr. תנן *tana*, 'to fold,' hence 'to do again,' 'to repeat' (see Wright's Chaldee glossary to the book of Jonah, p. 45).
279. **Tisha**,  , Nine.—Agrees perfectly with the Hebrew *tesha* טשׁה 'nine.' Nevertheless this word has hitherto passed unobserved by Assyriologists. It occurs in a remarkable passage in the inscriptions of Khorsabad (Opp. 19, 163). " *timmi irsi sutakhuti, four long beams of Cedar, sha tisha-tân kubur-sun, which measured nine 'kubur' in length* [and

came from the mountains of Hamána, I placed over the lions at the four gates"].



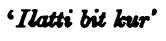
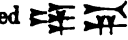

N.B. There were eight lions in all, which were placed in pairs, on the right and left of each gate. Supposing the *kubur* to be an *opryvia* or expansion of the arms, the length of the Cedar beams will be 54 feet. The original text has $\Upsilon \Psi \approx \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \rightarrow \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon$.—*Kubur* is the Heb. כּוּבֵר *adj.* 'longus;' *subst.* 'longitudo'—also כּוּרָה a measure of length, so called. The passage which we have been examining is many times repeated in the inscriptions of Khorsabad.



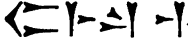

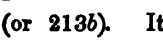





280. **Irbitti.** $\approx \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \rightarrow \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon$, Four.—Heb. אַרְבַּעַת in *st. constr.*—In 2R35, 39 *irbitti* is explained by the sign $\approx \Upsilon \Upsilon$, which signifies 'four,' and never varies its form, consisting of four equal horizontal strokes. See another example in the next article, and spelt precisely the same way.












281. **Shari.** $\Psi \Upsilon \Upsilon \rightarrow \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon$, Gates.—Hebrew שַׁעַר 'porta.' Opp. Khors. 19, 164: $\Upsilon \Upsilon \rightarrow \Upsilon \Upsilon \approx \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \rightarrow \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Psi \Upsilon \Upsilon \rightarrow \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon$ 'ana irbitti shari,' at the four gates [I placed the lions].










282. **Sanna.** $\lll \rightarrow \Upsilon \Upsilon$, Change, Renovation.—In an Ode to the Moon on tablet 155 we find $\text{שׁוּן} \lll \approx \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon$ $\approx \Upsilon \Upsilon \lll \rightarrow \Upsilon \Upsilon \rightarrow \Upsilon \Upsilon \rightarrow \Upsilon \Upsilon$ 'On the 30th day is thy change!' I do not understand why the vowel $\approx \Upsilon \Upsilon$ precedes *sanna*; it seems to make it into a verb. *Sanna* is evidently the Chald. שׁוּנָא *sana* 'to change.' The Moon $\rightarrow \Upsilon \Upsilon \lll$ was called *San* or *Sin* in Assyrian, and the symbol \lll was chosen to denote the sound *san*, because it meant *thirty*, the number of days in each month. Elsewhere in same tablet we find $\rightarrow \Upsilon \Upsilon \lll \approx \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \rightarrow \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \approx \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon$ *San ittisu*, which I think means 'the Moon is renewed,' from Heb. וּדְשׁוּ 'to be new;' while as a *subst.* וּדְשׁוּ means specially 'the day of new moon.'

283. **Ilatti.** $\approx \Upsilon \Upsilon \lll \rightarrow \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon$, a Child.—From the same root as *Alatti* and *Talatti* (Art. 257 and 258). K 142 (or 111a) is an ode $\Upsilon \rightarrow \Upsilon \Upsilon$ to Nebo $\rightarrow \Upsilon \Upsilon \approx \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon$ who is called $\rightarrow \Upsilon \Upsilon \approx \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \approx \Upsilon \Upsilon \lll \rightarrow \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \rightarrow \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \lll \rightarrow \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon$, *shurbu ilatti Anu, eldest son of Anu.* This name of Nebo $\rightarrow \Upsilon \Upsilon \approx \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon$

paku, is frequently abbreviated to  . I think it means 'Judge.' In the invocation to the great gods (tablet 100) Anu bears the title 'shurbu ilatti, eldest son [of Ashur father of the gods].' In the invocation to Ninev (R17, 2) he is called 'Ilatti bit kur' (child of heaven)  just as he is called   *aplū bit-khira*, 'son of heaven,' in R70, col. iv. 1.

284. **Sutta.**  a Dream. (See Art. 241.)—In tablet 140 (or 109a) there is a *kakama* (or ode, or prayer) to Nebo, in which the following line occurs,   "in *mati musī, dimmika, suttī*; *in the land of Night, sleep, and dreams.*" I think this is a prayer to Nebo, in his character of judge of the dead. The sign  has the value *dim* and *salam* (which are now found to be equivalents). *Dimmika* is the Ch. Syr. ܕܝܡܝܟܐ *dimika* 'somnus profundus.' There is much about dreams in tablet K 254 (or 2136). It speaks of 'a good dream'   and of 'a god of dreams' called *Mashar?*    . But I place little reliance on this, because tablet 155 gives him another name, perhaps *Zagar*.

 . Tablet K 273 is devoted to the subject of dreams. The word  occurs no less than seventeen times, in a vertical row, followed by various words which are perhaps the things dreamt of. Another example is found in a Gyges tablet K 228,         "tamū suttu annītu emuru, *the day that he saw that Vision* [he sent an ambassador to me to implore peace]."

285. , an Eclipse (further remarks, see Art. 98).—In the tablets there are found occasionally a sort of prayers which may be recited during an eclipse of the moon, without reference to any particular occasion, as is evident from the *month* and *day* being left blank. *Ex. gr.* tablet K 223 (or 182a)        

i.e. during an evil eclipse of the moon in the month (*blank*), day (*blank*). Instead of this we find in tablet 155, which is an ode to the moon (𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵), the following phrase: During an evil eclipse of the moon which happened in the month 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 day 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 &c. &c. Now, comparing this with the former example, it seems likely that 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 is an indefinite sign, and that the phrase would be in English "which happened in month (*so and so*), day (*so and so*)." For, no real month and day could bear the same name, and be represented by the same sign. The same symbol occurs in other phrases which are meant to be left indefinite. *Ex. gr.* in tablet K 163 (or 131a) 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 I, thy servant, 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 (*so and so*) son of (*so and so*). (It must be remembered that many of these tablets are mere exercises and *formalæ* of writing.) So, in French, 'un tel, fils d'un tel;' and in Greek ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος. The symbol 𐎶𐎶 and 𐎶𐎶 which is its abbreviation, are different from that which is mentioned in this article, and seem to stand for 'pakhar' or 'takkil' (chosen, sealed, approved, or examined). But the study of these signs is intricate.

286. **Sikhu.** 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 Revolt. Chald. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 clamour, uproar, especially in public places in towns.—R 41, 5 "After Sutzubi revolted:" 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *isikhu* 'he revolted.' Again in l. 12 of the same page, *usibsu sikhu*, 'he raised a revolt.' In 2 R 52, 25 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, 'revolt in the city of Calah' (see several other examples in the same plate).
287. **Kurunnu.** 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, His Own. Their Own.—*Lat. proprius. Gr. ιδιος.*—This important word appears to have hitherto escaped recognition. It is the Chaldee 𐎶𐎶 *kurun*, 'ipse, ipsemet, idem ipse,' see Sch. 899 and Buxt. 1095. In Opp. Khors. pl. 20, first line, Sargina speaks of the curious and beautiful birds, beasts and fishes, of which he had formed a collection in his new palace. *Sattik* birds [perhaps parrots *psittacus*]; *Ustur* birds [perhaps ostriches, called *ustur* or *shutur-*

bird in Persian]. To these is added the phrase $\Sigma\text{Y} \Sigma\text{H}\text{Y} \text{Y}$ $\Sigma\text{Y} \Delta \Sigma\text{H}\text{Y}$ *summi izkhit*, 'of well-known names,' or 'whose names are well-known.' Then follows $\text{Y}\text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y}$ $\text{Y}\text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y}$ $\text{Y}\text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y}$. Fishes and birds of River and Sea, 'sha la isu midita kurunnu,' which have not any names of their own [and which are found in the lands and waters at the end of the world].






In the last phrase, correct in Oppert's text $\text{Y}\text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y}$ into $\text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y}$ 'and waters,' from Botta, pl. 131, 13. $\Sigma\text{Y} \Delta \Sigma\text{H}\text{Y}$ *izkhit* 'well known,' 'celebrated,' from Ch. and Syr. YY or YY (see Bernstein lex Syr. p. 144, YY circumtulit, laudibus extulit, celebravit). *Zikhit* or *izkhit* is a participle from this verb. *Midita* (names), written $\text{Y}\text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y}$ $\text{Y}\text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y}$, I have not met with this word elsewhere. It comes, I think, from YY 'vocavit,' which is the Arabic YY 'vocavit' (Ges. 254). But I think this root must be connected with YY 'to know,' as the Latin *nomen* is with the verb *novit*.




I will now give another example of the word *Kurunnu*; I have several times attempted to elucidate the curious accounts which we find here and there concerning the sittings of an Assyrian Parliament, or rather perhaps what is now called in the East a *Durbar*. It lasted fourteen days (perhaps an indication that they counted time by *weeks*). I will at present only advert to the few lines concerning this assembly contained in the inscription of Esarhaddon, col. vi. l. 33 to 45 inclusive. After describing the grandeur of the New Palace which he had just caused to be built at Niniveh, he says: "*There I assembled the great men of my Empire, the noblemen and the commoners of my land, all of them On lofty chairs I caused them to sit, and I counted their numbers. Presidents of their own they chose to rule over them. I did not impose on them any Chief of the Assembly. By the grace of Ashur king of the gods, and the gods of Assyria, all of them, in full assemblies, with intelligent minds, with much honour, and abundant profit may they ever continue to assemble within it! And so may the glory of this*

Palace endure!" Two of these lines I wish to select for more particular examination, viz. lines 39 and 40 :—
















1. 
2. 















1. Tarin ? kurunnu bikira tsurra-sun ;
 2. Nisak nigu(t) lá eli-sun usakin.
1. *Officers of their own they chose to rule over them ;*
 2. *A Chief of the assembly I did not impose on them.*





Let us examine these words. The first is a slight variation of the common symbol for an officer .—*Kurunnu*, ‘their own.’ *Bikira* ‘they chose,’ Heb. בָּרַךְ ‘elegit.’ *Tsurra*, preposition ‘over,’ is very frequent.—*Nisak*, Ch. נִסָּךְ ‘princeps.’ *Nigut* is written  , which has no meaning that I am aware of, but I suspect that the letter  *ut*, has been lost, probably because the two strokes with which it commences *blended* themselves indistinguishably with the two which terminate the preceding letter . *Nigut* is ‘an assembly of the people,’ *ex. gr.* B.M. 34, 20, ‘Nigut ashkun,’ *I held an assembly* [and I counted the number of the people of Assyria]. Similarly in Botta, pl. 8, last line, ‘ashtakan nigut,’ *I held an assembly.* *Usakin* is the S conjugation of *ukin* ‘I imposed,’ a very common verb.




288. **Akin.**   , an Envoy, or Representative.—Norris has given one example of the word (dict. p. 30). I will add another from Botta, pl. 163, 12: “[That king] iskhutu, *was much terrified?* ispa guza iddi, *he flung down his sceptre and throne;* as pan Akin-ya unasak hakkaru, *and kissed the ground before my Envoy.* Duri, *his fortresses,* (.....) *to destroy them,* akbi-su, *I commanded him.* Imgura kibitti, *he obeyed my command.* Riema arsi su, *then I showed him mercy.*” In fact, he performed the *Ko-too*, as it is called in China, or prostrating



the head in the dust before the Emperor's image, or his envy. One or two words are effaced. Perhaps we should read 'ana napali akbi-su,' to throw them down I gave command; as in Art. *Napal*, No. 223.

289. **Ussha.**  , the Foundations of a Building.—Chal.  , Ezra iv. 12. We find also  , fundamenta domūs.—Isaiah xvi. 7. This word is extremely common, but its spelling varies very much. In B.M. 33, 17, and R42, 61, and R50, 21, and Monolith I. 11, it is   *Ussha*. In Sarg. 51 it is    *Usshae*. In Tig. vi. 29 and Sarg. 61 it is   *Ussi*. In B.M. 33, 14 and Opp. Khors. line 132 it is   *Ussu*.

This word occurs continually in the phrase "from its foundation even unto its summit I built it and I finished it." I will add two examples, in which the word has been overlooked. Sarg. 61 speaks of the first foundation of Nineveh: "The god Ninev, who laid the *timin* and the *ussi* of its *shalkhu* [citadel] in ancient times, now long past." Ninev mukin timin ad'ussi ana labar tami rukuti shalkhu-su. *Adussi*     is only a rapid pronunciation of     (and the foundations). *Adi*   often signifies 'and,' see Norris, dict. 18.—The other example occurs in the account of the nocturnal escape of Merodach Baladan from the besieged city of Dur-Yakina (see Opp. Khors. 15, 132); I have already translated a portion of it in Art. 120 of this Glossary. *Edish ipparsidu*, he escaped alone; *dikhi dur-su isbatu*, clinging to the front wall of his palace; *kima suratsa*, like a lizard (or reptile); *eruba* (.....), and reached (.....) [the last word is injured]. To this translation it has been objected that the text, as published by Oppert, gives *surani* and not *suratsa*,  instead of . But these signs are often mistaken one for the other in the published texts, and even in the originals. And I think that the word *suratsa* (Heb. שרש a reptile) occurs twice in 2 R17, which is a prayer against all manner of evils. At line 24 we read   *sharatzu muruz*, from

291. **Kue.**   , Cyprus.—But the name is much more like the *Kwoi*, the inhabitants of Cos. Can it be that the race of the *Kōi* originally spread over all the islands of the *Ægean*, and that they are the *Gu-i*,  of the Hebrews, commonly translated 'gentiles'?

¶ No certain etym is known for the *Ægean sea* (*To Axyaiou*, Herod.). But its islands were called in the Hebrew (see Gen. x. 5)   , which in Greek letters, and making the change which the Greek language requires, differs but little from *Axyaiou*. The Phœnician sailors may have given the name and the Greek sailors adopted it.

¶ The recently discovered bilingual inscription called the Decree of Canopus speaks (l. 9) of "*the country of Kaft.*" This is translated in the Greek *Φοινικη*, Phœnicia. This throws a new light on the name of that ancient people. For, why was Phœnicia called "*the land of Kaft?*" Nothing can be simpler. *Kaft* signifies a Palm-tree, which was the chosen emblem of that country. The Greeks translated the name. In their language a palm-tree was *φοινίξ*; they therefore called the country *Φοινικη*.  or  has two meanings in Hebrew, (1) *Palma*, i.e. a Palm-tree; (2) *Palma*, i.e. the Hand. The Latin word has the same double meaning, which is an interesting fact; but what is still more curious is that *δακτυλοι* 'fingers' also mean 'dates' (the fruit of the date-palm). See Arist. Meteor. i. 4, 10. Hence modern botanists call the date palm *Phoenix dactylifera*. But lexicographers, being seldom botanists, have not understood why a 'hand' and a 'palm-tree' had the same name. The reason is this—the common palm of the Mediterranean coasts is a low-growing shrub whose leaves are *digitate*, i.e. they expand like the fingers of the hand from a central origin somewhat like a fan, and therefore called the 'fan palm' (*Chamærops Humilis* of botanists). This common sort gave the name to the whole tribe of palm trees. In Is. ix. 13 and xix. 15, 'high and low' or 'noblemen and common people' are poetically called *kaft u agmon*, i.e. 'the palm-tree and the rush' (Gesenius).

ART. II.—*On Indian Chronology.* By J. FERGUSSON, Esq., F.R.S.

[Read February 15, 1869.]

EVERY one who has turned his attention to the study of Indian antiquities will probably be inclined to admit that one of the most important desiderata at the present time is a scheme of Chronology which shall fix, within reasonable limits of error, the dates of the various kings or dynasties who ruled between the Christian Era and the Hegira. It is not at present indispensable that any particular king's reign should be ascertained within ten or twenty years of deviation either way; but it is hopeless to attempt to understand the subject while we cannot make up our minds whether the Balabhi kings dated their inscriptions from their own Era or from that of Vikramāditya—a difference of 376 years—or whether the Guptas dated theirs before or after the Era bearing their name (318–19 A.D.). While such discrepancies as these exist, it is idle to suppose we can either understand the history of the Hindus, or appreciate the forms of their arts, or the development of their religions.

Finding that such men as Lassen, Cunningham, Thomas, and Dowson among living investigators—to say nothing of those who have passed away—agreed to differ by such wide margins, I believed the problem insoluble with the means now at our command, and felt inclined to wait some happy discovery which might free us from our perplexity. When, however, I undertook to write my recently published work on the Topes of Sanchi and Amravati, I found it necessary to go over all the available data with more care than I had hitherto bestowed on them, and the result has been, that the conviction was forced on me that the books we now possess, combined with the coins that have been collected and the inscriptions that have been translated, do suffice for the construction of a

chronological table for the period above indicated, which may be sufficiently accurate for present purposes, at least, though not absolutely correct in detail.

Notwithstanding this, I am far from pretending that I consider the task easy, or that everything I am about to advance will appear as clear to others as to myself, or that future discoveries may not modify some of the data on which my conclusions are based. Indeed, when I see such a man as Professor Lassen, with all his vast learning and untiring industry, fail in the task, I cannot but feel some hesitation in attempting it. That he has failed, and failed entirely, I, at least, feel certain, because in what I am now about to put forward I differ from him in every date—almost without an exception—and if he is right in his mode of reasoning, I certainly am wrong throughout. A great deal, however, of the discrepancy that exists between us may, I believe, be accounted for by the fact that the Professor is entirely ignorant of both architecture and archæology as applied to the subject.¹ I am sorry to think he is far from being singular in this respect, while I, on the other hand, feel certain that in such a case as India, the architectural remains are in most cases the best, and in some, the only evidence that is available for the determination of either historical or ethnographical problems. All this has become more and more evident every day since the investigation was first attempted; and now that we know absolutely that stone architecture commenced, in India, under the reign of Aṣoka, we have a fixed initial date from which to start. From that point we can trace it, as bit by bit the original wooden forms were replaced by others of more lithic character, till a perfectly original style of stone architecture was elaborated; and we only require a final and one or two intermediate dates to enable us to graduate our chronometric scale, and, by its application, to fix within narrow limits the date of any king whose name happens to be engraved on any cave or temple in the

¹ In the whole 5000 pages to which his *Indische Alterthumskunde* extends, less than 50 are devoted to this subject, and they are the mere jottings of his note-book, printed without system or arrangement, as things that must be alluded to in an encyclopædic work like his, but as of very little value for any purpose.

land. In addition to this, combined, as architecture always is in India, with sculpture and painting, it affords by far the best test of the ethnography of races, and the most vivid picture of the religion and civilization. All this is unsuspected by Professor Lassen, and, indeed, by most investigators; but till it is grasped and elucidated, the history of mediæval India must always, I fear, remain the confused jumble it now unfortunately presents.

As many of the more important conclusions arrived at in the following pages are derived from a careful study of Hiouen-Thsang, and the Chinese travellers who visited India in the seventh century, it will be convenient to begin at that end of the story, and having gained a firm base there, to work backwards. In order to do this, however, it is first necessary to fix the dates of their travels as nearly as possible. This can be done with some precision from the "Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Thsang par Hœi-li," translated by Stanislas Julien, and published in Paris, 1853.¹ The other work, entitled "Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales," or the "Si-yu-ki," translated by the same author, and published 1857, also affords considerable assistance in this enquiry.

According to the Hœi-li, Hiouen-Thsang left China in the year 629, in the 26th year of his age,² and reached Kashmir apparently in the following year.³ Here he resided two years,⁴ and, if we add together all the indications in the work, seems to have taken, at least, two years to reach Nâlanda; but being interrogated there how long he had been on his travels, he replies, three years.⁵ Assuming this to mean in India, it would place his first visit there in 633-4. Here he resided five years,⁶ and then set out on his travels south, 638-9. Two years were so occupied, and he returned to Nâlanda 640-41. The latter date is fixed by a story he himself tells. He narrates that, while there, a man appeared to him in a vision and told him

¹ In the text I purpose to distinguish these works as the Hœi-li, the other as the Si-yu-ki; but in the notes it will suffice, as is done in the French, to call the first, vol. i.; and the second, vols. ii. and iii. of H.T., as short for Hiouen-Thsang.

² H.-T. i. 14.

³ H.-T. i. 90.

⁴ 96.

⁵ 147.

⁶ 171.

that, in ten years from that time, the King Śīlāditya would die, and his biographer adds that this event took place in 650;¹ but for this, I would be inclined to place his second visit to Nālanda in 642-3, because the great meeting at Allahabad² took place when he was there, and the narrative would lead us to suppose that immediately after it was over, he returned straight to China. If this is so, his journey could hardly have occupied one year, and he reached his native land in 645.³

If we felt certain that the dates in the two works above referred to were abstracted from his note-books as he wrote them down during his journey in India, it would be very important to try and settle these points definitively; but as we do not feel sure that they were not inserted by himself or his editors after his return to China, all that is requisite here is to call attention to it. It is an element of uncertainty which may necessitate an adjustment of dates to the extent of a few years in some instances. In the following pages I purpose to assume the dates referring to particular places as written in India in the years in which he visited these places, as above indicated.

Before proceeding to examine the data given us by the Chinese travellers, there are two remarks it may be useful to make in order to render what follows more intelligible. The first is that in India there were three ranks of kings. First, Rājas, or simple princes; Mahā-Rājas, who would rank as kings in Europe; and Mahārāja Adhirājas, kings of kings, or emperors. The title is identical with *Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων* of the Greeks, or Shahan Shahi of the Persians, and was used in India from the Greek times till probably the Mahomedan conquest. This would hardly be worthy of remark, but for one circumstance. There might be any number of Rājas or Mahārājas contemporary with one another, but only one Adhirāja or Emperor could exist at one time. The consequence is, that whenever we find a king adopting this title, we know that he was, or at least, assumed to be king of the five Indies,

¹ H.-T. i. 215.

² 252.

³ 292.

divisions, which would correspond very nearly with the four Presidences into which we have divided India, if the Nizam's and surrounding states were erected into a fifth. The consequence of this is that no two emperors could be contemporary with one another, and that whenever we can trace the dignity from a king in one family to one in another, we know that we have a true succession, and an historical sequence of the utmost importance. Sometimes these emperors resided in Magadha, at other times at Canouge or Ougein, and at one time at Kalyan,—but always in succession; and I hope to be able to trace the title, at least, from the second half of the fourth century till 733, which last is the lower limit to which I at present intend to extend my researches.

The second point to which I wish to draw attention, is the practice of Indian kings to assume the names of their grandfathers, when they have been illustrious. In some lists, like the Balabhi and Châlukya, this constant alternation of name is sometimes very perplexing, as no number or other distinguishing mark is affixed as would be done in Europe. In other cases, however, it is sometimes useful; as when we find two kings of the same name occurring very near each other in the same list, we may feel pretty sure that the latter stood in the relation of the second generation to the first, and this occurs even when the seat of power was changed, if the succession was direct.

We shall have frequent occasions to refer to these peculiarities in the sequel, but the first name with which I propose to deal is as good an example as could be found for illustrating them.

During the whole time that Hiouen-Thsang was in India, Śilāditya was on the throne of Canouge, then the principal kingdom in the north of India. The date of his death has already been given as 650, but if we may trust Ma-twan-lin,¹ this should be slightly modified. He relates that when the Emperor of China, in the year 648, sent an ambassador to Magadha, he found that king Śilāditya was dead, and his minister, O-lo-na-shun, had taken his place. It is possible.

¹ J. A. S. B. vol. vi. p. 69.

this may have been in 649, so the difference is not much. The date of his accession may be fixed as closely. Hiouen-Thsang tells us—in the first instance not very distinctly¹—that he had reigned thirty years at the time of his visit; but he afterwards confirms this by quoting a speech of the king himself to our pilgrim, on his taking leave of him on his return to China (640). On this occasion the king expressly states that he had reigned thirty years, and confirms it by stating that it had been his habit to hold a great assembly every five years. He had held five such, and now invited Hiouen-Thsang to assist at the sixth.² We may, therefore, safely date his accession in 610. From Hiouen-Thsang,³ but more especially from the Châlukya inscriptions,⁴ we learn that Śīlāditya was engaged in a life-long struggle for dominion with Pulakeṣi, the founder of the kingdom of Kalyan, who succeeded in establishing his power in Central India the year before Śīlāditya's accession,⁵ or in 609.

These wars are graphically described by Ma-twan-lin. "In the years 618 and 627," he says, "there were great troubles in the kingdom. The King Śīlāditya made war and fought such battles as had never been seen before. The elephants were not unsaddled in their rapid marches, the soldiers quitted not their shields, because the King had formed the project of uniting the four Indias under his rule. All the provinces *which faced the north submitted to him.*"⁶ But from this admission it is clear that Pulakeṣi still held his own in the south; we now understand why Śīlāditya was forced to forego the title of Adhirāja, and how Pulakeṣi was entitled to claim it, as he does in his inscriptions, as we see presently.

Although both our Chinese authorities call this King throughout their narratives Śīlāditya, both in the Hœi-li⁷ and Si-yu-ki,⁸ it is stated categorically, "Le roi actuel est de la caste de Vâisya"⁹—"son nom," or "il a pour surnom

¹ H.-T. ii. 251.

² H.-T. i. p. 251.

³ H.-T. i. 203.

⁴ J.B.B.R.A.S. iii. 203 *et seq.* ⁵ Madras Journal, xx. p. 81; J.R.A.S. xx. 253.

⁶ J.A.S.B. vi. 68; H.T. ii. 251. "Il accepta alors le héritage de la Royauté, se désigna lui même par le nom de Prince Royal (Koumârarâdja) et prit le titre de Śīlāditya." His real name we were just told was Harshavarddhana.

⁷ H.-T. i. 111.

⁸ H.-T. ii. 247.

Harohaverddhana," and he is so designated by Pulakeṣi; nor is it difficult to see why he changed it. His grandfather was Śilāditya of Malwa, whom Hiouen-Tsang describes in such glowing terms as a good and excellent Buddhist king.¹ The latter reigned fifty years, viz., from 530 to 580.²

Between these two Śilādityas, were two reigns. First, that of Śilāditya's elder brother, who was slain by Śaṅka, King of Karna Souvarṇa (apparently part of Burdwan and Bancorah), in 610; and the father of these two brothers, Prabhākara-varddhana.³ We have no means of apportioning the thirty years at our disposal between these two, but we shall probably not err far in giving twenty-five years to the first and five to the second. We may also feel tolerably certain that no other king intervened between the two Śilādityas, not only in consequence of the name, but because Prabhākara is expressly called by the ministers of his son "notre premier roi."⁴

Before Śilāditya of Malwa we come to the celebrated Vikramāditya of Ugein, who figures so largely in all the mythical histories of the Hindus. It is true we only learn this inferentially from Hiouen-Tsang. He calls him King of Śrāvastī,⁵ but as the transaction to which his story relates took place in the north of the Punjab, then under his rule, it is evident he was King, at least, of northern India, and the account which Hiouen-Tsang gives of his splendour and extravagance, clearly identifies him with the Hindu hero. We learn also, notwithstanding all our author says of him, that he was of the Brahminical faith,—inasmuch as he allowed his priests so to oppress Manorhita that he cut out his tongue, or had it cut out for him, which is more probable. He then goes on to tell us how his memory was avenged by Vasubandhu, in the reign of a good and pious prince, the successor of Vikramāditya, who can hardly be

¹ H.-T. i. 204.

² H.-T. i. 205.

³ H.-T. i. 112; ii. 247.

⁴ H.-T. ii. 248. M. Reinaud must have read his Hiouen-Tsang very carelessly when he wrote the paragraph quoted by Mr. Thomas, J.R.A.S. vol. xii. p. 44, in which he invents another Harsha between Prabhākara and Rājavarddhana, and makes the destruction of the dynasty 607. No such person existed except as our Śilāditya, and the catastrophe took place 648-50—not in 607 at all.

⁵ H.-T. ii. 115.

other than our friend Śilāditya¹ of Malwa. It is quite true all this is not stated by Hiouen-Tsang so consecutively that it would stand examination in a court of law; but I think any one reading his volume carefully would admit that it is the most probable version of the story. The proof of it, however, and of the earlier names in the subjoined list, rests in the evidence of the Rāja-Tarangīnī, and other authorities, to which we will refer presently. Meanwhile, I propose to adopt the following as a tentative chronology of the period.

Vasudeva.			
	<i>Cotem. Bahram Gour,</i>		420-440
Vikramāditya I.	-	-	447 (?)
Harsha.			
M.A. ² Vikramāditya II.	-	-	495
M.A. Śilāditya of Malwa	-	-	530
M.A. Prabhākara	-	-	580
M.A. Rāja Varddhana	-	-	605 (?)
Śilāditya of Canouge	-		610
	Died	-	648-650

I know no reliable authority for the length of the reign of Vikramāditya the Great, or second of the name, and have therefore adopted Professor Wilson's estimate of 35 years.³ For our present purpose this, however, is of very little consequence. The first three names stand at present as mere conjectures.

Balabhi and Chālukya Dynasties.

The two dynasties whose dates we next propose to examine, are almost wholly unknown to Indian literary history, and we should hardly know of their existence—certainly not of their importance—had it not been for a fortunate propensity they had to perpetuate their own glory and goodness by inscribing their history on copper plates when making grants to Brahmans and others. Sir Walter Elliot was the first to perceive the value of these, in so far as the Chālukya family were con-

¹ H.-T. ii. 118.

² Throughout I propose in the lists to distinguish those kings who were Mahārājas Adhirājas, with the capitals M.A.

³ Asiatic Researches, xv. p. 87.

cerned, and in 1837 published a most valuable resumé of the result of his researches in the fourth volume of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. This he afterwards supplemented in the twentieth volume of the *Madras Journal*, and Major—now General—Le Grand Jacob has added immensely to our stores of knowledge regarding them, in the third volume of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society*. Fortunately, the Chálukyas dated all their inscriptions in the Śaka era, so there is no dispute whatever about their dates, except in the case of Pulakeṣi I.

The Balabhi branch were not so fortunate. Their copper plate grants were first brought to light by Mr. Wathen, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, in August, 1835. At first, the figured date of the plate first published was taken for 9, and then assumed to be in the Balabhi Samvat, 318; but when it turned out to be really 330, he and all other chronologers since have made up their minds that it must date from the Vikramāditya Samvat (57 B.C.).¹

My conviction is, the idea of dating the copper-plate grants from the Vikramāditya Samvat, would never have occurred to anyone had it not been for a mythical history of Balabhi which Colonel Tod obtained from Jaina sources, and unfortunately published in his *Annals*.² Without dwelling on the earlier parts of this myth, the great fact he seeks to establish is that Balabhi was destroyed by the Parthians, 524 A.D., in the reign of a Śilāditya, its last king. Its inhabitants were slaughtered with the usual romantic incidents; but after a while a remnant established themselves in Sidhapore, and finally built a new capital, which they called Anhulwara.—!

The utter falsehood of the information so supplied to Colonel Tod is proved by the fact, that when Balabhi was visited by Hiouen-Thsang, 115 years after its reputed destruction, he found it not only standing, and neither Sidhapore or Anhulwara thought of, but the old capital still remaining the richest and most prosperous city of India, and its king one of the three greatest kings of northern India. The king's

¹ Thomas' Prinsep, vol. i. p. 257 *et seqq.* where all the evidence is collected together. See also a paper by Professor Dowson, J.E.A.S., vol. xx. 1, 47 *et seqq.*

² Vol. i. p. 216, *et seqq.*

name was Dhrovapatou, and he was a nephew or grand nephew of Śilāditya of Malwa, and the son-in-law of Śilāditya, the reigning king of Canouge.¹ Lastly, we have the dates in copper plates of a Dhruvasena, one in $310 + 318 = 628$, the other $332 + 318$, or 640,² the very year that Hiouen-Thsang met him at Allahabad, if we assume them dated from the Balabhi Samvat. Against this view of the case I cannot find one single argument that will stand examination, since I think there is no doubt that we must put on one side those derived from Tod's statements, which have just been shown to be worthless. In addition to this, it may be remarked that nothing can well be more improbable than that the kings of Balabhi, reigning in that city, should employ any other Samvat than their own. This era was sufficiently important and well known to be quoted as one of the principal eras of India in the Somnath inscription in 1263,³ A.D., and was also quoted in the same sense by Albirūnī in the eleventh century.⁴ If it was known and quoted as important so long afterwards, it does seem inconceivable that it should not have been used by the Balabhi kings themselves. I may add that the style of composition, and the evidence of the character, all seem to me, in so far as I can judge, to indicate the seventh century, though that may be a matter of opinion.

To this we will return presently; but, meanwhile, assuming that all the Balabhi grants are in the local era, we have, according to Wathen, for Śrī-Dharasena I., the date $330 = 648$;⁵ or according to Bhau Daji,⁶ Dharasena I., $310 = 628$ A.D. We have, according to the longest list, six names before Śrī-Dhara to Bhaṭṭāraka, the progenitor of the race, and allowing twenty years to each, which is more than they probably are entitled to, this would take us back to 528⁷ for the earliest date of the Balabhi dynasty, if we adopt Wathen's date, or 508 if Bhau Daji's. By the same calculation from Dhruva we can only stretch them back-

¹ H.-T. i. 206; iii. 162, H.T. *loc.*

² Tod's Annals, vol. i., p. 801.

³ Thomas *loc.*

⁴ This so near Tod's date for the destruction of the dynasty, that I cannot help fancying the Jaina Annalist mistook the overthrow of the dynasty they superseded for that of their own dynasty.

⁵ J.B.B.R.A.S., vol. viii. 245.

⁶ Thomas' Prinsep, i. p. 269, etc.

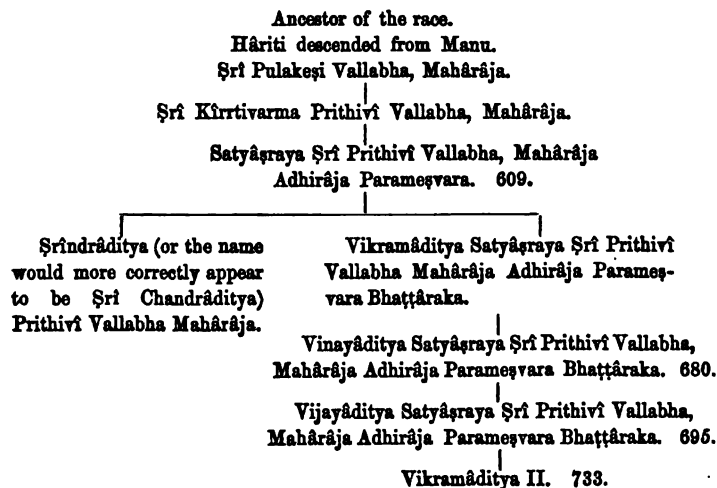
⁷ J.B.B. R. A. S., viii., 245.

wards to 568; but by no process can we, I fancy, carry the origin of the Balabhis beyond the limits of the sixth century.

The first two of the line were not kings, but only *Senâpatis*, or commanders of troops. The third, Drona, had the dignity of king conferred upon him by the Lord Paramount of India in 550 (?), who in that case would be *Śilâditya* of Malwa, which may account for their fondness for that name. Was he his nephew as mentioned above? One only assumed the title of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*—*Śri-Dharasena* III., and that after 648, of whom more hereafter.

When we come to the southern branch of this family, we find a state of things singularly confirmatory of the above, and luckily, as these dates are in the *Śaka* era, there is no ambiguity about them. Although Sir Walter Elliot's lists are the fullest,¹ those of Le Grand Jacob are the most satisfactory, and as he gives translations in full of the inscriptions he uses, we learn from them several particulars of considerable interest.

As the best mode of explaining their history, I quote at length their style and titles as gathered from the *Yevûr* grants, and an abstract of one of the inscriptions, which gives a clear abstract of their history:—



¹ J. R. A. S., vol. iv. p. 1, *et seq.* Madras Journal, xx., 78 *et seq.*

The following extract from one of their inscriptions fills up the details of their history, in so far as it is necessary for our present purposes :—

This race was ornamented by the great king Pulakesi Vallabha who purified himself by the sacrifice of a horse, and consequent ablution rites. His son, the great king Kirtivarma, lord of the earth, having subdued and forced all his enemies to take refuge in forests, etc., firmly implanted his pure fame amongst them. His son *Satyádraya* lord of the earth, and king of kings, much devoted to war, and to whom all kings paid homage, gained by the defeat of *S'ri Harshavarádhán*, hero of the northern countries, the name of Paramésvara. His beloved son, Vikramáditya, father of intelligent sons, lord of the earth and king of kings, desirous of supremacy, supported by a harmonious brotherhood, whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the crown of the despotic king of Kánchi, subdued all his rivals on one horse alone, the excellent Chitra-Kandha. His beloved son Vinayáditya, lord of the earth and king of kings, desirous of supremacy, disabled as Tárakaráti (*i. e.* Skanda) did the Daityas the insolent forces or *Dhruvrajya* king of Kánchi; he made the rulers of the Islands, Kumera, Párasika, Sinhaha, etc., pay him tribute and gradually acquired the full symbol of supremacy, (Páddhvaja, etc.) by the overthrow of the kings of the northern countries. His beloved son Vijayáditya, lord of the earth, and king of kings, desirous of supremacy, attained, even in his childhood, the whole science of rendering weapons efficacious by charms. His grandfather (Vikramáditya) had conquered the kings of the South, but he exterminated all of them who were inimical to him, and after the death, in battle, of his father (Vinayáditya), who made conquest of the northern countries, he, moving about at will, got his scimitars' edge blunted by the slaughter of his enemies' numerous elephants. He, foremost in battle, ardent in noble enterprises, made all his enemies subject to him. No sooner did he hear of anarchy than he left his house, like Vatsarájá (*i. e.* Udayana of the solar race) relying on his own power, removed this source of misery in the country, and the excess of every vice, which had arisen from the oppression of Bráhmans, a royal calamity; giving protection to all his subjects by the strength of his arms. He is arbitrary, at all times possessed of the three royal attributes (*i. e.* Bravery, Policy, and Energy). He humbled the pride of his enemies, but he himself cannot be mastered. He is spotless, and for all this is become all the world's support. His dominions, adorned by all the symbols of supremacy (Páddhvaja, etc.) are extensive. He commands thus. "Be it known to you that we, in S'áka 627, (A.D. 705,) the tenth current year, *Pravarddhamán* of Vinayáditya's reign, at the request of *Dupendra*, granted Kumára, in the country *Mahdseptami*, to the best and amiable Bráhmans, inhabitants of the village of Hikudhamba, who have penetrated through the Vedas and their branches."¹

The only doubtful date in the above list is that of Pulakesi I. Sir W. Elliot states that he has seen an inscription or grant of his, bearing the date of S'áka 411,² (A.D. 489) though he himself feels so little confidence in this, that four pages further on he proposes to bring him down to 610; no such violent ad-

¹ J.B.B.R.A.S., iii. p. 206, *et seqq.*

² J.R.S., vol. iv. p. 8.

justment however seems necessary. But if Pulakeṣi I. was the grandfather of the second king of that name, which all the inscriptions assert, and which there seems no reason to doubt, not only from the name being the same, but from the details given, it becomes morally impossible that he should be reigning in 489, and his grandson succeed in 609. The latter date we may look on as fixed within very narrow limits, not only from the inscriptions, but from Hiouen-Thsang's testimony quoted above, and I cannot help suspecting that the 411 is a mislection or a wilful alteration from 511. Assuming that he died in 590, this would give nineteen years for the joint reign of the two brothers, Kirttivarma and Mangaliṣa,¹ and if we allow fifty or sixty years for the first three names on our list, the accession of Jaya Sinha would be in 530 or 540, or, in round numbers, very nearly the date we reached for the Balabhi branch of the family. Of course adjustments of this sort are open to correction to a considerable extent, as we choose to assume a longer or shorter index for a king's reign; but my conviction is that Bhaṭṭāraka, the progenitor of both those two illustrious races, attained manhood within the limits of the sixth century, and most probably his title of Senâpati not before 528.

We are nowhere told how long Pulakeṣi II. lived; he was alive and vigorous when Hiouen-Thsang visited him in 638-9, and may have lived for ten or twenty years afterwards. On his death, however, the glory of his line was for a while eclipsed. Sir W. Elliot introduces two fêneant kings, Amara and Âditya—who are entirely omitted in General Jacob's inscriptions. Instead of these we have a Chandrâditya, who did not take his father's title of Adhirâja. This, however, was resumed by his successor, who was his younger son and named Vikramâditya. He died 680, but unfortunately we are not told when he commenced his reign. If we allow him twenty years it would take us back to 660, which, for

¹ In the genealogy above quoted, General Jacob, by some oversight, omits Mangaliṣa, though his third inscription is by him, and fully confirms all we learn from the others. In it mention is made "Shankaraga's son Budha Râjâ." The first probably being the Śaṅka, who, according to Hœi-li (112) killed Râjâvardhana, of Canouge. This inscription unfortunately is not dated.

reasons to be given hereafter, may be near the mark. The two following kings also bore the title of Adhirāja, till the pride of the house was finally extinguished in the reign of a second Vikramāditya, who succeeded to them in 733.¹

The question, therefore is, who was the Adhirāja, who dispossessed Pulakesi's eldest son? My impression is we have not far to seek. Śrī-Dharasena III. alone of the Balabhi kings assumed the title, and though we cannot fix his date with absolute precision it was certainly after 330-648, and before Śilāditya II., whose date appears to have been 338-348, or 656-66, which is exactly the gap we wish to fill up.²

We are thus enabled to complete our list of Mahārāja Adhirājas, from the accession of the great Vikramāditya in 590 (P), till it passed from the feeble hands of a successor of the same name, 733, or say, without a break for 150 years, thus:—

M.A. Vikramāditya of Malwa	-	-	490
„ Śilāditya do.	-	-	530
„ Prabhārakara of Canouge	-	-	580
„ Rāja Varddhana	-	-	605 (P)
„ Pulakesi II. of Kalyan	-	-	609
„ Śrī-Dharasena III. of Balabhi	-	-	650 (P)
„ Vikramāditya of Kalyan	-	-	660 (P)
„ Vinayāditya do.	-	-	680
„ Vijayāditya do.	-	-	695
„ Vikramāditya II.	-	-	733

Before leaving the family, it is necessary to say a few words about another branch of them, who are mentioned in a copper-plate translated by Professor Dowson in the 1st vol. new series of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. In this grant we have the names, Jaya Sinha, his son Buddha varṇa, and Vijaya Raja Sarva. As no such name occurs in any of Sir Walter Elliot's lists as the second name here, and no such sequence anywhere, either in his or General Jacob's, we may safely assume that this is a new family altogether. Besides this, the locality is altogether different, all the grants of the great Chālukya family are found south of the Nerbuddha. This was found at Kaira in Gujerat.

¹ Madras Journal xx., p. 81.

² J.B.B.R.A.S. viii., 245.

After what has been said above, there can be little doubt of the Samvat in which it is dated ; for, as the Professor says, " to decide the era of one, is to settle that of all." ¹

The date of this being S. 394, its date is A.D. 712, and the donors were evidently a branch of the great Kalyan family, which was then at the height of its prosperity.

One curious point regarding this grant, which is very misleading, and seems to have misled the Professor, is the constant recurrence of the same name in the same family. Thus Jaya Sinha, the first named here, is the same as the first of the Kalyan branch, nearly two centuries earlier ; and the last is identical with the third of the same name, who began to reign in Kalyan 695, and was contemporary with this very king, as he died 733.² If nominal similarities were of any use in such an inquiry, we might be justified in assuming they were the same persons. The names of their fathers were, however, different, and the one was a simple Mahārāja, the other a Mahārāja Adhirāja ; and we must consequently reject the synonym. It is a trap, however, which will frequently occur in the sequel, and cannot be too carefully guarded against.

Rāja-Tarangīnī.

KINGS OF KASHMIR.

Hushka } Tartar Princes estab-
Jushka } lished Buddhism.
Kanishka }
Abhimanyu, 21 A.D.

GONARDYA DYNASTY.

Gonarda. *Naga worshipped.*
Vibhishana.
Indrajita.
Rāvapa.
Vibhishana.
Nara.
Siddha.
Utpalāksha.
Hiranyāksha.
Hiranyākula.
Vāsukūlo.
Mihirakula, 180 ?
Yaka.
Kshitinanda,
Yasunanda.
Nara.
Aksha.
Gopāditya, 280 ?

¹ Jour. R.A.S., N.S. i. 260.

Gokarna.
Narendrāditya.
Yudhishtira.

ĀDITYA DYNASTY.

Pratāpāditya, 340.
Jalaukas.
Tunjina.
Vijaya.
Jayendra.
Arya Rāja.

GONARDYA LINE restored.

Meghavāhana, 431.
Pravarasena I., 465.
Hiranya } 495.
Toramāna }
Mātrigupta, 525.
Pravarasena II., 530.
Yudhishtira II.
Nandratat.
Ranāditya.
Vikramāditya, 492, 30th year, 622.
Balāditya, 634, cotem. Yesdegird and
Hiouen-Thsang, died 645 ?

² Madras Journal xx. 81.

It has been said that the Rāja-Tarangīni is the only Sanskrit work to which the title of history can with propriety be applied; but, in addition to this claim on our attention, if I am not mistaken, it is more than a mere history of the valley of Kashmir, as its title would imply, for it contains also considerable fragments of the history of the rest of India. If the Aśoka mentioned in Kalhana's lists is the celebrated Mauryan king—which, however, is by no means clear—he was not only sovereign of the valley, but of the whole of Northern India besides. Kanishka, we know, was master of the whole of the Punjab, at least. So was Mihiracula; and even after his defeat and imprisonment by Balāditya, he recovered Ghandāra, which was a portion of his original kingdom.¹ If Meghavāhana conquered Ceylon, he must have had possession of the intermediate countries, and as Pravarasena dethroned and afterwards reinstated Śilāditya, the son of the great Vikramāditya, he must have been practically master of the whole of the north of India. The same must be the case with Lalitāditya and others, if half we are told of them is true. All this will be clearer in the sequel; but, meanwhile, let us try if we can fix the dates of the kings ruling in Kashmir with a little more precision than has hitherto been done.

The dynasties with which we are at present concerned, are the first and second Gonardya, and the Āditya dynasty that comes between them. Generally they may be described as reigning between the early years of the Christian era, and the early years of the Hegira; and the first point is to ascertain, as nearly as may be, their initial and final dates.²

There seems little discrepancy of opinion among chronologists with regard to the first, or to Kanishka's date. General Cunningham hesitates between 17 and 24 A.D.,³ for his death, and Lassen⁴ brings him down to 40 A.D. From

¹ H.-T. ii. 190.

² In the following pages I have generally used Professor Wilson's abstract of the Rāja-T. in the fifteenth volume of the Asiatic Researches. M. Troyer's translation is extremely useful in filling up details, but as the MS. he seems to have used was much less full and complete than that of the Professor, the latter contains many particulars most useful for our purposes, which the translator omits.

³ Numismatic Chr. viii., 175. J. A. S. B. vii., 704.

⁴ Ind. Alterthums., vol. ii., p. xxiv.

such attention as I have been able to pay to the subject myself, I have come to the conclusion that the General's second date is the most probable; but the concurrence of all authorities is so near, that it is not worth while arguing the point here.

With regard to a final date, we have the assertion of Bedia-ud-deen, that the 30th year of Vikramâditya was coincident with the Hegira (622), and that his successor Balâditya was contemporary with Yesdegird.¹

This is just such an assertion as I should feel inclined to accept at the hands of a Mahomedan historian. We know from several sources that the followers of the Prophet were feeling their way on the banks of the Lower Indus in the very first years of the Hegira, and that they were in Cabul, possibly in Lahore, in the forty-fourth year after the flight,² and this appears just one of those facts which they could most easily ascertain, and were most likely to record.

This view has recently been confirmed by a circumstance mentioned incidentally by Sir H. Elliot. In his Appendix, p. 143, he places the accession of Cach in 10 H. The expedition to Kirman in 14 H.; and between these two events happened the siege of Multan. When pressed, Bajhrâ sends to ask assistance from his suzerain, the King of Kashmir. His messengers bring back news that the king was dead, his young son had just succeeded, and no hope of aid could be entertained. This happens to be exactly the year in which Bedia-ud-deen places Vikramâditya's death. Though his successor seems according to the Kashmir annals, to have been his brother, not his son; this is of little consequence. If, as General Cunningham asserts,³ Durlabha succeeded in 625, no change took place down to 39 H., and the founder of

¹ A. R., xv., p. 41.

² Elphinstone's History of India, i., p. 496, *et seq.* Sir H. Elliot's Mahomedan Histories, *passim*.

³ Report to Government, 1861-2, p. 12. The General assures me he has materials quite sufficient to establish the correctness of this date. When they are published I shall be happy to give them my most earnest attention, and to modify the above if I find them conclusive. In the meanwhile, however, the difference between us is only twenty years, and that is not important for our present purposes.

the new dynasty was not at all the man to refuse assistance to his vassals.

If these views are correct, it is evident that Balâditya, 634-645, was the king who occupied the throne both on Hiouen-Thasang's first visit and on his return; but, unfortunately, as he provokingly does not mention the king's name—he was a heretic—his narrative is of no assistance to us here. There are certain circumstances, however, that make it probable that no recent revolution, or change of dynasty, had taken place, and though I do not rely, as Bhau Dajî does, in the name of the monastery in which he lived, I, on the whole—without being able to adduce any distinct point of evidence—prefer the view here put forth.

Between the initial and final date thus fixed, we have almost exactly six centuries, and during that period thirty-seven kings are recorded as having held sway in Kashmir; thus averaging, as nearly as may be, sixteen years to each reign. This result accords so nearly with the average of the succeeding, or Kârkotâ dynasty, regarding whose dates there is very little doubt, as well as with the whole tenor of Indian history, that it almost amounts, in my mind, to a proof of the correctness of the data on which we are proceeding.

If any one will take the trouble of adding up the averages of any of the Hindu or Mahomedan dynasties of India, whose dates are known, he will be astonished how nearly this average is sustained when a sufficient number of reigns exist to make an average. Take, for instance, one of the most exceptional: In the Moghal dynasty of Delhi we have four reigns, from Akbar, 1556 to Aurangzeb, 1707, averaging nearly thirty-eight years each; yet, when we take the whole from Baber, 1494, to Akbar II., 1806, we find the average reduced to fifteen; or sixteen, if we omit some names that can hardly be said to have reigned. Or take the longest list we know, that of Ceylon, according to Turnour (*Mahawanso*, p. lix.), we have 165 reigns in 2341 years, or little more than fourteen years; but it must be admitted that for some periods the Cingalese

Government was singularly feeble and disturbed, so this is probably an exceptionally low average.

To this we shall have frequent occasion to return hereafter, but in the meanwhile I may state that when we find a dynasty averaging from fifteen to seventeen years, we may feel pretty confident that there is no great error in the initial and final dates from which the average is calculated; or, if these are known, that there is a great probability that we have the correct number of names that ought to be found between these two points.

Turning from these generalities, and assuming for the present, at least, that Vikramāditya ascended the throne 592, we find the dates of the four preceding reigns are enormously exaggerated, amounting to 415 years. Applying an average of sixteen years we reach 528 for the retirement of Mâtrigupta and the accession of Pravarasena II. The real date, as we shall presently see, was most probably 530.

The story of Mâtrigupta is told, in great detail, in the third book of the R.T., and, putting aside the usual padding of Hindu chroniclers, there seems no reason to doubt its general historical correctness. At a period, after the death of Hiranya, when Kashmir was without a king, Vikramāditya, of Ougein, sent a dependent of his own to occupy the vacant throne, exercising in that act his right as lord paramount, or Adhirâja of India. This time there is no possible mistake about the king being the one so famous in Hindu story, the possessor of the wonderful throne supported by thirty-two Apsarasas, the patron of poets, and of art and science of every sort; in fact, he was not the king of kings, but the demi-god of Hindu imagination.

As soon as Mâtrigupta heard of the death of his patron, he retired to Benares,¹ leaving the throne to Pravarasena. "He immediately invaded the kingdom of the south, turned his arms against the son and successor of Vikramāditya, named Pratâpa Śila, or Śilāditya, whom he drove from his capital and made prisoner. He seems to have been contented with

¹ Troyer, vol. ii., p. 94. A. R. xv., 39.

the expression of his resentment, and not only to have spared the life of the prince, but to have put him again in possession of his hereditary kingdom, carrying off, however, the throne of the Apsarasas, which he transferred to his own capital."¹ Bedia-ud-deen, Professor Wilson adds, "carries Pravarasena to Bengal, also, where he subdues Behar Sinh, ruler of Dhacca."

As mentioned above, Hiouen-Thsang gives the accession of Śīlāditya in 530, which is so nearly what we arrive at by the above calculation that we may accept it as certain within a year or so either way. Assuming this, we have four events which occurred in this year, which are most important for our chronology:—the death of Vikramāditya the Great; the accession of Śīlāditya to the throne of Malwa; and the retirement of Mātrigupta; followed by the accession of Pravarasena II. to the throne of Kashmir.

Proceeding upwards, the R.T. allows thirty years for the joint reign of the two brothers, Hiranya and Toramāṇa—a duration, I am inclined to think, very probable from the following circumstance: Pravarasena II. was not born till after his father Toramāṇa had been deposed and imprisoned. When Mātrigupta was first sent, Pravara declined to oppose him, though urged by his mother to do so. He was apparently too young; while to act as he did act on Vikramāditya's death, he must, at least, have been 25 years of age.

This would allow only ten years for the joint reign of the two brothers, and, from the context, we can hardly allow less. This would take us back to 495. The next preceding reign was Pravarasena I., the grandfather, of course, of the second of that name, and he was preceded by Meghavāhana, whose name sounds much more like a title invented by the Kashmiri chronicler to hide a foreign conquest, than a real name. Be this as it may, these two reigns are represented as extending to 64 years, or to A.D. 431. This I should feel very much inclined to reject as excessive, were it not that in the R. T. he is said to have invaded Ceylon, and, adds Troyer, l. iii., s. 72,

¹ A. R. xv., 39.

"Monta avec son armée sur un rocher nommé Rohanam, &c." Turning to the Mahāvanso, under the date 434, we find the following entry: "A certain Damilo, named Pandu, landing from the opposite coast, put Mettasena to death on the field of battle, and usurped the kingdom of Lanka. All the principal natives fled to Rohana,"¹ &c.

The dates are too near to admit of doubt but that these narratives relate to the same event; but, as I said on a previous occasion, I cannot help fancying that the Ceylonese dates are all from ten to fifteen years too early in this period.²

The king, being called by the generic name of Pāṇḍu—Pāṇḍava—does not help us to an identification; but, it will be observed, it is the same name as is given by the Ceylonese, to the Emperor of Magadha in the Daladāvanso,³ above a century earlier.

To this subject we must return again presently; but meanwhile, it is only necessary to remark, that if Meghavāhana did invade Ceylon, as he is reported to have done, he must also have borne another name, and been sovereign of the intermediate countries. It is absurd to suppose that the king of a remote Himalayan valley, that never could have contained a million of inhabitants, could have marched the whole length of India on such an expedition. He must have been a possessor of the five Indias, but what his real name was we must try afterwards to find out.

We have no contemporary incidents and no internal evidence by which to check the length of the reigns of the six kings of the preceding, or Āditya dynasty. It could not however, have lasted long if it is true as we are told in R.-T., that Meghavāhana was the great grandson of Yudhisṭhira, the last king of the first Gonardya dynasty. If we allow them fifteen years each, which is rather more than the average we are now reduced to, this would place the accession of Pratāpāditya, about 344. "He was," says Pro-

¹ Mahawanso, p. 254. ² J.R.A.S., N.S., vol. iii., p. 152.

³ J.A.S.B., vol. vi., p. 865. A. R. xv., p. 32.

fessor Wilson, "invited from another country: he was a kinsman of Vikramāditya. A different monarch, says our author, from the Śakāri Vikramāditya, although sometimes erroneously identified with this prince."¹ This fact, though not very clear, is worth bearing in mind, as Wilford, from Jaina authorities, insists on an earlier Vikramāditya; and there certainly does appear to have been a king of that name before the great king—the son of Harsha. My own impression is, that he was his grandfather; this one is too far removed for that, but we may be able to identify him hereafter. Meanwhile, I see little reason to doubt his existence; but if my theory is correct, he ought to have been contemporary with the first king of the second Gonardyan dynasty (A.D. 447), and not with the first of the Āditya race, which is a century too early for any king of that name we know of.

Mihirakula is the only other king in the Kashmir list whose date it is necessary for our present purposes to attempt to fix. Unfortunately, we have no other means than averages available, but they do come out so nearly exact in these lists, that we cannot err far in placing his accession about the year 180 A.D., to say 200. This would accord perfectly with Hiouen-Tsang's expression when he describes him thus:—
 "Plusieurs centaines d'années avant l'époque actuelle il y eut un roi nommé Mahiracula qui établit sa résidence dans cette ville (Sakala) et devient Souverain des cinq Indes."²

The story of his wars with Balāditya, king of Magadha—his defeat and imprisonment—are among the most curious and interesting episodes of Indian history to be found in the Chinese pilgrim's narrative; but as it is only his date that we are here concerned with, we must leave him with it established certainly within a limit of error of 20 years either way.

To all these dates we shall have occasion to refer again in the sequel, and it is consequently unnecessary to enlarge on them more at present.

¹ A. R., ix., 175, and xv., 86.

² H.-T., ii., 190.

The Guptas.

	FIRST THEORY.	A.D.		SECOND THEORY.	A.D.
Gupta, or Balabhi Era	...	318	...	...	318
Gupta	318?
Ghatotkacha...	335?
Chandra Gupta I.	...	400, 411	...	...	355?
Samudra Gupta	...	415?	...	...	375?
Chandra Gupta II.	...	440?	...	...	400, 411
Kumâra Gupta	...	442	...	...	442
Skanda Gupta	...	448, 469	...	...	448, 469
Budha Gupta	...	463	...	...	463
Toramâna	...	498	...	...	498

We now approach the Gupta Era, which has hitherto been the great difficulty of mediæval chronology in India, not that I think their date more uncertain than those we have been discussing, but the weight of authority arrayed against the views I am about to propound might well make any one pause before announcing them too confidently.

When General Cunningham wrote his work on the Bhilsa Topes, he took the same view of the era of those kings as I now do, but he has since seen reason to change his opinion regarding them, and to adopt that of Mr. Thomas, that the Gupta kings reigned before the era that bears their name (318-19). For a long time this seemed to me conclusive, for when an author of his standing and acknowledged familiarity with the subject retracts a published opinion, and adopts another, he must be supposed to have had good reason for so doing, and his second opinion is more worthy of consideration than the first. In this matter, however, I consider Mr. Thomas as a more formidable antagonist than even the General. For many years past he has studied the coins, and with them the Gupta period, with more assiduity and care than any other person, as his numerous publications on the subject fully attest; and no one can estimate more highly than I do, either his ability or the perfect fairness with which he treats the subject. Notwithstanding this, I venture to differ from him, first, because I think his conclusions are drawn too exclusively from numismatic evidence; and, secondly, because I fancy he places too much reliance on the testimony of Albrîûnf, an Arab author of the

eleventh century, whose authority I am inclined to disregard entirely.

The testimony of Albîrûnî on this subject, with which we will first deal, is contained in the few following words, as translated by M. Reinaud: "Quant au Goupta Kala (ère des Gouptas), on entend par le mot Goupta des gens qui, dit-on, étaient méchants et puissants; et l'ère qui porte leur nom est l'époque de leur extermination."¹

The first thing that strikes anyone on reading this assertion is its extreme improbability. My memory may be at fault, but I do not know any similar occurrence in the history of the world. The nearest approach to it is the era of Yeedegird. If it had been dated from the battle of Kadesia or the death of the king, it would have been a case in point; but it was established by the king himself in the pride of power and greatness, and dates from the *first* year of his reign, and seems to have been perpetuated by his co-religionists in opposition to the Hegira, which was introduced by their hated conquerors.

In the next place, if it were possible to fix their destruction with such precision in 318, some event of importance must have happened in that year—a battle, or massacre. We ought to know the name of the last Gupta, or to have heard the boast of their exterminators; neither history nor tradition, nor does any inscription hint at any such event as occurring at or near any such time. When we look into the case a little more closely, we find there are a variety of Gupta inscriptions dated from 82 to 165,² from some unspecified era. If it was not their own, it must have been the Śaka 78, A.D. At least Albîrûnî knows no other about the time. This, however, would only take us down to 243 A.D., and still leave us seventy-five years to fill up before we get to the last Gupta, and we have no names to put into the gap.

¹ As I only refer to Albîrûnî in consequence of the value Mr. Thomas attaches to his evidence, I take the passages as found in his essays, to which alone I refer. They will be found in the twelfth volume of this Journal, p. 1, *et seq.*, and in his edition of Prinsep, vol. i., 268 to 276. As they are comprised in so short a space, it will not be necessary to refer specially to each page.

² They are collected by Thomas in his edition of Prinsep, vol. i., p. 246 to 249.

Albirûnî goes on to say, "Apparemment, Ballaba suivit immédiatement les Gouptas." If I am correct in the date I have above assigned to Battâraka, the progenitor of the Balabha race, we have at least two centuries to spare between the first Râja of that family and the last of the Guptas, on the assumption that they were exterminated in 318.

A little further on, however, Albîrûnî contradicts himself when enumerating the eras of India, as they occurred, he says, "on emploie ordinairement les ères de Sri Haroha (400 years before the next) de Vicramaditya, de Saca, de Ballaba, et des Gouptas." Here the order of the two last is inverted, and it is clear he knew of no era between 78 and 318, from which the Gupta inscriptions could be dated.

I may add that the two Harsha eras which he quotes—one 457 B.C., the other 607 A.D.—are, so far as we now know, pure inventions, or mistakes of his own. No trace of them is to be found elsewhere.

I could easily adduce other reasons why I distrust entirely this Arab author, but the above are, for the present I hope, sufficient to justify me in putting his testimony aside. He was a foreigner, and lived six centuries after the events we are discussing, and it is not consequently to be wondered at that he blundered to the extent he did.¹ As I hope, however, presently to adduce proof positive that the Guptas did date from their own era, this, perhaps, is more than is now necessary to say with regard to him; but so much stress has been laid on his assertions, that it was impossible to pass him over, as otherwise I would have been inclined to do.

When from Albîrûnî we turn to authors nearer home, we find that the only mention of the Guptas anywhere is in the

¹ In the above I have argued as if the translations of Albîrûnî given by Messrs. Reinaud and Thomas were final; both are competent Arabic scholars, and, as I am not, I have taken the meaning as they understand it. On page 271, vol. i. of Mr. Thomas' Prinsep, he gives another translation in the following words: "The Kâbat Kâl (Gupta era) that was, as is said, a wicked and powerful family; when it ceased it was dated from, and as it were (it would seem that) Balab was the last of them, for the first of their era ALSO is 241 years after the Shaka Kâl." If that word *also* has any right to be where it is put, there is an end of the question, and we are fighting with shadows, in so far as Albîrûnî is concerned. All I contend for is, that both dated from 318 A.D.

Purānas, and their chronology is, unfortunately, most vague and confused about this period. Both Dr. Mill,¹ however, and Professor Wilson² were of opinion that the Guptas of the Purānas could not be earlier than the seventh or eighth century. The argument is long and tedious, and the result, probably, even if undertaken by the best Sanskrit scholar, would hardly be sufficiently conclusive to be worth the space it would occupy. But, perhaps, I may be allowed to state, generally, the conclusions I have arrived at regarding it.

My impression is that the chronological dates, and, generally, the facts, on which the Puranic literature is based, were first collected during the great revival of Hindu literature, which took place under Vikramāditya in the beginning of the sixth century; though of course it is admitted that the Purānas were not reduced to their present form till long afterwards. Now, it appears to me that, down to Pulomat, in the beginning of the fifth century, the Puranic lists are fairly clear and consecutive; but as they approached known times—on this theory, in order to keep up their mystic and prophetic character—they were purposely confused and mystified. My conviction is, that all the dynasties mentioned in the Vishṇu Purāna,³ for instance, as reigning subsequent to the last Andhra, were so far contemporaneous, that none of them extended to Vikramāditya, and the whole must be included between 350, or rather 400, at the earliest, till 500 A.D. as the last of them. If this is so, the testimony of the Purānas “valeat quantum” is that the Guptas reigned in the fifth century A.D. To my mind the Puranic argument appears perfectly clear and convincing, but I fear I cannot so state it as to carry the same conviction to others. We shall have occasion, however, to return to it in the sequel. Nevertheless let us see what the Guptas say for themselves.

The following is, I believe, a correct list of the dynasty :—

DYNASTY.	DATES ON INSCRIPTION.
Śrī or Raja Gupta.	
Mahārāja Ghaṭotkacha.	

¹ J.A.S.B., vi., p. 12.

² Vishṇu Purāna, 478; Ariana Antiqua, 407.
³ V. P. 474.

DYNASTY.	DATES ON INSCRIPTION.
M. R. adhirâja Chandra Gupta I.	82, 93.
„ Samudra „	
„ Chandra Gupta II.	
„ Kumara „	124.
„ Skanda „	130, 137, 141.
Mahendra a minor.	
Mahârâja Śrī Hastina.	163.
Râja Buddha.	165.
M. R. adhirâja Toramâna.	182.

Neither Śrī Hastina nor Toramâna can properly speaking be called Guptas, but as they date most undoubtedly from the same era, they are commonly classed with them.

Here, then, we have a dynasty of nine or ten kings who, according to their own showing, reigned at least 180 years, or about 20 years a-piece, a number a little in excess of what we might expect, but there may have been names we have not got. The only question is from what era are these dates reckoned.

As before mentioned, if it were either the Samvat of Vikramāditya or the Śaka, they must have been destroyed long before 318; and unless a date, either 85, or at least 68 years more modern can be found, the argument halts. Certainly Albîrûnî knew of no such era, nor do I know where to look for it.

Assuming that these dates are from the Gupta Kâla, 318, we are at once met with a difficulty which I do not now see how we are to get over. We have at present no means of knowing whether the two dates I have placed opposite the first Chandra Gupta belong to him or the second—another illustration of the inconvenience of a grandson adopting his grandfather's name! Assuming it to be as I have placed them at the head of this section, according to the first theory, Chandra Gupta I. reigned 400 to 411. In this case, the two preceding reigns must have occupied 80 or 82 years, on the supposition that their reigns extended to the beginning of the Era, which is far from being proved. On this theory, the succeeding reigns must have been compressed to an equally

unusual extent. If these dates belong to the second Chandra Gupta, the whole dynasty may be tolerably evenly distributed over the whole period, allowing 20 years to each reign. The more equal spacing of the reigns of these kings is tempting at first sight, but the whole evidence, so far as I am acquainted with it, tends in an opposite direction, and favours the assumption that the Sanchi inscription belongs to the first Chandra Gupta.

Pending the discovery of an inscription to settle this point, the question seems mainly to hinge on who was the Sháhân-Shâhî of Samudra Gupta's Allahabad inscription.¹ If any one, even if very moderately acquainted with Indian or Persian history, were asked which of the Sassanian kings was most likely to be mentioned in an inscription at Allahabad, he would almost inevitably answer Bahram Gaur. He reigned 420-440; and if the date 93 belongs to the first Chandra Gupta, the writer of the inscription could not have ascended the throne before 411—it might be 415 or 420.²

In the same line of this inscription occurs another name, on which Prinsep makes the following remark:—"Sainháṭṭa—the country of the lion (Sinha), might safely be identified with Sinhala in Ceylon, especially as it is followed by *Sarvadwīpa*—all the isles, which must refer to the Anca diva of Ptolemy, etc." He then goes on to suggest that the word may apply to some insignificant hills among the Western Ghats. This we may safely reject. Such a place would never be coupled with the Persians, the Scythians, and Huns; but Ceylon might.³

If we turn back to either the Kashmir or Ceylon annals we find (ante p. 100) an Indian Conquest of Ceylon in 434, which also might safely be made to fall within this reign, and Meghavâhana would then be only a title of Samudra Gupta. Supposing, however, it should turn out that the dates above quoted (82 and 93) belong to the second Chandra Gupta. This would hardly alter the facts. Bahram Gaur's visit would fall in the reign of Kumâra, and the Shah of the

¹ J.A.S.B. vi. p. 974; Thomas' Prinsep, i. 233, *et seq.*

² *Loc. c.*

³ We probably must refer again to the Lât for the true reading.

inscription would be Shapur III., or Bahram Kerman Shah, both of whom most probably formed alliances with the kings of India of that day. In that case the Meghavâhana of Kashmir was probably Skanda the last, and probably the greatest, of his race.¹

On the whole, the first is the view I am at present inclined to adopt; but it is little use arguing a question which an inscription with a date may settle any day. Either view will suit all the facts we now know; and so far as history or probability are concerned I know nothing to militate against the view that the greatness of the Guptas ended with Skanda, about the year A.D. 460.

Whatever may be determined with regard to the connexion of Meghavâhana with the Guptas, the name of his successor, Pravarasena, presents a nominal similarity too tempting to be overlooked, though it may be difficult to establish the identity in an absolute manner.

From the Seonî copper plates² we learn that the grantor was a Mahârâja Pravarasena, the grandson of Mahârâja Adhirâja Śrî Deva Gupta. Deva was no doubt a title only, as it does not occur anywhere else in our lists; but in the Sanchi inscription³ we are told in so many words that the Chandra Gupta of 93, was "generally known among his subjects as Devarâja." Assuming for the nonce that this was the king, the Pravarasena of Seonî was the contemporary of him of Kashmir, if he was not the same. It is a very curious coincidence at least, if it is nothing more.

There is also another inscription of the same Pravarasena, in the so-called Zodiac Cave, at Ajanta. This, though much mutilated, has been so far deciphered by Bhau Dajî⁴ as to make it clear that it is the same king who excavated the cave, and who made the Seonî grant. It seems also clear that he

¹ A probable explanation of the matter is, that the Kashmir King may have assisted his Suzerain in his expedition to Ceylon, and when he returned home, boasted that, "He had done it." The Châlukya Adhirâjas boast so continuously of their conquests of Ceylon, (J. B. B. R.A.S. III., p. 205,) that it is probable that from the time of the Guptas, or at least from 434, the island remained more or less a dependency of the Emperors of India, for a considerable time at least.

² J.A.S.B. v. 726.

³ J.A.S.B.; Thomas' Prinsep, i. 245.

⁴ J. B. B. R. A. S. vi. pt. 2nd, p. 66.

was of the Vindhyaśakti race who are mentioned in the Purānas before the Guptas.¹ As I said before, however, I believe all that group of dynasties are contemporary, or nearly so. I would not, therefore, insist on this, but what I do insist upon is that the cave could not have been excavated before the year 400 A.D. When I first wrote on the subject I said "I believe this, and the one before it, was excavated between the fourth and sixth century after Christ, but more probably about the latter date."² I have since felt inclined, as my knowledge of the subject increased, to ascribe this cave to a more modern date, but, on the whole, after a careful analysis of the Topes, at Sanchi and Amravati, and a review of the whole subject, I feel convinced that it must have been excavated within the limits of the fifth century. Now, that we know that it owes its origin to a grandson of one of our Gupta kings, this, to my mind, is in itself sufficient to settle the question, though others may not attach so much weight to this argument as I do.

The name of Toramāṇa, one of the successors of Pravara-sena, in the Kashmir list, affords a more tempting nominal similarity than even his father's name.

We have two inscriptions, one at Eran,³ and the other at Gwalior;⁴ neither is dated from any era, but the former is closely connected with that of Budha Gupta, at the same place, which is dated 165. Toramāṇa's is dated in the first year of his reign, and probably not long after the date just quoted, and Thomas reads the date on his coin as 180,⁵ which is further confirmed by Bhau Daji, who believes he detects the symbol for 180 + something on the Eran inscription.⁶ This date, therefore, if my view of the era is correct, is 498 to 500. Both Bhau Daji and Rajendra Lal identify him unhesitatingly with the Toramāṇa of Kashmir, and the latter further asserts that the Paṣupati, the son of Toramāṇa, in the fifteenth year of whose reign the inscription was put up,

¹ Vishnu Purāna, p. 477.

³ J.A.S.A. viii. 633; Thomas, i. 249.

⁵ Prinsep, i. 340.

² J.R.A.S. viii. 48.

⁴ J.A.S.B. xxx. 277.

⁶ J.B.B.R.A.S. viii. 249.

is no other than Pravarasena II., the King of Kashmir.¹ My own impression is that they are right. The coincidences are so many and so curious that they can hardly be accidental; but there is one difficulty in the way of the identification of the two Toramānas, which must not be overlooked. The king on the Eran inscription is styled Mahārāja Adhirāja—the King of Kashmir never rose above the rank of Yuvarāja; and if the first title is not a piece of oriental flattery, as Lassen² suggests, it is impossible they should be the same person. Neither Budha Gupta nor the Toramāna, of Gwalior, aspire to this rank, and it is not by any means clear that even the two Indian Toramānas are identical. If he was an Adhirāja we must also curtail the reign, or at least the supremacy of Vikramāditya, by some years; he could not in that case have become lord paramount till after Toramāna's death.

Even supposing these identifications cannot be absolutely ascertained, there is a curious fact with regard to names in Indian history which it is worth pointing out, and may serve somewhat to solve the difficulty.

Certain names appear to crop up at particular periods, and to be adopted by everybody at the same time. Thus all the Śilādityas, whether of Malwa, Canouge, or Balabhi, are comprised within the limits of a century, or thereabout. The name does not occur before or afterwards; and in like manner, after Vikramāditya of Malwa made himself so famous, the name occurs again and again, with most perplexing frequency. We have already seen one Vijayāditya of Guzerat assuming the same name as an Adhirāja of the same family who was living at the same time, and the example of Harsha Vardhana of Canouge, shows how easily Hindu rajas change their names. All this is perplexing enough in most instances, and is, no doubt, one of the chief causes of the uncertainty which pervades the whole subject; but the knowledge of its existence may frequently obviate a difficulty which might otherwise seem insuperable.

The conclusion I have arrived at from such attention as I

¹ J.A.S.B. xxx. 271.

² Indische Alt. iii. 659.

can pay to the subject, is that all these Toramānas and Pravarasenas belong certainly to the same age; that some of them may be identical, and all nearly contemporary; but we must wait for further information before we can say positively which were actually the same, and which were only living at the same time.

I shall conclude this branch of my subject by referring to the Skanda Gupta inscription on the rock at Junagar. This was not translated by Prinsep, though a copy of it was in his hands before his last illness.¹ Had he lived to translate it, my impression is that the controversy as to the age of the Guptas never would have arisen—its evidence seems so absolute. Be this as it may, it never appeared, so far as I know, in a complete form and translated, till this was accomplished by Bhau Daji in the sixth volume of the Bombay Journal of 1862. In it we have three dates—the Sadarsana lake is said to have burst its banks in 130, to have been repaired in 137, and a temple to Vishnu built in 138, and twice it is repeated “counting from the Era of the Guptas” (Guptasya Kāla). The stone is worn where the middle date occurs, but there is just space enough for these words. The same king, on the Kuhaon pillar, dates his inscription in 141,² but without mentioning the era, which seems to have been so usual in Bengal, as not to require being specified.

I may add that the inflated language of this inscription approximates it very closely to those of the Balabhi kings above alluded to, and the form of the characters seems almost identical. What, then, was the Gupta Kāla? If Albirūni was right in calling the era of 318 by this name, here we have proof positive that he was wrong in saying it was the era of the destruction of the family; for here we have one of the best known and most powerful kings of this family actually dating his inscription from this era, and his authority is surely better than Albirūni's on such a subject. Further, if the Gupta Era was this one, then Skanda Gupta reigned certainly from A.D. 448 to 459—how much before or after we have at present no means of knowing.

¹ J.A.S.B. vii. 634.

² Thomas, i. 260.

Had the facts above stated been the whole case, no one, I believe, would ever have raised a question about the matter, or dreamt of placing the Guptas anywhere but in the 5th century. There are, however, certain circumstances connected with their coins which have induced Mr. Thomas, General Cunningham, and other numismatists, to bring them back to an earlier age. Even here, however, it is only half a difficulty, for the Guptas had two distinct and separate coinages, as unlike one another in style and execution as it is well possible to conceive. One, called the Canouge group, is derived from the Indo-Scythian coins, by easily traced gradations.¹ The other is copied from the Saurastrian coinage of the Sah kings, and is generally confined to silver and copper pieces, while the Canouge coinage seems to be generally gold.

Putting on one side for the present the coins of the Sah type, to which we will return presently, and confining our remarks wholly to the Canouge coins, they do not appear to me to offer any difficulty. In the first place, I attach no importance to the objection that some of them are so like others of the Indo-Scythian series, which we know are of the 1st century A.D., that they *ought* to be near them in date. The argument might be good in Europe, but mintages are in all ages and countries singularly conventional and capricious, and we have no right to apply to India the experience of other countries, without, at least, some stronger reason than has yet been adduced.

The question is a very large one, and I do not feel myself competent to enter into it, nor is it necessary to do so in the present instance. One coin, or rather group of coins, will be sufficient to explain my meaning, and with it I fancy the whole argument must stand or fall. In the Canouge series there are several coins which represent, on the obverse, the king slaying a lion, on the reverse, a female figure seated on a lion.² They are the most beautiful in execution of the whole series, and, consequently, the furthestmost removed from the rude Indo-Scythic coins which preceded them. Probably,

¹ Prinsep pointed this out as early as 1835, and it has not since been disputed. J.A.S.B., iv. p. 621, *et seq.*

² J.R.A.S., xii., pl. v., fig. 25, 27, 28, pl. vii., fig. 1, 2, 8.

therefore, they were the last and culminating effort of the Canouge engraver. One of these coins (pl. v., fig. 28) bears the name of Kumâra Gupta. All the others that of Vikramâditya, Vikrama Sinha, or some such name. On one coin (pl. v. 25), the most perfect of the whole, we have the full inscription perfectly legible, on the obverse, Mahârâjâdhirâja Śrī, and on the reverse, Śrī Sinha Vikrama. Who then is the king? For myself I cannot doubt but that he is the famous king of Malwa, who, if my chronology is correct, succeeded the Guptas so closely, as we have just seen that Toramâṇa's reign probably overlapped his for some years, though to so small an extent that it may possibly be adjusted.

There is another point, however, with regard to these coins which seems to me of great interest. The device of the King killing a lion is very un-Indian; but from the earliest Babylonian cylinder, through the whole Assyrian period down to the late Futteh Ali Shah, every king of the Persian countries has so represented himself. Throughout Indian history, Vikramâditya is represented as the son of, or at least as the descendant of Bahram Gour, who is said to have married a daughter of Vasudeva.¹ To my mind the coin confirms the story, and the story the adscription of the coin to a most satisfactory extent.

There is still another group of coins called Indo-Sassanian, which, however, have only been imperfectly read. The typical example of the class is one originally drawn by Prinsep, and reproduced by Thomas (vol. i., pl. vii., fig. 6). It represents a Sassanian king on one side; on the other, another who may be an Indian with a distinctly legible inscription in Sanskrit characters, which reads Śrī Vasudeva. While the other inscriptions are undecyphered, it is too hazardous even to suggest that this may be the father-in-law of Bahram Gour; but the number of these Indo-Sassanian coins which are found in India, extending even beyond the Hegira, prove a close intercourse between the two countries at the period we are now speaking about, and when thoroughly investigated, will, I fancy, throw more light on

¹ Ayeen Akbaree II., 64. Ferishtah p. lxxvi.

the political and religious changes that took place in India about the sixth century, than anything else which has yet come to light.

So far as they have yet been described, or decyphered, they seem to me to confirm the impression of a strong Sassanian influence during the Gupta period, which would quite justify the terms in which one of them is mentioned by Samudra Gupta in his inscription. They seem also, so far as I can judge, to prove the correctness of the story of the descent of Vikramāditya from the Persian king.¹

There is still another small group of coins belonging to the series which have hitherto been unidentified, but for which it may be possible to find an owner if we adopt this theory of dates. Among the Canouge coins are several with a horse on the obverse, and a female figure on the reverse, with a very legible inscription beside the latter, which reads "Aṣvamedha Parākrama, the paramount hero of the Aṣvamedha."² If I am correct in my chronology, Pulakeṣi I. did perform an Aṣvamedha during the reign of Śilāditya, the son and successor of Vikramāditya of Malwa, and the character of the coin would exactly suit this date. This, of course, is not proof. Many others may have done the same, but none, so far as I know, claim to have performed this sacrifice in any of the numerous inscriptions we have about this period; and at all events it may be put down as one of the many curious coincidences which this theory of the Gupta dates gives rise to, and which, when sufficiently numerous, make out a case of circumstantial evidence that cannot be resisted.

Before proceeding to discuss the difficulty which arises from the character of the Sah type of Gupta coins, it will be convenient to try and fix the dates of another Gupta family, whose existence may perhaps throw some light on the subject.

¹ My impression is, that Vikramāditya was the great grandson of Bahram Gour. Thus his son bore that name (447?). His son was Haraha, and then came the second king of that name, the great Vikramāditya in 490. According to this view, the so-called Gadhia Paisa fall naturally and easily into the position to which they have hitherto been tentatively assigned.

² Thomas, J. R. A. S. xii., pl. v., fig. 31, 32. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xviii. fig. 2, etc.

It will be convenient to designate them as the Magadha Guptas, to distinguish them from the Canouge family of the same name whose dates we have just been discussing. The former are known to us only from accounts given of them by Hiouen-Thsang. While residing in the monastery of Nālanda he tells us that the founder of that institution was one Śakrāditya,¹ a name so like that sometimes applied to Sālivāhana, that the first idea is that it may be the same person. It is by no means impossible that this may be so, but for the present I am inclined to believe that that king is at least half a century too modern to meet the requirements of Hiouen-Thsang's text; for he goes on to say, "Ainsi depuis les sept cents ans que ce convent existe, nul homme," etc. Of course, he is speaking in round numbers, but as he resided five years in this monastery, he was likely to be well informed in its annals, and we must allow that when he said 700, he meant at least more than 600, which would take us back to A.D. 40, or before it. This view is confirmed by a fact that I see no reason for doubting, which is that Nāgārjuna resided sometime in this monastery,² and he was contemporary with Kanishka. Indeed I am inclined to look on Nāgārjuna as practically the founder of this great establishment, and generally of the monastic system in India. Be this as it may, Hiouen-Thsang's date and the residence of this saint in the monastery, place its foundation in the first years of the Christian era.

After this our author proceeds to record the names and benefactions of four of his successors, each of whom he represents as the son of the preceding king. This is doubtful, but not so the succession of the following kings :—

1. Śakrāditya.
2. Buddha Gupta.
3. Tathāgata Gupta.
4. Balāditya, and
5. Vajra.

No particulars are given of any of these kings, except Balāditya. He we are told was contemporary with Mihi-rakula of Kashmir,³ and the story of their wars and its re-

¹ H.-T., i. 150 ; iii. 42. ² Vassilief, *Le Bouddisme*, etc., p. 200. ³ H.-T. ii. 191.

results are told in great detail as above mentioned in speaking of the Râja-Taranginî. Here occurs our first difficulty. If we are to read Hioun-Thsang literally, Balâditya was the great-grandson of Sakrâditya, whom, for the reason just stated, I believe to have been contemporary with Kanishka, but according to the Kashmir lists 12 reigns occur between that king and Mihirakula. The only mode of reconciling the two lists that occurs to me is to assume that Hiouen-Thsang used the word "Son" in the sense of "descendant," as is done in every Puranic list we are acquainted with to an extent that is sometimes most perplexing.

For reasons above stated, I am inclined to place great reliance on Kashmir lists as adjusted, and therefore feel considerable confidence in placing Balâditya in the latter half of the second century; and Buddha Gupta we may, for the present, place about the year 100 A.D., till we get some further data for fixing his date with more precision.

We know only of one other king of this dynasty, the "Pânđu," of the Daladâvanso. His capital was Palibothra (Patna) where he was reigning in the beginning of the fourth century, and if not Lord Paramount of the whole of India, he at least exercised suzerain right over the Kalingas, which are the countries principally referred to in the narrative.¹

The result of all this, therefore, is that for a dynasty which we know lasted for 300 years, we have only six names—or rather only five, for the last is a title—and we want at least a dozen more to fill up the gaps which exist. Everything we know of this dynasty would lead us to suppose that they were powerful, and had among their numbers some "Adhirâjas" at least; but we have no record of two thirds of their names, and do not know where to look for them.

In order to understand the bearing this dynasty may have in the numismatic evidence, it is necessary to assume some date for the Sah kings of Saurashtra, whose coinage so closely resembles those of the Guptas.—Mr. Thomas places all the

¹ J.A.S.B. vi. p. 866, *et seqq.*

13 kings between 157 and 57 B.C.¹ Mr. Justice Newton begins where Mr. Thomas leaves off, and places them between 57 B.C., and 235 A.D.;² and Bhanu Daji begins 135 years later, and extends them to 376 A.D.³ The two latter authorities also extend the number of reigns from newly discovered coins to 20 or 25 names, which would give from 12 to 15 years to each, instead of under eight, as was assumed from those that were known in 1848, when Mr. Thomas wrote.

General Cunningham, I believe, agrees with Mr. Newton, and my own impression is—for reasons to be given hereafter—that his views are more in accordance with the facts of the case than those of either of the gentlemen who place themselves before or after his dates. At all events, we may safely assume this for the present argument.

The three kings of the Gupta dynasty, whose coins are most frequently found of the Surastrian type, are Budha, Kumâra, and Skanda. If they were confined to the two, or even to these three only, the difficulty might be got over by assuming that Budha Gupta of the coins was the Buddha Gupta⁴ of the Magadha dynasty. The dates would fit admirably, and such a coin as those 52 or 56, plate ii., J. R. A. S. XII., would range perfectly with the Sah series. Nor would I hesitate in assuming that Kumâra might be among the lost names of the Magadha dynasty. It is so common a title, and, with a peacock coinage, so natural a name. When, however, we come to Skanda, the case becomes more difficult. It is true his also might be among the lost names. But such a title as "Parama Bhâgavata Śrī Vikramâditya Skanda Gupta,"⁵ looks so like its Canouge congener, that it is difficult to believe they must not belong to the same king. There is a circumstance, however, regarding this king's coins that does not seem to have been

¹ J. R. A. S. xii., p. 48; Prinsep ii. 91.

² Mr. Newton's paper has not yet been printed in the Journal of his Society, but appeared in the "Overland Times of India" in July last.

³ J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. viii. 223.

⁴ I do not think the difference of spelling here indicated of any importance. Hiouen-Tsang's name was translated first from Sanskrit into Chinese, and from Chinese into French, and might easily have been more changed in the process.

⁵ J. R. A. S. xii. 68.

observed. If, for instance, we take the representation of the face, figs. 50, 51, on the plate last quoted, they show a marked degradation from the coins of Budha Gupta; and, in so far as numismatic evidence is concerned, would reverse the order in which we know these kings succeeded one another, in the Canouge dynasty. It is also difficult to understand how a king whose mints could issue such coins as, for instance, Plate vi. fig. 18, in the same volume, could possibly be content with such rude specimens of the art as those last quoted. All this may be capable of being explained; but till this is done, it seems to me to render the evidence of workmanship in coins of singularly little value in determining either dates, or the identity of kings.

It may also be remarked that the Sah coinage of the Guptas is as remarkable for what it omits as what it contains. We have no coins of either Samudra or of the two Chandra Guptas, though there is reason to believe they were among the most powerful kings of their family, and their coins of the Canouge type are even more common than those of the three kings above named.

All this is so vague and unsatisfactory that I would have little hesitation about suggesting that the coinages belonged to the two different families if it stopped there; but there seems to be an unpublished coin of Toramāna,¹ about whose date there is no doubt; and there exists other evidence of connection,² between the Sah Gupta coinage and that of Toramāna, which, I fear at present, at least render this solution untenable. It seems worth while, however, putting it forward, as, when examined by persons more competent to judge of its merits than I am, it may lead to some important results either for or against the Gupta dates.

Even if we are forced to abandon the idea of the coins belonging to two different dynasties,³ it by no means follows that some other satisfactory solution of the problem may not be discovered. The simplest course would be to adopt Bhau Daji's date for the

¹ Thomas' Prinsep, i. 340

² *Loc. cit.* ii. 95.

³ The existence of these two families may, perhaps, be the cause of Albrūn's mistake. There certainly were Guptas before 318 as well as after. He may have confounded the one with the other.

Sah kings, in that case they would, by extending down to 376, overlap the Guptas to a considerable extent, and so get over all the difficulties of the connexion between the two coinages. I don't think myself that this is the true solution, but I feel quite certain that it will be found much more in conformity with the facts to bring the Sahs down than to take the Guptas up. For the reasons above given I look on the dates of the Guptas as undoubted, and, consequently, whichever theory we adopt, they must not be disturbed.

A third solution would be to assume simply that the Gupta coins were inferior mintages, issued by some of the Gupta kings for local purposes, and that they were, and were meant to be, mere copies of coins with which the people in those places had long been familiar. This seems to be by no means an improbable view of the case. Nothing is more purely conventional than the stamps on money. We now imitate Roman coins, and put Latin inscriptions on them, and there seems no reason why the Guptas in the fifth century may not have found it expedient, in addition to their own beautiful coins, to issue a lower class of money, on which they tried to copy the previously current forms as closely as possible.

I have now stated fully, and I hope fairly, the whole of the difficulties arising out of these coinages, in so far as they seem to bear on the dates I am now advocating. I have done this in deference to the great names who attach such importance to the evidence of these coins, though my own impression is that it is a work of supererogation. As in the case of the Skanda Gupta Junagar inscription, a recent reading seems to me to have put the case beyond the limit of controversy.

As far back as 1859, Mr. Thomas deciphered the name Bhattāraka on a large number of coins found in Guzerat,¹ and subsequently Mr. Justice Newton published four of the coins in 1862, and fully confirmed this reading² and neither of these gentlemen dispute the fact, that though the names have not yet been read they must belong to kings of the Balabhi family, the descendants of Bhattāraka or Bhatārka.

¹ J.B.B.R.A.S. vol. vi. p. lxxii.

² *Loc. c.* pl. 2, pl. 1, and p. xiii.

Now, assuming for the sake of argument, that neither the Guptas nor the Balabhi kings, nor any body else ever dated either coin or inscription from the Balabhi era—which is the view of the case now almost universally adopted—still, all are agreed as to the succession; no one disputes that the Sahas came first, after them the Guptas, and then the Balabhis. If we allow 200 for the first we cannot allow less than 150 years for the Guptas, and we must admit fifty or some such number of years before the Senâpatis of the Balabhi dynasty became Mahârâjas and coined money. These coins are depicted on Mr. Newton's plate just referred to, ranging through four centuries at least, with a change in design and execution so infinitesimally small that a layman could hardly tell which is the first or which is the last. There is a gradation I admit, but it is not so great as can be traced between the best and worst of Skanda Gupta's coins,¹ in so far as execution is concerned. There are differences in the forms of the inscription which are clearly pointed out by Mr. Newton in his paper just referred to, but they are so small as only to be discernable by the initiated. Be this, however, as it may, one thing I fancy no one will dispute, which is that the whole Gupta period, 150 or 165 years, elapsed between the last Sah and the first Saurastrian coin of the Bhattâraka type, and while this is so, and makes so little difference in the coinage, we need make no difficulty, if 100 years elapsed between the last Sah and the first Gupta; but, more than this, now that we have got coins of this type behind the Guptas, as well as before, all that can be said is that this type of coinage endured through the whole of the three dynasties, with as little change from the original conventional type as the skill of the artist employed would admit of. If this is so, any chronological argument based on the evidence of these coins seems to me absolutely worthless.

It may seem strange, according to European experience, that a series of coins should exist through six or seven centuries with so little change; but we must be cautious in applying rules derived from our knowledge of the West to

¹ J. R. A. S. xii., pl. ii., No. 44 to 51.

what may have happened in the East, and in all instances I fancy it a sound rule to adhere to the maxim that history must govern numismatics, and that numismatics must not be allowed to govern history. So far as I can judge, these Bhattachāra coins, coupled with Skanda Gupta's Junagar inscription, are by themselves sufficient to prove the case; and when to these we can add all the other historical coincidences noticed above, and to be mentioned hereafter, I cannot see that the Gupta era can possibly be considered any longer as doubtful.

Mauryas and Āndhras.

MAURYA DYNASTY, 130 YEARS.			ĀNDHRA DYNASTY—continued.		
		B.C.			A.D.
Chandragupta ... ..	...	328	Śātakarṇi I. ... ..	...	10
Bimbisāra ... ..	...	301	Pūrṇotsaṅga ... ..	...	28
Aśoka ... ..	...	278	Śrivaswāmī ... ..	...	46
Suśāsa ... ..	...	240	Śātakarṇi II. ... ..	...	64
Daśaratha ... ..	...	230 ?	Lambodara ... ..	...	120
Sāngata ... ..	...	220 ?	Aptaka ... ..	...	138
Indrapālita ... ..	...	212 ?	Saṅgha ... ..	...	150
Somaśarman ... ..	...	210	Śātakarṇi III. ... ..	...	168
Śaśadharmān ... ..	...	203	Skandhaswātī ... ..	...	186
Vrihadratha ... ..	...	195	Mṛgendra ... ..	...	192
			Kuntalaswātī ... ..	...	196
			Swātikarṇa ... ..	...	204
			Pulomāvit ... ..	...	205
			Gorakshāśwaśrī ... ..	...	241
			Hāla ... ..	...	266
			Mantālaka ... ..	...	271
			Purindra sena ... ..	...	276
			Śindara ... ..	...	381
			Rājādaswātī ... ..	...	6 ms.
			Śivaswātī ... ..	...	284
			Gautamiputra ... ..	...	312
			<i>Vāsīthi putra</i> ... ..	...	333
			Pulomat ... ..	...	335
			Śivasrī ... ..	...	363
			Skandaswātī ... ..	...	370
			Yajnasrī ... ..	...	377
			Vijaya ... ..	...	406
			Chandrasrī ... ..	...	412
			Pulomat ... ..	...	422
			" died ... ..	...	429
				or	436
ŚUNGA DYNASTY, 45 YEARS.					
Pushyamitra ... ..	...	188			
Agnimitra ... ..	...	162			
Sujyeshtha ... ..	...	144			
Vasumitra ... ..	...	137			
Ādraka ... ..	...	129			
Pulindaka ... ..	...	127			
Ghoshavasū ... ..	...	124			
Vajramitra ... ..	...	121			
Bhāgavata ... ..	...	112			
Devabhūti ... ..	...	86			
KĀNVA DYNASTY, 112 YEARS.					
Vāsudeva ... ..	...	76			
Bhūmimitra ... ..	...	67			
Nārāyaṇa ... ..	...	53			
Suśarman ... ..	...	41			
" died ... ..	...	31			
ĀNDHRA DYNASTY.					
Śipraka ... ..	...	31			
Krishna ... ..	...	...A.D. 8			

The fixation of the dates of the dynasties anterior to the rise of the great Guptas, rest on somewhat different ground from that of the kings' reigns of which we have just been treating. It is true we have a sufficient number of inscriptions in the Western Caves and elsewhere to fill a volume, and some of them with dates; but generally speaking, like most Buddhist inscrip-

tions, they are the records of the pious munificence of private individuals, or of kings as such. Occasionally the donor mentions the king's reign in which he lived, but never thinks of recording his father's name, or any of those particulars which everybody then knew, but which we would now so like to know. When the king himself is the author of an inscription, instead of boasting of his lineage and his prowess as the Brahmanical kings did, whose inscriptions we have just been treating of—he merely records his name in the humblest terms, as if his only object was to identify the benefaction of which he was the author. It must also be added that these inscriptions have not yet been translated with such critical care as would enable us to place implicit reliance on their indications. This arises in a great measure from the nature of the texts themselves. When an inscription is on a copper-plate or small stone-slab, it can easily be examined by the translator himself, or a rubbing or impression obtained which is nearly equal to the original. The Cave inscriptions, however, are generally so placed and so large, that rubbings or impressions are extremely difficult to be obtained; and as many of them were copied by persons who were not familiar with the character and ignorant of the language in which they were written, errors of transcription were inevitable in spite of the most painstaking desire for accuracy.

All this will no doubt be remedied before long; but meanwhile the Purâṇas fortunately supply us with some information which seems trustworthy for the period we are now treating of, though very little that we can glean from them of what they say of dynasties after the beginning of the fifth century can be depended upon. Before the fifth century, however, they furnish us with a list of dynasties, stated to be consecutive, with the names of the kings, and the length of their reigns and other particulars, all of which are so reasonable and so in accordance with what we find from other sources, that I see very little reason to doubt their general correctness.

The first thing that strikes us in examining these lists is that their authors have not at all events exaggerated the lengths of

the kings' reigns. According to the *Vāyu* and *Matsya*,¹ the whole extended to 736 years, and according to the most lengthened adjustment that can be made—to 761, a difference of only 25 years, which in such a case is of slight importance. During that time 53 or 54 kings reigned, giving an average of very little more than 14 years to each king. Taking even the *Āndhra* kings alone, we have 30 kings reigning 460 years or little more than 15 years each,² so that this at least gives an air of probability to the whole.

We have no difficulty whatever as regards the initial date of this long list of kings. As long ago as Sir William Jones' time, Chandra Gupta was recognised as the Sandracottus of the Greeks, and generally chronologists have agreed to fix the first year of his reign as 315 B.C. My impression is we can now get even nearer than this. Aśoka, in his inscriptions dated in the 12th year after his inauguration, the 16th after his accession, mentions the name of five Greek Kings, among whom was Magas of Cyrene, who died 257 B.C., and the inscription must therefore be before that date. As I have had occasion before to point out,³ the only year when all these kings were alive together was 256, which we may assume as the 16th of Aśoka, with a limit of error of one year either way. His predecessor was Bimbasāra, to whom the *Purāṇas* give 25 years; but the *Mahāvanso*, a preferable authority in this case, allows 28, and thus places his accession 300 B.C. Both authorities allow Chandra Gupta 24 to 25, so that we cannot well bring his date below 325 B.C.⁴ This date, too, it appears to me, would accord better than 315, with what we learn of this king from Alexander's historians, but it is not necessary to go into the question here.

¹ Wilson, V. P., p. 484.

² After the destruction of the *Āndhra* kings, the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* goes on to say (Wilson, p. 474.)—"After these will reign 7 *Abhiras*, 10 *Garddhabas*, 16 *Śakas*, 8 *Yavanas*, 14 *Tusharas*, 13 *Mundas*, 11 *Maundas*, together 79 princes, who will be sovereigns for 1399 years." We now know that many, if not all of these dynasties were contemporary; but the average of their reigns, which is all we are here concerned with, gives only 17 years and a half, and the other *Purāṇas* with the same number of years, enumerate 85 and 89 kings, so the average duration of their reigns at all events looks like truth.

³ *Quarterly Review*, Sep., 1860, referring to Justin, *Historia*, xxvi. 2.

⁴ The *Mahāvanso* (Turnour's translation, xlvi.) gives him 34, but this I fancy includes the period of confusion during which the Brahmin *Kauṭilya* ruled after the death of Nanda.

It is much more difficult to get a satisfactory final date for the Āndhra dynasty from external sources. If, however, the Yue-gnai, who sent an embassy to China in 408,¹ is the Yadnya Śrī of our lists, it would settle the question.

The name is so like those it has generally been assumed, that this identity was established, and his date — from Puranic calculation — so closely agrees with this, that its probability may fairly be assumed. We are told, however, that Yue-gnai means, in Chinese, “beloved of the moon,” and as we certainly have a Chandra Śrī, or Chandra Gupta, who was Adhirāja of India, at this date, we must pause before affirming the identity. Whether we assume that he was the first or second of that name, is of no consequence, the date 82 and 93 A.C. at Sanchi Oudeypore are all that is required. There seems, however, very little reason to doubt but that the two kings were contemporary, or nearly so. So little confidence do I feel in the nominal similarity, that I have not, in the table prefixed to this section, attempted to adjust the dates so as to meet it; but as we have a margin of seven years at the end—between 429 and 436—it would have been easy to make it fit exactly. I am inclined to place much more reliance on the coincidence of the name of his grandson Chandra Śrī, in the Vishṇu and Matsya Purāṇas, and Chandra Vijaya, in the Bhāgavat,² with the Chandra Varma Gaṇapati mentioned by Samudra Gupta, in the eighteenth line of his Allahabad inscription.³ If my chronology is correct, the dates fit exactly; and it was just about the time that India resolved itself into four great divisions: the Aṣwapati, or kings of Delhi; the Gajapati, or Lords of Orissa;⁴ the Narapati, or Cholas⁵ of the south, and the Gaṇapatis, who occupied the central portions, which are now known generally as the Nizam’s territories. This is just such a position as we would expect an Āndhra dynasty to occupy after the death of their last great monarch Yadnya Śrī, and the rise of the power of the Guptas.

¹ De Guigne’s *Histoire des Huns*, vol. i. p. 45.

² Wilson’s *V. P.* p. 473. ³ *J. A. S. B.* vi. 963; Thomas’ *Prinsep*, i. 237.

⁴ *Ayeen Akbaree*; Stirling’s *Cuttack*, A. R. xv. 255.

⁵ *Prinsep’s Useful Tables*, xl., Thomas’ edition, 275.

I am the more inclined to rely on this identification, because in the same line we have a Rudradeva, who, no doubt, was the Rudra Sena¹ of the Vindya Sakti line above alluded to.

The grouping of all these names together, to my mind, certainly indicates a contemporaneousness of date, and even if it should turn out that the Sanchi Chandra Gupta is the second of the line, this makes very little difference, as we have two Rudras, so we have two Pravarasenas and two or three Chandras. In certain epochs of Indian history certain names seem to go in bunches, and though it is puzzling occasionally to discriminate among them, their presence is a sure indication of their age, and, to my mind, establishes the correctness of the Purānas in placing Chandra Śrī in the first thirty years of the fifth century.²

If these identifications should be sustained, they would go far to prove that the two Gupta dates—82 and 93 A.G.—which we possess, belong to the first, and not to the second, Chandra Gupta; and consequently that the Samudra of the Allahabad inscription ascended the throne after 411 A.D., which I confess, from many circumstances, I think the most probable arrangement. If this is so, it is not impossible that the Hastivarna of the 17th line of the same inscription, may be the Śrī Hastina of the Benares copper plates.³ To enable this to be so, would require that the latter should have reigned more than 40 years. Though not impossible, it is so improbable, that it is hardly worth insisting upon till further information crops up.

Before leaving this inscription it may be worth while pointing out that in the same line—the 18th, we have Nāgadatta and the Nāga Nāgasena, who are, no doubt, the Nāga kings mentioned in the Purānas, in the same line with the Guptas,⁴ and so mixed up with them, that Wilford⁵

¹ J. B. B. R. A. S. vi. pt. ii. p. 66.

² In Prinsep's Useful Tables, as published in Calcutta, in 1834, p. 100, Chandra Śrī is dated 428 A.D., which is exactly the date I would assign to him. I do not know, however, what the authority for this is.

³ Thomas' Prinsep i., 251.

⁴ Wilson's V.P., 479.

⁵ A. R. ix., 115.

assumed them to be identical. Indeed, I believe that now we have got hold of the clue, every name mentioned by Samudra Gupta could be identified, if any competent Sanskrit scholar would undertake the task.

By far the most important name in this dynasty, however, is Gotamiputra. From the inscription engraved by his widow on the Nassick Cave,¹ as well as from other sources, we learn that he was Mahârâja Adhirâja of India; that he had conquered all those countries which Rudra Sah in the bridge inscription boasts that he possessed;² and his name occurs so often and so prominently, that it would be most important that his date should be ascertained if possible.

As before mentioned, the enumeration of the Ândhra lists allows a margin of about 20 to 30 years on comparing the additions of the reigns in the Matsya with the totals quoted in the other Purâṇas. This may be adjusted either by filling up the list from the other Purâṇas, or by giving these years to the successor of this king, who according to the Nassick inscription, seems to have been Vasitiputra, the father of Pulomavi, who figures as his son in the Puranic lists.

The discrepancy, however, is very much reduced by allowing Yadnya Śrî 29 years, which, according to the Vishṇu and Vâyu Purâṇas, was the true length of his reign, instead of the nine years of the Matsya.³ Not only are these better authorities, but from his numerous inscriptions and coins we learn how important the king really was, and it seems impossible to limit his reign to the shorter date. I look on him as practically the last of the Ândhra's, and that it was from him that Chandra Gupta wrested the Adhirâjaship of India. Be this as it may, this evidence, as far as it goes, places Gotamiputra certainly in the beginning of the fourth century. It may be that he ascended the throne in 312 or 318, or even a little later, but he cannot be removed far from this period.⁴

¹ J.B.B.R.A.S. v. 42. ² J.B.B.R.A.S. vi. p. ii. p. 120. ³ Wilson, V.P., p. 473.

⁴ There are two dates in the Nassick inscriptions I. and II. J.B.B.R.A.S., v. 42 and 47, which, as they at present stand translated, seem to conflict with each other. The first is 19 from an unspecified era, but seems to be in the reign of

From the first time I read Turnour's abstract of the Daladā-vanso,¹ I felt convinced from the internal evidence that this was the king who figures on these curious episodes, but the name there being given merely as Pāṇḍu it is impossible to prove this. Curiously enough we have at Kanheri an inscription on a copper-plate extracted from a Dagoba there, which mentions this very relic with a date 245² or 325 A.D., which is just about the date mentioned in the Ceylonese annals. The king's name is apparently Kripa or Karṇa, only a relation of the exalted Śrāmi Karṇa of the victorious Āndhrabhritya family. Considerable doubt, however, hangs over this reading, as the plate is not forthcoming, and Dr. Stevenson was forced to trust to an indifferent copy. Whether Gotamiputra is hereafter discovered or not under any of these titles, we have the Āndhras in power at the date we are treating of, and that for our present purpose is sufficient.

In another place I have touched on the architectural evidence which render this date for the Nassick Cave almost certain,³ and there are a number of little incidents of an architectural character which do not allow me to doubt it. If this is so, we come to a curious historical inference, which is that this king must really have been the founder of Balabhi and the establisher of that era. According to Mr. Justice Newton, the Sah dates extend down to 235 A.D., with one or two doubtful names afterwards. This would allow time for the rise of the Āndhras on their ruins and the foundation of a new capital of Western India by Gotamiputra in 318. According to this view Śrī Gupta would have been viceroy to the Āndhras; but it is by no means necessary that his rule

Padma or Pulomāvi, the successor of Gotamiputra, and if this is so, and as Dr. Stevenson conjectures it is the Balabhi era, it would make that era commence with the death of the great king. The second is in the 24th year of the "Modern era," and the act recorded is apparently by order of Gotamiputra. This would make the foundation of the era coincident with the accession and the inscription date three years after his death, as he reigned only 21 years. These discrepancies can only be settled by a careful re-examination of the texts. My impression meanwhile is, that the Balabhi era dates from his accession, and consequently six years after the date which from Purānic calculations I have assigned to that event.

¹ J. A. S. B. vi. p.

² J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. v. 33. See also J. R. A. S., N. S., vol. iii. p. 150.

³ Tree and Serpent Worship, pp. 81 and 168.

should be contemporary with the foundation of the city, or extend to so early a period. Any of Gotamiputra's successors anterior to Yadnya Śrī may have appointed him as Bhaṭṭāraka Senāpati was afterwards by Śilāditya, and as in the latter case, his grandson founded the greatness of his family in the decline and decay of that of his patrons. The one point I would insist on here is that Gotamiputra was Lord Paramount of India in 318-19 when the Balabhi era was established, probably on the building of the city. It was afterwards the western capital of both the Guptas and the Saurāṣṭrian Bhaṭṭārakas, and to me, at least, it appears quite certain that both these families dated all their coins and inscriptions from this era.¹

It may be difficult to prove all this absolutely. In the present state of our information perhaps impossible, but on a fair balance of all the probabilities of the case this view seems to me to accord perfectly with all the evidence I am acquainted with, and I know of no other scheme which meets the exigencies of the case in anything like an equal degree.

Sah Kings of Saurāshtra.

SAH KINGS OF SAURASTRA.

Nahapana	B.C. 57	Īvara Datta.	
Ushavadāta	11	Vijaya Sāh	116
Swāmi Chastana	A.D. 10	Dāmajāta Śrī.	
Jaya Dāmā		Rudra Sāh	131, 141
Jīva Dama	38	Viṣva Sinha... ..	143
Rudra Dāman.		Atri Dāman... ..	163, 167
Rudra Sinha	45-47	Viṣva Sāh	160, 168
Rudra Sāh.		22. Rudra Sinha	173 or 213
Śrī Sāh.		Ā	
Saṅgha Dāman.		Āśā Dāman.	
Dāman Sāh.		Swāmi Rudra Sāh	223, 235
Yaśa Dāman.		Swāmi Rudra Sāh II.	
Dāmajāta Śrī	97	Swāmi Rudra Sāh	223, 235
Vīra Dāman.		Swāmi Rudra Sāh.	

Only one inscription of this dynasty has yet been brought to light—the celebrated Bridge inscription of Rudra Dāman—

¹ In the above I have avoided all allusion to each identification of Indian names with those recorded by Greek or Latin authors. The difficulties are sufficiently great when a name is repeated in two places in some nearly similar Indian languages, but when the difference is so great as between Greek or Chinese with Sanskrit or Pali, the similarities of sound are so untrustworthy as to be of little or no value, and had better be put on one side till, at least, the investigation is further advanced.

and we, therefore, depend almost wholly on their coins for our knowledge of the existence of this family, as well as for their dates. As before mentioned, the three principal authorities differ to the extent of 235 years as to the era from which these coins should be dated, a circumstance which does not inspire us with much confidence in numismatic evidence, in so far at least as India is concerned.

I confess myself quite unable to follow Mr. Thomas's reasoning on the subject, and as I believe the Śrī Harsha era from which he dates them is merely a blunder of Albīrūnī's, and had no real existence, we may for the present, at least, put it on one side, pending some further elucidation, which its author may bring to bear on the subject.

Bhau Daji's initial date (78 A.D.) appears to me equally untenable, except in the contingency before mentioned: that it may be found necessary that the Śahs should overlap the Guptas, in order to explain the anomalies of their coinage. As my own conviction, for reasons given above, is, that this will not be necessary, it also, may be passed over for the present.

On the other hand, Mr. Justice Newton's theory, which would place Nahapana about 56 B.C., seems to me to suit perfectly all the exigencies of the case, so far as I at least am acquainted with them.

If I am correct in agreeing with Dr. Stevenson, that Devabhūti, B.C. 86, was the excavator of the great Karli cave,¹ the position of the Nahapana inscriptions, there and elsewhere, would be easily explicable, and the whole series of cave, inscriptions brought into strict accordance with their architecture. The date, too, in Rudra Dāman's Bridge inscription,² would also be in accordance with what we know. It is dated in 72 of the Śah era,—according to this view A.D. 15; and he states that "after twice thoroughly conquering Śātakarṇi, lord of Dakṣiṇapatha, he did not completely destroy him on account of their near connexion." Now, according to my calculation, Śātakarṇi I. reigned from A.D. 10 to 28. This would accord perfectly, and if there were no other king of

¹ J.B.B.R.A.S. v. 163.

² J.B.B.R.A.S. vol. vi. pt. ii. p. 18.

that name, would be final ; but as there are several of the same name in the dynasty it is not altogether decisive ; it would, however, be extremely difficult to fit any other of that name to this date ; on Mr. Thomas's theory it would be impossible. At present, therefore, it can only be put down as only one of the curious coincidences which occur, but which are so numerous as to amount to something like proof positive.

Another important indication is Gotamiputra's boast, if Bhau Daji's translation is to be depended upon, that he had exterminated the descendants of Khajaráta (pali) Kshaharáta (Sanskrit),¹ who can hardly be other than this race. Be this as it may, for reasons stated above it seems to me indispensable for history that they should have ceased to reign before Gotamiputra raised his family to pre-eminence on that side of India. I may also add that it seems extremely probable that these Sah kings may be identified with the Yuč-che, at least, if any stress may be laid upon such a passage as the following : Ma-twan-lin, after stating that the Yuč-che conquered India, about 26 B.C., goes on to say that "they having become extremely rich and powerful, remained in the state till the time of the latter Hans, who began to reign A.D. 222." "It results from hence," says our translator "that the Scythians must have been masters of Western India, from about B.C. 26 till A.D., 222, that is for a space of 248 years. The first invasion of India, by the Yuč-che or Scythians must have taken place before the reign of Vikramáditya, whose celebrated era began fifty-six years before ours, and originated from a complete defeat of the Scythian armies by that prince." (See Colebrooke's *Indian Algebra*, Lassen, etc.)²

Having reached this celebrated era, I wish to broach a theory regarding it, which will at first sight, I have no doubt, appear utterly untenable ; but which, if true, will clear away most of the difficulties of the chronology of this period. My conviction is that no such person as the Śakāri Vikramáditya ever existed anterior to the Christian era, or within some hundreds of years of that time.

¹ J. B. B. R. A. S. vi., p. 117.

² J. A. S. B. vol. vi., p. 63.

In the first place, the Puranic lists are very full and consistent about this period, but no Purāṇa hints at the existence of such a prince. He belonged to no royal family. He possessed no recognizable kingdom, and had no descendants. No coin of his has ever been found, nor does his name occur in any of the multifarious inscriptions of the period;¹ and all the events of his reign are unhistorical and mythical to an extent which occurs with no other king of the period. Take, for instance, the defeat of the Sacæ just mentioned 57 B.C. Albîrûnî states—and though he generally blunders, he must have had some authority—“L'ère de Saca est postérieure à celle de Vikramāditya de 135 ans. Saca est le nom d'un prince qui a régné sur les contrées situées entre l'Indus et la mer. Vikramāditya marcha contre lui, mit son armée en déroute et le tua sur le territoire de Korour,” etc.² Vikramāditya, according to this account, must have been nearly 200 years old when he did all this. But it is only one among many instances which have so puzzled Wilford, and all those who have even meddled with the question.

My impression is, that some time after Vikramāditya of Malwa had rendered the name so celebrated, the Hindus, on the revival of Brahminism, wished to possess an era which should, at least, be older than the Buddhist era of Sâlivâhana. At that time the Sah era, established by Nahapana, was vacant, having fallen into disuse on the destruction of that dynasty, and its supercession by the era of Balabhi, and that the Hindus then appropriated it by attaching to it the name it now bears, and inventing the history requisite to render its adoption feasible.³

This theory would not only have the advantage of fixing the date of Nahapana with certainty as 57 B.C., but it would clear away an amount of rubbish which has puzzled and disgusted

¹ The Vikramāditya, mentioned in Gotamiputra's inscription (J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. v. p. 43), is evidently, from the company in which he is named, of prehistoric antiquity.

² Thomas' Prinsep, vol. i. p. 268.

³ I am very much inclined to agree with Bhau Daji when he says, that nothing is dated from this era before the 11th century, (J. B. B. R. A. S. viii. p. 242). There is certainly more truth in the assertion than appears at first sight. My impression is, that the era was invented in the age of Bhoja (A.D. 993), or rather by the revived Châlukyas, A.D. 973, 1003 (J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. iv. p. 4).

every one who has approached this branch of the subject.¹ It would, besides this, remove all the uncertainty which now exists as to whether the Śaka or Samvat eras should be used for coins or inscriptions, where neither are specified.

I cannot myself feel any doubt about the matter, and I would therefore ask others at all events to consider it dispassionately. If they do so, I feel confident they will arrive at the same result as I have done.

Buddhist Chronology.

37 DESCENTS IN 600? YEARS FROM YUDDHISHṬHIRA.

ŚAIJUNĀGA DYNASTY.					
Śiṅunāga	...	...	691	Udayāśwa	... .. 519
Kākaṅga	...	...		Daśaka	... .. 603
Kāhemadharman.	...	...		Nāgadāśoka	... .. 495
Kāhetraujas.	...	...		Śiṅunāga	... .. 471
Bimbisāra	...	...	603	Kālāśoka	... .. 453
	<i>Kaṣṣodhana, 9.</i>			Mahā Nanda	... .. 425
	<i>Bhūmiputra, 14.</i>			Sumālya.	
Ajātaśatru	...	...	551	7 Nandas.	
				<i>Interregnum, Kauṣṭhya, ending</i>	<i>325</i>

When the Hon. Geo. Turnour first examined the Ceylonese annals, he became aware of a discrepancy of about sixty years, existing between the time of the death of Buddha and the accession of Aśoka, as stated in the Mahāvanso, when compared with the conclusion we have arrived at from Puranic and Grecian sources. In other words, assuming the true date of the Nirvāṇa to be 543, which the Ceylonese, the Burmese, and all the Indo-Chinese nations insist upon as absolute, and reckoning the reigns thence, this chronology places the accession of Chandra Gupta 162 A.B. or 381 B.C., instead of 325, which as we have shown above, is certainly his true date, within very narrow limits of error either way.²

Now that we know all the circumstances of the case, it does not appear to me difficult to see either why this false adjustment was made, nor how it was effected.

The first civilized king of Ceylon, according to their annals, was Vijayo. He landed from the opposite coast,

¹ In the Ayeen Akbari (vol. ii. p. 54), it is stated that Bhoja, the son of Munja, succeeded in 541 of the era of Vikramāditya. As no one now believes that this Bhoja lived before the very end of the tenth century, it looks very like as if he dated from the son of Bahram Gour, not from the Śakāri; but wherever you find this era, there is nothing but confusion.

² Turnour's Mahawanso, p. 48; J.A.S.B. vol. vi. p. 714, &c.

probably introduced Buddhism, or, at all events, was the founder of that dynasty who held the sovereignty of the island for long afterwards. The Ceylonese annalists state that his landing was in the same year with the death of the founder of the religion; a coincidence so remarkable, as to look very like such a pious fraud, as is too common with priests in all ages. If we assume that it took place 56 or 60 years after the Nirvāna, the whole difficulty vanishes, and all the synchronisms come right.

The mode in which the adjustment was effected was simply by taking the requisite number of years from the dynasty of the Nandas, to whom the Purānas give 100 years,¹ the Mahāvanso only 44. These Nandas seem to have been a low caste race; the Vishṇu Purāna calls them Śūdras, and the Buddhist annalists have not a kind word to say for them. If I am correct in assuming that the coins depicted in the 7th vol. of the Journal of the Bengal Society, plate 48, belong to this family, they were serpent worshippers, whom consequently the Buddhists would not hesitate in putting on one side. Be this as it may, both the Ceylonese and Burmese² annals agree in placing the accession of Mahā Padma, the first Nanda, in 425 B.C. On the other hand, our calculations from Greek synonyms place the accession of Chandra Gupta 325, leaving exactly the 100 years of the Purānas between these dates, which, therefore, I feel very little doubt in assuming as correct, or very nearly so.

This period includes of course the ten and twelve years of anarchy, usually called the expiation of Chānakya, which intervenes between the death of the last Nanda and the accession of Chandra Gupta.

The Ceylonese annals desert us on the accession of Bimbisāro, who ascended the throne of Magadha 603 B.C., and in whose 16th year Śākya Muni attained Buddhahood, in the 35th year of his age. The Burmese annals help us back to an era they call that of Anjana, 691 B.C.³ They call this the

¹ V. P. p. 468; Mahāvanso, p. xlvi. *et seq.*

² Bigandet, Life and Legend of Buddha, p. 371. Crawford's Embassy to Ava, Appendix viii.

