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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*The Upasampadā-Kammaḍcā being the Buddhist Manual of the Form and Manner of Ordering of Priests and Deacons. The Pāli Text, with a Translation and Notes.* By J. F. DICKSON, B.A., sometime Student of Christ Church, Oxford, now of the Ceylon Civil Service.

IN May, 1872, I was invited by my learned friend and pandit Kewiṭṭiyāgala Unnānsé, of the Malwatté Monastery in Kandy, to be present at an ordination service, held, according to custom, on the full-moon day of Wesak, (May, June), being the anniversary of the day on which Gautama Buddha attained Nirvāṇa, B.C. 543. I gladly availed myself of this opportunity of witnessing the celebration of a rite of which Englishmen have but little knowledge, and which has rarely, if ever, been witnessed by any European in Ceylon.

Nothing could be more impressive than the order and solemnity of the proceedings. It was impossible not to feel that the ceremony was being conducted precisely as it was more than two thousand years ago.

The chapter house (Sinhalese, Poya-ge) is an oblong hall, with rows of pillars forming an inner space and leaving broad aisles at the sides. At the top of this inner space sat the aged Abbot (Sinhalese, Maha Nāyaka), as president of the chapter; on either side of him sat the elder priests, and down the sides sat the other priests in number between thirty and forty. The chapter or assembly thus formed three sides of an oblong. The president sat on cushions and a carpet; the other priests sat on mats covered with white calico. They all sat cross-legged. On the fourth side, at the foot, stood the candidates, behind the pillars on the right stood the deacons, the left was

given up to the visitors, and behind the candidates at the bottom was a crowd of Buddhist laymen.

To form a chapter for this purpose not less than ten duly ordained priests are required, and the president must be not less than ten years' standing from his Upasampadá ordination. The priests attending the chapter are required to give their undivided, unremitting, and devout attention throughout the service. Every priest is instructed to join heart and mind in the exhortations, responses, formulas, etc., and to correct every error, lest the oversight of a single mistake should vitiate the efficacy of the rite. Previously to the ordination the candidates are subjected to a strict and searching examination as to their knowledge of the discourses of Buddha, the duties of a priest, etc. An examination and ordination is held on the full-moon day in Wesak, and on the three succeeding Poya days, or days of quarters of the moon.

After witnessing the celebration of this rite, I read the Upasampadá-Kammavácá or book setting forth the form and manner of ordering of priests and deacons, and I was subsequently induced to translate it. This manual was translated into Italian in 1776, by Padre Maria Percoto (Missionary in Ava and Pegu), under the title of "Kammuva, ossia trattato della ordinazione dei Talapoini del secondo ordine detti Pinzi," and a portion of it was edited in 1841, in Páli and Latin, by Professor Spiegel. Clough translated it in 1834, and Hardy has given an interesting summary of it in his *Eastern Monachism*; but neither the text nor any complete translation is readily accessible, and I have therefore thought that this edition might possibly be acceptable to those who desire information respecting the practice of Buddhism in Ceylon, where, as is well pointed out by Mr. Childers, in his *Páli Dictionary*, (s.v. *Nibbánam*, p. 272, note), "Buddhism retains almost its pristine purity."

With regard to the transliteration, I have used the system adopted (after Fausböll) by Mr. Childers in his *Dictionary*. In the translation I have placed in italics the rubrical directions in the text, and all explanations and amplifications of the text I have placed in square brackets.

I have thus endeavoured to give a translation of the text as it stands, and, at the same time, to set out the ordination service fully and completely, precisely in the form in use in Ceylon at the present time, as I have myself witnessed it. No one who compares this form with that given in article XV. of Hodgson's "Literature and Religion of the Buddhists in Nepaul," can fail to be struck with the purity and simplicity of the Ceylon rite as contrasted with that in use among the Northern Buddhists.

J. F. D.

Kandy, 9th January, 1873.

UPASAMPADĀ-KAMMAVĀCĀ.

Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa.

Okāsa. Kāruṇṇaṃ katvā pabbajjāṃ detha me bhante. *Ukkuṭikaṃ nisīditvā.* Aham bhante pabbajjāṃ yācāmi. Dutiyam pi aham bhante pabbajjāṃ yācāmi. Tatiyam pi aham bhante pabbajjāṃ yācāmi. Sabbadukkhanissaraṇanibbānasacchikaraṇapathāya imaṃ kāsavaṃ gahetvā pabbājetha maṃ bhante anukampaṃ upādāya. *Tatīyavāraṃ.* Sabbadukkhanissaraṇanibbānasacchikaraṇapathāya etaṃ kāsavaṃ datvā pabbājetha maṃ bhante anukampaṃ upādāya. *Tatīyavāraṃ.* Okāsa. Vandāmi bhante. Sappaṃ aparādhaṃ khamatha me bhante. Mayā kataṃ puṇṇaṃ sāmīnā anumoditappaṃ. Sāmīnā kataṃ puṇṇaṃ mayhaṃ dātabbaṃ. Sādhu sādhu. Anumodāmi. Okāsa. Kāruṇṇaṃ katvā tisaraṇena saha sīlāni dettha me bhante. Aham bhante saraṇasīlaṃ yācāmi. Dutiyam pi aham bhante saraṇasīlaṃ yācāmi. Tatiyam pi aham bhante saraṇasīlaṃ yācāmi. Imāni dasasikkhapādāni samādiyāmi. Okāsa. Vandāmi bhante. Anumodāmi.

Okāsa. Kāruṇṇaṃ katvā nissayaṃ detha me bhante. *Ukkuṭikaṃ nisīditvā.* Aham bhante nissayaṃ yācāmi. Dutiyam pi aham bhante nissayaṃ yācāmi. Tatiyam pi aham bhante nissayaṃ yācāmi. Upajjhāyo me bhante hohi. *Tatīyavāraṃ.* Patirūpaṃ. Okāsa. Sampatichāmi. *Tatīyavāraṃ.* Ajjatagge dāni therō mayhaṃ bhāro aham pi therassa bhāro. *Tatīyavāraṃ.*

Okāsa. Tvaṃ Nāgo nāma. Okāsa. Āma bhante. Tuyaṃ upajjhāyo āyasmā Tissatthero nāma. Okāsa. Āma bhante.



Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammásambuddhassa.

Paṭhamañ upajjhañ gáhápetabbo. Uppajjhañ gáhápetvá pattacivaram ácikkhitabbam. Ayañ te patto. Āma bhante. Ayañ sañgháti. Āma bhante. Ayañ uttarásāṅgo. Āma bhante. Ayañ antaravásako. Āma bhante. Gaccha amumhi okáse tiṭṭháhi. Suṇātu me bhante sañgho. Nágo áyasmato Tissassa upasampadápekho. Yadi sañghassa pattakallañ aham Nágañ anusáseyyañ. Suṇasi Nága. Ayañ te saccakálo bhútakalo. Yañ játañ tañ sañghamajjhe pucchante santañ atthíti vattabbañ, asantañ n'atthíti vattabbañ. Má kho vitthási. Má khó mañku aho sí. Evan tañ pucchissan ti. Santi te evarúpá ábádhá, kuṭṭhañ. N'atthi bhante. Gaṇḍo. N'atthi bhante. Kiláso. N'atthi bhante. Soso. N'atthi bhante. Apamáro. N'atthi bhante. Manusso'si. Āma bhante. Puriso'si. Āma bhante. Bhujiso'si. Āma bhante. Anaṇḍo'si. Āma bhante. N'asi rájabhaṭo. Āma bhante. Anuññáto'si mátápítúhi. Āma bhante. Paripuṇṇavisativasso'si. Āma bhante. Paripuṇṇañ te pattacivaram. Āma bhante. Kinnámo'si. Aham bhante Nágo náma. Konámo te upajjháyo. Upajjháyo me bhante áyasmá Tissatthero náma. Suṇātu me bhante sañgho. Nágo áyasmato Tissassa upasampadápekho. Anusiṭṭho so mayá. Yadi sañghassa pattakallañ Nágo ágaccheyya ágaccháhíti vattabbo. Ágaccháhi. Sañghañ bhante upasampadañ yácámi. Ullumpatu mañ bhante sañgho anukampañ upadáya. Dutiyam pi bhante sañghañ upasampadañ yácámi. Ullumpatu mañ bhante sañgho anukampañ upadáya. Tatiyam pi bhante sañghañ upasampadañ yácámi. Ullumpatu mañ bhante sañgho anukampañ upadáya. Suṇātu me bhante sañgho. Ayañ Nágo áyasmato Tissassa upasampadápekho. Yadi sañghassa pattakallañ aham Nágañ antaráyike dhamme puccheyyañ. Suṇasi Nága. Ayañ te saccakálo bhútakálo. Yañ játañ tañ pucchámi. Santañ atthíti vattabbañ. Asantañ n'atthíti vattabbañ. Santi te evarúpá ábádhá, kuṭṭhañ. N'atthi bhante. Gaṇḍo. N'atthi bhante. Kiláso. N'atthi bhante. Soso. N'atthi bhante. Apamáro. N'atthi bhante. Manusso'si. Āma bhante. Puriso'si. Āma bhante. Bhujisso'si. Āma bhante. Anaṇḍo'si. Āma bhante. N'asi rájabhaṭo. Āma bhante. Anuññáto'si mátápítúhi. Āma bhante. Paripuṇṇavisativasso'si. Āma bhante. Paripuṇṇan te civaram. Āma bhante. Kinnámo'si. Aham bhante Nágo náma. Konámo te upajjháyo. Upajjháyo me bhante áyasmá Tissatthero náma. Suṇātu me bhante sañgho. Ayañ Nágo áyasmato Tissassa upasampadápekho. Parisuddho antaráyikehi dhammehi. Psripuṇṇassa pattacivaram. Nágo sañghañ upasampadañ yácati áyasmatá Tissena upajjháyena. Yadi sañghassa pattakallañ sañgho

Nágam upasampádeyya áyasmatá Tissena upajjháyena, esá ñatti. Suñátu me bhante saṅho. Ayañ Nágo áyasmato Tissassa upasampadápekho. Parisuddho antaráyikehi dhammehi. Paripupṇassa pattacívaram. Nágo saṅghaṃ upasampadaṃ yácati áyasmatá Tissena upajjháyena. Saṅho Nágam upasampádeti áyasmatá Tissena upajjháyena. Yass'áyasmato khamati Nágassa upasampadá áyasmatá Tissena upajjháyena so tuṇh'assa. Yassa na khamati so bháseyya. Dutiyam pi etam atthaṃ vadámi. Suñátu me bhante saṅho. Ayañ Nágo áyasmato Tissassa upasampadápekho. Parisuddho antaráyikehi dhammehi, paripupṇ'assa pattacívaram. Nágo saṅghaṃ upasampadaṃ yácati áyasmatá Tissena upajjháyena. Saṅho Nágam upasampádeti áyasmatá Tissena upajjháyena. Yass'áyasmato, khamati Nágassa upasampadá áyasmatá Tissena upajjháyena so tuṇh'assa. Yassa na khamati so bháseyya. Tatiyam pi etam atthaṃ vadámi. Suñátu bhante saṅho. Ayañ Nágo áyasmato Tissassa upasampadápekho. Parisuddho antaráyikehi dhammehi, paripupṇ'assa pattacívaram. Nágo saṅghaṃ upasampadaṃ yácati áyasmatá Tissena upajjháyena. Saṅho Nágam upasampádeti áyasmatá Tissena upajjháyena. Yass'áyasmato khamati Nágassa upasampadá áyasmatá Tissena upajjháyena so tuṇh'assa. Yassa na khamati so bháseyya. Upasampanno saṅghena Nágo áyasmatá Tissena upajjháyena. Khamati saṅghassa tasmá tuphi. Evam etaṃ dhárayámiti.

Távad eva cháyá metabbá. Utupamáṇaṃ ácikkhitabhaṃ. Divasa-bhāgo ácikkhitabbo. Saṅgíti ácikkhitabbá. Cattáro nissaya ácikkhitabbá cattári ca akaraṇiyáni ácikkhitabbáni. Piṇḍiyálopabhojanaṃ nissaya pabbajjá. Tattha te yávajívaṃ ussáho karaṇíyo. Atirekalábho, saṅghabhattaṃ uddesabhattaṃ nimantanāṃ salákabhattaṃ pakkhikaṃ uposathikaṃ páṭipadikam. Áma bhante. Paṇsukúlacívaram nissaya pabbajjá. Tattha te yávajívaṃ ussáho karaṇíyo. Atirekalábho khomaṃ kappásikaṃ koseyyaṃ kambalaṃ sáṇaṃ bhāgaṃ. Áma bhante Rukkhamálasenāsanaṃ nissaya pabbajjá. Tattha te yávajívaṃ ussáho karaṇíyo. Atirekalábho, viháro aḍḍhayogo pásádo hammiyaṃ guhá. Áma bhante. Pútimuttabhesajjaṃ nissaya pabbajjá. Tattha te yávajívaṃ ussáho karaṇíyo. Atirekalábho, sappi navañitaṃ telaṃ madhuppháñitaṃ. Áma bhante. Upasampanna bhikkhuná methuno dhammo na paṭisevítabbo, antamaso tiracchánagatáya pi. Yo bhikkhu methunaṃ dhammaṃ paṭisevati assamaṇo hoti asakyaputtiyo. Seyyathá pi náma puriso sísačchinno abhabbo tena sarírabandhanena jívituṃ evameva



bhikkhu methunañ dhammañ pañisevitvá assamaño hoti asakyaputtiyo. Tañ te yāvajīvañ akaraṇīyañ. Āma bhante.

Upasampanna bhikkhunā adinnañ theyyasankhātañ na ádátappañ, antamaso tīpasalākarañ upádāya. Yo bhikkhu pádañ vá pádārahañ vá atirekapádañ vá adinnañ theyyasankhātañ ádiyati assamaño hoti asakyaputtiyo. Seyyathá pi náma paṇḍupalāso bandhaná pamutto abhabbo haritattāya, evameva bhikkhu pádañ vá pádārahañ vá atirekapádañ vá adinnañ theyyasankhātañ ádiyitvá assamaño hoti asakyaputtiyo. Tañ te yāvajīvañ akaraṇīyañ. Āma bhante.

Upasampanna bhikkhunā sancicca pápo jīvitá na voropetabbo, antamaso kunthakípillikañ upádāya. Yo bhikkhu sancicca manussaviggahañ jīvitá voropeti, antamaso gabbhapátanañ upádāya, assamaño hoti asakyaputtiyo. Seyyathá pi náma puthusilá dvedhábhinná appaṭisandhiká hoti, evameva bhikkhu sancicca manussaviggahañ jīvitá voropetvá assamaño hoti asakyaputtiyo. Tañ te yāvajīvañ akaraṇīyañ. Āma bhante.

Upasampanna bhikkhunā uttarimanussadhammo na ullapitabbo, antamaso suññágāre abhiraṃamīti. Yo bhikkhu pápiccho icchápakato asantañ abhútañ uttarimanussadhammañ ullapati jhānañ vá vimokhañ vá samádhiñ vá maggañ vá phalañ vá assamaño hoti asakyaputtiyo. Seyyathá pi náma tálo matthakacchinno abhabbo punavirúbbiyá, evameva bhikkhu pápiccho icchápakato asantañ abhútañ uttarimanussadhammañ ullapitá assamaño hoti asakyaputtiyo. Tañ te yāvajīvañ akaraṇīyañ. Āma bhante.

THE ORDINATION SERVICE.

Praise be to the Blessed One, the Holy One, to him who has arrived at the knowledge of all Truth.

[The candidate, accompanied by his Tutor, in the dress of a layman, but having the yellow robes of a priest in his arms, makes the usual obeisance and offering to the President of the chapter, and standing says,]

Grant me leave to speak. Lord, graciously grant me admission to deacon's orders. *Kneels down.* Lord, I pray for admission as a deacon. Again, lord, I pray for admission as a deacon. A third time, lord, I pray for admission as a deacon. In compassion for me, lord, take these yellow robes, and let me be ordained, in order to the destruction of all sorrow, and in order to the attainment of Nirvána. *To be repeated*

three times. [The President takes the bundle of robes.] In compassion for me, lord, give me those yellow robes, and let me be ordained, in order to the destruction of all sorrow, and in order to the attainment of Nirvápa. *To be repeated three times.* [And the President then gives the bundle of robes, the yellow band of which he ties round the neck of the candidate, reciting the while the *tacapañcakañ*, or formula of meditation on the perishable nature of the human body, as follows: *kesá lomá nakhá dantá taco—taco dantá nakhá lomá kesá.* Hair of the head, hair of the body, nails, teeth, skin—skin, teeth, nails, hair of the body, hair of the head. The candidate then rises up, and retires to throw off the dress of a layman, and to put on his yellow robes. While changing his dress he recites the following:—*Pañisankhá yoniso cívaram pañisevámi yávad eva sítassa pañighátáya uñhassa pañighátáya ñamsamakassavátátapa-sirimsapasamphassánañ pañighátáya yávad eva hirikopínapañicchádan-attham.* In wisdom I put on the robes, as a protection against cold, as a protection against heat, as a protection against gadflies and musquitoes, wind and sun, and the touch of serpents, and to cover nakedness, *i.e.* I wear them in all humility, for use only, and not for ornament or show. Having put on the yellow robes, he returns to the side of his tutor, and says,] Grant me leave to speak. I make obeisance to my lord. Lord, forgive me all my faults. Let the merit that I have gained be shared by my lord. It is fitting to give me to share in the merit gained by my lord. It is good, it is good. I share in it. Grant me leave to speak. Graciously give me, lord, the three refuges and the precepts. [He kneels down.] Lord, I pray for the refuges and the precepts.

[The tutor gives the three refuges and the ten precepts as follows, the candidate still kneeling, and repeating them after him sentence by sentence.

1.

Buddham saraṇaṃ gacchāmi.

Dhammañ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi.

Saṅghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi.

Dutiyam pi buddham saraṇaṃ gacchāmi.

Dutiyam pi dhammañ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi.

Dutiyam pi saṅghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi.

Tatīyam pi buddham saraṇaṃ gacchāmi.

Tatīyam pi dhammañ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi.

Tatīyam pi saṅghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi. Saraṇattayaṃ.

2.

Pánátipátá veramañi sikkhápadañ.
 Adinnadáná veramañi sikkhápadañ.
 Abrahmacariyá veramañi sikkhápadañ.
 Musávádá veramañi sikkhápadañ.
 Surámerayamajjapamádaṭṭháná veramañi sikkhápadañ.
 Vikálabhojaná veramañi sikkhápadañ.
 Naccagítavádítavisúkadassaná veramañi sikkhápadañ.
 Málágandhavilepanadháraṇamañḍanavibhúsanatṭháná veramañi
 sikkhápadañ.
 Uccásayanamahásayaṇá veramañi sikkhápadañ.
 Játarúparajatapaṭiggahaṇá veramañi sikkhápadañ. Dasasikkhá-
 padañ.

1.

The Three Refuges.

I put my trust in Buddha.
 I put my trust in the Law.
 I put my trust in the Priesthood.
 Again I put my trust in Buddha.
 Again I put my trust in the Law.
 Again I put my trust in the Priesthood.
 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 Priesthood.

2.

The ten precepts or laws of the Priesthood.

Abstinence from destroying life ;
 Abstinence from theft ;
 Abstinence from fornication and all uncleanness ;
 Abstinence from lying ;
 Abstinence from fermented liquor, spirits and strong drink which
 are a hindrance to merit ;
 Abstinence from eating at forbidden times ;
 Abstinence from dancing, singing, and shows ;
 Abstinence from adorning and beautifying the person by the use of
 garlands, perfumes and unguents ;

Abstinence from using a high or a large couch or seat ;
 Abstinence from receiving gold and silver ;
 are the ten means (of leading a moral life).¹

[The candidate says,]

I have received these ten precepts. Permit me. [He rises up, and makes obeisance to his Tutor.] Lord, I make obeisance. Forgive me all my faults. May the merit I have gained be shared by my lord. Give me to share in the merit of my lord. It is good, it is good. I share in it.

[This completes the ordination of a deacon, and the candidate retires.]

The foregoing ceremony is gone through previous to the ordination of a priest in all cases, even where the candidate has already been admitted as a deacon. If the candidate is duly qualified for the priestly office, he can proceed at once from deacon's to priest's orders ; otherwise he must pass a term of instruction as a deacon : but a candidate who has received deacon's orders must solicit them again, and go through the above ceremony when presented for priest's orders.

The candidate, being duly qualified, returns with his tutor, and goes up to the President of the chapter, presenting an offering, and makes obeisance, saying,]

Permit me to speak. Lord, graciously grant me your sanction and support.^a *He kneels down.* Lord, I pray for your sanction and support ; a second time, lord, I pray for your sanction and support ; a third time, lord, I pray for your sanction and support. Lord, be my superior. *This is repeated three times.* [The President says,] It is well. [And the candidate replies,] I am content. *This is repeated three times.* From this day forth my lord is my charge. I am charge to my lord. [This vow of mutual assistance] *is repeated three times.*

[The candidate rises up, makes obeisance, and retires alone to the foot of the assembly, where his alms-bowl is strapped on to his back. His tutor then goes down, takes him by the hand, and brings him back, placing him in front of the President. One of the assembled priests stands up, and places himself on the other side of the candidate, who thus stands between two tutors.^b The tutors say to the assembly,] With your permission, [and then proceed to examine the candidate as to his

¹ See Khuddakapāṭha, by R. C. Childers, pp. 2, 3.



fitness to be admitted to priest's orders]. Your name is Nága? It is so, lord. Your superior is the venerable Tissa? It is so, lord. [The two tutors together say,] Praise be to the Blessed one, the Holy one, to him who has arrived at the knowledge of all Truth. [They then recite the following commands of Buddha.] First it is right to appoint a superior. When the superior has been appointed, it is right to inquire whether the candidate has alms-bowl and robes [which they do as follows]. Is this your alms-bowl? It is so, lord. Is this the stole? It is so, lord. Is this the upper robe? It is so, lord. Is this the under robe? It is so, lord. Go and stand there. [The candidate here retires, going backwards in a reverential posture, and stands at the lower corner of the assembly. The tutors remain in front of the President, and one of them says,] Priests, hear me. The candidate desires ordination under the venerable Tissa. Now is the time of the assembly of priests. I will instruct the candidate. [The tutors make obeisance to the President, and go down to the foot of the assembly, and join the candidate, whom they instruct and examine as follows.] Listen, Nága. This is the time for you to speak the truth, to state what has occurred. When asked concerning anything in the midst of the assembly, if it be true, it is meet to say so; if it be not true, it is meet to say that it is not. Do not hesitate. Conceal nothing. *They inquire of the candidate as follows.* Have you any such diseases as these? Leprosy? No, lord. Boils? No, lord. Itch? No, lord. Asthma? No, lord. Epilepsy? No, lord. Are you a human being? Yes, lord. Are you a male? Yes, lord. Are you a free man? Yes, lord. Are you free from debt? Yes, lord. Are you exempt from military service. Yes, lord. Have you come with the permission of your parents? Yes, lord. Are you of the full age of twenty years? Yes, lord. Are your alms-bowl and robes complete? Yes, lord. What is your name? Lord, I am called Nága. What is the name of your superior? Lord, my superior is called the venerable Tissa. [The two tutors here go to the top of the assembly, and make obeisance to the President, and one of them says,] Priests, hear me. The candidate desires ordination under the venerable Tissa. He has been duly instructed by me. Now is the time of the assembly of priests. If the candidate is here, it is right to tell him to approach. [One of the tutors says,] Come hither. [The candidate comes up, and stands between the tutors, makes obeisance to the assembly, and kneels down. Priests, I ask the assembly for ordination. Priests, have compassion on me, and lift me up.^d A second time, lords,

I ask the assembly for ordination; lords, have compassion on me, and lift me up. A third time, lords, I ask the assembly for ordination. Lords, have compassion on me, and lift me up. [The candidate rises up, and makes obeisance. The tutors say,] Priests, hear me. This candidate desires ordination under the venerable Tissa. Now is the time of the assembly of priests. I will examine the candidate respecting the disqualifications for the priestly office. Listen, Nága, This is the time for you to speak the truth, to state what has occurred. I will inquire of you concerning facts. If a thing is, it is right to say it is; if a thing is not, it is right to say it is not. Have you any such diseases as these? Leprosy? No, lord. Boils? No, lord. Itch? No, lord. Asthma? No, lord. Epilepsy? No, lord. Are you a human being? Yes, lord. Are you a male? Yes, lord. Are you free from debt? Yes, lord. Are you exempt from military service? Yes, lord. Have you come with the permission of your parents? Yes, lord. Are you of the full age of twenty years? Yes, lord. Are your alms-bowl and robes complete? Yes, lord. What is your name? Lord, I am called Nága. What is the name of your superior? My superior, lord, is called the venerable Tissa. [Here ends the examination in the midst of the assembly, and one of the tutors reports the result as follows.] This candidate desires ordination under the venerable Tissa. He is free from disqualifications. He has his alms-bowl and robes complete. The candidate asks the assembly for ordination under his superior the venerable Tissa. The assembly gives the candidate ordination under his superior the venerable Tissa. If any of the venerable assembly approves the ordination of the candidate under the venerable Tissa, let him be silent; if any objects, let him speak. A second time I state this matter. Priests, hear me. This candidate desires ordination under the venerable Tissa. He is free from disqualifications for the priestly office. His alms-bowl and robes are complete. The candidate asks the priesthood for ordination under his superior the venerable Tissa. The assembly gives the candidate ordination under his superior the venerable Tissa. If any of the venerable assembly approve the ordination of the candidate under his superior the venerable Tissa, let him be silent; if any objects, let him speak. A third time I state this matter. Priests, listen. This candidate desires ordination under the venerable Tissa. He is free from disqualifications for the priestly office. His alms-bowl and robes are complete. The candidate asks the priesthood for ordination under his superior the venerable Tissa. The assembly

gives the candidate ordination under his superior the venerable Tissa. If any of the venerable assembly approves the ordination of the candidate under his superior the venerable Tissa, let him be silent; if any objects, let him speak. [The two tutors here again make obeisance to the President, and say,] The candidate has received ordination from the priesthood under his superior the venerable Tissa. The assembly approves the resolution: therefore it keeps silence. So I understand your wish.

[The ordination is here ended, and the candidate retires to the foot of the assembly, in which the tutors now resume their seats. The ceremony is repeated with each candidate, and when all the candidates have been ordained, one of the assembly (generally one of the tutors) rises up, and addresses the following exhortation to the recently ordained priests, who stand in a reverential attitude.]

It is meet to measure the shadow of the sun.^a It is meet to tell the season. It is meet to tell the division of the day. It is meet to tell all these together. It is meet to tell the four requisites for a priest.^f It is meet to tell the four sins forbidden to priests to commit. Food collected in the alms-bowl is a requisite of a priest. So fed, it is good for you to strive so long as life shall last. The following exceptions are allowed: rice offered to the whole body of the priests; rice offered to a certain number of priests; rice offered on special invitation to a particular priest; rice offered by lot;^g rice offered once in fifteen days; rice offered on the full-moon days; rice offered on the day following full-moon day. Yes, lord.

Robes made of pieces of rag are a requisite of a priest. So clad, it is good for you to strive so long as life shall last. The following exceptions are allowed: robes made of linen, of cotton, of silk, of wool, of hemp, or of these five materials together.^h Yes, lord. Lodging at the foot of a tree is a requisite for a priest. So lodged, it is good for you to strive so long as life shall last. The following exceptions are allowed: monasteries; large halls; houses of more than one story; houses surrounded by walls; rock caves. Yes, lord. Cow's urine as medicine is a requisite for a priest. Thus provided, it is good for you to strive so long as life shall last. The following exceptions are allowed: cow's butter; cream; rape oil; honey; sugar. Yes, lord.

A priest must not indulge in sexual intercourse, in short not even with a female of any kind. If any priest indulges in sexual intercourse, he

ceases to be a priest, and is no longer a son of Sakya. Just as a man whose head is cut off is unable to live, so does a priest who has indulged in sexual intercourse cease to be a priest, or to be a son of Sakya. This is to be avoided by you as long as life shall last. Yes, lord.

A priest must not take, with dishonest intent, anything which is not given to him, not even a blade of grass. If any priest takes, with dishonest intent, either a quarter of a pagoda,^l or anything worth as much or more, he ceases to be a priest, and is no longer a son of Sakya. Just as a sere leaf loosed from its stalk can never again become green, so a priest who, with dishonest intent, has taken anything which has not been given to him, ceases to be a priest, or to be a son of Sakya. This is to be avoided by you as long as life shall last. Yes, lord.

A priest must not knowingly destroy human life, in short not even the life of an ant.^k If any priest destroys human life even by causing abortion, he ceases to be a priest, or to be a son of Sakya. Just as a large rock once cleft in two can never be re-united, so does a priest who has knowingly destroyed human life, cease to be a priest, or to be a son of Sakya. This is to be avoided by you as long as life shall last. Yes, lord.

A priest must not lay claim to more than human perfection, even by saying, "I delight in a solitary hut." If any priest with evil intent and for sake of gain untruly and falsely lays claim to more than human perfection, whether a state of mystic meditation,^l or freedom from passion,^m or perfect tranquillity,ⁿ or a state of absorption removed from all worldly influence,^o or attainment of the four paths, or of the fruition of those paths,^p he ceases to be a priest, and is no longer a son of Sakya. Just as a palmyra tree, the top of which has been cut off, can never sprout again, so a priest who, with evil intent and for sake of gain, untruly and falsely has laid claim to more than human perfection, ceases to be a priest, or to be a son of Sakya. This is to be avoided so long as life shall last. Yes, lord.

NOTES.

^a *Nissayo*. Without the consent and promise of assistance of a priest of ten years' standing, the candidate cannot obtain ordination. *Nissayo* involves mutual assistance and association for at least five years. The elder who gives *nissa* becomes the spiritual superior or preceptor (*upajjhāyo*), and the one who receives *nissa* becomes his co-resident or



pupil (*nissantevāsiko*). The relative duties of the two are laid down in detail in the *Vinayapīṭaka*. Briefly the superior is to advise and instruct his co-resident, and to perform towards him all the duties of a parent in sickness and in health. The co-resident is to treat his superior with all the respect due to a father, and to perform for him all the duties of a personal attendant. Buddha directs that fluent-speaking and well-informed priests shall remain as pupils for five years. They who are not fluent-speaking shall remain as pupils as long as they live.

^b Tutors (*Kammaññācāriṇo*). The tutors represent the assembly, and conduct the examinations on its behalf. Compare the relations of the proctors at Oxford to Convocation.

^c *Saṅghāṭi*. Stole. This part of the dress is a large double robe folded to about five inches in breadth, which is thrown over the left shoulder, and fastened close to the body by a waist-belt. This robe is used by a priest when travelling as a cloak.

^d Lift me up (*ullumpatu*). The meaning of this is explained in the commentary to be, lift me up from the slough of demerit (*akusala*) to the dry land of merit (*kusala*), or lift me up from the lower order of a deacon (*sāmañera*) to the higher order of a fully ordained priest (*upasampadā*).

^e The hour, day and month are carefully recorded, to settle the order of seniority among the newly ordained priests.

^f The four *nissayā* or requisites are all that are necessary for an ascetic; but the exceptions under each head, which were allowed in early times only occasionally, have now been generally adopted as the rule; and the ascetic principle is, in fact, destroyed. Still the priests live strictly by rule, and with the utmost simplicity.

^g *Salāka*, by lot or tally. The practice is occasionally for several householders to agree together to give food to the priests of a monastery. Each householder writes his name on a piece of ola or palm-leaf; all the names are put into an alms-bowl, and each priest draws a lot, and goes to the house thus indicated, whether it be rich or poor.

^h *Bhaṅgam*. In Childers' Pāli Dictionary this is given as "*hempen cloth*," and in Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary *bhaṅgā* is given as *hemp* (*Cannabis sativa*); but the commentary explains it as cloth made of the five materials mentioned in the text.

ⁱ A quarter of a pagoda, somewhat less than two shillings. It is a sin to take even a blade of grass, but a priest must be guilty of theft to the value of about two shillings to be expelled from the priesthood.

^k *Kunthakipillikam*, lit. a large-black-ant, and the-smallest-kind-of-ant. To take life at all is a sin; but to take human life even by procuring abortion is a sin involving expulsion from the priesthood.

^l *Jhāna*, abstract or mystic meditation. The following explanation is taken from Childers' Pāli Dictionary, s.v. "*Jhāna* is a religious exercise productive of the highest spiritual advantage, leading after death to re-birth in one of the Brahma heavens, and forming the principal means of entrance into the four Paths. The four *Jhānas* are four stages of mystic meditation, whereby the believer's mind is purged from all earthly emotions, and detached as it were from the body, which remains plunged in a profound trance. The priest desirous of practising *Jhāna* retires to some secluded spot, seats himself cross-legged, and shutting out the world, concentrates his mind upon a single thought. Gradually his soul becomes filled with a supernatural ecstasy and serenity, while his mind still reasons upon and investigates the subject chosen for contemplation; this is the first *Jhāna*. Still fixing his thoughts upon the same subject, he then frees his mind from reasoning and investigation, while the ecstasy and serenity remain, and this is the second *Jhāna*. Next, his thoughts still fixed as before, he divests himself of ecstasy, and attains the third *Jhāna*, which is a state of tranquil serenity. Lastly, he passes to the fourth *Jhāna*, in which the mind, exalted and purified, is indifferent to all emotions, alike of pleasure and of pain."

^m *Vimokkho* (from *muccati*, to loosen). The term is thus explained in the *Paṭisambhīdīpakaraṇam* of the *Khuddakavagga*. *Paṭhamena jhānena nivarāṇehi muccatīti vimokkho arahattamaggena sabbakilesehi muccatīti vimokkho*. It is a loosening of the bonds formed by the elements of existence, and hence freedom from the ten evil passions. It is discussed under sixty-eight heads, of which the three principal are, 1. *Suññato vimokkho*, the regarding the body as mere emptiness; the contemplation of the Void, i.e. a state which has no self. 2. *Animitto v.*, the freedom from passion which results from the contemplation of the unconditioned, or from regarding the perishable nature of the elements of existence. 3. *Appañihito v.*, the freedom from longing or desire resulting from a contemplation of the sorrow attaching to the elements of existence. By these three the four paths and the four *phala* are attained by those who have *vipassanā*, or the power of supernatural sight.

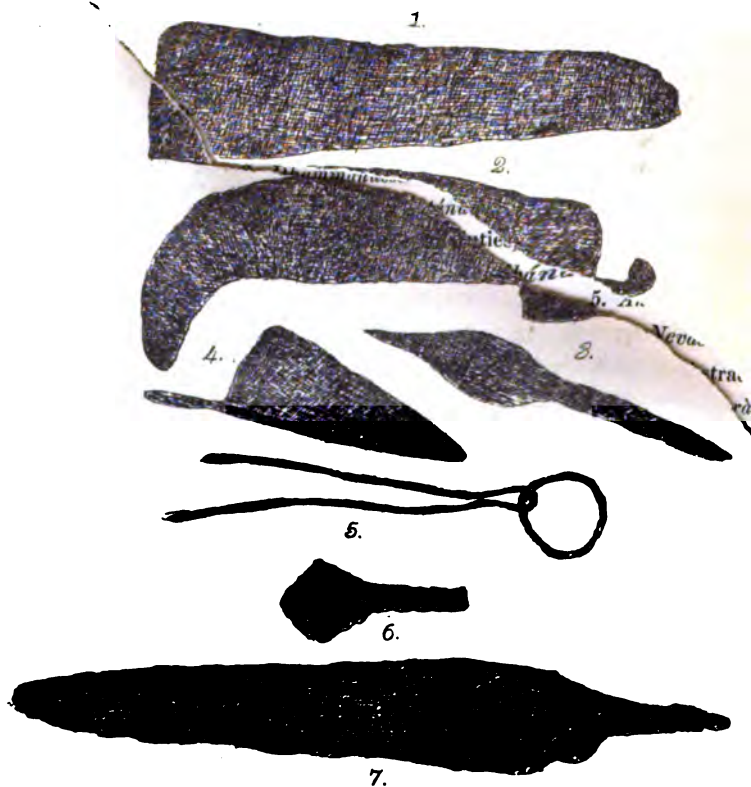
ⁿ *Samādhi*, a state of meditation in which the mind, shut up in itself and insensible to that which is passing around, contemplates only the

virtues of Buddha, etc. The following illustration is taken from the Mahāvansa (see Turnour's translation, pp. 261, 262): "The usurper stripped the king naked, and casting him into iron chains, built up a wall, embedding him in it, and exposing his face only to the East, and plastered that wall over with clay. Thus the monarch Dhātusena was murdered by his son in the eighteenth year of his reign. This rāja, at the time he was improving the Kālawāpi tank, observed a certain priest absorbed in the *samādhi* meditation, and not being able to rouse him from that abstraction, had him buried under the embankment he was raising by heaping earth over him. This was the retribution manifested in this life for this impious act." The six kinds of *Samādhi* are 1. *Buddhānussati s.*, 2. *Dhammānussati s.*, 3. *Sanghānussati s.*, 4. *Sīlānussati s.*, 5. *Cāgānussati s.*, 6. *Devatānussati s.*; abstract meditation on Buddha, the Law, the Church, moral duties, alms-giving, the Gods.

° *Samāpatti* is of eight kinds, 1. *Pathamajjhānasamāpatti*, 2. *Dutiyaajjhānas.*, 3. *Tatiyaajjhānas.*, 4. *Catutthajjhānas.*, 5. *Ākāśānāñcāyatanas.*, 6. *Vīñānāñcāyatanas.*, 7. *Ākiñcāññāyatanas.*, 8. *Nevasaññānāñcāyatanas*; the perfect accomplishment of the state of abstraction resulting from the practice of each of the four *jhānas* (*vide supra* note ¹), and from 5. mastering the idea that space is infinite, 6. that thought only exists, 7. that nothing exists, 8. that there is neither consciousness nor unconsciousness.

^p *Phala*, the higher stages of the four paths, the fruition of the four paths. There are thus eight grades of sanctification in the road to *Nirvāna*, viz. *sotāpattimaggo*, *sotāpattiphalaṃ*, *sakaddāgāmmaggo*, *sakaddāgāmiphalaṃ*, *andāgāmmaggo*, *andāgāmiphalaṃ*, *arahattamaggo*, *arahattaphalaṃ*. *Arahattaphala* necessarily ends in *Nirvāna*, with which it is all but identical, and it is sometimes called simply *nibbānaṃ*. See Childers' Dictionary, s.v. *maggo*, *nibbānaṃ*.

ANCIENT IMPLEMENTS OF SOUTHERN INDIA.



1. *Axe.*
2. *Grain-ear-cutter?*
3. *Arrow-head.*
4. *Triangular knife.*
5. *Tweezer.*
6. *Arrow-head.*
7. *Spear-blade.*

W. Griggs, Photo-Lith

ART. II.—*Notes on the Megalithic Monuments of the Coimbatore District, Madras.* By M. J. WALHOUSE, late Madras C. S.

THE Coimbatore District, containing more than 8000 square miles, is almost centrally situated in the south of the Peninsula, within the region occupied by the Tamil-speaking race, being about 250 miles west of Madras, and 80 east of the Malabar coast. Mysore bounds it on the north, and the Madras and Tinnevely districts lie between it and Cape Comorin. Megalithic monuments are found in all the Madras districts, but I am inclined to think are most numerous in Coimbatore, where singly, in twos or threes, or in assemblages of scores or hundreds, they occur in every variety of situation, high on the ghauts and wild mountainsides, in remote jungles and malarious river-valleys, on wide open plains, on cultivated land, amid fertile gardens and rice tracts. Excluding the Nilgiri Hills, which, though belonging to Coimbatore, are a separate region, with a group of remains peculiar to themselves, the Coimbatore monuments are all sepulchral, consisting of kistvaens or tumuli, containing cists or chambers, originally underground, but now often more or less exposed. Stone-circles and standing stones are almost always associated with the tumuli, but never, so far as I know, found independently, as in other parts of India and in Europe. Neither am I aware of any true cromlech in Coimbatore. It may be interesting to give some account of two of the principal assemblages of these remains, one on the east, and another on the west side of the district. Seven miles north of Perämdoöry, the chief town of a talook of the same name, midway between the towns of Salem and Coimbatore, after passing along a tract of fertile bottom-land, luxuriant with topes and gardens, the ground, just beyond the village of Nällämpätti, rises into

one of the wide rolling barren maidans characteristic of Southern India, on which a great cairn-cemetery is situated. Many hundreds of cairns¹ are spread over a considerable tract; in general appearance heaps of blackened stones, some very small, and thence of every size up to 30 feet and more in diameter, they vary in height from one to four feet, but have evidently been much worn down by lapse of time and weather. The larger cairns are generally surrounded with circles of upright stones, sometimes double, or even triple, and rarely fourfold. The stones vary much in size, some only just appearing above ground, others four or five feet high, and a few of the largest cairns are distinguished by a huge single upright stone, far larger than the others forming the circle, placed at their heads, like the headstones of graves in a churchyard. Five or six of these were on my visit conspicuous all around, and suggested the idea that they marked the resting-places of the most distinguished men.² In the centre of the cemetery was placed, as if it were that of the chief, the hugest of all the tombs. A vast obelisk-like stone, 13 feet by 6½, towering above all the others, stood at its head; great shapeless masses formed the circle; the heap of stones within had disappeared, and the chamber beneath was laid bare, on one side to the bottom, no doubt by some seeker after the treasure these tombs are popularly believed to contain. Indeed, the principal cairns had been all more or less dug out. The chamber, ten feet deep, as many wide, and somewhat more in length, was formed of four enormous slabs, placed two at the ends, and one at each side; and was divided lengthwise by a partition-slab, somewhat less in depth, into two main compartments, which were again longitudinally subdivided by still lower slabs, thus dividing the whole chamber into four compartments at the bottom, which was paved with great

¹ By "cairns" is intended heaps of stones covering graves.

² It will be observed that those varieties of stone monuments frequently found separate in Europe are here associated, namely the cairn, covering the kistvaen, surrounded by the stone circle, with the menhir at its head; but, as just remarked, they do not exist separately in Coimbatore. Of course the comparatively modern sculptured memorial stones are not regarded as menhirs.

slabs. A colossal capstone had been laid over the chamber, but was now overthrown and broken, and the fragments lying scattered round, the interior had been emptied of anything it may have contained. All the stone-heaps around, small and large, covered similar megalithic graves, of dimensions varying from little more than 2 feet by 1, to 6, 8, or 10 feet in length, and of proportionate breadth. From numbers the heaps had disappeared, and the covering-stones and tops of the cists were exposed, some level with the ground, others raised above; and not unfrequently, the earth having sunk or been excavated away, the cist, still bearing the capstone, was laid bare for more than half its depth. One in particular, the side-slabs of which inclined slightly inwards, bore up an immensely broad and massive covering-stone, overlapping its supports all round, so as to appear like a monstrous mushroom. The chambers even of the smaller were seldom less than five feet deep, oblong, and the bottoms, always paved with great flagstones, were in the larger frequently divided lengthwise by a lesser partition-slab. Of the contents more will be said presently. A wilder and more impressive scene than the site of the cairns could be seldom met with. The desolate rugged plain rolling as far as eye could reach in rocky ridges and barren expanses, whilst around lay the multitudes of blackened grave-mounds, many of the massive chambers half revealed, the immense capstones on some still in place, on others overthrown or fantastically tilted, whilst on all sides rose tall stones, some upright, some leaning,—the whole realizing the poet's vision of

“dismal cirques
Of Druid stones upon a forlorn moor.”

On the western side of the district, a few miles from the Malabar border, is the village of Nātkālpalliam, evidently drawing its name (signifying country-stone-village), from the megaliths in its precincts. Here the tumuli are not scattered over a wild waste, but stand amid cultivated fields, the principal ones not dispersed, but gathered into a sort of nucleus. The striking feature here is an assemblage of some fifteen or



twenty large cairns close to one another, each surrounded by a circle of unusual height and uniformity, the stones tall and pointed, often exceeding six feet in height, many of them leaning, but none at the circle-heads pre-eminent over the others, as at Nallampatti. This company of huge grey ancient stones had a curious effect, rising over the tall green crops amid which they stood at the time of my visit; the chambers beneath were very large, formed with enormous slabs, and divided into two compartments by a slab rising to half their depth; here also one was divided into four compartments by three longitudinal slabs. All these conspicuous graves had been ransacked and emptied. Around this predominant group smaller cairns of all sizes extended for a considerable distance, as thickly as graves in an ancient churchyard; they were of the same description as those at Nallampatti, and numbers had, no doubt, been effaced by cultivation, the chambers still lying undisturbed under the surface. I remarked that the chambers were more generally square here than oblong, as at Nallampatti, widening downwards to a great depth, often exceeding six feet even in the smaller. In connexion with the distribution of these remains, it may be noted that the three principal mountain ranges of Southern India are all visible from the Coimbatore plain, the Nilgiris bounding it on the north, the Arnemally and Palany Hills on the south, and the Shevaroy, in Salem district, on the east. On the last-named hills, the kistvaen-sepulchres occur frequently over the whole plateau, and their large flat slabs have been extensively utilized by the planters in forming drying-floors for coffee. They do not occur on the Nilgiris, where rude stone-remains are plentiful, but diverse; whilst on the Palany range no ancient remains, so far as I am aware of, exist at all. These mountains have extensive plateau regions, and are at this day pretty thickly inhabited.

It remains to say something of the contents of these megalithic graves. Some, even of the larger and most laboriously constructed, with capstone and chamber complete, and evidently not previously disturbed, were nevertheless empty, whilst large quantities of pottery were found in other, often

comparatively humble-sized, chambers. There was nothing by which a productive grave could be distinguished from one empty. The pottery of both the cemeteries was of characteristic styles, common to all similar megalithic tombs, not only in Coimbatore, but in other southern districts, and of late found abundantly even in remote and mountainous Coorg. This ancient pottery surpasses in design and texture that now in common use; it is made of finely-washed red clay, often highly polished by friction, but not, as sometimes asserted, glazed, and frequently ornamented with straight or wavy streaks of two or three light tints; this is peculiar, and at once distinguishes this pottery, no such ornamentation is now in use. Another decoration consists of broader semi-circular streaks, concentrically arranged in bows round the vessels; something of the same kind is occasionally seen to-day upon the painted chatties used by Sanniasies, and at certain festivals. One form very characteristic of the cairns is a tall narrow urn standing on three or four legs, often three feet high, the shoulders frequently rounded. These urns generally contain fragments of burnt human bones; nothing of the same shape is now in use, and the obvious and useful device of legs to stand on has become extinct.¹ Some modern baking-chatties and small pots have small knobs underneath to steady them, but nothing more. Single-footed cups, something like large egg-cups, often occur, but are not in use to-day, though so convenient in shape. Other forms of pottery more nearly resemble the chatties and vessels of modern days. Some are red, either light or dark, with or without the wavy or semicircular streaks; some are black, and one large urn was of yellowish clay. Earthenware rings or stands of all sizes for vessels with round or pointed bottoms are exceedingly abundant in the tombs; but this device, so simple and convenient for native daily

¹ A prodigiously exaggerated and unique variety of this urn was exhumed many years ago by the late Capt. Newbold in North Arcot. It was a coffin-shaped trough, rounded at the ends, deeply rimmed at the edges, $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, 10 inches deep, 2 feet broad, and stood on eight legs, each 1 foot 3 inches long, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. It was filled with hard earth and human bones. Coffin-shaped terra-cotta sarcophagi have been discovered in Babylonia, Egypt, and Italy.

requirements, is now, I believe, unknown. Small dishes or saucers are also found by dozens, and must have been extensively used. I once found a thick red earthenware ring grooved out on the inner side, and a foot in diameter; its use was not clear, the natives thought it had been a musical instrument. The principle on which the pottery placed in the tombs was selected is not plain; numbers of the pieces had evidently been much used and blackened by fire, whilst many were clean as if fresh from the potter. With the singular exception of the Nilgiri group, the incised and punctured patterns, crossed or herring-bone, with which British sepulchral urns are generally decorated, are never seen on the Coimbatore examples. The latter are generally placed at the bottom, round the sides, or in the corners of the cists, often with the mouth downwards, sometimes lying on their sides, if upright, usually with remarkably well-formed covers on them, more conical and conveniently shaped than the covers now in use, with the white streak often exhibited on the upper and inner sides in an unbroken coil. Clay beads, from the size of a walnut to that of a lozenge, are abundant, and closely resemble the beads found in British interments. The tall four-legged urns above mentioned, and frequently the smaller sorts, contain fragments of human bones, broken up into small bits. I discovered none other than human. I have never found or heard of a skeleton, or even complete skull, being found in the cists; a few jawbones and long bones of the legs were the only perfect bones discovered. In remarkable contrast to this, the same description of cist cairns in the Deccan and the Central Provinces often contain, as reported by Colonel Meadows Taylor, numbers of complete skeletons,—a curious feature respecting which, namely, the skulls being often detached, and placed separate upon or near the body, occurs also in Dorsetshire barrows.

Iron is the only metal known to me as having been found in the burial-places on the Coimbatore plains. Shapeless pieces, thoroughly corroded and crumbling at a touch, are not uncommon, but any still retaining form are very rare. These sketches show the actual sizes of all I was able to

discover tolerably perfect, which are now in the British Museum. No. 2 is identical with an implement now in common use in the Tamil provinces for cutting off the ears of the larger grains, and called Kāmbu-Kātti. No. 4 is of a form unfamiliar at the present day. No. 5 seems a sort of tweezers. I once found a piece of chain of several oblong links, two inches each. The largest object I discovered was a spear-blade, two feet long and two inches broad, fixed to a hollow socket, but it fell to pieces on being lifted. Square crystal and barrel-shaped red cornelian beads are occasionally discovered, always deposited in small vessels placed within larger. The cornelian beads (see sketch) are ornamented with incised rings and zigzag lines, much resembling similar beads found in England. The art of boring these hard pebbles would hence appear to have been known to the primitive inhabitants. A necklace of small sea-shells was found in a Nallampatti grave. Colonel Meadows Taylor mentions having exhumed one in the Deccan. Similar shells are still used as ornaments in various ways by the lower races of the Peninsula. Some cores of wrist-bangles resembling those now worn by women were also discovered.

The subject of these kistvaens cannot be dismissed without a few words on a peculiarity that specially distinguishes them, namely the circular or sometimes nearly square aperture which very generally occurs in the slab closing the eastern end of the larger structures. Neither this feature nor the orientation are, however, absolutely universal. A large kistvaen is seldom seen without, a small one seldom with, the orifice; which, however, really appears to have no fixed aspect, for though occurring in Coimbatore much most frequently in the eastern slab, it is sometimes seen on the west, and sometimes on the north side, whilst in the Sorapur territory it is reported to be generally on the south side. Open-sided dolmens are very commonly associated with the closed and holed kistvaens in Central India, but I have heard of none in the South; though closely allied structures, with three sides and roof formed of rude slabs, the fourth side open, and containing within lingam stones or rough

images, are frequent in Mysore, on the Shevaroy Hills, and elsewhere, used as rude hut-temples, and suggesting the idea that, as no sepulchral vestiges have been found in the open dolmens, they too may have served as homely readily-constructed shrines. The apertures or doors above referred to vary from one to two feet in width, sometimes of irregular form, and placed just below the capstone, as in the remarkable double kistvaen¹ lately discovered in Coorg, and figured by Mr. Fergusson in "Rude Stone Monuments," page 473. Sometimes the opening is round or oval, and placed lower in the slab. Very curiously too, holed kistvaens, strikingly similar, exist in Circassia, in Sardinia, and Mr. Fergusson (p. 344) figures one at Trie in France, that might well stand for one of those in Central India depicted by Colonel Meadows Taylor. It is these openings, suggesting doors, that has caused the natives universally to invent what Mr. Tylor calls a myth of observation, and regard the tombs as the dwelling-houses of a pygmy-race, helped perhaps in the idea by the quantity of domestic pottery they contain: it never occurs to the natives to look upon them as sepulchral. The dwarf-races of preternatural strength to whom the natives ascribe their erection may also have been suggested by the limited size and ponderous material of the tombs, but may also be a remnant of a primitive mythology, such as peopled the hills of Ireland, Scotland, and Scandinavia, with elves and dwarfs. A large mound near Chingleput, on the road to Trichinopoly, is surrounded by a number of megalithic graves, and believed to be inhabited by a bearded race of "Pandäyär," three feet high, ruled by a king who lives in the top of the mound. This reads like a Norwegian folk-story of the Trolls or hill-dwarfs. Moreover, the very name of Pandu-houses, by which the tombs are familiarly known in every district, points to primitive pre-Brahmanical times and beliefs;—all that is related of

¹ I have heard of two kistvaens, uncertain whether separate or united, having been found within one circle in Coimbatore. Magnificent double cists, forming but one structure, have been found not long ago by Canon Greenwell, in large tumuli in Yorkshire, and must, from the description, have borne a strong general resemblance to the Indian cairns and their inclosed kistvaens.

the Pandava princes being directly opposed to Brahmanical rites and ideas, and savouring rather of aboriginal practices. As Max Müller intimates, it seems probable that the Brahmans, finding the legend too popularly rooted to be suppressed, adopted both it and its heroes into their own system, to increase and extend its acceptance.

Almost all observers who have seen the kistvaens and their apertures have inclined to think that the true intent of the latter was to provide means of introducing fresh urns into the sepulchral chamber as occasion might require. All the apertures would admit an arm, and some of the larger a child. This idea is further strengthened by some of the kistvaens having two slabs placed edgewise, parallel to one another, and forming a sort of porch to the aperture to which they lead, so indicating the way to it when the earth was heaped over, and still more by the urns being very generally just under, or in front of, the aperture. Still, I think, one cannot affirm more than that the idea does not seem improbable. This leads to the question of whether these megalithic graves were family or tribal sepulchres used by successive generations, and betokening a settled population, or only the vestiges of a passing army or nomadic incursion. As far as multitudes of tumuli and immensity of material and labour go, there has been strong reason shown that assemblages of monuments quite as great as those at Nallampatti and Natkalpalliam may have been constructed in a very short time by the united efforts of an army or nomadic tribe; but when one considers the quantity of domestic pottery contained in the Coimbatore graves, the circumstance of the urns occurring at times in two or even three layers, arguing a succession of deposits, and above all that the graves are thickly sown over the whole district, not gathered in a few spots, but scattered everywhere on plain and hill, in open ground and forest, it can hardly be doubted that they are not the vestiges of war, or of an occasional wave of immigrants or nomads, but of a settled people, and apparently one much more numerous than the present population, for, were that now suddenly swept away, it would

leave no traces of its existence comparable to these ancient remains. Who that people may have been, and when the monuments were built, are debatable questions. But it seems likely they are the vestiges of a race of which History speaks vaguely or not at all, but which lives in village chronicles and popular traditions and superstitions. Sir Walter Elliot, in a paper read before the International Pre-historic Congress at Norwich, and again in the *Ethnological Journal*, vol. i. p. 108, has brought together indications of a great invading pastoral or shepherd-race, known as Kurumbars, Gadi-rāzu,¹ Palli, and other names, who, at some period "in the dim backward and abysm of time," spread over Central and Southern India, displacing, it is said, an earlier wild race who had cleared the forest, and settled there before them. They were masters in the South, which is still full of traditions of them, and in the Carnatic formed a federal community of twenty-four castle-states, all of which have been traced, and reached no mean stage of civilization. In the sixth or seventh century they were scattered and destroyed by the Chola Kings of Tanjore after a long and wide-spread domination; probably continuing to exist in larger or smaller communities, ever wasting and driven further and further into the hills and wildernesses by their conquerors. It is to this perished people that the megalithic monuments may be with most probability ascribed; they are still associated with them in popular tradition; the circles and kistvaens being often commonly called "Kurumbar rings" and "Kurumbar forts," especially around Conjeveram, once a principal centre of their power. It is to the earlier aboriginal tribes, which they supplanted, that the stone implements which have of late years been found abundantly in India may probably be referred. The stone implements have never, as yet at least, been found in or plainly connected with the monuments. In India there is no overlapping of the stone and metal ages, as in Europe.² The unknown stone-people has utterly disappeared, but the invading

¹ "Gadi-rāzu," exactly corresponding to Hyksos—Shepherd Kings.

² Future discovery may, however, set aside this assertion.

tribes that ousted them still survive in scattered remnants, always servile, despised, and held unclean, but regarded with superstitious dread as skilled in witchcraft and malignant arts. Sometimes they retain their ancient name, as the Kurumbars of the Nilgiri slopes, a dwarfish hairy race, dwelling in the densest most feverish jungles, and feared even by the other mountain tribes as the most dangerous of enchanter.¹ Elsewhere they are known by many titles, Kādars, or wood-men ; Mālei-ārāsār, or hill-kings ; Korāgas, or bushmen ; Holyars, or men of the river ; Irūlar, or people of darkness : all names indicative of contempt tinged with fear. In still larger remnants they probably survive in the wide unknown jungle-regions of the northern circars, as Gonds, Kols, and many others.

That these dwindled miserable tribes are the representatives of the race that once covered the plains with megalithic monuments is proved, as far as proof is ever likely to be obtained, by the curious fact of their maintaining at the present day the same practice in miniature show. The Malei Arriyans of the Travancore mountains, who still number from 15,000 to 20,000, on a death amongst them, make an imitation kistvaen of small slabs of stone, lay in it a long pebble to represent the body, and place a flat stone over with ceremonies and offerings ; the spirit of the deceased is supposed to dwell in the pebble. The Kurumbars and Irulars of the Nilgiri Hills do the same, and I have seen small covered slab structures there filled with long smooth pebbles, the meaning of which I was long in ascertaining, the people being reticent on the subject. The Gond tribes of the Godavery and Orissa make miniature cromlechs, "like three-legged stools," which they place over the bones and ashes of the deceased. The Kols are reported by Major Macpherson to place the ashes in a chatty, bury it in the ground, and lay a large flat stone over it. Here we find wild secluded tribes keeping up the semblance of constructing kistvaens and stone monuments on mountain-fastnesses overlooking the

¹ "Kurumbar," *i.e.* the mischievous ; from the Tamil word "Kurumbu," mischief.

plains where such structures abound; and the inference is strong that they must be the weakened descendants of the people who, when numerous and powerful, dominated the plains and built the structures. More light on this subject will doubtless be gained in the unexplored regions of the Upper Godavery and Hyderabad country. Existing customs may be found there that will throw back a strong light on the past. As an example of what may be expected, Colonel Haig reports having met in the Bastar country with the Kôis of the plains, "a curious plague-stricken people, who burn their dead, erecting over their ashes great monoliths which stand out from the bleak hill-sides or the barren valleys in dismal upright parallels."

Whence the Kurumbar tribes came is a point there is not yet sufficient information to determine. It appears certain that they were strangers in the land, and the broad steppe regions of Central Asia, roamed over from immemorial antiquity by Turk or Tartar tribes, seem the most probable, almost the only possible source of their origin. Waves of immigration from those swarming regions have swept westward to Europe and eastward to China, and one may have descended to India; but I agree with Mr. Fergusson in holding that they were distinct from that Aryan race which subsequently descended from the lofty table-land where rise the Oxus and Jaxartes, as well as from the Dravidian races which supplanted them in the south. It may be objected that the dialects spoken by the now-existing secluded primitive tribes from the Gond-country to Cape Comorin show more or less affinity to Tamil, the mother of Dravidian tongues; but, as Mr. Fergusson observes, isolated languages are absorbed and perish, as the Cornish has, and like that, the Bheel tongue is reported to have become recently extinct in Berar. It is noteworthy that the Hindus invariably believe that the wild tribes, wherever found, have a language of their own, known only to themselves, which they keep secret. Assuming that the Kurumbar invaders came from the remote Central Asian steppes, it would be an important connecting link were remains similar to what they are sup-

posed to have left in India found on the steppes also. On this point further research and information are required. Travellers report the steppes to abound with myriads of tumuli, often of vast dimensions, and assembled in immense cemeteries, as in India, and that gold ornaments and copper and iron weapons have been found in them; but details of their construction have seldom been given. The fullest description I know has been given by Mr. Atkinson, who opened one on the Kirghis Steppe. The tomb was circular, twenty-five feet in diameter, with walls four feet thick. It was carried up to a height of fifty feet, taking the shape of a blast furnace, with an aperture at the top, and an opening in the side two feet square and four feet from the ground. Through this access was obtained to the interior, in which were two graves covered with large blocks of stone. Here may possibly be an analogue to the hole in kistvaens, and the slab-covered graves; and future search may discover much nearer, perhaps identical, features. One peculiarity of the steppe tumuli, the upright stone on them rudely carved into a resemblance of a human figure, is unknown on the Indian tombs. Upright stones surround them, but they are not

“ Topped with rough-hewn
Grey rain-beared statues that o'er-peer
The sunny waste.”

In the present state of information it seems therefore no improbable hypothesis that the megalithic monuments of Southern and Central India were constructed by a race, originally nomad, descending at some unknown period from the steppes of Upper Asia, establishing themselves, and remaining in power long enough to found settled and considerably advanced dominations, and cover the face of the country with their tombs, and finally overpowered and dispersed about the seventh century. This view would be contradicted by Prof. Huxley's theory of an identity of origin between the Deccan hill-tribes and the Australians, which, proceeding from him, calls for respectful consideration.

Before quitting the kistvaens, one or two curious features connected with them may be noticed. In Central India they are usually found filled in with a soft greyish earth, not the

surrounding soil. Those at Natkalpalliam in Coimbatore were filled with finely sifted sand ; so were the vaults under the Topèkals in Malabar ; and on the Nilgiri Hills the urns in the cairns are imbedded in fine black mould, like none existing near. In strange resemblance to this peculiarity, Col. Meadows Taylor describes cairns 'on Twizell Moor, in Northumberland, as well as the urns in them, as filled with "a fine red earth not belonging to the locality, which is peat." The chatties in the Malabar graves were filled with "bright shining sand." So were many at Natkalpalliam, and I once found in a small cairn on the Nilgiris a curious flattened vase, covered with a flat dish, and filled with red sand like none in the neighbourhood. The meaning of this widely dispersed custom seems open to much conjecture. Probably some symbolical or religious idea governed it, possibly akin to that which led mediæval devotees to be buried with soil brought from the Holy Land, and formed the Campo Santo at Pisa. The Coimbatore monuments are formed from the gneiss or granitic rock everywhere cropping out on the surface. I observed no instances of masses having been brought from a distance ; but in the lateritic district of Malabar, the covering stones of the sepulchral vaults (invariably granite) must frequently have been brought from lesser or greater distances. In the Central Provinces Col. Meadows Taylor describes masses exceeding 200 tons in weight that must have been moved from hills three miles distant. In England the Stonehenge monoliths will at once recur ; and at Bridlington, in Yorkshire, the stones of some enormous cists uncovered by Canon Greenwell must have been transported for at least twelve miles. Smooth stones were observed by Mr. Atkinson to have been brought from distant rivers to tumuli on the steppes.

One other form of megalithic interment remains to be noticed. Associated with the kistvaen circles at Natkalpalliam and elsewhere on the western border of Coimbatore, though not to my knowledge occurring on the eastern side, are numerous examples of those remarkable sepulchres called in Malabar "Topèkals," described long ago by Mr. Babing-

ton, in vol. iii. of the *Transactions* of the Literary Society of Bombay. Those in Coimbatore consist of huge mortuary jars or urns, usually five feet high, by four feet in girth, of thick coarse red ware, wide-mouthed and tapering to the bottom, like the ordinary 'codums' now in use, the only ornament a rude cross-pattern round the neck. These are buried in the ground within no cist or chamber, and a huge flat stone is laid over them, but with no stone circle around or stone-heap above. In Malabar the great urns are placed in an excavation made to fit them, and between their tops and the overlying stone there is a small ledged chamber, to which a descent or passage, leading to a square door closed by a square stone in the side of the chamber, communicates from above. The passage and chamber are made more plain in Mr. Babington's drawing. I could not, however, find them in the Coimbatore graves, the great overlying stone had crushed all in, and very frequently the large sepulchral urn also. In Malabar, however, the stiff laterite earth hardens into rock after being excavated, and would support any weight; but the loose crumbling soil of Coimbatore would fall in: hence upper chambers may have existed there also. Around the great jars in Coimbatore I found several small pots and urns, placed mouth downwards, on their shoulders. The jars were filled with earth, at their bottom a quantity of bones broken small, and occasionally a small urn also filled with bits of bone, or sometimes with clean sand. The Rev. Henry Baker, of the Travancore Mission, kindly informed me that the same description of burials and jars occur in the Travancore low country, where they are called "Mānchāra"—earth-jars—generally covered with a heavy granite slab, and containing pieces of bone and iron. The natives there say they contain the remains of sacrificed virgins. All the petty Rajahs are said to have sacrificed virgins on the boundaries of their estates, to protect them, and to confirm their engagements with neighbouring chiefs. Sacrifices of young girls are known to have been offered to a late period, even till British occupation; very old men were anciently so offered. The jars are sometimes found in square



places cut in the laterite, sometimes in gravel, or even in alluvial soil; in the latter cases usually of thinner material and smaller, about two feet in diameter. Near Chow-ghat a large vault was found with a passage to it cut in the laterite, full of these jars, which all fell to pieces. This recalls the Malabar Topèkals. The Cöinmars, a fabulous race of old, were said to have made it. Pieces of much corroded iron, straight, and ten or fourteen inches long, are found with the jars, which Mr. Baker suggests may be the sacrificial knives. Iron fragments did not occur in similar burials in Coimbatore, neither did I hear any popular story connecting them with sacrificed virgins; indeed, they often occurred so numerous and so close together, as to throw some doubt on the idea that they could have marked boundaries. The case of the Meriah human sacrifice, hardly yet suppressed amongst the Khonds, indicates, however, how rooted and widely spread such customs, with varying objects, may have been amongst the earlier tribes. The following curious account, taken from Mr. C. P. Brown's "Wars of the Rajas," is interesting as throwing light on the objects and manner of conducting these girl-sacrifices, and as supplying a detailed and doubtless authentic instance of one in a part of the Peninsula more to the north.

"While Bucca Rayalu ruled Vijayanagar, his chief servant, in the s.s. year 1286, answering to 'Krodhi' (A.D. 1364), built a tank near Bucca Raya Samudram (in the present district of Bellary). After some time, this tank became so full of water, that the two sluices did not suffice, and were rushing in a flood. While the villagers beheld this, a goddess possessed a woman, and she exclaimed, 'I am Ganga-Bhaváni. If you will feed me with a human sacrifice, I will stop here; if not, I will not stop.'

"While the villagers and the elders took counsel about making the sacrifice, Ganga Devi possessed a girl, not yet grown up, named Musamma. She was the seventh and youngest daughter-in-law of Basi Reddi. The goddess said to her, 'Become thou the sacrifice.'

“She accordingly was prepared to become a sacrifice; she adorned herself as a bride with yellow and red paint, wearing a pure vest, and holding a lime in her hand. She set out in a procession from her home, and came up on the embankment. She adored the feet of her father-in-law, Basi Reddi, and did homage to the townsfolk. She said, ‘I have received the commands of Ganga Bhawáni. I am going to become a sacrifice.’ Thirty feet from the sluice there was now a gap, between which and the bank a chasm had opened. She went through the chasm and stood therein, and they poured in earth and stones upon her; so the bank stood firm.

“The following day this Musalamma, who had thus become a sacrifice, possessed the females of the village. She said, ‘Make a stone image of me, place it under a tree, and worship it.’ Accordingly they erected it, and worship her, but there is no chapel. Besides, if people who passed near the breach cried out ‘Musalamma!’ she used to reply ‘Ho!’ But one evening as men went for grass and called to her in the usual manner, on her answering they replied, ‘Though thou art dead, thou art still proud.’ From that time she never answers, and from that day Saint Musalamma is worshipped.”

The above story, so graphically related, is probably true in all its details, and thoroughly Hindu; notably so in the manner in which the deed is glossed over by representing the sacrifice as voluntary, and in the superstitious dread which gathered round the memory of the victim. In the little-known social condition of the Hindus four or five centuries back, it does not seem extravagant to surmise that such sacrifices may have been frequent. Any unusual occurrence or ill hap in a village would be ascribed to the anger of a deity, and demand its sacrifice. The victims would be buried in some special way, as Musalamma was under a cairn. And in time such memorials might accumulate in one locality to the extent noticed by me. Who can reckon indeed how many maidens since Jephtha’s daughter

and Iphigenia in still more distant ages have been destroyed under the delusion of appeasing offended deities ?

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.

It is noteworthy that Musalamma speaks from her cairn as the Scandinavian sagas represent the slain heroes singing in their grave-mounds.

ART. III.—*Notes on the Sinhalese Language.* No. 1.—*On the Formation of the Plural of Neuter Nouns.* By R. C. CHILDERS, late of the Ceylon Civil Service.

THE Sinhalese is one of the Aryan vernaculars of India, and is spoken by the descendants of a people who migrated from Magadha to Ceylon at a very remote period. The tradition recorded in Mahavansa is that Ceylon was colonised by a prince of Lāla, a district of Magadha, who landed in the island with seven hundred followers on the day of Gautama Buddha's death. Accepting this tradition, and comparing it with the tradition that Pali was a Magadha dialect, we should expect to find a close resemblance between Pali and Sinhalese. And such in fact is the case. With a few exceptions, Sinhalese follows Pali so closely that at first sight one might feel inclined to say that the former was derived from the latter. As a general rule, where Pali differs from the other Prakrits, the Sinhalese agrees with it; and this is the case not only with words but with grammatical forms.¹ And there are several words not found in the other Prakrits or Sanskrit which are found in both Pali and Sinhalese. I have alluded to exceptions, and these deserve full consideration; but they are such as may be explained by the circumstance, to which the Buddhist traditions clearly point, that the language of Buddha's sermons was the dialect of one district of Magadha, and the language spoken by the colonisers of Ceylon that of another district. As an instance of these exceptions, I may mention the Sinhalese *itiri* "woman," which clearly cannot have come to us through the Pali *itthi*, since the latter has lost the original *r* of the Sanskrit स्त्री.

¹ A typical instance of this agreement is found in the Sinhalese *dak-inavā* "to see," and the Pali *dakkhati*, both of which retain the *a* of their Sanskrit original *drakshyati*, while the other Prakrits have altered it to *e*.

Besides the vernacular Sinhalese spoken in Ceylon in the present day, there is also the ancient language called Elu, from which the present vernacular is immediately derived, and to which it bears something of the same sort of relation that the English of to-day bears to Anglo-Saxon. Fundamentally Elu and Sinhalese are identical, and the difference of form which they present is due partly to the large number of new grammatical forms evolved by the modern language, and partly to an immense influx into it of Sanskrit nouns, borrowed, often without alteration, at a comparatively recent period. It must be observed, however, that these "tatsamas" are very rare in the colloquial speech of the lower classes, their true home being the more pretentious class of literary compositions, and the highflown language of ceremony and official intercourse. For verse compositions the ancient language is still exclusively employed, and contemporary Sinhalese poetry is unintelligible to those who have not made Elu their special study.

Strange as it may appear, the word Ēlu is no other than Sinhala much corrupted.¹ It stands for an older form Hēla or Hēlu, which occurs in some ancient works, and this again for a still older Sēla, which brings us back to the Pali form Sīhala. For the loss of the medial syllable *ha* compare the Sinhalese *dōla*, representing the Pali *dohala* and Sanskrit **दोहद**, and for the loss of the initial *s* compare *ira*=**सूर्य** and *ūru*=**सूर**. Sinhala is the name by which the Sinhalese call themselves, but curiously enough the word is itself not Sinhalese but Sanskrit. It was borrowed from Sanskrit literature many centuries ago, and gradually took the place of the unpretending disyllable Elu. Among the uneducated classes its pronunciation has degenerated to Hingala.

The English transliteration of the word Sinhala has gone through several phases. First of all we called the inhabitants of Ceylon "Cingalese," and for a long series of years this spelling reigned unquestioned. But about fifteen years ago an uneasy impression began to prevail that the old-fashioned transcription was hardly equal to the requirements

¹ See D'Alwis's *Sidath Sangarawa*, p. xxxii.

of modern philology, and a new and more scientific spelling, "Sinhalese," gradually crept in, and was fixed and popularised by its adoption in Emerson Tennent's work. The substitution of *s* for *c* was a great advance, and the existence of the aspirate was no longer ignored; but the obnoxious *g* was still retained, the idea being that the anusvāra, or nasal *n*, could only be represented by the combination *ng*. At length, about six or seven years ago, the Ceylon Government, following the wise example of the Indian Government, adopted and enforced a uniform and scientific system of transliteration of native names, and the *g* was finally got rid of.¹

The Sinhalese language, when compared with Sanskrit, presents a remarkable picture of phonetic decay. Nearly all conjunct consonants have disappeared, a group being either represented by only one of the consonants which composed it, or broken up into two syllables. The letter ञ is lost, and is generally replaced by *s*, and the letter ञ is generally replaced by *d*. Initial *h* is usually dropped, and initial *s* very frequently passes into *h*, or is dropped altogether. In a great number of instances a hard consonant between two vowels is softened to *y* or *v*, as when पाप becomes *pavu*, लोका *lōva*, नाग *naya*, and so on. The aspirated consonants are lost, being mostly replaced by the corresponding unaspirated consonant, but occasionally broken up by a vowel, as in *daham* from *dharma*. Whole syllables have been eliminated, sometimes from the beginning or end, sometimes from the middle of a word. Long vowels are generally shortened, and a number of complicated and fantastic vowel changes

¹ On the analogy of the word "Sanskrit," we ought to write "Sinhalese," the sound represented by the *n* being in each case the same (anusvāra). Strictly speaking, anusvāra should be represented by *m* or *m̄*, but it would be pedantry to write "Sanskrit" with the diacritical marks, because the word is thoroughly Anglicised; and the same may be said of the word Sinhalese. It is a matter of abiding regret to me that I was the means of introducing into Ceylon an *n* with a circle under it to represent anusvāra. In 1863 I read a paper before the Ceylon Asiatic Society, "On the Romanisation of the Sinhalese Alphabet," and, to carry out my (somewhat crude) views, imported to Ceylon a set of types with diacritical marks made to my order in England. When I left Ceylon soon afterwards, the Government took over my types, which included the unsightly *n̄*, and made use of them, I believe, for their official system of transliteration. Hence my sense of the fitness of things is occasionally offended by the sight of the word Sinhalese written Siphalese, a practice against which I here enter my protest.



have taken place, which in several instances have been extended and utilised so as to express grammatical relations.

The Sinhalese language can boast of a very high antiquity. I have already said that the Elu of literature differs in no essential respect from the modern language, and Elu books have come down to us from the fifth and sixth centuries after Christ. But Elu inscriptions have been found on the rocks at Mahintale dating from the second and third centuries, and we may yet hope to find others of even older date. Nor is this all. We know from Mahavansa, that so early as the beginning of the third century *before* Christ Mahinda translated the Buddhist Arthakathâs from Pali into Sinhalese, and hence there must have been even at that remote period a Sinhalese language distinct from Pali. This fact gives rise to a very interesting question. Assuming that the colonisers of Ceylon in the middle of the fifth century B.C. spoke Pali, or a dialect closely akin to it, how is it that Mahinda, less than two hundred and fifty years afterwards, found the language of Ceylon so different from Pali that he thought it worth while to translate the Arthakathâs into it? I am inclined to base my explanation of this phenomenon on the well-known fact that the rate of phonetic decay in a language varies in a remarkable manner according to the circumstances, social, political, and literary, of the people who speak it. I believe that the secret of the astonishingly rapid decay of the language spoken by Vijaya and his immigrants is to be found in their isolation, in their being cut off from their Indian brethren, and withdrawn from the influences of literature and ancestral institutions. But, granting that the transition from Pali to Elu in two centuries and a half was possible, a further question arises—how are we to account for the crystallisation (so to speak) of the Sinhalese at the beginning of the third century B.C., an arrest of its decay so complete that there is strong reason to believe the Sinhalese of Mahinda's time to have been fundamentally the same as that of the present day?¹ I

¹ The Ceylon chronicles give us no reason to suppose that Buddhaghosa found Mahinda's Sinhalese, which he retranslated into Pali, substantially different from the Sinhalese he himself spoke.

reply that it is to be explained by the influence of Literature, all powerful to arrest the decay of a language by affording an ever-ready standard of reference. Mahinda, by translating the sacred texts into their language, first gave the Sinhalese a literature, and this sacred literature it was which finally arrested the decay of the language. I do not offer this solution as a final one. Intimately connected as it is with the origin of Buddhism, the question is not one that can be disposed of in a few paragraphs; and I hope to return to it some day after the mature study which its importance demands.¹

One more question connected with the origin of the Sinhalese language I wish briefly to allude to, the question as to where we are to find the missing links between Pali and Sinhalese. It is evident that between the Magadha of Vijaya's followers and the Elu of King Tissa's subjects, there must have been several stages exhibiting successive gradations of phonetic decay, and is there any hope of meeting with vestiges of these intermediate links? Where, for instance, can we find the intermediate forms between *osadha* and *ösu*, between *mañjettha* and *madata*, between *bhûta* and *vû*, between *suriya* and *ira*, between *cattaro* and *hatara*? I reply that our only hope is in the rock inscriptions of Ceylon. These have already been found in great numbers in different districts of the island, and many more remain to be discovered. They belong to different periods. Of the ancient ones we know little enough, but that little gives us strong reason to believe that rich treasures of history and philology are locked up in these adamantine records. The importance of the Ceylon rock inscriptions has long been known to Oriental scholars; and it will gratify many members of this Society to learn that they are about to be systematically collected and deciphered under the orders of the wise and enlightened statesman who now holds the reins of government in Ceylon.

The Sinhalese language in wealth of forms and general

¹ It is to be observed that the facts I have been discussing tend not to advance but to *throw back* the Buddhist era.

philological interest far surpasses its sister vernaculars, though it has had the misfortune to be almost entirely overlooked by comparative philologists in their investigations into the Indian dialects.¹ It will be my endeavour in this and succeeding papers to do something towards rescuing it from the unmerited neglect with which it has been hitherto treated in Europe.

THE FORMATION OF THE PLURAL OF NEUTER NOUNS.

The modern Sinhalese has two principal declensions, the declension of neuter or inanimate nouns, and the declension of animate nouns.

INANIMATE DECLENSION.

Goda "bank."

	SING.	PLUR.
Nom.	<i>goḍa</i>	<i>goḍaval</i>
Acc.	<i>goḍa</i>	<i>goḍaval</i>
I. Ab.	<i>goḍen</i>	<i>goḍavalin</i>
Dat.	<i>goḍaṭa</i>	<i>goḍavalata</i>
G. Loc.	<i>goḍē</i>	<i>goḍavala</i>

ANIMATE DECLENSION.

Ballā "dog."

	SING.	PLUR.
N.	<i>ballā</i>	<i>ballō</i>
A.	<i>ballā</i>	<i>ballan</i>
D.	<i>ballāṭa</i>	<i>ballanṭa</i>
Ab.	<i>ballāgen</i>	<i>ballangen</i>
G.	<i>ballāgē</i>	<i>ballangē</i>
L.	<i>ballākero</i>	<i>ballankero</i>

The names of all inanimate things, as house, book, sun, virtue, take the inflections of *goḍa*; those of all living beings, as child, father, mother, horse, poet, take the inflexions of *ballā*. It will be seen at once that these two declensions differ on several points. In this paper I propose to deal with the inanimate declension.

The termination *-en* of the instrumental and ablative singular is the एन of the instrumental singular of Sanskrit nouns whose base ends in ञ. Thus *poten*, "from the book," is पुस्तकेन; *gahen*, "from the tree," is गच्छेन. In a few nouns it takes the form of *-in*, as *nuvarin* = नवरेश, *issarin* = ईशरेश. Some few words take either termination, as *ekin* or *eken*² =

¹ This neglect reaches its climax in Beames's "Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India," in which the author omits the Sinhalese from his scheme. In spite of this defect, Mr. Beames's work is a most valuable one, and I earnestly hope that he will continue it.

² N.B. The vowels *e* and *o* in Sinhalese are short unless marked long.

एकेन, *lovin* or *loven* = लोकेन. In some cases the original instrumental sense of the termination *-en* or *-in* is retained, as in *payin* "on foot" = पादेन, *visin* = वशेन.

The dative is formed by adding *ta* to the base. This *ta* is the remains of an older form *hata* found in Elu books, so that *godata* is an abbreviation of *godahata*, *godavalata* of *godavalhata*. *Hata* will be met with again when we come to speak of the infinitive. There can be little doubt that it is the corruption of some Sanskrit substantive meaning nearness or approach, and that *goda-ta* really means "bank-nearness" or "bank-approaching." I have not yet succeeded in identifying it, but suspect it may be वृष्ट, which in Sinhalese would become *sata*, and then *hata*.¹

The term. *-ē* of the genitive and locative is no doubt the Sanskrit loc. term. ए of nouns whose base ends in ञ. Thus *potē* would be पुष्टे, *gahē* would be गच्छे. The genitive in Sinhalese is assimilated to the locative, and the same thing has taken place in Latin, the old genitive in *-as* of the first declension being lost, and replaced by a form ending in *ai* or *æ*, which is really a locative.

We now pass to the plural. It will be seen that it is formed by adding to the base a vocable *val*, to which in the oblique cases are appended the terminations of the singular. This *val* is simply the Sanskrit वन "forest," with the न changed to ल, and *godaval* really means "a forest of banks," and is a compound noun in the singular number, which can be regularly inflected like *goda*. At verse 110 of *Nāmāvalī* (C. Alwis' ed.), the words *vana*, *vala*, *val*, are given with the meaning of "forest," and Clough in his Sinhalese Dictionary attributes to *val* the meanings "jungle, wood, thicket." That *val* is really वन is further shown by the fact that compounds beginning with वन in Sanskrit begin with *val* in Sinhalese. Thus we have *valsara* = वनचर "a woodman," *valpup* = वनपुष्प "a wild flower," *valliya* = वनक्षता "a wild creeper," *valkama* = वनकाम "delighting in the forest," *valkukulā* = वनकुलुट

¹ It cannot be वृष्ट, which in Sinhalese becomes *ata*.

"jungle cock"; and in Clough's Dictionary we find a host of names of plants beginning with *val*, the Sanskrit equivalents of which begin with वन. Having identified *val* with वन, we have no difficulty in identifying *rukval*, the plural of *ruk* "a tree," with वृक्षवन "a forest of trees;" *gasval*, the plural of *gasa* or *gaha* "a tree," with गच्छवन; *kumudual*, the plural of *kumudu* "a water-lily," with कुमुदवन. Similarly *vasval* "bamboos" = वंश-वन, *malval* "flowers" = माला-वन. Already in Sanskrit वन means a multitude when used of lotuses and other plants. Its use in Sinhalese was first extended to all trees and plants, and thence gradually to all inanimate objects, so that we have *geval* "houses" = गेह-वन, lit. "a forest of houses,"¹ *payaval* "feet" = पाद्-वन "a forest of feet," *lovaval* "worlds" = लोख-वन, *iraval* "suns" = सूर्य-वन, *pelaval* "lines" = पालि-वन, *banaval* "sermons" = भाष-वन.² But this use of *vana* in Sinhalese has stopped short at inanimate nouns, and to say *minihaval*, "a forest of men," would be as great a solecism in Sinhalese as in Sanskrit or in English.

Although all neuter nouns take *-val* in the *oblique* cases of the plural, the majority of them do not take it in the *nominative* plural. The following is a specimen of the commonest form of declension of inanimate nouns:—

	SING.	PLUR.
N.A. and V.	<i>māvata</i>	<i>māvat</i>
I. and Ab.	<i>māvatin</i>	<i>māvatalin</i>
D.	<i>māvataṣa</i>	<i>māvatalaṣa</i>
G. and L.	<i>māvātē</i>	<i>māvatala</i>

Here we see the nom. plural formed not by adding *val* to the nom. sing., as was the case with *goda*, but by merely dropping the final vowel of the nom. singular. How did

¹ This expression would be admissible in English, and we say "a forest of masts," "a forest of columns," etc.

² Since writing the above, I have seen the article वन in Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, in which several references are given for the use of *vana* in the sense of "multitude" in classical Sanskrit, e.g. *girivana* "forest of mountains" (*Mahābhārata*).

this method of forming the plural arise? I think I can answer the question satisfactorily. In Sinhalese a very large proportion of nouns end in a short *a*, and of these the great majority drop this vowel when they become the first part of a compound. Thus we have *duka* "sorrow," but *dukpat* "distressed" = दुःख-प्राप्त; *magula* "festivity," but *magulkaḍuva* "state-sword" = मङ्गल-खड्ग; *saka* = चक्र, but *sakvaḷa* = चक्रवाह; *sita* = चित्त, but *sitvikala* = चित्तविकृत "perplexed"; *pana* = पर्ण, but *pansala* = पर्णशाला. Let us now take the case of *māvata*, which is also written *mahavata*, and is the equivalent of Sanskrit महापत्र. As *magula* in composition becomes *magul*, so we should expect *māvata* in composition to become *māvat*. And accordingly we find *māvatvalin* = महापत्र-वनेन, *māvatvalaṭa* = महापत्र-वन-सुष्ट, where (as we showed before) *māvata* is the first part of a compound. Originally the nominative plural of *māvata* was *māvatval*; but in process of time it was observed that when the *-val* was dropped, there was still enough to differentiate the plural from the singular, the absence of the final vowel being amply sufficient for the purpose. In accordance, therefore, with the universal tendency in language to get rid of unnecessary inflexions, the *val* was dropped in the nominative. But it was impossible to get rid of it in the oblique cases, since if *val* be eliminated from *māvatvalin* and *māvatvalaṭa*, there remains only *māvatin* and *māvatata*, which are already required for the singular. *Māvat* then stands for an earlier *māvatval*; and similarly we have *potā* "book," pl. *pot*, *haka* "chank," pl. *hak*, *tepuḷa*, pl. *tepuḷ*, and so on.

We have now to inquire why it is that words like *goḍa* retain the termination *val* in the nominative plural. The answer is as follows. There are certain letters which, for euphonic reasons, are unable to stand at the end of a word or syllable. These are *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *r*, *h*, *y*, *v*, and nouns ending in *ṭa*, *ḍa*, *ra*, *ha*, *ya*, *va*, are obliged to retain the final vowel when they become the first part of a compound. Thus we have *gaṭapana* = गण्डिपर्ण and not *gaṭpana*, *maḍabima* "a

swamp" = *मुत्तभूमि* and not *maḍbima*, *lovanā* = *लोकनाथ* and not *lovnā*, *niyakatuva* = *नख-काष्ठ* and not *niykatuva*, *pāra-laṅga* "near the road" = *पार-लङ्ग* and not *pārlaṅga*. In the same way we find that nouns ending in *ta*, *ḍa*, *ra*, *ha*, *va*, *ya*, retain their final vowel when compounded with *val*, and we have in the instr. pl. *gætavalin*, *goḍavalin*, *pāravalin*, *niyavalin*, *lovaalvalin*, instead of *gætvalin*, *goḍvalin*, *pārvalin*, *niyvalin*, *lovvalin*, combinations which are opposed to the phonetic rules of the Sinhalese language. Now we have seen that in words like *māvata* the nominative plural is the base in composition (*val* having been dropped), and differs from the nominative singular. But in words like *goḍa*, *pāra*, etc., the base in composition is the same as the nominative singular; so that if *val* were dropped in the nom. pl. we should have the nom. pl. the same as the nom. singular. Hence in this class of words *val* is retained in the nominative plural, and we have *pāraval* "roads," *iraval* "suns," *payaval* "feet," *kaṭaval* "mouths," *goḍaval* "banks," *niyaval* "finger-nails," *lovaal* "worlds."

The termination *ha* requires special notice. When *ha* represents a Sanskrit *ha*, the vowel is retained both in composition and in the nom. pl.; thus *gaha* "house" = *गृह*, makes its plural *gahaval*, and *gaha* "planet," forms with *rada* the compound *gaharada* "moon" = *ग्रहराज*. But when *ha* is the softening down of an original *s* pointing to a Sanskrit *ś* or *ṣ* or *ç* or *ḥ*, the *s* is revived in the plural and in the base of composition, and the vowel dropped, there being no objection to *s* standing at the end of a syllable. Thus *gaha*, "tree," points to an older form *gasa*, which is actually found in Elu, and which is a corruption of the Sanskrit *वृक्ष* "shrub." Its base in composition is *gas*, e.g. *gas-gemidiyā* "tree-frog," and its nom. pl. is *gas*, the *val* being dropped because *gas* differs sufficiently from the sing. *gaha* to render the *val* unnecessary.

Neuters ending in a nasalised consonant followed by *a* drop the final *a* and also the consonant, retaining only the nasal under the form of *anusvāra*. Thus *kalaṅḍa* makes its

plural *kalam*, which is a softening down of *kalañd*, *aṅga* makes *am* for *aṅg*, *hulaṅga* makes *hulam* for *hulaṅg*, *gaṅga* makes *gam* for *gaṅg*, *liñda* makes *lim* for *liñd*.¹ Here again we find that the nom. pl. is identical with the base in composition, and we have the compounds *kalampaḍi* for *kalañda-paḍi*, *gamtera* = गङ्गातीर, *lintoṭa* for *liñda-toṭa*, etc.

Maga "a road" = मार्ग, makes its plur. *mam*, which is a softening down of *mag*, *g* being unable to stand at the end of a syllable. So in composition *mammula* "having lost his way," "gone astray," = मार्गमूढ.

Monosyllabic nouns ending in *ē* form their plural by adding *val*, first shortening the final *ē*, thus *gē* "a house" = गेह, plur. *geval*. So in composition *gehima* "boundary of a house" = गेहसीमा.

Nouns ending in *va* and *ya* drop those terminations to form their nominative plural and their base in composition. Thus we have *oruva* "raft" = उरुप, pl. *oru*, *geḍiya* "lump" = गेडुक्क, pl. *geḍi*, and in composition *geḍi-yatura* "padlock" = गेडुक्क-यत्न.

We have now to consider a very remarkable peculiarity, the occasional reduplication in certain words of the plural inflexion *val*. At p. 11 of Lambrick's Grammar the following are given as specimens of two different kinds of plural declension :—

N.	<i>māvat</i>	<i>goḍaval</i>
Ab.	<i>māvatvalin</i>	<i>goḍavalvalin</i>
D.	<i>māvatvalaṭa</i>	<i>goḍavalvalaṭa</i>
G.	<i>māvatvala</i>	<i>goḍavalvala</i>

Now it will be remembered that *māvat* stands for an older *māvatval*, and that originally it was not the plural but only the base of the plural. But in course of time this was forgotten, *māvat* came to be looked upon as a true plural, and *-valin*, *-valaṭa*, *-vala*, as inflexions of the oblique cases. Hence when nom. plurals like *goḍaval*, *geval*, were met with, it was thought necessary to add to them *-valin*, *-valaṭa*, *-vala*,

¹ The *m* is pronounced like the English and German *ng* at the end of a word; thus *gam* is pronounced exactly like the German *gang*.

in forming the oblique cases, and hence we have the monstrosities *godavalalin*, etc., due entirely to a misconception.¹ It is necessary to observe that this double *val* is at present properly confined to the oblique cases of nouns whose nom. plural ends in *val*, and even then is not used by careful speakers. It is of recent introduction, and perhaps did not exist four centuries ago. Nevertheless the tendency is to adopt it and extend its use. Moreover the inevitable transition of *ava* and *va* into *o* is turning it into *olol*, and we often meet with such forms as *godololata*, *geyololata*, and even by false analogy sometimes *potololata*. A few centuries hence all neuter nouns in Sinhalese will form their plural by adding *olol*, a termination which the philologist of the day will have some difficulty in tracing to the Sanskrit *Vana*.

Lastly we come to a numerous class of neuter nouns exhibiting in the most striking manner the capacity of the Sinhalese language for adaptation and development. Lambrick says of them (p. 14), "Neuters ending in a double consonant with the inherent vowel drop one of the consonants to form the plural; and those that end in *nd* change it into *ñd*." The reverse of this is in reality the case: instead of a consonant being dropped to form the plural, a consonant is added to form the singular. I will endeavour to show how the process originated. Lambrick gives the following list:—

SING.	PLUR.	SING.	PLUR.
<i>patta</i>	<i>pæti</i>	<i>vatta</i>	<i>vætu</i>
<i>inna</i>	<i>ini</i>	<i>pihætta</i>	<i>pihætu</i>
<i>lolla</i>	<i>loli</i>	<i>dunna</i>	<i>dunu</i>
<i>hænda</i>	<i>hæñdi</i>	<i>potta</i>	<i>potu</i>
<i>bijja</i>	<i>biju</i>	<i>udella</i>	<i>udalu</i>

To which I may add *ginna* pl. *gini*, *billa* pl. *bili*. In each case the form with the double consonant is the singular, and the form with the single consonant the plural. But in the old language we find that the forms *billa*, *potta*, etc., do not exist, double consonants being unknown in Elu, while the forms *bili*, *potu*, etc., are *singular*. Now though a short

¹ An analogous anomaly is found in the Pali *dakkhissati* "he will see," when the term *-issati* of the future is added to *dakkhati*, itself originally a future.

a is dropped in forming a compound, as when *duma-yon* becomes *dumyon* = धूमयोनि, and *mala-dama* becomes *maldama* = मालादाम, yet an *i* or *u* is retained, and we have *dunudiya* (not *dundiya*) "bowstring" = धनुष्वा, *ginidala* "flame of fire" = अग्निवाला, *biliputu* "crow" = बलिपुट्ट, *bijurupu* "citron" = बीजपूर. Hence when the practice of using the base in composition from the nom. plural was introduced, a difficulty arose in the case of nouns ending in *i* or *u*, their base in composition being identical with their nom. singular. So the device was adopted (if I may use such an expression) of elaborating a new form for the singular, by strengthening the penultimate syllable of the old singular, and changing the *i* or *u* to *a*. This strengthening is obtained by throwing back the accent upon the penultimate. Thus *dunu* becomes *dunna*, *potu* becomes *potta*, *udalu* becomes *udalla*, *kañdu* becomes *kanda*; and in each of these secondary forms the voice dwells upon the first syllable, while in the original forms *dunu*, *kañdu*, etc., it passes rapidly on to the last.

In an article "On the Origin of the Sinhalese Language," Mr. James D'Alwis thus speaks of the neuter plural:—

As in the primitive Indo-European tongues, the plural of a Sinhalese word is carefully distinguished from the singular. It is true that in modern usage we find a few nouns which take in the plural *val*, like the Tamil *gal*, but it should be borne in mind that that formative is not an inflexion, but that which may be regarded as a complete word by itself, serving, when added to nouns indicating inanimate objects, to render the expression a compound, like "stone-heap" or "tree-mass." Thus *ge* "house" becomes in the plural *ge-val*. This is supposed by some to be identical with the *gal* in the Tamil *attugal* "houses." Dr. Stevenson is of opinion that this addition is an abbreviation of the Sanskrit *sakala* (=Tamil *sagala* "all"). But, says Caldwell, the root signifying "all," which the Dravidians have preferred to retain, i.e. *ell*, is connected not with the Greek *ol* "whole," the Hebrew *kol*, etc., but with the Saxon *eal*, English *all*. Whether it comes from the one to the other, it is indeed very clear that this addition of pluralisation conveys like (*sic*) the Sinhalese word *siy-al*¹ "all." Now in the Sinhalese only a few inanimate nouns take this *val* as a sign of pluralisation; and in some instances it is found in the oblique cases, and never in the nominative; thus *ata* "hand," *at* "hands," *atvala* "in hands";

¹ *Siyal* is the S. सक्कल.—R. C. C.

gasa "tree," *gas* "trees," *gasvala* "in trees." Hence it accords well with Professor Max Müller's belief¹ of this being a compound expression like "animal-mass" for "animals," or "stone-heap" for "stones." There is another strong reason which induces me to believe that this *val* in the sense of *vana* for a "mass" is a word by itself. . . . (Journ. Ceylon Branch Roy. As. Soc. 1867-70, p. 51.)

It was this use by Mr. D'Alwis of the word *vana* which, after much fruitless research, set me on the right track to discover the true nature of the termination of the neuter plural. It is strange that being so near the solution of the question Mr. D'Alwis should have failed to attain it, and it is unfortunate that his limited acquaintance with Sanskrit and Pali, and with comparative philology, has everywhere hampered him in his endeavours to explain the true nature of Sinhalese grammatical forms. Nevertheless Mr. D'Alwis's Sidath Sangarawa, and other essays on the Sinhalese language, will always be a rich mine to the student, and I have much pleasure in bearing testimony to the eminent services he has rendered to the study of Sinhalese lore and literature.

¹ Any one reading this passage would suppose that Professor Max Müller had written upon the formation of the neuter plural in Sinhalese. This, however, is not the case, and it will hardly be believed that what Mr. D'Alwis refers to is a passage in Dr. Max Müller's well-known essay "On the Relation of the Bengali to the Aryan and Aboriginal Languages of India" (Rep. British Association, 1847), showing that the syllable *dig*, which forms the plural of masculine nouns in Bengali, is really a noun, the Sanskrit दिग्. A reference, however brief, to this essay, would have saved the reader a great deal of trouble; but Mr. D'Alwis, though he twice quotes it in his article, nowhere mentions it by name. The case of the postposition *dig* is curiously analogous to that of *val*. The example given by Dr. Max Müller is *paṇḍit-digete*, "in or among the paṇḍits," lit. "in the paṇḍit world," दिग् having acquired the secondary meaning of "world" (see p. 338 of the Report).

