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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*On the Position of Women in the East, in Olden Time.* By EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S.

I HAVE lately been occupied with the examination of the legends stamped on a series of leaden coins recently discovered at Kolhapúr. These legends are found to illustrate, in a curious manner, the local custom of the children being designated after and identified by the name of the mother, and reproduce the dominant idea of recording the Metronymic to the subordination or exclusion of the Patronymic of the race or family.

We were already in possession of vague notices of such a custom in the metronymics occurring amid the Inscriptions in the Rock-cut Caves of Násik, and the corresponding coins now repeat the identical names of *Vásithi* (*Vashti*) and *Gautamí*, and contribute a third example in the maternal designation of *Madári*: together with, in each numismatic instance, an undefined reference to a tribal or sept community, we may suppose of a *quasi*-hereditary character.

Before describing the coins, or illustrating at large the various Indian forms of marriage and inheritance, or referring to the extraneous examples of self-government in that land, I propose to trace the parallel instances of female ascendancy which we find to have obtained and survived among the traditions of other countries of the Old World.

In the first place I may frankly say that I am disposed to ~~attach~~ much credit to the statement of Epiphanius as to the extended prevalence, if not next to the universality of Scythism, "its heresy," and its concomitant manners and customs, before it was superseded by Aryanism, whether Greek or Persian. The passage I refer to is, in purport, as follows :

"The first is Barbarism,¹ which prevailed without a rival from the days of Adam. . . .

"The second is Scythism (*Σκυθισμὸς*), which prevailed from the days of Noah and thence downwards to the building of the Tower and Babylon, and for a few years subsequent to that time, that is, to the days of Phalec and Ragau. But the nations which incline upon the borders of Europe continued addicted to the Scythic heresy and the customs of the Scythians to the age of Thera, and afterwards; of this sect also were the Thracians.

"The third is Hellenism, which originated in the days of Seruch with the introduction of idolatry: and as men had hitherto followed each some demonolatrous superstition of his own, they were now reduced to a more established form of polity and to the rites and ceremonies of idols. . . . The Egyptians, and Babylonians, and Phrygians, and Phœnicians were the first propagators of this superstition of making images, and of the mysteries."—Epiphanius, *Cory's Fragments*, p. 53.²

The predominance of the Scythic element among the races of the ancient world receives important confirmation from the lights of modern science. Professor Huxley, in his bold Map of the "distribution of the principal modifications of Mankind," covers nearly three-fourths of the world, now above water, with his three types of Mongoloids.³ We need

¹ Cory inserts a query "Patriarchism?"

² I must premise that in this Essay, in all cases embodying matters that concern an Indian reading public, simple translations in English have been preferred to the original Greek and Latin texts; where critically necessary, the latter will be exceptionally admitted into the context or reproduced at large in the footnotes; and, further, I may add that many notes and references, which would be freely understood and taken for granted by classical scholars, are intentionally quoted in full terms, where available, in simple English versions.

³ "An enormous area, which lies mainly to the east of a line drawn from Lapland to Siam, is peopled, for the most part, by men who are short and squat, with the skin of a yellow-brown colour; the eyes and hair black, and the latter straight, coarse and scanty on the body and face, but long on the scalp. They are strongly brachycephalic, the skull being usually devoid of prominent brow-ridges, while the nose is flat and small, and the eyes are oblique."—*Journ. Ethnol. Soc.* 1869-70.

not follow out the larger details of his scheme; but in regard to the touching points and intersective dovetailing of the *Mongoloids* and the *Melanochroi* and *Xanthrochroi*, his illustrations are suggestive in the extreme.¹

Sir Henry Rawlinson's researches in this direction, based upon his independent examination of the ancient Cuneiform inscriptions, are embodied in his article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XV. o.s. pp. 215-260, and largely support such a view of the important part played by Scythism, or its synonym Turánism, in ancient days, which I shall have to refer to more at large under the Persian division of these notes.

CHALDÆA.

Recent cuneiform discoveries have definitively established the priority, in point of time, of the Turánian races in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, who had achieved no inconsiderable degree of culture, including an original system of picture or ideographic writing, before they were interfered with by other sections of the four nations. The so-called "cradle of the human race" was, in effect, a focus of international civilization, peopled, in the first instance, by the Turánian branches of Akkad and Sumer.²

¹ The Xanthrochroic type (No. 6) is defined as, "a third and extremely well-defined type of mankind is exhibited by the greater part of the population of Central Europe. These are the Xanthrochroi, or 'fair whites,' . . . On the south and west this type comes into contact and mixes with the 'Melanochroi,' or 'dark whites,' while on the north and east it becomes mingled with the people of the Mongoloid type."—p. 408.

² La ville de Suse, située sur le fleuve Eulæus . . . fût déjà, vers la fin du 3^{me} millenium avant J.C., la capitale d'un royaume puissant et le siège d'une dynastie touranienne qui, en 2283 avant J.C., conquit Babylone et régna sur la Chaldée pendant 224 ans. Le pays dont elle était la ville principale, était nommé *Elam* par les Sémites, *Usasa* ou *Khus* par les Aryens, et *Nims* par le peuple de Sumer; il s'appelait *Kussi* "Les Kosséens."—J. Oppert, *First Congress of Orientalists*, p. 179.

See also *Etudes Cunéiformes*. M. F. Lenormant. *Journal Asiatique*, 1877, pp. 42, 235 *et seq.*

From this it will be clear that to speak of an Assyrian or even a Chaldæan Empire is altogether erroneous. Assyrian and Babylonian civilization was Turanian, and had its source in the highlands of Elam—*Kharris-Kurra*—"the mountain of the East," whence the Accadai or "highlanders" had descended, and to which their ritual always looked back.—A. H. Sayce, *Zeitsch. Egypt.* 1870, p. 151. See also Mr. Sayce's articles, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. iii. p. 466.

The position of women of rank in Chaldæa must be assumed indirectly from the traditional equality and ultimate supremacy, in certain cases, conceded to the female deities in the Pantheon of the land, under the succeeding dynasties of the second and third Monarchies. Canon Rawlinson's enumeration of the members of the local Pantheon is as follows:

"At the head of the Pantheon stands a god, Il or Ra, of whom but little is known. Next to him is a Triad, *Ana*, *Bil* or *Belus*, and *Hea* or *Hoa*. . . . Each of these is accompanied by a female principle or wife. . . . Then follows a further Triad. . . . The members of this Triad are again accompanied by female powers or wives. . . . *Hurki* (the Moon), by a goddess whose name is wholly uncertain, but whose common title is the great lady."—Rawlinson, *The First Monarchy (Chaldæa)*, vol. i. p. 141.

Beltis is far more than the mere female power of Bel-Nimrod, being in fact a separate and very important deity. Her common title is "the *Great* goddess." Her favourite title was "the Mother of the Gods," . . . the "Dea Syria" worshipped at Hierapolis under the Aryan appellation of *Mabog* (*ma-baga*).

In the Assyrian Pantheon, Beltis, "the great mother," the feminine counterpart of Bel, ranked in Assyria next to "the (great) Triad," and was "regarded as the queen of fertility," etc.¹—*The Third Monarchy*, vol. ii. p. 246.

In referring to the status of women, in this part of the old world, I must not omit to notice that, in some form or

¹ "The decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions has brought out one very prominent fact with regard to Babylonian Semitic culture—namely, the great extent to which the Semitic rulers of the land were indebted to their predecessors, the non-Semitic Akkadians, for their mythology, arts and sciences. One of the most marked characteristics of that complex group of nations denominated Turanian, and, in fact, the one common factor, is the belief in *magic* in its various forms. The belief in good and evil luck attached to certain days or certain localities is found in almost every branch. The Chinese superstition of *fung shui*—i.e. 'wind and water'—influences a great deal of the daily life of the native of the Celestial Empire. Similar beliefs are current among all the branches of the vast Tartar race. Among the Turks it has been to some extent influenced by the creed of Islam. In Babylonia, under the non-Semitic Akkadian rule, the dominant creed was the fetish worship, with all its ritual of magic and witchcraft; and when the Semites conquered the country, the old learning of the land became the property of the priests and astrologers, and the Akkadian language the Latin of the empire. This being the case, it is not astonishing that we find the greater portion of this tablet written in the Akkadian, not only in ideographic groups, but in full phonetic form in many cases."—Mr. St. C. Boscawen, *The Academy*, Nov. 17, 1877. See also M. F. Lenormant, *The Academy*, July 20, 1878, p. 66, and Mr. Boscawen's further reply.

other, they were thus early in possession of a language of their own. The following passage is taken from a review of F. Delitzsch's late work, which appeared in the *Academy* of May 11, 1878 :

"Another interesting fact disclosed by the syllabaries is the existence of a woman's language among the Accadians. Certain words, we are told, were peculiar to the women and not used by the men. This was also the case among the Caribs, where women were usually stolen from an alien tribe; so, too, the pronunciation of the women in Greenland is said to differ from that of the men, and the Basque verb has special forms for addressing a woman. Even in this country we are familiar with the language of the nursery. It is evident, however, that the existence of a woman's language points to a want of intercourse between husband and wife, and may indicate, as among the Caribs, a difference of race. We know from other documents that the mother in Accad occupied the chief place in the family, in contrast to the later Semitic usage which regarded the women as inferior to the men."

With reference to questions that will have to be considered in future sections of this paper, I cite, in its appropriate place, the late Mr. G. Smith's observations on the succession of Turánian *brothers* in olden times :

"The law of succession to the crown was the same in Elam as the old Turkish law, that is, on the death of a king his brother succeeded in preference to his sons, and these latter had to wait until after the death of their uncles. *Umman-aldas I.* had left sons, but they were passed over in favour of *Urtaki*, brother of *Umman-aldas*. *Urtaki* also left sons, but these were passed over in favour of *Teumman*." — G. Smith, "Assyria, from the Monuments," p. 154.

EGYPT.

I need scarcely enlarge upon the ascertained position of women in Egypt, from the first recognition of the right of females to reign, under Binotheris of the Second Dynasty of Thinite kings¹—proceeding onwards to their title to admission into the ranks of the Priesthood under Kephren—but

¹ G. Wilkinson, vol. ii. p. 26. Birch, Egypt from the Monuments, p. 27.

we can now quote from authentic Hieroglyphic Monuments of about 1600 B.C. the example of Hasheps, the sister, wife and co-ordinate ruler with her brother Thothmes II., who, on his death, assumed effective sovereignty, and designated herself, on the pedestals of the triumphal obelisks at Karnak, "the pure gold of monarchs." At a later period she associated herself with Thothmes III., but takes precedence of him upon the monuments.¹

The power, relative rank, and peculiar fraternal relations of the Arsenees and Cleopatras of the age of the Ptolemies are sufficiently expatiated upon by later classical writers,² the details of which are further confirmed by the extant hieroglyphic and Greek inscriptions which have recently been fully deciphered.³

Herodotus has also told us⁴ of the business-like aptitude of the females, and the subordination in some respects of the males; and some very curious and valuable documents, bearing on the customs of marriages in Egypt, have lately been interpreted by M. Eug. Revillout (in the *Journal Asiatique* of Août-Septembre, 1877).⁵ These documents, translated from

¹ Birch, pp. 83-5. Wilkinson (vol. ii. p. 52) notices that "her dress is that of a king."

² Diod. Sic. i. 2: "It is a custom among them, that they honour a queen, and allow her more power and authority than a king, and in their contracts of marriage authority is given to the wife over her husband."—Booth's translation.

The following recent writers on the subject may also be consulted:—S. Sharpe, "History of Egypt," 1852, vol. i. p. 18, vol. ii. p. 1. W. Adam, "Cansanguinity in Marriage," *Fortnightly Review*, 1865, November 1st and 15th. A. H. Huth, "Marriage of Near Kin," London, 1876, pp. 9-13. See also an admirable series of papers on the Coins of the Ptolemies, by Mr. R. S. Poole, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. iv. n.s. 1864, and vol. v. 1865.

³ Βασίλευς Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαῖου καὶ Ἀρσινόης, θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν, καὶ βασίλισσα Βερενίκη ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, τὸ τέμενος Ὀσίρει. "Le roi Ptolémée, fils de Ptolémée et d'Arsinoé, dieux frères, et la reine Bérénice, sa sœur et sa femme, (ont élevé) ce temple à Osiris."—Letronne, *Insc. de l'Égypte*, p. 2.

Recherches sur le Calendrier Macédonien en Égypte, etc., par Robiou, p. 17, Mémoires, p. D. S. à l'Académie, tom. ix. 1878: L'an xxiv. . . "Le roi de la haute et basse Égypte, fils de dieux Epiphane, Chéri de Ptah, fils du soleil, Ptolémée (*Ptolis*) vivant à toujours, Chéri de Ptah, avec sa sœur, épouse Ammonienne princesse dame de deux régions Cléopâtre (*Kleoptra*)." See p. 37, for corresponding Hieroglyphs. ⁴ ii. 36.

⁵ "Translation of an Egyptian Contract of Marriage," by Eugène Revillout. This interesting contract of marriage is written in the demotic character upon a small sheet of papyrus, No. 2432, Cat. Égyptien, Musée du Louvre. It is dated in the month of Χοιῶν, year 33 of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and the contracting parties are Patma, son of Pchelkhons, and the lady, Ta-outem, the daughter of Rehu. The terms of the deed are extremely singular as to the amount of dowry required on both sides, together with the clauses providing for repudiation.

early papyri, all tend to show the independence, and, in so far, supremacy of the weaker sex, that the female is always the conciliated party—her rights being recognized in “pin-money and pocket-money;” but more important still, the first-born of all these marriages past, present, or conditional take rank *by the female side*, as inheritor of the father’s and, in certain cases, of even ancestral goods. But the essential matter took the form (in the words of the translator) of “Ton fils aîné, mon fils aîné, sera l’héritier de tous mes biens présents et à venir. Je t’établirai comme femme.” The translator summarizes the tenor of the five contracts he is able to cite as : i. l’*acceptation* pour femme ; ii. le don nuptial ; iii. la pension annuelle promise à la femme pour tous les ans, mais tout particulièrement pour la première année ; iv. la déclaration que le fils aîné des deux époux sera l’héritier de tous les biens du mari ; with subordinate details under clauses v. vi. vii. viii.

The important ethnical question of the distribution of the nations in the Mediterranean basin has also been largely illustrated by the later decipherments of Egyptologists—a single passage from which seems to claim a notice in this place :

“Les ancêtres des Sardes, des Sicules, des Étrusques, des Grecs mêmes, sous le nom d’Achéens qu’ils portent communément dans Homère, des Lyciens, qui tiennent dans l’*Iliade* une place exceptionnelle parmi les alliés de Priam, figurent, dans le récit de cette invasion, avec les peuples de l’Afrique septentrionale. M. Chabas reconnaît aussi, dans les textes du nouvel empire, les Teucriens ou Troyens, les Dardaniens, qu’Homère aussi en distingue, les Mysiens, les Méoniens, et parmi les peuples européens, les Dauniens et les Osques, qui se sont répandus en Italie.”—Rapport, Oriental Congress of Paris, 1873, p. 17.¹

After the actual dowry is recited, the rights of the children which may hereafter come from the marriage, as well as the payment of the mother’s pin-money, are secured by the following clause: “Thy pocket money for one year is besides thy toilet money which I give thee each year, and it is thy right to exact the payment of thy toilet money, and thy pocket money, which are to be placed to my account, which I give thee. Thy eldest son, my eldest son, shall be the heir of all my property, present and future. I will establish thee as wife.”—Society of Biblical Archaeology, *Academy*, April 13th, 1878.

¹ See also Dr. Birch, “Egypt from the Monuments,” p. 130, under the reign of Menephtah, *the Pharaoh of the Exodus*.

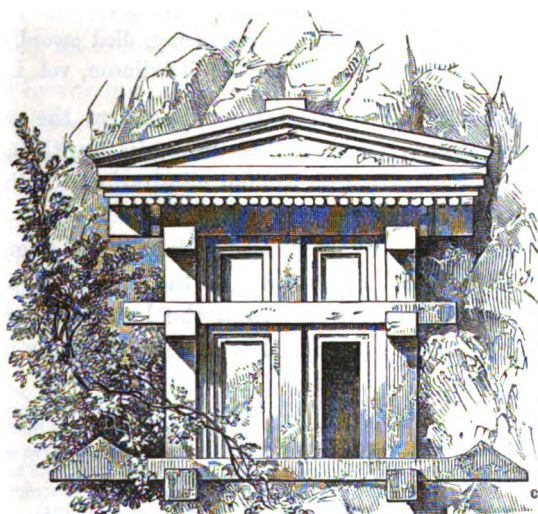
LYCIA.



Rock-cut Lycian Tomb at Antiphellus (Fergusson, p. 226), with a Lycian and Latin inscription, from Forbes and Spratt's "Lycia" (vol. i. p. 72), Texier, Pl. cc., vol. iii. This tomb is supposed to be of archaic execution—and obviously reproduces wooden ideals. It has been at a later period annexed by a Roman matron, for her own purposes, who superimposes, in an unusual position, her Latin claims as CLAUDIA REGILLA HERENNIA PRIMIGENI SORORISVÆ PIETATIS ET MEMORIA CAUSA, while ignoring, in anything but a pious spirit, the Lycian tenants of the earlier inhumation. The Lycian inscriptions, as far as they have been deciphered, seem to have nothing in common with the Roman period.

The earliest mention of a similar condition of society, in regard to women's rights, to that palæographically extant in India, occurs in Herodotus, who thus describes, with due expression of astonishment, the custom prevailing in Lycia :

“Their customs are partly Cretan partly Carian. They have, however, one singular custom in which they differ from every other nation in the world. They take the mother’s and not the father’s name. Ask a Lycian who he is, and he answers by giving his own name, that of his mother, and so on in the female line. Moreover, if a free woman marry a man who is a slave, their children are full citizens; but if a free man marry a foreign woman, or live with a concubine, even though he be the first person in the State, the children forfeit all the rights of citizenship.”—Herodotus, i. 173; Rawlinson’s Version, vol. i. p. 309.



Rock-cut Lycian Tomb at Antiphellus (Fergusson, History of Architecture, vol. i. p. 227), from the original drawing in Texier’s “Asie Mineure,” Plate cci. vol. iii. This tomb exhibits an advance upon the normal wooden forms, in the Ionic elements introduced into the more obviously original architectural design represented in Cut No. 1.¹

I interrupt the continuity of the illustration of descent by the female line, in order to exhibit in its proper antiquarian place a cognate normal custom of Lycia, which is intimately

¹ The only remaining important architectural group in Asia Minor is that of Lycia. . . . Interesting though they certainly are, they are extremely disheartening to any one looking for earlier remains in this land, inasmuch as all of them, and more especially the older ones, indicate distinctly a wooden origin, more strongly perhaps than any architectural remains in the Western world. The

associated with the continuous and, so to say, essentially modern practice among the Rájputís in India. Herodotus observes :

“ When Harpagus, after these successes, led his forces into the Xanthian plain, the Lycians of Xanthus went out to meet him in the field ; though but a small band against a numerous host, they engaged in battle, and performed many glorious exploits. Overpowered at last, and forced within their walls, they collected into the citadel their wives and children, all their treasures, and their slaves ; and having so done, fired the building and burnt it to the ground. After this, they bound themselves together by dreadful oaths, and sallying forth against the enemy, died sword in hand, not one escaping.”—Herodotus, i. 176 ; Rawlinson, vol. i. p. 312.

Other ancient authors illustrate and confirm the existence of this usage as typical and hereditary in Xanthus, and as having excited Greek and Roman admiration for the third time at the capture of the city by Brutus.¹

The Indian counterpart practice in hopeless sieges is too well understood and established in the annals of the land to require much commentary from the local point of view, but the illustrative example I have selected, in this instance,

oldest of them cannot well be carried farther back than the Persian conquest of Cyrus and Harpagus. In other words, it seems perfectly evident that up to that period the Lycians used only wood in their buildings, and that it was only at that time, and probably from the Greeks and Egyptians, that they, like the Persians themselves, first learnt to substitute for their frail and perishable structures others of a more durable material.—Fergusson, *Hist. Arch.* vol. i. p. 224.

¹ *Ἐκ γὰρ τούτου καὶ οἱ ἐπιχάριοι τὰ λοιπὰ θηλονταὶ συγκατέπεσαν, καὶ ἀλλήλους οἱ κλείους ἀνεχρήσαντο.*—Dio Cass. xlvii. sect. 34. Appian de Bell. Civ. iv. 80. *Ἐάνθιοι μὲν δὴ τρίτον ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπέλλυντο, ἐλευθερίας οὐνεκα.*—Plutarch in Brutus, sec. xxxi. Langhorne's translation runs as follows :

“ But the Lycians were seized with an incredible despair, a kind of frenzy, which can no otherwise be described than by calling it a passionate desire of death. Women and children, freemen and slaves, people of all ages and conditions, strove to repulse the soldiers as they came to their assistance from the walls. With their own hands they collected wood and reeds, and all manner of combustibles, to spread the fire over the city, and encouraged its progress by every means in their power. . . . Regardless of his (Brutus') entreaties, they sought by every means in their power to put an end to their lives. Men, women, and even children, with hideous cries, leaped into the flames. Some threw themselves headlong from the walls, and others fell upon the swords of their parents, opening their breasts, and begging to be slain.”

Monumental evidence of the fighting power of the Lycian women seems to be afforded by the sculpture on the Tomb in the British Museum, where one of the three combatants, fighting in rank, foot to foot, is clearly intended to represent a female.

is again taken from the narrative of a conquering adversary, whose successes in the far East had as yet presented him with no similar experience of heroic or wilful self-extermination.

The capture of Chánderí by the Emperor Bábar is thus told in his *Memoirs* :

“The reason for this desperate sally from their works was, that, on giving up the place for lost, they had put to death the whole of their wives and women, and having resolved to perish, had stripped themselves naked, in which condition they had rushed out to the fight; and engaging with ungovernable desperation, drove our people along the ramparts.”—*Memoirs of Bábar, Erskine, p. 377.*¹

I pass by for the moment other indications of similarities and identities, which, perhaps, are not so definite and striking; such as the system of elective government so marked in the Lycian policy among the Western nations—apparently extending to the old Etruscan cities—which finds counterparts in so many instances in India, the classical evidence of which I designedly place upon record under its proper Lycian head :

“There are three-and-twenty cities in this [Lycian] body, which have votes. They assemble from each city at a general congress, and select what city they please for their place of meeting. Each of the largest cities commands three votes, those of intermediate importance two, and the rest one vote. They contribute in the same proportion to taxes and other public charges. . . . At the congress a *Lyciarch* is first elected, then the other officers of the body. . . . It was the fortune of these people, who lived under such an excellent government, to retain their liberty under the Romans, and the laws and institutions of their ancestors.”—Strabo, xiv. ciii. 3. 4.

I likewise reserve any examination of the tendency to utilize Nature's rocks in the form of tombs or temples, of

¹ Col. Tod naturally supplies numerous instances of *Jauhar*, or “immolation of females,” from the annals of the Rájputés.—vol. i. p. 265. 13,000 females were sacrificed at Cheetore, on its capture by Buhádar Sháh of Guzerát.—p. 311. At vol. ii. p. 261 he explains the *Sohag*; the Sohagun is one who becomes Sati previous to her lord's death.

Elliot's *Historians. Jauhar* (the Hindú practice), vol. iv. pp. 277, 534; vol. v. pp. 173, 328, 565; vol. vi. p. 121; vol. vii. p. 50.

which examples extend, even to the coincidence of wooden forms, from Etruria to the western coast of India. But I wish to connect so much of effective Scythism with Lycia and the proximate province of Caria,¹ as extends to the leading position assigned to the typical Scythian weapon the *Sagara*, or double-faced axe, on the buildings, and as the normal coin emblem of Mylasa.² The recurrence of the same national weapon amid the discoveries at Mycæne,³ in the records of the Oxford Marbles,⁴ at Pterium in Cappadocia, and in other parts of Asia Minor,⁵ amid the avowed sculptures of the Sacæ, sufficiently determines its symbolic mission and representative import.

This national symbol reappears on the currencies of Maussollus and his successors, now sanctified with the associate worship of *Zeus Labrandenus*.⁶

CARIA.

Caria—seated on a promontory or elbow of land, which geographically commanded the sea-way of the growing inter-

¹ Herodotus' account of the ethnography of the Carians is as follows: "This then is the account the Cretans give of the Carians; the Carians themselves, however, do not admit its correctness; but consider themselves to be aboriginal inhabitants of the continent, and always to have gone under the same name as they now do. And in testimony of this, they show an ancient temple of Jupiter Carius at Mylasa, which the Mysians and Lydians share, as kinsmen of the Carians, . . . but none who are of a different nation, though of the same language with the Carians, are allowed to share it (172). The Caunians, in my opinion, are aboriginals, though they say they are from Crete . . . (173). The Lycians were originally sprung from Crete, for in ancient time Crete was entirely in the possession of Barbarians."—Herodotus i. sec. 171, etc.

² "I mentioned in my former journal a fine arched gateway, which was still remaining; . . . I have sketched the outer side, showing on the keystone the sacrificial axe, [*the Sagara*]. This emblem I have seen on four different keystones, built into various walls in the town, showing that it must have been very commonly used in the architecture of the city. . . . I have obtained coins of the ancient city, with the same emblem upon them."—Fellows' *Discoveries in Lycia* (roy. 8vo. 1851), p. 75.

³ Schliemann, pp. 218, 353-354.

⁴ Part ii. p. 11. See also Homer, *Od.* v. 220.

⁵ Texier, *Asie Mineure*, vol. i. p. 220, pl. 76.

⁶ Leake, *Numismata Hellen.*, p. 64: *Maussollus*. *Ob.* Head of Apollo. *Rev.* ΜΑΥΣΣΟΛΛΑΟ. Jupiter Labrandenus in his right hand the *ἀξίς* of bipennis, or double axe. *Idricus* same type ΙΔΡΙΕΩΣ. *Pizodarus* same type ΠΙΖΟΔΑΡΟΥ. See also L. Müller, *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand* (1855), p. 254 *et seq.*

communication of the eastern shores of the Mediterranean—inhabited by a bilingual people, participating, alike, in the more matured knowledge of the East, and ever ready to associate itself with the advancing progress of the Greeks, mercenary, yet heroic—was obviously destined to play an important rôle in the development of the Aryan nationalities, which by degrees established themselves, within its influence, to the Westward. Hence its traditions and more defined history have peculiar claim upon the consideration of those who seek to trace the growth and sectional spread of the intruding races in the midland sea.

But of more immediate interest in the present inquiry is the leading position occupied by no less than three Queens in the limited historical lists of the Carian Dynasts.

We are told of the deeds of the first Artemisia, when Queen Regnant, at the battle of Salamis,¹ which induced Xerxes to exclaim, "My men have become women, my women men;"² while the Greeks, on their part, were astonished and naturally indignant at being defeated by a woman, and offered fabulous rewards for her ultimate capture.³

Scarcely less celebrated was the second Artemisia, the sister, wife, and successor of Maussollus, who added to her triumphs in war, an immortality in the arts of peace, in the erection of one of the seven wonders of the ancient world—the celebrated tomb of her husband at Halicarnassus.

And lastly, Ada, who obtained the kingdom on the death of her brother and husband Hidrieus.⁴

¹ "Of the other captains I make no mention, as I deem it unnecessary, except of Artemisia, whom I most admire, as having, though a woman, joined this expedition (of Xerxes) against Greece; who, her husband being dead, herself holding the sovereignty while her son was under age, joined the expedition from a feeling of courage and manly spirit, though there was no necessity for her doing so. Her name was Artemisia, daughter of Lygdamis, and by birth she was of Halicarnassus on her father's side, and on her mother's a Cretan."—Herodotus vii. 99. See also viii. 67-9 and 87.

² Herod. viii. 88.

³ 93. "And besides, a reward of 10,000 drachmas was offered to whoever should take her alive, for they (the Athenians) considered it a great indignity that a woman should make war against Athens."—Also 101-3, 107.

⁴ "The Athenians say that Adimantus, the Corinthian admiral, being dismayed and excessively frightened, hoisted sail and fled."

⁵ "Hecatomnus, who was then king of the Carians, had three sons, Maussollus, Hidrieus, and Pixodarus, and two daughters. Maussollus, the eldest son, married Artemisia, the eldest daughter; Hidrieus, the second son, married Ada, the other

In this case we may trace the growing Greek prejudice against the rule of females, in the successful effort of her younger brother Pixodarus to supersede her in her effective government. She seems, however, to have been largely supported by the traditional national opinion, as she was able to retain the fortress of Alinda, till Alexander the Great reinstated her as Queen of Caria; she, on her part, adopting him as a son, which perhaps conveyed a larger meaning in a local sense than we should attribute to it in the present day.

It has been the modern custom to infer, somewhat loosely, that all females represented in Greek art as armed or in a fighting attitude—with the single exception of obvious Minervas—ought to be classed as Amazons.

This idea is susceptible of some modification.

In the special instance of the Tomb of Maussollus, with which we are more directly concerned, we find that the building was surmounted by the statue of Maussollus himself in the full dignity of his quadriga, and it is natural to conclude that the side and subordinate decorations should bear some reference to the ancestral triumphs of the Dynasts of Caria, or to the comparatively living glories of the later rulers of the race, represented by the second Artemisia. We have the testimony of inscriptions to the fact that she accepted statues during the lifetime of her husband,¹ and that

sister. Maussollus came to the throne, and dying without children, left the kingdom to his wife. . . . Hidrieus succeeded her; he died a natural death, and was succeeded by his wife Ada. . . . But Ada, the daughter of Hecatomnus, whom Pixodarus ejected, entreated Alexander, and endeavoured to prevail upon him to reinstate her in her kingdom. . . . She promised (in return) her assistance in reducing to obedience the parts of the country which had revolted; for the persons who were in possession of them were her relations and subjects. She also delivered up Alinda, where she herself resided. Alexander granted her request and proclaimed her queen."—Strabo xiv. ii. 17.

Arrian (i. 26) says "it had been an ancient custom among Asiatics ever since the time of Semiramis, that the widow should reign after her husband's decease."—Rooke's translation.

"Ada, whom he (Alexander) called his mother, and had made Queen of Caria."—Langhorne. Plutarch, in Vit. Alex.

¹ "In an inscription found at Erythræ in Ionia, by M. Lebas, the people of that city decree that Maussollus shall be their *prozenor*, granting him the right of citizenship, and other privileges attached to the *prozenia*. They further declare him to be their benefactor, and in gratitude for the services he has rendered, decree that his statue, in bronze, shall be placed in their *Agora*, and a statue of Artemisia, in marble, in the temple of Athene; also that a crown of gold of the value of 50 darics shall be presented to Maussollus, and one of the value of 30 darics to

in her independent widowhood she fought and conquered, and set up typical groups in which her own person formed the leading representative.¹

In the case of *the Mausoleum*, Mr. Newton's discoveries have proved that on the north side of the tomb there was found a colossal seated female figure, corresponding, we may suppose, to the displaced male figure lying on the east. This could scarcely have been intended for any one but *Artemisia* herself. So, also, the so-called equestrian Amazon, "whose costume resembles that of the Persians on the temple of the Wingless Victory at Athens,"² is less likely to have been the embodiment of one of the mystic creations of the Greek poets—a quasi-Cossack female, or nominal Amazon—than one of the combative queens of the race so distinguished for the fighting power of its weaker sex.

But besides this, we have to inquire what evidence there is of the very existence of Amazons.

Homer only alludes to them, in general terms, as "man-opposing Amazons," Ἀμαζόνες ἀρτιάειραι (Il. iii. 189),

Artemisia. In this inscription he is honoured with the title of king (Βασιλεύς)." —Newton, vol. i. p. 45.

In reference to the questions of self-government, adverted to above, I continue my quotations from Mr. Newton's work: "Three interesting decrees of the city of Mylasa, which have been discovered on that site, throw some light on the internal administration of Mausolus. From these documents, of which the respective dates are the 39th year of the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, B.C. 367; the 46th year of the same reign, B.C. 361; and the 5th year of the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus, B.C. 355, we learn that, up to the latest of these dates, Mausolus ruled in Caria with the title of Satrap."—Newton, Halicarnassus, vol. ii. p. 42.

In No. I. we find details of "the capital condemnation of Araisis is by virtue of a warrant from the king, the confiscation of the conspirator's property being decreed by the city of Mylasa, by vote of the *ecclesia*, ratified by the tribes, in accordance with the laws of the state."—p. 43.

¹ Itaque post mortem Mausoli, Artemisia uxore ejus regnante, Rhodii indignantes, mulierem imperare civitatibus Carie totius, armata classe profecti sunt, ut id regnum occuparent . . .

Tunc Artemisia Rhodo capta, principibus occisis, trophæum in urbe Rhodoe sue victorie constituit, æneasque duas statuas fecit, unam Rhodiorum civitatis, alteram sue imaginis; et ita figuravit Rhodiorum civitati stigmata imponentem. —Vitruvius ii. viii. (vol. i. p. 185).

Pausanias seems to have confounded the second Artemisia with the earlier heroine of Salamis: "There is a statue too, in the same place (in the Persian porch at Sparta), of Artemisia, the daughter of Lygdamis, Queen of Halicarnassus. They report that she voluntarily assisted Xerxes against the Greeks, and behaved very valiantly at Salamis."—Pausanias, book iii. Laconics, cap. xi. Translation, J. T. Taylor, London, 1824.

² Vaux, "Greek Cities of Asia Minor" (1877), p. 70.

and, in reference to the fabulous trials of Bellerophon, under the same designation (vi. 186), without describing them further.

Herodotus is more specific, and represents them as clothed like and indistinguishable from men, except in the absence of beards, so that their sex was only discovered on the stripping the bodies of the slain.¹

He mentions, also, that "the Scythians call the Amazons *Aiorpata*, and this name, in the Grecian language, means man-slayers, for they call *Aior* a man, and *pata* to kill."

Strabo discredits the whole of the series of stories regarding the Amazons, and while reproducing the old tales in portions of his work, evidently looks upon them as simply mythical (xi. v. 3, etc.).² In effect, to constitute a conventional nation of Amazons, it seems merely to have been necessary that they should be led, commanded by, or *γυναικοκρατούμενοι*, "ruled over by women."

To complete these casual references to the race of women who conceived and achieved the completion of one of the world's highest art monuments, we must not omit to follow the primary motive in the Scythic devotion to the graves of their ancestors.

It was their leading idea, put into the concrete by Herodotus, in the terms—"We have no cities nor cultivated lands, for which we are under any apprehension. . . . Yet . . . we have the sepulchres of our ancestors: come, and find these, and attempt to disturb them, then you will know whether we will fight for our sepulchres or not" (iv. 127).

Was not therefore this technic triumph of combined Greek art with traditions of earthen tumuli and corresponding Egyptian pyramids, the simple, though perfected, outcome of the normal ideas of a nomad race?

¹ Herodotus iv. 110. 117: "We also performed a valiant exploit against the Amazons, who once made an irruption into Attica from the river Thermodon; and in the Trojan war were inferior to none."—ix. 27.

² He mentions casually in book xi. cap. v. sec. 1, that the so-called Amazons are supposed to employ the javelin, bow, and "*sagaris*," and in xi. viii. 6 he assigns the national "*sagaris* of brass" to the Massagetæ. See also xii. iii. 9. 21. 22. 24.

In concluding my references to Caria, I must not omit to notice the eminently classic tomb of the earlier members of the dynasty at Cadyanda,¹ where the sculptor apparently presents us with such admirable types of the female form. The inscriptions consist chiefly of the names and titles of the various individuals depicted on the tomb, placed as closely as possible in direct scenic order as space permitted, above or below the persons indicated,² a custom of aiding an artist's intentions, which extended to Etruria; these legends are given in Greek, with irregular counterparts in Carian. They have as yet been only partially deciphered,³ but the definite name of ΕΚΑΤΟΜΝΑΣ is repeated, with the associate Carian version as ΙΚΑΤΑΜΝΑ, and, in one instance, with the addition of the words ΚΟ ΤΟΜΜΟΛΙ, "King of the Tmmoli."⁴ The Carian title reads doubtfully, *Sipparama Mola*.⁵ Other names likewise can only be suggestively proposed, but they seem to contribute the names of ΕΡΗΛΑΔΕΙΔΑΣ⁶ with the usual addition of his ΣΑΛΛ ΟΥ "tomb"—ΜΕΙΟΜΕΣΟΣ⁷—ΜΙΕΝΔΙΝΜΙΣ—ΡΙΟΒΑ—ΚΙΑΡΑΜΩ and ΣΕΣΚΩΣ.⁸

Other Carian inscriptions furnish us with evidence of the rule of succession from brother to brother in the priesthood of Poseidon,⁹ following in effect the order of kingly inheritance already noticed in Sumer and Elam.¹⁰

¹ Fellows' Lycia, 1841, Plate, p. 116, and Frontispiece. A cast of this bas-relief is in the British Museum, sadly disfigured by a thick coating of brown-red paint. See also Spratt and Forbes' Lycia, 1847, vol. i. p. 40.

² Pausanias, x. 25-26. Grote, vol. i. p. 297.

³ Boeckh, No. 4225, vol. iii. p. 133.

⁴ *Kón*, a king, a ruler; in honorific usage a shepherd, or man of the shepherd caste; *kón-mei*, royal authority. Another form of the same word is *kó*, a king, a god. *Kóyil* in ordinary Tamil means a temple; in the Old Tamil of the Syrian inscriptions it means a palace; literally, *kó-il*, the king's house. It is hard to determine whether *kó* or *kón* is to be regarded as the primitive form of this word. Compare the Turkish and Mongolian *khdn*: also *khagan*, a ruler; Ostiak *khan*.—Caldwell, Dravidian Grammar, edit. 1875, p. 504.

⁵ [آراستن] آرا، بیبه، "Leader of the army"? Leake notices that "*Separza* was the Lycian name of the sons of Harpagus."

⁶ *Ameraldas*. *Umman-aldas*? See *anté*, p. 5.

⁷ *Μυόννησος*, *Myonnesos*?

⁸ 𐌂𐌆𐌇𐌆, 𐌂𐌆𐌇𐌆, *Mors*? ΣΕΣΚΩΣ is, however, given as a name in vol. ii. No. 2691, of the Carian lists, in Boeckh's comprehensive work.

⁹ Boeckh, vol. ii. p. 449, No. 2655. Newton, *Halicarnassus*, and in the *Nineteenth Century*, 1878, p. 1042.

¹⁰ P. 5, *anté*.

ETRURIA.



Etruscan Rock-cut Tomb, at Castel d'Asso (Ferguson, p. 285), from the "Annali dell' Instituto." The opening formula of the Etruscan inscription can be traced in the corresponding Latin letters as ROA SUTHI, reading from right to left.¹

The spread of the Lycian custom of reliance upon maternity, in the archaic times,² its extension to Etruria, together with other conventional symbols of Lycian or proximate Lydian³ civilization, is marked and determined. Dennis, in his great work on Etruria, observes :

"The mention of the mother's name after the father's is a genuine Etruscanism. It is general in Etruscan epitaphs, and was retained even under the Roman domination, for some sarcophagi bear similar epitaphs in Latin, with '*natus*' affixed to the mother's name.

"This custom the Etruscans must have derived from the East, as it is not practised by the Greeks or Romans; but the Lycians always traced their descent through the maternal line, to the total exclusion of the paternal."—Dennis (1848), vol. i. p. 133.

¹ Dennis's Etruria, vol. i. p. 242. *Bullettino dell' Instituto*, 1833, plate of inscriptions, page 72.

² "In the funereal inscriptions copied from the monuments in these cities, all the pedigrees of the deceased, with one exception, are derived from the mothers; the exception is on the tomb of the Greek copied at Limyra, and he was evidently a foreigner, from having his monument inscribed in both languages."—Fellows' *Asia Minor and Lycia* (1852), p. 413.

³ Appian, lxxvi., Pliny, xxxiii. 4, Plutarch in Romulus.

“The singular custom of the Lycians of tracing their descent by the maternal line, obtained also among the Etruscans, alone among the nations of antiquity.”—Pref. p. xlii.¹

The Rev. I. Taylor, in speaking of the seventeen Bilingual Inscriptions, or the seventeen *Etruscan* records to which *Latin* glosses or parallel versions are appended, continues these comparisons: “We have seen that the paternal descent is in two instances omitted from the Etruscan record, but carefully recorded in the Latin version. In like manner the maternal descent is in three instances omitted from the Latin version, but recorded in the Etruscan. The ethnological import of this difference has already been insisted on. There is no true Latin metronymic, but in four cases the Etruscan metronymic is translated by means of the Latin word *Natus*.”²—p. 256.

Elsewhere Mr. Taylor remarks: “It is very significant from an ethnological point of view, that no word for ‘father’ has as yet been detected in the inscriptions. The words denoting husband and wife are also somewhat doubtful.”—p. 245.

In these instances we may follow the upward or reflex advance of Aryan influences in Italy, and the effect of Latin civilization in superseding the remains of local Scythism, in

¹ Dennis, vol. ii. p. 189, incidentally remarks: “Of marriages, no representation, which has not a mythical reference, has yet been found on the sepulchral urns of Etruria, though most of the earlier writers on these antiquities mistook the farewell-scenes, presently to be described, where persons of opposite sexes stand hand in hand, for scenes of nuptial festivity.”

² In another place Mr. Taylor adds, “It must be remembered that the records of the Etruscan tombs extend over several centuries. . . . The bilingual inscriptions belong to the time when the Etruscan language was giving place to Latin, and they therefore exhibit the system of nomenclature in its most elaborate form, and partake to some extent of the peculiarities introduced from the Roman system.”—p. 254. One of the best bilingual inscriptions in Latin and Etruscan occurs on a sarcophagus found at Perugia. Mr. I. Taylor arranges the counterpart legends as follows:

Latin. P. VOLUMNIUS A.F. VIOLENS, CAFATIA NATUS.

Etruscan. PUP. VELIMNA AU. CAHATIAL.

Among other remarks Mr. Taylor notices that “*Cahatial*, the last word of the Etruscan record, is equivalent to *Cafatia natus*, the last words of the Latin inscription. In another bilingual inscription the Etruscan word *Cainal* is in like manner translated by *Cainnia natus*. Hence we learn positively the meaning of the suffix *al*, which occurs many hundred times in Etruscan inscriptions. It was the regular Etruscan metronymic; it is usually appended to the mother’s name, and means ‘child’ or ‘born of.’”

contrast to the earlier downward pressure of the Turánian nations upon the original Aryan home to the south-east of the Caspian.

In conclusion of this section of the subject of the status of women in Etruria in ancient days, I quote Mr. Dennis' mature conclusions from the comprehensive data supplied alike by the illustrations painted on extant fictile vases, and the surroundings and inner testimonies of the tombs themselves :

“The equality of women in the social scale of Etruria may also be learned from the figures on these urns. It is evident that no inferior respect was paid to the fair sex when dead, that as much labour and expense were bestowed on their sepulchral decorations as those of their lords. In fact, it has generally been remarked that the tombs of women are more highly ornamented and richly furnished than those of the opposite sex.”—Dennis (new edition), vol. ii. p. 162.

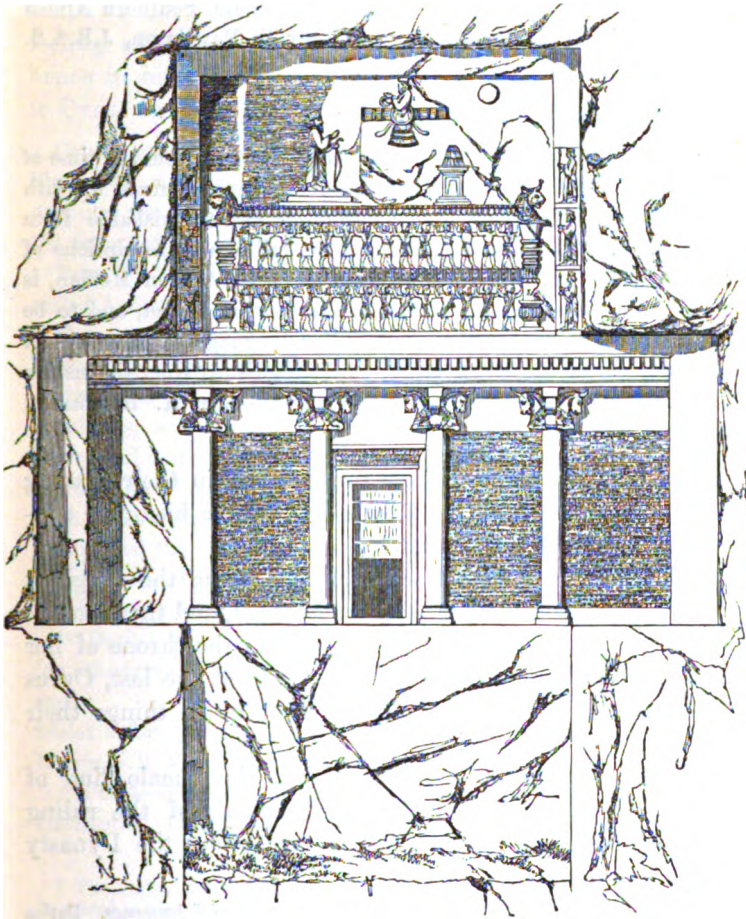
To these casual coincidences of mind and matter I must supplement the curious identity of reckoning, now proved to have obtained at our extreme points of comparison, between Etruria and India, in the normal use of the numbers 4 and 16. It has hitherto been supposed that the development of this system of reckoning was peculiar to India;¹ but the repeated 4s of the early allusions to cities and nations in the valley of the Euphrates² seems to indicate a wider spread of this most practical system of arithmetic. The Etruscan method of dealing with *fours* has, so far, been understood and generally recognized, but it has been lately definitely illustrated by the discovery of a bronze disc at Settima, near Piacenza,³ which is divided into “36 compartments—16 are round the rim, 16 on the upper surface of the disc, and 4 on the cone—constituting the Etruscan *Templum*, used by the Augurs for dividing the firmament into 16 regions.”

¹ Ancient Indian Weights, Numismata Orientalia, No. I. p. 18.

² Rawlinson's Ancient Monarchies, vol. i. p. 19, vol. ii. p. 325; and Sir H. Rawlinson, J.R.A.S. Vol. I. n.s. p. 193.

³ *Athenæum*, 23rd Nov. 1878, p. 664.

PERSIA.



TOMB OF DARIUS AT NAKSH-E RUSTAM.—*Fergusson*, vol. i. p. 195.

Sir H. Rawlinson's impressions in regard to the prevalence of the Scythic element in Media were summarized so long ago as 1854-5, in the following terms:

"I will only remark, that it must have been during this interval that nationalities were first established; and that the aboriginal

Scyths or Hamites appear to have been the principal movers in the great work of social organization. They would seem, indeed, simultaneously or progressively, to have passed in one direction by Southern Persia into India; in another, through Southern Arabia to Æthiopia, Egypt and Numidia."—Sir H. Rawlinson, J.R.A.S. Vol. XV. p. 235.

In conclusion, he elsewhere adds :

"We further observe that in the Greek writers, from the time of Alexander downwards, the Sacæ and Cadusii are so mixed up with the Northern Medes as to be absolutely indistinguishable from them. . . . The second column of the trilingual Inscriptions of the Achæmenidæ, which has hitherto borne the title of Median, is now found to be written in a *bond-fide* Scythic dialect, and to be evidently addressed as their vernacular language to the mass of the subjects of the Great King, as distinguished from the native Persians and the conquered Babylonians."—Sir H. Rawlinson, J.R.A.S. Vol. XV. p. 245.

We may further test these propositions, in their bearing upon the influence of the female sex, by the historical contributions of the Greek writers.

We find Cyrus, on his accession, honouring the daughter of Astyages as a mother (*Queen Mother* ?), and then, on the death of Spitames, improving his title to the throne of her father by making her his wife ;¹ while, at the last, Cyrus is found admonishing his sons to obey in all things their mother.

The family custom of recognizing the female line of descent crops-up continually in the annals of the ruling Achæmenidæ, and may be traced throughout the Dynasty

¹ Herodotus, vii. 11, makes Cyrus and Cambyses sons of Achæmenes. Darius thinks it essential to marry a daughter of Cyrus, vii. 11. Ctesias *Fragmenta C. Muller*, p. 43 : *καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀμύτιν πρότερον μὲν μητρικῆς ἀπολαύσαι τιμῆς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ εἰς γυναῖκα ἀχθῆναι τῷ κόρῳ.*

So also the Scythian Scylas, of whom Herodotus tells us, "Ariapithes met his death by treachery at the hands of Spargapithes, King of Agathyrsi, and Scylas succeeded to the kingdom, and his father's wife, whose name was Opæa; this Opæa was a native, by whom Ariapithes had a son, Oricus."—iv. 78. "Their (the Persians') mode of burial is to smear the bodies over with wax, and then to inter them. The Magi are not buried, but the birds are allowed to devour them. These persons, according to the usage of the country, espouse even their mothers."—Strabo, xv. iii. 20.

in the pages of Ctesias, who knew so much of the domestic life of the nation.¹

In the case of Darius, with his Aryan tendencies, an effort seems to have been made to resist the hereditary Scythic feeling of the position due to females of the royal line,—hence in his inscriptions he ignores any relationship either to Cyrus or Cambyses.

Col. i. para. 2. “And says Darius the king:—My father was Hystaspes; the father of Hystaspes was Arsames; the father of Arsames was Ariyarames; the father of Ariyarames was Teispes; the father of Teispes was Achæmenes.

Para. 3. “And says Darius the king, on that account we are called Achæmenians. . . .

Para. 4. “. . . Eight kings of my race have held the kingdom before me, I am the ninth. . . .

Para. 10. “. . . When I became king:—My predecessor, named Cambyses, was the son of Cyrus, and his brother, by the same father and mother, was named Bardes. Cambyses killed Bardes.

Para. 14. “And says Darius the king:—The kingdom that had been taken away from our family, that I recovered. . . . And I established the kingdom . . . both Persia and Media, and the other provinces.”—Edwin Norris, J.R.A.S. Vol. XV. o.s. pp. 99, 136, 431.

“The following inscription has no Persian or Babylonian version.

“Darius king said: by favour of Ormazd I a tablet elsewhere (or otherwise) have made Arian, which formerly not was; . . . and . . . I made, and is written, and I sending (?) then the tablet before province all in I sent, the people knew (?).”—Edwin Norris, J.R.A.S. Vol. XV. o.s. pp. 135, 145.

“The seven associates are enumerated by Darius in his Behistun Inscription (himself and six others), ‘Intaphernes, Otanes, Gobryas,

¹ The leading position of the daughters and female relations of the Kings may be traced in the numerous instances of their names appearing so ostentatiously in the lists of the army of Xerxes. They may be outlined, for the moment, as follows:

“Otanes, father of Amestris, wife of Xerxes.

“Hystaspes, son of Darius and Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, commanded the Bactrians and Saccæ.

“The Arabians and Ethiopians who dwell above Egypt were commanded by Arsames, son of Darius and Artystone, daughter of Cyrus, whom Darius loved more than all his wives, and whose image he had made of beaten gold.

“Gobryas, son of Darius and Artystone, (commanded) the Mariandyns, . . . etc.

“Artochmes, who had married a daughter of Darius, commanded, . . . etc.

“Ariomardus, son of Darius and Parmys, daughter of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, . . . etc.”—Herodotus, vii. 61, *et seq.*

Hydarnes, Megabyzus, and Ardomanes,' *all Persians*, with their *fathers'* names carefully defined."—J.R.A.S. Vol. XV. p. 145.

But with all these pretentious proclamations we find Darius anxious to strengthen his position by marrying Atossa, and Herodotus has preserved a record of how much that marriage influenced his choice of his own successor.

"Now Darius, even before he became king, had three sons born to him by his former wife, the daughter of Gobryas; and after his accession to the throne four others by Atossa, daughter of Cyrus. Of the former, Artabazanes was the eldest. . . . Artabazanes urged that he was the eldest of all the sons, and that it was the established usage among all men that the eldest son should succeed to the sovereignty: on the other hand, Xerxes *alleged* that he was son of Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, and that it was Cyrus who had acquired freedom for the Persians. . . . Xerxes having availed himself of the suggestion of Demaratus (of the parallel Spartan custom), Darius, acknowledging that he said what was just, declared him king. But it appears to me that even without this suggestion Xerxes would have been made king; for Atossa had unbounded influence."—Herodotus vii. 3-4.

With reference to these recovered Cuneiform and parallel traditional data, it amounts to something beyond a curious coincidence that, if we read the 1st Chapter of Esther by the light of this attempted reduction of the power of the sex to the required Aryan level, we discover alike the independent status of the crowned queen and the national effort on the part of the seven Persians to humiliate and retain in subjection the wives of their own houses. The text runs in our Authorized Version:

"1. Now it came to pass in the days of Ahasuerus, (this is Ahasuerus which reigned, from India even unto Ethiopia, over an hundred and seven and twenty provinces:)

"3. In the third year of his reign, he made a feast. . . .