³ Bigandet and Crawford, *Loc. cit.*

era of the great grandfather of Buddha, but this is a mistake ; the family of the founder of this religion was entirely subordinate to those of Magadha, and all the dates we have in Buddhist annals belong to the latter family.¹ In the Purāṇas we have four kings' names from Śiṣunāga, the founder of the family, to Bimbisāro,² which may very well be assumed to fill up the 88 years that occurred between these events.

All this appears to me so reasonable and so perfectly in accordance with all the historical facts which have yet come to light, that I have no hesitation in assuming that as far back as 691 B.C. we may walk with confidence, and that a very slight adjustment occurring of the dates given above, for events after that date will hereafter be found necessary. The sequence of events I look upon as nearly certain.

Early Chronology.

Beyond 691 B.C. we have little to guide us except the doctrine of averages, but unsatisfactory as that may be, there are one or two circumstances that induce me to think that the early chronology of the Hindus ought not to be so entirely rejected as is too generally the case.

From Arrian³ and Pliny⁴ we learn that when the Greeks—probably Megasthenes—were there, the pandits of these days presented them with lists of kings, 153 or 154 in number, who reigned before Alexander. Now, if we count the lists of Solar kings from Ikshvāku to Vrihadratha, and they certainly were the supreme race during the two first ages, and then follow the Lunar line from the Mahābhārata to Chandra Gupta, we get 150 descents ; and if we count from Marīchi the 154 of Pliny. This is so far satisfactory as it tends to prove that we have now the same lists as were shown to the Greeks more than 2000 years ago.

¹ So little importance do I attach to the family of Śākya Muni in a chronological point of view, that I would not allude to them even in a note, if it were not that the Purāṇas have been blamed for making Śākya the father of Suddhodana instead of the son (Wilson, V. P., p. 463). They are quite correct, however. It is only one of the 1001 instances in which we find a king or prince adopting his grandfather's name.

² V. P. 466.

³ Indica, cix.

⁴ Nat. Hist. vi. c. 17.

Arrian makes these kings reign 6042 years, Pliny 5402; and though both are inadmissible, they show that the monstrous system of Yugas had not then been invented, and the falsification had not gone beyond the extent of duplication.

Applying to these lists the average we obtained above, of 16 years, we get back to about 2800 B.C. But if we apply 18 years, which does not appear to me at all an extravagant average, considering how many insignificant names must have dropped out of so long a list, we get back almost exactly to the date of the Kali Yug, 3101 B.C.

This I cannot help considering as a true date. It does not make an even sum from any known Indian era. It is not a multiple or sub-multiple of any epoch, and stands, and always has stood, alone in Indian Chronology as something unaccounted for. The three previous Yugas are avowedly astronomical calculations, and are useless for chronological purposes, but not so this one. It may be the date at which it was supposed the Aryans first crossed the Indus, and it may be the epoch of some event that took place in Central Asia before they left their original seats; but it appears to me hardly to admit of a doubt, that it is a true date handed down from generation to generation.

If we take it as I have put it above, and apply the average to each king's reign, the events of the Rāmāyana took place about 2000 years B.C.; those of the Mahābhārata about 1300 B.C. These may not be considered as very satisfactory determinations, but they are probably as near the truth as anything we are now likely ever to attain.

I have now run through the whole subject of Indian Chronology, stating as briefly, as was compatible with clearness, the views I entertain regarding the various epochs which have come under consideration. I need hardly say that it would have been easy to have extended these remarks to more than twice their present extent without saying all, or nearly all, that could be said on the subject. Even then, however, I should have been obliged to leave out the architectural argument which has been the thread I most rely

upon to guide us through the labyrinth. I look upon it as absolutely certain that there is a gradual progression in the style of architectural buildings in India, as there is in every country in the world, and once it is mastered, the succession is certain. The only difficulty is that sometimes the progress is faster, sometimes slower, and it requires care not to be led away by adopting too uniform a scale in this respect. But retrogression is always impossible, and caprice hardly ever interferes in any degree. It is my knowledge of Indian architecture that gives me confidence in the scheme of chronology propounded in the previous pages. The numismatist or scholar must, of course, be allowed in like manner to apply their own test, and if we differ, it is for others to decide which class of evidence is most entitled to acceptance. As I cannot here adduce the details of the architectural argument, I can only state that I have found it accord throughout so perfectly with all the historical facts I am acquainted with, that I feel very great confidence that the chronological scheme propounded in the preceding pages will eventually be established, in all its leading or essential features.¹

¹ Since the above paper was in type, a curious instance of the prevalence of the Balabhi era has been brought to my notice. An inscription has been found in the Temple of Ambernath, near Kalyan, opposite Bombay. It is dated Samvat 782. As the Temple is certainly not earlier than the end of the 11th century, this must be from the foundation of the city of Balabhi. The character of the alphabet in which it is written fully confirms this ascription.

ART. III.—*The Poetry of Mohamed Rabadan, of Arragon.*

By the Hon. H. E. J. STANLEY.

IN the preceding number of the Journal, this poem had reached the birth of Abraham: the portion contained in the present issue consists of the life of Abraham, the history of the line of Isaac ending with Jesus Christ, and the line of Ishmael down to Heshim, great-grandfather of Muhammad. The description of the sacrifice of Ishmael brings to mind the mysteries or plays in which Abraham's sacrifice of his son is still represented in Spain at the Church festivals.

In the account of Abraham going on his way to the sacrifice, Rabadan has interwoven a legend which is Rabbinical rather than Mussulman; according to this legend, Abraham saw in a vision the mysterious foundations of the Earth, by which he understood that the designs of Providence are incomprehensible. Mr. Morgan has given this passage a little differently from what it is in the original, and a note in the British Museum MS., apparently in his handwriting, says, *Aqui ay un grande yerro de el autor*, "here the author has made a great mistake!" and the word *cuestas* de un toro, on the back of a bull, has been erased; and the word *cuernos*, horns, written in the margin in the same handwriting; his translation is, "He extended his sight as far as his eyes could reach, and beheld, O wonderful prospect! this earthly globe the world resting upon the point of a bull's horn, the bull standing upon a great fish, which fish lay extended upon a vast lake of water."

With respect to this account of the sacrifice, Mr. Deutsch informs me that, "the Talmud and the various Midrashim

contain, *mutatis mutandis* nearly all the legendary features in this poem. The story of the sacrifice is a favourite subject of the early Jewish Haggadists, and the manner in which Satan—Sammael—appears here successively in his three characters as accuser, seducer, and angel of death, is as characteristic as are the different guises under which he tries to gain the confidence of the *Dramatis Personæ*. As regards the primitive unstable nature of the Kosmos and the manifold expedients resorted to for its more firm and final foundation, the Haggadah contains two very striking passages. The one (Pirke Rabbi Eliezer, p. 5) speaks of the succession of dissolutions that followed one another; reducing creation to ever new chaos—"even as a great palace, built by mortal man, the foundations of which are not finally laid, and which swayeth hither and thither, until God created *Repentance*, and the Universe stood." The other passage (Pesachim, 118a) indicates *God's Mercy* as the only link that held the universe together before the Revelation of the Law."

Padre de Mariam la limpia,
En el mundo especialada.

Morgan gives the following passage in a note to these lines:—"To all this the expositors [of the Koran] add several traditions of the Eastern Christians, which but for them 'tis probable had been lost. One of them is, that God (according to the Alcoran) preserved her and her son from the Devil. Houssain Vaes, a noted historian, expounds this preservation in these words:—"No child, says he, is born into the world, that the Devil does not touch and handle till he makes it cry, and except Miriam and her son, none were ever preserved and exempted from this handling."—This tradition seems to have some allusion to Original Sin."—Morgan, vol. i. p. 183.

None of the genealogies of Muhammad are exact, or authoritatively established.

The next portion of this poem will contain the history of Heshim, the great-grandfather, Abdulmutalib, the grandfather, and Abdallah, the father of the Prophet.

YSTORIA DE YBRAHIM ALEHISALEM, COMPUESTA EN
 VERSO SUELTO: COMIENZA DESDE SU NACIMIENTO
 Y LO QUE LE VIÓ CON EL REY NAMERUD.

Él que nació de sus obras
 Cercado en el monte seco,
 Tuviendo por Padre y madre
 Solo las dimes¹ del cielo;
 Él que de catorce dias
 Despues de su nacimiento
 Conoció al sostenedor²
 Del cielo y sus movimientos;
 Él que en vez de los regalos
 Que dan á los niños tiernos
 Sus padres lo apedrearón,
 Aquellos inicos perros;
 Él que de sus mismos padres
 Fué tan perseguido, y puesto
 En poder de su enemigo,
 Para ponello en el fuego.
 Este es aquel justo Ybráhim
 Á quien su madre en pariendo,
 Lo llevó á una cueva oscura
 De un monte desierto y negro,
 Por guardalle del cuchillo³
 De aquel Rey falso y sediento
 Namerud de quien se cuentan
 Tan endemoniados hechos.
 Este vidó en su dormir
 Un triste infierno protento
 Que le desasosegaba
 Su falso y maldito pecho;
 Y fué que en aquellos dias
 Vió que nació un mancebo,
 Que su falsa adoracion⁴
 Le abatía por el suelo.
 Es de saber que este Rey
 Tenía mandamiento espreso
 Que le adorasen sus gentes
 Como Dios alto y supremo;
 Y él adoraba en los ydolos
 Hechos de barro y madera,
 Al que le llamaban Teraq,⁵
 Muy dorado y muy compuesto.

Ajuntó sus adivinos,
 Y todos se resolvieron
 Que pasasen⁶ á cuchillo
 Los niños nacidos tiernos:
 Y por acertar á este
 Que fué llevado al desierto,
 Degolló doze mil niños
 El tirano torpe y ciego.⁷
 Pues quando vino la noche
 Sobre el triste niño tierno,⁸
 Ya le apretaba la hambre
 Quando en el mismo momento
 Bajó Chebril, y le puso
 En la boca sus dos dedos;
 Por el uno destilaba
 Dulce leche, y ansi mesmo
 Por el otro miel sabrosa,
 Y aquel era su sustento.
 Pues á los catorce dias
 Que tuvo su nacimiento,
 Ya levantó la cabeza
 Y vió en el cielo un luzero,
 Y dixó: "este es sin duda
 El Señor que servir debo."
 Y como vió que se puso
 Debajo del hemisferio,
 Dixó: "no adoro Señor
 Que se traspone tan presto."
 Vió despues salir la luna
 Muy clara y resplandeciente,
 Y dixó: este es mi Señor;
 Mas en ver que se habia puesto
 Dixó: yo seré perdido
 Si no me acude el remedio."
 Pasó ansi toda la noche
 Maginando y trascendiendo,
 Quel alma que Dios la toca
 Jamas puede estar durmiendo.
 Y quando fué el claro dia,⁹
 Vió salir el claro Febo

¹ Climas, P. ² Sustentador, P.

³ Teraq, P. ⁴ Pusiesen, P.

⁵ Quando vino la mañana, P.

⁶ De la saña, P.

⁴ Ydolaría, P.

⁷ Perro, P.

⁸ Hierto, P.

Y dixó : este es mi Señor
 Ques mayor que todos estos ;
 Y viendó que hechó¹ el camino
 Que los otros habian hecho
 Dixó : “ no creo en Señores
 Que no quieren estar quedos ;”
 Todos estos son guiados
 Por un solo movimiento,
 Y en aquel que los gobierna
 Creo, adoro y reverencio,
 Y afirmo ques uno solo
 Quien crió la tierra y cielo,
 Y á el procaro² mi cara
 Sin poner le otro aparcero.
 En esto cayó azaxdado,³
 Adorando y bendiciendo,
 Conociendo á su Hacedor
 Por conjunturas⁴ del cielo.
 Pues como su madre estaba
 Siempre con aquel recelo,
 Pusóle Alláh en voluntad
 Que fuese á ver si era muerto.
 Fue y como llegó á la cueva
 Topó con aquel mancebo
 Que sin tiempo fué criado,
 Sin aprender con maestro
 Estaba en tierra azaxdado ;
 Y dixole : “ Yá⁵ mancebo,
 Por ventura has visto un niño
 Que hoy hace el dia quizenzo
 Que lo dexé en esta cueva,
 Y no sé que se habrá hecho.”
 Bráhim se dió á conocer
 A su madre, y ella luego
 Lo tomó sobre sus brazos
 Con muy crecido contento ;
 Y dixóle “ ; á quien adoras
 Tan postrado por el suelo ?
 Suele estar aqui postrado
 Él que adoramos y creemos ?”
 Dixó : “ Madre ! yo he mirado
 El cielo y sus movimientos,
 El sol, la luna y estrellas,
 Y he visto que todos estos
 Van andando y se trasponen
 Ninguno puede estar quedo ;
 Y yo afirmo que hay Señor

Que gobierna á todos estos,
 Ques bueno, y á aquel adoro,
 Y á él reverencio y creo ;
 Y todo lo que se adora
 Despues de este adoramiento
 Es falso de sin verdad,
 De quien descreo y reniego.”
 La madre que lo tenia
 En brazos, luego en oyendo }
 Que no adora á Namerud }
 Deposito del infierno ;
 Despidelo de sus brazos
 Con grande desasosiego,
 Persuadiendole que adore
 Aquel maldito argumento
 Quel axaitan les enseña
 Para el camino del fuego.
 Dixó el hijo : “ ; no has verguenza
 De tan torpe pensamiento ?
 Afirmo lo que yo afirmo
 Ques camino salvo y cierto.”
 La falsa madre que vió
 El determinado intento,
 Alzó su mano y le dió
 Un bofeton, y tras desto,
 Toma piedras y le tira
 A su rostro hermoso y bello,
 Y con muy rabiosa yra
 Vuelve á su casa corriendo
 A llamar á su marido
 Con infernal prosupuesto ;
 Y en llegando á él le dice :
 “ Oye, Ezar, un gran secreto,
 Sabrás que quando pari
 Aquel niño, con el duelo
 De no vello degollado
 Como los que mas⁶ lo fueron,
 Luego lo saqué á los montes,
 Y para hacer mas secreto
 Lo puse dentro una cueva ;
 Y agora quando me he vuelto
 Pensando hallarlo comido
 De algun animal hambriento,
 O muerto de hambre y sed,
 Lo hé hallado sano y bueno,
 Azaxdado á otro Señor
 Que adora menos del nuestro.

¹ Hizó, P. ² Prostrado, P. ³ Azaxhedado, P. ⁴ Conjeturas, P. ⁵ Dí, P.

⁶ Sin estar aqui el Señor

Que adoramos y creemos, P.

⁷ MS. Paris.

⁸ Demas, P.

Aunque mas lo¹ he persuadido,
 Jamas quizó hacer mi ruego ;
 Pues si habiendo ayer nacido,
 No nos guarda mas respeto,
 Que hará siendo criado ?
 Yo tengo por claro y cierto
 Ques este aquel que anunciaron
 Vuestros sabios y acihrerros,
 Este es sin duda por quien
 El Rey Namerud sangriento²
 Ha degollado los niños
 Pensando vengar sus sueños.”
 Quando Ezar oyó la nueva
 Sobresaltado y acedo,
 Marchó á la cueva dó estaba
 El mancebo justo y bueno,
 Y al punto que fué llegado
 Luego que se conocieron
 Le comenzó el tierno joven
 A amonestarle lo mesmo,
 Que su descreida madre
 Habia dicho y propuesto.
 El ciego ydolatra usandó
 El desatinado termino
 Que usó su falsa consorte,
 Y con mas ayrado gesto,
 Hiriendo su linda cara
 Con golpes crudos y fieros,³
 Lanzando piedras sobré,
 Y como rayos de fuego,
 Volvió al Rey apellidando
 Qual tigre ó dragon hambriento ;
 Y ante el Rey arrodillado,
 Dice, al⁴ Rey alto y supremo :
 “ Has de saber que mi hijo
 Es sin duda aquel mancebo
 Que buscas, y con gran prisa⁵
 En una cueva lo dexé :
 El qual á menos de ti
 Hace otro adoramiento ;
 Ybráhim tiene por nombre,
 Y por tanto importa luego
 Ynvies á que lo prendan
 O' lo maten, por que creo
 Que si vive ha de turbar
 Toda tu luz⁶ y sosiego.”
 Luego á la ora mandó

¹ Le, P.² Sediento, P.³ Que buscabas con tal prisa, P.⁴ De lo qual él se escuchó, P.

Namerud á sus guerreros,
 Con muchos de su compañía
 Que lo traigan muerto ó preso.
 Aquí mostró el gran Señor
 Un hazañoso misterio,
 Que pasó entre ellos y Bráhim
 Tres muros altos y recios,
 Encolosados y fuertes :
 El primero era de fuego.
 Chebril decendió a la ora,
 Dandole terrible esfuerzo,
 Dixó : “ Ybrahim no has miedo
 Con tan fuerte compañero.”
 Cometieron los sayones
 A las murallas, y el fuego
 Que sale del primer muro,
 Se dexó caer sobre ellos,
 Y ansi fueron abrasados
 Todos los que alli vinieron,
 Quedando alegre y contento
 Y sin ningun nocimiento
 Destos trabajosos trances
 Necesidades y apretos.
 Pasó muchos hasta entonces
 Que á instancia y requerimiento
 De su padre descreido,
 Que fué su mayor adverso.
 Dió el Señor lugar que fuese
 Por el Rey Namerud preso
 Para enseñar á las gentes
 Mayores encerramientos,
 Quel Señor en este punto⁷
 Encerró grandes misterios ;
 Y la mayor inchazon
 Que tuvó para prendello,
 Fué aquella hazaña astuciosa
 Que hizó este grande siervo.
 Un dia de grande pasqua,
 En el qual todo aquel pueblo
 Adoraba á Namerud
 Qual si fuera dios ; y á esto
 Le quisó hacer yr su padre
 Para traerlo á su gremio,
 De lo qual se escuchó⁸
 Finjiendo que estaba enfermo,
 Y en despidiendo á su padre,
 Entró en el grande aposento,

⁵ Recios, P.⁶ Variante, O!⁷ Paz, P.⁸ Justo, P.

Dó estaban todos los ydolos
 Que su padre tenia hechos :
 Y entre ellos el gran Teraq,¹
 Que era el que adoraban ellos ;
 Y tomando una segur
 Hiriendo á diestro y siniestro,
 En aquellos aucios vultos,
 Las piernas brazos y cuerpos,
 Todos los hizo pedazos ;
 Y ad aquel que estaba enmedio,²
 Que era él que tenian³ por dios,
 El Rey destinado y tuerto,³
 Muy dorado y muy precioso
 Con grandes joyas y arreos,
 Le sacó entrambos los ojos,
 Rompiendole todo el rostro ;
 Y le puso la destreal
 Encima de su hombro diestro.
 Y quando el maldito Rey
 Con todos los de su pueblo
 Vinieron de su heregia,
 Todos juntos acudieron
 Azachedar ante el Rey⁴
 Ques este que ymos diciendo :
 Y viendo aquel grande estrago
 De los ydolos deshechos,
 Y él que por dios adoraban
 Lastimado y tan marchito,
 Echando una voz horrible
 Diciendo : “ tan guai de aquel,⁵
 Este daño en nuestros dioses
 Sobrél será mi tormento.”
 Y asi el Rey y sus compañas,
 Maginando quien ha hecho,
 Y asi memoraron todos
 Que Ybráhim habia hecho :
 Muchisimas ocasiones
 En publico y en secreto
 Habia dicho Abraham,
 Que los dioses de madera,
 Él les cortaria las caras,
 Pisandolos por el suelo.
 Luego la maldita gente
 Le acusaron, y traxeron
 Delante de Namerud,
 Y dixole ; por que has hecho
 Tal maldad ? y él respondió

Con rostro alegre y sereno :
 “ Tienes aqui el malhechor
 Y buscas otros agujeros ?
 Este que tiene la hacha
 En el hombro es él que ha hecho
 El daño en estos otros,
 Por que no le obedecieron ;
 Y estos como han sido muchos
 Le habian perdido el respeto,
 Hiriendole como veis
 Dentrambos los ojos tuerto ;
 Mas pues quedó con vitoria,
 Si quereis satisfaceros,
 Hablalde, quel os dirá
 La causa de este secreto ;⁶
 Que aunque queda malherido
 Es grande y de fuerte pecho.”
 Dice el Rey : “ estos no hablan,
 Ni se apartan⁷ de su asiento,
 Ni tienen ningun sentido
 Para daño ni provecho.”
 Respondió entonces Bráhim :
 “ Pues ¿ como, torpes y ciegos,
 Adorais en esta estatua
 Pedazo de barro y leño ?
 Vosotros soys los perdidos,
 Siervos del perpetuo infierno,
 Sin razon y sin camino,
 Del axaitan compañeros ;
 Adorad al que os ha hecho
 De nada, y al que os sustenta
 Sin ningun merecimiento.”
 Quedaron tan indignados,
 Llenos de infernal veneno,
 Que todos juntos á una,
 Apellidando, diciendo :
 “ Muera el traidor que perturba
 Nuestra creencia y sosiego ! ”
 Y con grande alteracion
 Buscan el mas fuerte medio
 Por donde pudiesen dar
 El castigo mas horrendo.
 Unos dicen sea ahorcado
 Este publico hechizero !
 Otros muera apedreado
 Ques el castigo mas recio. }
 Otros dicen : que lo axenen }

¹ Teraq, P.² Tenia, P.³ Ciego, P.⁴ Azachedar & Teraq, P.⁵ Dixó : “ tan guay del que ha hecho, P. ⁶ Suceso, P. ⁷ Mudan, P. ⁸ MS. P.

A perdurable destierro.
 En medio esta confusion,
 Se puso grato y muy ledo
 El que para todo mal
 Da la traza y el consejo,
 Diciendo: " lo que os conviene
 Es que lo queméis, y siendo
 Quemado, aventéis sus polvos
 Que se los lleven los vientos,
 Y así viviran seguros
 El Rey y todo su Reyno."

Este parecer les dió
 Aquel dragon carnicero,¹
 Y colera de axaitan:²
 Quadróles bien el consejo.
 Luego el Rey mando traer
 Leña, y tal prisa se dieron
 Que hicieron una montaña
 De sejos³ y fuertes leños:
 Nueve meses carrearón,
 Segun el ebraico testo;
 Y Bráhim puesto en la carcel,
 Cargado de duros hierros.
 Fué tanta la demasia
 De la leña que truxeron,⁴
 Y el fuego que se encendió
 Que hasta las nubes del cielo⁵
 Derretia su calor:
 Que casi llegaba al cielo.⁷
 Era su calor tan grande
 Que en torno de su⁸ ancho cerco,
 Una milla al derredor,
 Nadi se llegaba al fuego;
 Y para poner á Bráhim
 Sobre aquel fuego soberbio
 Estaban embelesados,⁹
 No sabiendo que remedio
 Tuviesen para arrojarle;
 Hasta que vino entre ellos
 En habito de hombre santo¹⁰
 Aquel que cayó del cielo,
 Y tal astucia les dió
 Este infernal carpintero,
 Que solo podria caber

En su endemoniado ingenio.
 En la boca de un trabuco
 Lo ponen en vivo cuero,
 Atado de pies y manos,
 Donde lo arrojan al fuego,
 Por donde las vivas llamas
 Que hubo de medio á medio. }¹¹
 Cojióle la ardiente pira;
 Mas él llamando y pidiendo
 Socorro al proveedor
 Del verdadero remedio:
 Luego decendió Chebril
 En apresurado vuelo,
 Sudando por defenderle
 De aquel trabajoso¹² estrecho.
 Recibieronle las llamas
 Con tan templado sosiego,
 Que no solo no le queman,
 Mas los arboles del cielo
 Doblaron sus verdes ramas
 Con fruto sabroso y tierno;
 Y daban al buen Ybráhim
 Fragante y dulce sustento;
 Y así estaba con Chebril
 En medio el ardiente fuego,
 Razonando de las cosas
 Del alchana y sus contentos.
 El Rey muy regocijado,
 Quando vino el dia tercero
 Que ardia con mas hervor
 Este artificial ynferno,
 Salia por deleitarse
 A ver cumplido su intento,
 Dando ya por acabado
 Aquel aciago hecho;¹³
 Y mirando vidó á Ybráhim
 Sentado con gran sosiego,
 Rodeado de las llamas
 Sin ningun temor ni miedo.¹⁴
 De lo qual quedó espantado,
 Basqueando como perro:
 Dice que ha de conquistar
 Y dar guerra al alto cielo,
 Por que le defiende á Brahim.

¹ Aventad los, P.² Con cerbero, P.³ Y como era de axaitan, P.⁴ Secos, P.⁵ De la leña, y tan superfluo, MS., P.⁶ Aves del vuelo, P.⁷ Amenazando á los cielos, P.⁸ Del, P.⁹ Enbarazados, P.¹⁰ Sabio, P.¹¹ Dando al cañon cebo y fuego¹² Peligroso, P.

Por entre las vivas llamas

¹³ Codiciado, P.

Le arrojan en medio á medio. P.

¹⁴ Alegre contento y ledo, P.

[De su juicio y apremio].¹
 Intentólo el perro inico,
 Y tuvó tan buen suceso
 Que un pequenuelo mosquito
 Le dió fin triste y acerbo;
 Y fué tal su mala antia,²
 Que para tener sosiego
 De su pesima dolencia,
 Habian de estarle hiriendo
 Con mazas en la cabeza,
 Sin parar solo un momento.
 Asi murió el infernal
 Con esta pena y tormento,
 Despues de seiscientos años
 Que vivió sobre este suelo.
 Acabado este traidor,
 Volvió á su padre perverso
 Ybrahim con grande amor,
 Acariciando³ y diciendo:
 “¡O’ mi padre! por que adoras
 Simple, sin luz, torpe y ciego
 Á quien no oye ni vé,
 Te daña y no hace provecho?
 ¡O’ mi padre! por que sirves
 Al Ebliz, maldito y perro!
 Mira que seas⁴ persona
 Enemigo claro y ciego.
 ¡O’ padre! ya me ha venido
 De parte del sacro cielo
 Saber lo que á ti no vino
 Para descanso y consuelo:
 Sigüeme y te guiaré
 Al camino limpio y neto,
 Y rogaré á mi Señor
 Por el perdon de tus yerros.
 ¡O’ padre! conocete,
 Mira que tengo por cierto
 Que te toque el aladeb⁵
 La pena y el escarmiento.”
 Pero su padre obstinado,
 Ciegos sus entendimientos,
 Y en entrambos sus oydos
 Puso candados de fuego.
 Y asi murió el descreido⁶

Sin ningun merecimiento,
 Habitando con su vida⁷
 Al perdurable tormento.
 Luego el buen mancebo puso
 Orden en su casamiento
 Con Sara, una prima suya,
 Moza hermosa y de alto precio,
 Que tambien eran sus padres
 Del ydolatrico pueblo;
 Y como vió que su hija
 Seguia ya los preceptos
 De Ibráhim su sobrino,⁸
 Y que le amaba en estremo,
 Desnudóla de las joyas
 Que vestia y los⁹ arrees;
 Con una¹⁰ aljuba de lana
 Sin otro ningun arreo,
 Los echo¹¹ la puerta afuera
 Y asi en medio de un desierto
 Solo los dos se hallaron;
 Y para quel casamiento
 Se efectuase, no hallaron¹²
 Entremedio¹³ de terceros;
 Y tambien, por que Abraham
 No tenia ningun medio,
 Para firmarle asidaque¹⁴
 Por ser tan pobre mancebo,
 Y por que se efectuase
 El dichoso casamiento,¹⁵
 Que habia de ser en el mundo
 De tanta gloria y provecho,
 Decendió luego Chebril
 Con otros tres compañeros;
 Eran Micayl¹⁶ y Zarafil,
 Y Reduan,¹⁷ portero del cielo.
 Dixó Chebril: “yá¹⁸ Abraham,
 Dice el Señor verdadero
 Que asegures á tu esposa
 El asidaque¹⁹ y derecho
 Sobre su gran deleitaje:
 Qué! sale fiador de aquello.
 Ya traigo aqui los testigos
 Y el algualy y yo con ellos;
 Cumplimos la obligacion

¹ Paris.² Enfermedad; malantia, P.³ Acariciado, P.⁴ Es á la, P.⁵ Castigo.⁶ Y asi murió descreido, P.⁷ Acuytando con su aroh, P.⁸ De Ibráhim su buen sobrino, P.⁹ Sua, P.¹⁰ Y con, P.¹¹ Le batió, P.¹² Hallaban, P.¹³ Intervencion, P.¹⁴ Dote.¹⁵ Concierto, P.¹⁶ Micheil, P.¹⁷ Ridguen, P.¹⁸ Ye, M.S. P.; interjeccion Arabe, O’!¹⁹ Acidacal, P.

Que se debe al casamiento.”
 Asi fué casado Ibráhim
 Con grande gozo y contento,

Tomando asiento en Canaan
 Dexando el pueblo Caldeo.

SEGUNDO CANTO DE LA YSTORIA DE BRAHIM ALEI-
 SALÉM COMIENZA DESDE SU NACIMIENTO Y LO QUE
 LE VINO CON EL REY NAMERUD.

En la tierra de Canaan,
 Provincia fertil y rica,
 El siervo de Dios Ybráhim
 A su contento vivia
 Con solo su muger Sara,
 Sin ningun hijo ni hija;
 Gozando de las mercedes
 Que su Señor les hacia,
 Quando baxó el fiel Chebril
 Una noche y le decia:
 “Ibráhim! tu Señor manda
 Que dexando esta provincia,
 Tú solo con tu muger
 Para Arabia hagas via,
 A un pueblo que está sitiado
 Al medio de medio dia;
 Porque allí quiere el Señor
 Asentar su cetro y silla
 Aparejado á Muhamad
 Y á su gran genealogia,
 Y edificar un gran templo
 Que es la mayor alfadila.¹
 En él será celebrada
 De quantas tiene ofrecidas
 En la tierra á los mortales
 Y en el cielo á los que vivan.
 El lugar se llama Maca,
 Villa por Alláh escogida,
 Por metropol y cabeza
 De su ley santa y divina.”
 Esto dixó, y se despide
 El angel con grande prisa.
 Despierta Bráhim á Sara
 Y con muy grande alegria
 Le cuenta la alegre nueva,
 Y como Dios le hacia
 Merced hecho á manos del²
 En obra tan santa y pia.

Gran contento recibió
 Sara, y en aquel mesmo dia
 Aparejan su viaje,
 Y de toda su familia
 Se despiden, y á la hora³
 Caminan á grande prisa.
 Andando por sus jornadas,
 Hubieron de hacer su via
 Por tierras del Rey Agar,
 Quen Egipto residia:
 Y pasando por el monte
 Salieronle las espias
 De este Rey, y los prendieron,
 Y á palacio los traian.
 Dixó Brahim á su esposa:
 “Si te preguntan que digas
 Quien eres ó quien soy yo,
 Diras ques⁴ hermana mia,
 No digas ques mi muger.”
 Mas Sara no lo entendia
 Lo que dixó su marido,
 Que se lo dixó por cifras,
 O’ se le olvido en el tiempo }
 Que mas menester le hacia. }⁵
 Y ansi al punto que llegaron,
 Ante el Rey resplandecia
 La bella Sara, y su cara
 Privaba la luz del dia.
 Mandó el Rey los dividiesen
 Y á Bráhim luego traian
 Primero, y luego⁶ le dice:
 “Dó llevas esta alcheria⁷
 Es tu mujer por ventura?
 Dime ¿ para dó caminas?”
 Dixó Bráhim: “Es mi hermana
 Que al Arabia mas vecina
 La llevo por ciertas cosas
 Que allá se nos ofrecian;

¹ Merito.

² Merced de echar mano del, Paris.

³ Arabia, Paris.

⁴ Es está aqui por eres.

⁵ MS. Paris.

⁶ El rey, Paris.

⁷ جاريتة doncella.

Mira Señor, que nos mandas,
 Que importa nuestra partida
 Abreviar, por que tenemos
 De caminar muchos dias.”
 Luego traxeron a Sara
 Para probar si decia
 Verdad lo que habia dicho
 Ybráhim, ó si mentia.
 Ella ignorante responde,
 Ques su muger muy querida.
 El Rey indignado desto
 Quiso cumplir su codicia,¹
 Dando fuerza al apetito;
 Por que de la bizarría
 De Sara estaba perdido;
 Y así con infernal² ira
 Mandó imprisonar á Ybráhim
 En pago de su malicia.³
 Dixó, Señor, “yo no miento,⁴
 Ni nunca el Señor⁵ permita,
 Quen nuestro dim es mi hermana,
 Y en parentesco mi prima.
 Ninguna de estas razones
 Fueron del Rey admitidas,
 Mandó encarcelar á Bráhim,
 Y á Sara llevar hacia
 Á su camara Real
 Para cumplir su codicia.
 Así fué llevada, y puesta
 Sobre aquella cama rica,
 Que mas que la clara luna
 Su cara resplandecia.
 Entre tanto el buen Ybráhim,
 Considerad que sentia,
 Viendo llevar á su esposa
 Que mas que á si la queria;
 Y aquellos rabiosos zelos
 Le daban tanta agonía,
 Que casi el alma arrancaba,
 Con mil sollozos vomita:
 Diciendo: “Rey de los cielos!
 Mira mi alma afijida
 Que mas que la amarga⁶ muerte
 Siente esta furia maldita:
 Libranos⁷ de esta congoxa,
 Señor, que tú es él que libras
 De los tristes corazones

Las congoxas y agonias.”
 En esto el lacivo Rey,
 Ciego y el alma rendida,
 Entró donde estaba Sara,
 Y ella con ansia crecida
 Rogaba al Señor la libre⁸
 De aquella furia⁹ laciva.
 Oyó Alláh estas peticiones,
 Y al tiempo que el Rey asía
 Della, sintió su persona
 Cortada, tullida y fria;
 Y aunque mas quisó esforzarse,
 Fué por demas su porfia,
 Que quanto mas se esforzaba
 Menos fuerza en sí tenia.¹⁰
 De aquí conoció su yerro,
 Y por Bráhim envia
 Á la prision donde estaba,
 Embuelto¹¹ en pasiones vivas:
 Al qual le pidió perdon,
 Y con humildad pidia
 Que rogase á su Señor
 Por su salud y su vida.
 Y así por medio de Bráhim
 Volvió la salud cumplida
 Sobre el Rey, quedando Sara
 Libre, honrrada y sin mancilla,
 Y el Rey muy agradecido
 Les dice manden y pidan
 De su palacio y su Reyno
 Para su jornada y via,
 Qual si fuesen propios suyos
 Los reynos que¹² poseia.
 Ellos le besan las manos
 Por la merced ofrecida,
 Pidiendole la licencia
 Para abreviar su partida.
 En el ynter questuvieron
 Detenidos estos dias,
 Regalados y servidos
 Con gran gozo y alegría,
 Una hija de este Rey
 Que Hechára se decia,
 Hermosa, bella y gallarda,
 De edad lozana y crecida,
 Heredera unica y sola
 Del Reyno, casa y familia,

¹ Malicia, Paris. ² Crecida, P. ³ Mentira, P. ⁴ El dixo: Señor no miento, P.

⁵ Dios tal, P. ⁶ Dura, P. ⁷ Librame, P. ⁸ A Dios la librase, P.

⁹ Fuerza, P. ¹⁰ Sentia, P. ¹¹ Revuelto, P. ¹² Quel, P.

De la compañía de Sara
 Acariciada, y movida
 De aquel zelo, justo y santo
 Quen Bráhim conocia,
 Con nil amorosos ruegos
 A su padre el Rey se humilla,
 Diciendo: "padre y Señor,
 Suplico sea concedida
 Una merced que te pide
 Esta tu querida hija;
 Que me des licencia pido
 Para quen la compañía
 De Sara con Abráham
 Vaia á la Arabia bendita,
 En custodia destes justos
 Que siguen de Dios la via,
 Que yo desisto del Reyno
 Y de su pompa y estima
 Por guardar¹ el Reyno eterno
 Ques perdurable su silla;
 Y pues esta mi demanda
 Es justa, sincera y limpia,
 Suplicote me socorras,²
 Como de ti mi alma fia,³
 A⁴ petición bien fundada."
 ¡ O' voluntad santa y limpia!
 ¡ O' pecho bien cimentado,
 Fé sincera, pura y fixa!⁵
 ¡ [Donde jamas se vio intento
 En esta misera vida
 Por muy sincero que fuese
 Para dexar sus caricias?
 Grandes hazañas hicieron
 Los que en solitarias vidas
 Consumieron este mundo
 En oraciones contricas;
 Mas ya fué quando su edad
 Los yba llamando áprisa,
 Y el mundo ya los dexaba
 De su alegre compañía,
 De su mocedad impia;
 Llamados por sus transgresos
 Y sobresaltadas vidas,
 Vinieron á hacer parada
 En bridas algaribas,⁶
 Los otros que libertaron

A costa de sangre y vidas
 Sus patrias, qué mucho hicieron
 Si la muerte tan vezina
 Tenian dentro en sus pueblos,
 Donde á pura fuerza habian
 De morir ó libertarse;
 Y esto les daba osadia
 Para señalar sus hechos
 Y ganar la eterna vida.
 Como aquella gran matrona,
 Quando su ciudad rendida
 Estaba por los Asirios,
 Y ella al riesgo some
 Se puso en medio el tida,
 A donde quitó la vida
 Al capitan Holoferno;
 Y ella libre y sin mancilla
 Libertó su amada patria;
 Y aunquesta hazaña fué digna
 De gloria y grande alabanza,
 Fué por fuerza acoseguida.
 Mas esta que voy tratando,
 Libre, hermosa, tierna y niña,
 Heredera de un gran Reyno,
 Siendo poderosa y rica,
 Cosa que acaricia y llama
 Al mas justo su codicia,
 Forzada de amor divino
 Dexa su padre y desista
 Del Reyno, patria y riqueza,
 Pompas, galas, bizarrías,
 Por seguir el justo zelo
 De una pobre compañía.]⁷
 ¡ Bien por cierto mereciste
 El nombre que te apellidan,
 O' serenísima Infanta!
 Pues mereciste ser digna,
 Ser la fuente y manantio
 De la luz esclarecida!
 Pues como Agar conocio
 La voluntad conocida,⁸
 Y que su justa demanda
 Tal respuesta merecia,
 No soló le dió licencia
 Mas en aquel mesmo dia
 Dexó su creencia falsa

¹ Ganar, MS. Paris.² Respondas, P.³ Como de ti se confia, P.⁴ O! P.⁵ Fita, P.⁶ Ermitas lejanas.⁷ Estas lineas faltan al MS. Paris.⁸ De su hija, P.

Y lalisalem¹ seguia ;
 Y con muy grandes riquezas
 Que les dió, los despedia ;
 Tomando á prisa el camino,
 Todos tres en compañía.
 Y quando Alláh fué servido
 Quel Arabia descubrian,
 Al Señor que los crió²
 Daban gracias infinitas ;
 Y en llegando á aquel puesto
 Donde parar se debian,
 Asentaron sus bagajes³
 Para hacer allí su via,⁴
 Aguardando de su Señor
 Orden nueva en que le sirvan,
 Dale la traza y consejo⁵
 De lo que fué su venida.⁶
 Pasados ya muchos años
 Quen Arabia residian
 Bráhim y Hechara juntos⁷
 En alegre y santa vida,
 Viendo Sara que aumentaba
 En años y tan de prisa
 Corre su cansado tiempo,
 Y que hijos no paria,
 A su marido Abráham
 Le pide ruego y suplica,
 Que pues ella no concibe
 Ni tal esperanza habia,
 Se case con la Princesa
 Hechara, quen compañía
 Vinó con ellos de Egipto,
 Y el Señor se serviria
 Darle justo sucesor
 De lo quella carecia.
 Tibio Bráhim del⁸ consejo
 Que Sara le proponia,
 Indeterminado estuvo⁹
 Sin saber lo que haria.
 Estando en esto confuso,
 Quando Chebril decendia,
 Y dixó que efectuase
 Lo que su muger decia ;
 Que su Señor dicretaba,
 Y mas que decendiria
 Sobre ellos la bendicion

En gracia tan estendida,
 Que ecederá á las estrellas }
 Su grande genealogia. }
 Ibráhim hizó el mandado
 De su Señor, y aquel dia
 Efectuó el casamiento
 Quel angel dicho le habia.
 Luego se hizo preñada
 De aquella luz, que infuida
 Iba en la frente de Bráhim,
 A Muhamad prometida,
 Se pasó á la hermosa ynfanta,
 Y en ella resplandecia
 Su cara como la luna
 Clara, redonda y cumplida.
 Cumplidos los nueve meses,
 Parió un hijo y le ponian
 Por nombre Ysmael,¹¹ tan bello
 Como el luzero del dia.
 Sacó la insignia real
 De la luz esclarecida
 De nuestro padre primero
 A Muhamad prometida.¹²
 Muy contento quedó Bráhim
 Desta merced tan crecida,
 Loando al Señor del cielo
 Toda la noche y el dia ;
 Y como tanto en los hombres
 Se empoderó la malicia,
 Despues quel angel maldito
 Decendió de su manida,¹³
 Comprendiendo á todas partes
 Esta corrupta semilla ;
 Esta que tanto se apega
 Adonde halla acogida ;
 Esta entre Hechara y Sara
 Desfizó la compañía,
 Y las hizó tan contrarias
 Quanto de principio amigas.
 Hubó disbarate entre ellas,
 Hubó discordia, hubó riñas,
 Y se inficionó el contento
 Que de principio tenian.
 No sé si Sara zelosa
 De la sobrada alegria
 Que la princesa gozaba

¹ *الاسلام* el Islam, el alisalem, P. ² Guió, P. ³ Su fardaje, P. ⁴ Subida, P.

⁵ Y dar la traza y principio.

⁶ De lo que a fue su venida, P.

⁷ Hechara y Sara, P.

⁸ Al, P.

⁹ Estaba, P.

¹⁰ MS. Paris.

¹¹ Ysmeyl, P.

¹² De aquel cristal descendida, P.

¹³ Morada ; Sic, Paris.

Con hijo de tanta estima,
 O si la princesa ufana
 Quisó usar mayoria
 Por ser madre de tal hijo,
 Y de Bráhim tan querida.
 Todo debió de ser parte,
 Segun que parece hoy día,
 Que de su primera leche
 Quedaron estas mancillas.
 Esto quedó á Rachel
 Con su propia hermania Lia,
 Que sus hijos fueron parte
 De sus zelosas ynvidias.
 Viendo esto el justo Bráhim,
 Determinó dividir las
 Por evitar sus¹ disgustos,
 Y el quitarse de mohina.
 Tomando á la princesa
 Y á su hijo en compañía,
 La arredró en las montañas
 Altas, asperas y umbrias,
 Y les llevó provision,
 Y él se volvio á su posada
 Lleno de mala enconia.²
 Hechara y su amado hijo
 Que los montes solenizan,³
 Comiendo yerbas sabrosas⁴
 Y las raizes campiñas:
 Por que el Patriarca justo
 Se descuidó algunos dias
 De llevarles provision
 (Que facilmente se olvida
 Aquel que mas se desvela
 De lo que mas necesita),
 Vinieron á tanto extremo⁵
 De hambre, y á tanta estricia⁶
 Que ya el hijo no se mueve,
 Ni ansi⁷ la madre se⁸ anima.
 Al fin la triste princesa,
 Lastimada y dolorida,
 Por no ver morir de hambre }
 Al que mas que á si queria }
 Le dexó tras de una peña
 Y ella la montaña arriba
 Se fué, loando al Señor,
 Que á tal extremo venia;

Y quando le pareció
 Que la limitada vida
 De su delicado hijo
 Seria ya concluida,
 Volvió por ver si era muerto,
 Y halló que antes tenia¹⁰
 Un pozo¹¹ de agua muy clara
 Y provisiones muy ricas.
 Llamabanse aquellas sierras
 De Zanzan y son las¹² que hoy dia
 Aquel pozo en su jornada
 Los alhijantes¹³ visitan.
 Considerad el contento
 Que la princesa tendria,
 Hallando á su hijo vivo
 Y con celestial comida;
 Y mas que en el mesmo punto
 El fiel Chebril decendia,
 Dandole esfuerzo y contento
 Con grandes nuevas y albricias.
 Siendo ya Ismael criado,
 En edad bella y crecida,
 Muy contentisimo Bráhim,
 Que ya en quieta paz vivia,
 Quando descendió Chebril,
 Y el santo circulo afirma¹⁴
 De la fundacion del templo,
 Donde y como Alláh queria, }
 Fuese la fabrica hecha. }¹⁵
 Señalada en quatro esquinas,
 Medido el¹⁶ largo por pies
 Ciento y quareinta tenia,
 Y en anchos solo quareinta;
 Y para que sin fatiga
 Esta obra se hiciese,
 Enseña á Bráhim que diga
 Quatro palabras con quien
 La santa obra se hacia.
 Ismael le acompañaba
 Á quanto alli se ofrecia,
 Como aquel quen justa ciencia¹⁷
 La tal obra pretendia.
 Dixó el angel á Bráham:
 " Esta casa se edifica
 En insignia de otras siete,
 Quen los cielos están fixas,¹⁸

¹ Mas, P. ² Melancolia, P. ³ Solicitan, P. ⁴ A veces, P. ⁵ Estrecho, P.
⁶ Apuro, P. ⁷ Ya, P. ⁸ Le, P. ⁹ MS. Paris. ¹⁰ Ante si tenia, P.
¹¹ Poco, P. ¹² Es el, P. ¹³ Alhichantes, P. peregrinos. ¹⁴ Asigna, P.
¹⁵ Faltan al MS. Paris. ¹⁶ Al, P. ¹⁷ Herencia, P. ¹⁸ Se habitan, P.

Y has de saber questa sola
Excederá en alfadila
A las siete que en' los cielos,
Por que será establecida
Para el sello del perdon,
Y compañía mas lucida
Quel Señor crió en el mundo
Para su ley escogida.
Esta será visitada
De las naciones del mundo,
Y en los cielos mas temida.²
Con esto se fué Chebril ;

Y luego Bráhim principia
Su obra bendita y santa
Con su hijo en compañía :
Y quando ya los cimientos
Sobre la tierra divisa,
Quando el circulo santo
Fuertes paredes ceñian,
Contento Ibráhim de ver
Como en efecto podia,
Dixó ad Alláh su Señor,
Esta breve rogativa.

PETICION.³

Recibe, Señor piadoso,
Esta obra á ti ofrecida,
Mandada por tu juicio
Y á tu honor y gracia asida,
Haznos, Señor, muzlimes
Por tu encumbrada⁴ alfadila,
Y que de nuestras naciones
Haya alumas⁵ muzlimas.
Enseñanos nuestra obra
Ante tu esencia divina,
Obren⁶ quantas criaturas
Ante tu juicio asistan ;
Y pon en nuestras personas
La repentencia cumplida,
Que tu recibes y alaxas⁷
Las apenitencias limpias.
Deciende, Señor, sobrellos :
Digo a los nuestros ymvia
Mensageros dellos mismos
De su descendencia misma,
Que les enseñen misterios
De tus Zalaes⁸ santisimas,

Y tu alquiteb les enseña
Y tahares sus nias,⁹
Para que en tu amparo grande¹⁰
Vivan en eterna vida ;
Quieres honrrado en tus hechos,
Y tu ciencia¹¹ es infinita.
Señor, tu seguro pido
Que pongas en esta villa
Que sea de sus contrarios
Reservada y defendida,
Y dé arrisque¹² á los mortales
De las frutas y semillas ;
Digo á los que te conocen
Y mantengan tu Justicia :¹³
Y á los que con tú descreen
Y tus preceptos no sigan
Habita¹⁴ Señor con ellos
A la pena dolorida.”
Pues quando fué ya acabada
Esta fabrica bendita,
Sus paredes y cubiertas
Como el sol resplandecia.

TERCERA ISTORIA DE BRÁHIM ALEHISALEM.

Como el Señor es tan justo
Quen su juicio no coje¹⁵
Mal que dexé sin castigo
Ni bien que no galardone :
En pago de los servicios

A que Bráhim se dispone,
Lo especialó por su amigo
Que fué el mejor de los dones.
Que hasta entonces en el mundo
Pudo gozar ningun hombre :

¹ De, P. ² Tenida, P. Variante, estimada. ³ Oracion, P. ⁴ Ensalzada.

⁵ Sectas. ⁶ Sobre, P. ⁷ Acoges, P. ⁸ Ales, P. ⁹ زينة intencion.

¹⁰ Y gracia, P. ¹¹ Sciencia, P. ¹² Pone arrisque en sus morantes, P.

¹³ Y teman tu gran justicia, P. ¹⁴ Acuyta, P. ¹⁵ Acoge, P.

Y para darle esta nueva
 Manda el Señor de Señores
 A Malac al-mauti baxe
 Y la embajada denote.
 ¡ O misteriosos secretos !
 ¡ A quien habrá que no asombre
 Estas enigmas oscuras
 Quel Señor nos antipone ;
 Ver que en todos los apretos
 Estrechos y pugnaciones,
 Calamidades y afrentas,
 Hambres, fuegos y prisiones,
 Fué su ordinario consuelo,
 Su defensa y muro doble
 El almalaque Chebril,
 Gran consuelo de adicciones ;
 Y agora para alegrarle
 Con las albricias mexores
 Envía á Malac al-mauti,
 Que atierra solo su nombre ;
 Por que con un gran contento
 Un gran temor se abandone,
 Y lo amargo con lo dulce
 Mezcle su sabor disforme.
 Como son frutas del mundo
 No hay otoño que sazone
 Sus desaboridos gustos
 Ni sus acedos sabores ;
 Ni jamas hubo contento
 Entero que no lo borre
 El acibar de su hez,
 Ni placeres que se colmen.
 Asi le vino á Bráhim
 Que aunque fué de los mayores
 La nueva de los que fueron
 Deballados hasta entonces,
 El nombre del mensajero
 Es tan grande y tan noble¹
 Que solo su nombre causa
 El mayor de los temores :
 Y por que no cause espanto
 Le manda el Señor que tome
 La mejor de las figuras,
 Y que su persona adorne
 De tal manera que á Bráhim
 A mil contentos provoque.
 Baxó el fuerte Azarayel,

Y ansi se adorna y componc,
 Que no vidó almalaque
 En todas las tronaciones
 Tan gallardo y tan hermoso,
 (Tan colmado de favores),²
 Su rostro alindado y bello
 Como rosa entre las flores ;
 Su vestidura preciosa
 Con muchos lazos y flores ;³
 Su lengua dulce amorosa,
 Sus ojos como dos soles ;
 Su habla amorosa y grata,
 Sus palabras y razones
 Compuestas, y azucaradas
 Con almizcadas olores ;
 Humilde, afable y gracioso,
 Dando de sí⁴ resplandores,
 Quel cielo dexó admirado
 Con todos sus moradores.
 Entró por casa de Ibráhim,
 Que sobre todos los hombres
 Era zeloso, y estaba
 Descuidado, y luego dióle
 La nueva del nuevo huesped
 Sus muy fragantes olores.
 Volvióse al olor, y viendo
 Dentro en su casa aquel hombre,
 Le pregunta algo alterado
 ¡ “ Amigo ! dime por donde
 Entraste⁵ dentro en mi casa
 Sin mi licencia y mi orden ? ”
 “ El ques Señor de la casa,
 Malac al-mauti responde,
 Me ha mandado que dentrase
 No te alteres, ni te asombres. ”
 “ Mi casa tiene otro dueño,
 Respondió Bráhim, que more
 En ella menos⁶ de mi. ”
 Dixó el angel : “ no lo ignores
 Que aquel que á ti te crió⁷
 Es él que manda y dispone
 Lo hecho, y lo por hacer :
 Su poder á todo accorre. ”
 “ Pues dime, eres mensajero
 Del Señor, honrrado y noble ?
 Ruegote, digas quien eres,
 No me suspendas tu nombre ;

¹ Enorme, P. el angel de la muerte.² Tales, P.³ Dentrase, P.⁴ MS. Paris.⁵ Ademas de mi.⁶ Bordes, P.⁷ Te halecô, P.

En solo verte me alteras,
 En hablarte me corrompes;
 En mirarte me atribulas,
 Y causas que me acongoxes
 Mi color calido y frio,¹
 Mis venas cortas y rompes;
 Mis lados me titubean,
 Mis junturas descompones;
 Mi alterado corazon
 En su aposento no coje,
 Ques su morada pequeña,
 No halla donde repose.”
 El celestial mensajero
 Que ya de Bráhim conoce
 Su grande desasosiego,
 Asi le dice y responde:
 “Yo soy quien mi nombre temen
 Quantos memoran mi nombre,
 Desde la mas baxa tierra
 Hasta las mas altas torres,²
 Yo soy el que nadi esenta
 De mis amargas pasiones,
 A todos los hago iguales
 A los grandes y menores,
 Desde el labrador mas baxo³
 Al emperador mas noble
 Y dende el mas alto Rey
 A los mas baxos pastores.
 Yo soy la sola atalaya
 Que á mi vista no se asconde
 Criatura que alma tenga,
 Ni cosa que vida goze.
 El que las copiosas huestes
 Acaba, deshace y rompe,
 Y él que los cuerpos despoja
 De sus amados arohes.
 Yo pueblo los cementerios,⁴
 Hago quen las fuesas moren,
 Y despueblo las moradas
 De sus propios moradores;
 Ciudades, villas, castillos,
 Altas casas, fuertes torres,
 Yo las allano por tierra,
 Sus dueños y prevenciones;
 Yo las alchamas copiosas
 Pompas, brios y ambiciones,
 Las allano por el suelo,

Sin dolor de sus dolores.
 El que los hermosos rostros
 Cambio en malos colores,
 Y en calaveras⁵ resuelvo
 Las bellas dispusiciones;
 Yo las dulces compañías,
 Tratos y conversaciones
 Aparto, deshago y tuerzo⁶
 En llorosas aficciones.
 El que los gustos aceda,
 Y él que aparta y descompone
 El amigo de su amigo,
 Sin ver si es rico ni pobre.
 No quiero treguas con nadi,
 Jamas escucho razones;
 De ninguno soy amigo,
 A todos trato de un orden;
 Azarayel me apellidan,
 Malac al-mauti es mi nombre;
 Quien nunca temió, y le temen
 Todas las generaciones.”

Causó en Bráhim tal pasmo
 Su habla, presencia y nombre,
 Que por espacio de una hora,
 Falto de aliento atordióle.⁷
 Vuelto de su parasismo,
 Cobrando aliento esforzóse
 Y dicele: “di que quieres
 Ruegote, tu habla acortas,”
 Malac al mauti amoroso
 Le esfuerza, anima y responde,
 Con voz humilde y alegre
 Estas siguientes razones:
 “Alláh el alto y sempiterno,
 Que hace, ordena, y dispone,
 Como quiere, y puede hacer⁸
 Sin que nadi se lo estorbe,
 Ha especialado un amigo
 En los hijos de los hombres:
 Hasta qui no hubó ninguno
 Que mereciese tal nombre,
 Y para alegrar tal siervo
 Con esta gracia, mandóme,
 Baxe á pedir las albricias
 Al que por amigo escoge.
 Mira Bráhim que ventaja,⁹
 Que mercedes y favores,

¹ Yerto, P. ² Orbes, P. ³ Triste, P. ⁴ معمر القبر ⁵ Cadaveres, P.

⁶ Trueco, P. ⁷ Aturdióse, P. ⁸ Sabe y puede, P. ⁹ Ventalla, P.

Merecieron de este siervo
 Sus servicios y loaciones ?”
 Ibráhim que atento estaba
 A las sabrosas razones
 Del angel, con gran contento
 Dice, quando aquello oye ;
 Guiame para que vea
 Ese varon justo y noble,
 Para quel suelo que pisa
 En nombre de Dios¹ le² adore,
 Para que lo³ comunique,
 De su habla y vista goze ;
 Y siendole siervo fiel,
 Tal apellido me glorie,
 Para quel agua que beba
 Y para quel pan que come
 Sobre mis hombros le traiga
 Y de mis manos la tome ;
 Y mereciendo tal gloria
 A su mandado me postre,
 Y el tiempo todo que viva
 Le sirva, venere y honrré.”
 ; Humildad bien levantada,
 Como del señor conoces
 La gracia de que te adornas
 Y la gloria en que te pones.
 A quantos has levantado
 De las baxezas mayores
 Sobre los mas altos tronos,
 Y á los asientos mejores,
 Por ti fué Edriz levantado,
 Y diste silla de honores
 En la gloria, hasta que Izarafil,
 Su zumbante cuerno toque :
 Por ti el general diluvio
 De su rigor amainóse :
 Tú resolviste aquel agua
 Quen otro vaso no coje ;
 Por ti fué librado Lot
 De aquellos fieros sayones,
 Y de la furia del cielo
 Quando el gran fuego abrasóle :
 Tú partiste el mar bermejo
 En doce calles, por donde
 Fué Muse libre, y hundiste
 Los soberbios Faraones ;
 Tú sacaste del alchupe,⁴
 De esclavitud y prisiones,

A Yusuf, y tronizaste
 Sobre los Reyes su nombre :
 Tú volviste a Sulaimen
 Su Reyno, quando tan pobre
 Vinó á ser menospreciado
 De todos los otros pobres :
 Quien sino tú hizó amigos
 A Daniel con los leones,
 Quando en la caverna obscura
 El Asirio Rey lanzóle :
 A Ninive libertaste
 Del acelerado azote,
 Que ya sobre sus espaldas
 Casi se asentaba el golpe ;
 Sacaste aquel gran profeta
 De aquel vientre tan disforme,
 Y para tanto bien nuestro
 A su pesar vomitóle :
 Tú desipaste la guerra
 De los angeles ferozes
 Quando el soberbio Luzbel
 No quisó azaxdarse al hombre :
 Tú lo lanzaste del cielo
 A las cavernas mayores,
 Dó viviran para siempre
 En perdurables dolores.
 Bien confirmas tus hazañas
 Y tus triunfantes blasones
 En su ystoria de este justo
 Ques bien le sublime y honrré :
 Tú lo libraste del fuego
 De Namerud, y hoy lo pones
 En el mas subido trono
 Y en el numero mas noble.
 ; O' celestial mensajero !
 Quien duda que sus razones
 Tan humildes de este suelo
 En pago de albricias tome.
 “ Alegrate justo Brahim
 Dixó el angel, que este nombre
 A ti solo pertenece,
 Y á ti por amigo escoge
 El Señor que dá sus gracias
 A quien tambien las conoce,
 Y quiere que tu humildad
 Te levante y lustre, y dore,
 Da gracias a tu Hacedor
 Que tan subidos favores

¹ Allah, P.² Lo, P.³ Le, P.⁴ جوف جونا Concauidad.

Te hace entre los mortales,
 Qué! es el honrado y noble."'
 Atonito y espantado,
 Sin saber como ó por donde
 Merecieron sus servicios
 Tan crecidos gualardones,
 Cayó Bráhim azaxdado,
 Dando gracias y loaciones,
 Al Señor que quisó darle
 Tan superlativos dones.
 Dos oras largas estuvo
 En su zaxda, y levantóse;
 Mas ya no halló al mensagero;
 Por donde vinó volvióse.
 Viendo que no parecia,
 Muy en extremo gozóse,
 Por que sin duda pensaba
 Que como con los arohes
 Azarayel procuraba,
 Y en ningunas ocasiones
 Sirviesen sus embajadas
 De contentos ni deportes

Jamas estuvo seguro,
 Imaginando que entonces
 Le quitaria su roh,
 Y aquesto atemorizóle
 Tanto que aunque su embaxada,
 Su habla, talle y razones,
 Ropas, apostura y gracia,
 Alegrese á qualquier hombre,
 Y aquella cara alindada
 Echase mil resplandores
 Ojos, labios, vista y talle,
 Y todas sus perfecciones,
 Todo incitaba á contento;
 Y en solo nombrar su nombre,
 Le inquieta, disgusta y turba,
 Hace que deshaga y borre
 Toda la gloria y contento
 Que le denuncia y propone;
 Mas quando ya satishecho,
 Fué de su ausencia gozoso,
 Muy mucho dando el Señor
 Infinitas bendiciones.

CANTO CUARTO DE LA YSTORIA DE BRAHIM ALEHIZALEM.

De las pasadas albricias
 Y del contento pasado
 Que le dió Malac al-mauti
 Como atras quedó contado,
 Quedo tan agradecido
 Y al Señor tan humillado
 Ibráhim el nuevo amigo,
 Que no tiene hora ni espacio
 Que no se ocupe en servir
 Al Señor que lo ha criado;
 Y ayunando todos dias
 Y las noches trasnochando,
 Continuo azala haciendo,
 Sin un hora de descanso.
 Estando pues una noche
 Sobre su cama acostado,
 Con Hechara, la piadosa,
 Y Ismael, su hijo amado,
 Descansando su persona
 De aquel continuo trabajo,
 Quandá el mas sabroso sueño
 Le daba mayor regalo,
 Oyó una voz que le llama

Con tono amoroso y blando
 " Ibráhim, siervo perfeto,
 Escucha esto que te hablo,
 Despide el sabroso sueño,
 Dexa el gustoso decanso,
 Y acercate a mi alcorben¹
 En mi nombre eterno y santo,
 Que lo reciba de ti
 Y paga en lo adelantado
 De tu nombre sin segundo,
 Y en el dia del espanto
 Te daré premio por ello,
 Y quedará celebrado
 Tu nombre en los venideros
 Y en los presentes dechado."
 Despertóse el justo Bráhim
 Amedrecido, y pensando
 Que era de parte de Ibliz
 Aquel sueño revelado;
 Y luego en amaneciendo
 Para cumplir lo soñado
 Degolló un grueso camello,
 Y siendo despedazado

¹ القران sacrificio.

Repartió toda su carne
 A los pobres y acuitados,
 Diciendo "¡ó mi Señor!
 Si á caso te ha sido grato,
 Mi alcorbem, damelo á ver ;
 Si no lo he acertado,
 Avisame como cumplo
 Tu santísimo mandado."
 Pues en la segunda noche
 Estando muy reposado
 Durmiendo, oyó que decia
 La voz : "oye, siervo amado,
 Allegate á mi alcorben,
 En mi nombre soberano,
 Y lo pondré á cuenta tuya
 En lo mas adelantado
 De todas las criaturas
 Y te será especialado
 Gualardon muy singular
 Con el qual seras premiado."
 Ibráhim se despertó
 Y quando fué el día claro
 Degolló una vaca y dióla
 A los mas necesitados,
 Y dixó : " Rey de los cielos,
 Si acaso este mi holocausto
 Has recibido de mi,
 Seame por tí revelado
 En la noche venidera
 Por dó yo quede saciado
 De mi ofrecido servicio,
 Y para lo que yo falto
 Lo enmiende sin faltar punto
 A lo que estoy obligado."
 Esto dixó, y quando vino
 La noche tercera, y quando
 Mas sosegado dormia
 Lo mismo le está llamando.
 El se despertó al momento,
 Y habiendose levantado,
 Degolló un grueso carnero
 Y por el orden contado,
 Lo repartió á los mezquinos,
 Diciendo : " Rey soberano,
 Avisame como acierte
 Este alcorben encerrado."
 Pues quando la quarta noche,
 Llegó al punto relatado,
 Volvió la voz y le dixó :
 " Ibráhim, haz holocausto

En mi nombre, y te daré
 Un perdurable descanso."
 Ibráhim que ya despierto
 Estaba, y sobresaltado
 De los pasados avisos,
 Viendo que no habia acertado
 A lo quel Señor le pide
 En los servicios pasados ;
 Dixó : " Señor poderoso,
 Sabes que he sacrificado
 Camellos, vacas, carneros,
 En tu nombre, y yo no hallo
 El camino por dó acierte
 El soñuelo deste blanco :
 Aclaramelo, Señor,
 Piadoso, honrrado, y sabio,
 Quen mi no hay saber ques esto
 Mas del saber que me has dado."
 Retronó la voz de Alláh :
 " Lo que pido en holocausto
 Ibráhim no son camello,
 Como tu has sacrificado,
 Mas sobre tu amado hijo
 Ese que tú has engendrado,
 Ese que mas que á ti quieres,
 Ese que duerme á tu lado
 Ese pido en sacrificio,
 Con ese quedo pagado
 De tus perfetos servicios
 Y corazon limpio y casto."
 ¡ O desaboridos gustos !
 ¡ O gustos desconcertados !
 ¡ O Señor de los secretos !
 ¡ O Rey poderoso y alto !
 A tus secretos juicios
 Quien hay quien le llegue al cabo !
 Desta manera regalas
 Un varon tan señalado,
 Quentre las gentes escoges
 Por amigo especialado :
 Ayer le denunció el angel
 Un gozo tan soberano,
 Y le diste un hijo solo
 Despues de viejo cansado
 Por regalo á su vejez,
 Cosa muy de amigo caro ;
 Y al tiempo que mas contento
 Vive, quieto y sosegado,
 Y de tus grandes mercedes
 Satisfecho y muy pagado,

Y quando su amado hijo
 Le daba mayor regalo,
 Quando en la edad mas florida
 Estaba tierno y lozano,
 Le mandas que lo deguelle
 Luego con sus propias manos.
 ¡ O cosa jamas oida !
 Quen los juicios humanos
 Juzgaran ser deste hecho
 Mas que de amigo, contrario ;
 Y que las obras de Bráhim
 Es cierto que se trocaron
 En descuidados servicios
 De su Señor olvidado.
 ¡ O trascendencias humanas,
 Juicios torpes y baxos,
 Consideraciones tristes
 Que no os levantais mas alto !
 Quan lexos sois del compas,
 Como os apartais del blanco
 Dó tira el Piadoso Rey
 Con su amor, gracia y amparo !
 Consideren los mortales
 Que no puede haber descanso
 Perdurable, aunque sea
 Granjeado con trabajos.
 ¡ O piadoso y gran Señor,
 Si acaso dan esos lazos¹
 Nuestros baxos pensamientos,
 Mira que somos criados
 De materia dó se encierran
 Quatro grandes adversarios ;
 Y no es mucho que desbarre
 Nuestro fragil ser liviano,
 En tan ocultos misterios,
 Como al presente voy contando.
 Pues quando ya el buen Bráhim
 Vió patente el desengaño
 De lo que las quatro noches
 Habia sido revelado ;
 Imagine un buen sentido,
 Un pecho sincero y blando,
 En un tan hirviente amor
 Un tan preciso mandado.
 No pudiendo reposar,
 Maginando y sollozando,
 Deshecho en lagrimas vivas
 Tomó á su hijo en sus brazos :

En la frente lo besaba,
 Entre los ojos y labios,
 Y con lagrimas ardientes
 Toda su cara bañando,
 No le dexaba dormir,
 Siempre lo tenia apretado
 Á sus pechos, quel amor
 No le daba mas espacio,
 Aunque lo disimulaba ;
 Por que tenia á su lado
 Á Hechara la piadosa
 Madre dél que está besando ;
 Por no darle con tal nueva,
 Tan grande pena y quebranto.
 No pudo ser tan secreto
 Que no lo sintiese, y quando
 Vió tan grande sentimiento
 Y un amor tan demasiado,
 Dixó á Bráhim : “ ques esto
 Que tan desasosogado
 Te siento toda esta noche,
 Que no duermes sollozando,
 Y á Ismael, mi caro hijo
 Lo tienes tan fatigado
 Que no lo dexas dormir,
 Ques la causa deste caso ? ”
 “ No es otra cosa, responde
 Ibráhim disimulado,
 Si no que remueve y crece
 Este amor tan levantado
 Cada momento en mi hijo :
 No puedo disimularlo.
 Pues quando amanezca el dia,
 Advierte esto que te encargo,
 Adrezarás á mi hijo
 Con adrezos muy preciados :
 Ropas limpias y olorosas,
 Nuevas y de paño blanco,
 Y lavarle-has la cabeza
 Con olores almizcados :
 Yo lo llevaré conmigo
 Donde haga el holocausto.”
 Esto dixó el buen Bráhim,
 Dando fin á lo hablado :
 Con un profundo suspiro ;
 Casi el corazon arrancado,
 Y como su gran conduelma
 Le desasosiega tanto,

¹ Dan en esos lazos, P.

Qual la madre que le quitan
 El hijo de su regazo,
 Quel mundo es lugar pequeño
 Para su pecho inflamado.
 Asi deste modo estaba
 Este justo agonizando,
 Sobre su cama no coje,
 Como es lugar de regalo ;
 Y asi se levanta y luego
 Sobre la tierra azaxdado,
 Dixó estas breves razones
 A su Señor invocando :
 ¡ O Señor, tú que criaste
 Con tu poderosa mano
 Mi corazon de esta carne
 Que repugna tu mandado,
 Suplico á tu alta bondad
 Permitas sean compasados
 Todos mis cinco sentidos,
 Sin que haya contrario bando ;
 Que hagan un bulto todos
 A ti solo encaminado,
 Y tu gran misericordia
 Decrete en un ser tan santo
 Que mi flaqueza convenga
 A tu soberano aplasmo.”
 Mientras Bráhim andaba
 Con su Señor razonando,
 La Real princesa andaba
 Cumpliendo lo encomendado :
 Despertó al mancebo tierno
 Con muchos besos y abrazos,
 Y le lavó la cabeza
 Como le fué encomendado
 Con olorisimas aguas

Convinientes a tal caso,
 Alcanfor y mespolera
 Echó en ella, quera usado
 Aquel tiempo estas especies
 En los oleos sagrados ;
 Y como el buen hijo viese
 Aquel tan nuevo aparato,
 Le dixó “ ; ó amada madre
 Ques esto que me has lavado
 Mi cabeza con las aguas
 Que lavan á los finados !”
 Respondió la gran Princesa :
 “ Hijo, asi me lo ha mandado
 Tu padre, y pues él lo manda
 Es justo lo obedezcamos.”
 Quando Ismael fué vestido
 Con los adrezos nombrados,
 Del sol quitaba la lumbre
 Su rostro glorificado.
 Entre tanto tomó Bráhim
 Un puñal disimulado,
 Quen un arca lo tenia
 Agudo y muy amolado,
 Y pusoselo en la cinta
 En su siniestro costado.
 Dixó Hechara : “ ya Bráhim,
 Toma provision y quando
 Mi hijo tuviere hambre,
 Darle has coma un bocado,
 Y darle has de beber
 Quando lo veas desecado ;
 Y quando el dolor le aquexe
 Con este cendal preciado,
 Le cubriras la cabeza
 Y el Señor sea en vuestro amparo.”

CANTO QUINTO DE LA YSTORIA TERCERA DE BRAHIM ALEHISALEM.

Con el debido aparato
 Que á su jornada convino,
 Al Señor encomendado,
 Y habiendose despedido
 De Hechara la piadosa,
 Como atras habemos dicho ;
 Con su hijo de la mano,
 Floreciente, hermoso y lindo,
 Camina el justo Bráhim
 A cumplir su sacrificio.
 Lastimado va el buen viejo,

Considerando en su hijo
 Los bellos miembros tan tiernos,
 En el tiempo mas florido,
 Su cara resplandeciente
 Con la luz del escogido ;
 Y por que en su propias manos
 Habia de ser homicido,
 Y por que no le quedaba
 Otro ningun hijo vivo.
 Estas consideraciones
 Lo llevan tan aflijido,

Quel corazon se le arranca
 Con mil profundos sospiros,
 Y para que estas congoxas
 No le apreten tan contino,
 Y aquella pella de acibar
 Mezcla con algun alivio
 Quiso el Señor enseñarle
 Un misterio en su camino;
 Y quando mas descuidado
 De semejante prodigio,
 Abrenle las siete tierras
 Sus centros mas escondidos,
 Por do pudo ver Ibráhim
 Los mas profundos abismos
 Sobre las cuevas de un pez,
 Y aquel asentado y fixo
 Sobre las cuevas de un toro.
 Alargó la vista y vidó
 El toro sobre los ayres,
 Y todo lo sobre dicho
 Sobre una laguna de agua,
 Cosa que aboba el sentido.
 De aqui consideró Bráhim
 El supremo poderio,
 Y como no hay á sus hechos
 Rastro, camino ni tino;
 Quedando de toda duda
 Satishecho y destorcido,
 Firme, seguro y costante
 En su holocausto emprendido.
 Andando de esta manera
 Como láxaitan maldito
 Siempre há sido declarado
 Al hombre por enemigo,
 Y su intento es deshacer
 Lo que aplace al Rey divino;
 Para estorbar este hecho
 Con sus embustes malinos,
 Se le presentó en figura
 De un viejo cano y le dixo:
 "A donde llevas Ibráhim
 A degollar á tu hijo?
 Mira quieres engañado
 Del Ibliz y su artificio,
 Y no es mandado de Dios
 Lo que en tus sueños has visto."
 Ibráhim que conoció
 La razon del perro inico:
 "Aparta de mi, le dice,

Apedreado enemigo,
 Que no serás poderoso
 Para estorbar mi designio."
 Con esto se fué el traidor
 Menospreciado y corrido,
 Como vió que fué envacio }
 Su traza falsa y traidora: }
 Y luego, sin partir mano,
 A Ismael se ha parecido,
 Diciendo como te lleva
 Tu padre con tal destino,
 A degollarte mancebo,
 Engañado y decebido?"
 Dixó Ismael: "no hubo padre
 Que degollase á su hijo,
 Sin derecho de justicia:
 No lleva razon tu dicho."
 Replicó el Ebliz; ó mancebo!
 Dice tu padre que ha sido
 Quatro noches avisado,
 Para lo que en sacrificio
 Te deguelle; ó triste joven!
 Solo en verte me lastimo."
 Respondióle el buen mancebo:
 "Pues si el Señor se lo ha dicho,
 Justo es que mi padre cumpla
 Precepto tan justo y digno;
 Y pues con mi se contenta
 Yo lo apruevo y lo confirmo."
 Apartóse el axaitan,
 Como vió que fué en vacio
 Su traza falsa y traidora.
 Ismael con gran sentido
 Lloraba por las razones
 Quel falso viejo le dixó,
 Y mirando á él su buen padre
 Le pregunta; que has tenido
 Que lloras, dime que tienes,
 Consuelo de mis sospiros?
 Dice Ismael; "ó mi padre
 Aquel viejo me ha advertido
 Que me llevas á matar
 Y aquesto me ha entristecido."
 "Enxuga tus tristes ojos,
 Hijo que cierto ha mentido
 El falso viejo: no llores,
 Yo soy tu guarda y tu abrigo."
 Consolóse el buen Ismael;
 Luego el Ebliz sobrevinó,

¹ Variante.

Vuelto en figura de un ave
 Y con las uñas y el pico
 Esbolutrando¹ sus plumas
 Con semblante entristecido,
 Diciendo: "ó triste mancebo!
 A tal desdicha traído
 Que has de morir degollado
 Por el padre que te hizo!"
 ¡O'ave! dixó Ismael
 Por ventura nunca has visto
 Padre que á su hijo mate
 Sin merecer el castigo."
 Replicó el ave maldita:
 "Sabe que tu padre ha dicho
 Que se lo mandó el Señor."
 "Pues si eso es así, yo digo
 Que soy muy contento dello,
 Y por merced lo recibo."
 Y vuelto á su amado padre,
 Le dice: "ya habrás oído
 Lo que nos propuso el viejo
 Y esta ave dice lo mismo."
 "Sabe, hijo, que en las aves
 Hay gran secreto escondido,
 Que hay falsas como en las gentes
 Que ya Dios así lo quisó."
 El enemigo de Alláh
 Quen los pasados enristros
 Cayó por tierra su astucia,
 Su fuerza y poder rendido,
 En lo mas alto del monte
 La quarta vez ha emprendido
 A tender sus falsos lazos,
 Pensando acertar el tiro;
 Y á modo de eco decia
 Puesto en el monte escondido:
 ¡O' triste de tí mancebo!
 ¡O' joven tierno y mezquino!
 Como seras degollado
 Hoy en este punto mismo,
 Y derramaras tu sangre
 En este monte do has sido
 Traído á tu sepultura,
 Do quedarás escondido,
 Y no verás á tu madre
 Hata el dia del juicio:"
 Izmael muy lastimado,
 Viendose ya acoseguido
 Y casi escandalizado

De aquellos falsos avisos,
 Dixó á su padre llorando:
 ¡O' mi buen padre! si ha sido
 Falso lo que dixo el viejo,
 El ave no habrá mentido
 Y si es quel ave mintió
 En las razones que dixó,
 Como mentirán los montes
 Que son constantes y fijos?"
 En esto ya iban llegando
 Al cabo de su camino,
 Sobre la cumbre del monte
 Y como arriba se vido,
 Casi vomitando el alma
 A vuelta de mil suspiros,
 El muy lastimado padre
 Así responde á su hijo:
 "Has de saber, hijo amado,
 Que quatro noches me ha sido
 En mi sueño revelado
 Un llamador que me dixo:
 Que Alláh el alto y poderoso
 Quiere, manda y es servido,
 Quen su alcorben te deguelle
 Y quel dia del juicio
 Adelantará este hecho
 Sobre los que son y han sido.
 Mira tú, que te parece
 Que haga en este partido,
 De manera que no falte
 A lo que me está pedido."
 Quando el hermoso mancebo
 Que tuvó atento el oído,
 Vió patente el desengaño
 Del cuidado con que vino,
 Apretósele el temor
 De la muerte, que aunque quiso
 Esforzar su edad tan tierna,
 Al fin es muchacho y niño.
 Mirando á su viejo padre,
 Le dice: "padre querido,
 Por que no me lo advertias
 Y hubierame despedido
 De mi madre, la piadosa,
 Y della hubiera recibido
 La postrera bendicion
 En este presente siglo?
 Hubieramele humillado
 Y mi cabeza metido

¹ Esbolotraba, P.

Debaxo sus pies, pidiendo
 Perdon, si le habia ofendido;
 Alcanzara su Salem,
 Antes de haberme partido
 Mi alma deste mi cuerpo,
 Y á mi seria grande alivio.”
 “Nunca te oes decir nada,
 Temiendo lo hubieras dicho
 A tu madre, que sin duda
 Luego me lo hubiera impedido
 La venida, por do hubiera
 Faltado yo en mi servicio.”
 “Cumple, buen padre, el mandado
 Del Señor engrandecido,”
 Dixó Ismael, “obedece
 Ese precepto divino,
 Que yo contento y pagado
 Obedezco el sacrificio:
 Y pues al piadoso Señor
 Con esta miseria sirvo,
 Allegate, padre amado,
 Ante mi, si eres servido,
 Daré paz entre tus ojos;
 Y pues que ya me despió
 De su vista, serán ellos
 Los verdaderos testigos,
 Como, paciente cordero
 El humilde cuello inclino
 Al sacrificio en tus manos,
 Al Señor en su servicio.
 Suplicote, amado padre,
 Pues no hay que dar desvío
 En este caso presente,
 Muestra tu valor altivo,
 Y tu corazon tan tierno
 Esté duro empedernido,
 Desnudado de piedad,
 Qual si no fuera tu hijo;
 Que dó la piedad no cabe
 Al piadoso, es enemigo.
 Ata mis manos primero
 Con un nudo fuerte y fixo,
 Para que no se desmanden
 Quando apretes el cuchillo:
 Ten cuenta, padre piadoso,
 No se tinten tus vestidos
 Con las gotas de mi sangre,
 Por que te seran teñidos.
 Rezentará¹ cada hora

Este paso entristecido,
 Y si mi madre los ve
 Advierte, padre querido,
 Que recibirá cada hora
 Crudo acibar de contino;
 Consolarlas, padre amado,
 Y de mi parte suplico
 Que le des el asalem;
 Y pues Alláh lo ha querido
 Darle un hijo con el qual
 Se contenta y es servido,
 Dale gracias quen su vientre
 Tal fruto se ha concebido.
 ¡O mi buen padre! yo temo
 Que al tiempo quel crudo hilo
 Atraviase mi garganta,
 Con los amargos gemidos
 Se descompongan mis lados,
 Y te den algun fastidio;
 Que al fin son de tierna carne,
 De fragil metal vestidos,
 Y con esto sea manchado
 Este mi hecho subido.
 ¡O padre, no te acongoces,
 Preta en el puño el cuchillo,
 Por que con mas brevedad
 Haga el oficio debido:
 No tengas piedad de mi,
 Y si acaso te lastimo,
 Cubre mi cara y mis ojos
 Con la toca que he traído:
 Y quando yo fuere muerto,
 Sepulta mi cuerpo frio,
 Y mira que me amortajes
 Con estos vestidos mismos,
 Y esta aljuba que me pusó
 Mi madre, quando partimos;
 Se la vuelve ante sus ojos
 Que le cause algun alivio,
 Y le sirva de consuelo
 En la ausencia de su hijo.”
 Viendo Bráhim la constancia,
 Y un ser tan sincero y limpio
 En aquella edad tan tierna,
 Y aquel animoso brio
 Con que su hijo se esfuerza
 Al presentado martirio;
 Por una parte miraba
 Aquel agudo cuchillo,

¹ Renovará.

Con que há de cortar las venas
De aquel inocente niño,
Que sus entrañas le razgan
Aquellos cortantes hilos;
Por otra parte le anima
El conuerto¹ de su hijo
Con que á la muerte se apresta,
Sin dolerse de si mismo.
Y ansi, sin mas dilatarlo
Se apareja á lo ofrecido,
Sentó su fardaje en tierra,
Quera una ropa de rizo

Y un vellon de piel de gamo,
Dentro del qual de contino
Llevaba la provision,
Visitando sus exidos.
Y hizó sus reverencias
De zalá para principio;
Aguardó quel sol alumbra
Todo el mundo, ya esparcidos
Sus muy relumbrantes rayos,
Para que fuesen testigos
De su hecho, y ante Alláh
Estando azaxdado, dixó.

ORACION.

Alabente, gran Señor,
Tus angelicos spiritus,
Y tus altas yerarquias
Con sus entonados hymnos,
Que jamas dieron trabes
Tus hechos altos y limpios,
Ni se adelantó tu saña
Jamás á ningun nacido.
Mas segura es tu promesa
Que tus alarjes los fitos,
Nunca tardó tu socorro,
Siempre tu grande amorio
Nos acompaña, y tu gracia
Descolgada de contino
Está entre tus halecados
En mirar nuestros destinos.
No hay ningun por qué ni como
Á tus secretos juicios:
Todo es seguro y estable,
Todo inmisible y finito.
Señor, yo estoy en el punto
De lo que tú eres servido:
Suplico á tu gran bondad
Me alumbres, que sea cumplido
Mi fecho sin denostanza,
Y á tu voluntad propicio,
No por mis azaxdamientos,
Sino por el amorio
Que adelantaste á nosotros
Y aquel arrahmoso amplio
Que decendiste sobre Edam;
Y por el gran beneficio
Que asignaste sobre Noh

Por su hecho tan subido;
Y por los debidos deudos
Que nos has adeudecido;
Recibe, Rey piadoso,
Este alcorben dirigido
Á tu divina obidencia
Con la fe que va ofrecido.
Y tú sol y blanca luna
Con todos los serafines
De los alarjicos tronos
Serán desto los testigos;
Y á ti serafin hermoso,
Fiel Chebril, te ruego y pido
Que seas allohador
Deste hecho que acosigo
Á la divina obidencia
Del Señor engrandecido.

Acabada la oracion,
Tomó al mancebo escogido
Y echólo sobre la tierra
Y luego apresta el cuchillo
Sobre la tierna garganta
Con un valor muy crecido
Diciendo: bismi yllahi,
Alláh hu aqbar, ye adimu!
En este punto temblaron
Las tierras con sus abismos,
Y tremolaron los cielos,
Las mares, fuentes y rios;
Los almalaques lloraban
De gran lastima movidos,
Los delfines espantados
Allá en su centro escondidos,

¹ Concierto.

Las aves iban chirlando,
 Las fieras daban aullidos ;
 Los axaitanes huían
 Afrentados y corridos,
 Viendo el grande sufrimiento,
 Y de que no habían podido
 Estorbar la obra perfecta
 Con sus falsos maleficios.
 Que haría el justo padre
 Cuando á su hijo tendido
 Lo tuvó, y el puñal tenía
 Mas diligente que tibio ?
 Quatro congoxas á una,
 Segun el divino escrito,
 Le apretan el corazon,
 Mas que cera enternecido ;
 Que cada qual por su parte
 Era bastante á rendillo ;
 Sino estuviera sobrel
 La mano dél que lo hizó.
 La una es ver que deguella
 A su unigenito hijo.
 Sin macula de porque
 Que lo hubiese merecido :
 La otra, el amargo trago
 De los acerados filos,
 De aquel sentir, quando pasen
 Aquel inocente niño :
 La tercera, que le aquexa
 El sentimiento excesivo
 De su madre, quando entienda
 La muerte de su querido :
 La quarta es ver que no puede
 Dar a su hijo desvio
 De aquel mandamiento eterno
 Que por fuerza ha de cumplirlo.
 ¡ Brava lucha de contrarios
 Tuvó este siervo bendito,
 Y al fin con su gran constancia
 Todos quedaron rendidos !
 Pasa con furia el puñal
 Una vez, y no ha podido
 Cortar el delgado cuero
 Del cuello tierno y rendido ;
 Y fué que los almalaques

Embozaron el cuchillo,
 Dando al Señor piadoso
 Grandes voces y apellidos :
 O' Señor, que ante tus ojos,
 Estan estos dos amigos,
 Quentre todas las naciones
 Han sido por ti escogidos !
 Ten misericordia dellos,
 Pues ya tienes conocido
 Su intento, habe piedad
 Del mancebo tierno y niño.”
 Dixó Alláh á sus almalaques ;
 “ Todo lo veo y lo asigno,
 Si me pedirán socorro
 En su afijido conflicto
 Yo los libraré, que soy
 Sobre todos piadosisimo.”
 Volvio segunda vegada
 Y aunque con rigor crecido
 Apretó el puñal Ibráhim,
 El golpe quedó en vacio.
 Dixó Ismael ; “ O' mi padre !
 “ Do está tu valor altivo
 Que tan trocado lo veo
 De aquello que siempre ha sido ?
 Despide el cobarde miedo
 Y si se embotan los hilos
 Del puñal, hiere de punta :
 Apreta el brazo temido
 Que atravesese mi garganta
 Sin ser á piedad movido ;
 Acelera el mandamiento,
 Da pesar á tu enemigo
 El axaitam, que te impide
 Intento tan santo y pio.”
 Prueba Bráhim de aquel modo
 Con fuerza, mas aunque quis
 Trávesar la aguda punta,
 Pensando cortar el hilo,
 Y acabar en aquel golpe
 Su gueso, mas no ha podido
 Herille, ni sacar sangre,
 Y en el punto questo vidó,
 Ismael arrodillado,
 Estas palabras ha dicho.

ROGATIVA.

¡ O mi Señor ! tú que vives
 En el siglo de los siglos,

Sin darte enojo ni pena
 Tus alarjes ni alcorcies,¹

¹ کرمی و عرش troncos de la Divina Magestad.

Apiada mi niñez
 Y mi infancia y mocedad,
 También á la ancianidad
 De mi padre y vejez:
 Da de mi fecho esta vez
 Tal salida y muy buen corte
 Para descanso y conorte¹
 Pues eres justo juez;
 Pues solo con tu querer
 Seré libre de aflicción,
 Claro sabes mi intención,
 Lo que soy y puedo ser:
 Habe piedad de las canas
 De mi padre el afijido;
 No menosprecies mi hecho
 De manera quel maldito
 Axaitan tenga vitoria,
 Y yo quede descaído:
 Que tú eres el poderoso
 Vencedor, nunca vencido."

Acabada su oracion
 Con ánimo nunca visto
 Volvió á inclinar el cuello:
 "Delibera padre," dixó.
 Probó la quarta jornada.
 A herir, y fué impidido
 Por que le detavó el braze
 El fiel Chebril, descendido
 Por mandado del Rey alto,
 Y él que traia consigo
 Un carnero hermoso y grueso,
 Criado en el parayso,
 Del Firdanz, el mas alto
 De todos los paraysos.
 Tomóle Chebril del brazo
 Y dixóle: "buen amigo
 Dexa el mancobo glorioso,
 Librale que ya es cumplido
 Su alcorben, y en su rescate
 Toma ese carnero escogido
 Por manos de tu Señor:
 Y este será el sacrificio.
 Que de ti ya está contento
 Y de tu hijo asi mismo."
 Muy contente el buen Ibráhim,
 Desató su amado hijo,
 Y degolló aquel carnero,
 Quel fiel Chebril ha traído,

¹ Consuelo.

Y comieron de su carne;
 De donde tomó principio
 El prez de las adaheas,²
 Asunado y referido
 Por nuestro honrrado annabi
 Y sus sihabes los limpios.
 Y descendiendo del monte,
 Toman apriessa el camino
 De la Ciudad, muy alegres
 De su caso sucedido.
 Ya toparon á su madre
 Que con cuidado ha salido
 A recibir á los dos;
 Y como venir los vidó,
 Abrazó á su hijo Ismael
 Y lo besó en los carrillos;
 Y ellos le dieron la nueva
 De aquello que ha sucedido,
 De lo qual quedó espantada,
 Y aunque á su hijo consigo
 Lo tenia, siempre estuvó
 Con el recelo grandisimo:
 Jamas pudo asegurarse
 Hasta quel angel le dixó
 Que de su hijo saldrían
 Varones santos y limpios,
 Generaciones sin cuento,
 De donde seria nacido
 El gran caudillo Muhamad
 De los profetas el sillo:
 Por cuyo amor crió Alláh
 Las tierras, mares y rios,
 El cielo con sus lanternas,
 Angeles, plantas y signos.
 Con esto la gran princesa
 Se consoló y satisfizó,
 Loando al Señor del cielo
 Que tal bien le ha concedido;
 Y en memoria deste hecho,
 La ora de aquel cilicio
 Santificó el buen Ibráhim
 Con dos aracas contino
 De azala, que los creyentes
 Muchos las han mantenido,
 Aquel mesmo punto y hora,
 Que fué quando el sol salido
 Se esparce por todo el mundo
 Y es adoha su apellido;

² ضحية dahiat, sacrificio.

Y por las quatro congojas
Que al tiempo del sacrificio
Se le juntaron á una,
El buen patriarca hizó
Quatro racas de azala,
Mostrandose agradecido
Al Señor que los libró
De aquellos quatro castigos.
Fué al punto de medio dia

Quando estas racas hizó,
Por que el alcorben duró
Desde quel sol fué esparcido
Hasta que estuvo en su cumbre ;
De donde tomó principio
El alto azalá del dohar ;¹
Y nos quedó aduendecido
Solo el dim de Muhamad
Por su grande beneficio.

CUENTASE EN ESTE CANTO LA LINEA DE YZHAQ,
PATRON DE LOS JUDIOS Y CRISTIANOS, Y EL
ASIENTO DEL PUEBLO DE YZRAEL, Y LOS GRANDES
HECHOS DE LOS ANABIES QUE DE AQUI PROCE-
DIERON HASTA YCE ALEHISALEM, Y LAS VENTAJAS
QUE DE CADA UNO DE ELLOS HEREDAMOS QUE FUÉ
EL PRINCIPAL MOTIVO DE HACER ESTE LIBRO, POR
QUE HABIA MUCHOS YGNORANTES DELLOS.

Despues del gran sacrificio,
Siendo ya muy vieja Sara,
Y viviendo siempre, Bráhim
En los limites de Arabia ;
Siendo de edad de cien años,
Y Sara en noventa, estaba
De concebir ningun hijo
Del todo disfnizada ;
Por que conforme á naturaleza,
Era ya privilegiada,
Esteril por todas partes
Por su ancianidad cansada.
Y como solo Alláh sabe
Destos secretos la causa,
Y él á si solo se entiende,
Su saber á toda basta ;
Baxó Chebril, y le dixo
Que se habia de hacer preñada
De un hijo, y ello riendo
Dixó como que burlaba,
“ Reir me hace tu diobo
Con esa nueva embaxada,
Y quien me viese parir
Al cabo de mi jornada
Y tener hijo á mis pechos,
Siendo tan vieja y tan lacia.”
Dixó el angel : “ ese nombre
Llevará el hijo que paras,
Risa será su apellido,

Y advierte, dueña preciaa,
Quen su gran genealogia
Habrà gente justa y santa ;
Empero habrà gente inica,
Torpe, perfida, yerrada,²
Y ansi como tú has burlado
De la divina palabra ;
Serán por Luzbel burlados
Tu descendiente prosapia.”
Con esto se fué Chebril
Y ella salió de su casa,
En busca de su marido,
Alegre y regocijada,
Para pedir las albricioas,
Quel angel le denunciaba,
Que Alláh le ofrecia un hijo
Para regalo á su casa.
Tenia Bráhim en sus brazos
A Ismael que tanto amaba,
Y respondió á su muger :
¡ Este viva³ ante mi cara !
Dando á entender que aquel solo
Era el que mas estimaba,
Y quel tener otro hijo
Ya casi dificultaba.
Cumplidos los nueve meses,
Parió un hijo, y le llamaban
Yzhaq : quiere decir risa
Como el angel albriciaba.

¹ ٤٥٠ medio dia.

² Y honrada, variante.

³ Estas tibia, variante.

Este Yzhaq fue el patron
 De los de Baniseraila,
 Que fué el pueblo de Isrrael,
 Gente de Dios muy honrrada.
 Este casó con Rebeca,
 Hebrea y de buena casta,
 La qual criado Batuel
 Presentó las arracadas :
 Tuvó por hijo á Yacub,
 Ques él que de una ventrada
 Se engendró con Esau,
 Y en el vientre pedenciaba
 Por qual naceria el primero ;
 Pero este se adelantaba
 Al nacer, y tras de si
 Yacub asido á su planta,
 Al fin le quitó la suerte
 Del nacer por su arrogancia ;
 Pero Yacub le quitó
 La bendicion y la gracia.
 Este Yacub fué hombre justo
 Y casó en Mesopotamia
 Con dos hijas de su tio
 Laban, y otras dos criadas,
 De suerte que fueron quatro
 Sus mugeres adotadas,¹
 Donde tuvó doce hijos,
 Annabies de gran fama,
 Que hiereron doce linajes,
 Doce tribus, doce casas,
 De dó tomaron origen
 Estos de Baniseraila :
 Á donde hubó muchos justos,
 Gente al Señor allegada,
 Y sobre quien fueron hechas
 Muchas mercedes y gracias.
 Tambien como habemos dicho
 Decendió gente albarrana,²
 Sobre quien baxo castigos
 Maldiciones y desgracias :
 De aqui procedió Yusuf
 Que fué justo Patriarca,
 Muse, grande consejero,
 Trajó la ley de las tablas ;
 Eron fue hermano de aquel,³
 Que le ayudó á publicarlas.

Josué, el capitan famoso
 Á quien la lid fué entregada ;
 Deud con el azabor,⁴
 Carta por Alláh firmada ;
 Sulaimen él del anillo
 Con el qual regia y mandaba ;
 Daniel, el de los leones,
 Ynnez, qué! del pez se llama ;
 Zacarias sacerdote,
 Yahie él de la vida santa,
 Joachim que fue Imerem
 Con quien fué casada Ana,
 Padré de Mariem la limpia,
 En el mundo especialada :
 De quien nació el justo Ioe,
 Á quien la gente cristiana
 Adoran en lugar de Dios,
 Ciega, torpe y engañada.
 Volvamos pues al origen
 Á ver en que se empleaba :
 Diremos, aunque de paso
 Sus obras tan señaladas,
 Y tambien lo que la Suna
 Tomó de sus ybantajas
 Que sus obras de estos fueron
 Salvacion de nuestras almas.
 Izhaq, como tengo dicho,
 Fué el primer Patriarca
 De Isrrael, hijo segundo,
 De Bráhim nació y de Sara,
 Fué justo siervo de Alláh :
 Cada dia visitaba
 El sepulcro de su padre
 Tres veces, y veneraba
 El sepulcro de su padre,
 Aquel lugar con gran honrra
 Y salva reverenciada,
 Y el redoble de su esquilmo,
 De sus ganados la lana,
 Á los pobres y acuitados
 En asadaca⁵ los daba.
 Siempre tuvó con su hermano
 Ismael grande alianza, [honrra ;
 Grande hermandad, grande
 Siempre vivieron en gracia.
 Yacob dedico al Señor

¹ Adoptadas, Paris MS.² برانى extranjero.³ Cruel, variante.⁴ زبور los salmos.⁵ صدقة limosna.

Quatro promesas muy raras,
 Que por Caebu alhaber
 Han sido muy alabadas :
 La primera harramó¹
 Sus potages y viandas
 De comerlas, hasta tanto
 De haber hecho dos racas,
 Sobre aquella bendicion
 Que Allah le sustentaba :
 La segunda, no comia
 Hasta que la gente flaca
 Gustaba la provision
 Que para él era guisada :
 La tercera es que tenia
 Tantas misiones guardadas
 Comó los dias del año
 Con juro de no tocarlas,
 Aunque la necesidad
 A tal esmero² lo traiga :
 Con los quales mantenia
 La gente necesitada.
 La quarta es que prometió
 Que jamas seria negada
 El agua de sus aljubes
 A la gente desecada.
 ¡ O justo y grande annabi !
 No en balde se rociaban
 Tus campos verdes floridos !
 Te pudiera dar la palma
 Quien siguió tus grandes hechos
 Tus collados y manadas ;
 Contra la fuerza de un angel
 Y una tan grande constancia.
 Este luchó con Chebril
 Que decendió en forma humana,
 Y asidos á braz partido,
 Duró su contienda brava
 Desde la ora de almagrib³
 Hasta que fué el alba clara,
 Quedando Yacub en pie
 Ynvencible, y con gran fama ;
 De dó pudo colegir
 Como á la nacion de Hagna
 No hay fortaleza que pueda
 Rendilla ni sujetalla.
 Este vió, estando durmiendo,

Desde sus pies una escala
 Que tocaba con el cielo
 Por dó subian y baxaban
 Angeles sin detallarse
 A donde durmiendo estaba.
 Este fué despues de Noh,
 Segun los nauhes declaran
 El que vió mayores hechos
 De todos los patriarcas.
 Yusuf dice el alcoran
 Que vió que se le azaxdaban
 En sueños el sol y luna
 Con once estrellas muy claras.
 Este es el que fué empozado,
 Vendido á gentes estrañas,
 Y despues en almoneda
 Vendido en publica plaza :
 Diez y siete años estuvo
 En carceles algaribas
 Por su beldad perseguido,
 Por su honrra limpia y casta.
 Este dicen que lloró
 En la carcel donde estaba,
 Por que no podia cumplir
 Aquel azala que usaba
 Por aquella hediondez
 Y aquella rudeza tanta,
 Y que para su guado⁴
 Tambien le faltaba el agua :
 A lo qual baxó Chebril
 Y dijo : si el agua falta,
 “ O yusuf ! toma la tierra
 Limpia, y con ella te amaha.”
 De aqui nuestra santa zuna
 Toma el modo y la traza
 Del prez del atayamun,⁵
 Libertad tan necesaria,
 De aqui puedes colegir
 Que jamas hubo desgracia,
 O trabajo que no fuese
 Camino de mas ganancia.
 Este frequentó los ritos
 De Bráhim y su loanza,
 Como la circuncision,
 La quarta y diezma pagaba.
 Restauró los Ysraelitas

¹ حرام prohibió.² Miseria, variante.³ La puesta del sol.⁴ وضوء Purificacion.⁵ التيمم

De aquellas fieras alaidas ;
 Y así el Señor lo ensalzó
 Sobre la gente Egipciana
 Pues vino á señorearles
 A todos de banda á banda,
 Comprados como cautivos
 Sus personas y sus casas.
 Muse fué muy escogido,
 Pues mereció ya la habla
 Del Señor de toda cosa,
 Por su mansedumbre tanta ;
 Y con su divina mano
 Le dió la ley de las tablas
 Sin intervencion de angel
 Que le dixese palabra.
 Este escogido profeta
 Hizó promesas muy altas,
 Por redimir á su pueblo
 De esclavitud tan pesada ;
 Y así los sacó de Egipto
 Por su gran perseveranza,
 A pesar de Faraon.
 Rey tirano é ydolatra ;
 Y hallandose en el mar rojo,
 Hirió sobrel con su vara
 Doce golpes, que rompieron
 Hasta sus centros las aguas,
 Haciendose doce calles
 Derechas, enxutas y anchas,
 Por dó los doce linages
 De Isrrael al punto pasan.
 Y como llegó al desierto,
 Luego les baxó viandas,
 Con lo qual se sustentaron
 Todas aquellas compañías.
 Otras muy grandes proezas
 Hizó este justo en resguarda
 De la honrra y salvacion
 De los de Baniceraila :
 Y jamas fueron contentos,
 Gente ruda y muy ingrata,
 Desconocida, sin fe,
 De dó quedó interpretada
 La cisma de aquel becerro
 Que guardan los de su casta.
 Cuentase de este anabi
 Que saliendo una tardada,
 Huyendo de Faraon

¹ عظم el anocheor.

Y de su indignada saña,
 Se cerró la noche oscura
 Y allí quatro fieras ansias
 Se le juntaron á una,
 Quel corazon le apretaban :
 La una el miedo del Rey,
 La otra el de su compañía,
 Que tanto los oprimia
 Este mal Rey, y quedaban
 Entre ellos su madre triste,
 Ques lo que mas le aquexaba :
 La quarta la escureada
 De la noche, que no osaba
 Andar atras ni adelante,
 No sabiendo que se haga.
 Y en medio esta confuacion
 Hizó aquellas quatro Racas,
 Que hacemos los mualimes
 Y les llamamos alatema ;¹
 Por estas quatro congoxas
 Que á un tiempo se le juntaban :
 De las quales fué guardido
 Y ellas fueron desviadas,
 Quen acabando de hacellas,
 Oyó la voz que le llama
 Del Señor, dandole esfuerzo
 Con el qual se consolaba.
 Yuhai² fué grande caudillo,
 A quien por Alláh fué dada
 La conquista que Moisen
 No pudo ver acabada.
 Este famoso caudillo,
 Dice la escriptura ebraica,
 Que siguiendo una vitoria,
 Viendo que ya declinaba
 El sol, y que no podia
 Aquella tarde acoballa,
 Yendo sobre su caballo
 Hacia las cline se abaja,
 Y arraqueó su cabeza
 Diciendo aquestas palabras :
 ¡ "O Señor de las conquistas !
 Mis fuerzas cortas y flacas
 Aguardan tu poderio
 Sin el qual no pueden nada."
 No dixó mas y en el punto
 Que su cabeza levanta,
 Mandó Alláh quel sol se pare

² Josua.

Hasta que fuese acabada
 La batalla por Josué,
 Llevando vitoria y palma.
 Este fué grande misterio;
 Grande merced, grande gracia,
 Que se detuviese el sol
 Por una rogaria humana.
 Con qué corazon tan limpio
 Con qué sinceras entrañas
 Debía decir este justo
 Aquellas breves palabras.
 Todo esto va encaminado
 A que Alláh nos dé enseñanzas,
 Que á nuestra halecacion
 Todo se humilla y se acata.
 David, el real profeta,
 Tuvó grandes ventajas.
 Despues que venció á Goliás,
 Siendo mozueto sin barbas,
 Hizó una dedicacion
 Muy solida y muy estraña,
 Que dedicó á su Señor
 Dos aracas ordinarias,
 Al punto quel sol salia,
 Y quando se declinaba,
 Cosa de gran vigilancia,
 Que no habia tiempo seguro
 En las salidas y entradas
 De la luna noche y dia,
 A todas las horas llama.
 Muchas mas dedicaciones
 Hizó de grande importancia,
 Y todas las sustentó
 Sin ninguna discrepancia.
 Y despues de su rescalo¹
 Fué su penitencia tanta
 Que sobrepujó á la edad
 Y nunca se dilataba,
 Si Chebril no le dixera
 Que paresce en alcafara.
 Despues hizó ante el Señor,
 Tan perfectas alabanzas,
 Que han servido de dechado
 Del mundo aquellas pigranas.
 Quareinta años duró
 Su penitencia tan aspera,
 A mas de quareinta dias
 Que creció su grande alaida.

¹ Pecado.

Vinó su real presencia
 A ser tan debilitada,
 Quel bulto de su persona
 Casi se disfiguraba.
 De aqui nos queda el amaho
 De las limpias alcafaras
 Y buenas apenitencias,
 Pobladoras del alchana.
 ¡ O justo y real profeta,
 Quanto provecho y ganancia
 Resueltó de tu destino,
 Y quantas eternas llagas
 Con la tuya se han curado,
 Y aun han lavado sus manchas !
 Quantos á la horrible pena
 Tienen vueltas las espaldas,
 Que hubieran quedado enmedio
 Si dexaran tu imitanza !
 No en vano te dió el Señor
 De tu asperera tal paga ;
 Que no solo tu rescalo
 Y tus homicidas faltas
 Perdonó, mas quiso hacerte
 Otras mercedes tan anchas,
 Que de tu mismo rescalo,
 De tu carnal distinanza,
 Naciese el gran Sulaimen.
 Errada bien acertada,
 Bien aventurado Rey ;
 Torpeza bien empleada
 Que engendró tal criatura
 Tan pura, tan justa y santa.
 Sulaimen, hijo de David,
 Fué Rey desplendidas gracias,
 Pues de los cielos abaxó
 Mandaba y señoreaba,
 Personas, alkines² y aves
 Vientos nubes y alimañas,
 Y á todas las cosas tuvó
 Saber para gobernallas.
 Cuya sujecion pendia
 De una sortija dó estaba
 En triangulo eculpida
 Sus palabras de alabanza,
 Alhamdu lillahi decia,
 Y en la tercera estampada
 Estaba Alláh hu aqbar,
 Escritas en lengua Ebraica :

² الجن *spiritus.*

Con quien sus Reynos regia
 En paz quieta y sosegada.
 Deste gran Rey Sulaimen
 Cuenta el annabi Muhamad
 Que fué tan sin igual su Reyno,
 Y tan sin par fué su gracia,
 Tanta su sabiduria,
 Su riqueza tan sobrada,
 Que se hermanó con el mundo
 Hizó con el su alianza,
 Ques gran reclamo de pompas
 Y de ambiciones hinchadas ;
 Y como nunca el Señor
 De tales cosas se apaga
 Y quiere que conozcamos
 De sus arizques, mañana
 Fué servido de quitarle
 El Reyno con que se honrraba,
 Y darle en lugar de aquel
 Probeza menguada y baxa.
 Solia este Rey quitarse
 El anillo quando entraba
 A servir á su Señor
 Y á una doncella lo daba
 Que se lo guardase en tanto
 Que á su Señor se allegaba.
 Y como tenia sujeta
 Aquella fiera canalla
 De los falsos axaitanes,
 Lo quellos abominaban,
 Siempre andaban revolviendo
 Mil enredos y mil trazas,
 Por do poderse librar
 De subjecion tan pesada :
 Uno destes enemigos
 Que Hariço se llamaba,
 Engaño aquella Doncella
 Quel anillo tenia en guarda,
 Pídele que se lo diese
 Y en la mar mas apretada
 Lo hundió, y le tragó un pez ;
 Y al tiempo quel Rey demanda
 Su sortija á la doncella,
 Respondió con voz turbada
 Que ya se lo habia dado,
 Y dixóle las palabras
 Con que se lo habia dado,
 Quera el termino que usaba,

Y con los mismos vestidos
 Que su persona arreaba.
 Luego el buen Rey concio
 Que sobrel era la saña
 De su Señor y que aquella
 Sin duda era reprobanza.
 Estuvó ansi y en el punto
 Que fué la noche llegada
 Se quitó el Real vestido
 Y con unas ropas baxas,
 Con un baculo en sus manos
 Dando al Señor alabanzas
 Se salió de su palacio
 Gimiendo sus culpas tantas.
 Anduvó asi como pobre
 Por tierras muy arredradas
 Menoscabado y corrido,
 Su persona avergonzada ;
 Vinó á tan grande pobreza,
 Y á ser tan menospreciada
 Su persona, que los pobres
 De andar con el se apartaban
 Diciendo que por el solo
 Limosna nadi les daba.
 Quareinta dias y noches
 Andó sin gustar vianda
 Sustentando su persona
 De la gracia soberana,
 Hasta que Allah fué servido
 Quen esta peregrinanza
 Le dió el Senor en riqueza
 Una muger ydolatra
 Hija del Rey, que á pesar
 De su padre fué casada,
 Y la batio del palacio
 Desnuda y muy afrentada :
 Hallaronse los dos juntos
 Junto al mar donde pescaban
 Unos pobres pescadores,
 Y les dieron en asadaca¹
 Dos pezes y en el menor
 Halló su Joya preciada ;
 Y besando aquellas letras
 Que el anillo rodeaban,
 Dando gracias á Allah
 Que á su dedo lo tornaba ;
 Y en aquel mismo momento
 Todas las cosas criadas

¹ Limosna.

Le prestaban obidencia
 Como de antes se la daban,
 Y descendiendo una nube
 Se ponen y en ella marchan
 El y su amada muger
 A su ciudad deseada.
 Despues desto baxó el angel
 Con que su Señor le manda
 Edifique aquel gran templo
 Que se llama casa Santa,
 Digo baitu almaqdz,¹
 Obra insigne y muy preciada,
 A quien todas las Naciones
 Veneran, honrran y acatan.
 Daniel fué justo profeta,
 Fué el que liberto á su saña,
 Quando estuvo en Babilonia,
 Cautivo por Bultunasar.
 Este fué aquel Rey Dario,
 A petición de sus satrapas,
 Le puso en un fiero silo,
 Entre siete fieras bravas,
 Quen tres dias no les dieron
 De comer, por que su rabia
 La saciasen en Daniel;
 Mas él como confiaba
 En el poder de su Dios,
 Con grande consuelo baxa
 Al lago de los leones:
 Con grande amor se le halagan.
 Dia y medio estuvo allí,
 Y quando fué á la mañana,
 Fueron el Rey y su gente,
 Aquellos que le acusaban;
 Pensando hallarlo comido,
 Muy alegre se mostraba.
 Como el Rey llegó á la cueva
 Del silo á voces le llama,
 Diciendo con gran dolor,
 Por que en extremo le amaba:
 ¡A Daniel! ha-te librado
 Tu Dios, en quien confiabas?
 Luego respondió Daniel
 ¡O Rey! vivas vida larga,
 Vivo estoy, sano y entero,
 Sin cosa que mal me haga.
 Mi Dios en quien yo confio,
 Viendo sin culpa mi causa,

Mandó descendiese un angel
 Y puso su grande amparo,
 Y detuvo á los leones
 Con su divina palabra.
 El Rey con grande contento
 Lo sacó, y con muy gran saña
 A los satrapas malditos
 Dentro del silo los lanza,
 Con que saciaron su hambre
 Las sangrientas alimañas.
 Fué este hecho tan notable
 Y tan publica esta hazaña,
 Y tan grande este milagro
 Que les dió á su compañia²
 Y á los demas de su Reyno
 Luego les escribe y manda
 Que ádorasen al Señor
 A quien Daniel adoraba.
 Otra vez por el Rey Ciro
 De Media, con furia y saña,
 Lo lanzaron en el lago
 Donde estuvo una semana,
 Con siete leones fieros,
 Y la boca bien cerrada.
 Alláh mandó que Bacub³
 El almuerzo que llevaba
 A sus peones lo lleve,
 Y en solo alzar las pestañas
 Atravesó tantas leguas,
 Por que el angel lo llevaba;
 Y en llegando al fiero silo
 Luego les dió la vianda,
 Y el se volvió á sus peones,
 Sin perder solo una dara
 De tiempo; y quando vinieron
 El Rey y su gente mala
 A ver si era comido,
 El justo Daniel levanta
 La piedra de la ancha boca,
 Y vieronle como estaba,
 Dando pan á los leones
 Como si él se los criara.
 El Rey, muy contento desto,
 Al buen Daniel luego abraza,
 Y á los que le persiguieron
 Los da á las alimañas,
 Do fueron despedazados,
 Sin quedarles cosa sana;

¹ بيت المقدس² Variante, que Dario y su compañia.³ Abacuc, P.

Que á las vezes la cautela
 A su propio dueño engaña.
 Este annabi nos enseña
 La fe firme, y confianza
 En Alláh, quantos trabajos
 Consume, rinde y acaba.
 Confiemos en Alláh,
 Nadi pierda confianza ;
 En los mayores peligros
 Allí es mas cierta su rahma.
 Yenez nos muestra lo mismo
 Por que su desconfianza
 Bastó á quitar el sosiego
 Del mar y sus fieras aguas,
 Por donde hubó de arrojarse,
 Y al tiempo que se arrojaba
 Al agua, vió la ballena
 Que boca abierta le aguarda :
 Y quando se vidó dentro,
 Conoció su grande falta.
 Allí demandó perdon,
 Allí sospira, y reclama
 La piedad de su Señor,
 Viendo el estrecho en que estaba.
 Allí se le presentaron
 Quatro lobregas amparas
 Que de qualquiera de aquellas
 Tremola el cuerpo y el alma :
 La escuredad de su culpa ;
 La escuredad de las aguas ;
 La escuredad de la noche,
 Y la del vientre en que estaba.
 Baxó la palabra inmensa
 Sobre la langosta brava,
 Mandando que lo guardase
 Como sus propias entrañas.
 Quisó Alláh que al tercero dia
 Lo vomitase, y lo saca
 De su vientre á tierra firme ;
 Y fué quando ya pasadas
 Eran del dia tres partes
 Y viendose en suya¹ salva,
 Fuera de tan gran peligro,
 Hizó asala, quatro Racas,
 Por las quatro escuredades
 Que vió dentro de las aguas ;
 Por que Alláh lo liberto
 Dellas con tanta bonanza.

¹ Yunas en salvo, P.

Estas son por nuestro dim
 A nosotros preceptadas,
 Y son las que celebramos
 Al tiempo y ora de alasar.²
 Yahie fué santificado
 Y su licencia fincada
 Por la mano del Señor,
 Como el alcoram declara.
 Este fué el que en su niñez
 Desamparó la fragancia
 Del mundo, y dexó á sus padres,
 Y se puso en vida santa :
 Andabase por los montes
 Con las fieras alimañas,
 Desnudo al ayre y al yelo,
 Su cara abierta y tostada ;
 Comiendo las yerbas crudas
 Y bebiendo aguas saladas ;
 Durmiendo siempre al sereno,³
 Sin temer la fiera escarcha.
 Era ya tan conocido
 De las aves, que asentaban
 Encima de su cabeza ;
 Las alimañas andaban
 Siempre en compañía suya
 Qual si fueran de su casta.
 Fuéle á visitar su madre
 Isabel, muy congoxada
 De verle como silvestre,
 Su cara desfigurada,
 Sus carnes sin cobertura,
 Teñidas y trasfustadas,
 Sus pies decazcos rompidos
 De las espinas y yeladas ;
 Y en vez de le dar contento
 Y de volver á su casa,
 Como ella se lo pidia,
 Derramando ardientes lagrimas,
 Le dixo : " amada madre !
 Ya sabes quen tu compañía
 He pasado mi niñez,
 Obidiente á tus palabras,
 Agora que ya soy hombre
 Seguiré mi caulebanza
 Que servir á mi Hacedor,
 Que no puedo hacerle falta."
 De aquí nuestra Santa Suna
 Toma origen, y nos manda

² عصر

³ Al frio al yelo, variante.

Que teniendo edad sigamos
 La comanda preceptaria.
 Ise fué él que le llamaron
 Almahiz por que sanava
 Tocando qualquier herida,
 Y con su mano amahaba
 Qualquiera cosa constricta,
 Coxos y mancos curaba,
 Tullidos y contagiosos,
 Y á los que de gota estaban ;
 A los ciegos dába vista
 A los mudos daba habla,
 A los sordos el oír,
 Los muertos resucitaba ;
 Hacia aves de barro,
 Y con su aliento volaban,
 Espelia los demonios
 De donde quiera que estaban :
 Y todos estos milagros
 Que con la divina gracia
 Hizo por su fe crecida,
 Y no le aprovechó nada ;
 Antes fueron confusiones,
 Por que la gente, turbada
 De tan grandes maravillas,
 Negaron al que le daba
 El ser con que los hacia ;
 Y al mensagero, adoraban
 Tomandolo por Señor

Incitados de la traza
 Del maldito Lucifer,
 De dó quedo cimentada
 La confusa trinidad,
 Ceguedad jamas pensada.
 Y quando Ise entendio
 Que por Señor le adoraban,
 Haciendole trinidad,
 Cosa dél tan apartada,
 Fue á la ora quel sol se ponía
 Quando esto le denunciaban,
 Y defendiendose dello
 Hizo ad Allah tres arracas,
 Aquellas que son de almagrib
 Que hoy los muzlimes guardan
 Negando las dos personas
 Que á su Señor le aplicaban,
 Y afirmando la unidad
 Sin ponerle semejanza :
 Al fin Alléh lo enxalzó
 Dentre esta gente engañada
 Quedando escuro, sin fe,
 Sin salvacion y sin gracia.
 En este santo annabi
 Hicieron parada y raya
 Los profetas y annabies
 Los alquitebes y cartas
 Que sobre los de Israel
 Fueron del cielo baxadas.

ISTORIA CUARTA DEL DISCURSO DE LA LUZ DE
 MUHAMAD SALAM: ACABASE DE DECLARAR EL
 ASIENTO DE LOS DOS PUEBLOS DE ISRAEL Y DE
 ARABIA. LA REVELACION DE ALHADIR PASA A
 LA VARONIA DE LA LUZ HASTA HEXIM, BISA-
 GUELO DE NUESTRO ANNABI MUHAMAD SALAM.

Ysmael él del sacrificio,
 De Brahím el mayorazgo,
 Nieto del gran Rey Agar,
 Por la luz especialade,
 Fué varon justo y sagaz,
 Robusto, fuerte y osado ;
 Muy diestro en los exercicios
 De los militares campos.
 Este casó en Aliaman
 Con muger noble y de estadó,
 Casta, rica y de gran prez ;
 Fué rico y de muchos algos,

Y con muy grandes pleyadas
 De camellos y ganados ;
 Y mentó mucho a su Dios
 En ser limosnero y franco :
 Hospedaba peregrinos,
 Socorria al acuitado ;
 Consolaba al afligido,
 Acompañaba á los flacos.
 Usaba ordinariamente
 En los caminos y atajos
 Por do la gente pasaba,
 Tener ganado aprestado,

Y él iba con provision ;
 Y en el camino asentado
 Aguardaba á los pastores,
 Y con caricioso amaho
 Les daba del pan y leche
 Con grande gusto y regalo.
 Y asi en su ausencia mandaba
 A sus mozos y criados
 Con todos los pasajeros
 Tengan el mismo cuidado.
 Fué padre de doce hijos
 Principes nobles y honrrados,
 De los quales fué escogido
 Para el alto principado
 De la luz, el justo Zebid,
 Varon justo y muy honrrado.
 Mandóle su padre Ismael,
 Luego como fué casado,
 Quel y su genealogia
 Habitasen de ordinario
 Dentro de Maca y su tierra ;
 Por que su linaje claro
 Era escogido en las gentes
 Para aquel sitio nombrado ;
 Prometido al gran Muhamad
 Y los que siguen su bando.
 En quien los dos linajes
 Donde y como se apartaron
 Segun estampados fueron
 En el pergamino ó paño
 Que Edam entregó á su hijo,
 Por su Señor encargado.
 Izhaq, como tengo dicho,
 Dió cimiento al pueblo Ebraico ;
 Con todos sus descendientes,
 Por su padre encomendado
 Que poblase del Jordan
 Aquel territorio ó patio
 En donde perpetuamente
 Residieron y poblaron.
 Ismael quedó en Arabia,
 Como ahora ymos contando,
 Siguiendo la varonia
 De aquel linaje enxalzado :
 Que bien paga Dios las obras
 De aquellos que se emplearon

En su divino servicio,
 Y por su amor trabajaron.
 Que bien que lo satisfizó
 Las angustias y trabajos !
 Ibráhim, como le oyeron,
 Siervo bien aventurado,
 Que mereció ser patron
 De dos pueblos tan honrrados,
 De linajes los mejores
 Que jamas fueron criados !
 Por la honrra de Izhaq
 De ordinario encaminaron
 Las justas dedicaciones,
 Que todo está en el Ebraico,
 Por la de Ismael corriendo
 El documental espandio
 Y regla espiritual
 Con grandes preces y amahos
 Que todo nace y deciendo
 De nuestro alcoran honrrado.
 Y por no causar fastidio,
 Seran en breve contados
 Los varones que esta llevaron ;
 Hasta Abdulmunef llevaron ;
 Que puesto caso que entonces
 Hubó hechos muy granados,
 Dignos de gran alabanza,
 Segun los ya recitados ;
 Decimos de solo aquellos
 Que hacen mas á nuestro caso.
 Y lo demas de uno á otro
 Los yremos señalando.
 Ya tengo dicho que Zebid
 Heredó este don preciado.
 De su padre, el buen Ismael,
 Eslitó¹ en sus doce hermanos.
 El lo encomendó á Quebil²
 De dó Zelih³ le hizo paso,
 Muhebid⁴ siguió tras deste ;
 Emin⁵ fué dél engendrado
 Y Laguan le sucedio,
 De este á Zaret⁶ fué mudado.
 Munir⁷ le siguio tras este
 Hamir⁸ siguió el mismo bando,
 Zelib⁹ tambien lo siguió
 Y en Yulad fué trasladado

¹ Por esleito ant. por elegido.² Chemil, MS. Paris.³ Aleyz, MS. Paris.⁴ Muxehib, P.⁵ Emin, P.⁶ Sabah, P.⁷ Munir, P.⁸ Amir, P.⁹ Zelif, P.