ART. IV.—*The Pali Text of the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta and Commentary, with a Translation.* By R. C. CHILDERS, late of the Ceylon Civil Service.

Evam me sutam. Ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Rājagahe viharati Gijjhakūṭe pabbate. Tena kho pana samayena Rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto Vajji abhiyātukāmo hoti, so evam āha. Ahaṃ ime Vajji evaṃmahiddhike evaṃmahānubhāve ucchecchāmi Vajji vināsessāmi Vajji anavyasanaṃ āpādessāmi Vajji ti.

Atha kho rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto Vassakāraṃ brāhmaṇaṃ Magadhamahāmattaṃ āmantesi. Ehi tvam brāhmaṇa yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṅkama, upasaṅkamtvā mama vacanena Bhagavato pāde siraśā vandāhi, appābādham appātāṅkaṃ lahuṭṭhānaṃ balaṃ phāsuvihāraṃ puccha, rājā bhante Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto Bhagavato pāde siraśā vandati, appābādham appātāṅkaṃ lahuṭṭhānaṃ balaṃ phāsuvihāraṃ pucchati: evañ ca vadehi, rājā bhante Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto Vajji abhiyātukāmo, so evam āha, ahaṃ ime Vajji evaṃmahiddhike evaṃmahānubhāve ucchecchāmi Vajji vināsessāmi Vajji anavyasanaṃ āpādessāmi Vajji ti: yathā ca te Bhagavā vyākaroṭi taṃ sādhu-kaṃ uggahetvā mamaṃ āroceyyāsi, na hi Tathāgatā vitathaṃ bhaṇanti. Evaṃ bho ti kho Vassakāro Brāhmaṇo Magadhamahāmatto rañño Māgadhasa Ajātasattussa Vedehiputtassa paṭissutvā bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni yojāpetvā bhaddaṃ yānaṃ abhirūhitvā bhaddehi bhaddehi yānehi Rājagahaṃhā niyyāsi, yena Gijjhakūṭo pabbato tena pāyāsi, yāvatikā yānassa bhūmi yānena gantvā yānā paccorohitvā pattiko' va yena

¹ Y samayam ² S Vajji ³ Z Vajji, Y -mahānū- ⁴ SZ ucchejjāmi, Y anavyas-, S anavyās- ⁵ Y Māg- ⁶ D upasaṅkama, Y tenūp- ⁷ Y lahuṭṭh-, phāsū- ⁸ Y lahuṭṭh- ⁹ YZ evaṃ ca, D evaṃ vad- ¹⁰ S Vajji ¹¹ Y -mahānū- ¹² SZ ucchejjāmi, Z Vajji (*the first time*), D vināsessāmi, DSYZ anavyasanaṃ ¹³ D evaṃ so hoti, Y evaṃ so bho ti, Y Māg- ¹⁴ Y rañño ¹⁵ S abhiruh-, SYZ Rājagahaṃ ¹⁶ YZ niyyāsi, D niyyāsi ¹⁷ D bhūmiyyānena, Y pattiko ca.

Bhagavā ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā Bhagavatā saddhim sammodi, sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisaṅetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi, ekamantaṃ nisinno kho Vassakāro brāhmaṇo Magadhamahāmatto Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca. Rājā bho Gotama Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto bho Gotamassa pāde sirasā vandati appābādhaṃ appātāṅkaṃ lahuṭṭhānaṃ balaṃ phāsuvihāraṃ pucchati evañ ca vadeti, rājā bho Gotama Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto Vajjī abhiyātukāmo, so evaṃ āha, ahaṃ ime Vajjī evaṃmahiddhike evaṃmahānubhāve ucchecchāmi Vajjī vināsessāmi Vajjī anayavyasanaṃ āpādessāmi Vajjī ti.

Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato piṭṭhito piṭṭhito hoti Bhagavantaṃ vijaṃāno. Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi. Kinti te Ānanda sutāṃ Vajjī abhiṅhaṃsannipātā sannipātābahulā ? ti. Sutāṃ me taṃ bhante Vajjī abhiṅhaṃsannipātā sannipātābahulā ti. Yāvakiṃvañ ca Ānanda Vajjī abhiṅhaṃsannipātā sannipātābahulā bhavissanti vuddhi yeva Ānanda Vajjīnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Kinti te Ānanda sutāṃ Vajjī samaggā sannipatanti samaggā vuṭṭhahanti samaggā Vajjī karaṇīyāni karontīti ? Sutāṃ me taṃ bhante Vajjī samaggā sannipatanti samaggā vuṭṭhahanti samaggā Vajjī karaṇīyāni karontīti. Yāvakiṃvañ ca Ānanda Vajjī samaggā sannipatissanti samaggā vuṭṭhahissanti samaggā Vajjī karaṇīyāni karissanti vuddhi yeva Ānanda Vajjīnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Kinti te Ānanda sutāṃ Vajjī appaṇṇattaṃ na paṇṇāpenti paṇṇattaṃ na samucchindanti yathāpaṇṇatte porāṇe Vajjidhamme samādāya vattantīti ? Sutāṃ me taṃ bhante Vajjī appaṇṇattaṃ na paṇṇāpenti paṇṇattaṃ na samucchindanti yathāpaṇṇatte porāṇe Vajjidhamme samādāya vattantīti. Yāvakiṃvañ ca Ānanda Vajjī appaṇṇattaṃ na paṇṇāpessanti paṇṇattaṃ na samucchi-

² D sārān- ⁴ Y Māg- ⁵ DY bho Gotamassa, D pāde ti ⁷ D pucchattī, DY evañ vadeti, Z evañ ca ⁹ Z Vajjī ¹⁰ SZ ucchejjāmi, Z Vajjī (*first time*), Y anavy-
¹² D omis Bhagavato ¹⁵ Y -bahulā, D sutāṃ me taṃ ¹⁶ Z Vajjī, S -tābahulā
Y -bahulā ¹⁷ Y -bahulā ¹⁸ D sannipāt- ²¹ D sutāṃ me taṃ, DSYZ *substituto* . . pe
. . for samaggā sannipatanti a. vuṭṭhahanti ²⁴ D -yānt ²⁵ DY appaṇṇ-, paṇṇāp-,
paṇṇī-, ²⁷ DY yathāpaṇṇī-, Vajjidh- ²⁸ D taṃ, appaṇṇī-, DY paṇṇāp- ²⁹ DY
paṇṇī-, yathāpaṇṇī-, D samucchindanti ³⁰ D Vajjidh- ³¹ DY appaṇṇī-, D
paṇṇāp-, DY paṇṇī.

ndissanti yathāpaññatte porāṇe Vajjidhamme samādāya vatti-
ssanti vuddhi yeva Ānanda Vajjīnaṃ pāṭikāṅkhā no parihāni.
Kinti te Ānanda sutāṃ Vajjī ye te Vajjīnaṃ Vajjimahallakā
te sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti tesaṃ ca sotabbaṃ
maññantīti? Sutāṃ me taṃ bhante Vajjī ye te Vajjīnaṃ
Vajjimahallakā te sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti
tesaṃ ca sotabbaṃ maññantīti. Yāvakiṃvaṃ ca Ānanda Vajjī
ye te Vajjīnaṃ Vajjimahallakā te sakkarissanti garukarissanti
mānessanti pūjessanti tesaṃ ca sotabbaṃ maññissanti vuddhi
yeva Ānanda Vajjīnaṃ pāṭikāṅkhā no parihāni. Kinti te
Ānanda sutāṃ Vajjī yā tā kulitthiyo kulakumāriyo tā na
okkassa pasayha vāsentīti? Sutāṃ me taṃ bhante Vajjī yā
tā kulitthiyo kulakumāriyo tā na okkassa pasayha vāsentīti.
Yāvakiṃvaṃ ca Ānanda Vajjī yā tā kulitthiyo kulakumāriyo
tā na okkassa pasayha vāsessanti vuddhi yeva Ānanda Vajjī-
naṃ pāṭikāṅkhā no parihāni. Kinti te Ānanda sutāṃ Vajjī
yāni tāni Vajjīnaṃ Vajjicetiyaṃ abhantarāni c'eva bāhirāni
ca tāni sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti tesaṃ ca
dinnapubbaṃ katapubbaṃ dhammikaṃ balim no parihā-
pentīti. Sutāṃ me taṃ bhante Vajjī yāni tāni Vajjīnaṃ
Vajjicetiyaṃ abhantarāni c'eva bāhirāni ca tāni sakkaronti
garukaronti mānenti pūjenti tesaṃ ca dinnapubbaṃ kata-
pubbaṃ dhammikaṃ balim no parihāpentīti. Yāvakiṃvaṃ
ca Ānanda Vajjī yāni tāni Vajjīnaṃ Vajjicetiyaṃ abhan-
tarāni c'eva bāhirāni ca tāni sakkarissanti garukarissanti
mānessanti pūjessanti tesaṃ ca dinnapubbaṃ katapubbaṃ
dhammikaṃ balim no parihāpessanti vuddhi yeva Ānanda
Vajjīnaṃ pāṭikāṅkhā no parihāni. Kinti te Ānanda sutāṃ
Vajjīnaṃ arahantesu dhammikā rakkhāvaranagutti susāvi-
hitā, kinti anāgatā ca arahanto vijitā āgaccheyyūṃ āgatā
ca arahanto vijite phāsuṃ vihareyyūṃ? ti. Sutāṃ me taṃ

¹ DY yathāpaññ-, S porāno, D Vajjīdh- ² Z Vajjī, D ye te ca, Vajjīm- ³ DY
maññ-, D ye te ca ⁴ DY Vajjīmah- ⁵ Z yotabbaṃ, D maññ-, Y Vajjī ⁶ D
ye te ca, Vajjīm- ⁷ DY maññ- ⁸ SY Vajjī ⁹ D vāsentī, tam, YS Vajjī ¹⁰ SYZ
Vajjī ¹¹ Y Vajjī ¹² D Vajjīc-, Y abhantarāpi, bāhirāpi ¹³ D omīta tāni ¹⁴ D
sutāṃ me tam, SY Vajjī ¹⁵ D Vajjīc-, Y abhantarāpi, bāhirāpi, D omīta tāni
¹⁶ Y māpenti ¹⁷ SY Vajjī, D Vajjīc-, Y abhantarāpi ¹⁸ Y bāhirāpi, D roads ca
for c'eva, omīta ca ¹⁹ S Vajjīnaṃ, -guttī ²⁰ DY phāsu, D vihareyyūṃ, D ce tam.

bhante Vajjīnaṃ arahantesu dhammikā rakkhāvaraṇagutti susamvihitā, kinti anāgatā ca arahanto vijitāṃ āgaccheyyūṃ āgatā ca arahanto vijite phāsuṃ vihareyyun ti. Yāvakīvañ ca Ānanda Vajjīnaṃ arahantesu dhammikā rakkhāvaraṇagutti susamvihitā bhavissati, kinti anāgatā ca arahanto vijitāṃ āgaccheyyūṃ āgatā ca arahanto vijite phāsuṃ vihareyyun ti vuddhi yeva Ānanda Vajjīnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihānti.

Atha kho Bhagavā Vassakāraṃ brāhmaṇaṃ Magadhamahāmatam āmantesi. Ekam idāhaṃ brāhmaṇa samayaṃ Vesāliyaṃ viharāmi Sārāṇade cetiye, tatrāhaṃ Vajjīnaṃ ime satta aparihāniye dhamme desesiṃ, yāvakīvañ ca brāhmaṇa ime satta aparihāniyā dhammā Vajjisu ṭhassanti imesu ca sattu aparihāniyesu dhammesu Vajjī sandissanti vuddhi yeva brāhmaṇa Vajjīnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihānti. Evaṃ vutte Vassakāro brāhmaṇo Magadhamahāmatto Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca. Ekamekena pi bho Gotama aparihāniyena dhammena samannāgatānaṃ Vajjīnaṃ vuddhi yeva pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni, ko pana vādo sattaḥ aparihāniyehi dhammehi : akaraṇīyā 'va bho Gotama Vajjī raññā Māgadha Ajātasattunā Vedehiputtana yadidaṃ yuddhassa aññatra upalāpanāya aññatra mithubhedā : handa ca dāni mayaṃ bho Gotama gacchāma, bahukiccā mayaṃ bahukaraṇīyā ti. Yassa dāni tvaṃ brāhmaṇa kālaṃ maññasīti. Atha kho Vassakāro brāhmaṇo Magadhamahāmatto Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā utthāy' āsanā pakkāmi.

Atha kho Bhagavā acirapakkante Vassakāre brāhmaṇe Magadhamahāmatte āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi. Gaccha tvaṃ Ānanda yāvaticā bhikkhū Rājagahaṃ upanissāya viharanti te sabbe upatthānasālāyaṃ sannipātehīti. Evaṃ bhante ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paṭissutvā yāvaticā bhikkhū Rājagahaṃ upanissāya viharanti te sabbe upatthānasālāyaṃ sannipāte tvā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṅkami,

¹ S -guttī ² D omits kinti ³ DY phāsu, D vihareyyūṃ ⁴ S kiñci, D ānāg- ⁵ Y phāsu ⁶ D vihareyyūṃ, Y vihareyyūṃ ⁷ Y Māg- ⁸ D ṭhassanti ⁹ DSYZ Vajjī ¹⁰ Y Māg- ¹¹ S akaraṇīyā, DY raññā, S rañño, D Māg- ¹² DY suddhassa, aññatra (twice), ¹³ Y upamaṇāyā ¹⁴ D bahukicchā ¹⁵ D maññ- ¹⁶ DY bhikkhu ¹⁷ D evam ¹⁸ DSY bhikkhu.

upasaṅkamitvā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ atthāsi, ekamantaṃ t̥hito kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantam etad avoca. Sannipatito bhante bhikkhusaṅgho, yassa dāni bhante Bhagavā kālaṃ maññasīti. Atha kho Bhagavā utthāy' āsana yena upatthānasālā ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi, nisajja kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi. Satta vo bhikkhave aparihāniye dhamme desessāmi taṃ suṇātha sādhukaṃ manasikarotha bhāsissāmi. Evaṃ bhante ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccassosum, Bhagavā etad avoca. Yāvakivaṃ ca kho bhikkhave bhikkhū abhiṇham-sannipatā sannipātabahulā bhavissanti vuddhi yeva bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Yāvakivaṃ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū samaggā sannipatissanti samaggā vutthahissanti samaggā saṅghakaraṇīyāni karissanti vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Yāvakivaṃ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū appaññattaṃ na paññāpessanti paññattaṃ na samucchindissanti yathāpaññattesu sikkhāpadesu samā-dāya vattissanti vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Yāvakivaṃ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū ye te bhikkhū therā rattaññū cirapabbajitā saṅghapitaro saṅghaparināyaka te sakkarissanti garukarissanti mānessanti pūjessanti tesaṃ ca sotabbam maññissanti vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Yāvakivaṃ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū uppanāya taṇhāya poṇobhavikāya na vasaṃ gacchanti vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Yāvakivaṃ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū āraññakesu senāsanesu sāpekhā bhavissanti vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Yāvakivaṃ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū paccattaṃ yeva satim upatthāpessanti, kinti anāgatā ca pesalā sabrahmacāri āgaccheyyum āgatā ca

² DSY t̥hitā ³ Y sannipatito, Z bhikkūsaṅgho ⁴ DY maññasīti ⁵ DY paññatte, Y bhikkhu ⁷ DY satt'ime (corrected from sattaṃ), SYZ desessāmi ⁸ SZ sunātha, D evam ⁹ DS bhikkhu, ¹⁰ SZ omit kho, DS bhikkhu ¹¹ Y -bahujā, ¹² DSY bhikkhu ¹⁴ Y -karaṇīyā ¹⁵ D bhikkhunam ¹⁶ S bhikkhu, DY appaññ-, paññāp-, paññattaṃ ¹⁷ DY yathāpaññattesu ¹⁸ D bhikkhunam ¹⁹ DY bhikkhu ²⁰ DS bhikkhu, DY rattaññū, S rattaññū ²¹ D -nāyako, Z ne for te ²² DY maññi- ²³ D bhikkhunam ²⁴ DY bhikkhu, D pop- ²⁵ DSY bhikkhu ²⁷ SZ araññi-, DY āraññ- ²⁸ D bhikkhunam ²⁹ S bhikkhu ³⁰ D sabrahmacāri, Z anāgatā for āgatā.

pesalā sabrahmacārī phāsum vihareyyun ti vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Yāvakiṇṇā ca bhikkhave ime satta aparihāniyā dhammā bhikkhūsu ṭhassanti imesu ca sattasu aparihāniyesu dhammesu bhikkhū sandissanti vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

Apare pi kho bhikkhave satta aparihāniye dhamme desesāmi taṃ sunātha sādhucaṃ manasikarotha bhāsissāmi. Evaṃ bhante ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccassosum, Bhagavā etad avoca. Yāvakiṇṇā ca bhikkhave bhikkhū na kammārāmā bhavissanti na kammaratā na kammārāmatam anuyuttā vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Yāvakiṇṇā ca bhikkhave bhikkhū na bhassārāmā bhavissanti na bhassaratā na bhassārāmatam anuyuttā vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Yāvakiṇṇā ca bhikkhave bhikkhū na niddārāmā bhavissanti na niddaratā na niddārāmatam anuyuttā vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Yāvakiṇṇā ca bhikkhave bhikkhū na saṅgaṇikārāmā bhavissanti na saṅgaṇikaratā na saṅgaṇikārāmatam anuyuttā vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Yāvakiṇṇā ca bhikkhave bhikkhū na pāpicchā bhavissanti na pāpikānaṃ icchānaṃ vasaṃ gatā vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Yāvakiṇṇā ca bhikkhave bhikkhū na pāpamittā bhavissanti na pāpasahāyā na pāpasampavaṅkā vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Yāvakiṇṇā ca bhikkhave bhikkhū na oramattakena viśesādhigamena antarā vośānaṃ āpajjissanti vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Yāvakiṇṇā ca bhikkhave ime satta aparihāniyā dhammā bhikkhūsu ṭhassanti imesu ca sattasu aparihāniyesu dhammesu bhikkhū

¹ D sabbr-, phāsu, vihar- ² D bhikkhunaṃ ³ DSY bhikkhusu ⁴ D ṭṭhussanti, DS bhikkhu ⁵ S aparo, DSYZ desissāmi ⁶ SZ sunātha ⁷ DY evam, DS bhikkhu ⁸ D bhikkhu ⁹ D kammaratā ¹⁰ D bhikkhunaṃ ¹¹ DS bhikkhu, D bhassārāmā ¹² S bhassarātā, DSYZ bhassarāmatam ¹³ D omits na niddaratā, S -ramatam ¹⁴ DSY saṅgaṇikārāmā, D saṅgaṇikaratā altered to -kārāmātā ¹⁵ S saṅgaṇikaratā, Y gansaṅgaṇikaratā, DSY saṅgaṇikārāmatam ¹⁶ D bhikkhu ¹⁷ S bhikkhu ¹⁸ D vūddhi, bhikkhunaṃ ¹⁹ D bhikkhu ²⁰ Y vāsānaṃ, D vūddhi ²¹ D after bhikkhave insert bhikkhu, and Y bhikkhū ²² Y bhikkhusu, ²³ D ṭṭhussanti, S bhikkhu.

sandissanti vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

Apare pi kho bhikkhave satta aparihāniye dhamme de-
sessāmi, taṃ suṇātha sādhukaṃ manasikarotha bhāsissāmi.
Evaṃ bhante ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccassosun,
Bhagavā etad avoca. Yāvakiyaṃ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū
saddhā bhavissanti hirimanā bhavissanti ottāpi bhavissanti
bahussutā bhavissanti āradhaviyā bhavissanti upatṭhitasatī
bhavissanti paññāvanto bhavissanti vuddhi yeva bhikkhave
bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Yāvakiyaṃ ca bhik-
khhave ime satta aparihāniyā dhammā bhikkhūsu ṭhassanti
imesu ca sattasu aparihāniyesu dhammesu bhikkhū sandissanti
vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

Apare pi kho bhikkhave satta aparihāniye dhamme de-
sessāmi, taṃ suṇātha sādhukaṃ manasikarotha bhāsissāmi.
Evaṃ bhante ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccassosun,
Bhagavā etad avoca. Yāvakiyaṃ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū
satisambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāvessanti dhammavicayasambojjhaṅgaṃ
bhāvessanti viriyasambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāvessanti pītisambojjh-
aṅgaṃ bhāvessanti passaddhisambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāvessanti sa-
mādhisambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāvessanti upekkhāsambojjhaṅgaṃ bhā-
vessanti vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no
parihāni. Yāvakiyaṃ ca bhikkhave ime satta aparihāniyā
dhammā bhikkhūsu ṭhassanti imesu ca sattasu aparihāniyesu
dhammesu bhikkhū sandissanti vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhik-
khūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

Apare pi kho bhikkhave satta aparihāniye dhamme de-
sessāmi, taṃ suṇātha sādhukaṃ manasikarotha bhāsissāmi.
Evaṃ bhante ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccassosun,
Bhagavā etad avoca. Yāvakiyaṃ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū
aniocasāññaṃ bhāvessanti anattasāññaṃ bhāvessanti asubha-

¹ Z omits bhikkhave, DSYZ desiss- ⁴ S mapasi- ⁵ DSYZ evam, DS bhikkhu, DSYZ -ssosum ⁷ DY hirimatā, S hirimana, Z hirīmanā, DS ottāpi ⁸ DS -sati ⁹ DY paññ- ¹⁰ DY after parihāni insert . . pe . . ¹¹ DS -khusu, D ṭhassanti ¹² DY omit ca, DS bhikkhu ¹³ D -khunaṃ ¹⁴ DSYZ desiss- ¹⁵ S mapasi-, D-mitī ¹⁶ YZ evam, DS bhikkhu, D -sum ¹⁷ D bhikkhu ¹⁸ D upekkhā- ¹⁹ D -khunaṃ ²⁰ S -khusu, D ṭhassanti ²¹ DS bhikkhu, -khunaṃ ²² D-iyā dhammā desissāma, SYZ desiss- ²³ DYZ evam, S bhikkhu, DSY -sum ²⁴ S bhikkhu ²⁵ in the first two places Z has -saññaṃ, in the other five -saññaṃ : D -saññaṃ throughout : SY -saññaṃ in the second place.

saññaṃ bhāveṣanti ādinavaṣaññaṃ bhāveṣanti pahānasaññaṃ bhāveṣanti virāgasaññaṃ bhāveṣanti nirohasaññaṃ bhāveṣanti vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Yāvakiṃvañ ca bhikkhave ime satta aparihāniyā dhammā bhikkhūsu ṭhassanti imesu ca sattu aparihāniyēsu dhammesu bhikkhū sandissanti vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

Cha bhikkhave aparihāniye dhamme desessāmi, taṃ suṇātha sādhukaṃ manasikarotha bhāsissāmi. Evaṃ bhante ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccassosū Bhagavā etad avoca. Yāvakiṃvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū mettāṃ kāyakammaṃ paccupatṭhāpessanti sabrahmacārisu āvi c'eva raho ca vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Yāvakiṃvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū mettāṃ vacīkammaṃ paccupatṭhāpessanti sabrahmacārisu āvi c'eva raho ca vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ no parihāni. Yāvakiṃvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū mettāṃ manokammaṃ paccupatṭhāpessanti sabrahmacārisu āvi c'eva raho ca vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Yāvakiṃvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū ye te lābhā dhammikā dhammaladdhā antamaso pattapariyāpannamattam pi tathārūpehi lābhehi appaṭivibhattabhojī bhavissanti sīlavantehi sabrahmacārīhi sādharāṇabhogī vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Yāvakiṃvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū yāni tāni sīlāni akhaṇḍāni acchiddāni asabalāni akammāsāni bhujjāsāni viññuppasatthāni aparāmatṭhāni samādhisaṃvattanikāni tathārūpesu sīlesu sīlasāmaññagatā viharissanti sabrahmacārīhi āvi c'eva raho ca vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Yāvakiṃvañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū yā 'yaṃ diṭṭhi ariyā niyyānikā niyyāti takkarassa sammādukkhakkhayāya tathārūpāya diṭṭhiyā

¹ SYZ ādinava ² DY bhikkhusu, D ṭṭhussanti ³ D bhikkhu ⁴ DSYZ desissa- ⁵ Y maṇasi-, DY evam ¹⁰ D bhikkhu, D -sum ¹¹ D bhikkhu ¹² Y -cārisu, āvi ¹³ D bhikkhunaṃ ¹⁴ D -cārisu, DSYZ omit from āvi to bhikkhū, substituting . . . pe . . . ¹⁷ Y maṇo- ¹⁸ DY āvi ²⁰ Y bhikkhu ²¹ S apattapar-, Y attapar-, Z pantapar ²² D -bhogī, Y -bhogī, Y -cārī ²³ D -ṇā, bhoti corrected to hoti, Z -bhogī ²⁴ Y bhikkhu ²⁶ D bhujj-, vimā- ²⁷ D omits sīlesu, DY -sāmaññi. ²⁸ D āvi, S avi ³⁰ D yā'yan, Y yāsan, D ariyāni niyyānikāni, SYZ niyyānikā, D omits niyyāti, S niyyāni, Y niyyāni, Z niyyāti ³¹ D sabbadukkh-, Y -kkhayā.

diṭṭhisāmaññagatā viharissanti sabrahmacārīhi āvi c'eva raho ca vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Yāvakiṃvaṇi ca bhikkhave ime cha aparihāniya dhammā bhikkhūsu ṭhassanti imesu ca chasu aparihāniyesu dhammesu bhikkhū sandissanti vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihānti.

Tatra sudam Bhagavā Rājagahe viharanto Gijjhakūṭe pabbate etad eva bahulaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ dhammiṃ katham karoti, iti sīlam iti samādhi iti paññā, sīlaparibhāvito samādhi mahapphalo hoti mahānisamsa, samādhiparibhāvitā paññā mahapphalā hoti mahānisamsā, paññāparibhāvitam cittam sammad eva āsavehi vimuccati seyyathidaṃ kāmāsavā bhavāsavā diṭṭhāsavā avijjāsavā ti.

Atha kho Bhagavā Rājagahe yathābhirantaṃ viharitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi. Āyāma' Ānanda yena Ambalaṭṭhikā ten' upasaṅkamissāmaṭi. Evaṃ bhante ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhusaṅghena saddhim yena Ambalaṭṭhikā tad avasari.

Tatra sudam Bhagavā Ambalaṭṭhikāyaṃ viharati Rājāgarake. Tatra pi sudam Bhagavā Ambalaṭṭhikāyaṃ viharanto Rājāgarake etad eva bahulaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ dhammiṃ katham karoti, iti sīlam iti samādhi iti paññā, sīlaparibhāvito samādhi mahapphalo hoti mahānisamsa, samādhiparibhāvitā paññā mahapphalā hoti mahānisamsā, paññāparibhāvitam cittam sammad eva āsavehi vimuccati seyyathidaṃ kāmāsavā bhavāsavā diṭṭhāsavā avijjāsavā ti.

Atha kho Bhagavā Ambalaṭṭhikāyaṃ yathābhirantaṃ viharitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi. Āyāma' Ānanda yena Nālandā ten' upasaṅkamissāmaṭi. Evaṃ bhante ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā

¹ DY -sāmaññ-, DZ sabbr-, DY āvi ⁴ Y bhikkhusu, DSYZ omit ca ⁶ D parihāni ⁷ Z Gijjhapabbate ⁸ SY etad avoca (sic) for etad eva, Y bahulaṃ, dhammi ⁹ DY paññā ¹⁰ D -vito, DY paññā ¹¹ Y paññā- ¹² Y omits diṭṭhāsavā ¹³ D Ambalā ¹⁴ DSYZ evam ¹⁵ S mahatā ¹⁶ S avasari ¹⁷ D hi for pi, Y tatra supidaṃ ¹⁸ Y bahulaṃ, dhammiṃ katham ¹⁹ S samādhisaṃ, DY paññā ²⁰ D -vito, DY paññā ²¹ DSYZ paññā- ²² Y omits diṭṭhāsavā ²³ DY Nālandā, DSYZ evam.

mahatā bhikkhusaṅghena saddhim yena Nālandā tad avasari. Tatra sudam Bhagavā Nālandāyaṃ viharati Pāvārikambavane. Atha kho āyasmā Sāriputto yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi, ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā Sāriputto Bhagavantam etad avoca. Evampasanno aham bhante Bhagavati na cāhu na ca bhavissati na c'etarahi vijjati añño samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā Bhagavatā bhiiyyo 'bhiññataro yadidaṃ sambodhiyaṃ ti. Ulārā kho te ayaṃ Sāriputta āsabhi vācā bhāsītā ekaṃso gahito sihanādo nadito, evampasanno aham bhante Bhagavati na cāhu na ca bhavissati na c'etarahi vijjati añño samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā Bhagavatā bhiiyyo 'bhiññataro yadidaṃ sambodhiyaṃ ti. Kin nu Sāriputta ye te ahesuṃ atītama addhānaṃ arahanto sammāsambuddhā sabbe te bhagavanto cetasā cetoparicca viditā evamsilā te bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pi evaṃdhammā evaṃpaññā evaṃvihārī evaṃvimuttā te bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pīti? No h'etaṃ bhante. Kim pana Sāriputta ye te bhavissanti anāgatam addhānaṃ arahanto sammāsambuddhā sabbe te bhagavanto cetasā cetoparicca viditā evamsilā te bhagavanto bhavissanti iti pi, evaṃdhammā evaṃpaññā evaṃvihārī evaṃvimuttā te bhagavanto bhavissanti iti pīti? No h'etaṃ bhante. Kim pana Sāriputta aham te etarahi araham sammāsambuddho cetasā cetoparicca vidito evamsilo Bhagavā iti pi evaṃdhammo evaṃpañño evaṃvihārī evaṃvimutto Bhagavā iti pīti? No h'etaṃ bhante. Etth' eva hi te Sāriputta atītānāgatapaccuppannesu arahantesu sammāsambuddhesu cetopariyaññaṃ n'atthi, atha kiṃ carahi te ayaṃ Sāriputta ulārā āsabhi vācā bhāsītā ekaṃso gahito sihanādo nadito, evampasanno aham bhante Bhagavati na cāhu na ca bhavissati na c'etarahi vijjati añño samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā

¹ SY Nālandā ² DY Nālandāyaṃ ³ D evam for aham, Y aham ⁴ D māhu for cāhu, DY añño ⁵ D samaṇo, Y brah-, SYZ bhiiyy-, DY -bhiññā- ⁶ DS ulāro ⁷ D aham, Bhagavatī ⁸ DY añño, D samāṇo, SYZ bhiiyy- ⁹ DY -bhiññā- ¹⁰ D vijjā, S to for te ¹¹ DY -paññā, DS -vihārī ¹² D h'etaṃ ¹³ D evamsilo to ¹⁴ DY -paññā, DS -vihārī ¹⁵ D h'etaṃ ¹⁶ D āgataṃ for aham ¹⁷ D -pañño, -vihārī ¹⁸ D h'etaṃ, S etth'eva, Y ettha carahi ¹⁹ S asabhi, Y āsahi, Z asabhi ²⁰ D -no 'ham ²¹ DY añño, Z samaṇo, S omits brāhmaṇo vā.

Bhagavatā bhiiyo 'bhiññatāro yadidaṃ sambodhiyaṃ ti. Na kho me bhante atītānāgatapaccuppannesu arahantesu sammā-sambuddhesu cetopariyaññaṃ atthi, api ca dhammanvayo vidito, seyyathāpi bhante rañño paccantimaṃ nagaraṃ dalhuddāpaṃ dalhapākātoraṇaṃ ekadvāraṃ, tatr' assa dovāriko paṇḍito viyatto medhāvi aññātānaṃ nivāretā ñātānaṃ pave-setā, so tassa nagarassa samantā anupariyāyapathaṃ anukka-mamāno na passeyya pākārasandhiṃ vā pākāravivaraṃ vā antamaso bilāranissakkaṃamattam pi, tassa evam assa, ye kho keci olārikā pāṇā imaṃ nagaraṃ pavisanti vā nikkha-manti vā sabbe te iminā 'va dvārena pavisanti vā nikkha-manti vā ti, evam eva kho me bhante dhammanvayo vidito ye te ahesuṃ atītaṃ addhānaṃ arahanto sammāsambuddhā sabbe te bhagavanto pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya cetaso uppakki-lee paññāya dubbalīkaṇe catusu satipaṭṭhānesu supatīṭṭhi-tacittā satta bojjhaṅge yathābhūtaṃ bhāvetvā anuttaraṃ sammāsambodhiṃ abhisambujjhimsu : ye te pi bhante bhav-issanti anāgataṃ addhānaṃ arahanto sammāsambuddhā sabbe te bhagavanto pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya cetaso upakkilese paññāya dubbalīkaṇe catusu satipaṭṭhānesu supatīṭṭhitacittā satta bojjhaṅge yathābhūtaṃ bhāvetvā anuttaraṃ sammā-sambodhiṃ abhisambujjhissanti : Bhagavā pi bhante etarahi arahānaṃ sammāsambuddho pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya cetaso upakkilese paññāya dubbalīkaṇe catusu satipaṭṭhānesu supatīṭṭhitacitto satta bojjhaṅge yathābhūtaṃ bhāvetvā anuttaraṃ sammāsambodhiṃ abhisambuddho ti.

Tatra sudaraṃ Bhagavā Nālandāyaṃ viharanto Pāvārik-ambavane etad eva bahulaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ dhammiṃ kathaṃ karoti iti sīlaṃ iti samādhiṃ iti paññā, silaparibhāvito samādhi mahapphalo hoti mahānisaṃso, samādhiparibhāvitaṃ paññā mahapphalā hoti mahānisaṃsā, paññāparibhāvitaṃ cittaṃ

¹ D bhīyo, SYZ bhīyo, DYZ -bhiññā ' D Y rañño, Y dalhuddānaṃpā ² D dalhapāk-, SZ ekaṃdvāraṃ ³ D medhāvi, amā- ⁴ D -seto ⁵ DSYZ bil-, DSZ -nissakkata-, Y nissakkamana- ⁶ DY omī kho, DSYZ ol-, Y pāṇā ⁷ D ca for 'va, Y dvārena ⁸ Z inserts bhante before ahesuṃ, S omīta sammā- ⁹ D paññāya, supatīṭṭhita-, Y sūpatīṭṭhita- ¹⁰ D paññāya, supatīṭṭhita-, Y sūpatīṭṭhita- ¹¹ Y etari ¹² D paññāya, DY dubbali-, Y casu, ¹³ D supatīṭṭhita-, Y sūpatīṭṭhita- ¹⁴ DY Nāl- ¹⁵ Y bahulaṃ ¹⁶ D paññā ¹⁷ D paññā ¹⁸ D paññāp-.

sammad eva āsavehi vimuccati seyyathīdam kāmāsavā bhavāsavā ditthāsavā avijjāsavā ti.

Atha kho Bhagavā Nālandāyaṃ yathābhirantaṃ viharitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi. Āyāṃ' Ānanda yena Pāṭaligāmo ten' upasaṅkamissāmāti. Evaṃ bhante ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhusaṅghena saddhiṃ yena Pāṭaligāmo tad avasari.

Assosum kho Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā Bhagavā kira Pāṭaligāmaṃ anuppatto ti. Atha kho Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṅkamimsu, upasaṅkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdimsu, ekamantaṃ nisinnā kho Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā Bhagavantaṃ etad avocum. Adhivāsetu no bhante Bhagavā āvasathāgāraṃ ti. Adhivāsesi Bhagavā tuṅhībhāvena. Atha kho Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā Bhagavato adhivāsaṇaṃ viditvā utthāy' āsanā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā yena āvasathāgāraṃ ten' upasaṅkamimsu, upasaṅkamitvā sabbasanthariṃ āvasathāgāraṃ santharitvā āsanāni paññāpetvā udakamaṇiṃ patitthāpetvā telappadīpaṃ āropetvā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṅkamimsu, upasaṅkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhamsu, ekamantaṃ tṭhitā kho Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā Bhagavantaṃ etad avocum. Sabbasanthariṃ santhataṃ bhante āvasathāgāraṃ āsanāni paññattāni udakamaṇiko patitthāpito telappadīpo āropito, yassa dāni bhante Bhagavā kālaṃ maññatīti. Atha kho Bhagavā nivāsetvā pattacivaram ādāya saddhiṃ bhikkhusaṅghena yena āvasathāgāraṃ ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā pāde pakkhāletvā āvasathāgāraṃ pavisitvā majjhimaṃ thambhaṃ nissāya puratthābhimukho nisīdi; bhikkhusaṅgho pi kho pāde pakkhāletvā āvasathāgāraṃ pavisitvā pacchimaṃ bhittim nissāya puratthābhimukho nisīdi Bhagavantaṃ yeva purakkhatvā; Pāṭaligāmiyā pi kho upāsakā pāde pakkhāletvā āvasathāgāraṃ

² Y omits ditthāsavā ³ Y yathābhirattāṃ ⁴ DY evam ⁵ D inserts te after kho ⁶ DY omits no, Z āvayath- ⁷ D abhivādetvā ⁸ D -santhariṃ ⁹ D paññāpetvā, DSY -maniṃ ¹⁰ SYZ telappadīpo ¹¹ S santataṃ ¹² D paññattāni, SY -maniko ¹³ D maññatīti ¹⁴ D pāde ¹⁵ D puratthābhimukho ¹⁶ D omits pi kho, Y āvasathāgāraṃ.

pavisitvā puratthimam bhittim nissāya pacchābhimukhā nisīdimsu Bhagavantam yeva purakkhatvā.

Atha kho Bhagavā Pāṭaligāmiye upāsake āmantesi. Pañc' ime gahapatayo ādinavā dussīlassa sīlavipattiyā, katame pañca? Idha gahapatayo dussīlo sīlavipanno pamādādhikaraṇam mahatim bhogajānim nigacchati, ayam paṭhamo ādinavo dussīlassa sīlavipattiyā. Puna ca param gahapatayo dussīlassa sīlavipannassa pāpako kittisaddo abhuggacchati, ayam dutiyo ādinavo dussīlassa sīlavipattiyā. Puna ca param gahapatayo dussīlo sīlavipanno yañ ñad eva parisam upasaṅkamati yadi khattiyaparisam yadi brāhmaṇaparisam yadi gahapatiparisam yadi samaṇaparisam avisārado upasaṅkamati maṅkubhūto, ayam tatiyo ādinavo dussīlassa sīlavipattiyā. Puna ca param gahapatayo dussīlo sīlavipanno sammūlho kālam karoti, ayam catuttho ādinavo dussīlassa sīlavipattiyā. Puna ca paraṅ gahapatayo dussīlo sīlavipanno kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā apāyam duggatim vinipātam nirayam uppaṅgati, ayam pañcama ādinavo dussīlassa sīlavipattiyā. Ime kho gahapatayo pañca ādinavā dussīlassa sīlavipattiyā.

Pañc' ime gahapatayo ānisamsā sīlavato sīlasampadāya, katame pañca? Idha gahapatayo sīlavā sīlasampanno appamādādhikaraṇam mahantam bhogakkhandham adhigacchati, ayam paṭhamo ānisamsa sīlavato sīlasampadāya. Puna ca param gahapatayo sīlavato sīlasampannassa kalyāṇo kittisaddo abhuggacchati, ayam dutiyo ānisamsa sīlavato sīlasampadāya. Puna ca param gahapatayo sīlavā sīlasampanno yañ ñad eva parisam upasaṅkamati yadi khattiyaparisam yadi brāhmaṇaparisam yadi gahapatiparisam yadi samaṇaparisam visārado upasaṅkamati amaṅkubhūto, ayam tatiyo ānisamsa sīlavato sīlasampadāya. Puna ca param gahapatayo sīlavā sīlasampanno asammmūlho kālam karoti, ayam catuttho ānisamsa sīlavato sīlasampadāya. Puna ca param gahapa-

¹ Y puratthimā, DSZ -mukho ² SYZ Bhagavantam ñeva ³ D āmattesi ⁴ SZ ādinavā, D ādinavo ⁵ D pamādādhikaraṇam ⁶ S bhogajānim ⁷ SYZ ādinavo ⁸ D pāpakā ⁹ SYZ ādinavo ¹⁰ DS yañ ñad ¹¹ DSYZ ādinavo ¹² D sammūlho kālam ¹³ SYZ ādinavo ¹⁴ SYZ ādinavo ¹⁵ YZ ādinavā, D ādinavo ¹⁶ D ādinisamsa, S ānis- ¹⁷ D kaly- ¹⁸ D yañ ñad ¹⁹ D -bhuto ²⁰ D -mūlho.



tayo silavā silasampanno kāyassa bheda param maraṇā sugatim saggam lokam uppajjati, ayaṃ pañcama ānisaṃso silavato silasampadāya. Ime kho gahapatayo pañca ānisaṃsā silavato silasampadāyāti.

Atha kho Bhagavā Pāṭaligāmiye upāsake bahud eva rattim dhammiyā kathāya sandassetvā samādapetvā samuttejtvā sampahamsetvā uyyojesi. Abhikkantā kho gahapatayo ratti, yassa dāni kalam maññathāti. Evam bhante ti kho Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā Bhagavato paṭissutvā utthāy' āsanā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā padakkhiṇam katvā pakkamimsu. Atha kho Bhagavā acirapakkantesu Pāṭaligāmiyesu upāsakesu suññāgāram pāvisi.

Tena kho pana samayena Sunīdhavassakārā Magādhama-hāmattā Pāṭaligāme nagaram māpenti Vajjīnam paṭibhāya. Tena kho pana samayena sambahulā devatāyo sahasasseva Pāṭaligāme vatthūni parigaṇhanti, yasmim padese mahesakkhā devatā vatthūni parigaṇhanti mahesakkhānam tattha raññam rājamahāmattānam cittāni namanti nivesanāni māpetum, yasmim padese majjhimā devatā vatthūni parigaṇhanti majjhimānam tattha raññam rājamahāmattānam cittāni namanti nivesanāni māpetum, yasmim padese nicā devatā vatthūni parigaṇhanti nicānam tattha raññam rājamahāmattānam cittāni namanti nivesanāni māpetum.

Addasā kho Bhagavā dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkantamānusakena tā devatāyo sahasasseva Pāṭaligāme vatthūni parigaṇhantiyo. Atha bho Bhagavā rattiyā paccūsasamayam paccuṭṭhāya āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi. Ko nu kho Ānanda Pāṭaligāme nagaram māpetīti? Sunīdhavassakārā bhante Magadhamahāmattā Pāṭaligāme nagaram māpenti Vajjīnam paṭibhāyāti. Seyyathā pi Ānanda devehi Tāvatiṃsehi saddhim mantetvā evam eva kho Ānanda Sunīdhavassakārā Magadhamahāmattā Pāṭaligāme nagaram māpenti Vajjīnam paṭibhāya: imā 'haṃ Ānanda addasaṃ

⁶ D bahurattim ⁷ Y abbikkh. ⁸ D maññ. D bhante si ¹⁰ D omits padakkhiṇam katvā ¹² D sumñ. ¹³ D -kāro ¹⁴ SYZ māpeti ¹⁵ Y -bahujā, S devatāso ¹⁶ S vatthuni, Y -sakkā, ¹⁷ S vatthuni, SY -sakkānam ¹⁸ S vatthuni ²² S parigaṇhantiñānam ²⁶ S parigaṇh-, S paccusa- ²⁸ Y kho nu, S Sunidha.

dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkantamānusakena sambahulā devatāyo sahasasseva Pāṭaligāme vatthūni pariḅhaṅhantiyo, yasmim padese mahesakkhā devatā vatthūni pariḅhaṅhanti mahesakkhānam tattha raññam rājamahāmattānam cittāni namanti nivesanāni māpetum, yasmim padese majjhimā devatā vatthūni pariḅhaṅhanti majjhimānam tattha raññam rājamahāmattānam cittāni namanti nivesanāni māpetum, yasmim padese nīcā devatā vatthūni pariḅhaṅhanti nīcānam tattha raññam rājamahāmattānam cittāni namanti nivesanāni māpetum: yāvatā Ānanda ariyam āyatanam yāvatā vaṅḅpatho idam agganagaram bhavissati Pāṭaliputtam puṭabhedanam: Pāṭaliputtassa kho Ānanda tayo antarāyā bhavissanti, aggito vā udakato vā mithubhedā vā ti.

Atha kho Sunidhavassakārā Magadhamahāmattā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṅkamimsu, upasaṅkamitvā Bhagavatā saddhim sammodimsu, sammodaniyam katham sārāṅiyam vṭtisāretvā ekamantam atṭhamisu, ekamantam ṭhitā kho Sunidhavassakārā Magadhamahāmattā Bhagavantam etad avocum. Adhivāsetu no bhavam Gotamo ajjatanāya bhattam saddhim bhikkhusaṅghenāti. Adhivāsesi Bhagavā tuṅhi bhāvena. Atha kho Sunidhavassakārā Magadhamahāmattā Bhagavato adhivāsanam viditvā yena sako āvasatho ten' upasaṅkamimsu, upasaṅkamitvā sake āvasathe paṅitam khādaniyam bhojaniam paṅiyādāpetvā Bhagavato kālam ārocāpesum, kālo bho Gotama niṭṭhitam bhattan ti. Atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṅhasamayam nivāsetvā pattacivaram ādāya saddhim bhikkhusaṅghena yena Sunidhavassakārānam Magadhamahāmattānam āvasatho ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā paṅiṅatte āsane nisīdi. Atha kho Sunidhavassakārā Magadhamahāmattā Buddhapamukham bhikkhusaṅgham paṅitena khādaniyena bhojaniyena sahatthā santappesum sampavā-

³ Y -hula devatā, S vatthuni ⁴ S vatthuni pariḅhaṅh- ⁵ S pariḅhaṅh- ⁶ S vatthuni pariḅhaṅhanti ⁷ DSYZ van-, S agganaram, Z agganaram ⁸ DY -bhedo ⁹ S Sunidha- ¹⁰ D sārāṅiyam ¹¹ SZ Sunidha- ¹² S bhikkhū- ¹³ DSY paṅitam, DSZ khādaniyam bhojaniam ¹⁴ SY omīti bho ¹⁵ S -ram mādāya ¹⁶ Y omīti yena, S Sunidha-, Y -kāraṅam ¹⁷ S Sunidha- ¹⁸ DY paṅitena ¹⁹ DZ khādaniyena, S khādaniyena, SZ bhojaniyena.

resum. Atha kho Sunīdhavassakārā Magadhamahāmattā Bhagavantam bhuttāvīm onītapattapāṇīm aññatarān nīcān āsanān gahetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdīmsu, ekamantaṃ nisinne kho Sunīdhavassakāre Magadhamahāmatte Bhagavā imāhi gāthāhi anumodi,

Yasmīm padese kappeti vāsam paṇḍitajātiko
Sīlavant' ettha bhojetvā saññate brahmacārāyo
Yā tattha devatā assu tāsān dakkhiṇam ādise ;
Tā pūjitā pūjayanti mānitā mānayanti nam,
Tato nam anukampanti mātā puttān va orasān :
Devatānukampito poso sadā bhadrāni passatīti.

Atha kho Bhagavā Sunīdhavassakāre Magadhamahāmatte imāhi gāthāhi anumoditvā utṭhāy' āsanā pakkāmi.

Tena kho pana samayena Sunīdhavassakārā Magadhamahāmattā Bhagavantam piṭṭhito piṭṭhito anubaddhā honti, yen' aja Samaṇo Gotamo dvārena nikkhamissati taṃ Gotamadvāraṃ nāma bhavissati, yena titthena Gaṅgam nadiṃ tarissati taṃ Gotamatitthaṃ nāma bhavissatīti. Atha kho Bhagavā yena dvārena nikkhamitaṃ Gotamadvāraṃ nāma ahosi.

Atha kho Bhagavā yena Gaṅgā nadi ten' upasānkami. Tena kho pana samayena Gaṅgā nadi pūrā hoti samatitthikā kākapeyyā, appekacce manussā nāvān pariyesanti appekacce ulumpaṃ pariyesanti appekacce kullaṃ bandhanti aparāparaṃ gantukāmā. Atha kho Bhagavā seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bhāvaṃ pasāreyya pasāritaṃ vā bhāvaṃ sammiñjeyya evamevaṃ Gaṅgāya nadiyā orimatīre antarahito pārīmatīre paccuṭṭhāsi saddhiṃ bhikkhusaṅghena. Addasā kho Bhagavā te manusse appekacce nāvān pariyesante appekacce ulumpaṃ pariyesante appekacce kullaṃ bandhante aparāparaṃ gantukāme. Atha kho Bhagavā etam atthaṃ veditvā tāyaṃ velāyaṃ imaṃ udānaṃ udānesi,

¹ S Sunidha- ² D onitapattapāṇi, Y onīta- ³ DS nisīno ⁴ S Sunidha- ⁵ DY -cāriyo, Z cāriyo corrected to cārāyo ⁶ D assu corrected to āsum ⁷ Y taṃ for nam
⁸ S Sunidha- ⁹ S Sunidha- ¹⁰ Y Samaṇo, dvāreṇa ¹¹ Y Gotamaṃ, SZ Gotamaṃ
corrected to Gotama- ¹² SY dvāreṇa ¹³ D upasānkamī ¹⁴ SZ purā, samatitthikā,
DY samatittiyā ¹⁵ DY ulumpaṃ ¹⁶ SZ aparāparaṃ ¹⁷ D parima-, paccupatṭhāsi
¹⁸ D ul-, Y ulumpaṃ ¹⁹ SZ aparāparaṃ, D -kāmo.

Ye taranti añṇavaṃ saraṃ setuṃ katvāna visajja pallalāni :
Kullaṃ hi jano pabandhati tiṇṇā medhāvino janā ti.

Paṭhamakabhāṇavāraṃ.

Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi. Āyāṃ' Ānanda yena Koṭigāmo ten' upasaṅkamissāmāti. Evaṃ bhānte ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paṇassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhusaṅghena saddhiṃ yena Koṭigāmo tad avasari. Tatra sudāṃ Bhagavā Koṭigāme viharati. Tatra kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi. Catunnaṃ bhikkhave ariyasaccānaṃ ananubodhā appaṭivedhā evaṃ idaṃ dīghaṃ addhānaṃ sandhāvitaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañ c'eva tumhākañ ca, katamesaṃ catunnaṃ? Dukkhasa bhikkhave ariyasaccassa ananubodhā appaṭivedhā evaṃ idaṃ dīghaṃ addhānaṃ sandhāvitaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañ c'eva tumhākañ ca, dukkhasamudayassa bhikkhave ariyasaccassa ananubodhā appaṭivedhā evaṃ idaṃ dīghaṃ addhānaṃ sandhāvitaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañ c'eva tumhākañ ca, dukkhanirodhassa bhikkhave ariyasaccassa ananubodhā appaṭivedhā evaṃ idaṃ dīghaṃ addhānaṃ sandhāvitaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañ c'eva tumhākañ ca, dukkhanirodhagāminiyā paṭipadāya bhikkhave ariyasaccassa ananubodhā appaṭivedhā evaṃ idaṃ dīghaṃ addhānaṃ sandhāvitaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañ c'eva tumhākañ ca. Tayidaṃ bhikkhave dukkhaṃ ariyasaccaṃ anubuddhaṃ paṭividdhaṃ, dukkhasamudayaṃ ariyasaccaṃ anubuddhaṃ paṭividdhaṃ, dukkhanirodhaṃ ariyasaccaṃ anubuddhaṃ paṭividdhaṃ, dukkhanirodhagāmini paṭipadā ariyasaccaṃ anubuddhaṃ paṭividdhaṃ, ucchinnā bhavataṇhā khīṇā bhavanetti n'atthi dāni punabbhavo ti. Idam avoca Bhagavā, idaṃ vatvā Sugato athāparaṃ etad avoca Saṭṭhā,

Catunnaṃ ariyasaccānaṃ yathābhūtaṃ adassanā

Samsitaṃ dīghaṃ addhānaṃ tāsū tās' eva jātisū :

¹ DY annavaṃ, setaṃ ² D tiṇṇa, S tiṇṇaṃ, Y tinna ³ DY evaṃ ⁴ D bhikkhu
⁵ D dukkhadukkha- ⁶ DSYZ substitute . . pe . . for the words from ananubodhā
to ca ⁷ S -gāmiyā, Y -gāmini ⁸ S -gāmini, Y -gāmini padā ⁹ DSY ucchinnā-
¹⁰ S Y khīṇā, D bhavanati ¹¹ S sasitaṃ.

Tāni etāni diṭṭhāni bhavanetti samūhatā,

Ucchinnamūlam dukkhassa n'atthi dāni punabbhavo ti.

Tatra pi sudam Bhagavā Koṭigāme viharanto etad eva bahulam bhikkhūnam dhammim katham katheti, iti silam iti samādhi iti paññā, silaparibhāvito samādhi mahapphalo hoti mahānisamsa, samādhiparibhāvitā paññā mahapphalā hoti mahānisamsā, paññāparibhāvitam cittam sammad eva āsavehi vimuccati seyyathidam kāmāsavā bhavāsavā diṭṭhāsavā aviṭṭhāsavā ti.

Atha kho Bhagavā Koṭigāme yathābhirantaṃ viharitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi. Āyāma' Ānanda yena Nādikā ten' upasankamissāmāti. Evam bhante ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhusaṅghena saddhim yena Nādikā tad avasari. Tatra sudam Bhagavā Nādike viharati Giṇṇakāvasathe. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando yena Bhagavā ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi, ekamantaṃ nisinna kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca. Sāho nāma bhante bhikkhu Nādike kālakato, tassa kā gati ko abhisamparāyo? Nandā nāma bhante bhikkhuni Nādike kālakatā, tassā kā gati ko abhisamparāyo? Sudatto nāma bhante upāsako Nādike kālakato, tassa kā gati ko abhisamparāyo? Sujātā nāma bhante upāsikā Nādike kālakatā, tassā kā gati ko abhisamparāyo? Kakudho nāma bhante upāsako Nādike kālakato, tassa kā gati ko abhisamparāyo? Kāliṅgo nāma bhante upāsako . . pe . . Nikāto nāma bhante upāsako . . Kaṭṭissabho nāma bhante upāsako . . Tutṭho nāma bhante upāsako . . Santutṭho nāma bhante upāsako . . Bhaddo nāma bhante upāsako . . Subhaddo nāma bhante upāsako Nādike kālakato, tassa kā gati ko abhisamparāyo? ti. Sāho Ānanda bhikkhu āsavānaṃ khayā anāsavaṃ cetovimuttiṃ paññāvimuttiṃ diṭṭhe 'va dhamme sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja vihāsi. Nandā Ānanda

¹ D bhavanteti, S bhavanetati ² DY omit ti ⁴ Y bahulam, S bhikkhunaṃ, D kathesi ⁷ D mahānisamsamsā ⁸ DY omit diṭṭhāsavā ¹⁰ DY -bhirantaṃ ¹³ Z omits Ānando ¹⁵ Y Giṇṇhāvasathe ²⁰ DS bhikkhuni ²¹ Z tassa ²⁶ DY read Nikāto nāma bhante upāsako . . pe. ²⁸ S Saddo for Bhaddo ³³ Y Nandānanda.

bhikkhuni pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātikā tatthapariniḍḍāyini anāvattidhammā tasmā lokā. Sudatto Ānanda upāsako tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā rāgadosamohānaṃ tanuttā sakadāgāmi sakid eva imaṃ lokam āgantvā dukkhass' antam karissati. Sujātā Ānanda upāsikā tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā sotāpannā avinipātadhammā niyatā sambodhiparāyaṇā. Kakudho Ānanda upāsako pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātikā tatthapariniḍḍāyini anāvattidhammo tasmā lokā . . Kāliṅgo Ānanda upāsako . . pe . . Nikāṭo Ānanda upāsako . . Kaṭṭissabho Ānanda upāsako . . Tuṭṭho Ānanda upāsako . . Santuṭṭho Ānanda upāsako . . Bhaddo Ānanda upāsako . . Subhaddo Ānanda upāsako pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātikā tatthapariniḍḍāyini anāvattidhammo tasmā lokā. Paropaññāsa Ānanda Nādiḷe upāsakā kālakatā pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātikā tatthapariniḍḍāyini anāvattidhammā tasmā lokā. Sādhikā navuti Ānanda Nādiḷe upāsakā kālakatā tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā rāgadosamohānaṃ tanuttā sakadāgāmino sakid eva imaṃ lokam āgantvā dukkhass' antam karissanti. Sātirekāni Ānanda pañcasatāni Nādiḷe upāsakā kālakatā tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā sotāpannā avinipātadhammā niyatā sambodhiparāyaṇā.

Anacchariyaṃ kho pan' etaṃ Ānanda yaṃ manussabhūto kālaṃ kareyya tasmim̄ tasmim̄ ce kālakate Tathāgataṃ upasankamitvā etaṃ atthaṃ pucchissatha, vihesā c'esā Ānanda Tathāgataṃ : tasmā ti h' Ānanda dhammādāsaṃ nāma dhammapariyāyaṃ desessāmi yena samannāgato ariyasāvako ākaṅkhamāno attanā 'va attānaṃ vyākareyya, khīṇanirayo 'mhi khīṇatiracchānayoṇiyo khīṇapettivisaṃyo khīṇāpāyaduggativinipāto sotāpanno 'ham asmi avinipāta-

¹ D bhikkhuni, S bhikkhūni ² DSYZ wrongly insert . . pe . . after lokā, Y tinnam ⁴ DZ -gāmi ⁵ SYZ tinnam ⁷ D avinī-, Y inserts . . pe . . after -parāyaṇā ⁹ D opapātikā, -bbāyi ¹⁴ D saṃyojanānaṃ ¹⁵ DY -bbāyi ¹⁶ D omits upāsakā ¹⁷ D saññī-, opapātikā ¹⁹ Y tinnam, D saññī-, SY saññī-, Z saññī-. ²¹ Y anāgantvā, D yātirekāni ²² SY tinnam ²³ S -bhuto ²⁶ Y me for ce ²⁷ Y v'esā for c'esā ²⁸ Z -parisāyaṃ, SYZ desissāmi ³⁰ D vā for 'va ³¹ D khīṇā- three times, S khīṇāpāya- in each case.

dhammo niyato sambodhiparāyano ti. Katamo ca so Ānanda dhammādāso dhammapariyāyo yena samannāgato ariyasāvako ākaṅkhamāno attanā 'va attānaṃ vyākareyya khīṇanirayo 'mhi khīṇatiracchānayaniyo khīṇapettivisayo khīṇāpāya-duggativinipāto sotāpanno 'ham asmi avinipātadhammo niyato sambodhiparāyano ti? Idh' Ānanda ariyasāvako Buddhe aveccappasādena samannāgato hoti, iti pi so Bhagavā araham sammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathi satthā devamanussānaṃ Buddho Bhagavā ti; dhamme aveccappasādena samannāgato hoti, svākkhāto Bhagavatā dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akāliko ehipassiko opanayiko paccattaṃ veditabbo viññūhīti; saṅghe aveccappasādena samannāgato hoti, supatīpanno Bhagavato sāvakasaṅgho ujupatīpanno Bhagavato sāvakasaṅgho ñāyapātīpanno Bhagavato sāvakasaṅgho sāmīcipātīpanno Bhagavato sāvakasaṅgho yadidaṃ cattāri purisayugāni atṭhapurisa-puggalā esa Bhagavato sāvakasaṅgho āhuneyyo pāhuneyyo dakkhiṇeyyo añjalikaraṇīyo anuttaraṃ puññakkhettaṃ lokassāti: ariyakantehi sīlehi samannāgato hoti akhaṇḍehi acchiddehi asabalehi akammāsehi bhujissehi viññuppasatthehi aparāmatṭhehi samādhisamvattanikehi, ayaṃ kho so Ānanda dhammādāso dhammapariyāyo yena samannāgato ariyasāvako ākaṅkhamāno attanā 'va attānaṃ vyākareyya khīṇanirayo 'mhi khīṇatiracchānayaniyo khīṇapettivisayo khīṇāpāya-duggativinipāto sotāpanno 'ham asmi avinipātadhammo niyato sambodhiparāyano ti.

Tatra sudam Bhagavā Nādike viharanto Giṇṇjakāvasathe etad eva bahulaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ dhammiṃ kathaṃ karoti, iti sīlaṃ iti samādhiṃ iti paññā, sīlaparibhāvito samādhi mahap-phalo hoti mahānisamsa, samādhiparibhāvitā paññā mahap-phalā hoti mahānisamsā, paññāparibhāvitaṃ cittaṃ sammad eva āsavehi vimuccati seyyathīdaṃ kāmāsavā bhavāsavā diṭṭhāsavā avijjāsavā ti.

Atha kho Bhagavā Nādike yathābhirantaṃ viharitvā āyas-

² D dhammāpariyāyo ³ D vā for 'va, D khīṇā- ⁴ D khīṇā- three times, S khīṇapāya- ⁵ D -vidu ¹⁷ Z āhuṇ-, DYZ pāhun- ¹⁸ D dakkhin-, Y -karaṇīyyo ²³ DS vā for 'va, khīṇā- ²⁴ D khīṇā in each case, S khīṇapāyāsadugg- ²⁶ Y ni for ti ²⁷ Y Giṇṇhak- ²⁸ Y bahulaṃ ²⁹ DSYZ substitute pe for sīlaparibhāvito — vimuccati ³³ DY omī diṭṭhāsavā ³⁴ DY -bhirattaṃ.

mantam Ānandam āmantesi. Āyam' Ānanda yena Vesālī ten' upasāṅkamissāmāti. Evam bhante ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhusaṅghena saddhiṃ yena Vesālī tad avasari. Tatra sudam Bhagavā Vesāliyam viharati Ambapālivane. Tatra kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi. Sato bhikkhave bhikkhu vihareyya sampajāno, ayam vo amhākaṃ anusāsani. Kathaṃ ca bhikkhave bhikkhu sato hoti? Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyānupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjhādomanassaṃ, vedanāsu vedanānupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjhādomanassaṃ, citte cittānupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjhādomanassaṃ, dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjhādomanassaṃ, evaṃ kho bhikkhave bhikkhu sato hoti. Kathaṃ ca bhikkhave bhikkhu sampajāno hoti? Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu abhikkante paṭikkante sampajānakārī hoti, ālokite vilokite sampajānakārī hoti, sammiñjite pasārite sampajānakārī hoti, saṅghātipattacivaradhāraṇe sampajānakārī hoti, asite pīte khāyite sāyite sampajānakārī hoti, uccārapassāvakamme sampajānakārī hoti, gate t̄hite nisinne sutte jāgarite bhāsīte tuṇhībhāve sampajānakārī hoti, evaṃ kho bhikkhave bhikkhu sampajāno hoti. Sato bhikkhave bhikkhu vihareyya sampajāno, ayam vo amhākaṃ anusāsani ti.

Assosi kho Ambapāliganikā Bhagavā kira Vesāliyam anupatto Vesāliyam viharati mayham ambavane ti. Atha kho Ambapāliganikā bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni yojāpetvā bhaddam yānam abhirūhitvā bhaddehi bhaddehi yānehi Vesāliyā niyyāsi, yena sako ārāmo tena pāyāsi, yāvatikā yānassa bhūmi yānena gantvā yānā paccorohitvā pattikā 'va yena Bhagavā ten' upasāṅkami, upasāṅkamitvā Bhagavantam

¹ DSYZ Vesālī ² DSYZ evam ³ DSYZ Vesālī ⁴ D bhikkhu, yato kho bhikkhave, Y bhikkhū ⁵ DY kho for vo, D anusāsani ⁶ SZ bhikkhū ⁷ D -passi, DY ātāpī ⁸ DSYZ vedanāsu citte . . pe . . dhammesu: *I have supplied the text from Mahāsatiṭṭhāna Sutta* ⁹ DSYZ ātāpī ¹⁰ Z bhikkhū, Y katham ¹¹ Z bhikkhū, Y ida ¹² D alokīte ¹³ S -kāri ¹⁴ D tuṇhi-, Z bhikkhū ¹⁵ Z bhikkhū ¹⁶ DY kho for vo ¹⁷ Y Ambapāli- ¹⁸ Y Ambapāli-, S -ganikā ¹⁹ DZ abhirahitvā ²⁰ DY niyyāsi, Y kho for sako ²¹ D yānāni for yānā, Y pattiyā.

abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho Ambapālīṃ gaṇikaṃ Bhagavā dhammiyā kathāya sandassesi samādapesi samuttejesi sampahaṃsesi. Atha kho Ambapālīgaṇikā Bhagavatā dhammiyā kathāya sandassitā samādapitā samuttejītā sampahaṃsitā Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca. Adhivāsetu me bhante Bhagavā svātanāya bhattaṃ saddhim bhikkhusaṅghenāti. Adhivāsesi Bhagavā tuṇhībhāvena. Atha kho Ambapālīgaṇikā Bhagavato adhivāsaṇaṃ viditvā utthāy' āsanaṃ Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pakāmi.

Assosum kho Vesālikā Licchavī Bhagavā kira Vesāliyaṃ anupatto Vesāliyaṃ viharatī Ambapālivaṇe ti. Atha kho te Licchavī bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni yojāpetvā bhaddaṃ yānaṃ abhirūhitvā bhaddehi bhaddehi yānehi Vesāliyaṃ nīyimsu, Tatr' ekacce Licchavī nilā honti nilavaṇṇā nilavatthā nilālankārā, ekacce Licchavī pītā honti pītavaṇṇā pītavatthā pītālankārā, ekacce Licchavī lohitaṃ honti lohitaṇṇā lohitaṇṇā lohitalankārā ekacce Licchavī odātā honti odātavaṇṇā odātavatthā odātālankārā. Atha kho Ambapālīgaṇikā daharānaṃ daharānaṃ Licchaviṇaṃ akkhena akkhaṃ cakkena cakkam yugena yugaṃ paṭivaṭṭesi. Atha kho Licchavī Ambapālīṃ gaṇikaṃ etad avocum. Kiṃ je Ambapāli daharānaṃ daharānaṃ Licchaviṇaṃ akkhena akkhaṃ cakkena cakkam yugena yugaṃ paṭivaṭṭesīti? Tathā hi pana me ayyaputtā Bhagavā nimantito svātanāya bhattaṃ saddhim bhikkhusaṅghenāti. Dehi je Ambapāli etaṃ bhattaṃ satasahassenāti. Sace hi pi me ayyaputtā Vesāliṃ sāhāraṃ dassatha evaṃmahantaṃ bhattaṃ na dassāmīti. Atha kho te Licchavī aṅgulī poṭhesum, jit' amhā vata bho ambakāya, vañcit' amhā vata bho ambakāyāti. Atha kho te Licchavī

¹ D nisinnā ² Y -līṃ ganikaṃ ³ Ambapāli- ⁴ SY -ganikā ⁵ Y Ambapāli-, SY -ganikā ⁶ DSY Licchavi ⁷ Y Ambapāli- ⁸ DSY Licchavi ⁹ SD abhiruhitvā ¹⁰ Y niyamsu, DSY Licchavi, Y honti, Z -vaṇṇāni ¹¹ SY Licchavi ¹² DY Licchavi, D lohitaṇṇā ¹³ DY lohitaṇṇā, YZ Licchavi ¹⁴ Y Ambapāli- ¹⁵ S -ganikā, S daharānaṃ twice ¹⁶ DZ Licchavi, Y Ambapāliṃ, D ganikaṃ, Y kiṃ for kiṃ, Y Ambapāli ¹⁷ S daharānaṃ twice, Z Licchaviṇaṃ ¹⁸ S ayyā- ¹⁹ Y Ambapāli, D etaṃ ²⁰ D sahasseṇāti, Z same for sace, S omīti pi (it is written and then erased), D omīti me, roḍḍā sāgaraṃ ²¹ DS Licchavi, DSZ aṅgulī, Y poṭhesum ²² DYZ Licchavi.

yena Ambapālivanaṃ tena pāyimsu. Addasā kho Bhagavā te Licchavī dūrato 'va āgacchante, disvā bhikkhū āmantesi. Yesaṃ bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ devā Tāvatisā aditthā oloketha bhikkhave Licchaviparisāṃ avaloketha bhikkhave Licchaviparisāṃ upasamharatha bhikkhave Licchaviparisāṃ Tāvatisaparisaṇaṃ ti. Atha kho te Licchavī yāvatikā yānassa bhūmi yānena gantvā yānā paccorohitvā pattikā 'va yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṅkamimsu, upasaṅkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdimsu, ekamantaṃ nisinne kho te Licchavī Bhagavā dhammiyā kathāya sandassesī samādapesi samuttejesī sampahaṃsesī. Atha kho te Licchavī Bhagavatā dhammiyā kathāya sandassitā samādapitā samuttejitā sampahaṃsitā Bhagavantaṃ etad avocum. Adhivāsetu no bhante Bhagavā svātanāya bhattaṃ saddhim bhikkhusaṅghenāti. Adhivutthaṃ kho me Licchavī svātanāya Ambapāligāṇikāya bhattaṃ ti. Atha kho te Licchavī aṅgulī poṭhesum jit' amhā vata bho ambakāya, vañcit' amhā vata bho ambakāya ti. Atha kho te Licchavī Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā utthāy' āsanā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā padak-khiṇaṃ katvā pakkamimsu.

Atha kho Ambapāligāṇikā tassā rattiyā accayena sake ārame paṇītaṃ khādaniyaṃ bhojanīyaṃ paṭiyādāpetvā Bhagavato kālaṃ ārocāpesī, kālo bhante niṭṭhitaṃ bhattaṃ ti. Atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṅhasaṃmayāṃ nivāsetvā pattacīvaraṃ ādāya saddhim bhikkhusaṅghena yena Ambapāligāṇikāya parivesanā ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi. Atha kho Ambapāligāṇikā Buddhapamukhaṃ bhikkhusaṅghaṃ paṇītena khādaniyena bhojanīyena sahatthā santappesi sampavāresi. Atha kho Ambapāligāṇikā Bhagavantaṃ bhuttāvim oṇītapattapaṇiṃ aññatarāṃ nīcaṃ āsanaṃ gahetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi, ekamantaṃ nisinnā kho Ambapāli-

¹ Y Ambapāli-, Y pāyamsu ² DYZ Licchavi, Y durato, D bhikkhu ³ S bhikkhunaṃ ⁴ DYZ Licchavi ⁵ Y -mimsu ⁶ DY nisinnā ⁷ DY Licchavi, S Licchavi ⁸ DSYZ Licchavi ⁹ D omīte Bhagavā ¹⁰ S adhivuttaṃ, DSYZ Licchavi, Y Ambapāligāṇikāya ¹¹ Y bhattaṃ ti, DSYZ Licchavi, DSZ aṅgulī, Y aṅgulim poṭhesum ¹² DSYZ Licchavi ¹³ S omīte anumoditvā ¹⁴ Y -ganikā ¹⁵ DY paṇītaṃ, DSZ khādaniyaṃ, SZ bhojanīyaṃ ¹⁶ Y -pāli- ¹⁷ Y omīte upasaṅkami ¹⁸ Y -ganikā ¹⁹ SZ khādaniyena bhojanīyena ²⁰ Y -pāli- ²¹ D bhuttāvi, DY oṇīta-, -paṇiṃ ²² DYZ nisinna, Y -pāli.

gaṇikā Bhagavantam etad avoca. Imāham bhante āramam Buddhapamukhassa bhikkhusaṅghassa dammiti. Patiggahesi Bhagavā āramam. Atha kho Bhagavā Ambapāliṅgaṇikam dhammiyā kathāya sandassetvā samādapetvā samuttejetvā sampahamsetvā utthāy' āsanā pakkāmi.

Tatra pi sudam Bhagavā Vesāliyam viharanto Ambapālivane etad eva bahulam bhikkhūnam dhammim katham karoti, iti sīlam iti samādhi iti paññā, sīlaparibhāvito samādhi mahapphalo hoti mahānisamsa, samādhiparibhāvitā paññā mahapphalā hoti mahānisamsā, paññāparibhāvitam cittam sammad eva āsavehi vimuccati seyyathidaṃ kāmāsavā bhavāsavā ditthāsavā avijjāsavā ti.

Atha kho Bhagavā Ambapālivane yathābhirantaṃ viharitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi. Āyāma' Ānanda yena Beluvagāmakō ten' upasankamissāmiti. Evam bhante ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhusaṅghena saddhim yena Beluvagāmakō tad avasari. Tatra sudam Bhagavā Beluvagāmake viharati. Tatra kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi. Etha tumhe bhikkhave samantā Vesālim yathāmittam yathāsandittham yathāsambhattam vassam upetha, aham pana idh' eva Beluvagāmake vassam upagacchāmiti. Evam bhante ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paṭissutvā samantā Vesālim yathāmittam yathāsandittham yathāsambhattam vassam upagacchum, Bhagavā pana tath' eva Beluvagāmake vassam upagacchi. Atha kho Bhagavato vassūpagatassa kharo ābādho uppajji, bālāhā vedanā vattanti māraṇantikā. Tā sudam Bhagavā sato sampajāno adhvāseti avihaññamāno. Atha kho Bhagavato etad aho. Na kho me taṃ patirūpaṃ yo' ham anāmantetvā upaṭṭhāke anapaloketvā bhikkhusaṅgham parinibbāyeyyam, yaṃ nūnāham imam ābādham viri-

³ Y -pāji- ⁵ D pakkamimsu ⁶ Y -pāji- ⁷ Y bahulam, S bhikkhunaṃ ⁸ D paññā ⁹ DS paññā ¹⁰ D paññā- ¹² DY omī ditthāsavā ¹³ Y -pāji-, DY yathābhirattam ¹⁵ D Belugāmakō, Y Belūva-, Z Bel- ¹⁷ S Bel-, Y Belūva- ¹⁸ S Bel-, Y Belūva- ¹⁹ D bhikkhu, S bhikkhum ²⁰ D khittam for mittam ²² SZ Bel-, Y Belūva- ²³ DS bhikkhu ²⁴ D khittam for mittam, DYZ upagacchum, S upagajjum ²⁵ SZ Bel-, Y Belūva- ²⁶ YZ upagacchi, S upagajji, D upagacchim ²⁷ D pabāha-, SYZ pabāhā ²⁸ D avihaññ- ³⁰ Y anāmantetvā.

yena paṭippanāmetvā jīvitasankhāraṃ adhiṭṭhāya vihareyyanti. Atha kho Bhagavā taṃ ābādhaṃ viriyena paṭippanāmetvā jīvitasankhāraṃ adhiṭṭhāya vihāsi. Atha kho Bhagavato so ābādho paṭipassambhi. Atha kho Bhagavā gilānā vuttḥito aciravuttḥito gelaññā vihārā nikkhamma vihārapacchāyāyaṃ paññatte āsane nisīdi. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando yena Bhagavā ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi, ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca. Dīṭṭhaṃ me bhante Bhagavato phāsu dīṭṭhaṃ me bhante Bhagavato khamāṇīyaṃ, api hi me bhante madhurakajāto viya kāyo disā pi me na pakkhāyanti dhammā pi naṃ na paṭibhanti Bhagavato gelaññena, api ca me bhante aho si kācid eva assāsamattā, na tāva Bhagavā parinibbāyissati na yāva Bhagavā bhikkhusaṅghaṃ ārabba kiñcid eva udāharatīti. Kim pan' Ānanda bhikkhusaṅgho mayi paccāsimsati? desito Ānanda mayā dhammo anantaraṃ abāhiraṃ karitvā, na tatth' Ānanda Tathāgatassa dhammesu ācariya-muṭṭhi. Yassa nūna Ānanda evam assa ahaṃ bhikkhusaṅghaṃ pariharissāmiti vā mam' uddesiko bhikkhusaṅgho ti vā so nūna Ānanda bhikkhusaṅghaṃ ārabba kiñcid eva udāhareyya: Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda na evaṃ hoti ahaṃ bhikkhusaṅghaṃ pariharissāmiti vā mam' uddesiko bhikkhusaṅgho ti vā, kim Ānanda Tathāgato bhikkhusaṅghaṃ ārabba kiñcid eva udāharissati? Ahaṃ kho pan' Ānanda etarahi jinno vuddho mahallako addhagato vayo anuppatto asītiko me vayo vattati, seyyathā pi Ānanda jarasakataṃ veghamissakena yāpeti evam eva kho Ānanda veghamissakena maññe Tathāgatassa kāyo yāpeti. Yasmiṃ Ānanda samaye Tathāgato sabbanimittānaṃ amanasikārā ekaccānaṃ vedanānaṃ nirodhā animittānaṃ cetosamādhim upasampajja viharati phāsukato Ānanda tasmiṃ samaye Tathāgatassa kāyo hoti.

¹ Y paṭippan- ² Y paṭippan- ³ D vihārā- ⁴ Y -pacchāyāsaṃ, S -pacchāyāya
¹⁰ DY dīṭṭhā and omīti me, D dīṭṭhā ¹¹ D khamāṇīyaṃ, DY omīti me, DY
 madhurakajāto, S madurakajāto ¹³ D paṭibhanati, SZ paṭibhanti ¹⁴ D ca for
 tāva ¹⁵ Y inserts ca after bhikkhusaṅgho ¹⁶ Ānananda, Y ācariya- ²¹ SZ nuna
²² DY taṃ for na ²⁴ SZ sakim for kim ²⁵ D ji etarahi, Y jinno, S jinne ²⁶ D yāti
 for yāpeti ²⁹ S mañña, samayena ³⁰ S amasikārā ³² D phāsukate.

Tasmā ti h' Ānanda attadīpā viharatha attasaraṇā anaññasaraṇā dhammadīpā dhammasaraṇā anaññasaraṇā. Kathaṅ ca Ānanda bhikkhu attadīpo viharati attasaraṇo anaññasaraṇo dhammadīpo dhammasaraṇo anaññasaraṇo? Idh' Ānanda bhikkhu kāye kāyānupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjhādomanassam, vedanāsu vedanānupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjhādomanassam, citte cittānupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjhādomanassam, dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjhādomanassam, evaṃ kho Ānanda bhikkhu attadīpo viharati attasaraṇo anaññasaraṇo dhammadīpo dhammasaraṇo anaññasaraṇo. Ye hi keci Ānanda etarahi vā mamaṃ vā accayena attadīpā viharissanti attasaraṇā anaññasaraṇā dhammadīpā dhammasaraṇā anaññasaraṇā tamatagge me te Ānanda bhikkhū bhavissanti ye keci sikkhākāmā ti

Dutiyakabhāṇavāraṃ niṭṭhitam.

Atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṅhasamayam nivāsetvā pattaṭṭhā varam ādāya Vesālīm piṇḍāya pāvīsi: Vesāliyam piṇḍāya caritvā paññatte āsane nisīdi: pacchābhataṃ piṇḍapāta-paṭikkanto āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi. Ganhāhi Ānanda nisīdanaṃ, yena Cāpālaṃ cetiyam ten' upasaṅkamissāma divāvihārāyāti. Evaṃ bhante ti kho Āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paṭissutvā nisīdanaṃ ādāya Bhagavantaṃ piṭṭhito piṭṭhito anubandhi.

Atha kho Bhagavā yena Cāpālaṃ cetiyam ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi. Āyasmā pi kho Ānando Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi, ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ Bhagavā etad avoca. Ramaṇiṃyā Ānanda Vesālī ramaṇiṃyam Udenam ceti-

¹ D anañña- ² D anañña- ³ Z bhikkhū, S -saraṇe ⁴ D anañña-, Y -saraṇe ⁵ Z bhikkhū, DSYZ ātāpī ⁶ DSYZ have vedanāsu citte . . pe . . dhammesu and so on ¹⁰ S -passi, DSYZ ātāpī ¹¹ Z bhikkhu ¹² D anañña- (twice) ¹³ D omits hi ¹⁴ D anañña- ¹⁵ D anañña- ¹⁶ DY bhikkhu ¹⁷ Z Vesāliyam, Y Vesālīm ¹⁸ DY upasaṅkamissāmi ¹⁹ DY evaṃ ²⁰ D sane for āsane ²¹ D ramaṇiṃyam, Y Vesālī, ramaṇ- in each instance except the first.

yaṁ ramaṇīyaṁ Gotamakāṁ cetiyaṁ ramaṇīyaṁ Sattambakāṁ cetiyaṁ ramaṇīyaṁ Bahuputtāṁ cetiyaṁ ramaṇīyaṁ Sārandaḍaṁ cetiyaṁ ramaṇīyaṁ Cāpālaṁ cetiyaṁ : yassa kassaci Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvītā bahulikatā yānikatā vatthukatā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāraddhā so ākaṅkhamāno kappāṁ vā tiṭṭheyya kappāvasesaṁ vā : Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvītā bahulikatā yānikatā vatthukatā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāraddhā, so ākaṅkhamāno Ānanda Tathāgato kappāṁ vā tiṭṭheyya kappāvasesaṁ vā ti. Evam pi kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavatā olārike nimitte kayiramāne olārike obhāse kayiramāne nāsakkhi paṭivijjhitum na Bhagavantaṁ yāci, tiṭṭhatu bhante Bhagavā kappāṁ tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappāṁ bahujanahitāya bahujanasukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṁ ti : yathā taṁ Mārena pariyuṭṭhitacitto. Dutiyam pi kho Bhagavā . . pe . . Tatiyam pi kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṁ Ānandaṁ āmantesi. Ramaṇīyā Ānanda Vesālī ramaṇīyaṁ Udenāṁ cetiyaṁ ramaṇīyaṁ Gotamakāṁ cetiyaṁ ramaṇīyaṁ Sattambakāṁ cetiyaṁ ramaṇīyaṁ Bahuputtāṁ cetiyaṁ ramaṇīyaṁ Sārandaḍaṁ cetiyaṁ ramaṇīyaṁ Cāpālaṁ cetiyaṁ : yassa kassaci Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvītā bahulikatā yānikatā vatthukatā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāraddhā so ākaṅkhamāno kappāṁ vā tiṭṭheyya kappāvasesaṁ vā : Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvītā bahulikatā yānikatā vatthukatā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāraddhā so ākaṅkhamāno Ānanda Tathāgato kappāṁ vā tiṭṭheyya kappāvasesaṁ vā ti. Evam pi kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavatā olārike nimitte kayiramāne olārike obhāse kayiramāne nāsakkhi paṭivijjhitum na Bhagavantaṁ yāci, tiṭṭhatu bhante Bhagavā kappāṁ tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappāṁ bahujanahitāya bahujanasukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṁ ti : yathā

¹ D Gotamaṁ, Z has ramaṇīyaṁ G. cetiyaṁ twice, S ramaṇīyaṁ ⁴ Y bahuḷi-, S yāni- ⁵ Y ānkh- ⁷ Y bahuḷi- ¹⁰ D ol- ¹¹ D ol- ¹⁵ Y Mārena ¹⁶ DY omī pe ¹⁸ SZ ramaṇīyaṁ, Vesālī, D ramaṇīyaṁ, Vesālīṁ, Y ramaṇīya, Vesālī, Z ramaṇīyaṁ U-, Y has -niy- in each case ¹⁹ SYZ Gotamaṁ, Y Sattambac- ²⁰ D ramaṇīyaṁ B. ²² Y bahuḷi- ²⁴ Z -āvasesa ²⁵ Y bahuḷi- ²⁶ SZ omī so ²⁹ D omīts olārike ³⁰ D bhante bhante ³¹ S omīts bahujanahitāya ³² S omīts atthāya.



taṃ Mārena pariyutthacitto. Atha kho Bhagavā āyasma-
ntaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi. Gaccha tvaṃ Ānanda, yassa dāni
kālaṃ maññasīti. Evam bhante ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bha-
gavato paṭissutvā utthāy' āsanaṃ Bhagavantam abhivādetvā
padaakkhiṇaṃ katvā avidūre aññatarasmiṃ rukkhamūle nisīdi.

Atha kho Māro pāpimā acirapaṅkante āyasmante Ānande
yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṅkama, upasaṅkamtivā ekamantaṃ
atthāsi, ekamantaṃ tthito kho Māro pāpimā Bhagavantam
etaḍ avoca. Parinibbātu dāni bhante Bhagavā parinibbātu
Sugato, parinibbānakālo dāni bhante Bhagavato, bhāsitaṃ kho
pan' esā bhante Bhagavatā vācā. Na tāvāhaṃ pāpima pari-
nibbāyissāmi yāva me bhikkhū na sāvakā bhavissanti viyattā
vinītā visāradā bahussutā dhammadharā dhammānudhamma-
paṭipannā sāmīcipaṭipannā anudhammacāriṇo sakaṃ ācariya-
kaṃ uggahetvā ācikkhissanti desessanti paññāpessanti paṭṭha-
pessanti vivarissanti vibhajissanti uttānikarissanti uppannaṃ
parappavādaṃ saha dhammena suniggahitaṃ niggahetvā sap-
pāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desessantīti. Etarahi kho pana bhante
bhikkhū Bhagavato sāvakā viyattā vinītā visāradā bahussutā
dhammadharā dhammānudhammapaṭipannā sāmīcipaṭipannā
anudhammacāriṇo sakaṃ ācariyakaṃ uggahetvā ācikkhanti
desenti paññāpenti paṭṭhapenti vivaranti vibhajanti uttāni-
karonti uppannaṃ parappavādaṃ saha dhammena suni-
ggahitaṃ niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desenti,
parinibbātu dāni bhante Bhagavā parinibbātu Sugato,
parinibbānakālo dāni bhante Bhagavato, bhāsitaṃ kho pan'
esā bhante Bhagavatā vācā. Na tāvāhaṃ pāpima parinibbā-
yissāmi yāva me bhikkhuniyo na sāvikā bhavissanti viyattā
vinītā . . pe . . yāva me upasakā na sāvakā bhavissanti
viyattā vinītā visāradā bahussutā dhammadharā dhammā-
nudhammapaṭipannā sāmīcipaṭipannā anudhammacāriṇo sa-
kaṃ ācariyakaṃ uggahetvā ācikkhissanti desessanti paññā-
pessanti paṭṭhapessanti vivarissanti vibhajissanti uttānikaris-
santi uppannaṃ parappavādaṃ saha dhammena suniggahitaṃ

¹ Y Māreṇa, D -taṃcitto ² D aññatarasmiṃ ³ S Māre ⁴ Y pāpīca- ⁵ D ce for
me, DS bhikkhu ⁶ Y bahussutā ⁷ D sāmīci-, S omīto ācariyakaṃ ⁸ D paññ- ⁹ SZ
-gahitaṃ ¹⁰ D bhikkhu, Y vinītā ¹¹ Y -cāriṇo, āriyakaṃ, S ācikkhanti ¹² D
desessanti, paññā-, S uttāni ¹³ S pannaṃ for pan' esā ¹⁴ Z esā ha bhante, Y pāpīma.

niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desessantīti. Etarahi kho pana bhante upāsakā Bhāgavato sāvakā viyattā vinitā visāradā bahussutā dhammadharā dhammānudhammapaṭi-pannā sāmīcipaṭiṭṭhānā anudhammacāriṇo sakāṃ ācariyakāṃ uggahetvā ācikkhanti desenti paññāpenti paṭṭhapenti viva-ranti vibhajanti uttānikaronti uppannaṃ parappavādaṃ saha dhammena suniggahitaṃ niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desenti, parinibbātu dāni bhante Bhagavā parinibbātu Sugato, parinibbānakālo dāni bhante Bhagavato, bhāsitaṃ kho pan' esā bhante Bhagavatā vācā. Na tāvāhaṃ pāpima parinibbāyissāmi yāva me upāsikā na sāvikā bhavissanti viyattā vinitā visāradā bahussutā dhammadharā dhammā-nudhammapaṭiṭṭhānā sāmīcipaṭiṭṭhānā anudhammacāriṇiyo sakāṃ ācariyakāṃ uggahetvā ācikkhissanti desessanti paññā-pessanti paṭṭhapessanti vivarissanti vibhajissanti uttānikarissanti uppannaṃ parappavādaṃ saha dhammena suniggahitaṃ niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desessantīti. Etarahi kho pana bhante upāsikā Bhagavato sāvikā viyattā vinitā visāradā bahussutā dhammadharā dhammānudhammapaṭiṭṭhānā sāmī-cipaṭiṭṭhānā anudhammacāriṇiyo sakāṃ ācariyakāṃ uggahetvā ācikkhanti desenti paññāpenti paṭṭhapenti vivaranti vibha-janti uttānikaronti uppannaṃ parappavādaṃ saha dhammena suniggahitaṃ niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desenti, parinibbātu dāni bhante Bhagavā parinibbātu Sugato, pari-nibbānakālo dāni bhante Bhagavato, bhāsitaṃ kho pan' esā bhante Bhagavatā vācā. Na tāvāhaṃ pāpima parinibbāyis-sāmi yāva me imaṃ brahmacariyaṃ na iddhañ c'eva bhavis-sati phitañ ca vitthārikaṃ bāhujaññaṃ puthubhūtaṃ, yāvad eva manussehi suppakāsitaṃ ti. Etarahi kho pana bhante Bhagavato brahmacariyaṃ iddhañ c'eva phitañ ca vitthāri-kaṃ bāhujaññaṃ puthubhūtaṃ yāvad eva manussehi suppa-kāsitaṃ, parinibbātu dāni bhante Bhagavā parinibbātu Sugato, parinibbānakālo dāni bhante Bhagavato ti. Evaṃ vutte Bhagavā Māraṃ pāpimantaṃ etad avoca. Apposukko

¹ D sappāṭi-, D desessanti ² S vinitā ⁴ Y -cāriṇo ⁵ S vivaranati ⁸ D desessanti
⁹ Y sūgato ¹¹ D sāvakā ¹⁴ S ācikkhanti, D paññā- ¹⁸ S vinitā ²⁰ S -cāriṇiyo ²⁷ DSZ
iddhaṃ ²⁸ D pītaṃ, bāhujaññaṃ ²⁹ SZ -kāsitāṃ ³⁰ DY Bhagavati, SZ -cariya,
DSYZ iddhaṃ, D pītaṃ ³¹ D -jaññaṃ, S -bhutaṃ ³² D omīti dāni.

tvaṃ pāpima hohi, naciraṃ Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati, ito tinnāṃ māśānaṃ accayena Tathāgato parinibbāyissatīti.

Atha kho Bhagavā Cāpāle cetiye sato sampajāno āyusaṅkhāraṃ ossaji, ossatthe ca Bhagavato āyusaṅkhāre mahābhūmicālo ahosi bhimsanako lomahaṃsano devadundubhiyo ca phalimsu. Atha kho Bhagavā etam atthaṃ viditvā tāyaṃ velāyaṃ imaṃ udānaṃ udānesi,

Tulam atulaṅ ca sambhavaṃ bhavaṅkhāraṃ avassajī muni,
Ajjhattarato samāhito abhida kavacam iv' attasambhavan ti.

Atha kho āyasmato Ānandassa etad ahosi. Acchariyaṃ vata bho abbhutaṃ vata bho mahā vatāyaṃ bhūmicālo sumahā vatāyaṃ bhūmicālo bhimsanako salomaṃso devadundubhiyo ca phalimsu, ko nu kho hetu ko paccayo mahato bhūmicālassa pātubhavāyāti? Atha kho āyasmā Ānando yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi, ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca. Acchariyaṃ bhante abbhutaṃ bhante mahā vatāyaṃ bhante bhūmicālo sumahā vatāyaṃ bhante bhūmicālo bhimsanako salomaṃso devadundubhiyo ca phalimsu, ko nu kho bhante hetu ko paccayo mahato bhūmicālassa pātubhavāyāti? Attha kho ime Ānanda hetū attha paccayā mahato bhūmicālassa pātubhavāya, katame attha? Ayaṃ Ānanda mahāpaṭhavi uduke patitṭhitā udakaṃ vāte patitṭhitaṃ vāto ākāsaṭṭho hoti, so kho Ānanda samayo yaṃ mahāvātā vāyanti mahāvātā vāyantā udakaṃ kampaṇti udakaṃ kampitaṃ paṭhaviṃ kampaṇti, ayaṃ paṭhamo hetu paṭhamo paccayo mahato bhūmicālassa pātubhavāya. Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda samaṇo vā hoti brāhmaṇo vā iddhiṃ cetovasippatto devatā vā mahiddhikā mahānubhāvā yassa parittā paṭhaviṃ bhāvītā

² Y tinnāṃ ³ D ossattho, S -bhumi. ⁴ Y bhimsanaka ⁵ Y -saṅkhāraṃ ossajī muni (corrected from ossaji), D -saṅkhāra ossaji, DSY avassajī muni ¹⁰ ZS abhidadi, D abhida kacammicatta-, Y sambhavan ¹³ Y sumahatā vatā vatāyaṃ ¹⁵ the four Sinhalese MSS. read pātubhavāya devadundubhiṇaṃ ca phālitaṃ ti: the addition is an evident gloss, and is not in the Burmese MS. ²² DS ko for kho ²³ DSYZ hetu ²⁴ D paṭhavi for mahāpaṭhavi ²⁶ Y santi for vāyanti, Z mahāvātā ²⁷ after kampaṇti Y inserts paṭhaviṃ and SZ paṭhaviyaṃ ²⁹ S samano ³⁰ D omits vā after brāhmaṇo ³¹ SYZ paṭhavi-, DSZ -samā.

hoti appamaṇā, āposaññā so imaṃ paṭhavim kampeti saṅkam-
 peti sampakampeti sampavedheti, ayaṃ dutiyo hetu dutiyo
 paccayo mahato bhūmicālassa pātubhāvāya. Puna ca paraṃ
 Ānanda yadā bodhisatto Tusitā kāyā cavitvā sato sampajāno
 mātukucchim okkamati tadā 'yaṃ paṭhavī kampati saṅkam-
 pati sampakampati sampavedhati, ayaṃ tatiyo hetu tatiyo
 paccayo mahato bhūmicālassa pātubhāvāya. Puna ca paraṃ
 Ānanda yadā bodhisatto sato sampajāno mātukucchismā
 nikkhamati tadā 'yaṃ paṭhavī kampati saṅkampati sam-
 pakampati sampavedhati, ayaṃ catuttho hetu catuttho pac-
 cayo mahato bhūmicālassa pātubhāvāya. Puna ca paraṃ
 Ānanda yadā Tathāgato anuttaraṃ sammāsambodhim abhi-
 sambujjhati tadā 'yaṃ paṭhavī kampati saṅkampati sampak-
 ampati sampavedhati, ayaṃ pañcama hetu pañcama paccayo
 mahato bhūmicālassa pātubhāvāya. Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda
 yadā Tathāgato anuttaraṃ dhammacakkaṃ pavatteti tadā
 'yaṃ paṭhavī kampati saṅkampati sampakampati sampave-
 dhati, ayaṃ chaṭṭho hetu chaṭṭho paccayo mahato bhūmicā-
 lassa pātubhāvāya. Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda yadā Tathāgato
 sato sampajāno āyusāṅkhāraṃ ossajjati tadā 'yaṃ paṭhavī
 kampati saṅkampati sampakampati sampavedhati, ayaṃ
 sattamo hetu sattamo paccayo mahato bhūmicālassa pātubhā-
 vāya. Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda yadā Tathāgato anupādisesāya
 nibbānadhātuyā parinibbāyati tadā 'yaṃ paṭhavī kampati
 saṅkampati sampakampati sampavedhati, ayaṃ aṭṭhama hetu
 aṭṭhama paccayo mahato bhūmicālassa pātubhāvāyāti. Ime
 kho Ānanda aṭṭha hetu aṭṭha paccayā mahato bhūmicālassa
 pātubhāvāyāti.

Aṭṭha kho imā Ānanda parisā, katamā aṭṭha? khattiya-
 parisā brāhmaṇaparisā gahapatiparisā samaṇaparisā cātum-
 mahārājikaparisā tāvatimsaparisā māraparisā brahmaparisā.
 Abhijānāmi kho paṇāham Ānanda anekasataṃ khattiyapari-
 saṃ upasaṅkamitvā tatra pi mayā sannisinnapubbañ c'eva

¹ D -saññā, S yo for so ² D okkamati ³ SZ mahāto, Y pūna ⁴ SYZ paṭhavi
¹¹ D pūna ¹² SY paṭhavi ¹³ SZ -vedheti ¹⁴ S bhumi- ¹⁵ S paṭhavi ¹⁶ S bhumi-
¹⁷ D pūna ¹⁸ D ossajjati, Y paṭhavi ¹⁹ D omits kampati, Z sampavedhati ²⁰ D
 omits yadā, Y paṭhavi ²¹ DSYZ hetu ²² Y aṭṭh' imā, D me for kho ²³ Y samana-
²⁴ DY sannisinnapubbam eva.

sallapitapubbañ ca sākacchā ca samāpajjitapubbā, tattha yādisako tesaṃ saro hoti tādisako mayhaṃ vaṇṇo hoti yādisako tesaṃ saro hoti tādisako mayhaṃ saro hoti, dhammiyā ca kathāya sandassemi samādapemi samuttejemi sampahaṃsemi, bhāsamānañ ca maṃ na jānanti, ko nu kho ayaṃ bhāsati devo vā manusso vā? ti; dhammiyā ca kathāya sandassetvā samādapetvā samuttejetvā sampahaṃsetvā antaradhāyāmi, antarahitañ ca maṃ na jānanti ko nu kho ayaṃ antarahito devo vā manusso vā? ti. Abhijānāmi kho pañāhaṃ Ānanda anekasataṃ brāhmaṇaparisaṃ . . pe . . gahapatiparisaṃ samaṇaparisaṃ cātummahārājikaparisaṃ tāvatimsaparisaṃ mārāparisaṃ brahmaparisaṃ upasaṅkamtivā tatra pi mayā sannisinnapubbañ e'eva sallapitapubbañ ca sākacchā ca samāpajjitapubbā, tattha yādisako tesaṃ vaṇṇo hoti tādisako mayhaṃ vaṇṇo hoti yādisako tesaṃ saro hoti tādisako mayhaṃ saro hoti, dhammiyā ca kathāya sandassemi samādapemi samuttejemi sampahaṃsemi, bhāsamānañ ca maṃ na jānanti, ko nu kho ayaṃ bhāsati devo vā manusso vā? ti; dhammiyā ca kathāya sandassetvā samādapetvā samuttejetvā sampahaṃsetvā antaradhāyāmi, antarahitañ ca maṃ na jānanti, ko nu kho ayaṃ antarahito devo vā manusso vā? ti. Imā kho Ānanda aṭṭha parisā.