"9. Also Vashti the queen made a feast for the women of the royal house. . . .

"10. On the seventh day, when the heart of the king was merry with wine, he commanded. . . .

"11. To bring Vashti the queen before the king with the crown royal, to shew the people and the princes her beauty: for she *was* fair to look on.

"12. But the queen Vashti refused to come. . . ."

The punishment decreed by the seven princes of Persia and Media, "which sat first in the kingdom," "that Vashti come no more before king Ahasuerus."¹

"20. And when the king's decree . . . shall be published . . . all wives shall give to their husbands honour, both to great and small.

"22. He sent letters into the king's provinces, into every province according to the writing thereof, and to every people after their language, that every man should bear rule in his own house."

That the seven Persians did not succeed in permanently changing the established prestige or defeating the claims of Queens or Queen-Mothers, we may gather from Plutarch's account of the royal household of Artaxerxes Mnemon, where he says:

"None had been admitted to the king of Persia's table but his mother and his wife; the former of which sat above him, and the latter below him."—Plutarch in Artaxerxes.

SCYTHIA.

I have taken it for granted that the number of prominent examples and admitted power of Scythian Queens formed an essential feature in the camp-life of the various tribes, but so innate was the theory of their tent dominancy that we find their successors, up to comparatively modern days, equally in possession of power and influence, especially in regal families.

Tabari, in speaking of Bahrám Chobin's adventures in Túrkestán, incidentally remarks:

"Ensuite Bahrám voulut aussi rendre un service à la grande Khátún; car chez les Turks toutes les affaires se font par les femmes."—Zotenberg's Tabari, vol. ii. p. 302.

D'Ohsson's account of the position occupied by the celebrated Turkhán Khátún is more individualized:

"Le sultan Tacasch avait épousé Turcan-Khatoune, fille de Djinkeschi, khan de la tribu bayaoute, l'une des branches de la nation Cancali. . . ."

¹ See also *the* view, from a Semitic standpoint, in Josephus, Ant. book xi. cap. vi. sec. 1, 2.

“Turkan-Khatoune, mère de sultan ('Alá ud dín Mahammad bin Takaah), était à la tête du parti formé par les généraux de sa nation, et donée d'un grand caractère, elle exerçait un pouvoir égal à celui de son fils. Lorsqu'il arrivait, dans quelque lieu de l'empire, deux ordres différents sur le même objet, l'un de Mohammed, l'autre de Turkan-Khatoune, on examinait uniquement leurs dates, et l'on exécutait celui qui était le plus récent. Mohammed n'acquerrait pas une province qu'il n'en assignât un district considérable à sa mère, pour augmenter son apanage. Elle avait sept secrétaires qui étaient tous des hommes d'un mérite distingué. Son monogramme (Tougra), qu'elle écrivait de sa main sur ses ordonnances; se composait de ces mots: *Protectrice du monde et de la foi, Turkan reine des femmes de l'univers*; et sa devise était: *Dieu seul est mon refuge*. Elle prenait le titre de *Khoudavend-Djihan*, ou de souveraine du monde.”¹—D'Ohsson, vol. i. p. 198.²

That this Queen's power has not been overstated may be gathered from the fact that she claimed and exercised that attribute of supreme royalty—so guarded by Eastern potentates—of the right to coin money. The following is my hitherto unpublished reading of her supposedly *unique* gold piece, now in the Guthrie Collection at Berlin.

GOLD COIN OF TURKHÁN KHÁTÚN.

<p><i>Obv.</i> الحمد لله لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله صلي الله عليه وسلم</p>	<p><i>Rev.</i> طرخانو بادشاه جهان خداوند عالم بابا شاه خاتون ملکه ملکهها</p>
<p>Margin — <i>Text</i> from Kurán, Súrah ix. 33.</p>	<p>Margin — ضرب هذا الدينار — سنة . . .</p>

¹ “Turkan-Khatoune fut conduite par Tchinguiz-Khan en Tartarie, et mourut, en 1233, dans la ville de Caracouroum.”—p. 260.

See also De Guignes, book xiv. p. 275. and xv. p. 52; Price, Muhammadan History, vol. ii. pp. 393, etc.; Thomas, ‘Patháns,’ p. 104.

² “Several ladies of the name of Bulughán (‘Zibellina’) have a place in Mongol-Persian history. The one here indicated, a lady of great beauty and ability, was known as the Great Khátún Bulughan, and was (according to strange Mongol custom) successively the wife of Abaka and of his son Arghún, Mongol sovereign of Persia.”—Yule, Marco Polo, vol. i. p. 32.

As in the above case we recognize the exercise of the right to coin, so in the subjoined instance we find that women's names were exceptionally entitled to a place in inscriptions, but in a subdued sense, so as to accord with progressive Semitic surrenders to the supremacy of man.

On the tower of the Atabegs at Nakhitshevan, A.H. 582, conjoined with the Muslim husband's names and titles, we read the record of Múminah Katún, in the following terms:

جلال الدنيا والدين عصمة الاسلام والمسلمين مومنه خاتون رحمها
الله تعالى.—M. Khanikof, *Journal Asiatique*, 1862, p. 114.

INDIA.



FAÇADE OF THE LOMAS RISHI CAVE, IN BEHAR.

"The frontispiece is singularly interesting, as representing in the rock the form of structural chaityas of the age¹ (circa B.C. 260 or 264, or the twelfth year of Asoka)." [This example, to my understanding, seems to have been a direct imitation of the wooden substructure and heavy pointed thatch of the locality.]

¹ "General Cunningham (*Arch. Rep.* vol. i. p. 45) and others are in the habit of calling this an Egyptian form. This it certainly is not, as no Egyptian doorway had sloping jambs. Nor can it properly be called Pelasgic. The Pelasgi did use that form, but derived it from stone constructions. The Indians only obtained it from wood."—Fergusson, foot-note, p. 109.

The customs bearing upon the forms of marriage in India were many and various, as was to be expected amid the diverse and imperfectly discriminated nationalities which contributed to the general population of the continent, and the contrasted degrees of advancement in civilization attained by each tribal or concrete national division. We can cite examples of simple barbarism or cattle-like bestiality, of Polygamy and Polyandria coexisting under the same royal roof, the *Purānik* recognition of Hetairism, and, what is more directly to the purpose, we can now appeal to inscriptions and coins to prove the leading part taken by females in the record of the affiliation by the maternal line, to the exclusion or subordination of the name of the father.

We are scarcely concerned with the earliest phase of sexual intercourse in India, though reference is naïvely made to it in the pages of Manu, and it is freely denounced by the classical writers of Alexander's period.

My first quotation in this direction is from the *Mahābhārata*, the great national epic, which was esteemed as next in authenticity to the Scriptures themselves, and was sufficiently sanctified to be ordered to be *read* in the Temples. We here see *Draupadī* assigned by the existing usage of the strange tribe, into which she married, to the embraces of five husbands: and later on, we find her even expatiating on the advantages of such an arrangement.

When, by the rules regulating the visits of each husband in turn, *Arjuna* breaks the Massagetic law,¹ he has to suffer the appointed twelve years' exile. In the course of his wanderings, it seems that it was permissible to him to take

¹ "When Cyrus had conquered this nation, he was anxious to reduce the Massagætæ to subjection. . . . There are some who say that this nation is Scythian."—Herodotus, i. sec. 201.

"It is said that sexual intercourse among these people takes place openly as with cattle."—sec. 203.

"A woman whose husband was dead was queen of the Massagætæ; her name was Tomyris."—sec. 205.

"The Massagætæ resemble the Scythians in their dress and mode of living. . . —sec. 215. Their manners are as follows: Each man marries a wife, but they use women promiscuously. . . . When a Massagetan desires to have the company of a woman, he hangs up his quiver in front of her *chariot* (waggon), and has intercourse with her without shame."—sec. 216. See also "Nasamonæ," book iv. sec. 172.

temporary wives, at discretion, and even from royal houses ; but at last he weds a lawful wife, obtained by quasi-capture, in the person of *Subhadra*, a daughter of the king of *Dwárka*, whom he brings home, with all form and ceremony, to live under the common roof, but not to share the fraternal embraces.

“The sage *Vyása* then explained to *Rája Drupada* that it was ordained . . . that his daughter *Draupadí* should be married to the five brethren, and the *Rája* gave his consent.

“And *Draupadí* was arrayed in fine garments, and adorned with five jewels, and married first to the elder brother *Yudhishtira*, and then to the others, according to their respective ages ; and the *Rája* gave large gifts to his sons-in-law, and also to the *Bráhmans* ; and *Kuntí* blessed her daughter-in-law, and prayed that she might become the mother of many sons. . . .

“Now as the five *Pándavas* were husbands of one wife, each of the brethren had a house and garden of his own, and *Draupadí* dwelt with each of them in turn for two days at a time ; and as it was a law amongst them, that if a brother entered the house of another brother, whilst *Draupadí* was dwelling there, he should depart out of the city and go into exile for twelve years.”

Arjuna therefore departs upon his travels, in the course of which he is found entering into quasi-matrimonial connexions with considerable freedom, abiding many days with *Ulúpi*, “the daughter of *Vásuki*, the *Rája* of the *Nágas*,” and contracting a more lasting alliance with *Chitrángada*, the daughter of the *Rája* of *Manipura*, which, like a Moslem *Nikáh*, extended over a period of three years ; and finally he goes through a form of marriage by capture with *Subhadrá*, the daughter of *Vasudeva* of *Dwáraká*, which is thus related in the text : “So *Arjuna* followed the counsel of *Krishna*, and he ascended the chariot, and proceeded along the road to *Dwáraká*, until he overtook *Subhadrá*, who was riding in a chariot together with some other ladies ; and he drove slowly along by the side on which *Subhadrá* was until he came close to her, and then leaping down he took hold of her hand, and lifted her out of her chariot into his own, and drove off with all speed along the road to *Indraprastha*.”

“After this, when twelve years of exile were accomplished, *Arjuna* took leave of his new kinsmen, and departed with his wife *Subhadrá* for the city of *Indraprastha*, and *Rája Yudhishtira*

rejoiced to see him, and each of his brethren in turn gave him a feast which lasted many days. And Arjuna went to the apartment of Draupadí; but she was jealous, and looked coldly upon him, and said: 'What have you to do with me? Where is the daughter of Vasudeva?' But Arjuna replied with soothing words, and he caressed her, and after a time she became reconciled to him as before. Then Arjuna went out and brought Subhadrá to his mother Kuntí, and Subhadrá fell at the feet of her mother-in-law; and Kuntí lifted her up, . . . and gave her many blessings. Subhadrá then approached Draupadí, and bowed herself and said: 'I am thy servant!' And Draupadí bowed in like manner, and embraced and said: 'May your husband be without enemies.' . . . And henceforth there was amity between Draupadí and Subhadrá; and Draupadí gave birth to five sons, one to each of her husbands; but Subhadrá had only one son."

"And Satyabháma said to Draupadí: We, who are so many thousands in number, have all but one and the same husband in Krishna, and we are all happy with him; how comes it then that you have five husbands, and are not ashamed before men? Draupadí answered: You are every one jealous of each other, and are always talking of your suspicions one of another; but I never speak one word which all my five husbands may not hear alike, or which would give to either the smallest offence: and as to what you ask of my having no shame before men, I had great shame when Duhsásana insulted me in the presence of all the Kauravas." [This refers to her being unveiled, when she was won at dice by Duhsásana from Yudhishtira¹ the senior of the five brothers.]²

"Now Rája Sántanu, the great-grandson of Bhárata, reigned in much glory in the city of Hastinápúr, and he had many sons, . . . but only one lived to be a man, and his name was Sántanava. And it came to pass that when Rája Sántanu was very old, he desired to marry a damsel who should be young and beautiful; and Sántanava found such a damsel as his father desired. But the parents of the girl would not give her to the Rája, saying, 'If our daughter bear sons to the Rája, they will neither of them succeed

¹ It will be remembered that for a like, but less marked, outrage, Candaules of Lydia lost his life.—Herodotus, i. 8-13. In another chapter of the Mahábhárate, Mádrí, during the life of her husband Pandu, is stated to have become the mother of Sahadeva by the *two* Aswins.—Wheeler, Mahabh. vol. i. p. 71.

² These extracts are taken from Mr. Halhed's original translation inserted in Wheeler's Mahábhárate.

to the Ráj; for when Sántanu dies, his son Sántanava will become Rája.' Then Sántanava determined to sacrifice himself in order to gratify his father; and he made a vow to the parents of the damsel, saying: 'If you will give your daughter in marriage to my father, I will never accept the Ráj, or marry a wife, or become the father of children by any woman; so that, if your daughter bear a son to the Rája, that son shall succeed him in the Ráj.' And the vow of Sántanava became noised abroad, and ever from that day he went by the name of Bhíshma, or 'the dreadful.' . . .

"And the parents of the damsel gave her in marriage to Rája Sántanu, and her name was Satyavatí; and she bore two sons to the Rája. After this, Rája Sántanu was bowed down with age, and his soul departed from his body; and he left his two younger sons, and their mother, Satyavatí, under the care of his eldest son, Bhíshma."—p. 51.

"When the days of mourning for Rája Sántanu were fully over, the faithful Bhíshma refused to become Rája, and placed the elder of the two half-brothers upon the throne, . . . and he was slain by the Rája of the Gandharvas. Then Bhíshma placed the younger brother upon the throne, and ruled the Ráj until he should be grown; and the name of the young Rája was Vichitra-vírya.

"In process of time Bhíshma and the Rání Satyavatí began to think of procuring wives for Rája Vichitra-vírya, that he might perpetuate the race of the great Bhárata. And it was told to Bhíshma that the Rája of Kási (Benares) was celebrating a *Swayamvara*, in order that they might choose their own husbands. So Bhíshma thought in his heart that the three damsels might become wives to Vichitra-vírya; and he ordered his chariot, and drove to the city of Kási, that he might see them with his own eyes. And Bhíshma beheld the damsels, and saw that they were very beautiful; but the city was filled with Rájas from all quarters of the world, who desired to wed them. And Bhíshma did not wait for the day of the *Swayamvara*, nor did he ask the Rája to give his daughters in marriage to Rája Vichitra-vírya; but he seized the three damsels, and placed them in his own chariot, and challenged every Rája present to do him battle.

"Then the Rájas attacked Bhíshma in great wrath; but he was strong in arm and skilful in the use of weapons; and he fought and conquered them every one. . . . Thus did Bhíshma win the daughters of the Rája of Kási, and carry them away in triumph to the city of Hastinápúr. . . . [After the marriage] the Rája

sickened and withered away until he died; and he left no child behind him, nor had either of his two wives any hope of becoming a mother. . . Now the custom was that when a man died and left no son, his brother or near kinsman took his widows and raised up seed to the dead man. So after some days the Rání Satyavatí said to Bhíshma, 'Take the Rája's widows, I pray you, and raise up sons that shall be to him as his own sons.' But Bhíshma replied, 'How can I do this thing? Have I not vowed a vow that I would never become the father of any children by any woman?' So Satyavatí called upon a kinsman of her own to do her bidding."—p. 54.

Mr. Halhed's unrevised version purports to run in further illustration of the subject:—

"Once upon a time the valiant Rája Dushyanta was hunting in the forest, when he beheld the beautiful Sakuntalá, the daughter of Kanwa the sage; and he prevailed on the damsel to become his wife by a *Gandharva* marriage, and gave her his ring as the pledge of his troth. Then Dushyanta returned to his own city, whilst Sakuntalá remained in the hermitage of her father. [At this point an irrelevant interlude is introduced which we need not follow.] And Sakuntalá found that she was with child, and she set off for the palace of her husband; but on her way she bathed (in a sacred pool), and the ring dropped from her finger, and was lost beneath the waters. When she reached the palace of the Rája, his memory had departed from him, and he would not own her to be his wife; and her mother came and carried her away to the jungle, and there she gave birth to a son, who was named Bhárata. [Here, again, there is inserted in the leading text the fabulous recovery of the ring from the belly of a fish, and the admiration of the prowess of a repudiated son ending in full confession and acknowledgment.] So Rája Dushyanta took Sakuntalá and Bhárata to his own city; and he made Sakuntalá his chief Rání, and appointed Bhárata to succeed him in the Ráj."—Wheeler's reproduction, vol. i. p. 7.

The next somewhat more authoritative compilation I have to advert to is the so-called "Code of Manu." Like so many other sections of this Hindu Law-book, the passages relating to marriage, while placing in the front the exotic Aryan or Brahmanical view of the law, are forced to recognize various old customs, which, though duly denounced, still assert their

practical and continuative existence in the land. Here, again, as in the case of Xerxes' advisers, we discover the advance of Aryan ideas, as against local Scythic tendencies, in the permissive clauses 59, 61, 66; and we also recognize traces of the ancient right of capture, the so-called Spartan form of marriage—exemplified in the *Raptæ Sabinæ*—under its Eastern denomination of *Rākshasa*.¹

Manu, iii. 20. "Now learn compendiously the 8 forms of the nuptial ceremony."

"21. The ceremony of *BRAHMĀ*, of the *Devas*, of the *Rishis*, of the *Prajāpatis*, of the *Asuras*, of the *Gandharvas*, and that of the *Rakshases*; the eighth and basest is that of the *Pisāchas*. . . ."

"23. Let mankind know, that the six first in direct order are (by some held) valid in the case of a priest; the four last, in that of a warrior; and the same four, except the *Rākshasa* marriage, in the cases of a merchant and a man of the servile class."

"24. Some consider the four first only as approved in the case of the priest; one, that of *Rakshases*, as peculiar to the soldier; and that of *Asuras*, to a mercantile and a servile man."

. . . "25. In this code three of the five last are held legal, and two illegal: the ceremonies of *Pisāchas* and *Asuras* must never be performed."

"26. For a military man the before-mentioned marriages of *Gandharvas* and *Rakshases*, whether separate or mixed, as when a girl is made captive by her lover, after a victory over her kinsmen, are permitted by law."

"27. The gift of a daughter, clothed only with a single robe, to a man learned in the *Veda*, whom her father voluntarily invites, and respectfully receives, is the nuptial rite called *Brāhma*."

"28. The rite which the sages call *Daiva*, is the gift of a daughter, whom her father has decked in gay attire, when

¹ See also Judges, v. 28-30. Deuteronomy, xxi. 10-13. Tod, vol. i. p. 639. Vishnu Purāna, vol. v. pp. 69, 130.

The Persian feeling on this subject is defined by Herodotus as: "Now, to carry off women by violence the Persians think is the act of wicked men, but to trouble oneself about avenging them when so carried off is the act of foolish ones; and to pay no regard to them when carried off, of wise men: for it is clear, that if they had not been willing, they could not have been carried off."—Herod. (Cary), i. 4.

the sacrifice is already begun, to the officiating priest, who performs that act of religion."

"29. When a father gives his daughter away, after having received from the bridegroom one pair of kine, or two pairs, for uses prescribed by law, that marriage is termed *Arsha*."

"30. The nuptial rite, called *Prájápatya*, is when the father gives away his daughter with due honour, saying distinctly, May both of you perform together your civil and religious duties."

"31. When the bridegroom, having given as much wealth as he can afford to the father and paternal kinsmen, and to the damsel herself, takes her voluntarily as his bride, that marriage is named *Asura*."

"32. The reciprocal connexion of a youth and a damsel, with mutual desire, is the marriage denominated *Gándhárva*."

"33. The seizure of a maiden by force from her house, while she weeps and calls for assistance, after her kinsmen and friends have been slain in battle, or wounded, and their houses broken open, is the marriage styled *Rákshasa*."

"34. When the lover secretly embraces the damsel, either sleeping or flushed with strong liquor, or disordered in her intellect, that sinful marriage, called *Paisdcha*, is the eighth and the basest."

37 defines the rewards, from a Bráhmánic point of view, attendant on the first or highest form of marriage. "The son . . . redeems from sin, . . . ten ancestors, ten descendants, and himself the twenty-first person."

38 in a similar degree is effective for "sevens and sevens," and in its lower mixtures for three and three or six and six.

"41. But in the other four base marriages . . . are produced sons acting cruelly, speaking falsely," etc., etc.

"59. On failure of issue by the husband, if he be of the servile class, the desired offspring may be procreated, either by his brother or some other *sapinda*, on the wife, who has been duly authorized."

"61. Some sages, learned in the laws, . . . are of opinion that the wife and the appointed kinsman may legally procreate a second" [son].

"66. This practice, fit only for cattle, is reprehended by learned Bráhmans; yet it is declared to have been the practice, even of men, while VENA had sovereign power."

HETAIRISM.

Hetairism, in the Greek acceptation of the term,¹ seems to have been a leading institution on Indian soil from time immemorial.

We find the exemplary Buddha accepting the hospitality of the chief courtesan in the city of Wesali,² and the merits of his selected wife were to be gauged by Hetairic accomplishments.³ Krishna himself, the great local God, was not held to be safe from the attractions of the "graceful females of Mathurá."⁴

One of the tribal forms of marriage, which is fully and freely recognized in the Mahábhárata, and consistently denounced in the Brahmanical interpolations of the "Laws of Manu," is the contract by inclination, of which ancient and modern examples need never be wanting. In this case much vague pathos has been extracted, in poetic versions, from the original tale as simply told in the text of the great Indian epic.

Megasthenes adverts *inter alia* to the necessary influence of the *étrapai* in their capacity of police informers.⁵

And the Vishnu Purána—the *Scripture* of the worshippers

¹ "Bachofen and McLennan, the two most recent authors who have studied this subject, both agree that the primitive condition of man, socially, was one of pure Hetairism, when marriage did not exist; or, as we may perhaps for convenience call it, communal marriage, where every man and woman in a small community were regarded as equally married to one another. Bachofen considers that after awhile the women, shocked and scandalized by such a state of things, revolted against it, and established a system of marriage with female supremacy, the husband being subject to the wife, property and descent being considered to go in the female line, and women enjoying the principal share of political power. The first period he calls that of 'Hetairism,' the second of 'Mutterrecht,' or mother-right."—Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, p. 67.

² Mr. Turnour, "Pali Annals," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. vii. p. 999. Mahávanso, p. xxxi.

³ [Qualities requisite for Sakya's bride] "who is as well versed as any courtesan in the rites and ceremonies described in the Sastras—who goeth last to sleep and rises earliest from her couch," etc.—Extracts from Tibetan works, translated by Csoma de Körös, *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, vol. iii. p. 58, and *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xx. pp. 84, 300.

⁴ Vishnu Purána, Wilson's translation, vol. v. pp. 9, 63.

⁵ Strabo, xv. sec. 48.

of Vishṇu—recognizes their exalted social position in the following terms :

“In the morning, the citizens assembled on the platform set apart for them ; and the princes, with the ministers and courtiers, occupied the royal seats. Near the centre of the circle, judges of the games were stationed by Kansa, whilst he himself sat apart, close by, on a lofty throne. Separate platforms were erected for the ladies of the palace, for the courtesans (*Vāra-mukhyā*), and for the wives of the citizens.”—Vishṇu Purāṇa, V. xx. vol. v. p. 24, Wilson’s translation (ed. Hall).

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, an accepted Brahmanical authority, equally admits that—

“The separate pavilions of the courtesans were graced by lovely women, attired in the most splendid dresses, and emulated the radiance of the cars of the gods.”—Note by Prof. Hall, p. 28.

Brahmanism itself, indeed, contributed an ever-ready and trained contingent to the ranks of prostitution, in the *Nauchnis* or singing and dancing girls of the Temples—originally selected for their beauty, they were of course designedly instructed in all the known arts of fascination.

The position of the courtesan element amid the grades of social life is frequently exemplified in the Hindu drama ; which compositions, at all events, must be accepted as effectual and life-like exponents of the habits and manners of the day.¹

The influence of the class, in more modern times, survived in full force among the free Rājput states ; regarding which Colonel Tod remarks :

“Like the ancient German or Scandinavian, the Rājput consults her (his wife) upon every transaction. . . . Although they have a choice at home, they are not ashamed to be the avowed admirers of the Aspasia and Phrynes of the capital ; from the same cause which attracted Socrates and made Pericles a slave.”—Tod’s Rājputāna, vol. i. pp. 610, 613 *note*.

¹ See Preface, p. xlv, and the “Toy Cart,” Wilson, “Theatre of the Hindus” (1835), p. 16 *et seq.*

POLYANDRIA.

In the earliest times, the hardships and other surroundings of savage life may have been less favourable for the survival of the female than the male children in nomad communities. As material prosperity advanced, perhaps, too many women were out of place in a Scythic camp, until they learnt how to fight as Amazons, when they could secure a very near equality with the sterner sex in archery and light horsemanship.¹ But these must have constituted the exceptions, and in process of time the habitable waggons of the moving tribes, or the felted tents of the standing camps, must rather have turned the scale in favour of the life of the females, who, moreover, were less called upon to face the perils of real warfare than the responsibly combative males.

Whatever laws may have regulated the proportionate increase or survival of the sexes under these conditions, it seems to be obvious that Polyandria in its advanced stage, as discriminated from mere promiscuous intercourse or professional Hetairism, implies a disproportion of females to males in the general population; to whatever cause such inequality may be due. In India, Polyandria seems to have been closely associated with the widespread vice of female infanticide.² That ordinarily silent crime, seldom perpetrated without the mother's sanction, in many cases only discoverable by the rigours of a modern census,³ finds many advocates

¹ "Zanara at that time was Queen of the Sacæ, a woman of warlike spirit, far exceeding any of her sex among the Sacæ for courage and activity in martial affairs. For this nation is remarkable for brave-spirited women that use to go out to wars as fellow-soldiers with the men."—Diod. Sic. ii. c. iii. (Booth).

² A striking example of such direct cause and effect is furnished by the "Gukkura, who inhabited the country along the banks of the Nilâb up to the foot of the mountains of Sewâlik. . . . They were a race of wild barbarians, without either religion or morality. It was a custom among them, as soon as a female child was born, to carry her to the door of the house, and there proclaim aloud, holding the child in one hand and a knife in the other, that any person who wanted a wife might now take her, otherwise she was immediately put to death. By this means they had more men than women, which occasioned the custom of several husbands to one wife. When this wife was visited by one of her husbands, she left a mark at the door."—Ferishtah (Briggs's Translation), vol. i. p. 183.

³ "The Muhammadans of Daeca show some prudence in the matter of marriage. Foreseeing that *in futuro* may in the course of time feel sorry for herself, or fall in love with somebody else, and knowing that the woman in that case will get rid of him, either by divorce or murder, the man carefully contracts such a marriage as will make the second course unnecessary. He might register his marriage

among the arrogant races who waste so much upon marriage ceremonies and object to own the humiliation of the possession of an unmarried daughter who lives to maturity.¹

Other commentators on this system of marriage, unlike Draupadi's practical approval of its conditions,² discover, in its working, political as well as material advantages that would scarcely suggest themselves to a Western mind.³ At

in accordance with the Act; but then the woman would have no power of divorce, and would probably resort to poison. . . The women know and understand this as well as the men; at least so the villagers naïvely told one of the local officers."—*The Pioneer Mail*, Allahabad, Oct. 6, 1877, p. 6.

¹ "When a female is born, no anxious inquiries await the mother, no greetings welcome the new-comer, who appears an intruder on the scene, which often closes in the hour of its birth. . . .

"Often is he (the Rájput) heard to exclaim, 'Accursed the day when a woman child was born to me!'

"The same motive which studded Europe with convents, in which youth and beauty were immured until liberated by death, first prompted the Rájput to infanticide; and, however revolting the policy, it is perhaps kindness compared to incarceration. . . .

"(He) raises the poniard to the breast of his wife rather than witness her captivity, and he gives the opiate to the infant, whom, if he cannot portion and marry to her equal, he dare not see degraded."—*Tod, Rajasthán*, vol. i. p. 635.

² "Here we find a practice equally strange, that of Polyandry, universally prevailing; and see one female associating her fate and fortune with all the brothers of a family, without restriction of age or of numbers. The choice of a wife is the privilege of the elder brother; and, singular as it may seem, I have been assured that a Tibetan wife is as jealous of her connubial rites (*sic*), though thus joined to a numerous party of husbands, as the despot of an Indian *Zendna* is of the favours of his imprisoned fair."—*Turner, Tibet* (1800), p. 348. In this case nuns seem to have coëxisted in Buddhist convents with the conflicting institution of Polyandria. Possibly, the latter, under its economical aspect, was indebted and grateful to *Buddhism* for the relief of its surplus females; as European convents, as *Tod* has remarked, in giving a sanctified refuge to the unmarriageable balance of the community, gave a certain amount of relief to the disproportions of sexes in the middle ages.

³ "The most remarkable social institution of the *Botis* is the system of polyandry, which is strictly confined to brothers. Each family of brothers has only one wife in common. . . This system prevails of course only among the poorer classes, for the rich, as in all Eastern countries, generally have two or three wives according to their circumstances. Polyandria is the principal check to the increase of the population, and however revolting it may be to our feelings, it was a most politic measure for a poor country which does not produce sufficient food for its inhabitants."—*Colonel A. Cunningham, Ladák* (1854), p. 306. See also *Captain J. D. Cunningham, "The History of the Sikhs."*

"Polyandry, plurality of husbands, (in *Ladák*) is, except among the few richer people, quite general; it is much more nearly universal than is polygamy in India, and for this reason, that polygamy is a custom itself expensive, practically reserved for the well-to-do, while polyandry is an economical arrangement, one established on the poverty of a barren country, and extending throughout the people as far as indigence itself does."—*F. Drew, Northern Barrier of India*, 1877, p. 263.

The women (of the mountain tribes) "in all seem to enjoy great indulgence, and are allowed, as in Europe, to form a choice for themselves after they have arrived at mature years.

the same time, many and various motives are put forward to justify or excuse such a state of things.¹

These references, and others subdued into note type, will suffice to show the extensive spread of the custom of Polyandria in India, uneradicated even in our own days.²

I have now to examine any parallel custom that may be traced in the provinces more immediately connected with the site of the kingdoms of the western coast.

A graphic account of the institution of Polyandria in Malabar has been preserved in the journal of a traveller in the seventeenth century, which I quote as curiously illustrative of local customs, and manifesting, in a striking degree, the identity of the method of warning-off an intruder with that of the ancient Massagetæ:³—

“One *Nayros* is not allowed more than one wife at a time, but the women in this point have got the start of the men, they being permitted to have three husbands at once. . . Each of these three husbands contribute their share towards the maintenance of this

“In all these hill tribes the women . . . seem to have enjoyed great privileges; but the plurality of husbands had not been introduced with the religion of Thibet.”—Hamilton's *Nipál*, p. 26.

“The elder brother marries a woman, and she becomes the wife of the whole family.” . . . “The identification of the child is left to the determination of the mother.”—Manning, *Tibet*, 1876, p. 123. See also p. 336, and G. W. Trail, *As. Res.* vol. xvi. p. 163, vol. xvii. p. 23, etc. Moorcroft, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 321, and J. A. S. Bengal, 1844, p. 202. Compare similar tests in Sparta, Herod. vi. 68.

¹ “Polyandry is a recognized institution amongst them, but it prevails far more extensively in the northern and central portions of Bhutan than in the southern. Its origin is clearly traceable to Tibet, and Pemberton adds, that ‘political ambition is the main cause of so revolting a practice, as all aspirants for office are compelled to renounce the happiness of domestic life.’ Mr. Eden says, that even the restriction implied in the term polyandry, which once existed in Northern Bhutan, is not adhered to in the present day, as intercourse between the sexes is practically promiscuous.”—Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, 1872, p. 98.

² In my own experience in the Himalayas, where instances of Polyandria were still to be found, the female infanticide was of course not admitted, but the proportionate deficiency in the number of women was attributed to slavery and the ready sale of *faisir* female children to professional courtesans and for the harems, etc., of the wealthy nobles in the plains of India.

³ Strabo, xi. c. ix. l. “The remarkable custom of polyandria, which has been noticed as one of the characters of the Seriform Tibetans, reappears among the Tamuls of Malabar.”—Latham, *The Varieties of Man* (1860), p. 463, quoting Pritchard, vol. iv. p. 161.

“Among the Todás of the Neilgherry Hills, however, when a man marries a girl, she becomes the wife of all his brothers as they successively reach manhood; and they also become the husbands of all her sisters as they become old enough to marry.”—Lubbock, *Primitive Condition of Man*, 1870, quoting Shortt, *Trans. Ethn. Soc. N. S.* vol. vii. p. 240. See also *Transactions Ethnological Society*, 1869, W. Elliot; Dubois, *India*, pp. 217, 402.

woman and her children without the least contest or jealousy. As often as any of them comes to visit her, he leaves his arms at the door, a sign that neither of the other two must come in."—Mr. John Nieuhoff (1640-49), Churchill's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 224.

"But the King's sisters' sons inherit their dominions. These sisters do not marry no more than the kings, but are at liberty to chuse a gallant, such a one as they like best."—p. 228.

Buchanan, in his work on Mysore, also illustrates the general question of succession in communities who *do not marry* :

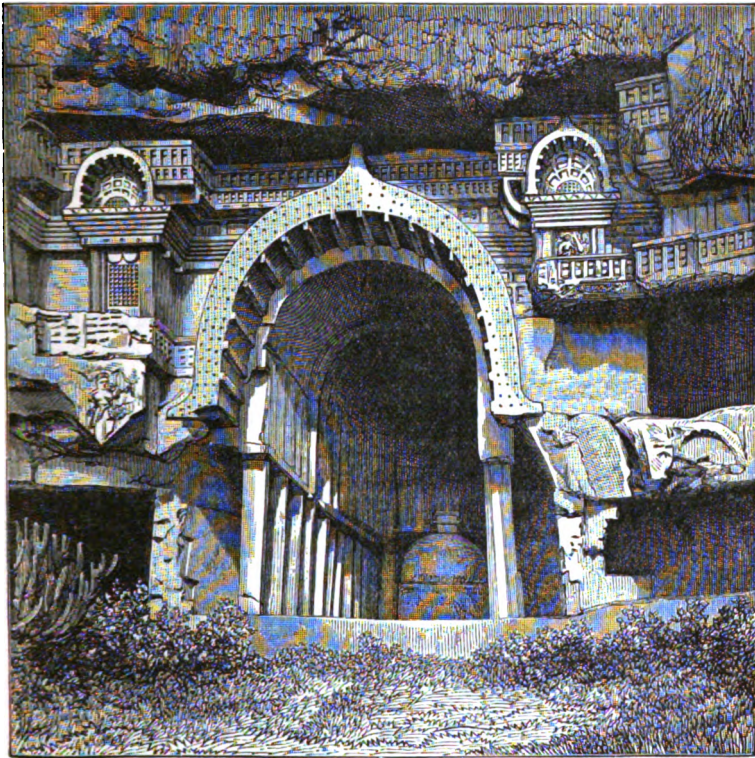
"To an European the succession in this family appears very extraordinary ; but it is similar to that which prevails in the families of all the chiefs of *Malayala*. The males of the *Shekhury* family are called *Achuns*, and never marry. The ladies are called *Naitears*, and live in the houses of their brothers, whose families they manage. They have no husbands, but are not expected to observe celibacy, and may grant their favors to any person of the *Kshatri* caste, who is not an *Achun* ; all the male children of these ladies are Achuns, all the females are *Naitears*. . . The oldest male of the family is called the first Shekhury or first Rája ; the second is called Ellee rája, etc. On the death of the Shekhury, the Ellea rája succeeds to the highest dignity ; each inferior rája gets a step up."—Buchanan's Mysore, vol. ii. p. 351.

Sir W. Elliot, with his later experiences, completes the general review as follows :

"Notwithstanding the same diversity of caste [in Malabar] as in other provinces, they all agree in one remarkable usage—that of transmitting property through the females only (*makkal santan*) . . . The origin of a custom so singular is dependent on another practice still more revolting to the general feeling and usage of mankind, viz. the existence of Polyandria among the Nairs and some other castes of Malabar. A few other instances occur above the Ghats, as among the people of Coorg, the Todas of the Nilagiri hills, the Kapillis, a tribe inhabiting the Dindigul valley ; and the Abbé Dubois observed it among the Tottis or Pariah race of Mysore."—Journ. Ethno. Soc. n.s. vol. ii. p. 119.

We may now pass on to the better condition of things in regard to female influence represented by Sir C. Malcolm :

"The females both of the Brahmin and Sudra Mahrattas have, generally speaking, when their husbands are princes or chiefs, great influence, and mix, not only by their own power over individuals, but sometimes, as has been shown, personally, in the affairs of the State. If married to men of rank, they have usually a distinct provision and estate of their own ; enjoy as much liberty as they can desire."—Malcolm, Central India, vol. ii. p. 119.



FAÇADE OF THE CAVE AT BHAJA.

"There are in the Western Ghats in the Bombay Presidency, five or six important Chaitya caves, whose dates can be made out . . . , all of which were excavated, if I am not very much mistaken, before the Christian Era. The oldest of these is situated at a place called Bhaja, four miles south of the great Karli cave in the Bhore Ghat."—Fergusson, p. 110. See also General Cunningham, *Archæological Report*, 1861, p. xxi.

I now reach the region of the practical application of much that has been cited above, to the recent decipherments of Indian Inscriptions and coin legends.

The earliest historical tradition of woman's supremacy in India comes to us, irregularly, from outside sources, as recapitulated in the pages of Pliny, under his account of the rise of the nation of the Pandæ, which, in the English version, may be quoted as follows :

“After these we come to the nation of the Pandæ, the only one throughout all India which is ruled by women. It is said that Hercules had but one child of the female sex, for which reason she was his especial favourite, and he bestowed upon her the principal one of these kingdoms. The sovereigns who derive their origin from this female rule over 300 towns, and have an army of 150,000 foot and 500 elephants.”¹—Pliny, vol. vi. p. 23.²

Next in order, in the shape of tradition, we have to accept the local annals, as preserved or reproduced in the texts of the Hindu *Purānas*—which, though clearly of comparatively modern compilation, were secured against any very violent falsification by the independent bardic memories and home reminiscences of the independent tribes and nationalities whose regal lists alone affect the present inquiry.

The Vishṇu Purāna’s leading text contributes the following translation under Professor Wilson’s rendering :

“Suṣarman, the Kaṇwa, will be killed by a powerful servant, named (1) *Śiṅṛaka*, of the Andhra tribe, who will become king (and found the Andhrabhṛitya dynasty). He will be succeeded by his brother (2) *Kṛishna*; his son will be (3) *Śātakarṇi*; his son will be (4) *Pūrṇotsanga*; his son will be (5) *Śātakarṇi*; his son will be (6) *Lambodara*; his son will be (7) *Iṅṭlaka* (*Vikalā* ?); his son will be (8) *Meghaswātī*; his son will be (9) *Paṣumat* (*Puḍumáyī* ?); his son will be (10) *Ariṣṭakarman*; his son will be (11) *Hāla*; his son will be (12) *Pattalaka* (*Maṅḍalaka* ?); his son will be (13) *Pravilasena* (*Purīkashēṇa* ?); his son will be (14) *Sundara* (named) *ŚĀTAKARṆIN*; his son will be (15) *Chakora Śātakarṇin*; his son will be (16) *Śivaswātī*; his son will be (17) *Gotamīputra*; his son will be (18) *Pulomat*; his son will be (19) *Śivaṣṛī Śātakarṇin*; his son will be (20) *Śivaskandha* (*Matsya* adds *Śātakarṇi*); his son will be (21) *Yajnaṣṛī*; his son will be (22) *Vijaya*; his son will be (23) *Chandraṣṛī* (*Danḍaṣṛī*); his son will be (24) *Pulomārchis*

¹ Dr. Caldwell remarks: “His statement that the Pandæ alone amongst Indian nations were ruled by women, though not correct (so far as is now known), if supposed to relate to the Pāṇḍyas of Madura, may be regarded as sufficiently applicable to the peculiar social usages of the Malabar coast, where almost every inheritance still runs in the female line, and where, in Pliny’s own times at least, if not also in those of Megasthenes, the Pāṇḍyas of Madura had colonies.”—p. 17.

² See also Arrian, *Hist. Ind.* viii. 8: “His daughter, named Pandæa, and caused the whole province wherein she was born, and over which she afterwards ruled, to receive its name from her.”—Megasthenes (Schwanbeck, Bonn, 1846), pp. 38, 55. Strabo, xv. i. 4.

(Pulomávi). These 30 Andra-bhṛitya Kings will reign 456 years."—Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. iv. p. xxiv; Wilson (Hall's ed.), vol. iv. p. 194.¹

The total numbers in the royal succession above enumerated only reach twenty-four. The other Purāṇas are equally, though irregularly, defective; the Matsya list is the fullest, and retains twenty-nine names, with an aggregate total of 435½ years.²

In the celebrated Inscription of the Sáh King, Rudra Dáma, on the Rock at Junágar in Gujarát—the *Sátakarṇi* kings are designated in general terms, as "lords of the Dakhin." The contemporary references embodied in the inscription may possibly aid and assist future identifications:

"Rájá Mahákshatrpa Rudra Dáma: . . . The lord of the countries of eastern and western Akarávati (or Akara and Avanti), . . . who rooted out the *Yaudheyas*, who would not subject themselves from the pride of their title of hero, acknowledged by the Kshatriya tribe; who, without treachery, after twice thoroughly conquering *Śátakarṇi*, lord of Dakshinápátha, did not completely destroy him on account of their near connexion."—Burgess's Archæological Report of Western India, 1874-5, p. 129.

The text and translation of the Inscription, here given, have been revised by Professor Eggeling. See also Prinsep, in *Journal Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, 1838, vol. vii. p. 341.

For the latest authoritative reproduction of the evidence bearing upon the position of the Queens Gotamí and Vásiṭhí, in Western India, we are indebted to Professor Bhandarkar's re-examination of the still-extant inscriptions in the old *Pali* character, on the walls of the Násik Caves, which have been printed in the Transactions of the *Second* or London Meeting of the Congress of Orientalists. I append so much of the tenor of the ancient versions as concerns the present inquiry, and permit Prof. Bhandarkar to state in detail his indigenous ideas of the bearing of the texts themselves upon woman's rights.

¹ See also Prinsep's *Essays, Useful Tables*, p. 241; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 101; and *Brihat Saṅhitá*, J.R.A.S. Vol. V. n.s. p. 82, etc.

² Wilson, vol. iv. p. 199.

The original Prakrit text of No. 26 commences: "*Siddham Raño Vāsisthi-putasa Siri Puḍumāyisa,*" and the context runs on, in its translated form, "On the 13th day, in the second fortnight of *Grishma*, in the year nineteen, of the King Siri Puḍumayi, the son of Vāsisthī, by [P]. The great Queen Gotami, the presiding genius of power, . . . daughter of royal sages, and the mother of Śātakarṇi Gotamīputra, the king of kings." The recapitulation towards the end of the Inscription adverts to "The great Queen, the mother of the great king, and the grandmother of the great king (who) gives this cave to the congregation, the host of mendicants of the Bhadrāyanīa school. The Lord of —patha, desirous to please and serve the venerable lady, the great Queen, grants a village," etc.

Inscription No. 26a opens: "The prosperous Puṭumavi Vāsisthi-puto, the lord of Navanara (*Navanara-Svāmi*) commands," etc.¹

Inscription No. 25 commences: "To the perfect One, Victorious is *Senānti*, who is on the gate of the Vijayatīrtha in Goverdhana. The prosperous Śātakarṇi (Sadakarṇi) Gotamīputra, the Lord of Dhanakaṭaka." Later on the inscription resumes: "To the perfect One, This is a royal command: . . . at the orders of King Śātakarṇi Gotamīputra, and of the great Queen, the honoured Vāsisthī, the mother of the king," etc.²

Inscription No. 24, after the usual opening form, goes on to record that "In the 7th year of the King, the Lord, *Siri Yajña Satakarṇi, Gotamīputa*, the Cave of *Vasū*, Lady *Senāpatī*, the wife of Bavagopa, the *Senāpati*," etc.³

¹ Inscription No. 3 also runs: *Siddham Raño Vāsisthi-putasa Svāmi Siri Puḍumāyisa*.

² Prof. Bhandarkar looks upon this inscription as comprising two charters, one of the king, "and the second by Vāsisthī his queen."

³ The translator in his notes says she was called *सेनापती* (in the *Pali* original *महासेनापति*), not because she commanded any army, but because she was the wife of the *Senapati*. As regards the word *Vasū*, in another passage the translator remarks, "वसुया Vasuyā, वसु Vasu or वसू Vasū may be the name of the lady or a term of honour used in her case, as वस or वस in the case of those spoken of in Inscription No. 24. Probably the *वासू Vasū* of dramatical language is the same as this."

Professor Bhandarkar goes on to comment on the tenor of texts he has re-deciphered and translated in a diffident tone and somewhat inconclusive manner. I, however, am bound to quote his conclusions in some detail; he writes:

“It appears to have been a custom in the case of these kings to apply to them an epithet expressive of their being the sons of certain mothers. The great Gautamīputra was so called because he was the son of Gautamī, though his real name was Śātakarṇi. Puṇḍumāyī was called Vāsishṭhīputra because he was the son of Vāsishṭhī. In the same manner Yajña Śātakarṇi must have been called Gautamīputra because his mother was also named Gautamī.”
—Second Oriental Congress, 1874, p. 340.

In a later passage he adds:

“As I have observed before, the cave numbered 26 by Mr. West was constructed and assigned to Buddhist mendicants of the Bhadrāyāniya school by Gautamī, who is distinctly mentioned as the mother of the King Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, whose exploits are described in the inscription. Gautamīputra, therefore, was so called because he was the son of Gautamī, while his own proper name was Śātakarṇi. Puṇḍumāyī is called Vāsishṭhīputra or Vāsishṭhīputra for the same reason. Vāsishṭhī, as I have pointed out, granted the field conveyed in the second charter in Inscription No. 25. She is there spoken of as the Queen of Gautamīputra, if we accept the interpretation given in the note (above); and even if we follow that adopted in the text, and understand them as issuing orders conjointly, there could be no reason why their names should be so coupled together unless that relation existed between them. Puṇḍumāyī therefore was the son of Gautamīputra, and not the father, as the late Dr. Bhau Daji thought. Gautamī is described as the mother of a king, and the grandmother of a king, while Vāsishṭhī is mentioned simply as the mother of a king. Gautamī, therefore, appears to be the more elderly of the two, which she could not be if her son were the son of Puṇḍumāyī, whose mother was Vāsishṭhī.”—p. 348.

There is another Inscription bearing the generic name of *Vāsishṭhī* on the bas-relief of a Tope, in the middle of the upper architrave of the south gateway at *Sanchi*, *Bhilsa*:

राज्ञो सिरि सतकणिस आवेसनि वासिठी पुतस आनंदस दानं
Rājño Siri Satakaniṣa Avesani Vāsishṭhī-putasa Anandasa Danam.¹

¹ General Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 264.

And there are further inscribed records of the family of the *Gotamiputras* in the Kanheri caves: for instance, No. 11, *Kanheri Inscription*, commences: ¹

राज गौतम पुतस सम सिरी यज्ञ सतकणीस पुत न्यास
Rāja Gotama putasa Sama Sirī Yajña Satakaṇiṣa puta nyāsa.

No. 12 opens in the same or nearly similar words.²

I reserve any technical description of the coins for the end of this article, where I can examine them in detail after their several types and legends, without interrupting the continuity of these observations. It will be sufficient to say, in this place, that an extensive class of leaden (or copper and lead mixed-metal) coins bearing an unvarying symbol of a *crude bow and arrow*, surrounded by legends in characters but little advanced upon the standard Aśoka alphabets, exhibit, on the reverse, a *chaitya*, composed of ten pyramidically-arranged arches, surmounted either by a half-moon or alternating *chakra*, or "wheel," with a *sacred-tree* of crude form, to the right, and a *serpent* in the oblong pedestal at the foot. These coins bear legends severally intimating that they pertained to the rulers or representatives—

1st. Of the children, family, or race³ of *Madāri*, belonging to the *tribe*, *sept*, or, in modern acceptation, general *household* of *Sivāla*. 2nd. The children or issue of *Vasiṣṭhi*, of the *got*,⁴ or subdivision of *Vidavāya*; and 3rd. The progeny or issue of *Gotami* of the same subdivision *got* or race of *Vidavāya*.

Coins with varying devices which preserve the names of the descendants of *Vasiṣṭhi*, and those named in the concurrent inscriptions, born in the *line* of *Gotami*, will be noticed hereafter.

¹ Journ. Bombay Branch R.A.S., vol. v. p. 23. No. 14 of plate xlv. of Dr. Bird's series. Recopied by Mr. West, and published in vol. vi. p. 1.

² Journ. Bombay Branch R.A.S., vol. v. p. 27, plate xlii. Bird.

³ The original word on the coins is कुर for *Kula*.

⁴ The Indian term *got* गोत्र, گوت, covers many meanings: "family," "race," a "branch or subdivision of a caste"—and, at times, among the Brāhmins the leading designation is derived from "supposed progenitor, or primitive spiritual head, as Sāndilya, Kāsyapa, Bhāradwaja," etc.—Wilson, Glossary, *in voce*.

CEYLON.

I continue these notes on the identities of many of the customs prevailing in other and better-known lands—with regard to the rights of females—in order to extend their parallels to Ceylon and Australia.

I pass by the imperfect testimony of Iambulus, as preserved in the pages of Diodorus Siculus,¹ and point to the importance of the dignity of *Queen-consort* in Ceylon, extending even to the very incompleteness of the accession of a king without such matrimonial sanction. These data are derived from the original text of the *Mahāvanso*, the special scriptural record, and, we may conclude, the best exponent of the feelings and traditions of the race, amid whom, and for whose benefit, it was composed. Mr. Turnour's translation of the passages bearing upon this question is to the following effect :

“The King (*Wijayo*), on account of his not having a Queen-consort of equal rank to himself, was indifferent at that time to his inauguration.”—*Mahāvanso* (Ceylon, 1837), p. 51.

“Thereafter, the monarch *Wijayo* invested, with great pomp, the daughter of King *Paṇḍuwo* with the dignity of Queen-consort.”—p. 53.

“This great monarch” goes on to say, “I am advanced in years, and no son is born unto me . . . for the preservation of the dynasty. I ought to send for my brother Sumitto.” On his demise these ministers righteously governed the kingdom . . . “and the land of Lanká was kingless for one year.”

“Accordingly on the 7th day the devotees arrived there.

“The Regents having seen them, made due inquiries, and identified them; they invested the said *Paṇḍuwośadewo* with the sovereignty of Lanká. So long as he was without a royal consort, he abstained from solemnizing his inauguration.”—p. 54.

¹ “They never marry, but make use of women promiscuously, and breed up the children so begotten (as common to them all) with equal care and affection. The children, while they are tender infants, are often changed by the nurses, that they cannot be known by their mothers; and therefore, by that means, there being no ambition among them, they live in great concord and amity, without any sedition or tumults.”—Diod. Sic. ii. c. iv.

“Causing his uncle’s canopy of dominion to be brought, this *Pandukābhayo* anointed himself at his inauguration. He raised the princess *Sowanapāli* to the dignity of Queen-consort.”—p. 65.

The practical acknowledgment of *Queens-Regnant* in the Dynastic lists is equally conclusive, inasmuch as amid the sixteen accessions, enumerated by Mr. Rhys Davids,¹ independent queens are found to have been elevated to the throne on three several occasions. One of whom, *Lilāvattī*, is proved to have exercised the cherished royal prerogative of coining money.²

Sir Emerson Tennent also bears testimony to the general status of women, who “were treated with respect and deference; and as priestesses and queens, they acquired a prominent place in the public esteem.”—Ceylon (1860), vol. i. p. 426.

The conditions of Polyandria in Ceylon are graphically described from the personal experiences of one of our early national travellers in the subjoined terms :

“In this country each man, even the greatest, hath but one wife; but a woman often has two husbands. For it is lawful and common with them for two brothers to keep house together, with one wife, and the children do acknowledge and call both fathers.

“Lands of inheritance, which belong to women, are exempted from paying ‘*harriots*’ to the king.”—R. Knox’s Ceylon (LONDON, 1681), pp. 93–4. Reproduced textually at p. 189, Fellowes’ Ceylon, 1817.

A later writer, also a countryman of our own, adverts to the several forms of Polygamy and Polyandria as existing in 1821 :

“Though concubinage and polygamy are contrary to their religion, both are indulged in by the Singalese, particularly the

¹ Numismata Orientalia, part vi., “Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon,” p. 25. She calls herself श्री राज लीलावती

Śrī Rāja Lilāvattī,

That is, *Rāja* in full masculine power, not *Rānī* in the feminine.

² Prinsep’s Essays, vol. i. p. 422; Mr. Vaux, Numismatic Chronicle, vol. xvi. p. 124.

latter: and it is remarkable, that in the Kandyan country, as in Tibet, a plurality of husbands is more common than of wives. One woman has frequently two husbands; and I have heard of one having as many as seven. This singular species of polygamy is not confined to any caste or rank; it is more or less general amongst the high and low, the rich and the poor. The joint husbands are always brothers."—J. Davy, Ceylon, 1821, p. 286.