En Admen fue transferido,
 En Gálíb Mador trocado,
 El qual engendró á Mador,
 Padre de Alhadir¹ el santo,
 Y aunqñeste nuestro corriente
 Detengamos algun tanto,
 Será bien hacer memoria
 De lo que deste heredamos.
 Este dedicó al Señor
 Un hecho muy levantado
 Que cada noche hacia
 Antes de ser acostado
 Diez racas de zala
 Con cien tazbihes rezados;
 Y estos sin faltar un punto
 A lo que tenia votado.
 Sucedióle que una noche,
 Sintiendose fatigado,
 Se durmió sin acudir
 A su debido ordinario;
 Y estando en su dulce sueño,
 Vió que se le presentaron
 Dos visiones en el ayre
 De un mismo bulto y tamaño.
 La una par de la otra
 Y cada qual por su cabo
 Daba tres ramos de luz
 Muy relumbrantes y claros.
 Pasó ansi toda la noche
 Y el dia muy congozado,
 Afijido por la falta,
 Quen su promesa ha faltado;
 Y en llegando á la segunda
 Con gran presteza y recato
 Se tahará por temor
 De su descuido pasado:
 Y acabadas sus arracas,
 Y sus tazbihes rezando,
 Se durmió y cerró sus ojos
 Un sueño dulce y pesado,
 Y vió de las dos visiones
 Muy floridos ya sus ramos,
 Con flores blancas y azules,
 Y como que yban mostrando
 Señas de querer dar fruto,
 Y que sus ojas mirando,
 Lucian todo este suelo.
 Y que alargando su mano,

¹ Alhadir, P. Khidr.

Las tomaba y que le daban
 Un olor mas que almizcado.
 Asi pasó aquel dia,²
 Le privo de tal regalo:
 Y en llegando al tercero dia,
 Siempre como embelesado,
 Despues de su azaxdamiento
 Se durmio, y se le mostraron
 Los ramos ya con su fruto
 Perfecto y muy sazonado;
 Y no pudo semblanzar
 Su amarillez rescolgando,
 Y vió que muchas figuras,
 Como aves revolando,
 Se azaxdaban y humillaban
 A las visiones de grado;
 Y que la noche y el dia
 Tambien se le azaxdaron.
 Vió mas con las dos visiones
 Dos allohes enfestados,
 Cada qual con su alcalam,
 Sin que los tocasen manos.
 Pues quando amanecio el dia,
 Alhader muy admirado,
 Pensativo y muy confuso
 No sabiendo dar traslado
 A la denotanza aquella
 Que tres noches ha soñado,
 Y dixó ante su Señor
 Este compendio abreviado.
 “ A ti Señor poderoso,
 Rey de los celestes astros;
 Cambiador de nuestros hechos
 Nocentes y destinados,
 Dador de la esencia larga,
 Sin porque, como, ni quando,
 Procurador de tus siervos,
 Sobelador de sus plazos;
 O Señor! que tú nos diste
 La ynfuencia de tu mano,
 Unido con la razon
 De nuestros hechos causario,
 Pues, tú, Señor, no te apagas
 De nuestros distintos flacos,
 Por que son todos tus hechos
 Muy sublimes y perclaros;
 Y siendo desta manera,
 No somos por ti emplazados

² Asi paso hasta quel dia P.

Para causa efetual;
 Antes muy libres estamos
 Sí á la razon atendemos
 Y al proabe que alcanzamos,
 Que tu divina palabra
 Á ninguno ató las manos.
 Señor, yo soy sobenible
 De tu obidencia y mandado,
 Y sin tu ayuda no hay fuerza,
 Ni saber sin ti no alcanzo,
 Si es que debo á ti, Señor,
 Á mas de lo acostumbrado
 Algun otro afeitamiento
 O' hecho redemisario,
 Enseñamelo, Señor,
 Como lo entienda mas claro;
 Y cumpla sin faltar punto
 Á lo que estoy obligado."

A esto baxó Chebril
 Á esforzarlo y albriciarlo,
 Que Allah nunca se descuida
 De los que le estan llamando:
 Y dixóle: "ya Alhadir!
 No mudes lo comenzado,
 Ni mudes otro supuesto
 De lo que hasta aqui has usado,"
 Dixó Alhadir! "ya mi amigo!
 Ha me sido preparado
 Circulos por mi visibles
 Tres noches á una mano;
 Y he visto claro en ellos
 Flores y fruto otoñado;
 Y su significacion
 Me tiene atemorizado."
 Dixó el angel, "ó Alhadir!
 El Señor te ha demostrado
 En las visiones que dices
 Un hecho muy alto preparado;
 Lexos, de lo que pretendes,
 Vive alegre y confiado,
 Y sigue tu justa arenga,
 Como te tengo avisado."
 Dienen los decretadores,
 Nuestros alimes y sabios
 Questa vision de Alhadir
 Se encargó en su vientre tanto,
 Que jamas hasta la muerte

Se derogó suplicando
 Á Alláh, que le mostrase
 De sus tasbihes el pago
 Hasta que volvió á soñar
 Que estaba puesto y cerrado
 De todos los tasbihantes
 De sus tasbihes gustando,
 Y que le dixó Chebril,
 Muy alegre y albriciando;
 "Ya te ha hecho tu Señor
 Participante al sufragio
 De la mayor alfadila
 Que del cielo ha baxado,
 De las que de gracia fueron
 Y á los justos se entregaron;
 Y como nunca hubo hecho
 De los que hoy administramos,
 Que de ab inicio no fuese
 Similado asegurado,
 Quiso su bondad divina
 Con este justo albriciarnos,
 En Rachab y Xaban,
 Su premio grande y colmado,
 En fin que deste annabi
 Estos preceptos heredamos.
 Despues destas consonancias
 Que deste justo contamos,
 Padeció mucha conduelma
 Y gustó muchos trabajos.
 Este fué él que acompañó
 Al gran monarca Alexandro
 En muchos trances y riezgos,
 Y á quien amó en sumo grado.
 Volviendo pues al origen
 Que de nuestra luz llevamos,
 Digo que deste Alhadir
 Fué el justo que¹ engendrado
 Deste decendió Mudraq
 De aqui al Jucaibat² mudado.
 Quena sucedió tras dél,
 Madir³ siguió el mismo bando,
 Despues Melique lo tuvó,
 Y á Galib quedó asignado:
 Á Lnai quedó en herencio,
 De dó sucedió el gran Cæbu
 Y tuvó á Murad⁴ por hijo,
 De dó Quelem⁵ fué engendrado:

¹ Drafe, P.² Hucaybet, P.³ Nadir, P.⁴ Murrat, P.⁵ Quilem, P.

De Quelem habia Cuçai,¹
 Cuyo herencia fué asentado
 Sobre el valiente Curax,²
 De dó el renombre tomaron
 Los candillos de Curax
 Tan temidos y mentados,
 Que dieron lustre en Arabia

Y en todos sus comarcanos.
 De aqui vinó Abdulmunef,
 Padre de aquel afamado³
 Hexim que fué bisaguelo
 De nuestro annabi honrrado,⁴
 Cuya historia y grandes hechos
 Demanda tiempo y espacio.⁵

¹ Abiel cuçay, P.² Cuçay, P.³ Padre carnal del nombrado, P.⁴ Preciado, P.⁵ Esta genealogia está sacada del libro سيرة سيدنا محمد رسول الله ;

ابو محمد عبد الملك بن هشام النحويّ
 Gottingen 1858, de

محمد بن عبد الله بن عبد المطلب و اسم عبد المطلب شَيْبَة
 بن هاشم و اسم هاشم عمرو بن عبد مَنَاف و اسم عبد مَنَاف المَغِيرَة
 بن قَصِيّ و اسم قَصِيّ زَيْد بن كِلَاب بن مَرّة بن كَعْب بن لَوِيّ بن
 غالب بن فِهْر بن مالِك بن النَّضْر بن كِنَانَة بن خَزِيمَة بن مَدْرِكَة
 و اسم مدركه عامر بن اليَاس بن مَضْر ابن نِزَار بن مَعَد بن عَدْنان
 بن أَدّ و يقال أَدّ بن مَقْموم بن ناحور بن تيرح بن يعرب بن يَشْجَب
 بن نابت بن اسماعيل بن ابرهيم خليل الرحمن بن تارح و هو أزر
 بن ناحور بن سَاروج بن رَآتو بن فالج بن عَيْبَر بن صالح بن أرفخشذ
 بن سام ابن نوح

ART. IV.—*On the Magar Language of Nepal.* By JOHN BEAMES, Esq., B.C.S.

[Read Nov. 16, 1868.]

My attention had been for a long time directed to the immense mass of languages spoken in the Himalayas, when in 1866 I was appointed to the charge of the district of Champáran. This district lies at the foot of the hills, and its frontier is eonterminous with that of Nepal for about a hundred miles. Through the kindness of Colonel G. Ramsay, Resident at the Court of Káthmáñdu I obtained from Mahá-*raja* Sir Jung Bahadoor, the *de facto* ruler of that country, two Magar soldiers, men of intelligence, and who spoke their native dialect with great purity. At the same time I accidentally took into my service two Gorkhális (Anglicè—Goor-khas) or Rajputs of the dominating or Khas¹ race of Nepal. These men remained with me during several months of the cold season. We worked hard some hours each day, and I was getting on fairly with my task, when they suddenly, like all hill-men, got restless, and insisted on going back to their homes. The weather was getting warm (it was the first week in April), and I could not fairly detain them. Unfortunately I had only got as far as F in my dictionary. I had of course many words for the rest, but I had been going over it a second time, filling up gaps, and had made it pretty complete for the first six letters. However, I think enough has

¹ I take this opportunity of recording my entire disbelief in the Hon. G. Campbell and Mr. Hyde Clarke's fantastic idea that the term Khás as applied to themselves by this Hindu race has anything whatever to do with *Kasyapa*, *Kashmir*, the *Caucasus*, or any primitive Aryan word at all. It is a pure Arabic word *خاص* which, ever since the days of the first Muhammedan land-settlement of India, has been the regular technical word for "special, principal, select." How many hundreds of villages are there in India which have this word affixed to them, to distinguish them from places of similar name, but less importance? The Nepalese justly arrogate to themselves, by the use of this word, the first rank among the many tribes of the country. They are the "royal race," *par-excellence*.

been recorded to form a fair basis of operations for any philologist who may hereafter wish to go into the subject of the Himalayan languages; and as very little has been recorded about the Magar by Mr. B. Hodgson, I trust I am filling up a gap in a way that may be useful. I have also been enabled to correct several inaccuracies in Mr. Hodgson's short list of Magar words (Selections from Records of Govt. Bengal, No. xxvii.), some of which I shall point out further on.

The Magars are one of the tribes who inhabit the central part of Nepal, as distinguished from the tribes of the Terai on the one hand, and those of the higher altitudes, such as Murmis and Gurungs, on the other.

The whole mass of the Himalayas is adjacent to Hindustani on the south and Tibetan on the north; consequently we find traces of Hindustani influence more clear in the languages of the lower levels, while Tibetan influence predominates in the higher. Hindustani, moreover, has pitched a camp in the very heart of the country in the shape of the Goorkha sovereignty, so that even in the higher levels its sway is found to counterpoise and sometimes outweigh that of Tibetan. The latter, on the other hand, has beyond the limits of the Goorkha rule, as in Sikkim and Bhotan, a preponderating influence almost right down to the plains. But from the Singhaleela range eastwards (*i.e.* for two-thirds of the whole length of the mountains) this is lost, because where Nepal leaves off British territory begins and carries us on to Cashmere; and the inhabitants of Garhwál, Kamáon, and the British hill possessions generally, are Hindus to a man in religion, and, to a great extent, in race.

Upon the whole, then, Hindustani exercises a more powerful influence at the present day on the hill languages of Nepal than Tibetan does: but this state of things is of recent date. There was a time when all the hill tribes were Buddhists, and their languages dialects of Tibetan. Consequently the groundwork of most of them is Tibetan in character still, but so much has been borrowed from Hindi that the groundwork is often hidden out of sight, often distorted and corrupted. This is pre-eminently the case with Magar.

The Magars now live in the central part of Nepal ; their most eastern village Tānnang being 40 miles west of the capital Kathmāṇḍu. Their settlements, the chief of which are Rishing, Giring, Birkot, Dhor, and Lamzhang, stretch as far west as the town of Palpa. Beyond that there are Magars to be found, but their dialect is said to be corrupt and almost unintelligible to the eastern section of the tribe. My informants estimated their number at about 6,000 fighting men, which, adding a fair proportion of women and children, might give from 18 to 20,000 as the total of the population. This estimate, I suspect, is rather over than under the mark. There are so many tribes in Nepal besides the Khas, and the country is on the whole so thinly peopled, that none of the tribes can be very numerous. The hill women, though robust, are not as a rule remarkable for fecundity, and the increase of population is further checked by the strong tendency of the males for foreign service. These semi-Tibetan tribes are gradually decreasing, and it is the fact of their decrease alone that explains the existence of their numerous subdivisions into clans and septs, each of which sometimes contains only a few families. This often surprises travellers and others, but the fact is, the septs have dwindled to their present scanty numbers from much larger beginnings.

The Magars are divided into three great clans, called Thapa, Alaya, and Rana,¹ and each of these again into many septs, which it is not necessary to particularize. They are, at present, rigid Hindus, and the Thapas call themselves Rajputs. Indeed, the two men who came to me gravely told me that their ancestor was a younger brother of the last Rajput king of Chitor, who, on the fall of that famous fortress, had taken refuge in Nepal ! I did not ask him how his ancestor managed to reach Nepal through the territory of his deadly foe, but I noticed that neither my Goorkha Rajputs, nor a Bhojpur Rajput from Arrah (Kunwar Singh's clan), nor a hill Rajput from the Western Himalayas (a Doghra of Kulu), all of whom were in my service at the time, would eat with

¹ Both my interpreters were Thapas. I only know of the other two clans from Mr. Hodgson's note, above quoted.

the Magars, or acknowledge them to be of pure caste. In fact, the appearance of the men themselves put their Mongolian origin beyond a doubt. Small, robust men, about five feet in height, with great girth of chest, small pig-eyes, high cheek-bones, scanty moustache and beard, huge mis-shapen mouth, always distended with a good-humoured but rather meaningless grin,—they carried their origin written in every limb and feature. There is no doubt whatever that they originally lived much farther to the east than they now do. Their habitat was probably Sikkim or Western Bhotan, and they were heathens, as many of the tribes still are. They may have had a slight leaven of Buddhism, but it was in all probability very slight, and readily yielded to Brahmanical influence when the Goorkha pressure was brought to bear on them. They call themselves Rajputs because they belong to that class of the tribes from which the Nepalese army is now recruited, and in which they take high rank along with the Gurungs, next to the pure Goorkhas. The bulk of the male population is at present in Jung Bahadoor's army, though their original occupations were pastoral and slightly (but only slightly) agricultural. Like the other tribes, they by no means exclusively occupy the tract of country in which their villages lie; in travelling in those regions, one meets a Magar village, and, a little further on, one of Dorhis or Dunwars, and, again, a Newar village, and so on. It is not wonderful, under these circumstances, that their language should be dying out, especially when it is taken into consideration that the majority of the men are permanently absent from their homes on military service, the exigencies of which render it imperative on them to speak the Parbatia or Khás Nepalese (a purely Hindi dialect) as well as their native tongue. I am afraid they are rather ashamed of their language; in the capital they are, of course, anxious to avoid exhibiting traces of rusticity, and only use Magar among themselves. The haughty Goorkha calls all the hill languages, except his own, by the opprobrious epithet of **वेहरा** or "dirty." Here and there, in the following pages, I have noted the chief words of Tibetan origin to be found in Magar; but it may be useful to make some general pre-

liminary remarks, to shew to some extent the results of Hindi influence, and the deviations from the pure Tibetan. The results of an examination of the language are curious and, to some extent, novel; but I do not wish to be understood as affirming anything on this head positively. I merely suggest for the consideration of scholars, and shall be glad if my suggestions be considered as pointing in the right direction.

Words in Magar may be divided into five classes:—

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Pure Hindi. | 3. Arabic and Persian. |
| 2. Corrupted Hindi. | 4. Pure Tibetan. |
| 5. Corrupted Tibetan. | |

Of classes 1 and 3 there is no need to say anything; the Arabic and Persian words are merely such as are in use in Urdu, and have been adopted in Hindi for want of a good indigenous equivalent.

With regard to class 2, it may be remarked that the corruptions are the same as those which occur in Parbatia or court Nepalese, which is a dialect of Hindi almost identical with Bhojpuri; seeing that the founder of the present dynasty emigrated with his clan from Simráun in Tirhut in 1322 A.D. Examples will be found in the vocabulary.

Classes 4 and 5, or those of pure and corrupted Tibetan words, require further investigation. It is well known that written Tibetan differs from the modern spoken language by having a number of letters which are not pronounced, very much as in French; there is, however, this difference, that it is in many cases difficult to see how some of the combinations in Tibetan could ever have been pronounced at all. Letters of different organs are found without the intervention of a vowel at the beginning of words and in situations where the European tongue is almost unable to utter them. That this is no reason why Tibetan tongues should not be able to pronounce them, I am well aware. We find such combinations in the Hamitic family as *gb*, for instance, where the *b* is clearly enunciated, with a scarcely detected soupçon of a *g* preceding it; and it is in this way that the learned Lamas in some parts of Tibet still read their sacred books. In those Tibetan monasteries which I have visited, I did not find this the case, and the mass

of the people entirely ignore these combinations. Mr. Jaeschke has given to the world some valuable notes on the subject of the pronunciation of modern Tibetan in various provinces, which lead to the hypothesis that the deviations from the classical Tibetan standard observable in the Himalayan dialects may be traced to various provinces of Tibet, and may thus aid us to find out the original homes of the tribes now domiciled in Nepal. To apply this idea to the case of the Magars is not altogether easy. There are many words which agree exactly with Tibetan, *e.g.*

	MAGAR.	ENGLISH.	TIBETAN.
1.	<i>Lam</i>	A road	<i>Lam</i> .
2.	<i>Lag</i>	Hand (side)	<i>Lag</i> .
3.	<i>Su</i>	Who?	<i>Su</i> .
4.	<i>Ra</i> (<i>rha</i>)	Goat	<i>Ra</i> .
5.	<i>Shig</i>	Louse	<i>Shig</i> .
6.	<i>Shi</i>	Die	<i>Shi</i> .
7.	<i>Shing</i>	Tree	<i>Shing</i> .
8.	<i>Birin</i>	Send	(<i>S</i>)bring.
9.	<i>Nis</i>	Two	(<i>G</i>)nyis.
10.	<i>Ros</i>	Bone.....	<i>Bus</i> .
11.	(<i>Bhur</i>) <i>mi</i> ¹	Man	<i>Mi</i> .
12.	<i>Mhen</i>	Fire	<i>Me</i> .
13.	<i>Mik</i>	Eye	<i>Mig</i> .
14.	<i>Ro</i>	Love.....	<i>Ro</i> .

There is nothing in the form which these words take in Magar to shew whether they belong to the eastern or western part of Tibet.

Another class of words exhibits a certain likeness to Tibetan, but with changes for which, as there is no analogy, so it may be doubted if there is any proof. I give the following list therefore merely conjecturally:—

	MAGAR.	ENGLISH.	TIBETAN.
1.	<i>Ohü</i>	Dog	<i>Khyi</i> , pronounced <i>chhi</i> .
2.	<i>Dngá</i>	See	(<i>M</i>)thong.
3.	<i>Gará</i>	Ant	<i>Gro'</i> .

¹ The prefix *mi* found with all words referring to parts of the human body is the Tibetan word for 'man.' Hodgson is in error in treating it as a radical.

	MAGAR.	ENGLISH.	TIBETAN.
4.	<i>Biri</i>	Fear	<i>Bré'</i> .
5.	<i>Kharak</i> ...	Be ashamed ...	<i>Khre'</i> .
6.	<i>Tuk</i>	Belly.....	(<i>L</i>)to (cf. (<i>l</i>)tog, hunger).
7.	<i>Mya</i>	Arrow	<i>Mda.</i>
8.	<i>Chya</i>	Tie	<i>Ching.</i>
9.	<i>Cho</i>	Cut	<i>Cho'</i> .
10.	<i>Im</i>	House	<i>Khyim</i> , pron. <i>chhim</i> .
11.	<i>Gwaha</i>	Bird	<i>Wya</i> , pron. <i>wa</i> .
12.	<i>Armin</i>	Name	<i>Ming</i> .
13.	<i>Arkin</i>	Nail	<i>Sen</i> .
14.	<i>Tsup</i>	Suck	<i>Jib</i> .
15.	<i>Tang</i>	Spread	<i>Thing</i> and (<i>l</i>)ding.
16.	<i>Gin</i>	Heart	<i>Nying</i> .
17.	<i>Chini</i>	To-day	Mag. <i>chü</i> , with r. <i>nyi</i> , day.
18.	<i>Mhut</i>	Blow.....	<i>Bud</i> .

Both these lists may be largely augmented, especially the second, which I have adopted in the vocabulary, where more examples may be found.

When we seek to account for the deviation of Magar forms from those of classical Tibetan, by a reference to the pronunciation of Eastern Tibet, from which part there is good reason to assume that the Magars (like the Limbus) originally came, we are met by the difficulty that this tribe must have left Tibet certainly before 1300 A.D., as after the arrival of the Goorkhas in Nepal, the incessant wars which were waged in the hills would have been very unfavourable to, if not entirely prohibitive of, the penetration of a feeble clan so far into the heart of the country. But, from the researches of Jaeschke and others, it is almost certain that the ancient pronunciation remained in force all through Tibet up to a late date. From my own travels in Sikkim, I know that the chief—and, I believe, only—route northwards from that country debouches close to Lhasa itself, a place which, from its political importance, would have retained (presumably) a pure pronunciation longer than any other place in those eastern provinces. The Magars then, in all probability, had left their original homes before the pronunciation of Ü-Tsang (the province of which Lhasa

is the capital) and Kham had declined in any marked degree from the classical standard, and it would therefore be vain to look for many signs of eastern influence in the Tibetan words which they have retained. Some few, however, I think, may be detected, and these I now notice.

1. "I" in Magar is not only *ngu* (Tibetan *nga*), but *ngoi*, which is the Eastern pronunciation of the (Western) Tibetan *ngos*. A similar process is, perhaps, traceable in the root *lo* or *loi*, 'to bring,' from the Tibetan *nyos*, where we see also a transition from *n* to *l*. This transition is also shown in the roots *lo* or *lho*, 'to throw,' Tibetan, *tho'*; *lhang*, 'a stone,' Tibetan, *do'*; *lhak*, 'to lick,' Tibetan, *dag*; where the dental element of the Tibetan passes into *l* in Magar.

2. Final *g*, *d*, *b*, are in East Tibet so indistinctly pronounced as to be scarcely audible. So in Magar we have *la*, 'side, direction,' in *kula*, 'where,' in which the final *g* is audible only before a vowel, from Tibetan *lag*; other instances are *biri* from *bred*, 'fear,' *gará* from *grog*, 'ant,' *cho* from *chod*, 'cut,' etc. On the other hand, however, there are instances of the retention of the final letter, where it exists in Tibetan; and Hodgson, whose vocabulary appears to have been derived from a Magar from the country west of Palpa, where the dialect is in all probability older than the present standard Magar, retains these letters in some cases where my authorities omitted them.

3. As both final *s* is softened into *ś*, and final *g* is unheard, in Eastern Tibet, we may derive the Magar word *le*, 'to exist,' 'to be,' from the Tibetan *lags*, which by the processes above noted would become *la'ś*, and finally *le*.¹

In the vocabulary will be found a considerable number of Tibetan etymologies; but it would seem that there is a large quantity of words which can be referred neither to Tibetan nor Hindi. It would be an interesting enquiry whether these words—this, so to speak, insoluble residuum—have any affinities with the languages of the neighbouring Himalayan tribes,

¹ According to Jaeschke (Tib. Gr. p. 28, § 39), this word is only used in "respectful and elegant speech," except in Eastern Tibet (and especially the province of Ü, where Lhasa is situated), where it sounds *lā-pa*.

and if so, to what source they are to be attributed. There are not wanting indications, though they are rather slight, of a connection with the Lohitic or Burmese class, as *e.g.*, the word *kat*, 'one,' which is identical with the Lepcha, and very similar to the Burmese, also the pronoun of the second person, *nang*, which is the same in the Boro or Mechi language. It is not my intention to follow out this comparison in the present paper, because I have been led by circumstances to doubt the accuracy of the printed vocabularies of Himalayan tribes, and hope to have an opportunity of making collections myself direct from the mouths of natives; till then I make no comments.

It may, however, be worth while to notice the construction and inflections of the Magar in reference both to Tibetan and Hindi.

We should expect to find the grammar almost pure Tibetan, because the language is undoubtedly of Himalayan origin; and this expectation is fairly carried out, though of course the sharpness of type which is observable in Hundesi and trans-Himalayan languages cannot be looked for here.¹

Thus we have the noun ordinarily monosyllabic, and occasionally bearing the Tibetan affixes of gender, *ba* (or *wa*) and *po*, masculine; and *ma*, *mo*, feminine. The declension is effected by added particles, as in Tibetan, though most of the particles used bear not the slightest resemblance to the corresponding Tibetan ones; they agree, however, here and there, with those used in other Himalayan languages, and some are borrowed from Nepalese and Parbatia, *e.g.*—

2. ²	<i>o</i>	Milchán	<i>o</i> .
3.	<i>ke</i>	Nepalese	के (<i>koḍ</i> कड्). ³
4.	<i>ang</i>	Milchán	<i>ang</i> .
7.	<i>laki</i>	Tibetan	<i>lag</i> .
10.	<i>i</i>	perhaps Tibetan	<i>hi'</i> or <i>i'</i> —etc,

¹ The Magars are well aware of the fact that their language deviates much from the "Bhot," (as Tibetan is called in the hills), and even go so far as to use this fact as an argument in favour of their alleged Rajput descent. They tell me that their immediate neighbours, the Gurungs, speak a language far more like "Bhot" than they do.

² These numbers refer to those in sec. 2, § 1.

³ But still *ke* in Tirhut and Purneah Hindi.

Sáthang is clearly the Hindi or Nepalese साथ with the Magar affix *ang*, and is thus equivalent to, "in company with."

The pronoun is highly irregular, as is the case in most languages, and offers a minimum of coincidences with any other language. That of the third person seems to be an Aryan word tortured into compliance with Turanian rules.

In the verb again, we see monosyllabic roots with affixes, as in Tibetan. The infinitive is curious, inasmuch as it follows the Tibetan system with Nepalese materials; the verb, or verbal root in the former language, is treated as a noun, and takes accordingly the nominal affix of gender *pa* and *ba*; to form the infinitive the particle *r* is added, which is also a sign of the dative in nouns. Similarly, in Magar, we have the verbal root in the dative case used as an infinitive, but the sign for the dative is the Aryan one *ne*; as in *zatks*, 'to do,' etc.

The various affixes used to express modifications of time are not traceable, as far as I can see at present, to any corresponding form in Tibetan, except the *le* of the present, which is the *la'i*, as mentioned above.

Perhaps also the termination *nü* of the past part., may be referred to the *nai* of the Tibetan past part., which is the same as the sign of the ablative case of the noun.

But the ending of the past tense in *d* and that of the imperative in *o*, look like Hindi forms, and the idea of a respectful imperative, with its characteristic *i*, is also traceable to the same source; whence also they derive the idea of using the instrumental in lieu of the nominative with a past tense; for the instrumental, though existing in Tibetan, is not so used.

Tibetan, however, in idea, is the habit of prefixing *mi* ('man') to words denoting parts of the human body, as *mitaku*, etc. We find also a list of words beginning with *ar*, a prefix which has apparently no relations in Tibetan. These words, if we leave out the *ar*, agree generally with the corresponding Tibetan words.

Hindi again is the form of construction with the past participle in connection with an auxiliary verb, meaning 'to give,'

'to place,' etc. *E.g. chikke* alone is 'to expel,' but the Magars are fond of using *chikkñũ zake*, which is similar to the Hindi habit of using *nikál dená* for *nikálná*, and is equally useless and inconvenient in both languages. In the grammar, I have noticed a good many of these instances of borrowing methods of expression from Hindi.

To sum up these brief introductory remarks, it results from what has been said that the Magar is a language of the Tibetan family, and that the race who speak it probably came originally from the neighbourhood of Lhasa, in Eastern Tibet. Falling under Goorkha influence as they advanced westwards, they added to their vocabulary a large number of Hindi words, and some inflections, so that we have Tibetan grammatical ideas carried out with both Tibetan and Aryan materials, as well as Hindi grammatical ideas carried out with Aryan and Tibetan materials. The language thus presents a spectacle almost unique, and in distinct contradiction to the generally admitted proposition—that, though one language often borrows largely from another, yet these borrowings are confined to words, and never extend to grammatical forms.

II.—SECTION 1. SOUNDS.

The sounds of the Magar are as follows :—

I. VOWELS.

अ¹, आ¹, इ¹, ई¹, उ¹, ऊ¹, ए¹, ओ¹.

There are, besides, three vowel sounds of a Mongolian nature which cannot be expressed by Sanskrit letters: these are, *aī*, *oī*, *ū*. The first of these is longer than the Sanskrit *ऐ*, and is almost two syllables. The second, *oī*, is like the German *ö* in *Gothe*, but broader, and half-way between that and the German *eu* in *feuer*. The third, *ū*, is a very acute short sound, and at the end of words, where it chiefly occurs, is hardly to be distinguished from *i* or *e*, thus resembling the German *ü* in *müde*. These three sounds do not exist in Tibetan, as far as I

¹ I give the Sanskrit characters as a key to the pronunciation, as far as they go.

am aware, but they are found in Lepcha, Murmi, and other hill languages.

II. CONSONANTS.

क <i>k</i>	ख <i>kh</i>	ग <i>g</i>	घ <i>gh</i>	— <i>ng</i> ^(a)
च <i>ch</i>	छ <i>chh</i>	ज <i>j</i>	झ <i>jh</i>	— <i>ny</i> ^(b)
त <i>t</i>	थ <i>th</i>	द <i>d</i>	ध <i>dh</i>	न <i>n</i>
ट <i>t̄</i>	ठ <i>t̄h</i>	ड <i>ḍ</i>	ढ <i>ḍh</i>	
— <i>ts</i> ^(c)	— <i>tz</i>	— <i>ds</i>		
प <i>p</i>	फ <i>ph</i>	ब <i>b</i>	भ <i>bh</i>	म <i>m</i>
ह <i>h</i>	— <i>h</i> ^(d)	स <i>s</i>		श <i>sh</i>
र <i>r</i>	ल <i>l</i>	य <i>y</i>	— <i>z</i> ^(e)	— <i>wh</i> ^(f)

Remarks.—(a). This letter is the same as the Tibetan ཀ *ng*. It is with difficulty pronounced by a foreigner when it occurs, as is frequently the case, at the beginning of a word. It is precisely the same sound as the *ng* in the end of the present participle of verbs in English, as *going, singing*.

(b). This is the Tibetan རྟེན *ny*, “prononcé comme dans le mot français *ignare*,”¹ or as the Spanish *ñ* in *Señor*.

(c). These three sounds are of Tibetan origin, and correspond to *ts*, *tz*, and *ds*.

(d). The Tibetan འ, a softer sound than ह, so soft as only to be audible when pronounced slowly. *Yoho*, ‘give,’ in ordinary conversation sounds almost like *yo* or *yo-o*.

(e). The Tibetan མ, English *x*.

(f). Tibetan སྐ, exactly like the English *wh* in *which, why*, as it is pronounced by Irishmen, as though spelt *hwich*: it is difficult to decide whether this sound is *wh* or *hw*.

The soft or Tibetan *h* is often found in combination with *m* or *l*, as *mhen*, ‘fire,’ *bhang*, ‘a stone;’ where it is again difficult to say whether the *l* or the *h* precedes.

When a Magar gets excited, and talks loud or with vehemence, he aspirates nearly every letter in the alphabet. Thus ‘I see,’ is *dāngone*, but ‘I see! I see!’ sounds more like *ḍhānghonhe*.

The medial aspirates *gh, dh, bh, jh*, only occur in words of Hindi origin. There are no medial aspirates in Tibetan.

The cerebral letters do not often occur except in Hindi

¹ Foucaux, *Grammaire Tibétaine*, p. 3.

words used in Magar. In indigenous words the hard *ḍ* (᳚) is pronounced almost like an *r*. Indeed, even the dentals in Magar are like the same class in English, consequently harsher than those in Hindi.

The letters *k* and *g* are pronounced so much alike as at times hardly to be distinguishable one from the other. So also *p* and *b*. This is a Tibetan characteristic.¹

The distinction between long and short vowels is only clearly marked in words of Hindi origin. In pure Magar words there is very little distinction. The language in this respect also follows the usage of Tibetan.

There are no peculiarities of accent beyond a slight drawl at the end of a sentence. The pronunciation is level and even, though somewhat indistinct, the words short and simple, and the general effect of the language on the ear is soft and musical.

SECTION 2. THE NOUN.

§ 1. The noun has no inflections. Cases are formed by the addition to the word of syllables, in the same manner as the Hindi *ká, ke, ki*, etc. The following is a list of the most usual post-positions, showing how they are added to a noun :—

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>Im</i> | a house. |
| 2. <i>Im-o</i> | of a house. |
| 3. <i>Im-ke</i> | to a house. |
| 4. <i>Im-ang</i> | in a house, <i>also</i> on a house. |
| 5. <i>Im-ing</i> | from a house, <i>or</i> out of a house. |
| 6. <i>Im-taking</i> , | upon a house. |
| 7. <i>Im-láki</i> | from a house. |
| 8. <i>Im-kháta</i> | with <i>or</i> near a house. |
| 9. <i>Im-sáthung</i> | with a house, |
| 10. <i>Im-i</i> | by a house. |
| 11. <i>Im-mhoiking</i> | under a house. |

Remarks.—1. The objective case is designated either by the affix *ke*, or by the absence of any affix at all. In other words, the verb in some cases governs a dative, in which case

¹ Foucaux, Gram. Tibet. p. 3, l. 12, and p. 8, para. c.

ke is added to the noun, in some cases an accusative, in which case the noun has no affix. Instances are—

Ngáke dhusá he pushed me (*lit.* to me).
Ise shing chio cut that wood.

2. Where two nouns follow each other, the genitive sign of the first is omitted, if a close connection exists between them. This is equivalent to forming a compound noun.¹

Ex. : *Tálu chhám.*

The hair of the head : (*lit.* : the head-hair).

3. The affix *lúki* is pronounced also *lúge* and *lág*.

4. The affix *i* is the sign of the instrumental, and is used before the past tense of a transitive verb, as in Hindi *ne*.

Ex. : *Su-i yáhá ?* *Kis-ne diyá.*

Also as a pure instrumental—

Ex. : *Hur-i khóho* with a hoe dig.

In addition to the affixes given above, there are others signifying *behind*, *before*, *above*, etc., but as no change takes place in the noun when these are added, I have not given them here, but in their proper place in the dictionary.

As a rule, no distinction is made between the singular and plural, but if it is necessary to draw particular attention to the fact of plurality, the word *pattá* or *patto*, meaning 'all,' is inserted between the noun itself and the terminations.

Ex. : *bhurmi-patto ke yóho.*

give to the men (*lit.* man-all).

Im-pattá ke hilo.

Count all the houses.

§ 2. There is no gender in Magar nouns. Animals and human beings are distinguished by separate names for the sexes. Ex. : *bhurmi*, 'a man,' *máhasá*, 'a woman,' *thor*, 'a bull,' *nyet*, 'a cow,' or by the affix '*mán*,' which converts a masculine noun into a feminine.

Ex. : Dog,	<i>chú.</i>	Bitch,	<i>chúmán.</i>
He-goat,	<i>rhá.</i>	She-goat,	<i>rhámán.</i>
Cock,	<i>gwhá.</i>	Hen,	<i>gwhámán.</i> ²

¹ Like the Sankrit *Tatpurushah*.

² This affix *mán* is probably connected with the Tibetan *mo* affixed to female nouns.

In the case of human beings the words *lenza*, 'male,' and *máhazá*, 'female,' are sometimes used, as *lenzá zá*, 'a male child,' *máhasá zá*, 'a female child.'

§ 3. Adjectives are indeclinable, and precede the substantive.

Ex. : *Karangchü bhurmi*, 'a big man.'

Comparison is effected by the affix *denang*, 'than.' There are no separate signs for the comparative and superlative degrees.

Ex. : *Nga denang ise karangchü le*.

He is bigger than I (*lit.* big than I).

Kánang bai kaupatto denang báto.

Our father is the wisest of us all (*lit.* wise than us all).

In Magar, as in all other languages, when an adjective is used elliptically as an appellative, it takes the case-affixes just the same as a substantive. Thus *lochü* as an adjective means 'long,' but as a substantive it means 'the long (one),' *i.e.* 'a snake,' and then takes case-affixes.

Ex. : *Lochü ke ngoi detaká*, 'I killed a snake.'

Nearly all adjectives end in *chü*. This is also the form taken by the verbal noun, and adjectives may be formed from any verb in the language by adding this particle *chü* to the root; and similarly all adjectives may be made into verbs by dropping the termination *chü* and affixing the usual verbal terminations; thus from *bochü*, 'white,' we may make *bo-le*, *bomone*, etc., meaning 'it is white, it was white,' and so forth. In fact, in most Turanian languages, the monosyllable merely conveys an idea as 'seeing,' 'doing,' and it depends entirely upon the terminations that are added to it, whether it is to be regarded as a noun or verb.

§ 4. Nouns which end with a vowel exhibit slight irregularities when they take the affixes *o*, *i*, *ang*, *ing*.

- (a). In some instances the final *i* of the word changes, as in Sanskrit, into a semi-vowel; as *bhurmi*, 'a man;' *bhurmyo*, 'of a man.'
- (b). Or the initial vowel of the affix is lost altogether, as *thaili*, 'a bag;' *thaili-ng*, 'in a bag,' for *thaili-ang*.
- (c). Or an euphonic letter is inserted, as *sipahi-k-o*, of a sepoy.' This is probably borrowed from the Nepalese sign of the genitive **को**.

(d). Or the affix is simply added to the word, this is more especially the case in monosyllables, as *suo*, 'of whom?' *sui*, 'by whom?'

There appears to be no certain rule for these changes. My two interpreters sometimes used one form, sometimes the other; and no amount of enquiry could elicit from them any definite rule.

SECTION 3. THE PRONOUN.

The personal pronouns exhibit more of an inflectional character than any other part of the language. The genitive cases especially merit attention.

FIRST PERSON.

Singular.	Nom. I,	<i>ngá, ngachü, ngoi, ngoichü.</i>
	Gen. Of me,	<i>nuo.</i>
	Dat. To me,	} <i>ngáke.</i>
	Acc. Me,	

All other cases are formed precisely as in nouns by adding case affixes to the form *ngá*, as *ngá-láki* 'from me,' *ngá-sáhang*, 'with me.'

Plural.	Nom. We,	<i>kan, kankoï, kankoï.</i>
	Gen. Of us,	<i>kánang, kánun.</i>
	Dat. To us,	} <i>kanke, kankoke.</i>
	Acc. Us,	

SECOND PERSON.

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
Nom.	Thou, <i>noï, nengi, nang.</i>	Nom.	Ye, <i>náhako.</i>
Gen.	Of thee, <i>nuo nango.</i>	Gen.	Of you, <i>náhakun.</i>
Dat.	} To thee, <i>nengke.</i>	Dat.	} To you, <i>náhako ke.</i>
Acc.		Acc.		You,

Nákun, the respectful pronoun of the second person, corresponds to the Hindustani "Áp" or "Huzúr," and must be distinguished from *náhakun*, the genitive plural of *nang*. It is generally used in the nominative case only, and has no plural.

The third person has three forms, *hose*, *áse*, *ise*. Of these *hose* is the ordinary 'he,' 'she,' 'it'; *áse* is used for distant

persons or things; *ise* for things close at hand, i.e., *ise* is 'this,' *áse* is 'that.' The declension is as follows:

SINGULAR.			PLURAL.				
Nom.	<i>hose</i>	<i>ise</i>	<i>áse</i>	Nom.	<i>hosko</i>	<i>isko</i>	<i>ásko</i>
Gen.	<i>hochü</i>	<i>ichü</i>	<i>áchü</i>	Gen.	<i>hoskun</i>	<i>iskun</i>	<i>áskun</i>
Dat.	} <i>hoske</i>	} <i>iske</i>	} <i>áske</i>	Dat.	} <i>hoskoke</i>	} <i>iskoke</i>	} <i>askoke</i>
Acc.				etc.			

The forms *ngoi*, *nangi*, and *hosi* are used as instrumentals before the past tense of a verb, but I have given them as nominatives also, because they are all used before other tenses as well. In fact *ngá*, and *ngoi* seem to be used indifferently in all cases, both before transitive and intransitive verbs.

The demonstrative, interrogative, and relative pronouns will be found in the dictionary. They have no inflection, but take case-affixes in a perfectly regular manner. Those which end in *o* have no distinction between the nominative and genitive cases.

The word *sú*, 'who,' is Tibetan, and forms in the plural *sú-sú*, which is also a Tibetan formation, though in that language it means 'whoever,' 'some.' The declension is as follows:—

SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
N.	<i>sú</i>	who?	<i>su-ko</i> ,	<i>su-patta</i>	<i>sú-sú</i>
G.	<i>sú-o</i>	of whom	<i>su-kun</i>		
D.	} <i>su-ke</i>	{ to whom	<i>su-e</i>		
Acc.				{ whom	
Inst.	<i>su-i</i>	by whom	<i>su-su-i</i>		

Kos or *kus*, 'who?' is thus declined—G. *kuso*; D. *kuske* or *kuche*, etc.

In the word *sura* or *suro*, 'any-one,' an inversion sometimes occurs in the accusative singular, *suke-ra* for *sura-ke*.

Great regularity in the type, so to speak, of the pronouns exists in Magar; this betrays the influence of Hindi. I give here a table showing these words. It will be observed that interrogatives commence with *k* or *ku*; demonstratives with *i* for close, and *a* for remote, objects; relatives with *j*. All this is clearly Hindi. Nothing of the kind occurs in Tibetan or its cognate languages, though the use of *i* for proximate, and

a for remote demonstratives is a characteristic of all languages of the Turanian family, and is even observed in Sanskrit and some other Indo-Germanic languages.¹

Some of the words in the following list are properly adverbs, but I insert them here in order to show the mechanism of the language in this respect at one glance.

It will be observed, 1. That some of the expressions are Hindi, either pure or only slightly corrupted; 2. That words of purely Tibetan origin exist side by side with Hindi or semi-Hindi forms.

Pronoun.	Adverb of Place.	Adverb of Quality.	Adverb of Direction.	Pronoun and Adverb of Quantity.	Adverb of Time.
<i>Hos</i> He	<i>Hola</i> There	<i>Hoto</i> Thus	<i>Hote</i> Thence	<i>Horangchü</i> So great	<i>Hose bera</i> Then
<i>Iee</i> This	<i>Ila[g]</i> Here (<i>yahdn</i>)	<i>Isto</i> Thus (<i>aisd</i>)	<i>Ito</i> Hence	<i>Irangchü</i> So great (<i>Itnd</i>)	<i>Iee bera</i> Now
<i>Aee</i> That	<i>Ala[g]</i> There (<i>wahdn</i>)	<i>Asto</i> Thus (<i>wasid</i>)	<i>Ato</i> Thence	<i>Arangchü</i> So great (<i>Utnd</i>)	<i>Aee bera</i> Then
<i>Kos</i> Who? (also <i>Su</i>)	<i>Kula[g]</i> Where? (<i>kahdn</i>)	<i>Koto</i> How? (<i>kaisd</i>)	<i>Kute</i> Whence?	<i>Kurangchü</i> How great?	(<i>Shen</i>) When?
<i>Joe[äzoJe-su]</i> Who ever (<i>jo koi</i>)	<i>deest</i>	<i>Joto</i> As (<i>jaisd</i>) <i>Toto</i> So (<i>taisd</i>)	<i>deest</i>	<i>deest</i>	<i>Jee bera</i> When ever

NOTE.—For further remarks see the section on Adverbs.

SECTION 4. THE NUMERALS.

The Magar language possesses numerals only up to five; from five onwards counting is carried on in Hindi.

The numerals are—

- | | |
|-----------------|----------|
| 1. <i>kat</i> | } Magar. |
| 2. <i>nis</i> | |
| 3. <i>som</i> | |
| 4. <i>buli</i> | |
| 5. <i>banga</i> | |
| 6. <i>chha</i> | } Hindi. |
| 7. <i>sat</i> | |
| etc. | |

¹ See on this subject Caldwell's Dravidian Grammar, p. 338 *et seq.*

The first five numerals are of Tibetan or Himalayan origin, and are connected with the numerals in Tibetan,¹ and all the hill languages as far as Assam and the Burmese frontier.

In the phrase *kah-ek*, 'one day,' the final *t* of *kat* has been changed into *k*. In the form *kangles*, 'one year,' the *t* is further modified into *ng*. The ordinals are the same as Hindi, even for those numbers whose cardinals are Magar pure; but it must be remarked that ordinals are seldom, if ever, used.

SECTION 5. THE VERB.

§ 1. The verb is as destitute of inflections as the noun, but possesses a sufficiency of machinery for expressing times, moods, and all other phases of action. This machinery consists, as in the noun, of appended syllables. The roots of all verbs are monosyllables. Where exceptions occur to this rule, they are only so in appearance, and spring from corruptions or contractions, (sometimes very difficult to explain,) of two or more monosyllabic roots.

I have endeavoured to arrange the various forms of the verb below; but it must be premised that the Magars themselves are very inaccurate and loose in their employment of these forms. The remarks below will elucidate this point more fully.

§ 2. The verb falls into conjugations, according as the root terminates with a consonant or a vowel.

1ST CONJUGATION.		2ND CONJUGATION.	
	<i>Rákh-ke.</i>		<i>Yá-ke.</i>
	'To bring.'		'To give.'
Infinitive	<i>Rákh-ke</i>	'to bring.'	<i>Yá-ke</i>
Present	<i>Rákh-le.</i>		<i>Yá-ke</i>
Do.	<i>Rákh-lang.</i>		<i>Yá-le.</i>
Aorist	<i>Rákh-o-ne.</i>		<i>Yá-lang.</i>
Preterite	<i>Rákh-á.</i>		<i>Yá-mo-ne.</i>
Future	<i>Á-rákh-e.</i>		<i>Yá-h-á.</i>
Imperative	<i>Rákh-o.</i>		<i>Á-[yá]-h-e² (á-he.)</i>
Do.	<i>Rákh-ná.</i>		<i>Yo-h-o.</i>
Do. (respectful)	<i>Rákh-ní.</i>		Wanting.
Past participle	<i>Rákh-nü.</i>		<i>Yá-ní.</i>
Verbal noun	<i>Rákh-chü.</i>		<i>Yá-mü</i> or <i>mo.</i>
			<i>Yá-chü</i>

¹ See these words in the Vocabulary.

² This form is not used with words beginning with the vowel *a*.

§ 3. *Remarks*.—1. The forms of the present in *le* and *lang* are used to denote future action which is to take place immediately, exactly like our English phrase 'I am going,' which, though present in form, is future in sense.

Ex. : *Nangke sátnang* (for *-lang*).

'I will beat you' (*i.e.* immediately).

2. *Lang* is often pronounced *nang*, as in *sátnang* above.

3. *Le* in *rákh-le* is the root of the verb *le-ke*, 'to be;' *lang* is probably a contraction of *le-ang* = being-in.¹ Thus *rákh-le* would mean 'bringing-am,' and *rákh-lang*, 'bringing-am-in,' or 'I am in (the act of) bringing,' which accounts for its being used as an immediate future, as well as a present, tense.

4. The affix *le* is sometimes omitted, especially in short, abrupt sentences. Ex. : *jaï ki ma jaï*, 'will you eat, or not?' which is for *jaï-le* (*jaï-le*) from *jaïke*, 'to eat' (pronounced *jaïke*).

5. I have called the form in *-one* the aorist because its time is indefinite. It is used with reference to past, present, or future occurrences. It appears to have sprung from the indefinite past participle in *nü* or *mo* with *le* added and changed into *ne*, a change of which other instances are found. It would thus be equivalent to 'I have done,' as in *yámone*, which would be *yámo* = having given, *le* = I am, 'I am having given,' or 'I have given.' In the first conjugation *rákhone* would be for *rákh[n]ü-ne*, the *n* being slurred over or elided, and the short *ü* changed into an obscure *o*. The following sentences will explain the nature and use of this form :—

Past. *Chini hose hira má jaï mone.*

To-day he has eaten nothing.

Future. *Nungchü dangone.*

I will go and see (*lit.* going I will see.).

Present. *Nákun kulág ngumone.*

Where do you live?

¹ The affix *ang* is sometimes added without the *l* to express present time, as *pasang*, 'it happens,' for *pas-lang*.

6. The form of the imperative in *ni* is used when addressing a superior, and is similar to the Hindi *-iye* in *baithiye, diye*, 'be pleased to sit,' etc.

7. All verbs of the second conjugation, whose roots end in *á* change the vowel of the root into *o* in the imperative, and insert a soft *h* between that and the vowel of the affix, as *ya-ke yo-ho, ga-ke go-ho*. This *h* can only be heard when a person speaks very distinctly, otherwise the imperative sounds like one syllable, *yo, go*.

8. The past participle is similar in use to the Hindi participle in *kar* or *karke*.

Ex. : *Jaimo nungná*, 'having eaten, go.'

Hindi : *Khá karke jáo*.

It is much used in forming compound verbs, the latter element of which is formed by *yáke*, 'to give,' *tohke* or *toke*, 'to place,' and other verbs.

Ex. : *Dasnü yáke*, 'to abandon.'

Word for word Hindi *chhor dená*.

Tag dimo ngapke, 'to take aim.'

Word for word Hindi *nishána karke márná*.

The words most frequently used to form compounds are—

<i>yáke</i> to give.	<i>rahke</i> to come.
<i>tohke</i> to place.	<i>nungke</i> to go.
<i>nguke</i> to sit, remain.	<i>rákhke</i> to bring.
<i>kahke</i> to put.	<i>álhke</i> to take away, etc.

These all take the preceding verb in the past participle.

Ex. : *Bherdimo toho*.

Fold up (*lit.* having folded put).

9. The form in *chū* like that in *one* is used in a very vague manner. I apprehend that it is originally and properly the present participle and corresponds to the Hindi *walla*. In Tibetan *hgyúr* (pronounced *chhúr*) means 'to become,' and it is possible that this verb, which is used as an auxiliary in that language, may be the origin of the affix *chū*. It is notable that this syllable is found at the end of a large majority of adjectives, and that such especially as take their primary

idea from actions are derived from verbs by adding *chü* to the root. Thus from

<i>Hekle</i>	to be able	comes	<i>hekchü</i>	able.
<i>Jaïke</i>	to eat	,,	<i>jaïchü</i>	eatable.
<i>Gáke</i>	to drink	,,	<i>gáchü</i>	drinkable.
	etc.		etc.	

I have therefore called this form a verbal noun. It is used with reference to past, present, and future time, and in every variety of mood. A few examples will explain its use more readily than a long dissertation.

1. *Hose dhuṭ tsánchü, kurek din tsaná.*

How long ago was it ?

Here *tsánchü* is the verbal noun of *tsánke*, 'to become,' 'to happen,' and the sentence therefore is literally, 'that affair happening' (*hone se*), or 'having happened how many days have been ?'

2. *Dánra pári lági rákchü kángles.*

They came formerly from beyond the hills.

Rákchü here strictly means '[they are people] coming,' or 'comers,' or 'who came,' just like the Hindi *ánewálá*.

3. *Kuchi birinchü ale ?* 'who sent it ?'

Kuchi = instrumental case of *kos*, 'who,' *ale*, future of *leke*, 'to be,' used in the sense of 'may be.' I should translate this, either 'who may be the sender?' (in which case *birinchü* would be an active participle, and *kuchi* used irregularly for the nominative *kos*, just as *ngoi*, which is really an instrumental, is often used for a nominative); or 'by whom may it be sent?' where *birinchü* would be used passively. In connection with this interpretation, observe the remarks on the formation of the passive voice in the next paragraph. I incline more to the first of these two interpretations; the difficulty about *kuchi* is explained by a reference to Hindi. The influence of this language is so marked in Magar, that it may fairly be assumed that in trying to imitate the somewhat intricate use of the instrumental as a nominative in the Hindi *ne*, in such phrases as *usne dekhá*, 'he saw,' the Magars have fallen into the error so commonly perpetrated by the

lower classes of Hindustanis, of using the instrumental out of place. As is well known, an ignorant Hindustani, in trying to talk classically, will often commit such an error as *ham ne dekhtá hai*, or *ham ne baiñhá*. It may be pardoned to the simple Magars to have erred, where even their models are not always correct; and this interpretation preserves to the form in *chü* its usual and appropriate active sense.

10. The passive voice is not often used in Magar, it may be doubted if it really exists. The idea of a passive is a somewhat artificial one, and not necessarily inherent in the scheme of any language. It can scarcely be said to exist in Tibetan, or in Hindi, the two languages which are, so to speak, the parents of Magar. In both these languages a periphrasis, more or less arbitrary, is employed. The idea 'I was beaten,' is simply and quite as fully expressed by, 'he has beaten me.'

Má nungas dereng, nangke detachü le.

If you do not go, you will be punished.

Here the object is in the accusative case, and the verb is active, literally 'thee beating is,' *i.e.*, 'some one is (or will be) beating thee.'

This is one way of expressing the passive; another is—

Ité má ðangle, 'it cannot be seen from here.'

Literally 'hence not sees,' *i.e.*, 'one does not see (it) from here.'

A third method is in imitation of the Hindi—

Kos ke bhira nunga, 'who was sent?'

This is word for word the Hindi *kisko bhejá gayá*, *i.e.*, the active preterite compounded with the verb *nungna*, 'to go,' literally 'who sent went.' Both in Hindi and in Magar the person is often placed in the accusative, where logically the nominative should occur.

The verb *ngunke*, 'to sit,' is also used in forming the passive. *Detaká nguá*, 'he was beaten,' literally, 'he sat beaten.'

Inasmuch, then, as there is no separate form appropriated to the expression of the passive, we are justified in saying that no passive exists in the language. A Magar will twist the

passive sentence round till he expresses the idea, looking at it from the opposite point of view, by an active verb ; and if this cannot be done, will express the idea by one or other of the above periphrases or compromises.

11. Reciprocal, causal, and other forms of verbs found in cultivated languages, do not exist in this rude dialect. Nor are there any traces of a subjunctive, or potential, or optative mood. The list of verbal forms given above, comprises, it is believed, every verbal variation in the language. The subjunctive is expressed simply by the indicative or primary form, sometimes with the addition of the word *dereng* (or *delen*, or *delek*), which apparently means 'then.'

12. The potential is resolved into two words—'I may go,' becomes 'I to go am able.' The optative, 'may it be!' would be rendered 'I wish that it will be.'

13. Necessity, as in the phrase, 'I must go,' is expressed by the paraphrase, 'to me to go is,' *ngáke nungke le*. This form is also often used for a simple present or future, as *ngá kám sátke le*, 'I will do the work,' (for *sátte*).

14. The verb *leke*, 'to be,' is used as an auxiliary in the formation of the present tense. It is only found in three forms, *le*, *ále*, and *lesá*. Of these *le* is the present ; *ále* is strictly the future, but is used as a present and potential ; *lesá* is used in affirmation. For the meaning of *sá*, see the chapter on expletives.

15. The infinitive ends, as will have been seen, in *ke*. This affix is the same as the affix of the dative case of nouns, and in this respect resembles the use of 'to' in English 'to go,' etc. In some cases a word in Magar is both a noun and verb, as *hing*, 'sing,' and 'a song.' Here *hingke* means both 'to a song,' and 'to sing.'

SECTION 6. THE ADVERB.

All nouns, whether substantive or adjective, may be used adverbially, which is the same as saying that where we in English would use an adverb the Magars use a noun, and this latter is the more correct way of putting it. By fitting foreign languages to the Procrustean bed of our own, we lose

much of their peculiar type. Instead of saying, 'he speaks well,' a Magar says, 'he speaks good,' or 'in a good manner.' Adverbs of manner, such as are expressed in English by the affix *ly*, as 'valiantly,' 'conscientiously,' and the like, are rendered in Magar by the phrase 'in a (valiant, conscientious, and so forth) manner,' and the adjective will be found in the Dictionary. Adverbs of time, place, quality, and quantity will be found there also, as well as in the comparative table under the section on pronouns.

The adverbs of quantity end in *arangchü*, which is a corruption of *karangchü*, 'great.'

Adverbs of place end in *la* or *lag*, which is probably the Tibetan *lag*, 'hand;' as we should say, 'on this hand,' or 'that hand.' It is noticeable that a final *g* appears in the pronunciation of these words before a vowel or *ng*.

Ex. : *Ilag nguná*, 'si there.' *Hose kulag ále*, 'where is he?' On the contrary, *ila raná*, 'come here.' This termination is apparently connected with the affix *lagi* or *laki*, 'from,' which seems to be an instrumental case of *lag*, 'a hand.'

The adverbs of quality have a hybrid look, and appear to be compounded of the Sanskrit words *kas*, *tas*, etc., with the Tibetan affix *to* or *tu*, which is used as the sign of the locative case in that language, and also as an ordinary mark of adverbs.

The adverbs of direction end in *te* or *the*. I am in doubt as to the origin of this termination. The inquiry is attended with some difficulty, and as my object in the present paper is only to give such etymological notes as may help towards the general comprehension of the grammatical scheme of the language, I defer the consideration of this point till I have obtained data for the analysis of all the languages of this class.

The adverbs of time are pure Hindi, except *shen*, which is Tibetan.

SECTION 7. CONJUNCTIONS.

§ 1. There are few conjunctions in Magar. The construction of sentences is simple, and in keeping with the primitive and inartificial character of the language. The following are

the principal, if not all, words of this class:—*da*, 'and;' *da . . . da*, 'and . . . also;' *ra*, 'and;' *ki*, 'or;' *parantu*, 'but,' 'however;' *ma*, 'no,' 'not;' (Tib. *ma*).

§ 2. 'If' is either not expressed at all, or inferred from the structure of the sentence. 'If I see him, I will tell him' would be expressed, *oske dangle ra, khabar ahe*, 'I shall see him, I will tell him.' Here *ra* is properly an expletive, and adds force to the idea of seeing; to make the idea more clear, a Magar would add the opposite contingency, "I shall not see him, I will not tell him." In ordinary colloquial Hindustani, a similar construction often occurs, as *dekhen, to kahenge*, literally, 'I may see (him), then I will speak.' Much of course depends on the tone in which the sentence is uttered, and in a language which has no literature or written character, the construction of sentences seems always to proceed on the supposition that they will be spoken, and thus derive sufficient aid from the tone and manner of the speaker to make the meaning clear, without any great accuracy of expression.

§ 3. I do not give a separate section to interjections. They are so few as not to merit separate notice. A low grunt, or 'whew!' expresses surprise, assent, pleasure, and so forth. *Ho*, or *Ho! Ho!* is also used for affirmation, 'yes.' For the rest, the 'ahs' and 'ohs,' and the like, are common in Magar, as in all other languages.

SECTION 8. EXPLETIVES.

The syllables *ra*, *na*, *sá*, *da*, *s*, and *mi*, are used to add emphasis and for other purposes. I have called them expletives, because they have often no other meaning.

§ 1. *Ra* (probably a corruption of the Tibetan *dang*, a particle of affirmation)¹ is added to all forms of the verb, and appears to be simply emphatic, being inserted or omitted at the caprice of the speaker.

Ex.: *Nga muling le ra*, 'I was hungry (I assure you).'

When added to nouns it is the same as *da*, 'and.'

By adding *ra* to the past tense of the verb a sort of indefinite

¹ Or from Tibetan *rang*, 'self,' 'very,' 'indeed.'

participle is formed, as *bherdiára*, 'having folded;' *tagdiára*, 'having taken aim.' I have not given this form among the verbal forms as it is not strictly one. It properly means 'he did, and —,' as in *tagdiára ngápá*, 'he took aim and shot.' This origin of the phrase appears, however, to have been overlooked, for it is now not considered incorrect to say *bherdiára áhna*, 'fold it up and take it away,' which literally would be 'you have folded it and take it away;' rather a singular construction.

§ 2. *Na*; precisely similar to the Hindi *na* or *nu*, from which it is probably borrowed. It has no special meaning, but adds a certain emphasis to a sentence. Any one who is accustomed to talk to the lower classes in India must have often noticed how, after a long sentence, an emphatic *na* or *nu* seems to complete the meaning. Thus the question *chilli giyá?* seems incomplete to the ear, whereas *chilli giyá na?* is complete and intelligible. I confess I cannot explain why; but to my ear, and certainly to that of the peasant, the latter of the two sentences seems more correct, as the former sounds abrupt and incomplete.

§ 3. *Sá* is only met with in the verb *leke*, 'to be,' as *gipchú le sá*, 'it is good.' The three forms of this verb are *le*, *ále*, and *lesá*. Of these the first requires no explanation; *ále* is properly a future, used as a present, chiefly, if not exclusively, in questions; *lesá* is the reply to *ále*.

Ex. : *Su ále?*—*ngo bai lesá*, 'who is he?—he is my father.'

§ 4. *S* is added to verbs in all forms, but only in the second person. I at first thought that this was a trace of conjugation, but I am now inclined to class it simply as an affix, because I observe that it is as often omitted as not. You may say *nang nungle*, 'thou goest,' or *nang nungle-s*. The most frequent use of it occurs in short sentences, as *hi sátle-s*, 'what will you do?' 'what are you doing?'

With regard to this expletive and *ra*, I found that the use of them was looked on as a characteristic of individuals rather than a necessity of the language. One of my interpreters, Juhur Singh, interspersed his conversation with them much more abundantly than the other; and when I enquired into

the matter, I was told, with much laughter, that Juhur Singh was a *thegá wálá*; in other words, that the insertion of these *thegás* or 'tags,' was a weakness of his, just as there are some Englishmen who seem unable to get through a sentence without saying, 'Don't you see,' 'don't you know,' and so forth.

§ 4. *Mi* is prefixed to words denoting parts of the human body, and is the Tibetan for 'man.' In a short vocabulary of Magar, I find 'head,' *mitalu*; 'nose,' *minaha*;' 'bone,' *mirhos*,¹ etc., etc., the fact being that the real words are respectively *talú*, *náha*, and *rhos*; as is shown, not only by the meaning of *mi*, but also by the fact that in speaking of 'my head,' a Magar would say *ngo talu*, not *ngo mi talu*. I have omitted this prefix from the dictionary.

SECTION III. SENTENCES.

The syntax of the Magar language is so simple that I have thought it better to insert the following sentences, instead of writing a separate chapter on composition.

It will be seen that any peculiarities in the construction of the sentences are explained in the foot-notes, and it appears to me that a better idea of the language will be obtained in this way, than by a long string of rules and exceptions.

These sentences were taken down accurately from the mouths of the interpreters; and each sentence has been repeated and gone over several times, to ensure perfect correctness. Our medium of communication was the form of Hindi spoken in Chumparun. It is possible, therefore, that some of the sentences may have been influenced by the idiom and artificial arrangement of the Hindi, but as I varied my form of words three or four times in reciting the sentence, and besides gave elaborate explanations and illustrations of the exact phrase I required, I trust the influence of the Hindi has been reduced to a minimum. The foot-notes are the results often of a very long conversation on each sentence, and I often proposed other ways of putting it, which were rejected by the

¹ Hodgson erroneously *mirydrus*, which is used *sensu obscuro*.

Magars as unidiomatical. The sentences, as they stand, may, therefore, in spite of their deviations from the rules in the Grammar, be relied on as faithful reproductions of the Magar idiom.

<i>Taanre rānā.</i>	Come quickly.
<i>Nākun ıla rāni.¹</i>	Please to come hither, sir.
<i>Mhen rākho (rakhni, respectful).</i>	Bring fire.
<i>Di rākho (rakhni, respectful).</i>	Bring water.
<i>Ngā di rākhle.</i>	I am bringing water.
<i>Ngā di rākhke nungle.</i>	I am going to bring water.
<i>Di rākhā.</i>	I have brought water.
<i>Nango ārmin hi dle.²</i>	What is your name?
<i>Nango im kulale.³</i>	Where is your house?
<i>Ngo im Tannung dle.⁴</i>	My house is at Tannung.
<i>Ito Tannung kurik los le.⁵</i>	How far is Tannung from here?
<i>Dhere los le.</i>	It is very far.
<i>Banga dino lam le.⁶</i>	It is five days' journey.
<i>Ngā⁷ ālag nungke le.</i>	I must go there.
<i>Kānang imang⁸ rāni.</i>	Come to my house.
<i>Ngāke jyāke⁹ yāni.</i>	Give me food.
<i>Hoska rupiya yāni.</i>	Give him money.
<i>Isē shing cheo.</i>	Cut down this tree.
<i>Shing bhaso.</i>	Cut up the wood.
<i>Ma chele.⁹</i>	I will not cut it.
<i>Ngā chū cheke ma hokle.¹⁰</i>	I cannot cut it.

¹ *Nākun*, respectful form of pronoun of 2nd person, takes the respectful form of the verb, *rāni* instead of *rānā*, which is used in commanding an inferior as in sentence 1.

² Lit. 'Of you the name what is?' The verb is generally placed last, however long the sentence, and personal pronouns first.

³ *Kulale*, contracted from *kulag dle*.

⁴ *Leed* would have been more correct, but *dle* was probably used in consequence of its occurring in the question. Observe that *Tannung* has no affix. This is probably omitted, because *Tannung-ang* would sound badly, or in imitation of the Hindi idiom, e.g., *ghar jāo*, where *ko* is omitted.

⁵ *Lo* for *dle*. The final *k* in *kurik* is pronounced like *g*, and the *s* of *los* almost like *sh*.

⁶ Literally, 'Of five days a road (it) is.' The affix of the genitive is appended only to the latter of the two words 'five days.'

⁷ For *Ngā-ke*. Case affixes are often omitted in long sentences. *Nungke le*, lit. 'to go it is,' i.e., 'I must go.'

⁸ *Imang*, lit. 'In my house, we should say, 'into.'

⁹ *Jyāke*, pronounced *jaika*. 'to eat,' lit. 'give me to eat.' Here the affix *ke*, 'to,' common to nouns and verbs explains itself. Compare Hindi *khāne ko do*.

¹⁰ *Che le*, 'I cut,' present, used with a future sense. There is much vagueness on the subject of time in the Magar mind.

<i>Nákun¹ kurik barkhá teaná.</i>	How old are you ?
<i>Hose achü² imang lo.</i>	He is in his house.
<i>As ma hakle.³</i>	It is not possible.
<i>Tánro tsánro⁴ zato.</i>	Work quickly.
<i>Ma shalo ngoichü.⁵</i>	I do not hear.
<i>Hike⁶ nang retá ?</i>	Why did you laugh ?
<i>Nga sáhang nungke pasá.⁷</i>	Will you go with me ?
<i>Jaí ki má jaí.⁸</i>	Will you eat, or not ?
<i>Lánghang⁹ dulishke nunglo.</i>	I am going to walk in the village.
<i>Hose imlaki ráhang.¹⁰</i>	He has come from the house.
<i>Hi ngo lo.</i>	What do you want ?
<i>Kánang bai shíd.</i>	My father is dead.
<i>Hose kam bhyámo nungá.</i>	Having finished the work, he went away.
<i>Kat kam satke ráhá.</i>	I have come to work.
<i>Nyotke di kánü¹¹ rákko.</i>	Water the cattle.
<i>Ghorake dána kásá ki má kásá.</i>	Have you given the horse grain or not ?
<i>Hosko kula nunglo.</i>	Where are they going ?
<i>Hosko imang¹² nunglo.</i>	They are going to their home.
<i>Hoskun lánghang¹³ kulag dle.</i>	Where is their home ?
<i>Pihin náhakun imang rahle.¹⁴</i>	I will come to your house to-morrow.
<i>Ilag nguke gipahü ma lo.¹⁵</i>	This is not a nice place to sit in.
<i>Jaíke bhya ki ma dhe.¹⁶</i>	Is dinner ready ?

¹ *Nákun* is indeclinable. The sentence is literally 'To you how many years have been.'

² There is no reflexive pronoun, lit. 'He of-him in-house is.'

³ Lit. 'that cannot (be).'

⁴ *Tánro* doubled for emphasis.

⁵ Personal pronoun put last for emphasis.

⁶ Dative case of *hi*, 'what,' lit. 'for what.'

⁷ Lit. 'with-me to go has it pleased?' This construction is used because the question implies will, 'do you wish to go?'

⁸ Short for *jaílo*. Vide sec. 5, § 3, 4.

⁹ For *lánghang-ang*, the affix is omitted, perhaps to avoid repetition of sounds; but more probably because a Magar never inserts affixes, if he can make his meaning clear without them.

¹⁰ *Rahang*, a form of the present. Vide Sect. 5, § 3, Remark 3. The affix *ang* is common to nouns and verbs, and means 'in,' *rahang* therefore is 'coming-in.' Observe that the verb is almost uniformly placed at the end of the sentence.

¹¹ *Di kásá*, 'to feed with water.' In the next sentence, *dána kásá*, 'to feed with grain.' The sentence shows how much use is made of Urdu words in Magar.

¹² After verbs of motion the affix in *ang* is often used.

¹³ Lit. 'Village.'

¹⁴ See sec. 5, remark 1.

¹⁵ Lit. 'Here to sit pleasant not is.'

¹⁶ 'To eat has been prepared or not prepared;' *dhe* contraction for *bhyá*, past tense of *bhyáke*, 'to prepare.' This contraction is merely euphonic.

<i>Tánre tánre bhyo.</i>	Make ready quickly.
<i>Ngake lám tánaknú yoho.</i>	Show me the way.
<i>Kose¹ lám díe.³</i>	Which is the road ?
<i>Taiyar tsaná.³</i>	It is ready.
<i>Ngoi chü hird má whárle.</i>	I know nothing.
<i>Párchü⁴ langhang bhurmi le.</i>	He is from another village.
<i>Ngáke khasi mishia⁵ jáke zoho.</i>	Give me some goat's flesh to eat.
<i>Lhungo dewál kharálang káso.</i>	Make a wall of stone along the cliff.
<i>Hola má whána, khorhále.</i>	Do not go there, you will fall.
<i>Káhek⁶ ngáke bhára yoho, ngá kam jáke le.</i>	Give me a day's wages, then I will work.
<i>Iming chu chiknú záni.</i>	Turn the dog out of the house.
<i>Achü barhin puráno chyá⁷ le sá.</i>	That man's clothes are old and torn
<i>Ngáke bal yani.</i>	Help me.
<i>Kan chini⁸ rupiya khusunú dlá.</i>	He took away the money from me.
<i>Tálochü⁹ chulá taking toho.</i>	Put the pot on the fire.
<i>Pihin ose langhang¹⁰ basar lash le.¹¹</i>	There is a fair in that village to- morrow.
<i>Má ; lashnú bhyá ;¹² háke nunglo.</i>	No, it is over, why should I go ?

¹ *Kose* for *kos* or *kus*, 'which?' an emphatic *s* or *i* is constantly added to pronouns. It is a *thegd* or expletive, and is not essential to the meaning.

² *Ale*, not *le* or *laid*, as it is a question. See chap. 1, sec. 8, § 3.

³ *Tsanke* differs from *leke* just as 'become' differs from 'be.'

⁴ *Parchü*, i.e. 'from the other side' (to wit, 'of the valley'). All the Magar country being mountainous, a man from another village naturally comes across a valley.

⁵ Sign of the genitive omitted. See sec. 2, § 1, remark 2.

⁶ *Káhek*, 'one day,' is apparently indeclinable. In this sentence it is in the genitive case. It is contracted or corrupted from *kat*, 'one,' and *ek*, which probably means 'day.' I cannot find in Tibetan any word which seems connectable with this according to any canons of relation of sounds. Nor does any word exist in the hill languages which is like this. The Tibetan *zhag* is the nearest. I incline to the idea that the word *ek* is an expletive or meaningless addition which has acquired by habit the sense of 'day.' If any one should object to the word 'meaningless,' I would remind him that in the Turanian family there exist many generic affixes which are really of no use to the general meaning of the sentence but merely serve to mark the class of objects to which the word belongs. This is one of them. They say *nisek*, 'two days,' etc., though the word for 'day' is *sin* in Magar.

⁷ Past tense of *chike* or *cheko*, 'to cut, tear.'

⁸ *Chini*: here evidently means 'from.' It is, however, the only instance I have found of its use. It has a suspicious resemblance to the Hindi *chhín lena*, 'to take by force.' It would be too much to assert, however, that this was the real origin of it.

⁹ *Chü* is here quite an expletive, and used similarly to *ngoi chü*. Perhaps something in the original meaning of the word may account for its having this quasi-adjectival form.

¹⁰ Affix *ang* omitted.

¹¹ *Lash le*, literally Hindi *lagá hai*, which is quite untranslatable.

¹² Lit. 'Having occurred it is completed,'—*Ho chuká*, Hindi idiom again.

<i>Kam olá ki má olá.</i>	Is the work finished or not?
<i>Nga ngo barhin ngelo.</i>	I want my clothes.
<i>Nango asbáb dind.</i>	Take away your goods.
<i>Ngáke ásate dímo kherchú¹ (or bhogáishú.)²</i>	Fearing he would beat me, I fled.
<i>Nengi dāngohú kurik ber tsaná.³</i>	How often have you seen it.
<i>Isé chitti nga kháta lo.</i>	Is this letter for me?
<i>Nákun kháta lo-sá; bariá tsaná.⁴</i>	It is for you.
<i>Kuto ráhá? Kuchi ale birinchú.⁵</i>	Where did it come from? Who sent it?
<i>Pihin kat úttara yámo ákáhe.⁶</i>	To-morrow I will give an answer.
<i>Kan bhái moto sátná, úttara birnú ákáhe.</i>	Having consulted my brother, I will send a reply.
<i>Nakun hi kámang ráhá.</i>	Why have you come?
<i>Kurik áinang tá ráhá áte.</i>	In how many days have you come from there?
<i>Kahé kang tá ráhá.</i>	I came in one day.
<i>Murungi díd, Tsohin khernd, má nungas dereng⁷ detaohú lo.⁸</i>	The master said—'If you do not go quickly, you will be beaten.
<i>Khernang khernang máhngone, nguko yoho.</i>	I am tired with running, let me sit down.
<i>Shen úttar⁹ díke lo.</i>	When will you take the answer?
<i>Tsohin ngá ná⁹ nunlang.</i>	I will go at once.
<i>Isé dá yoho, nga dá yoho.</i>	Give both to him and to me.
<i>Dhar beri ngahá ngá má lo phir.</i>	I have spoken often, I will not speak again.
<i>Hola nungnú ngosni hi sátone.</i>	Go and see what they are doing.
<i>Ite má dāngle.¹⁰</i>	It cannot be seen from here.
<i>Nahakó kam sátke hekohú má lo.</i>	You cannot do the work.
<i>Som zana khatnú kam sátni.</i>	Let three men do it together.
<i>Kos bhurmi ke bhira nungá.</i>	What man was sent?
<i>Kochú sátá.</i>	Who was killed?
<i>Ngo barhin má khátá (or khátone).</i>	My clothes cannot be found.

¹ Lit. 'Me he will beat,' having-said I fled. See sec. 5, § 3, remark 9.

² *Bhogáishú* is for *diashú*.

³ 'By you seen, how many times was (it).' Cf. p. 208, note 3.

⁴ The words *barid tsaná* are a sort of optative form, 'May it be propitious.' This word *barid* appears only to be used in this phrase: it probably is a corruption of the Hindi *bhaid*.

⁵ See sec. 5, § 3, remark 9, example 3.

⁶ Future of *kahke*, 'to place.'

⁷ Lit. 'You do not go-then.' See sec. 7, § 2.

⁸ See sec. 5, § 3, remark 10.

⁹ Expletive.

¹⁰ Literally, 'From here (one) sees not.' *Dangd* is also used.

<i>Nahakoḥ kulag ngumone.</i>	Where do you live?
<i>Alag ngunang janmo disiu</i> (or <i>disid</i>)	I have lived there all my life.
<i>Ngo janmo thāt hola na ale ngo</i> <i>baba ko holo ngund nesd.</i> ¹	That is my native place, and my father lived there.
<i>Sipahiko</i> ² <i>kam zātike whārle.</i>	Do you know the work of a soldier?
<i>Nang hi kam bhog disd.</i> ³	Why did you run away?
<i>Nāhakoḥ bhogdishnu nungle, phir</i> <i>ghomo rākhlē.</i> ⁴	If you run away, you will be caught again.
<i>Suo thor khosd.</i> ⁵	Whose bullocks were stolen?
<i>Ngōichū ma whārle, sura mā khosd.</i>	I do not know, I did not steal any.
<i>Hose dhuḥ tsanchū kurik dīn</i> <i>tsand.</i> ⁶	How long ago was it?
<i>Nisek tsand.</i> ⁷	Two days ago.
<i>Hosko mā sdtni, rakchū parantu</i> <i>mā ddo.</i>	Do not beat him, but do not let him go.
<i>Hose khushi khātā ma rāhd dōr-</i> <i>heng, hut chāknū rākhnī.</i>	If he will not come quietly, tie his hands.
<i>Pihin ādi hukm.</i>	To-morrow I will give orders.
<i>Hike nang ris khemonē.</i> ⁸ (or <i>khyd</i>).	Why have you committed the crime?
<i>Ngā muling lerd, hose khata</i> ⁹ <i>jaḥke</i> <i>nyemone.</i>	I was hungry, and I asked him for food.
<i>Hose mā yaha.</i>	He would not give [me any].

¹ Lit. 'Of me the birth there indeed was; of me the father living was.' *Na* is an expletive: see chap. 1, sec. 8, § 2. *Ale*, though really a present, is here used for a past, there being no past tense of *leke*, 'to be;' in the same way *led* at the end of the sentence, which, probably from the influence of the preceding *nasala*, is pronounced *nesd*. *Ko* is a generic appellative added to nouns signifying relation. This is a strictly Turanian characteristic, and is found in Tibetan, Chinese, and the Hill languages in a far more elaborately developed form. *Ngund* is for *ngu* with the expletive *na*; the phrase *ngund nesd* is a longer and fuller form for *ngu le*.

² See chap. 1, sec. 2, § 4 (c).

³ *Bhogdisid*, past tense of *bhogdishke*. Verbs ending in *ishke* or *disheke* have a frequentative sense; also generally convey the idea of motion.

⁴ Lit. 'You having-fled go, again having-caught he brings.' The idea of 'if' is not expressed, being involved in the general idea of the sentence. See chap. 1, sec. 7, § 2. There is no passive, consequently the phrase, 'You will be caught,' has to be expressed by '(some-one) catches you.' See chap. 1, sec. 6, § 3, remark 10.

⁵ *Khosd*, lit. 'he stole.' Passive again expressed by active.

⁶ Lit. 'That event happening, how many days were.' See sec. 2, § 3, rem. 9.

⁷ 'Two-days were.'

⁸ *s. thaya*. See sec. 8, § 4.

⁹ *Khata* is lit. 'with.' This sentence seems modelled on Hindi *us se mangd*, where *se* = 'with' or 'from.'

<p><i>Nābi hose imang tākamone, ra galam bhasnū bhītari nungā hochū teura patta khunū rākh- lesa.</i></p> <p><i>Ise pdli dasnū yāni, phir ise kām sātke mā lo.¹</i></p> <p><i>Ichū khuseo malo² nis ber tāke lo,³ kat barka kaidang mingke dinles.⁴</i></p> <p><i>Nyāke karangchū sāsana yāhā, ngo sāsāko jyāke bāhir shi lo.</i></p> <p><i>Hī toba?⁵ Patta⁶ khuske sāsā sātke pārdilo.⁷</i></p>	<p>At night I went to his house, and having cut a hole in the wall, I entered and stole all his grain.</p> <p>If you let me off now, I will not do so again.</p> <p>You must pay double the value of the ' property you have stolen, and you will be im- prisoned for one year.</p> <p>This is a hard punishment, my [wifeand] children will starve.</p> <p>Who cares? All thieves must be punished.</p>
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VOCABULARY.

H. Hindi; A. Arabic; P. Persian; T. Tibetan.

<p>A</p> <p>A, art. <i>kat</i> (one).</p> <p>Abandon, v. <i>dāske, dāsnū y-</i> (T. <i>das</i>).</p> <p>Able, adj. <i>hekchū</i>.</p> <p>Able, to be, v. <i>hekke</i>.</p> <p>Above, pr. <i>taking</i> (aff.), adv. <i>dhem- lag</i>.</p> <p>About, pr. <i>khāta</i> (aff.).</p> <p>Abuse, v. (to use bad language), <i>lobhi dīke</i>.</p> <p>Ache, s. <i>dard, dhūf</i>.</p> <p>Ache, v. <i>dhuḡ tsānke</i>.</p>	<p>Accompany, v. <i>khata wānke</i>.</p> <p>Accuse, v. <i>firyad z-</i> (with aff. taking) (P. <i>فرياد</i>).</p> <p>Act, v. <i>sātke-khete</i>.³</p> <p>Action, s. <i>kām</i> (H. काम), <i>dhūf</i>.</p> <p>Active, adj. <i>kām sātchū, mihmati</i>.</p> <p>Add, v. see "Join."</p> <p>Adore, v. <i>pājdīke</i> (H. पूजा), <i>pū- dīke</i>.</p> <p>Adorn, v. <i>bhūke, bhāsnā y-</i></p> <p>Advance, v. <i>nhdalak sarishke</i>.</p> <p>Adze, s. <i>basulā</i> (H. बसुला).</p>
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¹ Lit. 'to do it is not,' this form is used instead of the regular future, to convey a sense of absolute certainty—'to do it is not (possible or to be thought of, etc.)'

² 'Of that stolen property.' *Khuse-o* is, I fancy, a genitive of the present tense, thus *khuske*='to steal'; *khuse-lo*='thou stealdest'; *khuse[ś]*=id. gen. *khuse-o*. Vide sec. 2, § 3, for remarks on the general declinability of every root in Magar, indifferently as a noun or verb, or both at once as in this case.

³ 'Twice to put down it is (necessary).'

⁴ *Dinles*, (from *dinke*, 'to find,') 'you will find,' i.e., 'will have to,' construction imitated from Hindi use of *padā*, as *baishke padoge*, 'you will have to sit.'

⁵ Lit. 'What regret?' *toba* is the Arabic word so common in Urdu.

⁶ *Patta* is put first for emphasis. 'All thieves,' etc. Ordinarily it would come after *khuse*.

⁷ *Pardilo*, 'it is proper.'

⁸ To commit a crime: *rishkeke*.

Affair, s. *dháf*.

After, pr. *nhus lág*, used both of time and place.

Again, adv. *phir* (H. फिर), (T. *phir*).

Age, s. no word, they say *kurik barká teand*, how many years have passed (to you); for: how old are you?

Aged, adj. *burhásiü* (H. बुढ़ा with T. *thac?*).

Ague, s. *kam dsaro* (H. चारु).

Aid, v. *moto x-* (H. मति); *bal y-* (H. बल).

Aid, s. *bal, madad* (P. مدد).

Air, s. *tunyál, tsáro, nyamsu* (T. *nyimassu*, lit. sun-place).

Aim, s. *tág dike, tagdimó ngápke*.

Alarm, v. *birid y-, birike*.

Alarm, s. *birid* (T. *bre'*).

All, adj. *patta, patto*.

Allow, v. *yáke* (i.e. to give, as देना is used in H.).

Alone, adj. *lákat, milákat* (n. compound of *lá* side and *kat* one).

Along, pr. (by the side of), *ang* (aff.).

Alter, v. *thetke, theť rákhke*.

Always, adv. *hardam* (P. هر دم).

And, c. *da, ra* (T. *da, dar*).

Anger, s. *ghussa* (A. غصّة), *rhis*.

Angry, adj. *rhischü*.

Animal, s. *jiwát* (H. जीवत).

Ankle, s. *goli gáthá* (H. गोली-गाथा, round joint).

Anklet, s. *kali, hápri, hadá*.

Annoy, v. *dikk x-* (A. دق).

Annoyed, to be, v. *dikk le dike* (i.e. to say, it is a trouble).

Another, adj. *párchá* (lit. opposite).

Answer, s. *uttara* (H. उत्तर).

Answer, v. *uttara y-*, or *uttaar birinke*.

Ant, s. *máhr* (P. مور); white ant, *gara* (T. *gró'ma*).

Anyone, pron. *sura, suro*.

Anything, pron. *hira*.

Apart, adv. *farak* (A. فرق), *losh*.

Ape, s. *laku, phorsochü*.

Appear, v. *dángke, pherke*.

Appearance, s. *dángá*.

Apple, s. *shoü* (P. سیب, in H. سیو).

Apply, v. (ask for) *nyeke*, (as a bandage) *molke*, (in a general sense) *le dike*.

Approach, v. *ráhke, táke*.

Approve, v. *man* (H. मन), *paske*, (they say *ngo man pasone*, lit. 'it reaches my mind,' for, 'I approve of it.')

Arable, adj. *bári, hyd* (see Field).

Arise, v. *soké*.

Arm, s. *pákhurd*.

Arm-pit, s. *kákhí* (H. काख), *gá-lap*.

Around, pr. *ás pásang* (H. आस-पास), *kherép*.

Arouse, v. *sotakke, ngákakke*.

Arrange, v. *káske*.

Arrest, v. *ghoké*.

Arrive, v. *táke, tá ráhke, tárhke* (corruption of the last preceding verb).

Arrogant, adj. *jarkaṭ*.
 Arrow, s. *kānr* (H. कानर) *myá*,
 (T. *má*).
 Artisan, s. *karmí* (H. कार्मी).
 As, adv. *josto*, as . . . so, *josto*
 . . . *tosto*.
 Ascend, v. *kálke*, *kálhke* (T. *kal*).
 Ashamed, adj. *kharak chü*.
 Ashamed, to be, v. *khátrakke* (T.
khre').
 Ashes, s. *rháp*.
 Asleep, adj. *mischü*.
 Ask, v. *ginke*, *sodke* (T. *shod*).
 Assist, see Aid.
 At, pr. *ang* (aff.).
 Attack, v. *sátke ráhke* (lit. to come
 to hit).
 Avarice, s. *lalachi* (H. لالچی),
nondo.
 Avoid, v. *kherke*.
 Awake, to be, v. *soké* (T. *arung*,
 pr. *sung*, to watch).
 Awake, adj. *sochü*.
 Axe, s. *áruí*.

B

Baboon, s. *dheḍúa*.
 Back, s. *tzhang*.
 Back, adv. *pher* (H. फेर).
 Bad, adj. *ma shechü*, *ma gipchü*,
ma sabchü (lit. not good, not
 pleasant, not right).
 Bag, s. *thaili* (H. थैली).
 Bake, v. *phinke*.
 Bald, adj. *tháp*.
 Ball, s. *goli* (H. गोली).
 Bamboo, s. *huk* (T. *myug*, pr.
nyug).
 Bandage, s. (worn round the legs

by Bhotias, not by Magars)
motso, *dotso*, *dotśá*.
 Barber, s. *ndü*, *hulchü*.
 Bare, adj. *nanga* (H. नंगा).
 Bark, s. (of a tree), *bokrá*.
 Barley, s. *tzai* (*jai*, H. जौ).
 Basket, s. *dhdli*, *dhikid*, *giring*,
gyü.
 Bathe, v. *hurke*, *reshke*.
 Battle, s. *larđi* (H. लड़ाई).
 Be, v. *loke* (T. *lags*, pr. *la'i*),
tsánke.
 Become, v. *tsánke*.
 Beam, s. (of a tree), *takhta* (P.),
shing.
 Bear, v. (carry), *dihke*, *bátke*,
kohke; (bear children), *sáke*.
 Bear, s. *dháld* (H. भालू).
 Beat, v. *detakke*, *sátke* (T. *sod*),
chike (T. *shig*), *cheke*.
 Beautiful, adj. *shechü*.
 Bee, s. *tsáka*.
 Beehive, s. *shing ghes* (lit. tree-
 wax).
 Before, pr. *nháslak*, *ngáslak*.
 Beg, v. *nyeke*, *ngeke* (pres.
ngange, imper. *nyaho*, *ngoho*,
 past *ngdhá*).
 Begin, v. *árambho zátké*, *laske*
 (lit. to attach, adhere; 'It began
 to be;') *lake lasone*, i.q. Hindi
hone lagá).
 Behind, pr. *nhunldg*.
 Believe, v. no word; they say, 'I
 think it is true.'
 Belly, s. *tuk* (T. *ito*, pr. *to*).
 Belong, v. no word; they say, 'It
 is to me' *ngáke le*, for, 'It be-
 longs to me.'

- Beloved, adj. *ro*, *piyaro*; see To love.
- Below, pr. *mhdglág*.
- Belt, s. *potoká*.
- Bend, v. *óryakke*.
- Beneath, pr. *mhoiking* (aff.).
- Benefit, s. *phal* (H. फल).
- Bent, adj. *óryakchü*, *terhá* (H.).
- Berry, s. *gepá*.
- Beside, adv. *kherap*, *kháttá* (aff.).
- Besides, adv. *siwá* (H.).
- Between, pr. *bich* (H.).
- Bewitch, v. *jokhaná x-* (with aff. *ke*).
- Beyond, pr. *pár*, *párchü*.
- Big, adj. *karangchü*.
- Bind, v. *chyakke*, *chekke* (T. *ching*).
- Bird, s. *gwhá* (T. *wya*); birds generally, *tsara-tsaringi*.
- Birth, s. *janmo* (H. जन्म).
- Bit, s. (piece), *tukrá* (H.), of a horse, *kasiyd* (H.).
- Bitch, *chü-mán* (T. *chhimo*).
- Bite, v. *syakki jikke* (lit. "cut with teeth").
- Bitter, adj. *birichü*.
- Black, adj. *chikchü*.
- Blacksmith, s. *kámi* (H. कामी).
- Blame, s. *nindá* (H.).
- Blaze, s. *mhep* (lit. fire).
- Bleed, v. *hiá rahke*, or *laske*, or *paske*.
- Blind, adj. no word; they say, 'he does not see,' *má dangone*.
- Blood, s. *hiá*.
- Bloom, v. *sar shyáke*.
- Blow, v. (as the wind) *ráhke* (lit. to come, e.g. 'the wind blows,' *namu rahke*); with the mouth, *mhué ke* (T. *bud*).
- Blue, adj. *nild* (H. नीला).
- Blunt, adj. *ma retchü* (lit. not sharp).
- Board, s. (of wood), *pirá*, *pirhá*.
- Boast, v. no word; they say, 'to talk big.'
- Boat, s. *dong* (H. डोंगा).
- Boatman, s. *malláh* (P.), *mányhi* (H.).
- Body, s. no word; they say, *tuk tshang*, i.e. back and belly.
- Boil, v. *pinke* (lit. to cook).
- Boil, s. *dsungmá* (also, a sore of any kind).
- Bold, adj. *bholiü*.
- Bolt, s. *kam*, *gazwár*, *tuni*.
- Bolt, v. *kam y-*.
- Bone, s. *rhús*, *ros* (T. *ruswa*).
- Book, s. *pustak* (H. पुस्तक).
- Born, to be, v. *janmo tsanke* (H. जन्म).
- Borrow, v. *rini lake* (H. रिण, or T. *rin*).
- Both, pr. no word; they use *nis*, i.e. two.
- Bow, s. *hóngá*.
- Bow, v. no word; the Magar stands upright and salutes with the hand to the forehead.
- Bow, s. *dhanuk* (H.); bow-string, *tánqo*.
- Bowels, s. *tuk* (lit. belly. I question if the Magar is aware that he possesses bowels).
- Box, s. *suwdúk* (A. صندوق).
- Boy, s. *sázáko*, *lensázá*.
- Bracelet, s. *tsuri*, *tsurá* (H. चुरा).

Brain, s. no word.
 Bran, s. *taptá, bhús* (H. **भुस**),
dulo.
 Brass, s. *pítal* (H. **पीतल**):
 Bread, s. no word; the thing itself
 not used.
 Break, v. *bhaske*.
 Breast, s. *chhádi* (H. **छाती**);
 woman's, *dúd*.
 Breath, s. *swán* (H. **सांस**).
 Breathe, v. *swán laske*.
 Breech, s. *putá, tsak*.
 Breeches, s. *saiwár* (P. **شلوار**).
 Bribe, s. *ghús* (H. **घूस**).
 Bribe, v. *ghús y-*.
 Brick, s. *int* (H. **ईट**).
 Bridge, s. *sangho* (T. *sam*),
jalanghá.
 Bridle, s. *lagám* (P. **لام**).
 Bright, adj. *jhalak* (H. **झलक**).
 Bring, v. *rákhke*.
 Broad, adj. *gaz* (P. **گز**).
 Brother, s. *bhai* (H. **भाई**).
 Brow, s. *mikpus*.
 Bruise, v. *ngukke*.
 Brush, v. *jhár dike*.
 Bud, s. *sár* (lit. flower).
 Buffalo, s. (male) *ránggho, merhang*
lochü (lit. long horns); female,
bhainsí (H. **भैंसी**).
 Build, v. *káske* (T. *kas*).
 Bull, s. *thor, phor*.
 Bullet, s. *goli* (H. **गोली**).
 Bundle, s. *kumlo, ganád*.
 Burden, s. *bhosa, bojhá* (H. **बोझा**).
 Burn, v. (as fire) *mhúfke* (T. *bud*);
 burn the dead, *tsoke* (T. *tsos*,
 pr. *tsoi*).

Business, s. *kám* (H. **काम**).
 Busy, adj. *kám satchü*.
 But, adv. *parantu* (S. **परन्तु**).
 Butterfly, s. *whámá*.
 Buttock, s. *tsák*.
 Buy, v. *loke, lomo rákhke* (T. *nyos*).
 By, pr. (near) *ang* (aff.), *kháta*
 (aff.); by means of, *-i* (aff.).

C.

Calf, s. *bachá* (H. **बचा**), of leg,
tikrá.
 Call, v. *árgake, árgamo rákhke*,
yetke.
 Camp, s. *bás* (H. **बासा**).
 Can, s. (lotah) *boghnd*.
 Can, v. (be able) *hekke*.
 Cane, s. *rí*.
 Carve, v. (engrave) *bhuto bhárdike*.
 Cap, s. *topi* (H. **टोपी**).
 Capture, v. *ghoke*.
 Care, s. *tsanká*.
 Care, v. *tsanké, tsannü z-*.
 Careful, adj. *tsannü*.
 Carpenter, s. *karmi, shí-karmi*.
 Carry, v. *kohke* (T. *kyur*), *bátke*,
álhke.
 Cartouche, s. *kártús* (English thro'
 H. **كارتوس**).
 Cast, v. *loke, lomo y-*.
 Caste, s. *thar*.
 Castle, s. *garhí* (H.).
 Cat, s. *suthu*.
 Catch, v. *ghoke*.
 Cattle, s. *nhyet, thor nhyet*.
 Cause, v. *yake* (lit. give), *satke*
 (lit. make).
 Cause, s. (no word).
 Cave, s. *ordárh*.

Chaff, s. *taptá, bhás* (Н. भूसा).
 Chain, s. (for prisoners) *sanglá*,
 (as an ornament) *galphandá*
 (Н.), *nel*.
 Chain, v. *sanglá y-*.
 Chair, s. *mex* (P. ميز).
 Challenge, v. *táli y-* (Н.).
 Charm, s. (incantation) *jokhand*
 (Н.).
 Charm, v. (bewitch) *jokhand y-*,
 or *ngoske*, (please) *man paske*.
 Chase, v. (hunt) *geshke*.
 Cheat, v. *thag dike, dhát dike*.
 Cheek, s. *gál* (Н. गाल).
 Cheerful, adj. *khúsh* (P. خوش).
 Chew, v. *syákke jigke* (lit. to bite).
 Chicken, s. *leind*.
 Chief, s. *murung*.
 Child, s. *sáxáko*; familiarly, *nani*.
 Chip, s. *bháske*.
 Chisel, s. *rámbo*.
 Churn, v. *khánd káske*.
 Clean, adj. *bochú*.
 Cloth, s. *barhin*.
 Clothe, v. *bilhke, pahrke*.
 Cloud, s. *bádar* (Н. बादल).
 Cloudy, adj. *bádar sargá*.
 Coat, s. *ángt* (Н. चाक्री).
 Cock, s. *gwhá bha* (T. bya-ba).
 Cold, adj. *jungchú, zwǎgá, chisá,*
chisá.
 Collect, v. *botol dike* (? Н. багорна).
 Colour, s. *rang* (P. رنگ).
 Combine, *khatke*.
 Come, v. *rákke, tárhke* (imper.
ráni).
 Comfortable, adj. *gipchú*.
 Command, v. *hukm dike, hukm y-*.

Companion, s. *lépha* (Н. lá 'side,'
pha 'person').
 Complain, v. *firyáđ x-* (P. فریاد).
 Complete, v. *pará x-* (Н. पूरा).
 Condemn, v. *sásaná x-* (Н.).
 Consult, v. *moto x-*.
 Cook, v. *phinke*.
 Copper, s. *tambá* (Н. तांबा).
 Cord, s. *rassi* (Н. रस्सी).
 Corn, s. *gerá, nári*.
 Cost, s. *bháó* (Н. भाओ, भाव).
 Cover, v. *bohke*.
 Cough, v. *suke* (T. सु).
 Count, v. *hilké*.
 Country, s. *langhang* (lit. village),
des (Н.).
 Courage, s. *bhola*.
 Courageous, adj. *bholiú*.
 Cow, s. *nhyet, nyet*.
 Coward, s. *birichú, khapkárchú*.
 Crime, s. *ris, rhis* (emphatic).
 Crop, s. (no word).
 Cruel, adj. *dukhi* (Н. दुःखी), *sá-*
sand (Н.).
 Cry, v. *rhapke*.
 Cunning, adj. *tsandá*.
 Custody, s. *kaid* (A. قيد).
 Custom, s. *tsá* (Н. चास).
 Cut, v. *chike* (imp. *cho*) (T. *chod,*
 pr. *cho*'), *detakke*.

D.

Dagger, s. *kardá* (P. كارد).
 Damp, adj. *nhurú*.
 Dance, v. *shydke*.
 Daughter, s. *mahará sá*.
 Day, s. *din* (Н. nyamsin, *ek* (in
 composition only); to-day, *chini*
 (T. *nyi* with *chú* prefixed)).

Dawn, s. *gorak*.
 Dead, adj. *shla*.
 Dear, adj. *role*, *piyaro* (Н. पियारा).
 Death, s. (no word).
 Debt, s. *rhin* (Н. रिम or T. rin).
 Decay, v. *gitke*.
 Deceive, v. *ṣag dike* (Н. ठम).
 Deep, adj. *lupchü*.
 Deer, s. *kise*.
 Delay, s. *deri* (H.).
 Delay, s. *deri z-* (Н. देरी).
 Delight, s. *man paske*.
 Demon, s. *bhüt*, *pidchi* (Н. पिशाच).
 Den, s. *orárh*.
 Depart, v. *sarishke*, *nungke*.
 Descend, v. *mháglag ráhke*.
 Desire, v. *chahá dishke*.
 Despair, v. *udás l-*.
 Destroy, v. *nás z-*, *kharáb z-*.
 Dew, s. *namzá*s.
 Die, v. *shike* (imp. *shind*, used as a term of abuse) (T. *shiba*).
 Different, adj. *pharak* (A. فرق).
 Dig, v. *kohke*.
 Dirt, s. *rish*.
 Dirty, adj. *rishyü*.
 Dish, s. *tháli* (Н. चाखी).
 Dishonest, adj. *thag* (Н. ठम).
 Distil, v. *bátke*.
 Distance, s. *las*, *losh*, *dúr*.
 Divide, v. *pungke*, *pungnu y-* (T. *phung*).
 Do, v. *zátke* (T. *dsad*) ; to be done, *olke* (it is done = *ho chuká*) *olá*.
 Doctor, s. *ngochü*, *baid* (H.).
 Dog, s. *chü* (T. *khyi*, pr. *chhi*).
 Door, s. *galam*, (T. [s] go ; perh. with *lam*, 'road,' added).

Double, adj. (no word ; *nis*, 'two,' is generally used).
 Doubt, s. *dubdá* (H.).
 Down, pr. *mháglag*.
 Dream, v. *mhángnang dangke*.
 Dress, *bilhke*.
 Drink, v. *gáke* (imp. *goho*) ; get drunk, *mhorke*.
 Drinkable, adj. *gáchü*.
 Drive, v. *bhusakke*, *bhusaknú y-*, *wháshke*.
 Drown, v. *tháke* (imp. *thand*).
 Drunk, adj. *mhorá*.
 Dry, adj. *tsoká*, *tsohaká*.
 Dry, v. *tsohakke* (imp. *tsohakna*).
 Dumb, adj. *lítá*.
 Dusk, s. (no word).
 Dwell, v. *nguke*.
 Dye, v. *rang dike* (P. رنگ).

E.

Each, pr. *kat kat*.
 Ear, s. *kep*, *nakep*.
 Earring, s. *karnaphúl* (H.) *giü*, *chipte gyü*.
 Earth, s. *jhang*, *shang*, *jyd* (T. *jhi*, *jhing*).
 Ease, s. *árim* (? P. آرام).
 East, adj. *párb* (H. पूर्व).
 Easy, adj. *árim* (I am uneasy, *árim ma lesá*).
 Eat, v. *jyake* (pr. *jaike*, imp. *jo*, *jyo*, *jyani* (T. *za*).
 Eatable, adj. *jaichü*, *jyáchü*.
 Egg, s. *andá* (H.) *rhu*.
 Eight, v. *áfh* (derivatives, eighty etc.. as in Hindi).
 Eject, v. *chikke*, *chiknú y-*.

Elder, adj. *bárhá, jéth* (Н. बुढा, जेठ).

Elephant, s. *háthi* (Н.); young elephant, *tsáwá*.

Eleven, s. *igára* (Н. एनारह).

Empty, adj. *morling, muling*.

Empty, v. *morling s-*.

Encampment, s. *bás* (Н. बास).

End, s. *ant* (Н. अन्त).

Enemy, s. *bairi* (Н. बैरी).

Enjoy, v. *khásh l-* (P. خوش).

Enough, adv. *bas* (P. بس).

Enter, v. *bhítari nangke*.

Entire, adj. *pattá*.

Entreat, v. *nyeke*.

Equal, adj. *barabar* (P. برابر).

Escape, v. *kherke* (*vide fly*).

Even, adj. *khata*.

Even, adv. *ra* (aff.).

Evening, s. *sánjh* (Н.) *nabilam* (lit. road of night), *nammard* (lit. day-sinking).

Every, adj. *patta, patto*.

Evil, adj. *ma sechü* (*vide bad*).

Ewe, s. *bherí* (Н. भेड़ी).

Exact, adj. *katai, katechü* (lit. agreeing).

Exactly, adv. *katai* (fr. *kat* 'one').

Except, adv. *siwái* (Н. सिवाई).

Exclaim, v. *árgake, sárhe hák pardike, sárhe chákke*.

Explain, v. *bujho dike* (Н. बुझाउ).

Express, v. (as oil, etc., in a mill) *chípke*.

Eye, s. *mik* (T. mig).

Eye-brow, s. *bhuin* (Н.) *mik pús*, point on ditto, *bhobat* (S. विभूति).

F

Face, s. *nyer* (T. ngor).

Fact, s. *ártung, ghút*.

Fail, v. *ma hekke*.

Fair, adj. *sechü*.

Fair, s. *bázár* (P. بازار).

Fall, v. *khordhke* (imp. *khordhúd*) *khorhke*.

Fallow, adj. *banja* (Н. बंजा).

False, adj. *lutzd*.

Falsify, v. *dhád dike*.

Family, s. *sazako* (lit. children like) (Н. बाबूबा).

Fang, s. *syak*.

Far, adj. *los, losh*.

Fast, adj. *khernü* (lit. having run); fast!, int. *tsáre tsáre*.

Fat, adj. *deshü, dhesü*.

Father, s. *bai* (T. pha).

Fault, s. *pyal* (A. فعل).

Favour, s. *dayá* (Н. दया).

Fear, v. *birike* (T. bre').

Fear, s. *birid* (T. id.).

Feed, v. (trans.) *káske*; (intrans.) *gyáke* (T. za).

Fell, v. (a tree) *phushke, chakke*.

Fence, s. *berhá* (Н. बेडा).

Fetch, v. *dihke, dhnu rákhke*.

Fetter, s. *nel*.

Fever, s. *járd, tap* (Н. तप).

Few, adj. *thore* (Н. ठोरा).

Field, s. *hyd* (irrigated), *bari* (not irrigated).

Fight, v. *punke* (T. phang, 'to hurt.')

Fight, s. (expressed by the verb).

Fill, v. *sópke, sápmu y-*; *gápke* (used of water only).

- Find, v. *khátke* (used intransitively like Hindi *milná*).
- Finger, s. *ungli, angulá* (Н. उंगली, अंगुली).
- Finish, v. *oike, bhyake* (Т. *byas*).
- Fir, s. *gyáng shing*.¹
- Fire, s. *mhen* (Т. *me*), (pr. as though written in Н. वही).
- Fireplace, s. *mhenártung* (contr. into *myártung*).
- Firewood, s. *mhenshing*.
- Fish, s. *disid*; the following are names of various kinds of fish found in the rivers of Nepal: *sahár, ter, gardí, bodí, hile, jingá, tongri*. I am unable to identify any of them.
- Fisherman, s. *digeschü* (con. into *digeshiü*).
- Fist, s. *mhárki*; blow of fist, *ghussá* (Н.).
- Five, s. *bangá*.
- Flag, s. *nishan* (Р.).
- Flay, v. *tsáld donú y-*.
- Flesh, s. *mishid*.
- Flower, s. *sár*.
- Flower, v. *sar shyake*.
- Fly, v. *kherke*.
- Fly, s. *jingma, mos, dans* (Н.).
- Fold, v. *bher dike* (Н. फेर).
- Food, s. *jaike* (verb used as subst.) (Т. *jas*, pr. *jai*).
- Foot, s. *hil*.
- For, pr. *ke* (aff.).
- Ford, s. *jingár, jangár*.
- Forehead, s. *mitár*.
- Foreign, adj. *pardesi* (Н. परदेशी).
- Forest, s. *shing artung* (lit. wood-place).
- Forget, v. *yád ma le*.
- Forgive, v. *daske* (lit. let off), *dayá z-*.
- Formerly, adv. *kangles, miles*.
- Forsake, v. *daske*.
- Fort, s. *garhi, kot* (Н. बड़ी, कोट).
- Forward, pr. *nhaslak*.
- Four, n. *buli*.
- Fowl, s. *gwhá* (Т. *wya*).
- Fraud, s. *dhaq*.
- Friend, s. *lapha, piyáro* (Н. प्यारा).
- From, pr. *lag* (Т. *lag*, 'hand').
- Front, s. *nhaslak*.
- Fruit, s. *áp*.
- Fruit, v. *áp shyáke*.
- Full, adj. *pingno*.
- Fur, s. *phum*.

G.²

- Gather, v. *botol dike* (?Н. बटोरना).
- Get, v. *dinke*.
- Gift, s. *dán* (Н. दान).
- Ginger, s. *chebo* (Т. *lcha-sga*, pr. *che-ga*).
- Give, v. *yáke*.
- Girdle, s. *potoká*.
- Girl, s. *mahasá, árnum*.
- Glad, adj. *santokh*.
- Glue, v. *jordike*.
- Go, v. *nungke* (imp. *nungua*), *ánko*.
- Goat, v. *khassi* (Н.), *rhd*; she-goat,

¹ *Shing* means tree, and is added to the distinctive names of all sorts of trees.

² About this letter my store of words begins to get scanty, as my Magars left me when I had got as far as F in a regular alphabetical enquiry for words. Henceforward I can only give the words I picked up in the course of my first series of lessons, which were chiefly directed to the grammar.

- rhámán* (T. *ra-pho*, a he-goat, *ra-ma*, she-goat).
 God, *Bhagwán* (H. भगवान्).
 Gold, s. *gyá*.
 Goldsmith, s. *gyudupchü*.
 Good, adj. *sechü*.
 Goods, s. *asóbá* (A.).
 Grain, s. *gera*.
 Granddaughter, *nátin* (H. नानिन्).
 Grandfather, s. *bajw*.
 Grandmother, s. *boju*.
 Grandson, s. *náti* (H. नाती).
 Grasp, v. *ghoke*.
 Great, adj. *karangchü*.
 Green, adj. *karyo* (H. हरा).
 Grind (to), v. *záta-dike*, *sang-dike*, *ngukke*.
 Grindstone, s. *xhaŕa*, *sang* (P. سنگ).
 Gum, s. *khoto*, *dláp* (H. छुप).
 Gun, s. *banduk* (A. بندوق).
- H.
- Hail, s. *jhirlang*.
 Halls (it), v. *jhirlang pasle*.
 Hair, s. *chháw*.
 Half, adj. *ádhá*.
 Hand, s. *hut*, *hutpiak* (T. *phyag-pa*).
 Handsome, adj. *sechü*.
 Hang, v. *chilokke*, *chiloknú y-*.
 Happy, adj. *santokh* (H. सन्तोषी).
 Haste, s. *tsápe*.
 Haste, v. *kherke*, *tsóhín*, *nungke*.
 Hate, v. *má khátke* (lit. not to mix).
 Have, v. *leke*, with dative.
 Head, s. *talw*.
 Healthy, adj. *santo*.
- Headman, s. (chief of a village) *mukhia* (H. मुखी) *thári*.
 Hear, v. *sheke* (T. *sho'*, to perceive).
 Heart, s. *gin* (? T. *nying*).
 Heir, s. *apotali*.
 Help, v. *bal y-* (H. बख).
 Hen, s. *gwáhd-mán* (T. *bya-mo*, pron. *ja-mo*).
 High, adj. *ghángwo*, *ghangchü*.
 High (to be), v. *ghanke*.
 Hill, s. *daŕá*, range of hills, *daŕa-kará*.
 Hire, v. *bhára x-* (H. भारा), *koŕás*.
 Hog, s. *whak* (T. *phag*).
 Hold, v. *chepakke*.
 Hole, s. *orárh*.
 Honey, s. *miwhai* (lit. sweet).
 Hope, s. *ás* (H. आस).
 Hope, v. *ás zátké*, *ásra take* (H. आसथ).
 Horn, s. *rhang*.
 Horse, s. *ghoŕa* (H. घोडा).
 Hot, adj. *ukhum*.
 House, s. *im* (T. *khyim*, pr. *chhim*).
 How? *kosto*, *kuto*, how many? *kurik*.
 Humble, adj. *marchü*, *rito*.
 Hunger, adj. *tuk resid* (lit. belly-pain).
 Hungry, adj. *muling* (lit. empty).
 Hunter, s. *geshiü*, *ahíra* (H. जहेरी).
 Hunt, v. *geshke*.
- I.
- I, *nga*, *ngoi*, *ngachü*, *ngoičhü* (T. *nga*, *ngos*, pr. *ngoi*).
 Idle, *súkhi* (H. सुखी, lit. happy).
 If, conj. see Sec. 7, § 2.

Ignorant, adj. *ma pherchü*.

Ill, adj. *ma sentea*.

In, pr. *ong* (aff.) prep. *bhitar* (Н. भीतर).

Industrious, adj. *kádsü*.

Iron, *phalam*.

Is, v. *le, lea, ále*.

J.

Jackal, s. *shila, shyál* (Н. झास).

Jail, s. *kaid* (أ. قید).

Jaw, s. *kasphar* (? Н. कस फटांग).

Jewel, s. *bhúshan* (Н. भुषण).

Join, v. *yor dike* (Н. जोरना).

Joint, s. *gepr*.

Journey, s. *lam* (lit. road).

Judge, s. *bichari* (Н. बिचारी), *kázi* (أ. قاضي). In the central and eastern Himalayas, the kazi is also a revenue official armed with great powers.

Just, adj. *dharmi* (Н. धर्मि).

Justice, s. *dharm* (Н. धर्म).

K.

Keep, v. *dake* (imp. *doho*).

Kettle, s. *taolochü*.

Kick, *ngápke, láti ngápke*.

Kid, *rhá-páta* (comp. of T. *ra*, goat, and Н. पाटा, id.).

Kill, v. *detakke, satke* (T. *sod, sad*).

King, s. *raja* (Н. राजा).

Kiss, v. *mwhaip satke* (lit. to make sweetness).

Kite, s. *molo* (bird).

Knead, v. *jhoke*.

Knee, s. *gopra* (Н. जोङ्ग).

Knife, s. *hesá* (the Nepalese *kukri*), *karáá*.

Knock, v. *satke*.

Know, v. *wharke*.

L.

Labour, s. *kám* (Н. काम).

Lame, adj. *lulia* (Н. लुआ, but in Н. also applied to weak hands, a disease of marshy districts).

Lamb, *chatorá*.

Land, s. *bhám* (Н. भूमि).

Laugh, v. *retke*.

Language, s. *bhákhd* (Н. भाषा).

Law, s. *hukm* (أ. حكم).

Lay, v. *tohke*.

Lead, s. *shisha* (Н. شيش).

Leaf, s. *lhá, milhá* (T. *lo-ma*).

Leap, v. *phalkake, phalakke*.

Learn, v. *pake* (imp. *poho*).

Leave, v. *daske* (T. *das*).

Leech, s. *léwat*.

Leg, s. *hil*.

Lend, v. *rini yake* (Н. रिण), *sá-patti y-*.

Letter, s. *chiffi* (Н. चिफ्टी).

Lick, v. *lhakke* (T. *lhag*).

Lie, v. (lie down) *shiletke*; speak falsely, *dhdá dike*.

Lie, s. *dhdá, dháf*.

Life, s. *jia* (Н. जीवन).

Light, adj. *tyawongchü*.

Light, s. *rap*.

Light, v. *zurke, dsurke* (kindle).

Lightning, s. *bijli* (Н. बिजली) *kes* (T. (*s*)*prin*-(*s*)*kes*, i.e. cloud produced).

Like, adj. *khachü*.

Lip, s. *burlin*.

Little, adj. *marchü*.

Live, v. *jiamone l-*, *jiake*, *jake* (T. *tse*).

Lizard, (large) *maoshulü*, (small) *chepárd*, *re*.

Load, s. *bhar* (H. भार).

Load, v. (a gun) *bhár dike*, (a beast, etc.) *bhosakke*.

Long, adj. *lochü*.

Look, v. *ngoske*.

Lose, v. *mhatke*.

Lotah (brass pot), *boghnd*.

Louse, s. *shig* (T. *shig*).

Love, v. *homke*, *roke* (T. *ro*, love, and (*s*)*bro*, to love).

Lucky, adj. *sheshü*, *danti zatchü* (P. دستي).

M.

Mad, *págal* (H. पागल).

Maiden, *árnám* (from sixteen years of age and upwards).

Maize, *galapchü*.

Make, v. *kaske*, *zatke*, *bheke* (T. *bye'*).

Male, adj. *lengá*.

Man, *bharmi*, *bhurmi* (T. *mi*).

Manner, *tsól* (H. चाल).

Many, *dhere* (H. घेर), how many? *kurik*.

March, v. *whóke*.

Mare, s. *ghori* (H. घोड़ी).

Market, s. *bazár* (P. بازار).

Marriage, no word.

Marry, s. (no word, they say 'to take a wife,' *mahaža láke*).

Master, s. *murung*.

Mat, *gandri*, *sukul*.

Meal (food), *jaúke*, (flour) not used.

Measure, v. *náp dike* (H. नाप); a tree's girth, *bhirke*.

Meat, s. *mishtia* (H. मांस, also T. *sha*).

Meet, v. *khatke*, *laske*.

Melt, v. (as grease, etc.) *khanakke*, (as snow) *bilá dishke*.

Memory, *yád* (P. یاد).

Mend, s. *rupke*, *talo mardike*.

Merciful, *mezhiban* (P. مهربان), *mezmdn*.

Mercy, *mezhibani*, *kirpd* (कृपा).

Midday, s. *nyamin*.

Milk, s. *dúd* (H. दूध).

Milk, v. *dúd chipke*.

Money, *paísá* (H. पैसा).

Monkey, *laku* (T. *lag*, hand).

Month, *mheina* (H. महीना).

Moon, *gyahut* (T. *gzá-zlá*, pr. *gzáda*).

Morning, *gorak*.

Morrow (to-morrow), *pihin*.

Mosquito, *lamkutte*, *mos*, *bhusnd*.

Moth, *whámd* (T. *by a ma leb*, and *phema leb*).

Mother, *mái* (T. *ma*).

Mount, v. *kalkke* (T. *kal*).

Mountain, s. *ukálh*.

Moustache, *murh* (H. मूँह).

Mouth, *nger*, *nyer*.

Move, v. n. *whake*, v. a. *ketakke*.

N

Nail (of finger), *arkin* (T. *sen*).

Naked, *nanga* (H. नंगा).

Name, s. *ármin* (T. *med*, also *myed*).

Narrow, *marchü*.

Near, adv. *khere*, *kherep*.

Neck, *dunga, runga*.
 Necklace, *tilhari* (H. तिहारी).
 Nest (of a bird), *gaur*.
 New, adj. *minam*.
 Night, *nabi* (T. *nam*).
 No, *má* (T. *ma*), no one, *suro ma, sudma*.
 Noise, *sarhe, hdk*.
 North, *dhemlag* (i.e. upper hand).
 Nose, *ndhd* (T. (*s*)*na*).
 Nostrils, *dulo*.
 Not, adv. *má*.
 Nothing, *hira*.
 Nourish, *kohke*.
 Now, *da* (T. *da*).

O.