Aṭṭha kho imāni Ānanda abhibhāyatanāni, katamāni aṭṭha? Ajjhattam rūpasāññī eko bahiddhā rūpāni passati parittāni suvaṇṇadubbhaṇṇāni, tāni abhibhuyya jānāmi passāmiti evaṃsaññī hoti, idaṃ paṭhamam abhibhāyatanam. Ajjhattam rūpasāññī eko bahiddhā rūpāni passati appamāṇāni suvaṇṇadubbhaṇṇāni, tāni abhibhuyya jānāmi passāmiti evaṃsaññī hoti, idaṃ dutiyam abhibhāyatanam. Ajjhattam arūpasāññī eko bahiddhā rūpāni passati parittāni suvaṇṇadubbhaṇṇāni, tāni abhibhuyya jānāmi passāmiti evaṃsaññī hoti, idaṃ tatiyam abhibhāyatanam. Ajjhattam arūpasāññī eko bahiddhā rūpāni passati appamāṇāni suvaṇṇadubbhaṇṇāni, tāni

¹ D samāpajjitapubba ² S omits maṃ ³ SZ -hitarā ⁴ DY neka ⁵ DY sanisinnapubbam eva ⁶ D samāpajjitam pubbā ⁷ DY omit ca ⁸ D omits maṃ ⁹ Y aṭṭh' imāni, D me for kho ¹⁰ D -saññī ¹¹ D -saññī, S hoti ¹² Z arūpasāññī, D -saññī, -mānāni ¹³ D passāmiti, -saññī ¹⁴ DZ -saññī ¹⁵ D -dubbāni ¹⁶ D omits tāni, D -saññī ¹⁷ S arupa-, DZ -saññī ¹⁸ DY -mānāni.

(To be continued.)

ART. V.—*The Bṛhat-Saṅhitā; or, Complete System of Natural Astrology of Varāha-mihira.* Translated from Sanskrit into English by Dr. H. KERN.

(Continued from Vol. VI. p. 338.)

CHAPTER LXV.

Signs of Goats.

1. I will tell the lucky and evil signs of goats. Such as have eight, nine, or ten teeth, are lucky, and may be kept; such as have seven teeth, should be removed.

2. A black circle on the right side of a white goat is a favourable mark. Likewise a white circle on the right side of one having the colour of an elk, of sable hue, or red.¹

3. The udderlike part hanging down from the neck of goats is known by the name of "neck ornament."² A goat with one dewlap brings happiness; extremely lucky are those having two or three dewlaps.

4. All goats without horns, and those that are entirely white or entirely black, promise good. Lucky also are such as are half black, half white; or half russet, half black.

5. A goat that marches in front of the flock, and the first that plunges into water,—that has the head white, or blazes³ on the forehead,—is favourable.⁴

¹ Or "dark red."

² *Anglice* dewlap or wen. *Maṇi* is taken in the sense of Latin *monile*, Norse *men*, Old Saxon *meni*; it is well known that the same acceptance is very common in Vedic writings.

³ Utpala reads *kyttikā* instead of *ṣikkikā*, explaining it by *tilakā*. The word *kyttikā*, evidently in the acceptance of "blaze, star, white dot," occurs also in the *Ṣrautasūtra* of Kātyāyana 20, 1, 34, where *kyttikānji* is interpreted by the commentator in this way: **हस्तिका शकटमिव यस्त्र सक्ताटे पौरुषाणि**. The man understood the general purport, but was evidently unacquainted with the technical meaning of *kyttikā*.

⁴ A goat of this description is termed *kuffaka*; see below, st. 9.

6. One that has the neck or head speckled, the colour of pounded sesamum, and the eyes red, is esteemed of good augury. Likewise a white one with black legs, or a black one with white legs.¹

7. A white goat with black testicles and a black patch in the middle, or one whose step is resounding and slow, is auspicious.²

8. A goat with horns and feet like an elk's, or white in the forepart and black behind, promises good.³ About this matter there is a stanza of Garga's, running as follows :

9. ("The various kinds of goats denominated) *Kuṭṭaka*, *Kuṭīla* (or *Kuṭṭika*), *Jaṭīla* and *Vāmana*, are all four children to Fortune, that do not dwell in places from whence she has fled."

10. Inauspicious are such goats as have a voice like a donkey, a wretched tail, misshapen claws, a bad colour, stunted ears, an elephant's head, or a black palate and tongue.

11. Such as have a colour and dewlap of favourable appearance, are hornless and red-eyed, will, when properly attended to in the dwellings of men, yield pleasure, renown, and fortune.

CHAPTER LXVI.

Signs of Horses.

1. A courser will be perfect in all its limbs, when the neck is long, the prominences above the eyes⁴ extensive, the rump

¹ Such goats go by the name of *kuṭīla*.

² An animal of this description is called *jaṭīla*.

³ The term for it is *vāmana*.

⁴ In a quotation, not unlikely from *Parāçara*, we find a definition of *akshikūṣa* :

नेत्रे तथोपरि स्नाता तयोः प्रच्छादनं ततः ।

अभ्यन्तरं सितं कृष्णं दृष्टिमण्डलमेव च ॥

and heart broad, the palate, lips and tongue red, the skin, hair and tail fine, the hoofs well formed, the pace and face good, the ears, lips and tail short, the legs, knees and thighs round, the teeth equal and white, the shape and appearance nice. Such a horse kept by the king will always tend to the destruction of the foe.

2. (Turnings in the hair) under the eyes, on the jaws, cheeks, heart, throat, nose, temple, hip, abdomen, knee, scrotum, navel, shoulder, or breech, and on the left (or "right") loin or leg, are ill-omened.¹

3. Turnings of hair on the muzzle, throat, ears, back, eyes, lips, haunches, forelegs, loins, flanks, along with those on the brow, are of very good augury.²

4. Amongst them there is one "constant turning" on the muzzle, one in the hairs of the forehead, two on the

कनीजिके चान्तःकोशे तथापाङ्गौ च बाह्यतः ।

वर्द्धोपरि च पश्चादि च्चिक्नुटे तद्योपरि ॥

¹ In a work on horsecraft, ascribed to Kātya Vararuci, and cited at large by Utpala, we read the following :

शङ्खधूमण्डनासाहनुकटिककुदन्नोडकश्वासनखी-

र्मन्धाह्वानुकूर्ध्वश्रवणनखनुदप्रोधकुक्ष्यनुपाते ।

खुरासिकङ्गीकसाड(?) चिकवृषणवहस्तन्धनाभ्रुषजाते-

रावतेरेवमेतेरशुभफलवरेर्वर्जनीयास्तुरङ्गाः ॥

The term *कीकसा* is defined in another quotation (probably from *Parāçara*):

स्तन्धस्य योपरि शीवा तस्माद्योपरि केसरम् ।

वज्रतो ज्युतसोभाः कीकशाः ककुदन्ततः ॥

आसनधीव पृष्ठश्च पृष्ठवंशस्ततः परम् ।

² Comm.: तथाच वरश्चिः

सुक्तिप्रपाद्यानुवह्यायकच्छकेशान्तवचःश्रवणोपरन्ध्रे ।

निनासदेशे च ससाटदेशे ये रोमजाशे श्रियमावहन्ति ॥

groins, two on the adjoining parts,¹ two on the head, and two on the breast.²

5. A colt is marked by six white teeth, which become tawny when the horse is two years old; at three years it loses, and (at four years) recovers its middlemost incisors; at five (and six) years the eyeteeth. The same teeth will after every subsequent period of three years become darkish, yellow, white, coloured like black salt, wax, conch-shell, become hollow, slack, and at length fall out.³

CHAPTER LXVII.

Signs of Elephants.

1. Elephants with tusks of the colour of honey, with well-proportioned body, being neither too fat nor too lean, fit for use, with even members, a back curved like a bow, and buttocks like those of a boar, are denominated Bhadra (*i.e.* well-favoured).

2. The characteristics of the species called Manda (*i.e.* dull) are: a slack breast, slack folds on the waist, a paunch-belly, a thick skin and neck, a huge loin and root of the tail, and the look of a lion.

¹ Utpala: कुचिनाभिमध्यभागे रन्ध्रस्थानं । तत उपरिभागे उपर-
न्ध्रस्थानं । उत्तरे

कुचिनाभन्तरे रन्ध्रमुपरन्ध्रं तथोपरि ।

I am unacquainted with the English terms.

² The corresponding passage from Parâçara has : दश ध्रुवावर्ताः ।
प्रपाद्य एको सखाट एक एव । मूर्धनि द्वौ । द्वौ वक्षसि । रन्ध्रोपरन्ध्रयो-
र्द्वौ द्वाविति ॥

³ Comm.: तद्याद्य वरक्षिः

सन्दंशं मध्यमन्धं दशनयुगमधः सोत्तरं वर्षजाते

क्षेतं द्यन्दे कषायं पतितसमुद्धितं चिखतुःपञ्चकेषु ।

शीख्रीनेकेकमब्दानसितहरिसिताः काचमाचीकशङ्क-

च्छिद्रं चाद्यं श्रुतिश्च प्रभवति तुरगे सद्यं वक्त्रवाणाम् ॥

3. The elephants of the species *Mrga* (*i.e.* deer) have the lip, tail and penis short, the feet, neck, tusks, trunk and ears small, the eyes large. The sort called *Sankīrṇa* (*i.e.* mixed) shows the characteristics of those before described intermingled.

4. The height of the *Mrga* is five cubits, the length seven, the circumference eight. These numbers increased by one are those of the *Manda*; by two, of the *Bhadra*. The "mixed" elephant has no fixed measure.

5. The colour of the *Bhadra*'s frontal juice is green; of the *Manda*'s, turmeric hued; of the *Mrga*'s, sable; of the mixed elephant's, mixed.

6, 7. Auspicious are such elephants as have the lips, palate and mouth red; the eyes like a sparrow's; the tusks smooth and turned up at the extremity; the face broad and long; the backbone arched, long, not protruding, and lying deep; the frontal globes like a tortoise's back, and covered with thin and scanty hairs; the ears, jaws, navel, front and genitals big; the claws convex, to the number of eighteen or twenty; the trunk round and covered with three lines; the hairs of the tail nice; the frontal juice, and the wind from the trunk's point, of good odour.

8. Elephants with a long finger¹ and a red point of the trunk, with a voice like the din of rainclouds, and with a big, long and round neck, bring luck to the king.

9. But elephants devoid of frontal juice; having too many or too few claws and limbs; crooked, undersized, with tusks similar to ram's horns; with prominent testicles; lacking the extremity of the trunk; having the palate dusky, dark-blue, spotted or black; with small tusks or no tusks at all; or without sex; those, as well as a female elephant that shows some characteristics of the male, and one that is pregnant, should the king order to be removed to another place, as they produce very dire consequences.

¹ Comm.: नवानां करप्रान्ते मांसपेक्षुस्यशब्दवाच्यः । करप्रान्तं स-
कलं पुष्करमुच्यते ॥

CHAPTER LXVIII.

Signs of Men.

1. By duly observing the height, weight, gait, compactness, temperament, colours, sleekness, voice, natural character, physiognomy, division of limbs,¹ and complexion, the skilled soothsayer may reveal the past and the future.

2. Feet not sweaty, hued like the calix of a lotus, warm, curved like a tortoise's back, with soft soles, connected toes, bright and red nails, well-shaped heels and no projecting angles, are those of a monarch.²

3. Feet shaped like a winnowing basket, rough, with whitish nails, crooked, covered with veins, meagre, with toes standing far from each other, bring poverty and pain. Feet elevated in the middle are fit for travelling; tawny ones lead to the extirpation of the lineage; feet with soles of the hue of burnt clay cause Brahman murder; yellow ones go to forbidden ground.³

83. Any limb being coarse, lean and covered with veins,

¹ Cf. ch. lxx. 24-26.

² Comm.: तषाच समुद्रः

पादेः समाधिः सुस्निग्धिः क्षिष्टैः सुशोभनेः ।

उन्नतैः खेदरहितैः सिराहीनिष पाधिषः ॥

तषाच वर्गः

पद्मरत्नोत्पलनिषाया चतकसन्निभैः ।

नृपाः पादतक्षिण्येया ये चान्धि सुखभाविनः ॥

³ Comm.: तषाच समुद्रः

मूर्धाकारिषाया भद्रिर्वन्नेः मुष्केः सिराततैः ।

सखेदेः पाण्डुरै रूषेसरथैरतिदुःखिताः ॥

उत्कूटावध्निरती षषायी कुसनाग्रनी ।

ब्रह्मघ्नो पद्ममूर्ध्वावतिपीताचमन्थनी ॥

The translation from st. 4-82 is here omitted, as it affords very little

is pronounced ill-favoured; in the contrary case entirely auspicious.

84. Three parts of a king's body should be broad; three others deep; six lofty; four short; seven red; five long and fine.

85. Navel, voice and character—these three should men have deep. Breast, forehead and face—these three being broad is a happy sign in men.

86. The six members (which should be) lofty are breast, girdle, nails, nose, face, and raised part of the neck. The four limbs that bestow benefits by being short, are penis, back, neck and legs.

87. The outer corner of the eye, feet, hands, palate, lips, tongue and nails—these seven, to be sure, bring happiness by being red. Five parts, viz. teeth, finger-joints, hair, skin and nails, being fine,¹ are proper to happy people.

88. Jaws, eyes, arms, nose and the space between the paps—these five will not be long in men, unless they be kings.²

interest, and as some stanzas are couched in a language too free to be decent in an English garb. It may be noticed that the signs of beauty, such as described in this chapter, generally agree with the 32 *lakṣhaṇas* and 80 *anuvyañjanas* of the ideal image of Buddha; e.g. *sunigūḍhagulpha* in st. 2 corresponds with *gūḍhagulpha* in Lalitavistara 122, 17; *ruciratāmranaḥka* in the same stanza and st. 41 with *tāmranaḥka* of Çākya; and so forth. Cf. Burnouf, Lotus de la bonne loi, 583, sqq. Any distinction between *lakṣhaṇa* and *anuvyañjana* is unknown to our author.

¹ In the text read सूक्ष्माणि, of course.

² Utpala quotes from Garga :

चतुर्दशसमद्वन्द्वचतुःकृष्णचतुःसमः ।
 दशपद्मो दशबुहस्त्रिमुक्ताः शस्वते नरः ॥
 पादौ गुल्फौ स्त्रिण्वी पार्श्वौ वृषणी चतुषी खनी ।
 खन्वोऽपि वंशणी जङ्घे हस्तौ नाङ्गुली तथा ॥
 चतुर्दशसमद्वन्द्वं ममुद्रो नृपु शंसति ।
 अचित्तारे ध्रुवी रमन्तु केशशिवासिताः शुभाः ॥

On Complexion.

89. Let those who are able to predict the future from the marks on the body, observe the complexion of men, quadrupeds and birds, as it announces lucky and unlucky consequences. For it is like the shining of a lamp within a crystal jar, revealing the qualities of the inward light to the outside.

90. A complexion that originates in the element of earth

चक्रुस्त्रो हृदयं नेत्रे दृशनाच्च समा नृशाम् ।
 चत्वारः सम्प्रशस्त्रन्ते सदिश्वर्यसुखावहाः ॥
 जिह्वोष्ठं तालुरास्त्रश्च मुखं नेत्रे स्तनी नखाः ।
 हृत्पी पादौ च शस्त्रन्ते पद्माभा दृश देहिनाम् ॥
 पाणिपादस्वरभीवा वृषभी हृदयं शिरः ।
 खलाटमुदरं पृष्ठं बृहन्तः पूजिता दृश ॥
 नेत्रे ताराविरहिते दृशनाच्च सिताः शुभाः ।
 एतच्च खचर्यं कृत्स्नं नराणां समुदाहृतम् ॥
 पञ्चदीर्घचतुर्ह्रस्वः पञ्चसूक्ष्मः षडुन्नतः ।
 पञ्चरत्नस्त्रिविधोऽर्थस्त्रिगभीरः प्रशस्त्रते ॥
 बाहू नेत्रान्तरे चापि हनुनी वृषयी तथा ।
 स्तनयो रन्तरक्षैव पञ्चदीर्घः प्रशस्त्रते ॥
 शीवा प्रवणनं श्रोणी ह्रस्वे जङ्घे च पूजिते ।
 तथेतरेषु सर्वेषु सर्वमेव प्रशस्त्रते ॥
 सूक्ष्मास्त्रकुक्षिपर्वाणि दन्ता रोमाणि च च्छविः ।
 तथा नखाश्च सर्वेषु पञ्चसूक्ष्मः प्रशस्त्रते ॥
 कक्षाशिवचांसि तथा मुखं पृष्ठं कृक्काटिका ।
 सर्वभूतेषु निर्दिष्टः षडुत्सेधः प्रशस्त्रते ॥
 पाणिपादौ तथा चास्त्रं मुखं नेत्रे स्तनी नखाः ।
 पञ्च रत्नानि चत्वारः शर्मनुजेन्द्रं तमादिशेत् ॥
 उरौ मुखं खलाटं च त्रिविधोऽर्थं प्रशस्त्रते ।
 सत्त्वं स्वरश्च नाभी च चिगभीरं प्रशस्त्रते ॥

manifests itself in the sleekness of teeth, skin, nails, hairs on the body and the head,¹ and is connected with a sweet smell. It causes contentment, acquisition of wealth, bliss and daily progress in virtue.

91. A complexion due to the element of water is smooth, white or clear yellow, and delightful to the eye. It gives affection, meekness, pleasure and bliss. Like a mother it causes that wants get fulfilled, and grants to mortals its beneficial effects.

92. The "fiery" complexion is harsh and fierce, showing like red lotus, gold or fire. Allied with energy, valour and ardour, it leads men to victory, and effects that the object aimed at is soon attained.

93. A complexion derived from the element of wind will be smutty, coarse, black and of bad odour; it engenders death, captivity, sickness, misery and loss of wealth. A complexion arising from the aerial element shows like crystal, is bright, very noble, allied with good fortune, and a treasury, so to say, of felicity.

94. The complexions enumerated are the products, severally, of earth, water, fire, wind and sky. Some teach that there are ten of them, to wit (besides the foregoing), those derived from the Sun, Vishṇu, Indra, Yama, and the Moon, successively. In their characteristics and effects, however, they are, to state it briefly, equal to the others.

On Voice.

95. Kings have voices resembling the sound of an elephant, bull, host of chariots, battle-drum, tabor, lion or thunder. A voice like a donkey's, or broken and harsh, is proper to men deprived of wealth and enjoyments.

On Temperament.

96. There are seven constituents of temperament: fat, marrow, skin, bone, sperm, blood, and flesh. The effects of

¹ Read •वेणु हाया.



the different temperaments of men may be stated, in short, as follows :

97. Those in whose temperament blood is the prevailing element have the palate, lips, gums, tongue, outer eye-corners, anus, hands and feet red, and are blessed with many enjoyments, wives, goods and sons.

98. Persons with a smooth skin are rich men ; those who have the skin soft, will be beloved ; intelligent men have it thin. Those in whom marrow or fat prevails, are possessed of a handsome form, and rich in sons and goods.

99. A man in whom the bones predominate, has thick bones, is strong, an accomplished scholar and good-looking. Men with much and heavy sperm are happy husbands, learned and handsome.

100. One in whose constitution flesh plays the foremost part, is corpulent, learned, wealthy and comely. The being well knit of the joints is called compactness. It is a characteristic of a man enjoying a good fortune.

101. Five parts ought to show a sleeky appearance, viz. mouth, tongue, teeth, eyes and nails. They are sleek with men rich in sons, wealth and popularity ; rough with the poor.

On Colour.

102. A bright, sleek colour is proper to kings ; the same, but in inferior degree, marks persons possessing sons and wealth ; a coarse colour is proper to indigent people.

On Physiognomy.

103. The peculiar character implied by one's physiognomical appearance, must be studied from the countenance. Those who have a face like a bull, tiger, lion or sun-eagle, are endowed with irresistible valour, and monarchs conquering foes.

104. Men with countenances like a monkey, buffalo, boar or buck, are owners of sons, riches and happiness. Persons marked by faces and forms resembling those of asses and camels have neither wealth nor enjoyment.

On Height.

105. The number of digits which make the measure of men's height is, for the tallest, 108; for those of middle height, 96; for the shortest, 84.

On Weight.

106. A man living in happy circumstances weighs half a *bhāra* (=1000 *palas*); an unhappy man less than that. One *bhāra* is the weight of very well to do people; one and a half, that of monarchs.

107. A female has her full weight and height at twenty years of age, but a male at twenty-five years, or else in the fourth period of life.¹

On Natural Character.

108. Man is born with a character that is congenial to earth, water, fire, wind, aether, gods, men, giants, imps or beasts. The marks are the following:

109. A man of the nature proper to earth has the odour of fragrant flowers, is liberal in sharing with his fellow-creatures, of sweet breath, and constant. One of a watery genius is in the habit of drinking much water, fond of women, and relishes liquids.

110. A man of the nature of fire is fickle, very keen, cruel, hungry and gluttonous. One of the nature proper to wind is restless, lean, and soon swayed by anger.

¹ The words of the text are clear in themselves, but convey no distinct meaning. The Comm. says: जीवितमाने चतुर्वे-तीते वा माणो-
 ष्चानमर्हति। वर्षशतादूने तु जीविते निश्चिते चतुर्वेमान इत्युक्तम्. But how can it be said that any person may grow in height after his fortieth year? It may be supposed that the author had only in view the weight. As to the interpretation of the commentator, it is wholly wrong; the four periods are शिशुत्व (infancy), ब्रौमार्थ्य (boyhood), दौवण (prime of age), and the fourth वृद्धत्व, वार्धक्य. The दौवण coincides with the *juvenilis aetas* of the Romans, and extends to the fortieth year; cf. *Suṣrūta*, i. 129.

111. One of aetherial nature is ingenious, has an open face, is skilled in the knowledge of sounds, and porous of his body. A man who has the genius of gods will be generous, placable and affectionate.

112. A person of the genius of mortals delights in song and finery, and is always ready to share with his fellow-creatures.

113. One endowed with the character of giants is irascible, knavish, and wicked. One who is congenerous with imps will be fickle, dirty, talkative and very plump of body.

114. One that is timid, greedy and voracious, you may take to be a man of bestial character. Such is the different nature of men which by the soothsayers is called "the character."

On Gait.

115. In gait kings resemble tigers, swans, elephants in rut, bulls and peacocks. Likewise persons whose pace is noiseless and quiet will be great lords; while the step of poor fellows is swift and skipping.

116. A carriage when tired; a meal when hungry; drink when vexed by thirst; a guard when in danger—the man who can command these things in time is called fortunate, indeed, by those skilled in telling a man's character and future from the marks on his person.

117. Herewith have I, with (due) attention to the opinions of the Sages,¹ succinctly expounded the signs of men. He who studies it will become esteemed by the king and a favourite with everybody.

¹ That is, in other words: "myself am not responsible for any statement." Appealing to the Sages is usual with our author whenever he wishes to disburden himself from responsibility. Utpala fails not to make a similar observation: पूर्वमेवाचार्यैश्च स्वयं प्रतिज्ञातं यथा "श्रो-
तिषमाणमशास्त्रं विप्रतिपत्तौ न द्योम्यमस्त्राकं स्वयमेव विद्वत्प्रथितुं
किन्तु बहूनां मतं दक्षे (Ch. ix. 7)" इति च विचार्य पूर्वानमतः पुद्गल-
चर्यं कथितम् ।

CHAPTER LXIX.

Signs of the Five Great Men.

1. By the planets being powerful, standing in their own asterisms, in their culmination, or in the centres (*i.e.* the first, fourth, seventh and tenth houses), will be born the five exalted personages I am now going to speak of.

2. By Jupiter being in its power will be born (the personage denominated) Hansa; by Saturn, the man Çaçā; by Mars, the Rucaka; by Mercury, the Bhadra; and by Venus, the Mâlavya.

3, 4. The person's character, in its fulness, derives from the Sun (in full power); the qualities of body and mind, from the Moon's power. Moreover, the man will show the same characteristics with (the lord of) any subdivision Sun and Moon happen to stand in; so that he will agree in temperament, elements, nature, complexion, colour, character, shape, etc.¹ When the Sun and Moon, while occupying such and such a subdivision, are weak, the persons to be born will have characteristics of a mixed nature.

5. From Mars comes spirit; from Mercury weight; from Jupiter the voice; from Venus grace; from Saturn the colour.² The qualities will be good or bad, according to the planets being well or ill circumstanced.

6. Persons with qualities of mixed nature will not become sovereigns, but have a similar course of life and become happy men. The differences arise from the benign planets (*i.e.* full moon, Mercury, Jupiter and Venus) being stationed in the house of their enemy, or in descension, or from their being looked at by the evil planets.

7. The length and stretch of the Hansa³ is of 96 digits.

¹ For the *dhatu* or *sāra*, cf. Brh. Jātaka, ii. 11: for the five elements, 6; for the character and shape, 8-11; for the colour, 5.

² Cf. Brh. Jātaka, ii. 1.

³ *i.e.* what we call Phenix, metaphorically.

The personages going by the names of Çaçā, Rucaka, Bhadra and Mālavya, are each taller than the preceding by three digits.

8. A person in whom the quality of goodness predominates will possess charity, steadiness, uprightness of character and piety to Gods and Brahmans. One in whom the quality of passion is uppermost will have the mind addicted to poetry, art, sacrifices and women, besides being a great hero.

9. He in whom the quality of gloom prevails will be a cheat, stupid, lazy, irascible and sleepy. As the qualities of goodness, passion and gloom may be differently combined, there will be seven kinds of persons with mixed characters, bating the minor varieties.

10. The Mālavya will be marked by arms resembling an elephant's trunk, and by hands reaching to the knees. His members and joints are fleshy; he has a well-proportioned and neat frame, and a slender waist. His face, of oblong form, measures thirteen digits, the transverse measure between the ears being three digits less. He has fiery eyes, comely cheeks, even and white teeth, and not too thick lips.

11. Having by his valour obtained wealth, he will, residing in the recesses of Mount Pāriyātra, reign as a wise king over Mālava, Bharoach, Surāshtra, Lāṭa, Sindh, and so forth.

12. This Mālavya will at the age of seventy years piously depart from life at a place of pilgrimage.—Having in due form indicated the characteristics of this man, I now proceed to mention those of the others.

13. The man Bhadra is marked by having the arms thick, equal, round and long; his length is equal to the stretch of his arms from one side to the other; his cheeks are covered with soft, small and dense hairs.

14. In his constitution skin and sperm are predominant; his breast is broad and thick; his prevailing quality is goodness. He has a tiger-like face, is steadfast, forbearing, virtuous, grateful; he has the pace of an elephant, and knows many sciences.

15. He is sagacious, handsome, clever in the arts, con-

stant, an adept at ascetic philosophy ; has the forehead and temples well-shaped ; the loins likewise ; the hands and feet hued like the lotus calix ; the nose fine ; the eyebrows even and well-knit.

16. His person smells like earth when moist from fresh rain, or cassia-leaf, saffron, frontal juice of elephants, agalochum. The hair of his head is black, curled, and such that each single hair has its own pore. *Sicut equi vel elephantis, pudenda ejus non conspicua.*

17. His hands and feet are marked by the figure of a plough, pestle, club, sword, conch-shell, quoit, elephant, sea-monster, lotus, chariot. His imperiousness will be fully experienced by his people, for, self-willed as he is, he does not spare even his own kin.

18. Should his length come to 84 digits, and his weight to one *bhāra*, then he will be lord over the Middle country ; but if he have the full measure implied in the words " taller by three digits " (st. 7), he will be emperor of the whole country.

19. After dutifully ruling the country he acquired by his bravery, the Bhadra, at eighty years of age, will depart from life at a place of pilgrimage, and go to heaven.

20. The *Çaça* will have somewhat projecting, otherwise fine teeth, fine nails, blubber eyes ; a swift pace ; he takes delight in science, mining and trade ; has full cheeks ; is false ; a good general ; fond of love's sport and partial to other men's wives ; restless, valorous, obedient to his mother, and attached to woods, hills, rivers and wildernesses.

21. The same *Çaça* is suspicious, and a keen observer of another's weak points. He is 92 digits in length, and, not being very heavy, has a soft step. The chief constituent of his body is marrow.

22. His waist is slender ; the lines on his hands and feet show the figures of a buckler, sword, lute, couch, garland, drum, trident, and run in an upward direction.

23. This *Çaça* will be a border chieftain or provincial governor. His body afflicted with colic or a fistula on the buttocks, he will, seventy years old, reach Yama's home.

24. The marks of the Hansa are : the mouth red ; the face gold-coloured, and showing thick cheeks and an elevated nose ; the head round ; the eyes honey like ; the nails wholly red ; the figures (formed by the lines on hands and feet) similar to garlands, fillets, elephant's hooks, conch-shells, intertwined fishbraces, sacrificing implements, water-pots and lotuses ; the voice sweet as a swan's ; the feet well-shaped ; the senses subdued.

25. He delights in water ; the predominant constituent in him is sperm ; his weight comes to 1600 *palas*, whereas his length, according to the statement of the Sages, will be 96 digits.

26. The Hansa will possess the country of Khasa, Çûrasena, Gândhâra, and the land between the Ganges and Jamna. After exercising the royal power for 90 years,¹ he will meet death within a wood.

27. (The worthy Rucaka by name) will have good eyebrows and hairs ; a red-tinged dusky colour ; a neck marked with three folds like a shell ; an oblong face. He is brave, cruel, an egregious counsellor, a chief of robbers, and a practised soldier.

28. The measure of Rucaka's face, in length, being taken four times, gives the measure of his middle. His skin is thin ; in his temperament blood and flesh are the chief parts. He is a killer of foes, and attains his objects by dint of reckless audacity.

29. His hands and feet are marked with figures like a club, lute, bull, bow, thunderbolt, spear, moon and trident. He shows piety towards his *gurus*, to Brahmans and deities. His length is a hundred digits ; his weight a thousand *palas*.

30. He is an adept in charms and spells, and has thin knees and legs. When this Rucaka has reigned as king

¹ This is evidently a mistake of the author's ; he certainly means, "at ninety years of age the H. will die," but his words convey quite a different meaning. Better in the Sârāvāli : जीवेन्नववर्षा दशवर्षसङ्ख्यां पञ्चाद्वनान्ने समुपैति नाशम्. It must, however, be noticed that the author of the Sârāvāli is posterior to Varāha-mihira.

over the Vindhya, Sahyagiri and Ujein, he will, on reaching seventy years, find his death by the sword or fire.

31. There are five other men, who will be the attendants of the fore-mentioned monarchs, viz. Vāmanaka, Jaghanya, Kubja, Maṇḍalaka and Sāmin.¹ Now listen by what tokens these men, generally called the "mixed ones," are characterized.

32. Vāmanaka is corpulent, hunchbacked, and somewhat broad in the middle and between the armpits. He will be a famous servant of king Bhadra, prosperous, liberal in giving, and devoted to Vāsudeva.

33. He called Jaghanya will be a servant to Mālavya. His ears are similar to a crescent; the joints of his body are good; sperm is the principal part of his temperament; he is a denunciator, a poet, rough of skin, and has gross hands and fingers.

34. The same Jaghanya will be cruel, rich, of comprehensive² intellect, generally famous, red of complexion, and a jocose fellow. On his breast, feet and hands, he shows the figure of a sword, spear, noose and axe.

35, 36. As to the man of the name of Kubja, he shows no defects in the lower members, but is somewhat shrunk in the forepart of the body and crooked. He will be an attendant on Hansa, an atheist, rich, learned, brave, an informer, grateful, ingenious in arts, quarrelsome, have plenty of retainers, and be wife-ridden. This said Kubja, always stirring, will on a sudden leave this world to which he was so much attached.

37. He named Maṇḍalaka will be a follower of Rucaka's, an adept in spells, clever, and devoted to acts of witchcraft, ghost-banning and the like, and to sciences.

38. He looks elderly, has rough and coarse hair, is able in destroying enemies, devoted to the Brahmans, deities, religious worship and ascetic philosophy; swayed by his wife, and intelligent.

¹ Also Sāmin.

² It is not a little curious that in one codex of the Comm. बुद्धमति is explained by अल्पबुद्धि, in the other by महाबुद्धि.

39. As to Sâmin, he will be a retainer to Çaçā, very misshapen of body, liberal in giving, and a man that performs deeds by powerful enterprise. For the rest, he will in his qualities resemble Çaçā.

CHAPTER LXX.

Signs of Women.

1. If one aspire to become lord of the country, let him marry a girl whose feet are sleek, elevated, thin at the extremity, with red nails and ankles equal, not bony, nice and not protruding; with connected toes and rosy soles.

2. Of good augury are feet marked with fishes, hooks, lotuses, barley-corns, thunderbolts, ploughs and swords; not sweaty and soft on the soles. So, too, legs not hairy, without prominent veins, and quite round; knees even and not fat at the joints.¹

4. Broad, plump and heavy hips to support the girdle, and a navel deep, large and turned to the right, are held of good omen in women.

5. A female middle with three folds and not hairy; breasts round, close to each other, equal and hard; a bosom devoid of hair and soft, and a neck marked with three lines, bring wealth and joys.

6. A swelling lip hued like the blossom of Pentapetes or the brilliant Bimba fruit, and equal teeth white as jessamine buds, are such qualities in wives as will be conducive to the husband's joy and immense advantage.

7. A tone of voice sweet as the kokila's and swan's,

¹ Comm.: तथाच समुद्रः

स्निग्धो ताम्रनखौ धन्वी कूर्मपुष्टौ सुलोहितौ ।

निगूढगुल्फौ सुस्रिष्टौ घनाङ्गुलिसमन्वितौ ॥

मत्स्याङ्कुशयवाण्डिसु हस्तवस्त्रासिचिह्नितौ ।

भूस्पृशौ रोमरहितौ कुमार्थाश्चरणौ शुभौ ॥

The translation of the third stanza is omitted.

gentle, sincere, not grovelling, is attended with much happiness. A straight, handsome nose, with even nostrils, and an eye vieing with the lustre of the petals of the dark lotus, are esteemed of good foreboding.

8. Auspicious are brows curved like a crescent, not knit together, not too broad, not hanging. Likewise a forehead neither low nor lofty, of the shape of a crescent, and not hairy.

9. They deem it also of good augury that the two ears are properly thick, soft, equal and close to the head. Hairs sleek, dark, soft, curled and coming forth one by one from the pores, bring joy; so does a head of moderate size.¹

10. Damsels who bear the following marks on foot or handpalm attain to the state of queen, viz. waterpots, seats, horses, elephants, Bilva-fruits, sacrificial posts, arrows, garlands, ear ornaments, chowries, hooks, barleycorns, rocks, standards, archways, fishes, crosses, altars, fans, conch-shells, umbrellas, lotuses.

11. Hands with not prominent pulses, and similar in colour to the inside of young lotuses; with slender fingers the joints of which are placed far from each other; are proper to king's wives. A palm neither too flat nor too rising, and showing good lines, secures to her who owns it the possession of children, pleasure and wealth, and causes her to be not widowed for a long time.

12. A line running from the pulse up to the middle finger, either in a woman's handpalm or a man's, as well as a line going upward along the footsole,² will lead to the joy of sovereignty.

13. The line that, issuing from below the little finger, runs to between the fore and middle finger, insures the longest term of life; the shorter it is, the shorter will be one's life.

14. At the bottom of the thumb are the lines of progeny.

¹ Comm. : तथाच गर्गः

गोमृतं नाथवा निम्बं शिरः सीखप्रदं कृतम् ।

² The author seems to mean "a line on the footsole running from the heel to the toe."

Big lines denote boys ; thin ones girls. Long-lived persons will have them long and uninterrupted ; short-lived ones, short and broken off.

15. Herewith has been told what promises good in females ; anything contrary to it is pronounced evil. I will now briefly mention the consequences that are particularly execrable.

16. A wife whose little toe or the one next to it does not touch the ground, or whose second toe extends beyond the great toe, is a most vile whore.

17. Legs either lean or¹ too plump, covered with veins, hairy, with the calves drawn up ; a pudendum wry to the leftward, low and small, and a potlike belly, are proper to unhappy females.

18. A short neck with a woman announces poverty ; a long one, the ruin of the family ; a broad and prominent one, malignancy.

19. She who has squint,² or tawny, or grey and fickle eyes, will be of a bad character, and she who, when smiling, shows dimples in her cheeks, is pronounced unquestionably to be an unchaste wife.

20. If the forehead is hanging over, she will kill her brother-in-law ; is it the belly that projects, she is to kill her father-in-law ; is it the buttocks, her husband. A

¹ This is the meaning of *ca* ; तथाच गर्गः

मुक्ते जङ्घे - तिमांसि वा रोमशे ऊर्ध्वपिण्डके ।

चक्ष्माः सा दुःखिता नित्यं पुत्रवित्तविवर्जिता ॥

A var. reading, obviously a bad conjecture, exhibits विमांसि च ; *gushka* and *vimāmsa* mean exactly the same.

² The Comm. explains *kekara* by *kācara*, a word denoting the colour of a cat's eyes in Kathāsarit-sāgara, 65, 162, and 167. It occurs also in a parallel passage, probably from Garga ; तथाच

पारावताची या कन्या चाचराची तथापिवा ।

उद्ग्राताचपसाची च तां कन्यां वर्धयेन्नुधः ॥

It is by no means likely that in this passage *kācara* is used in the sense of *kekara*.

female being excessively tall, and having the upper lip covered with too thick hair, brings no good to her husband.

21. Hairy, smutty looking and lumpish breasts, and unequal ears, produce misery. Big, protruding and unequal teeth bode misery, and black gums thievishness.

22. Hands lean, showing thick veins, unequal, and marked with figures like beasts of prey, wolves, rooks, herons, worms and owls, are proper to women deprived of joy and wealth.

23. A female having the upper lip very high, and the hair coarse at the ends, likes quarrel. Generally speaking, vices will be found with the ugly, whereas the virtues reside there where beauty dwells.

On the Division of the Human Body in General.

24. The first division (of the limbs) consists of the feet along with the ankles; the second, of the legs with the kneepans; the third, of the sexual member, thighs and scrotum; the fourth, of the navel and hip.

25. They call the belly the fifth division; the sixth is the heart along with the paps; the seventh, the shoulder and nape of the neck; the eighth, the lips and neck.

26. The eyes along with the brows make the ninth division; head and forehead the tenth. The feet and farther divisions being ill-favoured, are indicative of an unhappy lot; their being auspicious, of a lucky lot.

CHAPTER LXXI.

Omens from Slits of Garments.

1. In the corners of a cloth dwell deities;¹ in the middle part of the upper and lower ends men; whilst the remaining

¹ It must be understood that the cloth is to be divided into nine compartments: तद्याच गर्गः

वस्त्रमुत्तरक्षोमन्नु प्राग्दशं नवधा भजेत् ।

त्रिधा दशान्तपाशान्ते त्रिधा मध्यं पृथक्पृथक् ॥

three portions fall to the share of the spirits of darkness. The same applies to couches, seats and shoes.

2. When a cloth gets soiled by ink, cowdung, mud and the like,—when it is slit, singed or rent,—you may reckon that the effects, good or bad, shall be complete, if the cloth be new ; but always decreasing the more it has been used. The effects are more intensive, in case of an upper garment.

3. A slit, etc., in the portions of the spirits of darkness bodes illness, if not death ; in one of the portions of men, it bodes the birth of a son and power ; in a part presided over by deities, increase of enjoyments. A flaw in any tip is declared unfavourable.

4. A slit in figure like a heron, pelican, owl, pigeon, crow, beast of prey, jackal, ass, camel or snake, although it appear in a portion presided over by deities, causes among men a danger amounting to death.

5. A slit of the shape of an umbrella, standard, cross, Vardhamāna, Çrīvṛksha, waterpot, lotus, archway, and the like, should it even be found in the parts allotted to the demons, brings men speedy fortune.

6. The asterism Açvinî¹ gives plenty of garments, but Bharanî takes them away. A cloth (being worn for the first time) at Kṛttikā will be burnt ; at Rohinî, it will bring wealth and success.

7. (From a garment being first used) at Mṛgaçiras, there will ensue danger to it from mice ; at Ārdrā, the very death ; at Punarvasu, good luck ; at the asterism next to it (i.e. Pushya), acquisition of riches.

8. (If a new cloth is put on) at Açleshā, it will be torn ; at Maghā, it announces death ; at Pūrva-Phalgunî, danger from the sovereign. Uttara-Phalgunî is conducive to acquisition of wealth.

9. By Hasta enterprises will succeed ; by Citrā good luck is coming. The putting on a new garment at Svāti is auspicious ; by doing so at Viçākhā, one will become generally beloved.

¹ i.e. if Açvinî be the asterism of the day on which a garment is worn the first time, the consequences mentioned are to ensue.

10. Meeting with a friend is the result (of a new garment) at Anurādhā. The cloth will be ruined, if used for the first time at Jyeshṭhā, and it will get a ducking in water, if put on at Mūla. Diseases (attend one's using a new cloth) at Pūrva-Ashādhā.

11, 12. He who wishes to use a new garment at Uttara-Ashādhā may, it is deemed, expect dainty food ; at Çravaṇa, ophthalmy ; at Dhanishṭhā, acquisition of corn ; at Çatabhishaj, great danger occasioned by poison ; at Pūrva-Bhadrapadā, danger from water ; at Uttara-Bhadrapadā, getting of sons, and at Revatī, as they state, possession of jewels.

13. Using a new garment, even at an unlucky asterism, will have satisfactory effects, if it be worn with permission of Brahmans, or if it have been bestowed by the king, or procured for the wedding ceremony.

14. (Using a new garment, even at an unlucky asterism, is approved of on the wedding day, as a token of royal favour, or with permission of Brahmans.)

CHAPTER LXXII.

Signs of Chowries.

1. They say the gods have created the Yacks in the dens of the Snowy Mountains for the tail's sake. The hairs of their tails are some yellowish, some black, some white.

2. Sleekness, softness, density of the hairs, brightness, the being connected with a small bone, and whiteness, are pronounced to be the good qualities in chowries. Such as are defective, small or broken off, are bad.

3. The handle to the chowrie must measure one cubit, or one and a half, or otherwise an ell. Made from favourable wood, decked with gold and silver, and ornamented with variegated gems, it will be to the benefit of kings.

4. Clubs, umbrellas, elephant's hooks, canes, bows, canopies, halberds, standards and chowries with sticks of pale colour, are fit for Brahmans ; of the hue of *Cocculus cordi-*

folius for Kshatriyas ; with honey-coloured ones for Vaiçyas ; with black ones for Çûdras.

5. Sticks with an even number of knots, two, four, and so forth up to twelve, produce, successively : loss of a mother, of land, wealth, family, engender sickness, and death.

6. The same having an odd number of knots, three, five, seven, and so on, will secure to the owners success in journeying, destruction of enemies, much gain, acquisition of land, increase of cattle, and fulfilment of wishes.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

Signs of Umbrellas.

1, 2, 3. A white umbrella constructed either ¹ of feathers of swans, cocks, peacocks and cranes, or covered entirely with new silk-cloth ; studded with pearls ; dark with garlands hanging down ; with a pommel of crystal and a stick of pure gold ; six cubits long ; containing nine, seven knots or a single ; having three cubits in extension ; all over well covered ; adorned ² with jewels ;—such an umbrella, kept high aloft, will tend to a sovereign's benefit and bring victory.

4. The umbrella sticks of a prince royal, queen, commander-in-chief and general, must be made such as to measure, in succession : 4½, 5, 4 and 2 digits.

5. Let other officers have their umbrellas decorated at the top with gold fillets as tokens of royal favour ; furnished with hanging wreaths and jewels, and made from peacock's feathers.

6. Private persons should have the umbrella stick of a square form, but the umbrella of Brahmans is to be made with an entirely round stick.

¹ In the text read कु—कु, and not, as it is printed, तु—तु.

² Read in the printed text भूषित, not विभूषित.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

*Praise of Women.*¹

1. In the domain² of a country there is one city paramount; in the city one mansion, and in that mansion one place, and in this a couch, and on the couch a choice wife, brilliant with jewels, who is the quintessence of royal enjoyment.

2. Jewels are set off by women, but these latter do not derive their splendour from the lustre of jewels: lovely maidens captivate the heart, even without gems, whereas gems do not, unless connected with a woman's form.

3. For princes who are anxious to conceal their inward emotions; who exert their strength to subdue the power of the enemy; who are pondering on policy entangled by the ramifications of business consequent upon so many things committed or omitted; who have to follow³ the decisions of their counsellors; have reasons for suspicion on every side, or are plunged into a sea of troubles,—it is a drop of joy to embrace a dear love.

4. There is not anywhere by the Creator produced a gem, woman excepted, that on being heard, seen, touched, yea remembered, awakens gladness in men. For her sake do virtue and wealth exist; from her are children and worldly pleasures: esteem then women like the goddesses of Fortune in the house by giving them honour and influence.

5. And those who from aversion proclaim the faults of women and pass over their virtues, I inwardly suspect to be malicious men, whose sayings do not proceed from honest motives.

¹ This chapter forms, with the four following, the Antahpuracintā or Reflections on Womankind.

² The word *jays* is explained by Utpala with *vijaya*, quite right, if the latter be taken in the sense of domain, dominion. That *vijays* and *vijitam* occur in this acceptation is noticed in the translator's dissertation "Over de jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten," p. 90 and p. 106.

³ Read निषेविशा.

6. Speak out the truth, what offence is there in females that is not committed by males? They are outdone by men in impudence, but excel them in virtues. And so says Manu about this matter :

7. "Soma has given them purity, the Gandharvas a trained voice, and Agni the faculty of eating all sorts of food. Hence women are like unto pure gold.

8. "Brahmans are clean at the feet ; cows are so on the back ; goats and horses in the face ; but women are clean all over.

9. "They are objects of matchless purity ; in no way can they be defiled, for every month do their courses carry off all faults.

10. "Those houses that are cursed by their female inmates being undutifully treated shall totally perish, as if struck by witchcraft.

11. "Whether it be your wife or your mother, (do consider that) men are sprung from women. What pleasure¹ can you expect, O ungrateful men ! in reviling both ?

12. "It has been established in the moral code that there where man and wife go astray, both have equal guilt. Men do not regard it ; women then are better in this respect.

13. "On transgressing against his wife, a man may expiate his sin by wearing for six months an ass's hide with the hair turned outward.

14. "(A wife's) amorous inclination will not in a hundred years pass away. Men leave off from it by impotence, women by self-command.

15. "O for the impudence of the wicked ! who revile blameless females, and like thieves, themselves engaged in the act of stealing, cry out 'hold, thief ! hold, thief.' "

16. The coaxing words² a man utters to the sweetheart in privacy, he is apt to forget afterwards, but a wife will from gratitude embrace her lifeless husband, and so enter the fire (of the pile).

¹ Utpala reads *ṣubham*, "good, boon."

² In the text read चतुस्त्राणि, with the *a* short.

17. He who possesses a jewel of a wife, let him be never so poor, is, to my judgment,¹ a king. Dainty dishes and women are the quintessence of royalty, the rest being but fuel to kindle the fire of appetite.

18. A voluptuous delight equal to that you feel when embracing a paramour in the prime of youth, with swelling bosom, and murmuring sounds, soft, lovely, tender and suppressed, is not to be found, I mean, in Brahma's heaven.

19. (If you demur to this, please) tell me what pleasure is there, owing to gods, Sages, seraphs and heavenly choristers attending on the Fathers and other worshipful beings, such as not to be found in embracing a woman in privacy?

20. This whole universe, from Brahma downwards to the very worms, depends upon the union of male and female. Why then should we feel ashamed of it, when the Lord himself, from desire of a maiden,² assumed four faces?

CHAPTER LXXV.

Winning of Affection.

1. All genuine enjoyment of love is his only, who is beloved; others do not get but the shadow, as the mind is far away.

2. Like a tree's cutting broken off and planted in the soil, or a seed sown in it, retains the nature of the plant, even so one's very nature is reborn within the wife, though some difference may be produced by the varying circumstances of the soil.

3. The soul combines with the mind; the mind with the organs; the organs with their objects, and that in quick

¹ In the text change स्वं into मां. The sentiment expressed in this half stanza reminds one of Bürger's:

“Wie selig wer sein Liebchen hat,
Wie selig lebt der Mann.
Er lebt wie in der Kaiserstadt
Kein Fürst und Graf es kann.”

² Tilottamā, of course.



succession. This being the natural process, what would be unattainable for the mind? And whither the mind goes, thither goes the very soul (the principle of life).

4. This soul lies concealed within one's own heart, but may be observed by an attentive mind through continual application. Now, since every one identifies himself with the person he cherishes in his mind, therefore women are in their thoughts with the beloved one, and with no other.

5. Genteelness, in the very first place, is the cause that you will be beloved; a contrary behaviour produces aversion. Charms, philters and such-like quackeries are attended with many evils, but no help.

6. You will get beloved by forsaking pride; arrogance engenders dislike. The arrogant man will with great difficulty accomplish his ends, where the affable man will with ease.

7. It is not indicative of vigour, to be partial of violent measures, and to speak odious, ill-devised words. Those are strong, who perform their work calmly; not those who are boasting.

8. If you wish to be generally liked, tell everybody's good parts in his absence. By dwelling on another's faults, you will incur many charges, even unmerited.

9. If a man tries to benefit every one, the world at large will try to benefit him in every way, and the reputation you shall get by bestowing benefits upon enemies in distress, shall prove of no little value.

10. Virtue may be obscured for a while; it will, like fire concealed by grass, grow the stronger, and he who desires to efface his fellow's virtues will reap nothing but the character of a bad man.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

Erotical Remedies.

1. When (at the time of coition) the blood exceeds the sperm, a female will be conceived; in the contrary case, a

male; when blood and sperm are equal, a hermaphrodite.¹ Hence one should avail oneself of potions fit to increase sperm.²

2. The flat roof of a mansion, moonbeams, lotus, spring, a sweet girl languid with the effects of wine, a lute, privacy, and garlands: these constitute the ensnaring net of love.

3. By swallowing a mixture of mineral honey, bee's honey, quicksilver, iron dust, yellow myrobalan, bitumen, vermifuge and ghee,³ during twenty-one⁴ days, one will, however old, be he an octogenarian, pleasure a girl as if he were a young man.

4. If one drink milk boiled with cowach roots, or pease cooked in milk and ghee, every sixth portion being followed by a potion of milk, he shall not be exhausted by women.

5. A man having numerous wives should take powder of *Batatas paniculata* with its own sap, repeatedly commixed, and then dried, and drink along with it milk boiled with sugar.

6. On swallowing powder of emblic myrobalan with its own sap, well commixed, and joined to honey, sugar and ghee, and on drinking milk after, a man may at heart's content indulge love, when the remedy has been digested.

7. *Siquis amasius lacte unâ cum testibus hircinis concocto saepe conspersa sesama, deinde bene siccata, ederit, posthac lac biberit, quomodo ei passer antecellet?*

8. Men who take boiled *Shashtika* rice with ghee and pease porridge, and after it drink milk, shall over night not abate in the sport of love.⁵

¹ Cf. *Suçruta*, i. p. 321.

² Cf. *Suçruta*, ii. p. 153, sqq., with the contents of this chapter throughout.

³ Comm.: एतानि घृतमाषिकवर्षं सर्वाणि सममाषाणि कार्याणि । घृतमाषिकाभ्यां भावयित्वा गुलिका (i.e. pill) कार्यम् ॥

⁴ It is strange that all MSS. agree in exhibiting *विंशतिरहानि*; the author ought to have written—I dare not say, has written—*विंशति-महानि*.

⁵ The Commentator has not understood the passage, because he

9. A mixture of *Batatas paniculata* and *Shashtika*-rice, pounded, with sesamum, *Physalis* and cowach root, the whole soaked in goat's milk and ghee, then boiled, will be a very invigorating pudding.

10. After applying *Asteracantha longifolia* with milk, or eating the bulbs of *Batatas paniculata*, one will not be exhausted (in sexual intercourse), if the remedy be well digested. Should the digestion be slow, you may apply the following powder.

11. Yellow myrobalan with Ajowan and salt; pepper with ginger (take equal portions of them, and pound the whole); have the powder soaked in vinous liquor, buttermilk, sour gruel and boiling water. This is a mixture for promoting digestion.

12. One who takes to the habit of eating excessively sour, bitter, salt or pungent things, and meals chiefly consisting of saline potherbs, will lose the power of sight, sperm and manhood, and so, after getting a woman, he will, however young, make several sham attempts, as if he were an old man.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

Preparing of Perfumes.

1. Since wreaths, perfumes, pastils, garments, ornaments, etc., are not becoming in a man with white hairs, one should have care of dyeing the hair, no less than of unguents and ornaments.

2. Put into an iron vessel grains of *Paspalum*, boiled in vinegar, with iron dust; pound the whole fine; apply it to the head after wetting the hair with vinegar, and keep the head covered with wet¹ leaves.

wrongly takes मद्ने न to be one word, in the instrumental case. Hence his explanation मद्नेन सह शिरते is quite wrong; शिरते means here the same as सोदन्ति, अथसोदन्ति.

¹ According to the reading of the Comm., viz. *ardrapatrayā*. The term of the printed text is rendered: "with leaves of *Calotropia*."

3. After six hours take them off; thereon apply to the head an unguent of emblic myrobalan, and have it for six hours wrapt in leaves. On being washed, the head shall become black.

4. Thereupon remove the smell of iron and vinegar from the head by means of scented hair-waters and scented oils, sweet perfumes and sundry pastils, and so indulge in the royal pleasure in the female apartments.¹

5. A scented hair-water fit for kings is prepared from equal proportions of Cassia-bark, costus, Reṇukā, Nālī, Trigonella, myrrh, Tabernaemontana and Andropogon schoenanthus, mingled with Mesua² and Tamāla leaf (Xanthochymus).

6. Hair oil of the scent of Campaka is made from powder of madder, cuttlefish bone, Nakhi (shell perfume), Cassia-bark, costus and myrrh, which, after being parched in the sun's rays, should be mixed with oil.

7. From equal proportions of Tamāla-leaf, olibanum, Andropogon schoenanthus, and Tabernaemontana is prepared a perfume (going by the name of) "Incentive of love." The same, combined with fragrant Dhyāma grass³ and fumi-

¹ Between stanzas 4 and 5 the Comm. inserts the following remarks :

अथ द्रव्याणां सर्वेषां प्रायः काञ्जिकेन चालनं । निर्मलेन केषाञ्चिज्जलेन ।
केषाञ्चिन्नोमूत्रेण । जखं तिलतैलेनायसभाण्डस्यं पचेत् । मृद्वपिना पाक-
वेधबोधधूपनानि लोकोक्तो ज्ञेयानि । यतः सकलसंहितास्माभिर्व्याख्या-
तुमारब्धा । केषलमृष्यचराणां व्याख्या क्रियते । न चास्माकं तथाविध-
मथ प्रावीक्ष्यमतस्तस्मिन्लोकव्यवहारतः कार्यः प्रयोगनियम इति ॥

² The identification of the drugs enumerated here and in the sequel rests chiefly upon the authority of the Commentator.

³ With two MSS., read सध्यामी, because something else is required but a term for *kushṭha*, which occurs in the next line. Now the word व्याम is a synonym of कुष्ठ, though the dictionaries give व्याधि and a much suspected व्याज्. The proof that व्याधि and व्याम are right is this: *kushṭha* denotes "costus," and "a certain disease (leprosy)." As व्याधि means "disease," the words are considered synonymous, and, according to Indian fashion, interchangeable. Consequently we have to look for another synonym in व्याम. This word

gated with Areca nut and Assafoetida,¹ yields a perfume (called) "Bakula-scent." The same with costus is termed "Lotus-scent," and with sandal, "Campaka-scent." Allied with nutmeg, Cassia-bark and coriander, it goes by the denomination of "Gaertnera-scent."

8. For one-fourth anise and pine-resin; for one-half Nakhi² and olibanum; and for one-fourth sandal and fragrant Priyangu:³ these make a perfume which is to be fumigated by sugar and Nakhi.

9. Bdellium, Andropogon schoenanthus, lac, cyperus grass, Nakhi and sugar (in equal proportions), constitute a compounded perfume. Another is made from spikenard, Andropogon schoenanthus, Nakhi and sandal.

10. Many nice compounded perfumes are prepared from yellow myrobalan, Nakhi, Cassia-bark,⁴ myrrh, Andropogon

is wanting in the dictionaries in the sense of "disease," but there is not the slightest doubt of its existence, because व्याम = रोग; व्यामयति, etc., is common enough. Consequently व्याम = व्याधि, and व्याधि = कुष्ठ, therefore व्याम = कुष्ठ. Herewith is established the existence of *vyāma* in the acceptation of "disease, evil," and it follows that the reading व्याम in one MS. of the Comm. is corrupted. Another question remains: "what did Utpala read?" He paraphrases व्यामक (so in the MSS.) with निर्दग्धक. According to the dictionaries the latter should be Solanum Jacquinii; it may be, but is as yet rather doubtful. In a list of botanical terms to be found in the Comm. we find this, unhappily corrupted, line: रासा (v. l. रोमो) मृणाक्षी रामञ्जी (v. l. गमञ्जी) व्यापकं (v. l. व्यामकं) देवदग्धकम् ।

The term *devudagdhaka* is unknown to the dictionaries; it is the same with Utpala's निर्दग्धक (either masc. or neut. and not fem., though the dictionaries know only a fem. निर्दग्धका, etc.).

¹ Comm. takes *lingu* to be bdellium or vermilion; हिङ्गुः । हिङ्गुलकः । गुग्गुलुक इति प्रसिद्धः । I see no reason for this, as Assafoetida is extensively used in India.

² Comm.: नखं शङ्खोन्नवं चर्म ।

³ In the text read भागो.

⁴ Reading and rendering equally doubtful. In my MSS. of the Comm. it is here written दन्, elsewhere चन्. Utpala gives here no

schoenanthus, sugar, costus, benzoin and cyperus-grass, by increasing the proportion of each subsequent drug out of the nine by $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, and so forth.

11. Four proportions of sugar, benzoin and cyperus-grass ; two of turpentine and Sāltree-resin ; one of Nakhi and bdellium : let all this be made into a lump with honey, and let the scent be excited by camphor.¹ The result is a compounded perfume termed Kopacchada (*i.e.* concealing anger), worthy of kings.

12. A powder from Cassia-bark, Andropogon muricatus and Tamāla-leaf, in three portions, allied with half a portion of small cardamums, is an excellent perfume for clothes, when the scent has been revived by musk and camphor.

13, 14. An immense number of perfumes can be made from sixteen substances, if every four of them are permuted at will, and that in one, two, three or four proportions.²

paraphrase, but in st. 29 he explains it by *paripelavam*. This term, however, is synonymous with *musta*, and as the latter is enumerated apart in st. 10 and 24, Utpala must be mistaken, unless, contrary to the authority of the dictionaries, *paripelavam* be not = *musta*. Even if we prefer *ghana*, we are not sure that Cassia-bark is intended ; cf. however st. 12 and 24.

¹ The Comm. gives a definition of the terms *vedha* and *bodha* : आर्द्रं आर्द्रं यो दीयते स वेधः । चूर्षिते यच्चूर्षो दीयते स बोधः । He quotes for the purpose a distich in Prākṛit, from Īçvara, an author on the art of preparing perfumes :

उत्तमीश्वरेण स्वस्वा गन्धयुक्तौ
उद्धसिचो उद्धसिए चो दिव्वर् वेहो इति सो भविसो ।

बोहो उच्य चो चुषो चुषे विशिषास्त गन्धस्त ॥

The last words should be corrected, I think, into विशिष्यन्तु गन्धसि (or गन्धस्ति or गन्धस्मि) = Skr. विशिष्यो गन्धे ; the rest is clear.

² Comm. : अतोऽस्माद्गन्धगणादेतिरेव घनादिभिश्चतुर्भिश्चतुर्भिः स्वेच्छापरिवर्तितैरास्तीयेच्छापरिधामितैर्विपर्ययोक्तैः । कथम् । एकद्विचिचतुर्भिर्निर्गन्धार्यवो गन्धसमुद्भो भवति । अथ योउग्र योऽष्टकाः कार्यः । तिर्यक् चत्वारो-धो-धसत्वारः (such a receptacle is called a चक्षुपुट) । तत्राद्योऽष्टकात्मभुति यथापाठक्रमेण घनादीनि विशिष्यानि । तत्र वा ।

The drugs are: Cassia-bark, Andropogon schoenanthus, benzoin, Curcuma Zerumbet,¹ Andropogon muricatus, Mesua, cuttlefish-bone, Trigonella, agallochum, Artemisia, Nakhi, Tabernaemontana, coriander, Cora and sandal.

15. Always take only one proportion of coriander, and still less of camphor; of neither add two or more proportions, because otherwise their scent would be too powerful.

16. The enumerated drugs must be fumigated with pine-resin, turpentine, sugar and Nakhi, severally, not combined. As a means to revive the fragrancy, add musk and camphor.

17. The number of perfumes resulting from sixteen ingredients (being mixed in all possible combinations) is $4000 + 70000 + 100000 + 720 (=174720)$.

18. Each drug taken in one proportion, being combined with three others in two, three and four proportions, successively, makes six sorts of scents. Likewise when taken in two, three, and four proportions.²

19. As in this manner four substances combined in different proportions yield twenty-four perfumes, so too the other tetrads. Hence the sum will be ninety-six.

20. If a quantity of sixteen substances is varied in four different ways, the result will be a number of 1820.

21. Since this quantity combined in four ways admits of

प्रथमपङ्कती वनादीनि चत्वारि । द्वितीयस्वामुशीरादीनि । तृतीयस्वामगुर्वादीनि । चतुर्थी धानकादीनि । यदुक्तं “खेच्छापरिवर्तितेषुतुर्भिरतः । एकद्वित्रिचतुर्भिर्भागीगन्धार्यवो भवति” तत्र भेदाः प्रदर्शने यथाक्रमेण सर्वेषां प्रत्येकस्य षड्भेदाः सम्भवन्ति । चतुष्कस्य चतुर्विंशतिरिति (see st. 18 sq.) । तथाथा वनस्त्रीकभागः । वासकस्य द्वी भागी । श्लेषिकस्य चयो भागाः । कर्पूरस्य चत्वारः । एको गन्धः ॥ वनस्त्रीको भागः । वासकस्य द्वी । श्लेषिकस्य चत्वारः । कर्पूरस्य चयः । द्वितीयो गन्धः ॥ वनस्त्रीको भागः । वासकस्य चयः । श्लेषिकस्य द्वी । कर्पूरस्य चत्वारः । तृतीयो गन्धः ॥ and so forth.

¹ Read कर्पूर.

² Cf. foregoing note.

ninety-six variations, the number of 1820 must be multiplied by ninety-six. The product will be the total of possible combinations of perfumes.¹

23, 24, 25. Take two proportions of agallochum, three of Tamāla-leaf, five of olibanum, eight of benzoin, five of fragrant Priyangu, eight of cyperus-grass, two of myrrh, three of Andropogon, four of Trigonella, one of Cassia-bark, seven of Tabernaemontana, six of spikenard, seven of sandal, six of Nakhi, four of pine-resin and one of Deodar-resin. Mix them four by four in a receptacle of sixteen divisions. The mass of eighteen proportions (in each tetrad) constitutes a compound for perfumes, etc.

26. Let the same be blended with Nakhi, Tabernaemontana and olibanum; revive the fragrance by nutmeg, camphor and musk; fumigate with sugar and Nakhi. In this way are made scents called Sarvatobhadra (i.e. "good for all use").

27. Many perfumes for the mouth² are prepared from a collection of four substances among the fore-mentioned, permuted at will. After the fragrance has been excited by nutmeg, musk and camphor, the compound should be sprinkled with mango juice and honey.

28. If the compounded perfumes into whose composition enters turpentine and pine-resin are modified, so that the place of turpentine and pine-resin is taken by Andropogon schoenanthus and Cassia-bark, they become scents for washing.

29, 30. Take Lodh, Andropogon muricatus, Tabernaemontana, agallochum, cyperus-grass, fragrant Priyangu, Cassia-bark³ and yellow myrobalan; permute and vary them three

¹ The translation of st. 22 (recurring in Brh. Jātaka, 13, 4) is omitted, as, without the copious commentary and some diagrams, it would be hardly intelligible. The explanation also is found in the printed edition of the Brh. Jātaka.

² Comm.: पारिजाताः पारिजातसङ्घमन्धा मुखवासा भवन्ति ।

³ Reading and rendering doubtful. The Comm. paraphrases the word by *paripelava*. But, this being the same with *mustā*, is wholly out of question, because we find *mustā* in the same line. As *vana* is

by three in a receptacle of nine compartments; join to each compound one proportion of sandal, one of olibanum, one-half of Nakhi and one-fourth of anise; fumigate with hellebore (?), vermilion and sugar. In this manner are prepared eighty-four perfumes for the hair.

31. (To perfume) tooth sticks used for brushes, put them for a week into cowstale mixed with yellow myrobalan, and again into scent-water.

32, 33. This scent-water is to be prepared from small cardamums, Cassia-bark, Tamāla-leaf, antimony, honey, pepper, Mesua and costus. Keep the tooth sticks for a while¹ in it; then powder them with a mixture of four proportions of nutmeg, two of Tamāla-leaf, one of small cardamums, and three of camphor, and let them dry in the sun's rays.

34. Tooth sticks (so prepared) will procure to him who uses them, freshness of colour, brightness of the face, purity and fragrance to the mouth, and an agreeable voice.

35. Betel stimulates love, sets off the countenance, ingratiate, gives fragrance to the mouth, is tonic, quells phlegmatic diseases, and is productive of yet other advantages.

36. Used with a moderate dose of lime, it gives colour; with too excessive a dose of areca-nut, it destroys colour; with too much lime, it gives a bad smell to the mouth, but when the betel-leaf predominates, a pleasant smell.

37. At night a quid of betel is salutary, if it consists chiefly of leaf, and at day-time, if it is mixed with lime; to apply betel in any other fashion than those here prescribed is a mere abuse of it. When the fragrance of betel is enhanced by Kakkola, Areca, Averrhoa and Erythrine,² it awakens the joys of amorous intoxication.

one of the terms for water, and any word for water denotes *Andropogon schoenanthus* (*Arīvera*), it is possible that our author, if he really wrote *vana*, meant *Arīvera*.

¹ Half a day, says Utpala.

² The Comm. takes पारिजात to mean जातीफल, and about खवली-फल he says: खवलीपुष्पं तस्य फलासम्भवात्; of course wrong, for who would say *phala* instead of *pushpa*? As to *pārijāta*, the author may have meant "scents for the mouth" in general.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

Union of Man and Wife.

1. Tradition says that Vidûratha was killed by his own queen with a weapon concealed in her plaited hair, and the king of Kâçi-land¹ by his disaffected queen through means of an ankle-ring smeared with poison.²

¹ काशीराजम् is an erratum for काशि°.

² Utpala quotes from Kâmandaki a passage, which in the Calcutta ed. of the Nītisāra is vii. 49, sqq. Some readings in my MSS. of the Comm. (which need not be exactly those Utpala himself wrote down), are better, some worse than in the Calcutta ed.; the passage runs thus :

ज्ञातानुक्तिः सुरभिः सन्मी ह्यपिरभूषणः ।
 ज्ञातां स्वदत्तवसनां पश्येद्देवीमभूषणाम् ॥
 नहि देवीगृहं बद्धेद्दानीयसन्निवेशनात् ।
 अत्रनावहन्मो-पीह विस्रब्धं स्त्रीषु न त्रयेत् ॥
 देवीगृहगतो ज्ञाता मद्रसेनममारयत् ।
 मातुः शब्दान्तरासीनं कारुषं चौरसः सुतः ॥
 ज्ञानान्विषेख संयोज्य मधुनेति विस्रोमितम् ।
 देवी तु काशीराजेनं निवधानं रहोवतम् ॥
 विषास्त्रेण च सीवीरं मेखसामखिना नृपम् ।
 नूपुरेण च वैद्यत्वं (v. l. वैवर्त्तं) कारुषं दर्पणेन च ॥
 वेद्यां शस्त्रं समाधाय तथैव च विकूरयम् ।

It is obvious that the reading बद्धेद्देवीं in the Calc. ed. is preposterous, because it is distinctly prescribed in the next following verse that the king should *not* go; *gacchet* is a would-be emendation, from some half-learned reader, who was unaware of *paçyati* (*दृश्यते*, *darçanam*, etc.), meaning "to receive one's visit." On the other hand, we have to read with the Calc. ed. देवीगृहगतं and शब्दान्तरे सीनः. I am doubtful about स्वदत्तवसनां and अभूषणाम्, but judge them preferable, as they harmonize with the tenor of the whole passage, which tends to inculcate the necessity of being suspicious. It may be noticed that Kâmandaki and our author are at variance anent the story of the poisoned ankle-ring.

2. So do disaffected wives occasion deadly mischief: why need we mention other examples? Therefore, let men carefully try whether their wives are affected or disaffected.

3. Affectionateness springing from amorous passion is indicated by expressions of feeling, by showing the navel, arms, bosom, ornaments, by tightening the garments, by untying the plaited hair, by twitches and tremblings of the eyebrows, by side-glances.

4. (Other tokens of affection are :) in her husband's presence, she will spit with noise, laugh loud, rise up from couch or seat, have slight convulsions and yawn, ask little for things easily to be had, fondle and kiss her child; when he has turned his face, she will look at her female companion, follow him with the eye, mention his virtues, scratch her ear.

5. You may hold that she, also, is affectionately disposed who talks kindly, shares her wealth, gladdens at seeing her husband, and, forgetting her anger, wipes out any fault of his by extolling his good parts.

6. She will honour his friends, hate his enemies; be grateful, feel sad at his absence; offer him her breast and lips, clasp him in her arms, sweat, and be the first to apply a kiss.

7. The gesture of a disaffected wife is frowning; the brows, turning away the face, ingratitude, want of eagerness, fretfulness, kindness towards her husband's enemies, and harsh language.¹

8. On touching or beholding him, she shudders; plays the proud part; tries not to retain him when he is going; on receiving a kiss, she wipes her mouth; she rises the last, and sleeps the first.

9. Buddhistic nuns, female ascetics, handmaids, nurses, errand-girls, laundresses, flower-sellers, vile women, female companions, barbers' wives, serve as go-betweens.

10. As go-betweens occasion the ruin of respectable families, one should carefully keep any wife from them, that the reputation and honour of the family may increase.

¹ Cf. Rāja-taranginī iii. 503, sqq.

11. Nocturnal walks, vigils, pretended sickness, visits to another's house, consultations with soothsayers, and immoral festivals, are occasions for rendezvous at which wives must be taken heed of.¹

12. A loving wife will, at first,² show no desire, and will not leave off the amorous chat, though somewhat abashed and drooping. In the midst of the action she will be devoid of shame, and, on the close, bashfully drop her face. Then, again, she will show various expressions of sentiment, and, perceiving the humour of her husband, attentively accommodate herself to him in movements indicative of weariness or otherwise.

13. Good qualities in a wife are youth, beauty, fashionable dress, gentleness, discreetness, sprightliness, and so on. If they are possessed of good qualities, they are called "jewels of wives," whereas others, for an intelligent man, are "nuisances."

14. A wife, when in privacy with her husband, should not

¹ Comm. तद्याच काञ्चपः

दुडसङ्गरता या तु सा चिप्रं नाशयेत्कुसुमम् ।
 तीर्षयाचाटनं भेदी परवेरमसमानमः ॥
 देवाण्ये रात्र्यटनं परस्परनिवासिभिः ।
 पितृवेरमनि वासं(!)च न त्रेयः स्वामिना विना ॥
 घृतकुम्भोपमा नारी पुत्रवो वह्निरर्षसा ।
 संक्षेपाद्भवते कुम्भसद्वत्स्त्री पुंसि भाविता ॥
 निर्बन्धे तु विविक्ताङ्गं या स्त्री पुत्रवमीक्षते ।
 तस्माः प्रस्त्रियते गुह्यमनुयाह्येच्छयान्विता ॥

The third stanza has been received into Vetâla-pancavinçati and other works (see Böhrlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 2217), with many corruptions and unsuccessful attempts to restore the true reading. The neuter gender of वास is vouched by unimpeachable authorities, and as in the Dict. of B. and R. it is distinctly noticed that the neuter *vâsam* has not, as yet, been discovered, it is worth while to remark that it occurs in the passage above.

² Comm.: प्रथममेव शयने पतिता सुरतं नेच्छति ।

be smutty, not talk in boorish terms, not speak of unseemly parts of the body, nor mention other business, for it is in the mind that Love takes his origin.

15. Sending forth her breath equally with her husband, ready to offer him her arm for a pillow and her breasts, the hair scented and the amorous desire soon aroused, she goes to slumber after he has fallen asleep and awakes before him.

16. Avoid ill-tempered females, and such as are impatient in times of pressure. Nor are those approved whose blood is dark, blue, yellow or slightly copper-red.

17, 18. A woman that is sleepy, has too much blood and bile, is vexed with the whites, of a rheumatic and phlegmatic constitution, gluttonous, sweaty, with deformed limbs, short-haired and with (prematurely) grey hairs ; further, one whose flesh is not solid, who is paunch-bellied and-lisping ; besides, those who in the chapter on the signs of women have been declared wicked : with any such should a man not play the sport of love.

19. The menstrual blood is sound if it is tinged like hare's blood or similar to lac, and fades after washing.¹

20. Such blood not attended with noise and pain, and ceasing to flow after three days, will unquestionably, subsequently to coition, develop into an embryo.

21. Let a woman during those three days not indulge in bathing, wearing wreaths, and anointing the body, and let her bathe² on the fourth day according to the injunction prescribed in a work of authority.

22. Let her use for her bath the herbs enumerated in the chapter on the Inauguration ceremony (Ch. XLVIII.), mixed with water ; on the same occasion the prayer there taught will serve.

23. In the even nights, so they say, males are procreated ; in the odd ones, females ;³ in the even nights, each fourth night⁴ omitted, long-lived, handsome and lucky males.

¹ Cf. Suçruta, i. p. 315.

² Cf. Suçruta, I. p. 316.

³ Cf. Suçruta, i. p. 321.

⁴ Comm. : समासु चतुर्थी राशि वर्धयित्वा ।

24. On the right side (of the womb) lies a male child ; on the left, a female one ; twins occupy both sides ; a fetus lying in the middle of the womb may be held to be a hermaphrodite.

25. Let a man have sexual intercourse with his wife when the central houses (*i.e.* the 1st, 4th, 7th and 10th) are occupied by benign planets ; when the Moon is stationed in the first house and in conjunction with good planets ; when the malign planets occupy the third, eleventh, sixth houses, or when the constellations are of a kind to portend the birth of sons.

26. During the space of time fit for coition should a man by no means hurt his wife with nails or teeth. The fit time for coition is sixteen days, but in the first three nights he had better have no intercourse with her.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

Signs of Couches and Seats.

1. I am going to tell the signs of couches and seats, because this science will constantly be of use to everybody, and especially to kings.

2. Good trees (for beds and seats) are Asan, Dalbergia, sandal-tree, yellow sandal-tree, Deodar, ebony, Sâl, Gmelina, Morunga, Padmaka, Tectona and Sissu.

3, 4. Unfit are trees overthrown by thunderstrokes, water, wind ; those in which bees and birds have taken up their abode ; those growing on a hallowed spot, cemetery, road, or being sear at the top, and entwined with creepers ; or spinous trees, those growing at the confluence of great rivers or near temples, and such as have fallen down in a south-western direction.

5. From the use of couches and seats constructed from forbidden trees ensues the ruin of the families, and diseases, peril, expensés, quarrels and all sorts of misfortunes arise.

6. Or should the timber have been hewn formerly, then

it behoves to be examined at the time the work is taken in hand. If a little lad climb upon the timber, it will procure sons and cattle.

7. You may deem it a lucky token, if at the beginning of the work you happen to see white blossoms, a rutting elephant, curdled milk, barley-corns, filled water-jars, gems, and other auspicious things.

8. A digit, as used in workmanship, is equal to eight barley-corns deprived of the husks and laid in such a way that they touch each other on the swelling part. A bed of the greatest length, amounting to a hundred digits, is fit for kings and promises victory.

9. Couches of ninety, eighty-four, seventy-eight, and seventy-two digits are fit for princes, ministers, army commanders and court-priests, successively.

10. The width is, after the prescript of Viçvakarman, one-eighth less than half the length.¹ The height of the legs, with swelling part and top included, is equal to one-third of the length of the couch.

11. A couch constructed wholly of Gmelina, will bestow riches; one of Asan, removes sickness; one of the hardest ebony, gives wealth.

12. One exclusively fabricated from Sissu, promotes well being in many ways; one of sandal-wood, repels enemies and promotes virtue, renown and long life.

13. A couch of Padmaka secures longevity, fortune, learning and wealth; one made of Sâl timber, produces happiness; so does one of Tectona.

14. A monarch who reposes upon a couch constructed exclusively of sandal-wood and decked with gold, studded with variegated gems, will be honoured by the very gods.

15. Ebony and Sissu produce no good effects, if joined with other wood; nor do Gmelina, Decdar, and Asan.

16. Tectona and Sâl, however, bring luck, whether combined or separate. Likewise yellow sandal and Nauclea are lucky, whether single or united.

¹ Taken roughly, e.g. the width of a royal couch will be equal to $50 - \frac{50}{8} =$ nearly 43.

17. A couch made wholly of Dalbergia is not favourable, whilst one of tamarind-wood is destructive of life. Asan being joined with other timber, will soon produce many evils.

18. The legs may be made from tamarind-wood, Tectona and sandal-wood, but the best from Tectona. Couches and seats from the timber of any fruit-tree will have favourable effects.

19. They approve of using ivory in connexion with any timber before mentioned, provided the ornamental work be made from irreproachable ivory.

20. Cut off from an elephant's tusk a part equal to thrice the circumference at the bottom, a little more in case of tusks of elephants frequenting marshy grounds, a little less in case of hill elephants, and thereon carve the rest.

21. If in cutting figures appear resembling a Çrivataa, Vardhamāna, umbrella, standard or chowries, good health, triumph, increase of wealth and joy are to be expected.

22. A figure similar to some weapon bodes victory; one like a spiral turning to the right, bodes the recovery of land lost; one resembling a clod, the complete possession of land formerly acquired.

23. If some figure showing like a female turns up, riches will be lost; if it be a vase, a son will be born. A water-pot indicates the getting of a hidden treasure, and a rod impediment to a journey.

24. Figures of lizards, monkeys, snakes, portend famine, sickness, oppression by a foe; forms like vultures, owls, rooks or hawks, bode pestilence.

25. If the figure resembles a noose or headless trunk, the sovereign will die; if blood is oozing, calamity befalls the people. If the cut be black, grey, rough and bad-smelling, disaster is near.

26. A white, even, good-smelling and sleek cut will bring luck. The being auspicious or inauspicious of the cuts, produces corresponding effects to the couches.

27. According to the precept of the masters, one ought, in fitting the sidebeams, to lay the points of the beams in a

direction from left to right.¹ If they be laid contrariwise, or all turned to one direction, there will be danger from Spirits.

28. Where one leg² stands topsy-turvy, there will the owner's foot get crippled; where two legs are in the same predicament, food remains indigested; where there are three or four in such a condition, will be misery, death and captivity.

29. If there is a hollow or discoloured spot in the upper part of the leg, it portends sickness; a knob on the swelling part of the leg threatens disease of the belly.

30. Beneath the swelling part is the lower leg, a knob in which causes unsafety. There below is the base; a knob in this place will occasion the ruin of goods.

31. A knob at the hoof (so called) will, it is declared, cause distress to hoofed animals. Inauspicious also is a knob occurring at a third of the whole length of the sidebeams and crossbeams.

32. The different sorts of flaws in the wood may be summed up in the following nomenclature: cavity, boar's eye, hog's eye, calf's navel, freckle and Dhundhuka.³

33. The flaw called cavity looks like a waterpot, hollow in the middle and narrow at the mouth; the other termed boar's eye is as large as a Catjang-pea and blackish.

34. The "hog's eye" is distinguished by being rough, discoloured, and by extending over one knot and a half. The "calf's navel" is a fissure running from right to left, and extending over one knot.

35. The defect termed freckle is black, and the Dhundhuka is a cleft. If a faulty spot shows the same colour with the rest of the wood, it is pronounced to be not so very bad.

36. The defect going by the name of cavity causes loss of property; the boar's eye, ruin to the family; the hog's eye, danger from the sword; the calf's navel, danger from sickness.

¹ *i.e.* in a direction following the course of the sun.

² *i.e.* support of the couch.

³ The true form of this word is uncertain; cf. var. readings.

37. The flaws termed freckle and Dhundhuka, as well as spots vitiated with insects, bring no good. In general, timber with numerous knobs will in no case be favourable.

38. A couch made from one kind of good timber will be lucky; yet more lucky one of wood of two trees; one constructed from three promotes the well-being of one's children; one from four insures wealth and eminent renown.

39. He who rests on a couch constructed from five kinds of trees will lose his life on it. A couch made from the timber of six, seven, or eight trees occasions the ruin of the house.

CHAPTER LXXX.

Trying of Diamonds.

1. A good jewel insures to kings good luck; a bad one, disaster. Hence let connoisseurs examine Destiny as connected with jewels.

2. The word "jewel" is applied to elephants, horses, women, etc., if they excel in the good qualities of their own kind; but here are we to treat of jewels in the sense of precious stones, *i.e.* diamonds and the rest.

3. Some say that gems owe their birth to Bala, the demon; as others tell, to Dadhîca. Others still teach that the variety of precious stones is a result of earth's nature.¹

4, 5. (The most common gems are:) diamond, sapphire, emerald, agate, ruby, bloodstone, beryl, amethyst, Vimalaka, quartz (?), crystal, moongem, sulphur-hued gem (?), opal, conch, azure-stone, topaz, Brahma-stone, Jyotirasa, chrysolite (?), pearl, and coral.

6. The diamond found on the bank of the Venâ is quite pure; that from the Koçala-country is tinged like Sirisa-blossom; the Surashtrian diamond is somewhat copper-red; that from Supara, sable.

7. The diamond from the Himâlaya is slightly copper-

¹ Cf. also Atharva-Veda, iv. 10.

coloured; the sort derived from Matanga¹ shows the hue of wheat-blossom; that from Kalinga is yellowish, and from Puṇḍra, grey.

8. A hexagonal, white diamond, is consecrated to Indra; a dark one, of the shape of a snake's mouth, to Yama; one hued like a plantain stalk, of any shape, to Viṣṇu.

9. A diamond of the shape of a female pudendum and hued like the flower of Pterospermum, will be Varuṇa's; a trigonal one, of the colour of a tiger's eye, is consecrated to Agni.

10. A diamond having the form of a barley-corn and the hue of Aḥoka-blossom, is declared to be Vāyu's. Diamonds are found in three different ways: in rivers, in mines, and sporadic.

11. A red or yellow diamond is fit for Kshatriyas; a white one, for Brahmans; one of the hue of Sirisa-flower, for Vaiṣyas; whereas a diamond of the dark tinge of a sword is deemed good for Çūdras.

12, 13. Eight seeds of white mustard make one grain. The price of a diamond weighing twenty grains is two lakhs (200,000) Karshas silver; a diamond weighing eighteen grains is worth two lakhs lessened by $\frac{1}{4}$ (*i.e.* 150,000) Karshas silver; weight sixteen grains, price twenty lakhs— $\frac{1}{2}$ (*i.e.* 133,333 $\frac{1}{2}$); weight fourteen grains, price 100,000; weight twelve grains, price 66,666 $\frac{2}{3}$; weight ten grains, price 40,000; weight eight grains, price 12,500; weight six grains, price 8000; weight four grains, price 2000; weight two grains, price 200 Karshas of silver.

14. A diamond is said to be beneficial (to the owner), if it cannot be pierced by any other substance, is light, cleaves through water like a ray, shows glossy and similar to lighting, fire, or the rainbow.

15. Diamonds that show scratches like crowfeet, flies, or hairs, are mixed with coloured mineral substances or gravel, have double facets, are smeared, tarnished, dull² or perforated, are bad.

¹ According to Utpala: मतङ्गदेशसम्भूतम् ।

² Comm. : चक्षुः विगतव्यभिः ।

16. Likewise such as are covered with bubbles, split at the points, flattened, or oblong like the fruit of Gendarussa. The price of all such is one-eighth less than that above specified.

17. Some authorities maintain that women who are anxious to get children should not wear any diamond, but (our opinion is that) diamonds shaped like a triangle, Tripuṭa-grain,¹ coriander-seed, or female pudendum, are salutary to ladies desirous of offspring.

18. A diamond with wrong characteristics causes to monarchs the ruin of house, fortune, and life; whereas a good diamond dispels foes, danger from thunderstrokes or poison, and promises many enjoyments.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

Trying of Pearls.

1. Pearls come from elephants, snakes, oysters, conch-shells, clouds, bamboo, dolphins, and boars. Out of these the pearl from oysters is by far the best.

2. The latter is produced in eight places, viz. Ceylon, Paraloka,² Surāshṭra, Tāmraparṇī, Persia, the North country, Pāṇḍya district, and Himālaya.

3. The pearls coming from Ceylon are many-shaped, glossy, swan-white, large; those from Tāmraparṇī are white with a slight red tinge, bright.

4. The pearls from Paraloka are blackish, white or yellow, mingled with gravel, not smooth; those from Surāshṭra neither big nor too small, and hued like fresh butter.

5. The Persian pearls are brilliant, clear, heavy, and extremely valuable. The Himalayan pearl is light, hollow, coloured like curdled milk, big, of various shapes.

6. That from the North country is rough, black or white,

¹ The Comm. takes *tripuṭa* to mean a triangle: त्रिभिः पुटैर्युक्तम्; he may be right.

² A country, according to Utpala; it is not unlikely the Pāraka in Rāmāyaṇa, iv. 40, 29.

light, of good size and brilliancy. Pearls from the Pāṇḍya district are like Nîm-leaf, Tripuṭa-grains, or coriander-seed, and fine as grit.

7, 8. A pearl, dark-tinged like flax-blossom, is consecrated to Viṣṇu; one like the moon, to Indra; one having the hue of orpiment, to Varuṇa; a sable one, to Yama; one red like a ripe pomegranate's kernels or Abrus-berry, must be attributed to Vâyu; one resembling smokeless fire or red lotus, to Agni.

9. The price set down for a single pearl of good lustre and quality, weighing four Mâshakas, is 5300 Karshas silver.

10. The prices for pearls weighing $3\frac{1}{2}$, 3, $2\frac{1}{2}$, 2, $1\frac{1}{2}$ Mâshakas, successively, are: 3200; 2000; 1300; 800; 353 K. silver.

11. A single pearl, having the weight of 1 Mâshaka, may fetch 135 K.; a single pearl weighing 4 Rettis¹ is worth 90 K.; one of $3\frac{1}{2}$ Rettis, is worth 70 K. silver.

12. The price of a single pearl of good quality, weighing 3 Rettis, comes to 50 silver pieces (*i.e.* Karshas); that of one weighing $2\frac{1}{2}$ Rettis, comes to 35 silver pieces.

13. The tenth part of a Pala is equal to 1 Dharāṇa. If thirteen nice pearls together fetch the weight of 1 Dharāṇa, their price is fixed at 325 K. silver.

14, 15, 16. Sixteen pearls to one Dharāṇa are worth 200; twenty p., 170; twenty-five p., 130; thirty p., 70; forty p., 50; sixty or fifty-five p., 40; eighty p., 30; a hundred pearls, 25; two hundred, three hundred, four hundred, five hundred pearls, weighing together one Dharāṇa, are worth, successively: 12; 6; 5; 3 silver pieces.

17. The term to denote a collection of thirteen pearls that together make up the weight of one Dharāṇa, is Pikka; a collection of sixteen, Picca; and so in succession are collections of twenty, twenty-five, thirty, forty, fifty-five, or sixty denominated Argha, Ardha, Ravaka, Sikhthaka, and Nigara. Eighty, and so forth, are called pearl-dust.

18. The price specified above for collections weighing one

¹ One Retti (*gunjâ, kṛshṇala*) = $\frac{1}{2}$ Mâshaka.

Dharaṇa applies to the case of pearls of good quality, and is to be lowered for such as are of inferior quality. The value of quantities intermediate between the enumerated terms must be calculated proportionally.

19. When pearls look black, whitish, yellowish, copper-red, somewhat rough, they are worth less by one-half; when considerably rough, their value is diminished by one-sixth; and when quite yellow, by one-half.

20, 21. The tale goes that there are pearls engendered in the frontal globes and the hollow of the tusks of elephants from the family of Airāvata at (the Moon's conjunction with) Pushya, Çravaṇa, on Sundays and Mondays, and of the happy elephants born during the Sun's northern course at an eclipse of Sun or Moon. They are abundant (it is told), of big size, of various shapes, and splendid.

22. Those are beyond any estimate, and should not be perforated, being too splendid. When worn by kings, they will prove highly purifying, and bestow children, triumph and good health.

23. At the root of boars' tusks there is (it is told) a pearl of great value, lustrous like moonshine. The pearl coming from dolphins resembles a fish's eye, is highly purifying and of great worth.

24. It is also affirmed that pearl is produced in the manner of hailstones, and dropped from the seventh (*i.e.* highest) region of wind, where celestial beings took it from the sky. The pearl springing from the clouds is lightning-like.

25. The snakes of the lineage of Takshaka and Vāsuki, and the snakes roaming at will¹ have bright, blue-tinged pearls in their hoods.

26. If the Rain-god, on a sudden, drops something on a

¹ These snakes are, of course, the clouds, and their pearls the rain and dewdrops. Whether our author understood the mythological phrases he borrowed, is not quite clear; but this much is certain, that he distinctly intimates the mythical character of the tales about snake pearls, etc., for he says *kila*.

blessed spot of the earth, and into a silver vessel, one may regard it to be a pearl coming from the snakes.

27. The inestimable snake pearl, when worn by kings, dispels misfortune, destroys enemies, propagates renown and bestows victory.

28. You may know a pearl to originate from bamboo by its being flat, coarse, and coloured like camphor or crystal. The pearl produced from the conch-shell shows a moonlike hue, is round, glittering, and clear.

29. Pearls from conch-shells, dolphins, bamboo, elephants, boars, snakes and clouds may not be perforated, and as they are of immense value, no price has been fixed upon by the authorities.

30. All these pearls are of great worth, procure to monarchs sons, wealth, popularity, renown ; dispel sickness and sorrow, and give them what they desire and like.

31. A pearl chain, composed of 1008 strings and four cubits long, is an ornament of the gods, and termed Indra-cchanda (*i.e.* Indra's pleasure). Half the former in measure is the Vijayacchanda (*i.e.* the pleasure of Indra's grandson).

32. A chain of 108 strings is styled a pearl collar ; one of 81 is a Devacchanda (*i.e.* the pleasure of gods). A half-collar has 64 strings, and a Raçmikalâpa (*i.e.* radiant zone) has 54.

33. A garland is composed of 32 strings ; a half-garland, of 20 ; a Mânava of 16 ; a half-Mânava of 12.

34. The chain called Mandara consists of 8 strings ; the Hârâphalaka (*i.e.* plat collar) of 5 strings. A necklace of one cubit's length, and containing twenty-seven pearls, is named a Star-cluster.

35. They call the latter a Gem-ladder, when it has precious stones or small balls inserted, and a Câtukâra (*i.e.* coaxer), when it has a brooch in the middle.

36. A so-called single string may contain any number of pearls, is one cubit long, and has no gem ; but if it is joined with a gem in the middle, it is termed a Stake by the connoisseurs of ornatue.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

Trying of Rubies.

1. Rubies come from sulphur, cinnabar,¹ and crystal. Those produced from sulphur show the lustre of bees, anti-mony, lotus, rose-apple, or myrrh.

2. Those which proceed from cinnabar (or black salt) are grey, of a pale lustre, and mixed with mineral substances; those coming from crystal are lustrous, vari-coloured and pure.

3. Smooth, brilliant on the surface, very pure, sparkling, heavy, of nice shape, brilliant within, high-coloured,²—such are the good qualities of these precious stones in general.

4. The defects of the stones are their being impure, of faint lustre, covered with scratches, blended with coloured minerals, fragmentary, ill-perforated, not lovely to the eye, and mixed with grit.

5. They affirm that in the head of snakes there is a gem, hued like a bee or peacock's tail, and shining like the flame of a lamp. Such a one may be considered of inestimable value.

6. The sovereign who shall wear it, shall never receive injury from poison or illness; in his domain abundant rain is always poured by the Rain-god, and he annihilates his enemies by the power of that gem.

7. The price of a single ruby weighing a *pala* (=4 *karshas*) is, we are taught, 26,000 silver pieces (*i.e.* Rûpakas=Kârshâpanas); one stone of the weight of three *karshas* is worth 20,000 p. silver.

8. A single ruby, having the weight of half a *pala*, is valued at 12,000 p. s.; weighing one *karsha*, at 6000 p. s.; one of eight Rettis' weight, at 3000.

9. One having the weight of four Rettis may be bought for 1000, and one of two Rettis costs 500 s. pieces. The price of rubies of intermediate weight must be calculated

¹ Or black salt.

² Read in the text *राजो*.

proportionally, and with regard to their being of inferior or superior quality.

10. A stone deficient in colour fetches half the (usual) price; one lacking brilliancy, an eighth part; one with few good and many bad qualities, fetches one-twentieth of the standard price.

11. A stone somewhat dusky, with many flaws and few good qualities, will fetch $\frac{1}{800}$. Such is the price of rubies, as stated by the ancient masters.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

Trying of Emeralds.

1. An emerald¹ of the hue of parrots, bamboo-leaves, plantain or Sirisa-blossom, and of good quality, is extremely beneficial to every man, when worn at ceremonies in honour of the gods or Fathers.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

Symptoms of Lamps.

1. A light turned leftwards, showing dull rays, sputtering sparks, of little bulk, going out soon, although furnished with pure oil and wick, crackling and quivering, forebodes evil consequences. Not less so, when it has a diffused flame, and gets extinguished without the agency of grasshoppers or wind.

2. A light of compact form, long-sized, quiet, glaring, noiseless, clear, turned rightwards, of the lustre of beryl or gold, reveals speedy luck; likewise when it shines long² and sprightly. The other symptoms resemble those of fire, and apply *mutatis mutandis*.

¹ The first syllable of मरुत्त has been lost in printing.

² The translation follows the var. reading सुचिरं.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

Tokens of Tooth Sticks.

1. Sticks for cleansing the teeth may be made from thousands of sorts of creepers, spreading plants, shrubs and trees,¹ and one might (if needed) expound the effects of them severally; but in order not to delay too long by doing so, I will only tell the favourable consequences.

2. Let no one use for tooth sticks twigs of an untried sort of wood, nor twigs with leaves, or with an even number of knots, or such as are split, sear at the top, or devoid of bark.

3. From Flacourtia, Bilva, and Gmelina (being used) is to be expected Brahminical illustriousness; from the Kshema-tree, a good wife; from the Indian fig-tree, prosperity; from Calotropis, much splendour; from Bassia, sons; from Terminalia Arjuna, popularity.

4. Fortune is (insured) by the use of Sirisa and Pongamia; much-desired success by the waved-leaved fig-tree. By the use of jessamine-wood one becomes honoured with the people; the use of Pipal, they say, is attended with eminence.

5. Good health may be expected from Jujube and Solanum; increase of dominion from Acacia and Bilva; desired goods from Dalbergia; ditto from Nauclea.

6. Azadiracht procures acquisition of wealth; and Oleander, getting of food; the Indian fig-tree, abundant food. He who uses Sami and Terminalia Arjuna, dispels his enemies; Echites also tends to the destruction of foes.

7. Dignity, they say, will result from the use of Sâl and Açvakaṛṇa,² as well as of Deodar and Gendarussa. By (using the wood of) fragrant Priyangu, Achyranthes, rose-

¹ Cf. Suçruta, ii. 135, sqq.

² Sâla and Açvakaṛṇa are generally taken to be synonymous.

apple and pomegranate, one will become a favourite with everybody.

8. Let one after treasuring up any wish whatsoever in his heart for a year, use an irreproachable tooth stick, seated at his ease, with the face turned northward or eastward, and let him after cleansing leave the stick in a pure place.

9. A tooth stick falling towards you, and in a tranquil¹ quarter of the horizon, is favourable; it is particularly good if it occupies an elevated place. The reverse is declared mischievous, whereas it announces dainty food, if it stands one instant, and immediately after falls.

¹ *i.e.* not scorched by the sun.

(To be continued.)

ART. VI.—*Note on the Valley of Choombi.* By DR. A. CAMPBELL, late Superintendent of Darjeeling.