An exemplification of the moral wave which united or connected proximate localities even unto more recent times, is contributed, once again, by a Semitic author, who, early in the fourteenth century, expresses himself to the following effect.

"Une des merveilles des îles Maldives, c'est qu'elles ont pour souverain une femme, qui est Khadídjah, fille du Sután Djelál ed dín 'Omar [after the death of Shaháb ud dín, his youngest son, the translation of the text continues], Il ne restait plus de la famille royale que les sœurs du défunt, Khadídjah, qui était l'ainée, Miryam et Fathimah. Les indigènes élevèrent à la souveraineté Khadídjah, qui était mariée à leur prédicateur Djemál ed-dín. Ce dernier devint vizir et maître de l'autorité, et promut son fils Mohammed à l'emploi de prédicateur en sa place; mais les ordres ne sont promulgués qu'au nom de Khadídjah." The Arabic text entitles her, السلطانة خديجة بنت السلطان جلال الدين. — Ibn Batutah, vol. iv. p. 131.

AUSTRALIA.

The extension of the customs above adverted to, in regard to *mother-right*, or inheritance by the female line, to Australia, might primarily be supposed to imply the mere reproduction of natural laws in a severed section of the earth. But the identity, correspondence, or imitation, seems to have been, in some way, more direct and distinct in its associations and surroundings than chance circumstances would imply.

I do not venture to touch upon the geological ground of continuity of continents, which, however unwillingly re-

ceived, appears, in its virtual assumptions, to rest upon advanced scientific bases.

However, if we are able to connect any such common laws of inheritance between Australia and Southern India, and associate those evidences with many other links of primitive barbarism, this will be sufficient for the aims and purposes of the present essay.

To commence with the scientific aspect. Prof. Huxley, in recasting the general scheme and abiding places of the leading types of mankind, expresses himself in the subjoined terms :

“In the accompanying map, therefore, the deep blue colour (No. 5) is given not only to Australia, but to the interior of the Dekhan. A lighter tint of the same colour occupies the area inhabited by the ancient Egyptians, and their modern descendants. For, although the Egyptian has been much modified by civilization and admixture, he still retains the dark skin, the black, silky, wavy hair, the long skull, the fleshy lips, and broadish æ of the nose, which we know distinguished his remote ancestors, and which cause both him and them to approach the Australian and the ‘Dasyu’ more nearly than they do to any other form of mankind.”¹
—Prof. Huxley, vol. ii. p. 405.

Views which are further insisted upon in a separate passage to the effect :

“The only people out of Australia who present the chief characteristics of the Australians in a well-marked form are the so-called hill-tribes who inhabit the interior of the Dekhan, in Hindustán. An ordinary Coolie, such as may be seen among the crew of any recently returned East-Indiaman, if he were stripped to the skin, would pass muster very well for an Australian, though he is occa-

¹ “The centre of the accompanying map of the world nearly corresponds with that of the Indo-Pacific Ocean, which is bounded on three sides by the great land-masses of the Old and New Worlds. Disjointed fragments of land separate the Indian from the Pacific division of the great ocean, and stretch like so many stepping-stones between the Malay peninsula and Australia, the latter semicontinental mass of land lying almost half-way between Africa and South America. The indigenous population of Australia presents one of the best marked of all types, or principal forms of mankind; and I shall describe the characters of this modification first, under the head of THE AUSTRALOID TYPE.”—p. 404.

sionally less coarse in skull and jaw.”—Prof. Huxley, *Eth. Journ.* n.s. vol. ii. p. 405.

Under secondary scientific heads may be grouped the development of weapons. In this case the identities, similarities, or continuities, are most striking in the approximation of the two continents in the methods of attack.

Colonel Lane Fox, who has made the aboriginal arms of the *world* his special study, arrives at the following conclusions :

“In my last lecture, I mentioned that there were three countries in which the boomerang is either still used, or is known to have been used in ancient times, viz. Australia, the Deccan of India, and Egypt. . . . Although the comparison of weapons from various parts of the globe can have no other object than to trace out an original connexion, I did not venture to build upon the coincidence of this weapon in these regions, any argument for the common origin of the people for whom it was used. Nor do I think that I should have been justified in assuming such origin upon the grounds of the identity of a single weapon.” [After quoting at length the testimony of Sir W. Elliot to its practical use in Southern India,¹ Col. Fox concludes:] “We may, therefore, I think, fairly consider the causes which may have led to the adoption of this weapon as sprung from a common source.”—Col. Lane Fox, *Journal United Service Institution*, vol. xiii. June, 1869.

Next in order in the general scheme of identities we must consider the laws of speech ; these have been treated on at large, by our leading Dravidian authority, Dr. Caldwell, in many casual sections of his standard work upon the languages of Southern India.

Among other passages we meet with the subjoined observations :

“It seems proper here to notice the remarkable general re-

¹ Sir W. Elliot, in giving his personal experience of the use of the weapon, says: “It is formed on the grain of the wood, like the Australian boomerang, the curve varying with the length of the stem ; it is whirled horizontally, with the end foremost, like the Australian practice, and is used by two tribes in the Deccan, viz. the Kolis of Guzerat, and the Marawars of Madura, but more especially in its simplest form by the former, who are of the Dravidian or black race of the Deccan.”

semblance which exists between the Dravidian pronouns and those of the aboriginal tribes of southern and western Australia. In whatever way it may be explained, the existence of a general resemblance seems to be unquestionable; but it has not hitherto been observed that the Australian pronouns of the first person are more nearly allied to the Tibetan than to the Dravidian."—Caldwell, *Grammar* (1875), p. 78.

"The grammatical structure of the Australian dialects exhibits a general agreement with the languages of the Scythian group," p. 79. See also pp. 279, 309, 561-2; and Dr. W. H. I. Bleek, *Journal Anthropological Institute*, vol. i. 1871, p. 89; Col. Fox, *ibid.* p. 104; Hunfalvy, *Second Congress of Orientalists*, 1874, p. 88.

Mr. E. Norris, an acute observer of both types of man, and of their primitive speech, had already suggested some such analogies to Dr. Prichard, who accepted them, in full recognition, in the following terms:

"It has been remarked by Mr. Norris, who first made the observation, which he has communicated to me, that the Australian dialects display some striking analogies with the Tamulian group of languages, or the idioms of the aboriginal people of the Dekhan."—Prichard, *Researches* (1847), vol. v. p. 277.

Prichard next carries us on to the more precise idiosyncracies of the Australian languages:

"Capt. Grey was, I believe, the first who perceived the resemblance of physiognomy, if that expression may be allowed, which prevails through all this family of languages as far as its affiliations are yet known. He was struck by a general resemblance in the sound and structure of words even in very distant parts of Australasia. He observed that the same identical words in many instances have been recognized with the same meaning attached to them round the entire continent."—Prichard, *Physical History of Mankind*, vol. v. p. 272.

And I myself, in conclusion, revert to the tenour of the birth and inheritance laws of these so-long *undisturbed* races, which strangely reproduce the old forms of the supremacy of mother-right, of which traces are still to be found in the New World, or continent of North America, amid the normal

Mongoloids, with whom Professor Huxley so largely peoples the existing surface of the earth.¹

"These family names are perpetuated, and spread through the country, by the operation of two remarkable laws:

"1st. That the children of either sex always take the family name of their mother.

"That a man cannot marry a woman of his own family name.

"But not the least singular circumstance connected with these institutions is their coincidence with those of the North American Indians."²—Journals in N.W. and W. Australia, by Capt. George Grey (1841), p. 226.

COINS.

The preliminary outline of this brief catalogue of coins appeared in a letter addressed to the Editor of the *Indian Antiquary* of the 24th July, 1877 (published 7 September, p. 274), avowedly asking local collectors to seek out and contribute fresh examples in illustration of this hitherto unexplored branch of Numismatics. When writing this letter, I was fully aware that *the* representative specimens of the recent *find* at Kolhápúr were about to form the subject of an article in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, by Bhagvánlál Indrají—who has before and since proved himself to be so effective a coadjutor in our common archæological aims. At the same time I was permitted to examine, without prejudice, *the* original coins which were to form our common starting-point. His essay on the subject has now been published in the Journal

¹ "Mongoloids.—An enormous area, which lies mainly to the east of a line drawn from Lapland to Siam, is peopled, for the most part, by men who are short and squat, with their skin of a yellow-brown colour. . . .

"The strongly-coloured area (8A), finally, is intended to indicate roughly the distribution of the Mongols proper."

The latest all-round exemplification of the consistency of Prof. Huxley's Scythic, Turanian, or Mongolian theory, is to be traced in the tomb of a recently-deceased North-American Indian Chief, where the slaughtered "Pony" is made the climax of the last home of the chief in his blanket-lined tumulus.—Frank Leslie's Illustrated Journal.

² It has been fully ascertained . . . that no man could marry in his own clan; and that every child belongs to the mother's clan."—*Archæologia Americana*, vol. ii. p. 109.

of the Bombay Asiatic Society,¹ and does not altogether accord with my decipherments of the legends or the inferences I deduce from them; but, as we have taken independent lines, I do not stop to contest them under either aspect, but rest content to try the issue upon future discoveries. In the interval my appeal has not remained unanswered. Sir Walter Elliot has received some remarkable contributions of coins, and Mr. Sewell has commenced collecting *systematically*—following local *finds*—which must form the leading eventual test of the spread and extent of royal supremacies.

No. 1. Copper, apparently largely mixed with lead. Size, the full 9 of Mionnet's scale.

Weight, 220 grains. 4 specimens. Two coins from the cabinet of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, two examples the property of the Hon. Mr. Gibbs.

Obverse.—A crudely-outlined representation of a primitive round bow and broadly-barbed arrow.²

Reverse.—A *chaitya*, or typical form of a *tumulus*, formed of four rows of inverted semicircles surmounted by a half-moon (as in the Sáh coins)³; to the *right*, a sacred tree, an object alike of the worship of the Jainas and their imitators the Buddhists, with seven leaves or branches; at the foot, an oblong box pedestal, with a free definition of a *serpent* in a wavy line, with intervening dots.

Legend.—रञ्जो मद्दारी पुतस सिवाक्ष कुरस

Raño Maddri-putasa Sivak-kurasa.

No. 2. Copper and lead. Size 7 of Mionnet's scale. Weight, 228 grains. 3 specimens. One in Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, two in the collection of Mr. Gibbs.

¹ "Coins of Andhrabhritya Kings of Southern India." Read 8 Sept., 1877. The article is illustrated by plates of 29 coins, etc.

² The same typical form of bow and arrow occurs repeatedly on the earlier specimens of the ancient *punched* or *hall-marked* coins. See my *Indian Weights*, *Numismata Orientalia*, part i. plate, fig. 12, etc.

³ J.R.A.S. o.s. Vol. XII. (1864), p. 1.

Obverse.—Device a rude strung bow and broadly-barbed arrow, ready set for use.

Legend.—रञ्जो वासिठो पुतस विद्वाय कुरस

Raño Vasiṭho-putasa Vidavdyā-kurasa.

Reverse.—A conventional *chaitya* consisting of three layers of inverted semicircles with inner dots, surmounted by a *chakra* or wheel, perhaps the typical figure of the sun. To the left, a sacred tree with seven broad-spread leaves. At the foot, an oblong pedestal, in which is figured a serpent, the wavy intervals being filled in with dots.

I place this piece in the outline list of the issue or children of Vasiṭhī, earlier than those bearing the name of the children of Gautamī, on strictly numismatic grounds.

No. 3. Copper and lead. Size 9 of Mionnet's scale. Weights range from 180 grains to 196. The execution of the dies is inferior to the preceding. Numerous specimens and examples are available.

Obverse.—The usual crude bow and arrow.

Legend.—रञ्जो गोतमी पुतस विद्वाय कुरस

Raño Gotamī-putasa Vidavdyā-kurasa.

Reverse.—*Chaitya* device as above, but the symbolic tree is attached to the main device, and rises directly from the end or outer upright line to the right of the pedestal.

Many of these coins are what is technically termed "double-struck," i.e. the dies of a successor or adverse contemporary have been repeated *over* the original impression, without any re-fashioning or possibly much re-softening of the metal of the piece itself.

These indications are often of much value in determining the relative priority of the conjoint rulers. In the present instance they distinctly authorize us to place the children or issue of Madārī before those of the more prolific or more popular ancestress Gautamī.

The first of these coincidences is exemplified in No. 3a of the present list (corresponding with No. 13 of the original plate iv., Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, 1877),

where the outer or natural edge of the piece retains a portion of the normal legend in the letters

रञ्जो मद्दार पुतस

Raño Maddri putasa :

while the second impress of a new die, in its false centering, overlaps the lower surface with the letters of a broken legend in the words

कुरस रञ्ज गोतमी पुत

kurasa. Raño Gotamí puta . . .

To exemplify further the custom of renewed or revised impressions upon the fully *issued* or so to say current coin, I may add that in one case a piece of the Gautamí-putras of type No. 3 has had the identical legends of the original *obverse* re-struck or repeated over the obvious surface of the old *reverse*.

It is difficult to say how this was effected, as Sir W. Elliot has lately received a very sharp and perfect specimen of coin No. 3, which shows indubitable signs of having been *cast*—the marks of the moulds are set irregularly at the edges, and two definite orifices have been left at the sides to receive the metal, the superfluous quantity of which still adheres to the piece. It is not clear whether the dies themselves were composed of metal, or whether, supposing them to have been made of baked clay, that substance was sufficiently hard, in the other cases, to admit of the impress of a second stamp.

No. 4. Copper. *Small coins.* Size 4 of Mionnet's scale. Weight, 28 grains. 2 specimens, Hon. Mr. Gibbs.

Obverse.—Archaic bow and arrow.

Legend.—रञ्जो वास . . . तस विद्वाय कुरस

Raño Vdsi [tho-pu] tase Vidvadya- kurasa.

Reverse.—*Chaitya*, with the sacred tree represented as growing on the apex or summit.

In the field of one specimen, a monogram possibly com-

posed of the letters तच्चा *tachá* or तवा *tavá*; on the other example, a letter exactly like a Chaldaean-Pehlvi \aleph , \aleph (*a*).¹

No. 5. Copper and lead. Size 7. Weight, 230 grains. Sir Walter Elliot. (Originally published in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, vol. xi. plate iii. fig. 105. Mr. R. Sewell, C.S., has a new specimen from Amarávati.)

Obverse.—Device similar in some respects to the reverse of No. 1, but the *chaitya* or tumulus in this case is solid, surmounted with the usual half-moon, while the standard Jaina tree is replaced by a conch shell, the favourite symbol of Nemi, the 22nd Jaina *Tirthankara*, and of the Hindú god Vishnu, balanced on the other side of the field by a lotus or water-lily, the type of the 21st Jaina. The conventional serpent at the foot, but free and clear of the main device.

Legend.—रञ्जो गोतमी पुतस सिरि यञ्ज सतकणस

Raño Gotami-putasa Siri Yaña Satakāṇasa. [No. 21, list, p. 42 *anté*.]

Reverse.—Four leading circles at right angles, each composed of a central dot and two concentric outer circles, the upper pair and the lower pair are severally connected by a semicircular line, this combination, varied by the junction of the four balls of a simple cross, is conventionally recognized as the Ujjain symbol.²

¹ See Journal Royal Asiatic Society, n.s. Vol. III. (1868), p. 264. It may be as well to add that the occurrence of such a letter on the local coinage need not necessarily reduce the age of the pieces so inscribed to the modern limits assigned to extant Pehlvi inscriptions. The letters of these alphabets are found on very early specimens of the Parthian coinage.

² See Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. vii. plate lxi.; Numismata Orientalia, "Ancient Indian Weights," part i. plate, figs. 5, 6. Dr. Schliemann, in his work on Mycæne, enlarges upon the identity of the Greek *Triglyph* with the Indian *Swaстика* cross. But there is also a singular approach to this circular Indian design in many of the patterns found on his buttons or *whorls*, the only appreciable difference consisting of the centre *dot*, which fills-in the space between the four circles in the latter. See Nos. 428, 404, 406, 411, etc. A great variety of the forms of the *Ujjain* pattern may be seen in vol. vii. plate lxi. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and a series of many cognate devices are figured in General Cunningham's "Bhilsa Topes" (1854), plates xxxi. xxxii. (in one case showing the *Swaстика* within each of the four circles), as well as occasionally in Mr. Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent Worship." The *Swa-*

I reproduce a description of some of the subordinate or successional coins of this class, which I prepared in outline for the *Indian Antiquary*, with a view to enlist the sympathies of coin collectors within the range of the ancient dominions of these nationalities.

In the last and succeeding instances male rulers seem to have re-asserted their rights of kingship, while still bowing to the old law of the supremacy of maternity. Most of these later coins belong to Sir W. Elliot, many of them have already appeared in his earlier essays, and are now designed to be used and more fully described in illustration of his promised article in the *International Numismata Orientalia* on the coins of the Andhra and other southern dynasties.

No. 6. Lead. Size 5. Weight, 86 grains.

Obverse.—Small *chaitya*, with three inverted semicircles, and free serpent at the foot.

Legend.—रञ्जो वासिष्ठ पुतस सर यसतस

Raño Vasiṣṭho-putasa Siri Yasatasa [Yasoda?].

Reverse.—The conventional Ujjain symbol.

No. 7. Similar coins, variants.

Legend.— सठ पुतस सिरि वदसतस

Raño Vasiṣṭho-putasa Siri Vadastasa [Chanda? No. 23, list, p. 42.]

No. 7a. One coin of this class gives distinctly the letters **सिबसर** *Sivasar*, No. 19 of the Purāṇik list at page 42, which reading is further confirmed by one of Mr. Sewell's specimens, which contributes the outlines of

. . तस सिबसिर

Pu tasa Sivasira.

tika device, apart from its use as a running pattern, was not, however, limited either to Eastern or Western acceptations, as may be seen in the examples in Fabretti's work on Etruscan Antiquities, 1st Supplement, plate iii. Nos. 29, 30; 3rd Supplement, plate xxix. fig. 38; and on vases in the British Museum.

No. 7b of Mr. Sewell's collection reproduces, in a more definite form, the imperfect specimen of Sir W. Elliot's plate xi. 100,¹ and retains in legible letters the name of Pudumavi, No. 18, list, p. 42.

रञ वसठपुत पुमवस

Raño Vasīṭho-puta . . . Puyumavasa.

No. 8. Lead. Size $4\frac{1}{2}$ Mionnet's scale.

Obverse.—A well-executed figure of an *elephant*, to the left.

Legend.—रञो गोतमी पुतस सिरि यञ सतक

Raño Gotami-putasa Siri Yaña Sataka.

Reverse.—The usual four double rings joined by a cross. Some examples add a *Swastika* on the obverse field, to the right of the *chaitya*.

No. 9. Lead. Size 4. Weight, 70 grains.

Obverse.—A boldly sunk die bearing a well-designed figure of a *horse* to the left.

Legend.—रञो गोतमी पुतस सिरि यञ स

Raño Gotami-putasa Siri Yaña sa. . .

Reverse.—The conventional Ujjain symbol.

No. 10. Copper or bronze. Size 4. Weight (average), 35 grains.

Obverse.—A well-outlined figure of an *elephant* in free form, with trunk erect; without trappings.

Legend.—सिरि सतकणि

Siri Satakani.

Reverse.—Four single circles joined by cross-lines.

No. 11. *Variant*. The *elephant* is decorated with rich head-gear.

Legend.—यञ सतक

Yaña Sataka.

N.B.—The forms of the letters of the legends clearly

¹ See General Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, 1871, p. 641.

indicate that these two coins, as well as those which follow, belong to a later date than the specimens previously described.

No. 12. Lead. Size 6. Weight, 133 grains.

Obverse.—A well-executed figure of a *horse* to the right, with a half-moon in the field above.

Legend.—रञ्ज न सतकण स

Raṅga G(otami-putasa) *Satakana sa*.

Reverse.—Device indistinguishable.

No. 12a. New coin, Mr. Sewell. Size 5. Weight, 112 grains. From Gudiváda.

Obverse.—*Horse* to the right.

Legend.—असिरि चद् . .

Raño Sīri Cha(n)da.

Reverse.—The Ujjain symbol.

No. 13. Lead. Size 3. Weight, 35 grains. 2 specimens.

Obverse.—A crude figure of an *elephant* to the left.

Legend.—सरिवण *Sarivana* or *Salivana*, perhaps a repetition of the name, but not necessarily indicative of the personality of the great monarch.

Reverse.—The Ujjain symbol.

No. 14. Lead. Similar coins. 3 specimens.

Legend.—सर रुद्

Sīri Ruda.

The *द्* is on one occasion given as *ड*, and the *R*, if required for *Rudra*, has to be supplied to the existing context.

ART. II.—*Notice of the Scholars who have Contributed to the Extension of our Knowledge of the Languages of British India during the last Thirty Years.* By ROBERT N. CUST, Honorary Librarian R.A.S.

PROFESSOR MONIER WILLIAMS, of Oxford, in the course of his speech at our Annual Meeting in May, 1878, remarked on the scant interest shown in Oriental studies by the University Commissioners, and by the University itself. It is true that there is not in England, as in France and Russia, a special School for Instruction in the living Oriental languages; but I think I can show, that the out-turn of work done by volunteer scholars during the last thirty years is most creditable. Many of their names are either unknown in Europe, or have not received that honour, of which they are deserving.

My attention has been more particularly attracted to this subject in the course of the preparation of my "Sketch of the Modern Languages of the East Indies." Such a book could not have been compiled thirty years ago, simply because the material had not been worked out by many scores of workmen, acting without any communication with each other. I further drew attention to the amount of good work done by Continental scholars, and gave their names, in the Indian Section of the Oriental Congress at Florence last September, remarking that, as regards British India, the English scholars, who had laboured so nobly, had simply done their duty; while to the Continental scholars should be awarded the higher meed of having worked from love of science: "Non lucri causâ, sed artis."

English, French, Germans, Swiss, Danes, Norwegians, Dutch, Hungarians, and citizens of the United States of

America, have severally contributed to this great work. Some have been servants of the State in the Civil, Military, or Educational Department; others have been Missionaries of all denominations. We have, also, some excellent native scholars. In one or two instances scholars like Rask, Csoma de Körös, and Westergaard visited India solely for the love of Science.

My remarks are at present restricted to the Modern Languages of the East Indies, with their handmaids Palæography and Archæology. Much has been done for Sanskrit, the Prakrits, and Pali, and a little for Kawi; but the day of the tyranny of dead languages is past both in England and India, and it has been discovered that the vernaculars are worthy of the study devoted to them, and are much more important to the well-being of the people. Education of the masses in their respective vernaculars, and administration of justice in the colloquial languages of the people, are recognized as a first duty. English, Arabic, and Persian, may be valuable as vehicles of science, literature, and religion, and as instruments of secondary education; but what are they when weighed in the balance with such magnificent vernaculars as Hindi, Bengáli, Maráthi, Tamil, Telugu, and Burmese, spoken by populations far exceeding that of any European language, possessing already an amount of indigenous literature, susceptible of a much more extensive development; and destined also to be the vehicle of a new culture, and, perhaps, of a new religion?

I begin my survey from Bombay, and proceed to cast a net over the whole of India. It is impossible to mention all the works of each author; as my object is to bring before the public certain names, and to indicate the branch of the subject to which they have devoted themselves.

In Bombay, the *Indian Antiquary*, edited by Mr. Burgess, has brought together many excellent scholars in the linguistic and palæographic field, viz. Mr. Fleet, Mr. Sinclair, Dr. Bühler, Dr. Gerson da Cunha, and Professors Bhandarkar, Kielhorn and Shanker Pandurung. The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has

other able contributors; still it may be regretted that there is no sufficient grammar of the Gujaráti or Maráthi languages, and no good Dictionary of the former: we require something better than the Gujaráti Grammar and Dictionary of Shapurji Edalji, or the Grammar of Maráthi published anonymously. Dr. Gerson da Cunha is about to publish a Grammar of Kánkani, which has been provisionally classed by me as a dialect of Maráthi, subject to correction, if need be, from so good an authority.

Of Sindhi we have a Grammar by Dr. Trumpp of Munich, of high order as a linguistic work on the comparative method: he has also published a Sindhi Reader. A good dictionary is required.

Of Baluchi we have a Grammar in the Makráni Dialect by Major Mockler, and grammatical notes of the Sulimáni dialect, spoken in the Dera Ghazi Khan district of the Punjáb, by Mr. Gladstone. There are also grammatical notes on the Makrán dialect in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society by Mr. Pearse. A good deal is, however, still required.

The Bráhu population is intermixed with the Balúchi, but we have no original information as to the Brahúi language, beyond the grammatical notes of Major Leech of 1838, followed up by Professor Lassen, and of Dr. Bellew in his work, "From the Indus to the Tigris." Captain Nicholson, of the Staff Corps, has, however, published a translation of an English book in this language, a copy of which I am anxious to obtain, that I may get the opinions of Dr. Aufrecht and Dr. Trumpp, as to the family to which it belongs.

For the Pushtu language we have capital scholars:—Major Raverty, Dr. Trumpp, Dr. Bellew, Professor Bernhard Dorn of St. Petersburg, and the Rev. T. Hughes of Peshawar. Nothing further seems required but to study their books.

Of the mysterious language of the Káfirs all that is known has been supplied by Sir A. Burnes, Sir H. Lumsden, and Dr. Trumpp.

Of the Ghalchah language spoken along the steppes of the Pamir in Wakhan and Sir-i-Kol, we have grammatical notes by Mr. Shaw in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society of the highest interest.

Dr. Leitner was the first to bring to notice the dialects of Dardistan: Mr. Drew, General Cunningham, and Dr. Trumpp have added to our knowledge in this respect.

Mr. Shaw has also done good service in describing the form of the Turki language spoken in East Turkistan, which has now again passed under the Empire of China.

Considering how well the valley of Kashmir is known, it is to be regretted that we have no grammar of this most important language. We have vocabularies supplied by Major Leech, Mr. Bowring, and Mr. Edgeworth; none of whom, however, have visited the valley, and who, therefore, picked up their knowledge from exiles. Latterly we have something more genuine from Dr. Elsmilie, Mr. Drew and Dr. Bühler, who promises a Grammar. A pressure should be brought to bear upon the Maharaja for a Comparative Grammar and Dictionary of the dialects of the Hills.

Entering upon the Punjáb proper, we find that there is no grammar, worth so calling, of the language, and a question may be raised, whether the Punjábí is not a dialect of Hindi. At any rate, we have it on the authority of Dr. Trumpp, who has translated the Grunth, that the Grunth of Guru Govind is actually in Hindi, and that the Grunth of Nanuk is not in the Punjábí, as we now know that language. Mr. Beames, of the Civil Service, comes to our aid with his excellent Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, in which, on the comparative method, he disposes of the chief Sanskritic vernaculars. Of the Hindi language we have a complete grammar by Mr. Kellogg, and a dictionary by Mr. Bates. Dr. Hoernle has written on the subject of the eastern form of Hindi: Mr. Beames and Mr. Growse, both of the Civil Service, have dealt with the older forms of this magnificent language, as exhibited in the poems of Chand and Tulsi Das. Mr. Fitz-Edward Hall, Mr. Etherington, and M. Garcin

de Tassy, have contributed to our knowledge of this language. In Hindustani, or Urdu, the principal dialect or *lingua franca* of this language, we have a further band of workmen: Messrs. Fallon and Bryce with dictionaries; Messrs. Dowson, Platt, Holroyd, Monier Williams, and Eastwick, with grammars of different degrees of merit. Shakespear's esteemed works are rather falling out of date.

In the great language of Bengali we have a Grammar by Dr. Wenger, and a remarkable Essay by Shama Churun Sirkar Gungoli, who has also written a Grammar. No dictionary has yet superseded that of Sir Graves Haughton.

In Uriya we have a Grammar by Mr. Maltby; but, as this important language is spoken by eight millions, it deserves more attention. In Asamese we have a Dictionary by the Rev. Mr. Bronson, and a Grammar by the Rev. Nathan Brown, both missionaries, and staunch advocates for the independence of this language.

In Sinhalese we have valuable grammatical notes by Mr. Childers, in the Journal of this Society, in which he contends for the Aryan classification of this language, denied by others. The late Mr. D'Alwis has also published a translation of a native grammar. Dr. Goldschmidt has given valuable accounts of the Inscriptions of a very early date. Mr. Gray, too, has recently printed in our Journal interesting details on the dialect prevailing in the Maldivé Islands.

In the Dravidian family of languages we have a still larger amount of work done. Foremost is the Comparative Grammar of Bishop Caldwell, which has passed through two editions, and places our knowledge on a sound basis. Dr. Pope has published a Grammar, and Rottler a Dictionary of Tamil; Mr. Brown and the Rev. Mr. Arden, Grammars of Telugu, and the former a Dictionary. Mr. Burnell, of the Civil Service, has published a series of short descriptions of the dialects of Southern India, including the Mappila dialect of Malayálim of the west coast, and of the Laccadive Islands. The late Mr. Gover has published a book on the Folklore of Southern India. Reeve has published a Dictionary of

Kanarese; Hodgson, a Grammar; the Rev. Dr. Kittel a Grammar of archaic Kanarese. In Malayálim, Dr. Gundert has issued a Dictionary on the comparative method; Mr. Peet has given us a Grammar. Of the Tulu language we have a Grammar by the Rev. Dr. Brigel. Passing on to the uncultivated Dravidian languages, we have a Grammar of Koorg by Major Cole. The Rev. Mr. Metz and Dr. Popé have published grammatical notes of the Toda Language; and Bishop Caldwell, Mr. Burnell, Mr. Brecks, Dr. Mogling, Mr. Schmidt, and others have illustrated this and the Kota language.

Turning to the Dravidian languages of Central India, we find that something has been done, though much still remains to be done. Major Smith, of the Madras Service, has published a brief Khond Grammar. Another has been printed in the Uriya character by Lingum Lukshmaji Pundit. Of the Gond we have grammatical notes by Dr. Dryberg: had the Rev. Mr. Hislop lived, we should have known more. Efforts are being made to place our knowledge of this important language and its dialects on a proper footing. Of Oraon we have a Grammar by the Rev. Mr. Flex. Dr. Aufrecht and others have contributed vocabularies of Rajmaháli.

In the Kolarian family we have a Grammar of Sonthal, by the Rev. Mr. Phillips and a more complete one by the Rev. Mr. Skrefsrud, who has been charged by the Government of Bengal with the duty of preparing a Comparative Grammar of the whole family. A Primer of the Mundári or Kol Language has been drawn up by the Rev. Mr. Whitley. In this family of languages, as in the preceding, contributions to linguistic knowledge of a humbler character have been made by many persons, who have none the less contributed to the throwing of light into these dark places.

The Tibeto-Burman family occupies so large a field, that we must deal with it by groups. Of the Nepál Group we owe all that we know to our illustrious Vice-President, Mr. Brian Hodgson: but for him, we should have known

nothing, and, with the exception of an able description of the Magar language by Mr. Beames in the Journal of this Society, we have not advanced a step in knowledge, since he dropped his pen. The jealousy of the Nepál Government has allowed no traveller, or missionary, in fact no European except the Resident and his family, within this interesting region. In the Sikhim group we have a Grammar of Lepcha by Colonel Mainwaring, and a local literature is coming into existence under the missionaries stationed at Darjeeling. In the Trans-Himalayan group, since the Tibetan Grammar and Dictionary of Csoma de Kőrös, we have had Grammars by MM. Foucaux and Schmidt: the attention, too, of that great scholar, Schiefner, has been turned to this language. It may safely be said that there is no living Englishman, who has any knowledge of Tibetan, but, under the patronage of the English Government, Dr. Jaeskhe has published a brief Dictionary and Grammar of the Tibetan spoken at Lahoul in the Punjáb, and is now carrying through the press a Dictionary of actual Tibetan. On the Kunáwari, which is classed as a sister-language, and on the dialects of Tibetan spoken on the fringe of British India, and in the territories of the Maharaja of Kashmir, we have had stray beams of light thrown by Mr. Drew, Mr. Shaw, Captain Gerard, General Cunningham, Captain Herbert, and M. Schlagintweit.

In the Assam group more has been done: Mr. W. Robinson has published in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, grammatical notes of several of the languages; the Rev. Nathan Brown extensive Vocabularies; and Mr. Brian Hodgson some remarkable Essays. The Rev. Mr. Keith has written a Grammar of the Garo language: while Captain Butler, the Rev. Mr. Neighbor, Mr. Peat, Captain Gordon, Mr. Damant, Ramnath Chuckibutty, and others have contributed to our general fund of knowledge; but so much still remains to be done, that we must look to the future with regard to this group, rather than the past.

We may allude here, for geographical convenience, so as to exhaust the surroundings of the Assam Valley, to the

interesting language of the Khasi tribe, which, though morphologically quite distinct from the Tibeto-Burman family, is geographically situated in their midst. The Rev. Mr. Pryse has published an excellent Grammar of this unique language, and there is also a Dictionary. Dr. Schott and Von der Gabelentz have turned their attention to the language also in German periodicals.

Returning to the Tibeto-Burman family, we come upon the Manipúr-Chittagong group, illustrated by the labours of Major McCulloch, Major Lewin, Lieut. Stewart, Mr. Damant, Captain Tickell, the Rev. Nathan Brown, and the ubiquitous Brian Hodgson. Yet, this group may be still described as "terra incognita." We can just see dimly that there is a great deal more that we ought to know. We ought to feel grateful to the distinguished public officers, who have supplied us with such information as we do possess, supplying, as this does, a solid basis for future superstructure.

In the Burma group of the Tibeto-Burman family we come on a clearer light, let in by a different group of scholars, both servants of the State and missionaries, settled on the banks of the Irawaddie. Among these we may notice Captain Latter, Sir A. Phayre, Major Fryer, Captain Forbes, the Rev. Mr. Judson, the Rev. Mr. Mason, the Rev. Mr. Stilson, Mr. St. Barbe, and Bishop Bigandet. It is wonderful to consider, how much they have done for the Burmese and Karen languages.

There remain of the great Tibeto-Burman family the languages, of which we have only vague reports on the Chinese frontier, from Dr. Anderson, Lieut. Garnier, Mr. Cooper, and Mr. Margary, viz. the Leesaw and others, and the all-but-fabulous Mautsee, whom we find in the heart of China: in this direction we have rich discoveries reserved for the future. In the islands of the Bay of Bengal the Andamans, the Nicobars, and the Mergui Archipelago, we seem to begin to see light dimly in the works of Lieutenant Temple, Mr. Man, Mr. de Roepstorff, and other contributors to Indian periodicals.

The languages of the Tai family are spoken by populations,

who, to a great degree, are independent of British India, viz. the Siamese, Shans, and Lao; but as a portion is within the Administration of the Commissioner of Assam, it may be convenient to mention the whole. Bishop Pallegoix has published a Dictionary and Grammar of Siamese, and M. de Rosny, Dr. Schott, Dr. Bastian, and Lieutenant Garnier, supply all that is known regarding the independent territories, with the exception of the Shans of Burma, a grammar of whose language has been published by the Rev. Mr. Cushing. Of the language of the Khamti, within the limits of Assam, we have but scant vocabularies.

Of the Mon-Anam family, Pegu is within British India; and the Mon or Peguan language is illustrated by a Grammar by the Rev. Mr. Haswell. For our knowledge of the Annamite and Kambojan we depend on the French scholars, MM. Taberd, Aubaret, Aymonier, Des Michels, and Dr. Bastian, a German; but a great deal more has to be done, and as yet no Englishman has broken ground.

Independently of the particular works devoted to one language, many most valuable works have been published in a collective form, such as Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, Mr. W. W. Hunter's *Non-Aryan Languages*, Max Müller's *Letter on the Turanian Languages* (an Appendix to Bunsen's *Philosophy of History*), and *Lectures*, Sir G. Campbell's *Languages of India*, Crawford's *Dictionary of the Indian Islands*, Latham's *Comparative Philology*, Hovelacque's '*la Linguistique*,' Fried. Müller's '*Reise des Novara*,' and '*Ethnologie*,' and the '*Anonymous Dictionary of Languages*,' published by Hall and Co., Paternoster Row. Add to these the *Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society*, of its several branches, and of the *Mother-Society in Calcutta*, the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, which died with the lamented Dr. Logan, the *Indian Antiquary*, and the *Calcutta Review*, all replete with original matter, while the compilations previously noted are necessarily composed of information at second hand, although some, like Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology*, have the merits both of original research and skilful compilation.

The Bengal Asiatic Society has for a long period extended its fostering care to the subject of philological and ethnical knowledge. The school of Calcutta scholars, always in great repute, and represented at the present time by such men as Rajendra Lala Mitra, Iswar Chund Vidyasagara, Krishna Mohun Banerjea, Jita Nunda Vidyasagara, Taranatha Tarkavachaspati, has lately suffered a heavy loss by the death of Mr. Blochmann. There are, however, many others, and each year adds to the number of enlightened scholars. Few Europeans, it is true, have made the modern languages of India the object of their studies: but the late M. Garcin de Tassy for twenty-seven years published an Annual Report of the progress made in the study of the Hindi language; while M. Vinson has contributed to the knowledge of the Dravidian languages, Tamil being the vernacular of the French settlement of Pondicherry.

The necessity of translations of the whole or of portions of the Holy Scriptures into the languages of India has greatly increased, and many excellent versions, in various languages hitherto unwritten, have become the standard of purity and elegance, from which the new literature will form itself. The convenience to linguists of these independent translations of the same book in languages totally differing in structure, can hardly be estimated at its full value. Thus Mr. Burnell, following the lead of Prince L. L. Bonaparte, has attempted the translation into certain dialects of South India of the Parable of the Sower, but this is hardly of sufficient length to illustrate fully the vocabulary and structure of a language: the translation of one of the Gospels by a missionary who uses it daily in his schools and place of worship, with the further test of its being used by the missionaries of rival bodies, is the best, and most sufficient exemplar of a language that could be imagined.

My own conclusion is, that having the support of the Government of India, together with the unselfish labour of the servants of the State, the missionaries and the scholars of Europe, we need not trouble ourselves with what appears

to us the supineness of the English Universities, who, by reserving to certain branches of knowledge the funds which were intended for the advance of knowledge *as a whole*, have not done what has been done by many and smaller bodies in Continental Europe. There can be no doubt, that, at the present time, the Modern Languages of British India have not received from our Universities, the support they would have had, had their value been at all known by the educated people of this country.

ART. III.—*Ancient Arabic Poetry; its Genuineness and Authenticity.*¹ By Sir WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I., LL.D.

AN indescribable charm surrounds the early poetry of the Arabs. Dwelling in the wonderful creations of their genius with these ancient poets, you live, as it were, a new life. Cities, gardens, villages, the trace of even fields, left far out of sight, you get away into the free atmosphere of the desert; and, the trammels and conventionalities of settled society cast aside, you roam with the poet over the varied domain of Nature in all its freshness, artlessness, and freedom.

It is altogether another life, which the unpropitious sun of our colder climate renders possible only to the imagination. Yet Nature, in however different a garb to that which we are used to gaze upon, will strike, when faithfully described, a chord in every heart. The dweller in the North may never have witnessed the dark tents of a nomad tribe clustering around the fountain with its little oasis of trees and verdure in the midst of the boundless barren plain, nor the long strings of camels wending their weary way over the trackless sands; yet he will recognize the touch of Nature when the true poet paints the picture, lingers plaintively over the spot where the tent of a beloved one was but lately pitched, and mourns the quickly disappearing traces of her tribe's encampment.

¹ *Bemerkungen über die Aechtheit der alten Arabischen Gedichte.* Von W. Ahlwardt, Professor an der Universität Greifswald. Greifswald, 1872.

Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen. Von Alfred von Kremer. Wien, 1875. Kapitel VIII. Poesie.

Translations from the Moallacât and Early Arab Poets. By C. J. Lyall, B.C.S. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xlv. Calcutta, 1877.

The needs of nomad life are few and simple ; indeed, it is startling sometimes to reflect, in this age of luxury, with what small appliances, especially in a southern zone, man may live in happiness and comfort. A house or even hut would but hamper the Bedouin. A few breadths spun from the hair of the camel or the goat, a short pole or two, with a few ropes and pegs, are all he needs for a dwelling, which can be planted on any spot where the green pasture and running spring invite ; and as rapidly dismantled, transported, and pitched again at will elsewhere. A bright life this, light and childlike, where carking care and the strong passions that make man live too fast elsewhere, might well have said farewell to the happy dweller. Alas, even here human nature finds ample food for vanity and envy, hatred and rapine !

The range of thought in Arabian poetry is of limited extent. Past experiences and the sentiment of the moment are described with illustrations drawn from pastoral life. The future is not thought of, nor is the attempt made to draw lessons from the past. Childlike, it is in the present that the Arab poet lives. But even in such artless rhymes there is a style and fashion. The poet must have a mistress, whose absence he mourns, and in the memory of whose smile he still loves to linger. Images of tenderness and beauty are drawn from the soft eye of the antelope or the graceful palm. The band of attendant maidens in fair apparel, in the language of Arab poetry, is like a herd of the wild cow, white and party-coloured, scouring over the brown expanse. The terrible sand-hurricane of the desert ; the joys and dangers of the chase ; the nightly journey, when the lone traveller starts at the gaunt bones that bleach his way, conjuring apparitions of the wayfarer who may have perished with his camel on the spot ; tribal jealousies and encounters ; bitter satire on the meanness of the poet's foe ; the banquet or hospitable entertainment in a friendly tent ; the glories of the poet's tribe ; and, above all, the peerless virtues of his horse or camel—are congenial subjects with the Arabian bard, treated, if not with variety, at the least with singular

beauty, and in words that breathe the life and vigour of the desert air. The pastoral life is pictured in the simple imagery of undisturbed rural scenery. The cavalcade bearing the whole worldly goods of the tribe—the matrons and maidens borne in litters on the camels' backs—passes along the desert with its scant and scattered foliage of hardy shrubs, and, after a weary march, encamps, it may be, in a vale where the springs break forth from the slope of an adjacent hill. The clustering tents darken the background, while the grateful fountain, with its green environs and its grove of date-trees, stands in delightful contrast to the wild bleak scenery around.¹ The maidens go forth with their pitchers to the spring; and the herds of goats return with full udders from the pasture or still sweeter but scanty foliage of the stunted acacia-trees. Arab life lives, truly, a life of its own. There is no advancing civilization wherewith to rehabilitate the surrounding imagery. The nearest approach in our own language to Arabian poetry is the book of Job, with its illustrations of the conies, the goats, and the wild ass; and even such is still the life of the desert at the present day. Cut off from the world by wilderness and by nomad habits, the Arab maintains unchanged his simplicity, affected as little by the luxury and civilization of surrounding nations, as by their politics. The pastoral eclogues of the classics are ever bordering upon urban life; but here the freshness and freedom of the wild desert is untainted by the most distant approach of the busy world. The din of the city, even the murmur of the rural hamlet, is unheard. The poet is unconscious of their existence.

Take the following from the pen of Mr. Lyall, a young Orientalist of high promise. The *Moällacah* of *Lebid*, the contemporary of Mahomet, opens thus:—

1. Effaced are her resting-places, (both) where she stayed but a
while and where she dwelt long
in Mina: desolate are her camps in *Ghaul* and *el-Rijâm*,

¹ 'And they came to Elim, where were twelve wells of water, and three score and ten palm-trees; and they encamped there by the waters.'—GEN. xv. 27.

2. And by the torrents of el-Rayyân: the traces thereof are laid bare
and old and worn, as the rocks still keep their graving:
3. Tent-traces over which have passed, since the time that one
dwelt there,
long years with their rolling months of war and peace.
4. The showers of the Signs of Spring have fallen on them, and
there have swept
over them the rains of the thundering clouds, torrents and
drizzle, both—
5. The clouds that came by night, those of the morning that hid
the sky,
and the clouds of even-tide, with their antiphons of thunder;
6. There have sprung up over them the shoots of the rocket, and
in the sides
of the valley the deer and the ostriches rear their young;
7. The large-eyed wild kine lie down there by their young ones
just born, and their calves roam in herds over the plain.
8. The torrents have scored afresh the traces of the tents, as though
they were lines of writing in a book which the pens make
new again,
9. Or the tracery which a woman draws afresh as she sprinkles
the blue
over the rings, and the lines shine forth anew thereon.
10. And I stood there asking them for tidings—and wherefore did
I ask
aught of deaf stones that have no voice to answer?
11. Bare was the place where the whole tribe had rested: they
passed away
therefrom at dawn, leaving behind them the tent-trenches
and the thatch.
12. The camel-litters of the tribe stirred thy longing, what time
they moved away
and crept into the litters hung with cotton, as the wooden
framework creaked,
13. —The litters hung all round, over their frame of wood,
with hangings, thin veils and pictured curtains of wool.
14. They began their journey in bands, wide-eyed as the wild
cows of Tûdih,
or deer of Wejrah as they watch their fawns lying around.
15. They were started on their way, and the sun-mist fell off them,
as though

- they were low rocky ridges of Bisheh, its tamarisks and its boulders.
16. Nay—why dost thou dwell on the thought of Nawâr? for she is gone,
and severed is all that bound her to thee, whether strong or weak.
 17. Of Murrah was she: she halted in Feyd, then she travelled on to those of el-Hijâz. How then canst thou reach to her
 18. On the Eastward slopes of Ajâ and Selma, or in Mohajjar where Fardeh and el-Rukhâm cut her off from thy coming?
 19. Or it may be she went to el-Yemen, and then her abode should be in Wihâf el-Qahr, or Tilkhâm, in Suwâ'iq.
 20. Cut short then thy longing for one whose converse is changed to thee:
and verily the best in affection is he who knows how to cut its bonds.

The following is the commencement of the famous Mo-âllacah of Zoheir:—

1. Are they of Omm Aufâ's tents—these black lines that speak no word
in the stony plain of el-Mutathellem and el-Darrâj?
2. Yea, and the place where her camp stood in el-Raqmatân is now like the tracery drawn afresh by the veins of the inner wrist.
3. The wild kine roam there large-eyed, and the deer pass to and fro, and their younglings rise up to suck from the spots where they lie all round.
4. I stood there and gazed: since I saw it last twenty years had flown,
and much I pondered thereon: hard was it to know again—
5. The black stones in order laid in the place where the pot was set, and the trench like a cistern's root with its sides unbroken still.
6. And when I knew it at last for her resting-place, I cried—
“Good greeting to thee, O House—fair peace in the morn to thee!”
7. Look forth, O Friend—canst thou see aught of ladies camel-borne that journey along the upland there above Jorthum well?
8. Their litters are hung with precious stuffs, and thin veils thereon cast loosely, their borders rose, as though they were dyed in blood.

9. Sideways they sat as their beasts clomb the ridge of el-Sûbân
—in them were the sweetness and grace of one nourished in
wealth and ease.
10. They went on their way at dawn—they started before sunrise:
straight did they make for the vale of el-Rass, as hand for
mouth.
11. Dainty and playful their mood to one who should try its worth,
and faces fair to an eye skilled to trace out loveliness.
12. And the tassels of scarlet wool in the spots where they gat
them down
glowed red like to *'ishriiss* seeds, fresh-fallen, unbroken, bright.
13. And when they reached the wells where the deep blue water lies,
they cast down their staves and set them to pitch the tents for
rest.
14. On their right hand rose el-Canân and the rugged skirts thereof—
and in el-Canân how many are foes and friends of mine!
15. At eve they left el-Sûbân: then they crossed its ridge again
borne on the fair-fashioned litters, all new and builded broad.

Here, from the same hand, is the chase of the wild cow:—

Then she heard the sound of men, and it filled her heart with fear
—of men from a hidden place: and men, she knew, were her bane.
She rushed blindly along, now thinking the chase before
and now behind her: each was a place of dread.
Until, when the archers lost hope, they let loose on her
trained hounds with hanging ears, each with a stiff leather collar
on its neck;
They beset her, and she turned to meet them with her horns
like to spears of Semhar in their sharpness and their length
To thrust them away: for she knew well, if she drove them not off,
that the fated day of her death among the fates of beasts had come.
And among them Kesâb was thrust through and slain, and rolled
in blood
lay there, and Sukhâm was left in the place where he made his
onset.

The next piece is from Amr, son of Mâdikerib, a chief of
the South, who, after the death of Mahomet, rebelled, like
most of the Bedouin tribes, but was pardoned by Abu
Bekr, and took a leading part at Cadesia and other battle-
fields in Irâc:—

And well I knew that on that day
 I should have to fight both Káb and Nahd—
 Men who, when they are arrayed in steel,
 glitter like leopards in leather and mail.
 Each man runs to the battle-stead
 with what he has gathered ready therefor.

When I beheld our women flee
 furrowing the hard earth as they ran,
 And Lemtseh's unveiled face shone as though
 it were heaven's full moon when it rises on high,
 And all her loveliness, hidden before,
 stood bare to see, and the case grew grave,
 I stood forth to fight their chief: and needs
 must I fight him—no escape therefrom.
 They vowed that my blood should spill: and I
 vowed, if I met them, to do my best.

How many a brother lief and dear
 have my two hands laid to rest in the grave!
 I wailed not, nor raised lament or cry,
 for my weeping would profit naught at all:
 I wrapped him round in his winding-sheet—
 hard was I born on my birth-day!
 I stand in the stead of those dead men:
 the foemen count me a host alone.
 Gone are the men I loved, and I
 lonely abide like sword in sheath.

It is from such poetry as this that we gain an insight into the life of the Arab nation prior to the rise of Islâm. When the tribes, at the bidding of Abu Bekr and Omar, sprang forth from the Peninsula, as a leopard from his lair, to conquer the world, they carried with them their love of Arab song, and many an important passage in the annals of the spread of Islâm is illustrated by contemporary poetry. We have verses, for example, bearing on the career of this same Amr son of Mâdikerib, and others who similarly rose in rebellion after the Prophet's death; the elegies on Mâlik ibn Noweira are valuable, as throwing light on the part which Khâlid took in the tragic scene of his murder; there

are fragments describing the field of Yermûk and other great battles, which, though turning-points in the world's history, are but dimly reported to us through the partial medium of the Arabian annalist. Such are the touching verses addressed to the solitary palm-tree near the plain of Cadèsia, which afforded a grateful though momentary shade to the wounded warriors as they were carried under it from the field of Ghimâth, and who sang its praises thus:—

Hail to thee, grateful Palm-tree, planted between Cadissa and Odzeib!
By thy side spring the wild plants of camomile and hyssop;
Let the dews of heaven and its showers water thy roots beyond
all others!

Let there never be wanting a Palm-tree in thy scorching sands!¹

Poetical remains like these possess a special value: for tradition, which is so detailed and rich during the life of Mahomet, suddenly ceases at his death, and we are left to grope our way among uncertain and discrepant narratives. Such fragments fixed, at any rate, to some extent, by their rhythm and rhyme, are as it were stepping-stones for the historian along the quicksands of oral evidence. The important practical bearing of such remains will be readily recognized.

Herr von Kremer has ably traced the gradual enlargement of the scope of Arab poetry as affected by the growth of the Moslem empire, and the manifold influences of social and political life; to which, as kingdom after kingdom was swallowed up and assimilated to the Caliphate, it was exposed. The bard no longer lived, childlike, in the present and the past, but, stretching out into the future, grew to be reflective, and in the end philosophical. In this process poetry gradually lost the fresh charms of the desert, no longer shunning the city and the haunts of luxury; and, above all, it suffered from the social deterioration at the Courts of Baghdad and Damascus.

From all such modern poetry, the ancient song of Arabia stands out clear and distinct. Are the remains which we pos-

¹ Tabari, iii. 43.

sess of it genuine and authentic? Especially, are the works of the seven famous poets, the Moallacât (of whom six were pre-Islâmite) genuine? How have they been handed down to us? have we their poems as they were recited by the authors themselves? if they have been tampered with, to what extent is this the case? and is it in our power to distinguish the true and original, from the false and counterfeit?

To the task of answering these questions Professor Ahlwardt has addressed himself with profound critical acumen, supported by vast learning and research. He has investigated the subject in a thoroughly philosophical spirit, and has applied the results to a rectification of the text of these ancient poets. The conclusions at which he has arrived may, in a subject so recondite and full of difficulty, be sometimes liable to question; but his course of reasoning, and the abstract principles he has laid down, are as a whole beyond the reach of cavil; and I propose therefore to give an outline of the learned monograph which he has published on this interesting question.

Although writing was known, more or less, in Arabia from an early period, it was not the practice till long after the rise of Islâm to commit the poetry of the nation to writing. Those precious remains were handed down solely by word of mouth, and were consequently exposed to all the variations and imperfections incident to oral tradition. When, after the lapse of a century or more, the habit arose of reducing ancient poetry to writing, not only was the authorship of individual poems often uncertain, but the substance and arrangement of the matter, as given by different hands, varying and uncertain.