Obey, *man dike* (? H. माना).
 Of, *o*, sign of gen. c.
 Oil, *shidi*.
 Oilman, *salmi*.
 Old, *puráno* (H. पुराना), old man, *burá* (H. बुढ़ा).
 Once, *katberi*.
 One, *kat*.
 Only, *lákat* (M. *la*, side, *kat*, one).
 Open, v. *pohke* (T. *phe*).
 Opium, *afim* (H. أفيم).
 Opposite, *parchü*.
 Or, *ki* (only H. कि for क्या).
 Order, *hukm* (A. حُكْم).
 Oven, *chula, tsula* (H. चुला).
 Over, *taking* (aff.).
 Our, *kánang*.
 Out, adv. *bahir* (H. बाहर).
 Own, expressed by repeating the pron. of the agent.
 Ox, *phor*.

P.

Pain, *ransia, resia*.
 Paint, n. *rogban le dike* (P. روغان).
 Pair, s. *nistor*.
 People, *parjá* (H. प्रजा).
 Perfume, *bás* (H. बास).
 Person, *jana* (H. जन).
 Physician, s. *ngochü* (seer); *baid* (H. वैद).
 Pickaxe, s. *hur*.
 Pig, *hwak* (T. *phag-ba*).
 Pity, *chima* (H. चिमा).
 Place, s. *artang* (v. see 'put').
 Plain, s. *mades*.
 Plant, s. *sar*.
 Plant, v. *sar dike*.
 Plantain, *motsa*.
 Play, v. *geshke, armatke* (music).
 Pleasant, *gipchü*.
 Please, v. *man paske, gipke*.
 Plenty, *bahut, dher* (H. बहुत, धेर).
 Plough, v. *ghoike* (imp. *ghoyo*).
 Plough, s. *har* (H. हल).
 Pod, *genra*.
 Poison, *bikh* (H. बिख).
 Poor, *dugdinchü*.
 Pot, s. *tdolochü*.
 Potter, *kumbal* (H. कुम्हार).
 Pound, v. *phaldike*.
 Powder, s. *barát* (P. باروت).
 Precipice, s. *khardí*.
 Prepare, v. *tyár tsanke, bhyake* (T. *bye*).
 Press, v. *susar jatke, chipke*.
 Prick, v. *dachitke*.
 Prince, *raja*.
 Print, v. *chapi dike* (H. छापना).

Prison, *kaid* (A. कैद).
 Proud, *jharkat*.
 Pull, v. *donke* (T. *don*) *ghoke*,
jinke (T. *sin*).
 Pulse, *nari* (H. नारी).
 Punish, *sásand y-*.
 Punishment, *sásand*.
 Push, v. *dhuske*; push off from
 shore, *tar dishke*.
 Put, *kahke*, *tohke*, *thakhke*.
 Put on, *pahirke*, *pahir dike* (H.
 पहिरना), *bilhke*.

Q.

Quantity, *dher* (H. धेर).
 Quarrel, v. *yenke*; they are quar-
 reling, *yenone*.
 Question, *gun*, *sođ*.
 Quickly, adv. *tsaŋre*, *tsaŋre-tsaŋre*.

R.

Rain, *namas*.
 Rain, v. *namas ráhke*.
 Ram, s. *ðhera* (H. भेडा).
 Raw, *ma minchü*.
 Reach, v. *tarhke*.
 Read, v. *paŋh dishke* (H. पढ़ना).
 Ready (to be), v. *ðhyake* (imp.
khyo) *taiydr*.
 Reap, v. *chekke* (lit. to cut).
 Recollect, *yđ leke*.
 Red, *gyachü*.
 Release, v. *đaske*.
 Remove, v. *alke*.
 Resemble, v. *khachü leke*.
 Retreat, v. *nāun lak sarishke*.
 Rice, *tsurü* (in general); (un-
 husked) *dhān* (H. धान);
 (boiled) *cho*, *tao*.

Rice-beater, s. *chim*, mortar for
 do., *skal*.
 Rich, *dhani* (H. धनी).
 Ride, v. *sowari tsanko*.
 Ring, v. *órmatke* (a bell).
 Ripe, *minchü*, *pakka* (H. पक्का).
 Ripen, v. *minke* (T. *min*, pr. *māin*).
 River, s. *nadi* (H. नदी).
 Road, s. *lam* (T. *lam*).
 Roar, v. *saŋhe chakke*.
 Roast, v. *pake*, *pakke* (H. पकना).
 Roll (up), v. a. *bher dike* (H.
 फेर देना).
 Root up, v. *lutke*.
 Roll (about) v. n. *archike*.
 Rot, v. *gitke*.
 Rotten, adj. *gitchü*, *nāurü* (lit.
 wet).
 Rump, s. *puta*, *tsak*.
 Run, v. *kherke*.
 Ryot, s. *dunyáđđr* (P. دُنْيَادَار).

S.

Sacrificial thread, *jane* (H. जनेउ).
 Sad, adj. *uđs* (H. उदास).
 Saddle, s. *kāti*, *sin* (P. زين).
 Sál tree, *phokshing*.
 Salt, *cha*, (T. *thsa*).
 Same, *katdi*, *katechü*.
 Say, *ngáke* (imp. *ngohs* T. *ngag*,
 pr. *nga* 'speech').
 Search, v. *ngoske*.
 See, v. *dāngke* (T. (m) *thong-ba*).
 Seed, s. *tsoyo*.
 Seize, v. *gohke*.
 Sell, v. *ariake* (imp. *ariako*).
 Send, v. *birinke* (T. (s) *bring*).
 Separate, v. *pungke* (T. *phung*).

- Serve, v. *tsdkari* *s-* or *laske* (H. चाकरो).
 Set, v. *doke*.
 Seven, *sát* (H. सात).
 Sew, v. *rupke*.
 Shake, v. *hoike*.
 Sharp, adj. *retchü*, *páindári*.
 Sharp (to be), v. *retke*; it is sharp, *retone*.
 Shave, v. *huike*.
 She, *hose*.
 Sheath, s. *dap*.
 Sheep, *bheri* (H. भेड़ी).
 Shew, v. *ngoshke*, *tánakke*.
 Shine, v. *jhalakke* (H. झलकना).
 Shoes, *júta*.
 Shoot, v. *ngapke*; fire a gun, *phorokke*.
 Shop, *hát* (H. हाट).
 Shopkeeper, *posole*, *bania*.
 Short, adj. *tunchü*.
 Shoulder, s. *kum*.
 Shut, v. *thunke*.
 Sick, *ma santse*.
 Side, *pár* (H. पार).
 Silent, *ma chakchü* (i.e. not speaking).
 Silk, *reshm* (P. رشم).
 Silver, *rúpa* (H. रुपया).
 Simple, *sudho* (H. सीधा).
 Sin, *páp* (H. पाप), *ris*, v. *ris khyake*.
 Sing, v. *lhingke*.
 Sister, *bhain* (H. बहिन).
 Sit, v. *nguke*.
 Skin, *tsála*.
 Skull, *khapár*.
 Slave, mas. *miü*, *kalá*, *kamara*; fem. *memán*, *kelí*, *kamarí*.
 Sleep, v. *mishke*.
 Slip, v. *puchike*.
 Slow, *susto* (P. سُست).
 Small, adj. *márchü*.
 Smell, v. *armushke*, s. *bás*.
 Smith, s. *karmí* (H. कार्मी) *dupchü*.
 Smoke, *dhudri* (H. धुआँ).
 Snake, *bul* (T. (s)brul), *lochü*.
 Snatch, *syatke*, *syatnü lake*.
 Snail, *gkuinki*.
 Snow, s. *hyun* (T. him, from Skr. हिम).
 Snow, v. *hyun pardike*.
 So, *hoto*.
 Soldier, *sipahi* (P. سپاہی).
 Sole (of foot), *pai talá* (H. पारि तले).
 Some, *chik*, *ldlá* (T. lala).
 Someone, *suvo*.
 Son, *sá*, *misá*.
 Song, *lhing*.
 Sour, *thupchü*.
 South, *mhaglag* (i.e. downwards).
 Sow, v. *bhereske*.
 Sow, s. *whagman* (T. phag-mo).
 Speak, v. *chakke*, *dike*.
 Spider, *gharna*, *shik*.
 Spirits (distilled from rice), *nam-sas*.
 Spit, v. *thokoke*.
 Split, v. *bhaske*, *shilke*.
 Spoon, s. *dayhu*.
 Spread, v. *tangke* (H. तानना or T. thing).
 Stab, v. *hul dike*.
 Stand, v. *soke*.

Star, *tárd* (H. तारत), *dhuga*.
 Steal, v. *khuske*, *khusnū rakhke*
 (T. (r)ku).
 Stem (of a tree), *múl hanga*.
 Sting, v. *detakke*.
 Stingy, adj. *mahátoudri*.
 Stone, *lháng* (T. (r)do), (of a
 fruit) *khwaya*.
 Stoop, v. *ghumke*.
 Stove, *armotang*.
 Streamlet, *khola*.
 Strong, *baisa*, *burisū*.
 Such, *hoto*.
 Suck, v. *tsūpke* (T. jib).
 Sun, *nyámkhan*.
 Swallow, v. *melhke*.
 Swear, v. *puranga jyálke*.
 Sweat, v. *namzas khyáke*.
 Sweet, *dsapchū*; to be sweet,
dsapke.
 Swim, v. *paurigeshke* (H. पौरणा).
 Sword, *turwár* (H. तखवार).

T.

Tail, s. *meme*.
 Take, v. *láke* (T. (b)lang); take
 up, *khuske*; take aim, *tég díke*;
 take a walk, *dulishke*.
 Tall, *ghanghchū*.
 Tea, *jhá* (T. ja).
 Teach, v. *pahakke* (H. पढ़ाना).
 Tear, v. *chike* (T. cha').
 Ten, *das* (H. दस).
 Than, *denang* (T. de, and Magar
 aff. lang).
 That, *ose*, *hose*.
 Then, *dereng* (T. derag).
 Thence, *dte*.
 There, *ala*.

Thigh, s. *gaha*.
 Thin, *ruchū*.
 Thing, s. *dhuť*.
 Think, v. *bichár zatke* (H. बिचार).
 Thirst, *disona*.
 Three, *som* (T. (g)sum).
 Throat, s. *duaga* (T. jing).
 Throw, v. *loke*, *lomo y-* (T. tho').
 Thunder, s. *chyaga*.
 Thus, *ita*, *isto*.
 Tie, v. *chyakke* (T. ching).
 Tiger, s. *ranghu*.
 Tire, v. *mhungke*.
 Tired, adj. *mhungone*.
 To (aff.). *ke*.
 Tobacco, *tamáku* (H. तमाकु).
 To-day, *chini* (*chū* with T. *nyi*,
 'day').
 To-morrow, *pihin*.
 Tongue, *let* (perh. T. lche).
 Tooth, *shyak* (T. so, or *thsems*,
 pr. *tse'*).
 Tortoise, *tothári*.
 Tree, *shing* (T. shing).
 Tremble, s. *bhirikke* (T. bre').
 Trowsers, *sarwal* (P. شلوار).
 True, adj. *sáchi*.
 Truth, *sách* (H. सच).
 Turmeric, *beswar*.
 Turn, v. *bherke*; turn out, *chiknū*
yake.
 Twist, v. *drjakke*.
 Two, *nis* (T. gnyis, pr. *nis*).

U.

Ugly, *ma sechū*.
 Unable, *ma hekchū*.
 Uncultivated, *banja* (lit. barren,
 H. बाँझा).

Understand, *pherke*.

Unhappy, *udds* (H. उदास).

Unlike, *ma khachü*.

Unlucky, *dasti ma zatchü*.

Urge, v. *ketakke*.

Up, adv. *dhemlag*.

V.

Vegetables, *gän*.

Vein, *nasä*.

Very, *dhere* (H. घेर, heap).

Village, *langhang*.

W.

Wake, v. n. *sotakke*; wake up!
sotagni.

Walk, v. *dulishke*.

Wall, *dewal* (H. देवाल).

Warm, adj. *ukhum*.

Warm, v. *khanakke*.

Wash (the body), *hurke*, (clothes,
etc.) *uou dishke*.

Wasp, *arghan*, *bachum*.

Wasteful, adj. *dani* (H. दानी).

Water, *di*.

Waterfall, *sankhar*.

Wax, *ghos*, *khago*.

Way, *lam* (T. lam).

We, *kan*, *kankoi*.

Weak, adj. *niräo*.

Weasel, *neor* (H. नेवसा).

Weave, v. *dakke*.

Weaver, s. *barhin dakchü*.

Weep, *rapke*, *rhapke*.

Weigh, *dsapke*, *tol dike* (H. तोल
देना).

Well, s. *indära* (H. इन्दारा).

West, *paschim* (H. पश्चिम).

Wet, *nhurü*.

What? *hi* (T. *chi*).

Wheat, s. *gohom* (H. गौड़, local
pronunciation of north Behar
and Khas Nepalese for गेड़).

When? *shen* (T. *shena*).

Whence? *kulaki*.

Where? *kulag*, *kula*.

Which? *kos*.

While, s. *kälöp* (i.e. a little while).

Whistle, v. *sushila gake*, *sushillike*
(H. सुशीला).

White, *bochü*; it is white, *bomono*.

Whither? *kulag*.

Who? *su* (T. *su*).

Whoever, *josh*, *dzo*.

Whose? *suo* (T. *su-i*).

Why? *hike* (dat. of *hi*, what?).

Wife, *mähaxä* (lit. woman).

Wine, *hän* (really 'spirits'; they
know not the juice of the grape).

Winter, *xungä*.

Wise, *bato*.

Wish, *chähä dishke* (H. चाहना).

Witch, s. *bokchü*, *bokchini*, *shing-
max* (lit. tree-woman).

With, pr. *sáthang*.

Wizard, *jokhand ngoschü*.

Woman, *mähaxä*.

Wonder, v. *ächambo dangke*.

Wool, *chham*, *ün* (H. ऊन).

Work, s. *kám* (H. काम).

Word, s. *kuro*.

Wound, s. *gháo* (H. घाउ).

Wound, v. *gháo laske*.

Wrestle, *punke*, *judh punke*.

Write, v. *rikkke* (H. लिखना).

Y.

Yam, *námo*.

Yawn, v. *hamke*.

Year, *barkh* (H. वर्ष), *sdi* (r.

سال), *les*, (r. *lo*); this year,

chü les; next year, *rdchü les*;

last year, *wahi les*.

Yellow, *pila* (H. पीला), *worchü*.

Yesterday, *tisim*, *tisyam*.

Yoke, *ghoike*.

You, *nahakoï*, *ndkwn*.

Young, s. (of cattle, etc.) *leind*,
bakernä.

Youth, s. *renzä* (a young man).
ärunam (a young woman).

ART. V.—*Contributions to the Knowledge of Parsee Literature.*
By ED. SACHAU, Ph. D.

[Read Nov. 30, 1868].

On comparing with one another the two most ancient periods of development of the Iranian mind, in language as well as in literature,—that primitive one, whose witness is the Avesta, with the period of renaissance under Sasanian rule,—we find at once this striking difference, that the former is purely national and Iranian, almost wholly free from any foreign influence, whilst the latter, as it appears in the Pahlavi translations and the inscriptions of the Sasanian kings, is overwhelmed by foreign, Semitic, or more accurately speaking, Aramæan elements. The difficulties in explaining the pure Persian substratum of the language of this latter period, for even here not every problem has yet been solved, are by no means to be compared with those offered by the Semitic forms and words, which appear to the Indo-german linguist utterly unknown, to the Semitic scholar more than strange. Though a great quantity of highly valuable material has already been collected and digested by European scholars, still I do not think it sufficient to enable us to decide in a satisfactory manner the following questions:—During what time did that close intercourse between the Iranian and Semitic races take place, the existence of which we are compelled to assume as the source of the Semitic portion of the Pahlavi language? Of what kind was this intercourse? And with which of the Aramæan nations in particular? The same questions demand an answer, in order to explain the numerous Iranian words which occur in the literature of the Babylonian Jews, in Syriac, in the Koran, and the most ancient Arabic poems.

Our attention is naturally drawn, in the first place, to the contemporary Syriac literature, but the reports of the Nestorian missionaries, who went forth preaching Christianity

throughout the Sasanian empire and beyond its northern and eastern boundaries, are lost, with the exception of a single one.¹ Besides, the same Nestorians, and before them, the orthodox Eastern Church, established the Christian communities scattered through nearly the whole of Persia, the head of which was the Jâthelîk (Catholicus) of Seleucia, and founded a literature for their Persian converts, a literature of translations, a few leaves of which, if extant, would afford us quite unlooked for elucidations, because they were probably written in Syriac characters, if we consider the testimony of Epiphanius, Adv. Haeres. 66,² *χρῶνται γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν Περσῶν μετὰ Περσικὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ τῷ Σύρῳ γράμματι, ὥσπερ παρ' ἡμῖν πολλὰ ἔθνη τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς κεχρῆνται κ.τ.λ.* As this literature has not yet been noticed anywhere, I shall here produce my proofs, specifying no less than three authors who translated Syriac works into Persian for the Christians of the Sasanian empire.

Ma'ââ, born in Hardashîr, after having studied in the University of Edessa, returned home A.D. 415, and became Jâthelîk of Seleucia A.D. 420 for a short time. He is described by Mârî Ben Sulaimân, who wrote a history of the

¹ Thomas, Bishop of Marga (beginning of the ninth century) gives in his **ܩܘܪܕܢܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ** ("History of Abbats") a short report of Elias, Bishop of Mûlkân, who preached Christianity in the country of the barbarians "adjacent to the Dailamites." His report, though decidedly not free from confusion, is of some interest. The god of their ancestors was called **ܕܐܘܕܐ** (ܕܐܘܕܐ "created by God," or "by the Yazata"); sacred to him there was a holy tree, growing in a valley, which the natives showed to Bishop Elias from the top of a mountain. Its name he calls **ܐܕܪܐ** "Âderâ" (ܐܕܪܐ with the Syriac termination "the fire") "the head (lord) of the wood." Elias proceeded to fell it (like Bonifacius felling Wodan's oak) **ܕܐܘܕܐ ܕܐܕܪܐ ܕܐܕܪܐ ܕܐܕܪܐ ܕܐܕܪܐ ܕܐܕܪܐ** "and the rest of the twigs around it, which they also called 'sons of Yazd,' the 'little ones,' he hewed and cut away." Possibly this can be combined with one of the two trees Gao-kerens and Vistukhma, both growing in the sea Vourukasha, and with the statement of Bundeheah, chap. 27, that every flower (!) is sacred to a Yazata. Cf. Asemâni, Bibliotheca Orientalis, tom. 3.1, pp. 492-494.

² Migne, Patrologiæ Cursus completus, series græca, tom. 42, p. 48.

Nestorian Patriarchs in the middle of the twelfth century, as "being learned in Syriac and Persian, and the translator of many books from Syriac into Persian" (وكان ماهرا بالسريانية) (والتفارسية ونقل كتباً كثيرة من السريانية إلى الفارسية). We are also told by Bar Hebraeus, that he translated the works of Theodorus of Mopsuestia from Greek into Syriac (Assem. Bibl. Or. 3, 1, p. 376).

Acacius, appointed Jâthelîk A.D. 485, officiated as an ambassador of Fêrôz to the court of Zeno, and is stated by the same Mârî to have translated into Persian the treatise *في الامانة* of his contemporary 'Elisha', Metropolitan of Nisibis, by the command of Kawâd, who wished to have it, in order to discriminate between Christian and Manichæan doctrines (Assem. 3, 1, p. 378 ff.)

Job, who flourished about A.D. 550, a Nestorian monk from Hardashîr, is reported by Mârî to have translated into Persian two works of the most celebrated teachers of the Eastern Church, the *ميامر* (homilies) of Abraham of Naftar, and the *قوانين* (canons) of his own teacher, Abraham of Kashkar. The latter of these was the founder of monastic life amongst the Nestorians (about A.D. 500). Ebedyeshû' mentions his "regulæ pro monachorum regimine" (Assem. 3, 1, p. 155, note a). The former, who probably lived about the same time, was a very popular author, both with Nestorians and Monophysites, as we may gather from the numerous remains of his works, which have survived thirteen centuries, and are at present deposited in the Vatican and the British Museum. (Add. 14, 623; 12, 167, dated A. Gr. 1187=A.D. 876; 18, 814; 17, 180; 17, 262; 14, 614; 14, 738; 17, 174). Cf. Assem. 3, 1, p. 431.

As a great many of the writers and chief authorities for the Eastern Church were native Persians, several of them converts from the Zoroastrian creed, (such as Jesaiah Bar Hadabû Arzunâyâ, originally a Persian courtier, then the author of acts of Christian martyrs, about the beginning of the fourth century after Christ; Farhâd, the wise Persian, who wrote his sermons, according to his own statements, be-

tween A.D. 337-345;¹ Theophilus Persa, who wrote against Cyril; Mares Persa, the friend of Ibas of Edessa; Simeon of Betharsam, the ܡܫܘܨܐ ܡܫܘܨܐ, about A.D. 525; Mâr Abâ I. (died A.D. 552) born a Zoroastrian, and many others)—it seems natural, that some of them at least should have endeavoured to provide their fellow Christians in the Persian empire with prayers, hymns, sermons, histories of saints, rules of ascetic life, etc., in their own tongue; and, accordingly, we have precise statements as to the three Syriac authors above mentioned, two Nestorians and one before the Nestorian schism, to whom we may add from a later period, when Islâm already prevailed in those countries, Ahron Persa, who became famous, about A.D. 665, as ܡܫܘܨܐ ܡܫܘܨܐ “the Persian translator.” (Assem. 2, p. 104a).

As regards the contents of this literature, its having perished is no great loss to science in general, but to know the language in which it was composed would afford us considerable help in solving the problems which the Pahlavi offers. It is possible, that one day a monastery may be found, like that of St. Mary Deipara in the Nitrian desert, which will re-open to us the stores of the older Nestorian literature, and yield us amongst them perhaps a few leaves of the above-mentioned translations into Persian; but I cannot think this very likely, as the American missionaries in Urmia do not seem hitherto to have found anything of the kind.

But to return to the point from which we started, the fact of the Pahlavi being almost overwhelmed by Aramaean influence, does not seem to have altered the essential character of the language in the least, as we learn by an examination of the language of the following period of Parsee literature, that of the so-called Pâzand or Pârsî translations, which are attempts to read and explain the ambiguous Pahlavi writing in a clear and distinct character. The main point in which this language differs from the Pahlavi is, that all the Aramaean words have given way to the corresponding

¹ The compositions of Farhâd, the most ancient Syriac church-father, are published in an excellent edition by Dr. W. Wright, London, 1869, Williams & Norgate; besides, the editor is about to make them more generally accessible by an English translation.

Iranian ones, and that every Semitic element has vanished, without leaving a trace of its former existence. This is one of the chief reasons why the Pahlavi is believed never to have been spoken generally by a whole nation or tribe, but to have been the learned language of the priests in the Sasanian empire. It was, to use Westergaard's words, "*lingua quae per studium artificiosum et quidem arbitrarium miris signis formationibusque a natura alienis onerata et sequentium temporum ignorantia magnopere obscurata est.*"

The date of the Pahlavi, as well as of the Pâzand period, has not yet been accurately fixed. The time of the former, represented by the translations of the Avesta, by the Ardâ-Virâfnâma and Mînôikhired, is assumed to extend from Ardashîr, the son of Bâbak (A.D. 227), till towards the end of the Sasanian rule; and that of the latter, represented by the Pârsî translations, from the conquest of Persia by the Arabs to the tenth or eleventh century after Christ, when the Zoroastrian creed was still widely diffused over the whole of the Iranian territories, as we learn from the coins of the Ispahbads of Taberistân with Pahlavi legends, and from the indubitable testimony of Ibn Haukal. During the following centuries (eleventh and twelfth) the decay of the national religion was completed, its comparatively few remaining followers were confined to Yazd and other parts of Karmân, and an emigration of some of them to India not improbably took place. In this period of misfortune and distress, we cannot expect to find any remarkable literary tendencies, and it seems to mark a second break in the tradition in a certain way similar to that which we notice between the original Zand-texts and their translations into Pahlavi. The revival of Parsee literature in India proceeded from Karmân, where the learned tradition always was kept more free from foreign influence, and dates at the earliest from the end of the thirteenth century. In its subsequent development it may be divided into three parts, which partake, on the whole, of a more scientific and learned character, in our sense of the terms, than the former periods. The first part, written in Pahlavi, comprises views of the whole of the Zoroastrian theology or of

portions of it, especially of the eschatology, according to the text of the Avesta, and oral tradition, such as the Bundelesh and Bahmanyasht. A certain amount of skill in writing Pahlavi seems to have been kept up amongst the Parsee clergy down to our time, as they were still able to compose the Vajar-kart-dīnik, most likely within the present century. The second division of these Parsee writings composed in Persian, exhibits a sort of Talmudic literature, the riwāyât, digests of the religious rules for the casuistry of common life,¹ dogmatical and legendary treatises, the Shâyist-Nâshâyist, the Saddar, 'Ulamâi Islâm, Jâmâspnâma, etc. Not long after were composed the poetical redactions of these and older works, e.g., of the Ardâi-Vîrâf and the Saddari nazm, and original poetical compositions, such as the Zartushtnâma and Kīssai Sanjân. These latter may have been influenced to a certain extent by the tendencies prevailing in Akbar's court. To the same period, we may assign the Sanskrit translations of Neriosangh and Ormuzdyâr. As the last, and least valuable, development of Parsee literature, we have to mention that mixture of Sufism and Zoroastrianism, which had its origin during the second half of the sixteenth century, with Âdar Kaiwân (died 1618) and his followers, the so-called Sipâsi Sûfts. This is represented by the Dasâtir, the Shâristân of Bahrâm Farhâd (about 1624) and the Dabistân of Muhsin Fânî.

Whilst the older portions of this literature, the Avesta and its translations, have been published nearly in their entirety, the later portions are but little known. The Bundelesh has been edited by Westergaard, and more recently by Justi, and Hang promises a new edition; the Saddari nazm, the Kīssai Sanjân, the Zartushtnâma, the Persian translation of the Ardâi-Vîrâf,² have been translated, one into Latin, the others into English; Dastûr Hôshangji has published, at the

¹ One of the chief rāwis is کامدین شاپور, to whom the first part of Z. and P. 8 is ascribed; others are بهمن یونجیه, بزرو قیامدین, نریمان هوشنگ, کامه بهره, مانک چنکا, کاوس کامدین, کاوس کامان.

² This translation (by J. A. Pope, London, 1816,) has become so rare, that neither the British Museum, nor the Library of the Roy. As. Soc. possess a copy of it.

recommendation and with the help of Dr. M. Haug, an old Zand-Pahlavi glossary, and the same scholar announces a Pahlavi-Pâzand Glossary, a translation and explanation of the inscriptions of Hâjtiâbâd, and an edition of the *Ardât-Vîrâf-nâma* by Dastûr Hôshangji.

In the following pages, I shall give an account of a few Parsee works, of the New Persian class, hitherto partially or entirely unknown in Europe; not following a systematic order, but merely accommodating myself to the materials which are at my disposal.

In the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, there is preserved a paper manuscript in Persian, without date or name of copyist, but probably written about the end of the last or beginning of the present century (121 foll.). Some emendations in the margin show its having been collated with the original manuscript. On the first fly-leaf we find these two notes:—"From the *Atash Bahram*. The temple built at Surat by Pestanji Kalabhai Wakeel.¹ Presented by his son Naushirwanji to John Romer. March, 1856;" and, "This is the book of Parsi Bahramji Naushirwanji Kraji." It contains two works, the first of which is a metrical paraphrase of the *Mînôikhîrad* (metr. متقارب) foll. 1-61, beginning
بنام ایزد بخشاینده مهربان آغاز داستان وصف خرد از گفته مرزبان
راوری. The author, Marzubân, a native of Râwar, is also mentioned in the title of the second poem (fol. 61 b, lin. ult.) and in several other places, *e.g.* fol. 9a, line 7.

چنین دان ایا نام دار سُخَن که چون مرزبان داشت راور و وطن
"Now, o glorious (reader), listen to the word as Marzubân, the native of Râwar, had it." The name also occurs on fol. 57a, l. 4, and 61 b, l. 1. As to his native place, Yâkût (MS. of the British Museum) gives the following notice: راور بتکریر
الراء وفتح الواو مدينة كبيرة بالسند من فتوح محمد بن القاسم الثقفي
"Râwar, a large town in Sind, conquered by Muhammad ben Alkâsim Atîakâfi;" and this latter statement is confirmed by

¹ This statement is confirmed by Wilson, the Parsee religion, p. 557, note 5.

Albalâdhori (ed. of De Goeje, p. ۴۳۹, line 1), قالوا وفتح محمد, "it is reported that Muḥammad ben Alkâsim took Râwar by force," which happened under the rule of Walîd b. 'Abdulmalik (A.D. 705—715).

The introductory tale, in this translation, is somewhat different from that of the original.¹ The first chapter (fol. 1b) contains the praise of God as the creator of the seven kishwars. The second chapter (fol. 2a, lin. ult.) در مَعْرِزَاتِ begins with a few lines in praise of Zartusht, who is called خلیل خدا (perhaps in imitation of the Muhammadan خلیل الله, Abraham). The author then describes how Ahuramazdâ revealed himself to Zartusht and communicated to him the divine writings, the twenty-one nusks of the Avasta. Vohuman and Srôsh lead him to heaven; when he has passed the five spheres, his glory is increased in the sixth by the light of the prototypes of all created beings (حقایق); after having come to the seventh sphere, he heard the answer to every question he put; God "gave him from the light of his veil the book of the good religion in twenty-one chapters."

Fol. 2b, l. 10.

وهومن ندیم و سروشش دلیل شده رهنمای سوی گاه جلیل
 چه از باد پایه گذشتش مقام زخیل ملایک رسیدش سلام
 گذارش چو شد باد پایه سپهر بسوی ستر پایه شد تازه چهار
 چهارم چه مه پایه را طی نمود زخورشید پایه رسیدش درود
 بروشن اثر در ششم هر طرف فرودش ز نور حقایق شرف
 چه در پایه گاه هفتم رسید هر آنچه که پرسید پاسخ شنید
 بدو داد یزدان ز نور حجاب ز دین بهی بیست و یک در کتاب

¹ For the purpose of comparison, I use only those extracts that are accessible to everybody in the careful edition of Spiegel (Gramatik der Parsisprache, Leipzig, 1861, pp. 128-166). The MS. of the Library of the India Office was not at my disposal, when I wrote this.

² MS. رسیدش.

The author next gives a very general description of the twenty-one nusks of the Avasta, and expatiates on the importance of the Khirad (*σοφία*), describing it as the inseparable friend and confidant of Zarathustra, by whose special help he was enabled to carry out the prophetic mission entrusted to him by Ahuramazdâ. Fol. 8 a, l. 6.

بهر کار بر وی خرد یار کرد و را محرم راز ازار کرد
 خرد کرد پیوسته دمساز او که باشد خرد محرم راز او
 خرد را چه با او سروکار بود بهر رزم و بزمش خرد یار بود
 چو پیوسته بودش خرد راه بر زاسرار پوشیده بودش خبر
 خرد بود در هر غممش غمکسار خرد در خریمش بدی پرده دار
 گل دلکشایش خرد بد بباغ به شهبایش تارش خرد بد چراغ
 خرد کرد آعدای او را ذلیل خرد بود بر معجزاتش دلیل
 گراز جادوان خصم بسیار داشت بشد منتهی چون خرد یار داشت
 جهانیش خصم و خرد خصم سوز خرد دلکشای و خرد دلفروز
 چو یزدان خرد را بیاریش داد زهر بد خرد رستکاریش داد
 چو دین بهی را نمودار کرد خرد کامکارش بهر کار کرد

In the following chapter, fol. 8 b,

در وصف خرد بیاری جناب احدیت گوید

the author begs God to bestow his mercy upon him, that he may give the description of the Khirad in verse. Fol. 9 a, l. 5.

که وصف خرد را بنظم آورم

کنون باز کردم بکار خرد بمینوی پاسخ گذار خرد
 چنین دان ایام دار سخن که چون مرزبان داشت راوروطن

“Now I have revealed the operation of the Khirad ; let the Khirad itself bring me the heavenly answer (to my questions). Now, o glorious (reader), listen to the word, as Marzubân, the native of Râwar, had it.”

In the last introductory chapter, fol. 9a, وصف حال شاعر, and دوستان موافق, the author gives an account of himself, and tells us whence he received his learning. He went to Yazd and stayed there some time, occupied in learning the old traditions. His teacher tells him: "Once, a younger friend of mine, Fûlâdi Gushtâb, wished to study the Mînôkhirad, written in Pahlavi characters; at his request I transliterated it into 'this Pârsî character.'" When he died, Marzubân received the manuscript and turned the work into verse. I give the text in extenso. Fol. 9a, l. 9.

قضاء ^۱ سپهری بیزدم کشید	زهر سو شدم نیک خواهی پدید
بوپژده کسی کو خرد یار داشت	همیشه بوصفش سر و کار داشت
کجا رستم پور کشتاب بود	گذشته ^۲ ز دانش ز جاماسب بود
بمن آتجان آشنای گماشت	کرالفت زمانی جدای نداشت
چنین گفتم روزی برادر یکی	مرا بودی کش سال بود اندکی
ورا بود فولاد کشتاب نام	ندیده ز امید آفاق کام
به وصف خرد آرزو داشتی	دمادم برو مهر بگماشتی
نوشته بد این وصف با معنوی (?)	به خطی که خوانی ورا پهلوی
ز بهر وی آیین نقش پیچیدمش	بدین پارسی خط پسندیدمش
که همراز باشد ورا در جهان	نماید بدان راه با هم رهان
چو بر کام او کردمش ساخته	قضارا شدش جای پرداخته
ز گیتی گذر کرد و این نامه ماند	زمژگان مرا اشک خونین فشاند
پذیرفتم ازان مکان خرد	که تا نظم سازم بیان خرد

Then follow the contents of the Mînôkhirad in fifty-four questions and answers, foll. 10a-54a, besides a conclusion in three chapters.

- I. Fol. 54a. در مناجات قاضی الحاجات
- II. Fol. 55b. در تصریح و خواهش شاعر از ایزد تعالی
- III. Fol. 58b. در نصیحت شافلان و انجام کتاب


^۱ MS. قضاء.

At the end there is added, in eight lines, a short account in prose of the six sorts of fires. As far as I can see, the work is complete, with one exception, viz., the first chapter is followed immediately by the ninth, though it only contains two questions and answers, the first fol. 10*a*, the second fol. 13*b*, l. 12, whence it would appear, that six questions and answers are wanting.

This may suffice as a description of the externals of the work. I shall have now to show its character and value, as well as its relationship to the Pahlavi or Pârsi text, in which I mark Marzubân's translation by M. and the Pârsi text (edition of Spiegel) P. And first, it may be noticed, that, to Marzubân, as to everybody who is not an accomplished master of the art of versification, the rhyme is a very serious obstacle, and that in general, we can rely more upon the first hemistich, as to the genuineness of its contents, than upon the second, where the rhyme is paramount to every other consideration. It was not the author's aim to give a translation of the work, but following the original, verse by verse, to bring its contents into a pleasing form. To effect this, he makes occasional additions or omissions, and generalises or transforms, according to the later tradition, the singularities, not to say oddities of the Parsee Mythology, which he either did not understand, or more probably did not think fit for his purpose, which evidently was to entertain. This paraphrase has not been made from the hitherto known Pâzand translation; for its proper nouns sometimes appear in a different shape, which can only be owing to the ambiguous Pahlavi character, not to the Zand writing, as this expresses every vowel and consonant separately. Neither does it seem to have been made from the same redaction in Pahlavi, which is the source of the Pâzand translation; for the arrangement of the single verses is sometimes different. The original is that Pahlavi text, which Marzubân's teacher transliterated for his friend. Fûlâd i Gushtâb into the Pâzand character in Yazd (*v.* introduction). Both M. and P. are independent efforts to interpret the original; the former has often gone very far wrong, but P. too does not seem to have expressed

everywhere the full meaning of the Pahlavi original, as Windischmann already supposed.

The dev *aëshma* is written in P. as usual *khashm* (Spiegel, 136, l. 27, 28), by M. هیشم (fol. 23*b*, l. 10), which is to be derived from a variety of reading of the Pahlavi text, as it occurs in the Parisian manuscript of the Bundešesh (edition of Justi, p. 76, 10; 82, 3, 6).

P. writes *qaniratha qaniras* (Sp. 142, 19), M. (fol. 52*b*, l. 4) هویرث; one read the same sign *n*, the other (wrongly) *w*, in . Among the manuscripts of the Bundešesh, that of Copenhagen has always this reading, except in two places, that of Oxford almost always, and the Parisian one sometimes, so that I cannot see why Justi has constantly written both in his text and glossary خونیرس.

Raëvand, Pushti Gushtâspân (Spiegel, 148, 8) and Pêshyânsai are different names for the same mythical place, where Sâam's body lies (Windischmann's *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 9 and 247, Anm. 1). The Bundešesh writes always in Zand characters *pêshyânsai*, and if we transliterate this into the Pahlavi character, we can readily explain the reading of M. دشت پشندس (fol. 51*b*, l. 9) assuming, that in his copy the second character, the compound *یش* was missing.

When M. writes *دز کنت* for P.'s *kañdizh* and *تور* for *thôzh* (Sp. 137, 34), I do not consider these to be various readings, but another tradition, probably taken from Firdausi's *Shâhnâma*, which seems to have been used by Marzubân, as we shall see hereafter.

As to the different arrangement of the verses, I must premise, that it is sometimes extremely difficult to state which verses in M. correspond to those in P., and which verses in P. are left out in M., the more so as the latter generalised and often misunderstood his original. But, paying due regard to this, the order of the first extract (Spiegel, p. 128-133) would be, according to M., as follows:—Verses 1-7, 9-11, 15, 14, 16, 17, 21, 22, 24-27, 18, 28, 19, 29, 20. He has, therefore, omitted vv. 8, 12, 13, 23.

I lay much more stress upon the inversion of the order than upon omissions, though these, too, as we find in this chapter and elsewhere, sometimes seem to arise from other reasons than the mere caprice of the translator.

I proceed to give the paraphrase (text and translation) of those extracts published by Spiegel (p. 133 ff., p. 140 ff.) so highly interesting for Zoroastrian mythology, and shall afterwards shortly point out their differences from the Pâzand version. It will be noticed at once, that Marzubân's language is by no means the classical Persian, and that he uses words, connected with the matters treated upon, that are not to be found in the hitherto accessible Persian Dictionaries. Lastly, it must be mentioned that the single MS. which is at my disposal, that of the Royal Asiatic Society, though in general a very good one, is not sufficient to constitute everywhere a pure and indubitable text.

سوال بیست یکم دانا وجواب خرد

<p>سرافراز شاهان فرخنده پی نکو رای و نیکو نهادان بدند ظفر یافت طهمورث تیز جنگ جز این پادشاهان با داد و زور که بر دین یزدان به پیمود راه دگر اهل بیداد دگر نیک خو ز یزدان بیکسان پدیدار بود نکویان ز برتر سر افراشتن بران دید یزدان نشان بهی در سود ازان پس پدیدار کرد که بد هر یکی را بسانی نهاد برینگونه بود آشکار و نهان</p>	<p>دگر گفت کز پادشاهان کی که اندر سمر پیشدادان بدند کیامرث و هوشنگ با هوس هنگ چه جم و فریدون با فر و نور روارو چنین تا بگشتاب شاه ستمکاره بودند دگر داد جو¹ چرا حاجتی شان که در کار بود بدان را نبود به انباشتن 10 چنین پاسخ آورد کز فرهی که بر آرزو جمله را یار کرد ز نیکی و انصاف و بیداد و داد رواج سپهر و مدار زمان²</p>
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¹ MS. اگر داد جوی

² Cf. Pârsî râinidârf i ôgāmân, Neriosangh "pravṛttikâritâ yâ samayanâm."—Spiegel, p. 128, 11.

زسود وزیان جُستنِ خوبِ وزشت
 جهاندار دانای فیروزگر
 کیمرث سود اینچنین کرد ساز
 تن خویشتن را نکرد ارجمند
 ابر مردمان جهان جمله نیز
 زمعدن بر آوَد هراسان گهر
 زهوشنک شد سود ازینسان پدید
 دو بهره زدیوان گیتی بکُشت
 بشد زو هراسنده دیو ورده^۳
 بسی رسمها زو پدیدار شد
 زطهورث آن شاه فیروزمند
 مرورا زبان حال^۴ و بیچاره داشت
 دگر آنکه بُرد از دبییری وخط
 بمردم زدیوان بد روزگار
 زجمشید سود اینکه چندان زمان
 بُد از خرمی گیتی آرایسته
 جهان از بدیها فراموش داشت
 دگر آنکه آداب گیتی نهاد
 جهانرا بهشش دانک برهفت بخش
 بیاراست تُندی و آهستگی
 چو جم کرد، فرخنده شهری بساخت
 پس از برف و ظلمات ملکوس دیو

پریشان ازینگونه آمد سرشت
 زهریکت پذیرفت سودی دگر 15
 که گیتی تهی کرد از دیو و آز
 زبَد کرد کوتاه دست گزند
 نکوهی^۱ بیفزود تا رستخیر
 چه آهن چه پولاد و چه سیم و زر
 که بر کند بنیاد و دیو پلید 20
 بدیشان چو شد گاه کینه دُرُشت
 نهان از بُنه رسم جشمن سده
 بسی کارها زو نمودار شد
 بد آن سود کابلیس را کرد بسند
 بسی سال بر سان یکباره داشت 25
 نوشتن همان خواندن هفت خط
 پیاموخت خطهای بنیادگار
 نه بُد مرگ و آز وستم در جهان
 غم ورنج و سختی شده کایسته
 بساطِ مَحَبَّت در آغوش داشت 30
 بقانونِ افلاک از راه داد
 زقضات و حکما و هرگونه نقش (?)
 زشایستگی و زبایستگی
 که ایزد درو نیکوبها شناخت
 که از جمله عالم بر آمد غریو 35

۱ نیکوئی instead of the usual نکوهی

۲ زَبُونِ حال = زبانِ حال

۳ رَدَه

۴ var i jam kard. = جم کرد

شود جن وچن بنده یکسر تباہ
 زجم کرد یزدان کشاید دری
 زبوسندگان وزگوبندگان
 جهانرا جهان بان بیارایدا
 40 شود گیتی آباد بار دگر
 سیم خوردنیاها زپاکی گزید
 به پرهیز داد از خورشهای زشت
 دگر آنکه از چار پایان دهر
 مرین سود یکسر زجمشید بود
 45 هم از مار دوش وزافراسیاب
 که چون بود ایام دژ پادشاه
 ره ورسم شاهی بر ایشان نوشت^۲
 وگر پادشاهی بر ایشان قرار
 بهیشم سپردی جهان داوری
 50 مران دیو ناپاک تا رستخیز
 چو زآنگونه دیوی بشاهی بدی
 چنین بود سود از فریدون نیو
 بسبتش به بندی که تا جادو آن
 ودیگر کز ایران پی دیو شوم
 55 منوجهر ازین سود دریافت نور
 تهی کرد گیتی زجادوکران
 بسی شهر بستد زافراسیاب
 پدید آمد این سود از کیقباد

^۱ MS. وپرورشتهای رشت

^۲ MS. نوشت

^۳ The meaning of آنیسی is like that of Pahlavi **نرسون**

همه کار شاهی باندازه داشت
بیزدان سپاس و کمر بر میان
بگیتی فنزوده بُلندی گرفت
زکُرشاب سود اینکه مار سَتُرک
بتیر و کمان چونکه بفراخت دست
بسی دیو پتیاره و جانور
بد این سودمندی زسام گزین
بر انداخت بنیاد گندرب دیو
کزان سهمگین زشت پتیارگان
کجا بودی از رستخیز آگهی
زدستان ورستم همی در جهان
زکاؤس کی سود ازینسان رسید
سیاوخش را سود ازینگونه بود
چو کنک دزی در زمانه بساخت
به صافی و نیکیش بودی مدار
زکیخسروی^۱ نامی این سود خواست
شه جادوان کو بُد افراسیاب
همه کار بر نیکوی سخته کرد
بکھسار در کنک دز را نهفت
که اکنون کسی را درو راه نیست
چنین تا سیوشانس^۲ آید پدید
دهد هفت کشور بزینت ازان
زلهاسب سودی پدیدار بود
همه رسم شاهی باندازه داشت

^۱ MS. زکیخسرو

^۲ MS. گُه

رِه داد و رسم بهی تازه داشت
همی بود و از وی نژاد کیان⁶⁰
رِه پاکی و ارجمندی گرفت
تَبَه کرد کو بُد چو کوهی بزرک
کُهی گین کَمک مرغ را کرد پست
تبه گشت در جنک آن نامور
که پردخت از دیو آبی زمین⁶⁵
بر آورد از گُرت آبی غریو
یکی گر بماندی بروی زمان
بگیتی نبودی امید بهی
پدیدار شد سود فاش نهان
که آمد سیاوخش از او پدید⁷⁰
که رادی و پاکی ازو رخ نمود
که دانا سیاوخش کردش شناخت
چو کیخسروی آمد از وی ببار
که ارج همه جادوان را بکاست
بگیتی پدر کُشت آن کامیاب⁷⁵
زجادوکران دهر پردخته کرد
بفرمان یزدان بی یار و جفت
دران شهر عزم کس آگاه نیست
جهانبان ازو بر کشاید کلید
جهانرا بود جمله زیور از آن⁸⁰
که پیوسته یزدان پرستار بود
پذیرفت دین روان تازه داشت

بر انداخت رسم بُت و بتکنده
 بکوشید در نیکی و کار نیکن
 ز خیل جهودان و جادوکران⁸⁵
 چو گشتاب آن شاه فرخنده پی
 بیتگی ز گشتاب این سود بود
 روان ساخت در دهر این دین پاک
 یزش بر همان دین یزدان نمود
 90 س ر طاق بتخانه را کرد پست
 بهر کار زرتشت را یآوری
 ز کردار وی او ز مرد بلند
 ازو غالب دیو بر هم شکست
 پشوتن ازو بود و اسفندیار
 95 کزیشان همه رسم نیکی فزود
 ازیشان جهانرا بهی شد پدید
 نو آئین بساط خوش انداختند
 مرین جمله سود جهان دار بود

بیاراست آئین آتشکده
 به نیکان ورا بود کردار نیکن
 بر آورد گرد از کران تا کران
 پدید آمد از بیخ و بنیاد وی
 که دین بهی تا رو او بود بود
 بر آورد از بُت پرستان هلاک
 زدروند کیشان بر آورد دود
 بد آموزرا رشته از بن گسست
 ازو بود روشن شدش داوری
 بدی شاه با جمله امشاسفند
 دُرُج جمله زو گشت نایاب دست
 چو جاماست دانشور روزگار
 زمانه چو ایشان ندید و شنود
 بر افتاد آئین و رسم پلید
 جهان از بدیها تهی ساختند
 که نیکی بر ایشان سزاوار بود

سوال پنجاه سیوم دانا و جواب خرد

100 به پرسید باز آن هشیوار مرد
 و پس ساختن در کجا شد نهان
 چه جایست جم کرد فرخنده پی
 کجا مرتن سام را شد قرار
 که مرکنک دزرا که بر پای کرد
 نهفته که کردش بروی جهان
 که بنهاد و بنهفت بنیاد وی
 همی از ازل تا به بس روزگار

¹ MS. پس

- کجایست ماوای فرخ سروش
 خری کش سه پایست جایش کجاست
 105 که یاور بدو ایزد رهنماست
 شده رُسته بر دهر ویر آستار
 پذیرد ازو دیو و جادو گریز
 کزو باشد آرایش رمتخیز
 بذکر خداوند دارد مُراد^۱
 کجا پاک موبد شه بامداد
 چه کارش مدار وجه جایش مقام
 زمانی که گلمائی^۲ آمد بنام
 کجایست سیمرغ را آشیان
 چه مقصود ازو هست و حاصل همان
 110 چه باشد مدار وجه خیزد^۳ بهی
 که هشدار تا گویمت جای کنک
 سروش خجسته ورا جای داد
 میان زمین و هوا از نهاد
 نه در آسمان و نه اندر زمین
 ببالی ایران پاکت گزین
 115 بپاکی و رادی^۴ و دور از گنه
 بنا کرد جمشید فرخ گهر
 بزیر زمین ساختندش نهان
 زمرغان و گاوان و از گوسفند
 ز پوشیدنی نیز و گستردنی
 زهر رُستنی و زهر خوردنی
 بود اندر آن شهر با فرهی
 120 جهانی سراسر شود کاسته
 ازان جمله پابستهای نهان
 به پیش دماوند کوه اوفتاد
 بدشت پشندس تن سام راد^۵
 زهر بهتری مردم هوشمند
 زهر رُستنی و زهر خوردنی
 که هست از دری فرخی و بهی
 چنین تا زهر چیز وهر خواسته
 دگر تازه آباد گردن جهان
 بدشت پشندس تن سام راد^۵

¹ Cf. v. 40, 41.

² MS. مدار ³ گرماهی = کلماتی ⁴ MS. خزد

⁵ رادی = Pahl. *liberalitas*. Cf. I. v. 71.

⁶ See رادی v. 17.

برو بر گمارید پروردکار
 همان نیز نه بیور ونه نود¹²⁵
 چنین تا دم رستخیز المدام
 سروش اشوی خجسته نظر
 ورا از در رحمت و آفرین
 که هر یارمندی بگیهان ازوست
 130 بهان راه بشب پاسبانی کند
 شناسا بود آشکار ونهان
 زدارای دیوان سروش مکین
 خری را که پیوسته خوانی سه پای
 زهرگونه رسم مقصود ازوست
 135 مره آن آب کان گشته از بن پدید
 جز این نشان کاب ریمن شود (?)
 مره آن خرچو افتد نگاهش بر آب
 اشایه نهان دل آرای هوم
 ورا نزد وس تخمه شد جایگاه
 140 برو پاسبان کرد پروردکار
 فزون نهصد ونه نود زین شمار
 همان نیز کلماهی نیک خواه
 که تا دیو آبی نیازدش

¹ Translation of "Fravash i sahōān." Cf. v. 42.

² MS. بهان

³ Cf. Pahl. **سومدلو** and **سومدلو**

⁴ MS. را پیوسته

⁵ MS. هر

⁶ MS. زهجرون نساها. *هجر* is the Zand *hičra*, Pahlavi *هیر* (Spiegel, die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen, Wien, 1860, p. 163, l. 9).

⁷ MS. هر

⁸ = *vourukasha* = اشایه کشن

- بشهر هویرت بود جای وی
 145 میان تا بپایش جو گاو ژیان
 بذکر جهاندار سازد قیام
 کند یشت وتوحید یزدان پاک
 کزان دیو وجادو بماند تَباب
 شود صد هزاران خرستر تَباه
 150 نریزد بدریا یزش کرده آب
 خرستر ببارد پراز قهر و کین
 بگیتی نه خاشاک ماند نه سنک
 زمردم به سختی بر آید دمار
 ابر نخل وس تخمه دارد مقام
 155 شمارند طوبای فرخ نهاد
 برو پشکند شاخ از وی هزار
 هزاران کشن شاخ با برکت و بر
 بریزد بدریا همه تخم ازان
 پراکنده گردن بدریای ژرف
 160 به تشر سپارد بدریا کنار
 سپارد بمیخ وفرستد به اوج
 بروی جهان تخم بار آوری
 بصحرای وادی ودریا کنار
 بروید ازان تخمها بر فزون
 165 همه رُستینها زبالا و پست
 زوش تخمه است آشکار ونهفت
- یزش پیشه مرید شه نیک پی
 بمانند مردم زسرتا میان
 بدریای وس تخمه گیرد مقام
 بدریاست پیوسته با ترس وبائ
 فشانند به بحر آن یزش کرده آب
 بهر قطره آب اندر آن آبگاہ
 نسازد یزش گر مرا کامیاب
 بهنگام باران بروی زمین
 جهان از گزنده شود تار وتنک
 نماند بشاخ اندران برکت و بار
 چو فرخنده سیمرخ گسترده گام
 کجا نام اورا بتازی زداد
 چو بنشیند آن مرغ به روزگار
 چو بر خیزد از وی بروید دگر
 شکسته چو شد شاخهای گران
 مران تخم با شاخهای شگرف
 پس آنکاه چمروش پرهیزکار
 دگر کزّه سازدش تیشتر بموج
 ببارد مران ابر با فرهی
 بگسار وهر بیشه و مرغزار
 درخت و گیا و گل گونه گون
 جهان در جهان را درو هر چه هست
 ز شاید و بایست از خورد و خفت

¹ translation of Zaotra, Zdr. یزش کرده آب ¹

² MS. ابکار

21st Question of the Wise Man and Answer of the σφλα.

Again he said : "Of the noble kings, the sublime and fortunate princes, who were amongst the Pêshdâdians, some were of good judgment and nature, Kayâmarth and Hôshang with intellect and understanding, ʿTahmûrath gained the victory, a keen warrior; how bright and glorious were Jam and Ferêdûn! Besides these just and strong kings—so one after the other down to Gushtâb Shâh, who went on the path of God's religion—some were oppressors, some just, some unjust, some good-natured. Why at all did God evince a want of them, which proved useful? Was it not good to put aside the wicked? to raise the good ones higher?"

Thus he answered: "God, from glory, recognised in this the signal of good. According to his wish he gave assistance to all of them, through which he afterwards opened the door of advantage. From the goodness and probity, injustice and justice, which, in a certain manner, was the character of each of them—the revolution of the globe and the course of time, appeared and disappeared (ἐν δὲ διὰ δουίῳν f. went on) in this manner. Through use and damage, noble and mean tendencies, the creation in this manner was disturbed. The almighty, wise, and victorious God received from each (of them) a different use."

Kayâmarth was useful by cleaning the world of devils and lusts; he did not think his own body precious (*i.e.* offered it); he prevented the hand of damage from doing evil. Also, over all mankind, he increased welfare till the day of resurrection. Out of the mines he brought forth all sorts of metals, iron, steel, silver, and gold.

Hôshang was useful in destroying the building and the impure devil; he killed two parts of all the devils of the world, when the time of severe revenge came over them. Dev and demon trembled at him; he is the founder of the *jashni sadah* (festival on the 10th of Bahman). Many institutions (*besides*) are founded by him, and he did many deeds.

The victorious ʿTahmûrath was useful in binding 'Iblis, in making him powerless and helpless, using him as a sort of

vehicle during thirty years. The other use is this, that he made known the writing and reading of seven sorts of characters. He taught mankind the lines of the architect (taking them away) from the dev's of a bad age.

Jamshîd had the use, that during a long time there was no death, lust, or oppression in the world. The world was adorned with cheerfulness; trouble and sorrow and misfortune decreased; it forgot all evils and embraced the cushion of affection. Further, as a deed of justice, he founded the science and art of the world, according to the law of heaven.¹ All sorts of things were established by him. He made Jamkard a happy place, in which God recognised the good qualities. Then, from the snow and darkness of the dev, Malkûs, being so terrible that there arose a cry from the whole world, the Jinns and their servants are destroyed at once; of that dev nothing remains. God opens a door of the Jamkard and brings forth all sorts of beings, running, speaking, creeping, and growing. He gave to the world a world-guard, and increased the unanimity of the world. The world becomes cultivated a second time, and it (leg. وگیتی) gets another station. In the third place, he chose, from all pure things, the eatable ones, that food which is suitable according to the law of God; he ordered abstinence from filthy food and impure nourishment. Further, of all quadrupeds in existence, of the (whole) world, he did not give a part to the dev's. This effect came only from Jamshîd, that the whole world depended, in fear and hope, upon him.

Further, the Almighty God saw this advantage resulting from the serpent of the shoulder and Afrâsiâb, that, since the days of the wicked king had come, an age of the revengeful Ahriman, he transferred the dignity of the reign to them, whose nature was founded upon the action of the dev's. And, if the sovereignty had not been settled on them, Ahriman would have reached his intention; to Hêsham he would have given the dominion of the world with oppression and tyranny, and that impure devil would not have been routed nor put to flight from the world till the day of resurrection. If, in that man-

¹ Verse 32 is omitted, as the text is corrupt.

ner, a dev had been the master, the world would have been utterly ruined.

The brave Ferêdûn had this use, that he chained Dâhâk, the friend of the dev, with such a chain, that there is no deliverance nor quarter for that magician. And another use he afforded, in blotting out of Erân the unfortunate traces of the devs by cleaning the earth of them.

Mînôchihr became illustrious by this use, that he took revenge on his father-brothers¹ Salm and Tûr. He cleared the earth of magicians with prudence and—a heavy club. He took many a city from Afrâsiâb, and got an ample satisfaction from him.

Kaikobâd was useful in opening the doors of justice to his people, in maintaining his government in perfect order, in keeping justice and virtue in a flourishing state. He always gave thanks to God and wore the belt, and from him the family of the Kayanians is derived. In the world he was exalted, and he went the way of virtue and dignity.

Karshâb (Keresâspa) was useful in killing the dreadful serpent, that was like a high mountain. When he raised his hand with arrow and bow, he killed the stupendous bird Kamak. Many a dev and beast of Ahriman's creation, perished in fight with this hero.

This advantage came from the famous Sâm, that he cleared the earth of the water-devil. He destroyed the house of the dev Gandarb; he raised a cry from the waterwolf. If, on the surface of the earth, a single one of the horrid creations of Ahriman had remained, there would have been no knowledge of the resurrection in the world, no hope of the good.

By Dastân and Rustam also some good, hidden and manifest, was done in the world.

Kai Kâ'ûs had this use, that Siyâvakhsh came from him.

Siyâvakhsh had this use, that virtue and purity appeared from him, when he built a castle called Kang, whose use the

¹ So Neriosangh "pitrbhrâtaran;" 'Édal b. Dârâb in the "Farhangi Shâh-nâma," (MS. of the British Museum Add. 24413 f. 45 b. 2), "paternal and maternal grandfather." نیا بمعنی پدر پدر و نیز پدر مادر بود.

wise Siyāvakhsh had recognised. He conducted himself with purity and virtue, when Kaikhusrû was born to him.

From the illustrious Kaikhusrû arose this advantage, that he diminished the honour of all the magicians. That prosperous father killed the king of the magicians, Afrâsiâb. Every action he founded on virtue, the world he freed of magicians. On the mountain, he concealed the door of Kang Castle, according to God's order, without helper or mate, so that for nobody is there now a way to it; no one knows how to reach that place, until Siyôshâns appears. The guard of the world opens for him and adorns the seven kishvars beautifully, for his sake.

Lurhâsp (*v.* Luhrâsp) afforded a use, by being a constant worshipper of God, by maintaining the whole government in order, by accepting the dîn and keeping it well in his memory. He destroyed the very traces of idols and their temples, he established the rites of the fire-temples. He strove after noble purposes and bestowed benefits upon good men. From the Jews and magicians he took away the land from one end to the other, when that king Gushtâb appeared from his house.

From Gushtâb the world got this use, that he spread the pure religion at this time, and destroyed the worshippers of idols. He praised only the dîn of God, he eradicated the followers of a wicked religion. He crushed the top of the cupola of the idol temple. The bad teacher ceased to exercise evil influence. He gave assistance in everything to Zartusht, by this his reign became famous. On account of his deeds, he was raised from a great man to a king amongst all the Amshâsfands. Most of the devs were defeated by him, he made all Drujas powerless. Pashûtan and Isfandiyâr came from him and Jâmâst, the wise man of his time. All good increased by them, no age saw or heard of men like them. They afforded benefit to the world, impure customs and manners vanished. A new law they founded, an excellent ground-work; they made the world free of evils.

All these (things) were the use from God, because all of them (the above mentioned heroes and kings) were bearers of a suitable good.

53rd Question of the Wise Man, and Answer of the $\sigma\phi\lambda$.

That wise man asked again—Who has built Kang-diz ? After being made, where was it hidden ? Who hid it on the earth ?

Where is that fortunate Jamkard ? Who built it and hid it ? Where does the body of Sâ'm rest, from eternity to eternity ?

Where is the residence of the happy Serôsh, for whose sake devils and beasts are in trouble ?

Where is the residence of the ass with three feet, whose helper is the guiding Jzad ?

Where is the Vourukasha, Hôm, the preparer, who has grown higher than fate and star ? through whom the resurrection is prepared, dev and magician fly from him.

Where is the pure Mobad, the king of the morning ? his occupation is to think of God. When the fish Galmâhî comes, what is his work and his place ? Where is Sîmurg's nest, and what is sought from him and obtained ?

Where is the place of Amrôsh and Camrôsh ? and what good comes from them ?

It answered thus : As to the place where Kang-diz is—keep it well, that I may say it to you. The blessed Serôsh has assigned to it, from its foundation, the place between earth and air, above the pure and distinguished Erân, neither in heaven nor on earth. Siyâwakhsh built it from the foundation in purity and virtue, and without sin.

If you ask for the Jam-kard, it was built by the happy Jamshîd, in Erân, and well-skilled men constructed it under the earth. Of all best things, prudent men, birds, cows, sheep, of everything that grows, that is edible, that can be used as clothing or bedding, which is of a good and auspicious class,—of all these there is something in that glorious place ; so that the whole world was deprived of all its property. Again, the world shall become flourishing, through all those hidden and incarcerated things.

In the plain of Pashandas lies the body of the noble Sâ'm before the Damâvand. The creator ordered 99999 farvars of

the pure men (to watch over him), that it might be safe from magicians and devs. So they watch over it, night and day, till the day of the resurrection.

The pure Serôsh, with auspicious look, stays in the sea of the Vis-tukhma tree. The creator has called him, by way of grace and blessing, "master of the world," because all help in the world comes from him. The defeat of the devs comes from him; he watches by night over good men, and also by day time he takes care of them. He knows what is manifest and secret, and cares for body and soul. The bold Serôsh beats the devs, being a protector of goodmen for the time of the battle of hatred.

The ass, which is called "three feet," has its residence in the sea of the Vis-tukhma. It is destined for manifold purposes; purity, virtue, and welfare come from him. All water coming out of the ground, which has been stained by dirt and carcaas, is purified by him.¹ When the eye of this ass falls upon water, it purifies all impurity and vice.

The heart of the preparer Hôm is hidden in the sea Vourukasha; he rejoices this kishvar. His residence is close to the Vis-tukhma, in the Vourukasha. The creator gave him, as guardians, 99999 farvars, which always watch over him. Also, the benevolent Galmâhi has his place around him, that the water devil (Ahriman's toad) may not hurt him, protecting him from all sorts of kharastars.

The virtuous Mobad Shâh, whose profession is praising God, stays in Havîrath. From the head to the middle of his body, he is like a man; from the middle to the feet, like a terrible cow. His residence is in the sea of the Vis-tukhma, always engaged in pious meditation. He is always in the sea, in fear and sorrow, acknowledging and praising the pure God. He pours out into that sea the water made for worship (zaothra), that dev and magician may perish. Hundreds of thousands of kharasters perish by each drop of water in that sea. If he does not constantly praise, if he does not pour the Zaothra into the sea, then, at raintime, it would rain kharasters full of violence and hatred upon the earth. From this plague, the earth

¹ Verse 38 is omitted as the text is corrupt.

would be in darkness and distress, neither dust nor stone would remain in it. Neither leaves nor fruit would be on the branches any longer, mankind would perish most cruelly.

Simurg, with wide step, lives upon the palm tree Vis-tukhma; in Arabic they call it the fortunate *Ṭûbâ*. Sitting down, he breaks off 1000 branches; when he alights, 1000 huge branches, with leaves and fruit, grow out. When the heavy branches are broken off, all the seed is poured into the sea. This seed, with the wonderful branches, is scattered in the deep sea. Then, the careful Camrôsh, on the strand of the sea, commits it to Tishtar. A second time, Tishtar brings it to the waves, commits it to the clouds, and sends it to the zenith. That cloud rains down fruit, gloriously bringing seed on the surface of the earth, on the mountains, forests, meadows, deserts, valleys, and borders of the sea. Trees and herbage, and various coloured roses grow from that seed in abundance; a world in the world, all that is in it, everything that grows, high and low; everything in existence depends upon the Vis-tukhma."

The contents of these extracts are to be compared with the results of Windischmann's and Spiegel's mythological researches;¹ they will enable us to explain nearly all the variations from the Pâzand text, especially the additions made by Marzubân. Only of the building (بنیاد) destroyed by Hôshang (i. v. 20), and of موبدشاه instead of Gôpatishâh (ii. v. 10, 45 ff.), I cannot give any account.

V. 12. To the one use afforded by Hôshang M. (Marzubân) adds another, the foundation of the festival Cashni sada in conformity with Firdausi, and perhaps taken from him. The report of it from the Shâhnâma is given by Windischmann, p. 194-96.

V. 31. M. relates (v. 31-33) a use of Jamshîd, the foundation of science and art (آداب), which is not in P. (Pâzand text).

V. 35. That "malkôsân" (the biblical מלכוש), described in P. as a "rain," in other sources as a winter, appears here

¹ Zoroastriſche Indien, ed. Spiegel, Berlin, 1863; Spiegel, Avesta ubersetzt iii. p. lii. ff.

as a dev, according to the later tradition. Richardson's Persian Dictionary: *ملکوس* name of a wicked person, on whose account the deluge was sent according to a notion of the ancient Persians.

V. 41, 42. The third use of Jamshîd, the definition of that which is allowed to be eaten and drunk according to the religious law, not being found in P., is probably to be derived from Yasna 32, 8. "Bagâ, Neriosangh's dakshanayâ" (in the passage, "yo manushyebhyaḥ samâsvâdayati asmâkaṃ paçtûnâṃ dakshanayâ khâdanâṃ,") seems to have been taken in a meaning like the Pahlavi, thus *داتیها*, or Pârsi sazhâihâ, "in the right, lawful manner." (Cpr. Windischmann, p. 26, 27.)

V. 43. The fourth use of Jamshîd is also wanting in P. The second use in P. (v. 25) is not mentioned in M., but I think it extremely likely, as Windischmann (p. 203) has already supposed, that P. has in this place misinterpreted the original.

V. 45-46. That Azhis dahâka is called "dizh pâdishâh" (so in P., Spiegel, p. 132, v. 22, *dahewat dahâk*), is to be explained according to the later tradition; it was taken as an 'idâfa, "az i dahâk," the serpent of dahâk, and afterwards divided into two mythical beings: the serpent (ج) and Zohâk. This latter is the son of an Arabian prince, who rules the world 1000 years, being a personification of all sin and impurity. Erân left Yima, anarchy arose, an army goes to Arabia, making Zohâk king of Erân. Yima flies, is captured and sawn to pieces. From ج the tradition made two serpents: the devil kissed the shoulders of Zohâk and two serpents grew out of it (hence "mâr i dôsh," the serpent of the shoulder, v. 45), requiring as food human brain. This tradition, I should say, is a picture of the Conquest of Persia by the Arabs, the colours mixed up from very old and quite modern substances. Accordingly the "dahewat" of P. can probably be taken as a hint of the time of its composition being after the Muham-madan conquest.

V. 62-64. Between Kaikawâd and Sâm, M. inserts Kere-sâspa on his own authority, but in conformity with the tradi-

tion. The serpent, which he kills, is the Sṛvara, well known from Yasna 9, 9. His killing the bird Kamak is also related in the mythological poems published by Spiegel (*Einleitung in die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, p. 343, v. 217).

V. 65, 66. M. contains some mythical elements, which I cannot thoroughly explain. The *دیر آبی* denotes ii. v. 45. Ahriman's toad mentioned in Bundelesh, chap. 52, and is given in P. by "vak" (frog). Perhaps the "shêdâ i dayan mayyâ," (Bundelesh, ed. Justi, page 48, 5), whose enemy is the beaver, should be explained individually, not generally, as Justi does (*ib.* p. 27, 8, 9).

V. 66. Gandarb is in the later tradition the minister of Zohâk (Windischmann, 35, 40), but a special "building of Gandarb" is not known to me. The *کرت آبی* "waterwolf," may possibly be combined with the dev Khavah, who appears in the shape of a wolf (Bundelesh, ed. Justi, p. 47, 17).

V. 69. Between Sâm and Kahôs, M. inserts Sâm's son Dastân, and Rustam, the son of Dastân, probably from the Shâhnâma.

V. 81-86. The information which M. has concerning Luhrâsp—more than P.—is generalised from Firdausî, whose report is given and explained by Spiegel (*Avesta, uebers.* ii. p. xi).

V. 94-97. Regarding Kai Gushtâsp, M. is more detailed than P., adding the names of his sons Pashûtan, Isfandiâr, and Jâmâst, of whom especially Pashûtan (Peshôtanus), the ruler of Kangdizh, and the companion of Siyôshâns is a well known hero of the Zoroastrian mythology.

II. v. 13. To Camrôsh in P. (v. 10) M. adds Amrôsh; both Camru and Amru occur in the Farvardîn Yasht (v. 109).

V. 17. M. gives the additional information of the building of Kangdizh, by Siyâwakhsh, in conformity to the Shâhnâmah (Windischmann, 17, 245).

V. 24. Between v. 24-25, M. has omitted P. v. 5-7 and between v. 25-26 P. v. 9, 10 (Spiegel, p. 141).

V. 56. That the tree Vistukhma was a date tree (نخل), is a statement for which Marzubân himself is responsible.

Lastly, it must be noticed, that Marzubân's poetry is very

much of the same character as the "Ergänzungen zu dem Shâhnâme aus den Riwayets," (Spiegel, Einleitung in die traditionellen Schriften der Parsen, p. 317 ff). We have found it likely, that Marzubân used the Shâhnâme; here we find the exact quotation of it (l. l. 330, v. 69).

بشنامه هست این یکایک خبر

"All this is related in detail in the Shâhnâme."

A favourite expression of both is تازه کردن or شدن (Spiegel, l. l. p. 327, 5, 15; 330, 66, and very common in Marzubân). I therefore feel inclined to assign both authors to almost the same age, and this scarcely earlier than the end of the 16th or the 17th century.

It remains for us to state, that Marzubân often did not understand his original, and for this reason left out passages, or wrote something of his own invention; but from the particulars adduced above it will appear that he is an excellent witness as to the tradition of his age, always in conformity with either of the two sources of all Parsee tradition, the Zand texts for the ancient, the Shâhnâme for the modern. I would advise the future editor of the Mînôikhîrad not only to give the Pahlavî, Pâzand and Sanscrit versions, but also this most recent recension. *Habent sua fata libelli*—and here we have four different witnesses to the *fata* of the Mînôikhîrad, all well worthy of being listened to.

The same manuscript contains, on fol. 62-121, another work of Marzubân, a history of Anûshîrwân. This is, to a certain extent, a historical novel in the modern sense, with this great difference, that here, the action is not the chief point by which the author tries to amuse his readers, but the interspersed conversations on moral topics, "orient pearls at random strung." Possibly, the author had a political motive for composing this poem, as we shall see hereafter. It begins thus—

بنام ایزد بخشاینده مهربان
آغاز داستان عدالت شاه نوشیروان از گفته مرزبان

The author's name occurs again on fol. 118a 10.

برو بر درود دعا هر زمان فرستد ز اخلص دل مرزبان

In the introduction (fol. 62a-63b), he states that he intends to glorify Anûshîrwân.

بہنجار نوشیروانی سخن گنم وصف نوشیروان کہن¹

When Kobâd, the father of Anûshîrwân, became a tyrant, his brother Palâsh was raised to the throne. After the death of Palâsh, Kobâd, having wandered through a great part of the world, returns and takes revenge. His former enemies are compelled to fly, amongst them the wise Yûnân. "The world was then forty years under his dominion; he departed, and nothing remained of him but a bad name." Fol. 63b.

صفت پادشاه نوشیروان ونصیحت نامه یونان

Having heard of Anûshîrwân's succession, Yûnân consults his horoscope, and obtains the answer, that Anûshîrwân would be a friend to him. Yûnân writes him a letter full of advice, and begs leave to return. Fol. 69b جواب نامه یونان. Anûshîrwân, pleased with the letter, asks him to come. Fol. 70b, رفتن یونان در نزد نوشیروان دستور. Yûnân sets out and meets with a glorious reception. The following chapters are uninteresting, as the same scene is repeated several times. Anûshîrwân assembles the wise men of his empire to *συμπόσια* (بزم) with him, he holds disputations with them, in which Yûnân naturally plays the chief rôle. The subjects of discussion are ethical common places, of so vague and undefined a character, that it is not worth while dwelling upon them. As an effort to vary the tale, I consider the episode, that Anûshîrwân, after having heard a sermon of Yûnân's about moderation, resolves to send back to his home the son of Mundiri 'Arab, who is kept at court as a sort of prisoner on account of Anûshîrwân's having fallen in love with him (fol. 74b. آزاد کردن نوشیروان). After several disputations, follows another episode, fol. 88b. خبر یافتن نوشیروان از ظلم قیصر. The Kaişar begins to oppress his people; Anûshîrwân writes to him, order-

¹ متقارب

ing him to conduct himself with more propriety. Kaïsar obeys, excuses himself and sends valuable presents and treasures, with which Anûshîrwân constructs a garden, and builds in it a beautiful hall (ایوان). After this he invites the Khâkân, Kaïsar, Fağfûr Shâh, and Shâhanshâhi Hindostân to come and see his work : they come and admire it. Anûshîrwân's power spreads so far, that "all the seven kishwars are to him as slaves (بنددوار)."

Fol. 92*a*, there commences an account of his building, the Âdar Gushasp on the summit of a mountain, from whence he sets out for Madâ'in, and erects there a palace (کاخ). Lastly, he builds his own mausoleum (دَحْمَه); Yûnân writes a book of which one copy is deposited in the Âdari Gushasp, another in this dakhma.

Here (fol. 100*b*) the first part of the history ends. As a transition to the second part of the work, the author gives an account of the Sasanian kings, after Anûshîrwân, till the time of Muhammad. Though all of them had the desire to see the two large buildings of Anûshîrwân, none of them could find the way to them, but at last, 'Ali succeeded, with three companions, 'Abdurrahîm, Mâ'mûn, and 'Abulkhair. He goes, with a large army, to the Âdari Gushasp ; here, an aged Mobad, Râmish Ârâm, brings forward an old book in Pahlavi, the one written by Yûnân : the future is predicted in it, the mission of Muhammad, the conquest of Persia by the Muslims, etc. 'Ali admires it so much, that he orders 'Abulkhair to translate it into Persian : then 'Ali sets out for Madâ'in (also called "Madîna"), where the Kûtuwals meet him and describe the dakhma as inaccessibly situated within a palace (کوشک). 'Ali, displeased by their advice, sets out again, resolving to destroy the kûshak in order to come to the dakhma. But his army, after having worked a whole year, sees that its destruction is impossible. Then, an old servant in the dakhma (or margauzan), whose ancestors were appointed to watch it by Anûshîrwân himself, is led to 'Ali. The pîr tells him, that the dakhma is inaccessible to everybody, but, that Anûshîrwân himself, (fol. 108*b*. 8),

چنان کرد در نامه خویش یاد که از تازیان شاه با دین و داد
ز خویشان پیغمبر هاشمی بپوید برین کوه فرخ همی الخ

“has mentioned in his own book, that a pious and just king from among the Arabs, one of the relations of the prophet of the family of Hâshim, will come to this auspicious mountain.” ‘Alî announces himself to be this king, and asks the pîr to lead the way. He sets out with a few companions. After having reached the dakhma, they find the body of Anûshîrwân sitting on a throne; on a tablet and a ring are inscriptions in Pahlavi, containing moral sentences and the prediction of the arrival of ‘Alî and his companions. ‘Alî, after having uttered a long eulogy on Anûshîrwân, returns to Madâ’in, stays there three days and sets out for the Kâ’ba, everywhere mentioning the name of Anûshîrwân. Then follows a moralizing paraenetic conclusion.

I give here the chapter immediately preceding the conclusion. (Fol. 117b. 11.)

رفتن حضرت امیر بزیارت کعبه وعهد نامه اهل عجم نوشتن
سه روزش بد اندر مداین مقام چهارم سوی کعبه برداشت کام
سوی خانۀ اعظم آورد روی برانجسار زیارت نمود آرزوی
بهر جا که رو کرد شیر خدای همی بر نهان بود نیکی فزای
سخن داشت از داد نوشیروان همی بود در یاد نوشیروان
یکی عهد بنوشت با دین و داد زدین بهی کرد هرگونه یاد
که از اهل بهدین ستم دور باد جفاجوی آن قوم رنجور باد
رساند کسی که بران قوم بیم ورا جای باشد به قعر جمیم
بران قوم هرکس بود خوش^۱ منش نه بیند زآل نبی سرزنش
بهر دو سرا یا شدش خوشدی به قول رسول وبعهد علی
دکر باره دین بی را عیلم فرازید وبر کند بیخ ستم
نکو کار مردم ازو کام یافت همه شورش وفتنه آرام یافت

^۱ MS. خوش مقال, above it منش

برو بر درود دعا هر زمان فرستد ز اخلص دل مرزبان
 چو شد وصف مرغوزن شه تمام ورا نامه داد خواندیم نام
 که اندر جهان داد زیبا تر است خنک آنکه باداد و دین پرور است
 که تاهست اندر جهان خاک و آب بگردد همی بر زیر آفتاب

“ Three days he stayed in Madâ'in, on the fourth he set out for the Ka'ba, feeling the desire to walk on the path of pilgrimage. Everywhere, where God's lion came, welfare increased secretly. He spoke of the justice of Anûshirwân, always mentioning him. He wrote a memoir (عهد) in piety and justice, mentioning in every way the good religion. May oppression be far from the followers of the good religion! an offender of them may fall into misfortune. To him who brings terror on this people a place in hell is destined. No one who is kindly disposed towards them, will ever be blamed by the family of the prophet (Muhammad). He will be happy in both worlds, according to the word of the prophet and 'Ali. A second time the world raised up the good religion and destroyed the root of oppression. Good men have reached their desire through it (the good religion); all trouble and disturbance is allayed. Marzubân never ceased to pray for it most sincerely.

“ As the description of the Shâh's Margauzan is finished, we have called this 'the book of justice,' because justice is the greatest ornament in the world. Happy he who educates in justice and piety; so long as there is earth and water in existence, he will surpass (in glory) the sun.”

Some parts of this story are also found in a MS. of the British Museum, Add. 24, 413, but in totally different redactions. The two poetical fragments (metr. متقارب) fol. 69b.-74b. correspond :

I. Fol. 69b-70b, گفتار اندر مجلس کردن نوشیروان و پرسش او
 to Marzubân, با یونان و پاسبان یونان در اندرز و حقیقت دانش او
 fol. 73b. 3-74b. 11.

¹ MS. حاک

II. Fol. 70*b*-74*a*, پرمش شاه نوشیروان عادل از موبدان وزیران و جواب ایشان در اندرز Marzubân, fol. 76*b*-81*b*. The contents are in general the same, sometimes also the wording is very similar.

On fol. 74*b*. there is a postscript, stating that this رسالهٔ مجلسی was copied by order of مستر میجر مالکم صاحب (Mr. Major Malcolm Şâhib) in Bombay 1225 H. = A.D. 1810.

The same MS. likewise contains redactions in prose of the above story on fol. 49*b*-57*a*.

Fol. 49*b*.: 'Abulkhair 'Amrî speaks of the miraculous fire-temple of Anûshîrwân, and of his disputation with the Mobads who lived there; they show him two books in Pahlavi, one by Zartusht himself, the other فرخ نِهاله by Yûnân. 'Abulkhair translates the latter into Persian.

Fol. 51*a*. The same story about Anûshîrwân's father Kobâd, his brother Palâsh, and Anushîrwân's succession.

Fol. 51*b*. Yûnân is called to his Court.

Fol. 53*a*-57*a*. contain in prose the second part of Marzubân's tale, with the single remarkable difference, that here not 'Alî, but Mâ'mûn is the hero. Fol. 57*a*. رسالهٔ تمام شد این رسالهٔ نوشیروان عادل The colophon states, that it likewise was copied by order of Mr. Major Malcolm Şâhib in Bombay, 1225 H. = A.D. 1810. All these pieces are in the same handwriting as a Farhangi Shâhnâma in the same MS. (fol. 31-45), which is composed by 'Édal ben Dârâb (according to his own words in the preface) for Major Malcolm, and bears the same date.

Fol. 61*a*-68*b*. in a different hand, offer a third redaction of the same tale حکایت رفتن هارون الرشید برای زیارت دخمهٔ Here, instead of 'Alî and Mâ'mûn, Hârûn Arrashîd is the hero. Some other slight variations are not worth mentioning.

The whole story is made up, as we have shown, in a not very artificial manner, of two distinct parts, and accordingly the author's purpose was a double one, in the first place, to glorify Anûshîrwân, the greatest of the Sasanian kings, his

love of justice, wisdom, and architectural works; and secondly, to bring the earliest Islamitic history in the person of 'Alī, its chief representative for the Shi'ah, into a certain relation to him, describing him as paying the utmost reverence to Anūshīrwān's memory. In this way, it would seem, the author, himself a بهدین, tried to establish a claim upon the Muḥammadans for acknowledgement of, and especially protection for the remaining followers of that creed, which was Anūshīrwān's, whom and which, 'Alī himself glorifies, according to the tale of Marzubān (vide v. 4, 5 of the above given extract). The author adds, on his own authority, that "he who is well disposed towards them, never will be blamed by the prophet (Muḥammad) and his family (especially 'Alī)". On this account, I suppose that this *داد نامه* or "book of justice," is a child of injustice and oppression; that Marzubān wrote it during his stay at Yazd, in a time of trouble and distress, in order to give the persecutors of his fellow Zoroastrians a more favourable idea of them. Marzubān speaks of himself, in the last verses of the introduction to *Mīnōkhirad*, as follows (Fol. 9*b*. 10):

ولی گر پراکنده بینی سخن	خطا پوش می باش و غیبت مکن
گراز گردش چرخ بیچاره ام	مبادمان پریشان وآواره ام
بساطم پراکنده دارد سپهر	نه بنمایدم یکدم از مهر چهر
ولیکن سپاسم ز پروردگار	که بر هر چه هستم نماید گذار

"If you see my words orderless, excuse and do not slander. If through a revolution of fate I am helpless, continually in trouble and distress—my carpet has been torn by heaven, not a moment appears to me the face of love. Notwithstanding, the cause of my praise is God, who forgives me, how sinful I am." Perhaps we can take this individual description as a true picture of the state of all Zoroastrians in the Persian empire at his time. As the work is addressed to the Shi'itic Persians, 'Alī is the hero, whilst in the more modern redactions (probably composed in India) Ma'mūn, or the common hero of Eastern tales, Hārūn Arrāshid, plays the chief part.

In the following pages I give, as a further addition to our knowledge of Pâree literature, a review of the manuscripts treating of Zoroastrian matters, which are preserved in the British Museum. They are neither very numerous (fifteen) nor of first-rate importance, but still they give us an opportunity, in several instances, of bringing to light some things hitherto unknown in Pâree literature.

I. Arundel Orient. 54. A copy of the Vandidâd Sâda, the arrangement of the three sacred books, Vandidâd, Yasna, and Vispered, in which the single chapters are mixed together in such a way as to suit the recitation prescribed for the usual worship, similar to the arrangement of the Gospels for the services of the whole year, which we find in the Evangeliaria. Interspersed in the text there are numerous notes in Pahlavî, liturgical directions for the acts that are to be executed in connexion with the text, many of considerable length and more numerous than I find in any of the Vandidâd Sâdas of the Library of the India Office. As they are of great importance for the Pahlavî Dictionary, and specially for its most difficult part, the liturgical terminology, they fully deserve to be edited, for which purpose this MS. would do very well, the whole being in good preservation and clearly written. The following are common in all MS. : او = Pers. تا, "till," "etc.;" او و او "till the passage;" او و او "to recite to the end;" او و او "to recite three times;" and the names of both the officiating persons, او و او and او و او. Of these latter some are to be found in Brockhaus' edition (Leipzig, 1850), while all the others are wanting.

On fol. 148*b*, at the end, we read شکست زد باد اهریمن دروند "to say thrice: broken, beaten be the wicked, cursed Ahriman, with all the devs and drujas." Then follows a short chapter (fol. 148*b*, 149*a*) in Pâree (Zand character) on the evil eye (*cashm*) and look (*nadara* = نَظَرَة), and their different kinds. The MS. has no colophon; it was probably written in Karmân in the seventeenth, if not the sixteenth century.

II. Reg. 16, B.V. A copy of the Yasna (fol. 158) from Hyde's library, clearly written and well preserved. As usual, the single chapters are separated by two or three stars, smaller portions by a single one. Dated A.D. 1662. The following colophon on fol. 158*b*. line 5 ff. :—

Yô pentâ yô ashahê ikêtâb êzashné tmâm shûd—rôz amer-
dâth mâhâ aridibêhêst sâl avar iakhazârsî az shehenshâh
yazdgr sheheryâr ikêtâb nvishtem doâgôe (دعاگویی) kamtrîn
hêrvada dêrâb bin hirâ bin Jâdâ banslê (MS. banslnê = بنسل)
môbêdh hôrmaz yâr hêrbûdh râm yâr hrjêkhuânâf (Leg.
هر که خواند) yâ navisht yâ âmôzâf dôâ âfrî kunâf êdûn bâf
hûzsnê hûnêshâ (هو-نشان) bâf êdûn bâf nèkî bâf khuba bâf.

The first words are the beginning of a sentence in Zand (not to be found in the Avastâ), that occurs at the end of several manuscripts. The completest form I know is in the MS. of the India Office Library, Z. and P. 2, p. 700.

Aêvô pañtô yô ashahê vîspê anyaêshâm apañtâm shâtô
manô vahêshâtô urvânô.

The first verse, alike in text and translation, we find also in Z. and P. 5, p. 781, and with a different translation in Z. and P. 22, fol. 112, edited by Dr. Justi (Bundehesch Leipzig, 1868, p. xix)¹. Taking *aêvô* (instead of the *yô* of this MS.) as the genuine reading, I translate "single is the path of purity (v. of the pure man), all (the paths) of the others are absence of a path," i.e. they are no path, they lead wrong. *Apañtâm* is either the gen. plur. of *apañta*, "having no way, دردمند است," or the accus. sing. of the abstract *apañtâ*, "absence of way," ارادیس (arâdis, more correctly *arâsisî*) = *avodta*. I take to mean "besides," "and," and *pañtô*² equivalent to the Pârsî *han*, though I am well aware

¹ Justi has dropped *vîspê* between *ashahê* and *anyaêshâm*; the Pahlavi translation is accurately this: *دردمند است. ارادیس. دردمند است. دردمند است. دردمند است.*

² Instead of *pañtô* the other translation has *دردمند*.

that the usual form is *درد*. The second verse I do not venture to translate. The colophon proceeds thus:—

“This book Ezashne was finished on Amerdâd, of the month Ardibahisht, in the year 1030 after Yazdagird. I have written this book, the praying, most humble Herbad Dârâb b. Hirâ b. Jândâ, in the family¹ of Mobad Hormazyâr son of Herbad Râmyâr. Whosoever reads or writes or learns this, let him say a prayer and blessing. So may it be (*huzasnê*?) auspicious; so may it be, good and fair.”

III. Add. 18, 396. Another copy of the same work, foll. 199, dated A.D. 1737 in the colophon on folio 199a.

فرچید² پدرد شادی ورامشنی اندر روز شهرپور امشاسفند ماه بهمن
امشاسفند سال اور یکہزار صد و پنج از شاهنشاه یزدکرد شهریار ساسان
تخمہ شهرستان ایران³ این کتاب اوستا یزشنه تمام شد. کاتب حروف
من دین بنده موبد بهیکہاجی ابن دستور رستم جی بن دستور
بہرام جی لقب سجانہ پرستار آتش و ہرام ساکن قصبہ نوساری
سرکار سورت داخل کجرات. اندر بلد ہند. ہر کہ خواند وان آموزد
دوعای انوشہ روانی برین بنده رساند⁴ والسلام. مالک این کتا سیت
صاحب موبد مانک جی سیت ولد کروتمانی پشم احوانی نوروز جی
سیت ارزانی یاد والسلام.

“Finished to the praise (of God), in joy and gladness, on

¹ The same family is mentioned in the colophon of Z. and P. 17 (a copy of the Yasna with the Sanscrit translation) dated 925 = 1557, and of Z. and P. 2 (dat. 1129 = 1761; pag. 703 ہورمز دیار رامیار). By the uniform reading of the MSS., Dr. Justi's conjecture رامیار ہورمز دیاری (Bundeš. page xix.) is excluded.

² Both فرچید and فرفت I am inclined to consider as careless and false readings of *فرچید* (transliterated *paraj paf* in Z. and P. 8, last folio). Justi (Bundešesch, p. xix. l. 12) prints twice فرفت, where both MSS. have فرچفت

³ Leg. ایران.

⁴ In this place Indicative and Optative are used promiscuously, کناد and کند, رساند and رسانان, etc.

Shahrevar, of the month Bahman, in the year 1105 after Yazdagird, the Sasanian king of Erân. The copyist am I, the servant of the (true) religion, Mobad Bhikhâji b. Dastûr Rustamji b. Dastûr Bahrâmji, Sunjâna by surname, a worshipper of the fire Bahrâm, an inhabitant of the village of Nausârî, in the district of Sûrat, in Gujarât, India. Whosoever reads or learns this, let him say a prayer for bliss¹ for this servant. The possessor of this book is Mobad Mânakji, son of the liberal and much esteemed² Naurôzji, of blessed memory."

IV. Reg. 16. B. vi. (Hyde collection). A copy of the greater part of the Khurda Avastâ, dated 1674, foll. 67. It contains the following pieces:—

Fol.	Fol.
1a. Yathâ ahû vairyô.	1b. Nirañg kustî bastan.
3a. Nirañg dast sôî.	6a. Hôshbâm.
9b. Khurshêd nyâyish	17b. Mihr nyâyish.
20a. Mâh nyâyish.	23a. Nyâyish Ardvisûr.
27. Nyâyish Âtash Bahrâm.	32b. Duââ (Nâm-sitâishn).
35a. Paitaêti (Patet Aderbâd).	45b. Gâh Hâvan.
48a. Gâh Rapithan.	51a. Gâh Uzîran.
53a. G. Aiwisrûthrem,	56a. G. Ushahin.
58b. Nêkâh (نکاح) to fol. 65b.	

Then follows: (leg. پازند نوشته است وليکن باز (پازند) خواندن در پنجانب (sc. India) نمی دانيم)

In the concluding chapter, the writer compares the Zand characters with the Persian, treats of the different forms of the Zand characters (at the beginning, middle or end), etc.

Colophon, fol. 67a.: تمت تمام شد این کتاب اوستاوزند و حرفهای پازند و حرفهای اوستاوزند نویسنده هیربد زاده هیربد هرمزیار بن هیربد فرامرز بن هیربد قیامدین بن هیربد کیقباد لقب سنجانه این کتاب بروز انیران بماء اردی بهشت سنه یزدکرد در یک هزار و چهل و دو

¹ Compare Z. and P. 2, p. 703—هر که خواند دعا و آفرین و انوشه روانی
بر کاتب و نویسنده این کتاب برساند

² So translated on folio 201.

بعد از فرمایش کنورچی بن نماهانه (ناهانہ) پہایی مودی نوشته
شد هر که خواند دعا کند¹

"This Avastâ u Zand, with the Pâzand and Avasta-Zand alphabets, was finished and copied by the Herbad's son, Herbad Hormuzyâr b. Herbad Ferâmrûz b. Herbad Qiyâmdîn b. Herbad Kaikobâd, Sunjâna by surname, on Anêrân, in the month of Ardibahisht, in the year of Yazd. 1042, after (!) the order of Konorjî b. Nmâhâna (b. Nâhâna) Phâi Mûdi. Whosoever reads it, let him say a prayer."

The same Herbad Hormuzyâr copied one year later, 1675, the Sad-dar i nazm, Add. 6998.

V. Add. 8997, foll. 203. *اوستای درون* Avastâi darûn, a collection of those chapters of the Avastâ, that are recited in the festivals for the deceased, the first of which takes place on the fourth day after the death. On the 30th day, the Yasna is read, and the Darûn Sîrôza, invocations of all the Yazatas, who preside over the single days of the month, over the months, etc. The same ceremony is repeated on every anniversary. This copy is quite modern, written (probably in Persia) partly in Zand, partly in Persian characters. Many pages are stained, the ink in many places nearly blotted out. The whole contains four parts.

1. The particular chapters of the Yasna, arranged somewhat differently from Anquetil's statement.²

Fol.	Fol.
1b. Introductory prayer.	2a. Yasna 3, 1-8; 24-37; 52-60.
10a. Y. 23, 1-9.	12b. Y. 4, 1-28, 42-56.
24a. Y. 37.	25b. Y. 6, 1-22, 39-53.
32a. Y. 26.	37b. Short invocation of the five Gâhs.
38b. 6 Y. 7, 1-29; 43-55.	49b. 5 Y. 7, 59-69.
46b. 7 Y. 23.	53a. A short prayer.
51a. 7 Y. 8, 1-3; 5-9.	55b. 2-10 Y. 4, 53 and a short prayer.
53b. 1 Y. 8, 10-18.	

¹ This phrase, which occurs in the colophon of almost every Parsee MS., has originated from the Greek; it is developed, as usual, through the medium of the Syriac, *ܟܘܢܘܨܐ ܕܥܘܨܬܐ ܕܥܘܨܬܐ* out of the *καὶ ὁ ἀναγγελλόμενος ἐχρησθῆ* *μὲν κ.τ.λ.* which frequently occurs in Greek MSS.

² See Spiegel's translation of the Avastâ, ii. p. lxxix.

In general, there is omitted the piece corresponding to Yasna 4, 29-41, and the invocations are shortened; besides, there are many other variations from the texts, in accordance with the liturgical purpose of this compilation.

2. Fol. 56a.-149a. The Farvardîn Yasht, invocations of the Fravashis, who exercise the شفاعت (intercession) for all mankind at Ahuramazda's throne. It is usually read on the Farvardîn, Khurdâd, Tir, Bâd, and on the Gâthâs, the last ten days of the year.

3. Fol. 149a.-169b. The three Âfringâns, each preceded by a short introduction. They are also read on the Gâthâs, in commemoration of the deceased.

Âfringân Gâhanbâr, fol. 149a-155b.

Âfr. Gâthâ, fol. 155b.-164b.

Âfr. Rapithwin, fol. 164b.-169b.

4. Fol. 170-203. The Sîrôza. Each prayer or invocation appears in two different redactions, the so-called greater and lesser Sîrôza, one *فہ آیسہ یشتہ* (i.e. to *tyésé yasti*, the beginning of the verses in Yasna 3), the other *فہ یزید میدہ* (i.e. to *yazamaidê*, compare Yasna 5 and 6). They are substantially identical with those published and translated by Anquetil, Westergaard, and Spiegel.

Fol. 170-173b., the Sîrôza of the thirty days.

173b.-174 (+b.), the same for the months.

174 (+b.)-176a., for the five Farvardiân.

Then follow *Darûns* for special days, a *darûn myazdi gôsfand* (Fol. 180b.), for the seven Amshâsfands (fol. 185a.); lastly, for Amerdâd, Rashnu, Ashtâd, and Zâmyâd (fol. 201a., unfinished).

For a better understanding of this, the following particulars will be useful. The Darûn sacrifice is performed in honour of the seven Amshâsfands, Rashnu râzista, Sraosha and the Fravashis, on the days Mithra of the month Mithra, on Khurdâd of the month Farvardiân, on the Gâhanbârs, on the five last days of the year, and on the fourth day after a death. Three Darûns are offered, one to Rashnu râst and Ashtâd, one to Sraosha, and one to the Fravashis of the pure. The relation of Sraosha, Rashnu râst and Ashtâd to the cere-

mony is, " they lead the departed souls over the bridge Cinvat.

Of the third part, fol. 194a.-203 is written in Zand, the rest in Persian characters (like the short interspersed prayers in the first part). The MS. has no colophon, but was probably written in Persia towards the end of the last century.

A noticeable fact in this MS., also occurring in several others, is the system of transliteration into Persian characters, applied to Zand texts. That it is a system which, to a certain degree, accurately represents the original, and is unvarying, will be proved by the following details, which may serve also as a help to the rather puzzling task of reading a Zand text in Persian characters.

ا represents sometimes short *a* in fine, مزدا = mazda; أ = u, تهرودينه taurvayēni.

آ = āo in fine, مزدا mazdāo, in medio نياچو nyāoñco, دروي تياسجه drvaityāosca; further = ao in اشانام ashaonām; ā in امشناه ameshanām, واتهوي vāthwyô, نامه nāma. Āo is also expressed in fine by آعه in تبشاعه tbaêshāo, by آ in فيرگاه pairikāo, and by و in سفهنكهو spanyānhāo.

ت represents also th وره ترغنم verethraghnem; ته = th تهوي thwaêshô, واتهوي vāthwyô.

ج = j; چ = c; خ = kh q; د = d d; د = dh, ويدويشتهوو vīdhvaêshtwô.

¹ It may be noticed here, that in Sanscrit, as written by Parsees, the *kh* is usually changed into *sh*: hūshṭ هوخت, mīnōishirad مینوی خرد. As a curiosity of some interest, I give the Sanscrit colophon of Z. and P. 19 (a copy of the Mīnōikhirad with Neriosangh's translation), a specimen of many of the kind.

संवत् १५७७ ब्रह्मे कार्तिक शुद्धि अष्टमो वार शुक्ले आधह श्री
नाममंडलकरणे पारसी संवत् ८५० साज हखसवदअजस इन साह
ईजदकरद सहिरीआर रीज रखा माह बहान उ ॥० पदमापोष उ ॥०
महीआरसुतक उ ॥० महिरवांन पुस्तक मदनोदधिरद खखित ए०
पाखहसुत ए० बिहिराम खखावित ए० यदि आकापि पटयति यदि
आपि गुणयति यदि आपि उत्तारयति तस्य कार्ये मया खखितं शुभं
भवतु ॥ इमतं अष्ट अक्षरिख ॥

"In the Samvat-year 1577, in the month Kārtika, on the 8th day, in the

سر in initio = thr, سراتوتمو thrátotemô, سرادسو thradašo.
س = ş and sh; ش = sh.

ع = u in med., اشاعم ashâum, ناعمو nâumô; i in فوعربو paoiryô, عمد imat, فروع frôit; a in آعد âat, عنكه anhê; عه is i in fine in اهماعه ahmâi.

غ = gh; ف = p (فردسد perezat); ك = g; نك = ñ
(منكهو = mananhô); ك and نك = ŋ (عنكه = anhê);
ن = ñ and n.

و = u in ويسفيشو višpaêshu, اهوره ahura; and = ô, o, w, v.

ى = i, ê, é and û, رتيم ratûm, ياتيشچه yâtûshca, فراتيش peretûsh, وهى vohû, كدوتيشچه gadôtûshca, سيرم şûrem, خشنمينه framrûdidhi, كوشو سري تهه gaosho şrûtahê, khshnûmainê.¹

ا = a in تاورينه taurayêni, مزده mazda; ê in fine, داتره dâthré; ê in fine, يزوميده yazamaide; u in med., فرامرۇيا framruyâo; i in fine, استه asti, in med., سفهتمه şpitama. Besides, ا is sometimes quite superfluous, ویدویشتهوو khshvash, ویدویشتهوو vîdhaêshtvô, کشتهوو khshtwô.

The vowels a, ê, i, u are commonly not expressed; likewise o in وهى (besides وهو). The diphthongs (in med.) are usually represented by only one vowel.

As a short specimen of this system of transliteration, most likely, I should think, originating in Persia, I give the درون ميزد کوسفند (fol. 180 seq.) in extenso.

bright half, in the period of Şri Nâga; in the Pârsee-samvat 850 of Şhâh Yazdagird Shahryâr, on the day Rashn, in the month Bahman; this book, Mînoikhirad, was written by Mihrbân b. Mahyâr, a native of Padampûr, and ordered to be written (ونویسانده) by Bahrâm b. Pâlhap. If anybody reads or increases (P) or translates this, may in this affair my writing be pleasant (to him.). Well thinking, speaking and acting!" This was probably translated from Pahlavi, as 𐭪 corresponds to the word-separating stroke in Pahlavi 𐭪; of the 𐭪 I cannot give any account.

¹ For this singular mistake in rendering 𐭪 by 𐭪, I cannot account. I have to add, that also in the transcription of Pahlavi, 𐭪 is frequently expressed by 𐭪; for instance, in the Pahlavi-Zand-Persian Glossary, Add. 22379 and 22378

دستير ودهم (جیگین جیگون, ایتین ددهم), وینیک (درد) etc.

1. خشنیمینه اهوره مزدا ریوتو خرة ننگهتو امشنام 2. ونکبه وه
مننکه آخشتوعش همونتیا تره داتو انیاعش دامان آسنه خرتوو
مزده داتبه کوشوسری ته خرتوو مزده داتبه

3. اشبه وهشتمه سریشتمه اعریه منو عشیمه سیره مزده داتبه سوکیا
ونکهایا ووغرو دوعتریا (181a) مزده داتیا اشونیا

4. خشته ره وعریه ایوخشسته مرژد کاعه سرايو دره غو وه سفنتیا
ونکهایا آرمتوعش راتیا ونکهایا ووغرو دوعتریا مزده داتیا اشونیا
(هر روزی که باشد گفتن وپس وروز آدر)

9. آترو اهوره مزدا فتره خرة ننگه سونگه مزده داتبه اعرینام
خره نو مزده داتبه کاویبه چه خرة ننگه مزده داتبه آترو اهوره مزدا
فتره کووعش هوسره ونکبه ه ورووعش (181b) هوسره ونکبه ه اسنه ونته
کرووعش مزده داتبه چی چسته ورووعش مزده داتبه کاوه یه هچه خرة ننگه
مزده داتبه آترو اهوره مزدا فتره ریونته کرووعش مزده داتبه کاوه یه هچه
خره ننگه مزده داتبه آترو اهوره مزدا فتره آترش سفنته رتیشتاره
یزده فوغرو خرة ننگه یزده فوغرو بیشه زه آترو اهوره مزدا فتره مد
ویسفی بیو آترو بیو خشته رو نفدرو نیریوسنک (182a) ه هته یزده ته

ماه مانکبه ه کوچتره کی عَش چه ایووداتیا کی عَش چه فوغروسردیا
14. کوش کی عَش تشنه کی عَش ارانه درواسفیا سیریا مزده داتیا

اشونیا

21. رام رامه نوخاستره وبعش افهرو کریه تره داتو انیاعش دامان
ایتد تی ویو ید تی استه سفنتو مینیوم تواشه خداتبه زروانه اگرنبه
زروانه دره غو خداتبه ویسفیشام یزده تنام تا سر اوختو نامه نویزه ته
(182b) دو بار گفتن

فہ راہ یزید میدہ

1. اهورم مزدام ریونتم خرہ ننگہنتم یزید میدہ امشا سفنتا هوخشترا

ہودانگہو یزید میدہ

2. وھومنو امشم سفنتم یز آخشتیم ہم وونتیم یز ترہ داتام انیاعش

دامان آسنم خرہ تیم مزدہ داتام یز کوشوسریتیم خرہ تیم مزدہ داتام یز

3. اشم وھشتم سریشتم امشم سفنتم یز اعریمنم عشیم یز سیرم مزدہ

(183a) داتام یز سوکام ونگہیم ووغرو دو عترام مزدہ داتام اشونیم یز

4. خشترم وعریم امشم سفنتم یز ایو خشتستم مرژدکم سرا بودرہ غیم یز

5. سفنتام ونگہیم آرمیتیم یز راتام ونگہیم ووغرو دو عترام مزدہ داتام

اشونیم یز

ھر روزی کہ بید گفتن و آدر

9. آتریم اھورہہ مزدا فترم یز خرہنو مزدہ داتام یز اعریمنم خرہنو

مزدہ داتام (183b) عقرم کویم خرہنو مزدہ داتام یز آتریم اھورہہ مزدا

فترم یز کویم ہوسرہ ونگہیم یز وعریم ہوسرہ ونگہیم یز اسنہ ونتم کہ عریم

مزدہ داتام یز چی جستیم وعریم مزدہ داتام یز عقرم کویم خرہنو مزدہ

داتام یز آتریم اھورہہ مزدا فترم یز ریونتم کہ عریم مزدہ داتام یز

عقرم کویم خرہنو مزدہ داتام یز (184a) آتریم اھورہہ مزدا فترم یز

آترش سفنتہ رتیشثارہ یز یزہ تہ فوغرو خرہ ننگہہ یز یزہ تہ فوغرو بیشہ زہ

یز آتریم اھورہہ مزدا فترم یز ویسفہ آترو یز خشترم نغدرم نیریوسنگہم

یزہ تہ یز

12. مانگہم کوچترم یز کاعم ایووداتہہ آرانو فرہوشیم یز کاعم فوغرو

سرہدہ آرانہ فرہوشیم یز (184b).

14. کی عس ہودانکو آروانم یز درواسفام سیرام مزدہ داتام اشونیم یز

21. رامہ خاسترم یز ویم اشہونم یز ویم آفہرو کہ عریم یز ترہ داتام

انیاعش دامان ایتد تی ویو یز ید تی آسته سقنتو مینیوم تواشم
 خداتم یز زروانم اکرنم یز زروانم درهغو خداتم یز ویسفمچه اشه ونم
 مینیوم یز تم یز ویسفمچه اشه ونم کیتیم یز تم (185a) یز اشونام
 ونکهیش سیرا سفنتا فرهوشیو ستومه تا سرکفتن

VI. Add. 8996. A collection of Yashts and prayers (foll. 65); dated 1855.

1. Fol. 1. Bahrâm Yasht. . 2. Fol. 18a. Âtash Nyâyish.
 3. Fol. 22b. Âfrin of the seven 4. Fol. 25a. Patet Erâni.

Amshâsfands.

5. A collection of prayers with the following names:—

Fol. 45b. نماج اورمزد "prayer to Ormazd."

Fol. 49a. بنام دادار "in the Creator's name."

Fol. 56a. سپاس اکناره "boundless thanks."

Fol. 57b. نام خاور "the name of the Lord."

Fol. 60a. چترم بیاد "it may be manifest."

Fol. 64. دعای چشم زخم "prayer against the evil eye,"
 Yasna 32, 10.

Numbers 1 and 2, and fol. 64 are Zand, the rest Pârsi; the whole is written in Persian characters, except fol. 64. It deserves to be mentioned, that in this MS., as well as in Add. 8995 (both, I suppose, written in Persia), the Yashts and Patet Erâni have a peculiar introduction prefixed to those given by Westergaard and Spiegel. The latter are usually found in Indian MSS. The constant phrase at the beginning is مس و فره فیروزکر باد فه مینوی. As a specimen, I give the introduction to the Bahrâm Yasht, fol. 1.

مس و فره فیروزکر باد فه مینوی اردی بهشت بلند و آذر و سروش
 وورهرام ایزد اشوی ورجاوند هماوند فیروزکر خوشنوتره اهوره مزدا اشم
 وهی مه فره ورانه هرکاه که باشد اهوره مزدا ریوتو خره ننگهتو امشنام
 سفنتنام امه هوتاشته هوروده وره ترغنه اهوره داتبه وننتیاسچه افره تاتو
 خوشنوتره یسناچه تا وامروتی

“ Great, good, victorious in heaven be Ardibahisht, the sublime, and Âdar, and Srôsh, and Varahrâm, the pure, active, powerful, victorious Yazata.” We find similar introductions prefixed to the Âfrîn of the seven Amshâsfands, Patet Erânî, and Srôsh Yasht Hâdôkht (Add. 8995 fol. 17a). Whether they serve for a special liturgical purpose, and for which, I have no means of ascertaining.

The prayers, fol. 45b.-63, would form a very valuable publication, less on account of their contents than their language. They are not without considerable difficulties, and I doubt, whether this single MS. would suffice to give a reliable text.

The following colophon stands on fol. 65 : نوشتم از بهر اشایه :
 ورزی دین چاشیدار پتت گفتار ستایش نیایش نیکو خصال پسندیده
 اقبال جهان فرود خلق خالق که تا صد و پنجاه سالان کار فرمایند
 پس اچ صد و پنجاه سالان بفرزندان فرزند ان دکابه (کتاب. leg.)
 اوسپارند ظ (خط. leg.) بنده کمترین خاک پای دانشوران یکجهت
 دین وۀ مازدیسنان کیقباد بهشتی روان رستم لهراسب بتاریخ روز
 فروردین ایزد اچ ۱۹ بهمنماه قدیم سنه ۱۲۲۳

“ I have written this for the sake of purity, that works religion, teaches penitence, speaks noble and pleasant prayer and adoration, the progress of the world, the furtherance of the Creator’s creations—that they may use it till 150 years, and then after 150 years hand it over to the grand-children.¹ Written by the most humble servant of all dust-born scholars, the follower (یکجانب = یکجهت) of the good Mazdayasnian religion, Kaikobâd Bahishti-Rewân (?) Rustam Luhrâsp, on the Farvardîn, the 19th of the Bahman A. 1223, according to the era of the Kadîmîs.”

VII. Add. 8995. A collection of Yashts, the whole in Persian characters. Imperfect at the beginning, the number of the first leaf being ۱۳. Dated 1766.

1. Fol. 1. Ormazd Yasht, beginning with v. 5 (ed. of

¹ The same phrase occurs in the Pahlavî colophon edited by Dr. Justi (Bundehesch, pag. xix).

فره مریدده اشاعم اهوره مزده ید تی آسته مزشتمچه (Westergaard)
 وهشتمچه سریشتمچه تا

2. Fol. 10*b*. Ardibahisht Yasht.
3. Fol. 17*a*. Srôsh Yasht Hâdôkht.
4. Fol. 24*b*. Srôsh Yasht.
5. Fol. 34-51. Patet Erâni.

نوشتم من دین بنده دستور رستم دستور. Colophon on fol. 51*a*.
 جناماسب اندر روز خیر ایزد اج امرداد ماه قدیم سنه ۱۱۴۴ یزدجردیه
 فرجام یافت

"I wrote it, the servant of the (true) religion, Dastûr Rustam b. Dastûr Jâmâsp, on the day of the best Ized (P) of the Amerdâd, in the Kadîmî year of Yazd. 1144. Finished."

VIII. Add. 8994, Fol. 139. A collection of several smaller pieces; dated 1858.

1. Fol. 1. Ormazd Yasht (v. 1-33) in text (Persian characters), Persian paraphrase and commentary.

2. سوکند نامه, "the oath-book," a legal treatise on the obligation of an oath, the duty of an intermediary, the ceremonies connected with the oath, the formula jurisjurandi itself. Substantially it is the same with that given by Spiegel in "the Avastâ translated," ii. pag. lvi., but they are two different redactions. The present copy is so full of blunders, that it alone would not enable one to make an accurate edition of the text.

3. Fol. 46. Riwâyât, ordinances concerning several duties of the Zoroastrians.

4. Fol. 61*b*. نصیحت نامه بوزر جمهر حکیم وکنکارشاه نوشیروانی.
 "the book of good advice, by Abû Zar, the doctor and kankâr-shâh (P) of Anûshîrwân." The story is this, that Anûshîrwân assembles 23 wise men; each of them utters a maxim (حکمت) and Anûshîrwân orders these to be written down in golden ink; then follow the 23 maxims of an ethical and paraenetic character.

5. Fol. 74. A paraphrase of the Ashem vohu with a commentary; and Fol. 100, the same for the Yathâ ahû varyô.

6. Fol. 81*b*. Short questions addressed to the wise Jâmâsp with his answer; for instance, who is the best? The wisest?

7. Fol. 84*b*-99*b*. A story of Anûshîrwân. He asked the wise Abû Zar Jamhar to compose a book about him; Abû Zar did so, calling it ظفرنامه. Then he reports a conversation between himself and his teacher concerning ethical topics.

8. Fol. 104*b*.-139. The book of Dâdâr b. Dâdukht, a wise man in the time of Shâpûr, the son of Ardashîr b. Bâbak; in questions and answers. In the introduction it is stated that the book was translated from Pahlavî by Jalîl b. Jahyâd b. Mihrbân, and transformed into a new edition by the Mobadân Mobad Abû Nafrîn (!) Srôshyâr.

این یکدفترتست که ویرا راسته خوانند داد بن دادخت موبدان
 موبد کرده است در روزگار شاپور بن اردشیر بابکان بود و بن دادار (1)
 بن دادخت مردی بود خردمند که مردمان او را که (1) استاد
 خواندندی و استاد جلیل بن جهیاد بن مهربان از این کتاب رغبت
 افتاد و از (105) زبان پهلوی بزبان پارسی آورد تا هر که را رغبت کند
 خوش در تواند یافتن و موبدان موبد ابو نفرین (1) سروشیار از تخمه
 آدریاد مهره سفندان که از نسل دادار بن دادخت باشد (sic)
 واجب دید و گفتار ایشان را تازه کردانید تا ثواب مزد آنرا پروان
 و خویش (105*b*) و آنهبشتی رسانیده باشد

Then it proceeds: The Kaiser ابولیسوس sends to Shâpûr, at his request, learned men to translate the Greek medical books into Persian. These philosophers encroach upon the dignity of the Zoroastrian creed, which they despise, for if the revelation in the holy books of the Persians were true, it would have taught them also the medical art. Dâdâr answers them, that when Alexander had come to Persia, he availed himself of the Persian literature collected in Istakhr; that there Aristotle translated the Persian medical treatises into Greek; and that from him the other philosophers received this knowledge. Then follows a disputation on physical topics,

the generation of man, the sexes, the frôhars, the divine sense (آسن خرد), sleep, etc. At last the Greek savants, when asked by Dâdâr for an explanation of the evil principle, Ahriman, are defeated. The MS. has two colophons, on fol. 104*a.* and 139*a.*; it was copied by Rustam b. Tîrân in the year 1226 of Yazdagird.

IX. Reg. 16. B. II. (Hyde's library), contains the poetical edition of the Ardâivîrâfnâma, fol. 1-94 in Zand characters; fol. 106-152 the same in Persian characters. Title:

کتاب اردا ویراف از گفته شعرزرتشت بهرام

Zartusht Bahrâm is, besides, the author of the Zartusht and Canghraghâc-nâma. Both texts agree with each other in all particulars, except a few slight variations arising entirely from the want of a fixed system of transliteration.

The same MS. contains on fol. 95*a.*, the Pârsee names for the days of the month; 95*b.*, the names of the months; 96*a.*, Yathâ ahû vairyô, Ashem vohû and the Kurshêd Nyâyish; 103*a.*, the names of the devs; 103*b.*, the names of the Yazatas and Amshâsfands; 104*b.*, the names of the Persian kings from "Kayaomasas" to Yazdagird. The whole is in Zand characters.

تمام شد 95*a.* and 152*b.* Fol. 95*a.* and 152*b.* تمام شد
کتاب اردا ویراف بروز خرداد بماء مبارک بهمن سال اور هزار و چهل
وهفت از شاهنشاه ایزدجردی تمام شد ونویسنده کاتب الحروف
بنده هیرید زاده هیرید خورشید بن اسفندیار بن رستم هر که خواند
آفرین کند

Copied by Herbad Khorshêd b. Isfandiyâr b. Rustam. Finished in the year 1047=1679.

X. Reg. 16 B. I. Another copy of the same work, likewise giving a double text in Zand and Persian characters (fol. 1-174). Besides, it contains on foll. 174-330, written in the same manner, the Saddar i nazm, incomplete. The last thirty "dar" are wanting.

This MS. has no colophon; it seems, however, to be written by the same hand as Reg. 16 B. II., Khorshêd b. Isfandiyâr b.

Rustam, A.D. 1679. On the first fly leaf we read :—"This book is very hard to be procured, for when I had prevailed with the Priest to write it for me, he durst not let his own caste or sect know of it, but wrote it all in the night, when all eyes were shut and asleep."

XI. Reg. 16. B. XV. (Hyde's library). A copy of the *Saddar i nazm* (foll. 165), dated Muharrara 1050 of the Hijra = A.D. 1640. This work has been long known in Europe by Hyde's Latin translation in "*Veterum Persarum ctr. religionis historia, Oxonii, 1780.*" (Second edition).

XII. Add. 6998. Another copy of the same work (foll. 420, written by a European hand, with Hyde's Latin translation. The original of this copy was dated A.H. 1043 = A.D. 1633, and written by Hormuzyâr b. Ferâmrûz b. Kiyâmdîn Kaiqobâd (see under No. 4).

The author of this poetical edition of the "hundred doors" صدر is not known. He states in the introduction, that he went to Karmân and studied there under Dastûr Shahriyâr b. Melikshâh, the author of the ground work in prose (کتاب صدر نثر) quoted in the collection of *Riwayât*, MS. Anquetil xii., Spiegel's tradit. Lit. der Parsen, p. 89, anm. 1). The date of the composition of this is 864 of Yazdagird = A.D. 1496.

XIII. Add. 24, 413 foll. 94. A collection of treatises, purchased from Major Malcolm. It contains—

1. آغاز داستان بهدینان فارس *fol. 1-19*, beginning *تصه سنجان* "Commencement of the history of the Behdîns of Persia, who emigrated from Erân to Hindostan." Translated by E. B. Eastwick, in the *Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society*, 1842, p. 168 sq. Quite modern handwriting.

2. Fol. 22-25. A fragment of a Pahlavi dictionary, explained in Persian, arranged according to the first and second letters of the words. The author frequently quotes Zartusht Bahrâm. Incomplete at the end; last words *سپتینا با اول مفتوح بثنای زده* *وتای فوقانی مکسور ویای معروف لبرا کوبند وآنرا بتازی شفته خوانند* Very bad, modern handwriting.

3. Fol. 31-45. فرهنگ شاهنامه, a short explanation of old words occurring in the Shâhnâma, composed by Êdal b. Dârâb, at the request of Major Malcolm, in the year 1179 of Y.=A.D. 1809, in Bombay.

4. Stories of Anûshîrwân, (see p. 34), a. fol. 49-57, copied by Êdal, in the year 1179 of Y.; b. fol. 61-68, by another hand; c. in verse, fol. 69-74, copied by Êdal, in the year 1179 of Y.

5. Fol. 77-84. Another work composed by Êdal, at the request of Major Malcolm, treating of the Pârsee names of the days and months, and about the festivals Naurôz, Naurôz i buzurg جشن مهرگان and جشن تیرگان

6. Fol. 85-94. The history of Ardashîr b. Bâbak, in Pahlavî. Quite modern handwriting; not improbably composed by Êdal b. Dârâb.

XIV. Add. 22,379. A copy of a Pahlavî glossary, with transliteration into Zand and Persian characters, and a Persian explanation (foll. 38). It begins with seven introductory verses in mutakârib; then a comparative table of the Pahlavî, Zand, and Persian alphabets. From fol. 36. follows the glossary in 24 abwâb (chapters), arranged according to subjects—names of God, the angels, elements, world, animals, etc.; lastly, the names of the days and months, the five gâthâs and the numerals. The whole is clearly written (in India), and in good preservation; the bottom of the first twenty leaves is a little damaged. There is no colophon, but the MS. probably dates from the latter half of the last century.

This glossary is, I think, the same that was published by Anquetil, though not in the original order, and inserted by Dr. Justi in his dictionary to the Bundelesh, and which Dastûr Hoshangji is going to edit. As nobody has given a description of the work in its original order, I have no means of deciding this question; but a careful comparison has shown me, that all the words adduced by Dr. Justi from the Parisian MS., are found here, along with some others, which do not seem to occur there. In the Persian explanation, other words are sometimes used than those quoted by Justi. About the

identity there can be scarcely any doubt, but possibly this MS. offers a somewhat different redaction.