As this valley has never been visited by an European traveller, the little I have to say about it may make it acceptable to the Society. On one occasion I tried to visit it in company with Dr. Hooker, but unsuccessfully, as, after reaching the top of the Chola Pass—14,900 feet—which leads into it from Sikim, we were met by an officer of the Chinese Government at Lassa, with a military escort, who refused us permission to enter the valley.¹ The particulars I have to state may, I believe, be relied on, as during many years I had constant opportunities of communicating with traders and others residing in the valley, in addition to the officials of the Sikim Raja, who annually sojourned in it from May to November. The route from Darjeeling to Choombi was described by me many years ago,² as also the route from it to Lassa; but no one has described the valley itself.

Choombi lies in the Eastern Himalaya, between Sikim and Bootan, and on the route from Darjeeling to Lassa. It is in the bed of the Machoo River, which, rising from the base of Chumalari, a mountain 23,000 feet high, runs through Choombi, and leaving it at Rinchingong, traverses Bootan to Cooch Behar, in the plains of Bengal, where it is known as the Torisha River. It is bounded on the West and South by the Chola and Yakla ranges, 17,000 feet high, and on the North and East by the Chakoong and Kamphee mountains. To the North by Thibet. Its length from Galling, on the North, to Rinchingong, the exit of the Machoo, is 20 or 24 miles. It is not above a mile broad anywhere. It is in the

¹ See Dr. Hooker's Himalayan Journals, vol. ii., for details of this expedition.

² See Journal Asiatic Society of Calcutta.

territories of the Government of Lassa, and is said to have been so always. In its physical characters it much more resembles Bootan, which bounds it on the South and East, than it does the contiguous province of Phari to the North, which is characteristically Thibetan, *i.e.* bare, and without trees.

The soil is generally light loam and sand, and not rocky. Cultivation is carried on in the flat part of the valley, and some way up both sides of the bounding mountains there is a good deal of vegetation and many trees. Pines prevail, of rather stunted growth; and there are three kinds of Rhododendron on the neighbouring mountains. The *Pinus longifolia* is not found there, nor does rice grow in any part of it. The crops are wheat, barley, pease, mustard, sown in March, reaped in September.

The grazing is excellent, and large herds of yaks and cows abound. The cow is a very small breed, like the gains of India, but is a good milker.

It is administered by the civil officer at Phari, of which Thibetan district it is a dependency, but the Government operations are confined to collecting the revenue, which is raised by a land tax, head money on cattle, and a house tax. There are no magisterial or police arrangements, the Bootanese commit thefts there with impunity, and also carry off the people occasionally. When this has been carried very far, the Lassa authorities have addressed the Paro Pilo, whose Bootanese jurisdiction extends to the confines of Choombi, and it has been arrested.

The inhabitants are of the same race as the Bootanese, at least they are more like them than they are to the Thibetans. The climate is notably salubrious. The rainfall is much less than in Bootan or Sikim, there is but little damp in the air, and the soil is never muddy anywhere in the rains. It is well peopled. The town of Eusa is built in close streets, the houses are of mud, with shingle roofs.

The valley is divided into sixteen Talooks, called Chocheeroop, *viz.* Galling, Eusa, Gango, Rinchiongong, Bukchaum, Tema, Choombi, Keomsheth, Rebun, Phari, Kanghoo,

Kangten, Toyen, Shari, Gianuk, Keomooshoo. The population is estimated at 3000 souls.¹

The people are fond of trade, their mart to the north is Phari. To the south they trade with Bootan, and a little with Sikim.

The carriage from the south and to Phari is all by porters. At Phari yak carriage is to be had abundantly and cheaply. In trading with Thibet from Bootan and Sikim, the great drawback is the expense of porter carriage as far as Phari. Rice, tobacco, sugar, munjeet, endicloth, timber, rattans, bamboos, are the principal articles exported from the south to Phari. The Chinese authoritatively monopolize all the rice that goes to Phari, whether through Choombi from Sikim, or from Bootan. It is required for the Chinese troops at Lassa, who hate feeding on wheat, barley, and even dried mutton, the staple articles of consumption in that city. Rice is always very dear at Lassa, five seers per rupee is reckoned cheap. A maund of tobacco will sell at Lassa for 30 rupees; it may be had at Darjeeling for 3, and at the foot of the hills sometimes for 1. Sugar is proportionately dear, and all this enhancement of price arises from the want of roads for bullock and pony carriage.

The direct route from Western Bootan to Phari is not through Choombi, but by a more northerly one from Paro *viâ* Pema. This is the route which Turner took in 1783, it leaves Choombi to the left. The distance of Paro from Choombi is a long day's journey east, and a little south—say 25 miles. A traveller on foot can go from Choombi to Phari in a day. After the first few miles, you round the end of the Chakoong range; there you leave trees and vegetation, and come on the bare stony plains, which continue to Phari.

The Sikim Raja has no territorial rights in Choombi. He has, however, become the possessor of a little land by purchase. In Thibet proper he has two small Talooks, viz.

¹ Number of houses—Choombi, 20; Pema, 20; Eusa, 12; Gango, 45; Rinchingong, 25; Shari, 20; Gianuk, 20; Bukchaum, 10; Toyen, 8; Galling, 60; Keoomsheth, 18; Rebsom, 50; Kanghoo, 30; Kangten, 12; Phari, 300: total, 650. One-half of the houses at Phari are mere temporary booths erected by casual traders.

Dobtah and Sareh, they are west of Kongra Lama,¹ and on the road to Digarchi and Lassa.

The Sikim Raja and the Bootanese of the Paro Pilo's jurisdiction are constantly engaged in disputes and quarrels, which arise about contested limits, and in the practice of kidnapping one another's subjects. The Bootanese before the last war were desperately addicted to this, and carried it on, not only against the Sikimites, but against British subjects along their whole frontier of Rungpoor, Cooch Behar, and Assam. The persons kidnapped were of all ages, of both sexes, and were usually sold into slavery.

Another cause of feud was their respective claim to the supremacy of a Goomba or monastery in Choombi. This was for a long time a large and thriving monastery, and had nearly 100 lamas attached to it. Dissensions arose among them, in the course of which the Abbot died. To complicate matters completely, it was announced that he had reappeared in this life in two places, and in two persons, at the same time: one was at Gantoke, in Sikim, in the person of the Kazi's brother; the other in Bootan, and the person was a relative of the Paro Pilo! Here were nuts to crack for the wily monks. The partisans on both sides made strenuous efforts to induct their respective Awatars; but neither got a footing in the Goomba, and the dispute was referred to the Grand Lama at Lassa. His Holiness decided in favour of the Sikim candidate. This was not to be disputed by the Pilo. But before the successful Lama was seated, the Bootanese plundered the monastery of all its silver utensils, other valuables, and library, and left nothing but the bare walls for the new superior. The Goomba has now gone entirely to decay, and is deserted. The temporal authorities at Lassa did nothing to punish this outrage. They appeared to leave Choombi to take care of itself, and much at the mercy of the Bootanese.

On one occasion a party of Bootanese, under orders from the Paro Pilo, was assembled near Phari, and actually be-

¹ The Pass by which Dr. Hooker and I entered Thibet. See vol. ii. of Himalayan Journals.

leaguered the Sikim Raja on his return from Thibet, and for two months prevented his return to Choombi. This was their method of forcing him into their terms regarding some boundary dispute, and it was for the purpose of coercing me as the Political Agent for the affairs of Sikim, that the Raja's Dewan ordered my siezure and imprisonment.

A reference to the Thibet authorities procured his release eventually. The Raja applied to me for assistance in arms and ammunition, but it was refused. The Raja and his Ranees, who are all Thibetans, leave Tumloong¹ annually for Choombi in the month of May, and return to Sikim in November. The great damp and constant rain in Sikim for that period disagrees greatly with all natives of Thibet.

¹ The Sikim Raja's usual residence.



ART. VII.—*The Name of the Twelfth Imám on the Coinage of Egypt.* By H. SAUVAIRE and STANLEY LANE POOLE.

SEVENTEEN years ago the lamented M. Soret published a description of a most interesting silver coin struck at Miṣr in the year of the Flight 525 (A.D. 1130–1), bearing a name *Abu-l-Kásim Muḥammad Al-Muntazar-bi-amri-lláh*, which does not appear in the list of the Fátimí Khalífahs of Egypt, though the place and date of the coin would certainly lead us to suppose that it was struck by a ruler belonging to this dynasty. A remarkable circumstance is that the coin was struck *during the reign of Al-Háfiz*.

Hitherto this dirhem of M. Soret's has been the only recognized coin of Al-Muntazar: but now another may be added, a gold coin in the collection in the British Museum, struck at Cairo in the same year as the dirhem above mentioned. The following is the description of this dínár, and of M. Soret's dirhem.

1 Gold. *Inedited.* (*British Museum.*)

AL-KÁHIRAH, 525.

Obverse—Area—عال غاية

Inner Margin—إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله على ولي الله

Outer Margin—محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهري ودين الحق
ليظهرة على الذين كته ولو كره المشركون

Reverse—Area { الإمام
محمد

Inner Margin—أبو القاسم المنتظر لأمر الله أمير المؤمنين

Outer Margin—بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينر
بالمعزبة القاهرة سنة خمس وعشرين وخمس
مائة

2 Silver. (Soret, *Rev. Archéol. XIII^e année.*)

Obverse—Area { الله
الصدق

Inner Margin—As on the *dínár* just described.

Outer Margin—As on the *dínár*.

Reverse—Area { الإمام
محمد

Inner Margin—أبو القاسم المنتظر بأمر الله أمير المؤمنين

Outer Margin—بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمصر سنة خمس
وعشرين وخمسمائة

(I have taken several liberties with M. Soret's description of this coin. In the first place I agree with M. Sauvaire that the engraving of the coin warrants the reading (suggested by M. Sauvaire himself) المنتظر instead of المنتصر which Soret read; and besides this I have reversed M. Soret's designation of avers and revers for the sake of uniformity with the *dínár*, and because I think that the obverse is always the side on which the more important inscriptions and names occur; and there can be no question that a Muslim, (not being a numismatist,) if asked which was the more important side, would say, That with the profession of faith on it.)

Now, having described the coins, there comes the question, who was this Abu-l-Kásim Muḥammad Al-Muntazar? The answer which Professor Tornberg proposed was that he was the father of the Khalifah Al-Háfiz, and in this opinion Soret agreed. It is, of course, a curious coincidence that Al-Háfiz's father should have borne the name Abu-l-Kásim Muḥammad; but it must be remembered that this name and patronymic combined are common enough. There is no historical evidence for Prof. Tornberg's theory.

The case is very different, however, with M. Sauvaire's explanation: it is supported by incontrovertible evidence, and must at once establish itself as the real solution of the problem. M. Sauvaire will soon publish his explanation of

the difficulty in his work on the coins of the Fâṭimī Khalīfahs, which will form one of the sections of the new international edition of Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia* : but in the meanwhile he wishes me to make his solution of the problem generally known, and I therefore transcribe part of his letter to me.

Extract from a Letter from M. H. Sauvaire.

ALEXANDRIE, le 23, 9^{bre}, 1873.

. Vous terminez votre liste des Fathémites du British Museum en signalant l'embarras causé par la présence, sur le précieux dinar de 525 (el Qahéra), du nom d'un personnage qui ne se trouve pas dans la série des Khalīfes d'Égypte. F. Soret et M. Tornberg ont également essayé de résoudre cet intéressant problème pour un derhem de la même année frappé dans l'atelier monétaire de Masr.

J'ai été assez heureux pour trouver la solution du problème; elle figura dans mon petit travail; mais en attendant qu'il soit terminé vous pourrez, si vous le jugez à propos, donner communication de la présente note au "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland."

F. Soret avait très-ingénieusement supposé que le père de Hâfezh, étant encore en vie¹ à l'époque de l'avènement de son fils, avait pu se considérer comme ayant le plus de droit à la succession éventuelle d'El-Âmer; une coïncidence étrange, car le père de Hâfezh portait les noms d'Abou'l Qâsem Mohammad, semblait pouvoir corroborer à tel point l'explication du savant et regretté numismatiste de Genève, que M. Tornberg ne pouvait s'empêcher de lui donner la préférence sur toute autre, et ne mettait même guère en doute que de nouvelles recherches ne vinssent la confirmer.²

Cependant une note manuscrite de la main même de F. Soret sur l'exemplaire qu'il eut la bonté de me faire parvenir

¹ Cependant Maqrīzī dit qu'El Hâfezh était le plus âgé des plus proches parents d'El Âmer.

² [Here I must remark that M. Sauvaire has made a slight oversight: it was Prof. Tornberg who proposed the explanation here referred to, and M. F. Soret who gave it the preference over all others.—S. L. P.]

de sa "Lettre à M. Tornberg sur quelques monnaies des dynasties alides," contient ces mots : "Lorsque j'ai publié cette lettre j'ignorais encore d'existence d'un même mémoire de De Sacy, qui explique un dinar analogue à l'espèce décrite, et donne une interprétation plus satisfaisante qui la mienne du problème que j'ai cherché à résoudre."

Vous serez plus à même que moi, Monsieur, de rechercher le mémoire publié par S. de Sacy ; mais j'ai tout lieu de croire que ce savant, qui avait fait une étude approfondie de Maqrîzî, a trouvé la véritable solution ; c'est là en effet qu'elle se trouve complète, bien qu'Ebn Khallikân soulève en partie le voile dans la biographie du XI^me Khalife fathémite. Quant à Ebn El Athîr, (ed. Tornberg, t. x. pp. 468 et 473,) ses renseignements, quoique très-intéressants, ne sont pas complets. Je signalerai même, à propos de cet auteur, un fait qui m'a surpris : c'est l'absence de toute mention, dans ses Annales, du nom d'Abd Er-Rahîm qu'El Hâkem be'amr allah désigna en l'a. 404 comme son héritier présomptif. Quoiqu'il en soit, l'auteur du Kâmel fi't tarikh nous apprend bien qu'Abou 'Aly Ahmad, le vizir, fit faire la Khothbé en son propre nom avec les titres honorifiques de "Es-Sayyed El Afdhal El Adjall. Abou 'Aly Ahmad Ebn Es-Sayyed El Adjall El Afdall Chahinchah, Emir El Djoyouch," et peut être trouvera-t-on un jour quelque monument monétaire venant confirmer cette assertion, car la Khothbé était accompagnée du droit de battre monnaie ; mais Ebn El Athîr ne nous donne pas comme Maqrîzî la solution de notre problème.

Ebn-Khallikân (t. i. p. 429, du texte arabe ed. de Slane, et vol. ii. de la tradⁿ p. 180) nous apprend qu'après s'être saisi d'El Hâfezh, le fils d'El Afdhal fit faire la prière publique au nom d'El Qâim fi akher ez-zamân que les sectateurs des douze imâms ou Imâmites désignent sous le nom d' El Imâm El Montazhar (l'imâm attendu).

Mais j'en arrive à Maqrîzî, où on lit, t. i. p. 406 (ed. de Boulaq), sous le chapitre consacré à l'hôtel des monnaies دارالضرب : " Le premier acte du vizirat d'Ahmad Ebn El Afdhal fut de faire saisir le Khalife El Hâfezh qu'il

emprisonna dans la dite chambre : il le fit charger de fers, et s'occupa de le déposer; mais il ne put accomplir ce projet. Ahmad Ebn El Afdhal était imâmy, aussi supprima-t-il de la Khothbé la mention d'El Hâfezh et il fit faire l'invocation au nom d'El Qâim El-Montazhar; il fit graver sur la monnaie

الله الصمد Dieu l'éternel.

الامام محمد L'Imâm Mohammad.

Quand il eut été tué le mardi, 16 de Moharram, de l'a. 526, El Hâfezh fut tiré de sa prison," etc.

Nous avons presque la description de la précieuse monnaie du British Museum : le derhem décrit par F. Soret porte en effet au centre d'un côté الله الصمد¹

et de l'autre الامام محمد

Il ne nous reste plus qu'à rechercher les noms et kennyé de l'Imâm Mohammad. Je ferai d'ailleurs remarquer que sur la gravure donnée par Soret, sous le no. 10, dans la I^{re} planche accompagnant sa lettre à M. de Dorn, Bruxelles, 1856, le *ظ* de المنظر est très-distinct, et que c'est ainsi qu'il faut lire au lieu de المنصر El Montaser.

La biographie de Mohammad surnommé El Heuddjé, se trouve dans le 2^{de} vol. de la traduction d'Ebn Khallikân par M. le B^{on}. de Slane, p. 81. Nous y lisons:²

'Abû'l-Kâsim Muhammad, the son of al-Hasan al-Askari (vol. i. p. 390), the son of Ali al-Hâdi (vol. ii. p. 214), the son of Muhammad al-Jawâd (see the preceding article), was one of the twelve Imâms, according to the opinion of the Imâmities. He was surnamed al-Hujja (*the proof of the truth*), and it is he whom the Shiites pretend to be the *Muntasar (the expected)*, the *Kâim (the chief of the age)*, and the *Mahdi (the directed)*. According to them, he is the *Sâhib as-Sirdâb, (the dweller in the cistern, [l'habitant du*

¹ [Instead of this the British Museum dinâr has عال غاية.—S. L. P.]

² [M. Sauvaire, in his letter, gives a French translation of this biography, but I thought it better to extract the whole intact from Ibn-Khallikân in the English.—S. L. P.]

souterrain, Sauvaire,]) and the opinions they hold with regard to him are very numerous. They expect his return (*into the world*) from a cistern at Sarra man raa, when time is near its end. He was born on Friday, the 15th of Shaabân, A.H. 255 (July, A.D. 869). When his father died, he was five years of age. His mother's name was Al-Khamt, but some call her Narjis (*narcissus*). The Shiites say that he entered into the cistern at his father's house whilst his mother was looking on, and that he never again came out. This occurred in the year 265 (A.D. 878-9), and he was at that time nine years of age. Ibn al-Azrak says, in his History of Maiyâfârikîn: "The birth of the Hujja took place on the 9th of the first Rabi, A.H. 258; others say, and with greater truth, on the 8th of Shaabân, 256 (July, A.D. 870). When he went into the cistern, his age was four years; some say five; and others again state that he entered it in A.H. 275 (A.D. 888-9), at the age of seventeen years." God knows best which of these statements is true.'

J'ai traduit Serdâb par "souterrain."¹ On sait en effet qu'à Baghdad pendant les fortes chaleurs les habitants ont l'habitude de se retirer dans des Serdâb, qui sont, non des citernes, mais des espèces de caves ou places pratiquées sous le sol.

Je vous demande pardon, Monsieur, d'avoir abusé vos instants, et vous prie d'agréer l'assurance de ma considération la plus distinguée.

HY. SAUVAIRE,

1er Drogman du Consulat Général de France à Alexandrie d'Egypte.

At the beginning of this notice I said that hitherto only one coin, a dirhem, of this Muḥammad Abu-l-Kâsim had been known, and that the dînâr from the British Museum, now for the first time published, was the only other. M. Sauvaire's reference to De Sacy's memoir² has shown me that a third coin, similar to them, was described by that eminent scholar forty-three years ago: but it was strictly

¹ [In this D'Ohsson agrees, translating *grotte*. Tab. Gén. t. i. p. 88 (apud De Sacy). - S. L. P.]

² Published in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vol. ix. 1831, pp. 284-316.

true that the only coin really known was F. Soret's dirhem, for it is clear that neither that renowned numismatist nor the accomplished savant Prof. Tornberg knew of De Sacy's treatise, until after Soret's was published.

De Sacy's coin is a *dínár* precisely similar to that in the British Museum, except that the mint-place is Al-Iskandaríyah, and that (like Soret's dirhem) it has *المنتظر بأمر الله*, whilst the British Museum *dínár* has *المنتظر لأمر الله* distinctly.¹ As M. Sauvaire foretold, De Sacy's explanation is precisely the same as his own. I quote a sentence :

“Le prince dont on lit le nom sur notre médaille n'est point un personnage historique, qui a régné ou aspiré à régner en Egypte à l'époque où elle a été frappé : c'est un personnage fantastique, je dirois presque mythologique, l'*imam attendu* dont la manifestation doit avoir lieu à la fin des temps ; en un mot, le Mahdi, dont les noms sont effectivement *Mohammad Abou'l Kasem*.” (Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. 1831. t. ix. p. 288.)

De Sacy supports his theory by many historical extracts, including that from Ibn-Khallikán (life of El-Háfiz) *وخطب القائم في آخر الزمان المعروف بالإمام المنتظر على زعمهم* وكتب اسمه على السكة, which is quoted by M. Sauvaire, but without mentioning the important last few words, about which De Sacy observes that his *name* (not merely his *laqab*) was on the coins, showing that Ibn-Khallikán was aware of the prominence of the name, Muḥammad, of Al-Muntazar, on the coinage.

De Sacy, however, had not found that passage in Al-Makrízí's *Khiṭaṭ* (though he found others), which M. Sauvaire quotes, from the chapter on the Mint, and which is by far the most important piece of historical evidence on the subject.

Though, therefore, this theory had before been propounded by Silvestre de Sacy, yet equal credit is due to the in-

¹ Both readings are intelligible : the former means 'the expected by the command of God' ; the latter 'the expected for [executing] the command of God.'

genuity and labour of M. Sauvaire for his independent researches; and to him alone belongs the credit of having brought forward the most valuable witness to the accuracy of the solution of the problem.

*On the Names of the Capitals of Egypt.*¹

The occurrence of the name *Al-Mo'izziyah Al-Káhirah* on the first of the coins described above needs some explanation, and in order to do this I must first say a few words on the names of the successive capitals of Egypt under the rule of the Muslims.

When the Arabs first conquered Egypt in the eighteenth year of the Flight (A.D. 639), they rejected the existing metropolis Alexandria, and founded *Al-Fustát*. This remained the capital till shortly after the end of the Amawí Khalífahs, when (in 133, A.D. 750-1) the governors or *náibs* of the 'Abbásis changed the seat of government by founding the small town of *Al-'Askar*, close to *Al-Fustát*, and there taking up their residence. In 256 (A.D. 870) Aḥmad Ibn-Ṭúlún was appointed governor, and very soon made himself independent, and transmitted his power to his descendants, founding the dynasty of the *Beni-Ṭúlún*. This dynasty occupied another capital, *Al-Katáë'*, a town which was built by Aḥmad Ibn-Ṭúlún near the two already founded. *Al-Katáë'* was partly burnt down in 292 (A.D. 904-5) when Muḥammad Ibn-Suleymán restored Egypt to the rule of the 'Abbásiyah, who continued to appoint lieutenants till 323 (A.D. 935). These later *náibs* of the 'Abbásis, like the earlier governors who preceded the *Beni-Ṭúlún*, established themselves in *Al-'Askar*, which thus became once more the capital of Egypt. But in 323 Muḥammad Al-Ikshíd was for the second time appointed *náib*, and made himself independent, like Aḥmad Ibn-Ṭúlún,

¹ My authorities for this account of the Capitals of Egypt are chiefly the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, art. *Egypt*, of which the part relating to modern Egypt was written by my father E. Stanley Poole; Mrs. Poole's *Englishwoman in Egypt*; and Mr. Lane's MS. account of Cairo (forming part of his *Description of Egypt*), which I used to confirm the other two works. I may add that the account of the history of Cairo in Mrs. Poole's work has been republished abroad by a German Orientalist without the slightest acknowledgment.

founding the dynasty of the *Ikhshidiyah*, and retaining Al-'Askar as capital. In this state the government remained till 358 (A.D. 968-9), when the Fátimí Khalífah of Africa (Tunis) Al-Mo'izz-li-díni-lláh sent Jóhar Al-Káid to invade Egypt. Jóhar, having conquered the country, set about making a fit metropolis for his master. He found the large and populous city of Al-Fustát, and near it the town of Al-'Askar and the remains of Al-Kaṭáë'; but none of these seemed to please him, so he founded a new city, which he called *Al-Manṣuriyah*, but which shortly afterwards received the name of *Al-Káhirah*, on account of an omen which happened whilst Jóhar was laying the foundations of the wall, the planet Mars (Al-Káhir) being in the ascendant. Al-Káhirah was the residence of the *Fátimis*, and has remained the capital of Egypt ever since. In the present day the city, which we call Cairo, and the inhabitants call *Maṣr*, includes not only 'Al-Káhirah proper, but also what has been built upon the sites of Al-'Askar and Al-Kaṭáë'. Al-Fustát has not quite vanished from the land, for remains of it at a short distance from Cairo are still known by the name of *Maṣr Al-'Atikah* or Old Maṣr.

We see, then, that Al-Fustát, Al-'Askar, Al-Kaṭáë', Al-'Askar again, and Al-Káhirah, have successively been the capitals of Egypt. The question now arises, by what names are these various towns represented on the coins?

From 113 (the date of the first known coin struck at Miṣr) to 560 the name *Miṣr* alone is found on the coins, with two exceptions: the first is the occurrence of Miṣr and Al-Fustát, on opposite sides of some copper coins struck between 127 and 132; the other is the *dínár* of 525 described above, to which I shall return further on. From the loose habit of Arab historians to refer to the capital of Egypt by the name *Miṣr* (which was also applied to the country itself), it has been concluded that each successive capital (by which term I mean seat of government) was called *Miṣr*. It is my belief, however, that this name was correctly applicable to Al-Fustát alone, until Turkish times, when Al-Káhirah succeeded to the designation. If this view be correct, we

must obviously admit that the coins were always struck at Al-Fustát, (which was the largest of the cluster of towns until Al-Káhirah became supreme,) without reference to the changes in the place of residence of the different governors. I have not, as yet, met with any historical evidence to the truth of this theory, but the coins themselves furnish a fact which lends considerable support to it. We have already seen that up to the year 560, the name Al-Káhirah does not appear on the coinage, except in the *dínár* of 525, and this being a sort of revolutionary coin cannot be regarded as of any weight in deciding the question whether the regular coinage issued from Al-Fustát or from El-Káhirah: moreover, a *dirhem* was struck in the same year with the name *Miṣr*. After this curious *dínár* of 525, the name *Miṣr* was restored to the coinage, until 560, after which I know of no coin bearing that name till the modern Turkish coinage was introduced. But it is remarkable that on a *dínár* of the Fátimí Al-'Ádid, of 564, the name Al-Mo'izzíyah 'Al-Káhirah occurs, just as on the coin of 525, and that from that date Al-Káhirah alone appears on the coinage, not of the Fátimís, for this *dínár* is the last struck by them at their capital so far as I know, but of the succeeding dynasties of the Ayyúbís and the Bahrí and Burjí Memlúks. In itself there would be nothing extraordinary in the fact that the regular appearance of the name of Al-Káhirah on the coinage dates from 564, but we only see the full significance of it when we remember that it was in 564 that Al-Fustát was burnt down by the Wezír Sháwir, to save it from the hands of Amaury, and the inhabitants took refuge in Al-Káhirah. This, then, is the chief support of my view of the applicability of the name *Miṣr* to Al-Fustát alone, and of the consequent invariableness of the mint-place, that we find the name Al-Káhirah permanently introduced on the coinage as soon as Al-Fustát was burnt down, and not before, save on one exceptional coin.

We must now look at the name *Al-Mo'izzíyah Al-Káhirah*, by which the latest capital of Egypt is designated on the earliest two coins struck in it. The reason for the use of

this name *Al-Mo'izziyah* is sufficiently obvious, from the city having been founded by *Jóhar*, the general of the *Fátimí Al-Mo'izz*. But however reasonable may be the adoption of the name, no historian seems to have been acquainted with it, and even *Al-Makrízí* does not, to my knowledge, mention it. This ignorance of the name by the historians made me very careful in asserting the reading. If the coin of 525 had been the only example of the name, I confess I should not be able to insist upon the reading *المعزّية*, for the coin has had a blow in the middle of the mint-name which renders it somewhat indistinct; but the occurrence of this name on the other *dínár*, of 564, convinces me that the reading of the earlier coin is also correct. After having satisfied myself of the accuracy of *Al-Mo'izziyah*, it occurred to me, that though the name was ignored by the historians, I might find some mention of it among the geographers. A reference to the *Marásid-el-itṭilá'* produced the subjoined extract, which shows that the reading of the name is historically as well as numismatically correct:—

“*Al-Káhirah*, a city by the side of the city of *Al-Fustát*; one wall comprehends them both; and in the present day it is the greater city [of the two]; and in it is the regal palace and the abode of the army; and in the present day building has extended so as to form a junction between it and *Miṣr* [*Al-Fustát*]. And it is known as *Al-Káhirah El-Mo'izziyah*, because it was built in the days of the '*Alawí El-Mo'izz Abú-Tamím*, who was in Egypt: his slave *Jóhar*, whom he had sent with the armies of *Afríkíyah* to take possession of the country of Egypt, founded it in the year 358, after the death of *Káfúr*.”¹

القاهرة مدينة بجانب مدينة القسطنطينية يجمعهما سور واحد وهي اليوم المدينة العظمى وبها دار الملك ومسكن الجند وقد اتصلت العمارة اليوم بينها وبين مصر وتعرف بالقاهرة المعزّية لأنها عمّرت في أيام المعزّابي تميم العلوي الذي كان بمصر أحدثها جوهر غلامه كان انغذه في الجيوش من افريقية للاستيلاء على الديار المصرية في سنة ٣٥٨ بعد موت كافور

It is noteworthy that the author of the *Marāsid-el-iṭṭilá'*, writing in the eighth century of the Hijrah, applies the name *Miṣr* to the old city. I am strongly inclined to believe that *Miṣr* was the name of *Al-Fuṣṭáṭ* alone of all the Muslim capitals of Egypt, until it became desolate and ruined, when it received the epithet of *Al-'Atīkah*; and that when historians speak of *Miṣr* at a time when *Al-'Askar* or *Al-Kaṭáë'* were the capitals, they are using the name in a vague and inaccurate sense for the whole cluster of towns. This is a question which deserves to be worked out. The coinage certainly favours my view.

BRITISH MUSEUM,
Jan. 22nd, 1874.

STANLEY LANE POOLE.

Postscript.

A few weeks ago Dr. E. von Bergmann, Custos of Coins and Antiquities at the Imperial Museum at Vienna, was good enough to send me a *Separat-Abdruck* of an article by him, *Beiträge zur muhammedanischen Münzkunde*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the *Akademie der Wissenschaften* at Vienna. It is a singular coincidence that Dr. von Bergmann publishes a coin of *Al-Muntazar* similar to *Soret's*, and has arrived at precisely the same solution of the difficulty as *De Sacy* and *M. Sauvaire*. As the learned Viennese numismatist does not refer either to *De Sacy's* or to *Soret's* memoir, I conclude his researches have been conducted independently.

Feb. 24.

S. L. P.

ART. VIII.—*Three Inscriptions of Parākrama Bāhu the Great from Pulastipura, Ceylon (date circa 1180 A.D.).* By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

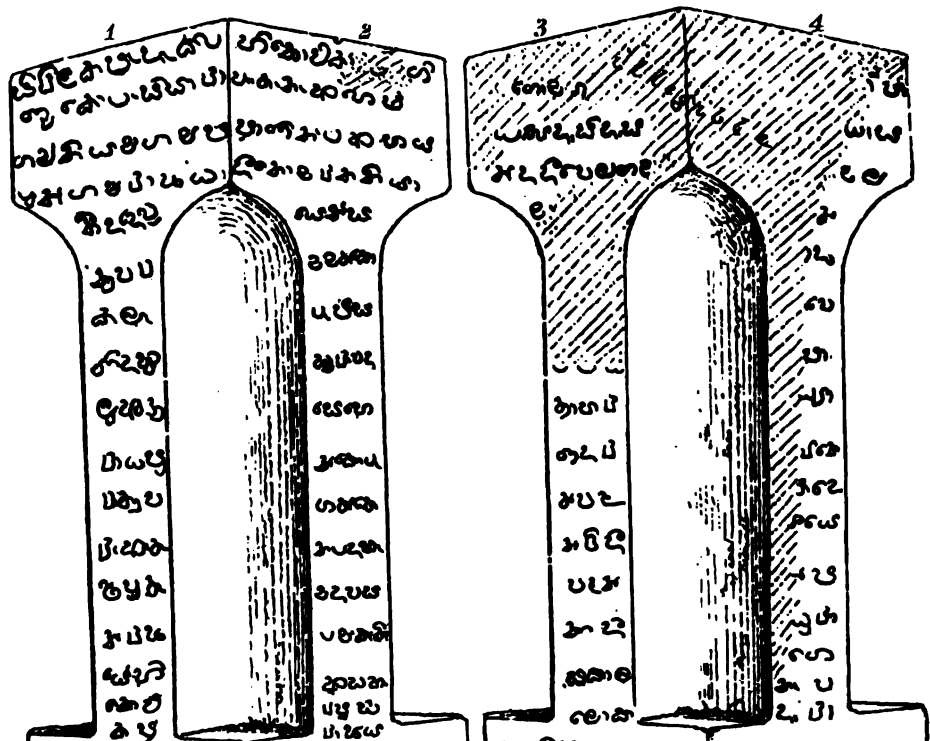
PULASTIPURA, situated in lat. 7° 56' N., long. 81° 3' E., and rather more than 50 miles S.E. of Anurādhapura, was the capital of Ceylon from the middle of the 8th century to the beginning of the 14th (A.D. 769—1314), and when at the height of its prosperity, during the long and glorious reign of Parākrama Bāhu the Great, it must have been a city of great size and importance. It is pleasantly situated in the plain, on the shores of one of those numerous artificial lakes which the Siñhalese kings loved to dot over the country; and from most of its ruins, as well as from the lake itself, are visible to the S.W. the mountain ranges of Mātalē, ending in the Hunasgiriya Peak, and to the N.W. the haunted top of Ritigala.¹

Through it there passed in olden times the great road from Māgama,² the capital of the Southern Province of Ruhuna,

¹ Arittha-pabbata, Mahāvamsa, page 64, line 2. The history of this hill is curious: it seems in the older portion of Ceylon history to have been a place of much importance. Here Pandukābhaya entrenched himself for the seven years from B.C. 444 to B.C. 437; here Sura-tissa (B.C. 247-237) built a monastery, the Lankā-vihāra, at the foot of the mountain; and here Lajji-tissa (A.C. 119-109) built a vihāra (Turnour's Mahāvamsa, pp. 64, 127, 202). Since that early time it is not again mentioned; and in quite later times has been looked on as the abode of devils. The natives are afraid to ascend it, and I believe that I was the second Englishman who climbed it. My predecessor was a surveyor, who cut his way up it in order to make some trigonometrical observations; and one of the men who had been with him was my guide. He, however, lost his way, and very fortunately so, for in making a new path I came upon extensive ruins in a fine forest halfway up the mountain; ruins which it is not unlikely may have suggested to some native the existence of devils: for they are far larger than any native thereabout could build, and if come upon suddenly or at dusk, could not fail to affect with awe any timid mind. From the ruins to the top I found an easy path, and at the very summit a solid retaining wall, supporting a terrace, on which a building of some kind, perhaps a watch tower, seems formerly to have stood. The river Malwattu Oya, the Kadamba of the Mahāvamsa, on which Anurādhapura stands, rises in this hill, and the old road from Pulastipura to Anurādhapura must have passed close by its base.

² Māgama is curiously enough not the Māgrammum of Ptolemy; for as he 'calls it the metropolis, and places it beside the great river,' Tennent (Ceylon, i.

RANKOT DĀGABA, PULASTIPURA, CEYLON.

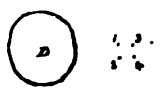


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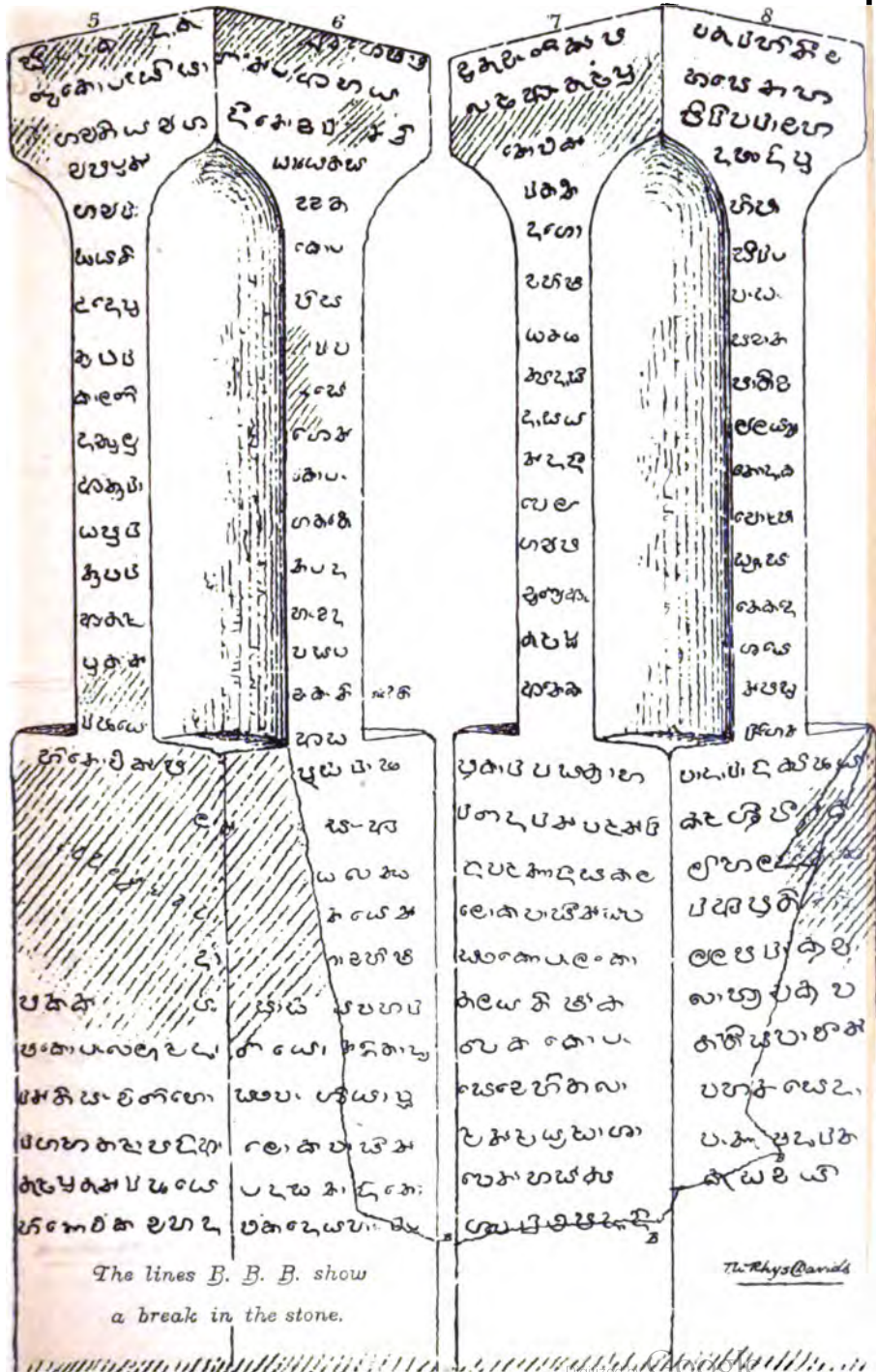
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If ① represent the Dagaba, Z will show the position of the stone seat; 1 & 2, that of the pillars on which this, and the next, inscription are found.

The Rhyolite.

RANKOT DĀGABA, PULASTIPURA, CEYLON.







round the Eastern foot of the central hills and through Minnêri¹ to Anurâdhapura in the N.W. As the Āryan population of Ceylon, whose ancestors had come direct from North India, felt themselves more and more pushed by the Dravidians of South India, who very early established for themselves a footing in the extreme North of Ceylon, the Siñhalese kings, at first at intervals for a time only, and then permanently, removed the seat of government to Pulastipura; and Mihindu (Mahendra) the Fourth (A.D. 1023–1071) was the last king who reigned in Anurâdhapura.

“The foreign [Dravidian] population settled in the island,” says Turnour, had then “increased to such an extent, that they had gained the ascendancy over the native [Āryan] inhabitants, and the king had lost his authority over both. In the tenth year of his reign he was besieged in his palace; he escaped in disguise to Ruhuna, and fortified himself at Ambagala. The Soleans [Cholians] invaded the island twenty-six years after the king’s flight from the capital, which they occupied; and, following him into Ruhuna, captured him and

p. 536) thinks it must be the Mahiyangana of the Mahāvamsa (pp. 4, 104, etc.), the modern Bintenne, where the people, with the help of the Ceylon Government, have lately repaired the very ancient sluice of a fine artificial lake. The Siñhalese Māgama, on the other hand, is at the extreme south of the island, a few miles from the sea-coast, and its site is easily ascertainable by the numerous ruins, especially those of Kāwan-tissa’s Tissa-mahā-vihāra, from which was derived the name of his Queen (Mahāvamsa, p. 131). There are said to be inscriptions there, but the ruins have never been properly examined.

¹ The Manihira of the Mahāvamsa, p. 237, ll. 6, 10, situate behind the bund of a magnificent artificial lake, which still in its ruins is more than twenty miles round in wet weather. Just in front of the present bund can still be distinguished the ruins of the former, probably that which was built about 295 A.D., when the lake was first formed by Mahā Sen. It is connected with Giritala Topare Ambawāwa, and other tanks, and formed part of that marvellous series of irrigation works called the Sea of Parākrama,—works worthy of comparison, both in size and in usefulness, with some of the greatest engineering feats of modern times. For the last few generations Minnêri has been known as the residence of the chief headman of the district; once one of the most fertile in India, now abandoned and useless. The chief is also the priest of the little temple there, where the bow of Mahā Sena, who died A.D. 301, is said to be still kept, but kept carefully secluded from the impious gaze of unbelievers. Among the forests on the embankment of the lake were lately a few mutilated statues, arranged in a semicircle, and forming a most weird sight in the dark shade of the dense jungle. The natives never dared to approach them, and refused altogether to clear the ground around them; but I found Tamil koolies less superstitious. Mr. Lawton, the photographer, has a fine photograph (No. 85) of this group, showing also a slab, which I cleared and excavated, only to find the long inscription on it quite illegible, from the decay of the stone on which it had been written. Messrs. Lawton have also some fine views of the lake itself (Nos. 83 and 84 of the collection in the Colonial Office, Downing Street).

his queen, whom, with the regalia, they transferred to Sollee [Chola]." Then follows a long period of lawlessness; nominally the kingdom was ruled from Pulastipura by the Cholian viceroy who was stationed there; but really each Tamul robber or Siñhalese chieftain ruled, and no doubt tyrannized, as far as he could make his power felt; much as the barons were doing about the same time in England. "During the whole of this period the island was in a state of complete anarchy, owing to the constant invasions and irruptions of the Malabars: different members of the royal family took up the reins of Government of Ruhuna [the southern part of Ceylon] as they were abandoned by, or snatched from, each predecessor." (Turnour, *Epitome*.)

At length the Siñhalese, driven to desperation by the oppressions of the Cholians, flocked to the standard of Wijaya-bâhu, a royal prince who had defeated Kâsyapa, the son of Mahendra IV. After a protracted and desultory warfare, a general action was fought under the walls of Pulastipura: the Cholians were defeated, and the city taken after six weeks' siege. Wijaya-bâhu the First then restored Buddhism, but was not long left in peace. The Cholians again, under their king, landed at Mahâtittha (modern Manâr, in the N.W. of Ceylon), and retook Pulastipura; but the Siñhalese drove them out once more, pursued them into their own country, and after another short interval of peace [spent chiefly in lake making], the old king died as acknowledged king of all Ceylon (A.D. 1126).¹

After his death, various members of the royal family claimed the succession. For twenty-two years more the country was desolated by civil war, until the genius and perseverance of the Kâlingan Nissanka Malla gained the supremacy for him. He adopted, among other surnames, the titles of Parâkrâma Bâhu and Lankeşwara. His father's name, according to the *Epitome* (Forbes, *Ceylon*, ii. 304), was Mâlâ-barana; but this is, I think, a misprint for Mânâ-barana,

¹ A copper coin of Wijaya-bâhu is still extant, though it is very rare, and not among the collections of either the India or British Museums. It is given in Prinsep's plate, referred to below (p. 5), and assigned to this king, but it really belongs, I think, to Wijaya-bâhu the Second, A.D. 1186.

which is given on p. 305 : according to Upham's translation of the Rājawaliya (p. 254) it was Kit Serinewan, probably a mistake for Kit-Siri-Mewan, the Elu for Kirti-Śri-Meghavāhana (or perhaps varna), whose daughter, according to the Epitome, p. 305, he married : and his mother's name, according to Sela Lihini Sandese, v. 103, was Ratnamāli, if, as is probable, he be the Parākrama Bāhu there referred to. On the other hand, it seems clear from a contemporaneous inscription at Pulastipura, a copy of which I have made, that he was not of Siṃhalese birth at all, but son of King Jaya Gopa, of Siṃhapura in Kalinga, by his Queen Parvatī.

But whether he were Siṃhalese or Tamil, Āryan or Dravidian, and whatever doubt there may be about his parentage, the principal events of his reign are well known. He first defeated all native competitors for the throne : then consolidated and strengthened his power by wise internal laws and reforms, made Pulastipara his capital, adorned it with many palaces and temples, and so enlarged it that its walls in his time are said to have extended seven gaws, equal to about twenty-seven miles. In the eighth year of his reign the district of Ruhuna revolted, but the revolution was put down with a strong hand. In the sixteenth year of his reign, A.D. 1169, he invaded Kāmboja and Aramana, and afterwards Chola and Pāṇḍya ; and towards the close of his reign he constructed some of the most gigantic of those irrigation works for which Ceylon is famous.

A short account, from one of the Siṃhalese history books, of his invasion of South India, has been given by me in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Soc., vol. xli. p. 197 et seq. : and I hope to be able to publish the full account of his reign from the Mahāvamsa itself, of which seventeen chapters, Nos. 62-79, of altogether about 5000 *slokas*, give in great detail this period of Siṃhalese history. There are several coins of Parākrama Bāhu extant ; figs. 3 and 4, plate xxxv., 'Thomas's Prinsep,' are a farthing and half-farthing, the inscription on the reverse of which is interpreted Śrī Rāma Nath by Wilson, but consists very clearly, as Prinsep points out, of the words Śrī Parākrama Bāhu. I have a coin very similar

to No. 3, but with a lion rampant very beautifully executed on the right side of the standing figure; and No. 1 of the plate referred to, a gold coin, the inscription of which Prinsep deciphered as *Lañkeṣwara*, but assigns to the minister *Lokaiswara*, A.D. 1060, belongs undoubtedly also to *Parākrama Bāhu the Great*, who in the second inscription now published calls himself *Lañkeṣwara*.¹

It should be added that the modern name of *Pulastipura* is *Topāwāwa*, sometimes shortened into *Topāwa*, *i.e.* *Sthūpa-vāpi*; Tennent's name *Pollanarua*, usually pronounced *Pollana-rūa*, is simply a mistake for *Polon-nārua*, with the accent on the short *na*, a form perhaps derived from *Pulasti-nagara*, but only found in the artificial language of modern poetry, and never used by the *Sinhalese* people of the district. Another inscription of the same place and date, showing the constitution of *Parākrama Bāhu's* Council of State, or rather of the Court by which he was surrounded on State occasions, will be found deciphered in the Number of the '*Indian Antiquary*' for September, 1873.

The three inscriptions now inclosed (copied by me at *Pulastipura*), were inscribed during the latter part of the reign of *Parākrama the Great*, who died, according to *Turnour*, in 1186 A.D.

THE FIRST OF THE THREE INSCRIPTIONS is a kind of proclamation addressed by *Parākrama Bāhu* to the people, urging them to choose a *Kshatriya* for their king, and not a man belonging to any other caste. It must, I imagine, have been put up towards the end of *Parākrama's* reign, when he had no longer any hope of a son of his own to succeed to him; and recollecting that in *Ceylon* there were no families of any caste higher than the *Wellālas* or cultivators, it will appear that *Parākrama* is in fact exhorting the people to choose for their king, and invite over, one of his own relations from *Kalinga*, on the coast of *India*. The inscription opens with a *Sanskrit* stanza in the *Ṣardūla-vikrīḍita* metre,

¹ Two of these coins are to be found in the collections at the *British Museum*; where there are, besides, two copies of the farthing of *Rāja Lilāvati*, *Parākrama Bāhu's* queen.

setting forth that the choice of a Kshatriya as king would be the only way to insure peace and prosperity to the nation. In point of fact, Parākrama Bāhu's words were almost prophetic. The succeeding two kings, apparently of Siṃhalese birth, reigned respectively twelve months and five days, and each met with a violent death. Kirti Niṣṅka, from Kalinga, then reigned for nine years, but was followed by kings mostly of Siṃhalese birth, who reigned successively one day, nine months, nine months, three years, two years, six years, twelve months, seventeen days, twelve months, nine months, seven months, and three years. Of these, at least three were murdered, and two had their eyes put out. The ninth was a restoration of Parākrama Bāhu's widow, Līlāvati (a coin of whose reign is still extant), and the fifth, who reigned two years, was a near relative of Parākrama Bāhu's, being the son of Śri Gopa Raja, king of Siṃhapura, in Kalinga, by his Queen Lankā Mahā Dewi. Particularly interesting is the injunction, not to any council of state, but to *the people at large*, that when the office of King or overlord (Māhārāja, Elu maharaja) becomes vacant, "either he who is heir apparent (yuva-rāja); or if there be none such, one of the princes (rāja-kumāra); or if there are none of them, one of the queens (bisowa), *must be chosen* to the kingdom." The inscription was engraved on a fine slab of stone 12 feet long by 2 feet 9 inches broad; it was put up at the principal gate of the king's palace; and having been completely buried, the letters are quite perfect. Underneath it I found a spear-head,¹ which makes it probable that it fell into the position where I found it at one of the sieges of Pulastipura, and very probably at the taking of the city by the Malabar Māga, who conquered the island A.D. 1216, in the reign of the last king in the list above given. A facsimile of the inscription is prefixed to this article.

THE SECOND INSCRIPTION, a copy of which is also prefixed to this article, I found repeated four times on four pillars, which surrounded apparently a kind of throne or dais opposite

¹ Now in the possession of the Ceylon Government.

the Rankot, or golden-tipped Dâgaba, forming, if one may say so, a kind of royal pæw, from which, as the inscription states, the king was wont to worship towards the holy Dâgaba. The space within the columns was probably about 8 feet by 8; two were fallen and broken, which was, as far as the inscription goes, very fortunate, as it could scarcely have been deciphered at all had it not been for the parts which had been covered and protected by the *débris*; as it is, only one line at the beginning and one or two words in two places further on are now irrecoverable. I inclose facsimiles of the inscriptions on pillars Nos. 1 and 2, the nearest ones to the Dâgaba. It will be noticed that the pillars, which are square at top and bottom, are octagonal in the centre, and the writing there becomes narrower.

THE THIRD INSCRIPTION is on a seat almost cubical in shape, about 3 feet high, 3 feet by 3 at the top, and a little larger at the bottom, which was found in the jungle some 200 yards to the east of the Dâgaba, at a place where there could not possibly be any danger to any one who, as the inscription tells us of Parâkrama, should watch from it the building of the bell-shaped sacred pile. Messrs. Lawton and Co., of Kandy, have taken a good photograph of this stone, a woodcut from which is annexed to this article, and several very beautiful photographs of the Dâgaba, both as a whole and in detail. All the words in the inscription are clear, and are written round the top of the stone, so as to form a border round a smooth square in the centre: a plan which has been followed in at least two other instances in Pulastipura.

The language of all the inscriptions, save the two Samskrit stanzas in the first, is an old form of the Sîmhalèse dialect, discussed in the valuable paper read by Mr. Childers before the Society at its last meeting. Most Sîmhalèse poetry is written in a much shortened and very difficult form of this dialect, called Elu; a form which was probably never in existence as a living language; the word Elu is, however, also used simply of old Sîmhalèse, and in this sense of the

name a good many Elu words and forms are found in these inscriptions, which would be unintelligible to a modern Sinhalese. I must defer the consideration of the very interesting palæographical and philological results of these discoveries until I am able to prepare for publication certain other Ceylon inscriptions: especially one long one dating a few years after these, whose dialect should be considered together with the dialect of these; and a large number of short inscriptions in the old Rock Pâli alphabet, from which that of these inscriptions is derived.



Stone seat from which Parâkrama the Great watched the building of the Rankot Dâgaba at Pulastipura, circa A.D. 1175. See pp. 7, 15.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION ON
THE GRANITE SLAB AT THE DOOR OF PARĀKRAMA
BĀHU THE GREAT'S PALACE AT PULASTIPURA.

Lakshmīm varddhayitum vyathām śamayitum trātum sva
vaṅsa-sthitim

Kaulan dharmmam upāsītum yadi manas samrakshitum
c'āśritān,

Kshātrāṇy eva kulāni vo gamayata svāmitvam, anyān punar
Varṇṇān neti ; nayān imān bhajatabho Niṣṣankamallo 'ditān.¹

6. Okāwas raja parapurehi Sūrya waṅsaya

7. tilakāya samāna wæ, raja piliwelin rājya la-

8. -din, woṭunu pelandæ, maha raja tan pat wū Niṣṣaṅ-

9. -ka Malla Kāliṅga Prākrama Bāhu cakrawarttin waha-

10. -nse anat rajasirin Śakrayā se wirā jamāna

TRANSLATION.

[Sañskrit.] If it is your wish to increase your prosperity, and allay your fear, to preserve the proper positions of your families, to respect the customs of your tribes, and to protect subjects, choose you families of knights to sovereignty, and not the other castes: embrace these maxims, (they are) spoken by Niṣṣanka Malla.

[Elu.] He who comes of the royal race of Ikshvāku, like a star on the forehead of the family of the Sun, who receiving the kingdom by royal succession, and putting on the crown, obtained the office of chief king, His Imperial Majesty Niṣṣanka Malla Kāliṅga Parākrama Bāhu (the fearless wrestler, the strong-armed one of Kāliṅga), illustrious as Śakrayā the King of Gods, with endless royal splendour,

¹ After this word is drawn a fish, as a sign equivalent to our full stop: a similar full stop is used on Parākrama's Lion seat at the Audience Hall. See facsimile in the Indian Antiquary, Sept. 1873.

² The numbers show where each line of the inscription, as given in the facsimile, begins. They are omitted, as unnecessary, in the transliteration of the Sañskrit stanzas.

11. wæ, tyâgra-satya-sauryyâdi-guṇa-gaṇayen asâdhâ-
12. -raṇa wæ, Udâgal mundun pat hiru se satur anduru
13. duralâ, mulu Lakdiwa semehi tabâ, lo wæda pi-
14. -nin upan kalpa-vṛkshayak se wædæ siṭæ,
15. lo-wæda sasun wæda kotæ, daṣa raja dharmmayen râ-
16. -jya keremin Pulasti-pura næmæti Kâlinga râja pu-
17. -rayehi wæḍa wasana seyen—taman wahanse ran
18. ridi kahawuṇu mutu mænik wastrâ 'bharanâdi dâna wa-
19. -shâyen dilindun gim niwû, mahâ janayange
20. samurddhi dækæ satuṭu wæ, "apage Kâlinga waiṇṣayaṭæ
21. "swabhâwa dharmmawû lokopakâra kala maha-kṛta-yu-
22. "-gayekæ se apa me kotalu samurddhaya kal-
23. "-pântayâ dakwâ kese sthira kotæ gani-
24. "-tdohoyi" mahâ kâranâ prâjñâyen pa-
25. -riksâ kota wadârana seyen—"lowaṭa mawu

and distinguished by the number of his virtues, generosity, truth, heroism, and others like them—(He) dissipated the darkness of his enemies like the Sun when he rises o'er the mountain of the dawn, and made peace throughout Ceylon, living in the Kâlinga-râja-pura called Pulastipura, reigning with the ten kingly virtues, and increasing religion and the prosperity of the world like a wishing tree produced by the merit of the inhabitants of the earth.

His Majesty relieved the exhaustion of the poor¹ by the rainfall of his gifts, ornaments and dress, and jewels and pearls, and coins and silver and gold; and being pleased when he beheld the prosperity of the people, deeply considered in his great mercy and wisdom, thinking, "How "after benefiting the world by the qualities inherent in our "family of Kâlinga, can this prosperity like that of the "good old Golden Age be maintained to the end of this dis- "pensation," and perceiving that the prosperity and the very race of the wicked were rooted out, who, not knowing the greatness and virtue of kings, the gods of men, and parents of the world, offended against them, he thought, "O! that

¹ *gim nisou*, literally "who quenched the fire."

26. "piya wæ naradewatæ wæ siṭi raja-daruwange
27. "guna mahimā no-dænæ, unṭa aparādha kala du-
28. "rjjanayange mæ wargga hā sampatwa hā ni-
29. "rmmūla wana bawa dækæ, eseda kisi kenekunṭa
30. "wināṣa nu wu manāwedayi" siṭā, aṅṅānayen
31. andha wū lokayahata æsa dennā se satata-
32. yen boho awawāda anuṣāsanā kotæ; "rā-
33. "-ja-drohanam pañcānantaryyakarmma se nokata
34. "yutu deyekæyi" dharmma-nīti dakwana seyem,
35. prānātipātādi duṣcarita kalāhuda, wiṣha kæwoda,
36. tamū matu nasiti; rājā drohanam kalawun da unge
37. wargga da, un hā ekwu wan nasayi: eheyin rā-
38. -ja-drohanam sitin ut no sitiya
39. yutteyæ, arājakawæ da no wisi.
40. yutteyæ: eheyin maharaja ta-
41. -n pat wæ siṭiyawun næti tæneka
42. yuwaraja wæ siṭiyawun ho, un adu
43. næta hot rāja-kumārāwarun ho,
44. un udu næta hot bisowarun ho,
45. rājyayata tækiya yutteyæ. Budu sasu-
46. naṭa himi Lakdiwata abaudha Chola Ke-

such destruction would happen to no one!" and always giving much advice and instruction, which were like two eyes to the world blind in its ignorance, he published just laws as follows: "Treason is a thing which must be avoided like the five great unpardonable sins: those who commit the five sins, murder and the rest, and those who take poison, destroy only themselves, but the very race of those who commit treason, and all who are with them, is destroyed. Treason therefore must not even be imagined in the heart; neither is it right to live without a king.

Therefore when there is no one who has the office of chief king, either he who is heir apparent, or if there be none such, then one of the princes, or if there are none of them, one of the queens, must be chosen to the kingdom.

Over our Island of Ceylon, which belongs to the teaching of Buddha, non-buddhistical princes from Chola or Kerali or

47. ralâdi rajadaruwo da no tækiya yuttâha.
48. Un hæ ek wæ pereli-kalaha råjadrohi
49. nam weti. Kâkayâ hañsagatiyata dá koça-
50. luwâ saindhawayanta da, gændahulâ nâga-
51. -råjayanta da, kañamændiriyâ sûryyâ-prabhâ-
52. wayata da, waçuwâ hastinta da, kañahilâ
53. siñhayanta da bhâwa karannâ se, gowi kule
54. -hi ættan råja-lilâwata no pætuwa mænæ-
55. wæ; kese balawat wuwa da gowikulehi
56. ætto råjyayata bala no gata yuttâha.
57. Tamâ hæ samagaëttan wænda pudâ råja sam-
58. bhâwanâ kalâhu da, ungen nam tanaturu la-
59. ddâhu da, råjadrohi nam mæ weti. Me ki wan hæ
60. wargga sampat rajadaru kenek pæmunu
61. wiçæ mæ nirmûla karannâha. Eheyin Lak
62. diwa manushya-wâsa-kala Wijaya råjayan
63. paramparâyen â, Lak diwata himi ra-
64. -ja daru kenekun soyâ genædâwi na-
65. -m, æsa rakshâ-karannâ se lo wæda sasun

other countries must not be chosen : those who join them and make disturbances shall be called traitors.

As the crow should not be compared to the hæfisa, nor the donkey to the Arab, nor the worm to the cobra, nor the firefly to the sunshine, nor the snipe to the elephant, nor the jackal to the lion, so should no men of the Wellâla caste be appointed to the sovereignty. However powerful they may be, the men of the Wellâla caste ought not to force (their way) to the kingdom.

Those who honour as a king servants like themselves with salutations and presents, or receive offices and titles from them, shall be called traitors : whenever a prince of wealth and family joins with such people, he destroys himself.

Therefore, if you look for and find a prince who has a right to Ceylon, and is descended from the race of King Wijaya, who first peopled Ceylon, take sides with such a ruler, who will take care of religion and the prosperity of

66. rakshayehi yedī, swāmi-paksha wæ, taman

67. wargga sam-pat rakshā karanu mænæwi.

Dhvāmksho haṃsagatiñ kharo hayavaram gaṇḍūpadam
pannagam

Khadyoto mihiram mrgendralalitam krosthā dvipam vark-
takah

Warṇṇo 'nyo 'nukaroti rājacari tan naiwādītam kevalam

Hāsyasyād iti vakti nīti-kuṣalo Niṣṣamka-Mallo nṛpah.

the world as if they were his two eyes; and so protect your own families and fortunes."

[Sañskrit.] As the crow may imitate the gait of the hañsa, and the donkey the Arab steed, (as) the worm may imitate the cobra, and the firefly the sunshine, (as) the jackal may emulate the lion, and the snipe the elephant: so some other caste the conduct of kings; yet it certainly will not (thus) meet with respect, but only with ridicule: thus speaks the wise and good Niṣṣanka Malla, the King.

INSCRIPTION ON THE FOUR PILLARS ON THE UPPER
TERRACE OF THE RANKOT DĀGABA.

Siri Laka pædækuṇu koṭæ sisârâ, gam niyam gam paṭun
gam rājadhâni da, Dewu-nuwara Kælaṇi Dambulu Anu-
râdhapura nuwara ætuḷuwu tun rajayehi no ek prasiddha
sthâna da, jala durgga giri durgga wana durgga paṅka durgga
at-ambulu-pakak se niṣṣesha-koṭæ balâ wadârâ, Ran.
. . . Talâpadi ætuḷuwu tun rajayehi no ek maha wæ tæna æseshâ
prâṇiṅṭa abhaya dī, no marana niyâyen sammata koṭæ, pi-

TRANSLATION.

He who went round and over all Ceylon, and having seen the villages and fortified and market towns and cities, and several celebrated places in the three kingdoms, including Anurâdhapura, Dambulla, Kælaṇi and Dondra, and the strongholds in water, and on hills, and in forest and marsh, and could distinguish them like a neli-fruit in his hand;—he who in several difficult places in the three kingdoms, viz. Ran Talâpadi, and others, gave security to all

samburuwa da sehen-kotæ-gat-tenata da, hæma dawasaþa mæ kæti aya hæra, pûrwa râjayan dawasæ aneka wadha bandhana tâðanayen hæ go mahishâdi sarwa sawharuṇayen itâ dushþa wæ giyâwu lokawâsiuþa danðanâdi no ek deya hæra, mutu mænik pabulu ætuḷuwu noek ratna da go mahiska dhana dhânya dâsi dâsayan da dî, wel gam pamuṇu ætuḷuwu aneka prakâra wastrâbharana da, ran-walan ridi-walan dî, sakala lokawâsin swastha kotæ, Lankâ talaya nishkaṇṭaka kotæ semehi tabâ, *lanhu* (?) yuddhâsâwen hastyaṣwa-ratha-pa-dâdi caturangini maha senanga piriwarâ, Maha Damba-di-wuhi Pânḍi raþa wædæ samâna Pratimallayan nodækæ, Cola Pânḍyâ aneka desayen paṇḍuru genæ wadârâ, dik wijaya kala, Sri Wira Kâlinga Lankeṣwara A-pratimalla Niṣṣanka-Malla Parâkrama Bâhu cakrawartti swâminwahanse dâ wænda wadârana kuðamayi.

living things, and commanded that they should not be killed;—he who for ever remitted the royal dues on places reclaimed by clearing, and on ;—he who saved from fines, flogging, and other things of that kind, the inhabitants of the world become very poor in cattle, buffaloes, and all other means of support, through oppression, imprisonment, and torture, in the time of former kings;—he who gave pearls, and precious stones, and beads, and other jewelry, and slaves, and slave-girls, and corn, and wealth, and buffaloes, and cattle, and different kinds of clothes, and ornaments, besides fields and villages, and , and thus made all men self-dependent;—he who secured and pacified the realm of Lankâ;—he who longing for battle, and attended by a great army with four divisions of elephant-riders, cavalry, charioteers, and infantry, went to Pânḍi on the continent of India, and finding no equal nor opponent, accepted presents from Chola and several countries near Pânḍyâ, and was victorious on every side;—(he who did all this), His Excellency the illustrious overlord Wira Kâlinga Lankeṣwara Aprati-Malla Niṣṣanka-Malla Parâkrama-Bâhu, was pleased to salute the relic from this house.

ON THE STONE SEAT NEAR RANKOT DĀGABA.

Srī siri Sanga-bo Wirarāja Niṣṣanka Malla Kālinga cakrawarttīn wahanse, Lakdiwa niskantakoṭa, ek sesat koṭa, pera rajun nobanda aya gena dustha kala Lan̄kā wasiṅṭa pas awuruddakata aya hāra, awurudu patā pas tulā bhārayak di, nam gam wahal sarak pamunu parapura ran ruwan wastrābharanādi boho wastuwa di, suwa pat karawā, kat aya hāma kalata ma hāra, wal maha wæ tænae prāṅṅṭa abhaya di, swadesaparadesa-yehi boho catra naṁwā, maha daṁ pawatwā, tun rajaya pædækuṇu koṭa, siyalu durgaraha rata bim balā, loka ṣasanaya samurddha koṭæ, yuddhāsāyen siwuraṅga senaga piriwarā Dambudiwu wæda enā yuddhādīn ilwā, senā no ladin Cola-Pāṇḍādīn raja-daruwan wehelā-gena, ewu raṅa-ængili hā rāja-kanyakāwan hā paṇḍuru dæka, jayasthambha karawā, Lak diwu wæda, dasa rājadharmmayen rājyaya

TRANSLATION.

His Excellency, the illustrious overlord Sangabo Wirarāja Niṣṣanka Malla of Kalinga;—who restored peace to Ceylon, and brought it under one sceptre (umbrella);—who remitted five years' taxes for the people of Lanka afflicted by the unbounded taxation of former kings, and by yearly giving five times his own weight¹ in metals, and much property, including titles, villages, slaves, cattle and gold, and jewels, and clothes, and ornaments, made them happy;—who for ever remitted royal dues;—who even in the woods and difficult places rendered living things secure;—who at home and abroad built many resthouses and gave great largesses;—who travelled through the three kingdoms, and inspected all inaccessible and despised districts and lands;—who increased religion;—who from the lust of war went with his four-fold army to Dambudiwa, and demanded soldiers, and when he did not receive the army harassed the princes of Cola and Pāṇḍi and other places, and having looked at the rings and virgins they sent as gifts, and put up pillars of victory, returned to Lakdiwa, and reigned with the ten

¹ See my note about this curious custom on a similar passage of the long Dambulla inscription in the forthcoming Journal R.A.S. Ceylon Branch.

keremin, Ruwan-wæli Dāgaba karawā wadārana kala, karmmānta balā-wadārā wæda-un mulu galin kala āsanayayi.

kingly virtues;—(He) used to sit on this throne made of a single stone, and was pleased to watch the work when he was building the Ruwan-wæli Dāgaba.¹

Note.

The chief authority for the history of Parakrama's reign must always remain the Mahāvamsa, but there are many incidental notices to be found in the different vamsa-pot or history books still extant in Ceylon in the Sinhalese and Pāli languages; and Dr. Caldwell has informed me that some references to his conquest of South India may be expected from inscriptions and other records in Tamil.² The fame of the Mahāvamsa has even in Ceylon so eclipsed that of the other vamsa books that they are seldom mentioned to Europeans; and Turnour seems, from his list at page ii. of the "Introduction" to his edition of the Mahāvamsa, to have known very few of them: it may be useful, therefore, to give a further list.

The Pāli text of the ATTANAGALUVAṂSA has just been published by Mr. J. d'Alwis, who had previously published the translation with notes; and who has also published a

¹ The Dāgaba is now called Rankot, or golden-tipped, a name certainly very ancient, as there has been no golden tip for several centuries, and the word appears in old Sinhalese books: it is, however, evident from this inscription, that the builder of it named it Ruwanwæli (golden sand), after the celebrated Dāgaba of the same name at Anurādhapura, whose building by Dusṭa Gamini, B.C. 168, is described at such length in the Mahāvamsa, ch. 27-31, pp. 165-193. I take this opportunity of correcting an error (as it seems to me) in Turnour's edition of the Mahāvamsa. The older Dāgaba (i.e. Dhātugarbha; see Mahāv. pp. 179, 211, and Childers' Dict.) is called throughout the description referred to simply Mahāthūpa, but it is now called Ruwanwæli, the name which it probably bore in Sinhalese even from the first: to this the corresponding Pāli form would be Hemavāli, which actually occurs at Mahāv. p. 97, line 1; Hemamālika, p. 108, line 7, and Hemamāli, p. 202, line 8, are therefore probably misprints, or rather mistakes, for the *m* occurs also in the English translation.

² In Prof. Wilson's Historical Sketch of Pāṇḍya, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii. p. 201, the name of Parākrama Bāhu is the 65th in the list of kings.

description of it in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit, Pāli, and Siṃhalese Literary Works*, vol. i., according to which,¹ it was written about 1180 A.D., at the close of the reign of Parākrama the Great, by an unknown pupil of the priest Anomadassi. There is a Siṃhalese version of this *vaṃsa* written by an unknown author in 1382 A.D.²

The *KESADHĀTUVAṂSA*, mentioned in the 39th chapter of the *Mahāvāṃsa*, is a history of a relic consisting of Buddha's hair; no copy of this work has reached Europe, and I am not aware whether it is in Siṃhalese or Pāli. A translation of the 39th chapter of the *Mahāvāṃsa* will appear in the forthcoming volume of this *Journal*; where the question of its probable date will be considered.

The *THŪPAVAṂSA*, a history of the principal Dāgabas in India and Ceylon, is written in Siṃhalese. Mr. Alwis assigns it to about A.D. 1324; but gives no reason for doing so.³ It is a work of high authority among the Siṃhalese Buddhists, and is reckoned by them among the bana-pot or sacred scriptures, although it does not, of course, belong to the 'Three Baskets.' Three copies I have are written on 202, 231, and 153 leaves, 20, 19, and 22 inches long respectively.

The *DALADĀVAṂSA* or *Dhātuvāṃsa*, a history of the celebrated Tooth relic,⁴ is in Siṃhalese, and according to Mr. Alwis,⁵ appeared in 1326 A.D. He calls it "a very elaborate work, which ranks among the classics of the Siṃhalese," and mentions a translation of the original Siṃhalese work into Pāli. Mr. Alwis, however, gives no authority for this statement or for the date 1326, and does not notice either Turnour's remark⁶ that the *Dhātādhātu-vaṃsa* mentioned by Mahānāma in the 37th chapter of the *Mahāvāṃsa* was still extant

¹ *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 33.

² *Ibid.* p. 33; but in his *Introduct.* to *Sidat Sangarāwa*, p. clxxxv., Mr. Alwis assigns it to Durandura, and at p. 34 of the *Cat.* dates it 1301 A.D.

³ *Sidat Sangarāwa* (Colombo, 1852), p. clxxv.

⁴ See Turnour's "Account of the Tooth Relic of Ceylon," *Journal of the Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1837, vol. vi. pp. 2, 856.

⁵ *Introduction to Sidat Sangarāwa*, pp. clxxv., clxxxiii. A new edition of this valuable 'Introduction,' our only authority on Siṃhalese literature, is much required.

⁶ *Mahāvāṃsa*, p. 241, note.

in 1837; or Forbes's identification of Daladāvāṃsa with that work.¹ It is possible that at least the earlier portion of the book, which gives a minute account of the great struggle between the Buddhists and Brahmans in India A.D. 290-310, may be very ancient, and even perhaps not much subsequent to the events it describes.

The DĪPAVAṂSA is a history of the Island of Ceylon, supposed to be one of those referred to, as already existing, by Mahānāma (who lived in the 5th century A.D.) in the opening verses of the Mahāvāṃsa. Mr. D'Alwis, in the 'Descriptive Catalogue,' pp. 126-168, has given an abstract of this work, incorporating from the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal Turnour's analysis of those parts of it which seemed to him most interesting. The first eight cantos treat of the History of Buddhism in India, and the 9th and 10th of the History of Ceylon, to the time of Asoka the Great; the 11th-16th treat of the reign of Devānam piya Tissa; and the 17th-21st of the Kings of Ceylon for the next 500 years (about B.C. 200-A.D. 300), the reign only of Dushṭa Gāmini being treated at any length. Turnour thinks the Dīpavāṃsa to be the same as the Mahāvāṃsa written in the Uttaravihāra, the oldest possible date of which is 301 A.D., and its probable date somewhat later.² It is written on about 30 leaves.

The PŪJĀWALIYA was written in Siṃhalese by Mairupāda, the author also of Yoganāwa, in the reign of Parākrama III. 1267-1301 A.D. It gives a description of the different offerings that have been made to Buddha; and an extract from it will be found at p. clxxii. of Mr. Alwis's Introduction to the Sidat Sangarāwa. It is one of the works relied on by Turnour in writing his Epitome of the History of Ceylon.³

The BUDDHAVĀṂSA, or history of the Buddhas, in Pāli verse, is the fourteenth book of Khuddaka-nikāya, the fifth section of the Sutta Piṭaka or third Basket. It gives the

¹ Forbes, Ceylon, vol. ii. p. 210.

² Attanagaluvaṃsa, Introd., pp. x. xxv. Descr. Cat. pp. 118-168. Turnour, Journal Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. viii. p. 922. Weber, "Neueste Forschungen," p. 61. Westergaard, "Ueber Buddha's Todesjahr," p. 98 (of Prof. Stenzler's German edition). St. Hilaire, Journal des Savans, Fev. 1866, p. 102.

³ See Mahāvāṃsa, Introduction, p. ii.

history of the 24 Buddhas, including Sâkyamuni; and is written on about 40 leaves. In the *Calcutta Journal*, Aug. 1838, pp. 16-44, Turnour has given extracts from the *MADHURATTA VILÂSINI*, a very valuable Commentary on *Buddhavaṃsa*, written, according to Grimblot, not by *Buddhaghosa*, but at the mouth of the *Kaveri*, in the *Dekhan*.¹

The *BODHI-VAṂSA* or history of the Sacred Botree, is in Pâli; my copy is written on sixty-two leaves, each two feet long, and containing eight lines on a page, and a *Sinhalese* *Sauna* to it is written on 178 leaves of the same size. It contains the history of the celebrated Botree still existing in *Anurâdhapura*, whose identity with that planted in 288 B.C. by *Devânam piya Tissa* is so well maintained by *Sir E. Tennent*.² Both date and author of this work are as yet unknown; but it is probably, like the *Mahâvaṃsa* and *Daladâvaṃsa*, of different dates in different portions, the earliest being very old.

MIHINTALE WARNANÂWA is a small book in old *Sinhalese*, giving a history of the principal buildings on the sacred *Chaitya Hill*, near *Anurâdhapura*, whose three peaks, crowned by three *Dâgabas*, form so striking an object from the north road. The author and date are not mentioned.

The *RÂJARATNÂKÂRA* is a history of Ceylon written in *Sinhalese* and Pâli, and is a kind of abstract of the *Mahâvaṃsa*, from which it quotes continually. It is said to have been composed by *Abhaya Râja* of *Walgampaha Vihâra*, and as it goes down to the middle of the 16th century, it cannot be older than that time. It was used by Turnour for his 'Epitome,'³ and being short, is convenient for reference; but it will be quite superseded as soon as the older histories are made more accessible than they are in manuscript.

The *RÂJAWALI* "was compiled by different persons, at various periods, and has both furnished the materials to, and borrowed from, the *Mahâvaṃsa*."⁴ It is short, my copy

¹ St. Hilaire, *Journal des Savans*, Janv. 1866, pp. 55, 56.

² In his *Ceylon*, vol. ii. pp. 611, 632.

³ See *Mahâvaṃsa*, Introduction, p. ii.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. ii.

being written on 34 leaves, whereas the Mahāvaiṣa occupies 240, and is written in Siṃhalese. Translations of this and of the Rājaratnākāra were published by Mr. Upham, London, 1833; but they are so incorrect as to be almost worthless.

The LALĀTAVAIṢA, in Pāli, author and date unknown, gives a history of the frontal-bone relic of Buddha. It is a very rare work, and has not as yet been found mentioned, like the Daladāvaiṣa, and Kesadhātu-vaiṣa, in the Mahāvaiṣa. It is written on about 40 leaves; and the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris has a copy on 27 leaves of the commentary on it, called LALĀTA-DHĀTU-VAIṢA-VANṆANĀ.

The ŚĀSANĀWATĀRA, also called Nikāya Sangraha, is a history of Buddhist doctrine, written in Siṃhalese, in the reign of Bhuvaneka Bāhu IV., of Gampala, about A.D. 1347, by Devarakkhita Jaya-Bāhu.

For the history of the time of Parākrama the Great, it may also be noticed that in his reign lived Dimbutāgala Medankara, who dates his VINAYĀRTHA-SAMUCCAYA in 1165 A.D.; Moggallāna of Jetavana Vihāra at Pulastipura, the author of the so-called MOGGALLANA-VYĀKARANA; Śāriputra, Siṃhalese Seriyut, the author of MAHĀSĀRATTHA-DĪPAṆĪ, CULLASĀRATTHADĪPAṆĪ, KĀLAPAÑCIKĀ, and other works;¹ and the other Moggallāna of Thūpārāma Vihāra in Anurādhapura, the author of the Pāli Amara-kosha, ABHIDHĀNAPPADĪPĪKĀ.²

¹ See Vinayārtha-samuccaya, as quoted by Alwis, Introduction to Sidat Sangarāva, p. cliiv. This work is one of those recently re-discovered, *vide* Louis de Zoysa, as quoted in the Descriptive Catalogue, p. xi.

² Abidh. Edit. Subhūti (Colombo, 1866), p. 182.

ART. IX.—*Of the Kharáj or Muhammadan Land Tax; its Application to British India, and Effect on the Tenure of Land.* By N. B. E. BAILLIE.

[Read on the 30th June, 1873.]

Kharáj or *Khíráj*, for the word is written both ways, indifferently, signifies literally “going or issuing out of.” It occurs, with a slight difference in the spelling, in a passage of the Koran, where two constructions have been put upon it by commentators—one that it means *ajr* or hire, and the other that it means *nafa* or profit generally. In the former sense, *kharáj* when applied to land would be rent, and the person rendering it a tenant for the recipient, who would be the proprietor; in the latter sense, it might be a profit of any kind issuing out of the land, and the person rendering it might himself be the proprietor. To this double meaning of the word may perhaps be traced a controversy respecting the proprietary right to land in India, which has subsisted more or less down to the present time.

A tax of the same nature as the *kharáj* existed in the Sowád of Irak in the time of its Persian rulers. It was originally levied by a division of the produce between the Sovereign and the cultivator. But that mode of levying the tax being deemed oppressive by Cobad, he caused the land to be measured by the *zirá*, and imposed a rate on it of a *kafiz* in grain and a *dirhem* in money for each *jarib* or square area of 60 by 60 *zirá*. This arrangement continued in force till the time of the Mussulman conquest, when it was adopted with some modifications by Omar. But there is some land to which that mode of assessment cannot be conveniently applied, and it is reasonable to suppose, with regard to land of that description, that recourse should be had to the original mode of dividing the produce with the cultivator.

The *kharāj* came thus in the course of time to be divided into two kinds, to which the names of *mukásumah* and *wazífa* were given, probably because the former signifies mutual division, and the latter is a synonym for *zirá*, the standard by which the land was measured.

Be that as it may, there is a marked distinction between the two kinds of *kharāj*. The *mukásumah* is defined to be something out of the produce, as a fifth or sixth, or the like; while the *wazífa* is described as something in obligation, that is, a personal liability on account of a definite portion of land. The former is dependent on the actual crop or issue from the land, not on the kind of crop which it is capable of yielding; insomuch that it is not due when the land, though capable, is allowed to lie idle. While the latter or *wazífa* is dependent on the return that the land is capable of yielding; insomuch that it is due, whether the land be tilled or not. It is thus a permanent burden on the land, for which every proprietor is liable, whether he retains the land in his own possession or lets it to others. Of the two kinds of *kharāj*, the *wazífa* is therefore the more onerous, and, being for that reason deemed to be more appropriate to the lands of unbelievers in the Mussulman faith, it is the *wazífa* that is usually meant when *kharāj* is mentioned by Muhammadan writers, unless the *mukásumah* is particularly specified.

There are three ways in which land becomes liable to *kharāj*. The first is when the country in which it is situated has been conquered by the faithful from unbelievers. The examples of the Prophet and Omar have formed a precedent with all the schools of Sunní lawyers for the treatment of conquered countries, though they are not all agreed as to the proper construction to be put on these examples. On one point there is no difference of opinion, namely, that by conquest the whole property of a conquered people passes to the conquerors, without any distinction between what is movable and immovable, or between what belongs to the State and what belongs to private individuals. They are also agreed that the movable property is plunder, and should be divided among the soldiers of the conquering army. But

there is a difference of opinion among the sects as to the disposal of the land. According to Shafei, the land also is plunder, and ought to be divided among the soldiers; according to Malik, it becomes *wakf*, or an appropriation for the general benefit of Mússulmans; according to Abu Hunífa, the Imam or Head of the Mussulman community has an option, and may either divide the land among the soldiers, or bestow it upon the people of the country, even though they should persist in rejecting the true religion. If he adopts the former alternative, the land will generally become liable to *úshr* or tithe; if he adopts the latter, and bestows the land upon the conquered people, the *kharáj* must necessarily be imposed upon it.

The next way in which land becomes subject to *kharáj* is when waste land is brought into cultivation: waste land being unappropriated does not pass by conquest to the conquerors, but remains free to be appropriated by the first occupant who brings it into cultivation with the permission of the Imam. According to the prevailing opinion among the Hanifites, this permission is indispensable. But still it is not the permission that constitutes the right of property; for though a person should obtain permission, and commence his operations by a partial clearance of the land, yet if he discontinue them before the reclamation is completed, there is no establishment of property, and any other person is at liberty, after the expiration of three years, to enter upon the land and reclaim it, provided that he has the Imam's permission to do so. Waste land, when brought into cultivation by a *zimmi*, or infidel subject of a Muhammadan Power, is liable to *kharáj* under all circumstances.

The third and only other way in which land becomes liable to *kharáj* is when land on which the *úshr* was originally imposed is transferred to unbelievers. It then loses its original character, according to Abu Hunífa, and becomes *kharáji*. Land subject to *kharáj*, according to the same authority, retains the character once impressed upon it, and remains *kharáji* under all mutations of property.

It thus appears that in all cases where land has become

subject to the *kharāj* by original imposition or by conversion from being *úshri*, a right of property, according to the Hanifites, has first been established in it in favour of some one, either by grant from conquerors, or by reclamation from waste, before the *kharāj* was imposed upon it. This is said of *kharāj* generally, but I have already remarked that whenever that impost is spoken of by Muhammadan writers, they must be understood to mean the *wazifa*, unless the *mukásumah* is particularly mentioned. So far as I have been able to ascertain, there is no instance on record—except the doubtful case of Kheiber, of which contradictory accounts are given in the Hidayah—of the *mukásumah kharāj* having ever been formally imposed upon any land. Moreover, the reason which is assigned for the imposition of the tax on the land of unbelievers, and for the conversion of *ushri* to *kharáji* land when transferred to them, is that, being due whether the land be tilled or not, it is burdensome, and therefore in the nature of a punishment for their unbelief. But this is true only of the *wazifa*; and when waste land is brought into cultivation, it is expressly said that it becomes subject to that form of the *kharāj*. What then has been predicated of the *kharāj* generally, is thus restricted to the *wazifa*, and affords no warrant for inferring that, when land is subject to the *mukásumah*, a right of property in it was first established before the *mukásumah* was imposed upon it; if, indeed, the *kharāj* in that form ever was, formally imposed upon any land. But as no land in countries conquered by Muhammadans can be originally acquired otherwise than by grant from the conquerors or reclamation from waste, it would seem, with regard to the *wazifa*, that all land which is subject to it must necessarily be the property of those who are responsible for it. This conclusion is confirmed by the very nature of the *wazifa*, which, being due so long as the land is capable of bearing, must be accompanied by powers equally permanent over the land to meet the liability. *Wazifa* is thus a test of ownership; and wherever we find that land is subject to it, we have only to seek for the person who is liable for the *kharāj*, and there we have the proprietor

of the soil. This cannot be said of land that is subject to the *mukásumah*; and with regard to such land we have neither precedent nor reason for the same inference, and ought rather to conclude that the conquerors have never parted with the right acquired by conquest, and that the land is therefore still the property of the Sovereign as the representative of the general Mussulman community.

The *kharáj* in both its forms may be varied according to the capability of the land, provided that it is never to exceed a half of the produce, or its value. Whether there shall be a margin of produce between the tax and what is considered necessary for the support of the cultivator and his family, is thus dependent on the will of the ruler for the time; and if the full half is taken, there is no room for the *permanent* interposition of any one between him and the cultivator. If, on the other hand, the *kharáj* is only a third of the produce, or some other proportion less than a half, and is allowed to remain so for a considerable length of time, the cultivator may gradually rise above his condition, so as to have others of the same class to till the ground under him, or some third party may be enabled gradually to insinuate himself between the ruler and the cultivator. But in all these cases the condition of the party, whoever he may be, that is thus interposed, will be necessarily precarious, depending entirely on the continued forbearance of the ruler; and if the *kharáj* should at any time be raised up to its full legal standard, the interloper may be crushed out altogether, and the ruler be again brought into immediate contact with the actual cultivator. The cultivator may thus be said to be the only person who can have a permanent interest in the land, besides the Sovereign.

Whatever be the form of the *kharáj*, the Sovereign is entitled to receive it, and the law has armed him with sufficient powers for its recovery. But when received, it cannot be legally applied to any other purposes than those to which it has been specially appropriated by the law. The persons on whom it may be expended, such as soldiers, *kazís*, *muf-tís*, learned men, etc., are called *ahl-i-kharáj*, or people of

kharáj; and when the owner of *kharáji* land belongs to any of these classes, the ruler may apply to him the *kharáj* of his own land, that is, leave it with him uncalled for. So also he may authorize another person, being duly qualified, to receive and appropriate for his own benefit the *kharáj* of any particular land, though it may happen to be the property of others. This is called an *iktaa*, or cutting off, as if it were a separation of something from a general fund belonging to the community. An *iktaa* may be for any time not exceeding the life of the grantee; but an *iktaa* to a person and to his successors and heirs after him is void. When an *iktaa* is for services to be rendered, it is called *mashrút* or *sharti*, that is, conditional; but it may be gratuitous when the person in whose favour it is made is one of the *ahl* or people of *kharáj*, and then it is called *bila shart*, or without condition. In both cases the *iktaa* requires an order called a *tankha* on the person by whom the *kharáj* is due, to pay it to the grantee. When the *iktaa* is of a specific sum out of the revenue, a mere *tankha* may suffice; but when it extends to the whole revenue of a district, then the grantee is supposed to be vested with the powers of the Sovereign for its recovery, and not only so, but also with his general jurisdictions and other rights during the continuance of the grant.

Kharáj is the proper subject of *iktaa*; but as waste land cannot be brought into cultivation without the permission of the Sovereign, the term has also been applied to such permission. Waste land when reclaimed is liable to *wazifa*, as already mentioned; but until the *wazifa* has been formally imposed upon it, it may be supposed to be exempt from the payment of *kharáj*. This exemption, however, cannot be legally extended beyond the life of the grantee, even when he is one of the *ahl* or people of *kharáj*. No land can therefore be legally *lakharáj*, or permanently exempt from the payment of revenue.

Having said all that appeared to me to be necessary of the *kharáj* generally, I proceed to inquire when and how it was applied to any of the Provinces that now constitute the British Empire in India.

There is no record of the manner in which the land was disposed of at the time of the Mussulman conquest. Nor does it appear that any attempt was made formally to impose the *kharaj* on any part of the land until the time of Ala-ud-din, whose reign commenced about the year A.D. 1296. It is told of that Sovereign in the Tarikh of Feroze Shah, and by Ferishtah, that he resolved that all cultivation, whether on a small or large scale, should be carried on by measurement at a certain rate for every *biswah*, and ordered a tax equal to half the gross amount of the produce to be levied throughout the kingdom, and to be regularly transmitted to the Royal Exchequer. Measurement is the basis of a *wazifa*, and the operations of Ala-ud-din look very like an attempt to impose the *kharaj* in that form upon the land. But his system was never completed, and it was not till the time of Shere Shah and Selim Shah that any attempt was made to revive it. These rulers are said in the Ayin Akbery to be the first who abolished the custom of dividing the crops, which must therefore have existed for some time previous, and probably before the operations of Ala-ud-din. The changes introduced by them were afterwards more fully developed in the system of Akbar, of which I now proceed to give some account so far as relates to the imposition of the *kharaj*.

He first established a uniform standard of length, corresponding to the Arabian *zirá*, which he called the *Ilahi gaz*, and, having adopted the *jarib*, to which he also gave the name of *bighah*, as the measure of surface, he made it to consist of 3600 square *gaz*. He then divided the land, according to its different capabilities, into four kinds, namely, Pulej, or land cultivated for every harvest; Perowty, or land kept out of cultivation for a short time to recover its strength; and Checher and Bunjer, or lands which had lain fallow from three to five years or upwards, on account of excessive rain or inundation. It was only on the first kind or Pulej land that a permanent tax like the *wazifa* could be immediately imposed, and Pulej was accordingly taken as the standard for fixing the revenue. Perowty when of

tivated was to pay the same revenue as Pulej. The other two kinds were to pay more moderate rates for some time, but were also ultimately to become liable to the same revenue as Pulej. The produce of a *bighah* of Pulej land of average quality was then ascertained for many different kinds of crops, and a third of that average was taken as the revenue to be paid for each different kind. The revenue being thus determined in kind, was made convertible into money at an average of the prices for nineteen years; and it was left optional to the husbandman to pay in money or in kind, as he might find more convenient.

In this way the revenue of a *bighah* of land would vary from time to time according to the kind of produce; and a plan seems to have been early adopted, if it was not coeval with the first assessment, of fixing the revenue at a lump sum for each *bighah*. This was at first termed the *tumar jammah*, but came afterwards to be called the *asul* or original, to distinguish it from several additions subsequently made to it.

If we now compare the system of Akbar with what has been said of the *wazifa kharaj*, we will find that of the four different kinds into which the land was divided, it was only the Perowty that could not be brought under the conditions of that kind of impost. It is true that it was not immediately applied to Checher and Bunjer, but that was on account of the accidents of excessive rain and inundation to which they had been exposed; and, full allowance having been made on that account, they were thenceforth to be treated in the same way as Pulej, and would thus become permanently liable to *kharaj*, which was the characteristic of the *wazifa*. Perowty when cultivated was brought under the same liability; and we may therefore safely infer that the impost levied by Akbar on the land was in reality the *wazifa kharaj* of the Muhammadan law. We have, therefore, only to inquire who were the persons that became liable for its payment, in order to find out who became the proprietors of the soil.

It has been already observed that it was left to the option

of the husbandman to pay the revenue in money or in kind, as he might find convenient. This points to him as the person immediately liable for the *kharāj*; and his liability is confirmed by the special instructions given to the *amil gazzar* or collector of the revenue. In these he was directed to consider himself the immediate friend of the husbandman, to assist him with loans of money, to transact his business with each husbandman separately, and in particular to agree with him "to bring his rents himself at stated periods, that there may be no plea for employing intermediate mercenaries." From all this it seems sufficiently clear that the revenue, whatever it was, was payable by the ryots or cultivators direct to the State, and that they only were held to be liable for it. Hence we are in a manner constrained by the principles of the *wazīfa kharāj* to infer that it was to them that the right of property in the land was transferred from the conquerors, and that consequently they became its proprietors.

It was probably the intention of Akbar to have extended his system to the whole of the lands in his dominions, but that was never done; for in most of the Soubahs or provinces into which they were divided, large tracts of land were left unmeasured. On these the public revenue seems to have been levied in a manner corresponding to the *mukásumah kharāj*, that is, by a division of the produce; but there is no further evidence that the *kharāj* in that form was ever imposed upon the land. Even though there were such evidence, we should have no right to infer a preliminary grant in that case, and may therefore conclude, with regard to the unmeasured lands, for want of evidence to the contrary, that they would still remain the property of the conquerors, or the Sovereign as their representative.

I have no means of tracing the tenure of land through the reigns of Jehangir and Shahjehan; but we have an important document of the time of Aurungzebe, from which it appears that the tenure and position of the ryots or cultivators was pretty much the same at that time as it had been left by Akbar. This document, which was a firman in-

tended for the guidance of the officers employed in the collection of the revenue, follows very closely the instructions of Akbar to his *amil gazzars*. It is therefore unnecessary to go minutely through its contents. It may be sufficient to say that in the firman we have the distinction strongly marked between the two kinds of *kharaj*, leaving no doubt that the rate imposed by Akbar was a true *wazifa*; though in the firman it is called *mowazzaf*; for that is only a different inflexion from the same root, and has the same meaning. Moreover, what was only an inference from the imposition of the *wazifa* in Akbar's settlement, has now become a reality, for at every step the ryots or husbandmen are treated as the proprietors of the land where the *kharaj* is *mowazzaf*.

The assessment of Akbar was limited to a third of the produce of the land, and *prima facie* the ryot might retain the whole of the remaining two-thirds for his own benefit. There might, however, have been some other party entitled by custom, or by virtue of some right recognized by the ryot, to a portion of it; and the difference between a third and a half of the produce, which the law considered generally sufficient for the maintenance of the cultivator and his family, or one-sixth of the whole, might thus have been left for the benefit of such other party, though in strictness he might have no legal right to it after the ryot had become the proprietor of the land.

In the *Ayin Akbery* mention is made of a class of persons called zamindars, as forming an important part of the military force of the empire. In Bengal they are particularly described as furnishing large bodies of cavalry and infantry, besides cannon, boats and elephants; and speaking generally of the army of the empire, the zamindary troops are said to be upwards of four millions. The word zamindar is a compound of two Persian words, *zamin* (land) and *dar* (holder), and means literally a holder of land. The name, therefore, could hardly have been given to any class of persons who had no recognized connexion with the land; which would imply some degree of power over it or its occu-

pants, in the persons who were obliged to provide for so large a force.

In the Memoirs of Timur we meet with frequent notices of powerful chiefs sometimes submitting to that conqueror, on his invasion of India, and as often in rebellion against him. In the Persian translation of that work these persons are called zamindars, and if we may assume that they belonged to the same class to whom the name is applied in the *Ayın Akbery*, it would seem that there were at that time two classes of zamindars, one superior and the other inferior. Indeed, one is particularly mentioned as having a country and subjects with dependent zamindars under him. This state of things may be differently accounted for. By some it has been supposed that the two classes of zamindars were the successors of superior and inferior officers that had existed under the Hindu kings. By others it may be thought that the superior zamindars were the successors of ancient Rajahs or rulers of parts of the country, while the inferior were originally subordinate chiefs, or, perhaps, proprietors of the land. Whatever the ancestors of these different classes may have been, it is evident that both the superior and inferior must have been left, at the original conquest of the country, in possession of some of the powers which they originally had in their particular districts, so far as was consistent with a general subjection to the conquerors.

For a considerable time after the first invasion of the country, the conquerors seem to have cared for little beyond the revenue. The easiest and simplest way for obtaining that was to leave the civil government of the country with the native chiefs, supreme or dependent, and to impose upon them fixed payments in the nature of tribute. Such a state of things may be supposed to have continued until the government of the conquerors was sufficiently established to enable them to impose their own system of revenue, that is, the *kharaĵ*, upon the land. Whenever that took place, it would have created a revolution in the condition of the zamindars. Indeed, to depress, if not entirely to extinguish them, seems to have been one of the principal motives which

led Ala-ud-din to impose, as already mentioned, a tax equal to half the annual produce of the lands throughout the kingdom. At that time estimates of the produce were required from the zamindars, and superintendents were appointed over the collectors "to take care that the zamindars should demand no more from the cultivators than the estimates the zamindars themselves had made."

The various regulations of Ala-ud-din came to naught at his death; and the extreme pressure on the cultivators being thus removed, a margin of produce would again be left for the zamindar, who might then rise to the condition in which he was afterwards found at the invasion of Timur. It is further probable that he remained in that state down to the time of Selim Shah and Akbar, which will account for his being able to contribute so largely as he then did to the military force of the empire.

In this view the condition of the ryot may be supposed generally to remain pretty much the same under all circumstances, while that of the zamindar would sink with every fresh demand on the produce of the land; the ryot becoming less and less able to pay anything above what he was obliged to render to the State. Amid the anarchy that followed soon after the death of Aurungzebe, a number of *de facto* governments were established throughout the country, and the pressure on the land may thus be supposed to have varied with the exigencies and character of the rulers in particular localities. At some places in the north-western provinces the pressure became so great that scarcely any of the produce seems to have been left with the cultivators beyond what was necessary for the subsistence of themselves and their families; and the zamindars were reduced to a condition very little above that of the ordinary ryots. There is no reason to suppose that the demand from the land was less in Bengal than elsewhere. Indeed, we know that the *túmar jammah* had been already increased in A.D. 1658 under Shah Sujah, at the commencement of Aurungzebe's reign; and that it was again raised in 1722 under Nawab Jaffier Khan, in the fourth year of the reign of Mahmud Shah.