The motive which first led to the study of early Arab poetry, and the mode in which, after so long a course of oral transmission, it was first committed to writing, will throw light upon this uncertainty. The first and grand object was to obtain a standard of pure Arab speech. The Corân and the Sunnat,—the word of the Lord, and the sayings of Mahomet,—were, for the newborn Nation, the sole rule of

civil and religious life. These were embodied in pure Arabic, the meaning and force of which thus acquired a paramount importance. The finest shades of difference in the meaning of a word or idiom might affect individual right, or social interests, of the deepest moment. The commentaries, analogies, and decisions, based upon these sacred sources, and containing their application to the rapidly developing range of civil and religious life, were admissible only when drawn in the same pure and unadulterated tongue,—the dialect of the Coreish in which the Prophet spoke.

Schools of theology and law were early established at Bussora and Kûfa, the two great centres of Arabic learning. But these cities were without the precincts of the Peninsula; they were inhabited by a mixed population; and even the descendants of the Arab settlers soon lost in such foreign settlements the purity of their mother-tongue. How, then, was the meaning of the Arabic text to be ascertained and fixed? There was no national literature in a recorded form; no books or writings to refer to. The philologist must fall back upon the spoken usage; and poetry and proverbial speech were, from the rhythm and fixed form of expression, the two branches which alone could be quoted with certainty. To make collections of these, land and sea were compassed. The tribes were visited in their desert homes in order to catch the exact and genuine sense of each expression, and Arabs of pure tongue were brought away to the seats of learning as living exponents of the same. Every scrap of poetry, a couplet or even half a verse, was eagerly seized, if only it contained context sufficient to fix the value of a word or idiom. Thus it was a philological necessity that first led to the collection of the early poetry. It was no love of the poetry itself, or appreciation of its merits. An isolated thought, if forcibly expressed, or a well-balanced phrase, was the thing sought for as possessing the highest value. A poem was not appreciated as a whole, or even its several parts in reference to their poetic beauty, but only as they contributed jewels fit for the grammarians' treasury. The author, or even the occasion of the poem, was but of secondary import.

It was not till a whole century had passed away, that this mechanical study of the letter gave place to a true literary taste. Then, indeed, the philological object became secondary. Real love was kindled for the poetical treasures of the desert. Every effort was now strained to secure the fast fading and imperfect fragments and poems which yet survived, and to record the still more evanescent tradition of the history of the poets themselves, and of the circumstances that gave occasion to their poems. The families and tribes, and haunts of the celebrated authors were visited; and every couplet or fragment of a couplet still extant treasured up. The store grew exceedingly; but it bore fatal marks of its descent.

High time, says our author, for such a task! for since the poets had become silent, four or five generations had already passed away. Much, no doubt, was imprinted in the hearts of the people. Ballads and fragments caught fresh, and instinct with life, from the lips of the bard, had "flown as birds without wings over the land," and still survived among the tribes, though the life and perhaps the very name of their authors had fallen into oblivion. Such fragments, in the long course of transmission from mouth to mouth, must have become so altered and impaired as to have lost their identity, in any sufficient sense of the word, with the originals which they professed to represent. But it was not on this casual and uncertain source that the works of the great poets depended for safe custody. Such was the business of a special class called *Râwies* or Reciters. Every great poet is said to have had his *Râwy*, who attended him as a friend or follower, and gathered up whatever fell from his lips. It is certain that the *Râwies* were at an early period very numerous, and that each had his special poet, whose works he professed to recite with copious illustrations from the author's life and the history of his tribe. In process of time the *Râwies*, ceasing to attach themselves to any individual bard, gathered whatever remains they could lay hands on, irrespective of the author; and these they recited with a retentive power altogether marvellous. The

political and religious influences of the day were not, however, in favour of this class of men. Mahomet himself, mindful of the early taunt that he was but a "phrenzied poet," had no special love for the grand old bards of his nation; and with some exceptions the feeling current among his followers was decidedly adverse. Many Râwies fell in the Moslem wars, and the rapidly expanding empire presented more practical and engrossing occupation. Still the profession never ceased; and when, in the second century, the new-born love for the ancient poetry, apart from its philological value, quickened the zeal of the collectors, it was these same Râwies still that furnished the main portion of the treasures. Every fragment was welcome; the search became more eager; with the demand, the supply kept pace. It was as if the wizard's wand had unlocked a new and richly-furnished store.

But this earnest endeavour of the collectors to repair the past neglect, and regain possession of the poetical inheritance of the nation, while it saved whatever poems and fragments yet survived, opened a wide door for the admission also of what was counterfeit and spurious. The skilful Râwy, who lived in the spirit, and thought in the language, of the ancients, and was often himself no mean poet, proved more than a match for the most accomplished critic. The authority being purely oral, there was no check against deception; and even where the Râwy was honest, there existed no sufficient security against unintentional perversion. The internal arrangement might be changed; portions might be omitted; and fragments of similar rhyme and measure introduced through mere inadvertence, as suitable to the context, though belonging to another author, possibly the effusion of the Râwy himself. And if the Râwy were dishonest, how easy was it for him to overreach the critics! Where unscrupulous mongers were minded to work on the credulity of the collectors, there was absolutely nothing to prevent their palming off counterfeit pieces as the work of some great master. Even among the earlier poets plagiarism was not unknown; how much more among the strolling

bards? In the absence of any standard of genuineness, and considering the value which a fabricated piece would immediately acquire if accredited as the song of an ancient bard, it cannot be denied that, while deception was possible, the motive to practise it was very powerful. The counterfeit was too often stamped as sterling, and thus in the materials derived from the Râwies, "truth and lies, the false and the real, contend for victory."

At the time when ancient poetry was being collected and recorded, these deteriorating influences were at their height; and to illustrate the force with which they operated, Professor Ahlwardt gives an account of two leading Râwies, whom he names representatives of the class.

The first was Hammâd, a reciter with an unrivalled power of memory, who flourished in the middle of the second century. According to our author, he was the first, or at least the most distinguished of those who collected ancient poetry for its own sake, and not merely for its dialectic value. To him we are indebted for nearly all we possess of Imrulcays; he is also named as the compiler of the first complete exemplar of the Seven Moâllacât, with biographical and illustrative notices of the same. It is said that he had by heart 3000 complete Casidas composed before the time of Mahomet, to say nothing of equally ancient fragments! But he was unscrupulous in the exercise of this marvellous gift. Never at a loss when questioned, he ascribed the authorship of any piece to whom he chose. Familiar with pre-Islâmite poetry, and able to compose in the very guise of its thought and style, he could dovetail his own handiwork so skilfully with the antique, that the most experienced critic was non-plussed; and according to the Savans of Bussora, "he so spoiled the ancient poetry as made it impossible ever again to set it right." How shamelessly he forged, the following incident will show. A poem of Zoheir commenced originally with the words,—

"Leave this matter now, and turn to Harim."

The Caliph Mehdi, perplexed with so abrupt an opening,

demanded an explanation. Different causes were suggested ; but Hammâd, when appealed to, cut the knot at once. "That was not the original opening," he said ; "the poem began thus:" and he recited three new lines so beautiful and so fit that they have ever since retained their place as the opening of the poem. Yet when pressed, he afterwards confessed that they were his own !

Still more dangerous was his contemporary, Khalaf al Ahmer, because still more gifted in the art of poetry. He composed verse so closely approaching the ideal of the desert both in thought and style as to puzzle the most learned philologists of Bussora and Kûfa ; the charm of his song was so great that they willingly yielded to the fascination ; and (as they confessed themselves) "When Khalaf recited his verses, men were so enchanted that they ceased to inquire who the author was." The critics of the day had indeed a hard task before them ; for what between such inspired and skilful Râwies as did not scruple to deceive, and those who, themselves deceived, offered their stores as genuine, they were almost powerless to distinguish fact from fiction.

Such were the men who gave the final touch and mould to the collections which we now possess. In their hands our author declares that ancient poetry altogether lost the stamp of genuineness and authenticity. It became the subject of an arbitrary treatment which, curtailing, lengthening, interpolating, and altering internal arrangement at discretion, has succeeded in involving everything in doubt. Pieces of uncertain, and even of notoriously modern authorship, were fathered upon ancient names, and imagination busily invented the history of poets and tribes by way of commentary and illustration. And thus neither as regards the text, nor its illustration, have we any sure ground to stand upon.

But besides the Râwies, liberties were taken with the text by the collectors and critics themselves. A strong religious bias led them to eliminate carefully every allusion to the ancient idolatry of the Peninsula. In the multitude of verses, some 15,000 in number, which have descended from

a period anterior to Mahomet, it is impossible to conceive that there were not manifold occasions—if only in the oaths and adjurations so common in Arab poetry—for the mention of idols and heathen worship. Yet every allusion to these has been studiously removed. And, again, we find, not infrequently, verses evidently interpolated even at an early period, with the view of explaining rare and obsolete expressions, or of illustrating passages that were obscure.

Finally, Professor Ahlwardt notices in the unconnected character of ancient poetry, a cogent cause which facilitated the commingling of materials of heterogeneous origin.

The poetical measures were matured at a period reaching far beyond our traditional knowledge. The most ancient metre was the *Rijz*, a short iambic verse, always ending with the same terminal rhyme—a spirited measure used on the spur of the moment, to give vent in a few short lines to the poet's excited feeling, such as defiance in battle, abuse, panegyric: eventually it came, like the longer measures, to be employed for more extended pieces. In all the other measures each verse is double the length of the *Rijz* verse, being composed of two halves, of which the terminal rhyme occurs only at the end of the second half. From the requirements of the metre, and the fact that each song was confined to the sentiments immediately arising out of some individual event, our author believes that in the very earliest times the effusions of the Arab bards were very short—not exceeding from seven to ten verses in a single piece.

But gradually the scope expanded, and poetry came to follow a conventional rule and fashion. No longer the child of nature, it became the development of an art; and, to some extent, this character attaches to the earliest poems that have reached us. Various topics were regarded as proper to be gone over in the course of every poem. There was a beaten track, but withal a large discretion in the order of treatment. The transition from one subject to another, skilfully studied by later poets, was with these earlier bards sudden and abrupt. Hence in all the ancient poems there is a want of connexion in the component parts which vastly

increased the facilities for error and deception. For example, even the same poet may in different pieces have described the same person and event in verses of similar measure and rhyme; and so in repeating a piece, the reciter might from one poem have by defect of memory introduced the corresponding passage from the other. And this in the course of oral transmission through the *Rāwies* might occur at every step. To recognize and separate such interpolated parts must necessarily be a work of difficulty: indeed it can only then be certainly done where we meet with inconsistencies, such as the praise of more than one mistress, or the notice of irrelevant localities, in the same poem. The length of a poem, as well as of its component parts, is indeterminate; but ordinarily the poet treats the conventional round of topics in from 60 to 100 verses. Thus the different unconnected parts afforded every opportunity for dislocation and interpolation. Though the critics of the second century were not slow in judging of the genuineness of expression, style, and idiom of the ancient poets, yet the important question of the interior connexion and appropriate relationship of the several sections of a poem was altogether neglected by them.

A poem might be composed of any number of parts, yet its unity was secured by two conditions. First, it was an invariable custom that the *opening* verse (consisting like the others of two halves) should have the terminal rhyme at the end of *each half*, while throughout the rest of the poem the rhyme occurs at the end only of each whole verse. Again, it was an obligatory usage, departed from only on a few rare occasions and for sufficient cause, that a poem should open with a notice of the poet's mistress, with a lament for her absence or her faithlessness, his bygone youth and love, etc. Wherever either of these conditions is wanting in our present poems, we have (according to our author) sure indication of some flaw in their integrity.

It has been held that poems are called *Castidas* because they have an *object* (*Casd*). But the ancient poets had no other object in the exercise of their genius than to traverse

a certain circle of subjects. Otherwise we should have had the special object of a poem stated, and used as its descriptive title, which is nowhere the case. Our author assigns the appellation to another signification of the word, (*casâ*) namely, "the breaking of things into two halves;" the meaning being that, as each verse consists of two halves, the whole poem may be said to be broken into two halves; and a glance at the pages of any *Casîda* will render the explanation intelligible. As little does Professor Ahlwardt consider that the name *Moâllacât* implies a poem of which the parts are "hung" or strung together; for this is the character of all the longer poems, not merely of the seven so-called poems. Nor does he admit the derivation advanced by Herr von Kremer from another meaning of the word, namely as "copied out from the dictation of the *Râwies*." Rather he regards the term to be analogous with the other name, "*Modhahhabât*," or golden, and to signify "set with precious ornaments," and therefore poems of pre-eminent value. The current interpretations of being "hung up in the *Kâaba*," or preserved in the royal treasury, he rightly looks upon as mere inventions arising out of the attempt to explain the name. He also puts aside as fictions the contests of poetical renown at great fairs, such as that of *Ocâtz*, where the prize of pre-eminence was said to be awarded.

From all these considerations, Professor Ahlwardt is forced to conclude that, taken as a whole, the ancient remains, as now possessed, are of doubtful genuineness and authority. "Even the scholar who reposes absolute confidence in the authority of the ancient critics, and mistrusts neither their learning nor their skill, will hardly question the uncertainty of those critics' views, as well in respect of the authorship of the various pieces, as of their length and internal arrangement, and even the genuineness of the component verses."

Some amusing stories are given by the Arabic writers themselves of the facility with which the most distinguished masters were duped by modern forgeries. Thus *Ishâc* having recited two couplets to the famous critic *Asmai*, was asked where he had found them. "In an antique author," he

replied. "Truly they form a rich and princely carpet!" "Nay," rejoined Ishâc, "I composed them over-night myself." "Ah," said Asmai, "now that you mention it, I perceive in them the signs of artifice and labour!"

"We stand," continues our author very truly,—“we stand in relation to poetical antiquity precisely in a similar position to that in which we stand to ancient history. We should not think of accepting as true the accounts of the historian,—whether Ibn Ishâc, Tabari, or Ibn Athîr,—without in each instance testing their internal trustworthiness, and accordance with other recitals. The genealogical narratives, for example, are in themselves of inestimable value; yet the gaps, confusion, and critical neglect which pervade them are notorious. Just so with the ancient poetry of Arabia. The materials which the labourers of the second century have preserved to us (although they may have descended through muddy channels) are as a whole of ancient origin, in parts it may be of extremely ancient origin; yet without further inquiry and probation we cannot receive them as genuine even when transmitted to us in the least exceptionable way, but must in every case jealously test and try, not the subject-matter only, but also its internal connexion and authorship.”

In this work, our author admits that the critics of the second century, compared with ourselves, had superior advantages and qualifications for recognizing and distinguishing the idiom and style of different poets, and dialectical varieties; for example, they could perceive the shades of difference between the language of the city and the desert, of the northern tribes and of the southern, and also the appropriateness of similes and surrounding drapery. But they wanted the critical faculty which examines the inner connexion of a work, and is quick to discover contradictions, improbabilities, gaps, and interpolations. Such considerations hardly ever attracted the notice of the ancient critic, while he would fall into ecstasies over some aptly chosen phrase or word. In all these respects, therefore, Professor Ahlwardt holds that the student of the present day is in an incomparably better position than the critics of Irâc.

The following are some of the chief indications of defect or error which the modern critic is specially competent to deal with. The mention in the same poem of more than one mistress, or of the same mistress by different names. The recurrence (not infrequent) of passages similar in thought and imagery, and often expressed in like or even identical language. Irregularity of construction inconsistent with poetical usage; for example, the opening verse with its double rhyme (obligatory as we have seen) is sometimes altogether wanting; or there may be two or more such opening verses, either consecutive, or with intervening matter: so likewise the conclusion is at times wanting, or there may be two or even more conclusions. Unnoticed, or (if noticed) disposed of arbitrarily and mechanically by the ancients, such are points which the critical acumen of modern times is quick to turn to account.

Our author's conclusion on the whole question is, that in applying the tests at our disposal, much of the ancient poetry must be declared genuine, much may with equal certainty be condemned, and much will remain doubtful. The remainder of his book is occupied with the detailed results of his labours, working upon these lines, in the critical emendation of the remains of the six great pre-Islâmite poets. But into this part of the subject I do not enter.¹

It is mortifying to find that a subject of such deep literary interest has been so neglected by our own Oriental scholars. We have been content to leave this rich province almost entirely in the hands of our Continental friends. And yet who have a wider or a deeper interest in such questions than ourselves? What nation is so closely interested as our own in the ancient poetry that formed so powerful an element in moulding the character of the Moslem conquerors and rulers of the East?

Is it too much to hope that it will not be always so? Why should those whose stake in the East is so much less

¹ From a remark at p. 358, vol. ii. of his *Culturgeschichte*, I gather that Herr von Kremer holds that our author trusts too much to his own convictions, so much so as to neglect the process of forming "an objective judgment"; and, in his opinion, these convictions have not infrequently led him into error.

than our own, enjoy the monopoly of Arabic poesy? It is a field which, diligently cultivated, would yield a rich return, and it is a field with which our countrymen ought to be familiar. A popular and yet scholarly treatise illustrative of early Arabic poetry would surely be well received by the English public. The young, but distinguished Orientalist, from whose translations I have quoted above, Mr. C. J. Lyall, might well address himself to the task of breaking up this virgin land. His position in India gives him unusual facilities for such studies. And to him, and others similarly qualified, the subject is heartily commended.

APPENDIX.¹

I am glad of the opportunity which (some months after the above paper was written) still offers of noticing the work mentioned below, being a treatise on the Poetry of the Ancient Arabs, by Herr Theodor Nöldeke. I obtained it from the Continent, not without some trouble; which shows how little interest is taken in this country in the early literature of the Arabs.

The Preface of our author (xxiv. pp.) is occupied with precisely the same questions as we have been considering; and the conclusions arrived at are to a great extent similar to those embodied in Herr Ahlwardt's later work. But Nöldeke treats them in an easier and less abstruse style, so that it is pleasanter reading.

The first fifty pages contain the translation of a monograph by Ibn Coteiba, on the beauties of Arabic poetry, the marks of poetical genius, etc.; these are copiously illustrated by extracts in the original.

The second part gives a curious and interesting account of the early poetry of the Jews of the Peninsula.

Then follows a long chapter on Mâlik ibn Noweira, and the elegies of his brother Motammim on Mâlik's death at the hands of Khâlid. Both were noted poets; but what renders the elegies of the brother, who would not cease from

¹ *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der Alten Araber*, von Theodor Nöldeke. Hannover, 1864.

mingling poetry with his tears, so famous, is that the death of Mâlik is (as before noticed) a contested episode in the Caliphate of Abu Bekr. Khâlid took him and a company of the Bani Yerbó prisoners in his campaign against the apostate tribes. The common story is that it being doubtful whether they were really renegades or true believers, Khâlid put them under guard for the night; and that, the cold being severe, an order to clothe them warmly was misunderstood for an order of execution, when they were all beheaded. The other story is that Khâlid put them intentionally to death, and that he was influenced in doing so by a desire to obtain the wife of Mâlik, whom (as all agree) he lost no time in marrying. Omar, in opposition to Abu Bekr who accepted Khâlid's excuse, was violent in condemning the transaction and never forgave him; and on succeeding to the Caliphate, his first act was to depose Khâlid from the supreme command in Syria and confiscate his property. The chapter, consequently, as bearing on the guilt or innocence of Khâlid, has an important historical bearing. Moreover, the poetry of Mâlik's brother has many beautiful and touching passages. Omar was so moved by its pathos that, if he had been himself a poet, his highest ambition (he said) would have been to mourn over his brother Zeid (who was killed on the field of Yemama), in poetry like that of Motammim. The plaintive verse will, indeed, reward perusal.

Ladies as well as men practised the art of poetry, but mainly in the simple elegiac style, mourning over the death of relatives or of leading chieftains. The most famous of these poetesses is Al Khansa, who flourished in the time of Mahomet, and after his death visited Omar and Ayesha. She devoted herself to elegies on her brothers Muâvia and Sakhr; and the specimens which are given fully sustain her fame. The concluding chapter is devoted to her poetry.

Altogether this volume, which is written in an attractive style, is well worthy of perusal; and I can only repeat my regret that no one in this country should have devoted himself to a similar task in the English language.

ART. IV.—*Note on Manrique's Mission and the Catholics in the Time of Sháh Jahán.* By H. G. KEENE, Esq.

IN A.D. 1653 was published at Rome a small quarto of 470 pages, containing the "Itinerary of Missions in the East Indies, made by P. Maestro Fra Sebastian Manrique, an Eremite Monk of S. Augustine." The first fifty-six chapters describe the travels of the missionary in Burma, Bengal, and Bahar; but, in chapter fifty-seven, we find him going to Hindustan; and the next ten chapters are devoted to an account of the cities of Agra and Lahore and of the Court of "the Mogul." Then follows a journey to Multan, then one to Candahar; after which is a fresh description of the Mogul system, wealth, power, etc. Then comes a relation of the fall of Hughli some years before; and of the imprisonment and sufferings of the Catholic Priests of that place, especially of Prior Antonio de Christo, whose liberation the author undertook with success. The remainder of the book shows how the enterprising Father returned to Rome through Persia and the Levant.

He seems to have been a man of average observation, but much beset by a desire for distinction as a rhetorician, to which he occasionally sacrifices both accuracy and intelligibility. He also uses archaic words and forms of spelling, which sometimes interfere with the reader's ease.

The following extracts may be found interesting. After mentioning his arrival at Agra (where the priests knew him, "though in Mogul garb," and placed at his disposal a house formerly inhabited by the captive Prior), he relates how, on the day after Christmas, he set out for Biána, passing through Fatehpur Sikri (already a ruin). Having transacted the

business for which he went to Biána, he returned to Agra, where he visited the Prior in prison, and cheered him with hopes of liberty, which he afterwards fulfilled. The Court was then at Lahore, whither it would be necessary to repair to make intercession for the Prior. This was in 1640, and the poor man had been in prison for over eight years.

Before starting for Lahore, Manrique had time to look about him and examine the Fort and other buildings at Agra. His account of the Fort is not important, and all that is of any value had been already given by Finch. The description of the English traveller is to be found in Keene's *Guide to Dehli* (p. 77). The present *Diván-i-'Am* had not then been built, nor the Amr Sinh gate (Amr Sinh's affair took place four years later).

The account of the Sikandra tomb is not of much more importance, and that of the Taj is hardly more graphic, though not without some interesting matter.

It was still unfinished when he saw it (it was not finished for eight years more); all that he saw seems to have been "a beautiful, lofty, and squared wall (or rampart) of ruddy and famous masonry, and well-proportioned height." Four white marble palaces were in the corners, and a spacious garden within, "together with a white circular tower of Archimedean geometry." One thousand workmen laboured there daily. "The architect was a Venetian named Geronimo Veroneo, who came to India with the ships of the Portuguese, and who died in the city of Lahore a little before my arrival. To him gave the Emperor Khurram great salaries; but he was supposed to have profited so little by them, that when he died F. Joseph de Castro¹ found them much less than he had expected. Of him a report was current, that the Pádsha having sent for him, and made known the desire he felt to build there (at Agra) a grandiose and sumptuous monument to his defunct consort, and to have him make and exhibit designs for it, the architect Veroneo obeyed, and in a few days produced various models of very fine architecture, showing all the skill of his art;

¹ *Vide infra.*

also that, having contented H. M. in this, he dissatisfied him—according to his barbarous and arrogant pride—by the modesty of his estimates; further that, growing angry, he ordered him to spend three crores, and to let him know when they were spent—a wonderful sum! But, if these mortuary chambers had really covers of gold plates, as was the case with the urn containing the ashes of the Empress, such an expense need cause no astonishment.” The amount evidently “fetched” the Friar; for he falls to calculation, and shows that we are dealing with one who “in no longer time than it takes to open and shut the mouth could cause the expenditure of fifteen millions of Spanish dollars.”

The best things in the book are the description of the celebration of the royal birthday, and of Ásaf Khán's dinner-party, given in the text of my work on *The Tombs in India* (chap. v.). There is also a curious account of the persecution of the Portuguese by Sháh Jahán.

It appears from Manrique that the siege of Hughli very much resembled that of Caunpore in our day; the place being entirely open and unwallèd: the garrison moreover were enormously outnumbered. He says that they obstinately defended themselves behind earthen entrenchments for three months, during which the enemy lost many men, including two *Umrahs*, or commanders. It was at length resolved to apply for terms of surrender, and the Prior, F. Antonio de Christo, was sent to the camp of the Sabahdár with plenary powers. He was accompanied by a certain F. Francisco “de la Encarnacion,” and two Portuguese captains. But when they saw in the enemy's proceedings that there was no hope of an honest negociation, they returned to the city, resolved to sell their lives dear. They accordingly defended themselves for three months more, during which (always according to Manrique) they slew thirteen thousand of the enemy. At length the latter—who had been largely reinforced—delivered a general assault; the inhabitants placed the women and non-combatants in the principal church, and, after a vigorous defence, surrendered on promise of life and liberty. The treaty was broken, and

men, women, and children were sent to Agra. The journey occupied eleven months, during which the good Prior did all in his power for his flock, giving his food to the poor, and his carriage to the weak, and begging for alms on the failure of his own resources.

“With these labours and sufferings, or, to speak more correctly, spiritual triumphs, the servant of God came with all his company to the Agra Court.” So says the enthusiastic Manrique. The rest of the captives were divided among the princes and lords of that Court, but the monarch reserved for himself the two Augustinians and two secular priests, of whom one was a Portuguese of Santarem, named Manuel Danhaya, the other a Bengali of Serampur, named Manuel Garcia; also some of the leaders, and the women who were put into the Imperial Palace.

Many times did Sháh Jahán invite the monks and clergymen to become Muhammadans, but they repudiated his overtures with scorn, and called on the Emperor rather to turn from his own errors and conform to the Catholic faith. Long did they suffer ill-treatment and blows in the public prison. At last the Emperor sent for them, and renewed his temptations in person, not only with threats, but with large offers of what he would do for them if they yielded. The Prior spoke in return:—“Sovereign and Powerful Ruler! if to give you pleasure were not to offend the Supreme Ruler of the sky, believe me that, without any special promises of favour, we should be ready to follow your desire with much joy; but since we are bound to the Creator more than to the creature, and He who is not only Creator but Redeemer has charged us to keep His law, you will surely not take it ill that we do not embrace a faith which is in our eyes erroneous and opposed both to reason and understanding. Consider, therefore, Lord, to whom we owe obedience!”

Sháh Jahán was naturally offended at reasoning of this sort, and the end was that all four of these good Christians were ordered for execution the next day. They passed the night in prayer. Next day they were conducted in chains to an open market facing the Dehli gate of the Fort—where

the railway station now is—and elephants were brought out to trample them to death like common malefactors.

But Ásaf Khán, moved by pity for their constancy in suffering, threw himself at the Emperor's feet. Seeing the frame of mind of his sovereign and son-in-law, he applied rather to his sense of interest than to his compassion. He pointed out that the Portuguese, though ruined at Hughli, were still powerful on the opposite coast; and that the vengeance of the Viceroy of Goa would fall upon the ships and sea-going people, so that many of His Majesty's subjects would suffer for each of these.

Sháh Jahán yielded; and the valiant soldiers of the cross, after being paraded ignominiously through the town, were reconducted to prison. Garcia and Danhaya sank, and died of fatigue next day;¹ what became of F. Francis is not stated. The Prior lived nine years in confinement. During this period he managed to raise money by drawing bills on Goa, with which he provided funds for the departure of all his flock, so saving them from "the mouth of the infernal wolf," says Manrique. FF. Garcia and Danhaya were buried in the little mortuary chapel of the Agra cemetery near the Judges Court, called by natives "*Padré Santo.*" Their epitaphs are still to be read, and are as follows:—
 "Aqui iazo P. M^o. Danhaya, Clerigo morto pe la fé, ena prisão a 2 d'Agosto 1635." "*Aqui iazo P. M^o. Garcia Cler^o, morto no carcere pe la fe, a 23 de Marco, 1634.*"

From these epitaphs we learn several facts connected with the persecution. First, the secular priests did not, as Manrique supposes, die "*al segundo dia deste espectáculo.*" Next, that their sufferings spread over a long period, at least from March, 1634, to August, 1635. Lastly, that the persecution was not so severe as to prevent the victims from receiving Christian burial. Moreover the whole circumstances, ending with the visit of Manrique, the civility that he met with, and the Prior's liberation at his request, all show that it was not so much as Christians, but as recalcitrant prisoners-of-war

¹ *Vide infra.*

that the Fathers were ill-treated. By Muhammadan law they were liable to the alternative of circumcision or death.

There were three priests (Augustinians) and a part of the garrison who attempted to escape from Hughli by water; but their vessel grounded on a sand-bank, where they were boarded and put to the sword. One priest escaped by favour of a wealthy Hindu, who hid him in his house and had his wounds treated.

All this time Christians were abundant in the Imperial service, when Mandelslo in 1638 made a tour through the country. It was not, therefore, a religious persecution in the sense in which the Roman Emperors would have understood the term. There are seven other tombstones in the same chapel dated in the reign of Sháh Jahán, but no others of *morti pe la fe*.

F. Joseph de Castro, mentioned above as Veroneo's executor, died at Agra in 1646. His tomb is among those in the "Padré Santo."

ART. V.—*On Sandhi in Pali.* By the late R. C. CHILDERS.

[THE following fragments were found among the papers of the late R. C. Childers. When his last illness overtook him, he was known to have been engaged for some time on a comprehensive handbook of the Pali language. Before, however, he had far proceeded with the elaboration of the greater work, he proposed to bring out an elementary grammar first, to meet the pressing want of intending students of that language. After his death, it was hoped that some other Pali scholar would be found willing to complete the work in either form from the materials collected by Mr. Childers: and with this view these were submitted to Prof. Pischel at Kiel. But as this gentleman has since expressed his intention of publishing a grammar on a plan of his own, it is thought that the following two fragments may, even as such, be of interest to Pali students. Each of them treats of the Sandhi rules, and is complete in itself. But while the former, intended for the shorter work, was left ready for the press, the latter, intended for the larger, had not yet received the benefit of the gifted author's revision.—R. R.]

GENERAL REMARKS.

Sandhi as a branch of Grammar requires very different treatment in Pali and in Sanskrit.

The whole of the important division of Internal Sandhi is wanting in Pali,—at least it comes under the domain not of Grammar but of Philology. It would not only be a misapplication of labour, but positively misleading, to work out rules of internal Sandhi from, for instance, such forms as *sabbhi* and *lacchate*. Our only proper course is to trace them to their Sanskrit originals *sadbhis* and *lapsyate*, and bring them under rules, not of Sandhi, but of phonetic change.

We have, therefore, only to deal with external Sandhi, but here we find the most important differences between Pali and Sanskrit. Pali Sandhi is almost wholly independent of Sanskrit Sandhi, and cannot be brought under Sanskrit rules. At first sight combinations like *natthi*, *dukkhassantam*, may appear to be merely phonetic corruptions of the Sanskrit *nāsti*, *duḥkhasyāntam*; but this view is soon seen to be untenable, since in the great majority of cases a Pali sandhi-change differs from the corresponding Sanskrit sandhi-change. Thus we have *panc' ime* for Sanskrit *pañceme*, *sādhūti* for *sādhviti*, *sammad eva* for *samyageva*, *kiñcāpi* for *kiñcid api*, *yathariva* for *yathaiva*, and innumerable others opposed to Sanskrit usage. In Sanskrit sandhi is imperative, in Pali it is to a great extent optional: between separate words it takes place but seldom, and even in compounds hiatus occurs. Again, while sandhi is regular and uniform in Sanskrit, in Pali it is very irregular. For example, while in Sanskrit *na upeti* must always become *nopeti*, in Pali it might become *nopeti*, or *n'upeti*, or *nūpeti*, or remain *na upeti* without sandhi change taking place.

Every word in the Pali language without exception, if written separately, ends either with a vowel or anusvāra. This can easily be seen by inspecting a Pali dictionary. But *in a sentence* a word occasionally ends in a consonant, owing to a lost final consonant being restored for the sake of euphony. Thus the Sanskrit *abhūt* 'he was,' is *ahu* in Pali; but if *ahu* is followed by *eva*, the lost consonant may be revived to avoid hiatus, and we get *ahud eva*, which in Sanskrit would be *abhūd eva*.¹

Sandhi may be divided into Vowel Sandhi, Consonant Sandhi, and Mixed Sandhi. The Pali rules of vowel sandhi are numerous enough, but consonant sandhi, which in Sanskrit forms so important a branch of the subject, in Pali is limited to cases of contact between anusvāra and a following consonant. The reason of this is that in Pali, as we have just said, all words which do not end in anusvāra end in a vowel. Thus in Sanskrit we are told that *pūrṇaḥ* followed

¹ Other examples are given further on.

by *ca* becomes *pûrṇaḥ* ; but the Pali equivalent of *pûrṇaḥ* is *punno*, which, of course, remains unaltered before a consonant. Mixed sandhi has two divisions, viz. when a word ending in a vowel is followed by a word beginning with a consonant, and when a word ending in a consonant is followed by a word beginning with a vowel. Cases of mixed sandhi are very few, and in the second division are limited to the changes of *anusvâra* before a vowel.¹

We have seen that in Pali we have external sandhi only to deal with. I propose to separate external sandhi into the two great divisions of the Sandhi of Words and the Sandhi of Compounds. The distinction is a real and important one, as the rules of the two divisions differ in many respects.

SANDHI OF WORDS.

In Sanskrit word-sandhi is imperative, in Pali it only takes place in certain cases. To take a representative text, in the first page of *Mahâparinibbâna Sutta* there are nearly thirty instances in which a word-sandhi change does not take place when it would have been imperative in Sanskrit. The first five are *samayaṃ bhagavâ, mâgadho ajâtasattu, rajjî abhiyâtukâmo, ahaṃ ime, rajjî evaṃmahiddhike*. In the whole page word-sandhi only occurs nine times, viz. in *evam me, evam dha, ten' upasaṅkama, pucchattî, evañ ca, bhaṇantîti, pattiko 'ca, ten' upasaṅkami, etad avoca*.

In prose, word-sandhi is almost confined to indeclinables and pronouns. Thus at Par. 22 we have sandhi only in connexion with *yaṃ, nûna, ahaṃ, iti, tena, etaṃ, kâci, kiñci, eva, pana, tattha, mama, ha, and kathaṃ*. In a great many cases of sandhi we find two pronouns brought together, as *myâyaṃ = me ayaṃ*, or two indeclinables, as *yan nûna*, or an indeclinable and a pronoun, as *nûndhaṃ = nûna ahaṃ, tassa' eva = tassa eva*. But frequently, also, the indeclinable or pronoun is connected with a verb or noun, as in *tatth' Ānanda, purisam pi, etad avoca*.

Even with indeclinables and pronouns sandhi only takes

¹ This is, again, because *anusvâra* is the only consonant with which a word can terminate. Cases like *ahud eva* come under vowel sandhi.

place in certain cases. Thus at Par. 22 we have *ahaṃ imaṃ, taṃ ābādhaṃ*, so *ābādho, kho āyasmā*, and many others. Some words cause sandhi change much more certainly than others. Thus there is scarcely any exception to the rule that anusvāra before the particles *ca, ti* and *pi* is modified to *ñ, n* and *m* (e. g. *kathañ ca=kathaṃ ca*). *Eva* almost always causes or suffers sandhi change, e.g. *kiñcid eva=kinci eva, pattiko 'ca=pattiko eva*. The same may be said of *iti*, but at Par. 9 we have an exception, *bhavissanti iti*. *Na* followed by a vowel is generally modified, e.g. *n'atthi, n'eva, nāhosi*, though exceptions occur, as *na evaṃ* (Par. 22), *na idāni* (F. Jât. 12). On the other hand, forms like *nakkhamati, nappahosi*, are far less common than *na khamati, na pahosi*.

I have said that word-sandhi is in prose almost confined to indeclinables and pronouns. The limited number of exceptions will generally be found to be cases in which either (1) a vocative beginning with a vowel is preceded by a word ending in a vowel, as *gacch' āruso, pañcaḥ' Upāli, āyāṃ' Ānanda*; or (2) when a verb is preceded or followed by a noun in grammatical relation with it, as *utthāy' āsanā, āsanā rutthāya, upajjhāyass' ārocesuṃ* (Dh. 103), *samē' āyasmā, āgat' amhā*; or (3) when two nouns are in grammatical relation, as *dukkhass' antaṃ, dvēh' ākārehi* (Dh. 91). There is a small residuum of cases not coming under these three categories, e.g. at Dh. 337, *sandhāy' āha*.

But even under the three categories sandhi only sometimes takes place, e.g. we have *gamissāma Ānanda* (Dh. 170), *vajjī abhiyātukāmo*.

Sandhi is more extensively used in the early texts of the Tipiṭaka than in the late texts of the Commentaries.

In verse, word-sandhi is much less restricted and much more frequent than in prose, being in great measure governed by the question of metrical exigency. Thus in the first two pages of Dhammapada there are nine sandhis, of which only two, *nādhigacchanti* and *nappasahati*, would occur in prose. The remainder, for instance *sammantīdha, vantakāsāv' assa*, are used metri causā. Some of the bolder sandhis, as the elision of *ṃ* and *aṃ*, are confined to verse.

SANDHI OF COMPOUNDS.

In Sanskrit, the rules of sandhi for words and for compounds are the same; in Pali, they present several points of difference. Pali compound words are of two classes—first, compounds, which are phonetic corruptions of corresponding Sanskrit compounds; and, 2ndly, compounds in which two Pali words are independently combined, without reference to Sanskrit. To the first my remarks at p. 99 on internal sandhi are applicable; they are by their nature excluded from the department of sandhi. Thus *jaraggava* cannot be brought under any Pali rule of sandhi; all we can do is to trace it to an older Sanskrit form *jaradgava*, of which it is a phonetic corruption. On the other hand, *kulitthi*, at Par. 3, cannot be identified with a Sanskrit compound *kulastrī*, but is an independent combination of the Pali form *itthi* with *kula*.

RULES OF WORD SANDHI.

I. VOWEL SANDHI.

1. If a word ending in *a* is followed by a word beginning with *a*, the two short vowels sometimes coalesce into *ā*.
 Ex. *nāhosi* = *na ahosi*, *nātisīto* = *na-atisīto*, *nāsakkhi* = *na asakkhi*, *nāyaṃ* = *na ayaṃ*, *panāyaṃ* = *pana ayaṃ*, *etthāyaṃ* = *ettha ayaṃ* (Jāt. 8), *vatāyaṃ* = *vata ayaṃ* (Dh. 408), *nāyaṃ* = *na ayaṃ*, *nāhaṃ* = *na ahaṃ* (Ten J. 36), *tatrāhaṃ* = *tatra ahaṃ*, *nāparaṃ* = *na aparaṃ*, *imassāpi* = *imassa api*, *cāhu* = *ca ahu*, *senāsantuṭṭha* = *sena-asantuṭṭha* (Ten J. 30).

2. But if the initial *a* of the second word is followed by a conjunct consonant, the final *a* of the first word is usually elided. Ex. *n'atthi* = *na atthi*, *n'accuṇho* = *na accuṇho*, *pan' aññaṃ* = *pana aññaṃ*, *tatr' assa* = *tatra assa*, *tatth' addasaṃ* = *tattha addasaṃ*, *yass' atthāya* = *yassa atthāya*, *dukkhass' antaṃ* = *dukkhassa antaṃ*, *kir' assa* = *kira assa*, *tav' antikaṃ* = *tava antikaṃ* (Jāt. 28).

3. There are a few exceptions in which the two *as* coalesce before a double consonant, as *nāddasa* = *na addasa*, *nāñño* = *na añño*, *nāssa* = *na assa* (Dh. 23).

4. Rarely a is elided before a, *e.g.* vat' ayam=vata ayam (Kuhn 60), c' aham=ca aham (Jât. 3), n' ahosi=na ahosi (Dh. 155), upadhây' aham=upadhâya aham.

5. a and â may coalesce with i or î into e. Ex. kokilâyeva =kokilâya iva, bandhusseva=bandhussa iva (Sen. 14), pajjotasseva=pajjotassa iva, netaro=na itaro, neresi=na ivesi, yathedaṃ=yathâ idaṃ.

6. Similarly a and â may coalesce with u into o. Ex. nopeti =na upeti, nopagacchittha =na up. (Mah. 28), alatthopaddhabhikkûhi = alattha upaddhabhikkûhi (Mah. 174), mamopamaṃ=mama upamaṃ (Ras. 29), noyâti=na uyyâti, pakkhanditodadhīṃ=pakkhanditâ udadhīṃ (Mah. 117).

7. When a is followed by iti, we always get the crasis â, *e.g.* pivathâc=pivatha icc (Jât. 3).

8. a and â with û rarely become ô instead of o, as cûbha-yaṃ=ca ubhayaṃ, tadôpasammanti=tadâ upasammanti (Jât. 18).

9. Very rarely a elides i. Ex. yena 'me=yena ime (Par. 64), pana 'me=pana ime (Cl. Gr. 9).

10. a is very frequently elided by i and u, whether followed by a conjunct consonant or not. Ex. passath' imaṃ (Dh. 31), bhamarass' iriyato, pahây' imaṃ=pahâya imaṃ, pañc' ime=pañca ime, ito c' ito=ito ca ito, tatr' idaṃ=tatra idaṃ, nûn' imaṃ=nûna imaṃ, vat' idaṃ=vata idaṃ (Jât. 56), yass' indriyâni=yassa indriyâni, yatth' itthi=yattha itthi (Jât. 155), ten' upasaṅkami=tena upasaṅkami, nâṃ' upatthâko=nâma upatthâko (Jât. 29), c' upeto=ca upeto (Jât. 84), eten' upâyena=etena upâyena, ass' uppajjati =assa uppajjati (Das. 36), n' uppajji=na uppajji (Jât. 15), n' uddhamsati=na uddhamsati (Jât. 18).

11. a is elided before â, û, e and o. Ex. yen' âyasmâ=yena âyasmâ, yass' âlayâ=yassa âlayâ, utthây' âsanâ=utthâya âsanâ, idh' âvuso=idha âvuso, eken' ûno=ekena ûno, gaṇhath' etaṃ=gaṇhatha etaṃ, c' etarahi=ca etarahi, pan' esa =pana esâ, n' ettha=na ettha, iv' otataṃ=iva otataṃ, mam' okâsaṃ=mama okâsaṃ (Jât. 13), samudden' ottharâpesuṃ=samuddena ottharâpesuṃ.

12. â sometimes elides a short vowel, and less often a long

vowel. Ex. imâ 'ham=imâ aham, tadâ 'yam=tadâ ayam, vâ 'ssa=vâ assa (Jât. 136), yathâ 'yam=yathâ ayam, yassâ 'yam (Dh. 118), kasmâ 'si=kasmâ asi, disvâ 'panissayam=disvâ upanissayam (Mah. 30), vihesâ 'va=vihesâ eva, sutvâ 'va=sutvâ eva (Das. 4), attanâ 'va=attanâ eva.

13. â is often elided before a long vowel, or before a short vowel followed by a conjunct consonant. Ex. tad' âsi=tadâ âsi, m' âpâdi=mâ âpâdi, tad' eva=tadâ eva (Mah. 244), tath' eva=tathâ eva, mahiy' ekarattivâso=mahiyâ e. (Dhaniya S.), netv' ekamantikam=netvâ ekamantikam, gorakkh' etta (Mah. 80), tay' ajja=tayâ ajja, tad' assu=tadâ assu (Jât. 196), datthukâm' amhâ=datthukâmâ amhâ (Dh. 84), natth' amhâ=natthâ amhâ (Dh. 177), jit' amhâ=jitâ amhâ.

14. Very rarely â is elided before a followed by a simple consonant. Ex. muñciv' aham=muñcivâ aham (Jât. 13).

15. â followed by i sometimes gives the crasis î. Ex. saddhîdha=saddhâ idha, seyyathîdam=seyyathâ idam.

16. i is very frequently elided before a vowel, whether the latter be short or long. Ex. gacchâm' aham=gacchâmi aham, icchâm' aham=icchâmi aham (Jât. 53), dassent' anappakam=dassenti anappakam (Jât. 47), bhavat' addharatti=bhavati addharatti (Gog. Ev. 23), p' ajja=pi ajja (Jât 18), pañcah' angehi=pañcahi angehi (Sen. 18), n'atth' aññam=n'atthi aññam (*ib.*), passas' imam=passasi imam (Jât. 144), idân' ime=idâni ime (Jât. 221), cattâr' imâni=cattâri imâni, yad' imassa=yadi imassa (Jât. 1, 17),¹ dasah' upâgatam=dasahi upâgatam, pañcah' Upâli=pañcahi Upâli, dvih' âkârehi=dvîhi âkârehi (Dh. 91), ap' âvuso=api âvuso, t' âha=ti âha, sayaneh' âvasathehi=sayanehi âvasathehi (Brâhmanadhammikasutta), p' esa=pi esa, t' eva=ti eva (Jât. 53), h' etam=hi etam, h' evam=hi evam (Jât. 169), h' ete=hi ete (Jât. 22), phandant' eva=phandanti eva (Das. 36), atth' etassa=atthi etassa (Jât. 55), âsi pît' unnatunnatâ=pîti unnat. (Mah. 27).

17. Very rarely î is elided. Ex. tunh' assa=tunhî assa.

18. Not unfrequently i elides a following short vowel.

¹ These last four may, however, equally well be looked upon as examples of rule 18, and written passasi 'mam, idâni 'me, cattâri 'mâni, yadi 'massa.

Ex. phalanti 'saniyo=phalanti asaniyo (Mah. 72), pi 'haṃ=pi ahaṃ (Ját. 47), pi 'ssa=pi assa, iti 'ssa=iti assa (Sen. 15; Das. 2), hi 'ssa (Das. 21), idāni 'ssa=idāni assa (Ját. 195), kacci 'ttha=kacci attha (Pát. 2), kârayi 'ttharaṇaṃ.

19. i+i sometimes becomes î. Ex. sammantîdha=sammanti idha (Dh. 2, see variæ lectiones), yânîdha=yâni idha. This is almost invariably the case when a word ending in i is followed by iti.

20. i+a occasionally gives the crasis â. Ex. kiñcâpi=kiñci api, pâhaṃ=pi ahaṃ (Ját. 184), idânâhaṃ=idâni ahaṃ (Dh. 88).

21. Final i or î preceded by t or tt and followed by a vowel may become y. If preceded by tt, one t is dropped. Ex. jîvanty elaka=jîvanti elaka (Ab. 513), ty ayam=ti ayam (Alw. I. xl), guty atha=gutti atha (Ab. 374), sabbavity anubhûyate=sabbavitti anubhûyate (Pay. S.), paṭisanthâravuty assa=paṭisanthâravuttî assa (Pay. S.)

22. In the case of iti we occasionally have v for y. Ex. itv evaṃ=iti evaṃ (Cl. Gr. 15), tv eva=ti eva (Dh. 93, Das. 24, Ten J. 54).

23. In the case of iti the combination ty generally becomes cc, as icc evaṃ=iti evaṃ, icc anena=iti anena, icc etaṃ.

24. In one or two cases di before a vowel becomes jj. Ex. yajj evaṃ=yadi evaṃ (Cl. Gr. 14); here we must presuppose a transition form yady evaṃ.

25. Api followed by a vowel may become app, which points to a transition form apy. Ex. app eva=api eva, app ekacce=api ekacce, app ekadâ=api ekadâ.

26. u is occasionally elided before a vowel. Ex. tusites' upapajjatha=tusitesu upapajjatha (Mah. 201), tadah' uposathe=tadahû uposathe, samet' âyasmâ=sametu âyasmâ, sâdh' âvuso=sâdhu âvuso (Das. 22), tâs' eva=tâsu eva (Par. 15), tiṭṭhat' etaṃ=tiṭṭhatu etaṃ.

27. Rarely u elides a following short vowel. Ex. nu 'ttha=nu attha, nu 'si=nu asi (Dh. 96), kinnu 'mâ=kinnu imâ.

28. u followed by i sometimes gives the crasis û. Ex. kimsûdha=kimsu idha, sâdhûti=sâdhu iti. In the case of iti this crasis is invariable.

29. There are one or two instances of final u changing to v before a vowel. Ex. vatthv ettha=vatthu ettha (Sen. 16), sesesv ayam=sesesu ayam (see Dict. art. Payyâlam).

30. e may be elided before a long vowel, or before a short vowel followed by a conjunct consonant. Ex. m' âsi=me âsi (Das. 3), m' eso=me eso (Gog. Ev. 46), vâsay' ettha=vâsaye ettha (Jât. 93), silavant' ettha=silavante ettha, sac' assa=sace assa (Dh. 156), m' atthi=me atthi (Pay. S.).

31. e sometimes elides a following vowel. Ex. te 'me=te ime (Jât. 177), dve 'me=dve ime (Par. 48), sace 'jja=sace ajja (Ras. 84).

32. Occasionally we have the crasis e+a=â. Ex. sacâham=sace aham (Dh. 140, 165; Ten J. 12; Jât. 5), vâham=ve aham (Alw. N.).

33. When e is followed by a, it may become y, the a being at the same time lengthened. Ex. tyâham=te aham (Sen. 15; Ten J. 111; Jât. 135), pabbatyâham=pabbate aham (Pay. S.), myâyam=me ayam.

34. But if the initial a is followed by a double consonant, it is not lengthened. Ex. ty ajja=te ajja, ty atthu=te atthu.

35. There are one or two exceptions to the last rule, e.g. tyâssa=te assa; this is the right reading, it is also in Pay. Siddhi, and occurs in Sigâlovâda S.).

36. o frequently elides a following vowel. Ex. so 'ham=so aham, aggo 'ham=aggo aham (Jât. 53), bhiyyo 'bhiññataro=bhiyyo abhiññataro (Par. S.), yo 'dha=yo idha (Dh. 47), cattâro 'me=cattâro ime (Sen. 14), pañcamo 'tthi=pañcamo atthi (Cunda S.), ubho 'ttha=ubho attha (Jât. 165), kho 'mhi=kho amhi, nattho 'mhi (Dh. 199), nâsito 'smi (Dh. 199), pattiko 'va=pattiko eva, kattabbo 'posathe=kottabbo uposathe (Mah. 220).

37. o is frequently elided before a long vowel, or a short vowel followed by a double consonant. Ex. kut' ettha=kuto ettha, yâvant' ettha=yâvanto ettha, asant' ettha=asanto ettha, nam' atthu=namo atthu, katam' assa=katamo assa (Pay. S.), tay' assu=tayo assu, bhiyy' assa=bhiyyo assa (Das. 35), perhaps ajjat' agge=ajjato agge, tat' uddham=tato uddham (Jât. 25).

38. The crasis o+a=â sometimes occurs. Ex. appassutâyam=appassuto ayam, dukkhâyam=dukkho ayam (Jât. 168).

39. o followed by a sometimes becomes v, the a being at the same time lengthened. Ex. yvâham=yo aham, svâham=so aham, svâyam=so ayam, khvâham=kho aham (Sutta N.), yatvâdhikaraṇam=yato adhikaraṇam.

40. But if a is followed by a double consonant, it is not lengthened. Ex. khv assa=kho assa, sv assa=so assa, yâvatakv assa kâyo tâvatakv assa byâmo=yâvatako assa kâyo tâvatako assa byâmo (Pay. S.), khv ajja=kho ajja, kv attho=ko attho.

41. There are two or three exceptions to the last rule in which the a is lengthened. Ex. svâssu=so assu (Jât. 196), khv âssa=kho assa (Pay. S.).

42. Sometimes o becomes v before a long vowel. Ex. yv eva=yo eva, sv eva=so eva.

43. If a word ending in a or â is followed by idam, or any of the oblique cases of the pronoun idam which begin with i, the consonant y is often inserted for euphony.¹ Ex. na yidam, na yime, tava yidam (Vaṅṅisa S.), cha yime, nava yime (Pay. S.), mâ yime (Jât. 203), mâ yidam (Pay. S.).

44. In one case final â is shortened. yathayidam=yathâ idam.

45. The same process takes place with iva, but the form yiva does not occur, having been replaced by the later form viya, which is a metathesis of yiva.

46. When a vowel is followed by u or û, the consonant v is sometimes inserted for euphony. Ex. migî bhantâ vudikkhati=bhantâ udikkhati.

So also when a word ending in a vowel is followed by eva, the consonant y is often inserted for euphony.

47. A euphonic m is sometimes inserted between two vowels. Ex. idham âhu=idha âhu, idham eva=idha eva (Das. 44), idham âgato, yenam idh' ekacce=yena idha ekacce (Pay. S.), jeyyam attânam=jeyya attânam, parigaṇiyam asesam=parigaṇiya asesam (Mah. 20), parañ cam avajānāti

¹ That the y should be attached rather to the second than to the first word is clear from the fact that we have viya=yiva.

=parañ ca avajānāti (Alw. N. 120), sammattim eva=sammatti eva (Pay. S.), katham jīvaṃ jīvattim āhu seṭṭham¹=katham jīvaṃ jīvati āhu seṭṭham (Sutta Nipāta), ākāse abhipūjaye =ākāse abhipūjaye (Pay. S.).