XV. Add. 22,378 is written by the same hand as Add. 22,379. It contains four pieces, viz. :—

1. Three sections of the *Bundeheesch* (chap. xviii., portions of chaps. xix. and xx); the Pahlavî text with Persian transliteration and Persian translation, interspersed with a commentary (or glosses). Fol. 1-8.

2. In the same manner, the beginning of the *Shikand Gumâni Gudhâr* (foll. 8).¹ It breaks off with the following passage :—

گومن زدم مویتونید کبد ادودنکیها کبد سردگیها چگین کبد دینی کبد
ادمونشنی دیین انبام مون همای ادوک روتمن دود انبسان هم بدی

3. A Zand glossary. In the first column, the Zand word with Persian transliteration; in the second, the corresponding Sanscrit (on the first page with Gujarâti, afterwards with Persian transliteration); and in the third column, the Persian explanation. Foll. 32.

4. A few notes on the sounds of the Zand language as compared with those of the Persian and Gujarâti (unfinished). Foll. 4.

This MS. has been used by Dr. Justi for his edition of the *Bundeheesch*, and is described in the *Introd.*, p. xvii.

P.S.—When I wrote the description of the *Anûshîrwân* romance and its different redactions, I was not aware of a most interesting fact, which considerably strengthens my opinion of its being composed from a political motive. Dr. E. Polak, in his valuable book, “*Persien, Land und Leute, 1861,*” p. 28, says, that the Gabrs in Yazd are indebted for their existence, however wretched it may be, in the main to a “*Freibrief*” (writ of toleration) of ‘Ali, which they pretend to possess, and that without this they would have vanished long ago from the soil of Iran.

Hitherto I was not able to state anything about the time of *Marzubân*. At present, however, I see that I did not

¹ By the way it may be mentioned, that Z. and P. 16 (India Office Library), which bears the title of *Shikand Gumâni*, is a *Patet* in Pahlavî.



pay the necessary attention to one verse in the introduction to the translation of *Minôikhirad*, viz. fol. 9*b*. l. 9.

بنام ویش کر بسازی شمار بود از من واو و تو یاد کار

“If you count its (the book’s) name, then it will be a commemoration of me and of it and of you.” Now, the name of the book is *وصف خرد* and the numerical value of these characters, added together, gives 980. This, according to the era of Yazdagird, would correspond to A.D. 1612, which date comes pretty near to my conjecture on p. 30, l. 9-12.

ART. VI.—*Illustrations of the Lamaist System in Tibet, drawn from Chinese Sources.* By WM. FREDERICK MAYERS, Esq., of Her Britannic Majesty's Consular Service, China.

[Read April 19th, 1869.]

IN the following paper some illustrations of the method by which the Lamaist succession in Tibet is perpetuated, are drawn from a work published within the last few years by a Chinese officer of high rank. Its author, Mêng Pao, was chief of the two Imperial Commissioners or Residents stationed in Tibet in 1840-44, and on his return to Peking printed, for private circulation, a small volume containing his official correspondence with the Emperor Tao Kwang in the course of some five or six transactions connected with the administration of Tibetan affairs. The memorials and decrees interchanged on the occasion of the installation of a new Dalai Lama possess exceptional interest, as throwing a considerable degree of light upon the method of procedure in this case, and a translation of the most important documents in this series has therefore been undertaken. For a partial elucidation of the subject in general a few notes are added in the form of an appendix. The memorials selected for translation are as follows :—

I. Memorial drawn up on the 9th day of the 12th month of the 20th year of Tao Kwang (January 30th, 1841), reporting that, on instituting an investigation among young children for the embodiment of the Dalai Lama,¹ miraculous signs, of undoubted authenticity, have been verified, which is laid in a respectful memorial before the Sacred Glance.

In the matter of the appearance of the embodiment of the Dalai Lama, it has already been reported to your Majesty that a communication had been received from Kè-lê-tan-si-

¹ See Appendix A.

leu-t'u-sa-ma-ti Bakhshi¹ reporting the despatch of natives in positions of dignity to inquire into the circumstances with reference to four young children born of Tibetan parents, respectively at Sang-ang-k'üih-tsung in Tibet, the tribalty of K'ung-sa within the jurisdiction of Ta-t sien-lu in Sze-ch'wan, and [two] other places. The Chancellor has now made a further report, stating that in the case of each of the four children miraculous signs have been shown, and that bonds of attestation have been drawn up in due form on the part of members of both the priesthood and laity of the Tibetans. He annexes a detailed statement in relation to this matter; and on receipt of this communication your Majesty's servants have to observe that on the previous occasion, when the embodiment of the tenth Dalai Lama entered the world, three children were discovered, [whose names] were placed in the urn for decision by lot. As the Chancellor now writes that each of the four children discovered by the *Khan-pu*² on this occasion has been attended by auspicious and encouraging omens, we do not presume to arrogate to ourselves the choice of any one of their number, but, as regards the whole four, have on the one hand communicated in a Tibetan despatch with the Chancellor respecting the two children born within the territory of Tibet, and as regards the two children born within the jurisdiction of the province of Sze-ch'wan, have addressed a communication to the Viceroy of that province calling upon them respectively to require the parents and tutors of the children in question to bring the latter to Anterior Tibet. On this being done, your Majesty's servants, in accordance with the existing rules, will institute a careful examination in person, conjointly with the Panshen Erdeni and the Chancellor, and will call upon the children to recognize articles heretofore in use

¹ These syllables represent the name or names, and possibly the title also, in Tibetan, of a functionary who appears from later memorials to have occupied the post of Vicar General or Chancellor in the establishment of the Dalai Lama. The translator assumes (without feeling absolutely certain) that the characters sounded *Bakhsä*, with which the unwieldy string of vocables ends, represent the Mongol word which is thus pronounced, with the signification of "Teacher." The title "Chancellor" will henceforward be substituted for the name in question wherever it occurs.

² The title of one of the grades of official rank among the Tibetan priesthood. *K'an-pu* in Tibetan = elder.

by the Dalai Lama; after which your servants will proceed with scrupulous care to take measures for inscribing their names on slips to be placed in the urn, and for the celebration of mass¹ and drawing the lots in public. So soon as the individual shall have been ascertained by lot, your servants will forward a further report for your Majesty's information and commands. They now present for imperial perusal a translation of the detailed statement of the miraculous signs attending the children that were discovered on inquiry.

[Enclosure.]

Detailed statement of the miraculous signs attending upon four children, drawn up for His Majesty's perusal from the despatch of the Chancellor reporting the same:—

1. A-chu-cho-ma, the wife of the Tibetan named Kung-pu-tan-tsêng, living at the Pan-jê-chung post-station in Sang-ang-k'üeh-tsung, gave birth to a son on the 13th day of the 11th month of the year *Ki-hai* (19th December, 1839), upon a report concerning which having been received from the local headmen, the Chancellor despatched Tsze-fêng-cho-ni-'rh and others to make inquiry. It was thereupon ascertained that on the night before the said female gave birth to her child, a brilliant radiance of many colours was manifested in the air, subsequently to which the spring-water in the well of the temple court-yard changed to a milk white colour. Seven days afterwards, there suddenly appeared upon the rock, behind the post-station, the light of a flame, which shone for a length of time. Crowds of people hastened to witness it, when, however, no single trace of fire remained, but upon the rock there was manifested an image of Kwan Yin and the characters of Na-mo O-mi-to Fo,² together with the imprint of footsteps. On the night when the child was born, the sound of music was heard, and milk dropped upon the pillars of the house. When the commissioners instituted

¹ Lit., the chanting of religious formulas.

² Kwan Yin, the Sanskrit Avalokiteśvara, is not only one of the most honoured deities of the Buddhist pantheon in China and Tibet, but is also believed to be incarnate in the person of the successive Dalai Lamas (See Appendix A). The invocation Na-mo O-mi-to Fo (Amita Buddha) is familiarly known as the ceaseless ejaculation of every devout Tibetan.

their inquiry, they found the child sitting cross-legged in a dignified attitude, seeming able to recognize them, and shewing not the slightest timidity. They placed a rosary in the child's hands, whereupon he appeared as though reciting sentences from the Sûtra of Amita Buddha. In addressing his mother, he pronounced the word *A-má* with perfect distinctness. His features were comely and well-formed, and his expression bright and intellectual, in a degree superior to that of ordinary children.

In addition to the foregoing report, certificates by the local headmen and members of the priesthood and laity, solemnly attesting personal knowledge of the facts therein set forth, were appended, and were transmitted after authentication by the Chancellor to ourselves.

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4. Yung-chung-pu-ch'ih, wife of Tsé-wang-têng-chu, a Tibetan, living near the Tai Ning monastery, in the jurisdiction of Ta-tsien-lu in Sze-ch'wan, gave birth to a son on the 1st day of the 9th month of the year *Wu-sü* (19th October, 1838); and on report being made by the *Khan-pu* of the monastery, commissioners were despatched to the spot by the Chancellor, whereupon it was ascertained that before the birth of this child, yellow flowers blossomed during the winter months on the walls; and that on the 1st day of the 1st month in the year of his birth, a radiant mist appeared on the upper buildings of the monastery, and shone into the house of Tsé-wang-têng-chu. On the night of the 15th of the 8th month a brilliant light, as of day, was manifested. On the 1st of the 9th month, when the child was born, its right breast bore the appearance of the conch-shell; on the following day a brilliant many-coloured radiance shone in the heavens. Again, on the 25th day of the 10th month of the following year (1839), two peals of thunder were heard. On the 13th day of the 5th month, in 1840, the child was taken up to the Lo-chu-jih mountain to offer incense, when a pair of crows were seen, which hovered around and gam-

¹ In order not to prolong unnecessarily the translation, two only, out of the four reports, have been translated. Nos. 2 and 3, omitted, differ in no respect from the characteristics of those presented here.

bolled with the child, who likewise indulged in frolic with the birds. After the child returned to his home, he seated himself astride upon a grain sack, and exclaimed that he was riding upon a mule, and wanted to return to his own abode, which saying he repeated during several consecutive days. The commissioners found the child's countenance to be of an elevated and dignified cast, and his eyes bright and attractive, beyond the fashion of ordinary mortals.

In addition to the above report, certificates by the priesthood and laity of the place, solemnly attesting personal knowledge of the facts therein set forth were appended, and were communicated after authentication by the Chancellor to ourselves.

The above having been respectfully laid before the throne, a minute was received on the 21st day of the 2nd month, in 1841, from the Council of State, to the effect that on the 15th day of the first month the following decree was issued :—

“Mêng Pao and his colleague report that with reference to the four children examined for the reappearance of the Dalai Lama's Embodiment, prodigies have been manifested in the case of each of them. Inasmuch as in this matter it is now declared to them that, four children having been examined, certificates in due form have been given attesting the appearance of miraculous signs, let Mêng Pao and his colleague forthwith address the Chancellor and communicate with the Viceroy of Sze-ch'wan, calling upon them to cause the parents and tutors of the respective children to bring them to Anterior Tibet in order that Mêng Pao and his colleague, in unison with the Panshen Erdeni¹ and the Chancellor, may further personally put them to proof and require them to recognize articles heretofore used by the Dalai Lama; proceeding next to write out slips and place them in the urn, and to draw the lots in presence of the assembled people. When the individual shall have been determined in this manner, let a further report be made. Let this be communicated to them for their guidance.”

II. Memorial drawn up on the 8th day of the 6th month

¹ See Appendix B.

of the 21st year of Tao Kwang (25th July, 1841), reporting the verification of the child in whom the reïmboïdiment of the Dalai Lama has appeared, the drawing of lots in accordance with the existing rule, and the fact that the entire population of Tibet, both clergy and laity, are penetrated with feelings of gratitude and satisfaction: upon the memorial bringing which to the imperial knowledge the sacred glance is reverently besought.

Your servants have already memorialized reporting that the embodiment of the Dalai Lama having made its appearance, a day had been fixed for the drawing of lots; and they have now to state that they subsequently received a letter from the Chancellor to the effect that the children had successively arrived and had all been lodged in the Sangha Monastery at Tê K'ing, to the eastward of Lassa, whereupon he had appointed the 21st day of the 5th month for proceeding to put them to the proof. On that day, accordingly, your servants proceeded to the Sangha Monastery in company with the Panshen Erdeni, the Chancellor, and all the *hul'ukht'u*,¹ *khan-pu*, *ko-pu-lun*, etc., when it was ascertained by a careful inquiry into each individual case that the two children born respectively at Sang-ang-k'ïuh-tsung and at La-kia-jih-wa in Tibet are both aged three years, and the two children born respectively in the tribalty of K'ung-sa in the district of Tatsien-lu and at the Tai Ning Monastery are both aged four years—that their personal appearance is uniformly symmetrical and proper, and that all alike display an elevated demeanour. Hereupon the Panshen Erdeni and his associates laid before them for recognition the image of Buddha worshipped by the late Dalai Lama, together with the bell-clapper, swinging drum, and other like articles used by him, all in duplicate, the genuine objects being accompanied by imitations. The children showed themselves capable of recognizing each individual article, without hesitation, in presence of the assembled clergy and people, who, as they crowded around to behold the sight, gave vent aloud to their admiration of the prodigy.

¹ See Appendix D.

A despatch was subsequently received from the Chancellor to the effect that the supernatural intelligence of the four children having been tested by joint investigation, and having been authenticated in the hearing and before the eyes of all, he would request that the names be placed in the urn and the lot be drawn on the 25th day of the 5th month; in addition to which, he forwarded a list of the names bestowed in infancy on the four children and of the names of their fathers. Your servants having in reply assented to the proposed arrangement, masses were performed during seven days preceding the date in question by the *hut'ukhl'u* and *lamas* of Mount Pótala¹ and the various monasteries; and, on the appointed day, the Panshen Erdeni, the Chancellor, and their associates, followed by the entire body of *lamas*, chanted a mass before the sacred effigy of your Majesty's exalted ancestor, the Emperor Pure,² offering up prayers subsequently in devout silence. On the 25th day of the 5th month your servants reverently proceeded to Mount Pótala, and placed the golden vase with due devotion upon a yellow altar before the sacred effigy. After offering incense and performing homage with nine prostrations, they inscribed upon the slips, in Chinese and Tibetan characters, the infant-names of the children and the names of their fathers, which they exhibited for the inspection of the respective relatives and tutors, and of the assembled *lamas*. This having been done, your servant, Haip'u, recited a chapter from the Scriptures in unison with the Panshen Erdeni and the other [ecclesiastics], in presence of the multitude, and, reverently sealing up the inscribed slips, deposited them within the vase. The slips being small and the urn deep, nothing was wanting to secure perfect inviolability. After the further recital of a chapter by the Panshen Erdeni and

¹ The mountain upon which the vast assemblage of cloisters forming the Dalai Lama's Residence is situated is thus designated, not, as Huc ignorantly states, with reference to the name of Buddha, but, as Koeppen clearly points out (vol. ii. p. 341, *note*), from the Sanskrit word meaning "Port," and particularly signifying the port in the Delta of the Indus known as Pattala to the ancients, which tradition assigns as the original seat of the ancestors of Sakyamuni Buddha.

² The Emperor Kien Lung died 1796, who, since his final subjugation of Tibet in 1746, has continued to receive homage even posthumously as sovereign of the country.

his associates, your servant, Mêng Pao, inserting his hand within the urn upon the altar, turned the slips over and over, several times, and reverently proceeded to draw forth one of their number, which he inspected in concert with the children's relatives and tutors and the assembled *lamas*. The inscription upon the slip was as follows: "The son of Tsé-wang-têng-chu, Tibetan, from the Tai Ning Monastery. Infant-name, Na-mu-kio-mu-to-urh-tsi. Present age, four years." The remaining slips having been drawn out and inspected publicly, the Panshen Erdeni, the Chancellor, with the greater and lesser *hut'ukht'u*, and all the attendant *lamas*, exclaimed unanimously with unfeigned delight and gladness that "by the favour of his Imperial Majesty, who has given advancement to the cause of the Yellow Church,¹ the established rule has now been complied with for ascertaining by lot the embodiment of the Dalai Lama, and the lot having now fallen upon this child—who, the son of a poor Tibetan fuel-seller, has manifested prodigies of intelligence, abundantly satisfying the aspirations of the multitude—it is placed beyond a doubt that the actual and genuine re-embodiment of the Dalai Lama has appeared in the world, and the Yellow Church has a ruler for its governance. The minds of the people are gladdened and at rest, and the reverential gratitude that inspires us humble priests is inexhaustible." After this they performed with the utmost devotion the homage of nine prostrations in the direction of your Majesty's abode, expressing their reverential acknowledgments of the celestial favour. Your servants observed with careful attention that the gratitude not alone of the Panshen Erdeni and his attendant ecclesiastics proceeded from the most sincere feelings, but also that the entire population of Lassa, both clergy and laity, united in the demonstration by raising their hands to their foreheads in a universal feeling of profound satisfaction.

The above memorial having been respectively transmitted, there was received on the 23rd day of the 8th month a minute

¹ See Appendix A.

from the Council of State, to the effect that on the 15th day of the 7th month the following decree was issued:—

“Mêng Pao and his colleague memorialize relating the determination by lot of the embodiment of the Dalai Lama, and further report that a day of auspicious omen is proposed for the ascent of the throne; requesting, besides, that the Panshen Erdeni be commanded to return to Ulterior Tibet.¹

“In the matter of the appearance in the world of the Dalai Lama’s embodiment, Mêng Pao and his colleague having drawn lots in public for the four children whose names had been submitted, and the drawing having produced the name of Na-mu-kia-mu-to-urh-tsi, son of the Tibetan Tsé-wang-teng-chu, who has manifested prodigies of intelligence, abundantly satisfying the aspirations of the multitude, who rejoice in the fact that the actual and true embodiment of the Dalai Lama has appeared in the world, and that the Yellow Church has a ruler for its governance, an event most happy and auspicious, we are penetrated with joy on the perusal of the report that conveys this intelligence, and we do now especially bestow upon the aforesaid embodiment the following gifts, viz., one *’háta,*² one image of the Buddha of Boundless Age, one bell clapper, and one rosary of coral beads, which we despatch to Mêng Pao for presentation. And we further bestow upon the Panshen Erdeni and the Chancellor respectively one *’háta* and one image of the Buddha of Boundless Age, which we similarly despatch for presentation. As regards the Panshen Erdeni, since he has performed the prescribed ceremonials and observed the allotted fasts for the embodiment, and inasmuch as the period of the enthronement of the Dalai Lama is still remote, it is right that he be directed to return to Ulterior Tibet. Let, therefore, the proper commands be issued for his observance. Let this decree be communicated for the information [of Mêng Pao and his colleague]. Respect this!”

III. (Précis). *Memorial* dated the 8th day of the 6th

¹ *i. e.* to his residence at Tashi-lambo, distant some eight days’ journey from Lassa.

² The *’Adta* is a handkerchief or scarf of silk, the gift of which is considered indispensable to the investiture of a Lama.

month of the 21st year of Tao Kwang (25th July, 1841), reporting that the Chancellor proposes to carry out the enthronement of the Dalai Lama on the 16th day of the 4th month of next year.

Reply, directing the Colonial Board to select two officials for the purpose of conveying the Imperial Rescript and the presents, to be forwarded on the occasion of the enthronement. The Viceroy of Sze-ch'wan, is to send ten thousand Taels¹ from the Provincial Treasury, as a donation to the Dalai Lama on his accession.

IV. Memorial drawn up the 8th day of the 6th month of the 21st year of Tao Kwang (25th July, 1841), reporting that, in conformity with the religious rules of Buddha, the embodiment of the Dalai Lama has assumed the ecclesiastic garb and tonsure, and that a religious name has been chosen for him.

Your servants have received a communication from the Chancellor, to the effect that "the embodiment of the Dalai Lama having now been determined by lot, to the delight and satisfaction of all, it became necessary to solicit the fulfilment of the established rules, and to request the Panshen Erdeni to invest him for the first time with the ecclesiastic garb, and to shave his head. Accordingly, on the 2nd of the 6th month I proceeded, with the entire body of *hut'ukht'u*, etc., and accompanied by the Panshen Erdeni, to the Sangha Monastery, where, having given notice to the Embodiment of the Dalai Lama, and arranged an altar facing the North-east,² incense was offered, and the ceremonial of three genuflections, and nine prostrations was performed as a token of gratitude for the celestial favours [of His Majesty]. After this, the Panshen Erdeni, in conformity with the religious rules, bestowed the robe and tonsure, and appointed the religious name of A-wang-ko-lê-sang-tan-pei-chun-meikai-chu-pu-chia-m'-tso. On this day the skies were radiant and bright, and the ceremony was performed with all be-

¹ The Chinese *liang*, called *tael* by Europeans, equals about 6s. 4d. in value. The above sum is therefore equal to about 3,000*l*.

² The direction of Peking.

fitting dignity, everything taking place in a happy manner—all of which is due to the boundless and gracious protection of His Imperial Majesty, who gives support and encouragement to the Yellow Church. The gratitude felt in very truth by the Dalai Lama's Embodiment, and by us humble priests, is inexhaustible.

“As the period for the enthronement is still distant by several months, I would beg that a decision be formed on the subject whether the Panshen Erdeni shall be directed to remain here in reverent attendance or otherwise.”

On receipt of the foregoing, Your servants find by reference to the records, that in 1822, after the tenth Dalai Lama had assumed the Monastic garb and tonsure, in reply to the Memorial reporting this occurrence, a Decree was received directing that, as the period for the enthronement was still remote, the Panshen Erdeni must, as a matter of course, be directed to return to Ulterior Tibet, which command was duly complied with. At present, inasmuch as the Panshen Erdeni has performed these duties, and the day of enthronement is still distant, it may be that there is no necessity for his further tarrying here, and that he may forthwith return to Ulterior Tibet; on which subject, Your Majesty's commands are reverently awaited.

On the 23rd day of the 8th month, a reply in the Vermilion Pencil was received, to the effect: “Let it be as proposed. Respect this!” (N.B.—The above Memorial was originally written in Manchow).

V. (Précis). *Memorial* dated the 17th day of the 7th month of the 21st year of Tao Kwang (2nd September, 1841), with reference to the father of the new Dalai Lama. Former precedents are quoted in favour of conferring upon him the rank of *Kung* (the highest of the five ranks of Chinese nobility).

Reply conferring the above title.

Decree dated 20th day of the 8th month of the 21st year of Tao Kwang (4th October, 1841), conferring presents on the Panshen Erdeni, on his attaining his sixtieth year.

VI. Supplementary Memorial dated the 19th day of the

11th month of the 21st year of Tao Kwang (31st December, 1841). In addition to the foregoing,¹ we have to state that the Embodiment of the Dalai Lama having now his residence at the Jih-Kia Monastery (Si-gat-sze), to the eastward of Lassa, Your Servants have at frequent intervals despatched messengers to see him; and that from the time of his arrival until now, a period of several months, the climate of Lassa has perfectly agreed with him, and he has been in every respect strong and healthy. The persons attending him use all possible exertions in performing every necessary service. This we accordingly report for Your Majesty's information.

VII. Memorial dated the 18th day of the 4th month of the 22nd year of Tao Kwang (27th May, 1842), reporting the conclusion of the ceremony of enthronement of the Embodiment of the Dalai Lama.

On the 21st of the 9th month of last year, Your Majesty's commands were reverently received, to the effect that "on the enthronement of the Embodiment of the Dalai Lama, let the Assistant High Commissioner Haip'u, be substituted in place [of a previous appointment], to co-operate with Mêng Pao, and the *Chang-chia Hut'ukht'u*² in witnessing the ceremony. Respect this!" In obedience to these commands, Your servants proceeded on the 13th day of the 4th month in company with the *Chang-chia Hut'ukht'u* and the Chancellor, followed by their subordinate functionaries, the *hut'ukht'u*, *lamas*, and Tibetan officials, to the Monastery on Mount Jih-kia, for the purpose of escorting the Dalai Lama's Embodiment down the mountain to the town of Chih-ta-hwang-pu, on the east of Lassa, where his abode was temporarily established. Your Servants, in respectful conformity with the rules for attendance upon the Dalai Lama, appointed detachments of the Chinese garrison troops to form an encampment, and to discharge the duty of bodyguards during the two days he remained there. On the 15th, Your servants escorted the Embodiment to the Monastery at Mount

¹ The Memorial here referred to is not given.

² This is the title of the highest dignitary of the Lamaist hierarchy at Peking, where he exercises the functions of a Metropolitan. He appears to have been deputed to attend the present ceremony. See Appendix D.

Pótala, where reverent prostrations were performed, and the ceremonial observances were fulfilled before the Sacred Effigy of Your Majesty's elevated ancestor, the Emperor Pure. On the 16th, Your servants reverently took the golden Scroll containing the Mandate bestowed by Your Majesty upon the Dalai Lama's Embodiment, together with the sable cape, the coral Court rosary, etc., and the sum of Ten thousand Taels in silver, being Your Majesty's donations, which they caused to be conveyed upon yellow platforms to the Monastery at Mount Pótala, and deposited with devout care in due order in the Hall called Ta Tu Kang. The couch and pillows were then arranged upon the divan; and on the arrival of the Dalai Lama's Embodiment in the Hall, Your Servants and the secretary of the *Chang-chia Hut'ukht'u*, reverently read out the Golden Scroll, embodying Your Majesty's Mandate, to the perusal of which the Embodiment listened in a kneeling posture, facing toward the East. After the reading was concluded, he received with veneration the Imperial gifts, and performed the ceremonial of three genuflections and nine prostrations in the direction of the Imperial abode, thus testifying his respectful gratitude for the celestial favours. Having been invested with the garments conferred by Your Majesty, the Embodiment was supported to his seat upon the throne; whereupon the Chancellor, at the head of the Tibetan priesthood, intoned a chant of Dharani formulas, invoking auspicious fortune. All the *hut'ukht'u* and *lamas* having performed obeisances, a great banquet was opened, and the ceremonial of enthronement was thus brought to a close. The day was attended by the utmost fine weather, and everything passed off auspiciously and well, to the universal delight of the entire body of clergy and laity of Lassa. This we accordingly bring to Your Majesty's knowledge; and in addition we have to state, that as the Embodiment of the Dalai Lama has now been enthroned, it is proper, in conformity with the existing rules, to cease henceforth from using the word "Embodiment." This we accordingly append, and respectfully bring before Your Majesty's Notice.

On the 4th day of the 7th month, a reply in the Vermilion

Pencil was received: "Be it as proposed. Respect this!" (N.B.—The above Memorial was originally written in Manchow).

VIII. Memorial dated the 8th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of Tao Kwang (29th November, 1843), reporting particulars with reference to the selection of Principal and Assistant Preceptors for the Dalai Lama, to instruct him in the scriptures upon which the Sacred Glance is besought.

Premising that on the last Dalai Lama's installation, a Principal and an Assistant Preceptor were appointed for the furtherance of his instruction and mental development, we have to report that we have been presented with a petition by the *Kopulun*, and the entire body of superior clergy (*Khanpu*), to the effect that "the Dalai Lama is now advancing in age, and manifests an intelligence and a quickness of perception that are altogether unusual; and that it is obviously necessary to appoint an erudite preceptor for his daily and nightly instruction, to the end that he may become thoroughly versed in the Scriptures, and be a worthy head to the Yellow Church. In view of the fact that the office of Principal Preceptor to the last Dalai Lama in the line of descent, was filled by the Chancellor Kê-lê-tan-si-leu-t'u-sa-ma-ti Bakhshi, the *Kopulun* and *Khanpu* respectfully solicit that he may now be appointed Principal Preceptor to the Dalai Lama." We have further received a despatch from the Chancellor to the following effect:

"The humble priest on whom the Celestial favour has bestowed the office of Comptroller of Councils, has no other duty than that of using all his endeavours toward the fulfilment of his trust; but, inasmuch as the Dalai Lama is now advancing in age, it is necessary, with a view to advantageous results, that selection be made of a tutor profoundly versed in the religious writings in the person of a lama, enjoying the distinction of rank Imperially conferred, who shall devote himself wholly to the duties of instruction. Having made careful research among the whole body of lamas in Tibet, no more fitting choice is found than that of the *lama Lung-mei-*

kiüh-kieh, whose official title is Lo-pu-tsang Lêng-chu-pu, at present sixty-two years of age, a profound adept in the religious writings, and of unblemished character, and worthy of the post of preceptor to the Dalai Lama."

The Chancellor requesting that this representation may be laid before Your Majesty, Your servants have hereupon to state that on reference to the records, they find that the instructor of the Dalai Lama, tenth in succession, was the Chancellor himself, who filled the post of preceptor, in addition to his other duties; and that, fearing lest his occupation as Comptroller of Councils might entail a loss of time in the Dalai Lama's studies, selection was made of Kê-lê-tan-kiu-ch'ih-pa-a-wang-nien-cha and the grandee the Pan-ti-ta,¹ as his Assistants. If, as the *Kopulun* and *Khanpu* request, the Chancellor be again appointed Preceptor in Chief, it is to be feared that the Dalai Lama's studies cannot be conducted entirely as they ought. We find that Kê-lê-tan-kiu-ch'ih-pa-a-wang-nien-cha, who discharged the duty of preceptor to the former Dalai Lama in a very admirable manner, has long since passed out of employ (*i.e.* deceased); but that there remains at present the grandee Kia-mu-pa-lê-i-hi-tan-pei-chia-mu-tso, who, in consequence of his efficiency in instructing the tenth Dalai Lama in the religious writings, was graciously advanced from the dignity of *Pan-ti-ta* to the title of *Nomun 'Han*.² He is now leading a monastic life in his own monastery at Lassa, and is not occupied with any public business. He is worthy of receiving the appointment to repair to Mount Pótala, and to act with the *lama* Lungmei-kiüh-kieh, who has been selected by the Chancellor for the duties of preceptor. Loss of time in the prosecution of the necessary studies may by this means be avoided. The motive influencing Your servants is the desire to devote every care to the matter of instruction; and they reverently submit to Your Majesty's decision the question whether the *Nomun 'Han*, who distinguished himself by the efficiency of his

¹ See *infra*.

² See Appendix C. The title *Pan-ti-ta* appears to be identical with the Indian *Pandit*.

education of the former Dalai Lama, may be appointed Preceptor in chief, and the *lama* Lung-mei-kiüh-kiéh as Assistant Preceptor, to the Dalai Lama.

On the 17th day of the 11th month of the 23rd year of Tao Kwang (6th January, 1844), the Cabinet received the following Decree :

“ Mêng Pao and his colleague memorialize concerning the selection of Principal and Assistant Preceptors for the Dalai Lama. Let the request contained in their Memorial be complied with. Respect this !”

IX. (Précis). Memorial dated the 7th day of the 4th month of the 24th year of Tao Kwang (23rd May, 1844), stating that the *Nomun 'Han*, recently appointed Preceptor in chief to the Dalai Lama, perfected his repose¹ in consequence of a sickness on the 27th day of the 3rd month—and forwarding the Chancellor's suggestion that the Assistant Preceptor be advanced to the vacant post as Chief Preceptor, with the addition, in accordance with precedent, of the honorary title of *Pan-ti-ta*, or, should his Majesty see fit, of the dignity of *Nomun 'Han*. This suggestion they do not themselves support, thinking it premature to confer titles of such eminence, before putting the preceptor's abilities to the test of experience, and they request instructions on this point.

. No reply to the above Memorial is recorded ; and with it the series relating to the Dalai Lama is brought to an abrupt termination.

APPENDIX.

A. THE DALAI LAMA.

The documents translated above, exhibit in its entirety, the strange process of selecting, installing, and educating for his duties the pontiff, in whose supernatural character and divine commission,

¹ *i.e.* died. The above term is invariably applied to the decease of members of the Buddhist hierarchy.

implicit faith is reposed by the rude, superstitious populations of Tibet and Mongolia; but, simply recounting as they do, a series of events from the point of view of every-day official business, they naturally contain no references elucidative of the history of the past. It is necessary, therefore, to look elsewhere for explanations of the complex hierarchical system to which an entire ethnological group has been enslaved within a comparatively recent period. For the European reader, fortunately, a full and authentic light has already been thrown upon the Lamaistic constitution in the work of Carl Friedrich Koeppen (*Die Lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche*, Berlin, 1859), where the results of past and contemporary research are digested to form an exceedingly lucid survey of Tibetan history; whilst, to the student of Chinese, sources of more direct information are naturally available. Modern Chinese works exist, which, not yet having met with translators, were beyond the reach of even Koeppen's comprehensive research; and among these, the most prominent is the *Shêng Wu Ki*, or *History of the Campaigns of the Reigning Dynasty*,—a most valuable record of the wars and foreign policy in general of the Manchow sovereigns, from their first encroachments on the Chinese Empire, up to the first decades of the present century. The author, a functionary serving at Peking during the reign of Tao Kwang, had free access to the various State Paper Offices, and (with of course a due regard for the glory of his Imperial masters) digested the knowledge thus acquired into a record which forms in fact—with one partial exception—the only published Chinese history of the events of the last two centuries. Book V. of this work is wholly occupied by the affairs of Tibet, covering precisely the same ground as is traversed by Koeppen's survey, and principally based on the writings—published or private—of Manchow and Chinese functionaries, who have held office in Mongolia or Tibet. A brief resumé of the leading facts in connection with the Lamaist hierarchy, gathered from the sources indicated above, will serve to explain the proceedings reported by the Imperial Commissioners to their Sovereign in 1841-43.

The rise of the double Papacy by means of which Tibet has been governed, and the unruly Mongol tribes have been kept under control by two successive Chinese dynasties, dates only from the fifteenth century of our era, and emanates directly from one of those remarkable reformers, which the times in their fulness seem now and then to produce at the moment when a leader only is

lacking for the success of a movement already brought about by apparently spontaneous growth. The Buddhism that had been practised for about one thousand years in Tibet and the adjacent territories, was, in the fourteenth century of our era, profoundly tainted with both the Sivaism of post-Buddhist ages in India, and the necromantic superstitions which were probably indigenous in Tibet before the conversion of its people to "the Perfect Law;" and both the people and their native sovereigns were dominated by a hereditary priesthood, who had engrafted on the Buddhist doctrines of monasticism and celibacy a supplementary religious code in which Brahminical ideas were distinctly apparent. From their seat of government, the members of this priesthood are commonly denominated the Ssakia hierarchy. High favour was manifested toward this influential body of ecclesiastics, who held in their hand the government of Tibet, by the Mongol conquerors of China, and by means of their support, it came to pass that the heirs of Genghis Khan succeeded in reducing that kingdom to a feudal dependancy of their own. But the influence of the hereditary sacerdotal caste did not long survive the downfall of the Yüan dynasty in China, which was accomplished in A.D., 1367. Early in the reign of the second sovereign of the Ming dynasty, an apostle of reform, advocating with alleged supernatural sanction a return to the earlier and purer doctrines of the Buddhist faith, appeared in the person of Tsungk'aba, a young priest issuing from an obscure monastery on the confines of China and Tibet. All that it is essential to record here concerning this Oriental Luther, is the fact of his marvellous, almost instantaneous, and as yet quite unexplained success, coupled with the fact that during his own lifetime, he witnessed the complete overthrow of the influence of the Ssakia priesthood, and the substitution of his own doctrines for the corrupt theocracy hitherto in vogue. The symbol which he adopted at the outset of his career as the rallying-point for his supporters, was the return to the use of a yellow garb—the colour supposed to have been instituted by Buddha himself, for his followers' attire—in lieu of the red habiliments in which the Ssakia priesthood were clothed; and from this circumstance the opposing sects have since his day been known by the names of the "Red" and "Yellow" Churches, distinctions which are still maintained, inasmuch as although greatly in the minority, and stripped of almost all their influence, the adherents of the older Ssakia system still hold their ground,

neither favoured nor persecuted, in Tibet and a portion of Mongolia. The question has been more than once debated, whether Tsungk'aba, in devising his institutions and reforms for the Tibetan religion, was indebted to the advice of Nestorian or Romish missionaries; and in the absence of specific proof on either side, the controversy must remain an open one. The striking similarity between the doctrines of spiritual supremacy exerted by the Dalai Lama and his co-regent, the Panshen Erdeni, over the Buddhist faithful, and the similar theory of the Pope's universal dominion, coupled with the renewed enforcement of strict celibacy, and numerous remarkable resemblances between the accessories of the Lamaist ceremonial and those of the Roman Church, are so many arguments in favour of the supposed influence of one or more of the European missionaries, who were undoubtedly to be found in Central Asia during the period of Tsungk'aba's career. The Abbé Huc, in his more or less mythical account of his journey to Tibet, gives indeed a detailed story, existing in no other known work, of "a foreigner, with a prominent nose and brilliant eyes," who is stated to have been Tsungk'aba's religious instructor; but as the authenticity of the Abbé's writings is on a level with that of Mendez Pinto's or Psalmanazar's relations, the legend has no independent weight. What is chiefly important to note here, is the fact that grounds for suspicion strongly suggest themselves as to the point whether Tsungk'aba was not influenced and supported by Chinese statecraft, and was not, in fact, an instrument of the founders of the Ming dynasty in fastening their control upon Tibet by spiritual contrivances. There can be no doubt that the whole course of his reforms tended to that end, by breaking the temporal power of the hereditary Tibetan sovereigns, and notably also by so dividing the spiritual government as to facilitate external predominance; nor is it, *prima facie*, unlikely that in rendering such a service to the Chinese state, the religious reformer was acting in secret connection with the victorious supplanters of the Mongol ascendancy, among the most devoted supporters of which were the chiefs of the sect Tsungk'aba laboured to overthrow.

Two different periods are assigned to the lifetime of the reformer. According to Koeppen, who quotes the authority of A.

im J. 1417 geboren sei, beruht auf einer Verwechslung von dessen Geburts- und Todesjahr, was schon daraus erhellt, dass ebendasselbst die Geburt des ersten Dalai Lama ins J. 1391 gesetzt wird, wonach der Jünger 25 Jahre älter gewesen wäre als der Lehrer."

Csoma and Klaproth (though he admits a doubt on the subject),¹ Tsungk'aba died in 1417; but the Chinese author referred to above states with apparent precision, that "Tsungk'aba (otherwise called Lo-p-tsang-chak'-ba), was born at Si Ning, in the 15th year of the reign of Yung Lo (A.D. 1417), and perfected his repose (*i.e.* died) in the 14th year of Ch'êng Hwa (A.D. 1478)." It matters little, however, as regards the present inquiry, whether the first or the last of the two dates assigned be the correct one; the essential point to dwell upon is the fact that to Tsungk'aba's two principal disciples was bequeathed the reformer's influence at his decease; and that his sectaries, how or at what precise period is imperfectly known, accepted the belief that the soul of Tsungk'aba himself passed after death into the elder of the two, and that the imperishable spirits of both are born and reborn again into the world in a perpetual succession. In the words of the Chinese chronicler: "Tsungk'aba laid commands upon his two chief disciples, enjoining upon them that they should be born again, generation after generation, as '*hubil'han*, to practise the doctrines of the Great Conveyance (*Ta Ch'êng*, Sanskr. *Mahâyâna*, the esoteric form of Buddhism). The word '*hubil'han* signifies in Chinese *hwa shên* (*i.e.* transformed body, transformation, re-embodiment). The two disciples were called respectively Dalai Lama and Panshen Lama. Lama, being interpreted, signifies 'unsurpassed.'"

To trace the genealogy of the Dalai Lamas who have perpetuated the succession since Tsungk'aba's period, is a task that cannot be attempted here. It has already been partially achieved with Koeppen, whose list of the seven hierarchs who had reigned up to the beginning of this century, agrees in the main with the statements made by the author of the *Shêng Wu Kî*; but it must be observed that the year 1746 introduced a notable change in the constitution of the Tibetan hierarchy, and in the position of its heads. Up to that period, a native sovereign, owning fealty to the Emperors of China, still held a more or less nominal sway over Tibet; but a sanguinary revolt against Chinese domination, which broke out in the early years of the Emperor Kien Lung's reign, led to the complete subjugation of the country, to the abolition of the rank of Gialbo or sovereign, and to the placing of the entire

¹ Koeppen, p. 108, footnote: S. die chronologischen Tafeln bei A. Csoma, l. c. 186, und Klaproth, 'Fragmens Bouddhiques,' p. 9. Die Angabe des Hierarchen Hilarion in den Arbeiten der russischen Mission, I. 316, dass b'Tsongkhapa

government in the hands of the Dalai Lama, assisted by four ministers, to be nominated by himself, under the supreme control of two Chinese Commissioners or Residents, who became in reality the Regents of Tibet. Prior to this period, the re-embodiment of the Dalai Lama after each decease, appears to have been determined in accordance with vague report alone, and a wide door was opened to intrigue and strife of the most dangerous description; but the sagacious Government of Kien Lung ordained that thenceforward the selection of the Embodiment should be decided by lot, and the power of nomination to the honour of competing at so singular a trial, was left virtually in the hands of the Imperial Commissioners. As a matter of course, these dignified and eclectic functionaries delegate, as is seen in the translations above, to native priests the Mumbo-Jumbo work of discovering (or inventing) qualifications on the part of the infant candidates. For, by another convenient regulation in Tsungk'aba's system, the re-embodiment of each deceased pontiff manifests itself in the person of a child of tender age, so that the major portion of each reign is under ordinary circumstances passed in a state of tutelage.

Enough has probably been set forth in the foregoing summary, to explain the system which involves such action as that described in the reports of the Imperial Commissioner Méng Pao. The works of Koeppen and of other well known writers, comprise those fuller particulars which it is unnecessary to recapitulate here. It should, however, be stated that whilst the Dalai Lama of the day is held to be the reimpersonation of Tsungk'aba's chief disciple, and as such to inherit the principal spiritual, as well as secular authority derived through the reformer from Buddha, yet his colleague the Panshen Lama, in virtue both of his supposed divine personality,¹ and of his complete abstraction from contact with worldly affairs, is believed to enjoy a character more purely sacred than that which the Dalai Lama fills. The one, in fact, to seek a parallel in our own history, is "Head of the Church," the other is "Primate."

The meaning of the title "Dalai" is simply *Ocean*; this term having been adopted, probably, to convey the idea of vastness and grandeur. The entire title of the Dalai Lama is expressed in Mongolian, says Koeppen, by the words Che-tsun Giamthso Rin-po-che, signifying the "Venerable Ocean Treasure."

¹ Beside being the reembodiment of Tsungk'aba's second disciple, the Panshen Erdeui is popularly held to be an incarnation of the Bodhisattwa Manjasi.

B. THE PANSHEN ERDENI.

Joint heir with the Dalai Lama of the spiritual inheritance derived from Tsungk'aba, the Panshen Erdeni is believed by the Tibetans to be worthy of the higher degree of adoration, his office and functions being the less contaminated by worldly influences. To him is confided the maintenance of the purity of religious doctrine, as to the Dalai Lama is attributed the temporal governance of the Tibetan realm. His title signifies "The Precious Teacher" (Panshen, or Banshen, = the Indian Pandita, and Erdeni in Mongolian, or Rin-po-che in Tibetan, being the equivalent of Treasure). The origin of his title, and the various dogmas concerning the being who is incarnate in his personality, are fully discussed by Koepen. His residence is at Tashi-Lumbo, or the Mountain of Good Fortune, and it was here that, on the 4th December, 1783, Lieutenant Samuel Turner was favoured with an audience by the same Panshen Erdeni (at that time an infant just installed), who, as a man of sixty, figures in the Memorials translated above, as conducting the consecration of the Dalai Lama. The following extracts from Turner's account of his interview usefully illustrate the Chinese documents relating to the Dalai Lama :

"On the 4th, in the morning, I was allowed to visit Teshoo Lama, and I found him placed in great form upon his Musnud: on the left side stood his father and mother, on the other the officer particularly appointed to wait upon his person. The Musnud is a fabric of silk cushions piled one upon the other, until the seat is elevated to the height of four feet from the floor; an embroidered silk covered the top, and the sides were decorated with pieces of silk of various colours, suspended from the upper edge and hanging down. I advanced, and, as is the custom, presented a white pelong handkerchief, and delivered into the Lama's hands the Governor's presents of a string of pearls and coral, while the other things were set down before him. Having performed the ceremony of the exchange of handkerchiefs with his father and mother, we took our seats on the right of Teshoo Lama [On the delivery of a speech of congratulations in the name of the Governor General of Bengal] the little creature turned, looking steadfastly towards me with the appearance of much attention while I spoke, and nodded with repeated, but slow movements of the head, as though he understood and approved every word, but could not utter a reply.

The parents, who stood by all the time, eyed their son with a look of affection, and a smile expressive of heartfelt joy at the propriety of the young Lama's conduct. His whole regard was turned to us; he was silent and sedate, never once looking towards his parents, as if under their influence at the time; and with whatever pains his manners may have been formed so correct, yet I must own his behaviour on this occasion appeared perfectly natural and spontaneous, and not directed by any action or sign of authority. Teshoo Lama is at this time about 18 months of age. He did not speak a word, but made most expressive signs, and conducted himself with astonishing dignity and decorum."

The foregoing reminiscences afford a very curious parallel to the descriptions given by the Chinese Resident of the demeanour and intelligence of the Dalai Lama elect; and, in the absence of such knowledge as only close and unprejudiced observation can elicit it is not easy to conjecture by what means a tender infant is trained to such precocious dignity.

Koepfen laments that no list of the Paushen Erdeni Lamas has been rendered accessible in Europe; and I regret that on this occasion, I have only an imperfect catalogue to offer. In the Chinese work already quoted, the list is set forth as follows—the names being given in Chinese transcription, which is followed as closely as possible, with due regard to the Tibetan sounds, in so far as they are known:

- No. 1. K'ai-chup Kih-lenkh baltsang.
- „ 2. Name unknown.
- „ 3. Ditto.
- „ 4. Lobtsang chui-ki giamts'o.
- „ 5. Lobtsang i-shi. Deceased 1737.
- „ 6. Lobtsang pa-tan-i-shi. Enthroned 1743.

The list closes with No. 6, who appears to have been succeeded by the infant to whom Lieutenant Turner was introduced.

C. THE NOMÉN 'HAN.

The title Nomén 'Han (or Khan), equivalent to Dharma-Râja, or Prince of the Religious Law, has been repeatedly bestowed in the course of Tibetan history, on laymen who have distinguished themselves by services to the Church; but, with other prerogatives, the

right of conferring this honour has been monopolized by the Chinese Emperors since Kien Lung's conquests, and appears to have lost much of its former importance. Huc, in his "Travels in Tartary and Tibet," Vol. ii., chapter 5, gives an account which seems almost purely imaginary of the career and downfall of the personage referred to under this name in the above Memorials. He represents the Nomên 'Han of 1841-3, as a wily intriguer, animated by an unlimited ambition, and as having plotted the death by violent means of the young Dalai Lama, whose three predecessors he had successively got rid of by one form or another of assassination. His banishment from Lassa by order of the Emperor Tao Kwang, is further recounted as having taken place in 1844, after a determined but successful outbreak in his favour on the part of the priesthood and people of Lassa. It is, however, inconceivable that had such an occurrence as this actually taken place, the Chinese Resident would be found despatching, and subsequently making public a Memorial such as No. 9 in the above series, where the death of the Nomên 'Han is noted, and his successor designated. The story told by Huc is probably—if not a simple invention—the distorted exaggeration of some tale picked up by the Abbé from the Mongols, among whom he accumulated the groundwork of his legends relating to Tibet.

D. THE HUT'UKHT'U.

An important section of the Lamaist hierarchy is constituted by the *hut'ukht'u*, or saints, who repeat on a lower scale, in most particulars, the phenomena and prerogatives attending the Dalai and Panshen Lamas. Like their spiritual chiefs, the *hut'ukht'u* are held to be 'hubsil'han or re-embodiments, and in their several localities they are venerated with slavish adoration. The *Shêng Wu Ki* gives one hundred and sixty as the total number of *lamas* having the gift of re-embodiment, whose names are registered by the Colonial Board at Peking, and enumerates them as follows, viz. : In Tibet, 18 called *hut'ukht'u*, and 12 called *shaburung*; Mongolia (North), 19; Mongolia (South), 57; Kokonor, 35; Chiamdo and the Tibetan portion of Sze-ch'wan, 5; Peking, 14. For the whole of these personages, excepting the *Nomên 'Han* of Kokonor (whose office is hereditary), the Imperial system of drawing lots is enforced when a new embodiment is declared to have taken place.

The title *hut'ukht'u* is not explained by the Chinese author, but it may be conjectured to have some connection with the Mongol word *hutukh'*, blessing.

The *Chang-chia Hut'ukht'u*, who resides at Peking as a Lamaist metropolitan for the tribes of Inner Mongolia, dates his spiritual descent from a dignitary who was called to Peking during the reign of K'ang Hi, probably about A.D. 1690-1700, and intrusted with the Emperor's confidence as his religious Vice-gerent.

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ART. VII.—*Khuddaka Páṭha, a Páli Text, with a Translation and Notes.* By R. C. CHILDERS, late of the Ceylon Civil Service.

[Received February 15, 1869.]

Khuddaka Páṭha, or “Lesser Readings,” is one of the books of the Buddhist Scriptures. It is the first of the fifteen divisions of Khuddaka Nikáya, and immediately precedes Dhammapada. The text which I have adopted is that of a manuscript written and collated for me by a Singhalese priest of great learning. I have compared with it the Burmese manuscript belonging to the collection presented by Sir A. Phayre to the India Office Library. This, however, I found to contain numerous clerical and other errors, and it failed to supply me with a single corrected reading.

Khuddaka Páṭha possesses a high authority in Ceylon. It is quoted in the Commentaries of Buddhaghosa, many of the examples in Sandhi Kappa and other grammatical works are drawn from it, and seven of its nine chapters are included in the course of homilies read at the Buddhist ceremony of Pirit. Three of the sūtras, viz., Maṅgala Sutta, Ratana Sutta, and Metta Sutta recur in Sutta Nipáta, the fifth division of Khuddaka Nikáya, and Paramattha Jotiká, Buddhaghosa's commentary on Sutta Nipáta, is also looked upon as the commentary of Khuddaka Páṭha.

Khuddaka Páṭha takes its name from its first four texts, which are very brief, and are termed Páṭhas in contradistinction to the Sūtras, or sermons, which follow. The four Páṭhas, and the Maṅgala, Ratana and Metta Sūtras, are translated by Gogerly in his version of Pirit in the “Ceylon Friend” (June, July, and August, 1839).

NAMO TASSA BHAGAVATO ARAHATO SAMMĀ SAMBUDDHASSA.

I.

Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi
 Dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi
 Saṅghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi
 Dutiyam pi buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi
 Dutiyam pi dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi
 Dutiyam pi saṅghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi
 Tatiyam pi buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi
 Tatiyam pi dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi
 Tatiyam pi saṅghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi
 Saraṇattayam.

II.

Pāpātipātā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ
 Adinnādānā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ
 Abrahmacariyā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ
 Musāvādā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ

PRAISE BE TO THE BLESSED ONE, THE HOLY ONE, THE AUTHOR
 OF ALL TRUTH.

1.

The Three Refuges.

I put my trust in Buddha,
 I put my trust in the Law,
 I put my trust in the Church.
 Again I put my trust in Buddha,
 Again I put my trust in the Law,
 Again I put my trust in the Church.
 Once more I put my trust in Buddha,
 Once more I put my trust in the Law,
 Once more I put my trust in the Church.

2.

The Ten Laws of the Priesthood.

1. To abstain from destroying life.
2. To abstain from theft.
3. To abstain from impurity.
4. To abstain from lying.

Surá-meraya-majja-pamádattháná veramaṇi sikkhápadaṃ
 Vikálabhojaná veramaṇi sikkhápadaṃ
 Nacca-gita-védita-visúkadassaná veramaṇi sikkhápadaṃ
 Málá-gandha-vilepana-dhárana-mañdana-vibhússanattáná
 veramaṇi sikkhápadaṃ
 Uccásayana-mahásayaná veramaṇi sikkhápadaṃ
 Játarúpa-rajata-patiggahaṇá veramaṇi sikkhápadaṃ
 Dasseikkhápadaṃ

III.

Atthi imasmim káye kesá lomá nakhá dantá taco mamsam
 naháru atthi atthimiñjé vakkam hadayaṃ yakanam kilomakam
 pihakam papphásam antam antagaṇam udariyam karisam
 pittam semham pubbo lohitaṃ sedo medo assu vasá khelo
 sínghániká lasiká muttam matthake matthaluṅgam

Dvattimsákáram

IV.

Eka' náma kim. Sabbe sattá áhárattthitiká
 Dve náma kim. Námañ ca rúpañ ca
 Tíni náma kim. Tisso vedaná

-
5. To abstain from wine, spirits, and strong drink, which tempt men to sin.
 6. To abstain from eating at forbidden times.
 7. To abstain from dancing, singing, music, and stage-plays.
 8. To abstain from adorning and beautifying the person by the use of garlands, perfumes, and unguents.
 9. To abstain from using a high or a large bed.
 10. To abstain from receiving gold and silver.

3.

The Thirty-two Constituent Parts of the Body.

[See Note.]

4.

The Novice's Questions.

- What is the one principle of Life? Ans. Food is the sustenance of all animals.
- What are the Two? Ans. Essence and Form.
- What are the Three? Ans. The three Sensations.

Cattāri nāma kiṃ. Cattāri ariyasaccāni
 Pañca nāma kiṃ. Pañc' upādanakkhandhā
 Cha nāma kiṃ. Cha ajjhattikāni āyatanāni
 Satta nāma kiṃ. Satta bojjhaṅgā
 Aṭṭha nāma kiṃ. Ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo
 Nava nāma kiṃ. Nava sattāvāsā
 Dasa nāma kiṃ. Dasah' aṅgehi samannāgato arahā
 ti vuccati. Kumārapañham

V.

1. Evam me sutam. Ekam samayaṃ Bhagavā Sāvattihyaṃ
 viharati Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme. Atha kho aṅgī-
 tarā devatā abhikkantāya rattiyaṃ abhikkantavaṇṇā kevala-
 kappam Jetavanam obhāsetvā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṅkami
 upasaṅkamitvā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi.
 Ekamantaṃ ṭhitā kho sā devatā Bhagavantam gāthāya ajjha-
 bhāsi.

What are the Four? Ans. The four great truths of Buddhism.

What are the Five? Ans. The five Elements of Being.

What are the Six? Ans. The six organs of Sense.

What are the Seven? Ans. The seven branches of Knowledge.

What are the Eight? Ans. The glorious eight-fold path of
Nirvāna.

What are the Nine? Ans. The nine abodes of reasoning
beings.

What are the Ten? Ans. He is called a saint who is
endowed with the ten forms of holiness.

5.

THE SOURCES OF HAPPINESS.

Thus I have heard. On a certain day dwelt Buddha at
 Cṛāvastī, at the Jetavana monastery, in the garden of Anā-
 thapiṇḍaka. And when the night was far advanced a certain
 radiant celestial being, illuminating the whole of Jetavana,
 approached the Blessed One, and saluted him and stood aside.
 And standing aside addressed him with this verse,—

2. Bahú devá manussá ca maṅgaláni acintayum
Ākañkhamaná sotthánaṃ. Brúhi maṅgalam uttamaṃ
3. Asevaná ca bálánaṃ pañḍitánañi ca sevaná
Púja ca pújaníyánaṃ etam maṅgalam uttamaṃ
4. Patirúpadesaváso ca pubbe ca katapuññatá
Attasammápanidhi ca etam maṅgalam uttamaṃ
5. Báhusaccañi ca sippañi ca vinayo ca susikkhito
Subhásitá ca yá vácá etam maṅgalam uttamaṃ
6. Mátápitu-upaṭṭhánaṃ puttadárassa saṅgho
Anákulá ca kammantá etam maṅgalam uttamaṃ
7. Dánañi ca dhammacariyá ca nátakánañi ca saṅgho
Anavajjáni kammáni etam maṅgalam uttamaṃ
8. Árati virati pápá majjapána ca saññamo
Appamádo ca dhammesu etam maṅgalam uttamaṃ
9. Gáravo ca niváto ca santuṭṭhí ca kataññitá
Kálena dhammasavaṇaṃ etam maṅgalam uttamaṃ
10. Khantí ca sovacassatá samaṇánañi ca dassanaṃ
Kálena dhammasákacchá etam maṅgalam uttamaṃ

Many gods and men, yearning after good, have held divers things to be blessings ; say thou, what is the greatest blessing.

Buddha : To serve wise men and not serve fools, to give honour to whom honour is due, this is the greatest blessing.

To dwell in a pleasant land, to have done good deeds in a former existence, to have a soul filled with right desires, this is the greatest blessing.

Much knowledge and much science, the discipline of a well trained mind, and a word well spoken, this is the greatest blessing.

To succour father and mother, to cherish wife and child, to follow a peaceful calling, this is the greatest blessing.

To give alms, to live religiously, to give help to relatives, to do blameless deeds, this is the greatest blessing,

To cease and abstain from sin, to eschew strong drink, to be diligent in good deeds, this is the greatest blessing.

Reverence and lowliness, contentment and gratitude, to receive religious teaching at due seasons, this is the greatest blessing.

To be long-suffering and meek, to associate with the priests

11. Tapo ca brahmacariyá ca ariyasaccána' dassanam
Nibbánasacchikiriya' ca etam maṅgalam uttamam
12. Phuṭṭhassa lokadhammehi cittaṃ yassa na kampati
Asokaṃ virajaṃ khemaṃ etam maṅgalam uttamam
13. Etádisáni katvána sabbattha-m-aparájítá
Sabbattha sotthiṃ gacchanti taṃ tesam maṅgalam uttamam
Maṅgalasuttaṃ niṭṭhitam

VI.

1. Yánidha bhútáni samágatáni
Bhummáni vá yáni va antalikkhe
Sabb' evabhútá sumaná bhavantu
Atho pi sakkacca' supantu bhásitaṃ
2. Tasmá hi bhútá nisámetha sabbe
Mettaṃ karotha mánuṣiyá pajáya
Divá ca ratto ca haranti ye balim
Tasmá hi ne rakkhatha appamattá

of Buddha, to hold religious discourse at due seasons, this is the greatest blessing.

Temperance and chastity, discernment of the four great truths, the prospect of Nirvána, this is the greatest blessing.

The soul of one unshaken by the changes of this life, a soul inaccessible to sorrow, passionless, secure, this is the greatest blessing.

They that do these things are invincible on every side, on every side they walk in safety, yea, theirs is the greatest blessing.

6.

THE THREE JEWELS.

All spirits here assembled, those of earth and those of air, let all such be joyful, let them listen attentively to my words.

Therefore hear me, O ye spirits, be friendly to the race of men, for day and night they bring you their offerings, therefore keep diligent watch over them.

3. Yaṃ kiñci vittaṃ idha vā huraṃ vā
Saggesu vā yaṃ ratanam pañītaṃ
Na no samaṃ atthi tathāgatena
Idam pi buddhe ratanam pañītaṃ
Etena saccena suvatthi hotu
4. Khayaṃ virāgaṃ amataṃ pañītaṃ
Yad ajjhagá sakyamuní samāhito
Na tena dhammena sam' atthi kiñci
Idam pi dhamme ratanam pañītaṃ
Etena saccena suvatthi hotu
5. Yaṃ buddhasēṭṭho parivaṇṇayí sucim
Samādhim ānantarikañi ñam áhu
Samādhiná tena samo na vijjati
Idam pi dhamme ratanam pañītaṃ
Etena saccena suvatthi hotu
6. Ye puggalá aṭṭha satam pasatthá
Cattári etáni yugáni hontí
Te dakkhiṇeyyá sugatassa sávaká
Etesu dinnáni mahapphaláni
Idam pi saṅghe ratanam pañītaṃ
Etena saccena suvatthi hotu

Whatsoever treasure there be here or in other worlds, whatsoever glorious jewel in the heavens, there is none like Buddha;—Buddha is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

Did the tranquil sage of the race of Sakya attain to the knowledge of Nirvána,—Nirvána sin-destroying, passionless, immortal, transcendent? There is nought like this doctrine;—the Law is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

Did supreme Buddha extol a pure doctrine, have holy men told of an unceasing meditation? There is nought like this doctrine;—the Law is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

There are eight orders of men praised by the righteous, four that walk in the paths of holiness, and four that enjoy the fruits thereof. They are the disciples of Buddha, worthy

7. Ye suppayuttá manasá dāhena
 Nikkāmīno gotamasāsanaṃhi
 Te pattipattá amataṃ vigayha
 Laddhá mudhá nibbutiṃ bhūñjamāná
 Idam pi saṅghe ratanaṃ pañītaṃ
 Etena saccena suvatthi hotu
8. Yath' indakhīlo paṭhaviṃ sito siyá
 Catubbhi vátēbhi asampakampiyo
 Tathūpamaṃ sappurisaṃ vadāmi
 Yo ariyasaccāni avecca passati
 Idam pi saṅghe ratanaṃ pañītaṃ
 Etena saccena suvatthi hotu
9. Ye ariyasaccāni vibhāvayanti
 Gambhīrapaññīna sudesitāni
 Kiñcāpi te honti bhusappamattá
 Na te bhavaṃ aṭṭhamaṃ ádiyanti
 Idam pi saṅghe ratanaṃ pañītaṃ
 Etena saccena suvatthi hotu

to receive gifts, in them charity obtains an abundant reward. The priesthood is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

Who are they that with steadfast mind, exempt from evil desire, are firmly established in the religion of Gautama. They have entered on the way of Nirvána, they have bought it without price, they enjoy perfect tranquility, they have obtained the greatest gain. The priesthood is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

As the pillar of a city gate, resting on the earth, is unmoved by the four winds of heaven, so declare I the righteous man to be who has learnt and gazes on the four great truths. The priesthood is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

They that clearly understand the four great truths well preached by the profoundly wise Being, however much they be distracted by the temptations of this world, they shall not again receive eight births. The priesthood is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

10. *Sahāv' assa dassanasampadāya*
Tay' assu dhammā jahitā bhavanti
Sakkāyaditṭhi vicikicchitañi ca
Sīlabbataṃ vā pi yad atthi kiñci
Oatúh' apāyehi ca vippamutto
Cha cābhiññānāni abhabbo kátum
Idam pi saṅghe ratanam pañitaṃ
Etena saccena suvatthi hotu
11. *Kiñcāpi so kammaṃ karoti pápakam*
Kāyena vácá uda cetasá vā
Abhabbo so tassa pañicchādāya
Abhabbatá ditṭhapadassa vutto
Idam pi saṅghe ratanam pañitaṃ
Etena saccena suvatthi hotu
12. *Vanappagumbe yathá phussitagge*
Gimhána' máse paṭhamasmiṃ gimhe
Tathūpamaṃ dhammavaram adesaýi
Nibbānagámim paramam hitāya
Idam pi buddhe ratanam pañitaṃ
Etena saccena suvatthi hotu
13. *Varo varaññú varado varáharo*
Anuttaro dhammavaram adesaýi
Idam pi buddhe ratanam pañitaṃ
Etena saccena suvatthi hotu

He who is blest with the knowledge of Nirvána, and has cast off these three sins, vanity and doubt and the practice of vain ceremonies, the same is delivered from the four states of punishment, and cannot commit the six deadly sins. The priesthood is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

If a priest commit sin in deed or in word or in thought he is wrong to conceal it, for concealment of sin is declared to be evil in one who has gained a knowledge of Nirvána. The priesthood is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

As the tree tops bloom in grove and forest in the first hot month of summer, so did Buddha preach for the chief good of men his glorious doctrine that leads to Nirvána. Buddha is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

14. Khīṇaṃ purāṇaṃ navaṃ n' atthi sambhavaṃ
 Virattacittā áyatike bhavasmiṃ
 Te khīṇabījā avirūhiccandā
 Nibbanti dhīrá yathá 'yaṃ paḍīpa
 Idam pi saṅghe ratanaṃ paṇītaṃ
 Etena saccena suvatthi hotu
15. Yānidha bhutāni samāgatāni
 Bhummaṇi vā yāni va antalikkhe
 Tathāgataṃ devamanussapūjitaṃ
 Buddhaṃ namassāma suvatthi hotu
16. Yānidha bhūtani samāgatāni
 Bhummaṇi vā yāni va antalikkhe
 Tathāgataṃ devamanussa pūjitaṃ
 Dhammaṃ namassāma suvatthi hotu
17. Yānidha bhutāni samāgatāni
 Bhummaṇi vā yāni va antalikkhe
 Tathāgataṃ devamanussapūjitaṃ
 Saṅghaṃ namassāma suvatthi hotu
 Ratanasuttaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ

The noblest, the greatest of men, the finder of Nirvāna, the giver of Nirvāna, the bringer of Nirvāna, preached his glorious Law. Buddha is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

Their old Karma is destroyed, no new Karma is produced. Their hearts no longer cleaving to future life, their seed of existence destroyed, their desires quenched, the righteous are extinguished like this lamp. The priesthood is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

Ye spirits here assembled, those of earth and those of air, let us bow before Buddha, the Tathāgata revered by gods and men. May there be prosperity.

Ye spirits here assembled, those of earth and those of air, let us bow before the Law, the Tathāgata revered by gods and men. May there be prosperity.

Ye spirits here assembled, those of earth and those of air, let us bow before the Church, the Tathāgata revered by gods and men. May there be prosperity.

VII.

1. Tiro kuddesu tiṭṭhanti sandhisinḡhātakesu ca
Dvárabáhésu tiṭṭhanti ágantvána sakam gharam
2. Pahúte annapánamhi khajjabhojje upatṭhite
Na tesam koci sarati sattánam kammapaccayá
3. Eвам dadanti fiátinam ye honti anukampaká
Suocim pañitam kálena kappiyam pánabhojanam
Idam vo fiátinam hotu sukhité hontu fiátayo
4. Te ca tattha samágantvá fiátipetá samágatá
Pahúte annapánamhi sakkaccam anumodare
5. Ciram jivantu no fiátí yesam hetu labhámase
Amhákañi ca katá pújá dáyaká ca anipphalá
6. Na hi tattha kasí atthi gorakkh' etta na vijjati
Vanijjá tádisi n' atthi hiraffitena kayakkayam
Ito dinnena yápentí petá kálakatá tahim

7

THE SPIRITS OF THE DEPARTED.

They stand outside our dwellings, at our windows, at the corners of our streets; they stand at our doors, revisiting their old homes.

When abundant food and drink is set before them, by reason of the past sins of these departed ones, their friends on earth remember them not.

Yet do such of their kinsmen as are merciful bestow upon them at due seasons food and drink, pure, sweet and suitable. Let this be done for your departed friends, let them be satisfied.

Then, gathering together here, the assembled spirits of our kinsmen rejoice greatly in a plentiful repast.

"Long," they say, "may our kinsmen live through whom we have received these things: to us offerings are made and the givers are not without reward."

For in the land of the dead there is no husbandry, no keeping of flocks, no commerce as with us, no trafficking for gold: the departed live in that world by what they receive in this.

7. Unname udakaṃ vaṭṭaṃ yaṭhā ninnam pavattati
Evam eva ito dinnam petānaṃ upakappati
8. Yaṭhā vārivahā pūrā paripūrenti sāgaram
Evam eva ito dinnam petānaṃ upakappati
9. Adāsi me akāsi me ñātimitṭā sakhā ca me
Petānaṃ dakkhiṇaṃ dajjā pubbe katam anussaraṃ
10. Na hi ruṇṇaṃ vā soko vā yā c' aññā paridevaṇā
Na taṃ petānaṃ atthāya evaṃ tiṭṭhanti ñātayo
11. Ayañ ca kho dakkhiṇā dinnā saṅghamhi suppatitṭhitā
Dīgharattaṃ hitāy' assa ṭhānaṃ upakappati
12. So ñātiddhammo ca ayaṃ nidassito
Petānaṃ pūjā ca kata uḷārā
Balañ ca bhikkhūnaṃ anuppadinnaṃ
Tumhehi puññaṃ pasutaṃ anappakaṃ
Tirokuḍḍasuttaṃ niṭṭhitam.

VIII.

1. Nidhiṃ nidheti puriso gambhīre odakantike
Atthe kicce samuppanne atthāya me bhavissati

As water fallen upon a height descends into the valley, so surely do alms bestowed by men benefit the dead.

As the brimming rivers fill the ocean, so do alms bestowed by men benefit the dead.

Let a man consider thus—"Such a one gave me this gift, such a one wrought me this good deed; they were my kinsmen, my friends, my associates." Then let him give alms to the dead, mindful of past benefits.

For weeping and sorrow and all manner of lamentation are of no avail, if their relatives stand thus sorrowing it benefits not the dead.

But this charity bestowed by you, well secured in the priesthood, if it long bless the dead, then does it benefit them indeed.

And the fulfilment of this duty to relatives to the dead is a great service rendered, to the priests a great strength given, by you no small merit acquired.

2. Rājato vā duruttassa corato pñitassa vā
Iṇassa vā pamokkhāya dubbhikkhe āpadāsu vā
Etadatthāya lokasmim nidhi nāma nidhīyate
3. Tāva sunihito santo gambhīre odakantike
Na sabbo sabbadā eva tassa taṃ upakappati
4. Nidhi vā thānā cavati saññā vā 'ssa vimuyhati
Nāgā vā apanāmenti yakkhā vā pi haranti naṃ
5. Appiyā vā pi dāyādā uddharanti apassato
Yadā puññakkhayo hoti sabbam etaṃ vinassati
6. Yassa dānena sīlena saṃyamena damena ca
Nidhi sunihito hoti itthiyā purisassa vā
7. Cetiyaṃhi ca saṅghe vā puggale atithīsu vā
Mātari pitari vā pi atho jetṭhamhi bhātari

8.

THE HIDDEN TREASURE.

A man buries a treasure in a deep pit, reasoning thus within himself, "When occasion arises this treasure will be of use to me,—if I am accused by the king, or plundered by robbers, or for release from debt, or in famine or in misfortune." Such are the reasons for which men conceal what in this world is called treasure.

Meanwhile all this treasure, lying day after day concealed in a deep pit, profits him nothing.

Either the treasure vanishes from its resting place, or its owner's sense becomes distracted with care, or Nāgas remove it, or malignant spirits convey it away, or his enemies or his kinsmen dig it up in his absence. The treasure is gone when the merit that produced it is exhausted.

There is a treasure that man or woman may possess, a treasure laid up in the heart, a treasure of charity, piety, temperance, soberness.

It is found in the sacred shrine, in the priestly assembly, in the individual man, in the stranger and sojourner, in the father, the mother, the elder brother.

A treasure secure, impregnable, that cannot pass away. When a man leaves the fleeting riches of this world, this he takes with him after death.

8. *Eso nidhi sunihito ajeyyo anugāmiko*
Pahāya gamanīyesu etaṃ ādāya gacchati
9. *Asādhāraṇaṃ aññesaṃ acoraharaṇo nidhi*
Kayirātha dhīro puffiāni yo nidhi anugamiko
10. *Esa devamanussaṇaṃ sabbakāmadado nidhi*
Yaṃ yad evābhipatthenti sabbam etena labbhati
11. *Suvaṇṇatā sussaaratā susaṅghānasurūpatā*
Ādhipaccaparivārā sabbam etena labbhati
12. *Padesarajjaṃ isariyaṃ cakkavattisukham piyaṃ*
Devarajjaṃ pi dibbesu sabbam etena labbhati
13. *Manussikā ca sampatti devaloke ca yā rati*
Yā ca nibbānasampattī sabbam etena labbhati
14. *Mittasampadam āgamaṃ yoniso ve payuñjato*
Vijjā vimutti vasābhāvo sabbam etena labbhati
15. *Paṭisambhidā vimokkhā ca yā ca sāvakapāramī*
Pacceka bodhi buddhabhūmi sabbam etena labbhati
16. *Evam mahiddhiyā eśā yadidaṃ puññasampadā*
Tasmā dhīrā pasamsanti paṇḍitā katapuññatā
Nidhikaṇḍasuttaṃ niṭṭhitam

A treasure unshared with others, a treasure that no thief can steal. Let the wise man practise virtue: this is a treasure that follows him after death.

A treasure that gives every delight to gods and men; for whatsoever they desire with this treasure it may be bought.

Bloom, a sweet voice, grace and beauty, power and pomp, all these this treasure can procure.

Sovereignty and lordship, the loved bliss of universal empire, yea celestial rule among the gods, all these this treasure can procure.

All human prosperity, every pleasure in celestial abodes, the full attainment of Nirvāna, all these this treasure can procure.

Wisdom, enlightenment, tranquility, in one who lives wisely for the sake of virtuous friends, all these this treasure can procure.

Universal science, the eight emancipations of the mind, all the perfections of the disciple of Buddha, supernatural know-

IX.

1. Karaṇīyaṃ atthakusalena
Yan taṃ santāṃ padaṃ abhisamecca
Sakko ujú ca sújú ca
Suvaco o' assa mudu anatimāni
2. Santussako ca subhāro ca
Appakicco ca sallahukavutti
Santindriyo ca nipako ca
Appagabbho ca kulesu ananugiddho
3. Na ca khuddaṃ samācare kiñci
Yena viññú pare upavadeyyuṃ
4. Sukhino vá khemino hontu
Sabbe sattá bhavantu sukhittá
5. Ye keci pápabhúta' atthi
Tasá vá thávará vá anavasesá
Díghá vá ye mahantá vá
Majjhimá rassaká anukathúlá

ledge, supreme buddhaship itself, all these this treasure can procure.

Thus this possession of merit is of great and magical effect, therefore are good works praised by the wise and learned.

9.

GOOD WILL TO ALL.

This is what should be done by him who is wise in seeking his own good, who has gained a knowledge of the tranquil lot of Nirvána. Let him be diligent, upright, and conscientious; meek, gentle, not vainglorious.

Contented and cheerful, not oppressed with the cares of this world, not burdened with riches. Tranquil, discreet, not arrogant, not greedy for gifts.

Let him not do any mean action for which others who are wise might reprove him.

Let all creatures be happy and prosperous, let them be of joyful mind.

All beings that have life, be they feeble or strong, be they tall or of middle stature or short, be they minute or vast.

6. Diṭṭhā vā ye va addiṭṭhā
Ye ca dūre vasanti avidūre
Bhūtā vā sambhavesī vā
Sabbe sattā bhavantu sukhitattā
7. Na paro paraṃ nikubbetha
Nātimaññetha katthaci naṃ kiñci
Byārosanā paṭighasaññā
Nāññamaññassa dukkham iccheyya
8. Mātā yathā niyam puttāṃ
Kṃyusā ekaputtāṃ anurakkhe
Evam pi sabbabhūtesu
Mānasam bhāvaye aparimāṇaṃ
9. Mettañ ca sabbalokasmiṃ
Mānasam bhāvaye aparimāṇaṃ
Uddhaṃ adho ca tiriyañ ca
Asambādham averaṃ asapattāṃ
10. Tiṭṭhaṃ caraṃ nisinno vā
Sayāno vā yāvata' assa vigatamiddho
Etaṃ satim adhiṭṭheyya
Brahmaṃ etaṃ viharaṃ idha-m-āhu
11. Diṭṭhiñ ca anupagamma
Sīlavā dassanena sampanno
Kāmesu vineyya gedhaṃ
Na hi jātu gabbhaseyyam punar eti
Mettasuttaṃ niṭṭhitam
- Khuddakapāṭhappakaraṇaṃ niṭṭhitam

Seen or unseen, dwelling afar or near at hand, born or seeking birth, let all creatures be joyful.

Let no man in any place deceive another, nor let him be harsh towards any one ; let him not out of anger or resentment wish ill to his neighbour.

As a mother so long as she lives watches over her child, her only child, so among all beings let boundless good will prevail.

Let good will without measure, impartial, unmixed with enmity, prevail throughout the world, above, below, around.

If a man be of this mind so long as he be awake, whether

standing or walking, or sitting or lying, then is come to pass the saying, "This place is the abode of holiness."

He who has not embraced false doctrine, the pious man endowed with a knowledge of Nirvāna, if he conquer the love of pleasure he shall never again be born in the womb.

NOTES.

I. The Saraṅgamaṇa occupies in the Buddhist system a similar place to that which the Creed holds in the Christian. Koeppen says of it, "This confession of faith is among the Southern Buddhists the best known and commonest form of prayer" (*Rel. des Buddha*, vol. i., p. 444). In the Pūralāsasutta section of Paramattha Jotikā Buddhaghosa speaks of "this glorious hymn" as the foundation of the Three Piṭakas:—*Ettha bhagavā paramatthavodānaṃ tiṇṇaṃ piṭakānaṃ ādibhūtaṃ paramatthaṃ brahmaṇehi sabbabuddhehi pakāsitā atthasampannaṃ byañjanasampannaṃ ca buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi saṅghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmiti imaṃ ariyaṃ sāvittim sandhāya pucchati.*

II. Sikkhāpada is thus defined in Paramattha Jotikā, Sikkhitabbā ti sikkhā, pajjate anenāti padaṃ, sikkhāya padaṃ sikkhapadaṃ, sikkhāya adhiḡamūpāyo ti attho. Here the word Pada does not mean "verse," it has rather the signification of "means" or cause, as is clear from the above explanation of Buddhaghosa, and from such expressions as sikkhāya pañca padāni samādiyāmi, "I take upon myself the five means of moral training" (see Fausb. *Dham.* p. 97). Pada is never used in the religious books in the sense of "verse." Among the nine meanings attributed to it in *Abhidhāna Padāpikā* (p. 819) that of verse is not given. In the words atthapada and dhammapada in verses 100 and 102 of Fausböll's *Dhammapada* the meaning is probably "word" or "sentence," and in *gāthāpada* (v. 181) the word Pada adds nothing to the sense.

Veramaṇī, "abstinence," from the root रम् with वि. Veramaṇī is in the nom. case in apposition with sikkhāpadaṃ.

Surāmerayamajja. Surā means "fermented liquor," meraya, "distilled liquor," and majja (Sansk. मज्जा) is a generic term applied to all intoxicating drinks. Pamāda does not here mean "intoxica-

tion." It generally has the sense of "aloth" (Dhammapada 51) or "carelessness" (Dh. 34). But it is sometimes used in a more technical sense, almost equivalent to "sin" or "temptation," and partaking of the meaning of both these words. In Sigālovāsasutta we have, Cha kho 'me ādīnavā jātappamādatṭhānānuyoḡe, "there are six evils in being addicted to the sin of gambling." Observe also the use of Pamatta in v. 9 of Ratana Sutta (p. 8 of this article). In modern Sinhalese the word Pramāda, borrowed from the Saṅskṛit, is used almost exclusively in the sense of "delay."

Ṭhāna. This word often occurs as the latter part of a compound, and is then generally rendered in the commentaries by kāraṇaṃ, as it is in this passage. It resembles the word Pada in the vagueness of meaning with which it is used in composition, and like Pada sometimes adds little or nothing to the meaning of the compound of which it forms a part. Thus we have kaṅkhāṭhānaṃ, "a doubt," or "a doubtful point," and in such words as vibhūsanatṭhāna there is little definite meaning to be attached to the word Ṭhāna. In the 19th verse of Abhid. Padāpikā, Ṭhāna and Pada are both given as synonyms of kāraṇa.

Visūka. a. विह्वीक. The Sinhalese Sanna or scholium of Khuddakapāṭha explains this word by Visulu, which Clough in his Dictionary translates "grimace, gesture, theatrical exhibition." Gogerly translates Visūka in this passage by "theatrical representations," and Hardy by "masks" (East. Mon. p. 24). In a passage which occurs near the beginning of Brahmajāla Sutta, visūkadassana appears to be used in the sense of "wordly amusement": Te eva-rūpaṃ visūkadassanaṃ anuyuttā viharanti, seyyathidāṃ, naccapaḡitaṃ vāditaṃ pekkhaṃ akkhātaṃ, etc., where twenty-eight sorts of spectacles are enumerated and spoken of as unworthy of the right-minded priest of Buddha. The passage is translated by Gogerly in the Journal Ceylon As. Soc. No. 2, p. 23, and visūkadassana rendered "public spectacles."

III. The thirty-two Akāras are thus translated by Hardy, at page 400 of his Manual of Buddhism: "Kesa' 'hair of the head,' lomā 'hair of the body,' nakhā 'nails,' dantā 'teeth,' taco 'skin,' maṃsaṃ 'flesh,' nahāru 'veins,' aṭṭhī 'bones,' aṭṭhimiṅjā 'marrow,' vakkāṃ 'kidneys,' hadayaṃ 'heart,' yakanāṃ 'liver,' kilomakāṃ 'abdomen,' pihakāṃ 'spleen,' papphāsaṃ 'lungs,' antaṃ 'intestines,' antagaṇaṃ 'lower intestines,' udariyaṃ 'stomach,' karisaṃ 'feces,' pittaṃ 'bile,' saṃhaṃ 'phlegm,' pubbo 'pus,' lohitaṃ 'blood,' sedo 'sweat,' mado 'fat,' assu 'tears,' vasa' 'serum,' khele

'saliva,' *siṅhāpikā* 'mucus,' *lasikā* 'oil that lubricates the joints,' *muttaṃ* 'urine,' *matthake matthaluṅgaṃ* 'brain.'" Gogerly translates *keśaloma* by "hair," and to make up the number of thirty-two strangely renders *matthake matthaluṅgaṃ* by "the cranium, the brains."

Taco. This form probably represents the Sanskrit nom. plur. स्नानः.

Nahāru, "sinew," Sansk. स्नायुः. Compare nahānaṃ, "bathing," S. स्नान.

Vakkam, S. वृक्क. Kilomakam is translated by Gogerly "womb," and this is also the rendering of the Sinhalese scholiast. It is clearly the same word with क्लिम्बन्, "bladder." Medo, मेदस्. Antam, अन्त.

Antaguṇaṃ, probably "mesentery," which is Gogerly's translation. The scholiast renders *lasikā* by "marrow of the joints."

IV. This Pāṭha is a collection of ten of the classifications of technical terms so frequently met with in the Buddhist writings. The system of classification characterises the literature of the Hindus in a greater degree than that of any other people, but it is in the Buddhist philosophy that it has received its highest development. Indeed there is scarcely a branch of Buddhist teaching into which it has not been carried with an elaboration and detail perfectly astonishing. There can be little doubt that the great founder of Buddhism adopted the system of classification with the view of impressing his doctrines upon the memory of his followers, in an age when books were scarce, and reading and writing rare accomplishments.

Eka' nāma; for *ekam nāma*, *ṃ* being elided for euphony in accordance with a rule of Sandhi given at page 14 of Clough's Pāli Grammar.

Nava sattāvāsā. These are enumerated in *Mahānidāna-sutta*. See Bournouf's *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 584.

Dasahi angehi. These are the ten *Asekā dhammā*.

The scholiast explains *Kumārapaṇha* by "*Sāmapera Praçna*."

V. *Abhikkantāya*. Sansk. अभिक्ताय.

Abhikkantavaṇṇā. Here *abhikkanta* represents the Sanskrit अभिक्ताय. *Abhikkantavaṇṇā* is an adjective in agreement with *devatā*. Compare *Dham.* p. 99, where the construction is somewhat different,—

Abhikkantena vaṇṇena yā tvaṃ tiṭṭhasi devate
Obhācentī disā sabbā osadhī viya tārukā.

“Say heavenly being who standest before me, with thy bright glory shedding light on every side like a lambent star.”

Sothhānam. Buddhaghosa says, Sothhānan ti soththibhāvo.

Patirūpa. Buddhaghosa says, Patirūpo ti anucchaviko, and goes on to explain at some length what this “suitable” or “congenial” abode is. It may be a place where good men dwell and religion flourishes: Yattha catasso parisā vicaranti, dānādāni puññakiriyavattthūni vattanti, navaṅgasatthusāsanam dippati, tattha nivāso. Or it may be a spot hallowed by the presence of Buddha when on earth: Bhagavato bodhimaṇḍappadeso ca, dhammacakkappavattitapadeso, dvādasayojanāya parisāya majjhe sabbatthiyamataṃ ohinditvā yamakapāṭṭhāriyadassitagapṇḍambarukkkhamūlapadeso, devorahaṇapadeso, yo vā pan’ añño pi sāvattthirājagahādibuddhapadeso, tattha nivāso. Or it may be the “Majjhima Desa” described as follows: Puratthimāya disāya Kajāgalaṃ nāma nigamo tassāparena Mahāsālā tato paraṃ paccantimā janapadā orato majjhe, dakkhiṇā-puratthimāya disāya Salalavatī nāma nadī tato paraṃ paccantimā janapadā orato majjhe, dakkhiṇāya disāya Setakāṇṇikāṃ nāma nigamo tato paraṃ paccantimā janapadā orato majjhe, pacchimāya disāya Thūnaṃ nāma nigamo brāhmaṇagāmo tato paraṃ paccantimā janapadā orato majjhe, uttarāya disāya Usraddhajo nāma pabbato tato paraṃ paccantimā janapadā orato majjhe, ayaṃ Majjhimadeso, āyāmena tīni yojanasatēni vitthārena aḍḍhateyyāni parikkhepena nava yojanasatāni honti.

Pubbe. Thus explained: Pubbe ti purā atītāsu jātīsu vā.

Phuṭṭhasa. Literally, “The soul of one touched by the troubles of this life, which trembles not,” etc. Yassa by attraction for Yaṃ.

Lokadhammehi. They are Lābho, Alābho, Yaso, Ayaso, Paṣaṃsā, Nindā, Sukkhaṃ, Dukkhaṃ.

Tap. This Pāda contains nine syllables instead of eight, and the effect is to give strong emphasis to the sentence. Irregularities of this sort are of frequent occurrence in Pāli verse. Fausböll has collected a large number of instances of a redundant syllable (Dh. p. 440), and cases of a deficient syllable sometimes (though rarely) present themselves. Vowels are frequently lengthened or shortened to suit the exigencies of metre, and the circumstance that in Pāli external Sandhi is to a very great extent optional, gives to the poetical texts an apparent roughness and want of polish from which Sanskrit verse is almost wholly free. These metrical irregularities in the Canonical books are explained from a religious point of view in the following remarkable passage from Culla Sudda Nīti:

Bhagavá pana vacanánam garulahubbávan na gaṇeti : bodhaney-
yánam pana ajjhásayanulomato, dhammasabhávam avilomato, tathá
tathá dhammadesanam niyameti. Na kiñci akkharánam bahubbávo
vá appabhávo vá codetabbá ti : yadi evam kasmá tattha tattha pub-
bácariyehi gáthásu chandam abhedattham akkharalopam ti ca : vutti-
rakkhaṇattháya viparítatá, patiochandánurakkhaṇattháya sukhuc-
cáranatá ca vuttan ti saccam. Yattha chando ca vutti ca rakkhi-
tabbá hoti tattha Bhagavá chandañ ca vuttiñ ca rakkhati, yattha
pana tad ubhayam rakkhitabam na hoti na tattha Bhagavá chandañ
ca vuttiñ ca rakkhati. Tam sandháya Bhagavá pana vacanánam
garulahubbávam na gaṇetthi. Chandañ ca vuttiñ ca rakkhanto
Bhagavá na kabbakárádayo viya byáparatávasena rakkhati. Atha
kho aparimitakále anekajátisatasahasasu bodhisattakále akkharasa-
maye sukataparicayavasena padáni nipphannán' eva hutvá sassirí-
kamukhapadumato niggacchanti ; tesu kánici chandovuttínam rak-
khaṇákárena pavattanti, kánici tathá n' ápya vattanti. Yáni
rakkhaṇákárena pavattanti táni sandháya Bhagavá chandañ ca vuttiñ
ca rakkhatthi vattabbo ; yáni tathá nappavattanti táni sandháya
Bhagavá chandañ ca vuttiñ ca na rakkhatthi vattabbo. Na hi
Bhagavá paresam codanáhetu sálakosapaṇiniosañkáy' eva hi (?) sap-
paṭibhayá chandañ ca vuttiñ ca rakkhatthi datthabham.

Imasmim pakarape ákulakkharatáyam pálipakaraṇágatanayena
likhitam. Na tathámhákam doso áropetabbo : Námikavibhatyava-
táraṇaṇánáyam pi

Attham hi nátho saraṇam avoca,
Na byañjanam, lokavidú mahesi.
Tasmá akatvá ratim akkharesu
Atthe niveseyya matim muttmá.

Atthánurakkhaṇattháya vuttam sabbam idam, ato
Attham eva garum katvá gaṇhe, na byañjanam, vidú.

“Buddha makes no account of the length or shortness of vowels
in words ; he delivers his doctrine in the form best suited to convey
its meaning, and least likely to obscure its real nature. But some
one may ask, Is the length or shortness of vowels a matter of no
importance ? And another may reply, Well, but if it is, how is it
that the old schoolmen in their verses here and there go so far as to
elide a letter altogether, for the sake of not violating the metre ?
The truth is that these are poetical licenses, and are called vowel
changes when rhythm has to be preserved, and euphony where the
metre has to be preserved. When it is necessary to observe the

niceties of metre and of rhythm, then, and then only, does Buddha observe them : and this is what I meant when I said that Buddha makes no account of the length or shortness of vowels. And when he adheres to metre and rhythm he does so not as poets and men of letters do, because it is part of their profession to do it; but of the words which in the countless ages of his probation proceeded from the lotus of his blessed mouth, formed in accordance with his perfect literary knowledge, some are intended to preserve metre and rhythm, others are not so intended, and it is in the case of the former alone that he preserves metrical and rhetorical accuracy. For be it known that Buddha does not preserve the niceties of metre and rhythm out of a spirit of rivalry with others. If this work is written with the syllabic irregularity which characterises all our religious books, let me not be blamed on that account. For what says one of our commentaries :—

“ Our sovereign lord has declared salvation
To be in the spirit and not in the letter.
Therefore let not the wise man delight in letters and syllables,
But let him fix his mind upon the sense.”

And again—

“ To preserve the meaning all this has been said :
Therefore let the wise man hold fast the meaning and make
light of the letter.”

It may not be out of place to give here some account of Vuttodaya, a copy of which, accompanied by a Sinhalese Sanna, I have found in the Library of the India Office. Vuttodaya (वुत्तोदय) (the work of Saṅgharakkhita Thera) is the only original book on Pāli prosody, though it has become the subject of several commentaries, three of which are in the Grimblot collection at Paris. It is based upon Sanskrit prosody, the terms of which it has adopted, and in some cases whole sentences are borrowed from Piṅgala and other authorities with no more alteration than is necessary when Sanskrit is translated into Pāli.

Vuttodaya is of very moderate length, consisting of six short chapters, and is written partly in prose and partly in verse. The first chapter, which is entirely in verse, begins as follows :—

1. Nam' athu janasantānatamasantānabhedino
Dhammujalantarucino munindodātarucino
2. Piṅgalācariyādhi bhanda' yam uditam purā
Suddhamāgadhikānan tam na sādheti yathiochitam

3. Tato magadhabhāssāya mattavaṇṇavibhedanaṃ
Lakkhalakkhapasamyuttaṃ pasannatthapadakkamaṃ
4. Idam vuttodayaṃ nāma lokiyacchandaniṣṣitaṃ
Arahissamaṃ ahaṃ dāni teṣaṃ sukhavibuddhiyā.

“Praise be to the moon-like chief of sages, who shines with the brightness of Dhamma, who pierces the wide-spreading darkness of many men.

“The prosodies of Piṅgala Ācārya and others are not composed in a manner satisfactory to the pure natives of Magadha. Accordingly, for their benefit and enlightenment, I now begin to compose in the Magadha language this Vuttodaya, a work adapted to popular [laukika, as opposed to Vedic, says the Sanna] prosody, divided into Mātrā Vṛitta and Varṇa Vṛitta, furnished with symbols and rules, and containing a succession of words of clear meaning.

After this introduction the eight “classes” are enumerated as follows:—

5. Sabba-ga-lā ma-n’ ādi-ga-lahu bh-yā majjhanta-gurú ja-sá
Majjhanta-lā ra-te-t’ aṭṭha gaṇá go-guru lo lahu
6. Bha-ja-sá sabba-ga-lāhu pañc’ ime saṇṭhitá gaṇá
Ariyādimhi viññeyyá gaṇo idha catukkalo.

“In this work be it known that the eight Gaṇas are symbolised as follows: When all the three syllables are long the foot is called Ma; when all are short, Na; when the first is long, Bha; when the first is short, Ya; when the middle syllable is long, Ja; when the last is long, Sa; when the middle syllable is short, Ra; when the last is short, Ta. Ga stands for “long,” and La for “short.” The five classes, Bha, Ja, Sa, Ma, and Na, are found in the Āryá metre and others of the same class. A Gaṇa consists of four Kalás.”

The remaining ten verses of this chapter are taken up with general rules and the definition of technical terms. In a note to verse 10; which defines Yati as Padaśchedo, the Sinhalese Sanna gives the rules of irregular Cæsura. They are little more than a translation of Haláyudha, the first line being,

Yati sabbattha pádante vuttaddhe’ va visesato.

Several examples are given, as

Namámi sirasá cámkaravappaṃ tathágataṃ,

where the pause falls in the middle of a word.

Munindaṃ sirasá vandám’ anantamatim uttamaṃ,

when it occurs after external Sandhi.

Namámi sirasá sabbopamátitaṃ tathágataṃ,

when it occurs after internal Sandhi.

The second chapter treats of *Mātrāvṛitta* (*mattāvuttiniddeso dutiyo*), and gives the rules for the *Ariyá*, *Gīti*, *Vetáli*, and *Mattá-samaka* metres. Of *Ariyá*, the following varieties are described:—*Pathyá*, *Vipulá*, *Capalá*, *Mukhacapalá*, and *Jaghanacapalá*. Of the *Gīti* metres the following are enumerated: *Gīti*, *Upagīti*, *Uggīti*, and *Ariyágīti*. This chapter and the third, fourth, and fifth are written almost entirely in prose.

The third chapter treats of *Samavṛitta*, and gives rules for seventeen metres, viz., *Gáyatti*, *Uphí*, *Anuṭṭhubham*, *Brahattí*, *Panti*, *Tuṭṭhubham*, *Jagati*, *Atijagati*, *Sakkari*, *Atisakkari*, *Aṭṭhí*, *Accaṭṭhí*, *Dhuti*, *Atidhuti*, *Kati*, *Pakati*, *Ákati*. Under the heading *Anuṣṭubh* we have

Citrapadá yadi bhá gá
Mo mo go go vijjummálá
Bha-ta-la-gá mánavakaṃ
Ga-lá samániká ra-já ca
Pamániká ja-rá la-gá
Anuṭṭhubham.

“When there are two dactyls followed by two long syllables the metre is called *Citrapadá*.

“When there are two molossi and two long syllables it is *Vidyummálá*.

“*Mánavaka* when a dactyl is followed by an antibacchic, a short and a long syllable.

“*Samání* when a long and a short are followed by a cretic and an amphibrach.

“*Pramání* when an amphibrach is followed by a cretic, a short and a long.”

Chapters four and five give the rules of *Ardhasamavṛitta* and *Vishamavṛitta* respectively. The last chapter is entirely in verse. It treats of the six *Pratyayas*, and concludes with a few valedictory stanzas. The manuscript ends with the following words:

Iti saṅgharakkhitattherapádaviraṇṇe vuttodaye chandasi chap-paccayavibhāgo nāma chaṭṭho paricchedo. Vuttodayam samattam.

The following is Gogerly's translation of *Maṅgala Sutta*:

“Thus I heard: Buddha was residing at *Jetawaney*, the garden of *Anathapindika*, near *Śawatti*. At that time a certain god, in the middle of the night, illuminating the whole of *Jetawaney* with his splendour, approached Buddha, and having worshipped him, stood on one side of him, and spake to him this stanza:

“(God) Multitudes of gods and men, thinking what things are excellent, desire prosperity. Declare the things of superior excellence.

“(Budha) Not to serve the unwise, but to attend to the learned, and to present offerings to those worthy of homage; these are chief excellencies.

“To live in a religious neighbourhood, to have been a performer of virtuous actions, and to be established in the true faith; these are chief excellencies.

“To be well informed in religion, instructed in science, subject to discipline, and of pleasant speech; these are chief excellencies.

“To honour father and mother, to provide for wife and children, and to follow a sinless vocation; these are chief excellencies.

“To give alms, act virtuously, aid relatives, and lead a blameless life; these are chief excellencies.

“To be free from sin, to abstain from intoxicating drinks, and to persevere in virtue; these are chief excellencies.

“To be respectful, kind, contented, grateful, and to listen at proper times to religious instruction; these are chief excellencies.

“To be mild, subject to reproof, to have access to priests, and to converse with them on religious subjects; these are chief excellencies.

“Mortification, celibacy, the perception of the four great truths, and the ascertainment of Nirvāna; these are chief excellencies.

“To have a mind unshaken by prosperity or adversity, inaccessible to sorrow, free from impurity, and tranquil; these are chief excellencies.

“Those who practise all these virtues, and are overcome by no evil, enjoy the perfection of happiness, and obtain the chief good.”

VI. Yam kiñci, etc. This verse and verses 5 and 6 are translated at pages 86, 87, and 88 of D’Alwis’ Pāli Grammar.

Buddhe. Literally, “in Buddha.” Buddhaghosa here explains Ratana by ratanabhāvo.

Khayam. The scholiast renders this word by rāgakshaya, and makes it an adjective agreeing with Nibbānam understood.

Amatam. This word is sometimes used as a name and sometimes as an epithet of Nirvāna. The scholiast here treats it as an epithet, yad meaning yad nibbānam. The Commentaries say that Nirvāna is called “Amata,” because birth, decay and death do not take place there.

Sam’ atthi. For samam atthi. See Clough’s Pāli Grammar, p. 14.

Satam. Sanskrit सतम्. There can be no doubt that the mean-

ing intended is "praised by the good," and that eight men only are spoken of (*viz.* Maggaṭṭhā and Phalaṭṭhā in the four paths), but taking advantage of the fact that Satara also means "a hundred," Buddhaghosa observes that Puggalā aṭṭha satara pasatthā may also be translated "a hundred and eight praised individuals." This number is obtained by adding up the sub-divisions of the four paths (*ekabījī, kolaṅkolo, etc.*).

Cattāri, *etc.* I have paraphrased this passage to make it read intelligibly. Gogerly translates it, "Are there eight classes of men, in four divisions, praised by the holy?" and D'Alwis, "Are there eight beings who have been praised by the holy, they are four couples" (*Pāli Grammar, p. 89*).

Pattipattā. Patti is S. पाति, and Patta S. पात. The scholiast explains Patti by "Arhatphala."

Vigayha. Sanskrit विगाय.

Sito. Sanskrit शित.

Bhusa. See Dham. v. 252. Gogerly translates this passage, "they cannot by any allurements be brought eight times more into a state of being." The gloss of the scholiast is, "However greatly they be delayed by the temptations of celestial rule, universal empire, *etc.*, they will not again receive an eighth birth in a Kāmaloka."

Aṭṭhamāṇ. See Hardy's East. Mon. p. 280.

Tay' assu. For tayo assu. Assu is a "Pādapūraṇa" particle: it occurs at page 106 of D'Alwis' Pāli Gram. Ken' assu nivuto loko. The three evil "states" or "qualities" here mentioned are explained by Hardy in East. Mon. p. 289.

Sakkāyaditṭhi. The Sanskrit equivalent is सत्त्वाय इति, and the term is fully explained by Bournouf (*Introd. p. 263*). Hardy's explanation is, "The error which teaches I am, this is mine." Bournouf is undoubtedly right when he says that the first part of the compound is the participle Sat in its primary sense of "being," "existing." Gogerly, in this sūtra, translates Sakkāyaditṭhi, "looking for corporeal enjoyments," perhaps taking Sat in its secondary meaning of "good." The scholiast's rendering is "a wrong view of his body."

Sīlabbatam. Paramattha Jotikā explains this word to mean foolish rites foreign to Buddhism: Ito bahiddhā samāpabrāhmaṇāṇaṃ sīlena suddhivatena suddhitti evamādisu āgataṃ goḍḍakukkurasaṭṭhādikāṃ sīlaṃ govatakukkuravatānaṃ ca vataṃ sīlabbatan ti vuccati. Tassa pahīnattā sabbam nissaggiyapaṭṭikādi amaratapam pahīnaṃ hoti. This is also implied in Hardy's explanation, *East. Mon. p. 289, 2*.

See Dhammapada 271, where the word is used in the opposite sense of "Buddhist rites."

Abhiñhānāni. These are *mátugháta*, *pitugháta*, *arahantagháta*, *lohitoppáda*, *saṅghabheda*, and *aññasatthu-uddesa*. See Hardy, R. M. p. 37.

Vanappagumbe. Paramattha Jotiká says, *Palásehi pavuddho gumbo pagumbo*. For Gumba see Abhidhán, 861. Par. Jot. says that *vanappagumbe* and *phussitagge* are nominatives. Another instance of this change is given in Clough's Pāli Grammar, p. 15, where it is referred to *Sandhi*.

Phussitagge. Par. Jot. says, *Phussitáni aggáni assáti phussitaggo*, *sabbasákhásu sañjátapupphe ti attho*. *Phussita* is the Sanskrit *पुष्पित*, but the Sanskrit metre named *पुष्पिताया* appears in its Pāli form in *Vuttodaya* as *Pupphitaggá*.

Paramaṃ hitáya. The following is *Buddhaghosa's* commentary on v. 12: *Evam etam khandháyatanádhi satipaṭṭhánasammappadhánádisslasamádhiikkhandhádhi vá nánappakárehi atthappabhedapupphehi ativiya sassirikkattá tathúpamaṃ nibbánagámiṃ maggáṃ dīpanato nibbánagámiṃpariyattidhammavaram n'eva lābhahetu na sakkárahetu kevalaṃ hi mahákaruṇáya abbhussáhitahadayo sattánaṃ paramaṃ hitáya adesayyiti. Paramaṃhitáyáti ettha ca gáthábandhasukhatthaṃ anuṇásiko ayaṃ pan' attho paramaṃhitáya nibbánaaya adesayyiti.* It is here asserted that *Paramaṃ hitáya* is a compound, for *Paramahitáya*, with *m* inserted on account of the metre, and that this *Paramahita* is *Nirvána*. Perhaps, however, *Paramaṃ* might be taken as an adverb to *Hitáya*, or even as an adjective in agreement with *Dhammavaram*, so that we might translate, "Supremely (or supreme) for the good of men." For the use of *Hitáya* in this sense see D'Alwis' Pāli Grammar, p. 112, *Janatáya hitáya ettha*, "it would be for the good of the people," and *Kuhn's Kacc. Spec.* p. 28. Gogerly translates this verse, "As the buds put forth in the forest during the first months of summer, even so are the glorious doctrines declared by Buddha most delightful to the perceiver of *Nirvána*." The nominative to *adesayi* must be supplied from verse 13.

Khíṇaṃ. This verse refers to the order of *Arahat*, etc.

Puránaṃ. *Kammaṃ* is understood. The scholiast's gloss is *Atáta-kále kuçalákuçalakarma*. *Buddhaghosa* has the following comment: *Yaṃ taṃ sattánaṃ uppajjitvá niruddham pi puránaṃ atátabhaviḃkaṃ kammaṃ tanhámehaṃsa appahínattá paṭisandhi-áharapasamattatáya akhíṇaṃ yeva hoti taṃ puránaṃ kammaṃ. Yesaṃ arahattamaggena*

taphāsnehassa sositattá agginá daḍḍhabhjam iva vipákádána-asa-matthatáya khīṇaṃ. Yañ ca nesam buddhapújádivasena idáni pavat-tamánam kammaṃ navan ti vuccati. "Purána Kamma is the old Karma, the Karma of former births, which remains undestroyed where there is non-exhaustion of the oil of human passion, where there is liability to a renewal of existence. But it is Khīṇa, or destroyed, in those who by the attainment of final emancipation, by the drying up of the oil of human passion, are no longer liable to future existence, as a seed burnt by fire cannot germinate. And that Karma is called Nava, or new, which is now being accumulated by such works as the service of Buddha, etc."

Sambhavaṃ. Pres. part. neut. Gogerly translates the verse thus: "He whose former things (merit or demerit) are withered away shall have no reproduction; he who is fully free from the desire of future existence, his seed (of future existence) is withered away, and shall never again grow. This eminent person like a lamp shall be extinguished."

Buddhaghosa says, Nibbantíti vijjháyanti dhírá ti yatisampanná. Yathá 'yaṃ padípo ti ayaṃ padípo viya. To explain Ayaṃ he states that when Buddha delivered this sermon some lamps were burning in honour of the deities of the town, and one of them having burnt itself out he pointed to it when he said, "like this lamp." Tasmim kira samaye nagaradevatánam pújattháya jalitesu padípesu eko padípo vijjháyi. Tam dassento, áha yathá 'yaṃ padípo.

Yánidha, etc. This verse and the two following are stated to be pronounced by the god Çakra or Indra.

VII. For the practices enjoined in this Sútra see Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 59 and 458.

Sandhi. The scholiast says this may mean the junction of streets or of houses, or it may be álokasandhi, "a window."

Singhátakesu. See Abhidhán, 203. The scholiast translates it, "places where three roads meet."

Dvárabáhásu. This word is given at verse 219 of Abhidhán. Padíp., where it is translated "hinge."

Gharaṃ. By metathesis (or rather hyperthesis) for गृह, the original form of गृह. The latter word is in Páli gahaṃ.

Koci. The scholiast says, "None of these relatives in the world of men." The passage is somewhat obscure. Kamma is explained by Akuçalakarma.

Tattha samágantvá. The scholiast says, "At the place where the meal is set ready for them."

Gorakkh' etta. For gorakkhá ettha, th being changed to t for euphony. Compare ida bhikkhave for idha bhikkhave (Clough's Pāli Grammar, p. 11).

Vatṭam. Sanskrit वृद्ध.

Sakhá. This must be a plural, though it is in a form not given by Kaccáyana. The 140th rule of his Námakappa is SAKHĀTOCAYONO, which the Commentary explains thus: "The noun Sakhá has, beside the regular form sakháno, two irregular forms of the nom. and acc. plur., viz. sakháyo and sakhino. Why is it said *in the nom. and acc. plur.*? Because these terminations are not found in the other cases, e.g. in the nom. sing., which is sakhá." Clough makes no mention of these forms, but states that Sakhá is declined like Attá. The Sanskrit Sakhá has but one nom. plur. सखायः

Anussaram. The present participle.

Saṅghamhi. See Hardy, Man. Budd. p. 59.

Ṭhánaso. Ṭhána with the adverbial termination So, in Sanskrit षस्. This suffix is a much used in Pāli. It is dealt with as follows in the 54th and 55th rules of Kaccáyana's Námakappa:—

Rule 54. SOVÁ. Tasmá akárato ná vacanassa so ádeso hoti vá: atthaso dhammam jánāti: byañjanaso attham jánāti: akkharaso: suttaso: padaso: yasaso: upáyo: sabbaso: thámaso: ṭhánaso. Vá ti kim attham?: pádena vá: atirekapádena vá: yo bhikkhu theyyacittena parassa bhaṇḍam gaṇhāti so bhikkhu párájiko hoti asaṃváso.

"The suffix So optionally takes the place of the inflexion of the instrumental case, e.g. Atthaso, Byañjanaso, etc. Why *optionally*? Because instead of saying Pádaso, we might say Pádena, or Pádavasena, or Atirekapádena; and instead of Theyyaso we might say Theyyacittena."

Rule 55. ДІГНОРЕНІ. Dígha ora icc-etehi smá vacanassa so ádeso hoti vá yathá saṅkhyam: díghaso: oraso: díghamhá: oramhá: díghorehi ti kim attham: saramhá: vacanamhá.

"In Dígha and Ora the suffix So may be used for the inflexion of the abl. singular; thus, díghaso, oraso, equivalent to díghamhá and oramhá. Why is it said *in Dígha and Ora*? Because with other words, as Sara and Vacana, this suffix cannot be used for the ablative inflexion, but we must say saramhá, vacanamhá."

I have collected the following instances of this suffix, and many more might be added to the list: atthaso, byañjanaso, akkharaso, suttaso, padaso, pádaso, yasaso, upáyo, sabbaso, thámaso, ṭhánaso,

theyyaso, yoniso, dhátuso, hetuso, bilaso, antamaso, abhiñhaso, anekaso, pañcapanāso, dīghaso, oraso. In Sanskrit we have पद्मशस्, चक्षुरशस्, खोटिशस्, तावच्छस्, खोवशस्, कतिशस्, नक्षशस्, etc.

VIII. Odakantike. The scholiast says, "In a deep pit in the earth close to water." That is, so deep as almost to reach the water which is always found if we dig deep enough. I am disposed to think that Odakantikam is a noun meaning "a deep pit."

Tam (v. 3). The scholiast has the following note: "Here Tam is a pádapúraṇa particle; or else we must suppose that Tam sabbo stands by change of gender for So sabbo, as in the phrase, Yathá tam appamattassa átápino.

Cetiyamhi, etc. In this verse and the next I have followed the scholiast, but the locatives are probably governed by Sunihito in verse 8.

Gamaníyesu. The scholiast translates Gamaníyáni by bhogá. The word evidently means "transitory," and as applied to earthly riches is opposed to Anugámika in the previous verse. The locative presents a difficulty, but may perhaps be explained thus, "In the case of the treasures of this world, leaving them." See Dhammap. 142.

Asádháranam. For asádhárano, as in verse 3.

Manussiká. This is undoubtedly the right reading, but the form is highly irregular.

Yoniso. The scholiast translates this "wisely." See Dham. v. 326 and note.

Mahiddhiyá. च्छि with महा and suffix य. The scholiast gives another reading, Mahatthiká, "of great advantage."

Yadidam. This adverb means "namely," "that is to say," "for instance." See D'Alwis' Páli Gram. p. 107, second line. It retains, I think, its meaning in the verse we are considering, "Thus this thing, namely the possession of merit, is of great effect." Here Esá should properly be Idam or Eso (nidhi), but is made feminine by attraction to Sampadá.

Compare Esa paccayo jarámaranassa yadidam játi, "this is the cause of decay and death, viz. Birth." (Mahá Nidána Sutta.)

IX. Abhisamecca. इत्थ with अभि, सन् and आ.

Sújú. The Sanna gives another form of this word, Suhuju.

Padam. Gogerly translates this word "Path of Nirvána." But I doubt that Pada is ever used in Páli in the sense of road or path. No such meaning is attributed to it either in Abhidhána Padípiká or in Clough's Singhalese Dictionary. The former work gives the following meanings for Pada: "Place, protection, Nirvána, cause,

word, thing, portion, foot, footstep." As a name for Nirvāna I believe Pada to be used in the sense of "place" or "lot." In Dham. v. 368, Fausböll translates Santam padam "the tranquil place" (the Commentary says Santakoṭṭhāsa). But in verse 114 he translates Amataṃ padam "the immortal path," when the Commentary has Maraṇavirahitaṃ koṭṭhāsam. In verse 21 Pada may fairly be rendered "way" in its figurative sense of "means" or "cause." Buddhaghosa, in the commentary on verse 21, says that Amatapada means Amatassa adhigamúpáyo, "means of attaining Nirvāna," and a few lines further down he says, Padan ti upáyo maggo.

Sallahukavutti. A compound of sam, lahu, and vutti (वृत्ति).

Kulesu. In the families or houses he frequents for alms.

Tasá. Dham. v. 405.

Díghá. The scholiast says, "for instance serpents."

Niyam. Sanskrit नियम.

Áyusá. Abl. of áyusam, "duration of life." Gogerly says, "As a mother protects with her life."

Yávat'. Yávatá.

Brahmam. Par. Jot. and the scholiast explain Brahmaṃ vihāraṃ by Setṭhavihára. Gogerly translates the passage, "This place is thus constituted a holy residence." The scholiast says that Áhu refers to "Buddhas and other holy men (árya's)."

Vineyya. Contracted for vinayeyya, as bháveyya for bhávayeyya.

Khuddakapáṭhappakaranaṃ. The meaning of this title is, "The book which contains the short readings." Compare Khuddakani-káya, which means not "the short collection," but "the collection of short books," viz., Khuddakapáṭha, Dhammapada, etc. Díghanikáya means "the collection of long Sútras," as appears from the fifth verse of Buddhaghosa's introduction to Brahmajála Sutta Aṭṭhakathá:—

Díghassa díghasuttāñkitassa

Nipupassa ágamavarassa

Buddhānubuddhasamvannitassa

Saddhāvahagunassa.

"The noble Long Collection, distinguished by its long discourses, of subtle meaning, praised by Buddha and his apostles, and possessed of the qualities that sustain faith."

ART.VIII.—*An Endeavour to Elucidate Rashiduddin's Geographical Notices of India.* By Col. H. YULE, C.B.

[Read Dec. 21, 1868.]

ONE of the most interesting articles in the late Sir Henry Elliot's work, "*The History of India as told by its own Historians*," is that which consists of extracts from Rashiduddin's *Jāmi'-ut-Tawārikh*. A large part of that worthy's notices of India is indeed taken from Albiruni, but the concluding portion is presumably his own, and speaks of a state of things existing in his own time. It is to this portion of the article that the following observations refer. In the original edition of Sir Henry Elliot's work this was crammed with obscurities. Many of these have been removed by the recent editor, Professor Dowson, through the comparison of various MSS., but obscurities still remain. Recent studies having directed my attention to this subject, I have been trying to clear these up. In many cases I have utterly failed; in some I trust to have succeeded in throwing a little light, and I venture to submit the result to the Society, in the hope that others, much more competent, will lend aid in cracking some of the hard nuts that are left.¹

The editor, for reasons given in his preface, has adopted a system for the exhibition of Oriental words which does not attempt the representation of *precise* Oriental spelling. He says this would have been unheeded by the general reader, and useless to the scholar. An anomalous reader like myself, who cannot class himself as either the one or the other, has, perhaps, no right to say a word. Yet, I think, where so

¹ The substance of part of these remarks has been already printed in notes scattered over *Cathay and the Way Thither*; a work issued by the Hakluyt Society.

many proper names occur of exceedingly doubtful reading, it would have been well either to diacriticize the letters or to give the original readings below. This last has been done, indeed, in many cases, but in some others, where it was very desirable, it has been omitted.

I shall extract the passages on which I have anything to observe, paragraph by paragraph, interpolating the remarks that have occurred to me; omitting entirely those passages on which I have nothing relevant to offer.

(*Guzerát*, p. 67.)

“*Múltán* and *U'ch* are subject to Dehli, and the son of the *Súltán* of Dehli is the Governor. There is a road from hence by land as well as by the shore of the sea to *Guzerát*, which is a large country, within which are *Kambáya*, *Somnát*, *Kankan*, *Tána*, and several other cities and towns Grapes are produced twice during the year, and the strength of the soil is such that cotton plants grow like willows and plane-trees, and yield produce ten years running. Sugar from *Malwa*, *bádrú* (balm) and *baladí* are exported in ships from the coasts of *Guzerát* to all countries and cities.”

Kankan and *Tana*, which are printed in the translation as distinct, should, in all probability, form a compound name, *Kankan-Tána*, uniting the name of the city and province, as in *Kij-Makrán*, *Diul-Sind*, and many other cases. The compound term is actually used by Ibn Batuta in the shape of *Kúkan-Tána* (III., 335), whilst it appears in the *Portulano Mediceo* of the middle of the 14th century as *Cocintana*, and in the Catalan Map of 1375 more incorrectly as *Cocintaya*.

The statement about the cotton plants of *Guzerat* is remarkable in itself, and also from its conformity with what Marco Polo says in treating of the same province: “In this province of *Guzerat* there grows much pepper, ginger, and indigo. They have also a great deal of cotton. Their cotton plants are very large, growing full six paces high, and to the age of twenty years. It is to be noted, however, that when the trees get so old the cotton is not good to spin, but only fit for quilting and stuffing beds. Up to the age of twelve

years they give good spinning cotton, but from that to twenty years the produce is inferior."

Baladi is, I imagine, the quality of ginger so called ("country ginger"), which is often mentioned in the mercantile handbook of Balducci Pegolotti (circa 1340), as well as by Nicolo Conti, and, at a later date, Barbosa.

There seems some doubt about *Bádrú*, which is, in part, a conjectural reading, and does not seem to be a probable staple of trade. In a previous passage, (p. 66) the word appears in the form of *Báwarú*. There is a passage in Barbosa of which I will hazard the quotation, as perhaps containing light on the subject. Speaking of staple articles of export from the ports near Cambay he especially names manufactured articles of carnelian and of *chalcedony*, "which they call *Babayore*" (*Ramusio* I., f. 297 v.). The *Mohit* also, in speaking of Cambay, says: "In this country is a profusion of *Bábághúri* and cornelians (J.A.S.B. V. 463). The word is in Redhouse's Turkish Dictionary as "باباقوري, a kind of hard stone, an agate (P) ;" and in his English-Turkish Dict. the equivalent of *chalcedony* is given اتي باباقوري, and *Bábákúri* simply with a (P), as that of *agate*. This word may thus possibly be identical with *Báwarú*, which in that case would represent the chalcedonies and agates which have so long been a product of Cambay.

(*Malabar*, p. 67-8).

"Beyond Guzerat are Kankan and Tána; beyond them the country of Malbár, which, from the boundary of *Karoha* to Kúlam, is 300 parasangs in length. . . . Of the cities on the shore the first is *Sindábúr*, then *Faknúr*, then the country of *Manjarúr*, then the country of *Hilí*, then the country of *Sadarsá*, then *Jangli*, then *Kúlam*."

Karoha, the northern boundary of Malabar. The definition of Malabar here includes Canara and even part of the Konkan, for the boundary is to be sought north of Goa, as we shall see presently. I take *Karoha* to be probably Gheriah (*Garhtah* ?), in after days the fortress of Angria, and a prominent point on the coast. In the early part of the Portu-

guess regime the limit between the Goa territory and that of the Bahmani kings of the Deccan on the coast was at *Carapatam*, a place not found in our modern maps, but which W. Hamilton identifies (*Corepatam*) with Gheriah, though Rennell places it some distance south of the latter.

Sindábúr.—Difficulty has been created as to the position of this place, owing to Abulfeda's confounding it with *Sindán*, which lay north of Tána (see in *Gildemeister*, p. 188). That place may possibly also have been in old days called *Sindábúr*—there is nothing to be made of the desperate confusion of Edrisi on the subject,—but Abulfeda's own data show us that the *Sindábúr* of his day lay three days (voyage) south of Tana, and was reached shortly before *Hunáwar* (Onore). This agrees perfectly with Rashiduddin's indication, and with Ibn Batuta's. The place appears as *Chintabor* and *Cintapor* on the Catalan and Medicean maps, in as great accordance with the position we assign to it as could be expected.

Ibn Batuta himself speaks of *Sindábúr* as on *an island* containing thirty-six villages, as being one of the ports which traded direct with Aden, and as being about one day's voyage north of *Hunáwar*. It could not, therefore, have been far from Goa, and I believe it to have been identical with Goa for the following reasons:—

(1) Ibn Batuta says the island stood on an estuary, of which the water was salt at flood and fresh at ebb; therefore it was a *Delta* island, as Goa is.

(2) His mention of *Thirty-six* villages suggests that this number was notorious. And De Barros says the island of Goa was known by a native name, meaning *Thirty Villages*. He also says that it was anciently one of the great ports for the import of horses from Arabia.

(3) In the Turkish work on navigation, called the *Mohit*, translated by Hammer-Purgstall, there is a section headed by the translator "24th Voyage, from *Kuwai Sindabur* to Aden." The original characters given in a note read *كوة سندابور* (J.A.S.B. V. 464).

Gildemeister (p. 46) seems to have an inkling of the view here taken, but does not see clearly that the Goah (rather

Kāwt (كوت) of Ibn Batuta is really in Guzerat (*Gongway* or *Conwa* opposite *Cambay*).

Faknúr is mentioned under that name also by Ibn Batuta, who touched there between Hunáwar and Mangalore. It is probably the *Maganúr* of Abdurrazzák, and was well known in the 16th and 17th centuries as *Baccanore*.