About that time a universal dispossession of the zamindars took place, and the province was divided into official zamindaries, some of which were of great extent, comprising under them smaller zamindaries, that were called *taluks* or dependencies. The new zamindaries were constituted by *sannads*; from the terms of which it is evident that some change must have taken place in the relation of the zamindars to the Government since the time of Akbar's Settlement. Originally, or at least in the time of Ala-ud-din, they seem to have held an intermediate position between the Government and the cultivators. In Akbar's Settlement they were entirely ignored, and appear to have been quite cut off from any connexion with the Government revenue. So long, however, as they were obliged to maintain a large contingent of troops for the service of the Empire, they must be supposed to have retained some interest in the produce of the land; for how else could they have found the means for their support? How long their obligation in this respect continued it is difficult to say; but their contingents, it may be supposed, would be gradually reduced with every addition to the land revenue, which would leave less and less of the produce of the land available for the zamindars; and at the time of Jaffier Khan's operations they seem to have been no longer charged with military duties, but to have become little more than *amils* or agents for the collection of the public revenue. This is apparent from the terms of the *sannads* already alluded to; for in the details of their duties it is expressly stated that they are to "deliver into the Treasury, at proper times, the due rent of the Sircar," that is, the Government, and take a discharge, according to custom, at the end of the year. Deductions were allowed for certain known charges, including what was called a *nankar*, or bread allowance, for the maintenance of the zamindar and his family, commonly estimated at about ten per cent. of the collections. The *sannad* was usually granted for a consideration called a *peshcash*, and the zamindary being an office, a fresh appointment was required on the death of the party to whom the *sannad* was granted. The

son or heir of the last zamindar was usually appointed to succeed him; so that in the course of time the office seems to have acquired a *quasi*-hereditary character; but it was still necessary that a fresh appointment should be made on the death of the last occupant, and that a new *sannad* should be issued, which was not granted except on payment of the *peshcash*. By the terms of the *sannad* the zamindar was required to provide an increased cultivation of the land. But this implied a power to measure it and make grants of waste; and it may also be supposed that as *amil* or collector of the revenue, he would be invested with authority to fix from time to time the rates at which it was to be held by the ryots or cultivators. Such an authority seems to have been exercised by the zamindars in the form of writings called *pottahs*, which were sometimes limited in respect of time, but in other cases were left indefinite.

Subsequently to the last increase of the *túmar jammah* by Jaffier Khan, various additions were made to it in the form of what were called *abwab*, which, as the name implies, were doors or occasions for further exactions. These, though immediately levied on the zamindars, were easily transferred by them to the ryot, who thus remained ultimately liable for the whole revenue, as he had been under the Settlement by Akbar.

At this time the word *mukásumah* had dropped out of use, or was lost in the Hindu term *battas*, which also meant a division of produce; and as that form of the *kharaj* does not seem to have prevailed to any considerable extent in Bengal, the ryots came to be distinguished only according as the lands which they cultivated did or did not belong to the village in which they resided. The former were called *khud-kasht*, the latter *pae-kasht*—names which are still in common use, though more properly applicable to the land than to the cultivators. *Khud-kasht* is a compound of the Persian words *khud* (self) and *kasht*, a contraction of *kashta* (sown), and means literally self-sown, which is somewhat ambiguous. But the true meaning of the expression is well brought out in the following translation by Mr. Gladwin of an edict by

Jehangir: "The officers of the Khalsa are positively prohibited from the practice of forcibly taking the ryot's lands and cultivating them for their own benefit;" these last words being in the original *khud-kasht sazand*, or make them *khud-kasht*. So that a *khud-kasht* ryot must be some one who cultivates for his own benefit. *Pae-kasht* is of uncertain etymology; but, as it is opposed to *khud-kasht*, it would seem to indicate, when applied to a ryot, one who does not cultivate for his own benefit, but for that of another, as, for example, on hire. Corresponding to this, we are told that at the time of the perpetual settlement of the revenue in Bengal, the *khud-kasht* ryots were "considered to be in some sense hereditary tenants," while the *pae-kasht* were "considered as tenants at will, and to have only a temporary interest in the soil." We are also informed that at the same time there was a class of ryots who were compelled to "stand to all losses and to pay for the land, whether cultivated or not." Only two classes are mentioned, and as that could not be said of the *pae-kasht*, it must have been the *khud-kasht* ryots who were held to be liable under all circumstances. But that was the very characteristic of the holder of land subject to the *wasifa kharaj*. The *khud-kasht* ryot is thus shown to be his representative, and ought therefore, on the principles of Muhammadan law, to be considered the proprietor of the land, unless it can be proved that his liability was only a sub-liability to some other person, who was immediately responsible to the State for the revenue, whether the land was cultivated or not. Now the only person who stood between the State and the cultivator was the zamindar, and it has been supposed that the *khud-kasht* ryot was his hereditary tenant, and responsible to him for rent, out of which he was liable to the Government for the *kharaj*. But in answer to this supposition it may be observed, in the first place, that there could be no hereditary tenancy under the Muhammadan law, as leases expired with the death of the tenant, and second, that it is evident from the terms of the zamindar's *sannad*, that his liability for revenue extended only to what he actually received from the ryot, and that he

was in no way responsible for the revenue of the land if it remained uncultivated. His tenure therefore wanted the characteristic of the *wasifa* as a test of ownership in the land; and the other powers which he possessed over the ryot have been traced back to his official capacity as *amil* or agent of the Government.

It only remains to say a few words regarding the power which the *khud-kasht* ryot may be supposed to have possessed over the land. If I have succeeded in identifying him with the holder of *wasifa* land, he had not only a right to the productive powers of the soil, to enable him to meet his permanent liability for the *kharaj*, but, as owner of the land, he must also have had the right to sell it. Indeed, it is expressly stated in the *Hidayah*, that "the lands of the territory of Irak are the property of their inhabitants, who may lawfully sell or otherwise dispose of them." Though this was said only of Irak, the reason assigned by the author for the remark is equally applicable to all other conquered countries that were left in the hands of their inhabitants, and on which the *kharaj* was imposed. Accordingly, the holders of *kharaji* land are uniformly treated by writers of the school of Abu Hunifa as having power to sell or mortgage it. But M. Worms has insisted in his *Recherches sur la propriété territoriale dans les Pays Musulmans*, p. 118,¹ that Irak was an exception to all other countries on which the *kharaj* was imposed, and that with regard to these it is necessary to conclude that they ceased to be the property of their inhabitants. For this opinion the only Hanifite authority which he has quoted as being express on the point is the following extract from Mr. Hamilton's translation of the *Hidayah*: "In this case" (namely, when the lands of a conquered country are left in the hands of the inhabitants) "the inhabitants are merely the cultivators of the soil on behalf of the Mussulmans, as performing all the labour in the various modes of tillage on their account without their being subjected to any of the trouble or expense attending it." But there is nothing in the original corresponding to

¹ First published in the *Journal Asiatique*, but afterwards in a separate volume.

the word "merely," the Arabic word so translated being *ku*, which signifies only "as" or "like."

It is well known that a perpetual settlement of the land revenue was made by the Bengal Government in the year 1793. This has been the occasion of a very considerable change in the tenure of land, and the relative condition of the zamindars and ryots. But it would require too much room to pursue the subject further in this place. It is, moreover, treated at some length in the Introductory Essay to a Second Edition of my Selections from the *Futawa Alungiri*, entitled *The Land Tax of India* according to the Muhammadan Law, with full references to authorities on all statements of any importance in this paper.

To the Editor of the JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

SIR,—Major H. Raverty having felt aggrieved by the passage in an article of mine in your Journal, quoted below¹ (and by another passage in my Marco Polo, Vol. I. p. 156), by mutual agreement the question was referred to the arbitration of Dr. A. Sprenger and Mr. Arthur Grote:

“Are or are not these passages incorrect and unjust as asserted by Major Raverty?”

The arbiters have given their award,² which amounts to this:

“The passages are neither incorrect nor unjust; but they are calculated to leave an unfavourable impression on the reader’s mind. The frame work of both papers appears to have been drawn from the same source; but a comparison of the Vocabularies shows that their respective authors worked independently of each other. The arbiters are satisfied that Major Raverty *was quite unaware of the previous publication*, and that his position is therefore completely justified.”

H. YULE.

¹ “It may be worth while to call attention to the fact that, according to the notes of Rájah Khán of Kábul, translated by Major Leech in vol. xiv. of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (pp. 815–817), Upper Káshkar is also called SHIGHNÁN. . . . I must leave the matter on this solitary authority. The same is indeed said in Major Raverty’s ‘*Account of Upper Káshkar*’ in the 33rd vol. of the same Journal, p. 131. But I cannot regard this as a corroboration, for a comparison of the two papers shows that *they have been derived from the same original notes*, though no indication of this is suggested in the latter paper.”—New Series, vol. vi. p. 113.

² Colonel Yule originally sent a letter containing nearly the whole award of the arbitrators, a document which the Council found greatly too long for insertion.—ED.

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. X.—*Sigiri, the Lion Rock, near Pulastipura, Ceylon; and the Thirty-ninth Chapter of the Mahāvamsa.* By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, late of the Ceylon Civil Service.

SIGIRI ROCK.

IN Lat. $7^{\circ} 59'$ N., Long. 81° E., about fourteen miles N.E. of Dambulla, and about seventeen miles nearly due W. of Parākrama Bāhu's capital, Pulastipura, is the singular natural stronghold referred to in the Thirty-ninth Chapter of the Mahāvamsa, and first re-discovered by Major Forbes, of the Ceylon Civil Service, in the year 1831. Sir Emerson Tennent (Ceylon, vol. i. p. 15) says of it: "Sigiri is the only example in Ceylon of those solitary acclivities, which form so remarkable a feature in the table-land of the Dekkan, starting abruptly from the plain with scarped and perpendicular sides; and converted by the Indians into strongholds, accessible only by precipitous pathways, or steps hewn in the solid rock." And, again (vol. ii. p. 579): "This gigantic cylindrical rock starts upward to a height prodigious in comparison with its section at any point, the area of its upper surface being little more than an acre in extent. Its scarped walls are nearly perpendicular, and in some places they overhang their base. The formation of this singular cliff can only be ascribed to its upheaval by a subterranean force, so circumscribed in action that its effects were confined within a very few yards, yet so irresistible as to have shot

aloft this prodigious pencil of stone to the height of nearly 400 feet." The height of the rock above the sea is probably more than this—a point which soon will be (if it is not already) settled by the Surveyors engaged in the Trigonometrical Survey of that part of Ceylon.¹ I am also informed that the occurrence of so circumscribed and yet so irresistible a subterranean force is almost, if not quite impossible, and that the present position of Sigiri, like that of the many similar strongholds in the table-lands of South India, may be more easily explained by a general subsidence of the soil around it. It is to be regretted that the geological history of Ceylon altogether has received so little attention; but it seems certain that Sigiri owes its origin to the same force to which is due the great elevation which stretches for more than 150 miles in a N.E. direction from below Adam's Peak to Trinkomali, and forms the principal gneiss and granite mountain ranges of Ceylon, which, since their first appearance above the waters, have certainly undergone no second immersion.² If this be so, then the crag of Sigiri, which lies almost in the centre line of that upheaval, must be among those parts of the now habitable globe which first emerged from the deep, and have been longest accessible to man.

Accessible, however, is scarcely the word to apply, at least to the top of it. Even with the help of the remains of Kāsyapa's pathway, Major Forbes's friends were only able to reach the lower terrace, and the Major himself, who did not get so far as they did, acknowledges "that he felt so giddy" as to be unable to keep up with them, "and was sincerely glad

¹ Sir Henry Rawlinson, speaking at the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, on the 16th of June last, on the Kashgar Expedition of Mr. Forsyth, said: "The fact of the greatest interest in connexion with the correspondence was the announcement that the system of trigonometrical triangulation carried on from India had overlapped the Russian triangulation from the North, so that we now have a series of triangulations from Archangel to Cape Comorin." The triangulation has now been completed, I believe, to Dondra Head.

² Tennent, Ceylon, i. 16. It may be interesting to notice, in connexion with Sir Emerson Tennent's theory, that Ceylon was never united to India by land, that Mr. Legge, of the R.A., now stationed at Galle, whose able researches into Ceylon Ornithology have met with so much success, informs me that there are on the southern slopes of the great mountain range at least thirty species of birds peculiar to Ceylon.

to see them descend in safety"¹—not from the top of the hill, be it remembered, but from the very beginning of the pathway. Tennent also writes in 1848: "No adventurous climber has tested the truth of the popular belief" in a cistern on the top of the height. Since then, however, one or two Englishmen, by a different route from that followed by Forbes, and with the help of natives with jungle-rope ladders and other appliances, have managed to reach the top.

Half-way up this almost inaccessible crag, in a hollow protected by overhanging rock, I have seen through a telescope figures painted in fresco; and the clearness of their outline and the freshness of their colour make it almost incredible that they should be the work of Sinhalese artists one thousand four hundred years ago. But, as will be seen from the evidence adduced below, they are without doubt as old as that; for they were evidently drawn at the time when the terrace was built by Kāśyapa the Parricide, after whose death the scene of his crime was abandoned, and has ever since been regarded with superstitious dread. The paintings are of much the same character as the frescoes found on the ceilings and walls of most of the Buddhist temples in Ceylon; but the figures seemed to me more lifelike and artistic. They are far above the terraces, the ruins of which wind round and up the precipice; and it is reasonable to conclude, from their being found in so inaccessible a spot, that they are merely the last remnants of a large number of similar paintings which covered the bare and perpendicular rock immediately above the terrace. It is unlikely that the *only* frescoes should have been painted where they can be so hardly and so little seen, but they are found in almost the only part of the precipice protected equally from sun and rain; so that the destruction of any others that may have existed was inevitable.²

From the foot of the precipice the ground slopes away gradually on one side, and more rapidly on the others, to the level of the plain, across which has been thrown a dam

¹ Eleven Years in Ceylon, by Major Forbes, 78th Highlanders, vol. ii. p. 10. This valuable work, now very rare, was published in 1841.

² For a short account of the present method of painting in Buddhist temples in Ceylon, see *Notes A.* in the Appendix.

forming an artificial lake, still large, in spite of the neglected state of the bund, and which must formerly have reached far round the foot of the hill, and filled the moat which Major Forbes discovered.¹

From Haburene, six miles off, Sigiri, says Major Forbes,² "bears a striking resemblance to a crested helmet resting on a cushion," the cushion being the rising ground from which the overhanging precipice rises.

It was on the ridge of this 'cushion' that Kāsyapa the Parricide built his palace. Down to the lake the rapidly falling ground is formed, by massive and lofty stone retaining walls,³ into platforms, on which stood the less important buildings of the royal refuge; while up the face of the precipice ran that wonderful terrace, which is one of the most interesting engineering remains of the ancient world.

It would be difficult, even with the help of drawings and photographs, to convey to one who has not seen it an exact idea of this terrace; but the photographs before you will give a general idea of the rock and the remains upon it.⁴ The path itself was of stone, but supported on a solid brick wall, four or five feet broad, carried along the face of the cliff. The cliff being nearly perpendicular, this wall has to descend far below the path before it finds a resting-place on the edge of the rock. As the path was gradually carried forward and upward, a line seems to have been dropped from it to the rock beneath; and where the line first touched the cliff, however far below that might be, a flat place was scooped out large enough to support a single brick: this was done along the breadth of the path, which averaged about four feet and a half, and then the solid wall

¹ *loc. cit.* p. 11.

² vol. ii. p. 31.

³ Nos. 91, 92, 93, and 94 of the Collection of Ceylon Photographs in the Colonial Office, Downing Street.

⁴ In the collection of photographs referred to in the last note there are thirteen photographs of Sigiri rock and the ruins upon it. Nos. 86 and 89 give respectively S.E. and S.W. views of the rock, with the lake in the foreground. Nos. 87, 88, and 90 are views of the rock showing the remains of the celebrated climbing terrace. Nos. 95 and 96 are views of what was probably Kāsyapa's audience hall. Nos. 97 and 98 are of a stone bath and a cave; and the rest are mentioned in the last note. The collection was kindly lent to the Royal Asiatic Society on the day on which this paper was read before it.

was built up to the requisite height. Some of the outer rows of bricks were carried high enough to form a wall breast-high on the outer side of the path, and occasionally this breastwork may have been carried right over head, so as to form a covered way. The top of this solid wall was flagged with stone, and furnished, wherever necessary, with stone steps.¹ Above in the rock a *Katârama* or ledge was cut, to cause the water to drop off instead of trickling down the cliff side, and all along the path both the face of the precipice and the breastwork were covered with fine hard white chunam plaster. The flatness of the lofty supporting wall was relieved by projections, at the places where the path turned in or out, according to the irregular shape of the face of the rock; and it was certainly at the top, and probably throughout, covered with this beautiful plaster (which it is quite beyond the skill of the modern Sinhalese to imitate), and painted in ornamental patterns.

As this narrow, but solid, structure rose, clinging to the face of the rock, it had to pass a corner where for many weeks of the year the winds of the monsoon blow nearly half a gale, and the rains are dashed with great force against the rock; from here to the summit the structure has completely vanished, but the valley for many hundred feet below is strewn with its remains, and the little oblong places cut in the rock show where the base of the high wall was once sustained.

It was close to the entrance of this terrace that for eighteen years *Kâsyapa* the Parricide lived, as the *Mahâvamsa* quaintly puts it, "in fear of *Moggallâna* and of death." Around his home the huge granite boulders were hollowed and carved into bathing tanks and audience halls, and far above, on the top of the cliff, a water-tank was formed, from which the water, even in dry seasons, is often seen trickling down the overhanging rock; so that the native traditions' concerning the existence of a cistern there are proved to be correct.

Along this gallery, which only the mad fear of an Oriental despot would have dreamt of constructing, *Kâsyapa* hoped

¹ The breastwork and steps are clearly visible in Photograph No. 88.

² *Forbes's Eleven Years*, vol. ii. p. 10; *Tennent's Ceylon*, vol. ii. p. 580.



in the long foreseen hour of danger to fly; but it was as useless to him as an escape from Moggallâna as it would have been as an escape from Death himself.

The story of Kâsyapa's crime is contained in the 38th chapter of the Mahâvamsa, which is the last published by Turnour, and the story of his reign is contained in the till now unpublished 39th chapter—the text and a translation of which are annexed. Turnour states in the introduction to his edition of Mahâvamsa (p. xxxi) that Mahânâma, the uncle of Kâsyapa's father Dhâtusena, compiled the first thirty-seven chapters only; but in his "Epitome" he says, "It is still doubtful whether Mahânâma was not also the author of the subsequent portion to his own times." If he were, we have a contemporaneous authority for the history of this period, and internal evidence is strongly in favour of his authorship, at least of the 38th chapter, in which his last interview with Dhâtusena is so touchingly described. It is apparent, also, from v. 42 of the chapter now published, that Mahânâma survived the eighteen years' usurpation by Kâsyapa, and from the order in which the honour paid to him is mentioned, it is probable that he lived far down into the reign of Moggallâna.¹ But internal evidence is at best an unsafe guide, and the Tika or commentary, the acknowledged work of Mahânâma, closes at the end of the 37th chapter. We cannot therefore, as yet, accept Forbes's opinion that the history as we have it was "written immediately after these events,"² but must consider the chapter now published as part of that portion of the Mahâvamsa compiled from the royal chronicles by Dharma-kirti in the reign of Dambadeniya Parâkrama, about 1267 A.D. The fact that the last verse of the now published chapter is in the Sârdûla-vikrîdita metre cannot help us in deciding its age. It is true

¹ The names are not quite the same, but a comparison of the verse referred to with v. 12, p. 254, and vv. 4, 5, p. 120, of Turnour's Mahâvamsa will show, I think, that the same person is referred to. There may be a mistake in the length of the reigns of Dhâtusena and his two sons, which is given as 18 years in each instance, but even without that it would not be impossible for Mahânâma to have lived more than 36 years after the coronation of his nephew Dhâtusena.

² vol. ii. p. 3. Sir E. Tennent is also of Forbes's opinion, Ceylon, vol. i. p. 393.

that those metres in which the number of syllables and the quantity of each are regulated by strict rule, must be more modern than the freer and looser metres, which allow much choice to the poet; but though comparatively speaking modern, these hard and fast metres, if they may be so called, are known to be much older than the time of Mahānāma, and are found in the earliest of the Sanskrit plays.¹

Future investigation will succeed in deciding with certainty the date at which these two chapters were written; but whatever their date may be, there is no reason to doubt the general correctness of the narrative, which tells us, as readers of the Mahāvamsa will recollect, that in 434 A.D. the Dravidians took the opportunity of a disputed succession to make an inroad into Ceylon, and for twenty-four years held the capital, then Anurādhapura, in their hands. As usual, the Sinhalese could not long bear the yoke; and when they roused themselves, they were led to victory by a priest, Dhātusena, who claimed descent from a member of the royal family who had escaped the sword of Subha, a usurper of the throne nearly 400 years before.

No attempt was made to fill up this gap. Subha had driven out the descendants of Kaluna (Pāli Khallāta-Nāga), and had been himself dethroned and killed, A.D. 62, by Wasabha, who claimed descent from Lajji-tissa B.C. 172 (Sinhalese Læmini-tissa), the *brother* of Khallāta-Nāga. From A.D. 62 to the Tamil invasion in A.D. 434, the line of Wasabha (with possibly one exception) had occupied the throne. Dhātusena claimed descent from Khallāta-Nāga, who reigned B.C. 112, and whose descendants, since they were driven out by Subha, A.D. 56, had *never occupied* the throne.²

¹ See *Note F.* in the Appendix.

² Crawford, in his *History of the Indian Archipelago* (vol. ii. p. 359), referring to similar claims in Javanese history, says: "Oppression on the part of the Government acting on the singular credulity and superstition of the people, gives rise in Java to those rebels called in the language of the country *KRAMAN*, a word which literally means 'a pretender to royalty,' 'an impostor.' Whenever the country is in a state of anarchy, one or more of these persons is sure to appear." There are several similar instances in Ceylon history, of which the most celebrated is that of Parākrama the Great, who, in default of any nearer royal ancestor, claimed descent from Wijaya, the Conqueror, himself—a claim which seems to have been as readily admitted in his own time as it is in ours.

No one, however, came forward to dispute the claim of the successful leader of the patriot insurgents, and Dhātusena reigned in peace for eighteen years, encouraging literature and Buddhism, promoting public works, especially of irrigation, and repairing¹ the Kāla-vāpi (Sinhalese Kalā-wæwa), the largest and finest of those artificial lakes of which the Ceylonese were so justly proud. The dams, one of which was at right angles to the other, must have been together eight or ten miles long, and the lake itself thirty or forty miles round. It is said to have reached to the foot of the great Dambulla Rock, and its waters were conducted by Parākrama the Great's Jayaganga canal to the city of Anurādhapura, forty miles away. Even now the stone spillwater near the huge breach in its ruined dam is one of the most interesting remains in the district of Nuwara-kalā-wiya,² and the huge breach itself forms the source of one of the largest rivers in Ceylon.

The repairer or maker of this gigantic tank had two sons, Kāsyapa and Moggallāna, the children of different mothers, and their natural jealousy was fomented by their cousin, who had married their sister, and had also been appointed Commander-in-chief (Senāpati).³ The story shows that Buddhism had not softened his manners or tamed his natural ferocity; for he caused the princess, his wife, to be so severely flogged, that her garments trickled with blood; and this happened, as the Mahāvamsa naïvely says, *vinādoṣeṇa*, without any fault on her side, when she did *not* deserve it. The old despot was furiously enraged at this, and had the Prince's mother, his own sister, burnt naked and alive!

On this a civil war ensued. The Commander-in-chief stirred up Kāsyapa to raise the *chatra* against his father,

¹ According to the Mahāvamsa, p. 251: but according to the Rājaratnākara, p. 81 of the MS. in the Library of the University of Cambridge, he *made* this as well as many other tanks.

² The derivation of this word is curious. Nuwara-wæwa = nagara-vāpi is the fine tank near to the "city" of Anurādhapura; Kalā-wæwa = Kāla-vāpi; wiya, according to the tradition of the district, is for the third great tank in it, the Pahadewila-wæwa, now called Pādavil-kulam, that part of the district having become Tamil (Tennent's Ceylon, vol. ii. p. 506). Either my informant, however, or the tradition itself, seems mistaken on this last point.

³ Turnour's Mahāvamsa, p. 259.

who was perhaps favouring Moggallâna, as the order in which they are mentioned in the Mahāvamsa leads to the belief that Moggallâna was the younger son. The rebels won an easy victory; and the ease with which they won it shows how weak the old King's power had become. Such arbitrary acts of despotic cruelty as the one mentioned above, and the one referred to below in *Note B.* in the Appendix, had perhaps become too much even for Oriental resignation to bear.¹

Moggallâna escaped to Jambudvîpa, which in Ceylon books merely means the Continent of India; but the old King fell into the hands of the victors, and was imprisoned at Anurâdhapura. He would not, however, inform the victors where the royal treasures, which they believed him to possess, were hid, until at last, frightened by their importunity, he said, "If you will take me to the Kâla-vâpi lake, I shall be able to point them out." They sent him, therefore, to the lake, on the shores of which his friend the sage, probably Mahânâma, was living. There, says the Chronicle, from the way in which these two talked, sitting one by the other, and quenching the fire of each other's afflictions, *they* seemed to be those who had won the kingdom. So after the sage had fed and consoled him in various ways, showing him the real character of the world, and strengthening him in resolution, the King went for the last time to the lake, and bathing delightfully in it, and drinking its water, said to his guards, "These alone are the riches I possess."²

Kâsyapa was greatly enraged when he heard this, and, to the delight of those whose treason gave them no hope of pardon, gave orders for the death of his father; and then actually went down in his royal robes, and walked up and down in his condemned father's sight, to mock him in his fall. Dhâtusena, says the Chronicle, thought, "This sinful

¹ Professor Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. iv. p. 292, calls Dhâtusena "a monarch distinguished for his piety and gentleness"—a description which seems rather at variance with the facts of the narrative.

² Professor Lassen, in his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. iv. p. 291, states the King's answer to have been that he had no other treasures besides "bathing in that tank." This rendering destroys the very point of the reply. The King undoubtedly meant that he had nothing left beyond the consciousness of the great public benefit he had conferred on the people by his gigantic irrigation works.

one wants to torment my mind as well as my body; he wants to lead me to hell; what is the use of being angry with him?" and simply said kindly, "Lord of lords, I have the same affection for you as I have for Moggallâna."

The guards then stripped the old King, chained him with iron chains, and built him up alive into a wall, leaving only for his face an opening towards the East, which they then plastered over with clay.

The rest of the narrative follows in the words of the chronicler, to which I have added a translation. The text is formed by the collation of a MS. in my possession, which was bought in Kandy, and is denoted by K, with one in the library of Dadalla Wihâra, near Galle, Ceylon, which is denoted by D. Prof. Childers has also kindly compared for me some passages in an India Office MS. complete to the end of Parâkrama the Great's reign. Though the text is still imperfect, and in one or two places so much so as to be unintelligible, yet in the present state of Pâli literature it will probably be considered better than none; and those most competent to give an opinion have advised the publication of the text as it stands. The words printed in italics are conjectural. In the English version I have tried to retain the naive epic style of the old chronicler by translating as literally as possible.

THE REIGNS OF KĀSYAPA THE PARRICIDE AND OF MOGGAL-
LĀNA THE FIRST, FROM THE MAHĀVAMSA, THIRTY-NINTH
CHAPTER.

1. Tato Kassapa-nāmo so pāpako nara-pāliko
Assa-gopaṇi ca sūdaṇi ca pesayitwāna bhātukaṇi
2. Mārāpetum assakkonto bhīto Sīha-giriṃ gato
Durārohaṃ manussehi sodhāpetvā samantato
3. Pākāreṇa parikkhippa sīhākāreṇa kārayi
Tattha nisseṇi-gehāni tena *tan*-nāmako ahu
4. Saṃharitvā dhanam tattha nidahitvā sugopitaṃ
Attano nihitānaṃ so rakkhaṃ datvā tahiṃ tahiṃ
5. Katvā rāja-gharaṃ tattha dassaneyyaṃ manoramaṃ
Dutiyālakamandaṃ va Kuvero va tahiṃ vasi
6. *Migāra-nāmo* kāresi senāpati sanāmakaṃ
Pariveṇaṃ tathā gehaṃ abhisekajinassa ca

TRANSLATION.

1. Then that wicked king called Kāsyapa, having sent a horse-keeper and a cook to kill his brother, and being unable to do so, became afraid, and went to the Lion Rock (Sīgiri); and having thoroughly cleared the place difficult for men to climb, and surrounded it by a rampart, built there a climbing gallery ornamented with lions, whence it acquired its name.

4. Having collected his wealth, he buried it there carefully, and put guard over the treasures he himself had buried in different places, and built a palace there beautiful to look at and pleasant to the mind, like a second Ālakamanda, where he lived like Kuvera.

6. The general called Migāra built there a monastery of the same name, and a coronation hall, where he asked that the coronation should take place with more splendour than

VARIOUS READINGS AND NOTES.

1. D. pāpako. 2. D. durāroha, K. tva. 3 D. kāreṇa, K. tatthā, K. nisseṇi, K. taṃ nāmako, D. tānamako. 4. K. D. haritva, K. tattha, tihi tānaṃ, D. tihitānaṃ. 5. K. dassaneyyaṃ, -mandaṃ ca. 6. K. D. Migāronāmā.

7. Tassābhisekam yācitvā silā sambuddhato 'dhikān
Aladdhā sāmīno rajje jānissāmi ti saṅṭhati
8. Hutvā vippaṭi-sāri so attanā kata-kammanā
Muccissāmi kathannu ti puññaṃ kāsī anappakam
9. Mahāvattḥūni kāresi dvāresu nagarassa so
Ambuyyānaṃ ca kāresi dīpe yojana-yojane
10. Issara-samaṇārāmaṃ kāretvā Buddhavattḥuno
Adhikam bhōga-gāme ca kinitva tassa dāpiya
11. Bodhi-uppalavaṇṇā ca tass' āsu duhitā duve
Wihārass assa kāresi nāmaṃ tāsāṃ ca attano
12. Dente tasmim na icchimsu samaṇā theravādino
Pitughātassa kamman ti loka-gārayha-bhīruno
13. Dātukāmo sa tesam va Sambuddha-paṭimāya 'dā
Bhikkhavo adhivāsesuṃ bhogo no satthuno iti
14. Tathā nīyanti uyyāne samipe pabbatassa so
Kārāpesi vihāraṃ so tesam nāmo tato ahu

the Silasambuddha, but being refused, kept quiet, thinking, "I shall know about it when the rightful heir comes to the kingdom."

8. Having repented, he (the King) did no little charity, thinking, "How shall I get free from the deeds I have done?" He spent much wealth on the gates of the city, and made a mango garden every eight miles throughout the land; and having built the Issara-samana monastery as a place sacred to Buddha, he bought still more fruitful land and gave to it. 11. He had two daughters, "The wise one" and "The lotus-coloured," and he gave their names and his own to this Wihāra. When he gave it, the faithful priests would not have it, fearing the blame of the world that it was the work of a parricide. But he still intending to give it them, bestowed it on the image of Buddha; then the priests received it, saying, "It (has become) the property of our Master." 14. In the same manner, in a garden near the rock, he made a monastery, and it was

7. D. saṅṭhiti. 8. K. D. katham. 9. D. dvāresi, uyyānen. 10. D. Issaro, dāpiyam. 11. K. D. āsuṃ, K. D. tāsam. 12. K. pāvuyha, D. gārayha. 13. K. aṭṭhivāsesu. 14. D. ahuṃ.

15. Adā dhammarucīnan tañ sampaññaṃ catupaccayaṃ
Wihāraṃ c'eva uyyānaṃ disā-bhāgami uttare
16. Bhattam sannīra-pakkam so bhujjitwa dinnam itthiyā
Sappi-yuttaṃ manuññehi sūpehi abhisāṅkharāṃ
17. Manuññaṃ idam *Ayyānam* dassāṃ evan ti tādisaṃ
Bhattam pādāsi bhikkhūnaṃ sabbesaṃ ca sacīvaraṃ
18. Uposatnam adhitthāsi appamaññaṃ ca bhāvayi
Samādāyi dhutaṅge ca likhāpeyi ca potthake
19. Paṭimādānasālādīṃ kārāpesi anappakaṃ
Bhīto so paralokambhā Moggallānā ca vattayi
20. Tato aṭṭhārase vasse Moggallāno mahāhavo
Ādesena nigaṇṭhānaṃ dvādasaggasahāyavā
21. Jambudīpā idh'āgamma dese Ambaṭṭha-kolake
Kuṭhāri-nāme bandhittha vihāre balasañcayāṃ
22. Rājā sutvā gahetvā taṃ bhujjessāmīti nikkhami
Nemittehi na sakkāti *vadantehi* mahābalo

called by their name. He gave that wihāra, abounding with the four necessary gifts, and a garden in the northern province, to the Dhammarucis.

16. He having tasted a dish given to him and prepared by a woman with king-cocoa-nut milk and ghee, and seasoned with excellent curry, thought, "This would be good for priests, I will give them some," and gave (accordingly) a meal like that and a suit of robes to all the priests. 18. He observed the eight rules, and meditated much and vowed vows, and had books written, and made many images, and dining halls for priests and such like things. Yet he lived on in fear of the other world and of Moggallāna.

20. Then, in the eighteenth year, Moggallāna, that great warrior, by the advice of the naked mendicants,* came here from Jambudīpa with twelve chiefs as friends, and collected his army at Kūṭhari Wihāra (the Axe-temple), in the district Ambaṭṭhakolaka. The King hearing this, saying, "I will catch and eat him," started forth with a large army, although the fortune-tellers said, "You cannot do it."

16. K. itthiyā, D. sappiṇ. 17. K. manuññaṃ, K. D. uyyānam, dassam. 18. D. likhāpesi. 19. K. D. vatati. 20. D. bhaṭo for havo, K. sahāva, D. sabhāyavā. 21. D. banditthā. 22. K. sutvāna, K. D. vadante pi.

* On the NIGRANTHAS, see Lassen, Ind. Alt. ii. pp. 692, 892.

23. Moggallāno pi sannaddhabalo surasahāyavā
Gacchanto 'sura-saṅgāmaṃ devo viya Sujampati
24. Aññaṃ aññaṃ upāgama bhinnavelā va sāgarā
Ārabhimsu mahāyuddhaṃ balakāyā ubho pi te
25. Kassapo purato disvā mahantaṃ kaddamāsayaṃ
Gantam aññaena maggena parivattesi dantinaṃ
26. Disvā taṃ sāmikō no 'yaṃ palāyati bhane iti
Balakāyā pabhijjivā diṭṭham piṭṭhan ti ghosayam
27. Moggallāna-balā rājā chetvā nikaraṇena so
Sīsaṃ ukkhipiy' ākāsaṃ churikaṃ kosiyāṃ khipi
28. Katvā lāṅgaṇakiccaṃ so tassa kamme pasīdiya
Sabbam sādhaṇam ādāya āgacchi nagaraṃ varaṃ
29. Bhikkhu sutvā pavattim taṃ sunivatthā supārutā
Sammajjitvā vihāraṃ ca aṭṭhaṃsu paṭipattiyā
30. Mahāmeghavanaṃ patvā Dewarājā va Nandaṃ
Mahāseṇaṃ nivattetvā hatthi pākārato bahi

23. And Moggallāna, too, marched out with his armed force and hero friends, like the god Sakra going to the battle-field of the Titans. The two armies met one the other, like oceans when their waves are broken; and began the mighty battle. Kāśyapa, then, seeing right in front a marshy hole, turned aside his elephant, to go another way. Seeing him, his army gave way, saying, "Our master is flying." But the soldiers of Moggallāna cried out, saying, "We see his back," and that king, cutting off (Kāśyapa's) head with his sword, threw it into the air, and put back his sword into its sheath.

28. Then, performing the funeral rites, and confirming the acts of the late king, and taking all the baggage, he entered the wonderful city. The priests hearing this news, well clothed and well robed, swept the vihāra, and stood in order. 30. He entered the Mahāmeghavana like the King of the Gods entering his garden Nandana, and stopping his mighty army out-

23. D. sūra. 24. K. and D. put v. 26 before vv. 24 and 25, and D. repeats it before v. 27. 24. K. D. aññaṃañña, K. bhinnāvela, D. bhinnā velā, cf. Dāthāvaṃsa iii. 6. 26. K. D. bhane, K. piṭṭha. 27. K. jetvā, D. ākāsa, sosiyāṃ. 28. D. lābhamiccaṃ, K. D. āgañji. 29. D. sammajjitvā, K. paṭipattiyatiyā. 30. K. vanaṃ vanaṃ patvā, D. vanaṃ va patvā, K. Nandavanaṃ, na vattetvā.

31. Upasaṅkamma vanditvā saṅhe tasmim̄ pasīdiya
Chattena saṅhaṃ pujesi saṅho tass eva taṃ adā
32. Taṃ ṭhānaṃ Chattavaddhiti voharimsu' tahiṃ katarā
Parivenāṃ pi taṃ nāmaṃ ahosi. Puram āgato
33. Vihāre dve pi gantvāna saṅhaṃ tatthābhivandiya
Pāpunivā mahā-rajjaṃ lokam̄ dhammena pālayi
34. Kuddho niharī Dāṭhaṃ so ghātakaṃ pituno mama
Anuvattimsu *muṇḍā* ti tena Rakkhasa-nāma-vā
35. Atireka-sahassaṃ so amaccānaṃ vināsaya
Kaṇṇa-nāsādi chedesi pabbājesi tathā bahu
36. Tato sutvāna saddhammaṃ upasanto sumānaso
Mahādānaṃ pavātesī megho viya mahītale
37. Phussa puṇṇamiyaṃ dānaṃ anuvassam pavattayi
Tato paṭṭhāya taṃ dānaṃ dipe ajjāpi vattati

side the elephant wall, and approaching and saluting them, he was well pleased with the priesthood there, and offered his kingdom to the priests, and the priests gave it back to him. They began to call that place "The gift of the kingdom," and the vihāra which had been made there acquired the same name.

33. He went to the citadel, and having entered both the vihāras, and bowed low to the priesthood, he took to himself the supreme sovereignty, in righteousness protecting the world. Being angry with the priests, saying, "They assisted at the death of my father, these baldheads!" he took away the Tooth, and thence acquired the name of 'Devil.' 35. He slew more than 1000 ministers, cut off the noses and ears of others, and many he banished from the land. After that he listened to the Law, became quiet and of a good heart, and gave great treasure, as a rain-cloud to the broad earth. He gave gifts every year on the full moon day of January, and the custom continues in the island up to this day.

31. K. D. naṃ. 32. K. ṭhāna D. voharimsu, K. parivenāma. 33. K. ce, K. D. loka. 34. K. muṇḍā, D. maccā. 35. K. D. amaccāpa, D. kaṇṇa. 36. K. upayanto, meso. 37. D. puṇṇamiyaṃ, K. tadānaṃ, D. vattanti.

38. So pi sâratthika-lâja-dâyako piturâjino
 Ânêtvâ pitum-sandesa Moggallâṇassa dassayi
39. Tan disvâ paridevitvâ pituno pemam attani
 Vanṇetvâ tassa pâdâsi drâva-nâyakataṃ vibhû
40. Senâpati Migâro hi nivedetva yathâ vidhiṃ
 Abhisekajinassakâ abhisekaṃ yathâ ruciṃ
41. Sîhâ-cale Dalha-nâmaṃ Dâthâkondaññakam pi ca
 Vihâre Dhamma-ruciṇaṃ Sâgalînañ ca dâpayi
42. Pabbatan tu vihâraṃ so katvâ therâssa dâpayi
 Mahânâma-sanâmassa Dîghâsana-vihârake
43. Râjini-nâmakam c'eva katvâ bhikkhûn-upassayan
 Adâ Sâgalikânaṃ so bhikkhûṇiṇaṃ mahâmati
44. Lambakannaka-gotto pi Dâthâppabuti-nâmako
 Kassapassa uppatthâṇe koci nibbinṇa-mânaso
45. So pi Kassapato bhîto ñâtakena sahattanâ
 Moggallâṇena gantvâna Jambudîpa-talaṃ ito

38. Then the charioteer (see Mah. p. 260), who had given the juicy fried rice to his father, brought his father's letter, and gave it to Moggallâna. Having seen this, he wept, remembering his father's love to himself, and gave the man the dignity of Chief gate-keeper. The governor, Migâro, having told him (all) as it had happened (before), performed the coronation (anointing) even as he had wished.

41. The King built on Sigiri rock the vihâras called Dalha and Dâthâkondañña, and gave them to the Dhammaruci and Sâgali orders: and having made a rock vihâra, he gave it to the thera, to Mahânâma of the Dîghâsana-vihâra (see foot-note, p. 196). Also he, the large-hearted, made a residence, called Râjini, for nuns, and gave it to the priestesses of the Sâgali order.

43. But a certain man named "Dâthâppabhuti," of the family of the "Hanging-ear'd-ones," who had been dissatisfied in the service of Kâsyapa, and was afraid of him, had gone with his relation Moggallâna to Jambudîpa, and

38. K. Daârathiko. 39. D. vannevâ. 40. K. D. Migârehi. 41. K. Dalhañ, D. Dalhañ, K. Kondaññaka, K. vihâra, D. vihâraṃ, K. dhammaruciṇaṃ, D. dhammaruciṇâ. 44. D. Lambakannâka. Prof. Lassen thinks these must be the Wæddas. 45. K. and D. put this verse after v. 46.

46. Gantvā Mereliya-vaggaṃ vāsan tatth' eva kappayi
 Ahosi putto tass' eko Silākālo ti vissuto
47. Bodhimaṇḍa-vihāramhi pabbajjāṃ samupāgato
 Karonto sangha-kiccāni sādaro so supesalo
48. Ambaṃ saṅghassa pādāsi saṅgho tasmim pasīdiya
 Āha 'mba-sāmaṇero ti tena tan-nāmako ahu
49. So Kesa-dhātu-varṇasamhi vuttena vidhinā tato
 Kesa-dhātum labhivāna tassa rajje idh'ānaya
50. Tassa katvāna sakkāraṃ gahetvā Kesadhātuyo
 Mahagge nidahivāna karaṇḍe phalikubbhave
51. Dīpaṅkaranagarassa paṭimāya ghare vare
 Vaddhetvā parihārena mahā-pūjāṃ pavattayi
52. Mātulaṃ bhariyaṃ ca 'ssa katvā sovaṇṇayaṃ tahiṃ
 Thapesi paṭimāyo ca assa bimbaṃ ca cārukaṃ
53. Kesa-dhātu-karaṇḍaṃ ca chattaṃ ratana-maṇḍapaṃ
 Sāvakagga-yugaṃ vijāniṃ ca sa kārayi

going to Mereliyavagga, had settled there. He had a son named Silākāla, who took the robes in the Bodhi-maṇḍa vihāra, and there led a priest's life, loved of all, and virtuous. 48. He gave a mango to the priesthood, and they, well pleased therewith, cried out, "a Mango-pupil." So he was called by that name in future. He having acquired the Hair-relic in the manner related in the book "The History of the Hair-relics," brought it hither in the reign of this king.

50. (The King) entertained him hospitably, and received the Hair-relics, and placed them in a crystal shrine of great price, and carried them in procession to the noble image-house of Dīpaṅkaranagara, and gave a great donation; making golden images of his wife and father-in-law, he placed them there, and a beautiful statue of himself. 53. And he made a casket for the Hair-relic, and a canopy and a jewelled shrine and (figures of) the two chief apostles,

46. K. gantvāna meraliyāṃ, D. maggaṃ. I would prefer, after all, to follow the MSS. in the order of these verses: kappayi would then be the finite verb to Dāṭhāp., and so pi would refer to Silākāla. The son of this Silākāla became king of Ceylon 534-547 A.D. 48. K. amba, K. D. ahamba nāmato. 49. D. dhātum, K. D. rajjā. Comp. J.B.A.S. 1872, p. 201. 50. K. D. Mahaggaṃ, palikumbhave. Comp. Mahāv. p. 241, l. 11. 51. K. paṭimāghare. For vad-dhetvā, comp. Dāṭh. iii. 58. 52. K. D. bhariyaṃ, K. va assa bimbaṃ va.

54. Parihārañ ca tassādā rājā adhikam attano
 Silākālo asiggāham katvā rakkhāya yojayi
55. Asiggāha-silākālo iti ten'āsi vissuto
 Bhaganinī c'assa pādāsi saddhim bhogena bhūmipo
56. Vutto 'yam atisaṅkhepo vitthāro pana sabbaso
 Kesa-dhātuka-vaṅsamhā gahetabbo vibhāvīnā
57. Bandhitvā sāgarārakkham dīpañ cākāsi nibbhayaṃ
 Dhamma-kammena sodhesi sadhammaṃ Jinasāsanaṃ
58. Senāpati-sanāṃ' akā padhāna-gharam uttare
 Katvā 'tṭhārasame vasse so puññāni khayāṃ gato
59. Evam Kassapa-nāmakō atiball' puññakkhaye saṅkhate
 Jetuṃ no visahittha maccupagamaṃ so yeva dāso viya
60. Tasmā maccubalaṃ nihacca sukhitā hessanti medhāvino
 Nibbānaṃ param accutaṃ sivapadaṃ pattabbam
 attaññunā

Ito sujanappasādasamvegathāya kate Mahāvamse
 Rāja-dvaya-dīpano nāma ekūnacattālisamo paricchedo.

and of the sacred fan : * and he gave it a greater retinue than that of the King himself, and made Silākāla the sword-bearer, and placed him in charge (over it) : so he was called the Sword-bearer Silākāla: and the King gave him his sister (to wife) and much wealth. This is said very shortly, but the whole is well described in the History of the Hair-relic, which the wise should read.

57. He saved the island from the fear (of inundation and encroachment) by building a dyke against the sea. In righteousness he purified the doctrine and ethics of Buddhism ; and having built towards the north a palace for his chiefs, called Senāpati-ghara, and done (other) good deeds, he came to his end in his eighteenth year.

59, 60. Thus that powerful one, Kāsyapa, when his merits failed, was not able to resist the approach of death, but

54. K. rāja, D. silākālamaṃ. 55. K. D. bhaganinī, saddhim. 56. K. D. pasabbaso, K. vihārina. 57. K. nibbaya, D. sadham, K. sabbammaṃ. 58. K. D. sanāmanikā uttaro, kayāṃ. 59. K. D. Kassapo notī baliṃ, maccum upagatāni. 60. K. D. maccumpana sukhito, nibbānaṃ. Last line—D. catālisatimo.

* Compare citra-vijani, p. 168 of Fausbøll's Dhammapada : Turnour says (Mah. p. 164) that an ivory fan was the sign of chief-priesthood (like our crozier), but I have often seen ordinary priests use it.

became its slave. Therefore the wise will be happy only when they have overcome the power of death; and he who has attained to knowledge of himself will reach NIRVĀNA, the excellent, eternal, place of bliss.

So is finished the 39th chapter—called the history of two kings—of the Mahāvamsa, which is made for the delight and agitation of righteous men.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Fresco Painting in Ceylon.

With regard to the frescoes referred to at page 193, it would be perhaps useful to add here a note made on Ūnapāhura Wihāra, which I visited in December, 1868. This Wihāra is one mile and three-quarters from Yaṭawatte Rest House, and ten miles from Mātale, in the Central Province of Ceylon: it was built by Bhuvaneka Bāhu the Sixth (A.D. 1464–1471), repaired by Wira Parākrama (A.D. 1706–1739, whose name I have also found on the Dambulla rock), and restored by the villagers in 1837 and 1865. About a quarter of a mile from it is the most venerable tree I have seen in Ceylon, a Nā-tree (*Mesua ferrea*, Clough) about thirty feet round, three feet from the base; under whose spreading branches a *gang-sabhāwa* (grāma-sabhā) or village council¹ has been held, according to tradition, all through the endless commotions and revolutions of the dynasties of Ceylon since the time of Walagam Bāhu (104 B.C.). The old *ruppa* or semicircle of stone seats is still remaining, and certainly has the appearance of age, for the stones are worn away by repeated sitting. I went to the Wihāra to copy some old inscriptions on the granite boulders surrounding it, and finding a man engaged in repainting the image and the walls, I inquired from him how the frescoing was done.

¹ "This ancient institution," says Sir E. Tennent, Ceylon, vol. ii. p. 595, "identical in its objects with the *punchayets* of Hindustan, the *gerousia* of the Greeks, and the Assembly of the Elders in the Gate among the Jews and Romans, still exists in Ceylon." See Maine's 'Village Communities,' *passim*.

He informed me that the painter first spreads makul, a kind of very hard white plaster, over the wall or image, and then, with a brush made of *settuttiri* or *itana* grass (*Aristida setacea*, Clough), lays on the paint mixed with a gum (*lâtu*) made from the diwul tree (*Feronia elephantum*, Clough). No previous drawing is made, at least, not on the image or wall; and if the painter makes a mistake, he covers it over with the plaster (makul), and begins again. The colours used were as follows :—

White is the plaster, made of a kind of very fine pipe-clay (cf. Ummagga Jâtaka, p. 115, line 15). The painter I saw had brought his makul from Maturata, fifty miles away. Comp. Mah. p. 259.

Yellow (Simhalese kaha) is the gum of the gokaṭu-tree, gamboge (*Stalagmitis cambogioides*, Clough). The yellow is also called in the Southern Province, Sariyal (cf. Ummagga Jâtaka, p. 115, line 30) and Haritâla.

Blue (Simhalese nil) was English Prussian blue bought in the bazâr.

Red (Simhalese sâdilinga=vermilion) was also bought in the bazâr. Drawing with Hinguli, vermilion, is mentioned, Mah. p. 162, cf. Alvis, Kacc. 76, and Tennent, i. 455.

Light Blue (Simhalese siwi) is blue mixed with makul.

Black (Simhalese kalu) is made from resin (dummala), the gum obtained from Hal or Dum trees (*Shorea robusta*, Clough, cf. sâla; Clough explains dummala also by sandarac). Black is also made by baking the gum (kohollæ) of the jack-tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*), till it dries into cakes.

It is curious to notice that the painter used no green; and I tried in vain to detect green on the Sigiri frescoes: and there is no separate word for green in the Simhalese language. The painter did not mix his colours, but kept them in separate vessels, and the general effect of the use of such simple colours was not unpleasing. His art is fast dying out.

It would be very interesting to obtain correct copies of some of the best of these frescoes, especially from remote

temples, where the priests or their helpers are still adherents of the old ante-English style of painting; and where the frescoes have neither been destroyed by time nor defaced by restoration. By far the most authentic and most ancient must be those few remains protected by the over-hanging crags of Sîgiri, the work of a time when painting particularly flourished in Ceylon;¹ and correct drawings and descriptions of them would be invaluable for the history of art, especially if, as Sir Emerson Tennent maintains,² the *Sinhalese were the first inventors of painting in oil.*

NOTE B.

On Samādhi.

After relating the terrible fate of Dhātusena, the pious Chronicler asks, "What wise man, after knowing this, will covet royalty, or wealth, or life?" and explains that the King's tragical death was the result or fruit (*vipāka*) of a previous act of his in burying under the new dam of the Kāla-vāpi lake an ascetic who could not be roused from his state of *samādhi* or trance. I had always looked upon this part of the story as a piece of credulous superstition, until I read an article on the Physiology of Belief in the *Contemporary Review* for last December, by Dr. Carpenter, the distinguished Registrar of the London University. The attainment of *samādhi* is looked upon by Dr. Carpenter as not only possible, but as having actually taken place in certain instances given. No one, whether convinced or not by the arguments adduced, can refuse to acknowledge the great value of the light thus thrown by so high a physiological authority on some of the most difficult points of Buddhist asceticism and philosophy.

The reasoning of Dr. Carpenter shows that it is not only

¹ Fa Hien mentions the beauty and correctness of the Ceylon paintings of this period, *Foe Koue Ki*, chap. xxxviii.; and Dhātusena sent a picture of Buddha to the then Emperor of China. Tennent, vol. i. p. 475. King Jyeshtha Tishya, A.D. 340, was a painter, *Mah.* p. 242, according to the translation by Turnour; but the word *citrāni* in the Pāli may there mean *various*, and not *paintings*.

² Ceylon, vol. i. p. 490.

not impossible, but is so much in accordance with known facts as to be quite credible, that an ascetic should have worked himself into a state of samādhi or trance, in which the cries of workmen would fall unheeded on his ear, and from which no mere words or blows would suffice to waken him : and we know too many instances of the gross injustice into which the possession of great power has betrayed civilized and even Christian rulers to refuse credence to the statement of a generally reliable authority, that a successful and powerful despot, engaged in one of the most gigantic and useful engineering works which the mind of man had conceived, on being told that a hermit, seated in the line of operations, refused to move away, ordered him to be buried alive under the earthwork of the dam.

We should not, however, be justified in concluding from this story, or from the general picture of kingly violence which the undoubted facts of Kāśyapa's history reveal, that Buddhism had little practical power in Ceylon. It is true that it was a State religion, introduced from above, through the Court, and not through the people ; that the real religion of the masses, the source from which they seek help in times of trouble or of sickness, is—and probably always was—not Buddhism, but the old (? Dravidian) *Devil-worship*, aided by witchcraft and astrology.¹ Yet the influence of the crust of Buddhist philosophy which overlay the old beliefs, and was especially powerful over the more educated and refined minds, is clearly perceptible throughout the history of Ceylon ; and if it did not succeed in making its own mildness and charity quite supreme in the hearts of the Sinhalese kings and people ; of the priests, at least, it is true, that we have to deplore throughout their weakness, not their strength ; and we look in vain for the priestly bigotry and oppression which produced elsewhere systems of caste or Albigensian wars.²

¹ Compare Forbes, Ceylon, vol. ii. p. 194.

² See the instance of the priests of the three sects interceding with Parākrama the Great to make peace with the people of Rāmānya, given in my translation of Narendracaritāvalokanapradīpikā in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xli. p. 199, and the passages quoted in the note. Forbes, vol. ii. p. 206, gives three instances of religious persecution ; but in these cases kings, not priests, are the persecutors.

NOTE C.

Derivation of the name Sigiri.

Notwithstanding the kind intention of the author of this chapter to explain the derivation of the name Sigiri, it is not yet by any means clear *why* this curious hill should have been called the Lion Rock. In the passage (v. 3)—

Pākāreṇa parikkhippa sīhākāreṇa kārayi

Tattha nisseṇi-gehāni, tena tan-nāmakō ahu—

sīhākāreṇa seems at first sight as if it ought to be taken as an adjective qualifying pākāreṇa: but tena most probably refers to the action denoted by the verb kārayi, and if so the tena would be a *non sequitur*, unless sīhākāreṇa were taken as an adverb qualifying kārayi. The tena might just possibly refer to the 'surrounding' as well as to the 'making.' But in the many instances in which such an expression occurs in the Mahāvamsa—compare vv. 14, 34, 48 in this chapter—the tena or tato refers always to the action denoted by the last verb. But whether it was the 'rampart' or the 'ladder-houses' which were 'after the fashion of a lion,' the difficulty of explaining the meaning of such a qualification remains equally great. Major Forbes cuts the knot by saying, "Sikhari signifies a mountain stronghold or hill fort; but so simple a derivation and so appropriate a designation is rejected, and the learned natives derive its name from sīha or sīnha (a lion), and giri (a rock), and assert that it was so called from the number of lions sculptured on different parts of the fortress. Their derivations, always fanciful and often absurd, are not supported in this instance by any remains which we discovered: it is one of the very few places of consequence in which I have *not* found lions sculptured in various altitudes."¹ This explanation seems more decided than decisive; and it is necessary to consider somewhat more closely the meaning of the words in the text.

¹ Forbes, *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, vol. ii. p. 2, note. Prof. Lassen adopts the native interpretation here rejected.

Nisseṇi-gehāni may correspond to the German Treppenhaus, 'stair-case,'¹ and means, as I think it does, the climbing terrace itself; or it may be a dvandva compound, and mean 'stairs and houses'; or it may mean 'houses with steps' leading up to them. Neither of these, one would think, could be in the shape of a lion: but Abhidhānappadīpikā gives aḍḍhayoga as the name of a house built in the form of a supaṇṇa, or mythological bird;² and the Dāthāvamsa, canto ii. v. 79 of the edition just published by Sir Coomāra Swāmy, gives *siha-pañjara* as the name of a part of the king's palace, not the cage in which he kept his lions, but an elevated window, so called, probably, from the form of its architectural ornamentation.³ The Mayūraprāsāda, whose beautiful columns are still standing near the principal street of the little station at Anurādhapura, was so called because the brilliancy of its painting and metal work re-called the colours of the Peacock.⁴

Sir Emerson Tennent, following the version of this passage in an unpublished manuscript of Mr. Turnour's, translates it as follows:—"Having repaired to Sigiri, a place difficult of access to men, and clearing it all round, he surrounded it with a rampart. He built there (uprights), *and these he ornamented with figures of lions*, Siha, whence it obtained the name of Sihagiri, the Lion's Rock."⁵

This seems, on the whole, to give the only possible meaning which can be attached to *Siḥākāreṇa*, and is confirmed by a

¹ Whatever the derivation of our word 'stair-case' may be, the latter portion is certainly not the Italian *casa*, and has therefore no analogy to the Pāli expression in the text.

² Abh. Edit. Subhūti, v. 209.

³ This meaning is confirmed by the use of the word in the Mahāvamsa, p. 163, line 9, and is given in the Abhidhānappadīpikā, v. 216.

⁴ This temple was originally built 25 cubits high by Buddha-dāsa A.D. 340, the author of Sārārtha-saṅgraha, a Sanskrit work on medicine, which Turnour says (Mah. p. 245) is still extant. Lassen, Ind. Alt., iv. 208, wrongly calls this work Sārātāsangrāha. At vol. ii. p. 519, he fixes the date of Suśruta, the earliest Sanskrit work on Medicine, at "several centuries before Muhamed." If really extant, Buddha-dāsa's work would be most important for the history of Medicine in the East. Dhātusena, Kāśyapa's father, reconstructed the temple with a height of 21 cubits. Mah. pp. 247, 257.

⁵ Prof. Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. iv. p. 292. Sir Emerson Tennent's Ceylon, vol. ii. p. 589. Upham's Sacred and Historical Books, vol. i. chap. xxxix. p. 341. In his note Prof. Lassen says that Upham divides the Mahāvamsa in a manner different from Turnour's division: but this is a mistake. Upham is quite right in calling this chap. No. xxxix.

passage quoted by Tennent from a writer in an extinct periodical I have not been able to procure, viz. *Young Ceylon*, in the Number for April, 1851, p. 77. The writer of that article says, that having succeeded in penetrating the great gallery, he found it "covered with a thick coat of chunam, as white and as bright as if it were only a month old, with fresco paintings, chiefly of lions, whence its name Singhagiri or Sigiri." As to the words in italics I must, however, add, that I did not notice any painted lions in the frescoes which I saw.

NOTE D.

Inscriptions on Sigiri Hill.

I was only able to find three inscriptions on or near Stigiri Hill. They are over the entrance to an ancient rock cave, in which is a gigantic reclining figure of Buddha in plaster, and one or two smaller images. There is said to be a similar cave with an older image in stone further up the same hill, which is not the actual rock on which the climbing terrace was built, but an adjoining hill called Pidurâgala. The transliteration of the upper one is clearly—

Kolgamasâwa puta majima Yasajitaya Tisa deviya lene sagasa.

The language is an ancient form of Elu, and the words mean

The sons of Kolgmasâwa, viz. Yasajita and Tisadeva (have hewn out) this rock cave for the priesthood.

The forms of the letters and meanings of the last two words will be found discussed in my article in the "Indian Antiquary" for May, 1872, on a similar inscription over the Dambulla cave.

The second inscription in the same alphabet is unintelligible. Both these are, judging from the forms of the letters, much older than Kâsyapa's time; but the third inscription, which is also unintelligible, is in a later alphabet.

NOTE E.

The Sīgiri Stone-book at Pulastipura.

The similarity between the names *Sīgiri* = *Sīha-giri* = *Simha-giri*, and *Sāgiri*¹ = *Cetiya-giri* = *Caitya-giri*, has given rise to a curious mis-statement in Sir Emerson Tennent's work on Ceylon. He says (vol. ii. p. 589), speaking of the so-called Stone-book near the *Sat-mal-prāsāda* at Pulastipura,² that it bears an inscription stating it to have been brought a distance of more than eighty miles. As the stone is of granite, and measures at least twenty-six feet by four by two, so that it weighs at least 16 tons, and as there is much of the same stone close at hand, this seems strange. The authority he gives is, however, a passage from the inscription on the stone itself, which he quotes, in inverted commas, from Armour's Translation in the Appendix to Turnour's Epitome (p. 94), as follows:—

“This engraved stone is the one which the strong men of King Nissanga brought *from the mountain of Mihintale at Anurājapura.*”

Now even Mihintale is certainly not 80—it is less than 50—miles from Pulastipura; and, further, on referring to the Epitome as given by Forbes (vol. ii. p. 350), Armour's translation will be found to be as follows:—

“This engraved stone is the one which the chief minister Unawoomandawan caused the strong men of Nissankha to bring from *the mountain Sāgiriya at Anoorādhapura*, in the time of the King Sri Kālinga Chakrawarti.”

But on referring to the stone itself, I have found that the words ‘at Anoorādhapura’ are not there at all, and that the only authority for the words I have italicised is the simple word ‘*Sīgiriya*,’ from *Sīgiri*, meaning, of course, the *Sīgiri* of this paper, which is less than 20 miles from Pulastipura.

When Armour, who never saw the stone, was translating

¹ The *æ* in *Elu* and *Siṃhalese* is pronounced when short like the English *æ* in *hat*, and when long like the French *ê* before *r*, as in *mère*.

² The engraving of which is also to be found in Fergusson's *History of Architecture*, and in Col. Yule's remarks on the *Senbyu Pagoda*, *Journal R.A.S.*, 1870, p. 412.

the transcript of the inscription which had been made for Turnour, he probably asked his pandit for an explanation of the word. To the Kandian priests Sāgiri, the sacred name of the Dāgaba-peaked hill at Mihintale, was familiar enough; whilst Sīgiri, of only historical interest, was almost or altogether unknown. That they should have taken the one for the other is not therefore strange; but it is instructive to notice that Armour adds the words 'in Anoorādhapura,' without informing his readers that they are wanting in the original; and that Sir Emerson Tennent, in quoting his translation, further explains away the passage till all trace of the original is lost.¹

That a block of stone of this size and weight should, in the middle of the 12th century, have been quarried and then carried across country for 20 miles by the servants of a Siñhalese king, is a very remarkable fact. A careful history of Parākrama's reign would probably show that at that time the Siñhalese had reached as high a state of civilization and culture as the English had then attained to. Stone blocks of this size have never, I believe, been quarried in England, but masses of iron of this weight are now not unfrequently moved.

NOTE F.

Metres in the Mahāvamsa and Dīpavamsa.

Each Chapter in the Mahāvamsa ends in a distich, in which the lessons of the events related in the chapter are summed up from the Buddhistic point of view, after the fashion of the Moral at the end of a Fable. These morals

¹ It may be noticed that the stone gives the King's name as Kālinga Niṣṣaṅka; Armour separates the two names, and spells the latter Nissankha; Tennent then drops the former, and spells the latter Nissanga. Now there was a king Kirti Nissanga (A.D. 1187-1192), so that here we have a precisely similar mistake to that which is found in the native books, that Kirti Nissanga made the great hall in the Dambulla rock, whereas the inscription itself—my copy, text, and translation of which are in the hands of the Ceylon Asiatic Society for publication—clearly gives the name Niṣṣanka, without the epithet Kirti, but adding the well-known title Kālinga Parākrama Bāhu. Sir Emerson Tennent makes the same mistake in his description of the Daladā Māligāwa, vol. ii. p. 590.

are printed in Turnour's Mahāvamsa as prose, but they really are in the following metres:—

Triṣṭubh at the end of Chapters	9, 35, 38
Vam̐sa-sthavila	" " 8, 12, 22
Prabarṣiṇī	" " 6, 15, 27, 32
Prabhāvati	" " 2
Vasanta-tilakā	" " 3, 7, 10, 13, 26, 28, 29, 31
Mālinī	" " 4, 21, 34
Anapāsta	" " 24
Mandākrāntā	" " 37
Sārdūla-vikrīḍita	" " 20, 30, 32, 39
Sragdharā	" " 1, 25
Aupacchandāsika	" " 17, 33
Pushpitāgrā	" " 18, 23, 36
Atijagatī	" " 5, 11
Jagatī	" " 14
Ākriti	" " 16

The passage at the end of Chapter 19 is too corrupt for its metre to be stated with certainty. These more modern metres, in which the length of every syllable is fixed, do not occur in the Dhammapada and the Dīpavamsa. In the former, out of 423 verses, 304 are Slokas, 30 are Vaitāliya, 29 are Triṣṭubh, four only are Jagatī (or Vam̐sa-sthavila, with the length of the first syllable uncertain), and the remainder are mixed. In my MS. of the DĪPAVAM̐SA, vv. 4, 5, 7, 62-79, 87-91, 420-434 are Jagatī, v. 672 is Triṣṭubh, vv. 52 and 53 are Jagatī and Triṣṭubh mixed, and the rest are Slokas, the whole number of verses being 1302.

Mr. Childers has given a short account of Saṅgharakkita's book on Pāli metres, the Vuttodaya, in a note to his edition of the Khuddaka Pāṭha, J.R.A.S. 1869.

NOTE G.

The Death of Kāśyapa.

In Turnour's Epitome of the History of Ceylon, and in Upham's version of the Ceylon Historical Books, it is stated that Kāśyapa committed suicide on the field of battle, and this statement has been repeated in most of the books on Ceylon.¹ Sir Emerson Tennent, however, relying on some

¹ Upham, Mahāvamsa, vol. i. p. 341; Rājaratnākara, ii. p. 76; Rājawaliya, ii. p. 241. Knighton, History of Ceylon, p. 104. Forbes, vol. ii. pp. 3, 291. Professor Lassen, who does not seem to have anywhere made use of Tennent's work, repeats this erroneous statement in the Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. iv.

unpublished notes by Mr. Turnour, has pointed out that the words of the text not only do not confirm this, but say that he fell by his brother's hand.¹ There can be no doubt that this is the meaning of the passage, but the wrong impression may nevertheless have been derived from the wording of vv. 25-27, which is somewhat obscure.

NOTE H.

Dātham (verse 34).

No instance is given in Mr. Childers's Pāli Dictionary of the use of the word *Dāthā* standing alone, as it does in verse 34, for *the tooth, par excellence*, the supposed left canine tooth of Buddha, brought in 310 A.D. from Orissa to Ceylon. For the description of that event, see Mahāvamsa, chap. 37, and for the early history of the tooth, see Sir Coomāra Swāmy's valuable little work, "The Dāthāvamsa." For the story of its destruction by the Archbishop of Goa, see Tennent's Ceylon, vol. ii. chap. 5, p. 199, and the translation of Diego de Couto's account given in the Appendix to that chapter. For my reasons from differing from Sir E. Tennent in his belief that the tooth was really destroyed, see my article in the *Academy* for September 26, 1874.

Dharmakīrti, the author of *Dāthāvamsa*, says that Kīrti Śrī Meghavarnna (A.D. 301-329) had a rubric written for the observances to be performed before the tooth *cāritta-lekham abhilekayi*,² *Dāthāvamsa*, canto v. line 68. It would be interesting to know whether such a work is still in use at the Daladā Māligāwa in Kandy.³

p. 292. One may point out small errors in that storehouse of Oriental learning, without stopping each time to express one's appreciation of a work whose value has long been universally admitted.

¹ Ceylon, vol. i. p. 392.

² Sir Coomāra Swāmy translates this "caused a record to be written of *what he had done*."

³ Prof. Lassen twice states that the tooth was kept in a *tope*, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. iv. pp. 657, 706; but this, from the nature of a *tope* or *dāgaba* (*sthūpa* = *dhātu garbhā* in Ceylon usage), is impossible. The *Dāgabas* were never opened, except in one extraordinary instance; and the tooth which was constantly shown was always kept in a Daladā Māligāwa. That at Anurādhapura is close to the Thūpārāma; that at Pulastipura—a most exquisite little building—was close to the King's palace, as was that at Kandy.

Dāthā was also used as a proper name. The Dāthā mentioned in the Mahāvamsa, p. 254, was very appropriately both son and father of a Dhātusena, his son being the king of that name who reigned from 459–477 A.D. Dāthā was therefore brother to Mahānāma, the author of the Mahāvamsa. A chief named Dāthāppabhuti is mentioned in the chapter now published, v. 44.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 196, line 12. And see especially Turnour's note to Mahāv., p. xci.

Page 200, line 8. In Siam in the seventh century the usual mode of executing traitors was to build them up into the walls of the capital. Lassen, Ind. Alt. iv. 406.

Page 201, v. 5. The form *Ālakamandā* is probably correct in Pāli, as it is given by Moggallāna in the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* v. 32, "*Ālakālakamandā 'ssa purī.*" If so, it must surely be a dialectic variety of *Alakanandā*, which in Sanskrit is the name of the E. branch of the sources of the river Ganges, on which *Alakā*, *Kuvera's city*, was situate; but see Childers s.v. Lassen, Ind. Alt. iv. 322, i. 47, uses the form *Alakānandā*, not given in B.R.'s Dict. Verse 2, *read* *asakkonto*.

Page 202, line 22, *for*, he spent much wealth on, *read*, he built palaces at. Verse 8, *read* *vippaṭṭisāri*. V. 10, *Kiṇitvā*; both MSS. have *n*. V. 11, *Vihārassa*.

Page 203, vv. 15, 16, *read* *vihāraṃ, bhūñjitvā*. One would expect *sampannam*, *abhisankhatam*. In the note, *for* *Nigrantha*, *read* *Nirgrantha*; and *for* pp. 692, 692, *read* p. 467. Compare Alwis, Att. cviii. cxviii. and Burn. Intr. 568. Lassen (*loc. cit.*) calls them *Nirgrantha*. Verse 18, *read* *Uposatham*. Verse 22, *bhūñjissā-mṭti*: the Sinhalese at the present day constantly use expressions similar to this. It is mere swearing, the idea being derived from the ritual of devil-worship.

Page 204, v. 23, a, *read* *sūra*; v. 26, 'yam, bhape; v. 27, *kosiyam*; v. 28, *for* K.'s reading *lāṅgapa*, I would suggest *āḷāhana*, and read therefore *Katvāḷāhanakiccam*: comp. my article on Sinhalese Burial Rites in the *Ceylon Friend* for September, 1870; Dh. p. 205, 206; Fausböll's note to Das. Jāt. p. 21, 22; v. 29, *bhikkhū, paṭipāṭiyā*. *For* v. 26, compare Mahāv. p. 261, l. 6. Verse 30, *vanam*, line 20, *read*, 'like oceans which have burst their banks,' the figure present to the writer's mind having probably been that of the rush of waters on the bursting of one of the artificial lakes, so numerous in Ceylon; but he uses the grander word *sāgarā*, and is consequently obliged to put 'shore' for 'dam.' Perhaps one ought to read in the text *bhinā vele va sāgarā*; compare our word 'breakers.' Note 23, a, *read* K.D. *sura*.

Page 205, v. 31, *pūjesi*; v. 32, *read* *voharimsu, parivenam*; one would expect *tannamam*; v. 37, *Phussa-*, *dīpe*; v. 34, *Rakkhasanāmavā*; line 26, *read*, they followed my father's murderer.

Page 206, v. 38, *read*, *sārathiko, pitu sandesam, Moggallānassa*; v. 39, *dvāra*. The highest native officials in Ceylon are still the Mudaliyars of the Governor's Gate. v. 41, *Sihācale*. *For* the *Dhammarucis* and *Sāgalis* see Mahāv. p. 21. *For* the former see Lassen Ind. Alt. iv. 289, where it is stated that Dhātusena expelled this sect from Mihintale; so also Turnour (Mahāv. p. 259), but the Pāli seems to say he gave them a *wihāra* there, which would better agree with their being favoured by Moggallāna. Comp. Burn. Intr. pp. 132, 161. In v. 42, *read*, *saḥassa*; v. 43, *bhikkhū-* (twice); v. 44, *ppabhuti*; v. 45, *Moggallānena*; *sahattano* (both MSS. have *nā*); *dīpa*. Line 18, *delete* *juicy*. V. 40, *nivedetrā*.

ART. XI.—*The Northern Frontagers of China.* Part I.
The Origines of the Mongols. By H. H. HOWORTH.

[Read on January 19, 1874.]

THE researches of Schott¹ have thrown considerable light on what was previously a very obscure question, namely, the Origines of the Mongols—a question I propose to re-examine, with his assistance and that of other recent authors. There are three methods of approaching such a question. We may analyze the Mongolian tongue, and thus discover the elements which went to make up the race; we may collect the references to the race that we find in contemporary authors; or we may examine the traditions current among the people themselves as to their origin. The first of these methods I shall not at present deal with, inasmuch as it is complicated by many extraneous elements, the Mongols having borrowed from Chinese, Thibetans, and Turks both materials for their civilization and also for their language.

I will first examine the earliest Chinese accounts of the Mongols. Dr. Schott agrees with Schmidt's² derivation of the name Mongol from the word *Mong*, which in Mongolian means *brave, daring, or bold*. He discusses the identity of the terms "Mongol" and "Moho," which a tempting similarity has led most previous inquirers to make. He shows that the words "Mongol" and "Moho" are quite different when written in Chinese characters, that the sound *ong* is an essential part of the word "Mongol." The Japanese, who probably cannot pronounce the two letters *ng*, have corrupted the Chinese "Mongku" into "Muko" or "Moko." Lastly, we have the name Mongu, used by Chinese writers contemporaneously with and in addition to the name Moho.

¹ Aelteste Nachrichten von Mongolen und Tartaren. Berlin, 1846.

² Saanang Setzen's History of the East Mongols, translated by Schmidt, 1829.

These facts satisfy me, and will, I think, satisfy any attentive reader of Dr. Schott's paper, that it is a mistake to confuse the Moho with the Mongols. As Moho is the collective name of the Tungusic tribes of Manchuria, and as the Mongols have a very large Tungusic element in their composition, it may well be that the Mongols are partially descended from the Moho; but they have other elements besides, and it is a mistake to suppose that one term connotes the other.

The earliest mention of the Mongols *eo nomine* occurs in the official history of the Táng dynasty (618-907), which was probably written after the latter date.¹ In it we find them under the title Shi-wei, Mongu being a specific tribal, and Shi-wei the generic race-name.

The Shi-wei, we are told, lived to the north of the Kitan, and to the north-west of the He-shui Moho,—that is, as we shall show presently, in the present country of the Eastern Khalkas and of the Daurians. They were divided into many tribes, whose chiefs bore the title Mu-ho-tü, and were dependent on the Thu-kiu (*i.e.* the Turks), who bordered them on the west. They chiefly lived by tending cattle and by hunting. They were an insubordinate race, and much disunited; their power was consequently but small. They were agriculturists, and used wooden ploughs. Their harvests however were poor, both the climate and the soil being harsh and unfavourable. They used a kind of waggons drawn by oxen, to live in. Their land contained little metal, and their iron they purchased from the Koreans. Their princes were hereditary; and when a ruling family died out, they chose the wisest and bravest as their leader. They kept oxen and horses, but no sheep. They had, however, a large breed of swine, whose flesh they ate, and whose hides they used for clothing. Their nearest tribe was 3000 *li*, the furthest 6000 *li* north-east of Lieutching.²

The most western tribe of the Shi wei lived to the south-

¹ Schott, *op. cit.* p. 7.

² The ancient name of an old fortified town on the site of the present Tcháo ien hien in the district of Tshing Tè fu, *i.e.* in the country of the Mongol tribe known as Eastern Tumets (Schott, *op. cit.* p. 19, note 2).

west of the Kiulun lake,¹ and was called U sū ku. Its territory bordered on that of the Hoi ho (*i.e.* the Uighurs). To the east of this sea lived the Ii sai mu,² and more to the east, on the banks of the Tchuo, also called Jen-tahi,³ the Sai-hu-tahi, a very powerful stock. Further east lived the tribes Hokiai, Ulohu, and Noli. The two latter very probably so named from living on the Yalo, and No or Nonni rivers, and the Hokiai on the Tchola, a tributary of the Nonni south of the Yalo.

Directly north of the tribe Ling si was the tribe No petshi, and north of it, beside a great mountain, and on the river Shikien, which flows from the Kiulun lake, lived the Ta Shi wei (*i.e.* the Great Shi wei). South of this river dwelt the tribe *Mongū*, and north of it the Lōtan. We thus gather that at the time when the Tang Shu was compiled, the various tribes which made up the Shi wei race, of which the Mongu was one, lived along the course of the Kerulon and its tributaries, on the Upper Nonni and its western feeders, and on the Argun,—that is, occupied the present country of the Eastern Khalkas, and a part of Russian Dauria; and I have thus no hesitation in making this area the homeland of the Mongols when they first appear in history, nor in identifying as Schott has identified the Mongol race with the Shi wei. The only modern traveller who has crossed this country, and whose narrative is accessible to me, is Isbrand Ides, the first Russian envoy to China. Speaking of the country between Nerchinskoy and Argunskoy, he says: "In several scattered places in the valleys I observed hundreds of old and partly fallen castles, built with rock-stones, which, as the Tungusians told me, were built by several warriors long since, when the Mongolians and Western Tatars made joint incursions into this kingdom of Nieucheu, which monarchy comprehended the whole land upwards, from Nerzinskoy or Nieucheu (at present called Nieucheu by the Chinese), and from the river

¹ The well-known Kiulun lake in the country of the Eastern Khalkas, into which the river Kerulon flows.

² Wolff says, "Ii sai mu."

³ See the map of Eastern Asia in Ritter.

Amur down to the Albanian mountains and Leao ting, and it is not long since that waggon wheels bound with iron, and large millstones were found in this country, from whence I conjecture that the Nieucheuers, which border on the said province of Leao ting, formerly followed their trade and manual employments in this Russian Dauria, since they made use of these waggon wheels bound with iron, which are nowhere else to be found among the Mongolians.¹” This narrative shows that this part of the country is strewn with the *débris* of an old civilization, and when we consider the idiosyncrasies of the Mongols in the time of Jings Khan, we must predicate for them a comparative degree of culture of some standing. They were very different people to the wretched Tungusian and Koriak nomades of Siberia, and were apparently not much inferior in general culture to the Buriats of lake Baikal as we find them now. It is something to have stripped the greater part of the desert of Gobi, which is now such a characteristic Mongol area, of its Mongol inhabitants. There can be small doubt that at the time we are speaking of it was occupied almost entirely by Turks. It still remains for us to dissect and analyze the details of the account already cited. Du Plano Carpino tells us: “The country of the Tatars bears the name of Mongol, and is inhabited by four different peoples: the Jeka Mongols, that is to say, the Great Mongols; the Sou Mongols, or the Fluviate Mongols, who call themselves Tatars from the name of the river that flows through their territory; the Merkit and the Mecrit. All these peoples have the same personal characteristics and the same language, though belonging to different provinces, and ruled by divers princes.”² This is the earliest western account that we possess of the Mongols, and it is wonderfully accurate. The Jeka Mongols or Great Mongols, we are expressly told by our traveller, were those over whom Jings Khan especially ruled. They first, we are again told, subdued the Tatars. The Chinese characters for Tatar may be

¹ Isbrand Ides Travels, p. 47.

² Carpino, quoted in De Hell's Travels, p. 265.

read either Ta ta or Ta tche. This is the opinion of Visdelou, De Guignes, and all other authors known to me except Remusat. The double reading answers to that in the names Yuetchi and Yueti.¹ This double form of the name supports a conjecture of M. Schmidt (whose conjectures one cannot always approve), which seems very well founded, namely, that the forms Tatar and Taidshut, which are used by Western writers, are synonyms for the same race, and this view has been accepted by Wolff. In the works of Gaubil, Mailla, and Hyacinthe, the latter form is used in a confused manner, sometimes as the name of a leader and sometimes as that of a tribe. The strife between the Mongols and Tatars in the time of Kabul Khan, as described by D'Ohsson, is to be identified with great probability with that described by Ssanang Setzen between the Beda (*i.e.* the Mongols) and the Taidshigod.² I consider the position of Schmidt and Wolff in this matter to be unassailable. Here then we seem at last to be on the track of the correct etymology of Tatar. Of the two forms that we meet with in Chinese, Ta-tche I believe to be the more correct one. This is the Chinese form of the Mongol Taidshigod, and Taidshigod is word for word Ta-Shi-wei, *i.e.* Great Shi wei. I believe this identification to be new. In the following account I shall use Taidjut throughout in preference to Tatar, to prevent the ambiguity in the terms which has hitherto prevailed. We must now say a few words about the other tribes; and I would here remark that the topography of the early Chinese accounts of Mongolia has been misunderstood both by Schott and Wolff. They very properly make the Argun the head stream of the Amur, but they overlook the fact that there was a sister stream almost as important, namely, the Onon or Schilka, the two being separated by the KhingKhan range. The source of the latter stream is confused by the Chinese with that of the Argun, both being made to spring from the Kiulun lake, whereas the Argun alone does so, the Onon rising in the Kentei

¹ Vivian St. Martin on the Epthalites or White Huns, p. 26.

² Ssanang Setzen, pp. 377 and 382.

Khan mountains. We are told very properly that the Usuku was the most western tribe of the Shi-wei, and that it lived to the south-west of the Kiulun lake, and bordered on the country of the Hoeiho or Uighurs. That is, I believe it lived on the Upper Kerulon, then followed the Li san mui, then we come to the lake Kiulun, and east of the lake, on the Kalka, were the Sai hu tshi (*i.e.* the well-known Mongol tribe of the Suldshigod or Suldus).¹ To the east of these lived the Hokiai (the Hadakins or Katakins?), Ulohu (? Arulad²), and Noli (*i.e.* the dwellers on the No or Nonni). We have here a continuous list of tribes extending from the Upper Kerulon to the eastern KhingKhan mountains.

Schott, who has been followed by Wolff, has identified the Shi Kian of the above account with the Argun, and has thus caused some confusion. The Shi Kian is in fact the river still called Shilka, whose upper part is known as the Onon. It was on the Shilka, then, beside a great mountain, *i.e.* the western KhingKhan, that the Ta-Shi-wei lived. It was south of this river, *i.e.* of its upper portion, that the Monggu lived. This entirely accords with the traditions of the Mongols, which make the Upper Onon and the cluster of mountains from which it springs their cradle land. North of the river, *i.e.* of the Onon, lived the Lo-tan. Ling-si in Chinese means west of the Pass or mountain road, and the Ling-si tribe, I believe, was the tribe which lived about the Pass that crosses the KhingKhan range on the main route from Nerchinsk to Argunskoy.

At this period the Mongols were probably limited on the west by the great chain of the Yablonoi Chrebet, which formed the eastern boundary of the water-shed of Lake Baikal on this side; the country about Lake Baikal then being occupied by the Kirghises and other allied Turkish tribes, and by the Merkits.

On the east they were probably bounded by the eastern KhingKhan chain, which separated them from the Tungusic tribes of Manchuria.

¹ Wolff has identified the Sai hu tshi with the Taidjuts, but *vide ante*.

² r in Chinese is transliterated by l.

The next work in date to the official history of the Tang which mentions the Mongols is the Topographical Survey called the Hoan ju-ki, which was written in the year 976-984.¹ In the interval between the two works being written, there was apparently some movement of the Mongol race, for the Sai hu tshi (*i.e.* the Suldus) are placed to the south instead of the north of the river Tchuo (the Argun); the tribe Ulohu, which is also styled Ulo, and Ulo hoen, is placed to the east of the Hokiai as before; and we are further told that it lived north of the mountains Mo kai tu,² which Wolff identifies with the mountain Yalo, a peak of the Khing Khan chain.³ This account adds that "the Ulohu paid tribute from the fourth year of Tai ping of the dynasty Juan wei, *i.e.* 443 A.D., until the ninth year of Tien pao of the T'ang dynasty, *i.e.* 720 A.D.⁴ Two hundred li north-east of the Ulo, on the river No, or Nonni, lived the remnants of the ancient U-uan.⁵ They paid tribute under the first two emperors of the T'ang dynasty. North of them, and on the north side of a great mountain, dwelt the Ta tche⁶ Shi wei on the banks of a river which flows out of the Kiulun into the north-east of the land of the Thu kiu. This river in its eastern course watered the lands of the Si and the Ta Shi wei, *i.e.* Western and Great Shi wei. It then separated the Mongu Shi wei living to the south of it from the Lo tan Shi wei living north of it. Further east it took in the rivers No and Hu han, and separating the northern from the southern He schui, it fell into the sea." I shall not attempt to reconcile the minute details of this topography with modern maps. I shall only call attention to the fact that in this account the Mongu are expressly made Shi wei, being called Mongu Shi wei. The Ta Shi wei of the previous account is now enlarged into Ta tche-shi-wei, another proof that we are

¹ Schott, *op. cit.* p. 10.

² Mo ghai tu in Mongol means inhabited by snakes. Schott, *op. cit.* p. 20, note 2.

³ See Ritter's map, already cited.

⁴ Not 750, as Schott says. See Wolff, *op. cit.* p. 19.

⁵ A tribe allied to the Sian pi, and whom I believe to represent the Huns of history.

⁶ Ta che or Ta kin means great waggon, just as Kao che, a Turkish tribal name, means horse waggon. See Schott, *op. cit.* p. 21, note 1.

right in identifying the former with the Taidjuts or Ta tche. The next mention of the Mongols is in a history of the Liao dynasty, written by a southern Chinese, called Jê lung-li, who lived at Kia hing fu, in the province of Ché kiang, and which he presented to the Sung emperor in the year 1180. Having spoken of the Moho, the author goes on to speak of their neighbours, the Thië-li-hi-shi-kien. This name Schott splits in two. Thie li is a race name that occurs frequently in the annals (*vide* Schott, op. cit. p. 14, note). Hi-shi-kien he conjectures with great probability to be a corrupt Chinese rendering of the Mongol tribal name Keshikten, a tribe which still survives, and retains its old name, being almost alone in this, most of the old tribal names having disappeared in the many vicissitudes that Mongol fortunes have undergone since the time of Jingsi Khan. The conjecture of Schott is strengthened by our being told in the history of the Liao just quoted, that this tribe differed considerably from the Moho, who, as we know, were Tunguses in language and customs. The same work tells us the Thie li hi shi kien lived 4000 *li* to the N.N.E. (? N.N.W.) of Shang king (*i.e.* Liu hoang fu in the district of Barin). It may be they gave its name to the province of Tsitsicar. Directly north of the Thie li hi shi kien, at a distance of 4000 *li*, lived the people called Mong-kuli. They lived entirely by hunting and cattle-breeding. Without any fixed pastures, they nomadized every year in search of water and grass. Their food consisted of flesh and sour milk (*i.e.* kumiss). They never did the Kitans any harm, and bartered with them the hides of their cattle, sheep, camels, and horses. Here we find the Mongols emerging from the obscurity of a subordinate tribe, and becoming much more important. Their name in this account no doubt connotes much more than it did before, and several of the other tribes are included under it. We are next told that further west than the Mong kuli, and 5000 *li* from Shang king, lived the people Ju kiu, no doubt the Usuku of the Tang official history, who resembled the Mong kuli in everything. "In the 32nd year of the Emperor Chin tsung,

i.e. in 1014, the Ju kiü made a raid upon the Kitans, but they were so beaten by the Imperial army, that they had since only come to the frontier to trade. They dealt in the same articles as the Mong kuli." Further to the north-west were the Pi ku li, and further to the north-west again the Tā-tā (P the Tatars of the Inchan mountains); next to them were the Turks, and lastly the kingdom of Tangut. This direction shows that for *north-west* we ought to read *south-west* in two places in the previous paragraph.

Our next authority is the history of the Kin dynasty, styled Ta-kin-kwo-chi, also written by a Southern Chinese. It bears no date, but was written considerably later than the former work, inasmuch as it relates the downfall of the Kin empire. According to this authority the Mong ku lived to the north-east of the Niutchi (Dr. Schott remarks that this is clearly a *lapsus penicilli* for north-west). Under the Tang dynasty it says, they ate no cooked meats; they could see in the darkest nights, and they made, out of the hide of a certain fish, armour that would turn arrows.

We have now collected such material as the Chinese writers afford us about the original homeland of the Mongols, and we are in a good position for criticizing the native traditions on the same subject. They are contained in two classes of authorities. One tradition is found in Ssanang Setzen's history of the Eastern Mongols, the only Mongol historical work that has been made accessible to students. Ssanang Setzen was a chieftain of the well-known Mongol tribe of the Ortus, who lived in the seventeenth century, and his history was edited and translated by Schmidt in 1829. The Chinese authors translated by De Mailla had recourse, it would seem, to the same authorities as those used by Ssanang Setzen; at all events, their narratives agree very closely.

Another tradition is that contained in the pages of Raschid-ud-din, the court historiographer of Gazan Khan, the great Ilkhan of Persia, whose responsible position gave him great opportunities of consulting the best authorities; and he tells us that he did so consult some old Mongols, and also the

books contained in the Imperial Registry. His account was followed by Abul Ghazi Khan, the chief of Khuarezm, who wrote a history of the Tatars about the same time that Ssanang Setzen was composing his work. This tradition differs considerably from the other.

I may remark that in both cases the genealogy, which in the earlier links, as in many such genealogies in Europe, is made eponymous, refers to the Imperial house only, and not to the race, about whose origins we are left in darkness. The fullest tradition is that of Ssanang Setzen, to which I shall chiefly refer.

Ssanang Setzen makes the Mongol royal house spring from that of Thibet. He says that when Longnam, the minister of Dalai Subin Aru Altan Shireghetu, usurped the throne of Thibet, the three sons of the latter, named Boratshi, Shiwaghotshi, and Bürteshino, fled to other lands. The youngest of them, *i.e.* Bürteshino, went to the land of Gongbo, *i.e.* the Thibetan province situated north of the Jangbo, or Upper Brahma Putra. He did not stay with the people of Gongbo, but he took the maiden Goa Maral to be his wife, and having settled for a while on the borders of the Tenggis, *i.e.* the sea (doubtless the Kokonoor is meant), he marched on to the borders of the Baikal sea, near the mountain Burkhan Khalduna, where he met the people Béde. When they had interrogated him on the motives for his journey, and discovered that he was sprung from the great Indian chief, Olana Ergükdeksen-Khaghān, and from the Thibetan Tul Esen, they said to one another, "This young man is of high lineage, and we have no overchief, we will obey him," upon which they ranged themselves as his subjects.

In this account we have a confusion of two legends, neither of which belongs properly to the Mongols. The story of Longnam we know from Thibetan sources. Klaproth¹ has abstracted it from a Mongol translation of the original work, entitled "Nom gharkoi todorkhoi Tolli." The name Burteshino is an excrescence upon it.

¹ Tableaux historiques de l'Asie, pp. 167-8.

In the original Thibetan the three brothers were Dga-thi, or the bird prince; Nia-thi, or the fish prince; and Cha sza thi, or the flesh prince: the terminating syllable of these names, written *k'ri*, is pronounced *thi*. It means "throne," and is found in all the names of the ancient kings and princes of Thibet. The work referred to mentions the flight of Cha sza thi to Gombo, and leaves him there. The whole story, as Klaproth says, is like one of the Arabian Nights tales, rather than sober history. There is no mention of the Beda people, nor of Cha sza's flight to them. Such a flight is almost incredible and so are the incidents accompanying it, and we may safely conclude with Klaproth, Wolff, and others, that the story was manufactured by the Lamas, who, when the Mongols adopted their religion in the thirteenth century, wished to reconcile them to the change, or to flatter them by deducing their reigning house from that of Thibet, and through it from Buddha himself. Burteshino is no part of the Thibetan legend. This name has been borrowed from the old traditions of the Turks. The name Burteshino means the "blue wolf," which explains the Chinese story that the Mongols were sprung from a blue wolf. Tsena or Assena (*i.e.* the wolf) was the founder of the power of the Thukiu or Turks proper. A similar story of a wolf occurs in the legendary history of the Usiun (De Guignes, i. 56, and Visdelou, and also Von Hammer's Golden Horde, 54). The Muhammedan historians, Abul Ghazi, etc., who also mention Burteshino, instead of deducing him from the royal house of Thibet, link him to the chain of the Semitic patriarchs in their usual way. Burteshino is made by Setzen to marry Goa Maral, the lustrous white hind, and by her to have two sons, Bedes Khan and Bedetse Khan, the former of whom is made chief of the Tatars and the latter of the Mongols. Bede, or Pete, being the primitive name by which the Mongols seem to have been known to the Thibetans, we can account for these names as we do for the eponymous names Turk, Mongol, Helen, Danaos, Latinus, Brut, *et id genus omne*. But to continue Ssanang Setzen's list. Bedetse had a son, Tamatsak, whose son was Khoritsar

Mergen, whose son was Aghodshim Bughurul, whose son was Sali Khaldshigho, whose son was Nige Nidun, whose son was Samsudshi, whose son was Khali Khartshu, whose son again was Bordshigetei-Mergen. From him apparently was derived the imperial family name among the Mongols, which was Bordshig.

Bordshigetei Mergen, by his wife Mergen Mongholdshin Goa, had a son named Torghaldshin Bayan, who by his wife, Boroktshin Goa, had two sons, Doa Sochor and Dobo Mergen. The former is made the ancestor of the four Uirat tribes, the Kalmuks of later days. He got his name from having, like Cyclops, only one eye, and this in the midst of his forehead. One day, as he and his brother were playing on the mountain Burkhan Khaldun, there came a caravan and halted on the banks of the brook Tunggelik.¹ Doa Sochor said to his brother, "In a waggon yonder lies a girl supernaturally born; we will go and find her, and she shall be your wife," upon which they sought her out, and discovered that she was born of Baraghdshin Goa, the wife of Khoritai Mergen, of the Khoyar Tumed, and that she had a spirit for her father. Her name was Alung-Goa, and Dobo Mergen made her his wife.

[I may here remark that the mountain Burkhan Khaldun seems to be associated with the earliest traditions of the Mongols, and, according to Abul Ghazi, and to one of the accounts in Raschid, it was the burial-place of Jingis Khan.² It is doubtless the knot of mountains from which flow the rivers Onon, Kerulon, and Tula, otherwise known as Kentei. Yisugei, the father of Jingis Khan, whose patrimony was the land of Burkhan Khaldun, had his yurt or encampment on the river Onon.]

By Alunggoa, Dobo Mergen had two sons, Belgetei and Begontei, and then died. After her husband's death, Alunggoa one night had a dream, in which a ray of light penetrated through a hole in the ceiling into her tent, and

¹ This stream is still called the Tunglu. It flows into the Karagol.

² Schmidt's *Seenang Setzen*, pp. 389 and 390.

took the form of a fair-haired youth who lay with her; by him she had three sons Bughu Khataki, Bughu Saldshigo, and Budantsar Mong Khan.

In reference to this legend, it may be remarked that it is a repetition of the original story of the incarnation of the Buddha Sakyamuni. The same story is told about the birth of Apaokhi, the founder of the Leao dynasty, and also of Aishin Giyoro, the reputed founder of the Manchu dynasty. The existence of Alunggoa is attested by so many independent witnesses, that it may perhaps be believed. Raschid tells us that, according to the history of the house of Jingsi Khan, deposited in the Imperial treasury (the same MS. elsewhere referred to by him as the Altan Defter, or Golden Register), and according to the evidence of very old men, she probably lived four centuries before his time, *i.e.* in the early years of the Abbassides and the Samanids (D'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, i. p. 24, note). This would answer to the date when the name Mongku first appears in the Chinese histories.

The three sons who were miraculously born and their posterity were named Niruns (children of light) to distinguish them from their elder brothers, who were styled Darlegins. According to Raschid the Niruns were to the Darlegins what the pearl is to the oyster and the fruit to the tree. Each of the three former is made the eponymos of a distinguished family. The eldest one that of the Katakins, the second that of the Saldjuts or Suldus, and the third that of the Bordshigs (*i.e.* the sacred family of the Mongols proper). Wolff remarks that the legend, as reported by Ssanang Setzen, clearly breaks off the genealogical tree, and makes a fresh start with Alunggoa. She was supernaturally born, and so was her son, the ancestor of the Imperial house of the Mongols.

We are told that on the death of Alunggoa, a quarrel seemed imminent among the three brothers in regard to the division of the heritage. "Why embarrass yourselves with wealth?" said Budantsar; "are not the plans of man scattered by the will of the gods?" He thereupon mounted his horse

and left them (De Mailla, ix. 4). Ssanang Setzen says that when the heritage was divided, nothing was assigned to Budantsar, except a tawny horse named Uruk Sussuk. This he mounted, and hied him along the banks of the river Onon (Ssanang Setzen, 61). He halted at a place called Balitunala, where he determined to settle, but found himself short of provisions. Meanwhile he saw a falcon devouring a quarry of the species called Khara-Khuru. He caught it with a lasso, and trained it to kill game for him: he passed the night in a thatched hut, and he got drink from a colony of people who lived there, separated from their race, and without any ruler. It is curious that this account should be found both in the Chinese authorities of De Mailla and in the Mongol account of Ssanang Setzen, with sufficient variation to show there has been a separate tradition in each case. After a while Budantsar was joined by several families, who settled around him. His brother Belgetei went to find him. They seem to have returned together, and together to have subjected the people who were ruled over by his father. But the accounts of Ssanang Setzen and De Mailla are not either very clear or consistent. Budantsar left three sons, namely, Bagharitai Khan Isaghortu, Khabitshi Baghatatur (called Kapitsi kulup paturu by De Mailla), and Wadshirtai (the last of these was the ancestor of the family of the Wadshirtai).