48. When a word ending in a vowel is followed by *iva*, occasionally the consonant *r* is inserted for euphony. Ex. nakkhattarājār² *iva* tārakānaṃ=nakkhattarājā *iva* t. (Pay. S.), āragger *iva*=āragge *iva*, usabhor *iva*=usabho *iva* (Pay. S.), sāsapor *iva*=sāsapo *iva*.

49. In one or two instances final *ā* is shortened. Ex. yathariva=yathā *eva*, tathariva=tathā *eva*.

50. Rarely other consonants besides *y*, *v*, *m*, and *r* are inserted euphonically: e.g. *n* in iton āyati=ito āyati.

51. In a great many cases a lost consonant is revived for the sake of euphony. Ex. manasād aññavimuttānaṃ (Sen. 26), yasmād apeti [S. yasmād apeti]=yasmā apeti,³ tasmād *eva* [S. tasmād *eva*]=tasmā *eva*, kenacid *eva* karaṇīyena=kenaci *eva* karaṇīyena, kocid *eva* [S. kaṇcid *eva*]=koci *eva*, ahud *eva* [S. abhūd *eva*]=ahu *eva*, tāvad *eva* [S. tāvad *eva*]=tāva *eva*, puthag *eva* [S. prithag *eva*]=putha *eva*, pageva [S. prāg *eva*]=pa or pā *eva*, tuṇhīm āsīnaṃ [S. tūshṇīm]=tuṇhī āsīnaṃ, vuttir esā [S. vṛittir eshā]=vutti esā (Kasībhāradvāja S.), sabbhir *eva* [S. sadbhir *eva*]=sabbhi *eva*, paṭhavidhātur *eva* [S. dhātur *eva*]=paṭhavidhātu *eva* (Pay. S.), punar *eva* [S. punar *eva*]=puna *eva*, bhattur atthe [S. bhartur arthe]=bhattu atthe (Pay. S.), chaḷ *eva*=cha *eva* [shaḷ evā, Mah.].

These revived euphonic consonants must be carefully distinguished from the euphonic consonants of rules 43-50, which are parasitic.

52. In a few curious examples a *wrong* consonant is revived. Ex. sammā *eva* should become sammag *eva*, but we have always sammad *eva*; similarly dhi atthu becomes

¹ Living how do they say he lives the best? viz. what do people say is the best way of living?

² Similarly we sometimes hear the vulgarism *Indiar Office*, but the vulgarisms of one generation sometimes become the grammar of the next.

³ It is usual to quote *tasmātiha* as an instance of a revived consonant, *tasmāt iha* standing for *tasmād iha*; but I have shown that the phrase should really be analysed *tasmā ti ha* (Dict. p. 480).

dhir atthu instead of dhig atthu; vijju eva becomes vijjur eva when the S. would be vidyud eva (Pay. S. gives this example), while on the other hand in Sela S. we have sāvako sathud anvayo when we ought to have sathur anvayo [çâstur anvayo].¹

II. MIXED SANDHI.

53. When a word ending in a vowel is followed by a word beginning with a consonant, the latter, if it represents an original conjunct consonant, is sometimes doubled. In prose, this doubling is most frequent in cases in which the proclitic particle *na* is immediately followed by a verb qualified by it. In verse, the doubling is pretty frequent for the purpose of lengthening a short syllable. Examples from prose: idha t̥hâtum=idha t̥hâtum (Dh. 212), punadivasato ppabhuti=punadivasato pabhuti, na kkhamati=na khamati.

Examples from verse: yatra t̥hitam=yatra t̥hitam (Dh. 23), nabhasi t̥hitâ=nabhasi t̥hitâ (Mah. 108), kari t̥hâtu=kari t̥hâtu, the final vowel being shortened to avoid a long vowel before a double consonant (Mah. 106), ca jhânapalo=ca jhânaphalo, citrâhi gâthâhi muni ppakâsayi=muni pakâsayi (Âmagandha Sutta), kâsi Ppiyadasî=kâsi Piyadasî (Alw. I. xiii), na ppasahetha=na pasahetha (Dh. 23), na ppamajjeyya (Dh. 31).

Rarely *ch* preceded by a vowel is doubled. Ex. esa cchecchati (Dh. 63).

54. In a few cases a lost final consonant is revived before a consonant. Thus we have yâvañ c' idam=yâva ca idam, where the modified anusvâra represents the lost *t* of yâvat; yâvakîvañ ca.

When a word ending in anusvâra is followed by a vowel, anusvâra is often changed to *m*. Ex. ekam idâham, kim etam (Dh. 207).

In one instance *m* is added to a short vowel before a consonant metri causâ. Ex. tam bahum yam pi jûrasi.

55. In one case of mixed sandhi an aspirated consonant loses

¹ Unless we look upon it as a compound for sattu-anvayo, in which case the *d* would be parasitic.

its aspirate to avoid the harsh concurrence of two aspirated consonants. *Ida bhikkhave=idha bhikkhave.*

56. There are at least two instances of *m* being changed to *n* instead of *m* before a vowel. The first is *cirann âyati* adduced by *Kaccâyana* (Sen. 26), when it is doubled to reproduce the heavy sound of the Pali *anusvâra*.¹ The second, from *Jayaddisa Jâtaka*, is “*satanan esa dhammo,*” ‘This is the practice of good people,’ where *satanan* stands for *satânam*, both the syllables being shortened *metri causâ*.

Sometimes in Pali final *anusvâra* stands for an original final consonant, and when this is the case, it is liable before a vowel to be replaced by the original consonant. Thus the Sanskrit *sakṛit* is *sakim* in Pali, but if *eva* follows we have *sakid eva*, the Sanskrit *sakṛid eva*. Again *taṃ, yaṃ, and etaṃ,* are the Pali representatives of the Sanskrit *tad, yad, etad,* and when followed by a vowel the original *d* is restored; e.g. *tad avasari, tad apaviddhaṃ* (Dh. 52), *tad eva, yad âyasaṃ* (Dh. 62), *yañ yad eva, etad avoca, etad ahoṣi.*

57. In a few instances a *wrong* consonant is revived. Thus the Sanskrit *punar* is sometimes in Pali *punaṃ*, which should be changed before a vowel to *punar*; yet in *Brâhmanadhammika Sutta* we have *punaṃ upâgamuṃ,* and *punad eva* is by no means an uncommon form. So we have *aññad atthu* for *aññam atthu*, and *bahud eva rattim* for *bahum eva rattim*. There can be little doubt that in this case the change of *m* to *d* is on the false analogy of *etaṃ* and *etad*.

58. In verse, *anusvâra* is sometimes elided before a vowel. Ex. *no ce muñceyya' candimaṃ=muñceyyaṃ candimaṃ* (Gog. Ev. 28), *maccâna' jivitaṃ=maccânaṃ jivitaṃ* (Das. 34), *dasasasîna' cûbhayaṃ* (Jât. 19), *etaṃ buddhâna' sâsanam, phuseyyu' taṃ=phuseyyuṃ taṃ* (Dh. 24).

59. In verse, sometimes both *anusvâra* and the vowel which precedes it are elided. Ex. *im' ettaṃ=imaṃ ettaṃ* (Dh. 35), *mal' itthiyâ=malaṃ itthiyâ* (Dh. 43), *maggân' atthaṅgiko=maggânaṃ atthaṅgiko* (Dh. 48), *pabbâjay' attano=pabbajayaṃ attano* (Dh. 69), *nipajj' ahaṃ=ni-*

¹ See p. 112. It is impossible to say whether the words occur in prose or verse.

pajjīm ahaṃ (Jât. 13), ovadit' ussahe=ovaditum ussahe (Jât. 160).

60. In prose, as well as in verse, we sometimes have the combination am+a=â, as dhuvâhaṃ=dhuvam ahaṃ (Jât. 19). Here a double process has taken place, the m being first elided, which gives dhuva' ahaṃ, and then the two as blended into â. Other examples are, ekaṃ idâhaṃ samayaṃ =idaṃ ahaṃ, kathâhaṃ=kathaṃ ahaṃ (Dh. 192), tâsâhaṃ santike=tasaṃ ahaṃ (Pay. S.), evâyaṃ=evam ayaṃ (Das. 27), labheyyâhaṃ=labheyyam ahaṃ (Par. 59).

61. When a word ending in anusvâra is followed by eva, the letter y is often inserted for euphony.

In the same way, after anusvâra, iva often becomes viya, which is a metathesis for yiva.

In the case of eva we sometimes have a further change, the final m and initial y blending into ññ, e.g. tañ ñeva=tam yeva.

In one case final anusvâra elides a following vowel: evam 'sa=evam assa, alam 'thavâ=alam athavâ (Dict. art. Peyyâlam, from a very late text).

III. CONSONANT SANDHI.

62. When a word ending in anusvâra is followed by a word beginning with a consonant of one of the second, fourth, or fifth classes, it is sometimes changed to the nasal of that class.¹ If the second word begins with a consonant of the first class (k, kh, g, or gh), no change takes place, because in Pali anusvâra is identical with the nasal of the first class.² Ex. evañ ca, yañ ce, kin ti, kiñ je=kiṃ je, tañ jano (Dh. 39), oran tato (Mah. 62), param marañâ, evam me.

63. When a word ending in anusvâra is followed by a word beginning with y, the final and initial consonants sometimes blend into ññ. Ex. ânantarikañ ñam=ânantarikaṃ yaṃ, yañ ñad eva=yam yaṃ eva, saddhiñ ñeya (Dh. 84).

¹ Even Bâlâvatâra recognizes this (see Cl. Gr. 13).

² It is not, therefore, usual to write tañ karotî. I have never met with a case of anusvâra changed to ñ before ṭ or ḍ.

64. In one instance anusvāra is elided before a consonant, bahu' bhāsati=bahum bhāsati (metri causā).

65. Sometimes anusvāra before h becomes fi. Ex. evañ hi=evam hi, tañ hi=tam hi, kathañ hi=katham hi.

RULES OF THE SANDHI OF COMPOUNDS.

PART I. VOWEL SANDHI.

1. When a word whose base ends in a is compounded with a word beginning with a followed by a single consonant, the two *as* blend into ā. Ex. atitānāgata = atita-anāgata, pamādādhikaraṇa = pamāda-adhikaraṇa, kāyānupassī = kāya-anupassī, kappāvasesa = kappa-avasesa, purisādhama = purisa-adhama (Dh. 14), hatāvakāsa = hata-avakāsa (Dh. 18).

2. But if the second a is followed by a conjunct consonant, the first a is elided. Ex. dhammanvaya = dhamma-anvaya, katañjali = kata añjali, jātakatthakathā = jātika-atthakathā, bhāvitattā = bhāvita-attā (Dh. 20), maraṇanta = maraṇa-anta, rattakkhī = ratta-akkhi.

3. Exceptions to the last rule are rare, but we have piyāppiya = piya-appiya (Dh. 38), sātthakathā = sa-atthakathā, upānta = upa-anta.

4. a + ā, ā + a, and ā + ā, all become ā. Ex. kāmāsava = kāma-āsava, dhammādāsa = dhamma-ādāsa, balavāghāto = balava-āghāto, pacchābhimukho = pacchā-abhimukho, yathābhirantaṃ = yathā-abhirantaṃ, pūjāraho = pūjā-arahō, sadādara = sadā-ādara, paññāvudhaṃ = paññā-āvudhaṃ (Dh. 8), avijjāsavo = avijjā-āsavo.

5. But ā before a followed by a conjunct consonant is usually elided. Ex. parisantarā = parisā-antarā, mahaggha = mahā-aggha, mahañṇava = mahā-añṇava, mahatthika = mahā-atthika.

6. a or ā + i sometimes becomes e. Ex. uttareta = uttara-itara, duddasetara = duddasa-itara (Ab. 998), mahesakkha = mahā-īsakkha.

7. a + i sometimes becomes i. Ex. setibha = seta-ibha, itaritara = itara-itara.

8. a may be elided before i and ū. Ex. sabbītiyo = sabba-ītiyo, ekūna = eka-ūna.

But a or á is elided before i if the latter is followed by a conjunct consonant. Ex. manujinda=manuja-inda, jvítindriya=jvita-indriya, appicchatá=appa-icchatá, icchiticchita=icchita-icchita, nâṭakitthi=nâṭaka-itthi, Laṅkinda=Laṅkā-inda, aññindriya=aññā-indriya, mahicchatá=mahā-icchatá, mahiddhika=mahā-iddhika, mahissara=mahā-issara, yathicchita=yathā-icchita.

9. a or á before u followed by a single consonant frequently becomes o. Ex. pallaṅkopari=pallaṅka-upari (Mah. 164), candodaya=canda-udaya, sopapada=sa-upapada, cittopacāra=citta-upacāra, senākāyopagatabhaṇḍakaṃ=senākāya-upagatabhaṇḍakaṃ (Mah. 151), paṇyopajīvinī=paṇya-upajīvinī (Ját. 105), pacchimodadhi=pacchima-udadhi (Mah. 217), uṇhodaka=uṇha-udaka, nahānodaka=nahāna-udaka, cando-pama=canda-upama (Dh. 244), sunakhopama=sunakha-upama (Mah. 227), dakkhiṇodaka=dakkhiṇā-udaka, mahodadhi=mahā-udadhi, mahoraga=mahā-uraga, sahasopagā=sahasā-upagā (Mah. 52).

10. This crasis may even occur when a is followed by a double consonant, as dhammokkā=dhamma-ukkā (Ját. 34), appossukka=appa-ussukka, noyāti=na uyyāti (here a y is dropped to insure the long pronunciation of the o).

But far more frequently ū. Ex. pādūdara=pāda-udara, lābhūpanisā=lābha-upanisā, acirūpasampanna=acira-upasampanna, rūpūpajīvinī=rūpa-upajīvinī, uposathūpavāsa=uposatha-upavāsa, āhārūpaccheda=āhāra-upaccheda (Dh. 353), kāmūpādāna=kāma-upādāna, aññamaññūpaghaṭṭitā=aññamañña-upaghaṭṭitā (Ját. 26), vigatūpakkilesa=vigata-upakkilesa, parūpaghāta=para-upaghāta, ariyūpavāda=ariya-upavāda, sabbūpadhi=sabba-upadhi, pupphūpaga=puppha-upaga (and similarly phalūpaga, gayhūpaga, brahmalokūpaga), vassūpagata=vassa-upagata (and so rūpūpagata), sotāpattīphalūpanissaya=sotāpattīphala-upanissaya (Das. 30, and so samatthūpadanissayo), laddhūpasampada=laddha-up., paradārūpasevī=paradāra-upasevī, lakkhaṇūpanijjhāna=lakkhaṇa-upanijjhāna (so ārammaṇūpanijjhāna), attūpanāyika=atta-upanāyika, sabbākāravārūpeta, sabbupakaraṇūpeta (Mah. 123), sabbūpakaraṇa (ib.), pheṇūpama, alagaddū-

pama, aggikkhandhûpama. Ex. of â + u, jarûpaga=jarâ-upaga, nidûpagata=niddâ-upagata (and so pabbajjûpagata).

11. But if u is followed by a conjunct consonant, final a or â is elided. Ex. niluppala=nila-uppala, dumuppala, khujjuttarâ, aṭṭhuttara, pacchimuttara, sippuggahana, dipujjalato, byañjanujjalo, råjuyyâna, kaṇṭhakuddharana, phalikubbhava, vadhudyata, sukhuccâraṇa, pattuṇṇa=patta-uṇṇa, bhattuddeaka, kâmmummattaka, dvâdasahatthucca, pubbuṭṭhâyî, mahussava=mahâ-ussava.

12. Instead of the crasis û (as in Rule 10), we pretty frequently have a elided before u, even when the latter is followed by a single consonant. Ex. paṇupeta, aṭṭhaṅguposatha, paṇṇarasuposatha, upavattuposatha, yathâkammupaga (Gov. - Ev. 10), domanassupâyâsa, addhamâsupasampanna (Raṭṭh. S.), udaggudagga, cullupaṭṭhâka, buddhupaṭṭhâna, råjupaṭṭhâna, hatthupagata (Jât. 51), attavâdupâdâna, âcariyupâcariyâ, dassanupacâra.

Very rarely â elides u. Ex. silâpassaya=silâ-upassaya (Mah. 132).

13. a and â are elided before e and o. Ex. ajalaka=ajaelaka, sukhesî=sukha-esî, kâmesanâ=kâma-esanâ, bhavogha=bhava-ogha, sissorasa=sissa-orasa, dhammoja=dhamma-oja, mahogha=mahâ-ogha, avijjogha=avijja-ogha.

14. i and î are sometimes elided by a following vowel. Ex. diṭṭhogha=diṭṭhi-ogha, hatthâcariya=hatthi-âcariya, paṭaggi=paṭi-aggi, vidatthukkatṭha=vidatthi-ukkatṭha (Mah. 166), uttaruttari=uttari-uttari, cutupapâta=cuti-upapâta, hirottappa=hiri-ottappa, paṭhavissara=paṭhavi-issara, paṭhavoja=paṭhavi-oja, bhikkhunovâda=bhikkhuni-ovâda.

15. Occasionally i and î elide u. Ex. satipaṭṭhâna=satipaṭṭhâna, dubbuṭṭhipaddava=dubbuṭṭhi-upaddava, diṭṭhijju=diṭṭhi-ujju, bhikkhunipassaya=bhikkhuni-upassaya (the î being at the same time shortened).

16. i or î + u may become û. Ex. diṭṭhûpâdâna=diṭṭhi-upâdâna, cutûpapâta=cuti-upapâta, uparûpari=upari-upari, rattûparato=ratti-uparata, bhikkhunûpassaya=bhikkhuni-upassaya.

17. u and ū may be elided by a following short or long vowel. Ex. mâtupatṭhâna = mâtu-upatṭhâna, mudindriya = mudu-indriya, cakkhâyatana = cakkhu-âyatana, abhibhâyatana = abhibhû-âyatana.

18. Rarely u elides a vowel. Ex. utukkhâna = utu-akkhâna, cakkhundriya = cakkhu-indriya.

19. u sometimes blends with u into ū. Ex. bahûpakâra bahu-upakâra, bahûdaka = bahu-udaka, sūju = su-uju, catûsabha = catu-usabha.

20. Rarely i preceded by t or tt becomes y before a vowel. Ex. atyappa = ati-appa, mutyapekha = mutti-apekha (Vañgîsa S.).

21. Rarely i or î preceded by d becomes y before a vowel. Ex. nadyambu (Ab. 188).

22. u occasionally becomes v before a vowel. Ex. cakkhvâpâtham = cakkhu-âpâtham, bhikkhvâsana = bhikkhu-âsana, bāvâbâdha = bahu-âbâdha (this is a metathesis for bahvâbâdha, which does not occur).

23. ati and paṭi before a vowel generally become acc and pacc, standing for an older aty and paty. Ex. accuṇha = ati-uṇha, accokkatṭha = ati-okkatṭha, accodâta = ati-odâta, accagâ = ati-agâ, paccâroceti = paṭi-âroceti, paccanṅa = paṭi-aṅga, paccupatṭhita = paṭi-upatṭhita, paccaññâsi = paṭi-aññâsi.

24. In one case dî followed by a vowel becomes jj, which represents an older dy: najjantara = nadî-antara.

25. abhi and adhi before a vowel generally become abbh and ajjh, which represent older forms abhy and adhy. Ex. abhhaññâsi = abhi-aññâsi, abbattha = abhi-attha, abbhokâsa = abhi-okâsa, ajjhabhâsi = adhi-abhâsi, ajjhâvasatha = adhi-âvasatha, ajjhokâsa = adhi-okâsa, bojjaṅga = bodhi aṅga.

26. If a word ending in i or î is compounded with a word beginning with a, â, u, e, or o, a euphonic y is sometimes inserted, î is always shortened. Ex. nadiyantike = nadî-antike, piṇḍiyâlopa = piṇḍ-âlopa, ukkhaliyâdîni = ukkhal-âdîni (Jât. 30), nandiyâvatta = nandî-âvarta, diviyâsîti = divi-asîti (the lengthened â has nothing to do with sandhi), pariyutṭhita = pari-utṭhita, pariyesati = pari-esati, pariyoko-

dāna=pari-odāna. In two instances, in which a verb is compounded with pari, metathesis takes place: payirupāsati and payirudāha; pointing to transition forms pariyupāsati and pariyudāha.

27. In one instance, ativiya = ati-iva, we have y inserted between two is, for ativiya points to a transition form atiyiva.

28. In two or three cases v instead of y is inserted between i and a. Ex. tivāṅgika = ti-aṅgika, tivāṅgula = ti-aṅgula (Pay. S.).

Occasionally euphonic v is inserted between u and ā. Ex. puthuvāsana = puthu-āsana.

29. Occasionally euphonic v is inserted between a and u. Ex. savupādisesa = sa-upādisesa, pāguññavujutā = pāguñña-ujutā.

30. Sometimes a euphonic m is inserted between two vowels. Ex. aññamañña = añña-añña, ekameka = eka-eka, ekamantaṃ (comp. ekamante, ekamantaṃ) = eka-anta, okamokato = oka-okato, adukkhamasukhā vedanā = adukkhasukhā vedanā, samaṇamacala = samaṇa-acala, hīnamukkaṭṭha = hīna-ukkaṭṭha, bhāramoropana = bhāra-oropana, phala-muttama = phala-uttama.

There are two examples of a euphonic d being inserted: sadattha = sa-attha (Sansk. svārtha), and attadattha = atta-attha (Sansk. ātmārtha).

31. There are two examples of an inserted h: suhujū = su-ujū, and suhuttṭhita = su-uttṭhita.

32. Very frequently a lost consonant is revived for euphony. Ex. yāvadattham = yāva-attham [Sansk. yāvadartham], pātarāsa = pāto-āsa [Sansk. prātarāṣa], caturāṅgula = catu-aṅgula, punarāgamana = puna-āgamana [Sansk. punarāgamana], pāturaḥosi = pātu-aḥosi [the present tense is pātubhavati, the Sansk. is prādurabhaviṣṭ], chaḷabhiññā = cha-abhiññā [Sansk. śaḷabhijñā or chaḷabhijñā].

33. In the case of sammā, a wrong consonant is revived, d instead of g. Ex. sammadakkhāta = sammā-akkhāta (when the Sanskrit would be samyagākhyāta), sammadaññā (Dh. 11, 18).

II. MIXED SANDHI.

34. When a base ending in *â*, *i*, or *u*, is compounded with a word beginning with a single consonant which represents an original single consonant, the long vowel is very frequently shortened. Ex. paññasālabhitti = paññasā-lā-bhitti (Jāt. 8), mattikabhājana = mattikā-bhājana (Das. 34), yānikata = yānī-kata, Vedehiputta = Vedehī-putta, sabbaññūbuddha = sabbaññū-buddha.

35. When a base ending in *a*, *i*, or *u*, *e* or *o*, is compounded with a word beginning with a single consonant which represents an original conjunct consonant, the consonant is doubled. Ex. kayakkaya = kaya-kaya [krayakraya], dukkhakkhaya = dukkha-khaya [Sansk. dukkakshaya], parappavāda = parapavāda [Sansk. parapravāda], dutiyajjhāna = dutiya-jhāna [dviṭīyadhāna], ratanattaya = ratana-taya [ratnatraya], pariccajati = pari-cajati [paritjajati], paṭiggahaṇa = paṭigahaṇa [pratigrahaṇa], aggikkhandha = aggi-khandha [agni-skhandha], Ānandatthera = Ānanda-thera [Ānanda-sthavira], aṭṭhittaco¹ = aṭṭhi-taco [asthi-tvac], anuddhamseti = anu-dhamseti [anudhvams], senāpatiṭṭhāna = senāpatiṭṭhāna [senāpatisthāna], tamokkhandha (Ev. 6), tejokkhandha (Ditto), aṭṭhito, abhissanna, paripphosaka, utuppasevanā, nijasissappaveṇi, assuta, mahagghasa.

36. When the base ends in *â*, *i*, or *û*, those vowels are generally shortened. Ex. nānappakāra = nānā-pakāra [nānāprakāra], silatthambha, taṇhakkhaya (Ev. 6, Dh. 34), paṭisambhidappatta (Alw. I., cvii), paṭhavippadesa, paṭhavippabhāsa (Ten J. 47), aggamaheṣiṭṭhāna (Das. 2), viññuppasattha (Par. 7, 18), vedanakkhandha (Ev. 68), veda-ppaccayā (Ev. 66), sammunjanippahāra (Dh. 372).

37. But sometimes the long vowels are retained. Ex. saññākkhandha (Ev. 68), vedanākkhandha (Ev. 42, Aṭṭh. 163), tadāppabhuti, divāṭṭhāna, sikkhāttayaṃ (Dh. 358), yathākkamaṃ, yathāṭṭhāne, āṇākkhetta.

38. There are a great number of exceptions to the rule of doubling the consonant, some due to phonetic causes, others to metrical, etymological and euphonic causes. Ex. supāṭi-

¹ Raṭṭh. S.

panna, ñāyapaṭipanna, lekhāṭhāna (Mah. 113), avijjāpaccayā (Ev. 38, 66), nibbānagāminīpaṭipadā (Dh. 269), anāgata-paccuppanna, pādaphoṭa, adhoṭhita, kaṅkhāṭhāna, upaṭṭhi-tasati, athena, anuthera, vattapaṭivatta, uccārapassāva, chin-napapāta, siḅhasotāya, daḷhapākāra, pariphandati, duphassa, abhiṭhāna, utupamāna, porāṇakapaveṇiyā, anupakhajja, abhi-sanna, nigaṅṭha, atipāto, asuta, bodhimaṇḍathitaṭṭhāna (Mah. 7).

39. If a base ending in a vowel is compounded with a word beginning with *ch*, the latter becomes *cch*. Ex. *cakkacchinna*, *meghacchanna*, *hatthicchāpa*, *vyañjanacchāyāya*, *setacchatta*.

There are a few exceptions to this rule, as *gamanachanda* (Dh. 84), *uddhachiddaka* (Dh. 169).

40. Occasionally *anusvāra* is inserted between a base ending in a vowel and the initial consonant of the word with which it is compounded. Ex. *abhiṅhaṃsannipātā* (pl.) 'holding frequent assemblies,' for *abhiṅhasannipātā* (*abhiṅha* can only be an adj. here), *purimaṃjāti* for *purimajāti*, *āgamanamaggam* for *āgamanamaggam* (here it is metri causā), *satam̐samam̐* for *satasamam̐*, *andhantama* for *andhatama*.

41. Occasionally when a word ending in a vowel is compounded with a word beginning with a consonant, a consonant which originally belonged to the base of the first word is revived, and if necessary assimilated to the initial consonant of the second word. Thus *sammā + paññā* becomes *sammappaññā*, which probably represents the Sanskrit *samyak-prajñā*; *anto* is the Sanskrit *antar*, but in composition we sometimes have the original *r* revived, e.g. *antaraghara* = Sanskrit *antargraha*. Again, the Sanskrit base *catur* is *catu* in Pali, e.g. *catuvagga* (*catumāsam*), but compounds like *catugguṇa*, *catubbagga*, *catummukha*, point to Sanskrit forms *caturguṇa*, *caturvarga*, *caturmukha* retaining the final *r*. So also we have *cha* = Sansk. *shash*, but *chammāsa* points to an original *shadṃśa*. And *puna* compounded with *bhava* and with *puna* gives *punabbhava* and *punappuna*, in Sansk. *punarbhava* and *punaḥpunar*.

42. When a word ending in anusvāra is compounded with a word beginning with a vowel, anusvāra is changed to *m*. Ex. *evamucca* = *evam-ucca*, *evamāhāra*, *evamādi*, *alamariya*, *sāyamāsa*, *ahamahamikā*.

43. In a few instances anusvāra stands for an original final consonant, and is replaced before a vowel by the original consonant. Ex. *sakadāgāmi* = *sakim āgāmi* [Sansk. *sakṛidāgāmin*], *isadatthe* = *isam atthe* (Ab. 1169), *etadatt-hāya* = *etam atthāya* [S. *etadarthāya*], *tadanurūpa* = *tam-anurūpa* [*tadanurūpa*].

III. CONSONANT SANDHI.

44. When a word ending in anusvāra is compounded with a word beginning with a consonant, it is generally changed to the nasal of the class to which the consonant belongs. In the case of a consonant of the first class, practically no change takes place, because anusvāra in Pali is identical with the nasal of the first class, that is, the pronunciation is the same whether we write *taṅkhaṇe* or *taṃkhaṇe*. Ex. *sabbañjaha*, *mahindhara*, *jarantapa*, *sayampabha*, *rattindira*, *evannāmaka*, *orambhāgiya*, *muhumbhāsā*.

45. But there are instances in which anusvāra remains unchanged before a consonant. And it is important to bear in mind that when this is the case, there is a real difference of pronunciation; for instance, *katham-bhūta* is differently pronounced from what *kathambhūta* would be, the *m* in the first case being pronounced like the *ng* in our "sing." Ex. *saddhimcara*, *kathambhūta*, *evamamahānubhāva*, *evamnāma*, *evamdhamma*.

In one instance *m* remains unchanged before *l*: *uccamlatā*.

46. In *muhumbhāsā*, and perhaps two or three others, the nasal is retained, where, on the analogy of compounds like *punabbhava*, we might expect the original consonant to be revived and assimilated (*e.g.* *mhubbhāsā*).

There are a certain number of anomalous sandhis not coming under any of the above rules, which it will be well to mention here. There are three cases of de-aspiration coming

more or less under the head of sandhi. The first is *ida bhikkhave*, given in all the native grammars, where *idha* is changed to *ida* to avoid the harsh concurrence of two aspirate letters in consecutive syllables. At Kh. vii. 6 we have an exactly similar change, only that the syllable affected is the second instead of the first, *gorakkh' etta* for *gorakkh' ettha*. The third instance is a very curious example of compound-sandhi given in Pay. S., *saṃvidāvahāro*—*saṃvidhāya-avahāro*. In the phrase *ekam idāhaṃ samayaṃ*, the native grammars generally assert *idāhaṃ* to be a sandhi for *idha-ahaṃ*, but there can be no doubt that they are mistaken, and that *ida* is the Sanskrit *idam*. There are two cases, one of compound-sandhi, one of word-sandhi, in which *ya* is elided before a vowel. The first being *saṃvidāvahāro* already mentioned, and the second *vācā' uda cetasā vā* for *vācāya uda*. In *tad aminā* for *tad iminā*, and in *atippago kho* for *atippage kho*, we probably have examples of vowel assimilation. *Bālāvatāra* quotes the phrase *kacci no tvam* for *kacci nu tvam*, where *u* may be changed to *o* *metri causā*, but no clue is given as to whether the passage from which it is taken is prose or verse. *Kehaṃ*—*kiṃ ahaṃ* given in *Bāl.* probably represents a transition form *kyaham* (*kiṃ ahaṃ*, *ki' ahaṃ*, *kyaham*, *kehaṃ*). *Evumaṃ*—*evaṃ imaṃ*, quoted at the same place, is perhaps for *evimaṃ* (*evaṃ imaṃ*, *ev' imaṃ*, *evumaṃ*).

ART. VI.—*Arabic Amulets and Mottoes.*

By E. T. ROGERS, M.R.A.S.

THE language of the *Ḳorán* has always been beloved, and, I may almost say, worshipped by Muhammadans. Arabic, and especially the Arabic of the *Ḳorán*, is justly admired for its expressiveness, its subtle gradations of meaning, its cadence and rhythm, but above all for its adaptability to religious formulæ and pious ejaculations. Indeed, to the eloquence of Muḥammad and of his coadjutors, in their use of this rich language, may, in a great measure, be attributed the unparalleled success and the speedy propagation of Islám.

Muhammadans seem, indeed, to entertain a belief in the potency of the very words themselves. Thus many orders of derwishes make frequent use of the words "*Bismillah*," *In the name of God*; "*Allah*," *God*; "*Hú*," *He*, or similar ejaculations, in thorough reliance on their efficacy to avert evil.

This sentiment has prompted them to make use of written sentences as charms or amulets, on the preparation of which great care and attention are bestowed. Some are written on paper or parchment, and, inclosed in metal cases, are worn, suspended by a chain, round the neck or across the chest. Others are engraved on metal, gold, silver, or brass; others on hard stone, such as carnelian, onyx, etc., and mounted more or less elaborately or expensively, to be worn as necklets or armlets.

The inscriptions on what may be termed orthodox talismans, consist of passages from the *Ḳorán*, invocations to God or to Muḥammad, or the names of some of the prophets; while others give the names of the seven sleepers of Ephesus

and their watch-dog; others again, written by derwishes versed in magic arts, and regarded by the common people as equally efficacious, consist of cabalistic combinations of letters and figures.

I remember a remarkably fine talisman in the collection of the late Col. C. S. Guthrie. It consisted of an oval carnelian, richly mounted on jade, and surrounded with diamonds, to be worn as an armlet. I am enabled to describe it from an electrotype impression given me by my late friend. The original was sold by his executors.

The oval is occupied by a square field, subdivided into sixteen compartments, in each of which are some words and four Arabic numerals. An inscription is also legible in each segment of the oval opposite the four sides of the square.

On studying the inscriptions, I find in the square compartments the hundred attributes of God. The figures represent the numerical value of the letters composing the words in each square according to the *Abjad* system of computation, and thus confirm the correct spelling.

The readers of this Journal need hardly be reminded of the numerical value of the letters of the Arabic alphabet, the *Abjad*, but I will here add it for the sake of easy reference for those who may have forgotten it.

ف	ع	س	ن	م	ل	ك	ي	ط	ح	ز	و	ه	د	ج	ب	ا
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80
غ	ظ	ض	ذ	خ	ث	ت	ش	ر	ق	ص						
90	100	200	300	400	500	600	700	800	900	1000						

Beginning then at the top right-hand square, I find these words, and I cannot re-write them without remarking the excellence of the calligraphy and the intelligence with which so long a sentence has been compressed into so small a space.

هو الله الذى لا اله الا هو الرحمن الرحيم الملك القدوس السلام
المهيمن المؤمن ٢٣٨٣

The combined numerical value of the letters in these words corresponds with the number 2373 in that square, thus confirming the correctness of the spelling and of the addition, thus :—

هو	$5 + 6 =$	11
الله	$1 + 30 + 30 + 5 =$	66
الذى	$1 + 30 + 700 + 10 =$	741
لا	$30 + 1 =$	31
اله	$1 + 30 + 5 =$	36
الا	$1 + 30 + 1 =$	32
هو	$5 + 6 =$	11
الرحمن	$1 + 30 + 200 + 8 + 40 + 50 =$	329
الرحيم	$1 + 30 + 200 + 8 + 10 + 40 =$	289
الملك	$1 + 30 + 40 + 30 + 20 =$	121
القدوس	$1 + 30 + 100 + 4 + 6 + 60 =$	201
السلام	$1 + 30 + 60 + 30 + 1 + 40 =$	162
المهيمن	$1 + 30 + 40 + 5 + 10 + 40 + 50 =$	176
المومن	$1 + 30 + 40 + 6 + 40 + 50 =$	167

 2373

He is *the* God, than whom there is no other God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, the Sovereign, the most Holy, the Saviour, the Preserver, the Trustworthy, 2373.

Reading from right to left, the remaining squares contain the other attributes of God, and the figures are equally correct.

العزیز الجبار المتکبر الخالق الباری السميع ۲۳۷۳

The Excellent, the Mighty, the Magnified, the Creator, the Maker, the Hearer, 2272.

المصوّر القهار الغفار الوهاب الرزاق الهادی ۲۴۵۱

The Fashioner, the Victorious, the all-Forgiving, the bounteous Giver, the bounteous Provider, the Guide, 2451.

الفتاح العليم القابض الحسيب الباسط الحميد الرافع ۲۳۲۴

The Opener (of the doors of mercy, and of the hearts of Muslims to see the truth), the Omniscient, the Upholder (of all things), the Reckoner, the Amplifier, the ever-Praised, the Exalter (of believers), 2324.

الحافض المبدى البرّ المحيى البديع الكبير العلى ۲۴۵۲

The Abaser (of the proud), the Originator, the Benign, the Giver of life, the Creator, the Great, the Exalted, 2452.

الباعث المجيب المذل الآخر ٢٢٢٣

The Quickener (of the dead), the Answerer of prayer, the Abaser, the Last, 2323.

السهيء المعيد المقيت المتين الباطن النافع المقسط المانع ٢٢٧٤

The Omniscient, the Restorer, the Sustainer, the Immovable, He who knows the secrets or hidden things, the Helper, the Dispenser of justice, the Defender, 2374.

العظيم الرقيب الموخر ٢٢٧١

The Great, the Observer, the Delayer, 2271.

الجليل الودود الغفور القادر المحصى القيوم المعز ٢٢٢٢

The Majestic, the Loving, the bountiful Forgiver, the Powerful, the Reckoner (who keeps account of all things), the Eternal, the Source of strength or honour, 2322.

المقدم اللطيف الشكور الكريم الحفيظ العفو ٢٤٤٩

The foremost, the Gracious, the Approver or Rewarder, the Bountiful, the Preserver, the Forgiver, 2449.

العدل الصمد الاول المقتدر المعنى ٢٢٧٤

The Just, the Everlasting, the First, the All-powerful, the Giver of contentment, 2274.

الخبير الوارث البصير الرؤف الباقي ٢٢٧٥

The Omniscient (He who knows what has been, what is, and what will be), the Abiding (after all others), the All-seeing, the very Merciful, the Ever-existent, 2375.

النور الحق المجيد الولي الرشيد الصبور المنتقم القوى ٢٢٧٣

The Light, the Truth, the Glorious, the Benefactor, the Teacher, the Long-Suffering, the Avenger, the Strong, 2273.

الضار الغنى الحكم الحكيم الواحد ٢٢٧١

The Ready, the Rich, the Judge, the Knowing, the One, 2376.

المميت الظاهر الجامع التواب الوالي ٢٢٢١

The Depriver of life, the Manifest, the Collector (of created beings for the day of judgment), the Reverter (who reverts from severity to grace), the Guardian (who is nigh at hand), 2321.

الاحد الواسع الحى الحليم الوكيل الماجد المتعالى مالك الملك

ذو الجلال والاکرام ٢٤٥٠

The Unique, the Boundless (in compassion), the Living, the Forbearing, the Guardian, the Glorious, the Glorified, the Possessor of all things. He to whom belong majesty and glory, 2450.

In the four segments I find—

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

In the name of God the most compassionate, the most merciful.

سَلَامٌ قَوْلًا مِنْ رَبِّ رَحِیْمٍ

Peace, verbally, from a merciful Lord.

لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ الْمَلِكُ الْحَقُّ الْمُبِیْنُ

There is no god but God, the Lord, the Truth, the Manifest.

كَهَيْصِ حَمْعَسَقِ

Initial letters of certain chapters of the *Ḳorán*. These and certain other letters *ط ه ی س ا ل م* etc., which occur at the beginning of many of the chapters of the *Ḳorán*, and have no apparent signification, are supposed to have a hidden meaning. Some of the combinations are adopted as personal names, such as *Tahu*, *Yasin*, etc.

Another instance of the veneration of Muhammadans for pious sentences, and of the familiar use of them in every-day life, is seen in the mottoes engraved on their seals and signets. Sometimes we find a quotation from the *Ḳorán* in which the name of the owner occurs, *e.g.* *سَلَامٌ عَلٰی اِبْرٰهِيْمٍ* *Peace be upon Ibrahim*, which was engraved on the official seal of Ibrahim Pasha, father of H. H. the Khedive. On others we find couplets in which a word rhyming with the name is introduced, *e.g.* *اللّٰهُ الْمَعِيْنُ لِعَبْدِهِ يٰسِيْنُ* *God is the helper of his servant Yásin*. A person named Abdallah will sometimes place on his seal *هُوَ اللّٰهُ وَاَنَا عَبْدُهُ* *He is God and I am His servant*.

In further illustration of this subject, I have collected the sentences engraved on the seals of the early *Khalífahs*.

Mottoes engraved on the seals of the Amawi Khalífahs.

- | | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Mu'awiah I. | رَبِّ اغْفِرْ لِيْ | O Lord forgive me. |
| 2. Yazid I. | رَبَّنَا اللّٰهُ | Our Lord is God. |
| 3. Mu'awiah II. | الدُّنْيَا غُرُوْرٌ | The world is a delusion. |

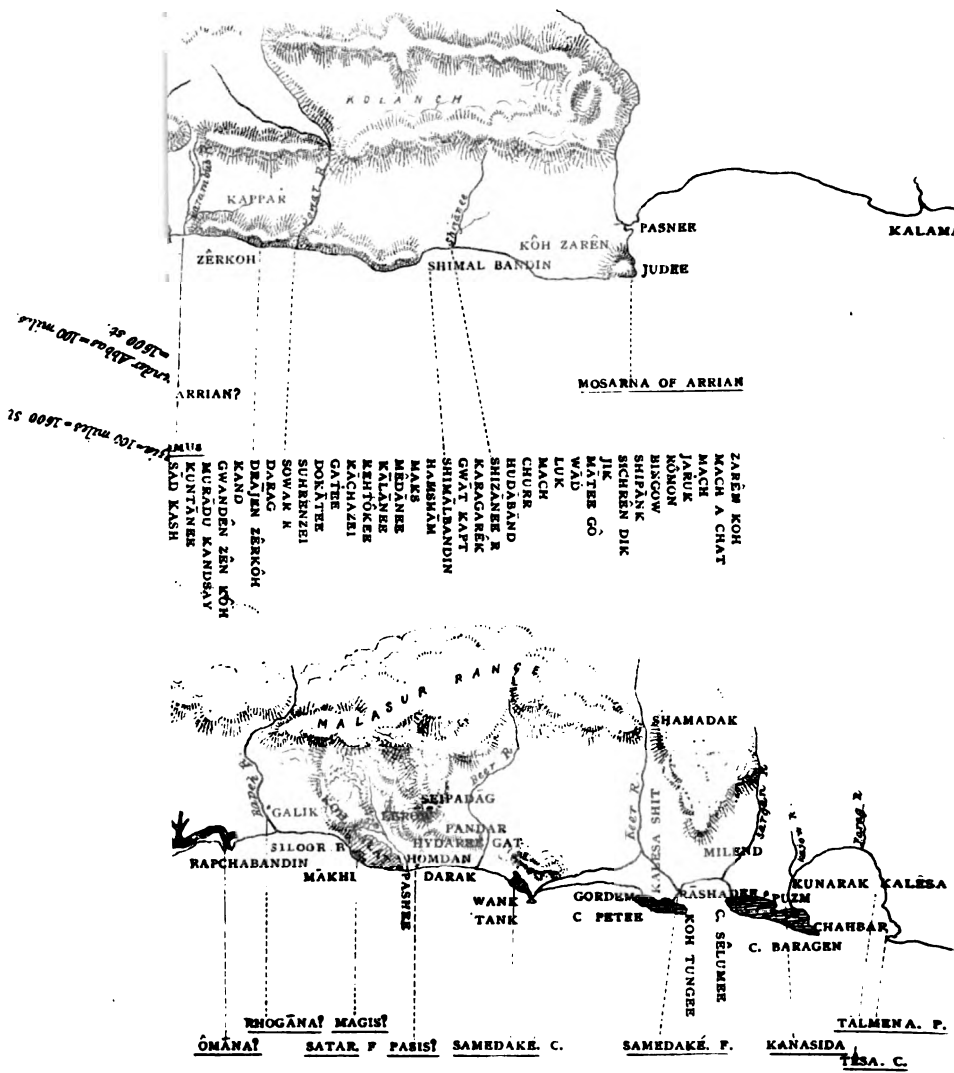
4. Merwán I. ثقتى ورجائى الله God is my trust and my hope.
5. Abd-ul-Malik امننت بالله I believe in God.
6. Walid I. ربى الله لا اشركت شيئاً My Lord is God, I associate nothing with Him.
7. Suleimán امننت بالله وحده I believe in God alone
8. 'Omar عمر يؤمن بالله مخلصاً 'Omar believes sincerely in God.
9. Yezid II. قنى السيئات يا عزيز Protect me from iniquities O thou most excellent.
10. Hishám الحكم الله God is the Judge.
11. Walid II. يا وليد احذر الموت O Walid, be prepared for death.
12. Yezid III. يا يزيد قم بالحق تنصر O Yezid, be just and thou shalt conquer.
13. Ibrahim توكلت على الحى القيوم I put my trust in the ever-living, the Eternal.
14. Merwán II. اذكر الموت يا غافل Remember death, thou thoughtless one.

Mottoes on the seals of the 'Abbási Khalífahs.

1. Abdallah الله ثقة عبد الله و به يؤمن God is Abdallah's trust, and in Him he believes.
2. Al-Mansúr اتق الله Fear God.
3. Al-Mahdy حسى الله God is my sufficiency.
4. Músa-al-Hády موسى يؤمن بالله Músa believes in God.
5. Harun-ar-Rashid العظمة والقدرة لله عز وجل To God in His strength and His majesty belong power and might.
6. Al-Amín لكل عمل ثواب Every action has its reward.
7. Al-Mamún الموت حق Death is the fulfilment of justice.

8. Al-Mu'taşim سل الله يعطك Ask of God and He will give thee.
9. Al-Wáthik لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله There is no god but God, Muhammad is the Apostle of God.
10. Al-Mutawakkil-'al-Allah المتوكل على الله Al-Mutawakkil-'al-Allah, "He who puts his trust in God."
11. Al-Muntasir انا من آل محمد الله ربي I am of the family of Muhammad, my Lord is God.
12. Al-Musta'in احمد بن محمد Ahmad son of Muhammad.
13. Al-Mu'tazz محمد بن جعفر Muhammad son of Ja'far.
14. Al-Muhtady المهتدى بالله يثقى Al-Muhtady believes in God.
15. Al-Mu'tamid المعتمد على الله Al - Mu'tamid - 'al - Allah.
16. Al-Mu'taðid توكل تكف If thou hast faith, thou shalt be satisfied.
17. Al-Mustahfy على بن المعتض 'Aly son of Al-Mu'taðid.
18. Al-Muktadir جعفر يثق بالله Ja'far trusts in God.
19. Al-Kahir يا املى اختم بخير عملى O my hope, cause my work to end well
20. Ar-Rády من بالرضى Grant thy favour.
21. Al-Muttaky كفى الله معيناً God's help is all sufficient.

The remaining Khalífahs of this dynasty had simply their names engraved on their signets ; but these very names have without exception some reference to trust, or faith, or belief in God.



W. GRIGGS, PHOTO.

COAST.

JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. VII.—*On the Identification of Places on the Makrān Coast mentioned by Arrian, Ptolemy, and Marcian.* By
Major E. MOCKLER.

DURING the latter part of 1876, I travelled along the Makrān coast from Gwādar to Jāsk, and as it appeared to me that the identifications of the various places on this coast mentioned by Arrian as having been touched at by Alexander's Admiral Nearchus, and others, mentioned by Ptolemy and Marcian, had not, up to the present time, been satisfactorily established by Dr. Vincent, Otter, Kempthorne, Müller, or, indeed, by any one who has touched on the subject, I collected all the names of places along the coast I could, and made notes regarding its physical aspect, in the hope of finding some traces of the spots mentioned by the geographers above alluded to, and which might be sufficient to fix their positions with somewhat more certainty.

In Dr. Vincent's exposition of the "Voyage of Nearchus," there is not after Kalama=Kalamat¹ any place, unless we accept Têsa=Tês (mentioned by Ptolemy and Marcian), whose site is conclusively established; on etymological grounds certainly not one, and on topographical grounds or by measurement few are even admissible. The identifications of Kempthorne on this part of the coast are supported by no arguments, while those of Müller, as given in his valuable compilation of Grecian geography, appear to me to be based on wrong premises.

¹ "Final "t" is constantly dropped in Balôchee.

The results of my investigations, though certainly not fulfilling the expectations I had indulged in at starting, are given in the following paper, and may perhaps prove not uninteresting, the more so that some of the conclusions arrived at differ a good deal from any previously noted.

A map of that portion of the coast under discussion, according to the most recent surveys, with additions and corrections by myself, is appended, which it would be well to compare with those found in the works of Dr. Vincent, Müller, and Wilson.

The following are the tests I employ for the identification of each place:—

1. Measurement, according to the distance given by the author quoted.
2. Topographical description.
3. Similarity of name.

The length of the stadium I take as about one-sixteenth of a mile, and, differing from Dr. Vincent in this respect, I believe that Marcian and Arrian used the same standard of measurement in their computation of this coast.

I commence by examining Marcian's itinerary, or rather a portion of it, and take as my starting-point Têsa, which can be none other than Tês. The order of Marcian's stages is from west to east, contrary to that of Arrian's. From Têsa=Tês to the Kandriakes river the distance given is 200 stadia=12 $\frac{2}{3}$ miles: this distance, measuring along the coast-line, brings us exactly to a small torrent called Chandrishêp ("Shêp" in Balôchee means "a small torrent"), in the name of which Kandriakes will be recognized.¹ From the Kandriakes river=Chandrishêp to the promontory of Bagia, the distance given is 400 stadia=25 miles. Sailing along the coast the first promontory we come to is Cape Brês at 29 miles, and there is no other until we reach

¹ What is marked on the charts as the Kenj (properly "Kênzh"=blown sand) river, and with which Dr. Vincent identifies the Kandriakes of Marcian and the Tâlmena of Arrian, is only a creek up which the sea runs for about a mile during the monsoon, and is at other times dry, with a natural "band" of sand thrown up by the sea and wind across its mouth (hence its name). Its depth never exceeds a few feet.

Nānjukānee, 19 miles further on; so that there can be no question as to the identity of Cape Brês with Cape Bagia, and the name itself is probably found in Bagānee¹ or Bagee, which is that of the highest point of the range of hills which terminates in Cape Brês. From Bagia promontory = Cape Brês or Bagānee, to the port of Kuidza the distance given is 250 stadia = $15\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The first harbour we come to is that now called Pasā-bandin,² 19 miles distant, which must necessarily therefore correspond with Marcian's Kuidza, his distance being $3\frac{1}{6}$ miles too little. Pasā-bandin is an excellent little harbour formed by an indenture in the rocky coast-line south of Gwatar, protected, on its south side, by a narrow strip of table rock, about 100 feet in height, ending in a point called Nānjukānee. On the summit of this table rock, about a mile from the head of the bay, I found the remains of a small town, in which I counted some 35 groups of houses or rooms. Some of these were arranged in a very peculiar manner; sometimes three or more rooms were in a crescent, touching each other, with another growing as it were out of the back; sometimes they were in concentric crescents. I opened a dozen of these rooms, and found all their floors strewn with the shells of shell-fish, generally with traces of fire. In two of the houses were fragments of coarse cooking pots, containing the charred vertebræ of fish; while fragments of finer pottery were found on the ground outside. In one house two round stones with flattish faces, having an indenture in each, and indentures round the rim, as if for the fingers, were found; these I imagine were stone hammers of a primitive form, used possibly for, and worn on their faces by, the process of breaking the shells of shell-fish, on which their owners were wont to dine. A small hone, and grinding-stones resembling those found in the ruins of undoubtedly

¹ "Bag" means a "herd of camels;" Bagān is simply the plural. Bagee kôh or Bagānee kôh = hill of camel herds.

² "Bandin" = harbour in Balôchee.

Gedrosian towns,¹ were also extracted, and afford an argument for the antiquity of these structures. The name of this place is Chideezei or Chideezow (*i.e.* the muddy spring), the transition of Chideezei into the Greek Kuidza being, as it seems to me, a simple one;² be this, however, as it may, Kuidza cannot be further on, since, to reach Pasābandin, Marcian's measurement has been exceeded by $3\frac{2}{8}$ miles, and it cannot be further back, because there is no other port between Pasābandin and Brēs=Bagia. This will be also found to answer correctly to Arrian's description of Kuidza, in that it is rocky, surfy, and utterly barren.

From Kuidza=Pasābandin or Chideezei to the promontory of Alambāter or Alabāgia, the distance given is 400 stadia=25 miles; this distance, measuring along the coast-line, brings us exactly to Rohām point, or Kipalow, or Kipala, as the rocky headland is called. The promontory of Alambāter, or Alabāgia, formed the eastern extremity of the "Paragon sinus," and, off it, was said to be an island called Pola, or Pala, or Palow. That Kipalow, or the neighbouring point now called Rohām (or Rujām by the Mēds=fishermen), was the Alambāter or Alabāgia of Ptolemy and Marcian, had it not been led up to by absolute measurements, as already shown, a glance at the map would immediately suggest; for it is clear that this cape is the southernmost of all those on the coast, that, in fact, *down to* which the coast-line trends from the westward (from Karpella = Koh Mubāarak, the other extremity of the "Paragon sinus"), and *up from* which it trends to the eastward; and, therefore, that it cannot be the Gwādar headland, as fixed on by Dr. Vincent, an identification made by him with no argument except that "it forms the most conspicuous feature on the whole coast." In fact, his suggestion that "it forms the termination eastward of a vast

¹ I found an Arsacide silver coin in the ruins of one of the best-preserved of these cities, which might place the probable date of its occupation some 150 years B.C.