Manjarúr is Mangalore, as Sir H. Elliot has pointed out.

Hili. The general position of this place is still marked by Monte Dely, a prominent landmark on the coast between Mangalore and Cannanore, and the name of which is in a Portuguese form "the Hill of Hili or Hely." The hill itself is mentioned by Abulfeda as *Rás Haihí*. The territory is the *Ely* of Marco Polo, who speaks of its one or more estuaries affording but imperfect shelter to vessels, on which account the Chinese ships that frequented it had to hurry their lading. Ibn Batuta calls Hili a great and well-built city situated on a large estuary, accessible to great ships. It was the only port on the coast, he says, besides Calicut and Kaulam, which the China junks entered. *Elly* appears on the Catalan map below *Manganor*; and is mentioned by Nicolo Conti along with *Pacamuria* (read *Pacanuria*, *Faknúr*, or *Baccanore*).

I find no means of deciding absolutely whether the port of Hili lay north or south of Mount Dely. To the north there is one considerable river, that which Rennell calls *Oangerecora*, passing Nileschwera (supposed to represent the ancient *Nelcynda*); to the south of it there is another estuary on which stands *Baliapatam*, where the English had a factory in the 17th century, and where the Raja of Cannanore had his residence in the 16th. Ibn Batuta puts a port called *Jorfattan* three parasangs beyond Hili, and I suspect this may be only a quasi translation of *Baliapatam* (*Zor*=strength, *Bali*=strong). If this be so Hili must have been on the northern river.

There is perhaps an indication of Hili in the *Ela*-bacare of the Periplus, at the mouth of the river of *Nelcynda*; but the passage is defective. There is a clearer indication in the *Elima* of the Ravenna geographer, who mentions it next to *Nelcina* or *Nelcynda*.

Sadarsá. This is perplexing as it stands, but the variation given by Professor Dowson from MS. C. (سدرسا) shows clearly what the name ought to be, viz., فندرينا *Fandarainá*, a port mentioned under that name both by Edrisi and Ibn Batuta, as *Bandirana* (miswritten *Bandinana*) by Abdurrazzák, as *Fantalaina* in a Chinese edict of 1296, regarding Indian trade, which is quoted by Pauthier (*Marc Pol*, p. 532). It appears as *Fenderena* in the great map of Fra Mauro, as *Flandrina* in the travels of Friar Odoric; and in Barbosa, Varthema, and De Barros, by its name in the indigenous shape of *Pandaráni*. The place has long dropt out of our maps, but its position is fixed by Varthema, who says that opposite the port, three leagues from shore, was an uninhabited island. This must be the *Sacrifice Rock*, about thirty miles north of Calicut.

Janghí. This is presumably جنكلي, and I doubt not it should be read *Chinkali*. The name appears as *Shinkala* or *Shinkali* in Abulfeda (see *Gildemeister*, p. 185), and is mentioned as *Cynkali* by John Marignolli, *Cyngilin* by Odoric, and *Singuyhí* by Friar Jordanus. Abulfeda couples it with *Sháliyát*, called by the Portuguese *Chalia* and *Chale*, which was the port next below Calicut. And the next again of importance below that was *Cranganore*. Now Assemani tells us incidentally that Cranganore was also called *Seigla*, i.e. *Shigla*, or *Shinkala*. *Chinkali* is therefore *Cranganore* (*Assem.* III., Pt. 2, 440 and 732)

Kúlam, the *Kaulam*, *Columbum*, *Coilon*, *Colon*, of many travellers from the 9th century downwards, surviving in decay as *Quilon*.

(*Ma'bar*, p. 69).

“*Ma'bar*, from *Kúlam* to the country of *Siláwar*, extends 300 parasangs along the shore. Its length is the same. It possesses many cities and villages, of which little is known. The king is called *Dewar*, which means, in the *Ma'bar* language the “lord of wealth.” Large ships, called in the language of China “*Junks*,” bring various sorts of choice merchandize and clothes from *Chín* and *Máchín*, and the

countries of Hind and Sind. The merchants export from Ma'bar silken stuffs, aromatic roots; large pearls are brought up from the sea. The productions of this country are carried to 'Irak, Khurasan, Syria, Rúm, and Europe. The country produces rubies and aromatic grasses, and in the sea are plenty of pearls. Ma'bar is, as it were, the key of Hind. Within the few last years Sundar Bandi was Dewar, who, with his three brothers, obtained power in different directions, and Malik Takiuddin bin 'Abdu-r rahman bin Muhammadu-t Tibi, brother of Shaikh Jamáluddin, was his minister and adviser, to whom he assigned the government of Fatan, Malifatan, and Báwal; and because there are no horses in Ma'bar, or rather those which are there are weak, it was agreed that every year Jamáluddin Ibrahím should send to the Dewar 1400 strong Arab horses obtained from the island of Kis, and 10,000 horses from all the islands of Fárs, such as Katíf, Lahsa, Bahrein, Harmúz, Kilahát, etc. Each horse is reckoned worth 220 dinars of red gold current. . . . In the year 692 A.H. (1293, A.D.) the Dewar died, and his wealth and possessions fell into the hands of his adversaries and opponents, and Shaikh Jumaluddin, who succeeded him, obtained, it is said, an accession of 7,000 bullock loads of gold, etc., and Takiuddin, according to previous agreement, became his lieutenant."

First, as to the names of places in this passage. For *Sitáwar* read *Niláwar*, and then we get the northern limit of what was understood by Ma'bar. Kaulam belonged to Malabár. But beyond that, or as Abulfeda puts it, beyond Cape Comorin, and, as we here learn, as far as *Nellore*, was called Ma'bar. The reading commends itself to adoption; but in fact it is found in a parallel passage of Wassáf's history, which will be referred to afterwards.

For *Báwal* read *Káil*, as in Binakiti, quoted in the editor's note. *Káil* was a famous port in those days, to which Marco Polo devotes a chapter. It stood a little south of Tuticorin, which may be considered its modern but far humbler representative. Indeed *Coilpatam* is mentioned in Hamilton's Gazetteer as still a chief port of Tinnevely, though now it

has dropt from our maps. It continued to be a place of some importance down to Portuguese times, and is mentioned by Abdurrazzák (miswritten *Kábil*), Conti (*Kahila*), Vasco da Gama (Caell), Barbosa, Varthema, and Giovanni of Empoli. The traditions of the Mahommedans of Ceylon point to it as the first settlement of their forefathers in India.

The identification of *Fatan* and *Malifattan* is a desideratum. *Fattan* is mentioned by Ibn Batuta as a fine large city on the shore, with an excellent harbour. He visited it when accompanying Ghaiássuddín, Sultan of Ma'bar, from a campaign in the vicinity of *Harkátu* (Arcot) to *Mutrah* (Madura). It appears also to have been the chief port of Madura, for Ibn Batuta goes thither from Madura to take ship, and finds a fleet bound for Malabar and Yemen. Either *Negapatam* or *Nagore* appears to answer best to these frail data. As the names *Nagore* and *Fattan* alike signify "The City," perhaps it is to be identified with Nagore, which retained a large amount of foreign trade, especially with the Archipelago fifty years ago, whatever may be its present state. But, as regards means of information in books, I must say now as Rashid said then, that that coast possesses many cities and villages, but I can learn little about them!

Malifattan is presumably the *Manifattan* of Abulfeda, mentioned by him as a city on the coast of Ma'bar. It is also mentioned as a principality of southern India by Friar Jordanus (circa 1328). "There is also the King of *Molephatum*, whose kingdom is called Molepor, where pearls are taken in infinite quantities." And, when the said Jordanus was nominated Bishop of Columbum or Kaulam, we find the Pope (John XXII.) addressing commendatory letters in his behalf, not only to the Christians of that place, but also to "the whole body of Christian people dwelling in *Molephatum*."¹ The mention of pearls points to the vicinity of the Gulf of Manar. And the address of the Pope's letter is remarkable, as showing that there were Christians before the time of Xavier on that coast as well as in Malabar. I find *Malipatan* marked in a map which accompanies a letter from

¹ *Odor. Reynaldi Annal. Ecclesiast. An. 1330, lv.*

Père Bouchet in the *Lettres Edifiantes*. It there occupies a position on the shore of Palk's Bay, a little north of where our maps show *Devipatan*, but perhaps identical therewith. This is very probably the medieval Malifattan.¹

The two *Jamaluddins* mentioned in the extract are to be distinguished, as may be gathered from a comparison of the extracts from Wassáf, which Hammer-Purgstall has happily pitch-forked into his History of the Ilkhans. The one called here Shaikh Jamaluddin, is called by Wassáf Jamaluddin Abdurrahman Ut-Thaibi, "the Great Farmer-General and Lord of the Marches of India;" and we see here that he became more or less of a ruling Prince in the Peninsula a good many years before the time when standard histories recognize any Mahomedan rule in those parts. He is, perhaps, the *Tchamalating*, whom Pauthier's Chinese Extracts show to have gone on a mission from Ma'bar to the court of Kublai Kaan in or previous to 1281; and the *Silamuting*, whom they show as ruler of Ma'bat in 1314, was perhaps his grandson Nizámuddín, of whom Wassáf speaks (see Pauthier, pp. 601, 604, and Hammer, ii. 206). The other, Jamaluddin Ibrahim, bore the title of *Malik-ul-Islam*, and was Farmer-General of Fárs in the time of Arghún Khan and his successors, with great authority in the Persian Gulf. His contract with Takiuddin, the brother of the Indian Jamaluddin, is also mentioned by Wassáf, who was himself secretary to the Persian official and conducted his correspondence with India.²

We should not omit to note again a striking conformity with Marco Polo's statements in the paragraph on which we are now commenting. When that traveller was in Ma'bar he found it under the rule of five brothers, of whom one, called Sender-Bendi Devar, ruled that province which was near Ceylon, which held supremacy over the pearl fishery, which was the best and noblest province of southern India, and which was called *Soti*, indications which point to Tanjore and Ramnad; whilst another brother, called Ascjar (*Ishwar*?),

¹ See *Lett. Edif.* (First Edition) 1722, Rec. XV.; Lyons Edn. 1819, Vol. VII.

² See *Gesch. der Ilkhans*, II. 61-2, etc.

ruled at Kail. In Ramusio's version of Polo the conformity is even closer, for that version, like Rashiduddin's account, makes the brother princes not *five*, but four in number. Polo, too, speaks of the horse trade in almost the same terms as the text, though he puts the price that horses then reached still higher, viz., "500 *saggi* of gold, worth more than 100 marks of silver."¹

Sundar Bandi (*Sundara Pāndi*) died, as we see from Rashid, in 1293, which must have been immediately after Marco Polo's passage by India to Persia, though that traveller's knowledge of Ma'bar may have been derived from an earlier visit to the Indian coast, of which there are some suggestions. Shaikh Jamaluddin is here stated to have succeeded Sundara Pandi, and the former, according to Wassaf (as far as I can make out from Hammer's dates), died about 1306. We then hear of a Raja of Ma'bar—distinct, apparently, from any one of the four brothers—stepping in to confiscate the great wealth which Jamaluddin had left. This Raja is called by Wassaf, Gilish Diur (*Kalesa Dewar*?). It is stated that he had ruled for forty years in perfect peace and health, without ever having been sick or attacked by an enemy! In the treasury of *Shahrmendi* he had accumulated 1200 krons (!) of gold. He had two sons, Sundar Bandi by a lawful wife, and Pirebandi (*Vira Pāndi*?) by a concubine. He designated the latter, who was the superior character, as his successor. Sundar Bandi, enraged at this, slew his father (1309), and took forcible possession of Shahrmendi and its treasure. Pirebandi succeeded in driving him out; Sundar Bandi went to Alāuddin, Sultan of Dehli, and sought help. The Sultan eventually sent his General Hazārdināri (Malik Kafūr) to conquer Ma'bar, etc.²

This looks like a genuine story, but there are several diffi-

¹ The *saggio* of Venice was 1-6th of an ounce, but in Asiatic estimates Polo probably uses it for the *miskdi*, which was not very different. The *miskdi* of gold would be worth about 13s. in gold, giving £325 for the price of a horse; whilst 100 marks of silver would be a little over £200 in silver of our present money. But I have elsewhere shown reasons for believing that the relation of gold to silver in civilized Asia was then as 10 to 1; and this would make the two values nearly equivalent.

² Hammer, *ib.* 197 and 205-6.

culties. The Sundar Bandi here spoken of must, of course, be a different person from the prince mentioned by Polo and Rashiduddin, and it is difficult to *co-ordinate* this Raja Kaleśa of forty years peaceful reign with the four or five brothers at perpetual war, whom Polo found in possession of the country. Possibly these latter were adventurers who had divided the coast districts among them, whilst the Sovereign of the old dynasty still reigned in the interior at Shahrmenti, which *may be* Madura, but is, perhaps, more probably the fortress of *Trisirapuri* (Trichinopoly).

Sea Route to China from Ma'bar, p. 70.

"There are two courses or roads from this place: one leads by sea to Chín and Machín, passing by the Island of Silan. It is four parasangs long and four wide. It is parallel to the equator.

"Sarandip is at the foot of the Júdi mountain The men are all Buddhists, and bow to and worship images.

"The Island of Lámúri, which lies beyond it, is very large. It has a separate king.

"Beyond it lies the country of Súmútra, and beyond that Darband Nias, which is a dependency of Java. In the mountains of Jáva scented woods grow. In those islands are several cities, of which the chief are Arú, Barlak, Dalmian, Jáva, and Barkúdoz. The mountains of Jáva are very high. It is the custom of the people to puncture their hands and entire body with needles, and then rub in some black substance to colour it.

"Opposite Lámúri is the Island of Lákúwaram, which produces red amber. Men and women go naked, except that the latter cover the pudenda with cocconut leaves. They are all subject to the Káán. Passing on from this, you come to a continent called Jampa, also subject to the Káán. The people are red and white.

"Beyond that is Haitam, subject also to the Káán.

"Beyond that is Máháchín, then the harbour of Zaitún on the shore of the China Sea, and an officer of the Káán, entitled Shak, resides there. Beyond that is Khansái', in which

the market-place is six parasangs broad, from which it may be judged how large the place is. It is subject to the deputies of the Káán, who are Moghals, Musulmáns, Khitáyans and Ghuris. Khansái is the capital.

“Forty days’ journey from it lies Khánbálík, the capital of the Phoenix of the West—Káán, king of the earth.”

The two courses diverging from Ma’bar (viz., from Kail) are two routes to China—one by sea, the other along the eastern shore of India and then overland into Western China.

The passage about Silán and Sarandip is confused and probably corrupt. The *four* parasangs of length and breadth probably was written *forty*. One of the articles in Kazwini (*Gildemeister*, 197) makes the length and breadth of Sarandip equal, each eighty parasangs; and another article (p. 203), as here, seems to distinguish between *Suilán* and *Sarandip*, putting the latter in the interior of the former.

The application of the term *Júdi* to Adam’s peak is curious. Sir E. Tennent mentions that a Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, and an Arabic version of the same in the Bodleian library, both substitute *Sarendip* for *Ararat* in the narrative of the Deluge.¹ As Júdi is the Ark Mountain of the Mahomedans, it looks as if Rashiduddin held the same tradition.

The Island of *Lámúri* is certainly Sumatra, with especial reference to its *North-West* extremity (not *North-East*, as in Sir H. Elliot’s note). The name is used in like manner by Friar Odoric, who, on quitting Ma’bar, and sailing fifty days across the ocean towards the south, came to a certain country called *Lamori*, where he lost sight of the North Star. *Lambri*, a province of this part of Sumatra, appears not only in the *Shijárat Maláyu* and Marco Polo, as mentioned in the note, but also in De Barros as one of the twenty-nine petty kingdoms which divided the coast of Sumatra at the beginning of the 16th century. The Turkish author of the *Mohit*, in describing the course to Malacca, says: “If you wish to reach Malacca guard against sighting *Jámisfulah*” (*Pulo Gonus*, a small island off Achin Head, the *Gavenispola* of Marco Polo), “because the mountains of *Lámri* advance into

¹ *Ceylon*, Fourth Ed., I. 561-2.

the sea, and the flood is there very strong" (*J. As. Soc. Bengal*, VI., 807).

Súmútra is mentioned with reference to Lamori in the same way as here, by Friar Odoric. "In this same island towards the south (*i.e.* in the same bearing that he believed he had come from Ma'bar), is another kingdom, by name *Su-moltra*," in which he says the people brand themselves on the face, *i.e.* tattoo themselves, as stated here; a practice not now followed by any of the races of Sumatra itself of which we have distinct accounts. The kingdom in question is the *Samúdra* of the Malay Annals, the *Samara* of Marco Polo (probably a clerical error for *Samatra*), and the *Súmuthra* of Ibn Batuta, who twice visited the court of its Mahomedan Sultan near the middle of the 14th century. It lay along the north coast, west of Pasei, and the capital probably stood near the head of the Bay of Pasei. Possibly traces or memory of it would be found still to exist, but that coast has almost fallen out of the knowledge of European geography.

Though *Nias* is the name of a large island off the west coast of Sumatra, I hardly think it can be referred to in the term *Darband Nias* or *Manás*. The writer is noting points on the route to China. Sumatra comes in beyond Lamuri; Nias does not fall into the route. The term *Darband*, perhaps, points to the Straits of Singapore, and Singhapúra was a Javanese colony.

Aru and *Barlak* were both petty states of Sumatra. The former appears (*Haru*) in the Malay annals as converted at an early date to Islam, and is mentioned by De Barros and other Portuguese writers. Its position was apparently on the Eastern coast of the Batta country, below the Assahan River. Tanjong *Perlak*, the Malay name of what we call Diamond Point, is a trace of the kingdom of Perlak (or *Barlak* of the text); it is mentioned in the Malay annals, and is Marco Polo's *Ferlec*.

Dalmian might prove to be the *Dagroian* of Polo, if we knew the proper reading.

Lákwáram no doubt should be *Nákwáram*, the *Necuveram* of Polo, Nicobar Islands. Their ambergris and naked folk

are standing topics down a long chain of travellers. The statement that they were subject to the Káán is illustrated by Polo's similar statement as to uncivilized races on the coast of Sumatra: "They call themselves his subjects, but they pay him no tribute; indeed they are so far away that his men could not go thither. Still, all these islanders declare they are his subjects, and sometimes they send him strange things as presents." Kublai Káán had a whim of sending embassies about the world to invite tenders of allegiance and to collect curiosities. One of them got as far as Madagascar, and was treated like Mr. Rassam. Kublai, more fortunate than a government we wot of, appears to have got his envoys released at the expense of a second mission, and they brought him back full compensation in the shape of a rukh's quill eighty palms long.

Jampa is the *Champa* and *Chamba* of medieval travellers, the *Sanf* of older Arab voyagers, and was then equivalent to Cochin China without Tonking.

Haitam should probably be *Hainam*, and represent 'An-nam or Tonking.

Máháchin is Canton. Odoric, John Marignolli, Wassáf, Ibn Batuta, and Rashiduddin himself elsewhere, give it the same name in the Persian form of *Chín-Kalán*. It also appears in that form in the Catalán map, very well placed.

Zaitún, or Chinchou (properly Thaiuancheu), probably in those days by far the greatest commercial port in the world, has often been written about. Ibn Batuta landed here, and hence, apparently, Marco Polo sailed for Persia.

Shak, the Káán's officer. Read *شك* Sing or Shing, as the *Sank* of the note suggests. "*Shing*, i.e. a great city, in which the high and mighty council holds its meetings" (*Wassáf* by Hammer, p. 43). "*Scieng* qe vaut à dire le Cort Greignor qe ne a sor elz qe le Grant Sire. Le Palais ou el demorent est ausi apellés *scien*" (*Polo*, in *Ed. Soc. de Geog.* p. 110). "The empire hath been divided by the Lord thereof into twelve parts; each one whereof is termed a *Singo*" (*Fr. Odoric*, p. 136). "As the Kaan generally resides at the capital he has erected a palace for the sittings of the Great

Council, called *Sing* *Sing* do not exist in all the cities, but only in the capitals of great provinces, which, in fact, form kingdoms ranking with Baghdad, Shiraz, Iconium, and Rúm. In the whole empire of the Kaan there are twelve of these *Sing*" (*Rashiduddin*, an extract by Klaproth, *Journ. As.* Ser. II. Tom. XI.).

Neumann says the Chinese word is *Sing*, signifying primarily to investigate, and then *Inspection*, a *Province*, a *Provincial Council*. "It is also pronounced *Seng* in the sense of the city or capital where the council sits." Pauthier, again, says Polo's *Scieng* is rather *Siang*, a minister of state, or his office. Probably the non-Chinese confounded the words.

Ghuris. Read *Ighúrs*. In another place Rashíd says the members of the Káán's cabinet were *Tajiks*, *Cathayans*, *Ighurs*, and *Arkaún* (Nestorian Christians).

(*Overland Route to China*, p. 72-3.)

"With respect to the other road, which leads from Ma'bar by way of Khitái, it commences at the city of Kábal, then proceeds to the city of Kúnjú and Sunjú, then to Kín, then to Mali Fatan, then to Kardaráyá, then to Hawáriún, then to Daklí, then to Bijalár, which, from of old, is subject to Dehli, and at this time one of the cousins of the Sultan of Dehli has conquered it, and established himself, having revolted against the Sultán. His army consists of Turks. Beyond that is the country of Ratbán, then Arman, then Zar-dandán, so called because the people cover their teeth with gold. They puncture their hands and colour them with indigo. They eradicate their beards, so that they have not a sign of hair on their faces. They are all subject to the Káán. This country is bounded on one side by the sea, afterwards comes the country of Rákán, the people of which eat carrion and the flesh of men; they likewise are subject to the Káán. Thence you arrive at the borders of Tibet, where they eat raw meat and worship images, and have no shame respecting their wives. The air is so impure that if they eat their dinner after noon they would all die. They boil tea and eat winnowed barley An- other large country is called Kandahár, which the Moghals

call Karájáng. These people spring from Khitái and Hind. In the time of Kúblá Káân it was subdued by the Moghals. One of its borders adjoins Tibet, another adjoins Khitá, and another adjoins Hind. Philosophers have said that there are three countries celebrated for certain peculiarities: Hind is celebrated for its armies, Kandahár for its elephants, and the Turks for their horses."

The names in this passage are so corrupt and uncertain that we can just trace the general line intended; and it is at least interesting to know that such a line of communication with China was recognized in those days.

For *Kábal* again read *Káil*, which is the point of starting. *Kúnjú* and *Sunjú*, which are omitted in some of the MSS., I suspect may be interpolations by some one misunderstanding the route.¹

Taking the variations in the editor's note as a basis, I would read: "It commences at the city of *Káil*, and proceeds thence to *Fattan* (فتن instead of قين) and thence to *Majlifattan*" (Masulipatam).

Kardaráyá is probably *Godavery* in some form. A city in the Delta (Coringa?) was so called, at least, by foreigners, as may be seen in De Barros. And Rennell writes Point Godavery as *Gordewar*.

For the next name the old edition had *Hawdrawún*, which, possibly might be a corrupt transcript of *Sunárkávún* or *Sunargong*. *Bijalár* is of course Bengal, as the note shows, then quasi-independent under the dynasty of Nasaruddín, who was son of the Emperor Balban of Dehli. *Ratbán* and *Arman* (or *Uman*) I should guess to represent *Arakan* (*Rakán* or *Rakain*), and *Burma* under some form of Polo's name for it (*Mien* or *Amien*). The *Zardandán* are old friends described precisely under that name by Polo; their headquarters were at Yunchang, on the Chinese frontier of Burma.² The next passage, introducing the sea, is absent

¹ We do find *Kanja* and *Sanji* in Edrisi (see the extracts, p. 90), though it is difficult to know where to look for them. *Kanchi* and *Gingee* are the nearest conjectures I can make, if the names in the text are genuine, but I cannot think these probable.

² I suspect they were Singphos, but no modern report attests the existence of the custom ascribed to them among any tribe on that frontier.

from some MSS., and is not comprehended. Those shameless people on the borders of Tibet are probably Polo's people of *Kaindu*, to whom he ascribes a discreditable custom.

Karájang was we know the term applied by the Mongols to the great Province of Yunan, in the conquest of which Kublai Kaan took part personally, before his accession to the sovereignty. The term is used by Marco Polo (Carajan). But the other name here applied to it, *Kandahár*, is more obscure. *Kandahár* was the Arabic form of the name of *Gandhára*, the ancient and famous province on the Upper Indus, as may be seen in Sir H. Elliot's note, p. 48 of the work. It was the custom of the Indo-Chinese nations, who derived their religion from India, to apply Sanscrit names, and the names of Indian countries, especially such as were famous in the history of Buddhism, to their own lands and cities or those in their vicinity. Thus we have in Indo-Chinese regions *Champa*, *Kamboja*, *Ayodhya*, *Kausambí*, and many more such duplicates of ancient Indian names. Among the rest *Gandhára* appears to have been thus applied to Yunan, or some part of it. In the correspondence of the Kings of Burma with the court of Peking, the Chinese Emperor is often styled the King of *Gandálarít*, which seems to be the Burmese form of the name¹ (e.g. see *J. A. S. Bengal* V. 161; VI. 436, 438). It is odd certainly that Rashiduddin should have got hold of this name. And it is pretty evident that he confounds it with the original *Gandhára*, for in another place he says: "The Indians call it *Kandar*, we call it *Kandahár*." The old saw of the 'Philosophers' is not likely to have had any reference to remote Yunan, of which the knowledge probably only reached Persia since the Mongol conquest of it. And, lastly, in the passage translated at p. 63 of Elliot, Rashidud-din, in transcribing Albiruni's notice of the real *Gandhára* on the Indus, interpolates "which the Moghals call *Karájáng*," an interpolation which sadly shakes one's faith in the soundness of the Wazir's geographical knowledge.

¹ Col. Burney (VI. 436) says *Gandálarét* is the classical name for *China*. But my friend, Sir Arthur Phayre, informs me that it applies to some part of Yunan.

ART. IX.—*Sassanian Inscriptions explained by the Pahlavi of the Pârsis.* By E. W. WEST, Esq.

[Read March 15, 1869].

Mr. Thomas has lately done good service to Pahlavi archæology, by collecting all the best copies of the Sassanian inscriptions, that are known to exist, from the various books of travels and unpublished papers in which they have hitherto remained comparatively hidden and neglected. If his tentative translation of the Hâjîâbâd inscription is likely to be less useful, it is probably owing to his treating the language as an unknown one, and only to be interpreted by a free use of all available lexicons, aided by a variety of hazardous guesses. But there is good reason for believing that the language of these inscriptions is not unknown, as the composition, or rearrangement, of most of the Pahlavi literature of the Pârsis, is traditionally ascribed to the time of the Sassanian rule; if, therefore, this tradition be correct, there ought to be a close resemblance between the language of the inscriptions and that of the Pahlavi books, after allowing for probable alterations made in the books, by successive copyists.

A large portion of the Pahlavi literature remains, as yet, a sealed book to Europeans, but sufficient is available for a fair comparison with the language of the inscriptions, although perhaps not enough for their full explanation. It is evident that this investigation is of importance, as tending to settle, in an indisputable manner, both the age and character of (what Mr. Thomas styles) “the dubious and composite infiltrations of the ancient Pehlvi, accepted in Bombay;” in comparison with which settlement, the mere translation of the inscriptions is a matter of small moment, as they are not likely to contain any valuable historical facts, not already known from other sources. It has been, however, with a view

to both objects, that the attention of Dr. Haug and myself has been directed to this investigation, and the object of the present paper is to detail the first results we have obtained.

The Pahlavî of the Pârsî books is a composite language, containing the two elements, Huzvârash and Pâzand, mingled in varying proportions. The Huzvârash is Semitic, except certain terminations to be noticed hereafter, and a few words derived from the Zand;¹ while the Pâzand is merely a dialect of Persian, written either in Pahlavî or Zand letters, and which it is convenient to call Pârsî when written in the Persian character. All the Huzvârash verbs have an unwieldy appearance, owing to the Persian verbal terminations being added to the original verb. Such an arrangement is evidently necessary for indicating the moods, tenses, and persons, which are not otherwise expressed, and it is the usual mode of introducing foreign verbs into a language; in proof of which we may refer to any of the English verbs derived from the Latin, as *obstructed*, *ascribed*, where we find the English verbal termination added to some common form of the Latin verb: or we may take some of the Anglo-Indian developments, not yet admitted by lexicographers, as *puckerowed*, from *pakaro*, 2nd pl. imperative of the Hindûstânî verb *pakarnâ*, 'to seize, lay hold of;' and *samj-hoved*, from the 2nd pl. imperative of *samjhând*, 'to explain.'

But although the Huzvârash verbs have thus the appearance of being assimilated to their Irânian companions, by the Persian verbal terminations *written* after them, in the Pahlavî writings, it is still very doubtful if they were ever generally *spoken* with those terminations. According to Dr. Haug's testimony, they are not so pronounced at the present day, as whenever a Pârsî priest reads a Pahlavî book, he invariably pronounces the Pâzand equivalent for every Huzvârash word that he meets with. Therefore in the case of a Huzvârash verb, the only part of the written word which he pronounces

¹ The exact limits of the Huzvârash are uncertain; according to one definition they would include only the Semitic element of the Pahlavî; according to another, all words explained by Pâzand equivalents, in the old Pahlavî vocabulary of the Pârsîs, should be considered as Huzvârash; in which case, probably one-fifth of the words are of Zand origin, and perhaps some are Turanian.

is the Persian termination, added for his guidance to the crude verb, and which he adds to the crude Pâzand verb, which he pronounces. In the same manner, the termination *star* is often added to the Huzvârash words *ab*, 'father,' and *am*, 'mother,' to notify to the reader that they should be pronounced *padar* and *mâdar*, which are their Pâzand equivalents. This practice of writing a foreign word and then reading its vernacular equivalent is not altogether unknown among ourselves; we write £ *s. d.*, but read *pounds, shillings*, and *pence*; and we write *lbs.*, *viz.*, and *i.e.*, but we rarely read them as anything but *pounds, namely*, and *that is*.

The Huzvârash words have thus practically become ideographs, to which a pronunciation, foreign to their original sounds, has become firmly attached. Two effects have been produced by this foreign or Pâzand mode of pronunciation: first, the original pronunciation has in many cases been lost, and mis-readings have been traditionally adopted, as the written Huzvârash often admits of being read several ways, owing to some of the letters representing two or three sounds, and compounds of two or three such ambiguous letters are common, and each of these may therefore be read in from four to twenty-seven different ways; however the written Huzvârash word is rarely much corrupted, so that its correct pronunciation can generally be restored from comparison with other Semitic languages; and any identifications with words in the less ambiguous characters of the Sassanian inscriptions will be of great importance in proving the correctness, or otherwise, of such proposed restorations of the original Huzvârash pronunciation. Secondly, the Pâzand has often crept into the text of the MSS. in place of the original Huzvârash word, having, perhaps, been originally interlined as a gloss, and then substituted, by the next copyist, for the Huzvârash word in the text; and this change has been progressive, as may be seen by comparing any modern Pahlavi MS. with an old MS. of the same work, when it will generally be found that the modern MS. contains more Pâzand words than exist in the old one.

Returning to the unwieldy verbs so frequent in Pahlavî, it may be observed, that in order to arrive at the real Huzvârash verb, it is necessary to strike off the Persian terminations, and we then find that the verb always ends in *ân*, and can be recognized as the third person plural, either of the preterit or aorist, of some Semitic root, unless the final of the root becomes *t*, in which case the second person plural is adopted as the Huzvârash verb. The verbs **𐭠𐭣𐭥** *húman*, 'to be,' and **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥** *att*, 'is,' are apparently the only exceptions to these rules, being anomalous forms; the former takes the Persian terminations, but the latter does not. In the old Pahlavî-Pâzand Glossary, edited by Dastûr Hoshangjî (under Dr. Haug's supervision) for the Bombay Government, and about to be published, the meanings of one hundred and four Huzvârash verbs are given, besides the two just mentioned; of these only fifteen verbs are in the form of the Semitic aorist, and the remainder in that of the preterit, and twelve of these latter are in the form of the second person plural. The same glossary was given by Anquetil du Perron, in his *Zend-Avesta*, but the words were much disguised by the uncouth orthography which he adopted, as well as by the altered arrangement.

This glossary must have been in existence before the middle of the eighth century of the Christian era, as it is described and quoted by Ibn Muqaffa, who wrote in the time of the Khalif Al-Mansûr, A.D. 754-775, and a fragment of whose writings is preserved in the *Kitâbu-l-fihrist*. From a MS. of this work at Paris, M. Ganneau¹ quotes the following passage, in the words of Ibn Muqaffa, descriptive of this glossary, and quoting the words **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥**, **𐭠𐭣𐭥**, **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥**, which actually occur in the glossary, as it stands at the present day. **ولهـم هـجـاء يـقال له زوارش يـكتبون بها الحـروف مـوصـول و مـفـصـول و هو**

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, Avril-Mai, 1866, p. 430. This passage has been several times quoted, as by M. Quatremère, *Jour. As. Mars*, 1835, p. 256; and thence, with other matter, by Prof. Spiegel, in his *Grammatik der Huzvâresch-Sprache*, p. 22; also by M. Lenormant, *Jour. As. Aout-Sept*, 1865, p. 200. But none of these writers appear to have noticed that the Arab writer, of the eighth century, was referring to the Pahl.-Pâz. Gloss. published, in a modified form, by Anquetil du Perron, in his *Zend-Avesta*, in 1771.

نحو الف كلمة ليفصلوا بها بين المتشابهات مثال ذلك انه من اراد ان يكتب كوشت وهو اللحم بالعربية كتب بِسْرًا و تقراء كوشت على هذا المثال و اذا اراد ان يكتب نان وهو الخبز بالعربية كتب لَهُمًا و تقراء نان على هذا المثال و على هذا كل شى ارادوا ان يكتبوه الاشيا لا محتاج الى قلبها تكتب على اللفظ

Which may be translated as follows: "And they [the Persians] have an orthography called *Zawārash*; they write it with letters connected and disconnected, and it has about a thousand words, that they may distinguish in it between what are similar; for example, whoever wishes to write *gūsh*, which is *lahm* (flesh) in Arabic, writes *bisrā* and reads it *gūsh*, in this fashion ; and when he wishes to write *nan*, which is *khubz* (bread) in Arabic, he writes *lahmā* and reads it *nan*, in this fashion ; and thus with anything they wish to write, except things having no need of this transformation, which they write as pronounced."

It also appears from this passage that the Persians in the eighth century used Pahlavī in the same manner as the Pārsis do now. When they wrote a word in Huzvārash they read it in Pāzand; and when a word was written in Pāzand, its pronunciation corresponded with the writing.

Proceeding now to apply the Pahlavī of the Pārsī books to the explanation of the Sassanian inscriptions, it is desirable to divide the inscriptions into three classes, the tri-lingual, the bi-lingual, and the mono-lingual; and it will be convenient to retain the numbers used by Mr. Thomas, although reason will be found for believing that the chronological order of the inscriptions is not quite in accordance with those numbers.

The inscriptions of the first class are tri-lingual, being in Greek and two dialects of Pahlavī, differing more widely in

¹ M. Ganneau reads this word , but the third letter in his facsimile is most probably , as it seems too long for , which is generally a very short stroke, in old MSS.

the forms of their letters than in their language. There are three inscriptions of this class, Nos. I., Ia., and IV.; and by means of the Greek version their meaning has long been known; it is therefore only necessary to transcribe them, with their translations, for the purpose of pointing out how far the Pahlavî versions correspond with the Pahlavî of the books. In these and future transcripts it is to be observed that the unaccented vowel *a* is not expressed in the original, being supplied merely to facilitate pronunciation; in many cases the short unexpressed vowel may have been originally *i* or *u* instead of *a*; the syllable *mān* indicates a compound final letter in the original, the sound of which will be hereafter considered; letters which are defective in the Pahlavî originals are italicised, and if in the Greek they are given in small letters; the beginnings of the lines of the original inscriptions are indicated by numbers; and the letters S. and C. indicate the Sassanian and Chaldæo-Pahlavî versions respectively.

INSCRIPTION No. 1.

C. 1.	Patkar	zanmān	<i>mazdayasn</i>	<i>dihā</i>	ārtahshatar
	1. ΤΟΤΟ	ΤΟ	ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ	ΜΑΖΔΑΣΝΟΤ	2. ΘΕΟΤ
S. 1.	Patkali	zanmān	mazdayasn	bagi	ārtahshatar

The-image, this, of-the-Mazda-worshipping divine Artahshatar,

C.	2.	malkīn	malkā	ārtān	manū	<i>shīhar</i>	man	yāztan
		ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ	3. ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ	εργε	ΟΤΣ	ΘΕΩΝ	
S.	2.	malkān	malkā	ātrān	manū	chatarī	3.	man
		king-of-the-kings	of-the-Arians,	of-spiritual	origin	from	God;	

C.	3.	bart	ālhā	<i>pāpak</i>	malkā.
		ΤΙΟΤ	4. ΘΕΟΤ	ΠΑΠΑΚΟΤ	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.
S.		barmān	bagi	<i>pāpaki</i>	malkā.
		the-son	of-divine	<i>Pāpak</i> ,	the-king.

INSCRIPTION No. 1a.

S.	Patkali	zanmān	āhūramazdī
C.	Patkar	zanmān.	āhūramazd ālūhā.
	ΤΟΤΟ	ΤΟ	ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ
		ΔΙΟΣ	ΘΕΟΤ.
	The-image, this, of-Ahuramazda, God.		

INSCRIPTION No. IV.

- S. 1. Patkalf *zanmān* *mazdayasn* bagī shahpūhrī
 1. ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΜΑΣΔΑΣΝΟΤ ΘΕΟΤ 2. ΣΑΠΟΥΡΟΤ
- C. 1. Patkar *zanmān* *mazdayasn* ālhā shahpūhar
 The-image, this, of-the-Mazda-worshipping divine Shahpūhar,
- S. malkān 2. malkā ātrān wa āntrān manū chatarī
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ 3. ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΚΥΕΝΟΤΣ
- C. malkīn malkā 2. ātrān wa ānātrān manū shīhar
 king-of-the-kings of-the-Arians and the-non-Arians, of-spiritual origin
- S. man yaztān 3. barmān *mazdayasn* bagī ārtahshatar
 ΘΕΟΥ υιου 4. ΜΑΣΔΑΣΝΟΤ ΘΕΟΤ ΑΡΤΑΞΑΡΟΤ
- C. man yāztan bari *mazdayasn* 3. ālhā ārtahshatar
 from God; the-son of-the-Mazda-worshipping divine Artahshatar,
- S. malkān malkā 4. ātrān manū chatarī man yaztān
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ 5. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΚΓΕΝΟΥΣ Θεου
- C. malkīn malkā ātrān manū shīhar 4. man yāztan
 king-of-the-kings of-the-Arians, of-spiritual origin from God;
- S. napi bagī pāpakī 5. malkā.
 6. ΕΚΓΟΝΟΤ ΘΕΟΤ ΠΑΠΑΚΟΤ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.
- C. bari la-bari ālhā pāpak malkā.
 the-grandson of-divine Pāpak, the king.

All the words found in these three inscriptions may be found in the Pārsī books except *patkar*—*patkalf*, *ālhā*, *malkīn*, *shīhar*, *bari*, and *ālhā*, which have not yet been recognized therein.

The Greek synonym *τουτο* proves the identity of *zanmān* with the Pahlavī 𐭥𐭩𐭭 *danman*, 'this,' which has hitherto been erroneously read *goman* by Pārsī tradition; the interchange of the initials *d* and *z* is common, as in the words *damān* and *zamān*, *damtk* and *zamtk*, *damastān* and *zamastān*.

The word *barmān* is evidently the Pahlavī 𐭥𐭩𐭭, traditionally read *boman*, which has been improved into *banman*, but which it may now be safer to read *barman*. The letters in the inscriptions can be read either *būmān* or *barmān*, but the former will not bear etymological investigation, whereas the Sassanian 2 *r* or *w* has often been changed into the Pahlavī

l *w* or *n*, when it ought to have been changed into the Pahlavi
 } *r*, as in *kant* for *kart*, *kanpak* for *karpak*, *kansttūnad* for
karttūnad, all words of frequent occurrence in the books; so
 that 𐭠𐭣𐭥 may safely be read *barman*, if *banman* be not con-
 sidered consistent with the inscriptions.

The words *zanmān* and *barmān* are both written with the
 compound final letter before alluded to, and which, it will be
 seen, corresponds in both these words with the Pahlavi com-
 pound 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *man*. Mr. Thomas is, however, of opinion that this
 compound letter in the inscriptions is either a long *l* or a
 double *l*; but the only reasons he appears to give are: first,
 the resemblance of the Sassanian compound letter to the cha-
 racters representing *l* in some other alphabets; second, the
 resemblance of the compound letter in the Chaldæo-Pahlavi
 to two letters *l*, of the same alphabet, joined together; third,
 the frequent occurrence of double *l* in transliterating Persian
 into a Chaldæan character, would probably lead to the adop-
 tion of a compound letter as its equivalent.

With regard to the first of these reasons, it may be observed
 that when two letters resemble each other in form, it is
 hazardous to assume that they also resemble each other in
 sound, whether they belong to the same alphabet or to different
 alphabets of the same family; thus, the letters *h* and *r* occur
 both in Latin and Greek, but with wholly different sounds;
 again, in Hebrew, the letters 𐤆 and 𐤇, 𐤈 and 𐤉, 𐤊 and 𐤋, closely
 resemble each other in form, but widely differ in sound; it
 is therefore not safe to assume that the Sassanian compound
 letter 𐭠𐭣𐭥 represents a long *l*, merely because it resembles in
 form the long *l* of the Phœnician and Zand alphabets. With
 regard to the second reason, it appears to me just as probable
 that the Chaldæo-Pahlavi compound letter was a union of *m*
 and *n*, as of *l* and *l*; thus, if the letters are run together, 𐭠𐭣𐭥
 resembles 𐭠𐭣 as much as 𐭠𐭣 does. And with regard to the
 third reason, it may reasonably be objected that the language
 of these inscriptions is not Persian, but that three-fourths of
 the words are Semitic, including all those containing the com-
 pound letter; and it has not been shown that a double *l* is

more requisite in the Pahlavî of the inscriptions than in Chaldee, where it has not been adopted.

Besides Mr. Thomas's reasons for reading these compound letters as long *t*, there are two others to be considered before examining the evidence in favour of the syllable *man*. There is, first, the positive fact that *barmán*, in the Sassanian version, always corresponds to *bart* in the Chaldæo-Pahlavî; which tends to show a close relationship between *t* and the sound of the compound letter represented by *mán*; further examples of a similar nature are evidently requisite to strengthen this argument, but at present only three such examples are available; turning to the Hâjîâbâd inscription, No. VI. (transcribed further on), it will be seen that *yadmán* in the Sassanian version twice corresponds to *yaddá* in the Chaldæo-Pahlavî; this example therefore neutralizes the effect of the first one, as it tends to show that *mán*=*d*; the next example is from the same inscription, where *húmán* in the Sassanian version corresponds twice to *hawtndî* and once to *hawint* in the Chaldæo-Pahlavî; striking off the *dt* and *t*, as probable suffixes, this example gives *mán*=*tn*, which is not altogether impossible, especially as there is the further example of *lagalmán* twice corresponding to *nagarín*; however these examples so far neutralize each other as to show that no reliance can be placed upon this argument, in favour of the long *t* sound.

Secondly, there is the negative fact that the words *man* and *manú* are not written with the compound character, as might be expected, if its proper sound were *man*; to this it may be replied that there is good reason for supposing that these two words were sounded with the short vowel *i*, thus, *min* and *minú*, as they are now pronounced *min* and *minú*. It is highly probable that (after the manner of all old Semitic alphabets) the short vowels *i* and *u* were not expressed, while the long *t* and *ú* were represented by the consonants *y* and *w*, which was certainly the case in many instances; there seems, therefore, no more reason to look for another form for *t* than for another form for *ú*. Besides *min* and *minú*, in which the short vowel *i* may reasonably be understood, there is the Sassanian word *chatart*, which was probably pronounced

chitart, being derived from the Zand *chithra*, and corresponding to *shthar* in the Chaldæo-Pahlavi. The distinction between *i* and *t* was probably not very certain, any more than it is in many words in modern Persian.

The evidence that these compound letters represent the Pahlavi final 𐭪𐭥 (traditionally pronounced *man*), is overwhelming. In the inscriptions Nos. I. to X., as transcribed by Mr. Thomas, the Sassanian compound occurs 67 times and the Chaldæo compound 20 times; of these, 61 of the Sassanian and 12 of the Chaldæo-Pahlavi compounds occur in words that are well known from the Pahlavi books, and which are there written with the final 𐭪𐭥; the words are as follows:—

<i>zanmān</i>	=	𐭪𐭥𐭥	occurs 15 times in S. and 6 times in C.
<i>barmān</i>	=	𐭪𐭥𐭥	„ 7 „ 1 „
<i>hūmān</i>	=	𐭪𐭥𐭥	„ 12 „ 1 „
<i>māmān</i>	=	𐭪𐭥𐭥	„ 5 „ 2 „
<i>tammān</i>	=	𐭪𐭥𐭥	„ 1 „ 1 „
<i>napshmān</i>	=	𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥	„ 2 „ 1 „
<i>napsmān</i>	=	id.	„ 1 „
<i>banapshmān</i>	=	𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	„ 1 „
<i>walmān</i>	=	𐭪𐭥𐭥	„ 7 „
<i>yadmān</i>	=	𐭪𐭥𐭥	„ 2 „
<i>lagalmān</i>	=	𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥	„ 2 „
<i>lanmān</i>	=	𐭪𐭥𐭥	„ 4 „
<i>gadmān</i>	=	𐭪𐭥𐭥	„ 2 „

Of these, the word *barmān* in Chaldæo-Pahlavi is a mistake; Mr. Thomas having written, through oversight, *bar-mān*, 'son,' for *bart-la-bart*, 'son's son,' in inscription No IV.; the Chaldæo-Pahlavi *hūmān*, in inscription No. III. xxx. 4, is also a doubtful reading.

Of the remaining fourteen words, with the compound final¹ letters, six are readily recognised as common Semitic words with the compound affixed, and some of the remainder are probably errors of the copyist.

In the Pahlavî-Pâzand Glossary, before mentioned, there are 53 words having the termination 𐭥 added to a common Semitic word; they are names of most parts of the body, of some of the degrees of relationship, of some animals and a few other nouns in common use, with some pronouns, prepositions, and adverbs, and the substantive verb 'to be.' These are precisely the words most likely to be indigenous in a language, and the additional words, found in the inscriptions with this final, appear to be of the same class. The termination 𐭥 is therefore probably a very old one.

It can scarcely be now disputed, that the Pahlavî compound 𐭥 is the modern representative of the compound letters in the inscriptions which are under consideration; but the proper pronunciation of 𐭥 is still an open question; in any other position, it could only be pronounced *man*, or *mâ*, or possibly *mar* (allowing for the occasional interchange of *w* and *r*); but there is still the bare possibility that it may be a distinct letter, having no connection with 𐭥 + 𐭥 (*m* + *n*), but the direct descendant of the compound letter of the Sassanian inscriptions, which has gradually approximated to the form of 𐭥, until it has become identically the same; in this case, its correct pronunciation appears to be quite indeterminate, except from etymology, which fails, as yet, to give any satisfactory solution. It will be shown hereafter that the Pahlavî handwriting of the ninth century scarcely differed from that of the present day (as might indeed have been guessed from the two Pahlavî words given by Ibn Muqaffa), and the particle 𐭥 was then written precisely with the same form as at present, in the word 𐭥𐭥𐭥 *hūmānam*, 'I am.'

¹ They are called *final* merely for the sake of convenience, as in all words containing them, that have yet been identified, they are found to be final; *hūmānam* is no real exception to this rule, as its termination is merely a suffix added to the original word *hūmān*. But exceptions may hereafter be discovered.

On the whole, it appears necessary to adhere to the traditional pronunciation of the particle 𐭥 *man*, until some other can be satisfactorily shown to be correct.

Returning to the tri-lingual inscriptions, it may be observed that the words *manú chatari* or *manú shihar* might also be translated 'heavenly-faced,' if it were not for the corresponding Greek *εὐγενούς*; they still survive in the common Pārsī name Mancharjī, usually written Muncherjee. With regard to the other words in these inscriptions, I need add nothing to what is stated in the vocabulary at the end of this paper.

The only bi-lingual inscriptions are those from Hājīábād and Pāt Kūlt, Nos. VI. and III.; in these, the two versions of the ancient Pahlavī might be expected to assist each other in explaining their meaning, as Oriental translations are usually very literal, and this is found to be the case in No. VI.; but the detached fragments of No. III. have no point of contact (unless it be between xxix. 3, and x. 5, or xxii. 6), they can therefore be treated only as fragments of two separate inscriptions.

The bi-lingual inscription No. VI. has long been a stumbling-block to Pahlavī scholars; with the exception of two or three words, the first four lines are verbatim the same as inscription No. IV., being a recital of the name, titles, and genealogy of the king; and so far, the meaning was perfectly clear fifteen years ago; but in the fifth line some narrative begins, and here the interpreters at once fall into difficulties. Mr. Thomas has made a bold attempt to solve these difficulties, and has offered a translation, remarkable for its unexpected meaning, for the absence of verbs, and for the number of different Pahlavī words expressed by the one English word, 'Lord.' But although it is easy to see that this translation is not satisfactory, it is not so easy to offer another interpretation, which shall be at the same time complete, and also give a correct explanation of every word; as in order to complete the translation it may be requisite to make a few hazardous guesses, after exhausting all the certainties available.

In the first place, it is necessary to settle the text of the

inscription, in doing which Mr. Thomas's photograph has been of great assistance, although he appears to have somewhat neglected it himself.¹ In the following transcript (as in the others) the letters S. and C. indicate the Sassanian and Chaldæo-Pahlavi versions respectively, the numbers indicate the beginnings of the lines, and imperfect or doubtful letters are italicized.

HĀJĪĀBĀD INSCRIPTION, No. VI.

- C. 1. Karazâwd, zanmân li, mazdayasn âlhâ Shahpûhar, 2. malkin
 S. 1. Tagalâhl, zanmân li, mazdayasn bagt Shahpûhrt, malkân
 C. malkâ Ârîân wa Ânârîân, manû shîhar man 3. yâztan;
 S. 2. malkâ Âlrân wa Ânrân, manû chatart man yâztân;
 C. bart mazdayasn âlhâ Ârtahshatar, malkin malkâ 4. Ârîân,
 S. 3. barmân mazdayasn bagt Ârtahshatar, malkân malkâ Âlrân,
 C. manû shîhar man yâztan; pûhrt-pûhar bag Pâpak 5. malkâ;
 S. 4. manû chatart man yâztân; napl bagt Pâpakt malkâ;
 C. wa âmat lan zanmân hararyâ shadît; qadmatmân
 S. âpan 5. âmat zanmân hatyâ shadîtan; âdînan lûni
 C. hashatardarin, 6. barbîtân, rabân, wa âyâtan shadît;
 S. shataldalân, 6. wa barbîtân, *wa yashalkân*, wa âyâtan shadîtan;
 C. nagarin patan zak wim 7. haqâimût, wa
 S. âpan lagalmân pawan 7. zanmân diki hanahtûn, âpan
 C. hararyâ la-had lahû shîti la-barâ ramit, *bi/h* 8. tammân
 S. hatyâ la-*chad* wa zak chîtâk 8. la-balâ lamitan, balâ walmân
 C. ânû hararyâ napalt, la-hawind âtarmân
 S. wayâk âik hatyâ lamitan, 9. tammân wayâk zak ârgûn
 C. lâ yahût, âik 9. âk shîti banit hawindi, kal la-barâ
 S. lâ yahwûn, âik hat chîtâk 10. chîti hûmân, âdin blûni
 C. shadadrâ âkast yahût 10. hawindi, âdin lan âupadasht,
 S. patyâk yahwûn hûmân, 11. âhar lanmân parmât,
 C. manû shîti panmân satar 11. banit, âût manû yadâ kadab
 S. manû chîtâki âûlandali 12. chîti, manû yadmân *kastab*
 C. hawint, nagarin patan 12. zanmân wim hip haqâimûd,
 S. hûmân, zak lagalmân pawan 13. zanmân diki âir hanahtûn,
 C. wa hararyâ kal hûb 13. shîti hip shadîtu, manû
 S. wa hatyâ wal zak 14. chîtâki âir shadîtan, âhar manû

¹ The photograph was executed after Mr. Thomas's transcript and translation had been completed, and was introduced solely with a view to enable others to test and revise the readings he had derived from the plaster-casts of the original.—Ed.

- C. hararya kal hûb shîtî 14. yâmarûd, la-hûp yadâ
 S. 15. hatyâ wal zak chîtâk lamitan, 16. walmân yadmân
 C. *kadab hawint.*
 S. *katab.*

It will be seen from this transcript, that the correspondence between the two versions is very close, except in the eighth line of the Chaldæo-Pahlavî; and as before stated, the text of the first four lines is identical with the whole of inscription No. IV., except the first and third words in the first line, and the substitution, in the fourth line, of *puhrt-pûharbag* for the synonymous words *bart-la-bart âlhâ*.

With regard to the remainder of the inscription, the meanings of *shataldâln* and *barbtân*, have long been known to be 'satraps' and 'chieftains'; and Dr. Haug has also published his identifications of the following words, with the Pahlavî of the books:

<i>ii</i> = 𐭩 I.	<i>tammân</i> = 𐭩𐭩𐭩 there.
<i>âpan</i> = 𐭩𐭩 in.	<i>âtk</i> = aigh, thus.
<i>âmat</i> = 𐭩𐭩 when.	<i>lâ</i> = 𐭩 not.
<i>zanmân</i> = 𐭩𐭩 this.	<i>yahwûn</i> = 𐭩𐭩𐭩 to be.
<i>shadît</i> = 𐭩𐭩 to send.	<i>patyâk</i> = 𐭩𐭩𐭩 public,
<i>lagalmân</i> = 𐭩𐭩𐭩 foot.	known.
<i>pawan</i> = 𐭩𐭩 in.	<i>hûmân</i> = 𐭩𐭩 is.
<i>hanahlân</i> = 𐭩𐭩𐭩 to put, place.	<i>âhar</i> = 𐭩𐭩 after.
<i>zak</i> = 𐭩 hat.	<i>lanmân</i> = 𐭩𐭩 we.
<i>ramît</i> = <i>lamtân</i> = 𐭩𐭩𐭩 to throw.	<i>yadmân</i> = 𐭩𐭩 hand.
<i>walmân</i> = 𐭩𐭩 he, him, it.	<i>wal</i> = 𐭩 to, into.

Of these, he would now correct *âpan*, which must be 𐭩𐭩 'also we' (Chald. 𐤀𐤏), analogous to 𐭩𐭩, 𐭩𐭩, 𐭩𐭩, but with the Semitic suffix, in place of the Iranian. The meaning of *shadît* is also better taken from the Chaldee root 𐤏𐤃 'to

throw, cast.' The following words are likewise found in the book Pahlavi :

wa = و and. *hat* = هات if.
lúnt = لونت before. *bilánt* = بيلانت outside.
dikt = دكت hollow (probably) *manú* = مانو spiritual, invisible.
hatyá = هاتوا arrow. *akást* = اكاست knowing, intel-
bará = بارا = با without. *ligent*.
napalt = ناپالت to fall. *háb* = هاب = گه that, him, it.

The amount of correspondence between the Pahlavi of the books, and that of these inscriptions, can now be estimated. In the hitherto unintelligible part of the inscriptions, twenty-three words out of eighty-seven in the Chaldæo version, and sixty-five words out of eighty-eight in the Sassanian version, have been identified as occurring in the Pahlavi books; and these identifications include nearly all the words which would be considered as characteristic of the language of the inscriptions. The identity, therefore, of the Huzvârash of the Pahlavi books, with the language used officially by the Sassanian kings, may now be considered to be established.

The next step in the interpretation of these inscriptions, is to fix the meanings of such of the remaining words, as present no difficulty, or cause for doubt; these are as follows:

lan, 'us;' in C. 10, corresponds to *lanmán* in S. 11; Chald. ܠܢ.

ádn, 'then;' Chald. ܐܕܢ; corresponds in C. 10 to *áhar* in S. 11; the dot under the *d* in C. 10 is very clear in the photograph, and forbids it being read *k*, as Mr. Thomas wishes it should be.

rabán, 'lords, nobles;' Chald. ܪܒܢ; the sing. ܪܒ 'great, eminent,' occurs in the Pahl.-Páz. Gloss.

áydán, 'mighty ones, warriors;' Heb. ܐܝܕܢ.

nagartn, 'feet;' corresponds to *lagalmán*.

patan, 'in;' corresponds to *pawan*. Dr. Haug prefers reading this word as *pawtn*, considering it merely as a variant of *pawan*. Compare, however, Heb. ܡܘܬܢ.

wtm, 'pit;' Zand *waém*.

la, 'to, for, at, of;' Chald. ܠ.

hú, 'him, it, that;' corresponds to *sak*; Chald. ܢܗܘܐ. In the photograph there is some appearance of *b* being interlined above the end of this word; if this be added to the word, it becomes *húb*, the same as its synonym below.

ánú, 'that, thus;' corresponds to *dik*; perhaps Chald. ܕܝܢܐ.

hawtnd, *hawtndt*, *hawtnt* = *hawtn* + suffixes, 'is;' corresponds to *húmán* in S. 10, 12.

átarmán, 'a place;' Chald. ܐܬܪܐ.

yahút, 'is, are;' corresponds to *yahwún*; Chald. aor. of ܢܗܘܐ.

átupadasht, 'ordered;' corresponds to *parmát*; Mr. Thomas proposes the Sanskrit उपदेश.

kal, 'to, into;' corresponds to *wal*.

húb, 'him, it, that;' corresponds to *sak*, and has been already doubtfully identified with the Pahlaví *ghú*. Prof. Westergaard's copy, which is generally very correct, reads *hat*, in both occurrences of this word, C. 12, 13; M. Flandin's copy, which is much less trustworthy, reads *hú* in C. 12, and *hatt* in C. 13; Mr. Thomas reads *hú* in both places; the photograph plainly shows, that the final stroke of Prof. Westergaard's *t*, in C. 13, is a defect in the rock surface, and that the letter is *ú* followed by a tolerably distinct *b*: and in C. 12, the *ú* is quite plain, while a faint trace of the *b* is visible in an unmounted copy of the photograph (with which I have been favoured by Mr. Thomas), but has generally been cut off in the mounted copies.

húp, 'him, it, that;' corresponds to *walmán*. A variant of *húb*, which tends to confirm the existence of the final *b*.

dk, 'if;' corresponds to *hat*; Chald. ܕܝܢܐ.

bantt, 'built;' Chald. ܒܢܐ.

chít, 'built;' corresponds to *bantt*; Sanskrit चि.

shadtú, 'threw, cast;' Chald. ܫܕܬܐ; corresponds to *shadtan*, a different form of the same verb.

yámasúú, 'bring, cause to arrive;' Chald. ܝܡܘܨܐ; corresponds to *lamítan*.

The ascertained meanings have now been extended to 65 words out of 87 in the Chaldæo version, and to 73 out of 88 in the Sassanian version. The meanings of the remaining words, are either less obvious, or the readings are uncertain, or open to dispute.

karasdwâ and *tagalâht* must be synonymous; the reading of the first is rather uncertain, especially the final letter; Mr. Thomas reads it *patkalln*, but is contradicted by his photograph, in which a medial *d* is very plain; his reading of *patgalâht*, in the Sassanian version, is a less hazardous guess, but the word has no appearance of being a plural. These words are probably abstract nouns, derived from Semitic roots, similar to the Chaldee קָרַח 'to proclaim, promulgate,' and קָרַח 'to uncover, reveal;' and may be translated as 'proclamation, publication, or edict.'

hararyâ corresponds to *hatyâ*, and must therefore have the meaning of 'arrow, javelin;' it has not, however, been clearly traced to any Semitic root, and its orthography is uncertain, as either *r* may be read *k*. Dr. Haug thinks it may be simply a variant of *hatyâ*, and to be read *haddyâ*; singularly enough, Mr. Thomas adopts the same reading, but attributes a very different meaning to the word, of which he seems to consider *hatyâ* the variant; this reading is, however, not borne out by the photograph, which shows the medial letters perfectly clear, in four occurrences of the word, without the vestige of a dot under either *r*, which would change it to a *d*, and it is only in the first occurrence of the word, where the letters are not very clear, that there is a faint and uncertain trace of one dot; the engraver might possibly omit the dot in one, or two, instances, as he appears to have done under the final letter of *hawind* in C. 8, but he would scarcely repeat the blunder eight times, and always in the same word; there seems also to be no satisfactory reason for the *d* being doubled. It appears, therefore, unsafe to alter the reading of *hararya*, except by the substitution of *k* for either *r*.

qadmatmân is readily identified with the Chaldee קָדְמַתְמָן

'before,' and corresponds to *lúnt*. Mr. Thomas would read it to correspond with خدمتی, but the initial letter, which occurs only in this word and *haqátmút*, appears in both cases, to correspond better with p than with m .

yahalkán is a doubtful reading, the rock-surface being defective; but as it corresponds to *rabán*, its meaning must be 'lords, nobles.'

haqátmút, with its variant *haqátmúd*, must be related to the Hebrew קָמַן 'to stand,' hiphil קָמַן 'to erect, establish, set, cause to stand;' as already determined by Mr. Thomas, although he reads the second letter as m , instead of p . It corresponds to *hanahtún*.

had, with its corresponding *chad*, may be the equivalent of the Arabic حَدّ 'boundary, limit,' or of the Chaldee ܚܕ 'side.' M. Flandin reads *had* in both versions, but his copy is less trustworthy than that of Prof. Westergaard, who reads *chad* in the Sassanian version.

chtták, *chttákt*, with its corresponding *shitt*, is one of the leading words in the inscription, and appears to be Arian. Mr. Thomas derives it from the Zand *khshatta*, 'king;' but this meaning is not reconcilable with the context. It is evidently the name of something, at which a *hatyd*, or javelin, could be thrown, see S. 7, 8, 13, 14, 15; it is also something that can be built, or formed, see C. 9, 10, 11; which latter fact is also shown, by the correspondence of the analogous word *chitt*, to *bant*. The Sanskrit शिति 'a dwelling,' and शिख 'monument, heap of stones' (the Páli *chaitya* of the Buddhists) present themselves as possible meanings, especially the latter, as *chitt* could be derived from the same root शि 'to collect in a heap.' But it will be safest to retain the original word *chtták* without translation, till further light can be thrown upon its meaning.

bish, *waydk*, and *árgún* can only be guessed at, as the two versions differ in this passage, the general sense of which, however is tolerably clear.

shadadrá is also very uncertain; one guess might connect it with the Chaldee ܫܕܪ 'to send;' another might derive it from the Zand *khshathró*, 'kingdom, rule.'

panmán may be connected with the Hebrew פָּנִים 'before, inside.' *satar* may, perhaps, be traced to the Hebrew סָתַר 'an enclosure, hiding-place.'

dūlandāš appears to correspond to the last two words taken together; it may probably be divisible into two words, the former of which may perhaps have some connection with the Hebrew root אָוּר 'to surround, enclose.'

dūt is the word read *dūs* by Mr. Thomas, and which appears to have suggested the whole theory of his translation; the last letter is damaged and obscure, but is very probably a *t*, resembling in form the final letter of *haqdtmūt*, in C. 7. This word, from its position, can scarcely be either a noun, or a verb, but most probably a pronoun, or conjunction. One guess would connect it with the Chaldee חָוּי 'again, further;' another guess would identify it with the Zand *awad*, 'that, such;' in which case it would be better written *dwaš*. The Zand word *awāntem* does actually occur in the Pahlavi books, under the form 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥.

kadab = *katab* has been rather difficult to read, although occurring twice; in the Sassanian version it is written with one unknown compound letter prefixed to the *b*; this compound letter resembles *y*, or *t*, written above *k*, or *n*, but may be considered quite indeterminate. In the Chaldæo version, the final *b* is clear in both occurrences of the word, and is evidently preceded by two other letters, neither of which is very legible in the photograph, though in C. 11 the second looks like a *k*, and as Prof. Westergaard reads *r* for the first letter, the word was first read as *rakab*, which seemed inconsistent with the context; on further examination of the photograph, a dot was discovered under the second letter of the word in C. 11, showing that it is a *d*, similar to that in *hawtndt* in C. 9; and the first letter may be taken as a *k*, similar to that in *kal* in C. 12; these letters give the reading *kadab*, a variant of *katab*, which is identical with the Chaldee כָּתַב 'to engrave, write,' and is consistent with the context. The unknown letter in the Sassanian version may probably be a compound of *k* and *t*.

dtr, corresponding to *hšp*, occurs also in other inscriptions,

and appears always to precede a verb; it is, therefore, probably an adverb, and Dr. Haug understands it as a prohibitive negative. Perhaps it should be read *dyt*, or *dtv*, approximating to the corresponding *hsp*, and may be connected with the Chaldee 'ם.

All the words, in both versions of the inscription, having now been considered, it is necessary to offer a connected translation of the whole, as literal as may be compatible with its being intelligible, and with all the doubtful words italicized. Such a translation, with the two versions in parallel columns, is here given.

TRANSLATION OF THE HĀJĪĀBĀD INSCRIPTION.

CHALDEO-PARLAVĪ VERSION.

A proclamation, this, of me, the Mazda-worshipping, divine Shahpūhar, king of the kings of the Arians and non-Arians, of spiritual origin from God; son of the Mazda-worshipping, divine Artahshatar, king of the kings of the Arians, of spiritual origin from God; son's son of divine Pāpak, the king. And when by us this javelin *was* cast, before the satraps, the chieftains, the nobles and the warriors *it was* cast; the feet in that cave *were* set, and the javelin to the side of that *ohltāk* outwards *was* thrown; *within* there that the javelin fell, for *its* existence a place was not; so if a *ohltāk* be built, to the outer *world* it has become known. Then we ordered: "a spiritual *ohltāk* *inside an enclosure* is built, *again* a spiritual hand has written, 'the feet in this cave *never* set, and a javelin at that *ohltāk* *never* cast, the spiritual javelin to that *ohltāk* is brought;' of that the hand has written."

SASSANIAN PARLAVĪ VERSION.

A declaration, this, of me, the Mazda-worshipping, divine Shahpūhrī, king of the kings of Irān and non-Irān, of spiritual origin from God; son of the Mazda-worshipping, divine Artahshatar, king of the kings of Irān, of spiritual origin from God; grandson of divine Pāpakī, the king. Also we, when this javelin we cast, then we before the satraps, and the chieftains, and the nobles, and the warriors we cast; also we a foot in this cave placed, and also we the javelin to the side *of*, and that *ohltāk* beyond, threw; without that *place* that the javelin we threw, there the *place* of that *weapon* was not; so if a *ohltāk* be built, then abroad it has become known. Afterwards we ordered: "a spiritual *ohltāk* *enclosed by me* is built, a spiritual hand has written, 'that foot in this cave *never* place, and a javelin at that *ohltāk* *never* cast, after the spiritual javelin at that *ohltāk* is thrown;' that the hand wrote."

The above translation has purposely been kept as close to the original idiom as was possible, without rendering it unintelligible; but it would be easy to render it into idiomatical English, without many alterations, except in the positions of the words. The inscription appears to record, that the king, in the presence of his chief officers, threw a javelin outwards from the mouth of the cave, when the javelin disappeared, and the king choosing to consider that it had miraculously become invisible (*manú* = 𐭠𐭣𐭥), ordered a *chttak* to be constructed, to commemorate the event; and he also stated that an invisible hand had written an order, that no one thenceforth was to enter the cave, or to throw javelins there. No bow being mentioned, the weapon was more probably a javelin than an arrow; but the verbs can be used for 'shooting,' as well as for 'throwing.'

The real starting-point of the above interpretation was Dr. Haug's identification of *hatyd* with the Pahlavi 𐭠𐭣𐭥, 'an arrow;' this word corresponded so well with the known meanings of the verbs, that further progress in the interpretation was comparatively easy and straight-forward. I had previously been trying to take *hatyd* as equivalent to the Chaldee ܚܬܝܢ 'a sinner,' with the idea that the inscription might record some great public punishment, or execution; but I could make no satisfactory progress on that supposition.

If any one, unacquainted with the subject, should compare this translation with that proposed by Mr. Thomas, he will naturally infer, from their total dissimilarity, that no confidence can be placed in either, and his faith in the decipherment of other ancient inscriptions may be severely shaken. It therefore seems necessary to point out, that in arriving at this translation, the progress has been steadily from the known to the unknown; the meanings of at least half the words are absolutely certain, and very few are absolutely doubtful, and these are scrupulously indicated; any reasonable alterations of these, and perhaps of most of the words not absolutely certain, would probably not much alter the general tenor of the

translation, so long as they did not make it unintelligible; but there is room for improvement in the details, which are here only imperfectly worked out.

With regard to the construction of the sentences, it will be observed that the verb comes last, following both its subject and object; but this was a characteristic of the Assyrian, so far as it is known from the cuneiform inscriptions, as well as of the Persian; so that no conclusion as to the relationship of the language can be safely drawn from this fact.

The verbal inflections seem scarcely reducible to any system. In the Sassanian version the terminations of *shadtan*, *lamitan*, *hanahtūn* and *yahwūn* appear to be all Semitic, though perhaps not always of the same person as the nominative; *parndt* and *chttt*, being Arian words, have Arian terminations. In the Chaldæo-Pahlavī version, the terminations of *shadtt*, *ramtt*, *napalt*, and *banit* may possibly be Semitic (as that of *shadtū* certainly is), but it is also possible that we have here early instances of the anomalous practice of writing an Iranian termination to a Semitic verb, which we have seen is now constantly done in the Pahlavī books; such must certainly be the case in the verbs *haqātmūt* = *haqātmūd*, *yāmasūd*, *yahūt*, and *hawnt* = *hawnd* = *hawndt*; while in *dāpadasht* we have a verb purely Arian. On the whole, and pending further inquiry, it appears probable that the verbs had not only almost lost their Semitic powers of inflection, generally retaining only one form; but that they were also beginning to be written with Arian terminations, of which, however, we find only that of the third person, or past participle, in this inscription; the final *t* = *d* being the 𐎠, and the *tt* = *dt* being the 𐎡 of the Pahlavī books; for there seems little doubt that the frequent final *t* of the Sassanian inscriptions is often the representative of the equally frequent final 𐎠 of the Pahlavī books, which Mr. Thomas considers a "superfluous *nūn*."

Proceeding next to the other bi-lingual inscription No. III. it will be sufficient to point out a few identifications that may have escaped Mr. Thomas, among these detached fragments, as follows:

shatart, i. 3 and elsewhere, appears to be the Pahlavi 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮 *shatún*, 'a town,' which ought to be read *shatrú*.

shapth, i. 5, must be the common Pahlavi word 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮 *shaptr*, 'good.'

zi dhalmant wa shidán, iii. 2, in Pahl. 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮 'that (is) of Aharman and the devils,' indicates that religion is one subject-matter of this inscription.

wahdún, iii. 5, is possibly the Semitic portion of the Pahlavi verb 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮 'to do.'

walmán, iii. 5 and xiv. 5 = 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮 'that, him, it,' as in No. VI.

wal, vi. 5 and elsewhere = 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮 'to.'

labá, ix. 3 and elsewhere = 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮 'great, noble.'

lanmán ix. 4, x. 2. and xi. 2 = 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮 'we, us.'

napshmán, xiv. 3, and xxvi. 2 = 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮 'self.'

gadmán, xv. 2, and xxii. 4 = 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮 'splendour, lustre.' This is the probable reading of the word: see Mr. Thomas's note 2, p. 285 of vol. iii.

banapshmán, xv. 5 = 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮 'own.'

húchmán, xvii. 2, is one of the few words ending in *mán* which have not been traced to the Pahlavi of the books; perhaps the reading might be altered.


malká manú tan ntk yahwún = 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮 'the king's spiritual body is pure,' seems a better reading of xvii. 5, than that proposed by Mr. Thomas.


lá yahwún, xviii. 2 = 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮 'are not;,' follows *yalkún*, which appears to be a verb.

húmán, xxii. 1, and xxx. 4 = 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮 'was.'


labá wa dyát, xxiii. 4, may be compared with *rabán wa dyátan* in the Hájíábád inscription, C. 6.

shamamán, xxiv. 6, and xxix. 4, is an additional instance of

a common Semitic word, with the disputed termination *nds*, which has been dropped in the Pahlavi books, where the word appears in the form  'name.'

yahút, xxv. 5, is the Chaldaeo correspondent to *yahwán* =  'are,' in No. VI.; but the context here is doubtful.

haqátmú, xxvi. 3, 'made to stand;' see No. VI., C. 7, 12; the correct reading of this line may be *haqátmúd*, *áb hashatardarin*; and this 'father of the satraps,' may have been the prime minister.

mamán, xxvii. 2, and xxix. 4, =  'which, who.'

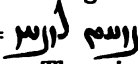
hawtndt may perhaps be read in xxvii. 5, as in No. VI. C. 9, 10.

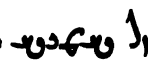
karmán, xxx. 7 and xxxi. 6, is another unidentified word ending in *mán*; unless it can be read *barmán*.


With regard to the date of this inscription, it may be observed that the use of *l* for *r* in *labá*, compared with *rabán* in No. VI. C. 6, and of *d* for *t* in *yazdán*, are slight indications of a later date; the title *malkán malká* occurring twice, and the names of *Shahtpáhar* and *Ásharamasdt* likewise occurring (the latter possibly followed by *Shahtpáhar*, with some affix meaning 'son of'), also tend towards fixing a rather later date than that of No. VI.; but at the same time, it must be observed, that these data are all rather uncertain.

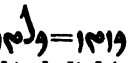
The remaining inscriptions occur only in the Sassanian character; they are Nos. II., V. and VII. to XII.; of these, No. V. is very imperfect, although it has been by far the longest of all. It appears from M. Flandin's copy, that only the latter part of each line is now legible, and even that is very imperfect towards the lower part of the inscription; the letters that he gives, cover barely one-half of the space he shows in his copy, and this again is less than one-half of the whole space, apparently prepared for the inscription, on the bas-relief. Having therefore less than one-fourth of the letters, and a great part of these only in a very incoherent state, little more can be done than to identify a few words which may have escaped Mr. Thomas; fortunately, spaces occur between most of the words, which render this





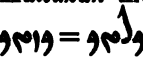

inscription easier to read than No. II., so far as the letters extend.

With regard to the date of inscription No. V., it may be observed, that the title of the sovereign, *malkân malkâ*, occurs six times; thrice in connection with the name *Shahpûhrî*, in lines 1, 2, 6; with the name *Âûharamazdî*, in line 9; with a lost name in line 15; and probably in line 40, with the name *Wahlân*, which likewise occurs in line 33, without a legible title, but preceded by the epithet *bûht lûbân* =  'liberated soul,' applied only to deceased persons. There is, therefore, reason to suppose that this inscription dates from some short time after the death of Varahrân I.

wal samdt wa hu-kâmakt, l. 1 may possibly be  'to heaven and good desire.'

hawttan, l. 1, 2, appears to be a more regular Semitic form than  'to be,' which latter is not found in this inscription; compare *hawtnt*, No. VI. C. 11.

kaltî, l. 2 and elsewhere, =  'made, done.'

wal shatarî girâk wal girâk kabîr kallakân st yazdân âpzdâhî (or *âpdâhî*), appears to be a sentence frequently repeated, comparing l. 4, 11, 17, and 31, and part of it occurs in l. 13; it may doubtfully be read, 'to the city of the captive, to the great captive of the deeds that (are) of the God of liberality.' Mr. Thomas connects *wal* with the Arabic article *ال*, but the initial *w* or *û* is usually the representative of *u*, and the word is therefore to be traced to the Chaldee ; but in Pahlavi it does not mean 'on, over,' as in most Semitic languages, but it is confined to the meanings 'to, for,' and suchlike, which are rare meanings for , and are commonly represented by the Chaldee  or . *Kallakân* must be the plural of the common Pahlavi word  'an action;' the relative *st*, Chaldee , is here seen approximating in use to the Persian *idhâfat*, of which it was possibly the origin; none of the final *'s* in these inscriptions appear to represent the *idhâfat*, as they seem to be inseparable finals, and without reference to the

position of the words. *Apsátht* is one of a class of abstract nouns ending in *tht*, which is not uncommon in these inscriptions; in the book-Pahlavi there is a similar class of words ending in 𐬰𐬀 or 𐬰𐬀𐬀 , traditionally pronounced *eshn*; now if the Sassanian *tht* be written in the Pahlavi character it becomes 𐬰𐬀 , as the Sassanian final *t* is generally represented by the Pahlavi final 𐬀 ; there is therefore some reason to suppose that the final 𐬰𐬀 of abstract verbal nouns, so common in the book-Pahlavi, ought to be pronounced *thú*; but until some particular Pahlavi noun of this class can be identified in the inscriptions, it will be hazardous to adopt this alteration of the traditional pronunciation.

hattmán, l. 5, *hattmánd*, l. 18, *hattmánt*, l. 32, correspond to the Pahlavi verb 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 'to fill, pour,' according to the Pahl.-Páz. Gloss.

mamán = 𐬀𐬀𐬀 'who, which,' and *walmán* = 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 'that, he, him, it,' l. 7, are the only words ending with the final *mán* which are to be found in this inscription.

napashth yakwtmánt átk, l. 8 = 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 'was written thus.'

átharpat, l. 8 = 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 'a priest, a herbad;' from the Zand *áthra-paiti*.

ápat, l. 9 = 𐬀𐬀 'also I.'

hamgúnakt, l. 10, 15, 16 = 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 'the same kind.'

washúnt, l. 14, corresponds to the Pahlavi verb 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 'to become, go.'

manúán, l. 14, appears to be the plural of 𐬀𐬀𐬀 'spirit.'

yahmatún probably occurs in l. 28, and may perhaps correspond with the Pahlavi 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 'to arrive.'

magúpat, l. 33 = 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 'a priest, a mobed.'


With regard to the verbs in this inscription; the introduction of the Iranian terminations into the writing appears to have advanced a step further than in inscription No. VI.; there the terminations *t*, *d*, added to Semitic verbs, were

confined to the Chaldæo-Pahlavî; here they appear in the Sassanian Pahlavî, although not added to every verb. The termination *m*, of the 1st person singular, also occurs once, added to the conjunction *âp*, in the word *âpam*.


Inscription No. II. will probably be found to be the most important of the Sassanian inscriptions, when an intelligible copy of it is obtained, as it evidently treats of religious matters, and appears to be fairly legible on the original rock, and complete, except two or three words, which can be readily guessed, when the context is understood. M. Flandin's copyist appears here, as elsewhere, to have trusted to his eyes alone, with the usual result of confounding similar letters, especially in the upper part of the inscription, which was probably farther from his eyes than the lower part. No satisfactory copy of a rock-inscription can be obtained, unless the fingers are frequently used to confirm the evidence of the eyes; the former are rarely deceived in ascertaining the shape of a letter, but the latter often are.

Some of the words that can be determined with tolerable certainty, in inscription No. II., are as follows :

kartr, l. 1 and elsewhere, may perhaps mean 'crown,' as Mr. Thomas suggests; but of the remainder of the first line, only the next word *bagt*, and *man yazdân* at the end, can be satisfactorily made out; although the latter may possibly be preceded by *manû chatart*. The space between *bagt* and *manû chatart* is usually occupied by the name of the king and his other titles; but in this case the intermediate letters fail to give the name of any known king, and the title *malkân* *malkâ* cannot be read among them by any ordinary process.

wazlûnt, l. 2, corresponds to the Pahlavî verb  'to become, go.'

yazdân, l. 3 and elsewhere; the orthography of this word in inscriptions II., III., and V., is another indication of a later date than that of inscriptions I., IV., and VI., in which it is spelt *yastân*; all the later inscriptions, VII. to XII., have *yazdân*.

wahishtî wa dûshahwt, l. 4, 5, and 8 =  'heaven and hell.'

mamān, *hūmān* and *yahwān* occur in line 6, and *zanmān* in line 10.

yahwān hūmānam, wa pawān napshamān, l. 11, = 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 *'I have been, and in my own ;'* *yahwān hūmānam, wa madam zanmān*, l. 11, 12, = 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 *'I have been, and on this ;'* *li yahwān hūmānam*, l. 13, = 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 *'I have been ;'* *zak pawān yazdān*, l. 14, = 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 *'that in God ;'* *wa nasazmān lūbān lātī wa detī*, l. 14, 15, = 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 *'and the prayer of the soul of the liberal and just ;'* are all phrases similar to the language of the books.

mamān = 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 *'who, which,'* occurs again in lines 16 and 17.

ātīk wahšhtī ātī wa dūshahwt ātī, l. 17, 18, = 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 *aigh* 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 *'thus, a heaven (there) is, and a hell (there) is.'*

wal wahšhtī wazhūt, l. 18, 19, = 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 *'to heaven went.'*

manū bachak li zak wal dūshahwt lamītan, wa manū kalp kalt hūmān, wa madam kalp kart bar sasitāt walmān la-zanmān l. 19, 20, = 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 *la* 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 *'the spirit of sin I that to hell threw, and the spirit karfa has done ; and on karfa (being) done, the fruit went forth, him to this.'*

yahmatūt āpash walmān āstūndī, l. 21, = 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 *'arrived, also he saw him.'*

manam yahmatūt, chtgūn li kartir yahmatūn, āpam zanmān nāmakt, l. 21, 22, = 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 𐭪𐭩𐭥𐭭 *'from me arrived, how to me the crown arrived, also I this writing.'*

wa napashti ðik mamân II, l. 22, 23, = 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥)
 'and wrote thus, who to me.'

man shataldarân, l. 23, 'from the satraps.'

âpam dabtr napasman sam, l. 24, = 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥
 'also I, the writer, my own name.'

The latter part of the inscription may perhaps be read continuously, but with some reservation, as follows, italicising merely the doubtful readings :

Line 26. âharas nâmakî hazittant, zak 27.
yakarittant âlk, ânman zak kartir ; hûmanam zî Shahpûhrî malkân
 malkâ kart, *sham* 28. magûpat wa âiharpat Rûm kaltî hûmanam,
 wa Âûharamazdî malkân malkâ, wa Wanahlân malkân 29. malkâ,
 zî 'Shahpûharkan, kartir zî Âûharamazdî magûpat Rûm kaltî
 hûmanam, wa Wanahlân 30. malkân [malkâ], zî Walahlânah,
 kartir zî bûht lûbân *Wanahlân wa* Âûharamazdî magûpat Rûm kaltî
 31. hûmanam : napashti bûhtaki dînu râ kartir *sam*
 Shah[*pûhrî*].

The uncertain words in this text, although few in number, are important to the sense ; it is therefore only with much diffidence that a translation can be offered as follows :

. "After *that* the writing he saw, he *exclaimed* thus, 'Where (is) that crown?' I am that made Shahpûhrî king of the kings, the name of mobad and herbad of Rûm I have made ; and Âûharamazdî king of the kings, and Wanahlân king of the kings, that (were) Shahpûhar's sons ; the crown that (was) of Âûharamazdî, mobad of Rum, I have made ; and Wanahlân (king of) the kings, that (was) Walahlân's brother, the crown that (was) of the liberated souls, Wanahlân and Âûharamazdî, mobads of Rûm, I have made. Written of the emancipated of the faith the crown of the name of Shah(pûhrî)."

The word here taken as *Rûm* can also be read *sham*, 'a name ;' the suggested translations of *Shahpûharkan* and *Walahlânah* are no doubt very hazardous guesses, especially as they seem to be at variance with history, but the correspondence of the final *ah* with the Chaldee 𐭠𐭥𐭥 'brother,' is tempting ; it is more probably, however, the suffix of the 3rd pers. sing. mas., and *kan* may perhaps be traced to the Hebrew 𐤊𐤍 'base, foundation,' or the Syriac ܕܢܐ 'stem ;' these affixes are evi-

dently the forerunners of the Pahlavî affix 𐭠𐭎 *dn*, as in 𐭠𐭎𐭏𐭎𐭏 Pâpakdn 𐭠𐭎𐭏𐭎𐭏𐭎𐭏 Artahshirdn, and 𐭠𐭎𐭏𐭎𐭏𐭎𐭏𐭎𐭏 Shahpûhardn, which affix might be read *hd*.

The date of the inscription appears, pretty clearly, to have been after the death of Varahrân I. and the coronation of Varahrân II. ; it therefore seems to have been inscribed about the same time as No. V., or perhaps a little later. The Irânian suffixes of the 1st and 3rd persons singular are freely used, as in *âpam*, *âpash*, *hûmânam*, *wazîdnt*, etc., and the language generally approximates very closely to that of the Pahlavî books ; in some places, however, the Huzvârash verb is still found without the Irânian suffix.

With regard to the remaining inscriptions ; Nos. VII. to X. contain merely the names, titles, and genealogy of later kings, and have been sufficiently detailed by Mr. Thomas ; Nos. XI. and XII., which also bring the Sassanian regal record down to Shahpûhar III., evidently contain a good deal of matter in addition to the titles, but the lithograph in Sir W. Ouseley's Travels is too vague to admit of many words being read ; the original copy might perhaps be rather more legible, but it is very desirable that paper casts and new copies should be obtained from the original inscriptions, which appear to be nearly perfect and very legible. Several Pahlavî words, besides the names and titles, can be discovered in these two inscriptions ; amongst them are *hûmânam* and *âpam* in l. 2, 3 of No. XI.


The result of this examination of the Sassanian inscriptions has been to prove that the Sassanian Pahlavî of the last quarter of the third century of the Christian era was nearly identical with the Pahlavî of the writings still preserved by the Pârsis, except in the forms of several of the letters. It also appears that the Chaldæo-Pahlavî was merely a slightly different dialect of the same language, written in a different character. The written language, although three-fourths Semitic, had nearly abandoned the Semitic verbal inflections, and was beginning to adopt the Irânian terminations as early as the middle of the third century ; and this alteration appears to have proceeded, till it produced the written language

of the Pahlavî books, towards the close of the same century. The books have continued to be written in the same language, but read in Pâzand, to the present day; which mode of reading has occasioned frequent substitutions of the spoken Pâzand word for its Huzvârash equivalent in the MSS.



The latest of the Sassanian inscriptions may date from near the end of the fourth century of the Christian era, while the oldest Pahlavî MSS. in Europe (those of the Vandîdâd, No. 1, at Copenhagen, and No. 4, in E. I. Lib. London) were written A.D. 1323; this interval of about 935 years is bridged over, in the first place, by the Pahlavî legends on coins and gems, which have been so ably discussed by Mr. Thomas some years ago; and in the second place, by a few inscriptions in the cursive character, which may be briefly noticed, as lessening the interval between the extant records in the Sassanian and cursive character.

Sir W. Ouseley mentions two or three short inscriptions in the cursive Pahlavî character, and gives a copy of one line of one of them; M. Flandin also gives a copy of a similar short inscription; but although many recent Pahlavî letters can be read in these copies, they are not sufficiently intelligible for a connected reading. The dates of these inscriptions are quite uncertain, and the writing has the peculiarity of being in vertical, instead of horizontal lines.

In 1866 I furnished the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society with a copy of two legible Pahlavî inscriptions found in the Kanherî caves, in the island of Salsette, near Bombay, and which are also written in vertical lines; these inscriptions, together with two others, discovered by Dr. Bhâû Dâjî at the same place, attracted the attention of some Pârsî Pahlavî scholars, who published explanations of the inscriptions in the Zartoshtî Abhiâs, Nos. 2, 3, and 4. Two of these inscriptions were noticed by Anquetil du Perron, when he visited the Kanherî caves in 1760, but although acquainted with the Pahlavî character, he supposed they were Mongolian, on account of the lines being vertical. They are all dated, and record the names of Pârsîs, who visited the caves between the years

356 and 390 of Yazdagard, or about the end of the tenth century of the Christian era. The earliest date in these inscriptions, which I read 364, corresponds to A.D. 995; and the writing is therefore 328 years older than the oldest Pahlavi MS. extant in Europe, but there is no sensible difference in the forms of the letters, except in the compound , which has the upper letter set close down upon the lower one. By means of these inscriptions, the mediæval interval, between the Sassanian Pahlavi records and the extant specimens of the cursive Pahlavi writings, is reduced to about 607 years; and there is Pahlavi writing extant, which still further reduces this interval.

In the Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. vii., p. 343, fac-similes are given of a grant made to the Syrian Church in Southern India, and engraved on six copper plates. The grant itself is in an old Tamil alphabet, and I am not aware that it has been translated, or its actual date discovered, but it appears from the history of the Primitive Church of Malayâla, Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. i., p. 178, that its date is probably in the first half of the ninth century. One of the copper plates of this grant contains the signatures of the witnesses; eleven of these are in the Cufic character, and have been explained at the time the fac-similes were published; the next ten signatures are in the cursive Pahlavi, differing no more from that of the Pârsi books than the signature of any one differs from his ordinary hand-writing; the last four signatures are in the Hebrew character, but the language is Persian.

The form of attestation used by the witnesses who wrote Pahlavi, being often repeated, is easily determined to be as follows:  (signature)  *mnúkú la* (signature) *patash gúkâs hûmânam*, 'the spiritual I (signature) am witness to it;' *mnúkú* appears to have been an ordinary title, and two of the witnesses write it *manúkú*; two others somewhat vary the latter part of the form of attestation; the names can be read without much difficulty, but are not readily identified with any existing names; however, as

The form of attestation used by the witnesses who wrote in the Hebrew character, appears to be *hak gún kan* (signature) *padīsh gú hūm*, 'the truth-speaking-doer (signature) to it I speak ;' of the names, Makfâil (Michael) is the most readily identified, but Abraham and Hasan 'Alī are also pretty clear. The following is a transcript of these signatures, so far as they can be read :

הב גון כן חסן עלי
 פריש גוהום
 הב גון כן עתק
 מביאיל פריש
 גוהום הב גון כן
 אברהם קזוב
 גוהום הב גון כן
 עבדי יה"י גוהום

The signatures to this grant are probably the oldest Pārsi writing extant, and the interval between this Pahlavī writing and the latest of the Sassanian inscriptions, is probably not more than 450 years.

The fragment of Ibn Muqaffa's writings, before quoted from the *Kitābu-l-fihrist*, has also preserved for us the forms of two words in cursive Pahlavī, as they were written in his day, or about seventy-five years earlier than the probable date of the Indian copper-plate grant, and these forms seem almost unaltered by the successive Arab transcribers, through whose pens they have passed. It also appears from further quotations from the *Kitābu-l-fihrist*, made by M. Lenormant in the *Journal Asiatique*, Aug.-Sept., 1865, p. 197-9, that the Persians used several alphabets ; one for engraved inscriptions only, others for MSS. of various kinds ; one of these last, called كشمج, used for writing medical and philosophical works, is given, and among the forms handed down to us, through the corrupting medium of the pens of successive Arab transcribers, M. Lenormant recognizes the following letters of the cursive Pahlavī alphabet :

ند م نر ڈ و - - - - - ا - - - - - م - - - - - ع د ت

There seems, therefore, little doubt that a cursive Pahlavi character, nearly identical with that used by the Pārsis at the present time, was contemporary with the Sassanian and Chaldæo-Pahlavi characters, the latter being used for engraving, and the former for writing, in the time of the early Sassanian kings. How much further back we have to look for the origin of these alphabets, only adapted for the proper representation of a Semitic language, or for the origin of the Zand alphabet, adapted to the more complicated sounds of an Arian tongue, is a matter which admits of much discussion and difference of opinion; it is, however, evident that the Zand alphabet must have been invented at a time when the pronunciation of the Zand language was well known, as it provides for the distinct representation of a large number of vowel sounds, which must have required a good ear to distinguish. It is doubtful whether this intimate acquaintance with the sounds of the Zand language, as spoken, could have existed at a later date than that of the Achæmenian kings.

The following vocabulary of the words that have been identified in the Sassanian inscriptions, together with several words that can be isolated with tolerable certainty, though not yet identified, may perhaps be useful to those who wish to proceed further in this investigation.

MATERIALS FOR A VOCABULARY OF THE SASSANIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

The references are to the numbers given to the inscriptions by Mr. Thomas, and to the lines in the original of each inscription.

References immediately following the letter C., are to the Chaldæo-Pahlavi versions, and doubtful readings and references are italicised. The letters C. and S., prefixed to words, also refer to the Chaldæo and Sassanian readings respectively.

The Greek synonyms are given precisely in the forms that occur in the inscriptions, and are therefore often in the genitive case.

It must be observed that the original letter, represented for

the sake of convenience by *h*, was probably a strong guttural aspirate.

âdin, II. 10, VI. 10, C. 10, 'then;' Chald. ܐܕܝܢ; corresponds to S. âhar, in VI. 11.

âdinan, VI. 5, 'then we;' — âdin + the Syriac suffix of the 1st per. pl.

âhalmanî, III. iii. 2, 'Aharman, the evil spirit;' Phl. ܐܗܠܡܢܝ. âhân, III. xvii. 4.

âhar, II. 9, 28, III. iv. 4, VI. 11, 14, 'after, afterwards;' Phl. ܐܗܪ; Heb. ܐܗܪ.

âhûrmasd, C. I.a. see âtharamazdî.

âtharpat, II. 28, III. ii. 1, V. 8, 'a priest of the inferior order, a herbad;' Phl. ܐܘܬܪܦܬܝ; Z. aêthrapaiti.

âtk, II. 2, 17, 22, 25, 27, III. ix. 4, xvi. 1, C. xxiv. 4, xxx. 3, V. 8, VI. 8, 9, C. 8, 'thus, that;' Phl. aigh; Chald. ܐܬܟ.

âllân, IX. X. 6, 10, 'Irân;' = âtrân.

ât, II. 3, 9, 15, 16, VI. 13, 14, supposed to be a prohibitive adverb, 'never,' may be *dyé*, or *ât*; comp. Chald. ܐܬ; corresponds to C. hþ.

âtrân, I. 2, III. i. 3, vi. 5, IV. 2, 4, VI. 2, 3, VII. 4, 7, VIII. 4, 7, XI. 5, 6, XII. 1, 3, 'Irân;' Phl. ܐܬܪܐܢ; Gr. *αἰράων*; corresponds to C. ârtân; also = âllân.

âtî, II. 17, 17, or *âtîc*.

âtîhd, C. III. xxix. 3, appears to be the name of a district.

âtî, II. 18, 18, 'there is;' Phl. ܐܬܝ; Chald. ܐܬܝܢ.

âtîsn, II. 3, perhaps, 'thus, so;' Phl. ܐܬܝܨܢ; Pers. آیدن; may also be read *âtîsn*.

âk, C. VI. 9, 'if;' Chald. ܐܬܟ; corresponds to S. hat.

âkast, C. VI. 9, 'knowing, aware;' Phl. ܐܘܫܬܝܢ; Pers. آگاه.

âkyâk, C. III. xxxi. 3; Pl. âkyâkîn, C. III. xxvi. 2.

âlhâ, C. I. 1, 3, C. IV. 1, 3, 4, C. VI. 1, 3, 'divine;' Chald. ܐܠܗܝܢ; Gr. *θεου*; corresponds to S. bagt.

âlôhâ, C. I.a. 'God;' Heb. ܐܠܗܝܡ; Gr. *θεου*.

âmat, VI. 5, C. 5, 'when, that;' Phl. ܐܡܬ.

âmt, II. 7.

ânârtân, C. IV. 2, C. VI. 2, 'non-Arians, or non-Irân;' Phl. ܐܢܐܪܬܐܢ; corresponds to S. ântrân; Gr. *αναίραων*.

ânîlân, IX., X. 6, 10 = ânîrân.

ânîrân, IV. 2, VI. 2, VII. 4, 8, VIII. 4, 7, XI. 5, 6, XII. 2, 3,
non-Îrân; Phl. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥; corresponds to C. ânârtân; Gr.
αναριανων.

ankaltn, III. xxvii. 4.

ânman, II. 27, 'where?' Chald. 𐭠𐭥.

ânû, C. VI. 8, 'that, thus, behold;' comp. Chald. 𐭠𐭥𐭥; corre-
sponds to S. âik.

âpam, II. 22, 24, V. 9, XI. 3, 'also I;' Phl. 𐭠𐭥𐭥; Chald.
𐭠𐭥𐭥 + Iranian suffix of 1st per. sing.

âpan, VI. 4, 6, 7, 'also we;' Chald. 𐭠𐭥𐭥 + Semitic suffix of 1st
pers. plur.

âpash, II. 21, III. x. 3, xx. 4, 'also he, also it;' Phl. 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥;
Chald. 𐭠𐭥𐭥 + Iranian suffix of 3rd pers. sing.

âpâdâhî, V. 31, perhaps a mis-reading for âpâllîhî.

âpâllîhî, V. 17, 'liberality;' Chald. 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥.

âradîst, V. 80.

ârgûn, V. 13, VI. 9.

ârtân, C. I. 2, C. III. xxvii. 2, xxviii. 1, xxxii. 4, C. IV. 2, 3,
C. VI. 2, 4, 'Arians, or Îrân;' corresponds to S. âîrân; Gr.
αριανων.

ârlânt, II. 23, or *ârlânt*.

ârmnt, C. III. xxxii. 4, 'Armenia.'

ârtahatar, I. 1, C. 2, III. i. 2, VIII. 3, C. xxvii. 5, IV. 3, C. 3,
VI. 3, C. 3, VII. 10, 'Ardeshîr Pâpakân,' founder of the Sassanian
dynasty, who reigned A.D. 223-6 to 238-40; also the name of the
tenth Sassanian king, who reigned from A.D. 380-1 to 388-5;
Phl. 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 and 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; Gr. *Αραξαρου.*

âshp, II. 26.

âst, II. 26, apparently a verb; if not *dyt* = *dîst*, it may perhaps be
the Pâz. 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 'is.'

âstândî, II. 21, 'sees, saw;' Phl. 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; Chald. 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥; the
final *dî* of this and other verbs, may be guessed to represent
the Zand termination *î* of the 3rd pers. sing.

âsûr, C. III. xxxii. 3, 'Assyria.'

âtarî, II. 23, V. 36, 'fire;' Phl. 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥; Z. âtarô or âthrô.

âtar-kidâ, III. i. 4, 'fire-temple.'

âtar mân, C. VI. 8, 'place;' Chald. ܐܬܪܡܢ.

âtašh, V. 17, 36, pl. âtašan, V. 34, 'fire;' Phl. ܐܬܐܫܘܫ; Z. âtarah.

âûharamazdi, I. a. II. 28, 29, 30, III. xi. 3, V. 5, 9, VIII. 6, X. 12, XI. 1, XII. 3, 'Hormazd, the divine spirit;' also the name of the third and eighth Sassanian kings, who reigned from A.D. 269-71 to 271-3, and from A.D. 300-3 to 308-10 respectively; Phl. ܐܘܪܘܡܐܙܕܐ = âûharmâ; Z. ahurô mazdâo; Gr. Διος; C. âhûrmasd.

âûlandâh, VI. 11.; comp. dâûlânt, II. 23.

âûpadašht, C. VI. 10, 'ordered;' Sans. उपदेश; corresponds to S. parmât.

dât, or dâs, probably a pronoun, or conjunction; comp. Chald. ܕܐܝܬܝܢ, or Z. awađ.

âyâtan, C. III. xxiii. 4, VI. 6, C. 6, 'mighty;' Heb. ܐܝܬܐܢ.

âzlâdihî, II. 4.

babâ, III. xv. 5, 'gate, metropolis;' Phl. ܒܒܐ; Chald. ܒܒܐ.

bachak, II. 19, 'sin, crime;' Phl. ܒܚܚܐܩ; Pers. بزه.

bag, C. VI. 4, 'divine;' see bagt.

bagdat, III. xv. 4.

bagt, I. 1, 3, II. 1, IV. 1, 3, 4, VI. 1, 3, 4., VII. 2, 6, 9, IX. XII. 1, 3, 'divine;' Phl. bagh; Z. baghô; Gr. θεου; corresponds to C. âlhâ.

balâ, VI. 8, 8, 'without, outside;' Phl. ܒܠܐ; Chald. ܒܠܐ; corresponds to barâ in VI. C. 7.

balbitâ, III. xvii. 3, = barbitâ, 'a chieftain;' Phl. ܒܠܒܝܬܐ.

banapahmân, III. xv. 5, 'self;' Phl. ܒܢܐܦܗܡܢܐ; Chald. ܒܢܦܢܐܢ.

banit, C. VI. 9, 11, 'built, formed;' Chald. ܒܢܐ; corresponds to S. chittî.

bar, II. 20, 'fruit, produce, profit;' Phl. ܒܪܐ; Pers. بر.

barâ, C. VI. 7, 9, 'without, outside;' Phl. ܒܪܐ; Chald. ܒܪܐ; corresponds to S. balâ and S. bilûni.

barbitân, III. viii. 4, xvi. 2, VI. 6, C. 6, 'generals, chieftains;' pl. of Phl. ܒܠܒܝܬܐ; Chald. ܒܠܒܝܬܐ.

bart, C. I. 3, C. IV. 2, C. VI. 2, 'soq;' Chald. ܒܪܐ; corresponds to S. barmân; Gr. υσου.

bart-la-bart, C. IV. 4, 'son's son;' Chald. ܒܪܬܐ ܒܪܬܐ; corresponds to S. napi; Gr. *εγγονου*.

barmān, I. 3, IV. 3, VI. 3, VII. 5, VIII. 5, IX. X. 8, 'son;' Phl. ܒܪܡܢ; corresponds to C. bart; Gr. *υιου*.

barsam, II. 9, 9, 'sacred twigs;' Phl. ܒܪܫܡܐ; Z. baresma.

bidûn, III. v. 4, V. 2, 6.

bidûnt, V. 25, comp. *bidant*, V. 20.

bilûnt, VI. 10, 'external, outside;' Pers. بیرونی.

bin, V. 34, 67.

bitā, C. VI. 7.

bit, III. vi. 2, x. 3, *xvii.* 4.

bûht, II. 20, 30, V. 33, 'released;' Phl. ܒܘܗܬܐ.

bûhtakt, II. 31, 'released, free;' Phl. ܒܘܗܬܐܩܬܐ.

chabûlâ, III. x. 2.

chad, VI. 7, 'side, direction;' Chald. ܫܘܒܐ; corresponds to C. had, and may perhaps be read *had*.

chahalki, II. 5.

chitâk, VI. 7, 9, 15; chitâki, VI. 11, 14, probably the name of some building, 'chaitya?;' corresponds to C. shiti.

chitâ, VI. 10, 12, 'built;' corresponds to C. banit; Sans. ८३.

chisân or *chigân*, II. 22, 'how, as;' Phl. ܫܘܒܐܢܐ; Pers. چگونہ.

dabtr, II. 10, 24, 'writer;' Phl. ܕܒܬܪܐ; Pers. دبیر.

darmak, II. 17.

diki, VI. 7, 13, 'pot, hollow, cave;' Phl. ܕܝܩܐ; corresponds to C. wim.

dînd, II. 31, 'faith, religion;' Phl. ܕܝܢܐ; comp. Chald. ܕܝܢܐ.

dûshahwî, II. 8, 18

dûshahwî, II. 5, 19 } 'hall;' Phl. ܕܘܫܗܘܘܝܐ; Pers. دوزخ.

gadmân, III. xv. 2, xxii. 4, 'lustre, splendour;' Phl. ܓܕܡܢܐ.

girâk, III. xx. 4, V. 4, 4, 11, 11, 13, 13, 31, possibly 'captive;' Pers. گیرا.

gâkânîhî, V. 30.

gâmani, II. 17.

gûnaki, II. 6.

- had, C. VI. 7, side, direction, *boundary*;' Chald. ܗܕ, or Arab. ھَدّ² ;
corresponds to S. *chad*.
- halgûpat, III. ix. 3, 6, xviii. 3.
- hamak, C. III. xxix. 3, 'all, every;' Phl. 𐭥𐭥𐭥; Pers. همه.
- hamgûnakt, V. 10, 15, 16, 'same, similar;' Phl. 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; Pers.
همگون.
- hanahtûn, VI. 7, 13, 'put down, placed;' Phl. 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; Heb.
hiph. of 𐤍𐤍𐤍 'to descend; corresponds to C. haqâtmûd.
- haqâtmû, C. III. xxvi. 3, haqâtmûd, C. VI. 12, haqâtmût, C. VI. 7,
'erected, set, made to stand;' Heb. hiph. of 𐤍𐤍 'to stand';
corresponds to S. hanahtûn.
- hararyâ, C. VI. 5, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 'arrow, javelin;' corresponds to
S. hatyâ.
- hashatar, C. III. xxiv. 2, xxv. 4, xxvii. 2, xxix. 3, 3, xxx. 1, 2,
xxxi. 4, 5, 6, xxxii. 4, 'city, town;' S. shatari; perhaps from
Z. khahathrô, 'dominion.'
- hashatardarin, C. III. xxvi. 3, C. VI. 5, 'satraps, governors;' cor-
responds to S. shataldân.
- hatimûd, II. 24, hatimûn, V. 5, hatimûnd, V. 18, hatimûnt, V. 32,
'to fill, pour;' Phl. 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; it is doubtful whether the
correct meaning of this Pahlavi verb is known; Heb. hiph. of
𐤍𐤍𐤍 'to shut up.'
- hatyâ, VI. 5, 7, 8, 13, 15, 'arrow, javelin;' Phl. 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; Chald.
ܗܝܬܐ; corresponds to C. hararyâ.
- hawind, C. VI. 8, hawindî, C. VI. 9, 10, hawint, C. VI. 11, 'was,
been;' Chald. ܗܘܘܢ; corresponds to S. hûmân.
- hawitan, V. 1, 2, 'was, been;' Chald. ܗܘܘܢ. Probably *hawittan*,
having become fixed in the 2nd pers. pl. of the preterit, like
all Pahlavi verbs from roots ending in 𐭥, or 𐭥.
- hasitant, II. 13, 26, 'saw, beheld;' Phl. 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; Chald. ܗܘܘܢ.
- hîp, C. VI. 12, 13, supposed to be a prohibitive adverb, '*never*;'
corresponds to S. *dfr*.
- hshkt, II. 12, perhaps *wahshkt*.
- hû, C. VI. 7, hûb, C. VI. 12, 13, hûp, C. VI. 14, 'him, it, that;'
Chald. ܗܘܘܢ and ܗܘܘܢ; correspond to S. zak and S. walmân.
- hû-kâmakt, V. 1, 'good desire, good intention;' Phl. 𐭥𐭥 and 𐭥𐭥𐭥;
Z. hu and kâma.

hūmān, II. 6, 19, III. xxii. 1, C. xxx. 4, VI. 10, 10, 12, 'was, is;'

Phl. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥; corresponds to C. hawindī and C. hawint.

hūmānam, II. 4, 11, 12, 13, 27, 28, 29, 31, V. 53, XI. 2, 'I am;'

Phl. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥.

hūpalast, II. 2, 'good worshipper;'
Phl. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 and 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥; Pers. پرست.

kabr, II. 23, V. 4, 11, 17, 31, 34, 'great;'
Heb. קַבֵּר.

kadab, C. VI. 11, 14, 'wrote;'
see *katab*.

kal, C. VI. 9, 12, 13, 'to, unto;'
corresponds to S. wal.

kalt, II. 18.

kalmān, IX. 'Karmān.'

kalp, II. 19, 20, 'karfa, good works and atonement;'
Phl. 𐭠𐭣𐭥.

kalt, II. 5, 19, 'did, made;'
=kart.

kaltakān, V. 4, 17, 31, 'deeds, actions;'
=kartakān.

kaltī, II. 12, 28, 29, 30, V. 2, 13, 'done, made;'
=kartī.

karasāwā, C. VI. 1, 'proclamation, edict;'
Chald. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥.

karmān, C. III. xxx. 7, xxxi. 6, possibly 'field;'
Heb. קָרְ; but very doubtful.

kart, II. 20, 20, 27, 'did, made;'
Phl. 𐭠𐭣𐭥 and 𐭠𐭣𐭥; Pers. کرد.

kartakālt, III. iv. 3.

kartakān, III. i. 5, xvii. 2, 'deeds, actions;'
pl. of Phl. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 and

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥; Pers. کرد.

kartī, II. 4, III. ii. 3, iv. 2, 'done, made;'
Phl. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥.

kartīr, II. 1, 22, 23, 27, 29, 30, 31, probably 'crown,'
as Mr. Thomas supposes; Heb. קַרְתֵּר.

Heb. קַרְתֵּר.

katab, VI. 12, 16, 'wrote, written;'
Chald. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥; C. *kadab*.

kāmkālt, V. 3, 16, 'power, dominion;'
Pers. کامکاری.

kāmkāltī, V. 10.

kilt, II. 16.

kin, II. 16, 'hatred, malice, revenge;'
Phl. 𐭠𐭣𐭥; Pers. کین.

kōlāpt, V. 9.

la, II. 20, VI. 7, 8, C. 7, 7, 7, 8, 9, 14, 'to, for, at;'
Chald. 𐭠𐭣.

labā, III. ix. 3, xvi. 2, xvii. 3, 4, xxii. 2, C. xxiii. 4, 6, 'great,

noble;'
Phl. 𐭠𐭣𐭥; Chald. 𐭠𐭣𐭥.

lagalmān, VI. 6, 12, 'foot;' Phl. 𐭎𐭏𐭎; Chald. ܠܓܠܡܢ; corresponds to C. nagarīn.

lakam, II. 6.

lakamd, III. xxiv. 4.

lamītan, II. 19, VI. 8, 8, 15, 'threw, cast;' Phl. 𐭎𐭏𐭎𐭏𐭎𐭏𐭎; Chald. ܠܡܝܬܢ; corresponds to C. ramīt. Probably *lamītun*; see *hawītan*.

lan, C. VI. 5, 10, 'us, we;' Chald. ܠܢ; corresponds to S. lanmān.

lanmān, III. ix. 4, x. 2, xi. 2, VI. 11, 'us, we;' Phl. 𐭎𐭏𐭎𐭏𐭎; corresponds to C. lan.

latīr, V. 8.

lâ, III. xviii. 2, VI. 9, C. 8, 'not;' Phl. 𐭎𐭏; Chald. ܠܐ.

lâd, II. 6.

lâstī, II. 15, 'just;' Phl. 𐭎𐭏𐭎𐭏𐭎; Pers. راست.

lâtī, II. 14, 'liberal;' Phl. 𐭎𐭏𐭎𐭏; Pers. راج.

li, II. 1, 6, 7, 10, 11, 13, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, V. 10, VI. 1, C.

1, 'me, I;' Phl. 𐭎𐭏; Chald. ܠܝ. The Pahlavi has adopted most of its personal pronouns in an oblique case, that is, in the form of the Semitic preposition *la* + pronominal suffix.

lûbâk, II. 21, lawful, suitable, pleasant;' Phl. 𐭎𐭏𐭎𐭏𐭎; Pers. رجا; may perhaps be read *lûbdân*.

lûbân, II. 14, 30, V. 33, 'soul;' Phl. 𐭎𐭏𐭎𐭏𐭎; Pers. روان.

lûtnī, VI. 5, 'before;' Phl. 𐭎𐭏𐭎𐭏; corresponds to C. qadmatmān.

lûni, II. 7.

madam, II. 12, 'on, upon;' Phl. 𐭎𐭏𐭎.

madamah, II. 15, III. iii. 3.

magûpat, II. 28, 29, 30, V. 33, 'high priest, mobad;' Phl. 𐭎𐭏𐭎𐭏𐭎.

magûstan, V. 3.

*makâr*n, C. III. xxix. 5.

maharhit, II. 5, 6, 9, 10.

maharti, II. 15, 16.

malkâ, I. 2, 3, C. 2, 3, II. 27, 28, 29, III. i. 2, iii. 1, v. 3, vii. 3,

xv. 3, xvii. 5, xx. 2, C. xxv. 6, xxviii. 1, xxix. 5, 5, xxxii. 5,

IV. 2, 3, 5, C. 1, 3, 4, V. 1, 2, 6, 9, 15, 40, VI. 2, 3, 4, C. 2,

- 3, 5, VII. 3, 7, 11, VIII. 4, 7, 9, IX. 1, 2, X. 5, 10, 13, XI. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, XII. 1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 'king;' Phl. ; Chald. def. ; Gr. βασιλεως.
- malkân, I. 2, II. 27, 28, 28, 30, III. i. 2, iii. 1, IV. 1, 3, V. 1, 2, 6, 9, 15, 40, VI. 1, 3, VII. 3, 7, 10, VIII. 3, 6, 9, IX. X. 5, 9, 13, XI. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, XII. 1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 'kings;' Phl. ; Sassanian pl. of malkâ; Gr. βασιλεων.
- malktn, C. I. 2, C. IV. 1, 3, C. VI. 2, 3, 'kings;' Chald. pl. ; Chaldæo-Pahlavi pl. of malkâ; Gr. βασιλεων.
- mamân, II. 6, 16, 17, 23, C. III. xxvii. 2, xxix. 4, V. 7, 'what? who?' Phl. ; Chald. .
- man, I. 3, C. 2, II. 1, 17, 20, 23, III. vi. 2, 3, xvi. 6, xix. 1 C. xxiv. 4, xxvi. 4, IV. 2, 4, C. 2, 4, F. 2, VI. 2, 4, C. 2, 4, VII. 5, 8, VIII. 5, 8, IX. X. 7, 11, XII. 2, 4, 'from;' Phl. ; Chald. . Probably min.
- manak, II. 23, perhaps man + Semitic suffix of 2nd pers. sing.
- manam, II. 21, 25, perhaps man + Iranian suffix of 1st pers. sing.
- manû, II. 19, 19, 23, 25, III. xv. 5, xvii. 5, C. xvi. 6, VI. 11, 12, 14, C. 10, 11, 13, 'spiritual, invisible;' Phl. ; Z. mainyu; pl. manûân, V. 14, 'spirits.' Probably minâ and minâdan.
- manû-chatarî, VIII. 4, 7, IX. X. 7, 11, 'divine offspring' = manû-chatarî.
- manû-chatarî, I. 2, IV. 2, 4, VI. 2, 4, VII. 5, 8, XII. 2, 4, 'divine offspring, spiritual descendant;' Phl. ; Z. mainyu and chithra; Gr. εκγενους; corresponds to C. manû-shihar. Probably minâ-chitarî.
- manû-shihar, C. I. 2, C. IV. 2, 3, C. VI. 2, 4, 'divine offspring;' corresponds to S. manû-chatarî.
- marzash, II. 10.
- mazdayasn, I. 1, IV. 1, 3, VI. 1, 3, VII. 1, 6, VIII. 2, 5, X. 2, 8, XII. 1, 3, 'Mazda-worshipping;' Phl. ; Z. mazdayasnô; corresponds to C. mazdayasn; Gr. μασδασνον.
- mazdayasni, IX. = mazdayasn.
- mazdayasn, C. I. 1, C. IV. 1, 2, C. VI. 1, 3, 'Mazda-worshipping;' = S. mazdayasn; Gr. μασδασνον.
- masûnt, II. 24.
- mâtardân, II. 26, V. 7.

mdān, II. 25.

nagarin, C. VI. 6, 11, 'feet;' corresponds to S. *lagalmān*.
namt, III. xxvi. 2.

napalt, C. VI. 8, 'fall;' Phl. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥; Chald. ܢܦܠܬ.

napashti, II. 22, 31, V. 8, 62, 'wrote, written;' Phl. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥
Pers. نوشتن.

napl, IV. 4, VI. 4, VII. 9, VIII. 8, X. 11, 'grandson;' Pers.
نپير; Lat. *nepos*; corresponds to C. *bart-la-bart* and *pūhri-
pūhar*, and Gr. *εγγονου*.

napshmān, II. 11, III. xiv. 3, C. xxvi. 2, 'self;' Phl. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥
Chald. ܢܦܫܡܢ.

napsmān, II. 24, 'self;' = *napshmān*.

narsahi, VII. 2, VIII. 9, 'Narsees,' the seventh Sassanian king,
who reigned from A.D. 291-4 to 300-3.

nasazmān, II. 14, 'prayer;' Phl. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥.

nasrān, II. 17.

nāmakt, II. 22, 26, 'a writing, letter, narrative;' Phl. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥;
Pers. نامه.

pakdūn, V. 6.

palmāt, III. i. 4, 'ordered;' = *parmāt*.

panmān, c. VI. 10, possibly 'before, inside;' Heb. 𐤒𐤓.

parmāt, VI. 11, 'ordered;' Phl. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥; Pers. فرمودن; corres-
ponds to C. *âtpadašt*.

parmitan, C. III. xxvi. 4, xxxi. 1.

patkali, I. 1, I.a. IV. 1, VII. 1, VIII. 1, X. 1; 'image, representa-
tion;' Gr. *προσωπον*.

patkar, C. I. 1, C. I.a. C. IV. 1, 'image;' = S. *patkali*.

patan, C. VI. 6, 11, 'in, into;' Comp. Heb. 𐤕𐤔; corresponds to
S. *pawan*. Might be read *pawtn*.

patarhti, II. 3.

patpūlsāt, II. 14.

patyāk, VI. 10, 'public, evident;' Phl. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥; Pers. پيدا.

pawan, II. 1, 3, 11, 14, 16, III. xx. 1, V. 3, 6, 10, 15, 21, 23,
VI. 6, 12, 'in, into;' Phl. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥; corresponds to C. *patan*.

pâpak, C. I. 3, C. IV. 4, C. VI. 4, see pâpaki.

pâpaki, I. 3, IV. 4, VI. 4, name of the father of Ardashîr (the founder of the Sassanian dynasty); Phl. 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥; Gr. Παπακω. pârdân, III. xv. 3, possibly a name.

pârs, C. III. xxxii. 3, probably 'Persia'; Phl. 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥; Pers. فارس. pâst, II. 25.

pâtahsatali, II. 25, 26 = pâtahahatari.

pâtahshatali, II. 24, V. 12, 18, 32 = pâtahshatari.

pâtahshatari, V. 5, 7, apparently a regal title; if taken as 'protector, or master, of cities,' it must be read as two separate words; but it looks more like a compound of Z. prep. paiti and kshathrya. The Phl. 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, the probable origin of Pers. پادشاه, is a somewhat similar word, translated 'ruling, certainty, unopposed,' by the Dastura.

pâtakâsû, II. 4.

pûhri-pûhar, C. VI. 4, 'son's son;' Z. puthrô, 'son;' corresponds to S. napl. The final t of the first word looks like the Persian idhâfat, but it is more probably derived from the Zand termination of the dat. or gen.

pûshî, C. III. xxix. 4.

qadmatmân, C. VI. 5, 'before, in front of;' Chald. 𐭪𐭫𐭮.

rab, III. xxiv. 2, 'lord, master;' pl. rabân, C. VI. 6, 'lords, chiefs, leaders;' Phl. 𐭯𐭥; Chald. 𐭪𐭫.

ramt, C. VI. 7, 'threw, shot, cast;' Phl. 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; Chald. 𐭪𐭫𐭮; corresponds to S. lamtan.

râb, III. xxvi. 3, probably = rab.

râspâhlân, V. 6.

râm, II. 28, 29, 30, 'Roman empire;' Phl. 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥; Pers. روم. May also be read sham, 'name.'

sakandar, C. III. xxv. 2, may be 'Alexander,' but this is very doubtful; the Pahlavi forms are 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 and (in the Bûndahash) 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥 and 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥.

sakân, III. v. 3, a proper name.

sam, II. 24, 31, 'name, title;' Phl. 𐭪𐭥 ; Chald. 𐩦𐩣 . See *sham*.

samâi, V. 1, possibly 'sky, heaven;' Phl. 𐭪𐭥𐭥 ; Chald. 𐩦𐩣𐩦 .

sardâht, II. 24, or *st rddâht*.

satar, C. VI. 10, 'hidden, enclosure;' Chald. 𐩦𐩣𐩦 .

satâht, II. 6, 13.

sazitant, II. 20, 'went, expired;' Phl. 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; Chald. 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩦 .

sûrtin, C. III. xxxii. 2, a proper name.

shadadrâ, C. VI. 9.

shadlt, C. VI. 5, 6; shaditan, *V. 29*, VI. 5, 6, 14; shadtû, C. VI.