He was succeeded by his second son Khabitshi, and he by his son Biker Baghatatur. He again by his son Macha Todan, called Mahatoudan by De Mailla and Dutum Menen by Raschid. He died young, and left a widow, Monalun, and seven sons; Raschid says nine. She was of a turbulent, irritable disposition, and one day, when out driving, met a number of children of the Jelairs (a Turkish tribe), digging up the ginseng root (*Rheum palmatum*), and eating it. She inquired harshly how they dared to tear up the ground where her children exercised their horses, and, without waiting for an answer, ran over several of them with her chariot. The Jelairs resented this; they made a raid upon the horses of her tribe, and captured them. Six of

her sons went in pursuit, without waiting to put on their armour. Their mother, fearing for the result, sent off their wives with carts loaded with armour, but they arrived too late. The six chiefs had been killed. The victors returned, and put Monalun and her family to death without any loss.

D'Ohsson and Erdmann, apparently quoting Raschid, tell us that it was after the Jelairs had sustained a severe defeat from the Chinese, on the River Kerulon, that some fugitives took refuge on the lands of Monalun, and through pressure of hunger dug up the roots there.

Of the royal house Natchin, a relative of Macha Tudan, and his youngest son Kaidu, alone survived. The former is called a son of Macha Todan by De Mailla and others, but see Erdmann, p. 542, note. He had married and settled in the country of Bargu (the Palhou of De Mailla). The latter, who was an infant, had been hid away in a kumiss bag. Natchin now returned to the horde, and plotted his revenge. Having disguised himself as a herdsman, he went towards the Jelair country. On his way he met two men, a father and son, who were hawking, and some distance apart. Seeing his brother's hawk on the younger Jelair's fist, he first told him he had seen some wild ducks and geese, and would conduct him to them. Having taken him some distance, he assassinated him, and returning also killed his father. He soon after came across a herd of horses, which had also belonged to his brothers. Having killed the young people in charge, he returned with the herd, and with the hawk on his fist. He then removed his father's uluss and the young Kaidu to the country of Bargu. When Kaidu attained his majority, Natchin caused him to be recognized by the people of Palhou (Bargu) and Tsieku as their chief. He is styled Chatshi Kuluk by Ssanang Setzen. The young chief attacked the Jelairs, defeated and reduced them to slavery (De Mailla, ix. 7, and Raschid, Mirchawend, etc., quoted by Erdmann, p. 543). He settled on the borders of Mongolistan, in the district named Burgutchin Tugrum, which from him took the name Kaidu Chunlum (Erdmann, p. 543). Many

tribes submitted to him. He became rich in wives and cattle. He built many towns and villages on the banks of the Onon, across which he also built a bridge, and collected a large force under his banners. Kaidu was succeeded by his son Shingkor Dokshin (Ssanang Setzen; he is called Baisengkur by the Persian authors followed by Erdmann and D'Ohsson, and Paichongor by De Mailla), and he by his son Tumbaghai Setsen (the Tumeneh Khan of Erdmann, Tombihai of De Mailla), the fourth ancestor of Jingsis Khan, and styled Budatur. He had nine sons, who are thus named by the Persians: Jaksu, the stemfather of the three tribes Nujakin, Urut, and Mengut; Barim Shir Buka Taidshu, the stemfather of the Taidshuts; Kadshuli, the stemfather of the Berulas; Semkadshiun, the stemfather of the Hedergin; Baitgulgi, the stemfather of the Budats; Kabul Khan, who succeeded to the imperial authority; Durbajan, the ancestor of the Durbans; Buzendsher Dukelat, the ancestor of the Dukelats; Jintabai, the ancestor of the Baisuts. This is the list as given by Erdmann. I cannot attach any credit to it. It seems to me like the manufacture of Mussalman genealogists, who ever had an eponymous hero ready for the ancestor of each tribe. It contradicts other authorities at many points, and it is unsupported by Ssanang Setzen, or the Chinese authorities. It further confounds Mongol and Turkish tribes with little discrimination. The following circumstantial anecdote related by Mirchawend may have some foundation in fact, and if not, it is a good illustration of Mongol modes of thought. One day Kadshuli, the third son of Tumeneh or Tumbagai, dreamt that a star issued from the thigh of his brother Kabul, but the firmament remained dark; then a second one, and it became twilight; then a third, and it was dusk. Then there came out a very sparkling star, so that the whole sky was lit up with its rays, which imparted a greater lustre to the other stars. Kadshuli awoke, and supposed that only a third of the night had passed. He meditated on his dream, and went to sleep again. Again a series of stars issued, but this time from his own thigh. This series consisted of eight stars, of which the

last was again by far the most brilliant. When daylight came, Kadshuli betook himself to his father Tumbagai, and related his dream. He was much pleased with it, called his eldest son Kabul Khan, and had it repeated to him. The grandees maintained that three princes descended from Kabul Khan would mount the throne; another of his descendants would enjoy the Imperial authority, and would conquer the earth from one end to the other; and after his death his dominions would remain for a long time subject to his descendants. That from Kadshuli would also spring seven descendants, who should bear rule, and the eighth should far eclipse them, and also rule the earth. Tumeneh Khan was much struck by this dream, and with the concurrence of his other sons he named Kabul Khan as his successor, and appointed Kadshuli generalissimo of his forces, and left it in his will that these posts should be hereditary. This will was written in the Uighur character, was sealed with his Tamgha (or monogram), and it was kept in the Imperial treasury. Kabul Khan mounted the throne, and Kadshuli Khan Behadur faithfully performed his office (Erdmann's *Temudjin*, p. 547, note). We now seem to have reached more stable ground, and to be able to walk with more confidence. In regard to Kabul Khan, I am disposed to think that the authorities followed by both Erdmann and D'Ohsson have made two Khans out of one. D'Ohsson makes Kabul to be succeeded by his nephew Kubilai. These two names are so much alike that they are probably only variants of one name. Erdmann escapes from the difficulty by calling the nephew Kaidu. Ssanang Setzen only knows one of them, and calls him Kabul, as do the Chinese authorities followed by De Mailla; and I shall imitate the latter, and treat the acts assigned to the two rulers by D'Ohsson and Erdmann as those of Kabul Khan. He was a favourite hero of Mongol story. His voice is compared to the thunder in the mountains, his hands were strong like bear's paws, and with them he could break a man in two as easily as an arrow may be broken. He would lie naked near an immense brazier in the winter, heedless of the cinders and sparks that fell on

his body, and, on awaking, would mistake the burns merely for the bites of insects. He ate a sheep a day, and drank an immense quantity of kumiss. He seems to have subjected all the surrounding tribes, and to have ruled supreme in Mongolia proper. He was apparently the first Mongol sovereign who had intercourse with the Chinese Imperial court. It is said that having been summoned to the court of the Kin Emperor, he astonished him by his immense appetite. One day, being very drunk, he so far forgot himself as to seize the Emperor's beard. When he became sober, he demanded to be punished, but the Emperor only laughed; and to show that he had overlooked the fault, presented him with a gold-embroidered silken garment suitable to his size, a crown, and a golden girdle. After his departure, instigated by his courtiers, the Emperor sent messengers to demand his return; and when these messengers tried to take him away forcibly, he had them put to death. This story, contained in the Persian historians of the Mongols, tallies admirably, both in date and circumstance, with that contained in the history of the Kin dynasty, styled the *Ta kin kwo chi*, which I take from Dr. Schott's paper already quoted. It was written after the fall of the Kin empire. According to this work the Mong *kü* lived to the north-east of the Niutchi (Dr. Schott remarks that this is clearly a *lapsus penicilli* for north-west); they ate no cooked meats, they could see in the darkest night, and they made, out of the hide of a certain fish, armour which would turn arrows. During the reign of the Kin Emperor, Tai tsung, whose Tungusic name was Ukimai (*i.e.* in 1123-37), a great number of the Mongus became subject to him; but in the next reign, 1138-40, they were rebellious. This account surely points to the submission and the subsequent rebellion of Kabul Khan.

The latter, as I have said, was supreme in Mongolia, and had probably subjected all the tribes on the borders of the desert: among those more or less subordinate to him was that of the Taidjuts, formerly the predominant tribe among the Mongols. I have already said that Burteshino, the

head of the Mongol genealogies, is said by Ssanang Setzen to have had two sons, Bedetse Khan and Bedes Khan, the former of whom is made to rule over the Mongols, the latter over the Taidjuts. He tells us that while Kabul Khan ruled over the Mongols, Ambai, a descendant of Bedes Khan, ruled over the Taidjuts. This Ambai is the Hemukai Khan of Erdmann, and the Ambagai of D'Ohsson, both of whom make him a great-grandson of Kaidu Khan, on the authority of the Persian historians. I prefer Ssanang Setzen's narrative. On one occasion Hemukai went to visit the Tatars, probably the Tatars of the Inchan range, *query*, the Keraites, to get himself a wife. They seized him, and he was sent as a captive to the Kin Emperor, who, to revenge the murder of his Chinese officers by Kabul Khan, had him nailed down to a wooden ass, a punishment reserved for rebels. (The same fate awaited a brother or son of Kabul's, named Ukin Berkan, who had also fallen into the hands of the Kin Emperor.) It was to revenge this wrong that Kabul (according to D'Ohsson and Erdmann, it was his nephew Kubilai, or Kaidu), with his grandson Yissugei, and with Kadan Taishi, the son of Hemukai, marched against China, defeated the Imperial army, and retired with a rich booty. This is perhaps what the Kin history refers to when it says that in 1138-40 the Mongku became rebellious. "Since then, it goes on to say, the Mongku have obtained many Khitan and Chinese boys and girls, either in war or by way of ransom, who have coalesced with them: they have gradually got accustomed to the use of cooked meats, and become a mighty nation under the name of Ta Mongù kuò—the kingdom of the great Mongus." On his return from the Chinese expedition, Kabul Khan, who was engaged in hunting, got separated from his army with only one follower and a slave. He was thus surprised by the Durbans (a Turkish tribe), sped his horse at full speed, drove it into a marsh in which it sank, but he sprang on to his saddle and then on to firm ground. The Durbans, it is said, disdained to touch him, saying, what can a Mongol do without his horse? He soon after, once more, reached his uluss. It is at this point

we must insert a struggle which the Persians describe as being between the Mongols and the Tatars, and which, as I have said, I believe to be identical with that described by Ssanang Setzen as between the Taidjuts and Mongols. According to the former authorities, Sain Tekin, the youngest brother of Kua Kulkua, the wife of Kabul Khan, fell ill, and a Tatar *shaman*, or medicine-man, was summoned to cure him: notwithstanding his efforts, the patient died. His relatives upon this put the sorcerer to death, and to avenge him the Tatars took up arms. A struggle ensued at a place called Beran-Segdan, and in it Kedan Behadur, one of Kabul's sons, distinguished himself in single combat with the Tatar leader, Meter Bahadur. The struggle was renewed the following year, and led to many fights between the Mongols and Tatars: such is the story as told by the Persians (Erdmann, pp. 553-4).

Ssanang Setzen tells us that Kabul Khan had seven sons, and that Ambai (*i.e.* Hemukai), the chief of the Taidjuts, had ten. A strife having ensued between them, the latter fell on the former, and killed six of the seven brothers, plundered their territory, and overthrew their dominion. The seventh, Bardam Baghatour (the Berdam Behadur of Erdmann), escaped with three wounds, escorted by four "companions," while his eldest son Yissugei Baghatour, then thirteen years old, speared a mailed warrior through and through, and having seized his horse followed his father. Sain Maral Khajak, the wife of Bardam Baghatour, had meanwhile escaped on foot with her three younger sons, Negin, Mengetu, and Utsuken. We do not know how the Mongols revenged this defeat. We are simply told by Ssanang Setzen that Kabul Khan was succeeded by his son Bardam Baghatour. Mailla says the same, only he calls him Pardai.

Bardam Baghatour had by his wife Sain Maral Khajak (called Sunigel Ferdshin by Erdmann) four sons, Mungdu Kian, Tegun Taishi, Yissugei Bahadur, and Dariti Utsuken, and was succeeded by Yissugei Bahadur. The latter became a powerful king. He seems to have restored the supremacy of the Mongols, which had been invaded, as we have seen,

by the Taidjuts. De Mailla tells us that until his reign the Mongols had been more or less tributaries of the Leao and Kin dynasties in China, and that he was the first to free them from this yoke. This statement, however, is hardly consistent with the intercourse his son Temudjin afterwards held with China. Seanang Setzen tells us that one day Yissugei was hunting in company with his two younger brothers, and followed the tracks of a white hare in the snow; they struck on the ruts of a caravan, and followed them to a spot where a woman's tent was set up. Then said Yissugei, "This woman will bear a valiant son," and having tracked out the ruts, they discovered that the cart belonged to Jeke Jilatu, a Taidjut, who had just married the young damsel Ogelen Eke (the mother of nations), of the tribe of the Olchonods, and was taking her home. As they drew near she said to her husband, "Don't you see the intention of the eldest of the three men?" With these words, she took off her undergarment, gave it to Jilatu, and said, "Haste thou away as quickly as thou canst." While this was going on the three drew near, and Jeke Jilatu took to flight. The three plundered neither the huts nor their contents, but only carried away Ogelen Eke. She ceased not to cry until the youngest of the three brothers, Dariti Utsuken, addressed her, and said, "We have already crossed three rivers, we have traversed three mountains. Pursuit is hopeless. Thy cries will not be heard." Upon which, our author says, she became quieter. Yissugei made her his wife. Schmidt, in a note on this passage, suggests that this rape was the cause of the struggle between the Mongols and Tatars which followed. In 1154-5 Yissugei marched with a large army, overran the Tatar country, laid it waste, and killed its two chiefs, Temudjin Ergeh and Kur Buka, and returned to his encampment on the Onon. The place where his camp was fixed was called Dilun Buldak. (The place still exists under the same name. Jurinsky, a merchant from Nerchinsk, in the Proceedings of the Russian Geographical Society, places it on the right bank of the Onon, seven *versts* higher than the island Eke Aral, and three *versts* from the Kotshuewschen

guard house. Erdmann, p. 572.) It was at this spot, and at this time, that his wife Ogelen Eke gave birth to a son, and Yissugei named him Temudjin, after the slaughtered Tatar chief. By the same wife he had three other sons, namely, Juji Khassar, Khadshikin, and Utsūken, and by two other wives two other sons, Bekter and Belgetei.

The death of Yissugei is thus related by Seanang Setzen. One day he approached a Tatar encampment, where a feast was going on. They called out to him, "There is plenty of meat here, come and eat." He turned aside and joined them. The Tatars did not forget the grudge they owed him. They mixed poison with his food. He fell ill on his way home; dismounted at the yurt of one of his subjects, and sent for his son Temudjin. A messenger was despatched from the latter, but before he could arrive Yissugei was dead. As Jingis was thirteen years old at his father's death, we may date that event about 1168-9. His death was followed by some confusion, and the Tatars for a while recovered their supremacy. But we have arrived at a crisis in Mongol history. With Temudjin an entirely new chapter in their history commences.



UNEDITED ARABIC COINS

AUTOTYPE, LONDON

ART. XII.—*Inedited Arabic Coins.* By STANLEY LANE POOLE.

(Read Nov. 16, 1874.)

FEW men have done more for the science of Oriental Numismatics than Frederic Soret. And yet among his writings we may search in vain for any work of great extent. The largest he ever published is his handbook, *Éléments de la Numismatique Musulmane*, and even this appeared in parts in the Belgian *Revue*, and was reprinted as a separate work after his death. Frederic Soret's work was done by small pieces, which, when put together, form a very considerable whole. The line he took was chiefly that of publishing such coins as he found in his own or other collections, and which were as yet unknown to the numismatic world,—if I may apply so large a term to so small a thing. And those short monographs of his are among the most precious additions to the knowledge of Oriental coins which the century has seen. Nor does Soret stand alone in this system of publishing inedited coins. He has been vigorously followed by a very able and sufficiently numerous body of German and other scholars, who have made known all the noteworthy coins which have come across their path.

It is my wish to profit by the example of Soret and his fellow-workers, and to endeavour to do for the English collections what has so long ago and so efficiently been done for those on the Continent. I now bring before the Society ten inedited coins, seven of which are from the British Museum collection, and three from that of Col. Guthrie. When I say *inedited* coins, I mean that I have been unable to find any description of them in any work on Oriental Numismatics, or in any Catalogue of Oriental Coins, or in any serial publication which admits papers on Oriental subjects. It is obvious from this definition that the term 'inedited' is not absolute; for in the vast number of German and other reviews and journals it is not unlikely that some of

the coins may be found described which I have thought inedited. Still, I have searched through all the more important ones; and at all events if it should prove to be the case that some of the coins now described have already been noticed in some less-known continental journal, the re-publishing of them may yet not be useless, as the *Journal* of this Society passes into many hands, into which the supposed continental journal may not fall.

1*¹. GOLD. KING OF KARMÁN. 'Imād-ad-dawlah Karā-Arslān Beg.
Struck at Yasdashir, A.H. 462 (=A.D. 1069-70). (*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
القائم بامره

Margin (inner) بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بيزدشير سنة اثنى

وستن واربع ما

(outer)

له الامر الحج *

Rev. Area.

محمد رسول الله
الملك العادل
عماد الدولة
قرارسلان بك

Margin.

محمد رسول الله ارسله الحج

¹ An asterisk (*) after the number of the coin indicates that it is photographed in the accompanying Plate.

² Some readers may not remember that الحج is an abbreviation for إِلَى آخِرِهِ to the end of it, equivalent to etc.

This coin at first caused me no little perplexity. Its general appearance closely resembling a badly-executed Great-Seljúki coin, and the date falling under Alp-Arslán's reign, I was half inclined to think that it was struck in the name of that Sultán by some governor who did not know the orthography of the name. This explanation, however, did not appear to me satisfactory, and I was very glad to be able to reject it for a better one. In searching for something in that mine of historical facts, Ibn-al-Athír's *Kámil*, I stumbled upon the name of a certain *Ḳará-Arslán*, lord of the province of *Karmán*, in the south-eastern part of the Persian kingdom. The passage in which this prince's name occurs runs thus:—

“Account of the Rebellion of the King of *Karmán* against *Alp-Arslán*, and of his return to fealty.

“In this year [459] the King of *Karmán*, *Ḳará-Arslán*, rebelled against the Sultán *Alp-Arslán*. And the cause of this was that he had a foolish wezír, whose soul commended to him the obtaining [for himself] independent possession of the province from the Sultán. And his lord [*Ḳará-Arslán*], when he rebelled, found it necessary to seize him; but he made the opposition to the Sultán seem good to his lord, and *Ḳará-Arslán* consented to it, and cast away his fealty, and discontinued the *khutbeh* for the Sultán.

“When *Alp-Arslán* heard of this, he marched to *Karmán*, and when he drew near to it his scouts attacked the scouts of *Ḳará-Arslán*, and after a contest the latter's scouts were put to flight. And when *Ḳará-Arslán* and his army heard of the rout of their scouts, they feared and were perplexed and fled: no man paused for another. And *Ḳará-Arslán* entered *Jiraf*, and fortified himself there, and sent to Sultán *Alp-Arslán*, professing obedience and asking forgiveness for his fault: so he forgave him; and he presented himself before the Sultán, who treated him with honour. And he¹ wept, and caused those who were with him to weep.

¹ We are left in painful uncertainty whether it was the Sultán or the King of *Karmán* who wept.

So he restored him to his kingdom, and he changed not aught of his condition.”¹

We learn, then, from this that *Karā-Arslán* was ruling the province of *Karmán*, in feof to the *Seljúkí Sultán*, in the year 459 of the Flight. The coin proves him to have been still ruling in 462, and the absence of the name of his liege lord would lead us to infer that the King of *Karmán* had again asserted his independence. Shortly after this he must

١ ذكر عصيان ملك كرمان على الب ارسلان وعوده الى طاعته
 في هذه السنة عصى ملك كرمان وهو قرا ارسلان على السلطان الب
 ارسلان، وسبب ذلك انه كان له وزير جاهل سولت له نفسه
 الاستبداد بالبلاد عن السلطان وان صاحبه اذا عصى احتاج الى
 التمسك به فحسّن لصاحبه الخلف على السلطان فاجاب الى
 ذلك وخلع الطاعة وقطع الخطبة، فسمع الب ارسلان فسار الى
 كرمان فلما قاربها وقعت طليعته على طليعة قرا ارسلان فانهزمت
 طليعة قرا ارسلان بعد قتال فلما سمع قرا ارسلان وعسكره بانهزام
 طليعتهم خافوا وتحمروا فانهزموا لا يلوى احد على آخر فدخل قرا
 ارسلان الى جيرفت وامتنع بها وارسل الى السلطان الب ارسلان
 يظهر الطاعة ويسأل العفو عن زلته فعفا عنه وحضر عند السلطان فاكرمه
 وبكى وابكى من عنده فاعاده الى مملكته ولم يغير عليه شيئاً
 من حاله (X. ٣٦، ٣٧).

have died or been deposed, for we find Káwart-beg, a brother of Alp-Arslán, ruling Karmán in 465. It seems not improbable that when, as the coin suggests, the King of Karmán revolted a second time, Alp-Arslán deposed him and appointed in his stead his own brother.

Yazdashír is a town in Karmán, described by Al-Idrísí (transl. by Jaubert, i. 426, 427) as "jolie ville, offrant beaucoup de ressources, entourée de murs et de fossés, munie de portes et possédant plusieurs bazars." It is not mentioned by Yákút in his *Kitáb Mo'jam-al-Buldán* (*Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. Wustefeld), nor by the author of the *Maráşid-al-Ittild'*.

The execution of the coin is unusually bad. The inscription on the Obverse offers several inaccuracies, له for الله, اس for اثنتين, سس for ستين, ما for مائة, of which some may be due to want of space. The Reverse Area is double-struck.

2*. SILVER. BUWAYHÍ. *Shams-ad-dawlah-ibn-Fakhr-ad-dawlah*.
Struck at *Hamadhán*, A.H. 387-411. (*British Museum*.)

Obv. Area.

شمس
لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
القادر بالله
الدولة

Margin (inner). بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بهمذا
(outer). لله الامر الخ

Rev. Area.

لله

محمد رسول الله

الامير السيد

شمس الدولة
ابو طاهر بن

فخر الدولة

وفلك الامة

بن ركن الدولة

بوية

Margin.

محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

When Fakhr-ad-dawlah, of the house of Buwayh, died, in the year 387 of the Flight (A.D. 997), his sons Majd-ad-dawlah and Shams-ad-dawlah succeeded him, the former in Ar-Rayy and the principal part of his dominions, the latter in Hamadhán and Ḳarmásín.¹ But Majd-ad-dawlah was unfortunate enough to offend his mother, who had managed the affairs of the kingdom during his minority; and was deposed and imprisoned by her in 397. Shams-ad-dawlah was then summoned to take upon himself his brother's duties, and accordingly governed in Ar-Rayy for about the space of one year; after which the dowager, taking compassion on her captive son, restored him to his dignities, whereupon Shams-ad-dawlah returned to Hamadhán. We hear of him again in 405, when Badr-ibn-Ḥasanwayh, the lord of Al-

¹ Or قرميسين according to Ibn-al-Athír, from whose *Kámil* this account of Shams-ad-dawlah is drawn.

Jabal,¹ died, and Shams-ad-dawlah obtained part of his dominions. In the same year he again entered Ar-Rayy, his mother and brother retiring on his approach: but he very speedily went his way back to Hamadhán, and suffered Majd-ad-dawlah to recover his twice-lost throne. Ibn-al-Athír does not record the death of Shams-ad-dawlah; but as he mentions him as ruling in Hamadhán in 411, and also relates that in 414 Samá-ad-dawlah Abu-l-Ḥasan, the son of Shams-ad-dawlah, was deposed by 'Alá-ad-dawlah Abu-Ja'far ibn-Kákwayh, it is clear that Shams-ad-dawlah must have died between 411 and 414.

3. SILVER. BUWAYHÍ. *Sulṭán-ad-dawlah.*

Struck at *Shíráz*, A.H. 405 (=A.D. 1014-). (*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area. لا اله الا الله
 وحده لا شريك له
 القادر بالله
 ولي عهده الغالب بالله
 * *

Margin (inner). بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدرهم
 بشيراز سنة خمس واربعمائة

(outer). Illegible, but apparently consisting of the
 four words not uncommon on Buwayhí
 coins.

¹ The mountain-district in which is situated Hamadhán; the district is also called *Al-Jabal* (الجَبَلُ هو اسم جامعٌ لهذه الاعمال) *Yákút, Geogr. Wörtorb., in v., ii. 22*). There is also a place called *Al-Jabal*, three days' journey from Jazírat-ibn-'Omar (*Al-Idrísí, ii. 172*). But the district is here meant.

Rev. Area.

عدل

محمد رسول الله

صلى الله عليه وسلم

الملك العادل شاهما

نشاه عماد الدين وسلطان

الدولة وعز الملة

ومعين الامة ابو شجاع

Margin.

محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

This is, I believe, the only silver coin of this prince as yet published. He seems to have rejoiced in a considerable number of titles: *The Just King, Sháh of Sháh's, Pillar of the Religion, and Might of the State, and Power of the Moral Law, and Aider of the People, Father of Valour.* The subject of these epithets, however, scarcely played so important a part in history as they would seem to imply: he ruled the province of Fáris from the death of his father, Bahá-ad-dawlah, in 403, to his own death in 415, and his reign is chiefly remarkable for his contests with two of his brothers, which would seem to have occupied his attention throughout the twelve years of his rule.

Al-Ghálíb-bi-lláh, whose name appears beneath Al-Kádir's on the Obverse of the coin, was the son and successor designate of the Khalífah. He died, however, in 409, during his father's lifetime.

It is scarcely necessary to remark that the word عدل, "just," which appears on the Reverse, and which is so common on most kinds of Arabic coins, is intended to indicate the accuracy of the weight.

4. SILVER. HAMDĀNĪ. *Abu-l-Barakāt Latāf-Allah.*

Struck at (?), A.H. 359 (=A.D. 969-70). (*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area.	لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له ابو البركات لطف الله
Margin (inner). رنة تسع وخمسين وثلاث
(outer).	له الامر الخ
Rev. Area.	محمد [رسول الله] ? المطيع لله ابو تغلب فضل الله الغضنفر
Margin.	محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

Abu-l-Barakāt, though known in history, has never before come into the field of numismatics. His father, the celebrated Nāṣir-ad-dawlah, died in 358, and was succeeded by Abu-Ṭaghlib Al-Ghaḍanfīr, whose name appears on the Reverse of this coin. Abu-l-Barakāt was killed in 359; so the shortness of the time between his father's death and his own makes it probable that this coin will continue one of a very few, or even unique. The name of the mint-place is unfortunately illegible, and I am unable to discover from Prof. Freytag's *Geschichte der Dynastien der Hamdaniden*,¹ the best authority on the subject, what city or cities were under the rule of Abu-l-Barakāt, in fief to his brother Abu-Ṭaghlib.

¹ *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, x. xi.

The lakab *Lataf-Alláh* is, I believe, nowhere else to be found on coins. It may be rendered "Bounty of God," or "Benefit of God"; whilst *Abu-l-Barakát*, which is equally unique on coins, means "The Father of Blessings."

5.* GOLD. 'ABBÁSÍ. *Al-Muti'-li-lláh.*

Struck at عین (?), A.H. 348 (=A.D. 959-60). (*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area.

لله

المطيع

لله

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بعد سنة ثمان واربعين وثلاث

Rev. Area.

محمد

رسول

الله

Margin. محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدا ودين الحق ليظهره عا

(The margin stops at عا for want of space. الهدا is for الهدى.)

The size of this *dínár* is exceptionally small; the inscriptions are arranged in a very peculiar manner, totally different from the ordinary arrangement on 'Abbásí coins; and, lastly, the mint-name is quite new. The letters of the mint-name are clearly cut, and what ambiguity there is arises not from any indistinctness in the coin, but from the different values which may be given to each letter in the name. The first letter, after the prefixed preposition ب, is unquestionably either an ع or a غ; the next is a simple short stroke, which may be ب, ت, ث, ن, or ي; and the last is a short stroke of exactly the same height as the second letter, and therefore can scarcely be a ل or an ا (for in other words on this



coin these two letters are distinguished by height above the line), and is not long enough in the horizontal part to be a ب, ت, or ث; nor would it serve for a ي; but it closely resembles the final ن of أربعين, and I am therefore inclined to regard it as a ن.

But having determined the letters within certain limits, what can the name be? The most obvious interpretation is عَيْن 'Ayn, and we find in the *Marāṣid-al-Ittilā'* that عَيْن is used in El-'Irāḳ to mean 'Ayn-at-Tamar ¹ and this بلدة في طرف البادية is described in the same work as حولها قريات وحولها قريات منها شفاثا وتعرف ببلد العين اكثر نخلها القسب وحمل منها الى ساير الاماكن' (ii, 214)

In Yāqūt's *Mo'jam-al-Buldān* (iii, 709), 'Ayn-at-Tamar is thus described: بلدة قريبة من الانبار غربى الكوفة بقربها موضع يقال له شفاثا منها يجلب القسب والتمر الى ساير البلاد وهو بها كثير جدا وهى على طرف البرية وهى قديمة افتتحها المسلمون فى ايام ابى بكر على يد خالد بن الوليد فى سنة 12 للهجرة وكان فتحها عنوة فسبى نساءها وقتل رجالها فمن ذلك السبى والدة محمد بن سيرين وسيرين اسم أمه وحمران بن ابان مولى عثمان بن عفان فيه يقول عميد الله بن الحر الجعفى فى وقعة كانت بينه وبين اصحاب مَصْعَب

الاهل اتى الفتيان بالمصراتنى اسرت بعين التمر اروع ماجدا
 وفرقت بين الخيل لما تواقفت بطعن امرؤ قد قام من كان قاعدا'

I think, therefore, that we may reasonably suppose the mint-place to be 'Ayn, i.e. 'Ayn-at-Tamar.

¹ وَيُطَلَّقُ فِي الْعِرَاقِ عَلَى عَيْنِ التَّمْرِ تَاتَى (ii, 213)

6.* SILVER. AMAWÍ.

Struck at *Sábur*, A.H. x 2. (Col. Guthrie's Collection.)

Obv. Area. لا اله الا
 الله وحده
 لا شريك له

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بسابورسنة ثنتين
 Within double outer circle of dots (not merely serrated).

Rev. Area. الله احد الله
 الصد لم يد و
 لم يولد ولم يكن
 له كفوا احد
 عسولله

With a row of dots between the second and third lines ; the whole area inclosed by two circles of dots ; between the circles five annulets. *No marginal inscription.*

This is the only Amawí dirhem with which I am acquainted with a word beneath the regular Reverse-Area inscription.² Owing to the bad preservation of the coin, I am as yet unable to make out the new word. The first letter might be a *mim* or an 'ayn (or *ghayn*), but its large size induces the

¹ *Sic.*

² Two coins, published by Dr. Dorn and Dr. Mordtmann respectively, have the Pahlawí word 𐭮𐭩𐭥 *marvun* (for so it may surely be read in preference to *merún*) beneath the Obv. Area. They also both bear the mint-name *مرو* in the usual Arabic marginal inscription. The dates of these two coins are 81 and 101. (See Tiesenhäusen, 294 and 494.)

belief that it is an 'ayn (or ghayn). The second letter might be *bé*, *té*, *thé*, *nún*, or *yé*. The third letter must be *sin* or *shin*. The fourth letter is, I feel almost sure, *wáw*; but there is just the possibility of its being *káf*. After this *wáw* comes what may either be a separate word لله ('to God'), or may form the termination لة of the word, or again (but I think most improbably) may be the separate word له ('to him'), composed of the preposition ل and the pronoun ه.

We may tabulate these possibilities (many of which, however, are euphonical impossibilities) thus:—

6	5	4	3	2	1
$\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{آ} \\ \text{أ} \\ \text{ه} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{ل} \\ \text{و} \\ \text{ق} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{س} \\ \text{ش} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{ه} \\ \text{ت} \\ \text{ث} \\ \text{ذ} \\ \text{ظ} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{ع} \\ \text{غ} \\ \text{ف} \end{array} \right\}$	

I must leave the task of interpreting these letters to some one else: for I confess myself completely at a loss to understand their meaning.

The coin is rendered even more extraordinary by the absence of any marginal inscription on the Reverse.

7. SILVER. AMAWÍ.

Struck at *Arminiyah*,¹ A.H. 81 (=A.D. 700-1).

(*Col. Guthrie's Collection.*)

This coin is of the usual Amawí type, exhibiting nothing remarkable, except the position of the conjunction و at the

¹ This (or Irmíniyah) not *Arminiyah* (with the *yé mushaddad*) is the correct spelling.

أَرْمِينِيَّةَ بِكْسَرِ أَوَّلِهِ وَيَفْتَحُ وَسْكَوْنِ ثَانِيهِ وَكْسَرِ الْمِيمِ وَيَاءُ سَاكِنَةٍ
 وَكْسَرِ النَّوْنِ وَيَاءُ خَفِيْفَةٍ مَفْتُوحَةٍ اسْمِ لَصُفْعِ عَظِيمِ الْخِ (Yáqút i. 119)



beginning of the third line of the Reverse-Area, a position usual on coins of the years 80, 81, 82, but not afterwards, it being subsequently transposed to the end of the second line. The whole style, however, is curious. No coin of this mint has hitherto been known of a date earlier than 92 of the Flight (see Dr. Tiesenhäusen's Table, p. 323), so this specimen is an interesting addition to the published series of the coinage of this Dynasty. The collection to which this belongs contained before but one example of the mintage of Armīniyeh.¹

8*. GOLD. AMAWĪ.

(Col. Guthrie's Collection.)

Obv. Heraclius and his two sons, all standing, and each one holding a cross-bearing orb.

Rev. The Cross, modified into a pillar with a globular capital, but not yet changed into a ϕ . On either side, B |.

Around.

لا اله الا الله وحده محمد رسول الله

I am not acquainted with any gold coin of this Obverse type: and the Reverse type is, I think, quite unique. The form of the Cross upon the steps is unlike the ordinary, and the letters B | are, so far as I can find out, unknown on Mohammadan coins. B | is merely | B reversed (in Arab fashion); and | B (=12) is the value-index peculiar to the coinage of the Alexandrian mint, denoting that the value of the coin was that of twelve *νοῦμύλα*.²

I do not think, however, that it can be deduced from this

¹ See my *Catalogue of the Collection of Oriental Coins belonging to Colonel C. Seton Guthrie*, Fasc. I. Coins of the Amawī Khalīfahs (Stephen Austin & Sons, Hertford, 1874), p. 7, and pl. i. fig. 38.

² I am indebted for this explanation to my uncle, Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole, who has investigated the question of Byzantine and Alexandrian value-indexes in a paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1853.

occurrence of the Alexandrian index that the coin was struck at Alexandria; though it is not, *a priori*, unlikely that such was the case. The date of the coin is also doubtful.

9*. GOLD. FATĪMĪ.

Struck at *Madinat Kūs*, A.H. 517 (=A.D. 1124¹).

(*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area.

عال

غاية

Margin (inner). لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله على ولي الله

(outer). محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

Rev. Area.

الامام

المنصور

Margin (inner). ابو على الامر باحكام الله امير المؤمنين

(outer). بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينر

بمدينة قوص سنة تسع^{سبع} عشر وخمسمائة¹

The city of *Kūs* قوص is a new addition to the mint-list of Arabic numismatics, for it has never before been found on coins. The best account of the city is that by Quatremère, in his *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte*; but as it extends over more than twenty pages (t. i. pp. 192–216) I must content myself with some extracts.

“*KOS, KOS.* C'est ainsi que le lexique copte de Montpellier écrit le nom de la ville que les Arabes appellent *Kous*. On lit *Kωs* ou *Koos* dans les vocabulaires saïdiques de la

¹ The *ā* of *عشرة* is omitted; so too the *ى* which should support the *م* of *مائة*, the latter probably for want of space.

bibliothèque impériale. Ces différens ouvrages joignent au nom de cette ville celui de *βερβερ* ou *βυββυρ*, dont je ne vois pas trop l'origine. Seulement l'auteur de l'un des vocabulaires saïdiques sépare du mot *Κως* celui de *βερβερ*, et rend ce dernier par *Ahsoreïn* ; ce qui sembleroit devoir mériter plus d'attention. En effet, comme nous l'avons appris d'un passage de Macrizy, la ville d'Aksor ou Aksoreïn passoit pour être habitée par une colonie de Maris, peuple de la Nubie. D'un autre côté, il est difficile de récuser le témoignage presque unanime de tous les vocabulaires coptes, auxquels se joint encore l'autorité du manuscrit consulté par Vanslet. Quoiqu'il en soit, Golius a cru que la ville de Kous répondait à l'ancienne Thèbes ou *Dioscopolis magna*, et cette opinion paroît avoir été adoptée par A. Schultens. Mais le père Lequien, d'Anville, et Michaëlis pensent avec raison que Kous représente la ville d'*Apollinopolis parva*, dont il est parlé dans Strabon. Quant au nom Arabe de cette ville, il est certain qu'il doit s'écrire *Kous* par un *sad*, et non par un *sin*, comme on lit dans l'ouvrage de Boha-ed-din. Suivant Aboul-feda, 'Kous, située dans le Saïd, à l'orient du Nil, étoit, après Fostat, la plus grande ville de l'Egypte. C'étoit là qu'arrivoient les marchands d'Aden.' Sa distance, à l'égard de Keft, est d'une parasange, suivant Iakouty, ou de sept milles, suivant l'Edrisy. L'auteur du *Mesalek-al-absar* et Macrizy ont consacré à cette ville des articles assez étendus, dont je vais transcrire une partie, en élégant les fables que le dernier de ces écrivains y joint, suivant son usage. 'Kous, la plus grande ville du Saïd, est située sur la rive orientale du Nil, et est le chef-lieu d'une province très-importante. C'est le premier endroit où s'arrêtent les caravanes qui viennent des mers de l'Inde, de l'Abyssinie, du Yémen, et du Hedjaz, en traversant le désert d'Aïdab. Au rapport d'Al-Adfouy, dans son Histoire du Saïd, Kous est placée au côté de Keft, et si l'on en croit quelques écrivains, Kous a commencé à devenir florissante, et Keft à se dépeupler depuis l'an 400 de l'hégire. Depuis l'an 800 de l'hégire, cette ville est entièrement déchue de son ancienne splendeur. Pendant les désa-

tres et les malheurs qui affligèrent l'Egypte, dans le cours de l'année 806, il périt à Kous dix-sept milles personnes. Avant cette époque, cette ville étoit si peuplée, que, dans la sécheresse de l'an 776, il eut cent cinquante *Moglak*, qui restèrent abandonnés. On entend dans cette province par le mot *Moglak*, un jardin de 20 feddans et au-dessus, accompagné d'une machine hydraulique à quatre faces. Et cela sans compter une foule de jardins moins considerables, qui demeurèrent également sans être occupés.' Macrizy nous apprend ailleurs, que Kous renfermoit un hôtel des monnaies, et que l'on voyait sur le territoire de cette ville de nombreux plants d'acacias. Le même écrivain, parlant du lieu nommé *Miniet-al-Basek*, s'exprime ainsi: 'Cette ville, située dans le canton d'Atfih, a pris son nom de Basek, frère de Behram l'Arménien, qui fut vizir du Khalife Hafed-li-din-Allah. L'an 529, Basek ayant été nommé par son frère au gouvernement de Kous qui étoit alors le plus important de l'Egypte, exerça contre les Musulmanes toutes sortes d'injustices et de vexations. Cela dura jusqu'au mois de djoumady second, de l'an 531. A cette époque, les habitans de Kous, ayant appris que Behram avoit été supplanté et expulsé par Radwan ben Dulkeschy, qui lui avoit succédé dans la charge de vizir, se soulevèrent contre Basek, et le massacrèrent. Ensuite, après lui avoir attaché un chien au pied, il traînèrent son corps dans les rue de la ville, et finirent par le jeter sur le fumier. Basek professoit la religion chrétienne.' . . . On trouve les noms de deux de ses évêques [*sc.* de Kous], Théodore et Mercure, dans l'histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie. 'Du temps du père Sicard, Jean, évêque de Nequadé, l'étoit en même temps de Coptos, de Kous et d'Ibrim. Abou-Selah parle de plusieurs églises situées sur le territoire de Kous.'

The following extract from Brugsch (*Geographische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler* i. 197 f.) supplies the defectiveness of Quatremère's account of the names of Kús. "Noch weiter nördlich auf der Strasse, welche von Karnak nach der Stadt Qeft, dem alten Koptos, führt, liegt eine Stadt mit Namen قوس Qus, die zur Zeit Abulfeda's oder im 14. Jahrhundert nach Fostât die bedeutendste Stadt

Aegyptens war. Grosse Trümmerhaufen bei derselben sind heut zu Tage die einzigen Ueberreste eines älteren ansehnlichen Ortes. . . . Die Griechen, das wissen wir mit vollster Sicherheit, nannten die Stadt Ἀπόλλωνος πόλις, gewöhnlich mit dem Zusatze ἡ μικρά, zum Unterschiede von der grossen Apollonstadt, deren bedeutende Ruinen inmitten des heutigen Dorfes Edfu liegen. Die Kopten bezeichneten sie, wahrscheinlich nach alter Tradition, mit dem Vulgärnamen ΚΩC ΒΕΡΒΕΡ (dialektisch ΒΡΒΙΡ, ΒΡΒΕΡ), welches Champollion, L'Égypte sous les Pharaons, vol. ii. p. 221 "das brennende" oder "das heisse ΚΩC" übersetzt. Ein Wort *kes* oder *ges* est mir mit Ausnahme des oben besprochenen *kes*, das aber hier nicht her gehören kann, nirgend in den Inschriften und Texten aufgestossen, wohl aber eine Localbenennung *brbr*, entsprechend dem koptischen ΒΡΒΕΡ. In dem hieratischen Kalender Sallier No. 4, p. 11, erscheint nämlich eine Gruppe *hâ-brbr* (898) "das Haus *brbr*" mit dem speciellen Determinativ der Pyramide oder des Obelisken, das sehr wohl die in Rede stehende Stadt bezeichnen konnte. Wie gesagt ist aber die Sache nicht ausgemacht und wir müssen es dem glücklichen Zufall überlassen, ob für diese Zusammenstellung gründliche Beweise gefunden werden. Jenes *hâ-brbr* könnte nämlich nach dem Zusammenhange in dem beregten Papyrus eben so gut einen bestimmten Theil in einem Heiligthume bezeichnen."

The mention by El-Makrîzî of an *hôtel des monnaies* at Kûs is highly interesting, and this coin is the first to confirm the historian's statement.

10*. GOLD. **ΜΥΩΑΗΪΙΔ** (Almohade). 'Abd-Al-Mu-min.

Struck at *Sabtah*.

(*British Museum.*)

Similar to the coin described by me in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, n.s., vol. xiii. p. 154, art. *Muwahhids*, No. 1. The difference consists in the occurrence of the mint-name *Sabtah* سبتة between the lines of the encadrement, on each side, beneath the area-inscription. Coins with these finely-written

mint-names between the lines are, I believe, peculiar to the dynasty of the Muwahhids, and very rare even among them. I am not aware of this coin having been already published. The diacritical points differ somewhat from those on the specimen described in the *Num. Chron.*, as a comparison of the plates will show. A curious thing is the way in which the tail of the μ of بسم on the Obv. is cut through by the encadrement. I need scarcely remark that Sabtah is the Arabic form of Ceuta; or rather, Ceuta is the European form of Sabtah.

ART. XIII.—*Notice on the Dinârs of the Abbasside Dynasty.*
 By EDWARD THOMAS ROGERS, late H. M. Consul, Cairo.

[Read on November 16th, 1874.]

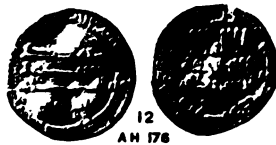
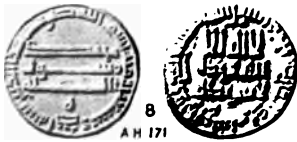
EVERY collector of early Muhammadan coins must have observed that the dinârs of the fifth and two subsequent Khalifahs are of two kinds: that is to say, some are plain, like those of the earlier Khalifahs; whilst others have various Muhammadan names upon them, generally beneath the ordinary inscription on the area of the reverse.

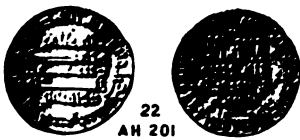
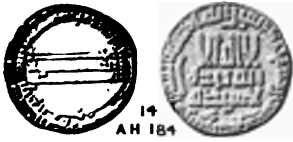
It is well known that dirhams and filses were struck in many parts of the then vast Muhammadan Empire; but it does not appear that under the first four Khalifahs dinârs were struck in any other mint than that of the Capital.

The dinârs of the first four Khalifahs do not state where they were struck, and we may therefore presume that they were all struck in one place, namely, the Capital, just as the dinârs of the Khalifahs of Bani Ummeya were all struck at Damascus, which was *their* seat of government. Those of the fifth and two subsequent Khalifahs do not, as a rule, give any place of mintage; but by careful examination and comparison of the proper names found on some of them, I am convinced that the plain ones were struck in Medinet-es-Salâm (Baghdâd), and that those bearing proper names were for the most part struck in Miṣr, which was probably next in importance to Baghdâd, and was the first place after the Capital whence gold coins were emitted.

I have seen some of these names mentioned in the descriptions of the coins on which they were found; but no serial account of them has yet been published, nor any identification of the persons to whom they refer.

With a view to partially supply this deficiency, I am preparing the following observations on dinârs hitherto inedited, which are for the most part in my own Cabinet and in that of Colonel C. S. Guthrie, intercalated with those already published of which we do not possess specimens in our cabinets.







25
AH 207



26
AH 215



27
AH 222



28
AH 225



29
AH 232



30
AH 236



31
AH 249



32
AH 270



33
AH 273



34
AH 275



35
AH 275



36
AH 281



37
AH 286



38
AH 292



39
AH 306



40
AH 314



41
AH 316



42
AH 335



43
AH 336



44
AH 343



45
AH 622



WOL

The dinârs of the first four Khalifâhs hardly differ from each other excepting in the date. They are nearly of the same type, character and weight. Certain points or dots however, which occur on some of them, make them worthy of separate remarks, and may, after further study and experience, prove that a second mint for the emission of gold coin existed earlier than I am at present in a position to prove.

The legends and inscriptions on the dinârs of the first four Khalifâhs are the same; therefore the description of one of the year 133 will serve for all those struck before the year 170: thus—

Obverse.

Area, Inscription in three lines: لا اله الا الله و حده لا شريك له, generally called the first symbol.

Marginal legend: محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله, generally called the second symbol.

Reverse.

Area, Inscription in three lines: محمد رسول الله being the initial words of the second symbol.


Marginal legend: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدين سنة ثلث وثلثين وميه, In the name of God this dinâr was struck in the year 133.

In the following list will be found in separate columns the date, the initials of the owner, the name of the author who has described the coin, and descriptive remarks. T. refers to Tiesenhausen. Where two asterisks (**) appear, the coin thus marked exists in both Cabinets.

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
133	E. T. R.	Inedited.	A central point on the reverse (Pl. I. No. 1).
134	E. T. R.	Inedited.	A central point on the reverse.
135	**	T. 675.	
136	C. S. G.	T. 683.	
137	E. T. R.	Inedited.	

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
138	E. T. R.	Inedited.	
139	C. S. G.	Inedited.	
139	E. T. R.	Inedited.	Diacritical point under the ب of ضرب.
139	E. T. R.	Inedited.	Diacritical point under the ب of ضرب, and three points thus "•" beneath area of reverse (Pl. I. No. 2).
140	**	Inedited.	
141	Fraehn, Nov. Suppl.	T. 711.	
143	C. S. G.	T. 719.	
144	E. T. R.	Inedited.	Diacritical point under ب of اربع.
145	E. T. R.	T. 734.	
145	C. S. G.	Inedited.	Diacritical point under ب of ضرب.
146	E. T. R.	T. 746.	
147	**	T. 759.	
148	**	T. 770.	A central point on the reverse.
148	E. T. R.	Inedited.	A point after the ل of رسول in area of reverse.
149	German Zeitschrift.	T. 780.	
150	Adler, Mus. Cuf. Borg.	T. 787.	
151	**	T. 796.	
152	**	T. 803.	A point after the ل of رسول in area of the reverse; the characters are more like the Aghlabite type.
153	Fraehn, MS. XI.	T. 814.	
154	**	T. 826.	A point after the ل of رسول, and a central point on the reverse.
155	**	T. 840.	A point after the ل of رسول, and a central point on the reverse.
156	**	T. 852.	A point after the ل of رسول of reverse.
157	**	T. 858.	

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
157	C. S. G.	Inedited.	A point under the ب of سبع.
158	**	T. 872.	A point after the ل of رسول, and central point in the reverse.
159	E. T. R.	T. 880.	A dot after the ل of رسول, of reverse.
160	E. T. R.	Inedited.	A central point on the reverse.
161	**	Inedited.	A central point on the reverse.
161	E. T. R.	Inedited.	A central point on the reverse, and three points thus ∴ beneath the area of the reverse (Pl. I. No. 3).
162	**	T. 917.	A central point on the reverse and a point after the ل of رسول.
163	E. T. R.	T. 932.	A point under the ب of ضرب, and a central point on the reverse.
163	C. S. G.	Inedited.	A point under the ب of ضرب, and three points thus ∴ under the area of the reverse (Pl. I. No. 4).
164	Willenheim	T. 950.	
165	E. T. R.	T. 965.	
165	**	Inedited.	A point above the inscription on the area of the reverse.
166	**	T. 983.	
166	E. T. R.	Inedited.	A point between the second and third lines of the inscription on the area of the reverse, and a point under the ب of ضرب.
167	**	T. 1010.	A point under the ب of ضرب and under the ب of سبع.
167	E. T. R.	Inedited.	A point between the second and third lines of the inscription on the area of the reverse; of Aghlabite type.
167	C. S. G.	Inedited.	A point under the ب of سبع, a central point on the reverse, and above the inscription on the area of

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
			the reverse a small crescent thus  . (Pl. I. No. 5).
168	**	T. 1038.	A central point on the reverse, and a point after the ل of رسول.
169	E. T. R.	T. 1057.	A central point on the reverse, and below the inscription in the area of the reverse a combination of points thus ∴, which may be intended to represent the word بر.

We now arrive at the year in which a name for the first time appears on the gold coinage. It is the first year of the reign of the great Khalîfah Harûn ar Rashîd.

170	C. S. G.	Inedited.	The name of العلاء appears beneath the reverse area, but I have not yet identified this name. On a dirham of the same year described by Fraehn, and referred to by T. under No. 1108, the same name is found, but the learned author does not seem to have been able to settle the point (Pl. I. No. 6).
170	E. T. R.	T. 1094.	The name of علي appears beneath the inscription on the area of the reverse, which is rightly ascribed by the learned author to Aly ibn Suleimân, who was appointed Governor of Egypt by Al Hady in 169. He proceeded to Miṣr in the month of Shawâl of that year, and remained in power till Rabia, 171. This, therefore, is the first dînâr

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
171	**		that we can confidently attribute to the mint of Miṣr. Beneath the area on the reverse is the letter ʾ, which is generally supposed to refer to the excellence of the metal. I presume it was struck at Baghdād (Pl. I. No. 8).
171	E. T. R.	Inedited.	Beneath the area on the reverse appears the name موسى. I find, on reference to Abu'l Maḥāsīn's History of Egypt, that Mūsa ibn 'Issa (موسى ابن عيسى) was appointed Governor of Egypt by Harūn ar Rashīd in one of the months of Rabia, 171 (Pl. I. No. 7).
172	E. T. R.	T. 1145.	A central point on the reverse.
172	E. T. R.	T. 1146.	The name موسى in the usual place. Mūsa ibn 'Issa held the post of Governor of Egypt until the 14th of Ramadān, 172.
172	E. T. R.	Inedited.	The name عمر here occupies the space beneath the inscription of the area of the reverse (Pl. I. No. 9).
173	Mars. xxxvi.	T. 1166.	Plain.
173	**	T. 1167.	عمر 'Omar. 'Omar ibn Ghilān was appointed Minister of Finance in Sha'abān, 173, when Muhammad ibn Zuheir was made Governor of Egypt, and I think it very probable that he held the same office under Muhammad ibn Zuheir's predecessor, Muslimeh ibn Yehia, which

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
174	Fraehn.	T. 1181.	would account for the same name being found on a dinâr of the year 172. <i>عمر 'Omar.</i> This dinâr must have been struck during the first fortnight of the year 174, because Dâûd ibn Yezîd was appointed Governor of Egypt on the 14th of Moharram of that year, and he was accompanied by Ibrahm ibn Şaliḥ as Finance Minister.
174	E. T. R.	Inedited.	On this dinâr the name of <i>داد Dâûd</i> is given—without doubt Dâûd ibn Yezîd (Pl. I. No. 11).
174	E. T. R.	Inedited.	No name and no diacritical points. (Pl. I. No. 10).
175	E. T. R.	T. 1194.	<i>موسى Mûsa.</i> Mûsa ibn 'Issa was appointed Governor of Egypt a second time in the month of Safar, 175.
176	E. T. R.	Inedited.	<i>ابراهيم Ibrahm.</i> In this year Ibrahm ibn Şaliḥ, formerly Minister of Finance, was appointed Governor of Egypt (Pl. I. No. 12).
176	E. T. R.	Inedited.	Beneath the inscription in the area of the reverse <i>جعفر Ja'afar.</i> Abu'l Maḥâsin reports, on the authority of Az Zahaby (الذهبي), that in the year 176 Harûn ar Rashîd appointed Ja'afar ibn Yehîa ibn Barmak to be the Governor of Egypt, and that probably 'Omar (ibn Mahrân) went to Miṣr as Ja'afar's representative, but Ja'afar

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
			himself did not go there. This remark is doubtless in allusion to the under-mentioned circumstance. ¹ From these historical facts I infer that the dinârs bearing the name of Ja'afar were struck under his authority in Miṣr, and that the plain ones, of which we have several examples, as well as those bearing the Khalifah's title الخليفة, were struck in Baghdâd (Pl. II. No. 13).
177	E. T. R.	T. 1223.	No name.
177	E. T. R.	T. 1224.	جعفر <i>Ja'afar</i> .
178	E. T. R.	T. 2789.	جعفر <i>Ja'afar</i> .
179	**	Inedited.	جعفر <i>Ja'afar</i> .
180	**	T. 1272.	جعفر <i>Ja'afar</i> .
181	**	T. 1293.	جعفر <i>Ja'afar</i> .
182	**	T. 1310.	جعفر <i>Ja'afar</i> .
183	E. T. R.	T. 1338.	جعفر <i>Ja'afar</i> .

¹ Abu'l Maḥâsin quotes from the history called *Mirât ez Zamân*, by Abu'l Muzaffar ibn Kaḏaghli, that the Khalifah, having received news that Mûsa ibn 'Issa intended to rise against his authority, exclaimed, "Wallahi, I will dismiss him, and replace him by the lowest person in my court," and said to Ja'afar ibn Yehia, "Appoint to the Governorship of Miṣr the lowest and meanest person in my court." So he bethought himself of 'Omar ibn Mahrân, Kheizerân's clerk, who was of ugly appearance, wearing coarse clothing, and was in the habit of riding a mule with his servant mounted behind him on the same animal. So Ja'afar went out to him and said, "Will you be Governor of Miṣr?" He consented, and went thither, riding on his mule, with his servant mounted behind him. He went to the house of Mûsa ibn 'Issa, and there sat down at the end of the divan. When the Council departed, Mûsa asked him if he wanted anything, whereupon 'Omar gave him the letter. When he had read it, he exclaimed: "The curse of God was upon Pharaoh because he said, 'behold, am I not king of Egypt!'" Mûsa then transferred the Government of Egypt to 'Omar, who afterwards returned to Baghdâd just as he had left it.—*Vide* Abu'l Maḥâsin, vol. i. p. 476.

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
183	Stickel.	T. 1339.	Inner legend on the reverse, <i>ما امر به الامير الامين محمد بن امير المؤمنين</i> <i>By order of the Prince Al Amin Muhammad, son of the Commander of the Faithful.</i> In this year Muhammad al Amin was appointed Governor of 'Irâk and of Syria. ¹ This dinâr was evidently struck in the capital of his new province, and as the type is very different from that of contemporary dinârs, we may conclude that it is the production of a third mint whence gold coins were emitted.
184	E. T. R.	Inedited.	<i>جعفر Ja'afar.</i>
184	E. T. R.	Inedited.	Inner legend of the reverse, <i>ما امر به الامير الامين الخ</i> , as on the dinâr of the year 183 (Pl. II. No. 14).
184	Holmboe Descriptio.	T. 1355.	<i>الخليفة Al Khalfah.</i>
185	**	T. 1371.	Inner legend of the reverse, <i>ما امر به الامير الامين الخ.</i>
185	E. T. R.	T. 1372.	<i>جعفر Ja'afar.</i>
186	Marsden XL.	T. 1393.	<i>ما امر به الامير الامين الخ</i> . This is the earliest gold coin that Marsden had seen with a double legend. My earliest dinâr of this description is of the date of the year 184, whilst Stickel, see above, has described a similar one of the year 183.

¹ *Vide* Abu'l Mahâsin, vol. i. p. 510: وكان الرشيد قدولى الامين العراق والشام الى آخر الغرب.

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
186	**	Inedited.	جعفر <i>Ja'afar</i> .
186	E. T. R.	Inedited.	Inner legend of the reverse, مما امر به الامير الامين الخ.
187	E. T. R.	T. 1409.	No name.
188	**	T. 1425.	No name. Diacritical point over the ن of the word ثمان.
190	**	T. 1466.	Below the inscription in the area of the reverse, الخليفة <i>Al Khalfah</i> .
190	E. T. R.	Inedited.	Below the inscription in the area of the reverse, the letter د.
191	E. T. R.	Inedited.	الخليفة <i>Al Khalfah</i> .
191	C. S. G.	Inedited.	This dīnār gives us a fourth type, and I think, also, a fourth mint for the emission of gold coin. The inscription in the area of the reverse is in three lines, thus : محمد رسول الله مما امر به عبد الله هرون أمير المؤمنين (Pl. II. No. 15.)
191	E. T. R.	T. 1491.	Below the inscription in the area of the reverse, the letter ر, probably the initial of the word رائج <i>current</i> .
192	E. T. R.	Inedited.	Below the inscription in the area of the reverse, the letter د.
192	**	T. 1504.	Below the inscription in the area of the reverse, the word الخليفة <i>Al Khalfah</i> .
193	E. T. R.	Inedited.	Below the inscription in the area of the reverse, the letter د.

In the year 193 the great Khalīfah Harūn ar Rashīd died at Tūs. He was succeeded by his second son Muhammad, surnamed Al Amīn, his elder son Abdallah, surnamed Al Mamūn, having been appointed and agreed to as heir pre-

DATE.	IN WHOSE CARET.	BY WHOM ENTERED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
183	Stickel.	T. 1339.	Inner legend on the reverse. <i>محمد بن عبد الله</i> <i>كبير حسين بن محمد بن أمير المؤمنين</i> <i>By order of the Prince Al Amin</i> <i>Muhammad, son of the Commander</i> <i>of the Faithful. In this year Ma-</i> <i>hammad al Amin was appointed</i> <i>Governor of Irak and of Syria.</i> This dinar was evidently struck in the capital of his new province, and as the type is very different from that of contemporary dinars, we may conclude that it is the pro- duction of a third mint whence gold coins were emitted.
184	E. T. R.	Inscribed.	<i>محمد بن عبد الله</i> <i>كبير حسين</i>
184	E. T. R.	Inscribed.	Inner legend of the reverse. <i>محمد بن عبد الله</i> <i>كبير حسين بن محمد بن أمير المؤمنين</i> of the year 133. Pl. II. No. 14.
184	Hainboe Description.	T. 1355.	<i>محمد بن عبد الله</i> <i>كبير حسين</i>
185	"	T. 1371.	Inner legend of the reverse. <i>محمد بن عبد الله</i> <i>كبير حسين بن محمد بن أمير المؤمنين</i>
185	E. T. R.	T. 1372.	<i>محمد بن عبد الله</i> <i>كبير حسين</i>
186	Marsden &c.	T. 1323.	<i>محمد بن عبد الله</i> <i>كبير حسين بن محمد بن أمير المؤمنين</i> This is the earliest gold coin that Marsden has seen with a double legend. My earliest dinar of this inscription is of the date of the year 134 whilst Stickel, see above, has described a similar one of the year 133.

وكن ابراهيم غنوي حسين بن محمد بن عبد الله بن عباس
 والله اعلم بالصواب

No.	Year	Reference	Description
135	"	Inscribed	...
136	"	Inscribed	...
137	"	Inscribed	...
138	"	Inscribed	...
139	"	Inscribed	...
140	"	Inscribed	...
141	"	Inscribed	...
142	"	Inscribed	...
143	"	Inscribed	...
144	"	Inscribed	...
145	"	Inscribed	...
146	"	Inscribed	...
147	"	Inscribed	...
148	"	Inscribed	...
149	"	Inscribed	...
150	"	Inscribed	...
151	E. T. R.	T. 1491.	Below the inscription in the area of the reverse, the letter ح , probably the initial of the word الحاكم .
152	E. T. R.	Inedited.	Below the inscription in the area of the reverse, the letter ح .
153	"	T. 1504.	Below the inscription in the area of the reverse, the word الخليفة <i>Al Khalifah</i> .
154	E. T. R.	Inedited.	Below the inscription in the area of the reverse, the letter ح .

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In the year 193 the great Khalifah Harûn ar Rashid died at Tin. He was succeeded by his second son Muhammad, surnamed Al Amin, his elder son Abdallah, surnamed Al Mansur, having been appointed and agreed to as heir pre-

[See also page 272.]

sumptive. A rivalry and enmity soon sprang up between these brothers, which ultimately led to open hostilities, thus laying the foundation of the dismemberment of the vast Empire over which their father had ruled supreme.

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
194	E. T. R.	T. 1562.	Below the inscription in the area of the reverse, the word الخليفة <i>Al Khalifah</i> .
195	**	T. 1596.	Above the inscription in the area of the reverse, الخليفة <i>Al Khalifah</i> , and below, الامين <i>Al Amin</i> .
196	C. S. G.	Inedited.	Above the inscription in the area of the reverse, الخليفة <i>Al Khalifah</i> , and below, الامام <i>Al Imam</i> (Pl. II. No. 16).

It is well known that Al Mâmûn was much attached to the sectarians of 'Aly, otherwise called Shi'is. *Imâm* was a title almost exclusively adopted by that sect for their spiritual chief, so I have no hesitation in attributing this dinâr to Al Mâmûn. Moreover, Al Amin had in 194 proclaimed a change in the succession, appointing his son Mûsa his heir apparent, under the surname of An Nâtik bil Hak, which was naturally resented by Al Mâmûn, and war was declared between the brothers. Several sanguinary battles were fought in different parts of the Empire. Al Mâmûn was proclaimed Khalîfah by his partisans in 196, and in that same year he succeeded in conquering Egypt. In the same year he appointed Al Fadl ibn Sahel Governor of the length and breadth of the East, with a salary of a million of dirhams, granting him the title of زى الريباستين *Zâ ar Ribâsatein*, which he caused to be engraved upon his sword, referring to his being the holder of two offices, being Commander in Chief of the Army, and also Secretary and Counsellor in Chief. He appointed Fadl's brother, Al Hassan ibn Sahel, to the Ministry of Finance.

Whilst all these great events were occurring, Al Amín was in Baghdád, living a life of luxury, and paying but little attention to public affairs. His indolence caused many of his partisans to leave him and to join his brother's ranks, and he gradually lost all power, and was killed in Baghdád in the year 198.

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
196	E. T. R.	Inedited.	Beneath the inscription in the area of the obverse, the word <i>عباد</i> 'Abbád. In the area of the reverse, above the usual inscription, the word <i>الخليفة</i> <i>Al Khalfah</i> , and below it, <i>المامون</i> <i>Al Mámún</i> . In the month of Rejab of the year 196, Al Mámún appointed 'Abbád ibn Muhammad to be Governor of Egypt (Pl. II. No. 17).
197	**	T. 1649.	Same as preceding, excepting that under the <i>ب</i> of <i>عباد</i> there is a diacritical point. It appears, however, from Tiesenhausen's description, that the word <i>عباد</i> has been misread as <i>عبيد</i> , consequently the person referred to was not identified.
197	E. T. R.	Inedited.	Above the inscription in the area of the reverse, <i>ربي الله</i> <i>Rabbi allah</i> , <i>God is my Lord</i> , and below it, <i>الامين</i> <i>Al Amin</i> . Beneath the <i>ي</i> of <i>الامين</i> are two points, and one beneath the <i>ب</i> of <i>سبع</i> (Pl. II. No. 18).
198	E. T. R.	Inedited.	No name, no diacritical points. It is almost impossible to say whether this <i>dínâr</i> was struck by Al Mámún's

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
198	**	T. 2829.	<p>authority or by his brother, as two Khalfahs were reigning at this time. Beneath the inscription in the area of the obverse, the word المطلب <i>Al Muṭṭaleb</i>. Above that on the reverse, الامام <i>Al Imām</i>, and below it, المأمون <i>Al Māmūn</i>. In the month of Safar, 198, Al Māmūn appointed Al Muṭṭaleb ibn Abdallah to be Governor of Egypt. A diacritical point over the ن <i>ن</i>.</p>
198	E. T. R.	Inedited.	<p>Beneath the inscription in the area of the obverse, the name العباس <i>Al 'Abbās</i>. On the area of the reverse, above the usual inscription, الامام <i>Al Imām</i>, and below it, المأمون <i>Al Māmūn</i>. In the month of Shawāl, 198, Al Māmūn appointed Al 'Abbās ibn Mūsa to the Government of Egypt; he died at Bilbeis in Jamad al Akhera, 199.</p>
198	E. T. R.	Inedited.	<p>Below the inscription in the area of the obverse, مدينة السلام <i>Medīnet es Salm</i>, Baghdād, a very unusual place for the name of the place of mintage, of which, however, there are a few other examples on dinārs struck at Al 'Irāk, Bokhara, etc. On the area of the reverse, above the usual inscription, لله <i>To God</i>, or by the grace of God, ذو الرياستين <i>Zū r Riāsatein</i>, referring to Al Faql ibn Sahel, above alluded to.</p>

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
199	E. T. R.	T. 1683.	Below the inscription in the area of the obverse, <i>المطلب</i> <i>Al Muṭṭaleb</i> . On the death of Al 'Abbās, Al Mamūn re-appointed Al Muṭṭaleb to the Government of Egypt. In the area of the reverse, above the usual inscription, <i>ذو الرياستين</i> <i>Zū r Rīdāstain</i> , and below it <i>الفصل</i> <i>Al Faḍl</i> . In the margin the place of mintage is given, thus— <i>بسم الله ضرب هذا الدين بمصر سنة تسع وتسعين ومئة</i> .
199	E. T. R.	Inedited.	Beneath the inscription in the area of the obverse, <i>العراق</i> <i>Al 'Irāk</i> . Above the inscription in the area of the reverse, <i>لله</i> <i>To God</i> , and beneath it, <i>ذو الرياستين</i> <i>Zū r Rīdāstain</i> . The invocation preceding the date is thus given, in the margin of the reverse— <i>بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدين سنة تسع وتسعين ومئة</i> (Pl. II. No. 20.)
200	C. S. G.	Inedited.	Obverse, beneath the inscription in the area, <i>الحسن</i> <i>Al Ḥassan</i> , and below it the letter <i>ع</i> . The former doubtless refers to Al Ḥassan ibn Saḥel, who was Al Māmūn's Minister of Finance above alluded to, and the <i>ع</i> is probably the initial of the word <i>عدل</i> <i>ādel</i> (just), Ḥassan certifying the correctness of the weight and the purity of the metal. Reverse,

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
			above the inscription in the area, لله <i>To God</i> , and below it, ذوالرياستين <i>Zū r Rīāsatein</i> (Pl. II. No. 21).
200	E. T. R.	T. 1701.	In the area of the reverse, above the usual inscription, لله <i>To God</i> , beneath it ذوالرياستين <i>Zū r Rīāsatein</i> .
200	Fraehn.	T. 1702.	ذوالرياستين <i>Zū r Rīāsatein</i> , لله <i>To God</i> , العراق <i>Al'Irāk</i> , بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم.
201	E. T. R.	Inedited.	Below the usual inscription on the area of the reverse the letter ح, which may be the initial letter of the word حَيْدٌ "good."
201	E. T. R.	Inedited.	Below the inscription on the area of the obverse, السرى <i>As Sary</i> . In this year As Sary ibn al Hakam was appointed by Māmūn Governor of Miṣr. Above the inscription in the area of the reverse, لله طاهر <i>To God, Ṭāher</i> , and below, ذواليمينين <i>Zū l Yemtnein</i> , ambidexter. In the margin, بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بمصر سنة احدى و ستين. This Ṭāher was Ṭāher ibn al Hussein, who was a zealous partisan of Al Māmūn, and who caused the death of Al Amin in Baghdād. He was blind of one eye, and being able to use both hands with the same facility was called <i>Zū l Yemtnein</i> (Pl. II. No. 22).
201	Fraehn.	T. 1714.	بمصر سنة احدى و ستين, In Miṣr the

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
202	C. S. G.	Inedited.	year 201. <i>To God, Al Fadl.</i> ذو الرياستين <i>Zû r Rîdsatein.</i> On area of the reverse, above the usual inscription, ل, and below it ٥.
202	E. T. R.	Inedited.	Below the inscription on the area of the obverse, المغرب <i>Al Maghreb.</i> Above the inscription on the area of the reverse, <i>To God, Al Fadl.</i> Beneath it, ذو الرياستين <i>Zû r Rîdsatein.</i> The marginal legend on the reverse presents a remarkable peculiarity, namely, that after the date the name of the then Governor of Egypt is inserted, thus بسم الله ضرب هذا الدين سنة اثننتين <i>In the name of God this dinâr was struck in the year 202, As Sary (Pl. II. No. 23).</i>
202	Fraehn.	T. 1727.	بمصر سنة اثننتين وميتين <i>In Miṣr the year 202.</i> لله طاهر <i>As Sary.</i> ذو الرياستين <i>To God, Tâher.</i> <i>Zû r Rîdsatein.</i>
203	Description de l'Égypte.	T. 1738.	بمصر سنة ثلث وميتين <i>In Miṣr the year 203.</i> المامون <i>Al Mâman.</i> لله طاهر <i>To God, Tâher.</i> <i>As Sary.</i>
203	E. T. R.	T. 1739.	Beneath the area of the obverse, العراق <i>Al 'Irâk.</i> Above inscription in area of reverse, لله <i>To God.</i> Beneath it ذو الرياستين <i>Zû r Rîdsatein.</i> Marginal legend, بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم <i>In the name of God this dinâr was struck in the year 203, As Sary (Pl. II. No. 23).</i>

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
204	E. T. R.	Inedited.	No name.
204	Fraehn.	T. 1748.	بمصر سنة أربع و ميتين In Miṣr the year 204. المغرب <i>Al Maghreb</i> . الله طاهر <i>To God, Tāher</i> . السرى <i>As Sary</i> .
204	?	T. 1749.	ذو الرياستين <i>Zū r Riḍsatein</i> .
205	E. T. R.	Inedited.	Beneath the inscription in the area of the obverse, المغرب <i>Al Maghreb</i> . Above that on the area of the reverse, الله طاهر <i>To God, Tāher</i> . Below it, محمد بن السرى <i>Muhammad ibn as Sary</i> . In Jamad al Akhera, 205, Muhammad ibn as Sary was appointed by Māmūn to be Governor of Egypt after the death of his father, who had held that post for the second time for nearly four years (Pl. II. No. 24).
205	E. T. R.	T. 1769.	الله <i>To God</i> .
206	E. T. R.	T. 1781.	Beneath the inscription on the area of the obverse, عبید الله بن السرى <i>'Obeid allah ibn as Sary</i> . Above that on the area of the reverse, الخليفة <i>Al Khalfah</i> . Below it, المامون <i>Al Māmūn</i> . In my specimen the place of mintage is not given; in other respects it answers to the description given by T. No. 1781. On the death of Muhammad ibn as Sary in 206, his brother, 'Obeid allah ibn as Sary, was appointed to succeed him in the government of Miṣr.

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
207	Fraehn.	T. 1788.	In all respects like the preceding dinâr excepting the date.
207	E. T. R.	Inedited.	<p>This dinâr is the first specimen of a new type of coin. Firstly, the date appears on the obverse instead of on the reverse as heretofore; and secondly, a new quotation from the Korân is introduced as a marginal legend; thus,</p> <p>Obverse, area—First symbol, a linear circle separates the area from the inner legend.</p> <p>Inner legend, بسم الله ضرب هذا الدين سنة سبع ومايتين.</p> <p>Marginal legend, لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد يومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله.</p> <p>A broader linear circle surrounds this, and forms a sort of rim.</p> <p>Reverse, area in three lines—محمد رسول الله, which inscription is separated by a double linear circle from the marginal legend, the second general symbol as far as على الدين كله.</p> <p>There is no name on this dinâr, so I presume it to have been struck in Baghdâd, as several contemporary dirhams are extant struck at that and other places in the Mashrek bearing this legend—لله الامر الخ.</p> <p>See Tiesenhause, Nos. 1789, 1790 (Pl. III. No. 25).</p>

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
208	**	Inedited.	Obverse—عميد الله بن السرى 'Obeid <i>allah ibn as Sary</i> . Reverse, above الخليفة <i>Al Khalfah</i> , below المامون <i>Al Mâmân</i> .
209	E. T. R.	T. 1798.	Same as the preceding dinâr of 208.
209	E. T. R.	Inedited.	This dinâr corresponds exactly with Tiesenhausen's No. 1798, excepting that it does not bear the name of the place of mintage, which of course must be "Miṣr."
210	E. T. R.	Inedited.	Date on the obverse and marginal legend لله الامر من الخ as on my dinâr of 207. Reverse لله <i>To God</i> , above the inscription in the area. On the obverse there is no line of separation between the area and the legends. On the reverse there is one circle. The second symbol is complete as far as ولو كره المشركون.
215	E. T. R.	Inedited.	Like the preceding dinâr. The place of mintage is thus given, بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بمدينه السلام سنه خمس عشرة ومايتين In the name of God this dinâr was struck in Medinet es Salâm the year 215 (Pl. III. No. 26).

After the date of this dinâr there is no difficulty in regard to the places of mintage, as they are almost invariably mentioned on the coins, together with the date. I will therefore conclude this notice with a list of some still unpublished dinârs in the two collections.

On the following dinârs the date appears on the obverse,

and the marginal legend, لله الامر من قبل الخ, is also on the obverse, like the *dinârs* above described, 210 and 215.

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
219	C. S. G.	Inedited.	بمصر In <i>Miṣr</i> .
220	C. S. G.	Inedited.	بمصر In <i>Miṣr</i> .
222	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بمدينة السلام In <i>Medinet es Salam</i> (Pl. III. No. 27).
225	C. S. G.	Inedited.	بدمشق In <i>Dimashk</i> . On the reverse, above the inscription in the area, لله To God, and below it, المعتصم بالله ' <i>Al M'utaseṃ billah</i> (Pl. III. No. 28).
226	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بمرو In <i>Morâ</i> , like the preceding of 225.
232	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بمصر In <i>Miṣr</i> . Reverse لله الواثق بالله To God, <i>Al Wathik billah</i> .
232	C. S. G.	Inedited.	بصنعا In <i>Sanâd</i> . Obverse, جعفر Ja'afar. Reverse, لله To God, الواثق بالله <i>Al Wathik billah</i> . This Ja'afar must be the son of <i>Al Wathik billah</i> , who succeeded his father under the name of <i>Al Mutawakkel 'al allah</i> . A neatly engraved die of the ordinary type (Pl. III. No. 29).
234	C. S. G.	Inedited.	بمرو In <i>Morâ</i> . Reverse, لله To God, المتوكل على الله <i>Al Mutawakkel 'al allah</i> .
236	C. S. G.	Inedited.	بسر من رى In <i>Sir man raa</i> . This is a half <i>dinâr</i> , judging from its size and weight. Obverse, أبو عبد الله <i>Abu'Abdallah</i> . Reverse, لله To God, المتوكل على الله <i>Al Mutawakkel 'al allah</i> (Pl. III. No. 30).
238	C. S. G.	Inedited.	بصنعا In <i>Sanâd</i> . Like that of the same mint dated 232, but without the name

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
			Ja'afar, and with the name of the Khalifah <i>Al Muta-wakkel 'al allah</i> على الله المتوكل.
240	C. S. G.	Inedited.	<i>بمصر</i> In <i>Miṣr</i> . Reverse, <i>لله</i> To God, <i>على الله المتوكل</i> <i>Al Mutawakkel 'al allah</i> .
242	**	Inedited.	<i>بمصر</i> In <i>Miṣr</i> . Obverse, <i>المعتز بالله</i> <i>Al Mutaz billah</i> . Reverse, <i>على الله المتوكل</i> <i>Al Mutawakkel 'al allah</i> .
246	**	Inedited.	<i>بمرو</i> . Like the preceding of 242.
249	**	Inedited.	<i>بمصر</i> In <i>Miṣr</i> . Obverse <i>العباس بن أمير المؤمنين</i> <i>Al 'Abbās</i> , son of the Commander of the Faithful. This is 'Abbās, son of Al Masta'n billah, who afterwards succeeded to the throne under the name of Al M'utamed 'al allah. Reverse <i>المستعين بالله</i> <i>Al Mast'atn billah</i> (Pl. III. No. 31).
250	E. T. R.	Inedited.	<i>بمصر</i> In <i>Miṣr</i> . Like the preceding of 249.
252	C. S. G.	Inedited.	<i>بمدينة السلام</i> In <i>Medinet es Salm</i> . Like the preceding.
253	C. S. G.	Inedited.	<i>بالشاش</i> In <i>Ash Shāsh</i> . Reverse, above, <i>لله</i> To God; below, <i>المعتز بالله أمير المؤمنين</i> <i>Al Mutaz billah</i> , Commander of the Faithful.
256	C. S. G.	Inedited.	<i>بصنعا</i> In <i>San'ad</i> . Reverse, above, <i>لله</i> To God; below, <i>المهتدى بالله</i> <i>Al Muhtadi billah</i> , <i>أمير المؤمنين</i> Commander of the Faithful.
257	C. S. G.	Inedited.	<i>بمدينة السلام</i> In <i>Medinet es Salm</i> . Obverse, <i>جعفر</i> <i>Ja'afar</i> . Reverse, - <i>لله</i>

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
258	**	Inedited.	الله المتمد على الله <i>To God—Al Mutamed 'al Allah.</i> This Ja'afar is the son of Al Muwaffak, afterwards called Al Mufawad il Allah.
258	C. S. G.	Inedited.	بمدينة السلام In <i>Medinet es Salâm.</i> Like the preceding dinâr of 257.
258	C. S. G.	Inedited.	بمصر In <i>Miṣr.</i> Like the preceding, but beneath the name on the reverse is a word which I cannot decipher, كزبر
259	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بمصر In <i>Miṣr.</i> Like the preceding, but in place of the word I could not decipher I find the letter ر or ن.
260	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بمصر In <i>Miṣr.</i> Like the preceding.
261	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بسرمن رأى In <i>Sir man rda.</i> With the same word on the reverse as on the preceding dinâr of 258 <i>Miṣr.</i>
263	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بمصر In <i>Miṣr.</i> Like the preceding.
263	C. S. G.	Inedited.	بمدينة السلام In <i>Medinet es Salâm.</i> Like the preceding.
268	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بسمرقند In <i>Samarḳand.</i> Obverse, beneath the first symbol, الله الموفق بالله <i>Al Muwaffak billah.</i> Reverse, above, لله <i>To God;</i> below, الله المعتمد على الله <i>Al Mutamed 'al Allah.</i>
270	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بالاهواز In <i>al Ahwâz.</i> Obverse, above the first symbol, بر probably <i>bir</i> (right), and below it, الله الموفق بالله <i>Al Muwaffak billah.</i> Reverse, above the inscription in the area, لله <i>To God;</i> below it, الله المعتمد على الله <i>Al Mutamed 'al Allah,</i> ذو الوزارتين <i>Zû 'l wasârâtein,</i> holder of two Viziriats, or head of two ad-

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
273	E. T. R.	Inedited.	ministrations, referring to Sâad, who was Vizir under Al Mütamed and also under Al Muwaffak (Pl. III. No. 32). A dinâr of small size without place of mintage. Obverse, <i>الموفق بالله</i> <i>Al Muwaffak billah</i> . Reverse, above, <i>لله</i> <i>To God</i> ; below, <i>المعتمد على الله</i> <i>Al Mutamad 'al allah</i> (Pl. III. No. 33).
274	E. T. R.	Inedited.	<i>بالرافقه</i> In <i>ar Râfika</i> . Obverse, below the first symbol, <i>المفوض الى الله</i> <i>Al Mufawad il allah</i> , and below the name a double scroll forming a cross. Reverse, above the inscription in the area, <i>لله</i> <i>To God</i> ; and below it, <i>المعتمد على الله</i> <i>Al Mutamed 'al allah</i> , <i>احمد بن الموفق بالله</i> <i>Ahmed son of al Muwaffak billah</i> , and the letter <i>ر</i> or <i>ن</i> . A remarkable dinâr, as it gives the names of the reigning Khalifah Al Mütamed, of his brother and coadjutor Al Muwaffak, and of his nephew Ahmed, who afterwards succeeded under the name of Al Mutaqid.
275	E. T. R.	Inedited.	This dinâr gives no place of mintage. The area is smaller than in preceding dinârs, thus giving more space for the double marginal legend. Obverse, area, beneath the first symbol, <i>جعفر</i> <i>Ja'afar</i> . Reverse, above the inscription in the area, <i>لله</i> <i>To God</i> ; below it, <i>المعتمد على الله</i> <i>Al Mutamed 'al allah</i> <i>سب</i> <i>Sh'uib</i> ? (Pl. III. No. 34.)

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
275	E. T. R.	Inedited.	<p data-bbox="424 235 844 487">بقرقسيا In <i>Karktsiah</i>. This is a very remarkable dinâr, and would perhaps be more correctly classified in the Okeilide dynasty. I leave it, however, in this list, because of its remarkable interest bearing on the history of the 'Abbassides.</p> <p data-bbox="424 495 844 649">Obverse, beneath the first symbol, المقوض الى الله <i>Al Mufawaḍ il allah</i>, beneath the name the word Muhammed in an ornamental form.</p> <p data-bbox="424 657 844 682">Reverse area,</p> <div data-bbox="497 682 766 1006" style="text-align: center;"> <p>لله</p> <p>محمد</p> <p>رسول</p> <p>الله</p> <p>المعتمد على الله</p> <p>احمد بن المقوض الى الله</p> <p>محمد بن صفوان</p> </div> <p data-bbox="424 1015 844 1153">"To God. Muhammad, the Apostle of God, Al M'utamed 'al allah Ahmed, son of Al Mufawaḍ il allah Muhammad, son of Safwân" (Pl. III. No. 35).</p> <p data-bbox="424 1169 844 1421">Ibn al Athîr says, in vol. vii. p. 276, that in the year 169 (six years before this dinâr was struck) Ibn Safwân al 'Aḳeili was in Karktsiâ, and that Lûlû, a freed slave and General in the army of Ahmed ibn Tûlûn, having revolted against his master, fled to Al</p>

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
			Muwaffak. On his way he stopped at Karkîsiâ, took it from Ibn Şafwân, and delivered it to Ahmed ibn Mâlik ibn Tawk. ¹ This dinâr, now under consideration, proves that Ibn Şafwân afterwards retook possession of this city, though I have not yet found an historical record of the fact.
281	E. T. R.	Inedited.	The place of mintage is not given on this dinâr, which is in every respect similar to the one dated 275 without mintage. It is remarkable in that the name Al M'utamed al Allah is still preserved, although, according to Ibn al Athîr and other authors, this Khalifâh died in the year 279. ²
281	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بهمدان In <i>Hamadân</i> . Obverse, area, beneath the first symbol, عمر بن عبد العزيز, 'Omar, son of 'Abd al 'Asiz. Reverse,

¹ وفيها [سنة ١٦٩] خالف لولو غلام احمد ابن طولون صاحب مصر على مولاه احمد ابن طولون وفي يده حمص وحلب وقنسرين وديار مصر من الجزيرة و سار الى بالس فنهبها وكاتب الموفق في المسير اليه واشترط شروطاً فاجابه ابو احمد اليها و كان بالرقه فسار الى الموفق فنزل قرقيسيا وبها ابن صفوان العقيلي فحاربه واخذها منه وسلمها الى احمد بن مالك بن طوق و سار الى الموفق فوصل اليه وهو يقاتل الخبيث العلوي -

² وفيها [سنة ٢٧٩] تو في المعتمد على الله ليلة الاثنين لاحد.

عشرة بقيت من رجب—Vide Ibn al Athîr, vol. vii. page 316.

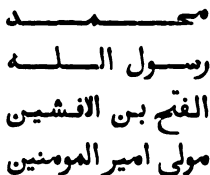
DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
			above the inscription on the area, لله <i>To God.</i> Beneath it, المعتضد بالله <i>Al Mutadid billah</i> (Pl. IV. No. 36). It seems from the account given by Ibn al Athir that it was in this year 281 that Al Mutaqid established his su- premacv in the eastern district, and appointed 'Omar ibn 'Abd el 'Aziz, whose name appears on this dinâr of Hamadân, as Governor of Nahâvend, Ispahân and al Kurj. ¹
281	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بالرافقه In <i>Ar Râfiqah.</i> Reverse, المعتضد بالله <i>Al Mutadid billah.</i>
286	C. S. G.	Inedited.	This is a beautiful little coin, probably a third of a dinâr, without place of mintage. Obverse, area, لله To God المعتضد <i>Al Mutadid</i> بالله <i>billah</i> Marginal-legend. The first symbol. Reverse, area, امير Commander المو of the منين Faithful. Marginal legend, بسم الله ضرب سنة

¹ وفيها [٢٨١] سار المعتضد الى ناحية الجبل و تصدالدينور وولى
ابنه علياً و هو المكتفى الرى و قزوين و زنجان و ابهر و قم و همدان
والدينور و جعل على كتابته احمد ابن الاصغ و قلد عمر بن عبد العزيز
— *Vide* Ibn al Athir, vol. vii. page 324.

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
			ست وثمانين ومايتين In the name of God, struck in the year 386 (Pl. IV. No. 37).
292	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بمصر In <i>Miṣr</i> . Above the inscription in the area of the reverse, لله <i>To God</i> ; below it, المكتفى بالله <i>Al Muktafi billah</i> . This is a highly interesting coin, seeing that it is struck by the Khalifah in <i>Miṣr</i> in the year of the overthrow of Sheybân ibn Ahmed ibn Ṭûlûn, who was the last representative of that grand but short-lived dynasty the Ṭûlûnides (Pl. IV. No. 38).
293	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بهمدان In <i>Hamadn</i> . Like the preceding of 292.
293	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بمصر In <i>Miṣr</i> . Like the preceding of 292. In addition, however, it has a large dot beneath the inscription of both areas.
293	C. S. G.	Inedited.	بدمشق In <i>Dimashk</i> . Like the preceding of 292.
294	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بمصر In <i>Miṣr</i> . Like the preceding of 292.
294	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بقم In <i>Kum</i> . Like the preceding of 292.
296	C. S. G.	Inedited.	بمصر In <i>Miṣr</i> . Reverse, above the inscription in the area, لله <i>To God</i> ; below it, المقتدر بالله <i>Al Muqtadir billah</i> .
300	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بالرافقه In <i>Ar Râfiqa</i> . Obverse, area, لا اله الا There is no deity الله وحده but God alone. لا شريك له He has no associate.

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
			<p>أبو العباس بن أبى المومنين Reverse, area. Abú l 'Abbás, son of the Commander of the [Faithful.</p> <p>• لله • • To God •</p> <p>محمد Muhammad رسول the Apostle</p> <p>• •</p> <p>الله of God</p> <p>المقتدر بالله Al Muḳtadir billah.</p>
300	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بحران In <i>Harrán</i> . Like the preceding, except that there are no dots on the reverse. The ا is here introduced in the مايه <i>hundred</i> , and also in the preceding <i>dinár</i> . Al Muḳtadir's son Abu 'l 'Abbas afterwards succeeded as Ar Raḳi billah.
301	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بفراء In <i>Farah</i> . Like the preceding, but without any dots.
301	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بدمشق In <i>Dimashk</i> . Like the preceding, and without any dots.
301	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بمصر In <i>Misr</i> . Like the preceding of the same date.
302	C. S. G.	Inedited.	بمصر In <i>Misr</i> . Like the preceding.
303	C. S. G.	Inedited.	بمدينة السلام In <i>Medinet es Salám</i> . Like the preceding.
306	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بمصر In <i>Misr</i> . Like the preceding.
306	C. S. G.	Inedited.	بصنعا In <i>San'ad</i> . المقتدر بالله <i>Al Muḳtadir billah</i> (Pl. IV. No. 39).
312	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بمصر In <i>Misr</i> . Like the preceding <i>dinárs</i> of the same mintage.
312	**	Inedited.	بالمحمديه In <i>Al Muhammadtyeh</i> . Like

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
			the preceding dinâr of Mişr, but smaller in size.
312	E. T. R.	Inedited.	يدمشق In <i>Dimashk</i> . Like the preceding dinâr of Mişr.
313	**	Inedited.	بمص In <i>Mişr</i> . Like the preceding dinâr.
314	C. S. G.	Inedited.	بصنعا In <i>San'ad</i> . Obverse area, first symbol, the ر of the word شريك, having an ornamental tail. Legend, بسم الله ضرب هذا الدين بصنعا سنة اربعة عشرة وثلث In the name of God this dinâr was struck in San'ââ the year 314. The word مية hundred is suppressed, probably for want of space. Outside this legend is a fillet, on which there is no legend. Reverse, area, above, لله To God; below, المقتدر بالله <i>Al Muktaḍir billah</i> . Legend, لله الامر من قبل الخ. A fillet without legend surrounds this, as on the obverse (Pl. IV. No. 40).
316	E. T. R.	Inedited.	باردبيل In <i>Ardbil</i> . Obverse, area, <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>•</p> <p>لا اله الا الله</p> <p>و حده لا شريك له</p> <p>ابو العباس بن</p> <p>امير المؤمنين</p> <p>•</p> </div> <p>There is no deity but God alone. He has no associate. Abu l 'Abbâs, son of the Commander of the Faithful.</p>

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
			Reverse, area, • لله  • To God. Muhammad the Apostle of God Al Fath, son of Al Afshin, Freedman of the Commander of the Faithful (Pl. IV. No. 41).
317	**	Inedited.	بمصر In <i>Misr</i> . Like the preceding dīnār of the same mint.
322	C. S. G.	Inedited.	بسوق الهواز In <i>Sûk al Ahwâz</i> . After the name of the place there is a con- fused sign like ار, which may be simply a repetition of the last two letters of <i>Sûk al Ahwâz</i> from the die having shifted; or it may be an im- perfectly struck preposition في <i>in</i> , which is hardly probable, however, seeing that the use of the preposition before the date of the year had been in disuse ever since the early Omejade period. Reverse, above, لله <i>To God</i> ; below, الراضى بالله <i>Ar Râdy billah</i> .
325	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بسوق الهواز In <i>Sûk al Ahwâz</i> . Like the preceding.
325	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بمصر In <i>Misr</i> . Like the preceding; but beneath the area in the obverse is



DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
328	**	Inedited.	a letter ج with the diacritical point in it, probably the initial of the word جيد <i>good</i> .
328	**	Inedited.	بمصر In <i>Miṣr</i> . Like the preceding, but in place of the letter ج is a plain dot · and on the reverse at the bottom of the area is an imperfect ح .
329	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بمصر In <i>Miṣr</i> . Like the preceding as to the inscription, and the dot below the inscription in the area of the obverse.
329	E. T. R.	Inedited.	بمصر In <i>Miṣr</i> . Reverse, above the usual inscription in the area, لله <i>To God</i> ; and below, المتقى بالله <i>Al Muttaki billah</i> . These two dinârs, struck in the same year, representing the last of one Khalîf and the first of his successor's reign.
335	C. S. G.	Inedited.	بصنا In <i>San'ad</i> . Obverse, area, first symbol, the ر and the word شريك having an ornamental tail. Inner circular legend, بسم الله ضرب هذا الدين بصنعا سنة خمس وثلثين وثلث In the name of God this dinâr was struck in Ṣan'aâ the year 335; the ميه omitted. On the marginal fillet, ضرب بصنعا Struck in Ṣan'aâ. Reverse, الله To God. محمد Muhammad رسول الله the Apostle of God. المطيع لله Al Mutt'a lillah.

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
			<p>Below this name a star. Inner circular legend, لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد الخ. On the marginal fillet, مما امر به الامام. By order of the Imâm ; or, perhaps it may be read الامير <i>the Emir</i>. This and the following dinâr are of a new and hitherto unpublished type. The lettering is very inferior to that of all preceding dinârs (Pl. IV. No. 42).</p>
336	C. S. G.	Inedited.	<p>بصنعا In <i>San'ad</i>. With the name of الله المستكفي بالله <i>Al Mustakfi billah</i> (Pl. IV. No. 43).</p>
338	C. S. G.	Inedited.	<p>بصنعا In <i>San'ad</i>. With the name of الله المستكفي بالله <i>Al Mustakfi billah</i>.</p>
343	C. S. G.	Inedited.	<p>بصنعا In <i>San'ad</i>. With the name of الله المطيع لله <i>Al Muft'a illah</i> (Pl. IV. No. 44).</p>
355	E. T. R.	Inedited.	<p>بفلسطين In <i>Filasfn</i>. This dinâr must have been struck in Palestine (probably in Ramleh) during a temporary success of the 'Abbasside Khalifah against the Ekhshidites, the last of whom, Abu'l Fawâris, was soon afterwards betrayed to the Fatemites.</p>
606	C. S. G.	Inedited.	<p>Obverse, area</p> <p>الامام لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له الناصر لدين الله امير المؤمنين</p> <p>The Imâm. There is no deity but</p>

DATE.	IN WHOSE CABINET.	BY WHOM EDITED.	DESCRIPTIVE REMARKS.
			<p>God alone. He has no associate. An Nâşer ledin illah, Commander of the Faithful.</p> <p>Marginal legend, لله الامر من قبل و من بعد الخ Inner circular legend, بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة السلام سنة ست وست مائه In the name of God this dinâr was struck in Medinet es Salâm the year 606.</p> <p>Reverse, area,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">الحمد لله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه</p> <p>Praise be to God! Muhammad the Apostle of God. May God be propitious to him!</p> <p>Marginal legend, second general symbol.</p>
608	**	Inedited.	Like the preceding.
614	**	Inedited.	Like the preceding.
622	E. T. R.	Inedited.	Like the preceding, but with the name of الظاهر بامر الله <i>Az Zâher biâmr illah</i> , who was the 35th 'Abbasside Khalifah, who reigned only for a few months. (Pl. IV. No. 45).

I have no doubt that this list will be of some service to the Oriental Numismatist who will undertake to contribute to the new edition of Marsden the article on the coins of the Khalifahs of Bani 'Abbâs, and it is with this hope that I hasten to submit it to you for publication.

Furthermore, I subjoin a list of the mints which are proved to have existed under the Khalifahs of Bani Umayya or Bani 'Abbâs, and a sketch-map, on which most of their names will be found. This will give an idea of the vastness of the Muhammadan Empire at that early period.

Arabic Names.	No.		No. in T.'s List.	No. in Soret's List.	Extracts from <i>Marasid el 'Ittila'a</i> .
ابرشهر	1	Abrashahr	1	1	Said to be the place also called Nisapûr.
احسيكث	2	Akhsîketh	2	16	A city in Ma wara n Nahr, the capital of Farghanah, on the banks of the river of Ash Shâsh.
اذربيجان	3	Azrabeijân	3	49	A province bounded on the east by Barda'ah, and on the west by Arzanjân, and on the north by the country of the Deilam and Aṭ Ṭarm. Its chief towns are Tabriz, formerly called Al Marâghah, Khoey, Salmâs, Urmîyah, and Ardbîl.
آران	4	Arrân	4		An extensive province separated from Azrabeijân by the river Ar Rass. Amongst its chief towns are Kanzah or Janzah, Barza'ah, and Shamkûr.
آرجان	5	Arrajân	5		Vulgarly called Arraghân. A town in Fars, one day's journey from the sea.
اردبيل	6	Ardbîl		23	One of the chief towns of Azrabeijân.
اردشير خرد	7	Ardeshîr Khurra	6	25	One of the finest towns in Fars.
الاردن	8	Al Ardun	7	24	A district in Syria, including the Ghôr Tabariyeh, Şûr and 'Akkah.