² I may mention that this hill is full of "springs" ("zow" or "zei"), and may possibly have been called Koh-i-zei="the hill of springs," or Kuidza.

imaginary bay which Ptolemy calls the 'Paragon sinus,' is not the fact, moreover is not so even on his own chart. Dr. Vincent's reason for fixing Alambāter at the Gwādar headland will be seen hereafter. The name Alabāter or Alambāter may perhaps be found in Libātee, which is marked on the map a short distance from the point. Libātee is, I am told, only a Balóch corruption of Alwādee—"the valley," the name given to the place by the Arabs, and in both Alabāter and Alabāgia the "Al" is only the Arabic definite article ال "the": possibly, Alabāgia may be preserved in the name of a small stream, the land adjoining which, a couple of miles inland, is still called Bāg. There is no garden here, as the name might lead one to suppose, and I was assured that there had not been one there for the last 300 years or more, that is, during the occupancy of the present "Lords of the Manor;" so the name may be an old one. The Arabic Alwādee, as preserved in Libātee, may be, after all, the most probable derivation of Alabāgia also.

Off the point, some distance out to sea, there used to be an island, now covered by water, the presence of which, however, is still shown by breakers; in the name of this headland Kipalow, or Kipala, I would venture to suggest a trace of the island called Pola, or Pala, by the Greeks. From Alambāter, or Alambāgia=Rohām point to Derānobila (Derānē billa or Moderānibēla) the distance given is 250 stadia=15½ miles. 14 miles brings us into the bay of Ganz, to the foot of the road up to the site of an ancient town called Darān, marked by the existence of some of the peculiar sepulchral monuments of the Gedrosii (described by me in a former paper). "Bila" in Balóchee means a "small hill," and, at Darān, there is a solitary hill on the plateau, which may well be a conspicuous object, as seen from the sea, through an opening in the rocky coast-line. Darāna-bila in Balóchee means the "small hill of Darān." I ought not, perhaps, to omit to mention the existence of a long hill behind and overlooking Darān, called the "Mól," as there is a reading of the name

of this place "Moderānibēla," which may not impossibly have some connexion with it. Off Derānabila was said to be an island called Kārmina or Karbinê; and, in front of the opening in the coast-line before alluded to, immediately south of Darān, there is, some distance out at sea, a large rock or island, covered by water, the presence of which, however, is marked by breakers. It is called Kaheerband. Kaheer (sometimes pronounced Kāhir) is a species of acacia, and Kaheerband means therefore a place, the position of which is marked by a transit observation with a Kaheer tree on some point on the mainland. I believe no such tree now exists. The etymological resemblance of Kaheerband or Kāhirban¹ with Kārbinê or Kārmina is certainly striking, though I do not suppose there is really any connexion between them. Ganz was without doubt the harbour of Darān ("bila," as already explained, means "a small hill"), and still continues to be. On the south side, close to Darān, it is impossible to land, except in very calm weather, and nearer than Ganz there is no way up to the plateau on which Darān stands, or rather stood.

From Derānabila=Darān or Darānabila to the port of Kôphas is 250 stadia=15 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles. This distance brings us round Cape Mānbar, almost exactly into the harbour of Pishikān, which is probably the port indicated by Marcian; it might, however, have been the harbour of Trapabandin, about two miles further, into which a river called the Passa,² or Passow, falls. The present Koh Pasa is some distance inland (two miles or more). That there was an extensive settlement of the Gedrosii in the neighbourhood of these two bays, is marked by the existence of a vast number of cairns on the hills in their vicinity. The identification by Dr. Vincent and Müller of Kôphas with Ras Koppa might of course be etymologically possible if there were any such place. The proper name of the place, however, to which they allude, nearly 30 miles to the east

¹ Final "d" is often dropped in Balôchee.

² "p" and "f" are interchangeable in Balôchee, and the transition sound of "pf" is also met with, and his very name is pronounced Pasa and Fasa and Pfasa.

of Gwādar, is Kappar; but this is four or five miles inland, and I do not think any philologist would think of changing Kappar into Kôphas.

From the port of Kôphas=Pishikān bay (or Trapabandin bay) to the Zorāmbus river, the distance given is 200 stadia = $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles. This distance brings us to the river now called Ankāra or Ankārow, which has its rise in the Darāmb درامب or (old Persian) ذرامب Zarāmb hills, perhaps, when Marcian wrote, called the Darāmb or Zarāmb or Zorāmb river: with this, therefore, I have not the slightest hesitation in identifying the Zorāmbus of Marcian.

From the Zorāmbus = Ankārow river to Bādara, the distance given is 250 stadia = $15\frac{1}{2}$ miles. This distance, though about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in excess, brings us to the anchorage in the west bay of Gwādar, about a quarter of a mile from the present town, and it is at once apparent that Gwādar(a) and Bādara are identical, since the two names are really the same. The change of "b" into "gw" is one well known to philologists, and fully exemplified in the Balôchee language, as, for instance:—Persian *bād* 'wind,' Balôchee *gwāt*¹ 'wind'; Persian *bāzee* 'play,' Balôchee *gwāzee* 'play'; Persian *bāng* 'a shout,' Balôchee *gwānk*² 'a shout'; Persian *bāfta* 'woven,' Balôchee *gwāpta*³ 'woven,' etc., etc. It is a matter of some astonishment to me that this etymological identity of the names Bādara and Gwādar has not, as far as I am aware, been noted before; the more so, that actual measurements from Tês leave no doubt that Gwādar and Bādara are one and the same place.

Marcian's next station is Mosarna, distant 300 stadia = $18\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Bādara. The position of Mosarna I propose to discuss after we have followed out the itineraries of both Nearchus and Marcian along the whole length of the coast.

We will now turn to the itinerary of Nearchus. I have said that the last place on the coast whose identity is established with certainty by Dr. Vincent is Kalama =

¹²³ It is hardly necessary to say that "d" and "t," "g" and "k," "f" and "p," often change into each other.

Kalamat, from which place to Mosarna no distance (Kysa follows Kalama at 200 stadia) is given, but the fleet is said to have sailed thence round a certain high promontory stretching 150 stadia= $9\frac{6}{16}$ miles into the sea, and which promontory can be none other than that now known as Koh Zarên. As to whether the name Mosarna is really preserved in Koh Zarên, as suggested by Müller, I shall not now stop to consider, but take it as probable that the Mosarna of Arrian was just round this cape, from which place, as a starting-point, we will proceed to take measurements.

From Mosarna to Balomus is stated to be 750 stadia=47 miles (nearly), and measuring from Koh Zarên on the map, 47 miles brings us to the mouth of the Baṛambāb river. Baṛam might certainly pass into Balom, and "bāb" signifying "a door" or "gate," the whole word might signify the "gate" or "outlet" of Baṛam, or Balom, which was possibly the name of the coast.

From Balomus=Baṛambāb to Bārna is 400 stadia=25 miles, which is the exact distance from Baṛambāb to Gwādar, with which place I have no hesitation in identifying it. The Bārna of Arrian, and the Bādara of Marcian, have been pronounced by almost every commentator to be the same place, and viewing the question by the light of the identification now laid down of Bārna with Gwādar, it appears that they really are identical, for Gwādar and Bādara have been proved to be the same place. Gwādar or Bārna, at the time of Nearchus, appears to have been a thriving and, for the Gedrosii, luxurious little town, with its gardens and palm-groves, and it now is the principal seaport town on this coast; but the sea has undoubtedly encroached on its former limits, and probably now covers deeply the site of the town visited by Nearchus; palm-groves and part of the town as it stood only 100 years ago are now never uncovered by the sea.

The present town of Gwādar is built on a narrow isthmus of sand, now only half a mile across, terminating in a rocky headland from 200 to nearly 500 feet in height, by some

eight miles in length, which trends at right angles across it from east to west. Two bays, one on either side of the isthmus, are thus formed between the headland and the mainland, which bays, in the time of Nearchus, were, I believe, of but comparatively small extent, though doubtless large enough to form harbours sufficiently convenient to account for the civilization and prosperity of the town as noted by Arrian.

Topographical identification is also not wanting, for on leaving Bārna=Gwādar, the term *περιπλωσαντες*, "sailing round," is used to denote the course of the fleet, which refers most certainly to the headland of Gwādar. Dr. Vincent notices this term also, but conceives it to refer to the Darāmb hills, 25 miles inland, the position of his Bārna being on a straight coast-line.

From Bārna=Gwādar the fleet is said to have gone 200 stadia= $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles to Derenobosa, which has hitherto been considered as identical with the Derānobila of Marcian. I do not think so. The distance given by Arrian would place Derenobosa at the western extremity of the Gwādar headland. I can find no trace of the name here, but it is said that there was formerly a large island at a short distance from this point; it is stated, indeed, that the flocks of the town used to be taken there to graze, almost within the recollection of the present inhabitants. Perhaps the ancient name of this island or place, for it was probably a continuation of the headland, was Derenobosa, and I am somewhat inclined to believe that such is really the case, from the distance given between this position and the next stage. $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles measured along the coast from the west bay would place Derenobosa exactly at the Ankārow river, which we have already identified as the Zorāmb or Darāmb river of Marcian. There is some similarity between Derenobosa and Darambus, but the distance given to the next stage appears to negative the supposition that they are the same.

From Derenobosa=west point of Gwādar headland, to the port of Kôphas, the distance given is 400 stadia= 25

miles; and measuring along the coast this distance exactly brings us to Pishikān bay, which we have already identified as the Kôphas of Marcian, and so affords an additional argument for the correctness of the identification.

From Kôphas=Pishikān bay to the port of Kuidza, the next stage, the distance given is 800 stadia=50 miles; this distance, measuring along the coast, brings us very nearly into the harbour of Pasābandin, or Chideezei, with which we have already identified the Kuidza of Marcian. Kuidza is described by Arrian as rocky (or surfy) and barren, and inside and outside the harbour of Pasābandin the shore is both rocky and surfy and barren, with a nasty landing, except at low tide, thus answering to Arrian's description of it. Dr. Vincent places Kuidza at Gwatar, and the next stage, viz. the promontory of Bagia, at Nānjukānee¹ point; but the distance from Gwatar to Nānjukānee is 8 miles = 128 stadia, that from Kuidza to Bagia, as given by Arrian, is 500 stadia=31 miles; so that Bagia at Nānjukānee, at any rate, can hardly be correct. By Marcian's measurements Bagia has been identified with Cape Brês, about 28 miles from Gwatar, which accords better with Arrian's measurement; but it will be presently shown that even with Kuidza at Gwatar (and it cannot be placed further east), it is impossible to make Arrian's measurements along this portion of the coast fit in, and I feel very sure that Arrian's Kuidza is identical with Marcian's at Chideezei or Pasābandin, and his Bagia with that of Marcian at Brês.

It may perhaps occur to some to argue, in face of the difference of 8 miles against 31, that the small town plundered by Nearchus, and placed just here by Dr. Vincent, is that I have described as having stood on the plateau above Pasābandin, but this is not probable, since that of

¹ Dr. Vincent in a note states that the modern name of this point is "Bagia." This statement is incorrect; neither the point, nor any place near it, bears that name, or anything approaching it. His information was probably derived from the same authority by which he calls Rohām point, on the opposite side of the bay, Noa point. Noa (properly "Now") is the eastern extremity of the Gwādar headland (*vide* map).

Nearchus was close to the shore, close enough, at any rate, for the fleet to be signalled to, and to render immediate assistance, which the distance of a mile from the landing and bad ground would appear to negative, even if it were possible (which it is not) that corn could have been grown in this neighbourhood, or, if grown, have been seen from the sea.

The narrative runs thus: "From Kuidza, the fleet sailed along the coast until it came to a small town, seated on a hill close to the shore; and, thinking that grain might be obtainable there, because they saw the tall stalks of corn growing a short distance inland, they 'looted it,' after which the fleet anchored off a promontory called Bagia." Bagia has been fixed at Brês by Marcian's measurements, and there is no other cape on the coast until we reach Chahbâr, besides which, at the foot of the hills near Brês, is the only spot of ground from Gwatar to Chahbâr capable of producing corn near the coast, so that it could be seen growing from the sea. For the site of Nearchus' little town, I think the hill of Pâdkôpag, now some 2 miles to the westward of Brês, is the most likely (if it was not on, or at the foot of the Brês hill itself); this hill is now little more than a large mound of clay half a mile or so in length, and close to the shore; the hard upper crust of sandstone, which formerly capped it, is now fast disappearing, and its sides furrowed and eaten away by the rain (I did not examine it closely). The actual promontory of Bagia, also, probably does not exist now, from the face of the Brês cliff falling in great masses every year, and it doubtless once extended a good bit further into the bay than it does now.

Marcian's distance from the port of Kuidza to Cape Bagia = Brês is 250 stadia = $15\frac{1}{4}$ miles; that of Arrian is 500 stadia = 31 miles. Marcian's distance is nearly correct.

From Bagia = Cape Brês to the commodious harbour of Tâlmena the distance given is 1000 stadia = $62\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The distance from Brês to the bay of Chahbâr, which is the largest and best harbour on this part of the coast, is only about 35 miles; but, as we have already seen reason to doubt the correctness of Arrian's distances between stage and stage,

and as it is almost inconceivable that Nearchus should have especially noted any harbour as being particularly safe and commodious, and leave the finest, namely Chahbār, without mention, we should certainly first satisfy ourselves that no trace of the name Tālmēna is to be found near Chahbār, before passing it by. Chahbār is, I am told, quite a modern name, and the old name of Tālmēna is, I believe, preserved in that of a small torrent (shêp), about three miles to the east of the present fort, called the Tālūmānee shêp, viz. "the small torrent of Tālūmān," which runs at the foot of some old ruins, standing on the rocky surface of the table-land through which it has cut its way. To what age these ruins belong I was unable to determine; they might possibly be Gedrosian, but more probably Arab, built on the old site of Tālmēna or Tālūmān, as was the Arab city of Tēs (occupied between 800 or 900 years ago), on the site of ancient Tēsa—a few miles distant. Personally, I have no doubt whatever that Chahbār bay was Nearchus' harbour of Tālmēna, and that the town which gave its name to the bay stood on the plateau in which the Tālūmānee has made for itself a bed. Müller also places Tālmēna in this bay; Gesselius also. Dr. Vincent's position for the harbour of Tālmēna in the Kēnzh creek cannot be admitted for a moment; this creek has been already described when following Marcian.

After Tālmēna = Tālūmān or Chahbār, none of the names in the itinerary of Nearchus along this coast occur in that of Marcian, to whom we cannot therefore again turn for assistance. Of these names, also, except Kanātê, which might possibly be Koh Kalāt, there is no place to be found in the charts which bears an etymological resemblance to any of them, and the topographical hints given are too slight by themselves to build upon for a precise identification; but if we could find a point a little further on, about the identification of which there can be no possible doubt, it might help us in our inquiry, and such a point is certainly found in the island of Oaracta, which was full 800 stadia = 50 miles in length, and said to be distant 300 stadia = 18½ miles from a point on the coast called Harmozia, at the mouth of

the river Anamis; for Oaracta can only be the island of Kishm, since that is the only island in this part of the gulf at all approximating to the size given of Oaracta, and is, in fact, more than 60 miles in length; the spot on the coast called Harmozia, by the measurement given, viz. 300 stadia = $18\frac{3}{4}$ miles, is a little to the east of north of the island now called Hormuz, and which was probably, nay certainly, the desert island Organa, and there is a tradition current on the island that the name Hormuz was transferred to it from the mainland.

In the following table are shown the different stages in Nearchus' itinerary from Tālmēna = Tālumān or Chahbār to Harmozia, a point on the coast ($18\frac{3}{4}$ miles from the island of Kishm), N.E. of the island now called Hormuz, with the distances given between them:—

FROM TĀLMENA TO

	stadia	=	miles
Kanasida	400	=	25
Distance of a day and night's sail omitted	...	=	...
Kanâtē	750	=	47
Taoii	800	=	50
Dagasara	300	=	$18\frac{3}{4}$
Limit of the coast of the Ichthyophagi .	1100	=	$68\frac{3}{4}$
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	3350	=	$209\frac{1}{2}$
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Bādis	=	...
Desert shore	800	=	50
Neoptana	700	=	$43\frac{3}{4}$
Harmozia	100	=	$6\frac{1}{2}$
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	1600	=	100
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Total	4950	=	$309\frac{1}{2}$
	<hr/>		<hr/>

Dr. Vincent has fixed upon Jāsk as the site of Bādis, "a well-cultivated place of Karmania," and in this has been, I believe, followed by all commentators since he wrote.

The distance from Chahbār to Jāsk, measured along the

coast-line, is about 216 miles=3456 stadia, against the 3350 stadia=209½ miles from Tālmēna to the limits of the Ichthyophagi (and Bādīs?), and it may be at once granted that so small a difference, considering the length of the coast, does not negative the situation of Bādīs, as Dr. Vincent has placed it.

From Jāsk to Koh Mubārak is about 26 miles=416 stadia.

From Koh Mubārak to the point we have fixed for Harmozia by Arrian's measurement from Oaracta=Kishm is 100 miles=1600 stadia, and this is the exact number of stadia given between Bādīs and Harmozia by Arrian, which seems to indicate that the site of Bādīs ought to be at Kōh Mubārak, as placed by D'Anville. Dr. Vincent says that he himself first fixed Bādīs at Kōh Mubārak, but omits to point out that this was the result of *back measurements* from Harmozia; he afterwards changed his mind and the position of Bādīs, giving as his reason for this, that in a sketch of the coast by Captain Blair, breakers are shown off Cape Maksā and none off Cape Mubārak; *forward measurements* from Tālmēna also, doubtless, helped to confirm him in this opinion; the sign of breakers, however, on a chart, simply marks the presence of invisible rocks or a spit on which a ship might strike; but a very impracticable surf may be met with in many places not so marked, and among others at Koh Mubārak and all along this part of the coast, so that this part of his argument has not much weight.

At any rate, wherever Bādīs may be, the sum of the distances given by Arrian between Tālmēna and Harmozia is 4950 stadia=309¼ miles, and the real distance of the coast-line from Tālmēna=Tālumān or Chahbār to the point we have fixed upon as Harmozia is about 342 miles=5472 stadia, so that there is a difference of 522 stadia=32¾ miles to be made up somewhere between these two places.

We might, in the first instance, allow this to be the length of the day and night's sail between Kanasida and Kanātē, the distance of which is omitted by Arrian, and try the result.

From Tālmena = Tālumān or Chahbār to Kanasida, the distance given is 400 stadia = 25 miles; this distance measured along the coast brings us into the bay of Kunarak, where, close to the shore, is a place called Kalēsa, which bears some resemblance to Kanasida, and on the hills above there are some Gedrosian cairns.

Leaving this, and allowing $32\frac{1}{2}$ miles = 522 stadia for the day and night's sail along a barren coast, brings us a little to the westward of Kôh Tungee, at the eastern extremity of the rocky headland called in the charts Ras Gôrdêm. This headland is quite inaccessible from the sea face, and does not admit of a landing. At either end is a harbour—the eastern one called Rāshadee, and the western Gôrdêm. Why Nearchus did not anchor in one of these bays might, perhaps, be explained from the journal, "that he was afraid to let his people land for fear of desertion." The next place mentioned is Kanâté, distant 750 stadia = 47 miles; this distance brings us to Kôh Kalāt.

Kôh Kalāt is a mass of hills some 7 or 8 miles in breadth, which reach right down to the sea; in some parts they attain a height of 300 feet, and are intersected in every direction by torrent beds and ravines. On these hills there are many cairns, the greatest number at Darak, close to the point where the hills first touch the sea to the east. Concerning Kanâté, Nearchus says, or Arrian does for him, "sailing thence because it was a *flat* shore, everywhere intersected by small ditches or rills of water."

Etymologically, Kanâté might certainly be Kalātee (viz. the city, hills, or anything else of Kalāt); it is intersected by torrent beds, and by Dr. Vincent, and, I believe, all others, is the spot fixed upon for Kanâté; but to call it a flat shore, such as Kanâté is distinctly described as being, is impossible, and the identification must therefore be abandoned.

I will now call attention to the fact that the average daily (24 hours) distance accomplished by the fleet between Tālmena and Harmoziā, when not detained by a chance of procuring food, as at Dagasara, is about 800 stadia = 50

miles, and it seems probable, therefore, that the 522 stadia = $32\frac{1}{2}$ miles, we have allowed for the distance omitted as a day and night's sail along a "barren coast," after leaving Kanasida, is somewhat too little, and that it would be well to try what results would follow from a distance of 800 stadia = 50 miles being allowed. We will do so. From Tālmēna = Tālumān or Chahbār to Kanasida = Kalēsa 400 stadia = 25 miles. Thence 800 stadia = 50 miles along a barren coast (the description is quite correct) brings us to the vicinity of Tank, anywhere near which place it would be easy to land; so that Nearchus, in dread of desertion, anchored in the open sea. From hence 750 stadia = 47 miles, brings us to the vicinity of Meidānee; here the shore is as flat as it could well be, and is everywhere intersected by creeks and backwaters; many of these are impassable (without swimming), except at low tide, and the largest, immediately adjoining the sea, is of considerable size; is, indeed, large enough and deep enough to form an excellent harbour for vessels of small tonnage; its western branch runs nearly up to the picturesque village of Karatee (pronounced by some Karātee), which, I think, resembles Kanāté in etymology quite as closely as Kalāt does, while the shore exactly corresponds with that near Kanāté, as described by Arrian. In my own mind I feel convinced that this is the place alluded to by Nearchus. This position of Karatee for Kanāté may be arrived at in another way also, which may, perhaps, be the right one. As before stated, there is a distance of some $32\frac{1}{2}$ miles to be made up somewhere between Tālmēna and Harmozia, which distance we have just considered as contained in, but too short of itself to be the whole distance, of the day and night's sail, the length of which has been omitted by Arrian; but the argument for this rests, to some extent, on our having fixed on the site of Kanasida in the bay of Kunarak, by measurement along the coast-line from Tālmēna = Chahbār; if, however, we measure in a direct line from Tālmēna = Chahbār, we shall find, at a distance of about 30 miles, a place near the bay of Rāshadee, called Kalēsashit, which certainly bears a very

close resemblance to Kanasida, the distance being about five miles too much; from thence to Karatee, which, I feel sure, is the site of Kanāté, is about 70 miles, a distance which may be held to include the 47 miles to Kanāté, from some place on the shore as given by Arrian, and the remainder as the day and night's sail omitted.

From Kanāté=Karatee to the country of the Taoii is 800 stadia=50 miles; this measure brings us to a spot between the Gābrêg and Jageen rivers, swampy, and lined with mangroves, the latter a favourite food for camels; to this place all the camels in this part of the country are sent to browse for months at a time, and I have a strong suspicion that the seven camels caught, killed, and eaten by Nearchus' people in this vicinity were there for the purpose of grazing, browsing, or feeding (whichever may be the correct term), under charge of Taoii, viz. *slaves* (in Balóchee *teeh* 'a slave'), who fled at the approach of the foreign robbers, and whose habitations are described as poor, a term they doubtless well merited, being, probably, nothing more than a few sticks and a mat.

From the country of the Taoii the fleet proceeded 300 stadia=18 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles to Dagasara, which is, probably, Jakeisar or Jakasar, near the mouth of the Jageen river, but the exact position of which I am unable to lay down, as I was not able to visit that portion of the coast. Jakasar would probably be written Dagasara in Greek.

From Dagasara=most likely Jakasar the fleet sailed for a day and a night without touching anywhere, and at 1100 stadia=68 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles, reached the limit of the country of the Ichthyophagi; afterwards they arrived at Bādis, "a fertile place of Karmania," probably but a short distance further.

68 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles brings us to a spot some 14 miles north of Kôh Mubarak, and, if Harmoia was not where I have placed it, by adhering strictly to the distance given between it and Oaracta=Kishm, by Arrian, but was, in fact, Bander Abbas, this position for Bādis is correct, since the distance from Bādis to Harmoia is given as 1,600 stadia=100 miles, and the distance from this spot to Bander Abbas is also 100

miles=1,600 stadia. There is also a place somewhere in this neighbourhood called Bālee, which might, perhaps, become Bādis; but I do not myself think that this position for Bādis is the true one, but rather believe that it was either at or very close to Kôh Mubārak; for the position for Harmoza, as placed by Arrian's measurement, agrees also with what we must assign to it by Marcian's measurement, viz. 1,550 stadia from Karpella, which, it will be afterwards seen, is Kôh Mubārak. So that if the position of Harmoza between 1,550 and 1,600 stadia from Kôh Mubārak is correct, Bādis ought to be either at or within 3 miles of Kôh Mubārak.

I will now endeavour to follow out Marcian's itinerary along this coast from Têsa=Tês. His first station, westwards, is the Samedaké river, at 400 stadia=25 miles. Referring to the map, we find only the Pārag and Kajow rivers within the distance stated—the former at 7 miles, and the latter at 17 miles from Tês. Both of these are evidently too close to be the Samedaké of Marcian, as in name, also, they bear no resemblance to it; hence I conclude, that from Têsa=Tês, which when Marcian wrote was probably the principal city on this coast, he has measured across a well-known bay, having no place of note on its sandy desert shore, in a straight line to the river now known as Keer, which is almost exactly 25 miles=400 stadia from Tês. And in this opinion I am supported by the fact that this river flows through a "dak" or pass in the hills to the north, which is called Shamadak. This opening in the hills is conspicuous, and well defined; and was, probably, therefore, a well-known mark to the mariners of ancient times for fixing their positions by transit observations (a method, I may note, invariably employed by the fishermen of this coast at the present day); and the river which flowed through it probably called by them the Shamadakee, or Samedaké river, as it would be written in Greek. I do not see that there can be any doubt about this identification. From the Samedaké river=the Shamadakee or Keer river, to the city of Samedaké, is 500 stadia=31 miles. This distance, measured along the coast, brings us to a spot at the extremity of the Wank hills, on which, and on some

of the hills close to it, is a great number of Gedrosian cairns, marking the former existence of a large city in their immediate vicinity. It will be further observed that the Keer¹ river, which we have already identified as the Samedaké river of Marcian, runs close to these hills, and, probably, gave its name to the town which stood near it, on the plain at the foot of the hills. There can be, I think, little doubt that the city of Samedaké was in this neighbourhood.

From Samedaké city=neighbourhood of Wank to Pasis the distance given is 200 stadia=12½ miles. This distance brings us to Hómdān, close to the Geetô² river, which is the only site for a town close to the coast, within the distance given. On the hills close by (Kóh Kalāt) is a great number of Gedrosian cairns, which show that there was a town in the vicinity. The name of the spot where these cairns are is called Darak; and I failed to find any trace of the name Pasis or Pagia, unless it be Pāshee, about half a mile to the west of the cairns, but I do not think so. The Magis of Ptolemy is, I think, to be found in Makhi, some distance further to the west. Makhi, as pronounced by the natives, might easily be mistaken for Magi.

From Pasis = Hómdān (?) to the Salārus river, the distance given is 200 stadia=12½ miles. This distance brings us to a small river now called Jūdee, but the higher ground, on which the village stands, close to the foot of which it flows, is called Siloor. Surely Siloor and Salār, or Salārus, are the same word, altered in sound by a very common permutation of the vowels; and I take it that Jūdee is a modern appellation given to the stream, which was originally called the Salār or Siloor; it might be, of course, contended that the Greeks gave the name of the town to the stream; but of the identity of Siloor with the Salārus of Marcian there can be little doubt.

¹ The old bed of the Keer river, and which is the one in which it now runs, is that here alluded to, and shown in the map. Some 50 years ago it cut for itself another channel, and fell into the sea to the east of Rashadee, but does not run there now.

² I may here note, that into the Geetô (quite a modern name) river there flows a stream from the hills called the Hasār, which might possibly be the Sārus of Ptolemy, and the old name of the Geetô.

From the Salārus=Siloor or Jūdee river to Rhôgāna, the distance given is 150 stadia=9 miles; this distance brings us to the mouth of the Rāpch river; to the village of Gālik, the whole way from Siloor is a desert of sand-hills, destitute of vegetation, and presents no site for a town; of the name Rhôgāna I have failed to find any trace.

From Rhôgāna=probably Gālik to Omāna, "a celebrated port, or well-known harbour," the distance given is 150 stadia=9 miles; this distance brings us to Rāpch-a-bandin, an excellent harbour for small vessels, or what are called small now-a-days. It may possibly have once formed a mouth of the Rāpch river; but if so, there is no connexion between them now; it is certainly the best harbour on the coast until we reach Jāshak, and though I failed to find any trace of the name Omāna in its vicinity, which, as the people who now live near it are comparatively recent settlers, is not to be wondered at, still the identification appears to be the only possible one. Perhaps it might have been in olden times, as it is now, much frequented by Arabs from the opposite coast of 'Omān, and from this circumstance called by the Balôch¹=Gadrôsii of those days "Omānee-bandin" viz. "harbour of the people of 'Omān;" or this name may have been given to it because it afforded a safe harbour against the south-west, or wind from 'Omān, and, reasoning

¹ The Greek name for Balôchistān=country of the Balôch was Gadrôsia=country of the Gadrôs, and I am inclined to think that Balôch and Gadrôs are the same word. "Day" in Balôchee is "rôch" or "rôeh" (in modern Persian "rôz"). The adjacent country of Siestān was anciently called "nêmrôz" or "nêmrôch" or "nêmrôeh," that is, "half-day," and generally understood to mean in this instance "the south," whatever may have been its true signification. The name Gadrôs=Gadrôsh=Gadrôch=Badrôch=Barôch=Balôch was probably used in contradistinction to it, and "gad" in old Persian or Pahlavee meant "bad, evil" (in modern Persian "bad"), and Gadrôs or Gadrôch or Gadrôz meant "bad-day." An inhabitant of the country at the present day, if asked the meaning of the word Balôch, will invariably answer Balôch badrôch, that is, "straitened as to livelihood or daily subsistence." In the neighbouring country of Sind, the Balôch are called the Barôch. The Zarangæ and Drangæ, the Zariaspæ and Daraspæ or Adriaspæ, afford, I think, other instances of this kind of name being applied to neighbouring tribes and their countries. In Balôchee "shar"=good, beautiful (adjectival from "sharên"), "bad"=bad, "rang"=colour, "aps or asp"=horse; therefore the Zarang="shar-rang"=beautiful coloured (they were noted for the beautiful colour of their garments). The Drangæ="bad-rang"=bad-coloured. Zariaspæ="sharênaspæ"=having beautiful horses. Daraspæ or Adriaspæ="badênaspæ"=having bad horses.

from analogy, this is the probable signification of the name, for we find several "Heerānee bandins" on the Makrān coast, that is, harbours affording shelter against the north-west or wind from Heerān (Persia). (Pliny, in book vi. chap. 32, says this port was on the Arabian coast.)

From Omāna=Rāpchabandin to Agris is 600 stadia=37 miles; this distance brings us nearly to the mouth of the Sadêch river, where there is a harbour for small vessels, and from Rapchabandin there is no site for a town near the coast until we arrive at this point. Of the name Agris I could find no trace, possibly it might be some sort of inversion of Soorag, the name of the district which ends at this point. From Agris=vicinity of Sadêch river to Kaneatis or Kanthatis, the distance given is 250 stadia=15½ miles; this distance brings us nearly to the mouth of the Gābrêg river, and I would draw attention to the fact that Marcian's measurements on this part of the coast invariably place the towns or villages he mentions near the mouth of a river, a most likely position for them in a country where water is so scarce. I was myself obliged to abandon the sea-shore at Kunarak, but sent a man along the coast to collect the names of all the places; part of his work I was afterwards able to prove to be incorrect, and I cannot therefore positively state that no etymological identification can be found for Kantheapis, or Kaneatis; there is a place somewhere near here called Kahna, which might perhaps answer to it. From Kaneatis=vicinity of Gābrêg river to Karpella the distance given is 1000 stadia=62½ miles; this distance brings us almost exactly to Kôh Mubārak, with which Karpella has before been identified by others, while back measurements from Harmozia prove this to be correct, and is also an identification I have no wish to dispute, as it has been led up to by my own computation of Marcian's measurements.

The question may perhaps be raised as to the grounds on which Marcian's stadium has been fixed by me at $\frac{1}{16}$ of a mile. Dr. Vincent considered Marcian's stadium to have been double that length, viz. $\frac{1}{8}$ of a mile. I might answer with some fairness that the topographical and etymological

identifications already noted as arrived at by this computation of Marcian's stadium ought to be sufficient proof of its correctness. We will, however, try it over a longer stretch of coast. The total number of stadia given by Marcian as the distance from the Tigridis=Tigris to Bādara is 16,720 (to Mosarna is 300 stadia more).

The distance by the chart from the angle of the west bay of Gwādar, and measuring across the mouth of Chahbār bay (for this proposition ample reason has been given), following the coast-line to the mouth of the Tigris, is as nearly as possible 1042 miles, which, at 16 stadia to the mile, is 16,672 stadia against Marcian's 16,720, that is, a difference of 48 stadia=3 miles in over a thousand miles of coast.

Again, the total number of stadia between Karpella=Kôh Mubārak, and Bādara is 5650, the distance from Kôh Mubārak to Gwādar (*viâ Tês*) is 360 miles, which, at 16 stadia to the mile, gives 5760, making Marcian's error, in 360 miles, 110 stadia=not quite 7 miles.

Again, the total number of stadia from Têsa=Tês to Bādara is given as 2200. The distance, by chart, from Tês to the angle of the West bay of Gwādar, is 141 miles, which, at 16 stadia to the mile, is 2256 stadia. Marcian's error over this distance being, therefore, only 56 stadia, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

Surely these close approximations to the truth, found in Marcian's measurements, by taking the length of his stadium as $\frac{1}{16}$ of a mile, are sufficient to prove the correctness of this computation of it, and also afford the strongest possible evidence in corroboration of the etymological identity of Bādara with Gwādar—and if this point be conceded, as I think it must be, why should we suppose, after finding the distances given by Marcian, from point to point, over a thousand miles of coast, to be almost exactly correct, according to the most perfect surveys we possess,—why should we imagine, I ask, that the distance given by Marcian, or $18\frac{1}{2}$ miles between Bādara, fixed at Gwādar, and Mosarna, must be wrong? and that Mosarna, perhaps I should say his Mosarna, must be $90\frac{1}{2}$ miles from his Bādara, that is, at Kôh

Zarên, simply because a place of that name appears to be fixed there by Arrian, whose description of it, however, we may remark *en passant*, certainly cannot be made to apply to that locality at the present day? Arrian's description of the rounding of Kôh Zarên, and of the fleet coming to anchor immediately afterwards, is, however, too vivid and too precise to admit of doubt that Nearchus did touch at Kôh Zarên—a fact, moreover, borne out by Nearchus' measurement of the coast (72 miles) from thence to Barnā = Gwādar; and as Arrian declares that "the name of this place was Mosarna," a very serious difficulty arises as to how the position of Arrian's Mosarna and that of Marcian can be reconciled.

The distance from Bādara = Gwādar to the city of Mosarna, is given, by Marcian, at 18½ miles; this distance, measuring round the headland, would place Mosarna at the northern angle of East bay; and, possibly, Mosarna might have stood just round the western extremity of Mehdee hill, where there are some cairns, or what remains of them, still to be seen, and which point to the existence of an ancient town in the vicinity, and are the only ones to be found in the neighbourhood of Gwādar; here the aspect of the country changes from sand to a soil capable of cultivation, and close by are some large mounds consisting of, and large tracts covered with, the shells of a cockle-shaped bivalve, which may possibly be "kitchen-middens"; but there is no harbour here, and of the name Mosarna I can find no trace—the nearest approach to it is Môsara, in the West bay of Gwādar, the anchorage in fact for native vessels; but this name is, I am told, simply a local pronunciation of "Musalla," "a praying-place," and properly belongs to a smooth rock, uncovered at low tide, which is convenient for the purpose, and can, therefore, have no relation to Mosarna. I am somewhat doubtful about this derivation. It is possible also the town of Mosarna stood on the plateau of the headland, to reach which it would be necessary, on account of the precipitous character of the cliffs, to sail round into the East bay. A distance of two miles or more intervenes

between the beach and the summit of the headland (which would make up the requisite number of stadia), and on this may be still found traces of a very ancient occupation. A large valley on the summit, and other parts also, used once to be cultivated, and Kempthorne (who also places Mosarna here, but on what grounds does not appear) was much struck with its fertile aspect; but since the bursting of the very remarkable stone "band" (built probably a thousand years ago), which used to retain the water in this valley, at times converting it into a deep lake of more than a square mile in extent, it has been left untilled and uncared for, the present inhabitants being quite incapable of repairing the old, and too lazy to construct a new "band" of earth of sufficient strength to hold in the water, which now, when the heavens are bountiful, runs waste into the sea.

The place Arrian *calls* Mosarna was, however, undoubtedly at Kôh Zarên, but it is possible that Nearchus, on rounding the cape, in answer to his inquiries as to the name of the locality, was told Mosarna, viz. the designation of the district; in the same way as at the present day a traveller in Balôchistân will get the same name given to him for twenty different places in the same district, although they may be many miles apart; each has, of course, a distinctive appellation, which is, however, but rarely given to a first inquiry.

The Mosarna of Arrian, or at least the place he intends, as that touched at by Nearchus, was probably a little harbour at the point of Kôh Zarên, now called Jûdee; there is no harbour elsewhere until we reach Sur (a very poor one), except Shimâlbandin, which, as its name implies (Shimâl= west wind), only affords shelter against a westerly gale.

It is, however, somewhat curious to note, that Arrian's description of Mosarna as "a safe harbour, with plenty of sweet water," applies, at the present day, to no other place on the coast westwards of Pasnee (and to Pasnee itself certainly not), except Gwâdar, which does certainly give rise to a suspicion that some mistake as to the relative position of Mosarna may have been made by Arrian (perhaps

from the close proximity of Bārna), pointing to the suggestion I have ventured to make as to Mosarna having been on the headland, and Bādara on the plain below; or perhaps it might have been Bādara or Bārna on the headland, and Mosarna on the plain, which would satisfy every requirement, and is, I think, the most likely solution of the difficulty of any.

If we place the Mosarna of Marcian at Kôh Zarên, a position for it not warranted by Marcian's own measurements of the coast, but simply for the sake of making it agree with the spot certainly *called* Mosarna by Arrian, we find that the distance given from it to the promontory of Alambâtêr, viz. $77\frac{1}{2}$ miles, though a little in excess, must place that promontory at the Gwādar headland, and we immediately perceive that Müller's identifications are worked out from this assumption of the position of Marcian's Mosarna, which was probably also the true reason of Dr. Vincent fixing upon this site for Alambâtêr.

For the intermediate stages, viz. the Zorāmbus river, the port of Kôphas, and Derenobila, there are no possible identifications to be made, either topographical or etymological, on the coast between Kôh Zarên and Gwādar. Moreover, Arrian's Kôphas is 25 miles to the westward of Bārna, which has been fixed at Gwādar by his measurements, while the Kôphas of Marcian is nearly 32 miles to the eastward of Alambâtêr, also fixed at Gwādar according to the present argument, from which it would follow that there were two ports called Kôphas.

To proceed. From Alambâtêr=Gwādar headland (?) to Kuidza Marcian gives 25 miles, which places Kuidza either at Mānbar (already occupied by Arrian's Kôphas), or, measuring in a direct line, in the bay of Ganz, where it has been placed by Müller, and in the name of which he professes to recognize Kuidza. I confess I do not. But Arrian's Kuidza is no less than $87\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the town of Bārna=Gwādar, against Marcian's 25 miles, measuring from the same spot; this is hardly a slight discrepancy, and is one which can be but inappreciably reduced by taking into

consideration the direct measurement we have been forced to adopt for Marcian, or that following the coast-line we have allowed for Arrian.

From Kuidza, now supposed to be Ganz, to Bagia promontory, Marcian gives $15\frac{1}{2}$ miles; a distance which brings us to Rôhām point or Kippalow Cape; but Arrian's distance from Kuidza to Bagia is 31 miles—a discrepancy still further widening the great gap already existing between his localities and those of Marcian of the same name.

From Bagia=Rôhām point (P) to the Kandriakes river, the distance given is 25 miles. The only river possibly answering to this distance is the Bāho river, which falls into the sea near Gwatar, an identification adopted by Müller; but the distance given by Marcian from the Kandriakes river to Têsa is $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles, while that from the Bāho river to Tês=Têsa is more than 70 miles—a difficulty, I confess, I see no way out of, and considering that the assumption from which we started, which has led us to this result, has certainly not reconciled the statements of Arrian and Marcian one with the other, it can hardly be considered a satisfactory one, while that I have advocated in the present paper, although it leaves some doubt as to the position of Mosarna, does place Marcian's stages, by measurement, in localities the topography of which answers to the description given by them, and where some approximation to their names even may be sometimes found; while, at the same time, Arrian's stages are found to agree with those of Marcian, of the same name, as nearly as the undeniable error of 31 miles in Arrian's computation of the coast-line from Bārna = Gwādar to Tālmena=Tālumān or Chahbār, could possibly be expected to allow.

**ART. VIII.—*On the Identification of the Portrait of Chosroes*
 II. *among the Paintings in the Caves at Ajanta.* By
 JAS. FERGUSSON, Vice-President.**

IN the cold weather of the season 1872-3, Mr. Griffiths, decorative artist in the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeeboy School of Art, with several pupils from that school, was deputed by the Government of Bombay to copy the paintings in the caves at Ajanta. One of the principal objects of his mission was to replace as far as possible the frescoes previously copied by Major Gill, which had unfortunately been destroyed by the fire at the Crystal Palace, in 1866. In addition to this, however, he was instructed to copy any others which might seem to him sufficiently interesting to be worthy of preservation.

The first fruits of his labour, which were sent home to this country, arrived here in 1874, and were temporarily exhibited in the upper gallery of the Albert Hall, where they seem to have attracted very little attention, though they were certainly extremely interesting, not only from the novelty of their designs, but for the perfection of their execution.

The principal part of this collection consisted of 186 separate pictures, from the ceiling of the Cave No. I. No complete reproduction of the design of this roof was attempted or was, indeed, possible. Nearly one-half of it has peeled off, and what remains is in fragmentary patches with great gaps between, which it is now impossible to supply; but a plan on a small scale was made, showing the place of every fragment copied, and its relative position to the rest of the design. This plan was exhibited with the other pictures. Most of these consisted of floral scrolls of great beauty and

variety, relieved by representations of fruit, and of birds and animals, generally of very conventional forms; and interspersed with these were frets and guilloches of singularly classical design. Among these were four very remarkable figure subjects, evidently *replicas* of the same design, with very slight variations. These were placed symmetrically at the four corners of the central square of the principal design of the roof. Three only were copied, the fourth was too much ruined to be made out, but its identity and position were clearly indicated by the surrounding parts of the design and by the fragments that remained.

The principal figure in these four pictures was a stout burly man with a short black beard, seated cross-legged on a cushion, and holding a drinking-cup in his right hand, which he is raising to his lips. On his right and left are two maidens, dressed in long flowing robes, descending to, and quite hiding their feet, and each holding a long bottle, or ewer, in her hands, evidently to supply the principal figure with the wine or water which he is drinking. A third female is introduced, in all these pictures, of a superior class, seated beside the principal person, as his equal, either as his companion or his wife. In one of the pictures two male figures are represented crouching in front, and offering fruit or food from a tray. In the other two pictures which were copied, the tray is represented placed on the ground, though the men are there omitted. Even on the most cursory glance, it was impossible not to perceive that the figures in these pictures differed in complexion, in costume, and in every peculiarity from any others represented either on the walls of this cave, or in any other excavation at Ajanta.

Who then are these strangers? Like every one else, probably, who saw them, I arrived at once at the conclusion that they were Persians, and I longed frequently to write a paper, either for this Society or for some public journal, to announce the fact, and to draw attention to the circumstance; but often as I looked and thought about the matter, I never could get beyond the description: "Persian Drinking Scene." But though this would suffice for a label, it is not sufficient

for a paper. There is no inscription or indication of any sort whereby to identify the personages, whoever they were; and there I consequently felt constrained to leave them, without any farther attempt at identification.

Besides these paintings on the roof, however, there is a very remarkable fresco on the walls of this cave, which seems to refer either directly, or it may be indirectly, to the paintings on the roof. It represents an Indian king on his throne, receiving a deputation of people, who are as evidently Persians as those portrayed on the roof. They are the bearers of a letter, apparently from some foreign potentate, and are being dismissed, as is usual, with return presents, which are displayed on a tray in the foreground. If they could be identified, it would evidently throw light on the subjects on the roof; but, at first sight, it appeared to me equally hopeless to attempt to find out who they might be, without some inscription or external indication.

Fortunately, Babu Rajendralala Mitra has had more courage than I had, for he has written a long paper on the paintings on the roof as well as on the wall picture in this cave, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. *xlvii.* pt. 1. No. 1, 1878, and illustrated it with four very well executed lithographs representing the scenes he describes. Unfortunately, he has never seen the Caves at Ajanta, and has not taken the trouble—possibly had not the materials—requisite to ascertain the age of the different excavations with accuracy, and being entirely mistaken as to the date of this one,¹ his determinations are of little value. He deserves, however, every possible credit for the attempt. He has been the first to draw public attention to these very curious paintings, and, even if not successful in ascertaining who the persons may be that are represented in them, he has taken

¹ He considers these paintings as “representing phases of Indian life from 1800 to 2000 years ago” (p. 72). Their real date is, however, as we shall presently see, from six to eight centuries more modern, which makes all the difference as to the persons represented. In my *History of Indian Architecture*, p. 158, I stated that Cave No. I. belonged to the first half of the seventh century; but the Babu is not in the habit of deferring to the opinions of others in matters of this sort, and is consequently liable to make mistakes he might otherwise avoid.

the best means of obtaining a solution of the problem by bringing the materials on which it rests before the special public interested in such matters. I confess I probably never should have thought more of the matter, but for his paper; but having the subject, as I may say, forced upon me by it, I have hit on an explanation—which, even if not “vrai,” seems to me so “vraisemblable,” that I am induced to lay it before the members of this Society, in the belief that it is well worthy of their attention.

As everything depends upon it, the first point is to ascertain the age of the cave in which these paintings are found, and this, fortunately, can be easily done within very narrow limits of deviation either way.

There are twenty-six caves at Ajanta, all belonging to the Buddhist religion. These have been, for the sake of easy reference, numbered like houses in a street, according to their position, without any reference to their age or character. The oldest is a Vihara, situated nearly in the middle of the series, and numbered as XII. It is an extremely plain and simple excavation, without pillars, which, in itself, is an indication of great antiquity; while such ornaments as it has are so similar to those that adorn other caves at Baja, Bedsa, Nassick and elsewhere, whose age is ascertained to be before the Christian Era, that all antiquaries—so far as I know—are agreed to place this cave in the second century B.C. From this, the caves extend on the right and left; their relative age being in nearly all instances ascertainable from their position, except in the instance of the central group of four caves, consisting as it does of two Chaityas and two Viharas, which do not seem to follow this rule. Thus, XII., as just mentioned, is certainly the oldest Vihara, and seems to be coeval with the Chaitya No. IX., while the Chaitya No. X. is certainly more modern, probably about the Christian Era, and the Vihara No. XI., which belongs to it, is at least as modern; these two being inserted between the two oldest caves. After that, the numbers follow regularly, and indicate by their position the relative age of the caves.

Thus, VIII. is certainly older than VII. No. VI. is still more modern, and so on till No. I., which from its position is the cave last excavated at this end of the series, and if not the very last, is certainly among the most modern excavations at Ajanta. The same rule applies to the fourteen caves in the opposite direction. XIII. to XX. form the pendant to VIII. to III., and beyond that the group XXI. to XXVI. corresponds in date nearly to II. and I. on the other end of the series. Among this last group, however, three caves are unfinished, Nos. XXII. XXIII. and XXIV., and may consequently be later than No. I., which is certainly the last completely finished Vihara at Ajanta. The Chaitya cave XXVI., which closes the series at this end, is from its style as nearly as may be coeval with No. I., or it may be slightly more modern.

The next point to be ascertained, is when the Buddhists ceased to excavate caves in India. Here, fortunately, we have the assistance of Hiouen Tshang, whose testimony is invaluable for this purpose. He travelled all over India between the years 629 and 645 A.D., and during that period he found and left India prosperous and flourishing, and the Buddhist religion, if not the only one, still the most important, and generally the State religion of the countries he visited. It is true, he occasionally complains of the encroachments of the heretics, but this is exactly what we learn from the caves. At Badami and Ellora we find Brahmanical caves of nearly the same age as the latest at Ajanta and Aurungabad, showing most distinctly rivalry, but as yet no supercession. There certainly had been no catastrophe and no persecution which would lead us to suppose that the Buddhists would, before his departure from India, have ceased to continue to excavate caves as they had done uninterruptedly during the preceding eight or nine centuries. The first intimation we have of anything of the sort occurred on the death of Siladitya (650 A.D.), when both Hiouen Tshang and Ma-twan-lin¹ intimate that wars and famines

¹ J.R.A.S. Vol. IV. n.s. pp. 83, 86.

devastated the country. As all history ceases from this date, for 150 or 200 years at least, we may assume that the works of the Buddhists were then also discontinued. It does not of course quite follow that, because these troubles occurred in or about the year 650, their effects were immediately felt in such remote places as Ajanta and Aurungabad; hence the works of the unfinished caves there may have been carried on for some time longer. But as we have no evidence of this, it is safer—for the present at least—to assume that the works in these localities ceased about the year 650 A.D. Be this as it may, it seems quite certain that the last finished caves, such as No. III. at Aurungabad and Nos. I. and XXVI. at Ajanta, immediately preceded such unfinished caves as No. I. at Aurungabad¹ and Nos. XXIII. and XXIV. at Ajanta. There may have been an interval of ten or twenty years, but their style is so nearly identical that it can hardly have been many more, while they may have been nearly contemporary.

On the other hand, we have at Badami a Brahmanical cave, No. III., with an inscription dated in the year 500 Saka, 578–9 A.D.,² which, from its details, we may say with certainty is earlier, not only than the unfinished, but than the last finished caves at Ajanta and Aurungabad. As the Badami cave belongs to a different religion, and is situated at so great a distance, there may be local peculiarities that render a comparison more difficult than in the case of those further north; but we are safe, at all events, in assuming that these last were subsequent to 579, and, as before stated, anterior to 650. Without going more into detail than is either possible or necessary in this place, it is not easy to explain how the caves we are describing should be distributed through these seventy years which mark the limits of their age either way. But after the most careful attention to all the circumstances of the case as at present known, I would propose the following, viz.:

- (1) That the unfinished caves, No. I. at Aurungabad and

¹ See Burgess, Reports, vol. iii. pl. xl. p. 60.

² See Burgess, Reports, vol. i. pl. xxiv. to xxx. p. 24.

PLATE TO ILLUSTRATE MR. FERUSSON'S ARTICLE.



Nos. XXIII. and XXIV. at Ajanta, were commenced about 640, and continued it may be 10 or 15 years beyond that date.

(2) That the great finished Viharas No. III. at Aurungabad, and No. I. at Ajanta, with the great Chaitya No. XXVI. at the latter place, were excavated in the first forty years of the seventh century.¹

(3) That such caves as No. XX. at Ajanta, the Rameswar at Ellora, and probably some others at Badami and elsewhere, occupy the last twenty years of the sixth, or the first ten of the seventh century.

If these figures are correct, we may assume any date we please, within these limits, for that of No. I. Ajanta, on whose roof the pictures are found which interest us at present; but, as such a cave probably took twenty or thirty years to excavate and decorate, the limits of deviation are very small indeed. My impression is that between 610 and 630-40 will be found the true date of the cave.

Turning then to Persia. The only king who was of sufficient importance to be commemorated in this way, and who was on the throne at the time, was Khosru Parwis, the Chosroes II. of the Greeks, who reigned 591-628 A.D. But, before attempting to identify him with the person represented in these pictures, a further question arises of considerable importance—Is the principal figure in these pictures a king at all? There is certainly nothing regal in his appearance or actions, and he is not accompanied by any of those regalia which generally are employed to distinguish royalty in the East. But, on the other hand, it may be remarked, that it must be intended to represent some person of importance, or his portrait would not be repeated four times on the same ceiling. It is also hardly likely that a king who represented himself, with all the emblems of royalty, on the walls of this cave, would allow the portrait of a foreign king to appear in

¹ From the peculiarity of the plan of cave No. III. at Aurungabad, with its three chapels *in antis*, which is not found anywhere at Ajanta, and looks like an innovation, I should be inclined to believe it more modern than No. I. of the latter series.

rival state. That he is a Sassanian may be assumed as quite certain, from his being adorned with those curious crimped streamers or 'banderoles,' which are so familiar to all those who are acquainted with the coins of the Sassanian kings, or with their sculptures still existing in Persia. Hitherto I have been accustomed to assume that their use was restricted to kings, or royal personages only, and certainly there is nothing in the numerous bas-reliefs at Naksh i Rustam, Shapur, or Takht i Bostan, to contradict this theory. In this ceiling, however, they are applied to persons male and female of all degrees; but whether this arose from the ignorance of the Indian artist as to their real application, or from any other cause, it is impossible to say. They seem to be used here to distinguish all who are intended to be represented as Persians, and who, though certainly of Sassanian age, are not necessarily of kingly race.¹

Although, therefore, there may be nothing except his importance to induce us to believe that the person here represented is a king, there is certainly less to enable us to identify him with any Buddhist saint or Bodhisattwa, or indeed any person in the Buddhist hierarchy. He has no nimbus behind his head, as was universal with such personages at this period. He has no beads or amulets or emblems of any sort, which could distinguish him, and his attitude and gestures are unlike—it may be said hostile to—all ideas of Buddhist propriety.