13, 'threw, shot;' Phl. 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; Chald. 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩦 .

shahpûhar, C. III. xxv. 6, C. IV. 1, C. VI. 1, = S. shahpûhrt.

shahpûhar, XII. 1 = shahpûhrt.

shahpûharkan, II. 29, 'descendants of Shahpûhar;' possibly the name + suffix of 2nd or 3rd pers. pl.; Comp. Phl.

𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 . See walahlânâh.

shahpûhrt, II. 27, 31, IV. 1, V. 1, 2, 6, VI. 1, VII. 6, VIII. 3,

X. 4, 9, XII. 10, 'Shahpûhar,' name of the second, ninth, and

eleventh kings of the Sassanian dynasty, who reigned as follows:

from A.D. 238-40 to 269-71, from A.D. 308-10 to 380-1, and

from A.D. 383-5 to 388-9 respectively; Phl. 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 and

𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ; corresponds to C. shahpûhar; Gr. $\Sigma\alpha\pi\omega\rho\upsilon$.

shahyâ, VIII. 2, 6, 8, X. 3, 8, 12, 'ruling;' Z. khshaya.

sham, II. 27, 'name, title;' Phl. 𐭪𐭥 ; Chald. 𐩦𐩣 ; see *sam*.

It is just possible that this should be read *Râm*, in II. 27.

shammân, C. III. xxiv. 6, xxix. 4, 'name;' see *sham*.

shaplt, III. i. 5, 'good;' Phl. 𐭪𐭥𐭥 .

shataldalân, VI. 5, shataldarân, II. 23, 'satraps;' correspond to C.

hashatardarîn.

shatali, II. 12, V. 27, 34 = shatari.

shatar, III. xviii. 4 = shatari, or pâtahshatari.

shatarâdlet III. xvii. 3, xxi. 4.

shatari, III. i. 3, 4, iv. 1, vi. 5, ix. 5, x. 5, xv. 2, xvii. 6, xx. 4,

xxii. 6, V. 4, 11, 'city, town;' Phl. 𐭪𐭥𐭥 ; C. haahatar;

perhaps Z. khshathrô.

shâpûhlt, IX. = shahpûhrt.

shidân, III. iii. 2, 'devils;' Phl. 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥, which is often written with five, or more, initial loops, instead of three, which appears to be the correct number, according to this Sassanian reading; Chald. ܫܝܕܝܢ.

shitt, C. VI. 7, 9, 10, 13, 13 = S. chiták.

tagalâht, VI. 1, 'publication, revelation;' Heb. ܩܠܗ.

tamatûn, II. 20.

tammân, VI. 9, C. 8, 'there;' Phl. 𐭮𐭥𐭥.

wa, *passim*; 'and;' Phl. 𐭮; Chald. ܘ; Pers. و; Gr. *kas*.

wadnâ, II. 26, 'time, opportunity;' Phl. 𐭮𐭥𐭥; Chald. ܘܕܢܐ.

wahdân, III. iii. 5, 'done;' Phl. 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥.

wahiaht, II. 4, 8, 12, 18, 18, 'heaven;' Phl. 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥; Z. wahiahtô, 'best.'

wal, II. 4, 5, 8, 18, 19, III. vi. 5, *viii.* 1, *xi.* 2, *xii.* 2, 3, *xv.* 5, C. *xxvi.* 2, V. 1, 4, 11, 11, 13, 26, 31, VI. 13, 15, 'to;' Phl. 𐭮; Chald. ܘܘܠ.

walahlân, IX. V. 33, 40, 'Warahrân,' or Bahrâm, name of the fourth, fifth, sixth, and twelfth kings of the Sassanian dynasty, who reigned as follows: from A.D. 271-3 to 274-6, from A.D. 274-6 to 291-4, for part of A.D. 291-4, and from A.D. 388-9 to 399-400, respectively.

walahlânah, II. 30, 'descendant, or successor of Walahlân;' possibly the name + suffix of 3rd pers. sing. See shahpûharkan-wald, II. 6.

walmân, II. 20, 21, III. iii. 5, *xiv.* 5, V. 7, VI. 8, 16, 'that, he, him, it;' Phl. 𐭮𐭥𐭥.

walt, V. 2, 13.

wanahlân, II. 28, 29, 30 = walahlân.

waplânt, II. 6, 'fell;' Phl. 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; this is very doubtful, as it should be pronounced *naplân*.

warahrân, XII. 4, = walahlân.

wazlûnd, V. 64, wazlûni, II. 2, V. 34, wazlûnt, II. 19, V. 14, 'went, became;' Phl. 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; Chald. ܘܘܘܠ or ܘܘܘܠ.

wayâk, VI. 8, 9.

wim, C. VI. 6, 12, 'pit, cave;' Z. waém.

yadâ, C. VI. 11, 14, 'hand;' Chald. ܕܐܕܐ def. ܕܐܕܐ; corresponds to S. yadmân.

yadmân, VI. 12, 16, 'hand;' Phl. 𐭪𐭥𐭥; corresponds to C. yadâ.

yahalkân, VI. 6, 'lords;' corresponds to C. rabân; may also be read *rachalkân*.

yahmatûn, II. 22, V. 28; yahmatûnt, II. 21, 21, 'came, arrived;'

Phl. 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; Chald. ܕܘܡܐܘܢ.

yahût, C. III. xxv. 5, C. VI. 8, 9=S. yahwûn.

yahwûn, II. 6, 11, 11, 13, 15, III. xvii. 5, xviii. 2, V. 53, 53, 60,

VI. 9, 12, 'is, was, been;' Phl. 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; Chald. ܕܘܗܘܐ; corresponds to C. yahût.

yakartant, II. 27, apparently an irregular form for *kartant*, 'read,

called, exclaimed;' Phl. 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; Chald. ܕܘܟܪܐ.

yaktûbûn, II. 25, 'wrote;' Phl. 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; Chald. ܕܘܟܘܒܐ.

yakwimûnt, V. 8, 'remained, existed, was;' Phl. 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; Chald. ܕܘܩܘܡܐ.

Chald. ܕܘܩܘܡܐ.

yamânmdn, II. 18, 'right hand;' Heb. ܕܘܝܢܐ.

yamashahûn, II. 14, 23, possibly 'anointed;' Chald. ܕܘܡܫܚܐ.

yazdân, II. 1, 3, 7, 9, 14, III. *ib.* 3, *x.* 4, xvii. 1, V. 5, 10, 16, 31,

59, VII. 5, 9, VIII. 5, 8, IX. X. 7, 11, XII. 2, 4, 'God;' Phl.

𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥; Z. yazata.

yastân, I. 3, IV. 2, 4, VI. 2, 4, 'God;' the older orthography of

yazdân; corresponds to C. yâztan; Gr. θεων.

yâmarûd, C. VI. 14, 'brought, sent;' Heb. ܕܘܡܪܘܕ.

yâstan, C. I. 2, C. III. xxiv. 2, 5, 6, xxvii. 3, *xxxi.* 6, C. IV. 2, 4,

C. VI. 3, 4, 'God;' corresponds to S. yastân; Gr. θεων.

yûnân, C. III. xxiv. 3, possibly 'Greeks.'

zak, II. 12, 14, 19, 23, 26, 27, III. viii. 2, ix. 4, x. 2, C. *xxix.* 5,

V. 15, 67, VI. 7, 9, 12, 13, 15, C. 6, 'that, he, him, it;' Phl.

𐭪𐭥; Chald. ܕܐܚܐ; corresponds to C. hû and C. hûb.

zakmân, II. 8, probably a misreading for zamân.

zakst, V. 2.

zanmān, I. 1, C. 1, I.a. II. 9, 10, 12, 15, 20, 22, IV. 1, C. 1,
VI. 1, 5, 7, 13, C. 1, 5, 6, 12, VII. 1, VIII. 1, 'this;' Phl.

𐭥𐭩𐭥; Chald 𐭪𐭥; Gr. *rouro*.

zatak, II. 26.

zadādiht, II. 21.

zati, II. 24, 25, III. *xix.* 1, V. 7, 18, 32, 'struck, destroyed, con-
quered;' Phl. 𐭥𐭥; Pers. *زسن*.

zi, II. 23, 27, 29, 29, 30, III. i. 3, iii. 2, v. 4, vi. 4, *vii.* 4, viii. 3,
xii. 2, 3, xv. 3, 4, 5, *xvii.* 1, xviii. 4, xix. 2, 3, 4, xxii. 3, 4,
V. 4, 8, 10, 17, 31, XI. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 'that, which,' Phl.

𐭥𐭥; Chald. 𐭪𐭥.

zindān, II. 16.

zūlādacht, III. xv. 4, probably 'Zarathushtra,' as Mr. Thomas
supposes; Phl. 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥.

Several of the identifications in the foregoing vocabulary may hereafter be found to be erroneous, but they are offered merely as one step in advance, towards the correct interpretation of the inscriptions, and must be taken with due allowance for errors, arising partly from my limited acquaintance with the cognate languages, and partly from the natural desire to pass beyond the narrow limits of certainty, by means of probable guesses. It is necessary also to remark that, though I have made free use of much valuable information obtained from Dr. Haug, and am generally acquainted with his views, he must be acquitted of any participation in my errors, as I may have advanced several opinions to which he might not give his assent.

Little has been said of the grammar of the Sassanian language, but, so far as can be made out from the limited text that is yet intelligible, the grammatical rules that may hereafter be formed will refer rather to the arrangement of the words, than to their inflection.

A satisfactory grammar, even of the Pahlavī language, has yet to be written, but before that can be done, it will be necessary for its author to read the greater part of the Pahlavī literature, of which perhaps scarcely one-fourth exists in the public libraries of Europe.

ART. X.—*Some Account of the Senbyú Pagoda at Mengún, near the Burmese Capital, in a Memorandum by CAPT. E. H. SLADEN, Political Agent at Mandalé; with Remarks on the Subject, by COL. HENRY YULE, C.B.*

The circumstances which led to the transmission of this Memorandum, will be stated in the appended remarks.

“*Senbyoo*” *Pagoda (at Mengoon).*

1. The Pagoda was built in the reign of king *Bodo Piyah*,¹ in the Burmese year 1178 (A.D. 1816), by his grandson, Noungdau Gyee, now known as *Bagyeedau Piyah*,² which specifies his relationship as paternal uncle to the present reigning king.

2. It is situated at *Mengoon*, on the west bank of the Irrawaddy, a couple of hundred yards only from the huge brick ruin which is known as the *Mengoon* pagoda.

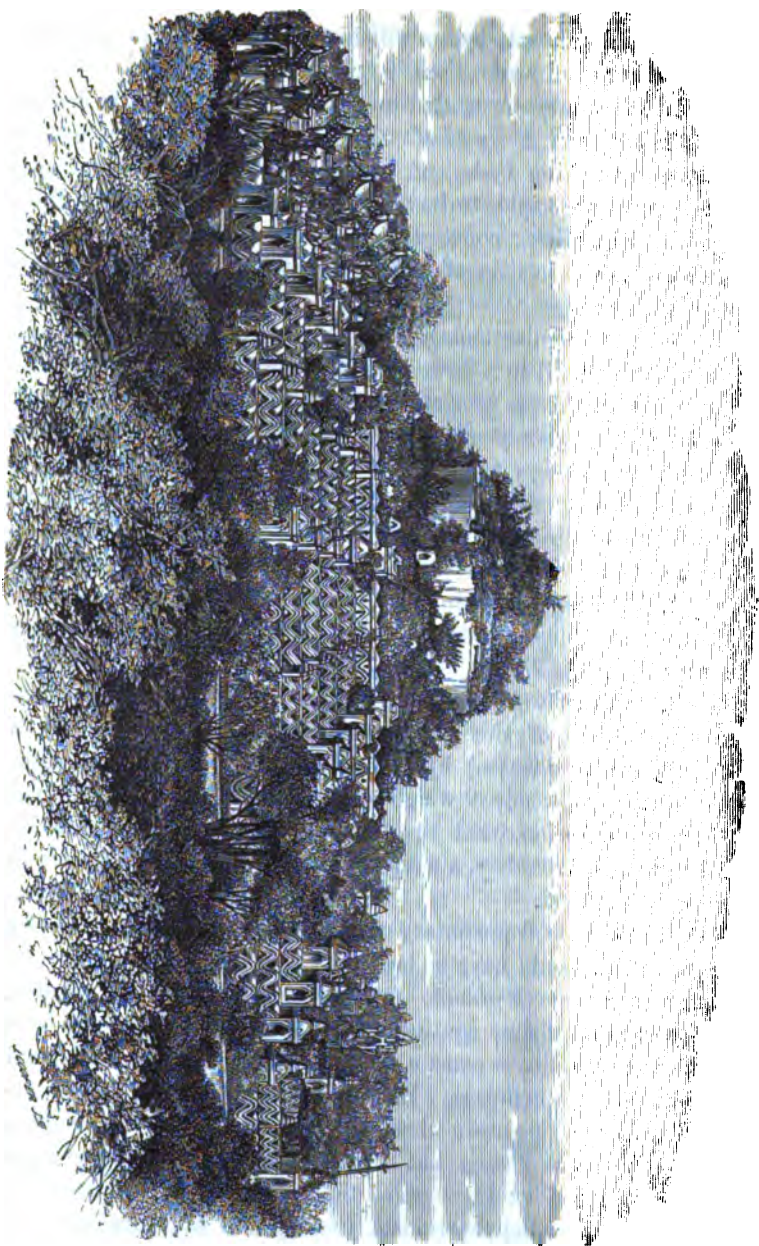
3. *Mengoon* was a place of comparatively little note, until raised into importance by king *Bodo Piyah*, who made it his favourite retreat, and conceived and founded the monster pagoda which has given or taken its name from the place of its creation.³

4. King *Bodo's* partiality for the place, or his extensive building propensity seems to have been necessarily imitated by those about him, so that it soon became a conventional undertaking on the part of members of his family (and of his government too) to add to the importance and sanctity of the

¹ *Bhodau Phra* is the title given to the king who reigned from 1781 to 1819, called by Symes, who visited his court, *Minderawji Praw* (Mantarágyi).—H. Y.

² *Phagyi-Dau* is the title of the king who reigned 1819-1837, and in whose time our first Burmese war took place.—H. Y.

³ *Mengún* is on the west bank of the Irawadi, about six or seven miles from Mandalé, the present capital. An account of the great pagoda there will be found in the Narrative of Major Phayre's Mission, p. 168.—H. Y.



Benbyrd Pagoda. (From a Photograph.)

fashionable retreat, by embellishing it with shrines, pagodas, and other good works then in favour with the king.

5. The Senbyoo pagoda thus rose into existence. It derives its name from *Bagyeedau's* chief queen, who was a granddaughter of king *Bodo*, and believed further, under the transmigration principle, to have been a revivification in the flesh of *Bodo's* mother; consequently she was privileged to assume *Bodo's* majestic title of "*Senbyoo Shen*," or Lord of White Elephants.

6. It is singular enough that this pagoda (*Senbyoo*) should have been built in a form which at once distinguishes it from the ordinary class of similar structures throughout Burmah. But though this singularity is somewhat unaccountable, the structural design of the pagoda is evident enough; and its connection therefore, in an architectural point of view, with similar Buddhistical remains in Java and elsewhere, can be so far satisfactorily traced.

6. The pagoda is intended to be a complete symbolical representation or model of Mount Meru, known to Burmans as "*Myenmho DOUNG*."

7. It is as well perhaps that I should enter briefly into a description of this cosmical mountain (that is to say, a Burmese description) by way of illustrating, in some slight degree, the woodcut which is annexed, and of explaining beyond question, that the pagoda, about which we are interested is, in reality, a simple representation of the mountain to be described.

8. Burmese fragmentary accounts, collected from a variety of sources, would have us believe in the first place, in reference to this famous *Myenmho DOUNG*, that the earth we inhabit, is composed of four continents, which lie at the extreme base of the mountain, in exact correspondence with the four cardinal points of the compass. Insurmountable barriers, and interminable seas separate these continents from direct contact with *Myenmho DOUNG*, but these seas and barriers are to some extent limited at the base of the mount by the monster fish "*Ananda*," which surrounds the hill on all sides with its body, and defines a complete circle by taking its own tail in its

mouth.¹ This fabulous monster fish, which is regarded as the outer guard, barrier, or defence to the mountain itself, is represented at the *Senbyoo* pagoda by a large outer circular wall, eight feet in height, four in thickness, and 750 yards in length or circumference.

The five (or rather six) concentric terraces, which are seen in the photograph to rise one above and inside the other, are representations of the five regions, continents, or countries, which surround the hill in concentric gradations from its base upwards.

The continents are called in Burmese—with reference I imagine only to the manner in which they are represented in drawings or models—“*Aleyne gna Sen*,” or the five concentric gradations.

Each continent takes its name from the guard stationed in it for its defence, or rather for the defence of the mountain itself, against the attacks of the fallen angel or Nat “*Athooya*.”

Ascending from the base the

1st Continent is called *Nāgāh*.

2nd ” ” *Kālōn*, sea-dragon or fabulous bird.

3rd ” ” *Gōmbān* “*Beloo*,” or man devouring monster of the Gomban tribe.

4th ” ” *Yēthā* “*Beloo*,” of the Yatha tribe.

5th ” ” *Gundāpāh*,² from the Nat, or spirit, or fairy of that name.

The fifth, or uppermost terrace, is surmounted by the *Spōlāmānēē*³ pagoda, which in turn has continents or terraces stretching out from its base, above which rise the several

¹ Is not this the Midgard Serpent *Jörmundgand* of the *Edda*, “that holding his tail in his mouth encircles the whole earth.” (Translation of the *Prose Edda*, 410.)—J. F.

² These names restored from Burmese alteration are, I imagine, *Aura*, *Nāga*, *Garuda*, *Kumbhāpāda*, *Yaka*, *Gandharva*.—H. Y.

³ I find on reference to a Burmese book, that *Soo-la-mā-nee* is the name of a *pagoda* far up in the celestial regions, and worshipped by the *Nats*. I do not know the meaning of the word. From Sladen’s note I do not understand whether the name is given to the great central structure of the *Senbyoo* pagoda, which in fact represents Mount Meru, or whether there is a separate building which carries the name of *Soo-la-mā-nee*. The *real* *Soo-la-mā-nee* in heaven is said to be three *Yojana* high, so in the model at Mengun, it would, or ought to be proportionally small, if compared with the representation of Mount Meru.—A. P. FRAYNE.

Paradises, in which reside spiritual beings of the Nat, angel, or fairy tribe.

9. This description of the hill and its belongings might be enlarged on, and lengthened out into almost unlimited detail ; but with very little advantage as regards the architecture of the *Senbyoo* Pagoda, with which we are at present principally concerned.

10. The only discrepancy I find in connecting the pagoda with the description given above, is that it represents *six* instead of *five* concentric terraces.

The sixth terrace, though as evident as daylight, is ignored, or accounted as nought, by those on the spot, who affirm that the bottom or basement terrace (though it is a terrace as much as any of the rest, and ascended by a flight of steps, similar in all respects to those attached to the other terraces) does not count, and is no real terrace at all. It is hardly reasonable to suppose that the extra terrace was tacked on by mistake, but I can readily believe in the aptitude and inclination of the Burmese artist or architect to disregard the mere trifle (as it would appear to him) of being particular as to correct definition or representation, if by the addition of a mere terrace or two, he could in any way beautify the original design, or make up for loss of height or other structural deficiency.

11. I have already said that the outer circular wall of the *Senbyoo* pagoda (which represents the monster whale *Ananda*) is about 750 yards in circumference. The first or lower terrace at the base of the pagoda, has by rough measurement, a circumference of 400 yards.

The height and distance of each concentric terrace, above and apart from the other, is uniformly and respectively five feet ; and each terrace is ascended on four sides, corresponding with the points of the compass, by flights of steps, leading under elaborately formed porticos of masonry, and stuccoed decorations.

Each terrace too is girt or supported by a wavy serpentine parapet, which I understand to represent the mountain barriers which separate the several continents of *Myenmho-Doung*.

The wavy pattern idea in mortar bears a strong and rather ingenious resemblance to various paintings I have seen, by Burmese artists, who aspire to depict hills and mountain scenery.

The parapets are flanked, or rather connected at regular distances, by arched pillars, the archway of each containing a niche, or open space, in which the guardian monster deity, or Bêlôo, sits and defies all enemies.

If the photograph which I send is looked into, it will be seen that a gentleman who was with me at the time the picture was taken, has kindly contributed his mite to science by perching himself upon the top of one of the masonry mountains which form the parapet of the terrace. The natural proportions, thus given, will be of more service I hope (by a comparison of parts) in estimating dimensions, than any unprofessional measurement or estimate of my own.

In fact, so clear is it to me that the architectural relationship, as regards design, between this pagoda and other similar structures in Java, or northern India, has been fully established and accounted for, that the necessity for correct measurement, by way of elucidating what has hitherto been supposed doubtful, no longer exists.

The photographs might have been better. They were taken on dry plates (Beer process), under rather unfavourable circumstances. The wind blew so freshly during the time of exposure, that the camera and other apparatus would have disappeared altogether, unless held in position. This too, in one instance, whilst a view was being taken from the top of the whole Ananda's back.

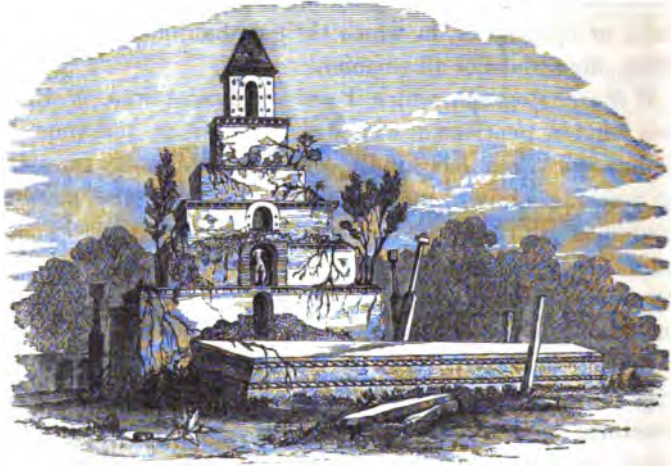
EDWD. H. SLADEN, Captain,
Political Agent.

Mandalay, 6th Jan., 1868.

Remarks.

In a paper describing what I had seen of architectural remains of Hindu character in Java, which was read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in October, 1861, there occurred the following passage in reference to that magnificent monument of Buddhism, the Boro Bodor:—

“Mr. Fergusson, who gives a good account of the Boro Bodor in his Handbook of Architecture, considers it to be a kind of representation of the great Buddhist monasteries, which are described in the Ceylonese writings as having been many stories high, and as containing hundreds of cells for monks.



Sat-Mehal Prásáda.

In Tennent's Ceylon (vol. ii. p. 588) there is a woodcut of a singular pyramidal building at Pollanarua, called the *Sat-mehal Prásáda*, or 'Seven Storied House,' which in a rough way is quite analogous to the Boro Bodor.

“But the structure nearest to it in general design, that I have seen or heard of, was one visited by Mr. Oldham and me in 1855, at Mengún, above Amarpúra. It was thus described from my journal :—

“Further north there is an older Pagoda of very peculiar character. The basement which formed the bulk of the structure consisted of seven concentric circular terraces, each with a parapet of a curious serpentine form. These parapets rose one above and within the other like the (seven) walls of Ecbatana described by Herodotus. . . . In the parapet of every terrace were at intervals niches looking outwards, in which were figures of *Náts*¹ and warders in white marble, of half life size. A great

¹ “Burmese *Devatas* or genii.”

circular wall enclosed the whole at some distance from the base. It was difficult to ascertain the nature of the central structure, so shattered was it by the earthquake. The whole (though round instead of square in plan) had a great general resemblance to the large ancient pyramidal temple in Java called Boro Bodor, as described by Raffles and Crawford; but this Mengún structure was not, I think, very old, and I doubt if the resemblance was more than accidental. At the foot of the hills, some hundred yards to the westward, there was another Pagoda of similar character, which we did not visit."¹

I retract the notion that the resemblance was purely accidental. It is one of many analogies between Burma and Java in architecture, arts, and manners, of which the history is unknown, though some of them doubtless came from India with the religion which was once common to both. One idea struck me after seeing the Burmese edifice, which I will mention. This is, that both it and the Boro Bodor were meant, in a way, as symbols of the great World-system of the Buddhists, Mount Maha-Meru surrounded by its seven concentric ranges of mountains. Nor is this inconsistent with Mr. Fergusson's theory of Boro Bodor. For these monasteries themselves were probably types of Mount Meru. In Tibet, we are told, "Every orthodoxly constructed Buddhist Convent Temple either is or contains a symbolic representation of the divine regions of Meru, and of the Heaven of the Gods, Saints, and Buddhas rising above it into the Empyrean of Nirwana."²

The above passage had attracted Mr. Fergusson's attention, and some two years ago he requested me to obtain more particulars about the terraced structure at Mengún. I accordingly applied to my old friend Colonel Albert Fytche, who had recently succeeded Sir Arthur Phayre in the government of our Burmese provinces, requesting him to obtain some further particulars of the building, and if possible a photograph. Colonel Fytche took up the matter with characteristic energy and goodwill, and obtained from the intelligent assistance of Captain Sladen the memorandum which precedes these remarks, and two pho-

¹ *Mission to Ava in 1855*, p. 172.

² *Koeppen, Die Religion des Buddha*, ii. 262.

tographs of the structure.¹ The papers, owing to accidental circumstances, reached me only a few days ago.

It will be seen that Captain Sladen confirms the suggestion that the Burmese Monument was specifically designed to represent Mount Meru, but he finds some difficulty in reconciling the existence of *six* terraces with the supposed symbolization of Meru and its *five* zones. The fact is, however, that there are, as I noted in 1855, and as Captain Sladen's own photographs very clearly show, not six but *seven* terraces. And it is seven that the subject which I imagine to be typified demands.

The details of the orthodox Buddhist Cosmography will be found in Mr. Spence Hardy's Manual (see pp. 3, 12 *seqq.*), but its essential features may be described in a few words. The centre of the system is Mahá-Meru, encircled by seven concentric ranges of mountains, which are divided by as many seas, and gradually diminish in height from the centre outwards. Round these focal ranges the heavenly bodies revolve. Between the last and lowest of these ranges and an eighth external range (called by the Singhalese the *Sakwalagala*) extends the salt ocean, in which are situated the great islands, or continents rather, of the inhabited earth. The *Sakwalagala* is the ring-fence and hoop of the whole system.

It is not, therefore, I apprehend, Mahá-Meru alone, distinguished into five zones, which is typified by this Burmese monument; but the whole system to its utmost bound. The Central Dagoba is Mahá-Meru; the seven terraces with their mountainous outline of parapet are the seven rocky ranges; the jungle-grown plain below is the circumambient ocean, wherein lie Jambudwípa and the other great islands; and Captain Sladen would perhaps have felt more confidence in the stability of his camera, had he perceived that instead of balancing it uneasily, "*with fixed tripod in the scaly rind*" of "the whale Ananda's back," he and it were planted on the *Sakwalagala*, the adamantine girdle of the Cosmos!

No better illustration of the subject can be given than the

¹ I desire here to express my obligation to both these officers for this interesting communication.

Tibetan representation of the Mundane system, which appears in Giorgi's *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (Pl. I. p. 472), and from which I have made the accompanying reduction of the essential features. The text informs us that the original was done in colours by Yondé Lahuri, a Tibetan painter, in the Shap-rang monastery at Lhasa.

What a strange parallel, one may observe in passing, is afforded by Mahá-Meru with its Terraces, the Paradise of Indra, that crowns it, and the many heavens rising in clime over clime far above it to culminate in the "Empyrean of Nirwana," to Dante's Mountain of Purgatory with its Seven Zones, surmounted by the Table Land of the Terrestrial Paradise, whence he ascends through the nine Celestial Spheres to the Vision of the Candida Rosa and the ineffable glory!¹

Though no other similar monument has become known to us in Burmah, it is probable that analogous symbols exist there in some form or other.

As regards Java, Buddhism, I believe, has left no record

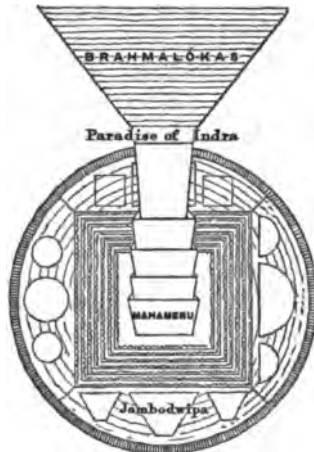
¹ Nay, how near to Dante's wonderful Image of the Great Rose even come the Visions of a Chinese Buddhist monk in the fourth century: "In the seventh month of the nineteenth year, at eventide, he again had a vision of the Holy ones. The form of Amita filled the span of Heaven; all the saints looked forth from the Halo that encompassed him. . . . Moreover Yuanfsud beheld a stream of water bright as light which fell from above, and parted into fourteen branches," etc. (*Schott, über den Buddhismus in Hoch-Asien und in China*, p. 99).

"E vidi lume in forma di riviera
Fulvido di fulgore intra duo rive
Dipinte di mirabil primavera

"E si come di lei bevve la gronda
Delle palpebre mie, così mi parve
Di sua lunghezza divenuta tonda

"Si soprastando al lume intorno intorno
Vidi specchiarsi in pit di mille soglie
Quanto di noi lassù fatto ha ritorno."

— PARADISO XXX.



Tibetan Mundane System.

except in architecture and sculpture; it is unknown to surviving literature or tradition. But in the Island of Bali we find a curious transcript preserved, though blurred indeed and corrupted, of Javanese religion before the Mahomedan conversion; and there both Buddhism, of a sort, and Brahminism still exist. Now, it is curious with regard to the Meru symbolism, of which Boro Bodor is such a splendid instance, to find that a particular vestige of this symbolism still lingers abundantly in Bali. Mr. Friederich in his "*Preliminary account of Bali*," after speaking of sundry kinds of temples in the Island, proceeds:

"Finally, in every house there is a multitude of miniature temples called *Sanggar* (*Sangga* of Crawford). Among these you find a MERU, a temple with a succession of roofs rising pyramidally one over the other, which is dedicated to Siva. The apex of the Merus, as well as of the other little temples, is usually crowned with an inverted pot, or even with a tumbler, a circumstance that at first seemed to me strongly suggestive of Buddhism, for it looked like an adumbration of the cupola (or waterbubble), which is the distinctive mark of all Buddhist temples. The Sivaites will not, however, allow this, though they can give no explanation of such an ornament."¹

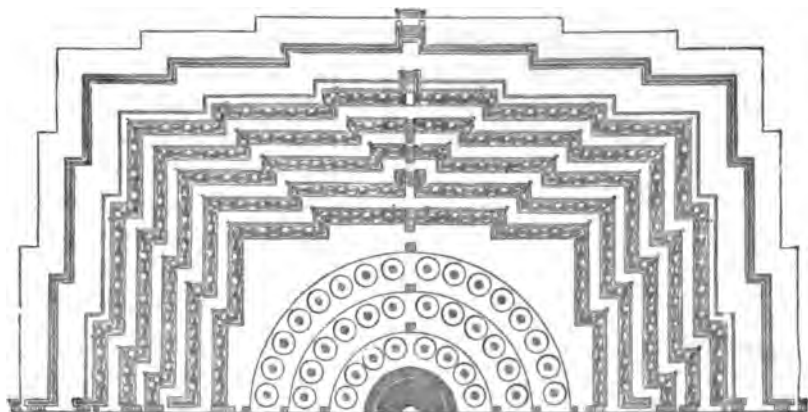
As accident has brought me to speak of Boro Bodor, I should like to recall attention to the very interesting observations of W. von Humboldt on the symbolism of that wonderful structure, with the view of eliciting information which I have not been able to obtain from any source accessible to me.

The construction of Boro Bodor is clearly shown in the woodcut at p. 535 of Vol. II. of *Fergusson's History of Architecture*. It is, omitting minutiae, a pyramidal structure rising in seven successive terraces from a square base.

The first of these terraces is low, narrow, and without parapet, and is now covered with soil. The second terrace is higher and of considerable width, forming a basement for the

¹ In the *Transactions of the Batavian Soc. of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. xiii. p. 33. Captain Joseph Cunningham also alludes to the "*Jain Models of Meru*" (in *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, xvi. 756).

highly decorated structure which rises out of it. This consists of five successive terraces, each surrounded by an elaborate architectural screen, so that between every two of these screens there is formed a corridor running round the four sides of the building. The fifth terrace forms a wide platform, from which again rise three low concentric circular terraces, bordered by as many concentric rings of small dagobas. In the centre, a larger dagoba of about thirty feet diameter forms the apex and crown of the edifice.

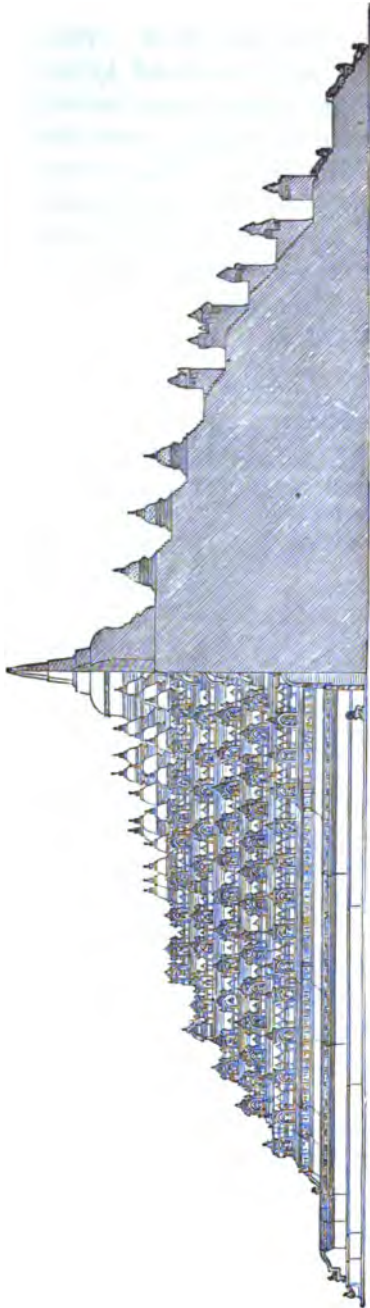


Plan of Temple of Borobudur. Scale, 100 feet to 1 inch.

In the outer face of each of the principal terraces are numerous niches crowned by miniature dagobas; and these niches have all been occupied by cross-legged Buddhas, whilst both sides of the corridors are carved in an astonishing series of sculptures.¹

The construction of the small dagobas, 72 in number, which form the three concentric rings, is very peculiar. They are hollow cages or latticed bells of stone, each of which contains a meditative Buddha immured, and visible through the diamond openings of the lattice.

¹ The number of these niches is stated on the face of Raffles's plate as 136, a mistake for 436, which last number is that stated by Mr. Fergusson. But 436 would give an uneven number to each side (109), a circumstance inconsistent with the design. I make the niches by the plan to be 440, or 110 to the side. But it seems probable that the real number of niches, or at any rate of images, was 108 to the side, that being a number in high and sacred esteem among the Buddhists as well as the Hindus. It will be seen that the number of figures in the concentric circles above is $72 = \frac{2}{3}$ of 108.



Elevation and Section of Temple of Boro Bodor.
 From an unpublished Plate intended for Sir Stamford Raffles' "History of Java."

In the Mengún pagoda we see that all seven terraces and parapets are alike in character. But in Boro Bodor only the five principal terraces and parapets are of homogeneous character; the two lower terraces or steps seem only to form a plinth or platform for the monument. Probably, therefore, the type of the pyramidal structure here is that which Captain Sladen supposes to be represented at Mengún, viz., Mahá-Meru alone with its five zones; whilst the circular steps above represent what a former quotation terms "the Heaven of the Gods, saints, and Budhas, rising above it into the Emyrean of Nirwana."

I will quote here the general remarks of W. von Humboldt on the types of Boro Bodor, which undoubtedly set forth the spirit of its symbolism, though probably his genius expresses it with a precision beyond the consciousness of the builders: "One

sees that the idea of the structure develops gradually from below upwards. In the six four-square terraces are set forth the innumerable Buddhas in living contact with the world and with men. Even that quadrangular form which presents the images of the Holy Ones respectively to the four quarters of the heavens is not without significance. With the introduction of the circle begins the reference to Heaven, and here also the symbolism recedes more and more from the corporeal. The bas-reliefs, with their groups and countless figures, disappear; the Holy Ones remain in their loneliness, severed from contact with the earthly, and in a position of the deepest abstraction. Access to them is closed; to the eye only it is open through the latticework. In the crowning Dome the Holy One himself has also vanished; all imagery ceases, and that which is hidden there even the eye cannot approach. Such a process of ascent from multiplicity and division to unity and indivisibility lies in all Buddhist symbolism. The highest of the Three Worlds is styled the World without form or colour. And the incarnated Buddhas, supreme in all Three Worlds, lose in the highest even their names."¹

The Buddhas of the Boro Bodor are represented in five different attitudes. Thus the immured ones all exhibit one peculiar action, and the images on each of the four sides of the pyramid respectively exhibit one peculiar action. The five attitudes are as follows:—

1. On the EAST side—The left hand rests, with the palm up, on the sole of the foot turned upward. The right hand hangs with the palm turned in, and in contact with the right knee (*viz., the usual attitude of Gautama Buddha*).
2. On the SOUTH side—The left hand as before. The right hand also hangs in contact with the right knee, but with the palm turned out.
3. On the WEST side—Both hands rest in the lap with the palms upwards.
4. On the NORTH side—Left hand as in 1 and 2; the right hand raised from the wrist with the palm open and outward.

¹ *Kawi Sprache* I., 126.

5. **THE IMMURED FIGURES**—Both hands raised opposite the breast, as in an attitude of teaching.

Humboldt comes to the conclusion that these five classes of figures represent the Five Celestial or Dhyáni Buddhas, belonging to a system which became known to Europe through Mr. Hodgson's memorable researches.

The attitudes in all cases, and the quarters of the heaven in the case of the four Boro Bodor figures which face those quarters, correspond to those assigned to the Dhyáni Buddhas by the Northern Buddhists.

The attitude of the Buddhas on the East corresponds to that of Akshobhya, who, in the Northern system, is the Regent of the East; the Southern attitude is that of Ratna Sambhava, the Regent of the South; the Western, that of Amitábha, Regent of the West; the Northern, that of Amogha Siddha, Regent of the North.

The attitude of the Immured Buddhas is that of Vairochana. This Dhyáni Buddha, according to Mr. Hodgson, is seldom seen; but when he is represented he is placed on the East, close on the right of Akshobhya. Pallas also assigns both of these personages to the East.¹

Those who have become acquainted with Buddhism in Burmah and Ceylon, where the books contain no trace of the Dhyáni Buddhas, will be slow to believe that those are the beings represented here, or that they were ever known in Java. And yet this last conclusion would be quite erroneous; for Mr. Friederich found the names of several of the personages of that system in a Sanskrit inscription from the temple of Tumpang in Java,² and apparently executed about the twelfth or thirteenth century. He has also seen reason, in the alphabetic character used, to believe that the influence under which these remains were produced came from Gangetic India. Still the key of the symbolism of Boro Bodor must surely be that very singular

¹ *Sammlungen*, ii. 86. Pallas knows the names of these as "the Five Beneficent Burkhans," but not their character, apparently, as distinguished from the Earthly Buddhas, or their relation to these.

² In the province of Surabaya and district of Malang. There are various finely sculptured images also at this temple, which, from the descriptions given, appear to represent persons, male and female, of the Dhyáni Buddha system (see *Batavian Transactions*, xxvi. 84-5).

device of the Caged Buddhas, so costly to execute, and yet repeated seventy-two times. And why should Vairochana occupy so distinctive a position?

Would not that be a more satisfactory and striking interpretation which Humboldt rejected, viz., that the four Buddhas, throned in their open niches and dominating the four sides of the cosmical pyramid, are the four Past Buddhas of this Kalpa, Krakuchanda, Konagamani, Kasyapa, and Sakya; while he of the upper dagobas is Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future, patiently abiding his development hidden in the heaven *Tusita*? To determine this, light is wanted on several points, which I have not been able to obtain. The chief of these points regards the characteristic attitudes assigned to the whole of the five human Buddhas.

I cannot find certain information in respect to any but Sakya and Maitreya. And it is remarkable that, in their cases, when we compare the characteristic attitudes of the Earthly Buddhas with that of these Dhyáni Buddhas, which are supposed to be the celestial reflexion of each, these do not correspond as we should expect.¹ The earthly and heavenly couples are supposed to run as follows:—

Earthly —1. Krakuchanda. 2. Konagamani. 3. Kasyapa.

Heavenly—1. Vairochana. 2. Akshobhya. 3. Ratna Sambhava.

Earthly —4. Sakya. 5. Maitreya.

Heavenly—4. Amitábha. 5. Amogha Siddha.

Now the well-known attitude of Sakya is that which belongs not to Amitábha, but to Akshobhya; and the attitude of Maitreya² is that which belongs not to Amogha Siddha, but to Vairochana. I may add that there seems reason to suppose the attitude assigned to Kasyapa to be that which pertains to Amogha Siddha.³

¹ This is noticed by Humboldt, *u. s.*

² See Pallas, *Sammlungen*, Vol ii, Plate iii, Fig. 1; and Plate ix., Fig. 2.

³ For Pallas assigns this attitude to *Divongarra* (Dipankara), "the Ruler of the preceding World-period," who, along with Sakya and Maitreya, forms the triad, called by the Tibetans *Diasum Sanji*, "The Three Lordly ones;" and in Mongol *Gurban Tsagan Burchan*, "The Three White Gods" (*Sammlungen* ii., 88). But, according to Schott, the third member of the group receiving these titles is not Dipankara, but the immediate predecessor of Sakya, or as Pallas himself says, "the Ruler of the preceding World-period," *i. s.* Kasyapa. So I suppose Kasyapa to have the attitude of Amogha Siddha, or of the northern figures of Boro Bodor (See Schott, *Ueber den Buddhismus*, p. 40).

These characteristics would identify the Caged Buddha with Maitreya, which quite answers to the hypothesis; whilst the eastern figure would be Sakya and the northern one Kasyapa.

But in the only precedents I can refer to, viz., the Ananda temple at Pagán, and General Cunningham's description of the great Sanchi Tope, Sakya looks to the North and Kasyapa to the West.¹ Is there then any precedent for the arrangement which would place Sakya to the eastward and Kasyapa to the North?

A third question will be as to the existence, on the Buddhas of Boro Bodor, of those distinctive symbols which Mr. Hodgson has brought prominently to notice. It would appear, from an allusion in his paper in vol. xviii. of the Society's Journal, as if he had identified some of these symbols on drawings of the Boro Bodor images; but I am not quite clear that this is meant, and I have no access to the former papers therein referred to. Indeed, I should not have presumed to touch these questions, in a position where I have so little access to necessary books, had not the receipt of Captain Sladen's memorandum given me so fair an occasion to bring forward the subject.²

A splendid work in illustration of Boro Bodor was in preparation eight or ten years ago at the expense of the Dutch Government, but I have never heard of its completion. If the figures of Boro Bodor should really prove to belong to the Dhyáni Buddha system, it is probable also that those figures sculptured on the exterior of the adjoining very remarkable Temple of Mundot, which I took for Brahminical divinities, really belong to the same system.

H. YULE.

Palermo, April 17th, 1869.

¹ I have not the "*Bhilara Topes*," and do not know whether General Cunningham gives the characters by which he distinguished the different Buddhas. And unfortunately I made no note of the distinctive positions in the Ananda.

² I have not the Journal nor the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society accessible, but I have a copy of Mr. Hodgson's paper from vol. xviii., which he kindly sent me some years ago, accompanied by tracings of the Dhyáni Buddhas and Bodhisatwas. It is well known, and indeed apparent from that paper, that he does not acknowledge the distinction so often made between Northern and Southern Buddhism. Even if the Java buildings proved to belong to the Dhyáni system, however, it would not settle that question, as Friedrich's researches seemed to point to a movement from Bengal towards Java in the middle ages, which might have introduced the Dhyáni system into the island without at all affecting the Indo-Chinese countries which received their Buddhism from Ceylon at an earlier date.

Note by J. FERGUSSON, F.R.S.

I have not the least wish or intention to dispute the theory put forward by Capt. Sladen and Col. Yule in their remarks, that the Senbyú Pagoda is intended to represent the mythical Mount Meru. I would, nevertheless, like to be allowed to explain that I think its peculiarities may be accounted for on much more mundane and less recondite grounds. The absence of any plan or section makes it a little difficult to speak with any certainty on the subject, but the photographs, with Capt. Sladen's descriptions, are probably sufficient to enable us to avoid any material error.

The central object at Senbyú will be easily recognized as one of those buildings to which we are accustomed to apply the names of Dagoba or Tope. If it contained a relic, the former designation would be correct; if it marked a sacred spot, or commemorated some sacred event, the latter would be the correct term. We do not in this instance know that it was erected for either the one purpose or the other, and it may therefore be designed to represent Mount Meru. If it does so, however, this is the first instance that has come under my notice of a Dagoba being so applied. There is certainly nothing in its external appearance that would lead any one to suppose that any difference existed between this one and the other Topes found so frequently in either Burmah or India.

Since the publication of General Cunningham's book on the Bhilsa Topes in 1854, we have become perfectly familiar with the form of Topes surrounded by detached rails. All that group are, or were, so enclosed; and from this and other examples, we may infer that the enclosing rail was an essential adjunct to the Tope. At Amravati the Tope was enclosed by two concentric rails, which still remain. My conviction is that there was a third, or inner rail, which has perished with the central building, but this is not important. In Ceylon, many of the Topes are surrounded by three concentric circles of pillars, which I do not doubt were the analogues of the continental rails. The temple at Boro Buddor, in Java, consists

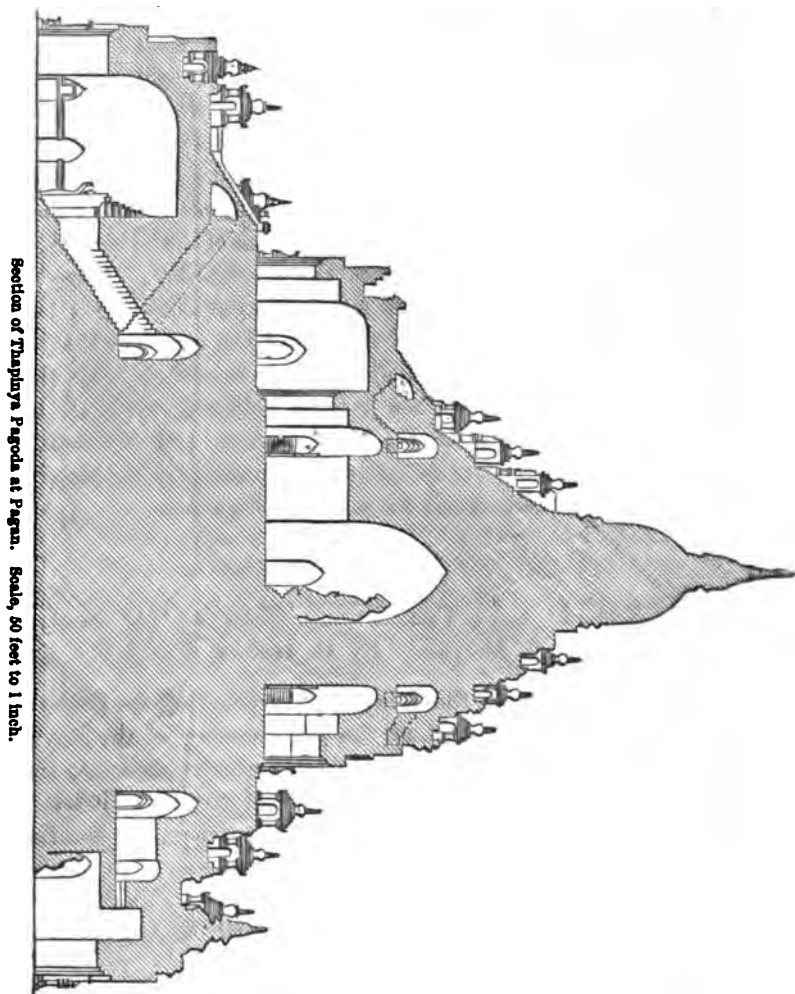
of a central group of Topes surrounded by five enclosures, which though square, or at least rectangular in plan, are in reality nothing but sculptured screens similar in purpose to those that surrounded the 'Amravati Tope. At Senbyú we have six, and in spite of the evidence of my senses, I believe that only six terraces were intended, though the photograph seems to show seven. The priests, however, may therefore have been right when they assured Capt. Sladen that the lower storey did not count. If this is so, then the Dagoba formed the seventh storey of the temple. For myself, I am quite content with the fact that we have here a Tope with six enclosing rails, without seeking for any further symbolism at present.

There is, however, another series through which we arrive at a similar conclusion, though by a different road. There are in Babylonia and Assyria a large group of temples of pyramidal form, consisting of terraces placed one above and within the other, and rising through three or seven stories. The temple at Mugheyr is the typical example at present known of the three-storeyed temples; that called the Birs Nimroud, of the seven-storeyed. But there are others at Nimroud in Assyria, and at Khorsabad which have similar arrangements, and the seven walls of Ecbatana, alluded to by Col. Yule were no doubt reminiscences of the same forms. In my "History of Architecture" (ii. 518), I pointed out the connexion between the buildings on the banks of the Euphrates with those on the Irawaddy, long before I was so familiar with the subject as I now am, and every subsequent discovery has only seemed to confirm me in this conviction.

The Sat Mehal Prásáda at Pollanarua was a seven-storeyed Pagoda in every respect analogous to these. The Maha Lowa Paya at Anuradhapura one with nine storeys. So was the temple at Boro Buddor which was also of nine storeys. But the temples most in point are those at Pagan. All the larger temples there, the Ananda, the Thapinyu, the Gaudapalen are seven-storeyed,¹—six terraces and a ziggarat, or cell,

¹ Yule's "Mission to Ava," p. 36 *et seqq.* See also my "History of Architecture," II. 516 *et seqq.*

with a spire at the top. These, it is true, are all square, or at least rectangular. This one at Mengún is circular, but that distinction is really of little importance, and to my mind the difference between the two is only what we should expect from



Section of Thapunya Pagoda at Pagan. Scale, 50 feet to 1 inch.

the six or seven centuries which have elapsed between the dates of their erection. One other point in these Senbyú enclosures deserves notice. It is their wavy or serpentine

form. It may sound fanciful, but my impression is, that it is really intended to recall the form of a serpent. At least, at Nakon Vat in Cambodia, all the ridges of the roofs and all the borderings of the pathways, were wavy serpents, generally seven-headed, but with the bodies of real snakes. Here it is so conventional that without the knowledge of what happened further east we should not dare even to suggest such a theory.

To my mind the most interesting peculiarity of the Mengún Pagoda is that it forms a connecting link—which has hitherto been missing—between the square and circular forms of these seven-storeyed Pagodas. With the assistance it affords I now see—dimly it must be confessed—the outline of the whole series, from the temple at Mugheyr to the present day. Many of the links in this series are still wanting to our knowledge; but I have no doubt that they exist, and I feel confident that as photography spreads we shall soon be furnished with the required information. When this is obtained we shall be enabled to write one of the most curious and interesting chapters which remain to complete our knowledge of the history of the ancient architectural forms of Southern Asia.

Some Remarks upon COL. YULE'S Notes on the Senbyú Pagoda at Mengún. By C. HORNE, F.R.A.S.

With reference to the interesting account of the Senbyú Pagoda at Mengún, read at the last meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, and more particularly with reference to the remarks by Col. Yule on the Buddhas of the Boro Bodor, I would, with the greatest deference to the writer, beg to offer some suggestions derived from personal observation of the manner in which many groups of figures of Buddha (Sákya Muni) are sculptured in Bengal and the North-West Provinces of India.

First, as to the number of times of representation. I may remark that the ceiling of the interior of the great tope or tower of Budh Gaya is divided into many hundreds of little spaces, in each of which Sákya Muni in his conventional atti-

tude is represented. If I remember rightly, the ground-work is of a pale yellow, whilst the figures are of an uniform ochreous brown. There is, however, no variety of position in the figure, and I believe that Gen. Cunningham ascribes the ceiling to about 1100 A.D. The painting is very much faded, and the ceiling of a much later date than the body of the building.

Secondly, as to the positions of the figures. I have before me a small square memorial stupa from Buddh Gaya, of no great antiquity, but evidently copied from a more ancient one, surmounted by a tapering finial of nine circles, upon the sides of which are depicted in relief, in niches, four of the favourite positions in which that great social reformer is often sculptured, viz., begging, expounding, blessing, and contemplating. To these is often added a recumbent figure of Buddha entering "Nirvána," or annihilation; and often one of Máya, his mother, holding the Sál tree at the time of his birth.

1. On the stone in question. To the East (I say East, although the sides are all precisely the same, because there is an inscription on it beneath the figure, and because the principal sides of every Buddhist erection, as far as I am aware, faced the East; and, thirdly, because Buddha is there represented as blessing), is a sitting figure of Sákya Muni in the act of blessing, both hands being raised before him with joined palms, turning outwards, and the soles of the feet turned upwards, showing the chakra upon them.
2. To the West, or opposite side, Buddha is expounding or demonstrating, with the hands in close proximity, and the soles of both feet still upward, as in the first position.
3. To the North, he is sitting contemplating in the position as described in posture No. 1. of Col. Yule, viz., the left hand lying, palm upwards, open on the right up-turned sole; whilst the left hangs down on the right knee, palm inwards.

4. To the South, he is sitting with his hands folded one over the other in his lap, *i.e.* between his heels (or in some other stones that I have seen, on *both the up-turned soles*), supporting his begging pot.

I have never heard it contended by any one that these various figures, or rather positions of the same figure, represent different Buddhas, nor do I think it likely that they do so; but that they are merely as I remarked in the commencement, different attitudes of Sákya Muni, in which that of teacher occupies the most prominent place.

The suggestions which I would therefore wish to throw out are—1. That the numerous figures of Buddha on the Pagoda of Boro Bodor all represent the same person. 2. That the building was erected in honour of Buddha, the teacher, as he sat “Turning the wheel of the Law,” or expounding his doctrines, or in the act of blessing.

The attitude No. 1 of Col. Yule would then represent Buddha as in contemplation under the Bo tree.

No. 2 would represent him expounding.

No. 3 would show him as a mendicant, for I find the begging pot to be often omitted, although it is placed in the general representation of Buddha in all Thibet (*vide* Capt. Austin’s paper, J. A. S. of Bengal, vol. xxxiii., p. 152).

No. 4 would represent him in the act of blessing, whilst the principal or immured figure is either in the act of teaching or perhaps blessing.

Gen. Cunningham, in his Bhilsa Topes, has shown the conventional method of expressing by the hands the act of teaching, *viz.*, the placing of the first finger of the right hand in a peculiar manner on those of the left, which leads me slightly to doubt the certainty of “both hands raised opposite the breast as in an attitude of teaching” representing that act.

I have also seen standing figures of Buddha—generally with the begging pot, which holds so conspicuous a place in

his scanty accessories, and I cannot but believe that the one and the same person is represented in many ways.¹

¹ So far as my experience goes, the conclusions I have arrived at are entirely in accordance with Mr. Horne's suggestions. At Ajanta, for instance, especially in Cave 19, Buddha is represented in all these four attitudes, and so frequently, but with such similarity of form and emblems, that I hardly think it can be doubted but that one and the same person only is meant to be represented. The same thing occurs at Kenheri and elsewhere in the western caves, yet I never heard it suggested that these figures were intended to represent any other person than the one Sákya Muni.—J. F.

UPPER NORWOOD, *June 23, 1869.*

ART. XI.—*The Byhat-Saṅhitā; or, Complete System of Natural Astrology of Varāha-mihira. Translated from Sanskrit into English by Dr. H. KERN.*

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.

1. Victory to the Allsoul, the source of life, the inseparable ornament of heaven, the Sun, who is adorned with a crown of a thousand beams like unto liquid gold!

2. After studying the subject matter which former Seers¹ have revealed with infallible truth, I purpose to treat of the same in an easy style, and in verses neither too few nor too many.

3. Should any one think that an ancient work, as being made by Seers, is good, and that a book by a human author is not, (then I would fain ask) what difference it makes in the statement, however different the wording may be, if the thing told remain the same?² The Holy Writ is here excepted.

¹ The commentator, Utpala, takes प्रथममुनि as 'the first seer, viz. Brahma,' but चन्द्रविस्वर, not being identical with ज्ञानविस्वर, points to a plurality of infallible authors, although it is true that Brahma, the Creator, is, of course, the very first astronomer in the Hindu system. The word प्रथम does not necessarily mean 'first.'—Cf. v. 5.

² To understand Varāha's meaning, one must bear in mind that the Ṛshis, Munis, in a technical sense, are superhuman beings. They are no more men than, e.g. angels, devils, Vidyādharas, Rākshasas, etc., are. In enumerations of the various beings, they are classed apart from men, *devas*, demons, etc., e.g. Sarvadarçana-Sangraha, p. 93, l. 20: देवदेवमुनिमानवाद्यः. Ṛshis and Devas, however, get often confounded, because both are manifestations of light, as stars, the sun, planets, lightning, the hearth-fire, etc., or rather the spirits, the

4. Whether the words run thus: "The week day presided over by Mars is not auspicious," as we read in the work issued by Brahma; or thus: "Tuesday is an unlucky day;" what (real) difference is there in the two works, one of which is made by a man, the other by a heavenly being?

5. Having taken notice of the numerous works that have come from Brahma, etc., in succession, I now undertake this composition. My aim is to give an epitome of those works.

6. Once this world was darkness (chaos). On its waters was a golden egg of light, one half of which was heaven, the other earth. In it Brahma was born, the maker of all things, he whose eyes are the Sun and Moon.

7. Kapila declares Matter, Kanāda Substance, etc., to be the cause of the universe; some proclaim that Time, others that Spontaneousness, others again that Action is the cause.¹

spiritual powers of those manifestations. It would be difficult to decide whether Agni is a *deva*, or a *ṛishi*, *kavi*; indeed, he is now the one, then the other. A curious passage is found in Mahābhārata (ed. Bombay), xii. 210, 21, where Gārgya (another form of Garga), the celebrated mythical astronomer, is mentioned:

गार्ध्वं नारदो वेद भरद्वाजो धनुर्विहम् ।

देवर्षिचरितं गार्ध्वः कृष्णाचेयश्चिञ्चित्सितम् ॥

Here is *devarshicaritam*, the mythological phrase for *jyotishāṅgati*. Garga himself is clearly a meteoric phenomenon; see, e.g. Mahābh. vii. 190, 34:

सिद्धताः पुन्नयो गर्गा चाक्षसिद्धा मरीचिपाः ।

भृगवोऽङ्गिरसश्चैव सूक्ष्मास्त्रान्नि महर्षयः ॥

This is pretty clear, at least to all who have no preconceived notions, and have taken the pains of spelling the alphabet of mythology before they ventured into its higher regions. It would seem that *garga* originally denoted 'thunder, lightning,' as a derivative from *garj*. It is the masculine form of *γοργω*. When real men, as Pāpini, are called *Ṛshis* by posterity, it is *honoris causa*; and this is natural enough, because *ṛshi*, *muni*, *kavi*, have, besides their technical meaning, the more general one of 'seer,' 'a wise man,' 'poet,' notions which are constantly used as synonyms in Sanskrit and other languages.

¹ Although the six categories (*padārtha*) of Substance, Quality,

8. But enough of this; for to decide all incidental questions would require too much time. Here I have only to determine what the divisions are of the Jyotiḥṣāstra, or Science of the Stars.

9. The Jyotiḥṣāstra, treating of several subjects, is contained in three branches. A complete course of it is termed by the Seers Sanhitā. In one branch are to be found the motions of the heavenly bodies, as determined by calculation: this is called Tantra, or doctrinal part. The second branch is Horoscopy, or the casting of the horoscope. Something different is the third branch.¹

10. The retrograde and post-retrograde motion,² the helical setting and rising, etc., of the five planets, are expounded by me in my work on mathematical astronomy. I have also copiously treated the nativity, which is contained in the "Horoscopy," and along with it the prognostications for marching and weddings.

11. Whilst omitting questions, answers, tales, which are of little use, the origin of the planets, and other futile things, I shall set forth what is essential and real in all points.

Action, Generality, Speciality, Inherence, are the foundation of Kapāda's System (see Vaiç. Sût. 1, 4), they are nowhere said, at least to my knowledge, to be the cause of the universe. It appears that the statement of our author is not accurate. Those who represent Time to be the first cause are, as Utpala rightly observes, the mythologists (*pauroḥitās*). He quotes a well-known verse from the Mahābh. :

कासः सृजति भूतानि कासः संहरति प्रजाः ।

कासः सृष्टेः सृजति कासो हि दुरतिक्रमः ॥

Spontaneousness is the cause, according to the Laukāyatikas; Action, in a collective sense, according to the Mīmāṃsakas, or followers of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā. Their tenet is shortly expressed in these words:

पूर्वव्यवहितं यच्च कर्म पुंसां शुभाशुभम् ।

तदेव सर्ववस्तूनां सृष्टिसंहारकारणम् ॥

From this, however, it does not necessarily follow that the material world, too, is an effect of Action.

¹ See Pref. to the text, p. 23.

² On *anvakra* see Indische Studien, x, p. 205, seq.

CHAPTER II.

Astrologer's Vade-mecum.

We shall now proceed to give an exposition of the astrologer's *vade-mecum*.

An astrologer ought to be of good family, friendly in his appearance, and fashionable in his dress; veracious, and not malignant. He must have well-proportioned,¹ compact and full limbs, no bodily defect, and be a fine man, with nice hands, feet, nails, eyes, chin, teeth, ears, brows, and head, and with a deep and clear voice; for generally one's good and bad moral qualities are in unison with one's personal appearance. Now, good qualities in a man are, that he is pure, clever, free, eloquent, ready-witted, able to discern time and place,² good in the highest sense of the word; not timid in society, unsurpassed by his fellow students, skilful, not addicted to bad passions, well versed in the arts of expiation, of procuring prosperity, of incantation, and of anointing;³ further, that he is regular in worshipping the gods, in his observances and fasts; that he is able to raise the prestige of science by the wonderful perfection of his branch of study, and to solve satisfactorily any question, except in cases wherein supernatural agencies baffle human calculation; finally, that he knows both text and meaning of the works on Mathematical astronomy, Natural astrology, and Horoscopy.

¹ The edited text has समः सु°, which is wrong; read समसु°.

² Utpala explains देवकाविविद्, as though it applied only to astrology, but it is more likely that the word must be taken in its more general sense.

³ Since the translation gives an inadequate idea of the terms used in the original, the comment on it is copied here in full:

उत्पातप्रतीकारार्थं वेदोक्तमन्त्रपाठविनिर्घोमानुष्ठानात् ज्ञानिकविद्या-
भिन्नः । आयुर्धनादिष्वधिकरत्तं पौष्टिकविद्या तदभिन्नः । इत्यादिता-
स्रोत्पापनमारसोच्चाटनविद्वेषवशीकरससम्भनधानादिकमभिचार-
विद्या तदभिन्नः । ज्ञानविद्यासु नित्यवैमिक्तिकव्याख्यक्रियाङ्गासभिन्नः
पुण्यज्ञानादिषु वेत्ता ॥

As to **Mathematical astronomy**, he must know the divisions of heaven and of time, in ages, years, half-years, seasons, months, half-months, days, watches, hours ($\frac{1}{24}$ of a day), half-hours, minutes, respirations, moments, subdivisions of a moment, etc.,¹ as taught in these five Siddhāntas: the Paulīya,

¹ Comm. धामो - होराषाष्टमानः । मुहूर्तो - ऋः (i.e. here a half nycthemeron) पक्षद्वयम् । नाडी घटिका चहोराषवध्वम् । प्रायः चासनिर्ममप्रवेशौ । पुटिसप्तनिमेषद्वयम् । पुण्यवधवस्यर्धः । तथाच भगवान्पराशरः ।

धावता कालेनाविकृतमक्षरमुच्चार्यते स निमेषः । निमेषद्वयं पुटिः । पुटिद्वयं क्षवः । क्षवद्वयं पक्षः । द्वयं पक्षाः काठा । द्वयं काठाः कक्षा । द्वयं कक्षा नाखिका । नाखिकाद्वयं मुहूर्तः । त्रिंशत्मुहूर्तो दिनमिति ।

According to this system there is no connection between the division of time and that of the circles of heaven. The system in which both divisions are made to correspond with each other may be held to be a fruit of the introduction of Greek science. It is given by Utpala as follows: तत्र (in another system than Parāçara's) कालक्षेपयोः साम्यं तदथा । काले षट् प्राणा विघटिका । विघटिकानां षष्ठा घटिका (the same as नाडी or नाखिका) । घटिकानां षष्ठा दिनम् । दिनानां त्रिंशता मासः । मासा द्वादश वर्षे भवति ॥ क्षव क्षेपे षष्ठा तत्पराणां विधिज्ञा भवति । विधिज्ञानां षष्ठा क्षिप्ता भवति । क्षिप्तानां षष्ठा मानः । मानानां त्रिंशता राशिः । राशिद्वादशकं भगव इति ॥ तथाच ब्रह्मसिद्धान्ते ।

प्राचीर्नाखिका (स्नात्?) षड्विंशटिका विनाखिकाषष्ठा ।

घटिकाषष्ठा दिवसो दिवसानां त्रिंशता मासः ॥

मासा द्वादश वर्षे विष्वक्क्षिप्तांशुराशिमगद्यान्तः ।

क्षेपविभागसुखः कालेन विनाखिकाक्षेपे ॥

तथाच पौल्लिखे ।

षट् प्राणासु विनाडी तत्पश्चात् नाखिका दिनं षष्ठा (viz. nāḍikānām) ।

दिवसास्त्रिंशत्कालो मासोऽसौ द्वादशभिरब्दः ॥

षष्ठा तु तत्पराणां विष्वक्का तत्पष्टिरपि कक्षा तासाम् ॥

षष्ठांशुस्त्रिंशद्द्राशिसे द्वादश भवक्रम ॥

Moreover Āryabhaṭa (Siddh. 3, 3), is quoted.

Romaka, Vāsishtha, Saura, and Brāhma Siddhāntas. He must know the reason why there are four kinds of months—the solar, natural, stellar, and lunar months,—and how it happens that there are intercalary months and subtractive days.¹ He must know the beginning and end of the Jovian cycle of sixty years, of the lustrums, years, days, hours ($\frac{1}{24}$ of a day), and their respective lords. He must be able to explain in what respect the reckoning after solar time shows similarity or difference, compared with the lunar, stellar, and natural reckoning of time, and to what use each of these is adapted or not. And when there is discrepancy between the Siddhāntas, he must be able to prove experimentally, by means of the agreement between the shadow and the clepsydra, between observation and calculation, at what moment the sun has reached the solstitial point, and at what time of the day (alias, at how many *ghaṭikas*) the sun enters the prime vertical.² He must know the cause of the swift and slow motion, the northern and southern course, and the moving in an epicycle of the sun and the other planets. He must foretell the moment of commencement and separation, the direction,

¹ For अक्षिमास see Siddh. Ārom. (p. 49, 22, and 271, ed. Bāpū-Deva); cf. Sūrya S. Trans. i. 40, note. For अक्षमणि (a *plurale tantum*) see Siddh. Ārom. p. 272 and 22. Utpala says concisely: शशिमन्सावनमानघोरकारादवमोत्पत्तिः । चाश्रुं मासं यावत्सावनमानेन मीयते तावन्ति प्रतिवर्षं षड् दिगन्वधिकतराश्च न पूर्यन्ते । तान्निबोनराचवाश्यानि तिथोर्णा न्यूनता -वमानि । From the Brāhma Siddh. is quoted: शशिसावनद्विसान्तरमवमानीति.

² The translation follows Utpala, who divides the sentence in this manner: अद्यनयोर्दक्षिणोत्तरयोर्था निवृत्तिर्जिर्वर्तनम् । तस्मा अग्निप्रतिपादने कुश्लः । तथा सममखलरेखासम्यथोनाभुदितांशानाक्षप्रतिपादने कुश्लः ॥ There would have been more symmetry in the style if the author had written: निवृत्तेः (viz. प्रतिपादने). It is, after all, quite possible that the *manus auctoris* really is निवृत्तेः. Instead of छायावलयम् the Comm. reads छायायम्*, and explains accordingly छायाया तात्कालिकया । यस्मिन् षडधनुसुर्वनोत्सदृष्टिश्च कुषटिका-कपालकर्तरोपीठैः काक्षपरिच्छेदकैः ।

measure, duration, amount of obscuration, colour, and place (where visible) of the eclipses of sun and moon; also the future conjunctions and hostile encounters of the nine planets. He must be skilful in ascertaining the distance of each planet from the earth, expressed in *yojanas*; further, the dimension of their orbits, and the distance of the places on earth, in *yojanas*.¹ He ought to be clever in geometrical operations and in the calculation of time, in order to determine the form of the earth, the circuit of the circle of asterisms, etc.; the depression of the pole, the diameter of the day-circle, the ascensional differences in time, the rising of the signs, the *ghāṭikas* corresponding to the shadow of the gnomon, and such like processes. If, moreover, he knows how to speak pithily, because he thoroughly understands all sorts of captious questions; if the science he expounds, by being put to the test by his own exertion and unceasing study, has become more refined—like gold is rendered purer by being put on the touchstone, by purification in fire, and by careful workmanship—then he may be said to be a scientific man.

It has been said :

1. "How can one who solves no difficulty, nor answers any question, nor teaches his pupils, be styled a scientific man ?

2. The ignorant person who knows the words wrongly, interprets the sense wrongly, and performs the operations wrongly, may be compared to one who praises his grandmother in presence of his grandfather on account of her meretricious arts.

3. The words of one who instructs will not be sterile if he thoroughly understands his science, accurately knows the rising of the signs by means of the shadow and the clepsydra, and is familiar with the contents of the Horoscopy."

¹ Here is a part of the Commentary : प्रत्येकग्रहस्य भ्रमणे योजनानि तेषां परिच्छेदे विज्ञाने शक्तः । यथा अमुको ग्रह एतावन्नियोजनैर्भू-
नोसादुपरि भ्रमति । ग्रहयोजनकर्षं जानातीत्यर्थः । तथा कक्षाप्रमाणा-
परिच्छेदकुशलः । अमुकस्य ग्रहक्षीतावन्ति कक्षायोजनानि । मध्यमो
ग्रहो यत्र भ्रमति तद्वृत्तज्ञानमित्यर्थः ॥ The word कर्षा denotes here
the 'half-diameter.'

It has been said also by the most honourable Vishṅugupta:

4. "A sea-faring man may, owing to the wind, possibly reach the opposite shore of the ocean, but never will any one, unless he be a Ṛshi, reach, even in his thoughts, the other side of the ocean called 'Time.'"¹

In Horoscopy are the following topics: the power or weakness belonging to the signs, half-signs, third-parts, ninth-parts, twelfth-parts, and degrees;² the determination of the power of the seven planets, which is various, as depending upon the direction, the place occupied, the moment and the contention;³ the temperaments, bodily elements, substances, caste, and sphere of activity, etc., that belong to the department of each planet;⁴ conception, time of birth, prognostication of prodigious accessories, instant death of the child,⁵

¹ The compound कालपुरुष means 'time-person,' i.e. 'time-personified,' which in English is simply expressed by writing 'Time' with a capital.

² On these terms Varāha-mihira dilates (Brh. Jāt. 1, 5-20, and Laghu-Jāt. 1, 8-20, in Ind. Studien, ii. p. 278-82).

³ An explanation of these terms is also met with in the Brhāj-jātakam, viz. of दिग्बल in 2, 19; of कासबल in 2, 21; of चेष्टाबल or चेष्टितबल in 2, 20.

⁴ As to प्रकृति, that is, वातपित्तश्लेष्मात्मकत्वं, see Brh. Jāt. 2, 8; for धातु, i.e. वसासुक्ष्मांसमेदो-खिमज्जशुक्रादि, see 2, 11; for द्रव्य, तादादि 2, 12; for जाति 2, 7; चेष्टा (explained by विनियोग 'employment,' has the more general sense assigned to it in the translation); see 2, 1, from the words राजानी रविशीतनू इ० आ०.

⁵ Utpala reads सद्योमरणं with रिष्टाध्यायः; that is to say, the *sadyomaraṇam*, 'instant death,' is treated in the chapter on रिष्टाणि 'fatal signs,' chapter 6 of the Brhāj-jātakam, रिष्टाध्यायः. That only *riṣṭa* and not *ariṣṭa*, can have this sense, is a matter of course. Nevertheless, we often meet with अरिष्ट in the MSS., where रिष्ट is required; and not only scribes, but even some authors, seem to have confounded both words, as appears from Indian lexicographers (see Diet. by Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v. अरिष्ट). The origin of the rather strange confusion must be a mis-read अनिष्ट, which means the same as रिष्ट.

duration of life, destiny and intervening changes of it, the most favourable combinations of planetary positions as may exist in theory, the constellations under which kings are born, the lunar constellations, the constellations formed by only two planets, etc., the celestial constellations, etc., and the consequences of all these; descent and character, the planetary aspects, manner of death, state after death, state in a former birth; the good or bad symptoms at the moment of consultation,¹ the calculation of a lucky period for weddings and other ceremonies.

In the Yātrā, or work containing prognostics for marches, is treated of: good or evil dates, week days, *karanas*, hours (of 48 minutes), the horoscope, constellations, trembling of the body, dreams, the anointment for securing victory, the sacrifice to the planets, the offering to the goblins, the foretokens of the fire, the gestures of elephants and horses, the talk and spirit of the troops, the measures of policy in conformity with the forebodings of the planets, the auspicious and evil auguries, the ground for encampments, the colour of the fire, the use to be made, after circumstances, of ministers, spies, envoys, and savages, and the expedients for taking the strongholds of the enemy.

By a great master has been said :

5. "The teachings of one whose theoretical and practical knowledge of astronomy² has, so to say, spread abroad everywhere, and is engraved, as it were, in his thoughts, and fixed in his heart, are not fruitless."

An astrologer must also be accomplished in natural astrology, in which the following matters are contained: the

¹ All these subjects form the argument of Br̥haj.-jāt., from chap. 3 to 25. The word *चनूक* has here the meaning expressed in the translation; *चनूकशब्देनेहातीतज्योष्यते*, says Utpala on Br̥h. Jāt. 25, 13.

² Comm. *यस्य शास्त्रं यन्मः समनसं भगवत्प्राणिन सहितं संवृत्तं नखितेनेत्सर्वः*. The addition of *gasita* is not exact, for this is contained in *śāstram*, the theoretical part of the science. The word *निषिक्तम्* in the text has to be changed into *निषक्तम्*, in spite of all MSS. The error is very common, yet an error, and a ludicrous one.

course of the sun and of the other eight planets, and, during it, their natural and unnatural symptoms, their size, colour, brightness of the rays, their shape, risings and settings, their roads and deviations, their retrograde and post-retrograde motions, the conjunctions of planets with asterisms, their course through the asterisms, etc., as well as the respective consequences for the different parts of the globe; the course of Canopus, the course of the Seven Seers (Great Bear), the division of things as belonging to the domain of each planet, the same as appertaining to the domain of each asterism, the conjunction of the five planets in the figure of a triangle, etc., the planetary war, the conjunction of the five planets with the moon, the effects produced by the planets on the years presided over by them, the symptoms of pregnancy of the clouds, the conjunction of the moon with Rohiṇī, with Svāti, with Ashāḍhā; the forebodings of instant rain, the conclusion to be drawn from the growth of flowers and plants as to the produce of trees and crops, the mock-sun, the halo, the cloudy line piercing the sun's disc at rising or setting, the wind, the meteors, the glow of the sky, the earthquake, the glowing red of twilight, the Fata Morgana, the dust rain, the typhoon, the cheapness or dearth of the products of the earth, the prognostics for the growth of corn, the banner of Indra, the rainbow, architecture, palmistry, the auspicious or ill-lucky movements of crows, the augural circle, the movements of wild beasts, of horses, the circle of winds, the good or bad signs of temples, of statues, the consecration of statues, the treatment of trees, the observation of the soil for finding veins of water, the lustration, the sight of wagtails, the allaying the influence of portents, miscellaneous matters, the anointment of a king;¹ the signs of swords, of ornamental gold-plates, of cocks, of tortoises, of cows, of goats, of horses, of elephants, of men, of women; reflections on womankind; the

¹ The ceremony denoted here by the term घृतकम्बलम् is commonly called पुष्यकामम्; see ch. 48, v. 3, and Var. Lect. The ceremony is styled *ghṛtakambalam*, because *ghee* is poured over the king by the priest, which being done, the former has to put on a *kambala*.

prognostics of boils, of shoes, of torn garments, of chowries, of umbrella-sticks, of couches and seats, the examination of jewels, the foretokens at a lamp, the good or bad signs of tooth-sticks, etc., such as occur in common life to every body as well as to kings,—all these things have every moment to be considered by an astrologer with undivided attention. And since the symptoms cannot be observed uninterruptedly by one man, an astrologer, if well paid, ought to keep in his service four other persons conversant with the science. One of them should observe the east and south-east, another the south and south-west, a third the west and north-west, and the last of them the north and north-east,—for meteors and other omnia appear suddenly, and produce effects by their form, colour, glossiness, size, by their touching planets or stars, etc.

Thus has been said by the great Seer Garga :¹

7. "The king who does not honour a scholar accomplished in horoscopy and astronomy, clever in all branches and accessories,² comes to grief.

8. Even those who, free from egotism and without anything to care for, lead a hermit's life in the wilderness, consult the man that knows the motion of the stars.

9. As the night without a light, as the sky without the sun, so is a king without an astrologer; like a blind man he erreth on the road.

10. If there were no astrologer, the hours, dates, asterisms, seasons, and half-years, would all be confused.

¹ Garga is represented as the astrologer of king Valnya, whose domestic priest was the planet Venus, and whose ministers were the VĀkshilyas. See *Mahābh.* xii. 59, v. 110 *seq.*, and cf. *note* to ch. 1, v. 3, here before.

² Utpala defines *śūro* and *upāśūro* clearly and concisely: यद्गणपत्तरा-
ज्ञीनाञ्चित्तं यदुत्तं तान्यङ्गानि । परिशिष्टान्युपाङ्गानीति । To the *parīśiṣṭāni* belong, for instance, the *puruṣalakṣaṇam*, the *ratna-
lakṣaṇam*, etc. Garga, as quoted by Utpala, puts it thus:

अधिकृत्य यदर्थीहि जगतो येन विद्ययः ।

तदङ्गमुत्तमं विद्यादुपाङ्गं श्रेयमुच्यते ॥

11. Therefore a king should consult a learned and eminent astrologer if he desire victory, glory, fortune, enjoyments, and happiness.

12. No one who wishes for well-being should live in a country where there is no astrologer, for where he is the ever-watching and all-foreseeing eye, there no evil will be found.

13. No one that has studied astrology can go to the infernal regions; nay, in the divine world of Brahma the divinator obtains a place.

14. The twice-born, who knows the whole, both text and interpretation, deserves to be the first in touching food at a Śrādh, and honoured as purifying the company by his presence.

15. The Greeks, indeed, are foreigners, but with them this science is in a flourishing state. Hence they are honoured as though they were R̥shis; how much more than a twice-born man, if he be versed in astrology.¹

¹ The commentator quotes from an unknown work the following characteristic stanzas which purpose to explain how it happened that the astronomical *āgama* had been preserved in so great purity amongst the Greeks:

ब्रह्मणवेद्भ्याय मयाय सूर्यः
 शास्त्रं ददौ सम्प्रणताय पूर्वम् ।
 विष्णोर्वसिष्ठश्च महर्षिमुक्त्वौ
 ज्ञानामृतं चत्परमासखाद् ॥
 पराशरश्चाप्यधिगम्य सोमाद्
 गुह्यं सुरार्णो परमाद्गुतं चत् ।
 प्रकाशयासकुरच क्रमेण
 महर्षिमन्तौ यवनेषु तप्ते ॥

That in this passage the Sun is represented to be the fountain head of astronomical science, and in other passages the Creator, is quite natural, because the Sun and Brahma (Hiranyagarbha) are identical. The word सवितु means simply 'Producer, Creator,' and स्रवणम् 'Creation,' and because the creation of the world is only a generalization of the Sun's rising every morning, स्रवणम् denotes 'morning;'

16. A person who frames predictions, basing them on pretended revelations (from an unseen voice) to his ears, and sealing (?) (the trustworthiness of) these by entering deceitfully statues, etc. (from whence he emits sounds as a would-be oracle); such a person ought in no case to be consulted: *Āe* is no diviner.¹

17. A person who without knowing the science exercises the profession of astrologer, is a wicked man, and a disgrace to society. Consider him to be a mere star-gazer.

18. Everyone that acts according to the star-gazer's advice,

from this *savana* is derived *सावनदिनं*, etc., i.e. 'a day reckoned from sunrise to sunrise, a natural day.' In Bactrian also *havana* is 'morning.' Another derivation from *sv* is *सोम* 'the produced, i.e. not original, borrowed light;' therefore the Moon is called *सोम*, Bactrian *haoma*, whereas the producer of light, the unborrowed light, is *सवितु*, the Sun. As to *Vishṇu* this also is another *name* of the Sun. Therefore the hymn, in *Rgveda* x. 90, that is a hymn to the Sun, is called *Purusha-sūkta*, the hymn to *Purusha* (alias: *Vishṇu*). Cf. *Colebrooke Misc. Ess.* I. p. 26, *seq.* A parallel to the *Purusha-sūkta* is to be found in *Mahābh.* xii. chap. 47; cf. chap. 200, v. 13, and chap. 280, v. 29.

¹ The scholiast seems to have misunderstood the word *कर्षोपश्रुति*. For comparison's sake here may follow the commentary: *कर्षोपश्रुत्वा कश्चिन्नविशेषं वक्तव्यं (r. वप्रा?) कर्षे यद्येष्टं कथयति । सोमे कर्षोपि-शाचवेति प्रसिद्धः ॥ अथवा प्रष्टारो यचोपविष्टाः स्वितास्तव्यश्च आत्मीयं शिशुं विसर्ज्य तेषां स कर्षा परस्परं क्रियमाद्यामाकर्षयति । तामाकर्ष्य पितुर्वन्ति यथा यस्मैदमभिधानं तस्मैद् (भवता) वक्तव्यमिति ॥ हेतुना तर्केश्चाश्रयं बुद्ध्या ॥* His explanation of *कुहवावेश* is thus: *कुहवेने-कृवाणे (क in one MS.) प्रसेना (v. l. प्रसेना) दिक्वेन । आवेशेन (देवता-दिप्रवेशेनेन wanting in one MS.) पिहितः प्रष्टसो भिन्वादिक्वे -भ्रन्तर-स्वितो -वक्तव्या वाचा सञ्जायते । एतैः कुहवावेशपिहितैः ।* The last words do not agree with the singular *पिहितः* above. It is doubtful whether the reading followed by *Utpala*, and perhaps by *Varāha* himself, be the original one. *Garga's* words may have been *कुहवादे-श्विहितैः* in which case the rendering would be: "on grounds of revelations, produced with deceitful announcements."

which is no better than a farce, goes to the realm of darkness along with the star-gazing charlatan.

19. A prediction by ignorant men is as useless as questioning a clod of earth at the town-gate; only that which proves true is held in estimation.

20. A person who frames his predictions by good luck, and, proud of his partial knowledge, delights in disputes¹ with the men of science, ought to be dismissed by the king.

21. But such a one as properly knows horoscopy, astronomy, and natural astrology, him ought the king to honour, and his service he ought to secure, if he be desirous of victory.

22. Not a thousand of elephants, not four times that number of horses, achieve so much as one diviner does, who knows the right time and the right place."

23. Evil dreams, evil thoughts, and deeds ill-considered and badly executed, soon vanish on one's hearing the harmony between the moon and the asterisms.²

24. Neither the king's own father, nor his mother, family, or friends, desire the welfare of him and his army so much as a trustworthy diviner does, who is naturally eager to increase his own reputation.

¹ The commentator explains सम्पत्त्या with सर्षदानेन, but to whom and from whom money would be given? Farther he analyses the compound तद्विच्छिन्न into तद् and विच्छिन्न, remarking: तदिति ज्योतिःशास्त्रं परामुञ्चते; but the Jyotiḥśāstram not being mentioned in our passage, the pronoun *tad* cannot refer to it. The component parts are तद्विद् and छिन्न, or, as another r. has, भिन्न. The latter means 'different from,' the former, 'cut, held in disrepute,' the verb विद् being in some cases synonymous with ह्य.

² 'Learning or hearing the harmony between the moon and the asterisms,' means in prose, as Utpala remarks, simply, 'being told the date of the month and the asterism (*nakshatra*) of the day,' तिथिनसर्षं श्रुत्वा. The same idea, in other words, occurs in our author's Yoga-yātra, 2, 23, seq. (Ind. Studien, x. p. 170).

CHAPTER III.

The Sun's Course.

1. There certainly was a time that the southern progress of the sun began in the middle of Aṅleshā, and the northern at the beginning of Dhanishṭhā; for this is the statement of ancient works.¹

2, 3. Now-a-days the sun's southern progress commences at the beginning of Cancer, and the other at the beginning of Capricorn. Any deviation from this rule is unnatural, as may be rendered clear by experimental proofs, either by observing the sun at rising or setting by means of a mark placed at a great distance, or by marking the shadows entering and leaving in a great circle.²

¹ Cf. Colebrooke, Misc. Ess. ii. 465; i. 109. Weber, Naxatra, i. 311; ii. 354, seq. Sir W. Jones, As. Res. ii, 391, seq.

² The term वेद्य, properly, 'piercing,' denotes here, as the popular expression 'shooting a star, the sun,' does in some European languages, 'pointing at a star to take its height,' etc; in short, 'observing.' In this sense वेद्य occurs, for instance, in Siddh. Ārom. p. 16, p. 220, and p. 337, seq. ed. Bāpū Deva. It has been quite exactly rendered by Sir W. Jones, As. Res. ii. 392. Here is the commentary: दूरे तिष्ठतीति दूरस्थं । दूरस्थश्च तच्चिह्नश्च दूरस्थचिह्नं । तेन वेधो दूरस्थचिह्नवेधः । तस्माद्दूरस्थचिह्नवेधात्सहस्रांशोरादित्वस्योदय उदयकाशे [ऽप्ययमपक्षमन्वेद्यं] । यतो मकरादावादिष्यः प्रतिदिनमुत्तरां दिशं याति । तथा कर्कटकादावादिष्यः प्रतिदिनं दक्षिणां दिशं याति । तेन दूरस्थितं चिह्नदित्वमुदये] - क्षमये - यथा सवितुश्चिह्नं कृत्वा द्वितीये -पि दिने तथैव कृत्वा पुनरपि विचारः कार्यः किमप्यपक्षमनिवृत्तिर्वाता नवेति । एवं दिनसप्तमं चावप्रक्षितानतसप्तमन्तिकासात्प्राक् पश्चाच्चान्विष्यं किं स्फुटमक्षितानतसप्तमन्तिकासतुक्का जाता किमादौ किं पश्चाद्देति । The words in brackets are not found in all MSS.; they are interpolated, as appears from अपि, which is out of place. On the observation of the equinoctial shadow Utpala dilates considerably; here is a part of his commentary: सवनी बृहदुत्तमुत्पास्य दिगङ्कितं कृत्वा तत्रथे शङ्कुं विन्वसेत् । तत्रच विषुवदिने सूर्योदया-

4. If the sun returns without having reached Capricorn, he brings ruin to the western and southern countries; if he goes back without having reached Cancer, then he destroys the north and the east.¹

5. By returning after passing the winter solstitial point, he brings safety and growth of corn; he follows then the natural law. It is when he takes an unnatural course that he causes danger.

6. When the being named *Tvashtṛ*² obscures the sun's orb, it not being the period of an eclipse, he destroys seven sovereigns and their people through war, fire, and famine.

7. There are thirty-three *Ketus*, sons of *Rāhu*, called *Tāmasakīlakas* (*i.e.* 'opacous wedges'). When these are seen on the sun, one must foretell the consequences from their colour, place, and figure.

समययोः प्राञ्चपरारेखायां तस्मिन् शङ्कोऽङ्गाया पतति । ततो यथा-
यथाको मितुनं यावन्नाति तदातथाकोदयकासि ह्याया दक्षिणेन याति
प्राञ्चपरारेखायाः । असमये -शिव । ततः कर्कटादौ स्थिते -के प्रतिदिनं
ह्रायोत्तरेण याति यावत्कन्वानं । ६० आ० ; then, about the time of the
equinox: अयमनितुत्तावासनायां तस्मिन्कण्डसे यस्मिन्प्रदेशे पूर्वाङ्के
ह्याया प्रविशति तत्र चिह्नं कार्यं यथापराङ्के निर्गच्छति तत्रापि चिह्नं
कार्यं । Thus also on the second day: इतश्चिह्नयोर्यदि साम्यमुत्पन्नं
तदा तद्दिने -यमनितुत्तरेण । तस्मां ज्ञातायां विचारयेत् किमयम-
नितुत्तिः करणामतसङ्गान्तिवासनातुञ्जा किमादौ किं पञ्चाङ्गेति ॥

¹ It is unnecessary to point out all the passages where our author represents physical impossibilities, although as portentous (*विक्रान्ति*), still as possible. He mentions these out of reverence for the seers of yore, or, as *Utpala* puts it, पूर्वशास्त्रानुसारेण. Cf. chap. 9, v. 7.

² It may be doubted whether the author exactly knew what the ancient authorities meant with *त्वष्टृ*. *Parāçara*, as quoted by *Utpala*, says :

अपर्वणि शशाङ्काको त्वष्टा नाम महायहः ।

आवृणोति तमःश्लामः सर्वलोकाविपत्तये ॥

Apparently, it is another name for *Rāhu*, but *Varāha-mibira* must have thought otherwise, for eclipses—possible and impossible ones—are treated in chap. 5.

8. They are baleful if they appear on the sun's orb, but propitious if they appear on that of the moon ; yet they are bad even on the latter, if they bear resemblance to crows, headless trunks, and weapons.

9, 10. The symptoms of their being about to appear are : turbid water, a sky covered with dust, a violent wind shattering the tops of hills and trees and accompanied with grit, trees having an appearance as if the seasons were changed, wild beasts and birds vexed,¹ a glowing sun. There are, then, also other uncommon phenomena, as whirlwinds, earthquakes, and others.

11. These phenomena exercise no peculiar influence if comets, the Tāmasakilakas or Rāhu, are seen : one has only to tell the influence of the latter, because these are the cause of the former (viz., turbid water, etc.) appearing.

12. In every country where they are seen on the sun's disc, one may be sure that calamity befalls the king.

13. Then even holy men, attenuated with hunger, forsake duty and good behaviour, and get, with starved children at their hands, painfully to foreign countries.

14. The honest citizens are plundered of their wealth by robbers ; their bodies are weakened, their eyelids swollen from incessant sobbing, and their eyes filled with tears of sorrow.²

15. Other people, starved, indignant at what they suffer at the hands of their own king and of foreign armies, give vent to their feelings in talking of the conduct of their king and the doings of the enemy.³

¹ 'Vexed,' दीप्त or प्रदीप्त, is an augural term. The vexation may be of different kinds. First and chiefly, animals are said to be 'vexed' when they are सूर्योभिमुखदिवक्षाः. Further, when they emit hoarse sounds (पक्षरवाः). For other kinds of vexation, see ch. 86, 15.

² In the text r. बाष्प for बाष्प, and in v. 8, क्वन्ध for क्वन्ध.

³ Utpala r. पुराकृतम्. Here his words : अन्धे - परे । एवं प्रज्वलन्ति क्वचयन्ति (not wholly accurate) यथा यत्कर्मास्माभिरनुभूयते तत्पुरा पूर्वं स्वचरितमात्मनार्चितं । नृपतिचरितं राज्ञा वा । अर्चितमिति । It being a matter of course for a Hindu, that यत्कर्मानुभूयते is पूर्वं

16. The clouds, although they were in successful condition at the time of their becoming pregnant,¹ give but little rain at the time of birth. The rivers get shallow; corn grows at but a few places.

17. If a staff in the sun is seen, the sovereign will die; if something in the shape of a headless trunk, there will be danger from sickness; if something like a crow, danger from robbers; if it be a peg there will be famine.²

18. The sun being marked with things in the shape of royal emblems, like umbrellas, banners, chowries, etc., causes a change in Government; if covered with sparks, smoke, etc., he destroys the people.

19. One of such figures brings famine; two or more tend to the ruin of the king. According as the colour of the figures whereby the sun is covered is white, red, yellow, or black, he hurts the castes severally.³

20. The danger approaches mankind from the same side as where these great portents show themselves first on the sun's disc.

21. When the great luminary, with beams turned upwards, is red, it destroys the commander-in-chief; when yellow, the king's son; and when white, his priest.

22. Variegated, or smoke-coloured rays, cause the land to

हृत्, it would be unbecoming to mention this as something quite extraordinary. Moreover, the symmetry between the former and latter half stanza necessarily requires पर. As to the meaning of आहत, cf. Daçakumâra, p. 94, l. 1 (ed. Wilson).

¹ The *Garbhâs* are the fancied fetuses of the clouds, conceived in a certain period of the year, and born 195 days after the time of conception. See chap. 21.

² The method after which predictions are framed is simple enough. Since the staff, the sceptre, is a token of royalty, the appearance of it forebodes good or evil, according to circumstances, to the king. A crow, being known as thievish, points to theft. A peg is a means of shutting, and therefore denotes the closure of granaries.

³ White is the colour of the Brahmans, red of the Kshatriyas, yellow of the Vaiçyas, and black of the Cûdras.

be disturbed by robbers and battles, unless it rain very soon.

23, 24. The sun is auspicious, when copper red, or russet, in the dewy season; yellow, saffron-hued in spring; pale, gold-coloured in summer; white during the rains; tinged like the calice of the rosy water-lily in autumn; blood-red in winter. At the commencement of the rains he may show whatever colour he uses to show at any other season, and will, nevertheless, bring good luck, provided he be glossy.

25. A rugged sun is pernicious to Brahmans, if white; to Kshatriyas, if blood-red; to Vaiçyas, if yellow; and to Çûdras, if black; on the contrary, a smooth sun bestows good upon the same.

26. In summer a red sun brings danger; a dark one in the rains causes drought; a yellow one in winter produces ere long dangerous diseases.

27. If the sun's orb is crossed by the figure of the rainbow, he produces quarrels between the monarchs. A bright, shining sun at the time of the rains setting in, brings rain in the course of the same day.

28. In the rainy season he gives rain the same day, if tinged like a Sirisa flower. If he has the dye of a peacock's feather, it will not rain during twelve years.

29. They assert that there will be danger from insects if the sun be gray, and from a foreign army if he appears ashy. Ruin to that sovereign in whose asterism the sun, while having a flaw, is standing.¹

30. If the sun at mid-heaven has the appearance of hare-blood, there will be battles; if he resembles the moon, the king is about to be killed and a foreigner to reign.

31. A pot-like sun occasions famine and pestilence; a fragmentary one destroys the king; one without beams is terrifying; one resembling a gateway ruins the town; one appearing as if it were an umbrella, tends to the loss of the country.

¹ The asterism, lunar mansion, of a sovereign is the asterism under which his country stands according to the division of the globe, as taught in chap. 14.

32. Whenever the sun resembles a banner or a bow, is trembling and rough, battles are at hand. A black line on the luminary shows that a royal councillor will kill the king.

33. When a meteor, a thunderbolt, or lightning,¹ hurts the Day-god at rising, then you may hold that the king shall die, and a foreign ruler be invested with government.

34. A sun that day for day, or at dawn and evening twilight is surrounded by a halo, or sets and rises blood-red, brings about a change of rulers.

35. When the sun at both twilights is covered with clouds that resemble weapons, he causes battles; when they resemble deer, buffaloes, birds, asses, and camels, he brings danger.

36. An asterism suffers greatly when it is scorched by the sun's rays; but afterwards it becomes purified thereby, as gold is by the heat of fire.

37. A mock-sun, when standing north of the sun, gives rain; when south, wind; when at both sides, there is danger of inundation; when it is seen above, it is pernicious to the sovereign; when below, to the people.

38, 39. The sun in the sky looking red like blood, or having his disc reddened by coarse dust, brings death to the king before long; being blackish, spotted dark, or accompanied at morn and eve with the dreadful and hoarse shrieks of birds and wild beasts, he is deadly to the people.²

40. The Day-god bestows bliss upon mankind when his surface is spotless, his orb not crooked, his beams are distinct, large, bright, and long; in short, when he has his natural bulk, colour, and signs.

¹ A definition of *wikā*, *açani*, and *vidyut* may be found chap. 33, verse 1, *seq.*

² Verse 38 and 39 of the text form one stanza in the metre Narkuṭaka. Cf. ch. 104, 53; Colebrooke, Misc. Essays, ii. pp. 148, 162; Weber, Ind. Studien, viii. p. 396.

CHAPTER IV.

The Moon's Course.

1. One-half of the moon, whose orbit lies between the sun and the earth, is always made bright by the sun's rays; the other half is made dark by her own shadow, like the two sides of a pot standing in the sunshine.

2. The solar rays being reflected¹ on the moon that is of a watery nature, dispel the nightly dark, as rays falling upon a mirror (placed at the door of a room) dispel the darkness in the room.

3. As the brightness attaches itself to the moon, on her going forth from below the sun, from the west side, so she rises brighter and brighter in proportion as she is going farther onward from below the sun.

4. Thus the brightness of the moon increases from day to day, in proportion to the difference of her position in respect to the sun, in the same manner as the shine on the west side of a pot in the afternoon.

5. The moon, when taking her course south of the asterisms Jyeshthâ, Mûla, and both Ashâdhâs, destroys seeds, aquatic animals, and forests, and causes danger of fires.

6. She is evil when going south of Viçâkhâ and Anurâdhâ; but auspicious when going through Maghâ or Viçâkhâ.

7. There are six asterisms with which the moon enters into (actual) conjunction before (theoretically) reaching them—viz., Revatî, and the five following: Açvini, Bharanî, Kṛtikâ, Rohiṇî, and Mṛgaçiras. There are twelve, the conjunction with which takes place when the moon is (actually) in them—viz., Ârdrâ, and the eleven following: Punarvasu, Tishya, Açleshâ, Maghâ, Pûrva and Uttara-Phalgunî, Hasta, Citrâ, Svâti, Viçâkhâ, and Anurâdhâ. With the

¹ Utpala explains मूर्च्छिताः with सङ्ख्याः प्रतिफलिताः; this passage proves that he is right. In this acceptation the word occurs often enough, indeed, but the Hindu commentators have commonly misunderstood it.

remaining nine the moon enters into conjunction (actually), when she has (theoretically) passed them—viz., Jyeshthâ, Mûla, Pûrva and Uttara-Ashâdhâ, Çravaṇa, Dhanishthâ, Çatabhishaj, Pûrva and Uttara-Bhadrapadâ.¹

8. (The different forms of the moon bear some resemblance to certain figures). She is said to have the shape of a boat, when she is broad and has one cusp somewhat erected. Boatmen suffer by it, but all other people will be happy.

9. They call it "the plough," when one cusp is half erected. Ploughmen suffer by it, but there is abundance of food, and friendship reigns between the monarchs, even more than can be accounted for.

10. When the southern horn is half erected, then the figure is named "the mischievous plough." It causes the death of the King of Pāṇḍya, and occasions warlike preparations.

11. Both cusps of the moon happening to be "equal," there will be plenty, safety, and rain, as much as in the first days. If the moon rises like "a staff," the cows will suffer, and the king rule despotically.

12. A moon in the shape of "a bow," produces battles, and victory will be theirs whose country lies in the direction of the string. The position of the moon in which she is stretched out from south to north, is styled "the yoke," and occasions earthquakes.

13. The yoke may be slightly turned up at the southern cusp; then the moon is said to be "lying on the side;" this

¹ The statement contained in this verse is one of those which our author found in the ancient standard works, and repeated out of piety for the Rshis. The commentator quotes one of those seers, Garga, from whose words we may gather that in his time (i.e. in the time of the author of the work ascribed to the mythical Garga) the Nakshatras had not all of them the same extension. Cf. Weber, *Naxatra* i. p. 309, *seq.*, where the passage from Garga is to be found. The remark of Utpala, cited by Weber, l.c., after a very corrupt MS., runs thus: **गर्गाचार्येणा-
न्वचोक्तान्वितान्वन्वचा खितानि । उच्यते । आचार्येणातिगोचरतया
षष्टियन्त्रेण वेधदर्शरुक्कसाभ्यान्वुक्तानि ॥**

ruins the chiefs of trading companies, and hinders the fall of rain.

14. If one horn of the moon is turned down, so as to be lower than the upper edge of the crescent, they term it "the inclined" position. It makes food scarce, both for men and for black cattle.

15. The moon shows an entirely uninterrupted curved line in the shape of "the basin."¹ At this occurrence princes that govern a province lose their place.

16. The moon—apart from the forementioned positions, being erected at the north side, causes the growth of corn and rain. When turned up north, she is declared to be threatening with dearth.²

17. Anybody beholding the moon with one cusp vanished, or turned down, or without cusps, or the new moon full, loses his life.³

18. The rules concerning the different figures of the moon having been told, now her various sizes follow. A small moon is said to produce famine, but a big one to bring abundance.

¹ The reading of the printed text and of the comm. कुष्ठाख्ये is against grammar. Not the curved line (being the subject in the sentence) is called कुष्ठा, but the figure. Therefore, the true r. is कुष्ठाख्ये, as exhibited in most MSS.

² The ten positions (स्थान) or figures (संस्थान) of the moon were well known to Varāha-mihira as wanting a scientific base. The motive that led him and other scientific Hindu astronomers to attend to such matters is well explained by Utpala: किमर्थमाचार्येष फलमुत्तम । अचोष्यते । घानि (viz. संस्थानानि) नोत्पद्यन्ते परिलेखविधौ तानुत्पातक्याणि कदापिदृश्यन्ते । अतस्तेषां भगवद्गर्नादिविरहितशास्त्रेषु फलानि दृश्यन्ते तानिचाचार्येष पूर्वशास्त्रानुसारेणोक्तानीति ॥

³ The comm. follows another r. (see VV. RR.), and divides the sentence in this way: एकेन शुक्रेणोपलक्षितम्—विखीनं मलितमिविकेन शुक्रेण—अवाक्युत्तमधोमुखं शुक्रेण वाक्य भवति—तथा सम्यूर्ध्वम् इ. ख.

This cannot be right, because शुक्रेण, not being an adjective, cannot be an attribute to इन्दु; yet it ought to be, because the following अभिनव is such an attribute.

19. Being of a moderate bulk—known under the name of “thunderbolt”—she threatens with famine and excites turmoils among sovereigns. A moon like a drum brings safety and plenty of food.

20. One may hold that a moon of very large bulk tends to increase the happiness of kings; that a big one causes abundance, and a small one dearth.

21. The moon, when one of her horns is touched by Mars, destroys the savages of the borders, and low princes; when touched by Saturn, she causes danger from war and famine; when by Mercury, drought and dearth; touched by Jupiter, she destroys the chiefest kings; by Venus, the lesser ones. The influence of these planets is trifling in the light half of the month; but in the dark half it shows itself in the manner aforesaid.

22. The moon being crossed by Venus, hurts, during seven months, the Magadhas, Yavanas, Pulindas, Nepalese, Bhrngis,¹ Marukuccas,² Surashtrians, Pancâlas, Kekayas, Kulûtas, Cannibals,³ and Uçînaras.

23. When transversed by Jupiter, the moon will afflict, during ten months, the Gandharians, Suviras, Sindhians, Kîras, the grains, the mountains, the Dravîda-kings and Brahmans.

24. At the occurrence of a transit of Mars, during a period of six months, the moon will destroy those kings that are prepared for war, along with their chariots, horse, and elephants; also the Trigartians, Mâlâvas, Kulindas, the

¹ This word is very doubtful; see VV. RR.

² Instead of मरुकुक्क, as exhibited in the printed text, we ought to r. मरुकुक्क, as one codex of the comm. actually has. It is one word, also, according to Utpala's comment. The Marukuccas, or Murukuccas, were a people in the modern Kaferistan, or thereabouts; cf. ch. 14, v. 23. As to मरुकुक्क, this would be grammatically correct, and mean ‘Marwar and Kach;’ yet, wherever it is intended to be *one* word, it is nothing but a very frequent clerical error.

³ The cannibals being always placed in the far East must denote either the inhabitants of the Andamans and Nicobars, or the cannibal tribes of the Indian Archipelago, or both.

foremen of corporations ; the Çibis, the princes of Oudh, the rulers of the Kurus, Matsyas, and Çuktis, and most eminent Kshatriyas.

25. When the moon's orb is crossed by Saturn, she will, during ten months, strike with grief the Yauddheyas, royal councillors, Kurus, the chieftains of the eastern countries, and the Ārjunâyanas.

26. By going across the moon, Mercury will oppress Behar, Mathurâ, and the banks of the Vepa, but everywhere else the Golden Age, so to say, is come back.

27. The moon on being transversed by a comet destroys safety, health, and abundance, undoes the men of arms by profession, and causes distress by the prevalence of thieves.¹

28. When the moon is touched by a meteor during an eclipse, then the king in whose birth-star she stood² shall be stricken.

29. An ashy, rugged, reddish moon, deprived of beams, or one that is gray, split, and trembling, occasions danger of famine, war, sickness, and robbery.

30. A moon appearing white as hoar frost, jessamine,

¹ In order to show in what manner Varâha-mihira made use of his authorities, the following passage of Parâçara's, being a counterpart to v. 21-27, is given as a specimen : तच्चाच्च पराशरः ।

अथ भेदेऽसुरमहभिन्नः पा (v.l. प) ह्यात्म (v.l. मा) नधमद् (v.l. धु) कुशिन्दुकीवृत्तककेकयववनधूसाम्बुडमार्जवा (v.l. रा) कृणाराब्जवृद्धि-
मदकुशौशीगरपुशिन्दुपुष्पादनेपालान् सप्त मासानुपतापयति । अमर-
गुहया द्य मासान् गान्धारवासातिस्त्रिभुवाह्लीकपार्वतकारजीराण् ।
चितिसुतभिन्नः कुशिशिमासवचिनर्तकुशिन्दायोधाधिपतीश्च या-
धिभिः सह षवमासानुपतापयतीति । अर्कसूनुसमेदे नृपविरोधामा-
हमेहा नक्षत्रयौधेयार्जुनायनभयानावृष्टिप्रादुर्भावश्च द्य मासान् ।
बुधभिन्नः सुभिचचेमवृष्टिकरः । वेतोस्तद्विपर्ययः । प्रवर्धमानो वपुष्मा-
नपराधिपहभिन्नो-ष्यमुभयसंहारिणो (MSS. संवाहिको and संहतीति)
भवति ॥

² One's birth-star is the asterism the moon is standing in at the time of one's birth.

the white water-lily, or crystal, and looking as if she had been carefully polished bright by Gaurī, because she knows that at night it will be an ornament on the head of her beloved Çiva ; such a moon will bring happiness to mankind.

31. If the moon, white like the fibres of the nymphæa or pearls, regularly wanes or increases, and shows nothing unnatural in her motion, disc, rays, or conjunctions, she forebodes the heroes' triumph.

32. By the moon duly increasing in the bright half of the month, the nobility obtain elevation and the people thrive. If the moon wane during that period, all classes of the population decline ; if she remain stationary, the condition of the country remains stationary also. In the dark half of the month the consequences of the aforesaid circumstances are quite the reverse.

CHAPTER V.

Rāhu's Course.

1. Some say that Rāhu is, forsooth, a demon's head, which, albeit severed from the trunk, yet, by virtue of having tasted of nectar, has continued alive and become a Graha (*i.e.* 'seizer,' or 'planet').

2. Having the same shape as the orb of the sun and moon, and being dark, he cannot, forsooth, be seen in the sky except at the period of the nodes, when he appears in consequence of the boon granted to him by the Creator.¹

3. Others declare RĀhu to have a body, consisting only of head and tail, the figure of a snake. Others again tell us that the so-called son of Sinhikā is incorporeal and opacous !

4. Now, if RĀhu, having a round form, were a corporeal being moving through the signs of the zodiac, or if he were

¹ Cf. Mahābh. i. ch. 19. The nectar, *amṛta* or *soma*, which the Devas and RĀhu drink, *i.e.* with which they plenish and replenish themselves, is the light they borrow from the sun.

a head, how then could he "seize" at a distance of half the zodiac, and his motion be subject to a rigid rule ?

5. And if his motion were not subject to a fixed rule, how could it be found by calculation ? As to the Rāhu known under the name of "Mouth and Tail," by what reason does not he "seize" at an intermediate distance ?¹

6. And now, the Rāhu who has the shape of a huge snake must "seize" with his tail or with his mouth ; how, then, is it that the part of his body between the mouth and tail does not cover the half of the zodiac ?

7. If there were a couple of Rāhus, then, at the occurrence of an eclipse of the moon at her setting or rising, the sun too would be eclipsed by the second Rāhu, which is at six signs from the former.²

8. (The true explanation of the phenomenon is this) : In an eclipse of the moon, she enters the earth's shadow ; in a solar eclipse, the sun's. Hence the commencement of a lunar eclipse does not take place from the west side, nor that of a solar eclipse from the east.

9. In like manner as the shadow of a tree falls on one side and stretches far, so does every night the earth's shadow by its concealing the sun's light (from the moon).

10. When the moon stands in the seventh sign from the sun, and not too much to the south or to the north,³ then, on tending onwards, she enters the terrestrial shadow.

¹ That is, at the distance of five, four, or three signs.

² Comm. अथ राहुद्वयमप्यस्त्विति । तत्रैको नियतचारो द्वितीयो -प्यनियतचारः । स षड्भाङ्गन्तरितो -र्कचक्रयोर्ग्रहसं चरोतीति तत्प्रति-
वेधार्थमाह । राहुद्वयमित्यादि ॥ एतदुक्तं भवति । यदा यस्मिन् चक्रमा
उदेति यस्मिन् वास्तमेति । तदा पूर्वापरहरिजासक्तस्त्रेन्दोरर्कस्त्रापि
पूर्वापरचित्तिजासक्तिर्भवति । षड्भाङ्गन्तरितत्वादुपपद्यते । द्वावपि हरि-
जादुपरिस्थितौ दृश्यौ भवतः पर्वत्तासक्तश्च सत्त्वादेर्केनानियतचारेण
चक्र-स्त्रासक्ते -परेणच नियतचारेण षड्भाङ्गन्तरितेन षड्भाङ्गन्तरितः
सूर्य इति ॥

³ That is, if she has the same latitude, or nearly so.

11. The moon moving in a lower sphere reaches like a cloud the sun from the west. Hence a solar eclipse has a different appearance at different places according to the point of view.

12. That which covers the moon is larger than herself; hence her cusps form obtuse angles when she is half obscured. As, on the contrary, the body obscuring the sun is smaller than the latter, the horns of the sun form acute angles.

13. This is the cause of an eclipse, as set forth by masters of heavenly wisdom; the scientific truth may be expressed in these words: "Rāhu has nothing to do with it."

14. As to that demon Rāhu, the Creator granted him the boon, that, at the period of an eclipse, he should feed upon a portion of the offerings to the gods.

15. Since at that time he is present, "Rāhu" has become a figurative way of speaking. The northern or southern motion of the moon¹ is in mathematical astronomy also figuratively called "Rāhu."

16. The occurrence of an eclipse cannot by any means be known from forebodings, as these appear at other times too, nor (if they be seen before an eclipse) are they to be considered as portents.

17. From the conjunction of five planets, to be sure, no eclipse can arise. Nor should the learned pay any attention to (the old method for finding out the direction in which the eclipse shall commence, by pouring) oil in water on the

¹ In other words, 'the moon's node,' चक्रपात. Comm. शुश्रित्ति-
र्याम्योत्तरा दक्षिणोत्तरा विधेयवशात् स चविधेय उत्पद्यते पातवशात्।
(Cf. Sūrya-S. 2, 6) यतश्चक्रपात एव लोके राऊरिति प्रसिद्धिः। भौमा-
द्दीनां ताराग्रहाणामपि पाता विद्यन्ते तेषामपि तद्गशाद्विधेयो भवति।
तेन याम्योत्तरा गतिर्ज्ञायते। किमयं ग्रहः क्लान्तव्यादुत्तरेण विचिह्नः
किंवा दक्षिणेन। एवं चक्रस्य चासी दक्षिणोत्तरा गतिः पातवशात्सि-
ध्यति सैवापि लोके राऊर्येनोपचर्यते।—एतदुक्तं भवति। चक्रविधेयज्ञा-
नार्थं यश्चक्रपातः परिब्रूयितः स एव लोके राऊरित्युच्यत इति। Cf.
Sūrya-S. 1, 68, seq.; Siddh. Ārom. Gaṇit. Madhyamādhy, v. 21.

eighth of the half-month (in order to see in what direction the oil moves).¹

18. The observation on the sun has to be derived from the parallax in latitude; the direction from the parallax in latitude and the variation of the ecliptic (alias, deflection); the moment to reckon from is the end of the lunar day. This has been treated by me in my work on mathematical astronomy.²

19. Seven deities, viz., the Creator, the Moon, Indra, Ku-

¹ Utpala quotes a verse from Vṛddha-Garga (v. 1. Garga):

ग्रहपक्षकसंयोगं दृष्ट्वा न ग्रहणं वदेत् ।

यदि न स्नातृधराच बुधं दृष्ट्वा ग्रहं वदेत् ॥

Utpala observes—एतदसत् ॥ अथापि दिक्परिज्ञानार्थमाह तैत्तिरीयसूत्रे ६० आ० । ग्रहणं यदा भविता तदाष्टम्यां तिथौ जलमध्ये तैत्तिरीयसूत्रं यस्मां दिशि न प्रसरति तस्मान्मेव ग्रहणं वक्तव्यं । तथा बुधनर्गः (v.l. च नर्गः) ।

अष्टम्यां परिवेषः स्नातीत्ये जलनते यदा ।

प्रसारिते विधानीयासतः स्रष्टुसतसम इतितद्व्यसत् ॥

² For the whole process cf. Sūrya-S. 4 and 5; Siddh. Cirom. Graha-nāvās. v. 11, *seq.*—Utpala calls the अवनति also स्फुटविशेष, as the corrected latitude is, in fact, the latitude applied with the parallax in latitude. He says: अवनतिरिति स्फुटविशेषस्य नाम । यदुक्तम्

अवनतिवर्गं अद्वाद्गोलीन्दुपरिमाणयोगद्वयवर्गात् ।

तन्मूलान्तु दिग्ग्यान्तिधिभुक्तिवदादिशिल्कासम् ॥

i.e. "subtract the square of the corrected latitude from the square of half the sum of the measures of sun and moon; multiply the square root of the remainder by two; from this predict the moment of obscuration, in the same way as you find the date in lunar time (*i.e.* multiply by 60 and divide by the difference of the daily motions of sun and moon)." This verse is taken from Varāha-mihira's Pancasiddhāntikā, the very work referred to in the text. The Comm. proceeds: एवमवनत्वा स्फुटविशेषे-यादावर्के यासो भवति सर्वग्रहणं स्रष्टुग्रहणमित्यादि ॥ To वलन, a more common form of which is वलन, he adds only an explanatory तात्काशोत्पन्ना. See Bāpū Deva in Transl. of Siddh. Cirom. p. 184, *seq.*

bera, Varuṇa, Agni, and Yama, have to be regarded as rulers, in regular succession, of the periods of eclipses, each for six months (from creation downward).

20. In the period presided over by the Creator, Brahmans and cattle thrive, safety and well-being reign, and the grain crops flourish. This likewise happens in the period ruled by the Moon; but there is want of rain in it, and suffering amongst scholars.

21. In the period of Indra, one may expect discord between sovereigns, loss of the autumnal corn, and want of safety. In the period of Kubera, great merchants lose their wealth, but else there is abundance.

22. The epoch of Varuṇa is unlucky to kings, but produces security to others, and good crops. That of Agni, which is also named after Mitra, gives grain, health, safety, and rain.

23. That of Yama causes drought, dearth, and loss of the crops. Any other period of eclipses¹ is unlucky, and brings famine, pestilence, and drought.

24. When an eclipse takes place before the (calculated) moment of contact, the fetuses of the clouds miscarry and war will rage; when after the just moment, flowers and fruits will be lost, and there is unsafety and a failure of crops.

25. These effects of such eclipses as take place too early or too late I have mentioned because I have found this in ancient works; for one who knows mathematical astronomy, there can be no question of an eclipse occurring at a wrong time.

26. If an eclipse of the sun and of the moon should happen to occur both in the same month, then monarchs perish by the troubles in their own armies, and war rages violently.

¹ That is to say, an eclipse at any other period but that of six months. Comm. एतदुक्तं भवति । षडमासोत्तरवृद्ध्या पर्वेशा उक्ताः । तत्र कदाचिदुत्पातवशात् (!) पक्षभिर्मासेः सधिः पक्षभिर्वा षडभिः सधिः सप्तभिर्वा पर्वे भवति । तदा तत्पर्वे ब्रह्मादि न भवति तच्च शुभ्वारावृष्टिदम् ॥ A quotation from Garga—

चन्द्रे पक्षममासे तु मासे त्वेकादशे तथा ।
सप्तदशे वा सूर्यस्य ग्रहणं शुभघाय तत् ॥

27. The sun and moon, eclipsed at rising or setting, are pernicious to the autumnal corn and to kings; when wholly obscured and seen by evil planets (viz., Mars and Saturn), they bring famine and pestilence.

28. The sun, being obscured when half risen on the horizon, destroys the populace and all kinds of sacrifices; when in the first division of heavens,¹ he ruins those who in their profession make use of fire,² men excelling in virtue, priests, and ascetics.

29. The same being eclipsed in the second division, strikes the husbandmen, heretics, merchants, Kshatriyas, and commanders of armies; in the third, the artisans, Çûdras, foreigners, and royal councillors.

30, 31. Obscured on mid-day, the sun is fatal to sovereigns and the middle-country, but the grain will fetch fair prices; in the fifth division of heavens, he damages grass-eating animals, ministers, women, and Vaiçyas; in the sixth division, women and Çûdras; at the time of setting, the robbers and savage tribes of the borders.³ When an eclipse ends in that part of the heavens to which those indicated here before belong, then happiness awaits them.

32. Râhu appearing when the sun is in its northern progress, ruins the Brahmins and princes; when the sun is in the southern progress, the Vaiçyas and Çûdras. The same when

¹ The heaven, and also the day, are for the purpose divided into six parts. Yet the Scholiast says, 'into seven parts.' साह्यदिनप्रमाणात् सप्तभिर्भागमपहृत्य यज्ञभवे तत्सांशप्रमाणं । अनेनाकाशमपि सप्तधाकृतं भवति । तथाच

स्यार्थिकं मौचिकज्ञानं काशं सप्तगुणं हरत् ।

दिनमानेन यज्ञन्धं सांशमाणं युगस्य तत् ॥

एवं क्त्वा विचारयेत् कश्चिन्नाकाशभागे प्रयहृत्य मोचो वा ॥

² The Scholiast explains the word अग्न्युपजीविन् and synonyms, both here and at other passages, by 'goldsmiths, blacksmiths,' etc. सुवर्णकारप्रभृतयः and at v. 35: सुवर्णकारलोहकाराद्यस्कारप्रभृतयः

³ Comm. प्रत्यक्षा गङ्गुरवासिनः

seen in the north, the east, and so on, destroys the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, and the rest, in succession.¹

33. By standing in an intermediate direction he strikes the barbarians, kings who have taken the field, and the keepers of sacrificial fires. In the south, he is deadly to aquatic animals and elephants; in the north, to cows.