Arabic Names.	No.		No. in T.'s List.	No. in Soret's List.	Extracts from Marasid el 'Ittilâ'a.
أرمينية	9	Armlniyah	8	31	A large province in the north. The smaller is Tefis, the larger Khilât.
أرمية	10	Urmiyah	9	30	A town in Azrabeiĵân.
اصبهان	11	Işpahân	10	46	The name of a province, and also of its capital, which was first called Jey.
اصطخر	12	Iştakhr	11	45	The largest town of Fars.
إفريقية	13	Ifrikīyeh	12	52	A vast kingdom south of the island of Sicily; the westernmost part being south of the island of Al Andalus.
آمد	14	Amad	13	64	[Diar Bekr, <i>Soret.</i>]
مدينة امل	15	Medinet Amol		65	[Tabaristân, <i>Soret.</i>]
اندرابه	16	Anderâbah	14	69	A village 2 parasangs from Marw.
الاندلس	17	Al Andalus	15	71	A large and important island, on the south of which is the strait between the ocean and the sea of Rûm, the width of which is about 12 miles.
انطاكية	18	Anţâkieh	16	73	The capital of Ath Thaghûr ash Shamtyeh.
الاهواز	19	Al Ahwâz	17	77	First called Al Aĥwâz, but softened by the Persians to its present pronunciation, as they cannot pronounce the letter ح. Said to be the same as Khuzistân.
ايليا	20	Æliâ	18	87	A name of Jerusalem.
الباب	21	Al Bâb	19	89	Distant from Manbaj about 2 miles, and from Halab about 10 miles.

Arabic Names.	No.		No. in T.'s List.	No. in Soret's List.	Extracts from Marasid el 'Ittila'a.
بخارا	22	Bukhârâ	20	102	The finest city of Mawarâ n Nahr. It is 7 days from Samarqand.
بدعه	23	Beda'ah	21	104	
بدليس	24	Badlis	22	105 (bis)	A town in Arminyah, Khlât.
بذغيس	25	Bazghis	23	106	[Circoscription d'Herat, Soret.]
برذعه	26	Barza'ah	24	107	A town in Azrabejân. Said to be Arrân.
البصرة	27	Al Başrah	25	116	In al 'Irâk.
بعلبك	28	Ba'albak	26	118	A city 3 days' journey from Dimashq.
مدينة بلخ	29	Balkh (Medinet)	27	120	A celebrated city in Khorasân.
بلخ البيضاء	30	Balkh al Beiqâ	28	121	
بلد	31	Balad	29	122	An ancient city above Mawşil.
البنجهير	32	Al Banjehir	30	130	A town near Balkh; it has a silver mine.
بهقباذ السفلى	33	Bihkubâz al Asfal			One of 3 towns on the Euphrates called respectively Bihkubâz al a'ala, Bihkubâz al Awsat, and Bihkubâz al Asfal.
بيت جبرين	34	Beit Jebrin	31		A town between Jerusalem and Ghazzah.
تستر من الهواز	35	Tuster min al Ahwâz	32	151	
تفليس	36	Teflis	33	154	The capital of Jurzân.
التيمة	37	At Teimrah	34	158	One of two villages in Işpahan, called respectively . . . al Kubra and . . . aş Şughra.
جرجان	38	Jurjân	35	166	A celebrated city between Tabaristân and Khorasân.

Arabic Names.	No.		No. in T.'s List.	No. in Soret's List.	Extracts from Marasid el 'Ittila'a.
الجزيرة	39	Al Jezirah	36	168	
جندی سابور	40	Jundey Sâ-pûr	37	177	In Khuzistân, also called Jundeishahpûr.
جى	41	Jey	38	181	The city of Ispahân.
حجر	42	Hajar	39	183	The city of Al Yamâmeh. [Capital of Yemen, Soret.]
حران	43	Harrân	40	184	An ancient city, one day's journey from Raha.
الحسن الخشن	44	Al Husn or al Khushn			
حلب	45	Halab	41	190	A celebrated city in Northern Syria.
حمص	46	Humş	42	193	A celebrated city between Dimashk and Halab.
خونا	47	Khûnâ	43	211	A small town in Azra-beijân.
دبيل	48	Debîl	44	219	In Armintyeh.
درابجرد	49	Darâbjard	45	219	Capital of Nisapûr, in the desert.
دستوا	50	Destawâ	46	222	A town in Fars, said to be Al Ahwâz.
دمشق	51	Dimashk	47	225	The capital of Syria.
رأس العين	52	Râs al 'Ain	48	235	The name of a town between Harrân and Nasibein. Formerly called Ras ain al Khapûr, but now abbreviated into Râs al 'Ain. The river flows into the Euphrates at Karkistâ above Ar Raḥbah.
الرافقه	53	Ar Râfikah	49	237	A town near Ar Raḥkah.
رام هرمز	54	Râmhormuz	50	238	In Khuzistân.
الرحبه	55	Ar Raḥbah	51	240	There are several places of this name.
الرقه	56	Ar Raḥkah	52	243	When Ar Raḥkah was

Arabic Names.	No.		No. in T.'s List.	No. in Soret's List.	Extracts from Marasid el 'Ittila'a.
					ruined, Ar Râfiqah became the capital in its stead.
الرملة	57	Ar Ramleh	53	246	Formerly the capital of Filastîn, eighteen miles from Jerusalem.
الرها	58	Ar Rahâ	54	248	A city in AlJezîrah above Harrân.
الرى	59	Ar Rey	55	250	The chief town of Jebal, 'Irâk Ajamy.
زرنج	60	Zerenj	56	252	The capital of Sejistân.
سابور	61	Sâpûr	57	259	A town 25 parasangs from Shirâz.
سجستان	62	Sejistân	58	268	A province whose capital is Zerenj.
سرخس	63	Sarakhs	59	273 (bis)	An ancient city of Khorasân, between Nisapûr and Marw.
سرق	64	Surrak	60	274	One of the villages of Al Ahwâz.
سرمن رای	65	Sir man raa	61	277	Founded by al Musta'a-sem, between Baghdâd and Takrît.
سرمین	66	Sirmin	62	278	A celebrated village near Halab.
سروان	67	Sirwân	63	279	A small town in Sejistân.
سلمیه	68	Salamiyeh	64		A village in the desert, 2 days' journey from Hamah.
سمرقند	69	Samarkand	65	288	A celebrated city said to have been built by Alexander the Great. The capital of Sagh. South of the valley of Sagh.
السوس	70	As Sûs	66	297	A town in Khuzistân.
سوق الاهواز	71	Sûk al Ahwâz	67	298	[Khuzistân, Soret.]
سوق مره	72	Sûk Murrah	68	299	[Khuzistân, Soret.]

Arabic Names.	No.		No. in T.'s List.	No. in Soret's List.	Extracts from Marasid el 'Ittila'a.
سيراف	73	Seirâf	69	300	[Farsistân, Soret.]
الشاش	74	Ash Shâsh	70	305	A city near Ar Rey.
شيراز	75	Shîrâz	71	319	The capital of Fars.
صنعا	76	San'aâ	72	324	The capital of Yemen.
صور	77	Ŝûr	73	325	A celebrated ancient city on the coast of Syria, projecting into the sea.
طبرستان	78	Ṭabaristân	74	329	Also called Mazanderan.
طبرية	79	Ṭabartiyah	75	330	One of the cities of the Jordan, built on the border of a lake of the same name, 3 days from Dimashq.
طنجة	80	Ṭanjah	76	337	On the shore of the sea of Al Maghreb, one day's journey from Cepta (Ceuta).
العال	81	Al'aâl	77		
العباسية	82	Al 'Abbâst-yah	78	340	Near al Kufah.
العراق	83	Al 'Irâk	79	342	An extensive province between al Mawşil and 'Abbadân.
عسفان	84	Usfân	80	345 (bis)	Near Mekkah.
عسكر مكرم	85	'Askar Mu-kram	81	344	An important town in Khuzistân.
عكة	86	'Akkah	82	347	A fortified town on the coast of Syria.
عمان	87	'Ammân	83	350	
غزة	88	Ghazzah	84		A town on the confines of Syria, towards Mişr. Two parasangs from 'Askalân.
فارس	89	Fârs	85	355	An extensive province, bounded by Al 'Irâk at Arrajân; Kermân at Seirajân; the Indian

Arabic Names.	No.		No. in T.'s List.	No. in Soret's List.	Extracts from Marasid el 'Ittila'a.
					Ocean at Seirâf; and Sind at Mikrân. Its chieftowns are Ištakhr, Ardešhîr Khurra, Dar-âbjard, and Sâpûr.
الفرات	90	Al Furât	86		Name given to many villages irrigated by the river Euphrates.
فره	91	Farah		365	A city of Sejistân.
فسا	92	Fasâ	87	370	A beautiful city in Fars, 4 days' journey from Shîrâz, and 8 parasangs from Kazarîn.
القسطاط	93	Al Fustât	88	371	Near al Kahirah.
فِلَسْطِين	94	Filâstîn	89	373	[Palestine.] The southern district of Syria, nearest to Mişr. Its capital is Jerusalem.
فيل	95	Fil	90	376	An ancient city in Khawârizm; first called Fil, afterwards Manşurah, and now called Karkanj.
القدسِيَه	96	Al Kudstyah	91		
قصر السلام	97	Kaşr es Salâm	92	392	Built by Harûn ar Rashîd near ar Raqqâ.
قَم	98	Kum	93	395	
قنسرین	99	Kinnisrîn	94	397	A city one day's journey from Halab.
قرقيسيا	100	Karqîsiah			A city at the mouth of the river Khapûr. It is partly on the Euphrates, and partly on the Khapûr.
قومس	101	Kûmis	95	400	A district in Tabaristân. Its capital is Damghân, between Ar Rey and Nisapûr.
كرمان	102	Kermân	96	419	A district between Fars, Makrân, Sejistân and

Arabic Names.	No.		No. in T.'s List.	No. in Soret's List.	Extracts from Marasid el 'Ittilâ'a.
					Khorasân, celebrated for its tin mines.
كنكوار	103	Kankawâr	97		
الكوفه	104	Al Kûfah	91	440	The celebrated city in Al 'Irâq.
لد	105	Ludd	99	448	A city in Filastîn, near Jerusalem.
ماردين	106	Mâridîn	100	454	A fortified city in Al Jezirah, looking towards Dâra and Naṣṣ-bein.
ماء البصرة	107	Mâh al Baṣ-rah	101	458	A name applied to Naha-vend (as well as to Hamazân and Kûm), because they were conquered by the people of Al Baṣrah.
ماء الكوفه	108	Mâh al Kû-fah	102	459	Ad Denawâr, so called because conquered by the people of Al Kûfah.
ماهى	109	Mâhy	103	460	One of two villages near Marw, together called Al Mahiân.
المبركه	110	Al Mubra-kah (for			
المباركه		Al Mubâri-kah)	104	461	A town of Khawârizm.
المتوكليه	111	Al Muta-wakkeli-yeh	105	463	Near Samarra.
المحمدية	112	Al Muham-madîyeh	106	465	In Ar Rey. [auparavant Rey, Soret.]
مدينة السلام	113	Medînet es Salâm	108	474	Old name of Baghdâd.
مدينة السليم	114	Medînet es Seteilim		107	
مدينة التسليم		(for Med. et Teslim)		472	
المدار	115	Al Mazâr	109	471	In Meisân, between Wasîṭ and Baṣrah.

Arabic Names.	No.		No. in T.'s List.	No. in Soret's List.	Extracts from Marasid el 'Ittila'a.
مرو	116	Marw	110	480	The capital of Khorasân.
مصر	117	Miṣr	111	487	The name of Egypt and of its capital.
معدن بجينس	118	Ma'adan Bajînes	112	493	Near Khlât in Armini-yah.
معدن الشاش	119	Ma'adan ash Shâsh	113	494	
معرفة مصرين	120	Ma'aratMiṣrein	114		Five parasangs from Ḥalab.
مناذر	121	Manâzir	115	499	In Khuzistân.
المنصورة	122	Al Manṣûrah	116	505	
الموصل	123	Al Mawṣil	117	511	One of the largest cities in the Muhammadan Empire. It is the gate of Al 'Irâk and the key of Khorasân. I have often heard it said that there are three celebrated cities, namely Nisapûr, because it is the gate of the East; Dimashk, because it is the gate of the West; and Al Mawṣil, because a person going to either of them must pass through it. It is 74 parasangs from Baghdâd.
المهديه	124	Al Mahdiyyah	118	501	[Eraqe Arabique, <i>Soret</i>]
ميسان	125	Meisân	119	514	A populous district between Wâsiṭ and Al Baṣrah.
نصيبين	126	Naṣibein	120	520	Also called Nasibûn. In Jezirah, on the caravan road between Al Mawṣil and Dimashk.
نهوند	127	Nahawand	121		
نهر تيرى	128	Nahr Tira	122	527	Near Al Ahwâz.

Arabic Names.	No.		No. in T.'s List.	No. in Soret's List.	Extracts from <i>Marasid el 'Ittila'a</i> .
نيسابور	129	Neisâpûr	123	528	Thirty parasangs from Marw.
واسط	130	Wâsiṭ	124	537	Half-way between Al Baṣrah and Al Kûfah.
الهاشميه	131	Al Hâshe-mîyah	125	529	A town near Al Kûfah.
هراة	132	Herât	126	530	One of the oldest towns of Khorasân.
هارون اباد	133	Hârûnabâd	127	531	
الهارونيه	134	Al Hâruni-yah	128	532	A small town near Mar-a'ash, in the Syrian pass of Mount al Lukkam, جبل اللكام, founded by Harûn ar Rashid.
همدان	135	Hamadân	129	533	A city with 120 villages.
اليمامه	136	Al Yamâ-meh	130	550	[Pour Hadjr Yemen, <i>Soret</i> .]

CORRECTIONS.

Page 281, on coin dated 236, *read* بصر من رأى *instead of* رى . . .

„ 296, No. 20 (Soret 89), *delete* the statement 'Distant from,' etc., and *read*, 'A town on the banks of the Caspian Sea, also called Darband.'

„ 297, No. 33, *read* بهقباز *instead of* بهقباز.

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ART. XIV.—*The Northern Frontagers of China.* Part II.—
The Origines of the Manchus. By H. H. HOWORTH.

FOR the name Manchu several etymologies have been proposed. Klaproth says that the Chinese characters representing it mean a well-peopled island, and that it is probably of Chinese origin; the Tatar hordes in early times liking to adopt Chinese soubriquets. The Thibetans transcribe the name Mandjhau, and some have thought it to be of Thibetan origin. Remusat has devoted several pages of his *magnum opus* to a discussion of the subject, but without arriving at any satisfactory conclusion.¹ Palladius tells us that the name Mantszuin, *i.e.* Chinese soldiers, was applied to a large number of Chinese emigrants settled by Khubilai Khan on the borders of Corea to resist a threatened attack from Japan. It may be that it was from these emigrants that the name was first derived.² It may be, again, that the name is connected with the Corean deity Manchusri, who lived, says Palladius, according to the Corean Buddhists, in the Changpo Shan mountains, *i.e.* in the cradle-land of the Manchus, *vide infra*.³ This last appears to me to be the most reasonable etymology.

In regard to the pedigree of the race, all the authorities seem agreed in one thing, namely, in deriving them from the Juchi, *i.e.* the Tungusic tribes which gave a dynasty to China known as the Kin or Golden. The Mongol account in Ssanang Setzen calls the founder of the Manchu empire an offshoot of the family of ancient Manchu Altan Khans (*i.e.* the Kin Emperors).⁴ Altan in Mongol, and Kin in

¹ See *Recherches sur les Langues Tartares*, 14 et sequitur.

² See Palladius's Expedition through Manchuria, *Journal Geographical Society*, vol. xliii. p. 154.

³ Palladius, *op. cit.* p. 164.

⁴ Ssanang Setzen, p. 285.

Chinese, both mean Golden.¹ The Chinese annals translated by De Mailla make them descend from the Juchi of Nankoan, one of the three divisions into which they separate the Juchi; while the tradition of the Manchus themselves is that they were sprung from the Wild Juchi.² These accounts are amply confirmed by the linguistic evidence collected by my friend Mr. Wylie and others, and to which I shall refer at greater length in a future paper.

We are now in a position to examine the Manchu tradition about their origin. Like other similar traditions, this commences in the realm of fable. The cradle-land of the race is the great knot of mountains which forms the northern buttress of Corea, and which consists of two closely-connected ranges, the Changpo Shan or Great White Mountains, and the Jwuliui range. The Archimandrite Palladius says of the former: "The sacred importance of the White Mountains has been recognized in the Far East for ages. They are first heard of under the name of Bukhian Shan, a name not of Chinese origin, but reminding one of the Mongol Burkhan, as the Kentei Mountains in Mongolia were called in ancient times."³ Burkhan is in fact the Mongol for God's Mountain or the Sacred Mountain, and may be further compared with the Sacred Mountain of the Kalmuks, the Bogdo-ula.

Bukhian Shan is also the same name as the Bukuri of Klaproth, a mountain whose name, he says, he failed to find in this part of Manchuria, and referred, quite unnecessarily, to the district of the Amur. The Emperor Kien-lung, in his Eulogium on the city of Mukden (translated with notes by Klaproth), says: "Our dynasty of Tai Thsing had its origin in remote times in the Great White Mountains. There is Lake Tamun (? Great Lake), whose circumference is eighty *li*, whence flow the Yalu (the great river flowing into the Yellow Sea), the Khong tung (the Sungari), and the Aikhon (*i.e.* the Hurka)." This is apparently a mistake of the

¹ Schmidt's note, *ibid.* p. 421.

² Plath's *Mandschurey*, p. 228.

³ Expedition through Manchuria, *Journal Royal Geographical Society*, vol. xlii. p. 163.

Imperial geographer's, for we know no lake the source of these rivers.

The Tung-hua-loa, a MS. history of the Manchu dynasty, describes the cradle of the dynasty as the Mount Bukhuri (*i.e.* the Sacred Mountain), east of the Great White Mountain, at the foot of which is the lake Bukhuri (*i.e.* the Sacred Lake). This lake we may identify with great probability with the great Manchurian lake of Hinka, which does lie just to the east of the main range of the Great White Mountain. At all events, we may fix upon the mountains inclosing and forming the watershed to the river Hurka as the district whence the Manchu dynasty sprang. The story of the origin, as told in the Tung-hua-loa, may be compared with the Lamaist traditions about the origin of the Mongol Imperial family, etc. It runs thus: "According to an old tradition, there formerly lived near the Lake Bukhuri three supernatural virgins, the eldest called Tzu-gurun, the second Jing-gurun, and the third Foe-gurun. One day they were bathing in the lake, when a sacred magpie let fall on the robe of the youngest a red fruit which it had in its beak. The virgin ate it, and became pregnant. She gave birth to a son, who could speak from his birth, and whose stature and appearance were remarkable. The eldest sister was asked what name should be given to the child. 'Heaven has given him thee to re-establish peace among us; call him, therefore, Aishin-Giyoro. We give thee the surname Bukhuri Yongchon.' When his mother had entered the icy cave of the dead, the son got into a little boat, and followed the course of the river (*i.e.* of the Hurka). He at length landed, and sat among the reeds. The canton where he landed was occupied by three families, whose chiefs lived in discord with one another. There he was found by those who went to fetch water. They could not help admiring him, and went to tell their friends, who came and asked his name. 'I was born,' he said, 'of the celestial virgin Foe-gurun. Heaven meant me to terminate your quarrels.' They thereupon chose him as their chief, and he lived east of the Great White Mountain, in the town of Odoli, situated on the

plain Omokho. His kingdom bore the honorary name of Manchu."

The evidence of Aishin-Giyoro's existence was strong enough to convince the sceptical Abel Remusat; and if he was an historical personage, he probably lived in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, when the authority of the Mongol dynasty had reached a low ebb. In the Eulogium of Mukden, the Emperor Kien-lung, his descendant, tells us that his family name was Giyoro, and that his honorary title was Aishin, *i.e.* Golden, upon which title we have already enlarged. In regard to the three families, there can be little doubt that by them we are to understand the Ilan Hala (*i.e.* three families), who are clearly pointed out as the kernel of the Manchus. Ilan Hala, translated into Chinese, becomes San Sing, which, as is well known, is an important town at the outfall of the Hurka into the Sungari, where the Ilan Hala still have their seats. The three families are no doubt to be also identified with the three divisions of the Ussunu Jurtshid of the Mongol narrative (Ssanang Setzen, p. 285). Ussunu means those living on the water, and answers to the Su in the Su Mongol of Dupiano Carpini (Schmidt, note to Ssanang Setzen, p. 421).

The site of Odoli is fixed by the Chinese geographers on the banks of the La fuchen pira, 43° 35' N. lat., and 128° E. long., that is, on one of the feeders of the Hurka. Its position is marked in the map of Manchuria attached to Williamson's Travels in North China, and the town itself is described in Du Halde's narrative. These facts are conclusive that, in the opinion of the Manchus themselves, the valley of the Hurka is their mother-land. According to the Chinese accounts, the Manchus are to be identified with the Juchi of Nankoan; and although it is somewhat dangerous to deal in etymologies for those who are not skilled in a language, I would suggest the identification of the Nankoan of the Chinese accounts with Ninguta, the chief town on the Hurka. So that the Juchi of Nankoan mean simply the Juchi of Ninguta.

Contrasted with the Juchi of Nankoan, we have in the Chinese accounts the Juchi of Pekoan. These Juchi of

Pekoan, again, we may, from several considerations, identify with the four tribes, Khada or Hata, Ula or Wala, Yekhe or Yehe, and Khuifa or Kuifa, which are found in the Manchu accounts in constant feud with the Manchus proper, just as the Juchi of Pekoan are with those of Nankoan, in the Chinese narrative, and which were comprised in one kingdom known as that of Khulun.¹ This is doubtless the kingdom known to the Mongols as that of the Engke Tsaghan Jurtshid.² The situation of these tribes is not hard to discover.

The Ye-he tribe, according to Mr. Meadows, occupied the angle of Manchuria proper, which has Liau East on its south, and Eastern Mongolia on its west.³ There is still a ruined fortress here thus mentioned by Palladius: "Passing the fortress of Eh-heh Khotan, the former residence of a prince (beh leh) of a Manchu tribe called Eh heh (*i.e.* Ye-he with a different orthography), the road approaches the station of Eh-heh (I heh). The sides of the fortress measure fifty to seventy fathoms in length, and are two fathoms high; its shape is that of a parallelogram with rounded corners. This fortress was evidently not the work of Chinese hands."⁴ He marks it on his map about 43° 5' N. lat., and 124° 40' E. long., and it is doubtless the Ye-hoh-djan of Williamson's map.

The Khada or Hata lived in the neighbourhood of the fortress still marked in the maps, both of Williamson and Palladius, as Hata. It is within the ancient row of palisades. The latter author says, "The upper course of this stream (*i.e.* the Tsing ho, a tributary of the Liau ho) flows past the fortress of Hata, once inhabited by a people of that name" (*op. cit.* 159). This fortress was close to the Ming frontier fort of Ki-Yuan-hien.

The Ula or Wala are mentioned by the same author (*op. cit.* 158) in the following passage. "The station of Eh lu or Ilu, situated between two branches of the range (*i.e.* a range

¹ See Klaproth's note on the Eulogium on Mukden.

² Ssanang Setzen, p. 285.

³ Williamson, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 86.

⁴ Palladius, *op. cit.* p. 150.

north of Hama ling), is said to occupy the site of an ancient town, Eh-lu-hien, called after some ancient inhabitants of Manchuria the Eh lu (Yih-low)."

The Khuifa were no doubt the inhabitants of the town of Khuifa, on the river Khuifa, an important feeder of the Sungari. These four tribes, who are often mentioned in the chronicles, and who, I believe, were certainly the Juchi of Pekoan, occupied the south-western portion of Manchuria, and lay between the Manchus proper of Ninguta and the Chinese frontier. I believe them to descend very directly from the Juchi tribes who founded the Kin Empire in China. How far their authority extended northwards I do not know, but probably a good deal north of Girin.

Besides the Juchi of Nankoan and of Pekoan, a third kind of Juchi were known to the Chinese, namely, the Wild Juchi.

The Wild Juchi were chiefly so called because they were entirely independent of the Chinese, paying them no tribute, neither did they molest their frontiers, but traded peaceably with them at a mart situated near Kai-Yuen. The Chinese called their land Kien tcheou.¹ They were doubtless the Juchi of the Middle and Lower Sungari, who were known to Khabarof and his Cossacks as Ducheri.²

Having mapped out the distribution of the several sections of the Juchi, we may now resume the consideration of the origin of the Manchu nation. Of Aishin-Giyoro we are told little more than that he was surnamed Gorokingamafa, in Chinese Yuan tsu, that is, most remote ancestor. After some generations, the Manchus rebelled against his family, and exterminated it, with the exception of a young man named Fan cha kin, who fled to a desert canton. They pursued him, but a magpie settling on his head, they mistook him for the decayed branch of a tree.³ For this reason the magpie is highly revered among the Manchus, and a feast takes place every year at the spot where Fan cha kin

¹ Plath's Mandschurei, p. 228.

² See Ravenstein's Amur, p. 19.

³ The Tung-hua-loa, translated by Klaproth, *vide antié*.

was saved. All this is, of course, pure legend, and its chief value is in fixing the traditional homeland of the race. We now get on firmer ground. After some generations, we are told, lived Chau tsu, who is clearly an historical personage, and has a distinct place in the Imperial genealogy.

Before criticizing this portion of the story, I would remark on the difficulty, if not impossibility, of entirely reconciling the account of the Origines of the Manchu dynasty, as collected from native tradition, with that contained in De Mailla's narrative. The latter seems to me to be at fault in certain places, and makes one wish that the second volume of Delamarre's translation of the Ming Annals, dealing with this period, were published. The first mention of the Juchi or Nutché of Nankoan in De Mailla is in volume x. p. 342, where he says, that in the fourth year of Suenti the Nutché of Nankoan quarrelled with the Wild Nutché, and robbed them of a portion of their territory. Suenti reigned from 1426 to 1437. So that this happened in 1430; and it may be that it is with this increase of territory that the Manchus considered their nation to have been constituted, while its author was placed at the head of their list of Wangtis or Emperors. If so, the author of this increase was Chau tsu. His name in full was Chau tsu Yuen Wangti, *i.e.* the Emperor who was first of the race, and in Manchu Deribuhka mafa da Wangti, *i.e.* the founding forefather, the primitive exalted Emperor. According to the Manchu account, he subjected the country for 1500 *li*, *i.e.* 150 leagues, west of Odoli, and annexed Khulan Khada and Khetu Ala. Khulan Khada is doubtless the Hata above mentioned; while Khetu Ala, the Hih-too-a-la of Mr. Meadows and others, is "the present city of Hing king or Yenden, situated on a small eastern feeder of the Liau at about ninety miles to the east of Mukden."¹ It is with Mukden held sacred, from containing some of the Imperial sepulchres.

To him succeeded his son, the so-called fifth ancestor, who was called Sing-tsu-tché-wangti, or the Emperor who has in-

¹ Meadows, in Williamson's Journeys in North China, vol. ii. p. 84.

creased the race, in Manchu Yendem bukha mafa tonto wangti, the noble and august emperor. He had six sons, each of whom had a separate heritage. Dechiku lived at Guirtcha, Liuchen at Akha-kholo, Sotshangga at Kholo gashan, Su tsu at Khetu Ala, Bulanga at Nimala, and Busai at Dchanggia. These six brothers were called the six chiefs (Ningudai Beile). They brought their realm to great prosperity, and surrounded their territory with a palisade.¹ This inclosure is said to have given its name to the great town of Ninguta, on the Hurka. Of these brothers, the suzerain who ruled at the metropolis, Khetu Ala, was Su tsu; beside that town, he had five others, the nearest one being five, and the furthest twenty *li* from Khetu Ala.² He was the so-called fourth ancestor. His name in the register was Hing tsu-y-Wangti, *i.e.* the Emperor who has made the race to shine, in Manchu Mukdem bukhé mafa gosingga wangti, the distinguished ancestor, gracious and august emperor. I believe it is to his reign that we must assign the statement in De Mailla's narrative that the conquest of so much territory (*vide antè*) so inflated the Juchi of Nankoan, that in the reign of Ou tsong (1506-1522) they refused to pay tribute.

Hing tsu had five sons, Lidun baturu, Ergonen, Giarkan, Hian tsu, and Talkha Bianggu.³ Of these, the fourth became Emperor under the name of Hian tsu siuan-wang-ti, or the Emperor who has made the race known, in Manchu Ile tu lekhe mafa khafum bukha wangti, *i.e.* the illustrious ancestor, the august and extensive Emperor. He was, I believe, the Wangti of De Mailla's account. This says that in the reign of Chi tsong (1522 to 1567), Wangti, the chief of the Juchi of Nankoan, determined to again send tribute to the Chinese court. He who bore it returned home with a rich girdle of gold and many other costly presents for his master. This gained the Wangti great distinction among the Juchi, who began to fear him. Some time after, his uncle, Wang Tchong (Wang = a Chinese title), presuming on the power of his

¹ Plath's Mandschurey, pp. 231-32.

² Klapproth's Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie, vol. i. p. 445.

³ Klapproth, *op. cit.*

nephew, killed in a dispute Chéaukonké, one of the principal officers of Nanghia and Chinkia, the chiefs of Pekoan. To revenge his death, this horde intercepted the tribute which the Wangti was sending to the court, and also captured thirteen of his strongholds, leaving him only five.¹ This was, doubtless, a disastrous war, and its consequences are, doubtless, referred to in another passage in De Mailla, in which he is describing a conference held between the rival Juchi of Nankoan and Pekoan at the instance of the Chinese commander, Li tching léang, and where he says that formerly the land of the Juchi was divided into 999 districts, of which 700 belonged to those of Nankoan and their leader Wangti, and 299 to those of Pekoan; but that the latter, by right of conquest, had then obtained the greater part of these districts.²

Hian tsu had two wives. One was a daughter of Agan dondon, who bore the title of Suan Wang heou; the other was of the family of Khitara. By the former he had three sons, of whom the eldest became the Emperor Thai-tsu.³ When the latter was only ten years old, he lost his mother; but the father's second wife took charge of him. On turning to De Mailla's account, we find him stating that Wangti had four sons, Hurhan, Sanmatu, Kankulu, and Monkupolo, of whom the second died young, leaving therefore, three of these brothers. I may say that Hurhan seems to me to be the Chinese form of Gurkhan, *i.e.* Great Khan, a title in constant use among the Mongols, and very applicable to Thai-tsu, the great hero of the Manchus, who is not mentioned *eo nomine* by De Mailla; and I have no hesitation in identifying him as the same person. Kankulu is assuredly the same person mentioned in Mr. Wylie's authority, and also by Mr. Meadows, as Ne-kan-waelan. The names are in fact the same, the former being only slightly disguised by a Chinese orthography; and Mr. Wylie expressly says he was of the Imperial family. De Mailla goes on to say that the quarrel between the Juchi of Pekoan and those of Nankoan, already

¹ Klaproth, *op. cit.*² De Mailla, *op. cit.* p. 342.³ *ibid.* pp. 345-46.

mentioned, arose out of differences between Hurhan and his brother Kankulu, who lived so much at strife with one another that the latter took refuge with Chinkia (*i.e.* the chief of Pekoan), and invited him to make war on his own father. Mr. Wylie's narrative, in describing this, says, that he was threatened by the machinations of one of his own family named Ne-kan-waelan, who, with the connivance of the Ming soldiers, attacked the Manchu city of Koo lih. This city, he says, was governed by one Atae, who had married a granddaughter of Kingtsoo, *i.e.* a cousin of Thai-tsu. De Mailla calls him Hatai, and says that Hurhan, *i.e.* Thai-tsu, who was of a turbulent disposition, had killed Wang Siuen, the father of Hatai.¹ Hurhan and his father seem to have gone to the fortress to rescue their female relative, but Atae or Hatai refused to let her go. De Mailla says that Hatai, having collected a party, made Wangti and Hurhan prisoners, and sent the former to the Juchi of Pekoan. Mr. Wylie, on the other hand, says that the besiegers decoyed the garrison into a surrender, when all the inhabitants were massacred, including, he says, King tsu and Hée tsoo, the grandfather and father of Thai-tsu. I believe this is a mistake; it is hardly probable that, when Thai-tsu was already twenty-three, three generations of the family would be found attacking a town together. The account in De Mailla is much more reasonable, and the other seems accommodated to the fact that Tai tsang complains of the massacre of two of his relatives in his letter to the Ming Emperor, but he does not say his grandfather and great-grandfather. After surrendering Wangti, Hatai is said to have fled to the mountain Tieling of Ku chang. A town or fortress, Tieling, is marked on Mr. Williamson's map, about forty miles north of Mukden.

The Chinese not only disclaimed all part in the business, but, according to De Mailla, their commander in Liau tung, named Li tching léang, went to the assistance of Wangti, attacked the Juchi of Pekoan, of whom he killed 1030

¹ De Mailla, vol. x. p. 342.

men, and captured their copper seal. Wangti having died of grief in captivity, the Emperor sent some mandarins with orders to perform the funeral rites over him with especial solemnity.¹ Hatai was now in a difficulty. He would not join the Juchi of Pekoan, the enemies of his race, nor, after what had happened, did he like to return home; and he determined to form an independent power. With the assistance of his friends and several thousand braves, he set out to attack the Chinese town of Chin yang, *i.e.* Mukden. When news arrived that he had set out from the Yunho river, Li tching léang, the Chinese commander, went to meet him at several hundred *li* from the frontier, and having met him at Ku la tchai, he defeated and killed him (? killed). Another division of his army was no less unfortunate, and was scattered. In the two actions the Tatars lost 3222 men.²

The victory is said to have caused as much rejoicing at the Imperial Court as the subsequent ruin of the Juchi of Pekoan. Leagued with Pe-nu-tchi, chief of a horde of Wangti which had quitted the service of Nankoan and deserted, they marched at the head of 10,000 horsemen to attack Monku-polo and Hurhan, *i.e.* Thai-tsu, and his brother. Li tching léang (the Chinese governor of Liau tung) went to aid the brothers, fell on the Pekoan, who fought bravely, but, overwhelmed by numbers, they were beaten. Nangkia and Chin-kia, *i.e.* the chiefs of Pekoan, Harhan, son of the former, Niesunpo, son of the latter, and Pe-nu-tchi, remained on the battle-field. This crushing defeat, no doubt, made easy the path for Thai-tsu, when he shortly after conquered Manchuria.

We must now turn to the particular history of the latter. His proper name was Novurh-ho-chih. In the Imperial register he is entitled Tai tsu kao Wangti, *i.e.* the great ancestor, the very exalted Emperor, in Manchu Taidu dergi Wangtai, *i.e.* great ancestor, sublime, august Emperor. He is described by Manchu flatterers as born in 1559, as having the face of a dragon, the eye of a phœnix, with large ears and hands, and a loud bell-like voice.

¹ De Mailla, p. 343.

² *ibid.* vol. x. p. 348.

On the murder of his father, he was twenty-four years old. The tribes to whose government he succeeded are thus enumerated by Klapproth. The Aimans of the rivers Suksukhu, Sargu, Giamukha, Jan; those of the rivers Wangghia, Elmin, Jakumu, Sakda, Suan; those of the rivers Donggo, Yarkhu, Andarki; the tribes Wedzi, Warka, and Khurkha, all three on the eastern sea; lastly, the Fiu and Sakhalcha. These names are those of the rivers of Northern and Eastern Manchuria, and among them are included, no doubt, the Manguns, Goldi, Oronchi, etc., *i.e.* the Tungusic tribes of the Amur and its tributaries. The two last are, doubtless, the Giliaks at the mouth of the Amur and the Ainos of Saghalien.

These tribes were known as Fe Manchus, *i.e.* ancient Manchus, to distinguish them from the tribes subsequently conquered. I have already described how the Juchi of Nankoan had suffered severely in loss of territory, etc., in a war with the Juchi of Pekoan in the reign of Thai-tsu's father. The first occurrence that we meet with in the Chinese annals after the murder of Wangti refers to the restoration of a portion of this territory.

In 1588 Li tching léang, the Chinese governor, set out from Liau tung, and went as far as the frontier of Pekoan and Nankoan, where he invited the chiefs of the rival sections of the Juchi to meet him. After feasting them sumptuously, he argued that their common interest was to be on good terms with China, who, on account of their depredations, had suppressed the fairs where they sold their peltries and ginseng (or Turkey rhubarb). He pointed out how their strife tended to their mutual destruction, and counselled them to come to terms, and to re-arrange their boundaries. It was agreed that 500 of the original 999 districts should be assigned to the Juchi of Nankoan, and 499 to those of Pekoan, and the two parties left the meeting highly gratified.¹ To cement their understanding, they agreed to make mutual marriages. Pusé, son of Chinkia, gave his daughter in marriage to Tai chang, son of Hurhan, and Tai chang his

¹ De Mailla, vol. x. p. 346.



eldest sister to Nalinpolo, son of Nangkia. This account seems reasonable. Its only mistake is in the mention of Tai chang, or Tai-tsong, instead of Thai-tsu, who is ignored by the Chinese account, and who was the ruler of the Manchus for thirty years after this. Tai chang only succeeded his father, in fact, in 1622. The next event we have recorded is in 1593, in the account of the Mongol tribes, translated by Schmidt from the Chinese, and contained in the second volume of the sixth series of the Memoirs of the St. Petersburg Academy. It is said that in 1593 Ongghotai, the chief of the Khortsin Mongols, with his cousins, Manggus and Mingan, allied themselves with Bosai, the Taidshi, of the tribe Dsege or Yege (*i.e.* the Pusé above named), and with the tribes Khada, Ula, Khoipa (Kuifa), Khualtsa (Gualtcha), Jari, and others, and marched against Novurh-ho-chih, then called by his title of Taidsu Wangti. They had attacked, without success, the town of Gedshige, and had pitched their camp on the mountain Gure. The Khakan marched against them, and as he drew near to them he thus addressed his officers. "The enemy's army is very numerous, but we shall assuredly defeat it if we succeed in overthrowing one or two of their leaders (Taidshis)." In accordance with this dictum, the brave warrior Eitu put himself at the head of a hundred horsemen, whom he incited to the combat, and rushed at the foe. As soon as the warriors of the Dsege noticed this, they ceased attacking the town, and marched against him. In attempting to seize the horse of Minggan, it stumbled and fell, and he escaped on foot. Meanwhile the Manchu army drove the enemy to a hill fort of the Khada tribe, completely scattered them, and captured a large booty.¹ This was a very important victory, and no doubt raised the renown of the young victor very considerably. The Chinese seem to have assisted the confederated tribes, and Tai-tsong, in his memorable letter to the Chinese Court, written in 1627, makes this one of his grounds of complaint, dating it, however, two years earlier, in the 19th year of the Emperor

¹ *op. cit.* 423.

Wanli.¹ The same event is thus told in the Ts'ing wan ké lung, translated by Mr. Wylie. "Tae tsoo met with a formidable opposition to his progress in the Yé hih tribe, who were aided by the Ming. In 1593 these, together with the Hâtá Woolá and Hwuyfa tribes, the Kourh sin and Kwa urh ch'a Mongolians, and some hordes under vassalage to the Manchus and Kalmin-shanggugan tribes, joining three companies of the Ming troops, made an attack on Tae tsoo, who withstood them, at the Kod lih hill, and eventually put them to the rout, killing Poó chee-chih, prince of Yé hih, capturing Poó chen tée, prince of Woola, beheading 4000 men, and taking 3000 horses and 1000 coats of mail." This account is in complete agreement with that of Schmidt; and the Guré hill of the one is the Kod lih of the other.

This important victory no doubt enabled the Manchus to obtain the accession of territory admitted in the Chinese accounts followed by De Mailla, which I abstract. "Under the Emperor Chi-tsong (*i.e.* 1522-67), the Chinese built several forts on the eastern frontier of Liautung, that is to say, Koan tién, Ta-tién, Tchang tién, and Sin tién. These were built as a protection against the Tatars. In the 19th year of Wanli, *i.e.* in 1591 (but ? 1593), these people, always uneasy, obtained (? a euphemism for conquered) from China a certain breadth of country, as far as a mountain on whose summit were some stone boundaries, on which was engraved the cession then made."² To continue our story. In the complaining letter of Tai-tsong, he says that, in the 25th year of Wanli, *i.e.* in 1597, the Hatai again made war upon his people; and that, although they were hardly pressed, the Chinese abandoned them. Nevertheless the Tien, *i.e.* the Gods, gave them the victory. That the Chinese then took the part of the Hatai against the Manchus, and forced the latter to surrender the provinces they had taken, not to the Hatai, however, but to the Ye hé; and that the latter had conducted them within the Chinese frontier. He adds: "You, who give yourselves the name of Tchong kué, or Middle Kingdom, you ought to hold an even

¹ De Mailla, vol. x. p. 435.

² *ibid.* p. 406

balance. To surrender the Hatai prisoners to the Yehe is merely to perpetuate war by an injustice."¹ Here we see the effects of the cynical plan adopted by the Chinese in their intercourse with the neighbouring tribes, which consisted in setting one against another, and by creating mutual jealousies, preventing them from uniting. But Thai-tsu continued his victorious course notwithstanding; and we find him gradually subduing the various tribes of Manchuria. In one of Tai-tsong's letters, printed by De Mailla, we find it stated that "in the 28th year of Wanli—*i.e.* in 1600—his people were at war in the East, and that the Coreans, taking advantage of them, crossed their frontiers and carried off some soldiers, which their troops afterwards retook; and that afterwards Putschen tai, Peilé or chief of the Ula, entered at the head of his forces into Corea, and captured several towns. The Coreans, understanding that the invaders were related to his the writer's people, wrote to them to complain; upon which he complained to him, and they (the Ula) ceased their attack."²

The Chinese seem to have now begun to fear the rising power to the north of them, and to have adopted a more aggressive policy. The immediate cause of rupture may be gathered from the letters of remonstrance sent to the Chinese court by Tai-tsong and his father Thai-tsu. One of these thus mentions the event, "Notwithstanding the murder of our ancestors, we consented to fix the boundaries between us. Your deputies and ours killed a white horse and a black cow, swore before heaven and earth that the two nations would live in peace, and decreed death against those who should break the treaty." This is doubtless the treaty made when the cession of territory, already mentioned, was granted. Thai-tsu, in his letter of complaint, after mentioning the treaty, goes on to say, that certain people having broken the treaty, and been treated leniently, the Ming, misconstruing this leniency, and ignoring the terms of the treaty, crossed the borders to assist his enemies, the Yehih tribe.³ This

¹ De Mailla, vol. x. p. 435.

² *ibid.* p. 439.

³ Wylie, *op. cit.*

was in 1610.¹ The Ming people, being in the habit of crossing the border every year, between the Tsing and Ya luh rivers, for the purpose of plundering, in accordance with the treaty, some of them were capitally punished; but the Ming, turning their back on the treaty, charged him with putting them to death without authority, and seized upon Kan Kuli and Fakima, with ten attendants, whom they executed. They also caused the Yehih maiden, who was betrothed to him, to be sent to the Mongols; and afterwards their troops broke into the three departments of Chae ho, Shancha, and Foogan, which had been for generations cultivated by his frontier people, and drove them away before they could reap the fruit of their labours.² In his son's complaint, cited by De Mailla, they are said to have advanced more than 30 *li* into his territory, to ravage their ginseng or rhubarb roots, and their lands sown and unsown.³ They also again helped the Yehih tribe against him.

It will be seen from these accounts, crooked as they are, that the Manchus had an ample rôle of grievances against their neighbours the Chinese, when fortune gave them an opportunity of prosecuting their ambition. Nor is the catalogue of grievances to be gathered merely from the Manchu accounts; it is amply admitted in the Chinese annals themselves. Thus some of the preceding events are thus related by De Mailla. In the 30th year of Wanli, *i.e.* in 1602, there were also Tatars at Wang-wo-tang, Tchang-ki-tien, Linla, Popié, and Liei-pao, who cultivated the ground and lived in peace. They were classed as subjects of the empire. The Mandarins of Liautung having determined to visit their country for the first time, these republicans expressed their discontent; and to punish them, the Mandarins resolved to transfer them to the interior of the province, and to disperse them in different places. To effect this they sent orders for the troops to burn all their houses, break their furniture, and to make them understand that they must remove to their new quarters. It was then

¹ De Mailla, vol. x. p. 436.

² Wylie, *op. cit.*

³ *Op. cit.* 436.

winter, and the earth was covered with snow and ice; it was a terrible disaster to these people; the mountains resounded with their cries. They preferred to die of hunger, cold, and misery, rather than migrate to the interior of the province; many fled, but perished from the weather and want of food. It was only the old people, the infirm, and ill, to the number of 60,000, they succeeded in transporting. These were dispersed in the thirty-five departments of the province, where they nearly all died shortly after.

Three years later (De Mailla says the third year of Wanli instead of the thirty-third) an envoy, sent from the Imperial Court, went to the mountain where the boundary had been placed. He destroyed a great number of houses, and dispersed their inhabitants. Surely this conduct was good warrant for war, but it was supplemented by other as bad. Thus in 1608 it is confessed, in De Mailla's annals, that one Kao hoai, a eunuch, and a favourite of the Emperor's, who had been sent as tax-collector to Liautung, committed great injustice there, seized arbitrarily on the 'Tatars' best horses and on their merchandize, which he taxed according to his fancy. This person was recalled, but the mischief was not easily repaired. In the account translated by Schmidt, already cited, it is stated that this year the Kortshin Mongols and the tribe Ula were again defeated, and the hill fort of the Ula captured; and that, after this, the Mongols agreed to send presents and to enter into alliance with the Manchu chief. Thai-tsu was now master of Manchuria, and the border lands of Mongolia. He, apparently, also exercised some authority in Corea. The tribes of Manchuria whom he had successively annexed, and who form the division known as Iché Manchus, are thus enumerated:—The Joogia, Mardun, Ongolo, Antu Gualgia, Khunekhe, Jetshen, Tomokho, Jangia, Bardé, Jaifian, Dungia, Olkhon, Dung, Jucheri, the tribe Neyen in the long White Mountains, Fodokho, Sibe, Antchulaku Jang, Akiran, Khesikhe, Omokho soro, Fenekhe, Khuye, Namdulu, Suifun Ninguta, Nimatcha, Urgutchen; Muren, Jakuta, Ussui, Yaran, Sirin, Ekhe kuren, Gonnaka kuren, the tribes of the rivers Saghalien and Usuri, Noro,

Sirakhin, Gualtcha, Khingan, Khuntchun, Kuala, the nation Khulun, comprising the four tribes Khada, Ula, Yekhe, and Kuifa.

Thai-tsu proceeded to organize his dominions somewhat after the fashion of Jingis Khan. He divided his people into Niuruns or companies, each 300 men strong, and each commanded by an Edshen or chief. These were employed, not only in war, but also in the great hunting parties. Each Niurun was commanded by one Edshen, while one man in every ten saw that the rest were properly armed and equipped.¹

As I have said, he had abundant grievances against the Chinese, and he now began to be strong enough to cross weapons with the Chinese Empire. He began by making raids upon their frontiers in Liautung. Thus in 1609 we find the Viceroy of Liautung demanding reinforcements and money from the court, to resist the encroachments of the Tatars on the east and west of that province, *i.e.* of the Manchus and Mongols. Some time after he made a fresh application, as he was informed by Wang Siang, the commander on the frontier, that ten chiefs of the Tatars, on the east of Liautung, had assembled 50,000 troops, and threatened to attack Tiéling, Nuang-ning, and other towns in the neighbourhood; and that he could not defend the province, inasmuch as his soldiers were in arrear with their pay, and would not march.² In 1611 news arrived at the Court, from Liautung, that the Imperial troops had gained some advantage over the Tatars; but this is somewhat problematical. The news was not credited at the Court, and a commissioner was sent to make a report as to the real state of things.³ In 1616 Thai-tsu renounced his dependence on China, took the title of Emperor, and gave the years of his reign the honorary title of Thian Ming, in Manchu Abkai fulinga, *i.e.* favoured by the sky. In 1618 he surrounded Khuifa with a wall,⁴ and at length, irritated by the murderous raid the Chinese

¹ Klaproth, *Mémoires Relatifs à l'Asie*.

² De Mailla, vol. x. pp. 396, 397.

³ *ibid.* p. 397. ⁴ Klaproth, *op. cit.*

had made upon his frontier, as I have previously described, he marched upon Fuchun, where the fairs between the two nations were held. It was stormed, and Wang-min-in, who defended it, having been killed in the first attack, it surrendered. Li wei han, the Viceroy of Liautung, sent Chang-ching-in against the Manchus, and they were pushed back to their own country; but, supported by a body of 10,000 cavalry who came up, they completely defeated the Chinese general, who was killed, as well as Liang yu kué, his lieutenant. After this battle, when the Chinese were cut in pieces, the chief of the Tatars sent the viceroy a list of his grievances against the Empire.¹

This letter has been translated by Mr. Wylie in the work already cited, and runs as follows :

“1. While my grandfather and father (? a mistake of the translator for relatives, *vide* Plath’s *Mandschurey*, 238) had never injured a straw or an inch of ground on the Ming territory, the Ming wantonly raised a disturbance and killed my father and grandfather—which is the first object of resentment.

“2. Although the Ming raised a quarrel with me, yet being desirous of living on amicable terms, I entered into a treaty with them, which was graven on a stone tablet, to the effect that ‘the Manchus and Chinese should be mutually prohibited crossing the border, and those who crossed should be put to death.’ Now some have, under such circumstances, been treated leniently: the Ming, misconstruing this leniency, and ignoring the terms of the treaty, crossed the borders to assist our enemies the Yehih tribe—which is the second object of resentment.

“3. The Ming people being in the habit of crossing the borders many times every year, between the Tsing and Ya lüh rivers, for the purpose of plundering; in accordance with the treaty, some of these have been capitally punished; but the Ming, turning their back on the treaty, charged us with putting these to death on our own authority, seized Káng koole and Fang Keih núy, our envoys to Kwang

¹ De Mailla, vol. x. pp. 408, 409.

ming, with ten attendants, whom they put to death at the borders—which is the third object of resentment.

“4. When the Ming crossed the borders to assist the Yehih with their troops, they caused the maiden who was betrothed to me to be sent to the Mongols—which is the fourth object of resentment.

“5. The three departments of Cháe ho, Shanchá, and Foógan have been for generations cultivated by the people guarding our border; but the Ming troops have driven them away, without allowing them to reap the fruit of their labours—which is the fifth object of resentment.

“6. The extra frontier tribe Yehih, having sinned against heaven, the Ming put confidence in their statements, and sent an envoy with a despatch, reviling and insulting us—which is the sixth object of resentment.

“7. Formerly, on two occasions, the Hätá assisted the Yehih in invading our territory, when we returned the aggression. Heaven having delivered the Hätá people into our hands, the Ming, taking part with them, constrained us to send them back to their own country; after which the Hätá people were visited with several incursions by the Yehih. Now, in the subjugation of kingdoms, those who comply with the mind of heaven are victorious, and preserve their standing; while those who oppose the Celestial dictates are defeated, and perish. How can those who have died in battle be restored to life? Shall those who have been taken prisoners be sent back again? Heaven establishes princes of great kingdoms, that they may attain universal rule. Why should our kingdom be marked out as an object of hate? At first the several states of Hoo lún, *i.e.* Khulun, united their troops to invade us; therefore the Hoo lún were oppressed by heaven, which has looked with favour on us. Now the Ming, assisting the Yehih, who are cast off by heaven, has opposed the Celestial dictates, reversed the order of right and wrong, and acted false in their decisions—which is the seventh object of resentment.

“On account of these seven grievances, I am now going to subjugate the Ming.”

The Imperial Court treated this letter with its usual haughty disdain; upon which the Tatars entered Liautung, by way of Ya-ko-koan, and laid siege to Tsing ho. Instead of marching to meet them, its commander, Tsow-chu-hien, adopted a defensive policy. The Tatars proceeded to storm the town. From six in the morning until mid-day did the fight continue; the ditches were crowded with corpses, and the Tatars would have had to retire, but for traitors within the walls, at least so says the Chinese narrative followed by De Mailla. The commandant was killed, and with him 6400 soldiers, and 10,000 inhabitants, upon whom the Tatars vented their rage. They then proceeded to ravage the country from Sun-tcha-ho, as far as Ku-chan.¹ Le wei han, the viceroy of Liautung, had been recalled by the Imperial court and degraded; and another officer, named Yang kao, was put in his place. The latter proceeded to Ngai yang and Koan tien, inhabited by Tatars who had rebelled; there he put to death Tchín-ta-tao and Kao-hiuen, who had gone over to the enemy; and he was about to transport their inhabitants, when he was joined by a body of 10,000 Coreans.

After the capture of Tsing ho, and the ravage of Kuchan, the Tatars had returned home; but at the 7th moon they returned by way of Fu-chun; and occupied Ngan-pao, where they captured many prisoners.

At the beginning of 1619 the viceroy, Yang kao, at the head of over 100,000 men, divided into four bodies, attacked the Tatars by different routes, determined to exterminate them.

These four divisions were to rendezvous at U-tao-koan. Tu fong, who commanded one of them, wishing to have the sole glory of defeating the Tatars, hastened to cross the river Yun ho; but the enemy, who lay in ambush, attacked him before his whole force had crossed. This portion was cut to pieces; while the rest were spectators, on the other bank, of their friends' disaster; and he himself was killed. Another division, under Ma lin, was also vigor-

¹ De Mailla, vol. x. p. 410.

oualy attacked and defeated. Lieou-yen, a third commander, succeeded in capturing some ten or a dozen forts; but the Tatars, flushed with victory, advanced against him, disguised in the cuirasses of the vanquished Chinese soldiers of Tu fong; and, waving their standards, charged him suddenly and defeated him. Li-ju-pé, the commander of the fourth division, heard of these disasters, and deemed it prudent not to advance. In these combats the Chinese lost more than 310 general officers, 45,000 soldiers, a large number of horses, arms, and cuirasses, and the baggage of the three divisions; and the Imperial Court was naturally much troubled. The Tatars were as much elated. Issuing from Fu chun, they marched by way of Tie ling as far as Ngan pao; and captured Kai yuen by assault. While the Mongols, further west, laid siege to Tchín si pao, with 30,000 horsemen; the people of Fayang and Tie ling abandoned their houses to escape destruction. The latter town, and Sin yu tching, were speedily taken, as well as the forts of Kin taiche and Pe-yang-ku, where they found Tipurhan and Téliké, chiefs of Pekoan, who had been made prisoners by the Chinese. The new Viceroy had been replaced by another, but he too found it hard to make way with his discouraged troops, and he determined to concentrate his efforts upon the defence of the capital of the province.

In the 11th month of 1619, the Tatars, having captured Long tan keou, and being masters of the districts of Kai yuen, Tié ling, Yun hao, Lie kié, Kié tching, Fuchun, and the frontiers of Corea, determined to conquer that kingdom. The Coreans asked assistance from the Chinese and the Mongols.

The Manchus were apparently satisfied with their progress; for we are told that they spent the remainder of 1620 in visiting the places they had already conquered, as far as the mountain Hoa ling. They were divided into various bodies of cavalry of 10,000 each (*i.e.* the tumans of the Mongol military system), of which one approached Liau yang. Although Fan yang was abandoned, they did not occupy it. After their retreat the Chinese general, Ho chi hien, placed

a garrison there. Another body made a raid into the province of Tong chow pao, advanced as far as Tse kué tchu, and then retired.¹

The Chinese again changed their Viceroy in Liautung. The new officer was named Yuen ingtai; he was a cabinet soldier, and had not had any practical experience of war. He determined to fortify the various routes by which the Tatars made their incursions; but they were not thus to be controlled. Armed only with swords and bows and arrows, they bravely faced the Chinese musketeers, protecting themselves from the balls by making the front rank carry a series of wooden shields fastened to one another.² They now attacked Fan-yang. Its commander made a sortie, but was beaten; and we are told that the Chinese deserters in the Tatar ranks pursued him sharply, and introduced them into the town. Only those who did not resist were spared. They now proceeded to attack Liau yang, the capital of Liautung. Its fortifications had been repaired, and it was amply provisioned. An army was sent out to meet the Tatars, under five generals, but it was defeated. The Tatars now began the siege, and pressed it vigorously. In the Chinese annals the ready excuse for defeat is a cry of treason. Here we find it again assigned as the cause of the Tatar success, which was doubtless due entirely to their intrepidity. When the Manchus captured the town, they especially punished the soldiery; the Viceroy and many of his officers committed suicide. The civilians agreed to shave their heads. This was the token of submission exacted by the conquering Manchus. They shaved their heads, except a pigtail behind, and also plucked their beards, except a moustache; and when they had captured Liau yang, they issued a proclamation offering their lives to all who would shave their heads and dress in their fashion. Many Chinese submitted to this rule.³ The conquest of Liautung seems to have compassed the limits of Tatar ambition; and for several years we do not hear of their making any fresh attack.

¹ De Mailla, vol. x. p. 413.

² *ibid.* p. 417, note.

³ *ibid.* p. 419.



In 1620 Thai-tsu moved his residence or capital from Yenden to Sarkhu; and in 1622 he built a new capital two miles north of Liau yang, called Dergi king, or the Eastern Residence.¹ It is still found on some maps under the name of Tung King. "Its now much-dilapidated walls form merely the ring-fence to a farm, which the space within them constitutes; and the farm buildings belonging to it are the only houses there; for after only three years Thai-tsu made Shin yang, since called officially Shing king or Mukden, the chief city of the state."²

In 1624 the Chakhar Mongols, whose chief, as representing the elder line of the house of Jingsi, claimed supremacy in Mongolia, sent an army to reduce the Kortshins, a tribe bordering on Liautung. The threatened tribe appealed to Thai-tsu, who sent an army to their assistance, at whose approach the Chakhars retired.³ In 1625 Thai-tsu died, and succeeded by his son Thai tsong.

With the death of Thai-tsu I shall conclude my survey of the very crooked subject of the Origines of the Manchus. I hope that fresh material may yet be forthcoming for a more detailed and clear account of the subject; but, at present, the foregoing paper contains, I believe, a conspectus of all the available facts, and one which, I believe, has not previously been made. If you should accept it, I propose, in a future paper, to examine into the Origin of the Nuchi or Juchi, the ancestors of the Manchus.

¹ Klaproth, *Mémoires Relatifs à l'Asie*.

² Meadows, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 87.

³ *id.* 90.

ART. XV.—*Notes on the old Mongolian Capital of Shangtu.*

• By S. W. BUSHELL, B.Sc., M.D., Physician to H.B.M. Legation, Peking.

[Read on June 22, 1874.]

ON February 9th, 1874, I read a paper before the Royal Geographical Society entitled, "Notes of a Journey outside the Great Wall of China," made by the Hon. T. G. Grosvenor and myself in the autumn of 1872, including an account of a visit to the ruins of the city of Shangtu, the ancient northern capital of the Yuan Dynasty, described in such glowing terms by Marco Polo, who was there in the reign of its founder, the famous Kublai Khan. They are situated on the northern bank of the Lan-ho—the Shangtu River—about twenty-five miles to the north-west of Dolonnor, the populous city founded by the Emperor Kang-hi, as a trading mart between the Chinese and the Mongolian tribes. These ruins were identified by the existence of a marble memorial tablet, with an inscription of the reign of Kublai, in an ancient form of the Chinese character. A more detailed account of the history of the city so frequently referred to by mediæval travellers, derived from Chinese and other sources, has been drawn up; and a plan of the ruins, with a facsimile and translation of the inscription, added, in the hope that it may prove of some interest to the Members of your Society.

The city was founded in the year 1256. It is recorded in the "Geographical Statistics of the History of the Yuan Dynasty," that in the fifth year of the reign of Hien Tsung (A.D. 1255) the Emperor (Mangu Khan) ordered Shih tsu (his younger brother Kublai, who succeeded him five years after) to occupy this territory, and to form a military encampment there. The following year Shih tsu commanded Liu Ping-chung to select a favourable site for the city, to the east of the city of Huan-chou,¹ in the neighbourhood of the

¹ Huan-chou is now known by the Mongolian name Kourtu Balgasun.

Dragon Hill, north of the Lan River. The new city was named K'ai-p'ing-fu in the first year of the Chung t'ung epoch (the beginning of Kublai's reign, A.D. 1260). Four years later an Imperial Residence was built there, and there was added to the name the title of Shangtu—Upper Residence (as distinguished from Taitu—Principal Residence—the title of Cambalu, afterwards known as Peking). The Emperor resided there for a time every year. In 1268 Shangtu, previously the chief city of a 'lu,' or circuit, was made the seat of a governor-general. It is also recorded in the same History, ch. iv. fol. 3, that an imperial decree was issued in the third spring month of the cyclical year ping chen (A.D. 1256) appointing Seng-tzu-tsung to examine geomantically the land east of Huan-chou, north of the Lan River, in order to find a propitious site for the new city of K'ai-p'ing-fu and of the Imperial Palace to be erected there. It was the custom of the Emperor to spend the three summer months here, the journey from Cambalu occupying ten days. A minute account of the journey, with an itinerary, by a Chinese mandarin who travelled in the suite of one of the successors of Kublai, is preserved in one of the appendices of the recent "Official Statistics of Cheng-te-fu" (Jehol). Having passed through the Chü-yung-kuan Pass, the modern Kalgan post-road was followed as far as T'u-mu-yi, where the party branched off northwards, trending westwards till they arrived at the Palace of Chagannor, built near the Mongolian city of Hsing-ho (Kara Hotun). From this to the city of Shangtu was three days' journey. The return trip in the autumn followed the same route as far as Chagannor, where several days were spent making hawking excursions among the numerous lakes in the vicinity, all of which abound in water-fowl. From this in a southerly direction to Hsuan-hua-fu—the Sindachu of Marco Polo—a department famous for its vineyards and fruit orchards, and once more by the Chü-yung-kuan Pass to Cambalu.¹ The "order of the Great Khan when he journeyeth" is the heading of ch. 39 of the "Description of Friar Odoric of Pordenone:" "Now this

¹ See Yule's Cathay, and the Way Thither.

lord passeth the summer at a certain place which is called Sandu, situated towards the North, and the coolest habitation in the world. But in the winter season he abideth in Khan-balech. And when he will ride from one place to another, this is the order thereof. He hath four armies of horsemen, etc. The king travelleth in a two-wheeled chariot, all of lign aloes and gold, and covered over with great and fine skins, and set with many precious stones. It is drawn by four elephants, well broken in and harnessed, and also by four splendid horses richly caparisoned. Moreover, he carrieth with him in his chariot twelve gerfalcons; so that even as he sits therein upon his chair of state or other seat, if he sees any birds pass, he lets fly his hawks at them. And so also his women travel according to their degree, and his heir-apparent travels in similar state."

In the Statistics of Jehol, cited above, there is also preserved a description of the new city of K'ai-p'ing-fu by a Chinese traveller, Wang Yun, who went there in Kublai's suite soon after its foundation. He says: "This walled city was founded in the cyclical year 'ping chen' (A.D. 1256), to the south of the Dragon Hill, with the Lan River flowing by on the opposite side. Encircled on four sides by mountains, it stands on a well-chosen site in a luxuriant and beautiful country. To the north-east of the city, not more than 10 li distant, are large pine forests, the haunt of many kinds of birds, notably the species called chapiku (a celebrated kind of falcon). The mountains are covered with fine trees; fish and salt, and the hundred kinds of valuable natural products abound; and the flocks and herds flourish and multiply, so that the inhabitants have at hand an abundant provision of food. The river, though shallow, is broad; the water being frozen down to the river-bed in the cold season. The climate is cool in summer, extremely cold in winter, and altogether it is the coolest station in the north-eastern part of the empire. This, according to the geographical records, was part of the Wu-huan territory during the Eastern Han Dynasty. It is distant 45 li from the new city of Huan-chou."

A more interesting account is contained in chapter lxi. of Marco Polo, who must have resided here constantly when attached to the court of Kublai. "And when you have ridden three days from the city last mentioned (Chagannor), between north-east and north, you come to a city called Chandu, which was built by the Kaan now reigning. There is at this place a very fine marble palace, the rooms of which are all gilt and painted with figures of men and beasts and birds, and with a variety of trees and flowers, all executed with such exquisite art that you regard them with delight and astonishment. Round this palace a wall is built, inclosing a compass of 16 miles, and inside the park there are fountains, and rivers, and brooks, and beautiful meadows, with all kinds of wild animals (excluding such as are of ferocious nature), which the emperor has procured and placed there to supply food for his gerfalcons and hawks, which he keeps there in mew. Of these there are more than 200 gerfalcons alone, without reckoning the other hawks. The Kaan himself goes every week to see his birds sitting in mew, and sometimes he rides through the park with a leopard behind him on his horse's croup; and then if he sees any animal that takes his fancy, he slips his leopard at it, and the game when taken is made over to feed the hawks in mew. Moreover, at a spot in the park where there is a charming wood, he has another palace built of cane, gilt all over, and most elaborately finished inside. It is stayed on gilt and lackered columns, on each of which is a dragon all gilt, the tail of which is attached to the column, whilst the head supports the architrave, and the claws likewise are stretched out right and left to support the architrave. The roof, like the rest, is formed of canes covered with varnish. The construction of the palace is so devised that it can be taken down and put up again with great celerity; and it can all be taken to pieces and removed whithersoever the Emperor may command. When erected it is stayed against mishaps from the wind by more than 200 cords of silk. The Lord abides at this park of his, dwelling sometimes at the marble palace and sometimes in the cane palace, for three months in the

year, to wit June, July, and August; preferring this residence because it is by no means hot; in fact it is a very cool place. When the 28th day of the moon of August arrives, he takes his departure, and the cane palace is taken to pieces."

This account of Messer Marco must have inspired Coleridge when writing his dream of Kublai's Paradise:—

"In Xanadu did Kubla Khan
 A stately pleasure dome decree :
 Where Alph, the sacred river, ran,
 By caverns measureless to man,
 Down to a sunless sea.
 So twice five miles of fertile ground
 With walls and towers were girdled round :
 And there were gardens bright with sinuous rills,
 Where blossomed many an incense-bearing tree;
 And here were forests, ancient as the hills,
 Enfolding sunny spots of greenery."

In the wail which Sanang Setzen, the poetical historian of the Mongols, puts into the mouth of Toghon Temur, the last of the Chinghizide dynasty in China, when driven from his throne, the changes are rung on the lost glories of his capital Daitu and his summer palace Shangtu, as given in Col. Yule's translation from Schott's amended German rendering of the Mongol:—

"My vast and noble Capital, My Daitu, My splendidly adorned !
 And Thou, my cool and delicious Summer-seat, my Shangtu-Keibung !
 Ye also, yellow plains of Shangtu, Delight of my godlike Sires !
 I suffered myself to drop into dreams,—and lo ! my Empire was gone !
 Ah Thou my Daitu, built of the nine precious substances !
 Ah my Shangtu-Keibung, Union of all perfections !
 Ah my Fame ! Ah my Glory, as Khagan and Lord of the Earth !

When I used to awake betimes and look forth, how the
 breezes blew loaded with fragrance !
 And turn which way I would all was glorious perfection of
 beauty !

* * * * *

Alas for my illustrious name as the Sovereign of the World !
 Alas for my Daitu, seat of Sanctity, Glorious work of the
 Immortal Kublai !

All, all is rent from me ! ”

I have seen a Chinese version of this poem, perhaps the original, the productions of this unfortunate Emperor being still quoted as specimens of elegant versification. A despatch in verse imploring the mercy of his conqueror, the warlike founder of the Ming dynasty, is among the curious pieces included in the work cited above.

Yet another palace was erected by Kublai in this part of Mongolia, as described by Rashiduddin. “ On the eastern side of Kaiminfu a karsi or palace was built called Langtin, after a plan which Kublai had seen in a dream and retained in his memory.¹ The philosophers and architects being consulted gave their advice as to the building of this other palace. They all agreed that the best site for it was a certain lake encompassed with meadows near the city of Kaiminfu.” This has been confused with Shangtu, but was really quite distinct. The district through which the river flows eastwards from Shangtu is known by the Mongolians of the present day by the name of Langtirh, the terminal consonant of the old name being softened. The ruins of the city are marked in a Chinese map in my possession, Pai ch’eng tzu, *i.e.*, White City, this title implying that it was formerly an imperial residence : the ruins of Chagannor, for example, are also called Pai ch’eng tzu by the modern Chinese. The remains of the wall are seven or eight li in diameter, of stone, situate about forty li N.N.W. from Dolonnor. This confirms the statement of Sanang Setzen, that “ between the year of the rat (1264), when Kublai was fifty years old,

¹ D’Ohsson reads this passage : “ Kublai caused a palace to be built for him east of Kaipingfu ; but he abandoned it in consequence of a dream.”

and the year of the sheep (1271), in the space of eight years he built four great cities, viz. for summer residence *Shangtu Keibung* Kurdu Balghassun; for winter residence *Yeke Daitu* Khotan; and on the shady side of the Altai Arulun *Tsaghan* Balghassun, and Erchugin *Langting* Balghassun."

After the fall of the Yuan dynasty the city of Shangtu rapidly diminished in importance. It was taken by Chang Yu-ch'un in the second year of the new reign (A.D. 1369), but remained constantly attacked and harassed by the nomade Mongolian tribes, until it was finally abandoned by the Chinese in the fifth year of the reign of the fifth Ming Emperor (A.D. 1430), when the frontier was contracted to the line of the Great Wall, and the garrison removed to Tu-shih-k'ou. The site was visited by the Jesuit missionary Gerbillon towards the end of the seventeenth century; it is marked down in the map in D'Anville's Atlas under the modern name Chau nayman suma, but "no more notice is taken of this famous capital than of Kara Koram and the other ancient Mongolian cities." (Astley, iv. 376.) The Abbé Huc, during his celebrated journey from the Valley of Black Waters to the capital of Thibet, made some stay at Dolonnor, which he wrongly supposed to have been built on the site of the ancient city of Shangtu.¹

The position of Dolonnor has been quite lately determined to be 42° 4' N. lat., 116° 4' E. long., by Dr. H. Fritsche, Director of the Russian Observatory at Peking, who passed through it during his journey last summer (1873) through Eastern Mongolia from Peking to Nerchinsk, so that the latitude (42° 22' N.) of Chang-tou (Shang-tu) given in the Tables of the "Obs. Mathemat. etc." of Père Souciet cannot be far wrong.

Mr. Grosvenor and I visited the ruins of Shangtu on September 16th, 1872. They are situated 80 li (about 27 miles) north-west of Dolonnor, being now known by the Mongol name of Chao naiman sumé Hotun—"the city of a hundred and eight temples." The road passed first over a series of low sand-hills, then crossed a steep range of

¹ Souvenirs d'un Voyage dans la Tartarie, le Thibet et la Chine, chap. ii. p. 39.
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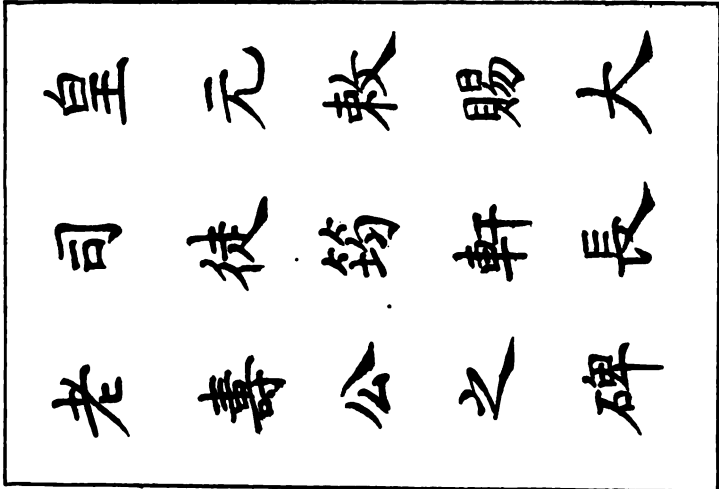
volcanic hills, descending into a wide rolling prairie, covered with long grass and fragrant shrubs, the haunt of numerous herds of antelope. This prairie gradually slopes down to the marshy bed of the river, here a considerable stream twenty feet wide: in former times flat-bottomed grain junks ascended from the sea to this point, bringing up supplies of rice from the southern provinces for the use of the city and court. Now the only building in the neighbourhood is a small Lama monastery, the abode of some six or seven wretched priests, while a few scattered tents belonging to the Chahar tribe stand on the river banks. The city has been deserted for centuries, and the site is overgrown with rank weeds and grass, the abode of foxes and owls, which prey on the numerous prairie-rats and partridges. The ground is but slightly raised above the bed of the river, which flows past the south-east at a distance of four or five li from the city wall, while it is overshadowed on the opposite side by the Hingan range of mountains, trending south-west, north-east, and rising into lofty peaks farther north. The annexed plan will serve to give an idea of the ruins. The walls of the city, built of earth, faced with unhewn stone or brick, are still standing, but are more or less dilapidated. They form a double enceinte, the outer a square of about 16 li with six gates, a central one north and south, and two in each of the side walls; while the inner wall is about 8 li in circuit, with only three gates—in the southern, eastern, and western faces. The south gate of the inner city is still intact, a perfect arch 20 feet high, 12 feet wide. There is no gate in the opposite northern wall, its place being occupied by a large square earthen fort, faced with brick; this is crowned with an obo or cairn, covered with the usual ragged streamers of silk and cotton tied to sticks, an emblem of the superstitious regard which the Mongols of the present day have for the place, as evidenced also by its modern legendary name—"the city of 108 temples." The ground in the interior of both inclosures is strewn with blocks of marble and other remains of large temples and palaces, the outlines of the foundations of some of which can yet be traced; while broken lions, dragons, and



ORIGINAL



TRANSCRIPT IN MODERN CHARACTER



TRANSLATION: The monument conferred by the Emperor of the August Yuan (dynasty) in memory of His High Eminence Yun Hien (styled) Chang-lao (canonized with the title of) Shou-Kun (Prince of Longevity)

the remains of other carved monuments, lie about in every direction, half-hidden by the thick and tangled overgrowth. Scarcely one stone remains above another, and a more complete state of ruin and desolation could hardly be imagined, but at the same time everything testifies to the former existence of a populous and flourishing city. Outside the city proper there is yet a third wall, marked in the plan by a dotted line, smaller than either of the others, but continuous with the south and east sides of the outer city wall. This is now a mere grassy mound inclosing an area, estimated at five square miles, to the north and west of the city. This must be the park described by Marco Polo. Inside the north-east angle of the outer city—the spot marked *b* in the plan—there lies a broken memorial tablet, amid many other relics, on a raised piece of ground, the site evidently of a large temple. The upper portion projecting above the surface of the ground contains an inscription of the Yuan dynasty in an ancient form of the Chinese character, surrounded by a border of dragons boldly carved in deep relief. I made a careful copy of this inscription on the spot, and append a fac-simile, reduced four diameters; giving also the same in the modern Chinese character. The translation is as follows:—"The monument conferred by the Emperor of the August Yuan (dynasty) in memory of His High Eminence Yun-Hien (styled) Chang-lao (canonized with the title of) Shou-Kung (Prince of Longevity)." This forms the "heading" commonly prefixed to similar inscriptions, being, as is often the case, in the so-called seal character. The lower portion of the massive marble slab lies doubtless buried beneath the surface of the grass, but we were unable to get at it for want of proper tools. It would be found to contain an account of the life, offices, and achievements of the Buddhist priest mentioned in the heading—that he was actually a Buddhist priest is proved by the use of the title "Chang-lao."

The existence of this inscription is mentioned in the "Imperial Geography of the reigning dynasty of China"—"In the north-east corner of the outer city wall there is a stone tablet with an inscription of the chih-yuan epoch of the



Yuan dynasty." The chih-yuan epoch was A.D. 1264-94, forming the greater part of the reign of Kublai Khan, the founder of the Yuan dynasty in China. I have looked through the native histories and biographies of this period, but have been unable to find any contemporary notice of the priest Yun-Hien. I am indebted to the Archimandrite Palladius, of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission at Peking, who has done so much to elucidate the history and antiquities of the Mongolians, for a reference to an account in manuscript of a Chinese traveller who visited Shangtu during the reign of the Emperor Kang-hi (A.D. 1662-1722), in which it is mentioned that the aforesaid Yun-Hien was the chief priest of a large Buddhist Monastery, and that the date of the inscription was the twenty-fifth year of the chih-yuan epoch, *i.e.* A.D. 1288. These details were gathered doubtless from the main body of the inscription, the lower part of the slab, in all probability, being at that time still visible above the surface of the ground. Marco Polo, in his description of "Chandu," gives a particular account of the Buddhist priests, whom he calls Baksi, adding, "They have also immense Minsters and Abbeys, some of them as big as a small town, with more than two thousand monks (*i.e.* after their fashion) in a single abbey."

ART. XVI.—*Oriental Proverbs in their Relations to Folklore, History, Sociology; with Suggestions for their Collection, Interpretation, Publication.* By the Rev. J. LONG.

[Read on February 15th, 1875.]

ELEVEN years ago I had the honour to read a paper before this Society, entitled "Five Hundred Questions on the Social Condition of the People of India." That paper has been widely circulated, and has excited some interest on the subject. Since then, I have prosecuted one department of it—Oriental Proverbs in Relation to the Life and History of the People in India.

This subject I brought before the Oriental Congress, at their last Session in London. There was no time to have it discussed there; but perhaps the question of Oriental Proverbs may be submitted again at the next Congress, to be held at St. Petersburg. The Russians have done much with their own proverbs, and from their political relations in Asia, they may be able to give important aid towards securing a complete Collection, Classification, and Publication of the Proverbs of China, Mongolia, Siberia, and Central Asia on one side; while the English contribute to those of India and Southern Asia on the other. These investigations may throw light on the supposed affinity between the Dravidian and Tartar tongues.

Some will say *cui bono*? What have Proverbs to do with the lucubrations of learned societies? They relate only to the common people, the villagers, the *ignavum pecus*; they contain much that is frivolous, and superstitious, and absurd—the dreamy notions of the ignorant! Very true. Admitting this—but they are *παροιμιαι*, words of the way-side; like foundlings, no one knows the date of their birth. They relate, however, to the masses, to those whose views and opinions in these

days of extended suffrage are cropping up, and gradually controlling the upper strata of society. As Lord Shaftesbury said, in defence of mass education, we must educate our masters, and we must therefore know their views and opinions. Well do I remember, in the height of the Indian Mutiny, Lord Canning sending for me at Calcutta to consult on the best method of getting at native opinion—a very vital one for the maintaining good rule in India. His Lordship remarked to me, "We have certain Chiefs on our side, but how are we to know regarding what the people feel?" I pointed out the clues the Native Press gave on this difficult subject, and the result was, the Government took action, and instituted the important department of Reporters of the Native Vernacular Press of India. This department, diving down into the under-currents of native opinion, has been very useful to a Government like that of India, a small body of Saxon foreigners located among an Oriental race, whose stand-point is so very different from the European. Now the proverbs in popular use are also of value in gauging the depths of popular sentiment. A proverb is a spark thrown up from the depths beneath; as Lord Bacon states, "The genius, spirit, and wit of a nation are discovered in its proverbs."

Brahminical influence on the Pandits has led the study of proverbs in India to be treated with contempt as relating to the baser sort, according to the Brahman view.

Even in England, notwithstanding the opposition of such writers as Lord Chesterfield to proverbs as vulgar, a reaction is taking place in their favour as a branch of folklore, as is shown by the multiplication of works on them. Take, for example, that remarkable book, Tupper's *Proverbial Philosophy*, of which forty large editions have been sold in England, and more than one million copies in the United States.

Proverbs, which are probably coeval with the discovery of writing, survive the overthrow of empires and the desolations brought by conquerors; they leave their ripples on the sands of time; they are like the wild flowers, which outlive ruin, and mark the flora of the district. When we consider

that many of the Indian proverbs are probably 1000 years old, and when we look at the difficulty of tracing the past in India, an auxiliary like proverbs ought not to be despised; from the strong impression they have left on the memory in their poetic form, they survive where history perishes.

Proverbs are guides to antiquity like tradition, being, as D'Israeli says, "neglected fragments of wisdom still offering many interesting objects for the studies of the philosopher and the historian."

The Eastern people, especially the Hindus, are anti-historic. We have therefore few historical documents, and have to explore the dim recesses of the past by the dim lights of ruins, coins, inscriptions, which perish by time. What an auxiliary, then, are proverbs, which give the history, not merely of kings and conquerors, but of the people, in their inmost thoughts, in the domestic hearth. For instance, I have found in the Bengali proverbs numerous references to old customs, old temples, historical characters, which have long since passed away unrecorded either in MSS. or books.

It is from the data supplied by institutions, languages, and material remains, that we gain a glimpse into pre-historic times, and proverbs may be the fossils to utilize in the reconstruction of the long-buried past; they give us facts instead of fancies.

Primitive law, as Sir H. Maine, in his *Early History of Institutions*, has shown, and has illustrated by the *Brehon Code*, consists chiefly in the reduction to order and method of a mass of pre-existing customs. Now proverbs, as stereotyping customs, are the keys to law, and of course to the customs common to the Aryan race in its various branches.

The Indian proverbs show how deeply the village and patriarchal system has been ingrafted into the Indian mind in contrast to the feudal one introduced by the Mahommedans and English. The families grouped into a village constituted the Hindu unit of government. The village system, that great fragment of antiquity that has floated down the stream of time for 2000 years, through the Indian, Slavonic, Keltic, and Teutonic races, is recorded in pro-



verbs: it is now dying out in India as far as respects lands held in common, as the Hindus find with the Telugu proverb, that—

The sheep which was the joint property of two persons was deserted and died.

—but it is in vigorous action in Russia, as is illustrated in the following Russian proverbs :

What the mir (commune) has arranged is God's decision.

The mir (commune) is the surging wave.

The mir (commune) sighs, and the rock is rent asunder.

A thread of the mir (commune) is a shirt for the naked.

Comparative anatomy, or comparative mythology, is of great use. The system of comparison has been carried even to fairy tales and nursery stories. In the important domain of comparative philology proverbs exercise an important influence. In them are imbedded the *archaisms* of language. Words that have long disappeared from the mouths of living men again come on the stage, giving a clue to linguistic affinities, and opening out a vista into the past life and opinions of the people: and yet these words have a place in no dictionary. I found this to be the case in the Bengali language. Molesworth's *Mahratta Dictionary* illustrates by proverbs, the only one, I believe, with the exception of Dahl's *Great Russian Dictionary*, which goes to proverbs, as Dr. Johnson went to books, to exemplify meanings.

It is a subject of great satisfaction that the Bengal Government has liberally subscribed to a Hindustani and English Dictionary of Dr. Fallon's, which will embrace the *spoken* as well as the written language, and the *rekhti* or vocabulary of the women, never before given in any dictionary. "The only national speech," says the author in his prospectus, "is that which bears the people's stamp, and in this category the first place must be assigned to the language of women. The seclusion of native females in India has been the asylum of the true vernacular, as pure and simple as it

is unaffected by the pedantries of word-makers. It is also the soil in which the mother-tongue has its most natural development. Many of the most caustic and terse epigrams of the language have their birth in these isolated women's apartments, whose inmates are jealously barred from any communication with strange men." Another important feature of Dr. Fallon's proposed work will be a copious supply of examples, "which, while they bring out and indicate a particular meaning, will serve also to illustrate to some extent the yet unwritten literature of the country: its proverbs, songs, and traditions; its wit and humour, and satire and invective, in which are compressed with epigrammatic terseness the brief epitome of the social life of the people, the domestic relations of the men and women, their modes of thought and ruling passions, their joys and sorrows, and the jealousies and heartburnings of their inner life."

In the Sanskrit-derived languages of India we have a number of words non-Aryan. By collecting these from proverbs we have a basis for comparison with other languages, especially the Tartar groups of Central Asia. A great problem we have to solve is the connexion between the Prakrit and Sanskrit vernaculars of India, and every archaism is a precious coin in this investigation.

It is a common thing in India now for some newly-fledged Saxons to apply to the natives the contemptuous epithet nigger, and to deny to the common people intelligence and gratitude; had these neophytes only studied the proverbs, they would have learned to appreciate the people in a very different way; for comparative studies diminish national prejudices. Travellers would often judge better of the character of a people by its proverbs, than by the hasty generalizations formed from railway journeys—You make the people describe themselves, and put them into the witness-box.

On the great question of peasant education and instruction, the proverbs, the hereditary wisdom of the serfs, vindicate their claim to *intelligence*. Townspeople and those bred up in collegiate seclusion are apt to fancy the peasants are as dull as the clods of earth they break; but their frequent and

apt quotations of proverbs on common subjects show they have a power of observation and a moral faculty they do not commonly get credit for.

Proverbs photograph the varying lights of social usages; the experience of an age is crystallized in the pithy aphorism. What a light is shed by them on customs which shift and change like a camera obscura! Sir H. Elliot's Glossary is in this respect a valuable contribution to Indian folklore.

The proverbs, for instance, on *women*, are numerous, and, as written by men, their masters, are of course sarcastic, and dwell on the weak points of woman—

Money left in the hands of woman won't last; a child left in the hands of a man won't live.

A woman's word is a bundle of water.

Woman eats twice as much as a man, and is four times as cunning.

It is only when a woman dies, and is reduced to ashes, we know with certainty she is free from fault.

—yet they give sufficient indication that woman had great power in the social and domestic circle. She stooped to conquer. The Bengalis say—

Who venerates his mother gains salvation.

Happiness is found in the mother's bosom.

—Another Bengali proverb states:

A man beaten by his wife no more tells it than he does his losses.

Proverbs will yet rend the veil on what is now so little known—the feelings and opinions of women shut up in the recesses of the zenana. When are we to have an Indian Dickens, who will sound the depths of woman's "inner man," with the plummet of proverbs, the material expression and vent of her feelings? She will be shown by them to have far higher intelligence, wit, observation, than she gets credit for.

Proverbs are of great value to him who would impress the popular mind in the East either by teaching or preaching, as

Captain Burton says, "The apposite use of aphorisms is, like wit and eloquence, a manner of power." But proverbs are with the people what the *sutra* or aphorism was with the pandits and philosophers. It is this love for sense, salt, and wit which makes the bulk of vernacular literature in India to consist of poetry; and Sakhya Muni, the great Buddhist preacher, set an example by the use of metaphorical proverbial language in his preaching, which those missionaries who imitate the example of Christ in teaching by parables, would do well to study. In Bengali literature, the most developed of all the Indian vernaculars, the revival is marked by the free use of proverbs and proverbial sayings in the modern works; these give point and raciness, instead of the stiff pedantic pandit style, *sesquipedalia verba*.

Dr. Muir has lately published some interesting papers on religious and moral maxims freely translated from Indian writers.

This is a transition period in Hindu society. The spread of education and the changes of society are rapidly sweeping into the gulf of oblivion many of the old traditions and fragmentary folklore. The old Pauranic pandits are vanishing from the scene. Now is therefore the time to collect what remains of the living proverbs, which are connected so much with local history, and the domestic life of the people. We want some one now to do for proverbs what Mr. Thomas has done so well for coins, *i.e.* collect, classify, and publish them.

Pocock, Erpenius, Burkhardt, Freytag, have laboured much in illustrating the Semitic class. Böhlingk in his *Sprüche* gives a few of the Sanskrit.

Oriental Proverbs are little known in Europe out of the circle of Orientalists; and even they have to a great extent overlooked them,—coins, architecture, antiquities, naturally having the preference.

Among the Indian Proverbs recently published are: *Percival's Tamul Proverbs*; *Carr's Telugu Proverbs*; *1000 Malayalam*; *Long's Bengali Proverbs*.

The Russians, as head of the Slavonic race, are coming

into the scene of action of the future not only politically, but also in a literary way. The Philo-Slav School of Moscow has begun working a mine of literature, both new and picturesque, with a manifest oriental colouring. In nothing is this more evident than in their Folklore, of which Professor Ralston has given some excellent specimen translations in his *Songs of the Russian People*. It is to be regretted that we have no translations of their proverbs; I published in Calcutta eight years ago a translation of about 560, which interested many Europeans; this is, I believe, the only English one existing, though the mine is very rich, richer than the Spanish; I brought with me from Moscow 25,000 Russian Proverbs, published by the Russian Academy, and collected by Dr. Dahl. Professor Snegiref published in 1834, in Moscow, a work in four volumes on Russian Proverbs, which is a model of what classification should be. Masson published in St. Petersburg, in 1868, a selection of Russian proverbs, arranged according to subjects, with parallel ones from Germany, France, Spain, England, and other Aryan nations.

The Russian proverbs have a strong Oriental ring; I will give a few in illustration as relating to women—

When you walk, pray once; when you go to sea, twice; when you go to be married, three times.

The preparations of a woman are as long as the legs of a goose.

A woman's hair is long: her tongue is longer.

The tears of a woman and of a drunkard are cheap.

A woman is a pot, everything put in will boil.

The flattery of a woman has no teeth; but it will eat your flesh with the bones.

What I have to propose practically to this Society is that it should issue a circular to the leading Oriental and Ethnological Societies in Europe, Asia, and America, asking their co-operation towards the collection, interpretation, and publication of proverbs; especially in reference to India, acting there through the Asiatic Societies of Calcutta, Bombay,

and Madras, as well as through the Directors of Public Instruction in the local governments, and the editors of native journals and newspapers.

The Bengal Government has set a good example by publishing lately Lewin's Hill Proverbs of the Chittagong Hill Tracts; they show that those wild people, under a barbarian outside, have a heart beating with sympathy, as shown in these proverbs—

For sweetness, honey; for love, a wife.

Do not love a woman because she is young, nor cast her off because she is old.

Having myself been engaged in the collection and classification of Bengali and other Indian proverbs for fifteen years (I published in Calcutta 6000 Bengali Proverbs), I will give the result of my own experience as to the mode of collecting Proverbs. I found the services of Pandits, teachers, and inspectors of village schools, of great value in collecting them. The editors of native newspapers also lent me aid by advertising their willingness to receive and forward to me any that might be sent to them. As the best collections of proverbs are among the women, who interlard their discourses plentifully with them, I paid women to collect them in the zenanas. I got a plentiful and rich crop, though many of them, from their coarseness, could not be published: native women in their Billingsgate slang draw copiously from the well-furnished arsenal of native proverbs; they can scold in them in a style not exceeded by that of the *Les dames des Halles* of Paris.

It might be desirable to publish the proverbs classified according to subjects. I here give Snegiref's classification of Russian proverbs, which may serve, *cæteris paribus*, as a basis for the classification of Oriental ones.

I. FOREIGN: Historical influences in relation to proverbs, and illustrated by proverbs.

II. Proverbs in relation to PHILOLOGY, the meaning of words, archaisms, wit, songs, and metaphors.

III. Proverbs in relation to ANTHROPOLOGY, the laws, customs, belief, food, dwellings, dress, servants, recreations, home life, education, creed, superstitions, sects, family life, relations, marriage, woman's position, funeral customs, hospitalities, patriotism, trade, truth, justice.

IV. Proverbs, POLITICAL, LEGAL, laws expressed in proverbs, the ruler's power, people's meetings, upper classes, priests, monks, fairs, ordeals; the effect of foreign rule or law, punishments, tortures, the lot. Proverbs, the echos of history, religion, and localities; history at various periods illustrated by political and juridical proverbs.

V. Proverbs relating to PHYSICAL subjects, meteorological, astronomical, rural, referring to crops, seasons; medical, remedies, diseases.

VI. HISTORICAL, topographical, local, relating to various dynasties, celebrated places.

VII. ETHNOGRAPHIC.

VIII. SATIRICAL.

One of the most difficult problems in proverbs is the *interpretation*, owing to their local allusion and special references, as well as to their epigrammatic brevity, the vagueness of which allows a great variety of meanings, while the play upon words, and alliteration, cause many of them to lose their point in translation; the wit, like a fine essence, vanishes in the transfusion. I have found in Bengal the same proverbs susceptible of several interpretations, according to the individual who gave it or the locality it was in. What one wants is not the guesswork of mere individual private judgment, but the traditional interpretation of the people. The pandits will, when pushed, rather than avow their ignorance, give you a fancy interpretation. The meaning must therefore be gathered from the people themselves.

In Russia, for instance, I found considerable difference of opinion as to the meaning of that proverb—

Do not buy a priest's horse, or marry a widow's daughter.

—the latter clause is easy on Sam Weller's maxim, "Beware of the widow;" or, as an old English proverb has it, "He

who marries a widow with two daughters, marries three thieves.”

I select a few specimen proverbs as illustrating native opinion and social life.

The Hindus have no sympathy with the abolitionists of *corporal punishment*. The Telugus say—

A washerman will only wash for one who thrashes him.
like the Russian—

Strike a Russian, and he will make you even a watch.

The feelings towards a *mother-in-law* :

When the daughter-in-law said she was hungry, her mother-in-law told her to swallow the pestle,¹

the Bengalis say, Sisters-in-law are nettles.

The want of *punctuality* in the East is expressed by the Telugu proverb—

When he says to-morrow, he means six months.

The Bengalis denote their aversion to *straightforwardness* by,

You can only extract butter with a crooked finger.

Women in the East have far more power over men than is commonly thought. The Telugus describe a hen-pecked husband as—

One on whose head the wife grinds pepper.

The quarrels of women by—

When three women join together, the stars come out in broad daylight.

Men that give you only *fine words*—

Let us have a talk in my house, and dinner in yours.

The view of the *cunning of the Brahman* :

A Brahman's hand and an elephant's trunk are never quiet.

¹ This feeling against mothers-in-law is very strongly expressed in Russian proverbs.

The equalization of property an evil—

The joint husband was neglected and died.

Where there are brothers, there are divisions.

The dread of Government employes—

Face a royal tiger, but not a Government official.

The Russian proverbs are equally strong against the *tchinovnik*, or subordinate official.

The pocket of a *tchinovnik* is like the crop of a duck, you can never fill it.

The *tchinovniks* have a good portion in the next world, they are at once made devils.

Defend yourself against a thief by a stick ;

Defend yourself against a *tchinovnik* by a rouble.

The *tchinovnik* only takes up his pen,

The peasant prays, and birds tremble.

The responsibility of *girls* in a family—

A house full of young girls, and a fire of little twigs.

The feeling towards the *Musalman* is expressed—

Vain as a Hindu begging in a Musalman town.

When the Musalman is judge, the Hindu has no holidays.

Social Equality an impossibility—

If all get into the palankin, who will be the bearers ?

Are the five fingers equal ?

The *Expenses of Marriages* referred to—

Try building a house, try making a marriage.

The connexion between the Bengali Zamindar and Ryot is expressed by—

The relation of the carving knife to the pumpkin,

The love the Musalman has to his fowl,

The same the Zemindar has to the Ryot.

DESIDERATA ON INDIAN PROVERBS.

1. The *archaic* words used in proverbs, throwing light on the formation and affinities of the language.

2. Clues to the origin of the nation. The problem of the origin of the Aborigines of India, like that of the Red Indians of North America, might thus receive some aid towards its solution. The Aborigines were in India what the Kelts were in Europe—the first inhabitants; they have been compared to the ripple-marked slabs of sandstone recording the tidal flow of the primeval ocean.

3. The earliest *dialects* existing as shown in proverbs. The dialectical variations are far more numerous in India than in England; thus in Gujarat the dialect is said to alter every thirty miles.

4. *Sanskrit* proverbs incorporated in vernacular ones.¹

5. The proverbs of the *Aborigines* of India. These may furnish a clue to how they came to India, and what were their movements.

6. *Jain* proverbs. This steady, commercial people, an offshoot from Buddhism, deserve more attention than they have received.

7. *Hindi* proverbs. Chand, who was contemporary with Dante, may furnish some and may throw light on the dreary, dark period between the first and ninth centuries.

8. *Mahratta* proverbs.

9. *Panjabi* proverbs.

10. *Prakrit* proverbs. The women in the Hindu dramas speak in Prakrit, the connecting link between Sanskrit and the modern vernaculars, as the Romance languages were to Europe.²

¹ Böhlingk, in his excellent "Indische Sprüche," has collected a large number of Aphorisms, but these cannot be called proverbs.

² See Lewis on the Romance Languages.

11. *The connexion between the Dravidian and the Tartar proverbs of Central Asia*, throwing light on the Aryan origin of the people of India and Central Asia.

12. *Gipsy proverbs in Europe*. These may give a clue to the Eastern origin of the Gipsies, their curious customs, and their line of route in emigrating from the East.

13. Any traces of an Oriental element in *European proverbs*. We have the strongest proofs of this in the Slavonic and Russian proverbs.

ART. XVII.—*Two Old Sinhalese Inscriptions. The Sāhasa Malla Inscription, date 1200 A.D., and the Ruwanwæli Dāgaba Inscription, date 1191 A.D. Text, Translation, and Notes.* By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, late of the Ceylon Civil Service.

INTRODUCTION.

OF the following two inscriptions, the former is edited from a MS. in Dambulla Wihāre, of which I have a transcript in the Roman character by a native copyist; and the latter from a copy made by Nāranwiṭa Unnānse, which I owe to the courtesy of Mr. R. C. Childers. In the Dambulla MS. the inscription is repeated twice, and the readings of the two copies differ pretty frequently, as will be seen from the various readings given below the text.

The latter, the Ruwanwæli Inscription, was recorded in the fourth year of Niṣṣanka Malla, *i.e.* 1191 A.D., and was re-discovered near the Ruwanwæli Dāgaba, at Anurādhapura, in 1874, by Nāranwiṭa Unnānse; the former was recorded at the commencement of the reign of Sāhasa Malla in 1200 A.D., and is on an upright stone, resembling a very large gravestone, a little north of the Hæṭṭa-dā-ge (or 60 days' house), close to the new path which I cut from the King's palace at Pulastipura to the Rankot Dāgaba. I much regret that I had no time to copy the inscription myself; but, 'except in one or two places, the text, at least of the Elu parts, seems to be pretty correct.