If, therefore, we may assume, for the present at least, that the person represented in these pictures is a Persian king, there are other reasons besides his date which would lead us to identify him with Chosroes.² There is a class of late Sassanian coins, not unfrequently found in India, which have

¹ See Lithograph, pl. v. fig. i. accompanying Babu Rajendra's paper, J.A.S.B. for 1878.

² I have been informed that, in the Salle d'Apollon in the Louvre at Paris, there is an onyx cup, on which is engraved the portrait of a king, acknowledged to be that of Chosroes II., seated in the same attitude, and holding a cup in the right hand, as represented in this picture. I have not myself seen the cup, and have been unable to procure or gain access to any engraving of it; and am consequently unable to say how far it can be quoted as confirming the views expressed in this paper.

engraved on the face of them in good Indian Devanagari characters the name of Vasu Deva. These coins all numismatists agree in assigning to Khosru II.,¹ and the fact of his using Indian characters on his coins shows that he—and he only apparently of Sassanian kings—had some intimate connexion with that country.² Taking all these facts together, I cannot but think that we are justified in assuming that the principal figure in these four pictures is meant to represent the great Chosroes; and if this be so, there can be no manner of doubt but that the woman by his side is the fair Shirin, so celebrated in Eastern story for her beauty and adventures. She is the only woman, so far as I know, who appears in any of the bas-reliefs of the Sassanian kings in any part of Persia. She occurs, however, at *Naksh i Rustam* with the king and a third person, who may or may not be *Ferhad*.³ At *Takht i Bostan* the same triad appear, but in greater state,⁴ and this time without the least doubt who is intended to be represented. Curiously enough, in this last bas-relief Shirin holds a vessel in her left hand, by no means unlike that held by one of the maidens in the picture. In her right hand she holds a ring with the Sassanian fillet. Her face, with that of all the principal personages in these bas-reliefs, has been too much damaged by the Mahomedans for the features to be made out, and, even if uninjured, it is extremely unlikely that we should be able to recognize in paintings by a foreign hand, the features as portrayed by a native sculptor in a state representation of the Queen. At the same time it is necessary to point out, that though all the four paintings at Ajanta are certainly intended to represent the same persons, they can hardly be recognized by their

¹ *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 400, pl. xvii. Thomas's *Prinsep*, vol. i. p. 402 *et seq.*, vol. ii. p. 114.

² When I was writing my *History of Indian Architecture*, I saw Mr. Griffiths' paintings at South Kensington; but, as there were then no labels upon them, I assumed, erroneously, that they were copied from the roof of cave No. XVII., which is considerably earlier than No. I., and consequently jumped to the conclusion—in a note, p. 157—that the king must be Baharam Gaur, whose visit to India and marriage with an Indian Princess is celebrated in Indian and Persian romances.

³ Texier, *Armenie et la Perse*, vol. ii. pl. 133. Ker Porter, vol. i. pl. 19.

⁴ Flandin et Coste, *Perse Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 9. Ker Porter, vol. ii. pl. 62.

likenesses. The best and finest is certainly No. 4 (reproduced in facsimile, though on a smaller scale, on the Plate accompanying this paper), which we probably may assume to be the nearest approach to the Persian original they had to copy. No. 20 (Rajendra, pl. iii.) is certainly by an inferior artist, and No. 64 is still further removed from the perfection of the first. In it Shirin's face and neck are represented as black, not the black of the complexions of other figures in pictures in the same cave, but a cold grey black, as if the artist had been using a dark ground or had employed some preparation of lead which had turned black. The features and dress are the same as on the other pictures, but it evidently had been entrusted to an inferior artist, to copy from the original design.

In like manner, it is equally impossible to identify the portrait of the King in these pictures from any of the sculptured representations of him—there are no pictures—found in Persia. At Takht i Bostan, where there is no doubt as to the person represented, the countenance of the King has been so completely defaced as to render recognition impossible; but in one of the hunting-scenes, that on the right hand in the niche, the features are not so completely obliterated, and though the nose is gone, the burly form of the face, the short beard, and the general contour of the whole,¹ is so similar to what is represented at Ajanta, that it may almost be assumed to be the same person. Even the head-dress² is similar, though somewhat lower on the crown; though all this is now unfortunately so indistinct that if there were no other evidence it would be difficult to base any argument upon it.

I had proceeded thus far in my investigations when Dr. G. Bühler happened to call. I showed him what I had done, and explained to him that the only remaining difficulty was

¹ Ker Porter, vol. ii. pl. 64. Whenever they represent the same person or thing, his delineations are to be preferred to either those of Texier or of Flandin and Coste.

² In the bas-reliefs at Shapur, representing the defeat of Valerian, the King Shapur holds his son Hormuzd by the right hand, and he is represented with a head-dress nearly similar to that worn by the King in this picture. Unfortunately Flandin and Coste (*Voyage en Perse*, vol. i. pl. 49) mistake him for a Roman captive and put manacles on his feet, but both Texier (vol. ii. pl. 146) and Ker Porter represent him without these adornments, and with the crimped streamers of the Sassanians.

to ascertain the name of the King, represented in the great fresco on the walls of this cave, who was receiving the Persian deputation. From Hiouen Thsang's description of India at that age, it appeared to me there were only three kings who were at all likely to be so portrayed. Either it must be Siladitya of Kanauj, or Dhruva Sena, or Batta of Balabhi, or Pulakesi, King of Maharashtra. He immediately said it must be the latter. His friend Professor Nöldeke, of Strasburg, in translating Tabari from the Arabic, has found the name of that king in conjunction with that of Chosroes, so as to render it nearly certain that he is the king indicated, and he at once promised to procure me a translation of the paragraph in question. In due time I received a communication from him, which seems to me to leave no room for hesitation.

When, after his defeat in the battle at Nineveh, the unfortunate king was dethroned and thrown into prison, his son Shiruyieh sought for some excuse for putting him to death, in order to succeed to the throne. For this purpose he drew up an indictment in eleven counts, detailing certain crimes of which he accused his father. The second of these, in the words of the Persian recension of Tabari, was "That he had imprisoned the grandchildren of his father in order to prevent them creating a posterity, and had denied to them what God had permitted to man,"¹ alluding to the birth of Yezdegird as related in a previous passage (page 329). In answer to this the dethroned king pleads, "that he did so because the astrologers had announced that, during the reign of a grandson of his, the kingdom of Persia would be destroyed, and that in casting his (Shiruyieh's) horoscope it was predicted that he himself should perish by the hand of his own eldest son, and he would consequently have been justified in putting him to death, but spared him from parental affection." He then adds, in the Arabic version, "Two years ago, Pulakesi, King of India, sent to us, in the thirty-sixth year of our reign, ambassadors carrying a letter imparting to us

¹ Tabari, translated by Zotenberg, vol. ii. p. 334. All the incidents accompanying the dethronement and death of Khosru II. will be found narrated in Zotenberg's translation from the Persian recension of Tabari, vol. ii. pp. 328, *et seqq.*, though in less detail than in the Arabic version, and without the king's name.

various news, and presents for us, for you, and our other sons. He also wrote a letter to each of you. To you he presented—don't you remember it?—an elephant, a sword, a white falcon and a piece of gold brocade. When we looked at the presents and at the letters, we remarked that yours bore the mark 'Private' on the cover in the Indian language. Then we ordered that the presents and other letters should be delivered to each of you, but we kept back your letter, on account of the remark written on the outside. We then sent for an Indian scribe, had the seal broken, and the letter read. The contents were:—'Rejoice and be of good cheer, for on the day Dai ba Âdhar, of the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Chosroes, thou wilt be crowned king and become ruler of the whole empire. Signed, Pulakesi.' But we closed this letter with our seal, and gave it into the keeping of our consort Shirin."

The thirty-sixth year of the reign of Chosroes corresponds with 18 June, 625, to 17 June, 626. Chosroes was dethroned on the 25th February, 628 (Dai ba Âdhar), and put to death a few days later. "The story of the defence," the Professor goes on to remark, "made by Chosroes at his trial can hardly be considered as historical; but the fact that he received an embassy from an Indian king in 625 need not be doubted on that account. Tabari in this part of his narrative followed a Pehlvi work written shortly after the King's death, but before the Arabian conquest, as is evident from the style in which it is written, and from the intimate acquaintance the author shows in all that concerns the King's affairs, in which he was evidently deeply interested."¹

¹ The name of the King in the codex is **رومسا**. By another author, Dinawari, it is written **روميسا**, and with the diacritical points **قروميسا** QRMISA. The diacritical points, however, when used in writing foreign names, have no authority. We may, therefore, assume **فرميشا** PhRMIShA is intended, or, as the Arabs use Ph for the Persian P, and I for the Persian Ê, we must write his name PRMÊShA. At the same time as R and L are written with the same sign in Pehlvi, so is R to be taken as a false mode of expressing L. As M may be substituted for K (Q) in the Arabic, or in the Pehlvi, it follows that the name may be correctly represented in Pehlvi by **رولودد** and read as Pulikêša. (Nöldeke.)

Of course it is not contended that the letter which the messengers are presenting to the King in the fresco on the wall, is the identical letter alluded to by Chosroes. Quite the contrary. The letter there represented is *from* the Persian to the Indian king, but, taken together with the circumstances above narrated, may be considered sufficient to establish the fact that an active correspondence did take place at this time between the two kings, and that there is at least no improbability that the King on the throne is Pulakesi, and that the messengers really came from the unfortunate king Khosru the Second.

That the messengers are Persians is nearly certain from their complexion and general appearance, as well as from their costume, which is carefully contrasted with those of the Indians in the same picture. Whoever they were, they certainly are a people who inhabited the countries west of the Indus and south of the Hindu Kush, and who reached their destination on horseback, for their horses are shown in the picture, though not included in the lithograph.

The most distinguishing feature in the costume of these messengers is the high conical caps they all wear. It is not, however, necessary to go back to the sculptures of Nineveh for examples of this form of head-dress, as Babu Rajendra proposes, as such are still worn by the Kurds, and other tribes in the north of Persia, at the present day.¹ In fact, their whole appearance and dress are such as leave almost no doubt of their nationality, and so far confirm the inferences to be drawn from the narrative of Tabari.

Before going further, it may be as well to remark that there are few dates in mediæval history so well established from inscriptions as the accession of Pulakesi to the throne in 609-10,² and no fact more certain than that he was in the full plenitude of his power when Hiouen Thsang visited his court in 639-40. He certainly was, if not the most powerful, at least the second King of India during the last years of

¹ Malcolm, *History of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 602.

² Burgess, vol. iii. of *Archæological Report of Western India*, p. 132. Inscription translated by J. F. Fleet, B.C.S.

Chosroes' reign. His successful wars with Harshavarddhana or Siladitya of Kanauj, then the paramount power in India, having placed him in exactly the same position that the same Mahrattas attained to just 1000 years later by the successful wars which Sivaji and his successors waged against Aurungzeb and the Emperors of Dehli. Nothing is more likely than that Pulakesi should have cherished a Persian alliance during a struggle for existence with his sovereign, who aspired to be Lord of the Five Indias.

It may also be observed, as confirmatory of the above, that Ajanta was situated within the limits of the kingdom of Pulakesi; for, after visiting him at his capital—whether this was at Kalian, or more probably Badami—Hiouen Thsang remarks:—"Sur les frontières orientales du royaume, il y a une grande montagne"—"Anciennement il y avait un couvent qui avait été construit dans une sombre vallée, ses batimens élevés a ses salles profondes occupaient les larges ouvertures des rochers, et s'appuyaient sur les pics. Ses pavillons et ses tours a double étage étaient adossés aux cavernes et regardaient la vallée."¹ It would be difficult to find words to describe more correctly the form and position of the caves at Ajanta, and there only, for no other series is so distinctly in a valley. Generally the caves are situated on the faces of the hills, and visible on all sides. At Ajanta alone they are buried in a deep and secluded valley piercing the table-land.

Unfortunately we are unable to judge of the personal appearance of Pulakesi, as a more ruthless destroyer than the Moslem bigot has entirely removed from the wall, the plaster on which his countenance was depicted, and it cannot now be recovered.² But the general effect of the painted architecture of his palace, and the appearance of his court, still remain portrayed with a truthfulness that leaves little to be desired.

¹ Mémoires des Contrées Occidentales, vol. ii. p. 151.

² When Dr. Bird visited Ajanta, he is said to have cut out some twenty or thirty of the most interesting faces from these frescoes, with the intention of presenting them to the Museum at Bombay. But, as might be expected, they were so carelessly packed, that all except one or two were reduced to powder before reaching their destination. Whether this was one of these, or whether it was destroyed by some other British barbarian, cannot now be ascertained.

In the centre of the picture the King is represented seated on a throne (*charpai*), his elbows resting on a cushion, under a canopy, of very graceful form. In front of him, seated on the ground, is the graceful form of a woman bearing a *chauri*, and right and left of the King are two other females, with similar symbols of royalty, and behind them two gigantic dwarfs or porters. On his right hand on the ground are two females, one of whom, at least, is playing on some musical instrument; and on his left hand, also on the ground, are four figures in front of the throne, two females and two men. The first of these, nearest the King, bears in his hands a tray, containing what I take to be the return presents, and, curiously enough, among these, is a little golden image of an elephant, which may be as likely a present for Pulakesi to send to Shiruyieh as a living specimen of that animal. But against this theory it may be remarked that the white falcon mentioned in the text was certainly a living specimen of its class, and from the sculptures at Takht i Bostan we know that Chosroes had many elephants which he employed in hunting. All, therefore, that can be said is, that if there is any foundation for this theory, it is that the painter may have found it more convenient to introduce a golden counterfeit rather than a full-sized animal into the picture. The fair-complexioned figure standing up to the left of the throne may be the prime minister or vizier, but from the staff in his hand (*gold stick*), he more probably is only the master of the ceremonies. The other figures do not seem to have any special function, but altogether they make up a very graphic representation of what we can fancy an Indian Court to have been at the beginning of the seventh century of our era.

I do not know how all this may strike others, but to me it seems to make out a very strong case for believing that the portraits on the roof of cave No. I. at Ajanta are really those of Khosru II., surnamed Parwis, the Chosroes of the Greeks, and of his wife, the fair and celebrated Shirin; and further, that the great fresco on the wall represents Pulakesi,

King of Maharasthra, receiving an embassy from the Persian King, and dismissing it with the customary complimentary presents.

If this is so, I need hardly add that it is by far the most satisfactory synchronism we have yet got out of these paintings, as it proves the date of the transaction represented on the walls, as one that took place 625-6, though the painting may be somewhat later, but would hardly have been painted after the death of the king in 628 A.D.

It is almost equally satisfactory—if it can be established—to have contemporary portraits of two such celebrated persons, as the king who took Jerusalem and carried off the Holy Cross to Persia,¹ and of his wife, regarding whom, as Sir John Malcolm says, “1000 volumes have been written in her praise,” and she was certainly the most celebrated female in Eastern history since the time of Cleopatra and Zenobia, and, as far as the East is concerned, more celebrated than either of these great Queens.

¹ It is rather a curious coincidence that six years ago I should have been asked by Dr. Tristram to restore the design of the façade of a palace of this same king, some fragments of which he had found to the eastward of the Dead Sea, during a journey which resulted in the publication of his book entitled *The Land of Moab* (Murray, 1873). To it the reader is referred for some further particulars regarding Ferhad and Shirin, though full details are only to be found in works especially devoted to Persian history.

ART. IX.—*On the Proper Names of the Mohammadans.* By
Sir T. E. COLEBROOKE, Bart., M.P.

It is well known that proper names in the East, and especially among the Mohammadans, follow no such simple rule as that which has long prevailed in modern Europe, where the Christian name or names conferred in infancy and the family name or surnames are usually borne through life, and where it is a matter of suspicion to have an alias. In the East, on the other hand, we hear of persons gathering up in the course of their career a variety of names, and being popularly known by one or other of them at different periods, and to an extent that gives rise to perplexity. This was notably the case among the Arabs in the height of their pre-eminence. A person might receive a name in his infancy (usually conferred on his birth or at his circumcision), and to this might be added a patronymic, or a name expressive of his paternal or family relations. He might then receive a title expressive of his zeal for the faith, and soubriquets descriptive of his personal qualities or appearance, or the country or town in which he was born or had settled, or the religious sect to which he belonged; and if he played a part in public life, to all these might be added, as in Europe, a title or titles of dignity; and if he had acquired a reputation as an author, he might assume some name of fancy. These various names or titles might never be united in the same individual, but the combinations are numerous and shifting. Certain rules are observed in their formation or application, but it was a matter of accident by which of these designations a person might be known to his contemporaries, or his name transmitted to modern times.

Persons in humble life did not, of course, indulge in these luxuries. It was sufficient for a man to be known as A, the

son of B ; but with those who are known in history or literature, these aliases abound, and the genealogy is often set forth at great length. Pride of family has always stood high among the Arabs, and the minuteness with which the descent of eminent persons is traced is no doubt due to feelings which they shared in common with the Jews ; but the careful attention to these matters, which is so remarkable in historical works, is in some measure attributable to the inconvenience of the ordinary nomenclature.

Examples of this abound in Ibn Khallikan's biographical dictionary, and, as an instance, I will take that of the founder of the Buwaihí dynasty, who rose from a humble position to great eminence during the decline of the Khalifate. The family claimed descent from the Sassanian monarchs, and the pedigree is traced through fifteen generations. Or take the case of Ibn Khallikan himself. His full designation is given in a notice of him by an Arab author, which is quoted by M. de Slane in the preface to his translation of that great work, and runs as follows : "Abú 'l-Abbás Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Abú Bekr Ibn Khallikán Ibn Báwak Ibn Shákal Ibn al-Husain Ibn Málik Ibn Jaafar Ibn Yahya Ibn Khálid Ibn Barmak surnamed Shums ad-din." ¹ It will be observed that the patronymic by which he is known is not the name of his father, but of an ancestor removed by four generations, while the pedigree is carried on to show his descent from the Barmecide family.

So, also, in the case of the celebrated Avicenna ; the name which was adopted was that, not of his father, but grandfather. The name in Ibn Khallikan runs thus : Ar-Rais (the chief) Abú Ali al-Husain Ibn Abdallah Ibn Siná.

These two instances illustrate another peculiarity of Arabian name-giving, namely, the reference to the son as well as the

¹ In quoting from other writers, I have, as a rule, given the transcription of Arabic proper names in Roman letters, as they appear in those works. In other cases I have endeavoured to render them phonetically, without attempting to distinguish between varieties of letters which have no counterpart in our alphabet. The systems of transcription which are current are so various, that I have thought it necessary to give, as far as possible, the names in the original, and indeed this appears indispensable in a paper which treats of Eastern names.

father of the individual. Such importance attached to the *Kunyat*, the Arabic designation of a name expressive of the relation of father, son, mother, or daughter, that even Abu 'l feda, writing in the seventh century of the Hejra, prefixes his proper *Kunyat* to the name of Mahomet, in the account of his family, which is carefully traced through twenty-one generations to Adnan. "Abu 'l Kasim Mohammad was," he says, "the son of Abdallah, the son of Abd-elmotaleb," etc., etc. When a name is set out in full, the expression of paternity always takes the first place, as in the preceding examples. It is as if the patriarch Isaac were described as, the father of Jacob, Isaac the son of Abraham.

My attention was directed to this subject while engaged in inquiries regarding imperial and other titles, the result of which appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1877. I made some full notes regarding the proper names which have been in use at different periods, especially with reference to the changes of signification which they have undergone. Titles of honour, especially those which carry with them a religious signification, were in their origin conferred by Khalifs and princes, and have in later times been assumed by persons of all conditions, and have descended to the level of proper names. We read of *Ala ed-dins* and *Jelat ed-dins*, etc., borne by persons who never had any claim to sanctity or importance. So, also, we meet with *Málik*s, *Khans*, *Ameers*, and *Sheikhs*, borne by persons in ordinary life, without reference to the dignity they implied or continue to hold in some countries, just as we meet with *Kings*, *Dukes*, *Bishops*, and *Knights* among the proper names of Europe. The names in common use in the East have also, like the Christian and surnames of Europe, their special signification, and represent the tone of thought which has influenced persons of all conditions at different ages. The history and etymology of proper names has always been a favourite study in the West, and, with regard to those of the East, besides the interest which attaches to such inquiries, there is a complication in the system which at once arrests attention.

While engaged in this inquiry, I fell in with two very

learned essays by M. Hammer-Purgstall and M. De Tassy, and I have accepted their guidance in following out my inquiries. Full and copious as are these papers, they did not seem to me to exhaust the subject, which I thought might be presented from a new point of view, especially with reference to the changes which the system of the Arabs has subsequently undergone, and the points of resemblance and contrast which it presents to that of Europe. The following paper has no claim to original research, and my object will be answered if I succeed in giving a short sketch of a very curious system.

The article of Hammer-Purgstall appeared in 1852, in the Transactions of the Academy of Vienna. The materials are gathered, as the author informs the reader, from four Arabic works named by him: (1) Ibn Koteibe's *Edebol-Katib*, the secretary's instructions; (2) Safedi's biographical work *Wafi bil-wefiat الوافی بالوفیات*, what is sufficient of the deaths; (3) Soyuthi's *Misher*; (4) Mostathref. Each of these works distinguishes between the different classes of names under which the whole subject is treated. Collectively these four authors form, as the German author expresses it, four rich streams from hitherto scarcely explored sources. Besides these leading guides, reference is made to other works on the different classes of names, and to some works on genealogies. These, however, do not exhaust the whole of this branch of Arabic learning. Gayangos, in the preface to his translation of Al Makhari's history of Mahomedan dynasties in Spain, refers to the four following works on proper names, one only of which is mentioned by Hammer-Purgstall: (1) *Noshatu-l-labáb fi-l-alkáb*, the pleasures of the wise set forth in surnames; (2) *Tohfatu dhawi-l-irab fi mushkáli-l-asmai-n-nasab*, a gift offered to those desiring to be instructed in the difficulties of patronymics; (3) *Kashatu-n-nikab ani-l-asma wa-l-alkáb*, the tearing of the veil from before names and patronymics; (4) *Dhattu-n-nikáb fi-l-alkáb*, the imparting of immediate knowledge on the surnames of persons, being a *risálet* or short treatise on proper names.

The essay of Hammer-Purgstall was the first attempt to present to a Western reader a complete review of the whole system of name-giving, as it is developed by the Arabs. He was, however, anticipated in a portion of the subject by Professor Rosegarten, in an essay which appeared in the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1837. The author only treats of the *Kunje* or *Kunyat*, and that only with a view of illustrating some of the peculiarities attending its use.

Soon after the appearance of the German essay, M. Garcin de Tassy took the same subject in hand, and contributed a paper to the *Société Asiatique*, which appeared in their *Journal* two years later (1854). He claims at the outset to treat of a system which had never before been presented in its entirety.¹ This is so far accurate that his predecessor's paper only professed to treat of the system as it prevailed among the Arabs; while M. De Tassy dealt with Mussulman names in different countries,² and added a chapter on titles of office and dignity. The essay of Hammer-Purgstall is, however, far more complete, and, within the range of its plan, it exhausts the subject, citing original authorities throughout for the statements it contains; while M. De Tassy's essay scarcely fulfils the expectations he has raised. With regard to one of the classes of names, that of the *alam*, or personal name, the account is somewhat meagre. It may be added that the author refers throughout to an original manuscript work on Mussulman names in his private collection, without naming either the title or author. The essay, however, contains a large store of interesting facts bearing on this subject, to which I have been much indebted.

The different classes of proper names treated on in the works referred to by these authors are arranged by some in six and by others in seven classes. Taking the arrangement in Hammer-Purgstall's essay they run as follows:

1. The *alam*, علم, is the proper name of the individual.

¹ "Il n'a jamais été présenté dans son ensemble. Je vais essayer de le faire."

² "Je vais, du reste m'occuper tour à tour, avec plus de détail, de ces différentes classes de noms dans les contrées musulmanes, où l'arabe, le persan, l'hindoustani ou le turk sont usités, c'est à dire les principales contrées de l'Orient Musulman." The essay was re-published last year shortly before M. De Tassy's death.

Among the Mussulmans there are no family names as in Europe, and the *alam* corresponds nearly with the Christian name, as it is conferred soon after birth, or on the circumcision of a boy, and is that by which he is usually familiarly known. The word *ism*, اسم, is the general term for names, and applies to things as well as persons.

2. The *kunyat*, كنية, is the name of relationship, as when a person, or a thing (for it is applied also to inanimate objects), is described as the father, son, mother, or daughter of some other person or object.

3. The *lakab*, لقب, or in the plural *alalkab*, الألقاب, translated "die zuname" in the German essay, includes both titles of honour, religious and political, and terms of reproach, descending even to personal defects.

4. *Alansab*, الانساب, the names of relations; in M. De Tassy's essay *Ism-u-nisbat*, اسم نسب. This class is subdivided by the Arab author whom Hammer-Purgstall follows in many heads, as (1) origin, (2) kindred, (3) land of birth or adoption, (4) religion, (5) trade or business, (6) personal or other peculiarities, etc.

5. *Alalamet*, العلامة, certain titles borne by princes which were not reckoned among their personal appellations, but appeared in diplomas or in the heading of state documents.

6. The *onwan*, عنوان, titles of honour applied to others than princes.

7. The *mackloss*, المخلص, in De Tassy's paper the *takhallas*, تخلص, the name of fancy, assumed by poets, especially in modern times.

In M. De Tassy's essay we have, in place of classes five and six, a long chapter on titles of office or dignity (*asma munasib*, اسما مناصب), which is foreign to my present inquiry. The classification of the German essay is not a very convenient one, some of the classes occasionally overlap each other, and soubriquets come in under more than one of these divisions; but the broad outline is well marked out, and will serve as a guide in following out the subject.

ALAM.

The first class is treated under two heads—pre-Islamite and post-Islamite names. Of the former a hundred examples are given from Ibn Koteibe's work, and they appear to have been selected rather for the purpose of illustrating the eccentricities of Arabian nomenclature, than as specimens of names in common use; indeed, the meaning which is assigned to some of them must be regarded as doubtful, as they are not to be traced in modern dictionaries consulted by Hammer-Purgstall.

This century of names is divided as follows:—Eleven are taken from the names of vegetables, plants, flowers, including, of course, the date tree; four from birds—the vulture, hawk, partridge, and eagle; eight from creeping things or insects—the spider, locust, ant, white ant, worm, two species of snakes, and the louse. Eight from wild beasts, but seven of these are different names of the lion, and the eighth is the fox. The remainder consist of a miscellaneous collection, some of which represent physical or moral qualities belonging to either sex, as *Halbas*, حلبس, the strong; *Sofafet*, زفافة, the nimble; *Ajred*, عجرد, the nimble; *Wekia*, وكيع, the enduring; *Nashiret*, ناشرة, the desire of arms; *Murád*, مراد, the stubborn; *Moteyim*, متيم, the slave of love; *Jemil*, جميل, a handsome man; *Il jáhil*, الجاهل, the ignorant; *Il hasib*, الحسيب, of an old or noble family; *Zoheir*, زهير, the little blossom; *Ilásher*, الأزهر, the most blooming; *Zehra*, زهرا, the blooming, a name of Fatima, Mahomet's daughter; *Il háarith*, الحارث, the acquirer, a name of frequent recurrence in pre-Islamite times; *Kehmez*, كهمز, a dwarf. We have also names taken from the moon, a clod of earth, a worn-out garment, a footstep, a camel halter, and various others equally fanciful. The great family of the *Koreish*, قريش, are supposed to represent acquisition through exchange or barter; but according to others, the word means a sea-monster. It seems probable that it is a corruption of some older expression, or a word that has become obsolete.

So also with regard to the name *Koteibe*, literally intestines, it seems incredible that the word bore that meaning when first used as a proper name. *Yakub*, يعقوب, in this represents, not 'a supplanter,' but a partridge! I miss among the "lions" the familiar name of *Asad*, اسد, which has given a name to a tribe. *Kalab*, كلب, dog, appears nowhere, though it might have attracted attention as the name of a tribe, and is identical with that of the companion of Joshua (Caleb), a name which receives the same interpretation from Hebrew scholars. I may add that I fail to recognize in this list any of the common tribal names of the Arabs, and very few names which acquired celebrity at the time of Mahomet and have come down to later times; indeed, this list is not of much service in tracing the meaning and derivation of names in common use.

Some of the names are erroneously entered in the list of pre-Islamite names. The three celebrated poets, *Al-Ferasdak*, *Al-Akhtal*, and *Jerir*, who are referred to later on in this article, flourished in the first century of the Hejra. The two first are nicknames which they received in after-life. *Al-Jerir*, الجريير, literally camel-halter, was suggested to his mother by a dream. She is said to have dreamed that she was delivered of a rope which entwined itself of its own motion round the necks of many people and strangled them. This was interpreted to her that she would give birth to a son who would compose poems so biting and sarcastic that they would be the torment of those whom he attacked. Hence the name *Jerir*, signifying rope or halter.

It only remains to add that there are two names savouring of whig principles, *Olaset*, علاثة, a mixture of sour milk and butter, and *Modhar*, مضر, the white, supposed to be taken from sour milk or the white water melon. Another name taken from the dairy is *Rubet*, روبة, the rennet.

Very few of the names in this collection are to be found in the genealogical tables of old Arab families, as we find them classed in Caussin de Perceval's work.¹ The oldest of

¹ "Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes."

these lists are not accepted as authentic records, but the collection of names may be taken as specimens of Arab nomenclature, and it is curious to observe how rarely the name of Mahomet occurs. There are several Abdallahs or its synonyms, but very few names compounded with *ab* or *abu*, father, except among the immediate connexions of Mahomet. In the table of the Koreish there are seven of his near relatives only known by their *kunyats*. The names which recur with the greatest frequency are Harith, Amr, Malik, Moawia and Thalaba.

The names of Hebrew patriarchs and worthies, which became so common among the Arabs in later times, appear very rarely in these traditional lists. There is a David in the line of Himyar, who lived in the third century of our era, and an Ayub who established himself at Hira a century later; but there is no trace of a Solomon or Moses, or Ismail. In truth, the rise of Islam marks an epoch in the history of Arab names. The old names dropped out of use, and it became the practice to limit the selection to the names of saintly heroes connected with the new faith, such as the name of Mahomet himself, his immediate descendants and companions, and also the names of Hebrew patriarchs and prophets named in the Koran. In the resort to Old Testament names Mahomet himself set the example, having given to his son, born of Mary, the Coptic maid, the name of Ibrahim. These different sources, *i.e.* names of patriarchs, relatives, and *asháb* or companions of the Prophet, admit of a considerable variety of choice; but the most honoured names always had the preference, and Mohammads, Alys, Abdallahs, etc., multiplied to such an extent as to cease to be distinctive appellations, unless compounded with some other names. M. Garcin de Tassy speaks of it as a fixed rule that the names conferred at birth or circumcision must be limited to the scriptural names. This, however, must be received with some qualification, for, as the faith extended to other races than the Arabs, new names came into use of Persian or Turkish origin, and I think it even doubtful if the limit was strictly observed, except in the first centuries of the

Hejra. In the "Thousand and One Nights," which may be accepted as a picture of Arab manners during the later Khalifs, we have repeated instances of names conferred on infants which have no scriptural authority or religious signification. It certainly does not appear to be the practice among the Bedouins in the present day. Burchardt gives the following account of their customs in this respect, which carries us back to the time of the patriarchs:—"A name is given to an infant immediately on its birth. The name is derived from some trifling accident, or from some object which had struck the fancy of the mother, or any of the women present at the child's birth. Thus, if the dog happened to be near on the occasion, the infant is probably named *Kelab* (from *kelb*, a dog); or if the delivery should have been protracted during the night until daybreak, the name given to the boy is perhaps *Dhouyhhy* (from *Dhohhá*). Except Mohammed, which is not uncommon, true Muselman names, such as Hassan, Aly, Mustafa, Fátme, or Aysha, are seldom found among the genuine Bedouins. Besides his own peculiar name, every Arab is called by the name of his father, and that of his tribe or the ancestor of his family; thus they say, '*Kedoua Ibn Gheyán el Shamsy*,' *Kedoua* the son of *Gheyán*, of the tribe of *Shamsy*."¹

Hammer-Purgstall arranges the *alams* under three heads—(1) Names borne by members of Mahomet's own family or his companions. Foremost on the list stands the name of the Prophet himself, in its threefold form: Mohammad, the praised or praiseworthy; Ahmed,² the most praised; and Mahmúd,

¹ Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys, vol. i. p. 97.

² Sir W. Muir, in his *Life of Mahomet*, makes the following remark on the varied form in which the name of the Prophet is sometimes rendered:—"Another form is Ahmad, which having been erroneously employed as a translation of 'The Paraclete,' in some Arabic version of the New Testament, became a favourite term with Mahometans, especially in addressing Jews and Christians; for it was, they said, the title under which the Prophet had been in their books predicted." I find an example of the use of two of these names, employed as synonyms, in a letter addressed to the chief of the Karmats by the Sherif Abu 'l hasan, and quoted by De Sacy in his "*Exposé de la Religion des Druses*." The passage runs as follows: "The Lord of all the sent, the Imam of all the Prophets, Ahmed and Mohammed, may the blessing of God rest on him and all his posterity!" For an example of the use of the name in its threefold form, I take the opening prayer of the *khutbeh* of the twelve Imams, as used by the Shiahs,

the praised, representing severally, according to a Moslem tradition, the name which belonged to him on earth, that which he bore in heaven, and that by which he is known in hell. The name was given to him by his grandfather. According to the narrative of Abulfeda a feast was given to the Koreish on the seventh day after his birth. Abul-elmotallib proposing to confer this name on the child, some surprise was expressed at his giving a name which was unknown to the family. "I wish him to be so called," he replied, "that God may praise him (*yamadah allah*, *بِحَمْدِ اللَّهِ*) in heaven and on earth." Though many proper names in other languages are expressive of merit or honour, I know of very few that refer to praise. HILLEL was the name of an eminent Rabbi, and we are familiar in our own history with the name of LAUD. After the name of Mahomet come the names of his principal followers, the first Khalifs, six of the most honoured disciples who are especially named, and the twelve Imams, especially those in immediate descent, as his grandsons Hasan and Hosein.

(2) Names of patriarchs and prophets named in the Koran. The list of prophets, it will be seen, is not confined to those of the Old Testament, but scriptural names predominate, and many of them have become household names among the Mohammadans. They are given as follows in the German essay:—Adam, Shit (Seth), Idris (Enoch), Nuh (Noah), Yunis (Jonah), Ibrahim (Abraham), Ismail, Ishak (Isaak), Yakub (Jacob), Yusuf (Joseph), Musa (Moses), Daud (David), Suleiman (Solomon), Isa (Jesus), Yahia (John), Sekeria (Zacharias), Shoaib (Jethro), Osair (Ezra), Sulkefel (Ezekiel), Iskander Dhu'lkarnein, Hud, Salih. The last two named are Arabian worthies. Iskander with the two horns is generally supposed to be Alexander the Great,¹ and the Moslems have readily availed themselves of the sanction which the appearance of this heathen name in the Koran has

published by Professor Haneberg in the second volume of the German Oriental Society. The peace of God is invoked on Ahmed, Mahmúd, Abu 'l kasim Mohammed, the chosen (*مصطفى*).

¹ Sale's note to the 18th Sura.

given to its use. Other Hebrew saints and worthies are mentioned in the Koran, besides those in Hammer-Purgstall's list, and some of their names appear frequently in modern history, as Aaron (Harún), Job (Ayub), Shem (Sam), Saul, in the Koran called Talút, and Lot.

(3) Abdallah, the servant of God, and its synonyms. In M. De Tassy's essay they appear under the head of *lacabs* or titles of honour, but with the admission that they are in frequent use as proper names. The name Abdallah was not uncommon before the time of Mahomet, and was indeed the name of the prophet's father.

The fervent zeal which distinguished the rise of Mahomedanism has led to the formation of a very copious list of names formed on this plan. Arab writers reckon ninety-nine attributes of God, mentioned in the Koran, and which constitute the crown of roses proper to Moslems. The one name of God, Allah, completes the number of a hundred. All these are employed combined with *Abd*; Abdallah, of course, taking the highest place, and after it the two epithets of *er rahman* and *er rahim*, the merciful, the pitying, which together complete the formulary that heads each Sura of the Koran.

Hammer-Purgstall furnishes a list of thirty-three of these names, of which I give those only that are in common use or have been borne by distinguished persons:—

Abd allah, عبد الله, the servant of God; *Abd er rahman*, عبد الرحمن, servant of the all-merciful; *Abd er rahim*, عبد الرحيم, servant of the all-pitying; *Abd al kerim*, عبد الكريم, servant of the all-gracious; *Abd el Kadir*, عبد القادر, servant of the all-mighty; *Abd el Hamid*, عبد الحميد, servant of the all-praiseworthy; *Abd el majid*, عبد المجيد, servant of the all-worthy; *Abd el aziz*, عبد العزيز, servant of the all-honoured; *Abd el latif*, عبد الطيف, servant of the all-gracious, the name of a son of Ulug Bey; *Abd rebihi*, عبد ربّه, servant of his lord; *Abd an nebi*, عبد النبي, servant of the prophet. We have also the all-gentle, all-pardoning, all-avenging, all-glorious, all-just, all-gracious, all-sufficient, the one, the eternal, the holy, righteousness, truth, and command.

It is not easy to understand how "the servant of the prophet" finds a place in a collection appropriated to attributes of God. Reverence for Mahomet, Aly and his sons Hasan and Husain, find expression in some proper names in use among Persians and Turks as well as Arabs. Thus we have:—

Abd ar rasûl, عبد الرسول, servant of the sent, i.e. the prophet; *Gholam-i-Mahommed*, غلام محمد, servant of Mahommed; *Bandah-i-Aly*, بنده علی, and *Aly Kuli*, علی قولی, servant of Aly; *Murteza Kuli*, مرتضی قولی, servant of the approved, i.e. Aly; *Gholam-i-haidar*, غلام حیدر, servant of the lion, i.e. Aly; *Gholam-i-Hasan* and *Husain Kuli*.

The Turkish word *Kuli* takes a fair share in these combinations. Thus the famous Nadir Shah, before he ascended the throne, was simply *Nadir Kuli*, servant of the incomparable. Agha Mahommed, King of Persia, had five brothers, Murteza Kuli Khan, Reza Kuli, Mustafa Kuli Khan, etc., and his brother, the father of Futteh Aly, was Hussein Kuli Khan. The word *Kuli* was not always used in a religious combination. Baba Kuli Beg is the name of a chief mentioned in Baber's Memoirs, and one of the Kings of Golkonda mentioned by Ferishta was called Sultan Kuli.

I need not point out, with reference to the preceding examples, that religious feeling has had great influence in the invention of names among other nations than the Arabs. The names of gods in the heathen mythology appear in the proper names of India, Greece, and of Modern Europe. Illustrations of this may be found in combinations with the word servant, though they are not so numerous as those implying gift from God. Among the Jews they were not common. We have, indeed, *Abdiel*, the synonym of *Abdallah*. The only other instance that I have met with in the Old Testament is that of *Obediah*, unless we include *Abednego*, servant of *Nego*, supposed to be the same as the god *Nebo*, conferred on one of the companions of Daniel. In Punic remains we meet with *Obed Melicart* and *Obed Tanet*, also 'Αβ-δαλώννιμος and 'Αβδαστάρτος, servant of Astarte. In Sanskrit,

Durgadása, Kálidása, Gungadása, and Ramadása, servants of the particular deities there named; also *Luchmidása, Suryadása*, servant of the sun. Among the Greeks and Romans this form of devotion to the gods was unknown in pagan times. *Theodoulos* is a name of Greek derivation, but I suspect it was not in use before the time of our Lord; after that epoch the form came into very common use. With the Christians, as with the Arabs, the expression of service was not confined to God or to the founder of their religion, but was extended to saintly personages. Thus we have *Χριστόδουλος*, *Ebed Jesu*, and corruptly, *Abdissu*; Æthiopian *Gabra Christos*, in German *Gottschalk*, in Scotland *Gilchrist* or *Gillies* (servant of Jesus). The term *Gille* (in Irish *Giolla*) is used in the north in other combinations, as *Gilmichael, Gilmory* (servants of St. Michael and Mary). *Mal* (in Irish *Maol*) means properly a shaved person, and was applied to persons devoted to a saint or religious order; hence *Maol-Cholumchille*, St. Columba's servant, becomes in modern speech the familiar *Malcolm*. So, also, we have in Irish words *Giolla-Pattraica, Giolla-Brighide*, servants of St. Patrick or St. Bridget.¹ These examples may be carried further, but the instances which I have given will suffice to illustrate what follows.

Among the Arabs, in pre-Islamite times, this form was not uncommon. I find about twenty names compounded with *Abd*, servant, in the genealogical tables or historical records referred to in Caussin de Perceval's work, besides many *Abdallahs*. Ten of these belong to the tribe of Koreish, and four of them were conferred by a man on his own sons; they are as follows: *Abd eddár, Abd manaf, Abd elozza, and Abd shams*. The incident is thus related by Sale in a note to the seventh Sura of the Koran. *Kosai*, one of Mahomet's ancestors, and his wife begged issue of God, and having four sons granted to them, called them after the four principal idols of the Koreish. *Ab el Harith*, a name which appears more than once in these lists, is said by Sale in the same note to mean

¹ V. Pott, *Der Personennamen*. Gesenius, *Phœnic. Monum.* Cosmo Innes, *Concerning some Scotch Surnames*.

servant of the devil; and the name was, according to a ridiculous legend, conferred by Adam on a son who died. The devil pretended that he, by his prayers, would obtain from God that Eve should be delivered of a son in Adam's likeness, and Adam, in gratitude, called the son after him. There were, in the old time, many persons who bore the name of *Harith* or *Haritha*. The word literally means acquirer or cultivator, and the name "servant of Harith" was probably used in compliment to a chief of that name. Some of the names compounded with *Abd* seem traceable to this idea, and have no religious signification.¹ *Abd el Cays* refers to the founder of a great line—one of the branches of *Modhar*, and *Abd el motalib*, Mahomet's grandfather, took the name from his uncle *Motalib* the brother of *Hashim*. On the other hand, *Abd el madân* and *Abd yâ'il* are servants of two objects of heathen worship. *Abd el Caaba*, the first name of Mahomet's father-in-law, and better known as Abubekr, speaks for itself. *Abd es shums*, servant of the sun, occurs more than once; it first appears as the name of a sovereign of Yemen, fourth in descent from *Yoktan*, and is mentioned by Sir W. Jones in his essay on the Arabs, in illustration of the religious worship in use in ancient times. *Abd el masih*, servant of the Messiah, also occurs more than once. It was borne by a member of the family of the Koreish, and also by one of the Maliks or Kings, who exercised a sort of authority in the Hejaz.

M. Caussin de Perceval concludes that our Saviour was an object of worship at the time, and in confirmation of this he cites a statement of an Arab author, Elazraki, that the figures of Jesus and the Virgin were formerly sculptured on one of the columns of the temple of the Caaba. The same fact is stated by El Harawi in an account of the temple before it was destroyed by the Koreish. The passage is quoted by Dr. Lee in his translation of Ibn Batuta's travels.² It is said to have contained images of the angels, the prophets, the tree, and of Abraham the friend, with the divining arrows

¹ Caussin de Perceval, vol. i. p. 192.

² p. 51.

in his hand. There was also an image of Jesus and another of his mother Mary. But in the year of victory the Prophet ordered them all to be destroyed. I may add that an *Abd el Masih* figures in the first pages of Abul feda's annals, in connexion with the portents that accompanied the birth of Mahomet. A person bearing that name was summoned to interpret the dream of one of the Sassanian monarchs, and bore a message from his uncle portending the destruction of Khosro's kingdom.

KUNYAT.

The religious sentiment which is exhibited in Arabic name-giving will receive further illustration when I deal with the honorary titles, the third of the classes into which the subject is divided. I must first treat of the *Kunyat*, which furnishes a very large proportion of the names in common use. The word is explained in Freytag's Dictionary as follows: "Metonymia quum alio quam suo nomine significatur res. Cognomen, nempe quum vocabulum **أب**, frater, **أم**, mater, **ابن**, filius, **بنت**, filia, alii cuidam nomini proponitur et hoc nomine improprio appellatur aliquis." The latter part of the explanation describes the ordinary use of the form, as one of relationship, but the figurative use extends to the whole creation, and the soubriquets to which it gives rise are endless. Hammer-Purgstall refers to some Moslem writers who trace the popularity of this form of name to traditions and texts of the Koran. One of the former is a supposed injunction of the prophet as follows: "Hasten to give a *Kuna* to your children before they are overpowered by *Lacabs*."

Again, Moses is supposed to have persuaded the sea to allow the children of Israel to pass through by addressing it in words of flattery: "Divide yourself, O *Abu Khálid* (father of the everlasting)." ¹

¹ The text of the Koran referred to is in the 20th Sura. Moses is enjoined to speak mildly to Pharaoh. Upon this a tradition is engrafted, according to Mostathref, that he was to be equally mild to the sea whose assistance he craved.

Pride of family, which runs so high among the Arabs, gave rise to this form of address, which became afterwards so popular. Patronymics have been employed by all nations, and we find them employed as common forms of address in the time of Mahomet. To address a person as the father or mother of his or her children is more rare, but it has the sanction of antiquity, and the figurative use of the word *ab* comes down from Hebrew times, as *Abalom*, father of peace; *Abner*, father of light; *Abieser*, father of help; *Abiathar*, father of excellence; *Abimelich*, father of the king; not to mention *Abraham*, father of nations, and many others. What is peculiar to the Arabs is the extent, not to say the extravagance, to which it is carried. The subject occupies more than half of the German essay.

It was a matter of common usage to address a person on the birth of a son by this form of expression. Thus Mahomet received, according to the fashion of the day, the name of *Abu 'l Kasim*, from his son. Aly, among his many names, bore those of *Abu 'l Hasan* and *Abu 'l Hussein*. The Khalif Othman, whose mother was *Omm Hakim* (the mother of Hakim), received, before his conversion, the name of *Abu Omr*. It is said by the historian Tabari¹ that he had by *Rokaya*, the daughter of Mahomet, a son whom he named Abdallah, and he thus assumed the name of *Abu Abdallah*. This son died four years later, and the old name revived, and he was sometimes called by one, and sometimes by the other. Names, conferred originally as a compliment, became established proper names, without reference to their original meaning, as in the case of Abutalib, the father of Aly. It appears from some incidents of Aly's life, related by Abulfeda, that the usual mode of addressing him was, O son of Abutalib, and the name has always been a favourite one among Moslems. So also the name of Mahomet's father-in-law and first Khalif, *Abubekr*, literally the father of the damsel, has come into common use as an *Alam*.

Examples of the figurative or satirical use of the *Kunyat*

¹ My references are to M. Hermann Zotenberg's translation of the Persian manuscripts.

abound everywhere. The Hebrew instances which I have given above are employed in a favourable sense; and so, also, are the following, which I quote from M. De Tassy's essay: *Abu maashar*,¹ أبو معشر, the father of union; *Abu 'Ibarakat*, أبو البركات, the father of blessings; *Abu 'Ikhair*, أبو الخير, the father of good; *Abu 'nnasar*, أبو النصر, the father of virtues; *Abu 'I'farah*, أبو الفرح, the father of joy, the name of a Persian poet; *Abu 'Imakáram*, أبو المكارم, father of virtues; *Abu 'I'fatih*, أبو الفتح, father of victory, applied to one of the companions of Mahomet, and frequently assumed by sovereigns in later times. This list may be largely extended. I will only add some of celebrated persons: *Abu 'I'fazil*, أبو الفضل, the father of excellence (the minister of Akbar); *Abu 'I'feda*, أبو الغدى, the father of redemption; *Abu 'I'faraj*, أبو الفرج, the father of relief; *Abu 'I'abbas*, أبو لعبس, literally father of the stern countenance, the first of the Abbasside line.

The employment of *Kunyats* in a satirical sense received an impulse from Mahomet himself. *Abu Horeira*, أبو هريرة, a celebrated traditionist and companion of the Prophet, received this name, which means literally "father of the cat," on account of his fondness for one of these animals, which he always carried with him. His original name is unknown. It is recorded by Tabari, that on one of Mahomet's numerous expeditions, he found Aly stretched on the earth and covered with dirt, and addressed him: "Rise, O *Abu turáb*," أبو تراب, (father of the earth), and Aly was proud of the appellation, and always pleased when he was addressed by it.

It is stated in the *Kamus* that the *Kunyat* of the Khalif Omar, *Abu Hafs*, أبو حفص, literally the father of the young lion, was conferred upon him by Mahomet himself. He left no son of that name, and the title must have been conferred as a compliment.² As examples of the same form of soubriquet, I may add that Muawiyah the second, and the third Khalif of the house of Ommiah, a feeble prince,

¹ This was a celebrated astronomer, known to the Western world as *Abumassar*. *Vide* D'Herbelot.

² Rosegarten, Ueber den vornamen oder des Kunje der Araber.

who resigned the dignity after a reign of only six weeks, received the nickname of *Abu leila*, the father of night, because he seldom appeared abroad; the same name was applied to Suleiman, Pasha of Bagdad, in the seventeenth century, on account of the secrecy of his military expeditions. Abd ul-Malik, the fifth Khalif of the house of Ommiah, was called the father of flies (*Abuzubáb*, أبو زباب), on account of his offensive breath, as it was said that flies would not alight upon his lips. He was also called the sweat of a stone, on account of his avarice. The figure is far-fetched, and not so expressive as the English term "skin-flint." On account of the same vice a Mamluk Bey in the last century was called *Abu dahab*, أبو ذهب, father of gold. So popular is this figure of speech that we find it applied in recent times to Napoleon, and some members of the expedition to Egypt. M. De Tassy says that the Arabs conferred on Napoleon the name of *Abu ferwat*, أبو فروة, father of the fur or military cloak; on General Caffarelli, who had a wooden leg, that of *Abu khashab*, أبو خشب, father of wood; and on another officer, who wore spectacles, *Abu kazás*, أبو قزاز, father of glass.

Hammer-Purgstall gives fifty examples of these fancy names, chiefly employed in a good sense. They include those which are in M. De Tassy's list, and I may cite in addition the following specimens: the father of gold, of pearls, and of musk, of knowledge, of the strong and bold, of hope or prayer, of fortune and the fortunate, of praise, joy, and endurance.

I have already remarked that this particular figure, by which a person is designated by his or her relationship to his father, mother, son, or daughter, as the case may be, is not confined to human beings, nor, indeed, to animals, but extends to the whole creation. Hammer-Purgstall gives nearly one thousand examples of these *Kunyats*, of which I will quote some of the most salient and characteristic, in the nine subdivisions under which they are ranged.

I. DOMESTIC ANIMALS.

The camel is the father of Job, that is, the patient, and also *Abu sifwan*, أبو صفوان, father of the hard rock, and *Abu naim*, أبو نعيم, father of ease. The horse is *Abu talib*, أبو طالب, the father of the striver, being the same as that of Aly's father, and other persons. The donkey, like the camel, has a name denoting patience, *Abu'ssahir*, أبو صابر, and is also the father of the useful, *Abu nafi*, أبو نافع. The mule is the father of the stubborn or restive, *Abu l harun*, أبو الحرون. The sheep is the father of repose, *Abur ráhat*, أبو الراحة.

II. WILD ANIMALS.

Kunyats are supplied to the lion, leopard, lynx, hyæna, jackal, wolf, fox, bear, giraffe, gazelle, hare, hedgehog, rat, weasel, and monkey. No animal has received so many names formed on this plan as the lion, twenty-four of the most common are given in the German essay, derived from colour, leanness, caution, dignity, his mane, combativeness, etc., and it is added that some Arab lexicographers reckon no less than seven hundred of these fancy names as applied to the king of beasts. The wolf is called ironically the father of the sheep, and the fox of howling, *Abu aweilet*, أبو عويلة. It is not easy to trace the idea which suggested some of the names, as that of the lynx, the father of life, *Abu haiyan*, أبو حيان, or the giraffe, the father of Jesus, *Abul Isa*, أبو العيس, or the gazelle, the father of the shedder (of blood), *Abu 'ssafah*, أبو السفاح. This last name is also given to the stag, and is probably applied to both ironically. It was also the nickname applied to the first of the Abbasside line of Khalifs, in horror of the savage treatment of his rivals and enemies. Names of historical persons frequently appear in these lists. Besides that of Abutálib, referred to above, we have *Abu Háris*, *Abu Selma*, and *Abu 'lAbbas*. This last name, which is given to

a lion, may be interpreted literally father of the stern countenance, أبو عباس.