34. When the demon comes up from the east, he makes the earth replete with water; when from the west, he is declared to be pernicious to farmers, servants, and seeds.

35. At an eclipse (of the sun or moon whilst standing) in Aries, the Pancālas, Kalingas, Çūrasenas, Kāmbojas, Orisesees, Kirātas, men who follow the profession of arms and smiths come to grief.

36, 37. When the sun or moon is obscured in Taurus, cow-herds, cattle and its breeders, as well as persons who have risen to eminence, come to grief; so do noble ladies, kings, king-like men,² persons endowed with strength and with artistic talents, the people dwelling on the banks of the Jamna, the Bāhlikas, Matsyas, and Suhmas, when the eclipse occurs in Gemini.

38. An eclipse in Cancer causes suffering to the Ābhīras, Çabarās, Pahlavas, Mallas,³ Matsyas, Kurus, Scythians, Pancālas, and maimed persons, and ruins the corn too.

¹ The author and Utpala were perfectly well aware that many statements of the ancient astrologers have no foundation whatever in observation. The remarks of the commentator to this verse are curious—
 गन्धर्वचक्रं उदनादिदृष्टो राजर्विप्रादीन्निहन्ति तदुत्तरदक्षिणदिग्भा-
 नात्कदाचिदपि रविशशिनोः प्रयह्यमोषी न भवतस्त्वत्किमित्युक्तम् ।
 एतदसत्त्वं गणितगोलाविज्ञानमिति । अथोच्यते । पूर्वशास्त्रेषु भगवत्परा-
 शररर्गादिविरचितेषु दृश्यते तैत्तरीत्यादिकं पर्वाधिकृतयोक्तं फलमेतत् ।
 तदेव पूर्वशास्त्रदृष्टत्वादाचार्येणाप्युक्तमिति । यतस्त्वत् प्रतिषेधम् ज्यो-
 तिषमागमशास्त्रं विप्रतिपत्तौ न योग्यमस्माकं स्वयमेव विकल्पयितुं
 किन्तु बह्वर्णान् मतं वक्ष्ये. (See Brh. Sanh. ch. 9, v. 7, where this pro-
 gram, प्रतिज्ञा, of Varāha-mihira is found).

² Comm.: नृपमाषा नृपसदृशाः, to which in some MSS. is added
 अमात्याः.

³ The Scholiast takes मल्लान् here as an appellative noun, बाहुबुद्ध-
 चान् 'boxers.'

39, 40. One in Leo destroys the Pulinda-hordes, the Me-kalas, courageous men, peers of kings, monarchs, and the inhabitants of the woods; one in Virgo, the grains, poets, writers, singers, the countries of Aṣmaka and Tripura, and the rice fields; one in Libra, the Avantis, the people of the western border land, honest men, merchants, the Daçârṇas and inhabitants of the province of Bhroach; one in Scorpio, the Udumbaras, Madras, Colas, the trees, Yaudheyas, and such as fight with poison.¹

41. An eclipse in Sagittarius is mortal to chief ministers, horses, the Videhas, boxers,² the Pancâlas, physicians, merchants, cruel persons, and military men from profession; in Capricorn, to fishes,³ ministers' families, the populace, to persons skilful in spells and herbs, to aged men, and soldiers.

42. An eclipse in Amphora will strike the natives of Antargiri⁴ and of Western India, the porters, robbers, Âbhîras,

¹ The expression विषायुधीयाः is somewhat ambiguous. According to the Scholiast it is विषमायुधं येषाम्. It must denote, in the widest sense, all living beings that make use of poison in self-defence, like the scorpion, for the system of astrology requires a connexion between Scorpio, in which the eclipse occurs, and the sufferers by it.

² Or, 'the Mallas;' may be the expression applies both to these and to boxers.

³ 'To fishes,' because the Makara is an aquatic animal.

⁴ The different copies of the Comm. have been so meddled with that it is well-nigh impossible to make out what reading is the one preferred by Utpala himself. Thus much is certain, that some copies have, or should have अन्तर्गिरिजातपस्वि°, others अन्तर्गिरिजासपस्वि°. One MS. has अन्तर्गिरि गिरिरन्तरे जाताङ्गानित्थर्थः। Another, however, अन्तर्मध्ये गिरौ पर्वते जाता अन्तर्गिरिजास्तान्पर्वतमध्ये जाताम् । तांश्च सपस्वि°, yet this latter copy contains the following words, which would have been expected in the former copy, where they are just wanting: केचिदन्तर्गिरिजासपस्विमज्जानिति पठन्ति । गिरिरन्तरेजान् अजांश्च जना (!) प्राकपाठी - च शोभनः ॥ The difference itself is trifling, but the quoted passage may show how the MSS. have been altered. I am not able to say which part of the Himâlayan hill-country was called Antargiri; it may be Kumaon, or a still more eastern district. Cf. ch. xvi. 2, and Mahâbhâr. II. ch. xxvii. 3.

Dards, Āryas,¹ the inhabitants of Sinhapura and Barbaras; in Pisces, the shores of the ocean, substances coming from the sea, great people, wise men, and those who get their living by water. The consequences of (an eclipse of the sun or moon in any of) the lunar mansions must be told according to the geographical division of the earth, taught (in ch. xiv.)²

43. There are ten kinds of obscuration, termed as follows: Standing to the right, standing to the left, licking, biting at, subduing, total obscuration, assailing, touching slightly, darkness in the middle, and darkness at the outer edge.

44. When the eclipsing body stands to the right,³ mankind will have plenty of rain, feel glad and safe; when to the left, the people perish by depredations of kings and robbers.

45. The so-called licking takes place when a tongue, as it were, licks around the orb of the luminary (sun or moon). At this event there is great joy amongst all beings on earth, and an abundance of water.

46. They call it "biting at," when a quarter, or a third, or even the half is obscured. Then wealthy monarchs lose their treasures, and wealthy countries suffer.

47. When the obscuration, after beginning at the extremities, continues thickened in the middle, it is known under the name of "subduing," and brings great joy to all creatures.

48. It is a "total obscuration" if the dark one long continues obscuring the whole disc; this occurring, he will destroy the chief countries and the chief potentates.

49. If, after the end of an eclipse, Rāhu immediately re-

¹ Utpala takes आर्यान् appellative, प्रधानजनान्, 'Seigniors.' It seems more likely that the inhabitants of Āryāvarta are meant.

² That is to say, when an eclipse occurs whilst the sun or moon is standing in such or such a Nakshatra, woe betides that part of the globe which is allotted to the Nakshatra.

³ Comm. : तमसि राहो सञ्चगते चन्द्रस्यार्कस्य [वा] दक्षिणभागगते । Further is explained what is meant with the right and left side of the sun and moon : अथ चन्द्रग्रहण आग्नेयां राहोरगमनं सञ्चमिशान्वा-मपसञ्चन । अर्कग्रहणे वायव्यां सञ्च निर्धत्त्वामपसञ्चमिति ।

turns and appears again, it is styled "assailing,"¹ which is terrific because of the internecine wars waged by the kings.

50. When you see, as it were, a mirror covered at one spot with vaporous breathing, it is the obscuration known as "touching slightly;" it brings nice rain and fertility.

51. When the darkness is confined to the middle, whereas round it remains a bright ring,² it causes the ruin of the middle-country, and danger from gastric diseases.

52. Very thick darkness at the extremities, and very little in the middle, appears in the obscuration called "darkness at the outer edge." At this it is to be dreaded that all sorts of plagues of the country³ will waste the grain, and unsafety prevail on account of robbers.⁴

53. When Rāhu is white, one may announce safety and copiousness of food, but suffering to the Brahmans; when fire-red, danger of fires and affliction to smiths.

54. When greenish yellow, diseases will be frequent, and the grain be lost by plagues of different kind; when russet,

¹ The scholiast does not fail to observe the impossibility of this case: **व्यथेतन्नोपपद्यते । तथापि पूर्वशास्त्रानुसारेणाचार्यैरुक्तम् ।**

² Utpala again remarks that this can only happen with solar eclipses, and he adduces the reason why.

³ The definition of ईतयः i.e. सखोपद्रवाः is given in this distich :

अतिवृष्टिरनावृष्टिर्मूषकाः शकभाः मुक्ताः ।

अत्यासन्नाश्च राजानः घटेते स्त्रीतयः स्मृताः ॥

⁴ Parallel passages to vv. 43-52 are quoted in the Comm. from Parāçara and Kāçyapa. For comparison's sake the latter passage, being also the shorter of the two, here follows. **तथाच काञ्चपः ।**

सखने तु सुभिर्षं स्नादपसव्ये तु तस्कराः ।

वेहे (v.l. स्त्रीटे) प्रजाः प्रहृष्टाः (v.l. हर्षिताः) सूर्यसर्गं खोक्ताश्रमम् ॥

निरोधे जनहर्षः स्नादारोहे नृपसङ्घयः ।

आमर्दिते चापमर्दे स्वयं पुञ्जनि पार्थिवाः ॥

स्वच्छवर्षप्रदेशं यदाघ्रातं तद्विवृद्धये ।

मध्ये तमसि सन्दृष्टे पीडयेन्मध्यदेशजान् ।

पर्यन्ते तमसि वृष्टे सखानामीतिर्षं भयम् ॥

swift-going animals and barbarians perish, and famine prevails.

55. When coloured like the rising sun, there will be dearth, lack of rain, and distress amongst birds; when showing a dark purple tinge, one may predict security, abundance, and little rain.

56. When pigeon-dyed, red, russet, or gray, danger of famine may be positively announced. A pigeon-coloured and black-tinged Rāhu produces sickness amongst the Çūdras.

57. One that is yellow as the topaz¹ is pernicious to the Vaiçyas, but conducive to abundance of food. At one that is flaming, there is apprehension of fires; at one looking like red chalk, war.

58. Is it that Rāhu appears gray like the stalks of Dūb-grass, then you may announce that there shall be pestilence. When he resembles the trumpet flower, he brings danger from thunderbolts.

59. Being dust-coloured, or red, he is fatal to the Kshatriyas and the rains; showing the hue of the morning sun, the nelumbium speciosum, or the rainbow, he tends to excite the raging of arms.

60. Mercury, on seeing the sun or moon eclipsed, occasions the loss of ghee, honey, oil, and of sovereigns; Mars, slaughter in hostile encounters, raging of fires, and danger from robbers.

61. Venus (when looking on an eclipse) causes the destruction of corn and manifold annoyances on earth. Saturn brings drought, scarcity, and unsafety on account of robbers.

62. Any evil produced by a planet through its look, at the beginning or end of an eclipse, is allayed by the look of Jupiter, as burning fire is quenched by water.

63. When, during an eclipse, the following foretokens arise, viz., storm, fall of meteors, dust, earthquake, darkness, and

¹ विमलमणि is in Wilson's Dictionary rendered by *crystal*, but that cannot be the acceptation of the term here. From the yellow colour we may infer that it is one of the different sorts of stone which are known under the name of 'oriental topaz,' as chrysolith or corindon.

thunder-strokes, then another eclipse takes place after six months, twelve months, and further in regular succession.¹

64. By Mars partaking of an eclipse,² the country people of Avanti, those who dwell near the banks of the Kâveri and Nerbadda, and proud monarchs, become afflicted.

65. Mercury (in the same case) ruins the Doab, the Sarayû, Nepal, the eastern ocean, the Sone, women, kings, soldiers, lads, and scholars.

66. When Jupiter becomes obscured, scholars, kings, ministers, elephants, horses, perish; besides those who dwell along the banks of the Indus and the inhabitants of the north.

67, 68. By Venus becoming eclipsed, the Daserakas, Kekayas, Yauddheyas, the inhabitants of Āryāvarta, Çibis, and women, ministers, and companies suffer; by Saturn, the inhabitants of the desert, the Pushkaras, Surashtrians, minerals, the people of Mount Arbuda, the lowest classes of the population, the Gomanta³ and Pāriyâtra mountaineers go to destruction very soon.

¹ Comm.

तथाच पराशरः ।

उपरत्ते यदा चन्द्रे बलवान्वाति मासतः ।

मासे षष्ठे तदा विद्याद्राहोरात्मनं ध्रुवम् ॥

उक्तायां द्वादशे मासे रवसाष्टदशे तथा ।

भूबन्धे तु चतुर्विंशे चिंशे तमसि निर्दिशेत् ।

षट्त्रिंशे - शनिपाते स्नात् सर्वेषु स्नात्वकुत्तरे ॥

² A planet is said to be 'eclipsed,' when, at the time of an eclipse, it is standing in the same sign or asterism (राशि) with the sun or moon, and having nearly the same latitude with one of these. Utpala expresses himself in this way: अत्रादौ ताराग्रहाणां यस्मिन् व्याख्यायते । यो ग्रहो - केष चन्द्रेण वा सहैकराशी भवति तत्र चातिविचित्रो न भवति । तदाच्छादनाद्ग्राहकस्य (सो - प्यङ्गुली भवति । तेन wanting in some MSS.) यस्य इत्युच्यते ॥

³ The scholiast r. गोमन्तः पा° (although in the MSS. is written गोमन्तपा°) and regards गोमन्तः as an appellative noun, paraphrasing it by गोमिनः 'possessors, breeders of kine.' Cf. however ch. xvi. 17, where the word is certainly the name of the mountain or hill district. In some Codd. of the Comm. are added the words: केचिन्नोर्गदा (v.l. गोगर्दा) इति पठन्ति.

69. Rāhu, seen in the month Kārttika¹ afflicts the smiths, the Magadhas, the potentates of Eastern Hindustān, the Kosalas, Kalmāshas, Çūrasenas, and Kāçis ; he will also soon strike the king of Kalinga, with his councillors and servants, and bring the Kshatriyas to grief, but produce safety and plenty.

70. In Mārgaçrsha he will hurt the Kashmirians, Kausalakas, and Puṇḍras, the wild beasts and people of the western marches ; he also crushes the drinkers of Soma, but brings beautiful rains, safety, and abundance.

71. By an eclipse in Pausha, the Brahmans and Kshatriyas meet with adversity, and the Sindhians, Kukuras, and Videhas become ruined. Moreover, one may be sure that there will be little rain, unsafety, and dearth.

72. Rāhu, when seen in Māgha, afflicts those as are piously attached to their parents, those who bear the family name of Vasishṭha,² the sedulous students of Scripture, the elephants and horses, the people of Anga, Vanga, and Kāçi ; but yields rain to the heart's wish of husbandmen.

73. An eclipse in the month of Phālguna causes distress to the Vangas, Açmakas, Avantis, Mekalas, dancers, grains, noble ladies, bowyers, Kshatriyas, and ascetics.

74. By an eclipse in Caitra, grief is caused to the painters, writers, singers, to those whose beauty is venal,³ to Vaidic scholars, gold merchants, the Puṇḍras, Orisseees, Kekayas, and

¹ Properly : at full moon or at new moon. Comm. : पीर्यमास्त्रमावस्त्रा (v.l. पीर्यमामावास्त्रा) वा कार्त्तिकी.

² Utpala expresses himself accurately in saying : वसिष्ठो गोषो वेषाम् whence follows that *Vasishṭha* is a *nomen* of a *gens*, like the Roman *Julius*, *Cornelius*, with this difference, that in Latin not only is said *Cornelii*, as in Sanskrit, *Vasishṭhāh*, but also *Cornelius*, whereas in Sanskrit, in names of tribes and nations, a simple individual is denoted by a derivative, e.g. *Vāsisṭha* = one out of the family called *Vasishṭha*. The mythical ancestor of the *Vasishṭha-vañça* is the Ṛshi *Vasishṭha*, one of the stars of the Great Bear, in the same way as the sun is the ancestor of the *Sūrya-vañça*.

³ Schol. वेष्ठावसाः; the expression in the text reminds one of the Latin *corpore quaestum faciens*.

Açmakas ; in the same year the Rain-god will distribute the rain unequally.

75. By an eclipse in the month of Vaiçākha, cotton, sesam, and beans will be lost ; the Ikshvākus, Yaudheyas, Scythians, and Kalingas meet with calamity, but there will be plenty of food.

76. By one in Jyaisht̥ha, sovereigns, Brahmans, and queens, the grain crops, rain, great associations, the people of the north, the Sâlvas, and also the savage tribes, come to perdition.

77. When an eclipse occurs in Āshâḍha, one may say that tanks, dikes,¹ rivers, streams, men living on fruits and roots, the Gandharians, Kashmirians, Pulindas, and Chinese, are undone ; only in some districts rain² will fall.

78. An eclipse seen in Çrāvana will strike the Kashmirians, Pulindas, Chinese, Yavanas, the people of Kuru-field, the Gandharians, the Middle-country, the Kâambojas, and also one-hoofed animals and corn sown in autumn. In other quarters than those here specified, it makes the earth filled with people rejoicing at the plenteousness of food.

79. The demon, when appearing in Bhâdrapada, produces plenty, but causes to perish the Kalingas, Vangas, Magadhas, Surashtrians, Barbarians, Suviras, Dards, and Scythians, and unborn children likewise.

80. When seen in Âçvina, the demon greatly promotes abundance, but he will strike the Kâambojas, Chinese, Yavanas, and also the surgeons, Bâhlīkas,³ the people dwelling along the banks of the Indus, the Ānartas, Puṇḍras, Kirâtas, and physicians.⁴

¹ The Comm. takes उदपानवम्र as one compound ; उदपानं वसा-
धारः । वापीकूपतडागादि । तस्य चोदपानस्य वम्रं तटः. The trans-
lation attempts to retain the probably studied ambiguity of the text.

² Comm. : मण्डलवर्षं भवति । ज्ञप्तिस्त्वचिद्वर्षतीत्यर्थः ।

³ In this way the word is written in those MSS. that generally follow a correct orthography.

⁴ For comparison's sake a passage from Parâçara is quoted, as being the counterpart to v. 69-80. तथाच पराशरः ।

तच्च कार्त्तिके सुभिषजेमाथ काशिकोसकनूरसेनाभावाद्यच । मार्गशीर्षे

81. There are ten ways in which the separation in a solar and lunar eclipse takes place, denominated as follows: piercing the jaw, piercing the loins, piercing the anus, each of two kinds; bespitting, consuming, splitting the middle, and splitting the edge.

82. The separation in the south-east is known by the name of "piercing the right jaw," namely, in the case of a lunar eclipse.¹ This occurring, the corn will be wasted, mouth diseases be prevalent, kings be afflicted, but the rains favourable.

83. "Piercing the left jaw" is the separation in the north-east; it is dangerous to princes royal; and one must expect diseases of the mouth, danger of war; yet, at the same time, abundance of food.

84. Should the emergence happen in the south, then it is called "piercing the right loin." Kings' sons will suffer by it; no other but southern enemies should be attacked.²

85. And if Rāhu goes away northward, it is what they term "piercing the left loin;" then women miscarry and the grain crops are but middling.

मूनपुच्छसोमपभषायावृष्टये । पीषे मयदुर्मिषप्रज्ञाचपोपरोधाय । माषे
 शस्त्रप्रकोपाय प्रावृष्टुद्ये वक्त्राङ्गानर्तकयवनकादिदेशोत्सादनक्षु ।
 फाल्गुने न सम्पन्न नटनर्तकधनुष्करसखविनाशाय । चैचवैशाखे-रमकपु-
 ष्द्रोद्द्राषेषु (? MSS. द्राषेषु and द्रोषेषु) वृषसखाभावाय । ज्येष्ठे
 ज्येष्ठनृपपत्नीगणमुखासखोपद्रवाय । साखनिषाद्वृष्टिध्वंसाया (? MS.
 वृष्टिसन्नामा) षाडे । आषये चैमसुभिचमन्त्र षीनकारमीरपुखिन्द्-
 गान्धारेभ्यः । भाद्रपदे मगधदरत्क (MS. दराक) शिक्काङ्गवङ्गानयाय
 सखषेमायच । आश्वयुग्यहृषं सुभिचषेमायावन्तिकवाह्नीकानर्तक-
 म्बोजसैन्धवानामभवाचचेति ॥ It is clear that Varāha-mihira had this
 passage before his mind, but he must have followed other authorities
 too, and here and there another reading than is exhibited above; this
 applies especially to the passage about an eclipse in Āshāḍha.

¹ For the case of a solar eclipse, see v. 91.

² Utpala observes the imaginary character of this and the following separation: एतदौत्पातिकं यतो नशितगोखवासनया दक्षिणोत्तर-
 योर्दिशोर्यासमोचौ न कदाचिदपि भवतः । आचार्येण पूर्वशास्त्रानुसा-
 रितोक्तम् ।

86. "Piercing the right side of the anus" takes place in the south-west; "piercing the left side of it" in the north-west.¹ In both cases there will be diseases of the hidden parts, and little rain; in the latter case the queen shall die.

87. If the darkness begin from the east, and go away the same side, then they name it "bespitting;"² it brings safety, corn, and contentment to mankind.

88. When the first contact in an eclipse is in the east, and the separation in the west, it is what they call "consuming." Then, O! where shall people find protection, anxiously agitated as they are by fear of famine and war?

89. If brightness reappears first in the middle, the separation is named "splitting the middle;" it causes intestine troubles, bestows abundance, and yields not too much rain.³

90. Brightness at the extremities and thick darkness in the middle is seen at what is termed "splitting the edge;" thereby the Middle-country gets ruined, and the grains sown in autumn will be lost.

91. All these kinds of separation must be stated as occurring also with (an eclipse of) the sun; but what in the case of the moon is East, has to be applied, in the case of the sun, to the West.

92. A rain of dust within a week after the end of an eclipse causes the loss of the grain, mist brings danger of sickness, an earthquake the death of a great monarch.

93. A meteor causes a minister to perish; variegated clouds, extraordinary unsafety; thunder, the miscarrying of the pregnant clouds;⁴ lightning, vexation by the king and mordacious animals.⁵

¹ The Comm. r. निश्चतवायव्ये, and supplies तमसि.

² The original meaning of the term सञ्चर्दनं or छर्दनं, as we find in a passage from Kāçyapa, is left unexplained by the scholiast.

³ Comm.: एतदप्यीत्यातिकं । यतो गच्छितगोखविचक्षम् ॥ The same is repeated in the following verse.

⁴ So the Comm.: गर्भसञ्चयोक्ता सञ्च ज्ञेयाः. There is, however, no cogent reason for this, and it might as well mean: 'of the pregnant women.'

⁵ These animals are, as the scholiast intimates: सर्पवराहश्चप्रभृतयः.

94. A halo causes distress in consequence of sickness; the glow of the sky, danger from the part of the ruler and from fires; a rough wind, unsafety, owing to thieves.

95. A whirlwind, a rainbow, or a staff in the air,¹ brings danger of famine and hostile invasion; a planetary battle, strife between sovereigns; the appearance of a comet does the same.

96. When rain, without any unnatural symptom, falls within a week, one may predict abundance, and all the baleful influences whatever of the eclipse shall come to nought.

97. In case there be an eclipse of the sun a fortnight after the end of a lunar one, distress² shall be amongst the people, and mutual hatred between husband and wife.

98. But should (as many days) after a solar eclipse be seen one of the moon, then the Brahmans shall obtain the reward of manifold sacrifices, and the people have great joy.

CHAPTER VI.

The Course of Mars.

1. If Mars³ commence his retrograde motion in the ninth, eighth, or seventh lunar mansion from that in which he rose heliacally, the retrogradation is termed "the hot one." This

¹ The rendering of दण्ड by 'staff in the air,' is only a makeshift, for, although a description or definition of the phenomenon is given ch. xxx. v. 16, and ch. xlvii. v. 19, I have not been able to find out its precise nature.

² The Comm. wrongly renders अजय by दुर्जय 'bad behaviour,' as the author evidently meant the compound अन् + जय, not अ + जय. Cf. Goldstücker's Dictionary, s.v. अजय.

³ It is strange that in the text the noun proper is omitted. To account for the omission we must assume that in the author's autograph every chapter was headed with the words: अथ—प्रारभ्यते or अथ—; this chapter, e.g., must have been inscribed अथ भीमचारः or अ० भी० प्रारभ्यते.

causes suffering, at the period of the planet's rising again, to those who deal with fire (smiths, etc.).¹

2. When Mars becomes retrograde in the twelfth, eleventh, or tenth mansion, it bears the name of "the weeping face." At the time of the heliacal rising it will vitiate the essences and produce diseases and drought.

3. The retrogradation beginning in the thirteenth or fourteenth mansion is "the serpent," and shows its effects at the period of the heliacal setting. It brings vexation through mordacious animals,² serpents, and wild beasts, but plenteousness too.

4. "Bloody face" is the name of the retrogradation when Mars moves backward in the fifteenth or sixteenth mansion. This brings instantly mouth diseases, unsafety, and, at the same time, abundance.

5. "Sword and club" is the retrogradation beginning in the seventeenth or eighteenth mansion. It causes at the period of the planet's returning to the right motion³ distress owing to gangs of robbers, drought, and danger of war.

6. When Mars, after rising in Pūrva-Phalgunī or Uttara-Phalgunī, goes back in Uttara-Ashādhā, and sets in Rohiṇī, he oppresses all the three worlds.

7. The retrogradation of Mars, after he has risen in Çravaṇa, occurring in Pushya, brings woe to the anointed heads of monarchs.⁴ (As a general rule) those people that according to the distribution of the countries of the globe⁵ belong

¹ Utpala observes that this case is an impossible one, or, as he puts it, an unnatural one, whilst he accounts in the usual way for the author's mentioning the case.

² Comm.: सूकरकुङ्कुरादयः Cf. ch. v. 93.

³ Comm.: अगुवन्ने सष्टयत्वात्रिते भौमे. Cf. Ind. Studien, x. p. 206, seq.

⁴ Comm.: मूर्धाभिषिक्तानां राज्ञाम्. Quotation from Parāçara :

उदितः अक्षये भौमः पुष्ये वक्रं ब्रजेवदि ।

मूर्धाभिषिक्ता राजानो विजज्ञेयुः परस्परम् ॥

⁵ In ch. xiv. Exceptions to the rule are given in v. 12, below.

to the mansion in which Mars happens to rise, are hurt by him.

8. When the blood-red planet takes his crooked course midst through the stars of Maghâ, then the king of Pāṇḍya perishes, unsafety arises by the outbreak of war, and drought prevails.

9. Mars causes famine when, after going midst through the junction star of Maghâ,¹ he takes his course right through the junction star of Viçâkhâ. By passing through the junction star of Rohiṇî he brings horrible pestilence.

10. In going south of (the star) Rohiṇî, Mars has a depressive influence on the prices,² and obstructs the rain. When appearing wrapt in smoke, or having a crest, he will crush the inhabitants of the Pâriyâtra hills.

11. When moving in Rohiṇî, Çravaṇa, Mûla, Uttara-Phalgunî, Uttara-Ashâdhâ, Uttara-Bhadrapadâ, or Jyeshthâ, Mars damages the cloudy masses.

12. Auspicious is his moving or rising in Çravaṇa, Maghâ, Punarvasu, Mûla, Hasta, Pûrva-Bhadrapadâ, Aṣvini, Viçâkhâ, and Rohiṇî.³

13. When Mars shows a large and bright surface, the hue

¹ Comm. भौमो - क्कारको मघां भित्वा मघायां योगतारकभेदं कृत्वा यदि विशाखां भिन्दन् तामपि पुनर्भिगन्ति । तदा दुर्भिक्षं बुधयं करोति ॥ यदिच रोहिणीं भित्वा याति रोहिणां योगतारकभेदं कृत्वा मच्छति । तदा ह० आ०. Cf. about भेद, भिद् ch. ix. v. 24 note, and about the occultation of the junction star of Maghâ especially, *ib.* v. 28.

² Utpala says : अर्घस्य निग्रहः स्वल्पं वृष्टिर्नियह्यभावः. It is, however, not quite certain whether अर्घस्य (as it is written in some MSS.) or अर्घस्य is intended. Uncommonly low prices, it must be understood, are certainly a sign of declining prosperity.

³ Exceptions to the general rule contained in the second part of v. 7 (see above). The statements of this verse moreover supersede or restrict, according to Utpala, v. 11 : प्राजापति अवशे इत्यस्त्रापवादो -यम्. It would seem more correct to consider the want of rain (v. 11) to be an exception to the generally auspicious character of the conjunctures mentioned in v. 12.

of the flowers of the *Butea frondosa* or red Asoka, distinct and serene rays, the lustre of red-hot copper, and moves along the northern road,¹ he brings blessing to the kings and satisfaction to the people.

CHAPTER VII.

The Course of Mercury.

1. Mercury never rises without portents: he causes danger of inundation, fire, wind, or occasions the (sudden) lowering or rising of the corn prices.

2. By crushing² in his course *Çravaṇa*, *Dhanishṭhâ*, *Rohini*, *Mṛgaçiras* or *Uttara-Ashâdhâ*, he produces drought and danger of sickness.

¹ After the Comm. यस्मिन्नक्षत्रे खितकक्षेत्रोत्तरभागे यदि याति. In support of this view he cites Parâçara: तत्राच पराश्वरः । वर्षरश्मि-प्रभाप्रभाखतेषोयुक्त उद्वर्गमार्गः सैहवाप्तसर्वखोखहिताय ॥ अपिच प्रदक्षिण्यतिः कामः स्निग्धश्च कस्यशोपमः ।

तप्तकाष्ठनसङ्काशो भवेद्धोक्त्विवृद्धये ॥

He adds that the expression may be explained otherwise: खन्व एवं व्याचक्षते यथा भरखादिर्मखान्त उत्तरो मार्गः. This, indeed, is the definition of उत्तरमार्ग in ch. ix. v. 6, and, in order to show that the author might have meant the same here, he quotes Garga :

तत्राच मर्गः ।

याम्बादि पितृपर्यन्तं नवर्षं मार्गमुत्तरम् ।

भाम्बादि वैश्वान्तं तु मध्यमं मार्गमुच्छते ॥

आषाढाद्यश्विनान्तं तु दक्षिणं समुदाहृतम् ।

सौम्यमार्गं खितो भीमः प्रजाणां हितकारकः ॥

The neuter gender of मार्ग is a solecism probably due to the copyists, cf. ch. ix. v. 1-6.

² i.e. 'goes midst through,' or 'causes the occultation of,' as the Schol. says: मर्दनं भेदः. Whether here precisely the junction stars are meant, is doubtful. At all events some of the statements in the text imply an impossibility: मर्दनमच अचखादिषु मध्यात्केषाश्चिन्न सम्भवति । आषाढैश्वोक्तं पूर्वशास्त्रानुसारेण. Cf. note to v. 4 below.

3. When Mercury approaches Ārdrā, Punarvasu, Aṣleshā, and Maghā,¹ people will suffer by war, danger of famine, sickness, drought, and grief.

4. The planet in its course oppressing² Hasta, Citrā, Svāti, Viṣākhā, Anurādhā, and Jyeshthā, is disastrous to the cows, yet at the same time makes the prices of oils and essences rise, and the land yield copious food.

5. The same whilst crushing³ Uttara-Phalgunī, Kṛttikā, Uttara-Bhadrapadā, and Bharanī, occasions the waste of the elements of the body.

6. When Mercury crushes Aṣvini, Çatabhishaj, Mūla, and Revatī, he damages merchandise,⁴ physicians, boatmen, products of the sea (as pearls, etc.), and horses.

7. Should he oppress⁵ either Pūrva-Phalgunī, or Pūrva-Ashādhā, or Pūrva-Bhadrapadā, then he brings, during his course, to mankind danger of famine, war, robbery, and sickness.

8. In the doctrinal work by Parāçara are mentioned seven stations of Mercury, divided over the lunar mansions; they

¹ The text has only **उपाञ्चिते** 'having approached, standing in,' but the Comm. supplies 'and crushing,' **उपाञ्चिते च्चवस्थिते । तानिचोमृन्नन्वदि विचरति**. A parallel passage from Kāçyapa has :

रीद्रादीनि यदा पञ्च नक्षत्राणीन्दुनन्दनः ।

भिनत्ति शस्त्रदुर्भिक्षवाधिभिः पीड्यते वगतः ॥

² Comm. : **उपपीडयन्योगतारकाभिन्दन् । तथाच काश्लपः ।**

हस्तादीनि चरन् षट् नक्षत्राणीन्दुनन्दनः ।

नवामशुभदः प्रोक्तः सुभिषसेमकारकः ॥

³ Comm. **निघ्नसुपमर्दयन्**.

⁴ The Schol. combines **पञ्च** with **जीविका**, and interprets accordingly : **पञ्चवृत्तीनां वसिष्प्रभृतीनाम्**, but this is too great a license, because **पञ्च** is separated from **जीविका** through **भियन्**.

⁵ The parallel passage from Kāçyapa bears :

पूर्वाचये चरन् भौमो भेदं कृत्वा यदा व्रजेत् ।

बुधस्त्रतस्करभयैः करोति प्राणिनां वधम् ॥

are termed the natural, the mixed, the compact, the poignant, the extreme, the dreadful, and the baleful station.¹

9. Svāti, Bharanī, Rohiṇī, and Kṛttikā form what is called the "natural station." The "mixed station" is indicated as consisting of Mṛgaśīras, Ārdrā, Maghā, and Aṣleṣhā.

10. In the "compact station" are Pushya, Punarvasu, and both Phalgunis; in the "poignant" one, the two Bhādrapadās, Jyeshthā, Aṣvini, and Revatī.

11. The "extreme station"² of Mercury comprehends Mūla and both Ashādhās; the "dreadful station," Ṣravaṇa, Citrā, Dhanishthā, and also Ṣatabhishaj.

12, 13. Hasta, Anurādhā, and Viśākhā are the "baleful station." The same author has indicated the stations also by stating the number of days of rising and setting; to wit, forty, thirty, twenty-two, eighteen, nine, fifteen, and eleven days the planet is standing in the natural station, and the rest in succession.³

¹ The passage which Varāha-mihira almost copied from the Ṛṣi's work, is quoted in the Comm. तत्राच पराशरः

अथाथ नतचः सप्तच । प्राकृता विमित्रा सङ्किप्ता तीरुषा घोरा पापा
योगान्तिकी (rather यी०) च । तत्र प्राकृता धाम्वाग्नेधरोहिणीवाक्-
ब्जानि । विमित्रा (v.l. मित्रा) सौम्यार्द्रामघाक्षेषा च (r. ०वाच)
सङ्किप्ता पुष्यार्थन्धभाम्वादित्वाणि । तीरुषा अजाबानि चत्वारि शक्रस्य ।
घोरा चीखि अवकादीनि त्वाष्ट्रस्य । पापा सावित्रीङ्गानि (r. ०ग्ग)
भैरवाणि । योगान्तिकी (rather यी०) मूलाषाढे (sic).

² The origin and purport of the term योगान्तिका (नतिः) is not clear, and the rendering of it by 'extreme' (properly, 'being at the end of the period'?) questionable. From the form योगान्त in v. 8 we may infer that Varāha-mihira considers योगान्तिका to be the feminine to योगान्तक, formed with Samāsānta ङप्, so that the word is no compound with अन्तिक, but with अन्त. Another form (see below) is योगान्तिकी, in the feminine gender; this seems to be the preferable, not to say the only correct form; it is no compound at all, but a derivative from a compound योगान्ते.

³ This passage implies that Mercury, when rising in the natural station, will be visible for forty days, and, likewise, when setting in it,

14. The planet moving in the natural station, there will be healthiness, rain, good growth of the grains, and safety; when in the compact and mixed stations, the good is not un-mixed; when in the rest, quite the contrary is to be.

15. After the opinion of Devala there are four motions (or

continue invisible during the same period. Utpala says—चत्वारिंश-
दिति । एतानि चत्वारिंशदादीनि दिनानि प्राकृतादीनां गतीनामुद्ध्ये
प्रवासेषु प्रमाणां । तद्यथा प्राकृतायां गतौ यदि बुधः स्थित उदेति
तदा चत्वारिंशद्दिनान्युदित एव तिष्ठति । अथासमेति तदा चत्वारिं-
शद्दिनान्युदित एव तिष्ठति । एवं मिश्रायां चिंशत् ६० आ० । Farther:
यद्यपि गणितवासनयैतन्नोपपद्यते तथापि पराशरमतमङ्गीकृत्वाचार्ये-
योक्तं । तथाच पराशरः ।

अथ चत्वारिंशच्चिंशद्द्विंशद्दशपञ्चदशैकादशनवरात्राणि गति-
क्रमाद्बुधो भिद्वृक्षते । तान्विवाक्यमितो भवति । उच्यते तवाद्बुध
(v.l. वायुवर्षे) सूर्येन्दुग्रहानावेदयति सख्यविधातायच ॥ The Scholiast
acquaints us that some other ancient authorities taught the same as
Parāçara, for, says he: न केवलं पराशरेयोक्तं यावद्गर्वादिभिरपि ।
तथाच बुधवर्षः ।

चत्वारिंशत्प्राकृतायां गतावाक्यते बुधः ।
मासमेकं विमिश्रायां दर्शयित्वाक्यमुच्छति ॥
अष्टौ द्वाविंशतिं सार्धं सङ्गिप्तमेव लक्षते ।
अष्टादशाहं तीरथायां घोरायां दश पञ्चच ॥
पापायां पादहीनानि तथैकादश तिष्ठति ।
बीमान्तिस्वामिन्दुसुनुर्गवाहं लक्षते तथा ॥
चारकासो च एवोक्तः सोमपुत्रस्य भागशः ।
अस्यकासः स एव स्थात्सूर्यमस्यस्यचारिणः ॥
तथाच ब्राह्मणः ।
चत्वारिंशत्तथा चिंशद् दिनानि द्वी (sic) च चिंशतिः ।
अष्टादशार्धमासस्य दश विक्रयुतानिच ॥

stations), namely, the direct, the very crooked, the crooked, and the defective motion. The periods of the planet moving right, etc., are, respectively, thirty, twenty-four, twelve, and six days.¹

16. The "direct" motion is wholesome to the people; the "very crooked" one destroys wealth;² the "crooked" one brings danger of war; the "defective" motion produces unsafety and sickness.

17. Mercury, when visible in the month of Pausha, Āshāḍha, Çrāvāṇa, Vaiçākha, or Māgha, is dangerous to mankind, but his heliacal setting in the same produces salutary effects.

18. When the same is visible in the month of Kārttika or Āçvina, then he brings about danger of water, thieves, fires, sickness, inundation, and famine.

19. Towns which are besieged whilst Mercury has set, shall be released at his rising. Other authorities, however,

नवच प्राङ्गताद्यासु सोमजसूदितस्तथा ।

असङ्गतः सर्वकारं तिष्ठतीति विनिस्रयः ॥

Utpala adds that Varāha-mihira himself holds by no means the same opinion with the authorities copied by him: आचार्यस्तीतज्ञामिमत् ।

यतः समाससंहितायामनेवोक्तम्

प्राङ्गतविभिन्नसङ्घिप्ततीक्ष्णयौगन्तघोरपापाख्याः ।

गतयो अचक्षमासां नोदयदिविसेः स्फुटं भवति ॥

¹ The definition of these four stations or motions is, according to Utpala: प्राङ्गतिव या स्वाभाविकी गतिः सा अङ्गी । वक्रं कुटिलमतिस्वमाश्रितस्य मन्ध्यहस्य यदा मुक्त्यभावो भवति तदा अतिवक्रा गतिरुच्यते । अङ्गु मार्गं परित्यज्य निवृत्तिं करोति सा वक्रा । विकल्पा वैकारिकी (v.l. वैकासिकी) गतिर्या न्यूना ॥ See also Ind. Studia x. p. 205, *seq.*

² Some MSS. of the Comm. write अर्ध, others अर्ध, but all concur in the paraphrase: दुर्भिक्षं करोति.

say that the (invested) towns shall be taken in case Mercury rises in the west.¹

20. When Mercury shines like gold, or is parrot-coloured, or resembles the chrysoprase stone,² and shows a smooth and large surface, he is salutary ; otherwise, disastrous.

¹ To these 'other authorities' belongs Nandin. Comm. :

तथाच नन्दी ।

पश्चार्धाद्भुदिते सौम्ये क्षमते पुररोधकः ।

पुनः प्राग्भुदिते तस्मिन् पुरमोक्षं विनिर्दिशेत् ॥

Whether this Nandin be the same as the grammarian of the name (Colebrooke, Misc. Ess. II. 49) is unknown ; not likely.

² The rendering of सस्त्रकमणि is doubtful.

(To be continued.)

ART. XII.—*The Mohammedan Law of Evidence, and its influence on the Administration of Justice in India.* By N. B. E. BAILLIE, Esq.

THIS subject is of some importance to persons who are resident in Mussulman countries, or our dominions in India, and a brief exposition of it may not be out of place in the Society's Journal.

Evidence is based on testimony, and testimony may be either direct to the point at issue, or to collateral circumstances from which the point at issue may be reasonably inferred. It were, perhaps, more correct to say, that in the latter case testimony is the channel through which evidence is conveyed to the minds of those who have to decide upon it, while in the former case it is the evidence itself. Under the most common systems of jurisprudence testimony of both kinds is received, and the judge is left free to form his own opinion from all the circumstances as detailed by the witnesses. Under other systems, while testimony is equally free, the decision upon it is committed to a separate tribunal, such as a jury. Under both systems there is, perhaps, an inclination to treat testimony, even when direct, as a mere channel of communication, and to take the fact asserted by the witness, entirely stripped of his opinion. There is a necessary exception to this in the case of scientific witnesses and experts, whose opinions form part of their evidence. Under a third system of jurisprudence, only testimony of the direct kind is received, and all right of inference being denied either to judge or jury, the assertion of the witness is raised from mere evidence to positive proof. This is the system of the Mohammedans, and it was probably that of other peoples, at more or less remote periods in their histories, though, amid the increasing transactions of modern times, they have been forced to abandon it. There is some reason to believe that it was once our own.

To enable a witness to speak directly to any fact, he ought, generally speaking, to know it on the evidence of his own senses; and this is required by the Mohammedan law, except in a few specified instances, in which a witness is allowed to speak to a fact because he has been credibly informed of it. Even in these instances, he must testify to the fact at issue in the same way as he would do if he had direct cognizance of it by his own senses. Thus, if he had to testify that a particular person is the judge of such a place, or son of such an one, which he may do if he has been credibly informed of the facts, he must in each case positively aver that the individual is the judge of the place, or the son of the person in question, and he must not assign, as the reason of his testimony, that he has been informed of the facts; for if he do so, his testimony must be rejected. The reason for this distinction is, that his own belief is an essential element in his testimony.

For the establishment of a fact, there must in general be at least two male, or one male and two female, witnesses who concur in averring it in the same terms; and their concurrent testimony is as binding on the judge as the verdict of a jury in England. It is expressly laid down in the authorities that he *must* decide according to its exigence. The testimony of two or three witnesses is thus legal proof under the Mohammedan law; as it seems to have been in the Jewish. But in the Mohammedan, it is a condition to the reception of testimony that the witnesses be just or righteous persons; and, as none but Mussulmans are just or righteous in the eye of the law, it follows that none but a Mussulman is properly qualified to be a witness. *Zimmees*, or infidel subjects, are, however, freely received as witnesses against each other, whether of the same or different persuasions; and also against *Moostamins* or persons sojourning in a Mussulman country, with the permission of its Government. But in no case is the testimony of a *Zimnee* or a *Moostamin* admissible against a Mussulman; nor that of a *Moostamin* admissible against a *Zimnee*, or even a fellow *Moostamin*, unless he happens to be of the same country

as the witness. If the character of a witness is impeached, it must be ascertained by what is termed a process of purgation, or inquiry in the neighbourhood; and if he is found to be a person whose conduct in all matters of gravity is conformable to the precepts of his religion, he is deemed to be sufficiently qualified. It has been already said that the witnesses must concur in their testimony. This is carried so far by the leading authority as to require concurrence in words as well as meaning, though by other authorities agreement in meaning is deemed sufficient. It is only farther necessary to observe that witnesses are not required to swear, the solemn word "attest" being deemed equivalent to an oath;—that their character being ascertained by special enquiry before their testimony can be received, it would be inconsistent to subject them to cross-examination as a test of their veracity; and that probably, for the same reason, proof is received only to one side of an issue, and the witnesses are thus prevented from contradicting each other, so that the judge is spared the difficult task of balancing the credibility of one set of witnesses against another. All witnesses must be firmly persuaded of the facts to which they speak,—have no interest in the matter in dispute, nor any hostility to the party against whom their evidence is given, nor stand in the relation of husband or wife, or parent or child, to the person in whose favour their testimony is adduced.¹

It has been already said that a witness may sometimes testify to facts which he has not seen. The facts referred to are descent, death, marriage, and the authority of a judge; to all of which he may bear his testimony, when informed of them by a person in whom he has confidence. This concession has been made of necessity, because the facts referred to can be seen only by a few special witnesses, and rights of importance dependent on them might otherwise be injured or delayed. In the manifold transactions of modern times the concession can hardly be wide enough to cover all the cases to which it may be impossible to produce eye-witnesses. As

¹ For other particulars relating to witnesses, see Hamilton's *Hidaya*, vol. ii., book xxi. chap. ii.

some remedy for deficiencies of this kind, a reference is made to the oaths of the litigating parties ; and it is now necessary to direct attention to the means by which these are to be obtained.

Judicial proceedings are oral. The parties appear in person before the judge, and the plaintiff is obliged to state his case in such a manner as to be met by a direct *yea* or *nay*, on the part of the defendant. If the answer is negative, the plaintiff is asked if he has any witnesses, and if he can produce two or more who can testify to the affirmative of the claim, or to the defendant's acknowledgment of it, judgment is at once pronounced in his favour. If he cannot do so, he may call on the defendant to confirm his denial upon oath, with the alternative of judgment being pronounced against him in the event of his refusal. But, instead of a direct denial of the claim, the defendant may prefer to meet it by a plea in avoidance ; as, for instance, if the claim were for a debt, and the defendant should plead payment. Upon this the process is reversed. The defendant becomes, as it were, the plaintiff on the plea, and has to go through the same course, terminating with a similar call on the original plaintiff, now become defendant on the plea, to confirm his denial on oath, with the like alternative of having judgment pronounced against him if he refuse to swear. By means such as these the oath of either party may be obtained. But it is to be observed, that it is only on failure of proof by the plaintiff that the defendant is ever allowed an opportunity of requiring the plaintiff's oath ; for if the plaintiff can produce two witnesses of character who concur in asserting the truth of his claim, their evidence is legally conclusive.

Judged by English standards, the defects of such a system are obvious ; but its principal fault appears to me to be the excessive power which it confers on the witnesses, and the consequent temptations which it holds out to venality and subornation. In this view it may be of some importance to consider its bearing on the administration of justice in India, where it prevailed for centuries before any part of that country passed under British rule, and has never been ex-

pressly abolished. Great changes were made in the constitution and procedure of the Courts of Justice, in the year 1793, by the legislation of Lord Cornwallis; but scarcely anything was said on the subject of evidence. Accordingly, testimony of the exact Mohammedan type has ever continued to be the common staple of all the courts, except those established at the Presidency towns, and is still as strongly marked in the cases now appealed to the Privy Council, as it was in my experience in India more than thirty years ago. From this I think it may fairly be inferred, that the ideas of the people on the subject of evidence have undergone very little change, and that they are still generally of opinion that facts can be properly established to the satisfaction of courts of justice, only by the acknowledgment of the parties, or by witnesses speaking directly to the point, and concurring in the terms of their testimony.

Assuming this to be the case, let us consider how they were likely to be affected by the changes of procedure to which I have adverted. The first of these was the practical abolition of the alternate reference to the oaths of the parties. For, though the judges were allowed to examine the truth of the complaint, or claim, by the oaths of the parties, it was only if they agreed to that mode of examination, a condition which could rarely be fulfilled. This change, therefore, would very much narrow the field of proof according to native ideas, by practically cutting off from it all such facts as were known only to the parties themselves, or could not be proved by the positive evidence of eye-witnesses. The other changes had reference to the character of the witnesses, with regard to whom all distinctions were abolished, and all were alike required to swear, and to submit to cross-examination as the tests of truth. The better classes of Hindoos have a strong aversion to oaths, as by their law none but the lowest caste was ever required to swear; and this change alone was calculated to drive away respectable witnesses from the courts of justice, while as cross-examination might extend to the whole personal history of the witnesses, concurrence in words and meaning, as required by

the Mohammedan law, became hopeless, and positive evidence, under the conditions of that law, all but an impossibility. The field of proof, according to the popular ideas of the country, was thus farther circumscribed, if not shut up altogether; and subornation became almost a necessity, while the facilities to it were greatly increased by the reception of all kinds of witnesses, provided only that they would swear.

If the results have been unfavorable to Indian testimony in general, they are only such as naturally followed from the hasty assumption that the ideas of the people on the subject of evidence are the same as our own, and cannot fairly be ascribed to any greater depravity than is common to other countries; for in all, witnesses are to be found ready to perjure themselves for hire, and suitors unprincipled enough to employ them.

I ought to add, before concluding, that the account I have given of the Mohammedan law of evidence is drawn exclusively from Hanifite authorities; but I do not think that it differs in any material respect from the doctrines of the other sects, except that the evidence of *Zimmes*, or tributary infidels, is entirely rejected, even in matters between themselves, by the followers of Malik, Shafei, and the Sheeahs.

ART. XIII.—*The Mohammedan Law of Evidence in Connection with the Administration of Justice to Foreigners.*
By N. B. E. BAILLIE, Esq.

IN a paper read to the Royal Asiatic Society towards the close of last session, I gave some account of the Mohammedan law of evidence in connection with the administration of justice in India. I now propose to offer a few observations on the same subject in its bearings on the administration of justice to foreigners in Mohammedan countries. As I shall have to contrast the notions of evidence which such persons may be supposed to derive from the laws of their own countries, with the Mohammedan system, and it may be convenient to run the contrast between only two systems at the same time, I will take our own countrymen as a type of foreigners in general, and I will assume that the ideas of evidence which they carry with them to other countries are the same as those which are prevalent in their own, and are derived from the practice of our courts of justice.

There are, it is probable, some slight differences between the laws of different Christian countries on the subject of evidence. But I believe that they are all pretty well agreed, or the more advanced of them are agreed, upon one point—viz., that a fact is sufficiently established as the basis of a judicial decree, when the judge, or other tribunal to whom the decision of it may be committed, is satisfied that it is so; that, in short, the opinion of the judge, or other tribunal, is the *ultima ratio* on the matter of fact; no exact *quantum* of evidence being usually required, but only so much as may be necessary to produce conviction on the mind. For this purpose testimony of some kind is commonly required. But under the English law the testimony may either be direct to the point in dispute, or to circumstances from which that point may be reasonably inferred. Under the Mohammedan, however, the testimony must always be direct to the point

itself; and I showed in my last paper that when two or more witnesses, otherwise competent, concur in averring a disputed fact in the same terms, their testimony is so absolutely conclusive that the judge is obliged to pronounce his decree in conformity with it, in the same way as a judge in this country is bound by the verdict of a jury. In most cases the law requires the testimony of two male or one male and two female witnesses, and in all it demands their absolute concurrence as to the facts in issue, the highest authority going so far as to require them to state it in the same words. When this concurrence is obtained, the *ultima ratio* on the matter of fact may thus be said to be the opinion of the witnesses.

Besides this, which may be termed a radical distinction between the English and Mohammedan systems of evidence, there are minor differences between them, as I showed in my last paper, which may be again adverted to, as they may help to complete the contrast between the two systems.

Thus, the Mohammedan, as it reposes such entire confidence in the witnesses, takes care that none but persons of established character shall be allowed to give their testimony in courts of justice, and, having provided what it deems to be adequate means for securing this object, does not put their veracity to the further test of an oath and cross-examination. The English law, on the other hand, makes no inquiry into the character of the witnesses, but requires them all, with some trifling exceptions, to give their testimony upon oath, and puts them through the further ordeal of a rigid cross-examination, in the progress of which it allows them to be badgered by opposing advocates, and otherwise treated as roughly as if they had come with the determined purpose of perjuring themselves. Again, since under the Mohammedan law the judge is bound by the testimony of the witnesses, as by the verdict of a jury in England, it follows that evidence can be received only to one side of an issue; while in England, the judge, or other tribunal, being under no such restraint, evidence is freely received to both sides of the issue. Finally, as according to the ideas of Mohammedans, none can lawfully exercise

authority over them, except persons of their own faith, and witnesses are in a manner invested with absolute power in the matter of evidence, it follows that the testimony of unbelievers cannot, in any case, be received against a Mohammedan; while in England there is no preference given to one faith over another, but professors of all religions are received on a footing of perfect equality, provided only that they believe in a future state of rewards and punishments.

While there are so many points of difference between the two systems of evidence, there is one point on which they are both agreed. They concur in requiring that the witness shall have positive knowledge of the facts to which he is bearing his testimony; that is, that he shall know them on the evidence of his own senses. To this rule there is no exception in the English law. The Mohammedan, however, excepts certain facts which are so removed from common observation, that they can be known only to a few persons, and allows a witness to testify to them when he is convinced of their occurrence, either by the information of persons on whose testimony he can rely, or has himself seen other facts from which it is supposed that they may be legitimately inferred. The particular facts alluded to have been mentioned in my last paper; but it is to be observed with regard to all of them, exceptional as they are, that even here the law adheres to its distinctive principle, and requires the witnesses to give their testimony in the same absolute manner, as if they were testifying to them from the direct evidence of their own senses.

Having thus adverted to the leading points of difference between the English and Mohammedan systems of evidence, we are now in a condition to compare them together. The English, admitting as it does all kinds of evidence, direct or circumstantial,—there is hardly a question of fact which arises in our courts of justice that does not admit of solution to the satisfaction of the tribunal appointed to determine it. The Mohammedan, on the other hand, excluding circumstantial evidence altogether,—there are no facts that can be established, according to our ideas of proof, except the very

few for which eye or ear witnesses can be produced, according as the facts fall within the cognizance of one or other of these senses. The English system of evidence is thus the more comprehensive of the two, and in a manner involves the other.

When the ideas of the judge on the subject of evidence are derived from one of these sources, and the ideas of the suitors, or of the professional agents by whom they are represented, are derived from the other, a conflict is likely to arise between the two systems. But when the judge's ideas are derived from the more comprehensive of the two sources, and those of the suitors, or their agents, from the narrower, the judge, though prepared to receive all and more than all the evidence that is likely to be presented to him, having no power to prescribe the kind or amount of evidence that may be necessary to satisfy a particular issue, the elements of conflict will remain dormant, and the conflict itself may be said to be negative. Where, again, the positions are reversed, and the ideas of the suitors, or their agents, are derived from the more comprehensive source, and those of the judge from the narrower, evidence of a kind entirely different from what the judge has been accustomed to is almost sure to be presented to him, and the conflict will be positive.

Let us first take the case of what we may term the negative conflict, as it is exhibited to us in India in the courts of justice which were formerly styled the Company's Courts, but are now known as those not established by Royal Charter. The judge, under the Cornwallis system, was necessarily a covenanted civil servant of the East India Company, and taken from the well educated classes in this country. It may, therefore, be presumed that, though no professional lawyer, he was familiar with the practice of juries, and carried with him the notions of evidence prevalent among his own countrymen. He would thus be prepared to receive evidence of either of the descriptions before mentioned; that is, direct or circumstantial, that might be presented to him by the suitors, or their pro-

fessional agents. But these were natives of the country ; that is, Hindoos, or Mahomedans, and it is not surprising that they should be influenced by notions derived from the Mohammedan law to which the country had been subject for centuries before it passed under British rule. Indeed, I gave some reasons in my last paper for believing that this is still the case. The evidence continues to be largely of the Mohammedan type ; that is, direct to the point at issue, and the field of direct proof having been reduced by our procedure to its narrowest limits, the greater part of the evidence is necessarily false. It is usually set aside by the judges—native as well as English—(for the judges of first instance are now almost exclusively natives of the country) with the remark, that, “as for the witnesses, those of each party support his side of the case.” But there is seldom anything besides this kind of testimony from which a rational conclusion can be drawn as to the matter in dispute. The result of any difference between the two systems of evidence is thus negative, and the judge is left to form his judgment as he best can from his own experience, and the probabilities of the case.

We now come to the case of positive conflict, where the ideas of the suitors, or their professional agents, on the subject of evidence are drawn from the more comprehensive of the two systems, and those of the judge from the narrower. If I have succeeded in making myself fully understood so far, much cannot be necessary in illustration of this position of things. Let us first suppose, then, that an Englishman is plaintiff in a Mohammedan court of law, and his claim is a matter of simple debt. Both the parties appear in person before the judge, and the plaintiff states his claim. The defendant is then asked what he has to say to it. If he simply denies the debt, and the plaintiff has two Mohammedan witnesses who can speak directly to its subsistence, by saying, for instance, that they heard the defendant acknowledge that he owed the money, and no objection is made to the character of the witnesses, judgment must at once be given in the plaintiff's favour. But suppose that the

witnesses are not Mohammedans, then their testimony cannot be received against the defendant if he is a Mohammedan, and the plaintiff is without remedy. Or suppose that, whatever may be the religion of the defendant, the plaintiff's witnesses cannot take upon them positively to aver the subsistence of the debt, though they can speak to circumstances from which it may fairly be inferred, here also their testimony must be rejected, and the plaintiff is again without remedy. Suppose, again, that the defendant, instead of merely denying the debt, sets up the plea of payment, and produces two witnesses in support of his plea. Here, unless their character is impeached, judgment must in like manner, and as surely, be given against the plaintiff; for no contrary evidence can be received on his side, and he is not allowed to question their veracity by cross-examination. True, that he may question their character, and then the trial may be delayed for a local inquiry into it. But if the return to the inquiry be in favour of the witnesses, their testimony is absolutely conclusive, and judgment must be pronounced against the plaintiff.

Sometimes the plea is so dubious that it is difficult to say whether the evidence of the plaintiff, or the defendant, is to be received, and questions of great nicety occasionally arise on this point, which are difficult of solution. Questions of this kind are of frequent occurrence in works on Mohammedan law, but are so dependant on the nature of particular transactions, such as sale, marriage, dower, etc., that no precise rule can be given for their determination, though generally the *onus probandi* is on the party who has to support the affirmative of an issue.

Let us now reverse the position of the suitors, and suppose the Englishman to be the defendant, and the suit to relate to a claim of property—in a chattel, for instance. This is one of the cases where a witness is allowed to testify to a fact, though he knows it only by inference from another fact with which it is connected. Two witnesses are accordingly produced by the plaintiff, who concur in declaring that the chattel is his property, though they know it only from having

seen it in his possession. They declare, however, in direct and positive terms that the thing is his—not, however, because they saw it in his possession, for that would mar the effect of their testimony. Still they say that it is his, and this concurrent testimony of two persons of unblemished character, who cannot be supposed to make the assertion except from a thorough conviction of its truth, is evidence that cannot be gainsayed, and judgment must in like manner be given against the defendant.

Or, let us suppose that the question between the parties involves a fact, such as a person's descent, to which a witness is allowed to testify, though his knowledge of it is derived entirely from the information of others. Here, also, if two such witnesses as the law approves should concur in averring the fact, their averment, as it cannot be supposed they would make it unless under a thorough conviction of its truth, must be taken as positive proof of its occurrence, and judgment must again be given against the defendant. To justify a course so foreign to our ideas, as the admission of anything like hearsay evidence in any case, it is to be observed, that the Mohammedan law appears to make little distinction between facts of daily occurrence, and the great facts in Mohammedan history, which command the most perfect conviction, though the knowledge of them has come down to our times on no better foundation than tradition; that is hearsay. Thus, that *Aboo-bekr* and *Omar*, the two first Khuleefas, or successors of Moohummud, were the sons of *Aboo-Kohafa* and *Khattâb*, respectively, and that *Khoodeijah* was the wife of the Prophet, and the mother of his daughter *Fatima*, are facts to which any Mohammedan can testify with the fullest assurance of their truth, though he never saw any of the individuals mentioned. And, in like manner, it is supposed that a witness may be equally convinced of facts of ordinary occurrence, though he has not seen them, and has only heard of them from others. Still, it is only to a few exceptional facts that a witness is allowed to testify from hearsay, or that his testimony, when no better founded, can be received as evidence, however strong may be his belief, or positive his averment of them.

It may be observed in this place, that one of the illustrations above mentioned is derived from the Hanifite, and the other from the Sheeah doctors, and that I am not aware of any difference between the doctrines of these two great sects on the subject of evidence, though they differ materially on many other points of importance.

I will now offer one more illustration of the conflict of ideas on the subject of evidence, because, though the case is drawn from the criminal law, and is less likely to occur in the experience of our Englishman, it places the leading peculiarity of the Mohammedan system in a strong light, and makes the nearest approach to circumstantial evidence, without the intervention of the witnesses' opinion, that I have met with in my reading on the subject.

The case I allude to is culpable homicide. Here, as in all criminal proceedings, intention is of the essence of the inquiry. But the intention may have arisen from ill-will previously entertained, or from sudden impulse. The English and the Mohammedan laws distinguish, in these cases, between the mental emotions, and also between the actions resulting from them. One of these emotions is termed malice prepense in the English law, and the resulting action is murder. For the other emotion it has no distinct name, but the corresponding action is termed manslaughter. In the Mohammedan law the emotions are termed *amd*, and *shoobh-amd*, or intention, and *quasi* intention, and the corresponding actions *kutl*, or homicide, with one or other of these expressions subjoined. Under the English law the distinction between the two kinds of intention, and the corresponding crime, is drawn by the jury from all the circumstances of the case as detailed by the witnesses. Under the Mohammedan, the distinction is supposed to be sufficiently indicated by the nature of the instrument with which the act is committed. When the instrument is a weapon, or something that may serve as such in severing the parts of the body, as a sharpened stick or stone, and an arrow, or the means employed is fire, *amd*, or deliberate intention, is held to be established, and the crime is murder.

Where, again, the victim has been struck with something that does not fall within this description, though the blow may occasion his death, the indication afforded by the means employed is only *shoobh-amd*, and the crime is reduced from murder to manslaughter. This was the doctrine of Abou Huneefa, the leader of the first of the Soonnee sects. His two disciples, Abou Yoosuf and Mohummud, maintained however that though the lethal instrument were not of the precise description mentioned, yet if a blow from it would probably produce death—as, for instance, if it were a large stone, or a heavy piece of wood—*amd*, or deliberate intention, may be fairly inferred, and that it is only when the implement is such that a stroke of it would not probably result in death, that the intention would be reduced to *shoobh-amd*, or *quasi* deliberate. The doctrine of Abou Huneefa seems to have been preferred in India while it remained under Musulman rule, but that of the disciples was adopted by the Government of the East India Company, as coming nearer to English ideas, and continued to be the law of British India till a very recent period. To distinguish the different shades of guilt above mentioned, the Mohammedan law requires that the witnesses should specify the implement by which the deed was done, and that death ensued—as, for instance, that the deceased was *slain* with a *sword*. But so far as I can judge from the cases in the books, it is not necessary that they should aver that it was done *amdun*, or with deliberate intention, that being, it would seem, an inference of the law itself.

From what has been said, it is evident that an Englishman must appear under great disadvantages as a suitor in a Mohammedan court of law. Many cases are likely to occur in which he will find it impossible to produce evidence to the satisfaction of the judge, or which indeed the judge can lawfully receive. While in others he may find that judgment is given against him on evidence that would be deemed wholly inadequate in his own country. I assume, of course, that the judge will act in conformity with the great principles of his own law. I know that he is not necessarily a

lawyer; all that is required of him being that he should have the qualifications of a witness, in order that he may give effect to that power which the witnesses are supposed to possess over the matter in dispute. But, though not a professed lawyer, he has always the *Mooftee* to refer to, and to keep him right if he is disposed to wander from the straight path of the law. So that any great divergence in practice from the course laid down by the written authorities, is, at least, not probable. Suppose, however, a positive alteration of the law by a mandate from the ruling power, which in Mussulman countries is practically despotic, what would be the consequence? Men do not learn in a day. The judge might, indeed, if so ordered, receive the testimony of an infidel against a true believer. But would a judge, who had always been accustomed to take the fact as directly stated to him by the witnesses, be qualified all at once to decide for himself amidst conflicting testimonies, and from a great variety of circumstances. From the facility with which we see even complicated cases disposed of by our juries, we are apt to suppose that there is a rule of thumb by which men are guided to a correct decision. Practised lawyers, however, know better, and that there is seldom more than one man in our common juries who is capable, even under the guidance of the judge, of estimating justly the credibility of the witnesses, balancing all the circumstances of the case, and giving to each its due weight, and that it is usually through his influence with his fellow jurymen, that they are brought to give a correct verdict

As an example of what we have to expect from even sensible and intelligent men, when set to investigations to which they have never been accustomed, I will conclude these remarks with an anecdote which was told to me by a friend who had been long settled in Bengal, not very far from the Presidency. Within the last thirty years the English judges have been authorized to avail themselves of the assistance of assessors—either from their own countrymen, or the natives of the country—in trials which they may deem of sufficient importance. The assessor sits with

the judge, hears all the evidence, and at the close of it is asked his opinion, which he accordingly delivers, though the ultimate judgment on the fact, as well as the law, is with the judge. What progress the natives of the country may have made generally under this gradual initiation into the duties of jurymen, I am unable to say. The incident I am about to mention occurred some years ago. My friend, who as I have said was resident at a place in the interior of the country, was asked by the neighbouring judge to assist him as an assessor in some important cases that were coming on. He was obliged to excuse himself on the score of business, but suggested that the judge should avail himself of the service of a highly respectable and intelligent native merchant, who was well known to the judge as well as to himself. The judge's answer to this suggestion of my friend, was to tell him what happened with this very person as an assessor on a recent occasion. "The trial was of some importance (said the judge) and lasted for several days. During the whole of this time nothing could exceed the patience and attention with which my assessor seemed to listen to all that was said by the witnesses. But when all was finished, and I asked his opinion, his only answer was, joining his hands in native fashion, '*Apka jo hookm,*' whatever your honour may order." This anecdote I believe to be quite true, not only because it was told me by a person on whose word I can rely, but also because it has such an air of verisimilitude, that I could almost fancy it had occurred in my own experience.

I may add, on the information of an intelligent native of India, recently come to this country, that the native assessors are still much in the habit of watching for any indication of opinion on the part of the judge—not from any feeling of subservience, but apparently from mere incapacity to come to any satisfactory conclusion of themselves. It is fair to say, however, that they have not the benefit of being addressed by counsel, nor, I believe, of having the evidence commented upon and summed up for them by the judge.

ART. XIV.—*Translation of a Bactrian Pali Inscription.* By
Professor J. Dowson.

[The Royal Asiatic Society are indebted to Major F. W. Stubbs, R.A., for the illustrative materials of the following paper. The facsimile of the inscription has been executed in so perfect a form as to be freely legible to ordinarily practised eyes. As Professor Dowson had already distinguished himself in the decipherment of Bactrian Pali writing in his previous articles in this Journal, the explanation of this inscription was, as a matter of course, confided to him. The result appears below. The facsimile of the inscription itself has been reserved for publication, in association with the Mathura series alluded to by Professor Dowson.

The circumstances attending the excavation of the Tope, near Baháwulpúr, and the discovery of the deposit in its foundations, are detailed in the Rev. G. Yeates' letter to Major Stubbs, of which the following is a copy :—

BAHAWALPUR, February 30, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR,—I must ask you to pardon my rudeness in not replying to your note long before this, but it reached me just as I was leaving Multan, and I have been on the move ever since. Coming in this direction, too, I thought it better to defer writing till I had an opportunity of again visiting the old tower from which the coins and copper plate were taken.

I regret much that at the time it was opened I was unable to be present. It was in the month of August last, when travelling with my friend, Major Minchin, that, having heard of the tower, we halted near it, but both for want of time and shelter we were obliged to push on, and leave the work of opening it to an intelligent native servant of Major Minchin.

On Monday last we made a trip out to it, intending to have some excavations made, Major Minchin having sent out his tent and a number of workmen some days before, but we were only able to spend till Tuesday evening there. Not much could be done in so short a space of time, and we were again obliged to leave it in the hands of the

same man, with directions to leave everything as he finds it, should anything turn up.

Of what we saw, however, I send the following account, along with the rough sketches of the tower and plan.

The name of the place where the tower stands is called Sái-báhár, and is about sixteen miles S.W. of this place, near the road (two miles off it) leading to Ahmedpur. Its present total height is about 45 feet, but report says that 6 or 8 feet have recently fallen. Upon approaching it from the north it is seen that but half of it is standing, having been cut, as it were, right down the diameter passing from N.E. to S.W. Half the entire height is made up of a mound, and about 20 feet above the place where the tower rises from the mound there are the remains of a large square chamber, about 8 feet square, its sides facing the Cardinal points. Above the floor of this the walls at present rise about 11 feet. In the centre of the floor there is a square hole of 16 inches opening into a shaft of the same size down to the top of the mound. This shaft is quite exposed from about 3 feet of the floor down to the top of the mound by the falling away of the half of the tower, whenever that occurred. The tower is solid, built of very large, sundried bricks, 17 inches by 13 inches by 3.5 inches, but in the chamber was formerly a flooring of burnt bricks, of the same size as the sundried ones, laid in lime cement, with the copper plate bedded in the middle,¹ while round the plate, on the four sides, walls of the same kind of brick and mortar were raised, about 2 feet high, forming a sort of chamber, with the copper plate at the bottom. In this the coins, mixed with some pieces of iron, a few beads, fragments of ornaments, all mixed up with ashes and earth, were found. The men who were charged with the clearing out of this unfortunately pulled the whole of the masonry down.

The mound, at first sight, appears to be merely a heap of earth, covered now with the *debris* fallen from the tower, but, upon examination, it turns out to be a regularly-built one, formed wholly of the sundried bricks, above described. When we arrived on Monday, about noon, such was the state we found it in; the workmen, already assembled, had dug a few holes here and there in the mound, and had come upon some loose burnt bricks at the south-east. After some consideration, we divided the men into two companies, and thinking there might be a second chamber at some distance, under where the first was found, as in the Tope at Manikyala, we set one of the companies to sink a trench at the middle of the mound, carrying it right into the centre of the tower, as shown by the dotted line in the plan; the others were set to work to excavate the mound where the bricks

¹ This is not quite clear; above he says, "In the centre of the floor there is a square hole opening into a shaft," apparently of the same chamber. I have written to inquire the meaning.—F. W. S.

had been discovered. The result of the two days' labour was the cutting the trench into the heart of the tower to a depth of 10 feet below the original level, or 25 below the floor of the chamber, but, as yet, some 10 or 12 feet to the ground level remained unexplored. Nothing down to this was found. The whole had been well built of sun-dried bricks of unusual compactness. The other work proved more interesting, by uncovering a considerable portion of a firmly-built foundation, arranged as shown in the plan, consisting in some places of a double wall 3·5 feet thick, with a space of one foot between them. These were built of burnt brick, the same size as the others, but not cemented with mortar. Excavation at this place was very difficult, owing to the quantity of loose and broken brick which overlaid this foundation, the remains, evidently, of what had fallen down from time to time from the tower. Three fragments of carved brick were found among these, of which I hope to send you sketches as soon as they come in.

I return almost immediately to Multan, from whence I shall have great pleasure in sending up the copper plate for you to see.

I hear that there is another tower similar to this in another part of this State, about one hundred miles still S.W. of this, at a place called Noshera. I have asked for fuller information respecting it, and as I shall have business down in that direction soon, I hope to visit it if possible.

Believe me, &c. G. YEATES.

Major Stubbs mentions that of the nine coins found, six are of Kanerki, *Ariana Antiqua*, xiv. 22, and three are of Kadphises, pl. xi. 7.]—Ed.

The Bactrian Pali Inscription discovered by the Rev. G. Yeates, at Súi-bázár, near Baháwalpur, is a welcome and decisive proof, if further proof were needed, of the correct interpretation of the numerical value of the Bactrian numerals, which I submitted to the Society in a former paper (*Jour. R.A.S.*, vol. xx., p. 221).

The Inscription is not long, consisting only of three lines. Its chief, perhaps its only, value as an historical record, is centred in the first line, which contains the date and the name and style of the reigning monarch. The letters of the Inscription are well formed, and, what is very remarkable, each word or compound word is separated from the rest by a small space, thus departing from Oriental practice, and conforming to the more simple and intelligible usage of the West. This peculiarity is not so strongly marked in the third line as in the others; but it must be borne in mind that

the copy furnished is not an impression or rubbing, but an eye copy, and an eye copy, however carefully and painfully executed, can never be relied upon as being an exact reproduction of the original.

I proceed to give, first, a transcript, and then a translation of the Inscription.

TRANSCRIPTION.

1. Maharajassa Rajadirajassa Devaputassa Kanishkassa samvatsare ekadase Sam 11. Daisisassa masassa divase atta-viseti 28.
2. Antra . vase Bhichhussa Nagadatassa Sakhabhatissa Achayya Damataja-sishassa Achayya Bhavepa-sishassa yattin aropayata. Iha dachhani.
3. vihara tachhino Upasika Balanandi dhaja bino bala-jaya-mata cha imam yatti prabha . . ttapa . . vanu parivaram dadarim savvasa tanam.

Hira-sakhina kartam.

TRANSLATION.

1. On the 28th of the month Daesius, in the 11th year of the great king, king of kings, son of the Gods, Kanishka.
2. Herein in the ? are deposited the necklaces (rosaries) of the mendicant Naga-data, of Sakha-bhati, of the disciple of the Acharya Damataja (and) of the disciple of the Acharya Bhavepa.
3. The patron of this Southern-vihár, the lay-devotee Balanandi, the banner-bearer ? for his own merit and that of his children, wife and mother (supplies) this shrine and vessel as a protection for all (the relics).

Hira-sakhi delt.

The first line of the Inscription is fortunately quite perfect; not a single character is doubtful, and the whole of the meaning is clearly intelligible. The third letter of the second line is probably a mis-transcription; if not, it is a character with which we are unacquainted. The word in which it occurs probably applies to the place of deposit, but it is not impossible that it is the word *divase*, used in the sense of "to-day." There is a want of conjunctions in this line; but it is not likely that all the names apply to one and the same person. The third line is the most defective; still there is little doubt as to its general sense. *Dhaja-bino* is probably a compound of the Sanskrit *dhwaja*, a flag. *Parivaram* is a word which is used also in the Manikyála Inscription, and in that I translated it

by its common meaning of "train, retinue;" but the present Inscription shows it to be used in the sense of envelope or covering. *Dadari* or *Daddari* signifies a kettledrum, the vessel containing the relics probably being of that shape.¹

This Inscription does not extend our knowledge of the Numerals, and it adds but little to what was previously known of the character. It proves, however, that the curl of the foot of a consonant indicates that consonant to be doubled, and not to be always, as hitherto supposed, a consonant combined with *r*. From the frequent combination of *r* with other consonants in Sanskrit, this twist of the bottom of a letter represents the letter *r* more frequently than any other; but as we here find the *s* curled round to represent the *sy* of the Sanskrit genitive, there can be no doubt it represents the doubled consonant—that doubled consonant being here the equivalent of *sy*. In most other instances, as in Achayya for Āchārya, it is the equivalent of *r* combined with another consonant. This substitution of doubled for compound consonants brings the language into much closer relation with the Pāli.

The three words written across the end of the Inscription are, I think, the engraver's epigraph. A similar instance will be found in the Manikyāla Inscription (vol. xx., pl. ix). The final word in both these epigraphs is certainly the same. In my tentative translation of the Manikyāla Inscription I read the word as *bhavatu*, for it so closely resembles that oft-repeated word in the Wardak Inscription, that, although I even then had the idea of its being the engraver's signature, I did not feel justified in reading it otherwise than *bhavatu*. Unlike as are the transcribed words, *bhavatu* and *kartam*, the original words are closely alike; *bh* and *k* are so similar that one may be taken for the other, and the similarity of the *v* and *r* has often been a great difficulty in interpreting these Inscriptions. As I here read "Hira Sakhi delt," so on the Manikyāla Inscription I would read "Sama-sena (or Sachhasena) kartam, *i.e.* Samasa delt."

The arrogant title of the King, Devaputra, "son of God,"

¹ See Drawings of the Rangoon Relics. Jour. B.A.S., xvii., p. 299.

or, as I have rendered it, "Son of the Gods," was borne by several kings of this race. In the Mathura Inscriptions, it is given to Huvishka and Vásu-deva. Those Inscriptions are just ready for publication, and it will be well to defer all comment upon the significance of the title until they appear. It is likely to prove of some importance, as it is found on the Allahabad column, combined with the Sháhansháhi, who offered presents to Samudra Gupta.

ART. XV.—*Indo-Parthian Coins*. By E. THOMAS, Esq.

SOME months ago M. Wold. Tiesenhausen, Secrétaire de la Commission Archéologique de St. Pétersbourg, consulted me as to the attribution of a class of coins, representatives of which had newly been brought to light by the discovery, in the Government of Perm, of a small bronze vase containing four pieces of the type in question.¹ M. Tiesenhausen forwarded at the same time impressions in tin-foil and rubbings on paper taken directly from the originals; but as these species of facsimile necessarily suffer from transmission by post, they furnished very unsatisfactory means of tracing the course of the singular and imperfectly-outlined marginal legends, which, in effect, constituted the real enigma to be solved. I therefore applied to my correspondent for more complete copies in less perishable materials, in the form of sealing-wax impressions or electrotypes. To my surprise, in reply I received the three accompanying excellent woodcuts, executed in the Russian Capital, together with engravings of two additional medals of cognate stamp, which, with considerable Numismatic acumen, had been traced in other accessible collections.

¹ As M. Tiesenhausen's letter refers to other finds, and criticises their associations, I reproduce the document entire:

"Veuillez bien m'excuser que je prends la liberté de vous incommoder en soumettant à votre jugement une petite question en fait de numismatique. Voici de quoi il s'agit.

"Il y a quelques semaines qu'en Russie (au gouvernement de Perm) a été découvert un petit vase en bronze renfermant quatre monnaies en argent, dont j'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer les empreintes ci-jointes.

"A juger d'après le type de ces monnaies je serais tenté de les attribuer à quelque roi indo-scythe, mais cette supposition me semble être revoquée en doute par une autre trouvaille (faite en 1851 dans la même contrée) qui outre une monnaie du même genre contenait quelques monnaies sassanides (du VI^e siècle) et des monnaies byzantines d'Héraclius et de son fils Constantin. Puis les lettres qu'on voit sur ces monnaies diffèrent de celles qui se trouvent sur les monnaies indo-scythes.

"Plus versé que moi dans cette sorte d'études je ne mets pas en doute que vous ne réussiez à résoudre la question.

"Agréez, Monsieur, l'expression de mes sentiments les plus distingués avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être"——

These coins are of considerable typical interest, and open out an entirely new field of historical research; but I must confess that my success in their decipherment has not been commensurate with my own wishes, or the too sanguine hopes of my Russian coadjutor. Nevertheless, I do not hesitate to publish what little I have been able to read, and to follow out more largely the associations involved in the die-devices, in the desire of drawing attention to the special subject, and inviting a search for similar specimens in other public and private cabinets,¹ as it is well known that a single letter, on many a defaced piece, will often give the clue to a comparatively complete sentence still wanting in the touch of vitality. While in the stage of preliminary confession, I must moreover frankly premise, that, although in this case almost every typical coincidence points to a near association with the Parthians in Bactria, or more directly southern and western localities, and the leading geographical evidence lends itself to a similar conclusion, yet the authoritative resolution of the ornamental scroll over the horse's loins (in No. 1) into the Kufic word *فضل*, would fatally demonstrate that the epoch now suggested must be extensively reduced in point of time. The unknown letters on the margin, at the foot of coins Nos. 2, 3, 4, have, moreover, a suspiciously current or cursive appearance, and certainly do not accord with the stiff and formal outlines of the freely legible *Malka*, in the opening letters of the variety of Syriac here employed. We have too many striking instances, in the series of Indian and quasi Indian Coinages, of the indigenous faculty of imitation, and delight in the reproduction of fixed and accepted designs, at times persevered in mechanically till all trace of the original

¹ Since these illustrative engravings have reached me, a coin similar in general character to Nos. 2, 3, 4 has been discovered in the choice collection of Gen. Abbott, formed in the Hazára country of the Punjáb, and which has lately been added to the Numismatic Treasures of the India Office. The piece in question, though it contributes nothing to our knowledge in the matter of types or legends, gives us very significant hints in the direction of identities of metal, which, in the greasy alloy, seems to fall in with the ideas of Arachotian and other Nickel-using sites. See Apollonius of Tyana, quoted in J. R. A. S., xvii. pp. 72, 77; Strabo, xv. c. i. § 34; Pliny, N. H. 34, 2, and 37, 42; and in these days, Gen. A. Cunningham, Num. Chron., N. S., viii. p. 279, etc.; with Dr. W. Flight, *ibid.*, p. 306.

seems to fade before the eye ; so that typical resemblances and even close and seemingly immediate copies cannot be taken to prove what they certainly would demonstrate under other and less exceptional circumstances ; and we may yet have to surrender the choicest of our specimens, in this limited list, to stand as a monument of Bahrám Gor's visit to India, or as a symbol of Muhammad bin Kásim's first intrusion on the Lower Indus.

No. 1. *Silver. Musée Asiatique, St. Petersbourg.*



There is little or no trace of Parthianism in these devices, except in the peculiar tooling of the neck ornament.¹ The obverse head would almost seem to represent a young Indian-born Greek, who was so far reconciled to local customs as to wear the moustache, and to recognize the advantage of a turband. The eagle crowning the rider on the reverse may, perchance, further imply a newly erected kingdom.

The free action of the horse recalls the attitude of the front charger of the Dioscuri of Eucratides, or the single horseman of the Bactrian Philoxenes;² but here the huntsman supplants the warrior, and the seat and saddle, and even the horse itself, if truly designed, are Indian rather than Greek. The dog (if such it be)³ is also an innovation upon

¹ The letters on the Parthian coins are what we should call nail-headed (not arrow-headed), *i. e.* the characters, instead of being cut out and sunk on the die in continuous lines, are produced by a series of holes drilled in consecutive order upon the main outline of the letter. On the coin itself these stand up like the brass nail heads on a well-made chair. A similar system of dotting the leading outlines of the characters was in favour among the Indo-Scythians in Bactria. An authoritative ink-tracing could be followed mechanically by this means with great exactness, where a free engraving might, under the circumstances, have simply proved impracticable.

² *Journal des Savants*, 1836, pl. ii. 5 ; *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. ii. 17 ; *Prinsep's Essays*, ii. p. 187, pl. xv. fig 1.

³ It may possibly be the foal following the mare.

ordinary medallic devices. The use of the adjunct of the eagle placing a chaplet on the king's brow was seemingly derived, in the first instance, by the Parthians from Roman teachings; it appears on the coins of Phraates IV. and Tiridates II. (B.C. 37),¹ but soon gives way to the more natural winged figure of victory. The legend on the obverse I am as yet unable to decipher, but I must add, that I have neither seen this particular coin, nor even obtained rubbings or impressions of it. The curious ornamental scroll over the crupper of the horse has been read in St. Petersburg as the Arabic term فضل "excellence, wisdom;" but although such an interpretation might be put upon the letters as they appear in the woodcut, I should not, as at present advised, be disposed to concur in any such rendering, though I must confess that the word in front of the king's profile looks more like cursive and comparatively modern Sassanian Pehlvi than any other scheme of writing with which I am acquainted.

No. 2. Silver. Cabinet of Comte Stroganoff.



This coin and the two succeeding specimens present us with more distinct Parthian peculiarities. The head-dress on the obverse would, at first sight, appear to have nothing in common with the ordinary upright Tiara helmet² of the

¹ Longpérier, pl. ix. 8, 9; x. 5, 6, 7; Lindsay, pl. iii. 55, 56, 57.

² This seemingly top-heavy head piece owes all its misrepresentation to the profile treatment—conventional with the Parthians and Sassanians. When brought to the test of modern helmets, but little exception need be taken to its form or balance; it follows in its construction the far more ancient pattern of the Assyrian kings; and the curious in these matters can examine both the prototype and the modified adaptation in extant specimens in the British Museum. The earlier casque is close and compact, sitting well on the skull, while the Parthian pattern, though raised enough in its side-glint as to suffice to awe the Romans, was really a better protection against a direct blow than the previous model, and far more effective under the military aspect. The specimen in the British Museum is little more than a well-made steel morion, without the flaps, fully realizing the

Imperial dynasty; but although the local turband is retained in a somewhat reduced and modified shape, the ornamentation at the top, so seemingly exceptional, can be readily traced to an association with the crest pattern introduced by Phraates II. (B.C. 136-126), and maintained in occasional use by Sanatruces¹ (B.C. 77-70), finding favour among the local kings of Edessa,² and appearing in a less formal design on the Eastern Parthian coins of Sanabares³ (A.D. 2). The horseman on the reverse is a close copy (even to the details of the double-thonged whip and occasional hooked *ankus*) of the charger, which continued to furnish the standard device of so many monarchs of the Parthian race in Bactria, Gondophares, Abdagazes, Arsaces, etc., whose dates are roughly assumed at from about B.C. 26 to 44 A.D.; and, singular to say, we have an example of a nearly similarly outlined horse in the Parthian Imperial series proper, on the money of Artaban III. (on a coin dated in A.D. 13), where the unkempt hair around the front face of the monarch, typical of the fashion prevailing amid the tents of the Dahæ (?) nearly fills one surface of the coin, while his charger on the reverse might fairly claim kindred with the Bactrian-bred steed.⁴

The physiognomy of the king on the obverse of Nos. 2, 3, 4, bears no analogy to the conventional Parthian portraiture, but is clearly derived from Indian ideals of the human face. The almond eye, the slight moustache, and the smooth-shaved rounded jowl, all associate themselves with Eastern models, ranging from the Kodes coins of Seistán⁵ on the one side to the earlier Surashtan pieces of the Sáh kings,⁶ and the later types retained by the Guptas.⁷ Hence, in admitting local influence in the composition of the profile,

definition of the surface of polished Margian steel (Plutarch), rivetted with copper bands and bosses, gilt in effective contrast to the grey iron.

¹ Longpérier, pls. v. 7, 8, 9.; vii. 4, 5.

² Bayer, *Historia Osrhoena*. Abgar's tiara, p. 130.

³ Longpérier, pl. xii. 4; my *Sassanian Inscriptions*, p. 121; *Prinsep's Essays*, ii. p. 215, note.

⁴ Visconti *Icon. Greque*, pl. 50, No. 2; Longpérier, pl. xii. 9.

⁵ *Prinsep's Essays*, i. 337; ii. 203, pl. xiii. 11, 12; *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. ix. 1-5; *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. iv. N.S. p. 210.

⁶ *Prinsep's Essays*, ii. 94; *J.R.A.S.* 1850, vol. xii. pls. i. ii. p. 72.

⁷ *J.A.S. Bengal*, and *Prinsep's Essays*, ii. pl. xxxvii. 16, 17, etc.

we must infer either an entire surrender of Parthian predilections, a facile concession to indigenous art, or a supposition of confession of fealty by the established dynasty, and their recognition as local rulers by the Parthian Suzerain. Among the minor indications may be noticed the germ, or possibly the later development, of the Sassanian broad floating fillet, together with the crescent in front of the head-dress, which, though essentially Sassanian, was not exclusively so, as the Guptas alike affected the symbol.¹

One of the reasons for preferring the later date for these coins consists in the fact, that the similitudes of the wave of the curl and general arrangement of the crest are undoubtedly closer, and more marked between the comparatively subsequent Parthian issues of Pacorus II.² and Vologeses IV. (A.D. 148-190),³ than those of the primary patterns employed by Phraates II. and Sanatruces. And the elegant leaf-scroll, pendant from the Indian turband of Nos. 2 and 3, finds a curious and almost exact counterpart in the ornamental fall at the back of the Parthian tiara introduced by the identical Vologeses IV.,⁴ revived or retained in use by Vologeses VI.,⁵ and Artavasdes,⁶ with whom the

¹ J.R.A.S. xii. pl. ii. figs. 39, 49; *Ariana Antiqua*, xv. 17, 18; Prinsep's *Essays* pl. xxvii.

² Longpérier, xv. 6.

³ *Ibid.* xvi. 11.

⁴ Longpérier, xvi. 11; xvii. 7; *Treſor de Numismatique*, pl. xxi. figs. 13, 14, 17; Lindsay, vi. 28.

⁵ Longpérier, xviii. 6; Lindsay, vi. 31.

⁶ Longpérier, xviii. 11; *Sassanian Inscriptions*, p. 127. It will be seen from these repeated references how largely I am indebted to M. A. de Longpérier's "*Mémoires sur la chronologie et l'icônographie des Rois Parthes Arsacides*" (Paris, 1857), which so deservedly won the national *grand prix de numismatique* of its day. The essay in question being avowedly fragmentary and incomplete, has, I regret to say, been temporarily withdrawn from circulation, so that I may be accused of parading references to a comparatively inaccessible work. This objection has, however, been in a measure removed by the reproduction of the author's leading classifications in M.M. Rollin et Feuſardent's *Sale Catalogue* of 1864, where the various coins are described in consecutive order, and the more prominent modifications in the historical arrangements introduced by M. de Longpérier, are clearly given under his sanction. Apart from the leading triumphs of M. de Longpérier's latest rectification of the recognized French *Spécialité* in Parthian Numismatics, I may add that no series of Oriental coin illustrations of equal merit has been produced in Europe since Marsden's time; and if the author should still feel any hesitation or reserve in publishing the necessarily elaborate details of such an obscure and complicated section of the world's history, he has already so successfully encountered in part, let us hope that he will, at all events, permit this present generation to benefit by the admirably arranged pictorial classification of the existing plates that illustrate his prize essay.

Arsacidan dynasty became finally extinct. But, here again, we must be cautious how we pronounce for any definite period for these fashions, or pretend to determine priority of usage, even if the more safe course would not be to refer both adaptations to more or less pervading provincial designs.

Nos. 3, 4. *Silver. Cabinet of Comte Stroganoff.*



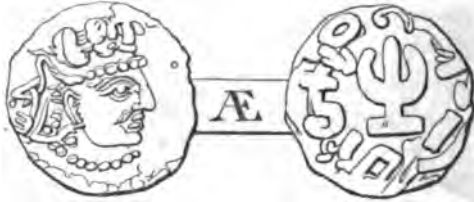
The monogram, at the back of the horseman on the reverse, offers another instance of the strange modifications ancient devices may be subjected to, in the hands of artists who probably did not comprehend the intent and meaning of the prototype. I have felt some diffidence in identifying the odd jumble of lines on No. 1 as a reproduction of the Parthian eagle; but, in truth, the original designs, on the Imperial issues, did not contribute any very exact delineation of the sacred bird, and the Indian copyist may have been even less instructed in ornithology and less conversant with the flight of eagles than the Western designers; while his own imitators may well have failed to detect a likeness he himself was incompetent to give effect to. Be this as it may, the symbol or device on Nos. 2, 3, and 4 has clearly arrived at the monogrammatic stage, though quaint traces of the bird's head are still to be detected on Nos. 2 and 3. The monogram, in its advanced form, is assimilated to several designs in favour with neighbouring dynasties; in its lower limbs it singularly accords with the special stamps or crypto-monograms employed by Kadphises, Kanerki, and Ooerki¹; while in its central upper portion it approaches nearer to the Indo-Sassanian design, which occupies the entire coin reverse, depicted in pl. xvii. fig. 20 of Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*,² and otherwise, in

¹ *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. x. 5; xi. 16; xiv. 1; and pl. xxii. No. 155, *et seq.*

² See also xvii. 21.

general characteristics, it has much identity with the ordinary mystic diagrams of the Sassanian seals¹; but both these latter may well have been merely continuous imitations or developments of an abiding ideal, varied according to the tendency of the nation, or the whim of the moment, in their minor details.

No. 5. *Copper. Musée Asiatique, St. Petersbourg.*



The obverse head in this instance shows a considerable amount of degradational treatment, even upon the imperfect models, which it clearly follows. The change in the reverse device is important, not only in removing the mintage from any very close connection with its predecessors, but in shadowing forth a possible change in locality. At first sight the symbol which occupies the field appeared to belong to some of the many forms of the Indian *Trisula*, or trident, which was already recognized as peculiar to *Śiva*;² but a more probable association presents itself in the classic trident of Neptune, which served as the leading device for so many Greek currencies,³ and which had originally been propagated in proximate localities by Demetrius of Bactria, where its employment is supposed to mark some sea-board conquest,⁴ or in

¹ J.R.A.S. xiii. 425, *et seq.*; Mordtmann Zeitschrift, 1864, Nos. 63, 101, 124, 140; Lajard Culte de Mithra, pl. x., numerous examples, but especially No. 13. Also plates xlv. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 15, and liv. c. 6, 7, 8, 9—16, 19, 20, 21.

² See coins of Kadphises (105 B.C.); Ariana Antiqua, pl. x. figs. 5, 12, etc.; and of Kanerki, pl. xii. fig. 4; Ooerki, pl. xiv. fig. 14.

³ Among others, Berytis, Carystus, Corcyra, Leucas, Lipara, Massana, Raucos, Tenos, etc.

⁴ A coin lately published by Gen. Cunningham in the Numismatic Chronicle, vol. ix. N.S. pl. iv. fig. 7. Obverse, Shield of Minerva. Reverse, Trident, Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ. Monogram, $\frac{\text{H}}{\text{A}}$. See also N. C. viii. p. 202.

Other types of Neptune are to be found in the Bactrian series, on the coins of Antimachus Theos (Prinsep's Essays, ii. 183; Mionnet Supt. viii. 466); Azas (ii. 207, pl. xvii. 14), and Ariana Antiqua, vii. 5.

Menander's Dolphin (Prinsep, ii. 194) may have a similar bearing, and the fish tails of the figure on the coins of Telephus (ii. 198) may suggest a like idea.

the limited geographical notions of the day, an advance to some big river or inland lake which stood for the ocean itself.

Having completed the incidental references to the coin devices, I now approach the more difficult task of endeavouring to explain the legends themselves. Those illiterate savages, the Parthians, finding themselves, amid the chances of conquest, domesticated foreign rulers; in the absence of an alphabet of their own, very wisely accepted the varieties of writing current in the localities in which they settled. Among the leading and more important systems they are found to have taken advantage of, the following may be enumerated:—

1. Greek, which was taken over as the Court and Official language, ruling in the dominions of the Seleucidæ, about 255 B.C.

2. The Bactrian, or the special adaptation of an originally Semitic alphabet for the expression of an Aryan language, which appears upon Parthian coins, about 110 B.C.

3. Various forms and modifications of Phœnician and Aramæan, in use on coins following the leading type of the Tetradrachms of Euthydemus of Bactria, of uncertain date; and several other modifications of an old type of Syriac, such as that found on the coins of Edessa, and subordinate branches of coinage of indeterminate locality, hereafter to be noticed.

4. The double alphabets of the Pehlvi (now discriminated as Chaldæan and Sassanian), which intrude among the Greek legends so early as A.D. 2, and which finally supersede the Greek itself about the third century, A.D.

The present inquiry is only secondarily concerned with either the Greek or the Bactrian alphabetical adaptations of the Parthian dynasties, nor does it seem to touch, except in a subordinate degree, any of the outlying branches of the duplicate Pehlvi systems; but these concessions limit, in a corresponding degree, the free area of interpretation of the characters now under consideration; and, as such, I have to examine them with more formality than I should otherwise consider their due. The first outwork to be assailed is the

series of the once-denominated Characene imitations of the Euthydemus' type.¹ Now that M. W. H. Waddington has so critically drawn within its proper circle the heretofore loose arrangement of the issues of Characene dynasty, we find that their coins have no connexion with the Bactrian series beyond an irregular derivation in common from the leading types of Antiochus II., whose medallie designs were imitated alike by Euthydemus of Bactria, and other more Western claimants for dominion, under a possible notion of some hidden virtue in his conventional Numismatic *Ægis*. So that the entire series of degradations from the pure Euthydemus type must be made to adhere to their own definite matrix, or limited to exceptional prototypes of Antiochus II. in his good Greek form, but entirely divorced from the *bearded* portraits, whose living originals ruled over the migratory Arab tribes at the head of the Persian Gulf.²

Now that the general horizon has been cleared and the imitations of the original Euthydemus' type may be treated independently on their own merits, they are found to declare themselves as unmistakably Parthian. Some of the preliminary degradations probably follow merely decadent Greek models, but when once Greek letters so entirely disappear as to leave only their shadow behind them, from that moment the epigraphs merge into more or less intelligible barbarian or composite and exceptional writing, and associate themselves with a correspondingly deteriorated representation of the classic face of Euthydemus, the Magnesian. The importance of these coins, therefore, in the present case, only commences when they are sufficiently degraded to have emancipated themselves from all reminiscences of Greek writing, and then, strange to say, they become so completely Parthian in their obverse types as to admit of ready identification with the portraits of certain members of the Imperial list, whose tiaras are distinguished by modifications, which, as has been already shown, they share in com-

¹ *Revue-Numismatique*, Paris and Blois, 1866, p. 303. See also Mr. Vaur's paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, O. S. xviii. 137.

² M. Waddington's list extends from Hyspaosines, B.C. 124, to Attambelus V., who dates subsequent to 122 A.D.

mon with the Indo-Parthian pieces which form the special subject of the present notice. The chief peculiarity of the later imitations of the Euthydemus' type consists in the substitution of a coarse bossed helmet for the classic chevelure of the Greek commander; and coincident with this change, the helmet itself is ornamented with a sort of spiked-crest, similar to the Edessa and other varieties of the Parthian tiara; and, more remarkable still, the debased type copies directly the cheek-plate or bar in front of the ear, which first occurs among the various coin portraits of Mithridates I. (B.C. 173-136),¹ the earliest Arsacidan who fully penetrated into these lands;² its next appearance is on the money of Phraates II. (B.C. 136-126),³ when it is associated with the curious crest ornamentation, which the French Numismatists describe as "une tiare spherique ornée de figures de cerf et d'une corne de taureau."⁴ The Mithridates' tiara is nearly covered with bosses, and the Phraates' helmet retains them in equal prominence, as far as the alteration of pattern permits. However, without insisting upon any direct and immediate reproduction, these coincidences are curious, and their specification is necessary to prepare the way for the consideration of the legends themselves. I take these up at the point mentioned by M. R. Rochette, in his notice of the collection of the Baron Chaudois, where they are described as "toujours figurée avec les mêmes caractères."⁵

The number of letters on these debased pieces is only seven in all, which I transcribe into modern characters as מלכא 'סך *Malká Isak*, "King Arsaces."

The most anomalous incident connected with these legends is the odd variety of alphabetical systems from which these few letters seem to have been derived, or, under our obligations of trying back for identifications, to how many con-

¹ Longpérier, pl. iii. 8; Lindsay, i. 18-20.


² Vaillant, i. 40. Phraates I. must already have had some conflicts with the Bactrian Greeks, to judge from his appropriation of Eucratides' Dioscuri Reverse and the Indian Elephant, without claiming more directly the Indian bearing of the head of Bucephalus.—Longpérier, ii. 9, 10, 11, 12.

³ Longpérier, v. 7, 8, 9.

⁴ Trésor de Numismatique, Rois Grecs, pl. lxxvii. No. 16, p. 141.

⁵ Journal des Sav. 1834, June; 1835, Sept. p. 515; Ariana Antiqua, pp. 224-5.

flicting schemes of writing it is necessary to refer for the prototype of these eccentric modifications. The initial DM , allowing for its being reversed, belongs to the Phœnician series of Esimunasar of Sidon (599 B.C.). The L might stand for a reversed S of Sargon's time, or the Greek x s on the coins of Arsaces V. The K follows the old model of a Phœnician G , a form which was preserved in many varieties of Aramaic and Pehlvi. The A , final, is more like a Chaldaic-Pehlvi T than an ordinary Semitic A , and it is only by reverting to the Syriac of Edessa that we gain a hint as to its original formation. The I in Isak or Asak has to be taken from the Sassanian alphabet, and a similar origin has to be assigned to the succeeding S , the modern Pehlvi S and sh respectively. And the final K is a repetition, not always constant, of the third letter which precedes it in the name.

There are two other classes of coins which seemingly have a direct or indirect bearing on the present inquiry, and therefore may claim a passing notice. The first in order are the series in silver and copper, originally made known to us by Sir A. Burnes¹ in 1833. They present on the obverse a well-executed Phœnician-looking head, uncovered except by the bandeau, which forms the fillet; the hair itself being allowed to fall heavily at the back of the head, but it is cut square over the eyebrows;² there are traces of a slight moustache, and a crescent over the forehead completes the picture. On the reverse there is a crude fire altar, the central support of which is worked into an odd device like a balustrade. The legend is as follows:  This I transcribe in modern characters as מלכא מירל Malká Mikal [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΤ.?] The initial DM there can be no difficulty about. The L is similar in form to the M already adverted to on the Barbarous Euthydemus' money. The

¹ Journal As. Soc. Bengal, 1833, pl. xii. fig. 9; Burnes' Bokhara, vol. ii. pl. iii. fig. 9; Prinsep's Essays, i. p. 34.

² This portion of the portrait is like the heads in the fourth and fifth groups at Persepolis, who bring offerings of dromedaries and wild asses for the Great King (Ker Porter, vol. i. p. 616, plates 42, 43). There is this difference, however, in the general detail, that the men in the sculptures are all bearded.

Ⲛ ⲕ is the ordinary closed-in Ⲛ ⲕ (forming nearly a triangle, with a small back stroke, peculiar to the Bactrian Ⲛ), which occurs on the coins of *Ibiganā*, whose mint types also follow a derivation, much deferred, from the original devices of Antiochus II. and Euthydemus.¹ The Ⲛ ⲕ in the Malkā is a

¹ Dr. Scott, Numismatic Chronicle, xviii. p. 28, pl. i. figs. 7, 8. I rather question Dr. Scott's *Ibidnā*, because his *i* in the name is a totally different letter from his assured *i* in Malka. The name may be *Ibigand* (أبي غنبي) or Abidana.

I have partially deciphered one of the varieties of his coin No. 10, of the same plate; the opening Ⲛ ⲕ is clear, and affords a new illustration of the value of the ⲕ = ⲕ of the present series. The legend runs on—Ⲛ ⲕ ⲙ ⲛ ⲗ— and the complete transcript of the legend on the Obverse, or *Arab* portrait surface, may be given with needful reserve as—

To the left, at the back of the head, reading from the *inside* (variant Ⲛ ⲕ ⲙ ⲛ ⲗ)
Ⲛ ⲕ ⲙ ⲛ ⲗ.

To the right, in front of the profile, reading from the *outside*—Ⲛ ⲕ ⲙ ⲛ ⲗ. The peculiar massing of the hair is important, as indirectly connecting the portrait with the fashion in use by Attambilus II.

On the Reverse, or the face bearing the *Parthian* bust, there are three detached words; at the back of the head are the letters Ⲛ ⲕ ⲙ ⲛ ⲗ; and in two parallel lines, in front of the profile, are to be seen the words { Ⲛ ⲕ ⲙ ⲛ ⲗ } with a Greek monogram, containing the letters MANZ, similar to the monograms on the coins of Attambilus II. of Charax, A.D. 61–60 (Waddington, pl. xii. 13), with a separate Syriac monogram, comprising the independent letters Ⲛ ⲕ ⲙ ⲛ ⲗ (*Ambār*). The whole of which legends may be loosely modernised into

ملکازا مانڈیا طپاکي ذمته رومس روم

Malchijah Toparch (Τορχαρχης) of Monzar, Tributary (ذمّتي) of the Roman of Rome.?

Or, Malchijah of the tribe of Mondar, Toparch of Ambār.?

The characters of these legends follow many of the peculiarities of the alphabet now known as "Mandaite," but the exceptions to any fixed uniformity of derivation are numerous and conflicting *inter se*. The ⲕ is admittedly exceptional in form, but we have authority enough for its true value in parallel writings. The ⲙ is also a doubtful letter, and liable to be confounded with the ⲛ, neither of which are quite positive. The ⲛ follows the outline of the assured ⲛ in the Ⲛ ⲕ ⲙ ⲛ ⲗ of the coins of Vāl. (N. C. xviii. pl. i. fig. 1), but the consistency of outline is not maintained in the extant examples; indeed, some of the letters which I propose to read as ⲛ may as well be taken for little used ⲙ. My greatest difficulty, however, was to satisfy myself of the import of the opening letters in the parallel lines on the reverse, which are, perhaps, the most important as well as the most strange characters of the whole series; they would match with no single example of the extant alphabets. At first sight I suspected them to be strangely perverted Ⲛ ⲕ's; they had something in common with a Nestorian Ⲛ ⲕ; some subordinate likeness to a Palmyrene Ⲛ ⲕ; but at last it struck me that they must be considerably modified forms of the Samaritan Ⲛ ⲕ, which is enlarged at the point and dotted in several of the later alphabets.

The most singular part of the whole set of anomalies, here encountered, consists in the use of the *Iedfat*, or short *i*, as the connecting genitive, prefixed to the words رومس روم; some such system of definition, however, was probably already in

very unusual form of that letter; and here, again, the character might equally be resolved into a N T . The remaining letters are all repetitions except the ' I , which follows a Sassanian Pehlvi model, the $\text{d} = \text{س}$ of the modern Pehlvi.

We have no direct means of determining the locality to which these coins belong. The Fire altar on the reverse points to Persian associations, and the style of the letters, without limiting their site to Mesopotamian kingdoms,¹ clearly indicates a derivation from or connection with some of the indigenous branches of writing, which possibly influenced in their spread the alphabets of the Southern coast towards the Indus.

The other class of coins to which I have alluded as possessing some features in common with the series under review, have heretofore been known by the designation of "Kodes," whose name they bear in imperfect Greek characters. These pieces were ordinarily associated with the issues of the Bactro-Greek dynasties, but later investigation proves them to have followed on in succession to certain types of Antiochus II.,

use in these localities, as we find on the earliest Pehlvi coins of Ziad-i-Abd Sofian and his successors a similar method of conjunction (J.R.A.S. xii. p. 290). It must be admitted that these results are anything but conclusive; still, a beginning has to be made somewhere, and new materials and frank discussion may equally advance the present inquiry. Though looking to the confessed imperfection of Sabæan alphabetical systems in general, and the very damaging examples of defective spelling, immediately contributed by the Characene prototypes, under their Greek aspect, the rehabilitation of which has ever left incertitude in M. Renan's mind, there need be no reserve in acknowledging the difficulty of fixing the values of the letters, or determining the meaning of the legends contributed by the imperfectly settled communities, who were not bound to follow any one system, either in language or orthography, but who lived in the happy facility of borrowing terms, and their means of expression, at will, from any of the more advanced nations encircling their own quasi-desert life. The Numismatic links in the chain of evidence are, on the other hand, singularly complete; and, if it depended solely on their indications, there would be little hesitation in pronouncing that the coins themselves must belong to some local governor, on the part of the Romans, over the dominions of the Mondar Arabs of Irak, and probably represent Trajan's conquest of lower Babylonia in 116 A.D., associated with the submission of Attambulus of Mesene (Dio Cass. lxxviii. 28; Sale's Koran, preface, p. 13). The Greek monograms accord with such an inference, and the Syriac monographic letters AM occur in like manner upon the direct imitations of the Characene coins bearing the name of *Ibigana*, already adverted to.

¹ These coins are not uncommon in Northern India, but, as far as my own experience extends, they are usually met with as isolated specimens, as if their point of issue had been elsewhere; on the other hand, to judge of the localities whence the other examples of the class have been obtained, there is no reason to refer their origin to any specially Mesopotamian site.

possibly through the intermediary of another (local) prince of the same denomination. The proper Kodes coins bear on the obverse a head, imitated from the prototype of Antiochus II. with the Bucephalus reverse,¹ but which had already passed through one stage of degradation at the hands of an Antiochus, who modified the profile considerably, and notably departed from Greek rules in the introduction of the light moustache, the reversal of the direction of the head, and the introduction of a Semitic legend. The head of Bucephalus is here replaced by a Scythic archer, but the Greek legend, hopelessly debased, of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, is perpetuated in as much completeness as provincial knowledge could still achieve, and the quasi Semitic legend on the obverse resolves itself into the component elements of אַנְתָּאֲכֻ, *Antáku* or *Antaáku*.² The succeeding Kodes coins themselves are marked by a similar obverse head, which returns to the normal position; but the device on the reverse is modified into a spearman, with flames issuing from his shoulders, a peculiarity he shares with the figures of the *Kanerki* Indo-Scythians,³ while other types of Kodes money reproduce the Bucephalus head of Antiochus II. The legends of these issues are couched in imperfect Greek, which may be restored as follows:—ΚΩΔΟΥ (at times ΤΡΚΩΔΟΥ), and on the reverse ΟΡΑΘΕΡΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΟΥ (sic) [*Mákaros*] (coin) of Kodes (the guardian) of the sacred great fire. But it is doubtful if Kodes is a name at all, and its conjunction with the 𐎠𐎡𐎴 Fire (Persian خور, هور, هیر, هرید, as in هرید, the *ur* of the Chaldees)

¹ Seleucus Nicator introduced this device, which is supposed by some Numismatists to refer to Bucephalia on the Jhelum. (Leake, *Num. Hellen.* i. 21; *Num. Chron.* xviii. 138; *Trésor de Numismatique, Rois Grecs.* p. 84.) Mithridates I. of Parthia and Phraates I. make use of this type. (Mionnet, v. 649; *Trésor de N.* pl. lxxvii. 7; Longpérier, pl. v. 12.)

² Much licence has to be claimed in arriving at this result. The leading alphabet is Chaldeo-Pehlvi, and the first, third, fourth, and seventh letters follow that system consistently, but the second letter is a bad Greek N, and the penultimate is rather Bactrian in its aspect; and, moreover, it must be noted that the Pehlvi 𐎠𐎡𐎴 consist of a mere cross, which might otherwise authorize their being read as 𐎠𐎡𐎴.

³ *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xii.; Prinsep's *Essays*, i. p. 124, etc.

may require its identification with some of the derivative forms of ܩܕܝܫܐ *purus fuit*.¹ Such a combination would have this to recommend it, that it would form a near transcript of the ΟΡΑΗΘΡΟΤ ΜΑΚΑΡΟΤ , which being analyzed may be resolved into ܐܪܢ "great,"² ܐܬܪܐ , "fire,"³ "*Mácar*," "blessed." In this case the coins themselves might be supposed to have been minted by the hierarchy of some great Fire temple. The Semitic legend occurring upon certain varieties reads freely as ܟܕܘܟܪܐ *Kodo*,⁴ but there are three letters following this word, new examples of which may alter or confirm the whole interpretation above suggested. At present, however, the only moderately clear impressions within reach give outlines of the characters ܟܪܐ , the two first letters being consistent in alphabetical derivation with the rest of the legend, but the final takes the form of an old Syriac or Estranghelo ܟ . Accepting, for the moment, this transcription, the general sense would be well preserved, and in accordance with the Greek, in ܟܕܘܟܪܐ or ܟܕܘܟܕܐ "Sacred Temple." The monogram of the Greek *K* obviously suggested the appropriate locality of *Kapuvan*, but the more advanced identifications which now force themselves into notice tend to move the accredited site further eastwards, nearer to Rustam's home in Seistán. Masaudi tells us that *the third* celebrated Pyream of the early Fireworshippers was placed in that

¹ ܩܕܝܫܐ *Spiritus sanctus*, ܒܝܬ ܩܕܝܫܐ *Jerusalem*.

² *Zend, Avesta, orots.* ܟܕܐ , *àgra*.

³ *Zend Avesta*, i. p. 87; Burnouf, *Yaçna*, p. 377.

⁴ To show what treacherous ground we are upon in the interpretation of these mixed and debased alphabets, I may mention that I was sometime since completely misled in reading the local version of the name of Kodes as *Kudt* (*Kobád*). The mistake I made was caused by my accepting the more artistically finished coins as affording the most correct form of the legend, whereas, as has been seen in the case of the imitations from the Euthydemus type, the inferior Greek copyists could neither do justice to the one alphabet or the other, and it required a complete surrender of the die execution to home-bred artists before any consistency in the definition of the native legend could be secured. My main error was in the admission of the third letter of the name as a Pehlvi ܟ ܟܕܐ whereas the true form is shown in the third character in the ܟܕܘܟܪܐ *Malta* of the present series (Nos. 2, 3, 4). The final ܟ in the better coins was also deceptive, as the proper ܟ had an additional limb attached, like the ordinary Pehlvi ܟ (*Num. Chron. N.S. iv. 210; J.R.A.S. iii. N.S. p. 260*).

province, and the name he gives to the sacred shrine, though disfigured in the MSS. copies, is not far removed from possibly irregular forms of *Koddos*;¹ beyond this, less archaic references may be cited in Edward Conolly's map, where a very large, though indefinite, space near Zaranj is designated as "*Kuddeh*;" and looking back to the single unadulterated facsimile of Istakhri, given in all mechanical detail from an original MS., we may trace very definite outlines of the name القدس (without the points), on nearly the same ground, between Zaranj and Bust. Even in the same way, though not to force examples, the preferential كركوبه crops up in one instance in Masaudi's MSS. as كركان and كدكان.

I have now completed, as far as present means permit, the introductory evidence bearing either upon the typical or palæographic characteristics of the five coins which form the leading object of the present notice, and nothing remains but to say so much as may safely be said of the imperfect legends on their surfaces; the initial \mathfrak{D} , though varied in outline in the existing specimens, is clearly an \mathfrak{H} or \mathfrak{D} of the joint Pehlvi schemes of writing, following the general design, though varied in the manipulation of the earliest and prevailing model of the Semitic \mathfrak{D} M.

The second letter might be taken to be a modification of the Chaldaeo-Pehlvi \mathfrak{L} , but as we have seen that a nearly identical character on the Kodes coins, where its value is assured by the Greek context, stood for the Semitic \mathfrak{L} D, it

¹ Isidore of Charax in his *Itinæriol Parthorum* gives the following account of the chief places in Seistân in his day: "Ἐρεῖθον Ζαργαννῆς, σχοῦροι κα'. Ἐρεθὼ πάλαι Πάρθων καὶ Κόδοκ πάλαι. (Variant, Οὐκοδοκ.) Hudson, ii. 8. Paris edit. 1856, l. p. 263. Masaudi speaks of the highly venerated Fire-temple originally erected by Bahman at *Kuddeh*, in Seistân. Paris edition, vol. iv. pp. 73, 462. Yakuti in voce in "La Perse of M. B. de Maynard." See also J. H. Müller, Facsimile of an original MS. of *Istakhri* (Gothæ, 1829), p. 104, and map, p. 105; Ouseley, *Oriental Geography*, p. 209; Ibn Khordadbeh, *Journ. Asiatique*, 1856, p. 56; Juynboll, *Marâsid al Ittilâ'*, 491; Kasvini (Wüstenfeld, *Gott.* 1848, ii. p. 163; Hyde, 161; Edw. Conolly, *Map of Seistân, J.A.S. Bengal*, ix. p. 724; "Goor-goores" (No. 48) Col. Anderson, *J.A.S. Bengal*, 1849, p. 687; Kinneir, "*Koakho-serrâ*, a fortified town, built on a high island in the centre of the Hâmoon," p. 190; Dr. Sprenger, maps iv. and xii.; Rawlinson, *R. Geog. Society's Journal*, x. 88, "Kâriân."

will be preferable to read it as D in this instance also. This is a conclusion which, indeed, accords with the general Indian associations of the coins themselves. We have frequent instances of the use of MRK *Marka* for *Malka*, and here we have only to extend the licence to the local $\text{M}\text{R}^{\text{h}} = \text{p}$, which is often indistinguishable in sound to foreign ears from the MR .

The third letter in the order of reading, from the *outside* of the coin, I have assumed to be a K , a very early definition of which, in almost identical conformation, may be traced in the parallel writing of more western sites, and the back stroke of the Bactrian system further satisfies local identifications. The final A is a confessed difficulty, and it becomes a still more palpable obstacle in the present instance, where in the indefinite formation of the letters it may be taken for an M , like the associate initial, or a T derived from independent schemes of writing. Singular to say, of all the letters of the Semitic alphabet, the opening Alif was the one most subject to empirical modifications, dating from the primitive imitation of a Bull's head of the earliest graphic system, to the severe perpendicular line of the Kufic and modern Syriac. The A of the Edessa coins follows the most Archaic form of the Phœnician Ain , but it varies so far from some of the more advanced Phœnician derivatives, which have an opening at the top of the round o ,¹ that it occasionally has this gap in its own legitimate line of writing,² to the left hand of the letter itself, and to this it frequently supplements a dot, like its own I , at the orifice,³ so that it is possible a similar process may have been followed in the present instance, where the dot has grown into a more pronounced downstroke. Otherwise the final may be a sort of com-

¹ Gesenius, *Scripturæ Linguaeque Phœnicis; La Langue Phœnicienne*, A. C. Judas, Paris, 1847; the Duc de Luyne, in *Prinsep's Essays*, pl. xi.; Madden's *Jewish Coinage*, pl. i.; Dr. Levy, *Phœnizische Studien*. But the latest and most complete digest of these alphabets is to be found in M. de Vogüé's *Mélanges d'Archeologie Orientale*, Paris, 1868. Dr. Wright's admirable article on "Writing," in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, treats more at large the whole question of the spread of Semitic alphabets.

² *Sassanian Inscriptions*, J.R.A.S. iii. N.S. p. 251.

³ Dr. Scott, *Num. Chron.* xviii. p. 1, and local coins of subsequent date in the British Museum.

promise with the prototype of the later Arabic ش , only that we do not want the word in the feminine gender, and equally should we reject the inopportune Scripture "Malcham." At this point the characters of the legend seem to change, and were it not that traces of the ך ד and the same final ש , ת , or ב crop-up again at the end of the legend on Nos. 2, 3, and 4, I should have been disposed to think that the intermediate writing followed the model of the single word on coin No. 1. This latter might be guessed at indefinitely according to the alphabetical scheme to which it might be proposed to refer it; as Pehlvi it might be ش-م-ح *Shahach*¹ or ش-م-ح *Shemach*, or taking Nos. 3 and 4 as Arabic لعب or لعبس. It is true that these may be said to be very impotent conclusions, only that they are not conclusions at all; any such stage of progress is still in the far-off horizon; we are as yet in the merely preliminary initiation phase of the inquiry; and while there is good hope of new materials, it would be vain to multiply mere conjectures. Even as I write, I hear from our associate, Mr. W. Frere, that he has left behind him at Bombay one, if not more, coins of this description, obtained, as we might expect, from the countries bordering on the Indus. Copies of these pieces have been sent for, and I hope, on some future occasion, to renew my examination of this subject with more effect than at present, and likewise to illustrate the alphabetical ramifications by facsimiles, which in this hasty sketch I have been unable to prepare, and without which the most elaborate descriptions are comparatively unintelligible.

¹ These names may have survived in some of the later forms of شهرش Reinaud, l'Inde, pp. 126, 147, 176. *Tabari*, شَصَص . Masaudi, i. p. 372 (title of Kings of Sind) ش-ح *Shach*? *Kin-i-Akbari*, ii. 146. "Sehria." Elliot's *Historians*, i. pp. 138, 140, 405, 408, etc. *J.R.A.S.* xii. 341.