Both inscriptions are of great importance, the latter settling the question of the identity of Niṣṣanka Malla Parākrama Bāhu with the Kīrti Nissanga of Mr. Turnour's list; and the former giving us, not only historical details not found in the Mahāvamsa, but also a date. Both have been translated before: the former by Mr. Armour in the *Ceylon Almanac* for 1834;¹ and the latter by the Interpreter Muda-

¹ I have never been able to procure this extremely rare book; but the translation is reprinted (under a wrong title) at page 353 of the second volume of Major Forbes's *Ceylon*. London: Bentley, 1841.

liyār of the Courts at Anurādhapura in the *Ceylon Observer* for the 29th of December, 1874. The texts have not as yet been published.

The Mahāvaṃsa at this period is extremely short, dismissing sixteen kings in one chapter of 80 verses, of which only one applies to Sāhasa Malla,¹ and only nine to Niṣṣanka Malla, who was certainly a powerful and successful king. This is explained by the mode in which the Mahāvaṃsa was written, viz. at intervals and by different hands: each new chronicler hurried over the reigns of the kings preceding the one under whom he wrote, and then enlarged at length on the events of that monarch's reign.²

Niṣṣanka Malla's reign is thus hastily sketched in the following verses of the 80th chapter of the Mahāvaṃsa (I quote from the India Office MS.) :—

18. Ghātetvā taṃ ahū rājā Kittinissankaṇāmako
 Rañño Vijayabāhussa uparājā Kalingato
 19. Patvā rājābhisekaṃ so Pulatthinagare vare
 Dāthādhātuharaṃ rammaṃ kārāpesi silāmayāṃ

TRANSLATION.

18. Having killed him (viz. Mahendra), the Viceroy of Vijayabāhu, named Kirti Niṣṣanka, from Kalinga, became King. When he had been crowned, he had made in the fine city of Pulastipura a beautiful house of stone for the Tooth-

18. The MS. has Kalingaro. 19. The ruins of this Daḍadā Māligāwa still exist, and show that, though small, it must have been a building of exquisite beauty.

¹ It is given below in note 4.

² This consideration leads me to the supposition that Turnour (Mah. p. ii.) may be wrong in assigning the whole of the Mahāvaṃsa, from the period at which Mahānāma's work terminated to the end of Dambadeniya Parākrama's reign in A. D. 1300, to one hand. There seems to be a break at the end of the eventful reign of Parākrama the Great; no less than eighteen chapters, some of them of great length, being devoted to the life of that king, whilst the succeeding kings are hurried over till the time of Dambadeniya Parākrama, whose reign occupies seven chapters. Perhaps there has been some confusion between two Dharmakirtis, one the author of Dāthāvaṃsa, who lived in Parākrama the Great's time, and the other, the author of one portion of the Mahāvaṃsa, who lived in Dambadeniya Parākrama's time. When the whole text is published, the evidently late style of the latter portion, from which the above extract is made, may throw light on this question.

20. Bandhāpetvā samuttungaṃ Ratanāvalicetiyaṃ
Alaṅkarittha sovaṇṇathūpikāyanam uttamaṃ
21. Kārayitvā sanāmena pāsādasatam addhikaṃ
Vihāraṃ bhikkhusaṅghassa niyyādetvā upatṭhahi
22. Sovaṇṇarajatubbhāsabhittitthambhehi bhāsuram
Hingulamayabhūbhāgaṃ sovaṇṇacchadanitṭhikaṃ
23. Vihāraṃ Jambukolavham kārayitva tahim sudhī
Patitṭhāpayi sovaṇṇasatthubimbe tisattatim
24. Senāya caturaṅginā saddhim hatthipurassaram
Gantvā Samantakūṭam so abhivandiya bhūpati
25. Puppārāme phalārāme aneke ca sabhāsuhā
Tamvaṇṇiyadīpasmiṃ sādhu sabbattha kārayi
26. Evaṃ bahuvidham puññaṃ sañcinanto dine dine
Navasaṃvaccharam sammā rajjam kāsi sa bhūpati.

relic, and caused the lofty Rankot Dāgaba to be built, ornamenting the high road to the golden Sthūpa.

21. And he made one hundred rest-houses (on the roadside to it), called by his own name, and having delivered the vihāra near it into the keeping of the priests, he himself paid homage to it. 22. He made the vihāra called Dambulla, with golden roof-tiles and a vermilion floor, and dazzling with walls and pillars shining with silver and gold; and he, the pure-minded one, put up there seventy-three gilded images of Buddha.

24. The King also went with his fourfold army, and with elephants, to Adam's Peak, and worshipped there; and he established flower gardens, and orchards, and . . . and did good throughout the island.

25. Thus heaping up merit of different kinds from day to day, this King reigned for nine years.

21. The MS. has addhitam. For sanāmena compare line 15 of the inscription below. 22. The MS. has ubbhāya, bāsuraṃ. 23. The form Jambukola throws interesting light on the derivation of Dambulla; but it is more probable that the Pāli word is a translation of the Sinhalese word, than that the Sinhalese word has come through the Pāli. Another Jambukola on the sea-coast is mentioned in the Mahāvamsa, pp. 110, 119, *vide* below, note 18 to the Sāsana Malla Inscription. 24. The MS. has bhūpatim. 25. The reading of the MS. in this line neither agrees with the metre nor gives any sense.

A.—THE SĀHASA MALLA INSCRIPTION ON THE UPRIGHT SLAB
NORTH OF THE HĒTA-DĀ-GE, FOUND WHILST CUTTING THE
NEW PATH TO THE RANKOT.

Śrīmat Sāhasa-mallaḥ Siṅhalapatiḥ Kālingawaṅśāgrāṇī
Āgamyātra Kalingato 'rgghitavate Lankādhirājaṣṛiyām
Āyushmatpṛtanādhipāya mahatīm grāmādhikān sampadam
Dattavān* kṛtavān svayaṅ kṛtaividām ekādhirāyje padam.

Śrī siri-sara Okāwas-parapurehi¹ mulu sakwala ek-sat-
kala² Kālinga cakrawartti paramparāyāta, Sri Goparājayan
wahanse Bahidāloka mahādēwin wahanse kusiṅ Siṅhapurehi
prasūtawū,³ asama sāhasayen⁴ Sāhasa Malla yayi wirudu lada,
siri Saṅgabo Kālinga Wijaya-bāhu raja pā wahanse, palamu
Lankāyehi rajasiri⁵ pāmīna siṭi Niṣṣanka Malla nam bēnan
wahanse swarggastha wū pasu; hiru astayaṭa⁶ giya tēna⁷

TRANSLATION.

[Sanskrit.] The illustrious Sāhasa Malla, King of Ceylon,
and chief of the Kālingan race, having come over here from
Kalinga, gave to the deserving and venerable aged chieftain
the great fortune of the Lordship of Ceylon, together with
much land, giving a share in his absolute power to those who
were grateful to him.

Come of the stock of the *Kālinga* Emperors, who, descended
from the sacred and illustrious race of *Ikshwāku*, brought the
whole earth under one umbrella, born at *Sinhapura*, in the
womb of *Bahidāloka* (the large-eyed one), the chief queen
of the illustrious *Goparāja*; the illustrious king *Saṅgabo*
Kālinga Wijaya Bāhu was, on account of his unequalled
daring, celebrated under the name of SĀHASA MALLA, "the
excellent by courage." After his elder brother, *Niṣṣanka*
Malla, who before him had come to the regal dignity in
Ceylon, had gone to heaven; when, like a number of stars

VARIOUS READINGS.

¹ A. sirisiramakāwas, B. sisirisaramakāwas. ² A. eksakwalasatkotāla. ³ A.
prasutawu. ⁴ A. asamasahayen, B. dasamasahasayen. ⁵ B. rajasi. ⁶ A. B.
hastayata. ⁷ B. tena.

* The second syllable should be long; the MS. reads dattovan or dantyovan.

taru gananak se kīpa rājakenakun⁸ gili giya kalhi,⁹ Lan-
kāwa aswāmika wæ,¹⁰ sanda¹¹ udā no lat ræyak se anduruwa
tubu sanda ;¹² Lan-kādhikāra Lolupælā¹³ kulu dun næwi
ābonāwan,¹⁴ taman śrata śila kulācārādi mantrī gunen yedi
nitiparama wana¹⁵ heyin tamanta parama mita wū Lan-kādhi-
kāra Lolupælākulu¹⁶ budalnāwan hā ekwa, “rajahu¹⁷ næti
rājyaya¹⁸ nam niyamuwā næti næwak se no pawatneya,
hiru næti dawasa se no hoboneya, Buddha śāsanaya da anasak
nætiwa nirālabha¹⁹ wanneya, tawada Lakdiwa²⁰ Wijaya rāja-
yan Yakshapralaya koṭa kanu mul bā tænu wiyalak se
pawat kala heyin ema wansayehi²¹ rajun bohose rakshākala²²
tænaya, e²³ bæwin mehi raja kala Niṣṣanka Malla swāminge
malanuwan wahanse Kalingu raṭa yawā waḍa-awut losasun

after the sun has set, several kings had sunk and gone, and
Ceylon being without a ruler, was dark as a night without
the rising of the moon, Lolupælākulu, Adhikār of the realm,
and Lord High Admiral, spoke (as follows) with Lolupælā-
kulu, Adhikār of the realm and Lord High Treasurer, who,
—as he excelled in ethics, being endowed with all the qualities
of an adviser, by his faithful disposition and family virtues,—
had become his dearest friend.

“The kingdom without a king, like a ship without a
steersman, will not continue; like a day without the sun,
will not flourish; and the religion of Buddha, without regu-
larity, will become profitless: and further, after Wijaya rāja
drove away the devils, and made Ceylon like a field formed
by the tearing out of stumps and roots, it is a place which
has been much protected by kings of that family: therefore
let us send to the country of Kalinga and fetch the younger
brother of the Lord Niṣṣanka Malla who was reigning here,
and thus secure the government of the world.” Having
determined to do so, they sent to Kalinga the chief Malli-

⁸ A. B. kenakun. ⁹ A. tanhi. ¹⁰ A. wa. ¹¹ B. sana. ¹² A. awuruduwata-
sata, B. anduruwatubusata. ¹³ B. pælm. ¹⁴ A. duttæti abonāwan, B. dunnewi
ābonāwan. ¹⁵ A. parawawana, B. parawacana. ¹⁶ A. kulū. ¹⁷ A. raja. ¹⁸ A.
rājyayanama, B. rājyanama. ¹⁹ B. niralambha. ²⁰ B. Lakdiwanam. ²¹ B.
wansayehi. ²² B. parīkshākala. ²³ A. tawada e.

rakumha yi'' bænā niścaya koṭa, swāmi²⁴ paksha pāta dhīra sāra gunen yukta e raṭa wæsi Mallikārjjunā nam pradhāni Kalingu raṭa yawā, ārādhana koṭa, maha pelaharin genwā, Soli raṭin²⁵ Kahakoṇḍa-paṭṭana²⁶ mæ waḍa hinduwā, ratnā-bharaṇa wastrādīn matu wana rājya śrīyaṭa²⁷ anurūpa śrin²⁸ satkāra karana kalhi, e bawa²⁹ asā anugraha³⁰ parigraha dekata pohosat losasun raknā rājarayan no kæmæti wa tama tamāge³¹ ma adhipatwaya patā wigṇā karana durmman-trin de hawuruddakin³² sādha, pun sanda nagā pānā se subha nækat³³ mohot muhudu piṭa³⁴ maha potin³⁵ nirupadra wa kōta waḍa awut, Tri-sinhalaya c̄kādhapatra³⁶ koṭa Buddha³⁷ warsha (1743) ek dahas hat siya te sālīs hawurudu tunmas sat wisi dawasak giya tena Binara pura doloswak lada Badā dā subha nækat mohotin abhiseka karawu me ananya-sādha-ṛaṇa-daskamaṭa taman wahanseṭa palamuwannehi senewi rat

karjjunā, who was a resident of that country, well affected towards his master, and of a brave and firm disposition, and having conciliated (the prince), and brought him with a great retinue from the *Soli* country, and placed him at the port of *Kahakoṇḍa*, they hospitably entertained him with all the splendour of jewels, ornaments, and robes suitable to the dignity of the kingship to be.

Whilst this was being done, some evil-designing men, each considering and hoping for his own advancement, did not desire kings who would secure the government of the world, (but) in two years, having overthrown them, raising and showing as it were the moon in its fullness, they brought him safely, at a lucky moment, over the sea in a great ship, and having united the three divisions of Ceylon under one sceptre, 1743 years 3 months and 27 days after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, at the full moon of the month Binara, on Thursday, at a lucky moment, him they crowned. For this service, unequalled by others, in the first year of his reign he

²⁴ B. swāmi. ²⁵ B. raṭa. ²⁶ B. paṭṭama. ²⁷ B. rājjaśrīyaṭa. ²⁸ B. śri. ²⁹ A. mabawa, B. eba. ³⁰ A. anugraha. ³¹ B. tamange. ³² B. hawuruddaki. ³³ A. sahanækat, B. sāhanakat. ³⁴ A. B. muhunupita. ³⁵ A. mahapeta, B. mahapeti. ³⁶ A. ekāpatra, B. ekātapatra. ³⁷ B. Budha.

paṭa bandawā³⁸ agra mantrikota siṭuwā, meweni daruwan³⁹ lada mawunṭa wædi⁴⁰ satkāra kalamana wē dæyi mowun māniyaṅṭa Lankātilakadēwī yayi nam dī baḍaran paṭa bandawā boho sammāna dī hira sanda pamunu koṭa Lak-wijayasingu senewi ābonāwanṭa⁴¹ dī wadāla gamwara hā pariwāra hā⁴² siyalu sampattiyāṭa, matu wana rajadaruwan udu taman⁴³ tamanṭa daskam kala un rakshā-kirīma rāja dharmma heyin, wilopayak no koṭa mema paridden tabā dī mawun waṅsha rakshā karanu mānawæyi silālekha karawā wadāla seka. Me balabalā rāja wallabha wa siṭi amāptytā-dihu da balātkārayen me ki deya gattu⁴⁴ nam wēwayi⁴⁵ rajasthaka kalāhu nam wēwayi⁴⁶ rājyaya mækuwā nam weti, kulen hīnayan hā da kawuḍu ballan⁴⁷ hā da samanam weti. Eheyin swāmi⁴⁸ pakshapāta wa rakshā karaṅṅā kæmættāwun-wisin⁴⁹ mowunṭa dun hæma sampat rakshā karanu mānawī.⁵⁰

gave to the honourable one the office of Commander-in-chief, and made him his Prime Minister: and thinking, "to the parents of such children much honour should be done," he gave their mother the name Lankātilakadēwī (the princess, the ornament of Ceylon), and girded her with a golden girdle, and gave her much honour.

And using (the royal sign manual of) sun and moon, he was pleased to make a record on stone that future princes might in a similar manner protect their family, and leave undisturbed the complete enjoyment of the lands and dignities he had been pleased to grant to the Commander-in-chief Lak-wijaya Singu; for it is the duty of kings to protect those who have done them service. If ministers and others who enjoy royal favour should, after seeing this (inscription), take by force the things here mentioned, or claim them as property of the crown, the kingdom will go to ruin, and they will become like low-caste men, and like dogs and crows. Therefore, let them protect the wealth granted to them by Him who desired to protect those who had been loyal.

³⁸ A. B. banawā. ³⁹ A. daru. ⁴⁰ A. B. wædi. ⁴¹ A. -singu-, B. -hingu-.
⁴² A. omiṭa hā. ⁴³ A. tama. ⁴⁴ A. gattru, B. gathu. ⁴⁵ A. wæwayi. ⁴⁶ A. wewayi. ⁴⁷ B. ballā. ⁴⁸ A. swāmi. ⁴⁹ B. kæmætta. ⁵⁰ A. mānawī.

Devas Sāhasa-Malla esha jagatām mānyāṣayām yācatē
 Trāyan yad dṛḍhapakshapātadhuriṇām kshātro 'bhidharm-
 māparam
 Āyushmatpṛtanāpateḥ kṛtavatām Kālingavaṇṣodayām
 Candrākhyāvadhispadām sahasato rakshantu vaṇṣyān
 nrpāh.

B.—THE RUWANWÆLI INSCRIPTION FOUND IN 1874 BY
 NĀRANWIṬA UNNĀNSE, AT THE S.E. ENTRANCE TO THE
 TERRACE ROUND THE RUWANWÆLI DĀGABA AT ANU-
 RĀDHAPURA.

- (1). Śrīmat-wū, tyāga - satya - śauryyādi - guṇa - gaṇayen
 asādhārana wū, Okā-was-raja-parapuren ā, Kālinga-
- (2). cakrawarrti-rāja-waṇṣayāta tilakāya-samāna wæ, Sinha-
 purayehi sajāta-wū, Niṣṣanka
- (3). Malla-Kālinga-Parākramabāhu-rajapā-wahansē ; swa-
 waṇṣayāta pa ramparāyāta
4. Lamkādwipayehi ek se-sat koṭæ; mālu Parākrama-bāhu
 wahanse pūrwa-rāja-
5. carita ikmæ kāla ati-dasa-awinayen piḍita-wū dilindu-
 wæ gos sorakam koṭæ
6. jīwatwana boho janayā jīwitāsāhæræ sorakam karanne
 yan'
7. āsāwen wedæyi, ran-ridi-maṣuran-mutu-mænik-wastrā-
 bharaṇādi un-un-kæmati-wastu hā
8. sarak-gam-bim-ādī abhaya di, sorakam harawā ; sesu
 boho janayā da ē ē dukkhayen galawā, mesē

TRANSLATION.

After Niṣṣanka Malla Kālinga Parākrama Bāhu, who was born at Sinhapura, as it were the crowning ornament of the imperial Kālingan race, the descendants of King Ikshvāku ; and who was unequalled in the number of his virtues, generosity, truth, heroism, and the like ; (4) had made one authority (supreme) in the island of Ceylon, which belonged to his family by ancestral right ; (8) he put down robbery by relieving, through gifts of cattle and fields, and of gold and silver coins,

9. mæ wiwidha wicitra-wastu-dānayen sanātha-kotæ; mādun-
deya sthīrakotæ tawa da wædiyak samurddhawa şata-
māna
10. wedæyi, awurudu gaṇanakata aya hære wadārā, tun raja-
yehi mæ hæma kalata kæti aya hære wadārā; mā
dawasækāk
11. no simhā suwase wisuwæ mænæwæyi, pera-rajadaru-
wan no kala wirulesekæ tulābhāra nægewi sitā
12. wadārā, urehi da Wira-bāhu mahapānan wahansē hā
agamahesun Kālinga Subhadrā bisowun wahansē
13. hā saha woṭuṇu abaraṇin sædī, taman wahansē hā tun-
denā-wahansē tulābhāra nægi sat ruwan
14. hā ætulu riditiram hā anantakotæ, rāja-wīthiyehi (ne)
swamin mahā-dāna-warshā pawatwā; tun raja-
15. yehi bohokotæ Niṣṣamka-namin satra namwā, annadāna-
da nirantara-

and pearls, and jewelry, and clothes, as each one desired, the anxiety of the people; who, impoverished and oppressed by the very severe taxations of Parākrama Bāhu the Old (which exceeded those customary under former kings), lived by robbery: for, thought he, they wish to steal only through their desire for life. (9) He relieved a great number of other people also, each one from the hardship that he felt, and having thus, by gifts of various kinds of goods, made the people feel that they had a protector, (10) he was pleased to take off taxes for a number of years, and to relinquish for ever in the three divisions (of Ceylon) the tax on chena cultivation, thinking, "may that which I have given be maintained, and prosperity be still further increased." (11) And further thinking "that no one may be unhappy in my time, I will mount the balance as no former princes have done," he mounted the balance together with Prince Wira Bāhu, the fruit of his loins, and his chief queen, Queen Kālinga Subhadrā, three persons in all, wearing their crowns and ornaments, and so caused a rich rainfall of gifts in the royal street . . . silver . . . containing the seven jewels. (15) He

16. yen pawatwā ; siyalu dilindu-bhaya sora-bhaya kaṅṅaka-
bhaya durukoṭæ, Lak-diw-wāsi-hæmadenā
17. suwapatkoṭæ ; ṣāsanayehi da dussilayan da ukkaṅṅhitayan
da pahanowanne pratyaya lo-
18. bhayen hā kaṭayuttehi bhayin bawa dæna, ṣāsanaya
kiluṭu no koṭæ siwuruhaḷawunṭa kaṭayutu dæ-
19. næ, ran-ridi-yakaḍa-bat-bijuwata-sarak-ādiwū dælæbeyi
sammata-karawā wadārā ; susilawahansē-
20. warundæṭa da paribhoga no wuwamanāwedæyi, obage
næwadæyanta nowatunsituyen
21. saṅgrahakoṭa, siwpasayen dāna-prawāha paturuwā ; mesē
lokaya da ṣāsanaya da semehi tabā,
22. Pulastipurayehi wæḍa-wasana-seyen, Ruwanwæli dāgab
wahansē dā wandanā pinisæ siyura-
23. ŋga senaga piriwarā mahānubhāwayen taman wahansēṭa
satarawannehi nikkæ ; dāgab wa-

put up rest-houses in the name of Niṣṣanka in many places in the three provinces, and established food endowments to continue for ever ; and removing far away the fear of poverty, and the fear of thieves, and the fear of distress, he made every one in the island of Lankā happy.

(17) Having perceived that those who did not keep their vows, and those who still had (worldly) desires, would not leave the Church through greed of gain and fear of work, and having perceived what ought to be done for those who threw off the robes without disgracing the Church, he was pleased to order that they should receive gold and silver, and clothes, and rice, and seed paḍi, and cattle, and the like ; and thinking "it is not right for the reverend priests who keep their vows to have wealth," he poured out a stream of gifts of the things allowed to the priests, and took their relatives under his protection. . . . (21) Whilst he, having thus pacified the world and the church, was living at Pulastipura, he set out, in the fourth year of his reign, with great pomp and surrounded with a powerful army, to worship the relics

24. hansē penena mānayehi dīmæ wāhanayen bæsaē, śri
pādayen Ruwanwæli-maluwata wæða, malu-
25. wehi wæli tawarannā sē ananta mutu atuṭæ, wæli nalā-
pimanan kusum pudunnā sē
26. ran-mal ridi-mal satruwan sisārā niraturu koṭæ pudā ;
anaṅgi paṭa kaḍa patākāyen
27. dagabaṭa ātapaniwāraṇaya koṭæ, sisārā ; niraturu koṭæ
kapuragoḍa goḍa koṭæ, pahan
28. pudā ; taliyantel-suwanda tel-ādīwū telin satiyak pahan
pudā mesē mæ kalu wæl
29. dumin suwanda-malin pudā siwædgandin sisārā, piri-
baḍagenæ, satalis lakshayak masuraṇin
30. pūjākotæ ; nuwaraṭa hātpasin sat gawwak pamaṇa tænaē
hæma satun no mæriya hækkæyi
31. abhaya dī, bera lawā, dolos maha wæ tænaē masunṭa
abhaya dī, Kāmbodīṇṭa ranridi-ādī-
32. wū kæmati wastu dī, pakshīn no maraṇa niyāyen sam-
mata koṭæ, pakshīṇṭa abhaya dī ; pritin

in the sacred Dāgaba of Ruwanwæli. He alighted from his carriage as soon as the sacred Dāgaba appeared in sight, and walked on his royal feet to the terrace, and went round the Dāgaba ; having scattered countless pearls as if he were sprinkling sand on the terrace, and offered in perpetuity gold and silver flowers inlaid with the seven gems as if he were offering ordinary flowers on a bed of sand, and covered it with flags of priceless silken cloth. (27) Having heaped up heaps of camphor, he offered lamps in perpetuity, and for a week he offered lamps with taliyan oil, and scented oil, and the like, and likewise offered Kaluwel incense and sweet-scented flowers, surrounding it with the four kinds of odours, and had it swept, and offered forty *laks* of masurans. (30) He gave security to animals, ordering by beat of tom-tom that they should not be killed within a distance of seven *gaus* from the city ; he gave security to the fish in twelve great tanks ; giving gold and silver, and whatever other goods they wanted, to the Kāambojians, he commanded them not to kill birds, and so gave security to birds. When in his joy

33. dā wandanā wēlehi ehi bauddha dewatāwan saha min
hā banannā duṭu minisungē prīti
34. ghoshaṇā asā e wēlehi upan Buddhālabana prītin Lak-
diwwāsīṇṭa nēwætæ hawu-
35. ruddakaṭa aya hæræ ehi siṭi Lokē-arak mēnāwan adhi-
kāra koṭæ undæ pudā Mirisa-
36. wiṭi ādiwū wihāra karawawayi ananta wastu hā wī
siyagaṇan yāla di siṭuwā nuwara dew-
37. nuwarak se peraparidden sarjjetakoṭæ wadāla niyādameṭa
sitin pūjā kala
38. naṭa bauddha dewatāwangen memæ lesæ āraḁshā æti
bawa da dæna matuwana rajadaruwanudu
39. wisin nuwaræ wihāra wihāra wāsin lokaṣāsana sanātha-
koṭæ rakshā kaṭayutu

Sriyāmnā ratnacaityāpacitim avikalair yo na lakshair dha-
nyānām

Catvāriṃṣatpramāṇair nnirupamaracitām dvīkshasāndraiḥ
pramodyaiḥ

Pratyakshāṇy eva naikastutim akṛtattu prīticitto 'yam ab-
daṁ

Lamkā-Niṣṣamkamallo ḁaramayadakarā Śrī-Parākrānta-
bāhuḥ.

he was worshipping the relics, he heard the joyful shouts of those who saw the Buddhist gods talking there with men, and from the enthusiasm towards Buddha which then arose in him, he again relinquished to the people of Ceylon a year's taxation. (35) He made the philanthropic men there present judges, and giving them countless wealth and hundreds of yālas of paḁi, told them to restore the Mirisawīti and other wihāras, and decorated the city like a city of the gods. (37) May future princes, perceiving that protection in like manner will be granted by the Buddhist gods to those who in their hearts worship this Dāgaba, protect and preserve the wihāras in this city, and those who dwell in the wihāras!

NOTES ON THE SĀHASA MALLA INSCRIPTION.

1. *Siri-sara*.—Sara here is derived from *sāra*, and means full of, whose very essence is. This sense is not given in Clough's Dictionary; but this compound *sirisara* occurs in *Sælalihini-sandese*, vv. 83, 93; and also in the *Ummaga Jātaka*, p. 60, line 13, and *Kusa Jātaka*, vv. 612, 633, 655, 678. In the sense of 'arrow' *sara* is common; compare *Malsara*, 'the flower-arrowed one,' as a name of *Anangayā* or *Cupid*; *Kusa Jātaka*, v. 204.

2. *Wirudulada*.—*Wirudu kiyanaawā* is to recite panegyrics in verse, usually at a feast, in praise of some chieftain (Sanskrit *viruda*, *wirudu* being the *Siṃhalese* pl.). Clough gives *wiridu kīma* with the sense of 'speaking verses extempore, repeating apropos,' but I doubt whether the form in *ri* was ever in use. In the *Guttīla*, a poem composed by *Wettāwē* in the fourteenth century, and still popular among the *Siṃhalese*, at v. 237 occurs the phrase—

Kiyata noyek wirudāwali satose

—in a note on which passage *Pandit Batuwantudāwa* observes that, in a vocabulary called *Gadyapadya*, *wiruda* is explained by *rājastuti*. I do not understand the expression *wiradu rāja* on the Great Lion at the Audience Hall, *Pulastipura*, where it is used as an epithet of *Niṣṣanka Malla*. See the *Indian Antiquary* for September, 1873, pp. 246, 247.

3. *Rajapā*.—Compare *æpā* in the contemporary Inscription on the fourth pillar of the Audience Hall at *Pulastipura*, and my note in the vocabulary, *Indian Antiquary* for September, 1873, p. 248. Compare also *Sidatsangarāwa*, line 44.

4. *Bēnan*.—*Sāhasa Malla* is not mentioned at all in *Upham's Rājawaliya* (p. 255), and only in a list of sovereigns in *Upham's Rājaratnākara* (p. 93): in *Turnour's Epitome* his relationship to *Niṣṣanka Malla* is also not given, and in the *Mahāvamsa* itself his reign is dismissed in the following brief stanza (I extract from the *India Office MS.*, chap. lxxx. v. 32):—

Tato Sāhasamallo ti rājā vikkamakesari (MS. kesari)
Rajjanā kāsī duve vasse Okkākakulasambhavo.

The word *bānā* is now applied only to a daughter's husband, or a sister's son; but Niṣṣanka Malla, who came to the throne eighteen years before Sāhasa Malla, was probably his senior in age. Clough, who under *bāna* only gives 'a nephew, a sister's son,' has another form *bāhanā*, under which he gives also 'an elder brother.' In the charms used in the Bala ceremony to propitiate the planets, the expression *welendu de bā* occurs in the sense of 'two brothers, merchants.' I have translated 'elder brother'; but that meaning is doubtful, as *bhāgineya* in Sanskrit, and *bhāgineyya* in Pāli, both mean exclusively nephew.

5. *Udā* must mean the rising, but *udaya* or *udē* are the usual forms; the one used in the inscription being not even noticed by Clough, and only now occurring, as far as I recollect, in the verb *udāwenawā*, 'to rise' (of the heavenly bodies). But compare Guttīla, v. 118, and Kusa Jātaka, v. 369, where *udā* is used as a noun. The latter poem is an Elu version of the well-known Jātaka, written about 1610 A.D. by Alagiyawana Mohoṭṭāla, and is very popular among the Siṃhalese, some of whom consider it the finest poem in the language. A printed edition by Don Andris Tuḍāwa was published in Colombo in 1868.

6. *Tubusanda*.—I have ventured, against both MSS., to adopt this reading, which corresponds well with the *giya kalhi* above.

7. *Abonāwan* is still used in the hill country of Ceylon as a term of respect synonymous with elder.

8. *Budalnāwan* is used as equivalent to *mudalnāwan*, which only occurs with the meaning of treasurer, and is derived from the Tamil *mudal*, 'money;' *mudaliyā*, with its derivative *mudiyanse*, is derived from the Tamil *mudali*, 'first,' and is a native title of rank, not used in India, but much used in Ceylon. Clough gives *mudali*, with the meaning 'a treasurer, a cash keeper,' but *mudaliyā* does not occur with that meaning, and the form *mudali*, though good in Tamil, can only in Siṃhalese be the base used in compounds and in the plural.

9. *Niyamuwā* is not given in the Sinhalese dictionaries: if the reading is correct, it must, I think, be Sanskrit *niyā-*

maka, and must mean steersman, although *niyāmako* is given in *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, v. 667, as used of sailors generally. *Namaniya* is, I am told, still used by the Siṃhalese sailors engaged in the coasting trade in the sense of 'mast.'

10. *anasak* = *ājñācakra*, the wheel of command, the constantly recurring succession of orders and ordinances.

11. *bā tānu*.—*Bahanawā*, according to Clough, is 'to put in,' and *bānawā*, 'to lower, to let down, to unload;' the latter word being very common in that sense: *tānu* I take to be the p.p.p. of *tananawa*, but I am not certain that I have understood these words rightly.

12. *wiyalak*.—*Nāmāwaliya* explains this (v. 138) by *walanga*, snake; in which sense it must be derived from Sanskrit *vyāla*. *Sorawiyala* is the old form of the modern *porowwa*, 'sluice.' *Maṭṭi-wiyala* is the moist clay ready for making the mud walls of native houses with. *Wiyalanawā*, according to Clough, is 'to dry,' and *wiyala*, besides a tiger, a snake, and wet clay, means also bedstead. Here it means a muddy field, *maḍabima*, a padi-field, rice-field: compare *wila*, which Clough explains by lotus, pond, cavern, etc., and which also means marsh.

13. *malanuwan* is not given in Clough or *Nāmāwaliya*, but is still in use occasionally as an honorific form of *malayā*.

14. *wadā-awut*.—*Wadā enawā* is used as the causal of the respectful expression *wadīnawā* = *yahapat wenawā*. Siṃhalese politeness does not (or did not) speak of priests or headmen eating, sleeping, coming or going, like ordinary mortals, but contrived euphemisms to be used of such distinguished persons alone.

15. *lo sasun*.—I have both here and below translated this government of the world; but it may also be a *dvandva* compound, and mean the Church and State: compare the expressions *lo wæḍa sasun wæḍa*, at line 15, and *lo wæḍa sasun rakshāya* at line 65 of the Palace Inscription, J. R. A. S. 1874.

16. *bænā* is so in both MSS., perhaps *bæna*, p. part. act. of *baninawā*, should be read.

17. *pradhāni*.—So read both MSS., but I think the form

should be *pradhāna*. It is difficult to determine the exact force of the titles of the high officials in ancient Ceylon, as they doubtless varied at different times. *Lankādhikāra*, used at the commencement of this inscription, is evidently the origin of the title *Adigar*, which the English, in their first intercourse with the King of Kandy, found applied to the Prime Minister. *Moggallāna*, at v. 982 of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, explains *pradhāna* by *mahāmatta*, Councillor of State. On the pillars in *Niṣṣanka Malla's* Audience Hall are the remarkable inscriptions translated in the *Indian Antiquary*, *loc. cit.*, showing the position of those who were present when he sat in state. They were in the following order:—1. The *yuwarāja*, seated. 2. The *āpās*=*adhipas*, seated. 3. On one side the *seneviradu*=*senāpatis*; and on the other side the *māṇḍalīkas*, governors of provinces. 4. On one side the *pradhānas*; on the other the *caurāsīs*, governors of 'hundreds' (from *caturāsī*, 84, see Sir H. Elliot's Glossary of Indian Terms, *sub voce*). 5. On one side the *kāyasthas*, or secretaries; and on the other the members of the *kaḍagoshthi* or *bazār* council (Chamber of Commerce).

In the seventeenth century, Knox, whose faithful and full description of the whole inner life and customs of the Sinhalese is a mine of valuable information, gives the titles of the State officers as follows:—1. 'Adigars' = *adhikāra*. 2. 'Dissanvas,' *i.e.* *disāwas*=*disā*, the rulers of provinces. 3. The 'courlvidani,' *i.e.* *kōralē vidānes*=*vidhānas* over the *kōrales*, into which the provinces of Ceylon are divided. 4. The 'congconna,' *i.e.* *kangāni*, a Tamil word for a petty officer; and *courti-archila*, which must be, I think, *kōralē ārracila*=*ārakshika*, the *t* being a misprint. The revenue officers under the *disāwas* were:—3. 'Liannahs,' *i.e.* *liyannds*, writers. 4. 'Undias,' *i.e.* *uṇḍiyās*, *uṇḍiya* meaning originally a lump or ball, and then a particular coin, four of which, according to Clough=1 *sali*, 4 *sali* being=1 *fanam*, *i.e.* 1½*d.* 5. The 'Monannahs,' *i.e.* *maninnās*, measurers, collectors of the king's tithe.

In the *Mahāvāṃsa* Turnour translates *purohita* (p. 61) by 'purohitta minister;' at p. 69 we have an *amaccapamukha*,

to whom the purohicca is subsequently given in India; an *amacca*, who is made *daṇḍanāyaka* (cf. 146, 4; 153, 13, 14; 170, 5; 172, 9; 173, from which two passages it appears that Dushṭa-gāmini had at least eight amacce, p. 205, 5; 227, 6; 229, 9; 231 3; 233, 5; 248 9; 253 11); and a *ganaka*, who is made a *setthi*; while the honour of *senāpati* is given by Asoka to Devānam-Piyatissa's nephew. This word *senāpati* is several times translated by Turnour 'minister,' which is also his rendering for *camūpati* (Mah. 44, 13; where *camūpati* = *senāpati* at line 10, Mah. 137, 4; 204, 8, 9, 10; where *camūpati* = *senāpati* at line 7; at p. 64 both these words are translated commander, and so at pp. 219, 225, 16; 259, 9). *Nagaraguttika* is said at p. 65 to have been a permanent official in Anurādhapura. *Kumāra* used at pp. 23, 148, of the son of a king, is used at p. 141 of a village chief; apparently the same as *sammata* on p. 142 (an epithet applied to an *amacca* at p. 172, 4). At p. 248, 5, *kumārā* are the king's pages. *Rāja kammika*, king's overseer, pp. 175, 176, is perhaps not the title of an official, but *balattha*, pp. 175, 209, 210, 218, 219, peon, messenger, certainly is. *Dovārika*, p. 117, 11, and *jetthadovārika*, p. 209, 8, are also officials, but evidently much beneath the *dvāranāyaka*, p. 260, line 10, again mentioned in the 39th chap. v. 39, J.R.A.S. 1874, Pt. II. At p. 231, 3, we have a *bhaṇḍāgāriko amacco*, lord high treasurer. At p. 195 we have a *lekhaka*, secretary who keeps a diary of the king's good deeds, and another is mentioned at p. 236, 5. *Mahāmattā* is the name of Wankanāsika's queen, p. 223, and also, on the authority of the translator only, of Ilanāga's queen, p. 216. The title *mahāmatta* does not occur in the Mah., but is applied by Buddhaghosa in the commentary on the Dhammapada (Dh. p. 307, 336) to Santati, who is also called (p. 336) an *amacca* of King Bindusāra: compare also p. 390, line 9. *Gāmaṇi* at Mah. 151, 1, seems to mean a village headman, but may also mean lord or owner of the village. There is a curious list given in the Sumangala Vilāsini, as quoted by Alwis, Pali Grammar, p. 99, where it is stated that on the arrest of a thief, he was tried first by the *viniccaya-*

mahāmattas, then by the *vohārikas*, then by the *suttadaras*, then by the *atthakulikas*, then by the *senāpati*, then by the *uparāja*, then by the King: each having the power of acquittal, but not of conviction and punishment.

Throughout the history of Ceylon the political constitution seems to have remained the same. At the head the King, bound by no law, but never altering the law; his despotism only restrained by his own sense of justice or fear: at his court one or more ministers, among whom the departments of state were sometimes divided, but to any one of whom usually an appeal lay from every inferior officer, and who advised the King, or administered in his name, on all affairs: over each province a chief, bound to pay into the treasury not the exact revenue he received, but a lump sum, and intermediate appeal judge in all cases arising in his district: under him, again, inferior officers, some of whom were clerks and accountants with specified duties, others petty territorial headmen over villages or small districts with judicial as well as administrative power. No great landowners, but the land in the hands of peasants bound only to pay some share from one-tenth to one-half to the King, or to a temple or chief when the King had made a grant to that effect. Sumptuary laws, or rather customs, and the great difficulty of obtaining justice against oppression, prevented any rise in the general scale of comfort, and prevented therefore at the same time any great extension of commerce. Three-fourths of the people belonged to one, the wellāla, or agricultural caste; but caste customs bound mechanics, barbers, washers, weavers, etc., to perpetual servitude; whilst slavery of a mild form was universal.

18. *paṭṭanamæ*.—I am not sure whether the *mæ* here should be taken separately as the adverb of emphasis, or whether this is one word, the Sinhalese locative *æ* added to the Tamil word *paṭṭanam*. Fausböll, in his *Five Jātakas*, p. 25, says, "Paṭṭana is given by Wilson in the general sense of town, but it must particularly mean a town near the sea, a port." Compare *paṭun gam* in the Rankot Pillar Inscription, Journ. Royal As. Soc., Vol. VII. Part I. n.s. p. 164. I

think the word is of Dravidian origin. At Mahāvāṁsa, p. 110, Turnour translates Jambukola by Jambukolapattana: compare Mah. 119, 13, where the reading should probably be Jambukolavhapattane. Turnour reads Jambukolamhi-
paṭṭhane, and the India Office MS. has J° paḍane.

19. patā from patanawā = prārthanā karanawā.

20. Both MSS. read wignā not wijñā. This is very curious. Compare the modern pronunciation of nirvāṇa which is usually in Ceylon = nirgwāna.

21. *sādhā*.—Compare F. Dh. p. 111, 21, ‘tassa rukkhassa pupphapalāsādin sādeti, where a MS. I had reads sādheti.

22. *subha*.—I have ventured to read so in accordance with an expression used below in this inscription.

23. *Mahāpotin*.—This word gave me much difficulty, owing to the MSS. reading peta and peti respectively; but I think the reading adopted must be right. *Pota* is given for a ship at Abhidh. 1118. Compare potādhāna, Clough s.v., a shoal of fish so large as to stop the course of a ship when sailing. Perhaps to distinguish it from pōt, a book, the word ought in Sinhalese, following the Sanskrit and Pāli, to be written with long *o*.

24. *sādhārana* in modern Sinhalese means justice, equity, sarwasādhāranawa, equitable towards all, is opposed to pakshapātawa, partial, in the sixth column of the number for 3rd September, 1869, of the *Lakriwikirana* or *Ceylon Sunbeam*, a native newspaper, whose leading articles are as much distinguished for their idiomatic and correct Sinhalese as they are for loyalty and good sense. Clough’s derivation of the word is quite wrong.

25. *Ranpaṭa bandawā*.—Knox, p. 133, says: “Among the noblemen may be mentioned an honour that the king confers like unto knighthood; it ceaseth in the person’s death, and is not hereditary. The King confers it by putting about their heads a piece of silk or ribbon, embroidered with gold and silver, and bestowing a title upon them. They are styled mundianna (*i.e.* mudiyanse); there are not above two or three of them in the realm living now.”

26. *Rājawallabha*.—At Mah. 236, 5, rañño vallabhā is the



king's mistress. At 235, 4, Sonamacco rājavallabho means the minister Sona, a favourite of the King.

27. *kaṇḍu ballan*.—On several inscriptions recording grants I was surprised to see rough drawings of a crow and dog. This passage explains their meaning, but as several of these inscriptions were in alphabets much older than the time of Sāhasa Malla, the comparison must have been in common use from an early period.

28. The Sanskrit stanzas at the end of this and the next inscription are so corrupt in the MSS. that it would be useless to attempt a translation.

NOTES ON THE RUWANWĒLI DĀGABA INSCRIPTION.¹

2. *Samāna*.—The MS. reads *tilakāyamāna*, which gives no sense: *samāna* is the reading in the parallel passage at line 7 of the Palace Proclamation of Niṣṣanka Malla, J.R.A.S., Vol. VII. Part I. *Niṣṣanka* is spelt with ṣṣ at line 8, and throughout the three inscriptions published in Vol. VII. Part I. of this Journal; but as the name is given with *ss* in the Inscription on the Great Lion by the Audience Hall at Pulastipura (see the *Indian Antiquary* for September, 1873, p. 246), I have not ventured to alter the reading of the MS.

3. The MS. has *vahanse*, which I have corrected to *vahansē*, see vv. 12 (bis), 13 (bis), 19, 22, 23, 24.

4. *Mālu* being used of Parākrama Bāhu the Great, who had only been dead less than ten years, must mean old in years, and not old in the sense of former. The Mudaliar, who does not translate the title, points out very rightly that this reference in Niṣṣanka Malla's inscription to Parākrama settles the question that Niṣṣanka Malla Parākrama Bāhu cannot be identical with the Parākrama Bāhu of Turnour's list. When, however, as an additional reason for the same

¹ The numbers prefixed to these notes refer to the numbers of the lines in the text.

conclusion, he points out that the Stone Book at Pulastipura gives a description of Niṣṣanka Malla agreeing in all important points with that given in the present inscription, he forgets that this proves nothing to the point at issue. Because one inscription of Niṣṣanka Malla's agrees with another, it does not follow that he is the Kirti Nissanga mentioned by Turnour. But that point also is settled by other facts mentioned in these inscriptions agreeing with the extract from the Mahāvamśa now published, from which it also appears that Turnour's spelling Nissanga was incorrect.

The Mudaliar translates the whole of this passage: "Considering the great many people oppressed and impoverished by injudicious inordinate taxation repugnant to the ancient royal institutes of the exalted Malu Parākrama Bahu," etc., which seems to me grammatically impossible: the subject of the verbs *ikmæ kala* must be Parākrama Bāhu. Such a translation is also inconsistent with the known facts of history, as only one king, the mild and religious Wijayabāhu II., reigned between Mālu Parākrama and Niṣṣanka Malla.

9, 10. These lines, which must be written very closely on the stone, as they contain more than the other lines of the inscription, seem to have presented some difficulty to the copyist, and are corrupt. *sanātha-koṭæ* is a strange form; perhaps the stone has *swastha-koṭæ* which occurs in the parallel passage on the Rankot Dāgaba Pillars published by me in the present volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, p. 164, but compare v. 39. The MS. has *sthira koṭæ*; I have ventured to read *sthira*; and *wiwiya*, where I read *wiwidha*, the former giving no sense, and the *y* being so much like the *dh* of the twelfth-century alphabet. *Satamanā* also seems to be a mistake for *satamāna*, which I read, and *na dawassækāk* should be *mā*. I do not understand *simhā* at the commencement of the new line. For *samurddhawa* compare the Palace Inscription, line 22.

14. (*ne*) *swamin*. *sic* in MS. The MS. here, and in vv. 7, 19, 26, has *ridi*, though *ridi* is the more common form. I have corrected the MS. reading *ætalū* into *ætulū*, which alone is correct.

17. The MS. here has *ṣāṣanayehi*, and at vv. 18, 21, *ṣāṣanaya*; at v. 39 it reads *ṣāṣana*, which is right.

18. The MS. has *dænænæ*. The Mudaliar takes *hoḷawuntā* as a nominative, and translates *kaṭayutu dænæ* by "had no means of living."

19. For *ridi-yakaḍa-bat-bijuwata*, the Mudaliar has "vestments, iron, seed, paddy," which is probably through a confusion with *kaḍa* 'cloth.'

20. The Mudaliar renders *obage . . . saṅgrahakoṭæ* by "presented their kith and kin with various articles of wealth."

22. The MS. has *Pulastī*.

27. *ātapaniwāraṇaya koṭæ* the Mudaliar translates by "fanning it with fans."

33. This reference to gods talking with men is most curious, and certainly refers to a miracle supposed to have been wrought on this occasion. The *Bauddha-dewatāwan* cannot mean simply Buddhist priests, for it is said on the Stone Book at *Pulastipura* (*teste* *Armour apud* *Forbes*, *Ceylon*, vol. ii. p. 347, last line) that *Niṣṣanka Malla* "having made offerings worth a sum of seven *lakshas* to the great *Ruanweli Saya* at *Anooradhapura*, he caused statues to be made of the *Dewetas* who rejoiced at the said *puja*, and had the same gilded and placed in proper situations."

39. *Vihāra* meant, in the Post-Vedic times in India, firstly pleasure, relaxation, and then a pleasure-ground or place of relaxation; and after the rise of Buddhism it was applied to the Buddhist temples. It meant originally the meeting place of the Buddhist priests; but after images of Buddha began to be set up, and dwelling-houses for the priests to be permanently erected round the image-house, the word *vihāra* was used—as it still is—to denote either, 1. *dagaba* (or dome built over a relic), *Bo-tree* (*Ficus religiosa*), and more exactly the temple itself; or, 2. and more generally, the whole monastic establishment. This usually consists in all Buddhist countries alike of one or more of the following buildings:—1. The temple or *image-house* containing one or more figures of Buddha, either standing, sitting cross-legged,

or lying on his side: before these images the pious Buddhist goes through his simple worship, bowing, placing his palms together, and raising his hands to his forehead, repeats the creed or some moral sentences from the Buddhist books, and offers flowers. 2. The *dāgaba* or solid bell-shaped dome, sometimes of enormous dimensions, under which some relic of Buddha is supposed to be buried. 3. The sacred Bo-tree (*Ficus religiosa*). 4. A preaching hall. 5. A hall in which the priests meet; and lastly, the cells in which the priests sleep. See Davy's Ceylon, p. 220; Tennent's Ceylon, vol. i. pp. 347-349: for Siam, Pallegoix, Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, Janr., 1854, pp. 31 *et seq.*: for Burma, Bigandet, Legend of the Burmese Buddha, p. 162: for Nepāl, Hodgson's Sketch of Buddhism, p. 241: for Tibet, Köppen, Religion des Buddha, vol. ii. p. 258, and *cf.* vol. i. p. 376.

ART. XVIII.—*Notes on a Bactrian Pali Inscription and the Samvat Era.* By Prof. J. Dowson.

IN *Trübner's Record* of June, 1871, I gave a notice of a short Inscription, of which a rubbing was brought from Takht-i-Bahi by Dr. Leitner. The rubbing showed the Inscription to be in a very defective state, and, according to General Cunningham, the original stone has been used for grinding spices on. A photograph of it has since been obtained, from which the accompanying plate has been copied. Many of the letters are indistinct, but the photograph would seem to indicate that the blank space in the middle was blank from the first. The stone is now in the Lahore Museum. I quote what I said in the *Record*.

“Altogether there are six lines of writing, but of these, the first two, containing the name of the King and the date, are alone intelligible. Fortunately this is the only part of the inscription which is of any importance; for the word *puyae*, which is twice legible towards the end, shows that this inscription is a mere record of a votive offering, such as Buddhist worshippers loved to make and to set up in remembrance of their devotion. The opening words of the inscription may be thus translated: ‘*In the 26, twenty-sixth, year of the great King Guna . . . pharasa, on the 7, seventh, day of the month Vaisākha.*’ As usual, the numbers are expressed both by numerals and by words. The ‘great King Guna . . . pharasa’ is probably the ‘Gondophares’ of the bilingual coins, whose name is written in a variety of ways in the Bactrian versions of the name. This identification, however, is open to doubt, for in the inscription three letters are obliterated in the

THE TAKHT-I-BAHI INSCRIPTION OF KING GONDOPHARES.

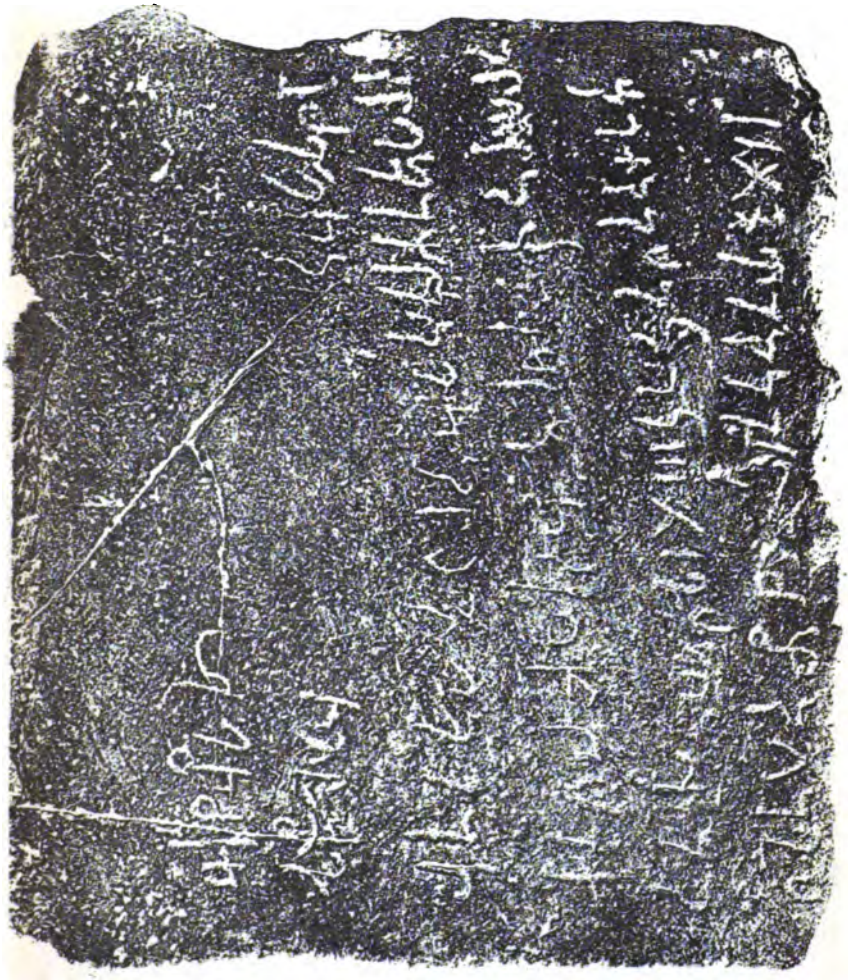


PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHED FROM A PHOTOGRAPH OF COLONEL YULE.
TAKEN FROM THE ORIGINAL STONE IN THE LAHORE MUSEUM.

middle of the name. There is nothing even to suggest a guess as to what these letters were, but they must have made the name longer than it has yet been met with. It may be that it is a mere difference of spelling, but, on the other hand, it may be a different though similar name."

In a subsequent number of the *Record*, General Cunningham, under his initials A.C., communicated his own version of the Inscription.¹ Before seeing my version he had read the name as Gudupharasa, and had identified it with Gondophares. He had also read the name of the month Vesakha. He then proceeds. "The date of the Inscription I read as Samvat 103, the fourth day of the month Vesakh (equivalent to A.D. 46), in the 26th year of the King's reign. The inscription ends with the words *sa puyae matu pitu puyae*, 'for his own religious merit, and for the religious merit of his father and mother.' It is therefore only a simple record of the building of a *Stupa* or a *Vihar* by some pious Buddhist."

General Cunningham's decipherment of the word Samvat induced me to take up the Inscription again; and although the letters are very indistinct, I have no doubt that the word is there. The transliteration of the first two lines runs as follows:—

Maha-rayasa Gunu . . . pharasa vasha ux;

Samvatsarasa satamae 111<1 vesakhasa masasa divase.

The word *vasha* in the first line is the Sanskrit *varsha* "year," and this line may be unhesitatingly translated, "In the 26th year of the great King Gunu . . . phara (Gondophares)."

The first two words of the second line are *Samvatsarasa satamae*, "In (the year) one hundred of the Samvat." The other words are *Vesakhasa masasa divase*, "on the day

¹ Reproduced in the *Indian Antiquary* of August, 1873, p. 242.

of the month Vaiṣākha." The whole of the letters of the word Samvatsarasa are not distinct, and my reading has been contested by one well entitled to an opinion. It is admitted, however, that the first two letters and the last one are legible. I myself have no doubt of the *ra* before the final *sa*; but of the medial character, the compound *tsa*, only a faint indication can be found. The stone has in this spot received some damage, and the most conspicuous mark seems to me to be a mere crack, and out of the regular line of writing. The word Samvatsarasa requires five distinct characters, and the space occupied by the word in the Inscription occupies just the same space as the well-defined five letters in the line above it. But whatever the doubt about the identity of some of the letters, the word certainly forms part of the date, and as the first two letters and the final one are distinct, the conclusion as to what the word must be would be almost irresistible, even if no traces of the other letters were visible.

There remain the numerals in the middle of the line, and the question is how they are to be taken. My first idea was that the figure \angle was a defaced \times , and so I read it as 4—thus taking it and the three following strokes to represent 7. But a close examination of the original rubbing and of the photograph has convinced me that the figure is perfect, for there is no sign of abrasion. So it cannot be a 4. General Cunningham seems to have read the figures as (1) one, (\angle) hundred, and (III) three. But neither of these versions is tenable. The date as given in words is "one hundred of the Samvatsara," and, according to the usual practice, that number must be found among the figures. Therefore the sign \angle either represents a hundred, and $\angle 1$ means 100; or \angle is a kind of stop or division separating the hundred from the units, in which case 1 will mean 100. The former is obviously the more probable and sensible reading, so $\angle 1$ may be taken as signifying 100. There are then left the figures III representing 3, which must belong to the month, making the date "3 Vaiṣākha, 100 Samvatsara." It must be admitted that this interpreta-

tion is not self-convincing, for the number of the year and the date of the month are placed together in a very awkward and deceptive way; and according to the ordinary practice, the figures representing the date of the month ought to follow the name, not precede it. I cannot decipher the word following the name of the month, but I am satisfied that the first character is not a numeral. General Cunningham found a 4 somewhere, but I venture to say there is no such figure—so the three perpendicular marks represent “3 Vaiṣākha.” The translation of the first two lines is—

“In the 26th year of the great King Gondophares (and) on the third day of the month Vaiṣākha, (year) one hundred 100 of the Samvatsara.”

These few words are of great importance, as they prove that an era called Samvatsara was in use in Bactrian Pali days, and that it had become recognized as an era in its hundredth year. Whatever doubt may exist as to the above rendering of the numerals, I feel perfectly assured in the reading of the words “*Samvatsarasa śatamae*,” which can mean nothing else than “in one hundred of the Samvatsara.”

As the word Samvatsara, in its primitive sense, means simply “year,” it has been difficult in early dates to determine whether to read it simply as “year,” or as “the year,” or “era.” In translating the Mathura Inscriptions I purposely left the question open. Some of those inscriptions bore very early dates, as 5 and 9; and it seemed very improbable that the Samvatsara, whatever its epoch, should have come to be recognized as an era at so early a time: for the establishment of an era is almost always a retrospective, not a prospective arrangement. Though it may well come to pass that at the end of a long or remarkable reign, its years may continue to be counted onwards, and so the commencement of that reign may become the epoch of an era. Something like this would seem to have been the case with the Samvatsara.

General Cunningham, in reproducing my translations of

the Mathura Inscriptions,¹ took a bolder course than I had ventured upon. Instead of reading Samvatsara as "year," he converted it into "era;" and no doubt he was quite justified in doing so with such high dates as 135 and 281. But there still remained a doubt as to whether the word *samvatsara* might not be used in the inscriptions with its simple primary meaning of "year," as year of a reign or of some unspecified era. The present Inscription, in speaking of the year 100 of the Samvatsara, makes it perfectly clear that the Samvatsara was then recognized as an era. Having thus become fairly established as an era, whenever the word Samvatsara occurs in dates, unqualified by the mention of some other era, it must be taken as being the name of the era; for the use of the word in such a position, with the simple meaning of year, would be not merely ambiguous, but deceptive, and such a use would no doubt be avoided by employing some synonym for "year," as the word *varsha* is used in this Inscription; or by giving the name of the era, as it is found expressed in other Inscriptions, "*Saka-Kāla-samvatsare*,"² "in the year of the Saka era."

A review of all the dates in the Bactrian Pali and Mathura Inscriptions gives the following results:—

KING.	SAMVAT YEAR.	INSCRIPTION.	
Kanishka	9	Mathura	(Arch. Rep. vol. iii. p. 31).
"	11	Bhawalpur	(Journ. Vol. IV. n.s. p. 500).
"	18	Manikyala	(Journ. Vol. XX. p. 251).
Huvishka	39	Mathura	(Journ. Vol. V. n.s. p. 182, and Arch. Rep. vol. iii. p. 30).
"	47	"	
"	48	"	
"	51	Wardak	(Journ. Vol. XX. p. 256).
Moga	78	Taxila	(Ib. p. 223).
Vāsu-deva	5	Mathura	(Arch. Rep. p. 30).
"	44		(Journ. Vol. V. n.s. p. 182, and Arch. Rep. vol. iii. p. 36).
"	83	"	
"	87	"	
"	98	"	
Gondophares	100	Takht-i Bahi.	

¹ Archæological Survey, iii. 29.

² Journ. R.A.S. vol. iii. p. 269. Multai Plates. Journ. B.A.S. vol. vi. p. 870.

The only name in the series which presents any difficulty is that of Vâsu-deva. The name is first met with in an inscription of the year 5; but that inscription is very defective. The words Vâsu-deva are clear, but they are not preceded by any title of royalty, and the context in which they occur is unintelligible; it may, therefore, be reasonably doubted if they represent the name of the King. But the name occurs in the year 44, when Huvishka was reigning, and again in the years 83, 87, and 98. Apart from the fact of Huvishka being King in the year 44, it is extremely improbable that the same Vâsu-deva was reigning in that year and in the year 98. Thus the name Vâsu-deva is used apparently in the year 5, and certainly in the years 44 and 98. Can any suggestion be offered to account for this? The name Vâsu-deva, it must be observed, is the only Hindu name in the series; Kanishka, Huvishka, and the rest are of foreign origin. May not Vâsu-deva then have been the Hindu title by which the monarchs of this Scythic dynasty were known among their Hindu subjects? ¹ Three foreign Kings, "Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka," are mentioned in the Râja Tarangini, and it should be observed that the order in which the names succeed each other is a metrical arrangement. Kanishka and Hushka are known by inscriptions; the name of Jushka has not been found, so he may have been known by another name.

The dates of the various Bactrian Pali Inscriptions are, as above shown, entirely in agreement with the Indian Pali Inscriptions of Mathura. In all of them the word Samvat-sara is used. The present inscription proves that it was the title of an era, and its frequent abbreviation to "Sam" shows that it was a well-known familiar term. What, then, was the era it designated? In the Bactrian Pali Inscriptions the Macedonian months are frequently used, so that the natural inference was that the era used was the Seleucidan. But this era carried the inscriptions too far back. An ingenious theory has lately been set up to get over this

¹ This title or name is also found upon the Indo-Sassanian coins of a somewhat later date.—See Thomas's *Prinsep*, vol. ii. p. 113; *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 400.

difficulty. It supposes that the number of the century was suppressed, as we now suppress it in saying '75 for 1875. But we never adopt this practice in dating documents, and it is obvious that it would entirely defeat the object of putting a date upon a monument intended to endure for a long period. It is true that in Bactrian Pali Inscriptions we have no date higher than the year 100; but the Mathura Inscriptions, which are intimately connected with them, have the dates 135 and 281 Samvatsara.¹

The question still remains as to what was meant by the word Samvatsara, and I have no hesitation in answering, The Samvatsara of Vikramāditya. In the first place that era accords with the period to which, for other reasons, these Inscriptions are referred. There has been a disposition of late years to question the great antiquity of this era. Some have said that it does not go farther back than the year 400, and one writer has even disputed its having been in use before the year 1000 A.D.² Little has been adduced in support of these attacks upon the antiquity of the era; but, according even to the most hostile of its assailants, the era known as the Samvat has been current for a thousand years. This era is intimately bound up with Hindu ritual, and it is the one in which are enshrined those methods of computing and recording time which are peculiar to the Hindus. Both these considerations lead to a strong presumption in favour of its antiquity. The Ballabhi Samvat, which was based upon this Samvat, "is shown by the Annals of Rājasthān to correspond with 375 of Vikramāditya."³ There is no very great gap between this date and the date of the present inscription, and the interval is filled up by the Mathura Inscriptions of 135 and 281 Samvatsara. All the Bactrian Pali Inscriptions and the Mathura Inscriptions designate the era simply "Samvatsara," or, as abbreviated, "Sam." Later inscriptions, which are unquestionably dated in the

¹ Journ. R.A.S. Vol. V. n.s. p. 182; Arch. Rep. vol. iii. pp. 36, 37.

² Extrait des Notices et Communications de l'Académie royale d'Amsterdam, 1873.

³ Prinsep's Useful Tables, in Thomas, vol. ii. p. 158.

era of Vikramāditya, in the same way, name it only as "Samvatsara," and I know of no instance of the word Vikramāditya being used in an Inscription to qualify the word. In modern times the era is known simply as "Samvat." There has thus been an era called "Samvatsara" from the year 100 to the present time; and a natural conclusion follows, that, as it is now, so it was in the beginning, and that the title "Samvatsara" has throughout designated one, and only one era. It is incredible that a second era should have been set up and called simply Samvatsara without any distinctive appellation. There have been other Samvats, as the Ballabhi Samvat, and the Siva Sinha Samvat,¹ but these have their distinctive titles, and it is not to be lightly assumed that the bare word Samvatsara was used to designate either of them. So, when the word Samvatsara occurs in dates unqualified by a distinctive name, I hold to the opinion strongly expressed by James Prinsep, that it designates the Samvat of Vikramāditya, and no other.²

General Cunningham, in his last Archæological Report, has brought forward various arguments, showing that the Samvat era was used by Kanishka and the other Scythic monarchs in India.³ It seems now hardly possible to doubt the fact. What has been above written tends also to substantiate his opinion that the Samvat era of Vikramāditya dates from the establishment of the Scythic power in India.

¹ Prinsep's Useful Tables, in Thomas, vol. ii. p. 158.

² Thomas's Prinsep, vol. ii. p. 258, and a note in p. 259, where Mr. Wathen records his opinion, that he made a mistake in supposing the "Samvat" of a certain Guzerat inscription to have been the Ballabhi Samvat, and that the Samvat so used "is that of Vikramāditya."

³ Arch. Report, iii. p. 45. Coincidentally he proposes to identify Kanishka with Wema-Kadphises. In a later page (139) Chandra Gupta I. is placed in the year 79 A.D.; that is, the very epoch of the era of Sâlivâhana.

ART. XIX.—*Note on a Jade Drinking Vessel of the Emperor Jahāngir.* By EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S.

AMONG other curiosities dispersed at the sale of the late Col. C. S. Guthrie's Oriental Collection, Lot 118—described as "A DARK-GREEN JADE JAR, the neck engraved with an inscription"—realized £60, and was wisely retained in the family by Mr. Arbuthnot Guthrie.

The vase in question constitutes a most interesting memorial of the Great *Mughal* Emperor JAHĀNGĪR, being in fact one of his drinking vessels, cut expressly for his use at Fathpūr,¹ near his capital of Agra; and in its surroundings brings vividly before us the tales of his drunken revels, of which we hear so much from Captain Hawkins and Sir T. Roe, the Ambassador of James I. at the Court of the Indian monarch. W. Hawkins, an almost boon companion, in speaking of his potations, goes on to say—

"Foure or five sorts of very well dressed and roasted meats are brought him, of which as hee pleaseth, he eateth a bit to stay his stomacke, drinking once of his strong drinke. Then hee commeth forth into a private roome, where none can come, but such as himselve nominateth, (for two yeeres together I was one of his attendants here). In this place he drinketh other five cupfuls, which is the portion the Physicians alot him. . . . And after he hath alept two houres, they awake him, and bring his supper to him, at which time he is not able to feede himselfe."—Hawkins (A.D. 1603–1611, A.H. 1018–1020), in Purchas, vol. i. p. 224.

Sir Thomas Roe's more reserved experiences are also preserved in his own words—

"The King sent me word, it was his birth day, and that all men did make merry, and to aske if I would drinke with them. . . . So hee called for a Cuppe of gold of mingled wine, halfe of the grape, halfe artificiall, and dranke, causing it to bee filled, and sent to me. . . . I dranke a little, but it was more strong than euer I tasted,

¹ Jahāngir was born at Fathpūr Sikri, in 977 A.H.—Khāfi Khān, i. 22.

so that it made me sneeze, whereat he laughed.”¹—Sir T. Roe (A.D. 2nd Sept. 1616, A.H. 1025), Purchas, vol. i. p. 551; Pinkerton, vol. viii. p. 15; Churchill, vol. i. p. 636.

Jahángír's own confessions are embodied, with full naiveté, in his diary, which has been preserved in its more or less authentic form in the various memoirs of his life—

“Up to my fourteenth year I had never drunk wine, except two or three times in childhood, when my mother or nurses had given me some as a remedy for some childish ailment. Once also my father called for some spirit (*'arak*) to the amount of a *tola*, and mixing it with rose-water, made me drink it as a remedy for a cough. In the days when my father was in the field against the Yúsufzái Afgháns, I was encamped near *Átak*, on the *Níláb* (Indus). I one day went out hunting. I met with many mishaps, and was very tired, when one of my attendants told me that if I would drink a cup of wine, it would relieve my fatigue and weariness. I was young, and prone to indulgence, so I sent a servant to the house of *Hakím 'Alí* for a refreshing drink. He brought me about a cup (*piyála*) and a half of yellow wine of sweet taste in a small bottle, and I drank it. The result was pleasant. From that time I took to wine-drinking, and from day to day took more and more, until wine of the grape had no effect upon me, and I took to spirit-drinking. In the course of nine years I got up to twenty cups of double-distilled spirit, fourteen of which I drank in the day, and the remaining six at night. The weight of this was six *stras* of *Hindústán*, equal to one *man* of *Irán*. . . . No one dared to expostulate with me, and matters reached such an extreme, that when in liquor I could not hold my cup for shaking and trembling. I drank, but others held the cup for me. At last I sent for the *hakím* (doctor) *Humám*, brother of *Hakím Abú-l Fath*, who was one of my father's attendants, and placed my case before him. With great kindness and interest, he spoke to me without concealment, and told me that if I went on drinking spirits in this way for six

¹ “Being entered, you approach the King's Derbar or Seat, before which is also a small court inclosed with railles, covered ouer head with rich Semianes to keepe away the Sunne . . . sitting forth in a small more inward Court . . . into which none but the *Grandes* . . . are permitted to enter, where he drinks by number and measure, sometimes one and thirtie, and running over, mixing also among, seure iudicatures.”—Wm. Finch (A.D. 1610-11), Purchas, vol. i. p. 439.

“Often overcome with wine, but severely punishing that fault in others.”—Terry, Purchas, vol. ii. p. 1481. See also p. 387, his “Voyage to East India.” London, 1787.

months longer, my state would be past remedy. His advice was good, and life is dear. I was greatly affected by his words, and from that day I began to diminish my potations, but I took to eating *faluhá*. As I lessened my drink, I increased the opium, and I directed that the spirits should be mixed with wine of the grape; two parts wine and one spirit. Lessening my allowance daily, I reduced it in the course of seven years to six cups, each cup weighing eighteen *miskáls* and a quarter. For fifteen years I have now kept to this quantity, taking neither more nor less."—Elliot's *Historians, Waki'át-i Jahángiri*, vol. vi. p. 341. See also p. 285. [Entry under the tenth year of the reign, A.H. 1024, A.D. 1615.]

"The climate of this part of the country (Gujarát) was not beneficial to my health, and the physicians had advised me to lessen the quantity of wine I usually drank. I deemed this prudent, and began to do so. In the course of one week I reduced the quantity about one cup. Formerly I took six cups every night, each cup containing seven *tolas* and a half of liquor, that is, forty-five *tolas* altogether; but now each cup contained six and one-third of a *tola*, the whole being thirty-seven *tolas* and a half."—Elliot, vol. vi. p. 361. [Entry under the thirteenth year of the reign, A.H. 1027, A.D. 1618.]

These definitions of quantities enable us to determine the extent of the Emperor's potations. The two estimates¹ in *miskáls* and *Indian tolas* accord so closely that we need not seek to reconcile the weight of the *str* of Hindústán or the *man* of Írán. Under these tests, our potentate, in his evil days, is found to have consumed 52 or 53 ounces of "double-distilled spirits." The quantity was sufficiently startling, but the strength and the quality of the liquor² must have been the great trial for the constitution.

Our monarch does not appear to have had any such scruples or reserve in the avowal of his tipping tendencies as has been sometimes attributed to him; for we find him causing the

¹ The *miskál* of 40 *ratis*, or 70 grains troy, gives as the maximum $70 \times 18\frac{1}{2} \times 20 = 53\cdot220$ ounces Apothecaries weight. The minimum being $18\frac{1}{2} \times 6 = 16\cdot966$ oz.

The *tola* of 96 *ratis*, or 168·00 grains ($7\frac{1}{2}$ *tolas* \times 6 = 45), gives a maximum of 52·500 oz., and a minimum of 37 *tolas* = 16·750 oz.

² Bábu Rajendralál Mitra has given us a full account of the strong drinks of the ancient Hindús in the *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1873, p. 1. He there shows that *arraak* was in use among the rites of the Vedic Aryans.

representation of his own sacred person to be stamped on the coinage of the empire, in the act of raising the wine-cup to his lips, so early as the sixth year of his reign,¹ a device which is retained, with slight modification, till his ninth year. In these examples the cup is shaped like an ordinary China tea-cup, so that we must suppose that this Jade vessel² constituted the water mug of his repentant efforts at the reduction of stimulants, an inference alike demanded by the date and tenor of the inscription itself, as well as by the form of the jar, which follows that of the ordinary Indian *Lotah*, made

¹ Marsden, No. 1335. Gold. Weight, 168 grains. A.H. 1020.

Obv. Bust of Jahāngir raising the wine-cup preparatory to drinking. A light nimbus surrounds the head.

Legend. *Right*—شبه جهانگیر شاه اکبر شاه Image of Jahāngir Shāh (son of) Akbar Shāh.

Left—سنه شش جلوس Year six of the reign.

Rev. The Sun in the constellation of Leo, occupying the full surface of the piece—at the foot of the device the words

سنه هجری ۱۰۲۰ Year 1020 Hijri.

Marsden, 1338. Gold. Weight, 167 grains. Ajmir, A.H. 1023.

Obv. Full figure of the King seated on his chair of State, holding a cup of wine. A prominent nimbus encircles the head.

Legend. *Left* verse—قضا بر سکه زر کرد تصویر By (divine) decree the picture of the form of H. M. Shāh Jahāngir was placed on the gold coin.

Right—شبه حضرت شاه جهانگیر

Rev. Small sun in the centre.

Above—ز روز ازل در عدد شد برابر From eternity, the numeral letters for *Jahāngir* and *Allah Akbar* have been

Below—حروف جهانگیر و الله اکبر in unison. [The totals in either case being 292.]

On the two sides—یا معین سنه ۹ ضرب اجمیر ۱۰۲۳

Oh Defender! Year 9 (of the reign). Struck at Ajmir, 1023 (A.H.).

Variety. Similar coins, with the figure of the monarch and the lion and the sun (of No. 1335) reduced in size to meet the more ample legends. See Marsden, p. 609. The coins are dated *Ajmir*, the 8th year and the 9th year = 1023 A.H.

² William Hawkins, in his enumeration of Jahāngir's treasures, says, "Of vases for wine very faire and rich, set with jewels, there are one hundred. Of drinking cuppes five hundred, that is to say made of one piece of Ballace ruby and also emerods, of *eshim* (which stone cometh from Cathay), of Turkish stone and other sorts of stones."—*Purchas*, vol. i. p. 217. This *eshim* is the identical term which is engraved on the cup, *یشم yashm*, the Chinese *Yuh-shih*, "gem-stone."

upright in the neck for facility of drinking, with an inner groove to receive and retain a cover. The cup holds 25½ ounces weight of water.

INSCRIPTION ON THE CUP.

هپست این طرف یشم حوش حوهر	الله الأبر
از جهاکیر شاه شاه الأبر	در فاتحپور مرتب شد
باد آب حیات در ظرفش	۱۴ جلوس سنه
با بود آب خضر جان برور	هجری ۱۰۲۸ سنه

TRANSLATION.

Diamond scrolls.

- 1 God is great.
- 2 Manufactured at Fathpúr,
- 3 in the 14th year of the reign,
- 4 the year 1028 Hijri.

Intermediate spaces.

- 1 This cup of jade, choice gem, is
- 2 (the cup) of Jahángír Sháh, the great king.
- 3 Let the water of life be in his cup,
- 4 so that it may be the water of
Khizr,¹ life prolonging.

¹ It is necessary to examine the Muhammadan idea of the prophet Khizr, which may be gathered from Vullers's note on the word, giving, as we must suppose, the local view of the Indo-Persian Lexicographers.

“*خضر* (يعقوب) Rh. Quis fuit Khizr, cui fontem vitæ, cujus custos est, invenisse contigit, et vis vitalis tribuitur, totam naturam animans et viriditate induens, qui a periculis liberat et viam per desertam vitæ monstrat, ex iis, quæ Arabum et Persarum scriptores tradunt, haud intelligitur, quum alii sapientem quendam et socium Mosis, alii Eliam prophetam vel St. Georgium, alii danique Vezirum Alexandri illum fuisse contendunt.”

See also Sale's Kurán, Surat xviii. note. “Some . . . suppose *Al Khadr*, having found out the fountain of life and drank thereof, became immortal; and that he had therefore this name from his flourishing and continual youth.”

I have reproduced, with as much exactness as modern type admits of, the original extant record on the jade cup, omitting intentionally all dots and points of the Persian version, which the workers in hard stone have seen fit to leave out.¹ There may be a suspicion that certain discriminating dots have been designedly dropped, with a view to alternative, and to us enigmatical, readings of the more obvious version; for instance, هسیت "is" may be read as میپت "drunk," the succeeding ظرف "cup" is left as طرف, and the خوش جوهر, without the qualifying dots, may lend themselves to many saturnalian imageries. At first sight I supposed that the contrast of خضر تا بود آب implied a higher motive, as rising beyond the mundane آب حیات "water of life;"² but the general tenor of the couplet reduces the leading idea into something very sublunary, and the fabulous mission of the Prophet Khizr may perchance bring the whole version within the arena of the drunken orgies to which Jahángir and his English visitors so freely confess, and which were probably not altogether abandoned under the influence of the sanitary measure of comparative temperance, so newly inaugurated, to which his Majesty alludes.

¹ The Emperor Bábar, in noticing the abundance of artificers in India in 1526 A.D., and the presence of stone-masons from "Azerbaiján, Fars, Hindustán, and other countries," goes on to remark, "In Agra alone, and of stone-cutters belonging to that place only, I every day employed on my palaces 680 persons, and on other works 1941 stone-cutters."—Leyden's Bábar, p. 334.

Thevenot, in Sháh Jahán's time, refers to the perfection of one of the special industries of Agra, the working on hard stone. London, 1687. p. 39. See also Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. p. 434.

² Akbar had already given this name to water cooled with saltpetre.—Ain-i-Akbari, Gladwin, vol. i. p. 71.

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Yule, Col. H., and Major Raverty,
189.

Zirā, 178.

CORRECTIONS.

Page 17, line 9, *read* 'Madura,' instead of 'Madras.'

„ 23, „ 12, *delete* '(see sketch).'

A P P E N D I X.

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ART. I.—*A Specimen of a Syriac Version of the Kalilah wa-Dimnah, with an English Translation.* By W. WRIGHT.

[Read December 2, 1872.]

DURING the course of last summer I had, thanks to the kindness of the Principal Librarian, the Rev. Dr. Malet, an opportunity of examining a manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, marked B. 5. 32, which contains, amongst other things, a translation of the *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*, evidently made, not from the original Sanskrit or the early Pahlawi version, but from one of the first redactions of the later Arabic. As this secondary translation is, I believe, wholly unknown to Orientalists, a specimen of it may not be uninteresting, even when they are anxiously awaiting the publication of the older and more important *Kalilag wa-Damnag*; an edition of which is promised by Professors Benfey and Bickell from the manuscript brought to Europe by Dr. Socin.¹

The Dublin MS. is about 5½ inches in length by 3½ in breadth, and consists of 207 leaves, the first seventeen of which are vellum. The greater part of the volume, which is written by different hands, seems to be of the xiiith or xivth century, except some more recent supplements, in particular foll. 186—199, which are quite modern. It contains:—

1. The *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*, foll. 1 b—185 a. The actual

¹ See "the Academy" for August 1, 1871, p. 387.

אֲנִי הָיִיתִי בְּיָדָם אֶלְעִיזָר בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי
 אֶלְעִיזָר בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן אֲנִי הָיִיתִי . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר
 בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן אֲנִי הָיִיתִי . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר
 בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר
 בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן .

Next are inserted, in a very modern hand, the "Fables of Josephus" (or rather, of *Aesopus*), אספוסא דבא, fol. 187 b, preceded by an index in Arabic, فهرست كتاب يوسفوس.¹ They are eighty-three in number, of which I give the first three as specimens.

. אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר
 בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן .
 אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר
 בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן .
 אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר
 בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן .
 אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר
 בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן .
 אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר
 בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן .
 אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר
 בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן .
 אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר
 בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן .
 אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר
 בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן .
 אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר
 בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן .
 אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר
 בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן . אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֶלְעִיזָר בֶּן־חִיְהוֹנָן .

¹ See Assemani, Bibl. Or., t. iii., pars 1, p. 7, note 2.

ܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ . ܩܘܠܝܢܐ
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 ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ (fol. 203 a) : ܩܘܠܝܢܐ
 ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ

These are followed, on fol. 203 b, by select sayings of other Greek philosophers, such as Plato, Zeno, Socrates, Antisthenes, etc.: ܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ (sic) ܩܘܠܝܢܐ

ܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ . ܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ
 I quote the saying ascribed to Antisthenes, fol. 204 a :
 ܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ (sic) ܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ
 ܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ . ܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ
 ܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ . ܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܢܐ
 . ܩܘܠܝܢܐ

TRANSLATION OF THE SYRIAC TEXT.

In reliance upon God we write the history and philosophical stories of Kalilah and Dimnah, as translated by the wise.

THE STORY OF THE LION AND THE OX.

They say that Dabdhrm,¹ king of India, said to

¹ In the Arabic text of De Sacy, ܕܒܫܠܝܡ, *Dabshalim*. See Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, erster Theil, pp. 32—34. I thought that ܕܒܫܠܝܡܐ, *Dabdhrm*, might possibly be a corruption of ܕܒܫܠܝܡܐ, *Dabshrm*, in which we might discern an older form of *Dabshalim*=*Devasarman*; but Professor Cowell writes to me: "I scarcely think that the *dhrm* could have come by accident. *Deva* is

Nadr^b the philosopher,² the sage and the chief of the sages :
 " Show me the similitude of two men, companions or friends,
 between whom a false, or cunning, and crafty man has
 produced dissension, and who have been turned from love and
 concord to hatred and enmity."

Ndrab the philosopher says: " When a false man comes
 between two loving brothers, he disturbs their brotherhood
 and estranges their concord. They say in the apologue,
 that there was in a country called ——¹ a merchant, who
 possessed no small wealth. He had sons, who, when
 they came to the state of manhood, began, all with one
 accord, to squander their father's property, and cared not
 to amass, but only to disperse. Then their father rebuked
 them, saying: ' My sons, every one in the world studies to
 procure three things, which cannot however be attained save
 by four other things. The first of those three is an ample
 and abundant livelihood; the second, honour among men, and
 a good name; the third, provision for the world to come.
 The other (four) things are: firstly, the collecting of wealth
 legally; secondly, the administering of it well; thirdly, the
 providing for one's natural wants; and fourthly, liberality
 towards one's neighbours, almsgiving to the poor, supplying
 the wants of the needy. By these four things one pleases
 his Creator; and he who does not garner these four in his
 barn, or neglects any one of them, derives no pleasure from
 his wealth, and does not attain the limit of his hopes. If
 he does not amass anything, and despises wealth, and cares

generally written after the king's name, but it might be prefixed,—*deva*
dharma. Could it be *deva Dharmarāja*, and the *rāja* have been taken as only
 meaning 'king', and not as a part of the name?"

¹ In the Arabic, بَدَا, *Baidabā*. See Benfey, loc. cit., p. 35. Both بَدَا and
 the Syriac ܒܝܕܐ or ܒܝܕܐ are probably corruptions of the same
 Sanskrit word, for بَدَا is not very dissimilar to بَدَا.

² ܢܕܪܒ, if such be the correct reading, is rather "rhetorician, sophist";
 further on he is called ܢܕܪܒܐ, *φιλόσοφος*.

³ The Arabic has دَسْتَاوَنْد, *Dastāwand*. In the Syriac MS. the name was left
 blank, and a later hand has added ܕܝܠܐ, "so and so." See Benfey,
 loc. cit., p. 96.

not at all for it, he neither gives nor receives pleasure, and will without doubt be found destitute of property and remain without sustenance. And if he manages his property fittingly and quietly and sensibly and prudently, but still adds nothing to it, he resembles stibium or *kohl*, of which the portion taken is like a little dust or smoke, that flies from a breath of air, but which, notwithstanding the very small quantity of it that is taken, is surely used up. But if it be not fittingly managed, nor properly laid out, nor justly spent, he shall be recompensed with justly deserved affliction and illtreatment by enemies, in addition to his loss of wealth. And if it is amassed, and is not dispensed kindly and distributed lovingly, but is stored up and hidden covetously in the bosom of the earth, and its owner seems like a needy and destitute person who owns nothing, most assuredly it shall be lost, or pass into other hands, or remain in the heart of the earth. It resembles a tank of water,¹ which has many channels leading into it, but not one leading out of it; and when there is much water in the tank, breaches are sometimes made in it, and the water runs out of it and becomes useless; whilst at other times the tank is preserved from accident or breach, and the water remains in it, but the hot winds dry it up. Thus it fares with that wealth which is not dispensed compassionately to the needy, when death dries up the limbs of its owners.²

Then the sons of that merchant took their father's advice, and bowed to him the shoulder of obedience, and showed him the fruits of prosperous industry. And his eldest son set out upon a trading expedition and travelled to a country called *Mthwā*.³ And he and his companions passed by a place in which there was much clay, or stinking mire. And he had with him a cart, which two oxen were drawing, one of which was called *Shanzabah*, and the other *Banza-*

¹ *جوز* is explained in the native lexicons by *قَدِير* and *بِرْكَة*.

² *Mthwā*, *متوا* or *متوا*, corrupted from *مترا* or *مترا*, i.e. *Mathurā* (محر) or *Muttra*. In the Arabic text, p. 11, last line, it is still further corrupted into *موت*. See Benfey, *Pantechatantra*, erster Theil, p. 99; zweiter Theil, p. 6.

bah.¹ Then Shanzabah became weary, and stumbled in the mire, and fell. And the merchant and his companions hastened, and drew, and pulled the ox out of the mire. And the merchant left the ox in that place, and let one of his young men remain with him, till he should recover from his fall and the young man should bring him along after him. But next day the hireling became tired of the place, and went after the merchant and said, 'The ox has died in yonder place.'

Then the ox recovered his strength and went about by little and little, and came to a *jhil*,² the waters of which were abundant, and its herbage dense and luxurious. And after he had remained a long time in that place, he became very sleek and robust, and his reins became thick with fat. Then he thrust his horn into the ground, and bellowed tremendously, and raised his voice vehemently. And there was in that country a lion, who was king of all the beasts in that region, and was named Pingalaka;³ and there were with him many beasts of every kind. This lion was very haughty in his spirit, and whatever he wished to do of his soul's desire, he did it, and made use of no one's advice. But he was not very perfect in his knowledge; and when he heard the voice of the ox, he was very much frightened, because he had never heard a sound like it before, nor had he ever seen an ox. But he did not like to show the agitation of his heart; and so he stayed in the place where he was for a time, and did not quit it.

And there were in his camp, or at the gate of his royal residence, two jackals,⁴ who were brothers. One of them was

¹ In the Arabic text, p. 1., ll. 1, 2, *Shanzabah*, شذبه, and *Bandabah*, بندب, corruptions of *Sanjivaka* and *Nandaka*. See Benfey, *Pantsch.*, erster Theil, p. 99; zweiter Theil, p. 7.

² I. e., a shallow, marshy lake.

³ De Sacy's Arabic text gives no name. In the Sanscrit the lion-king is called *Pingalaka*, of which the Syriac **ܩܝܓܠܟܐ** is only a corruption. The word was originally written in Arabic **بئنگلكه**, which became successively **بئنگلكه**, **سنگلكه**, **سلكه**, and **اسلكه**.

⁴ In the Arabic **أبنا آوى**. The Syriac text gives no less than three synonymous

called Kalilah, and the other Dimnah.¹ They were very crafty, and well trained in learning or wisdom. The soul of Dimnah was very greedy, and he was not contented with his pay, nor satisfied with a humble situation, and did not know himself.

Dimnah says to Kalilah: 'I see that the king has stayed in one place, and has not moved from it to another; and I would fain know for what reason he does so, and does not take his amusement as usual.'

Kalilah says to him: 'And why dost *thou* ask about a thing like this, which is none of thy business or thy concerns? We are well cared for, and dwell in comfort at the gate of the king, receiving sustenance from God, the Nourisher of all; and we are not of those who are worthy to inquire into the actions of the king, and to try to become acquainted with his secrets; nor are we of those who have any occasion to speak with him. Be quiet, brother, and know that if one is eager after and desirous of something that beseems him not and comes not within the scope of his observation, there will befall him what befel the ape.'

Dimnah says to him: 'What was his story?'

Kalilah says: 'They say that an ape came to a carpenter, and saw him mounted on a log and sawing another log to cut it into two pieces; and the carpenter was like one riding in a carriage. And he saw the carpenter take out of the middle of the log, which he was sawing, a little piece of wood,'²

terms; viz. **ܩܕ ܩܘܠܐ**, **ܩܕ ܩܘܠܐ**, and **ܩܕ ܩܘܠܐ**. The first of these is unknown to me; the second, familiar. The third is probably derived from the Persian **تور**, *torah*, "a jackal." A fourth Syriac term for the same animal, **ܩܕ ܩܘܠܐ**, is a corruption of (*canis*) *Hyrcanus*.

¹ Corruptions of *Karataka* and *Damanaka*. See Benfey, *Pantsch*, erster Theil, p. 86; zweiter Theil, p. 8.

² Here the Syriac text adds the words **ܩܕ ܩܘܠܐ ܩܕ ܩܘܠܐ**, "*agin* or beautiful." If the word *agin* be Syriac, it must be corrupt. But can it represent the "*anjana*-wood" of the Sanskrit? See Benfey, *Pantsch*, zweiter

and put another like it in its place in the cleft made by the saw. Then the carpenter went elsewhere on some business of his. Then the foolish ape sprang up, and mounted on the log like the carpenter, and turned his back towards the cleft in the log, and his face towards the little piece of wood, and his testicles¹ hung down and lay in the middle of the cleft in the log. [Then he pulled out the little piece of wood,²] but the fool forgot to put another in its place, and his testicles were caught in the middle of the log that was being sawed. Then the poor wretch fell down on his back, smitten (as it were) with the pangs of death, and his senses forsook him from the violence of the pain which came upon him; and he was soundly chastised by the carpenter, and suffered from him a beating which was worse than the violence of the pain caused by the log of wood.³

Dimnah says: 'I have heard your speech, and understand what you say. But know, O brother, that not every one who draws nigh unto kings, or attaches himself unto them, does so merely for the sake of receiving pay, that he may fill his belly; for the belly may be filled anywhere. But he who is desirous of drawing nigh unto kings, does so that his place may be a distinguished one; that his horn may be uplifted, and his estimation raised; his noble character scrutinised, and his knowledge examined; that his friend may rejoice in him and exult, whilst his enemy is downcast and rent with anguish. Those who are wanting in good qualities, destitute of virtue,³ void of wisdom, and bereft of knowledge, exult and rejoice

Theil, p. 9. In that case the original Arabic form must have been **أَجْمِن**, gradually corrupted into **أَجْمِن**, **أَجْمِن**.

¹ The Syriac explains the rarer word **ܩܘܨܘܬܐ** (see John of Ephesus, Eccles. Hist., p. 161, l. 4, p. 373, l. 3) by **ܩܘܨܘܬܐ**, i. e. **ܩܘܨܘܬܐ**, **ܩܘܨܘܬܐ**, **ܩܘܨܘܬܐ**.

² Some such words as these seem to be wanting in the Syriac text. The Arabic has **وَنَزَعَ الْوَتِدَ** (p. 42, l. antepenult.). Compare Benfey, *Pantsch.*, zweiter Theil, p. 9.

³ **ܩܘܨܘܬܐ**, **ܩܘܨܘܬܐ**, **ܩܘܨܘܬܐ**, *virtus*, true manliness.

over a single crumb, (however) small and insignificant; and when they find one, they lay hold of it like a hungry and wretched hound, who, when he finds a bare¹ bone, that is utterly void of savour or juiciness, (greedily) lays hold of it. But he whose mind's eye is bright, and the sense in whose brain is sound, and his knowledge clear, does not lay hold of small things, nor put up with trifles, but studies to attain to great honour, and to raise himself to high rank, and to seat himself on an honourable seat; just as a lion, who finds a hare and seizes it, that it may be his food, as soon as he sees a sheep or a goat, lets go the hare which was in his mouth, and takes that (sheep or) goat. Hast thou never seen, O brother, the dog, who fawns upon² a man and tries to please him, and wags³ his tail, till he throws to him a morsel of dry bread? And the elephant, who is thoroughly trained, and well aware of the extent of his strength, and knows his own worth, because kings ride upon him, when they bring him his food, will not touch it or eat of it, until he is groomed⁴ by his keepers, and his body is washed clean of dust, and he is

¹ Literally, *a white*.

² So I would render the word **مخضبه**, which is explained by Bar Bahlul thus: **مخضبه كلب في هذه يدبر يسوس .**
مخضبه التدبير السياسة . مخضبه كلب
في هذه يدبرون الناقة اقول يعللون . مخضبه
حزبي (حزبي) حذ كركا ق ينق للمار علي
العشب . مخضبه كركا كركا تدبير الناهقين .
 In a poem of 'Ebéd-Yēshūa', pointed out to me by Mr. Benaly, occur the words **مخضبه كركا كركا**, the first of which has the gloss **حزبي**.

³ The word **مخضبه** in this sense is wholly unknown to me. Perhaps it may be corrupt.

⁴ This is evidently the meaning of the passive participle **مخضبه**. See the last note but one.

caressed with kind words. Therefore, he who lives in this world so as to please his Creator; whose position is high, and his horn upraised, and his honour conspicuous; whose wants are relieved, and who can also relieve his fellows;—this man, though he lives but a short life, is reckoned to have lived many years. But he who ends his days in a lowly state, and whose years pass away in distress of mind, and who departs from life through scantiness of food and total want of luxuries, and who has neither enjoyed wealth himself, nor gladdened others (with it);—this man, though his years be many and long, is called short-lived and surnamed much-sighing. And they say of him who lacks good things, and whose pay is small, and who cares for naught but filling his belly and for sexual gratification, that, though his days be many and the years of his life be long, yet he is counted among the irrational and those who are destitute of all true virtue.'

Kalilah says: 'I understand what thou hast said. But examine, my brother, thy thoughts by the light of subtle understanding, and know that every man has his distinct station; and when a man sees his station, so as to conduct himself well in it among his fellows, and his life does not pass away badly with his associates, it behoves him in truth to hold fast by his station, and not to go forth in search of what is too high for him, and not to be greedy after much, but to let his pay suffice him. And I see that we do not fare badly in this position of ours.' (De Sacy, p. 42, l. 1.)

ක්ව පිටු පිටු, : එ ක්ව පිටු පිටු, :
 පිටු පිටු : : : : :
 පිටු පිටු . එ ක්ව පිටු පිටු . : : :
 පිටු පිටු . : : : : :
 පිටු පිටු : : : : :
 පිටු පිටු .

¹ Read පිටු පිටු ?



١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ١٠ ١١ ١٢ ١٣ ١٤ ١٥ ١٦ ١٧ ١٨ ١٩ ٢٠ ٢١ ٢٢ ٢٣ ٢٤ ٢٥ ٢٦ ٢٧ ٢٨ ٢٩ ٣٠ ٣١
 ٣٢ ٣٣ ٣٤ ٣٥ ٣٦ ٣٧ ٣٨ ٣٩ ٤٠ ٤١ ٤٢ ٤٣ ٤٤ ٤٥ ٤٦ ٤٧ ٤٨ ٤٩ ٥٠ ٥١ ٥٢ ٥٣ ٥٤ ٥٥ ٥٦ ٥٧ ٥٨ ٥٩ ٦٠ ٦١ ٦٢ ٦٣ ٦٤ ٦٥ ٦٦ ٦٧ ٦٨ ٦٩ ٧٠ ٧١ ٧٢ ٧٣ ٧٤ ٧٥ ٧٦ ٧٧ ٧٨ ٧٩ ٨٠ ٨١ ٨٢ ٨٣ ٨٤ ٨٥ ٨٦ ٨٧ ٨٨ ٨٩ ٩٠ ٩١ ٩٢ ٩٣ ٩٤ ٩٥ ٩٦ ٩٧ ٩٨ ٩٩ ١٠٠

١ Read ١٢٣٤٥٦ ?
 ٢ Read ١٢٣٤٥٦ ? or ١٢٣٤٥٦ ?

මුළු කිතුන් කිතුන් සමිඳු . මෙය කිසි දෙනා
 . කිසි දෙනා සමිඳු කිතුන් , සමහරු සමහරු
 කිතුන් . කිතුන් සමිඳු කිතුන් සමහරු සමහරු
 . සමහරු සමහරු සමහරු . සමහරු සමහරු
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 සමහරු සමහරු . සමහරු සමහරු සමහරු . සමහරු

(4)

සිංහල ජාතික සංගමය : එහි සාමාජිකයන් සියලුම
විද්වතුන් සහ සාහිත්‍යඥයන් : ඔවුන්ගේ මනසින් සියලුම
විද්වතුන් සහ සාහිත්‍යඥයන් : ඔවුන්ගේ මනසින් සියලුම
විද්වතුන් සහ සාහිත්‍යඥයන් : ඔවුන්ගේ මනසින් සියලුම
විද්වතුන් සහ සාහිත්‍යඥයන් : ඔවුන්ගේ මනසින් සියලුම
විද්වතුන් සහ සාහිත්‍යඥයන් : ඔවුන්ගේ මනසින් සියලුම

¹ Read සාහිත්‍ය ?

කළු පාට වූ පත්. කළුපත් ගොස් කළුපත්
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 කළුපත්. කළුපත්. කළුපත්. කළුපත්

1 Read කළුපත් ?
 2 Read කළුපත් ? or කළුපත් ?

ନିମ୍ନୋକ୍ତ ମୂଲ୍ୟ କିମ୍ବଦନ୍ତୀ । ନିମ୍ନୋକ୍ତ ମୂଲ୍ୟ କିମ୍ବଦନ୍ତୀ । ନିମ୍ନୋକ୍ତ ମୂଲ୍ୟ କିମ୍ବଦନ୍ତୀ ।
 ନିମ୍ନୋକ୍ତ ମୂଲ୍ୟ କିମ୍ବଦନ୍ତୀ । ନିମ୍ନୋକ୍ତ ମୂଲ୍ୟ କିମ୍ବଦନ୍ତୀ । ନିମ୍ନୋକ୍ତ ମୂଲ୍ୟ କିମ୍ବଦନ୍ତୀ ।
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1 Read ଧର୍ମଳିଂ ?