It is curious how many of these animals are called, like men and women, by the names of their offspring, but the figure is lost under the prosaic description of the mother of the calf or the father of the young lion or hyæna.

III. BIRDS.

Twenty-three are named, of which some are appropriate, as the cock, the father of watchfulness, *Abul yaksan*, أبو اليقظان; the dove, father of the well-beloved, *Abu ikrishe*, أبو عكرشه; and the peacock of beauty, *Abul hasan* أبو الحسن. The eagle, like the elephant, is the father of the pilgrim, *Abul hajjat*, أبو الحجاج, though for a different reason; but here also we have puzzling descriptions, as the father of misfortune, *Abu zefir*, أبو زفير, applied to the goose; the vulture, the turtle dove, sparrow, and partridge, become respectively fathers of John, Zachariah, Jacob, and Jethro.

IV. WORMS AND CREEPING THINGS.

That mysterious animal, the snake, whose supposed power of renewing its youth made him, among the ancients, the emblem of eternity, receives due honour as the father of life, *Abu hayán*, أبو حيان. The crab becomes the father, not the son, of the sea, *Abu bahr*, أبو بحر. But here too we have our puzzles, as in the case of the flea, who enjoys the name of the father of the assaults, *Abu 'lvesáb*, أبو الوثاب, and this is applied to him in common with the roe, hare, fox, weasel, and jackal, and there is the same difficulty about proper names, as the bee being the father of Aly, etc.

The preceding examples will probably suffice to illustrate the kind of figure that is resorted to in the case of animals; and I pass over the next three classes, which deal with amphibious creatures, fishes, and plants. The next class brings in a copious list connected with

VIII. HOSPITALITY.

Highly as this virtue was honoured by the Arabs, it has not stimulated their inventive powers in a higher degree than in the preceding examples. The hungry man is represented as the father of the possession or master, *Abu Málík*, أبو مالك; but the host is more appropriately described as the father of the lodger, *i.e.* the guest, *Abu Miswa*, أبو مشوى. Everything with which a table can be set out receives its special title, and this is extended to salt, sugar, honey, and vinegar, some of them being as fanciful as those already given in former lists. Bread is the father of the repairer (of what is broken),¹ أبو جابر; vegetables, of the beautiful, أبو جميل; roast meat is the father of haste, أبو المجلان; cheese of the traveller, أبو مسافر; and salt of the patient, أبو صابر. Water is the father of life, أبو الحوية, and of the comprehending, أبو مدرك. Wine has several names, as father of the cheerful, أبو الميثة; of the liberal, أبو اسمح; of the musician, أبو مطرب; of black melancholy, أبو الجورن; of the chaste, أبو عاصم; of the black, أبو الاسود; and of the wind, أبو رياح.

IX. MEN AND THEIR QUALITIES.

This heading is incorrect, for the class includes the angel of death, who is called the father of John, أبو يحيى; and the devil, the father of bitterness, *Abu morret*, أبو مرّة; and some abstract ideas, as time, the father of the hidden, أبو الوري; and corruption, the father of unbelief, أبو الكفر. There are also certain nicknames applied to historical persons, as the father of flies, أبو زباب, applied to the Khalif Abdulmelik; and *Kunyats* used as epithets applied to persons with certain characteristics. A strong-built

¹ In the German essay it is rendered Bruchheilenden. It is worthy of notice that *Ajabar*, الجبر, has given a name to the science of Algebra as well as to bread.

person is the father of the locust, أبو حجاجد; and a licentious person, father of night, أبو ليلي. A juggler is the father of wonders, أبو العجب, and a godless person or freethinker is the father of the lion, أبو العجدر. The negro is the father of the whitest, أبو الابيض, and a short-sighted person is the father of the seeing, أبو البصر. Winter and summer, night and day, have also their respective names, as the father of haste, أبو العجل; of soul, أبو الروح; of peace, أبو السكن; and of the diffused, المنتشر.

After exhausting the *Kunyats* expressive of paternity, the German essay proceeds to deal with a host of names expressive of relation to mother, son, and daughter. They are not so numerous as those we have passed through, but the figure is carried on in the same way through creation, and exhibits in like manner the strain of the imagination of the Arabs to work out this particular idea. There is very little novelty in their application of the figure to animals and plants. Under the class of women and their qualities, we have the Virgin Mary represented as the mother of light, أم النور, and Ayesha, the favourite wife of Mahomet, is the mother of the faithful, أم المومنين; haste is the mother of repentance, أم الندامة; wine becomes the mother of the vices, أم الخبايث. The first sura of the Koran is the mother of the book, أم الكتاب; the wrist is the mother of the hand, أم آلف.

I bring to a conclusion the extracts from this very large collection with a few examples of *Kunyats* applied to the world or universe, with the relationship of mother, son, and daughter.

The firmament is the mother of the stars, أم النجوم, and the term is also applied to the milky way; the sun is the mother of embracing, أم شملة; and the same term is also applied to the world, as we should say, the all-embracing mother; the moon is the son of night, ابن الليلى; the clouds are daughters of the sea, بنات بحر, or of vapour, بنت بخر; the echo, daughter of the mountain, بنت الجبل; word or speech is daughter of the lips, بنت الشفه; and dreams are

daughters of the night, and fever the daughter of death. Indeed, everything connected with misfortune has a large connection of relatives—fathers, mothers, etc.

In bringing to a conclusion the review of this form of *Kunyat*, Hammer-Purgstall makes the remark that, while the whole list comprises 550 fathers, 350 mothers, 100 sons, and 80 daughters, he can find in Freytag's Dictionary only 227 fathers and 150 mothers, and scarcely any sons and daughters. The fact which he dwells upon seems to admit of a very easy explanation. The greater part of this long list, more than a thousand in all, are not words in ordinary use, but merely fancy names, the invention of poets and rhetoricians, and made for the occasion. The Arabian authors, from whose works Hammer-Purgstall has derived the materials of his essay, must have ransacked the whole range of Arabian literature, even to the most obscure writers, to bring together these specimens of the fertility or rather, may we not say, the poverty of their inventive power. It is, indeed, strange that so many as 377 should have become so well established as to find a place in a work like Freytag's.

When the usage became established, that persons were addressed as the father or mother of one or other of their children, it must have been very mortifying to those who had no offspring to want the customary appellation. To escape from this, another custom was introduced of conferring a premen by anticipation. Rosegarten, who has devoted an essay¹ in illustration of some of the eccentricities attending the use of the premen of the Arabs, gives some curious examples of this. The object of the essay is to show that the use of the *kunyat* is not confined to actual relationship, but takes a wide range, and assumes various forms. This, indeed, is apparent on a very slight examination. In Ibn Khallikan's biographical work, referred to by Rosegarten, there are notices of 800 or 900 persons, and scarcely a dozen appear without this form of premen.

The point to which this essay was directed was not clearly

¹ Ueber der vornamen oder die *Kunye* der Araber, Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 1837.

established, or rather had not attracted attention among Orientalists when Rosegarten took up the subject. He refers to more than one author who describes the *kunya* as referring to actual relationship, among others to Fræhn, who translates it by the word *hyonymicon* (name of son). Rosegarten challenges any one who has studied the political or literary history of the Arabs, to maintain such a position, and he contends that it was wholly inconsistent with the facts above cited from Ibn Khallikan, and with other instances adduced by him. Some of these are curious.

An anecdote is quoted from one of the biographical notices in Ibn Khallikan, which shows how completely the old rule was broken through. A certain descendant of Aly wrote to Ibn Abbad, the Vizier of one of the Buwaihi sovereigns, informing him of the birth of a son, and desiring him to suggest his name (*ism*) and his *kunya*. Ibn Abbad replied as follows, "May God bless thee through the young hero and the happy rising. Already he fills through God the eye with delight, and the soul with joy. Let his name be *Alî* (i.e. the elevated), so that God may exalt his fame, and his *kunya* be *Abul Hassan* (i.e. the father of good), so that God may make his vocation good. I hope for him the virtues of his ancestors, and the good fortune of his ancestors. I send also, as an amulet for him, a gold coin of a hundred Mithkals, which I intend as good omen, hoping that he will live a hundred years, and remain as free as the pure gold from the oppressions of days, and with this farewell."

Some other anecdotes are quoted in this essay from Arabic works, which serve to illustrate the manners of the day, and also show the rules that were sometimes followed in the formation of *kunyats*; but they are hardly required to establish the writer's position. It seems to have been the custom to attach certain *kunyats* to certain names. Il Isfahani, in the *Kitab ilagani*, says that under certain dynasties certain names had special *kunyats*, the reason of which is not obvious. Again, those who were called after some patriarch usually bore a *kunya* connected with that patriarch's son. Thus, in

Ibn Khallikan, several Davids have the *kunyat* of Abu Solomon, a large proportion of the Yakúbs are called Abu Yusuf, and ten Solomons bear the name of Ayub; but the reason for the last is not apparent, nor for the frequency with which the name of Mahommed is accompanied either by the *kunyat* of father of Abubekr, the father-in-law of the prophet, or by that of father of Abdallah, the prophet's own father.

Many Alys, of course, enjoy the *kunyat* of *Abu Hasan*. A curious instance is given in the *Kitab il agani* of a person conferring on his wife the *kunyat* of mother of himself. The passage runs as follows: "I learn from the work of *El Hasanbal*, which contains the songs of *Ammár* and his adventures, that *Ammár Zu kints* had a wife named *Dauma binat rabbah*, to whom he gave the *kunyat* of *Omm Ammár*." It is possible that the name was conferred in anticipation of the birth of a son, for whom this name was intended; but it is rare for father and son to have the same name.

Examples are given of *kunyats* conferred without being intended to denote relationship. Thus it is related by Il Isfahani, in the same work, under the article *Nusaiib*, that this poet was the slave of the Khalif Al Mahdi, who was so delighted with his poems that he enfranchised him, and gave him to wife a female slave of the name of *Jafra*, جفرة, the lamb, and conferred on her the *kunyat* of *Abuhejna*. The word may bear the meaning, according to the authorities cited by Rosegarten, of crooked ear or curly locks. In either case it is an example of the figurative use of this form of name.

I give an instance of a *kunyat* being assumed on a special occasion. It is also taken from the work of Il Isfahani. A negro slave and favourite singer of the Khalif Motawakkel, commenced a song with the words, "O Abu Doleijáh, what commandest thou me?" Thereupon Mokharik, another singer of reputation, exclaimed, "Thou hast well sung, O *Abu Doleijah*." The singer accepted the name at once, kissed Mokharik's hand, and said, "I take this name as an honour, since it is offered by you."

I have referred in a preceding page to another instance of

a *kunyat* conferred without reference to relationship in the case of the Khalif Omar, but the examples which I have given from Rosegarten's essay are amply sufficient to establish his position, without carrying the reader through the whole essay.

THE LACAB.

The third class of proper names into which the subject is divided is the *Lacab*, لقب, or honorary title, and it illustrates even more than the last the religious fervour of the times. It is either applied in the form of a compound, of which those expressive of zeal for the faith or political importance are the most frequent; or by a single word or epithet, like the Augustus, Pius, or Felix, etc., of the Romans, or the names assumed by persons on entering the religious orders of the Roman Catholics. It is rendered by Freytag as corresponding with the cognomen of the Romans; but it is really employed in a more extended sense, as will appear from the following examples. Freytag describes it as follows: "Differt a voce كنية, ut لقب sit cognomen loco veri nominis, ita ut homo nomen habeat apud circumcisionem ei datum præterea cognomen (laudis aut vituperii), et agnomen, كنية, quod semper cum voce أبو, etc., componitur." The *Lacab* thus includes not merely honorary titles and epithets, but a fertile crop of nicknames, which, like many of those in the preceding class, became established proper names in common use. These are dealt with by M. de Tassy under the preceding class, with which they have really nothing in common. The *Kunyat*, according to the preceding definition, is limited to compounds with the words father, etc. It will be in every way more convenient to treat all names implying honour or reproach under one head, and I therefore follow the arrangement of the German essay.

It should, however, be observed that many of the terms which are included under the *Lacab* are not proper names at all, in the sense of being personally applied during the lifetime of the individual. Many of those in the following list,

which I take from M. De Tassy's *Mémoire*, are obviously the invention of later divines and historians. Titles applied to Mahomet: *Rasul Allah*, رسول الله, the sent of God; *Habib Allah*, حبيب الله, the friend of God; *Sayud ilbashar*, سيد البشر, the lord of men; *Sayud il mursiln*, سيد المرسلين, the lord of the sent; *Sayud il anbiya*, سيد الانبياء, lord of the prophets. Applied to Aly: *Asad Allah*, اسد الله, the lion of God, and *Shah walayat*, شاه ولايت, king of holiness. To Adam: *Safi Allah*, سفي الله, the pure in God. To Moses: *Kalim Allah*, كلم الله, the speaker to God. To Abraham: *Khalil Allah*, خليل الله, the friend of God. To Jesus Christ: *Ruh Allah*, روح الله, the spirit of God. To the patriarch Joseph: *Siddik Allah*, السديك في الله, the true in God. To Fatima, Mahomet's daughter: *Sayidat unnisá*, سيدة النساء, the lady or princess of women.

No less than five hundred of these honorary names have been at different times applied to Mahomet, and some of them were in use during his lifetime. That of *Rasul Allah* may be assumed to have been so, as it formed part of the modest title of his successor Abubekr, *Kalifah Resul Allah*, the vicar of the sent of God. Mahomet himself, however, preferred that of *Nebi*, نبي, prophet. According to the historian Tabari, the names which he used in speaking of himself were the following: *Mohammed*, *Ahmed*, *Il Akib*, or, as others say, *Moukib*, implying that he was the last of the prophets. The word *akib*, عاقب, means follower or successor. Also *Il hashir*, الحاشر,¹ because, says Tabari, all mankind will assemble around him on the day of resurrection. The other names which he assumed were *Nabi ulmathamah*, نبي الملحمة, the prophet of war, because he was the only prophet who received power to make so many wars and obtain so many victories, and *Nabi ultaubah*, نبي التوبة, the prophet of repentance.

The title, "Lion of God," is that most frequently applied to Aly, with the addition *Al ghalib*, الغالب, the conqueror. *Hyder*, another name for a lion, is also associated with his

¹ From the root, حشر, congregavit, and applied to the resurrection.

name, and has come into use as a proper name in later times. The Sultan of Mysore took the name of Hyder Aly to mark his respect for the fourth Khalif; and his son Tippoo, who claimed descent on the mother's side from Aly, also retained the name Hyder on his coins. The lion of God becomes in Persian *Shir Khuda*, شیر خدا, and *Hyder Aly* becomes *Shir Aly*; but lions have always abounded in the East, and we have *Sinha* (commonly rendered *Sing*) in India, and *Arselan* among the Turks, without any special reference to the son-in-law of the Prophet. The honorary names most frequently applied to Aly by the Arabs are, besides the preceding, 1. *Wasi*, وصى, the testamentary executor (of Mahomet); 2. *Murtadi*, مرتضى, the agreeable or approved (of God). The title in most common use among the Shiah is *Faid al anwar*, فيض الانوار, the distributor of light, or graces, and he becomes, like his father-in-law, the king of men, expressed in Persian, *Shah mardman*, شاه مردمان.¹

In his passion for name-giving Mahomet conferred no less than three on his father-in-law and successor. Before his conversion to the new religion, Abubekr bore the heathenish appellation of *Abd el Kaaba*, and at Mahomet's request he exchanged it for *Abdallah*. He also received from his son-in-law the appellations of *Siddik*, صدق, the truth; and *Atik*, عتيق, freedman.² These two last, like those in the preceding page, are strictly *lacabs*. This kind of name was in full use before the time of Mahomet. I have referred, in my paper on Imperial and other titles, to many of those borne by the Roman and Byzantine Emperors, and copied by the Sassanian monarchs. Religious names became very common in the first centuries of the Christian era, but they usually superseded the baptismal name, as they do in the case of persons entering the religious orders of the Roman Catholic Church. A *lakab* is, according to the preceding definition, a name of honour, or the reverse, added to the proper name of the individual, as in

¹ Vide D'Herbelot, under the title Ali.

² It is one of the traditions received from Ayesha that Mahomet addressed Abubekr one day in the following terms, "Thou art freed (atik) by God from the fire of hell," and the name was applied to him ever after.—Tabari.

the case of Simon "the just." Epithets like this have at all times abounded, and have laid the foundation of many of the surnames or family names of Europe. But they have never been carried to such an extent, nor can they be studied in such variety as among Mohammadans. They were borne by the early Khalifs, and in the Abbasside line some special epithet is invariably attached to the prince's name. A custom gradually grew up of conferring on the governors or commanders of the empire titles expressive of zeal for the faith, or political importance, until they multiplied to such an extent as to cease to retain any honorary value, and they descended to a lower level of society, and were assumed as ordinary proper names by all classes.

Those of Abubekr and Aly are given in the preceding page; that of Omar was *Fárúk*, فاروق, the discerner (of difficulties); and of Othman *Dhou'nourain*, ذو النورين, possessor of the two lights, because he married two of the daughters of Mahomet—Rokaya and Omm Kolthun. Mahomet himself received, when young, the name of *Al Amin*, الأمين, the true, in compliment to his probity.

I do not find any trace of honorary epithets or titles borne by Khalifs of the house of Ommiah. They had their soubriquets, some of which are given in a preceding page, and, in addition, I may mention that of Yezid Ibn Walid, the thirteenth of the line, who received the opprobrious name of *Al Nakes*, الناقص, the diminisher, because he reduced the pay of the troops,¹ and that of his successor, the last of the line, Merwan, who received the appellation of *Al-Himar*, الحمار, the ass,² on account of the tenacity of his character. The rise of the house of Abbas marks an era in the history of these names, the use of *lacabs* became general, and the Khalifs of the line are invariably mentioned in history by some distinguishing epithet. That of the founder of the dynasty Abu'l Abbas, is the only one which is opprobrious, and

¹ Abulfaraj.

² The full name in Abulfeda is *Himar al Jasirah*, حمار الجزيرة, the ass of Mesopotamia.

he is better known as *Essafah*,¹ the shedder of blood, than by his real name Abu'l Abbas. The names and *Lacabs* of his immediate successors run as follows :—

Abu Jafar *il mansur*, المنصور, the defended (by God); Abu Abdallah Mohammed, *il mahdi*, المهدي, the director; Musa *il hadi*, الهادي, the director; Harun *arrashid*, الرشيد, the guide.

Arrashid left thirteen sons, eight of whom bore the name of Mohammed, and are only to be distinguished by their *Kunyats* or *Lacabs*. Those of his sons who succeeded him in the Khalifat were Mohammad *il Amin*, الامين, the faithful or upright; Abdallah *il Mamun*, المامون, the trusted; this ruler bore also on his coins the title *Alshefi*, الشيفي, the noble. It is significant of the change which the Khalifat was about to undergo that some of the coins of the same sovereign bear the name and *lacab* of his most honoured commander Tahir *dsu'lyemintn*, ذو اليمينين, possessor of the two right hands, i.e. ambidexter. The practice of associating the name of a favourite minister on coins conjoined to that of the sovereign was introduced by Arrashid. On one of his coins in Marsden's work we find the name of Jaafar the Barmecide. It may also be noted that on coins of this period the usual order of the name is reversed; and the *Lacab* or honorary title is placed first, as that under which the prince desired to be specially recognized. Thus we have *Il Mahdi Mohammad* and *Il Amin Mohammad*. Those of Arrashid were simply *Khalifah Arrashid*, while the name of his son, who was associated with him in the government, is given in full, with the especial title *Amir il momenin*, commander of the faithful.

It is noted by historians that the third and last of Arrashid's sons who succeeded to the Khalifat was the first to bring in the name of God as part of his title. This was

¹ This nickname is applied in a different sense in Caussin de Perceval's "Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes." Salama, an Arab chief of the tribe of Taghlib in Nejd, was at war with his brother, and ordered the water-skins of his horsemen to be cut open, and their contents spilt on the ground, telling them to go and drink at the fountain of Coulab, in the enemy's position. Hence he is called *Saffah*, spiller of water. As, however, he subsequently offered a reward for his brother's head, which was accordingly brought to him after the battle, he was better entitled to the name in the same sense as its application to the Abbasside Khalif.—Histoire des Arabes, vol. ii. p. 298.

Abu Ishak *il motasim billah*, المعتم بمالله, supported by the grace of God. The new form became the rule, and members of the house of Abbas who succeeded him bore names ending in "*billah*" or analogous expressions. Thus we have *Il wathik billah*, الوائق بالله, he who trusts in God; *Il mostansir billah*, المستنصر بالله, he who seeks assistance in God; *Il motawakkil ala' allah*, المتوكل على الله, he who places his trust on God; *Il moktafi biamr allah*, المقتفى بأمر الله, he who follows by the order of God; *Il násir ledin allah*, الناصر لدين الله, the defender of the religion of God.

The Fatemite Khalifs, who ruled in Africa and Egypt, assumed titles of a similar character, consisting of a distinguishing epithet with the addition of *billah* or *biamr allah*, etc.

The twelve Imaums have also their *Kunyats* and *Lacabs*, which are duly recorded in their lives. The descendants of Aly were regarded with suspicion by the Abbasside Khalifs, and lived in retirement. None of them died a natural death. Some were noted for their sanctity. Husein is *Shahid il Kerbela*, الشهيد الكربلا, the witness (i.e. the martyr) of Kerbela. His son Aly bore two *Lacabs*, *Sayad al aabedin* and *Zain al aabedin*, زين العبدین or سيد, the prince or the ornament of the servants (of God). The successors are called respectively, *Il bákir*, الباقر, abounding (in knowledge); *Il sádik*, الصادق, the true; *Il kazim*, الكاظم, he who restrains his anger on account of his gentleness. *Rida*, رضى, and *Murteda*, مرتضى, the satisfied or content, are applied to more than one. *Hadi*, the leader, being the same as that of the fourth Abbasside Khalif; *Taki*, تقى, fearer (of God); *Zaki*, زكى, the pure. The last of the twelve is the well-known *Mehdi*, مهدي, the dedicated (to God), whose sudden disappearance has favoured the hopes of his followers that he is still living, and will appear again on the earth to unite the faithful.¹

¹ For the *Lacabs* of the twelve Imams, I am indebted to Haneberg's article in the second volume of the Zeitschrift of the German Oriental Society, and to Mr. Behatsek's article in the fifth volume of the Indian Antiquary. When fully set forth, the honorary designations of these saints occupy several pages.

M. de Tassy gives some examples of *Lacabs* peculiar to the Sayads. They are reverential titles, similar in character to the preceding. We have *Dahl arrahmán*, دليل الرحمان, he who guides to the merciful; *Fasih arrahmán*, فصيح الرحمان, the eloquent (by the grace of) the merciful; *Khalik assabhán*, خالق السبحان, the worthy of praise; *Badr i alam*, بدر عالم, the full moon of the world, etc.

I turn to another class of *Lacabs*, ending with the words *din*, religion, and *dawlat*, state, which came into vogue under the Abbasside Khalifs, and maintained their popularity for several centuries. They were borne by some of the greatest sovereigns, as by Mahmúd of Ghuzni and by the great Saladin. That they took their rise with the house of Abbas may be inferred from the passage from Albiruni which I have quoted below. I find no trace of them under the preceding dynasty. I have already given an example of an honorary title conferred on a successful general by the Khalif Almansúr; another of his ministers, Fadhl, is said by Tabari to have received from him the title of *Dzu'l-riyásatáin*, ذو الرياستين, the possessor of the two governments or commands, because he was entrusted with the administration of civil as well as military affairs. The titles expressive of zeal for the faith or support of the state, that is, to the empire of the Khalifs, gradually acquired such popularity as for a time to supersede all others. Very numerous lists of these varied appellations are given in M. de Tassy's and in Hammer-Purgstall's essays, and the latter adds a special list of those borne by the family of Buwaih. The reader will, probably, be content with those that are given in the following passage from Albiruni's work on chronology, in which that author expresses in strong terms his contempt for the whole system.¹

“When the Baní-'Abbás had decorated their assistants, friends, and enemies indiscriminately with vain titles, com-

¹ I am indebted to Professor Sachau for this extract from his forthcoming translation of this work. I have, for convenience, added the titles from the original work, with their meaning.

pounded with the word *daula* (i.e. *empire*, such as helper of the empire, sword of the empire, etc.), their empire perished; for in this they went beyond all reasonable limits. This went on so long, till those who were especially attached to their court claimed something new as a distinction between themselves and the others. Thereupon the Khalifs bestowed double titles. But then, also, the others wanted the same titles, and knew how to carry their point by bribery. Now it became necessary a second time to create a distinction between this class and those who were directly attached to their court. So the Khalifs bestowed triple titles, adding, besides, the title of Shâhinshâh. In this way the matter became utterly opposed to common sense, and clumsy to the highest degree, so that he who mentions them gets tired before he has scarcely commenced, that he who writes them loses his time and writing, and he who addresses them runs the risk of missing the time for prayer.

“It will not do any harm if we mention here the titles which, up to our time, have been bestowed by their majesties the Khalifs. We shall comprise them in the accompanying table (see pages 206–209) :—

“Also the Wazirs of the Khalifs have received certain titles, compounded with the word *Dhú*, as e.g. *Dhú-al-yaminain*, *Dhú-al-ri'ásatain*, *Dhú-al-kifáyatain*, *Dhú-al-saifain*, *Dhú-al-kalamain*, etc.

“The Buwaihi family, when, as we have mentioned, the power passed into their hands, imitated the example of the Khalifs; nay, they made it still worse, and their title-giving was nothing but one great lie, when they called their Wazirs, e.g., *Káfi-al-Kufât*, *Alkáfi al awhad*, *Awhad-alkufât*.¹

The family of Sámán, the rulers of Khurásán, had no desire for such titles, contenting themselves with their *Kuniyas* (such as *Abú-Násr*, *Abú-al-hasan*, *Abú-Sálih*, *Abú-al-kásim*, *Abú-al-*

¹ That is, perfect of the perfect, perfect of the one or unique, and unique of the perfect. *Al Awhad*, *الوحد*, is one of the attributes of God.

hárith). In their lifetime they were called *Almalik*, *Almu'ayyad*, *Almuwaffak*, *Almansur*, *Almu'azzam*, *Almuntasir*, and after their death, *Alhamid*, *Alshahid*, *Alsa'id*, *Alsadid*, *Alradí*, etc.

“To their field-m Marshals, however, they gave the titles of *Nasir-aldaula*, *Imad-aldaula*, *Husam-aldaula*, *Amid-aldaula*, *Saif aldaula*, *Sinán aldaula*, *Mu'in-aldaula*, *Násir-aldaula*, in imitation of the ways of the Khalifs. The same was done by Bughrákhán when he had come forward to claim supreme power A.H. 382, calling himself *Shiháb-aldaula*.

“Some of them, however, have gone beyond this limit, calling themselves *Amir-al-'alam* and *Sayyid-al-'umará*. May God inflict on them ignominy in this world, and show to them and to others their weakness!

“As to the Amír, the glorious Prince, may God give a long duration to his reign (to whom this book is dedicated). His Majesty, the Khalif, addressed him in a letter, and offered to him titles such as those compounded with the word *Daula* (e.g. *Saif-al-daula*, *Husám-al-daula*, etc.). But then he considered himself superior to them, and abhorred the idea of being compared with those who were called by such titles, but only in a very metaphorical way. He therefore selected for himself a title, the full meaning of which did not exceed his merits (*Shams-al-ma'áli*, i.e. *Sun of the Heights*). He has become—may God give a long duration to his power!—among the kings of the world, like the sun, who illuminates the darkness in which they live by the rays of his *Heights*. He has come into high favour with the Khalif as a prince of the believers. They wanted to redouble and to increase his title, but his noble mind declined it. May God give him a long life, may he enlighten all the parts of the world by his justice, and bless them by his look; may He raise *his* affairs and those of the subjects who dwell in his shadow, to perfection, increasing them everlastingly! God is almighty to do this, and sees and knows all the affairs of his slaves.”

NAMES OF THOSE ON WHOM TITLES WERE BESTOWED.	TITLES BESTOWED BY THE KHALIFES.
Alkásim bin 'Ubaid-alláh	Waliyy-al-daula
His son	'Amíd-al-daula
'Abú-Muhammad bin Hamdán	Násir-al-daula
His son	Sa'd-al-daula
'Abu-alhasan 'Alí bin Hamdán	Saif-al-daula
'Alí bin Buwaih	'Imád-al-daula
'Abu-alhasan 'Ahmad bin Buwaihi	Mu'izz-al-daula
Alhasan bin Buwaihi	Rukn-al-daula
'Abu-Mansúr Bakhtiyár bin Abf-alhusain	Izz-al-daula
Abú-Ishak bin Alhusain	'Umdat-al-daula
Abú-Harb Alhabashí bin Abf-alhusain	Sanad-al-daula
Abu-Mansúr Bisután bin Washmgír	Zahír-al-daula
Abu-Mansúr Buwaihi bin Alhasan	Mu'ayyid-al-daula
Almarzubán bin Bakhtiyár	I'záz-al-daula
Kábús bin Washmgír	Shams-al-ma'áli
Abu-Ahmad 'Háarith bin Ahmad	Waliyy-al-daula
Abu-Shujá Fanákhura bin Alhasan	Adud-al-daula wa Táj-al-milla
Abu-Kálinjar bin Fanákhura	Fakhr-al-daula wa Falak-al-'umma

TITLES IN THE ORIGINAL WORK.	TRANSLATION.
ولّى الدولة	Lord of the state
عميد الدولة	Safety of the state
ناصر الدولة	Defender of the state
سعد الدولة	Happiness of the state
سيف الدولة	Sword of the state
عماد الدولة	Column of the state
معزّ الدولة	Honour of the state
ركن الدولة	Prop of the state
عزّ الدولة	Honour of the state
عمدة الدولة	Support of the state
سند الدولة	Prop of the state
ظهير الدولة	Aider of the state
مويد الدولة	Strengtheners of the state
اعزاز الدولة	Honour of the state
شمس المعالى	Sun of the heights
ولّى الدولة	Lord of the state
عضد الدولة وتاج الملة	Shoulder of the state and throne of the faith
فخر الدولة وفلك الامة	Glory of the state and the orb of the religion.

NAMES OF THOSE ON WHOM TITLES WERE BESTOWED.	TITLES BESTOWED BY THE KHALIFS.
Abu-Kálinjar Marzubán bin Fánakhusra	Samsám-al-daula wa Shams-al-milla
'Abu-alfawaris bin Fánakhusra	Sharaf-al daula wa Zaman-al-milla
Abu-Talib Rustam bin Ali	Majd-al-milla wa Kahf-al-umma
Abu-alkásim Mahmúd bin Sabuktagín	Yamín-al-daula wa Amin-al-milla
Abu-Nasr Khurra Firóz bin Fanákhusra	Bahá-al-daula wa Diyá-al-milla Ghaiyáth-al-umma
Abu-alhasan Muhammad bin Ibrahim	Násir-al-daula
Abu-al' abbás Tásh Alhájb	Husám-al-daula
Abu-alhasan Fa'ik-alkhassa	Amíd-al-daula
Abu-Ali Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Ibráhm	Násir-al-daula
Sabuktagín first	Múin-al-daula
Afterwards he received the title of	Nasir-al-dfn wa al-daula
Mahmúd bin Sabuktagín	Saif-al-daula
Abu-alfawaris Bek-tázún Alhájb	Sinán-al-daula
Abu-alkásim Muhammad bin Ibráhm	Nasir-al-daula
Abu-Mansúr Alp Arslán Albálawi	Múin-al-daula

TITLES IN THE ORIGINAL WORK.	TRANSLATION.
صمصام الدولة و شمس الملة	Sharp sword of the state and sun of the faith
شرف الدولة و زمن الملة	Nobility of the state and time of the faith
مجد الملة و كهف الامة	Glory of the faith and asylum of the religion
يمين الدولة و امين الملة	Right hand of the state and trustee of the faith
بهاء الدولة و ضياء الملة و غياث الامة	Beauty of the state and splendour of the faith and assistance of the religion
ناصر الدولة	Defender of the state
حسام الدولة	Sharp (sword) of the state
عميد الدولة	Safety of the state
ناصر الدولة	Defender of the state
معين الدولة	Assistant or defender of the state
ناصر الدين و الدولة	Defender of religion and of the state
سيف الدولة	Sword of the state
سنان الدولة	Spear's point of the state
نصير الدولة	Assistant of the state
معين الدولة	Assistant of the state

The title *Shums el maali*, literally sun of the heights, means, according to D'Herbelot, the sun in its apogee (*i.e.* in midsummer). It was conferred by the Abbasside Khalif, il Kadir billah, on the Dilemite prince Kabús, to whom Albiruni dedicated the work from which the

preceding extract is taken. Notwithstanding this author's contemptuous remarks, these titles were not disdained by even greater princes than Albiruni's patron. Mahmúd of Ghuzni, with whose court Albiruni was well acquainted, condescended to receive these vain designations.

In truth, this form of *Lacab* retained its popularity for several centuries after the time of Mahmúd. They may be studied, in all their variety, in the list of the Patan Sultans of Hindustan, or in that of the Seljuk dynasty, or of the various smaller princes that succeeded them, and they were especially affected by the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria. They, however, gradually ceased to be royal appellations. It became a fashion to assume a religious title, and the fashion extended to all classes. In the "Thousand and One Nights," which may be taken as a picture of manners in Egypt, we find names of *Shums eddin*, *Ala eddin*, and *Núr eddin*, borne, not merely by princes and sons of viziers, but by merchants. In D'Herbelot's dictionary a large proportion of these *Lacabs* are the proper names of men of letters and science. Many of them still retain their popularity in India and are in use as proper names.

In the passage from Albiruni above quoted some examples are given of titles compounded with *Dhu* or *Dhi*, signifying possessor, conferred by the Khalifs on their viziers. They call for a remark, although they are passed over entirely in the German essay, and slightly noticed by M. de Tassy under the head of *Kunyats*, with which they have nothing in common. Names formed with this compound were in use in pre-Islamite times, and applied to places and things as well as to persons. Mahomet, at the battle of Ohod, is said to have carried two swords, one of which bore the name of *Dhu-l-Fikár*, ذو الفقار, possessor of the spine. The name, having received this religious sanction, has come into use as a proper name, and was borne by a Nizam of the Deccan in the time of Shah Alam in the slightly altered form, *Zulfikar* Khan, owing to the different pronunciation of the letter ذ. Several persons of rank bearing the name of *Zulfikar* also figure in Turkish

history. Mention is made in Caussin de Perceval's work of another sword, the property of Harith, the son of Zalim, a pre-Islamite chief, to which he gave the name of *Dhu'l Hayat*, ذو الحية, master of life. But the practice of giving names to swords seems to have been common in these times. Mahomet had seven, each of them with a special title, and all duly recorded in history, as were the names of his horses, camels, spears, and cuirasses. *Dhu'l fikar* alone of the swords had the honour of having its name adopted by Moslems and transmitted to modern times. It is especially distinguished as being the weapon borne by Mahomet on the only occasion on which he mingled personally in the *mêlée*, and it was that by which Aly performed the great feat of cleaving his adversary through shield and helmet down to the very chest, which called forth, on the part of the Prophet, the exclamation that there was no sword like *Dhu'lfikar* and no hero like Aly.¹

The word *Dhú* or *Dzu* is described by Caussin de Perceval as a title borne by the Himyarite princes.² The proper names, in his work, only give it in combination with some other word, and the examples of its use in the old time in other families than that of Himayar are very numerous. It was evidently not used as a title in the same way as *Malik* or *Sheikh* might be employed, but as representing some quality or peculiarity. In post-Islamite times it was not very common,

¹ This celebrated sword is said by D'Ohsson (*Tableau général de l'Empire Othomane*) to have passed into the hands of the descendants of Aly, and to have been finally broken in the chase. D'Ohsson says that in his time a representation of the weapon was woven on the Ottoman banners, and especially on those of the Admiralty.

² "Ces princes, décorés des titres de *Cayl* ou *Dhou*," and, further on, "La plupart des *Cayl* ou *Dhou* se soulevèrent."—*Histoire des Arabes*, vol. i. pp. 99, 114. I do not suppose that more was implied than that these princes affected this particular form, or that it was applied to them by others. The meaning of the name or title is occasionally given in this work as *Dhou Chendtir*, the possessor of the earrings; *Dhou l'minar*, in reference to the *Minars*, or beacons, that one of these princes raised during one of his expeditions. It is indeed clear from the following explanation given of the word *adwa*, أدوا, in Golius's *Lexicon*, that the plural form was used in this general sense. "Reges Arabiæ Felices Himjaritæ, quod omnes nomina haberent ubi præcederet ذو, ut ذو جدين *Dou zjâdenin*, ذو رعين *Dou roainin*."

and was indeed superseded by the fancy names that came into vogue. I have given some specimens of its use in the preceding pages, including two of those adverted to by Albiruni. The name *Dhu'l Karnein*, ذو القرنين, possessor of the two horns, which appears in the Koran, is supposed to apply to Alexander the Great, but it was also borne by other princes. In the case of Alexander, he was so entitled, according to Tabari, because he subdued kings both in the East and West. I may add, in illustration of the use of this compound, that the names of the last two months of the year, according to the old calendar of the Arabs, were *Dhu 'lcada*, and *Dhu 'lhajja*. These two months, as well as the first of the following year, the *Moharram*, were regarded as sacred, and war was forbidden during them. *Dhu 'lcada* was the month of truce, from the root, تعد, he sat down; *Dhu 'lhajja* was the month of pilgrimage.¹

Before quitting the subject of religious names, two other forms must be referred to, which are given in M. De Tassy's essay. 1. Those terminating in *Allah*. 2. Names expressive of devotion to Mahomet, Aly, Hasan, and Husain. Twenty specimens of the former are given, and are there said to be in general use. This form has never been common. The only names comprised in De Tassy's list which I find in D'Herbelot are *Ruh allah*,² spirit of God—applied by old writers to Jesus Christ, and assumed by the author of a commentary on Beidawi's treatise on the Koran; and *Fadh allah*, father of the founder of a dynasty called Sarbedarians. In Ferishta's history I find only three of these names, *Fazal allah*, فضل الله, the excellence of God, or possessing excellence from God; *Faiz allah*, فيض الله, possessing liberality from God; and *Meamun allah*, ميامن الله, reposing in God. There are other names of this kind which will be familiar to those who have lived in the East, as *Khair allah* and *Amin allah*, etc. But the use of such names is not common, and the practice has probably received a check from the exertions

¹ Caussin de Perceval, vol. i. p. 243.

² Corresponding with the Uriel and Uriah of the Scriptures.

of the Mahomedan reformers to induce their followers to abstain from their use.¹

The devotion of the Mahomedans to the founder of their religion finds its expression in a multitude of names, some of which I subjoin from those in M. de Tassy's list. To the name of Abdallah, servant of God, correspond those of *Abd-ar-rasûl*, عبد الرسول, servant of the sent; *Gholâm-i-Mohammed*, غلام محمد, servant of Mahommed; *Bandah-i-Ali*, بندہ علی, slave of Aly; *Aly Kuli*, علی قولی, slave of Aly, and *Gholâm-i-Haider*, غلام حیدر, slave of the lion, i.e. Aly; *Gholâm-i-Husain*, غلام حسین, slave of Husain. To the name *Khalil allah*, خليل الله, friend of God, correspond those of *Yâr Mohammed*, یار محمد, or *Yâr Aly*, یار علی, friend of Mohammed and Aly, and terms corresponding with *Lutf allah*, لطف الله, the goodness of God; *Ata allah*, عطا الله, gift of God; *Nûr allah*, نور الله, light of God; and the familiar names of *Ali Murâd*, علی مراد, the will of Aly, corresponding with *Mâsha allah*, ماشاء الله, the will of God.

I have already remarked that religious sentiment has had considerable influence in the invention of names in all countries and in all religions. The Mahomedans, though making a large use of religious expressions and epithets, have been sparing in the invention of names in which the name of God appears. Such combinations were in common use among the Jews, as in the case of Daniel, judgment of God; Ezekiel, seeing God; Gabriel, man of God, or strength of God; Gamaliel, God's reward; Josiah, fire of the Lord;² and Jeremiah, exalted of the Lord. So also, in modern Europe, we have Godfrey, from Godfried, God's peace; Godhard, strength of God; and Godrich, rich or powerful in God.

It is in the expressions corresponding with gift of God, or

¹ See the translation of *Takwiyat ul Iman*, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIII. p. 324, in which, among other injunctions respecting the name of God, it is even urged that devout persons should abstain from the use of names like Abdallah, Abd ur rahman, Khoda Buksh, Ala eddin, etc. The work is by Ismail Hajji Maulavi, a disciple of Sayad Ahmed.

² This is the meaning as interpreted by Camden. According to others, it means given up to the Lord, or God-healed.

of Mohammed, that we find the aptest illustrations of a common religious feeling under different creeds and peoples. The first recorded instance is afforded in the name of the first-born of Eve. She is described as giving vent to her feelings of gratitude in words which have been repeated by so many of her descendants: "I have gotten a man from the Lord," the word *Cain* meaning "gotten or acquired." The name *Nathan*, "given," represents the same idea, as certainly do the names Jonathan, Elnathan, Nathaniel, and Nathaniah. The Carthaginian name *Hamilcar* is the "gift of Milcar," the Tyrian Hercules. The Arabic term for God's gift is *Ata allah*, عطا الله, corresponding with the Persian *Khudadad*, خداداد. *Yesdan Buksh*, یزدان بخش, was the name of the vizier of Hormuz ben Noshirwan.¹ *Yesdan* in the old creed was the good genius opposed to Ahriman. *Khuda Buksh* is a common name in India. *Khudaberdi* Timurtash, one of the Amirs who figure in Baber's Memoirs, bears the same meaning, given of God. In Sanskrit we meet with *Suryadatta*, corresponding with the Greek *Heliodorus*, *Sivadatta*, and *Krishnadatta*, etc. In Greek *Theodorus* and *Theodosius*, or *Doritheus* (Dorithy), *Dositheos*, also *Heradorus*, *Athenodorus*, and *Aphisodorus*, the gifts of Here, Athene, and the river Cephizus; *Apollodoros* was a king of Bactria; the celebrated *Mithradates* bore a name expressing the gift of the god Mithra. I cannot find any old Roman name expressing the same grateful feeling. In Christian times they became very common. There were several bishops of the name of *Deodatus*. *Deusededit* was the name of an Archbishop of Canterbury in Saxon times, and of one Pope. *Deo gratias* was a presbyter in the time of Augustin; but the feeling of thankfulness, of which this is the expression, may have been suggested by other reasons than parental affection. *Donatus*, however, may be claimed as belonging to this class. It is recorded of Louis VII. of France, that when, after many daughters, he was blessed with a son, he gave him the name of Dieu donné. The

¹ Vuller, Lex. Pers.-Lat. Etymologicum.

French surnames Donnedieu, Dondé, and Dieudé, are traced to the same source, and probably also the name Dudon.

A class of honorary titles are referred to in Hammer-Purgstall's essay under the head of *Lacabs* which have nothing in them of the nature of proper names. Such are the numerous epithets which were employed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of the Christian era, combined with the royal title *Malik*, by the line of Saladin and some other dynasties, and by the Mamluk rulers of Egypt and Syria. Saladin bore the title of *Malik il nasir*, and his son that of *Malik al adel*, and the epithet *al Afdal*, *الافضل*, the most excellent; *al ashraf*, the most honourable; *al daher*, *الظاهر*, the manifest; *al Kamel*, *الكامل*, the perfect; *es salah*, *الصالح*, the firm or just, are of frequent occurrence at this epoch; but they are not used apart from the royal title to which they are joined, like the *al mamun* or the *ar rashid* of the Khalifs, and cannot be separated from the honorary titles of princes which do not come under the subject of this essay. These titles form a numerous class in themselves, and were especially affected by the Mogul Sovereigns of India. Some of these assumed titles, as in the case of Jehanghir and Aurungzebe, were the names by which these princes became known in history.

The following are specimens of these metaphoric titles: *Zill allah*, *ظل الله*, shadow of God; *Zill i subhani*, *ظل سبحاني*, shadow of the most high; *Kibla i alum*, *قبله عالم*, Kibla of the world; *Hazur i anwar*, *حضور انور*, the presence of light; *Alam punah*, *عالم پناه*, or *Jehan punah*, asylum of the world. These are obviously compliments in the usual fulsome style of Eastern address, and not assumed by the sovereigns themselves as part of their titles. The title of *Sahib Kuran*, *صاحب قران*, lord of the (planetary) conjunctions, which was assumed by Timur and his immediate descendants, and also by Nadir Shah, and by Shah Jehan,¹ has descended, like many

¹ In the inscription on a mosque of the Moghul emperors, Shah Jehan is called *Sahib Kuran Sani*, Sahib Kuran the Second, and possibly it was borne by one of his immediate predecessors.—Prinsep's Useful Tables, p. 46.

other great titles, to the level of a proper name. I find the name of *Mian Sahib Kuran* among other Urdu poets referred to in M. Garcin de Tassy's Review of Hindustani Literature for 1875.

The variety of these complimentary titles is endless. While monarchs and their courtiers exhausted their imaginations in inventing phrases of honour, men of letters and science came in for their share. Here again I am indebted to M. Garcin de Tassy's paper for a curious list of these titles.

That of *Malik asshuará*, ملك الشعرا, king of poets, has been frequently conferred on the poet laureate of the day; *Aladib atturk*, الاديب الترك, the learned Turk, was conferred on Ibn arrumi; *Sultan Khorassan*, on the poet Anvari; *Amir il kalám*, امير الكلام, prince of discourse, conferred on Khusrau of Dehli; *Shums asshuara*, شمس الشعرا, sun of poets, on the Persian poet Feleki; *Afzal asshuara*, افضل الشعرا, the most excellent of poets, conferred by Akbar II. of Dehli on the poet Fazl, being a pun on his name. Then we have *Zainalámin*, زين العالمين, ornament of the creatures, conferred on a physician; *Bahr-i-Hifz*, بحر حفظ, sea of memory, applied to the author of a work, entitled "The Manners of Kings;" *Mufti assakitin*, مفتي الثقيلين, judge of the two gross or material races, i.e. mankind and genii, applied to a celebrated lawyer; *Malik alfazilá*, ملك الفضلا, king of the learned; *Kutb alilm wa alhukum*, قطب العلم والحكم, pivot or pole of science and wisdom, conferred on the astronomer Harfi; and *Ain alurafá*, عين العرفا, the eye of the contemplative, applied to an ascetic writer.

This list might be largely swelled, if we took account of the numerous fancy names conferred on or assumed by men of letters; but I must turn to the other side of the picture. It will be remembered that the *Lacab* deals not merely with titles of honour, but with terms of reproach. Nicknames of all sorts abound in the East, and as the *kunyat* or name of affinity is pressed into the service of satire, so it is with the *Lacab*. They are very sparingly illustrated in the French and German essays. M. de Tassy gives the following

examples: *Araj*, اعرج, the lame; *Ahdab*, احدب, the hump-back; *Tawil*, طويل, the long; *Kastr*, قصير, the short; *Kabir* كبير, the great; *Saghir*, صغير, the little. It is pointed out that the last two words are employed in the sense of senior and junior, as, for example, *Abu hafz alkabir* and *Abu hafz assaghir*; as are also the Persian synonyms *Buzurg*, بزرگ, and *Kuchak*, کوچک.

The examples in Hammer-Purgstall's essay are equally limited. They are, indeed, with one exception, confined to a few epithets descriptive of defective eyesight. We have *Araj*, the lame, of De Tassy's paper, and then follow *Il aama*, العما, the blind; *Il dharir*, التصير, also the blind; *Il aamesh*, العمش, the blear-sighted; *Il aahfesh*, the weak-eyed; *Il aasha*, the squinter. It is noted by Hammer-Purgstall that there are no less than eleven grammarians who are nicknamed the weak-eyed, and a dozen poets who are squinters, and he leaves his reader to form his judgment whether these defects in either case come by nature or from their special pursuits. He evidently inclines to the opinion that the defective vision of the grammarians has something to do with their studies.

Nicknames derived from personal defects or appearance though common, are not, perhaps, so numerous as those which in Europe have laid the foundation of so many European surnames. I find in Ibn Khallikan's dictionary another "squinter," who is termed *Said al ahwal*, الاحول. A powerful Amir in the time of the Crusades bore the name of *Al mushtub*, المشطوب, the scarred, from a wound on his face, and the name was carried on to his son, one of Saladin's lieutenants, who bore the name of *Abu al Mushtub*. A brother of Harun arrashid, who was of a large frame of body and dark complexion, which he inherited from his mother, a negress, bore the name *At tannin*, التنين, the dragon. A man of letters at Baghdad, in the third century of the Hejra, received the name of *Niphtawaih*, from the word naphtha, on account of his ugliness and dark complexion. The celebrated founder of a sect, who raised a formidable insurrection against the Abbasside Khalifs in the third century of the

Hejra, is said to have received his name *Kermat* from his gait and short stature, and the word is so interpreted by De Sacy in his work on the religion of the Druses.¹

The use of nicknames founded upon personal peculiarities seems to have been more common among the Turks than among the Arabs. It is said by D'Ohsson that the Sultans never assumed an honorary title, but they occasionally received from the public names of honour or reproach. The only instances that he gives are the epithets *adil*, the just, and *yawûs*, the severe, but he does not mention to whom they were applied. Solyman I., who figures in European history as 'the Magnificent,' received from his subjects the appellation of *Kanuni*, the legislator. D'Ohsson says that the following epithets are occasionally applied to ministers of state: *Semis*, the fat; *Tawil*, the long; *Topal*, the lame; *Kur*, the one-eyed; and *Dely*, the mad. *Topal* Osman was the grand vizier of Mahmúd I., and *Kara* (black) Mustapha the vizier of Mahomet IV. The *Lacab* of *Ilderim*,² lightning, applied to Bayazet, is well known.

I have given in a preceding page some of the *Lacabs* reflecting on the moral character of Khalifs of the Ommiah or Abbasside line. In a similar spirit a vizier of one of the Fatimite Khalifs received the appellation of *Ras albaghal*, رأس البغل, the mule-headed. The celebrated Djezzar or Jezzar Pacha, the defender of Acre, received the opprobrious nickname of *Jezzar*, جزر, the butcher, from his cruelty; his real name was Ahmed.³ In the papers relating to Turkey which have been laid before Parliament, I observe that in

¹ The word *kermat*, كرمط, is rendered in Freytag's dictionary, "Contraxit passus in incessu." Abulfeda gives a different derivation, and says that he was so called from the red colour of his eyes.—Annals, vol. ii. p. 267.

² The word *Ilderim* claims consanguinity with *Ilduz* or *Yildiz*, يلدز, a star, the name of one of the Patan Sultans of Hindustan (Thomas's Pathan Kings of Dehli, p. 26). This, again, is traced by Prichard to the Mongolian *Aldar* and the Mandchú *Elder*, which mean shine, splendour.

³ M. de Tassy is in error in supposing that he was a butcher by trade, and that he retained the name of his former occupation when he rose to power. His history is well known, and will be found in detail in the "Biographie Universelle." He was a Bosnian, and entered public life as the slave of the celebrated Aly Bey. Jezzar, whose real name was Ahmed, took a pride in the revolting name by which he was popularly known.

recent times a Turkish Pasha on the Armenian frontier received the nickname of *Koort*,¹ قورت, Pasha, the wolf, as emblematic of the character of his rule. Baber, in his account of the Khans of the Moguls, with whom his family were connected, mentions that one of them, Sultan Ahmed Khan, was commonly called Ilcheh Khan. The word Ilcheh is said by Baber to be a corruption of the word *Ilaji*, which, in the Kalmak and Mogul language, means slayer, as he had on several occasions defeated the Kalmaks with great slaughter. These kind of names are not, however, numerous. Fanciful *Kunyats* seem to have been much more popular among the Arabs for the expression of abuse, and the *Lacabs* used for the purpose of honour.

THE ISM U NISBAT.

The fourth class that I have to deal with is the name of relation, *ism u nisbat*, اسم نسبت, or, as it is described by Hammer-Purgstall, *Alansab*, الانساب, the genealogies. The latter designation is too limited, for this class includes names derived from connexion of place or family, trade, religion, or sect. It is compared by M. de Tassy to the agnomen of the Romans. A more apt comparison would be with the old Hebrew mode of describing a person by his connexion of family, tribe, place of birth, or origin. Instances of the latter abound in the Old Testament, as, Jesse the Bethlemite, Elijah the Tishbite, etc., from known places. The adjective of relation is formed, like the corresponding Hebrew word, by the simple addition of the letter *t*, but in forming names of this class, the original name occasionally undergoes an inflexion.

To designate a person by his connexion with place, trade, or profession, has been at all times common in modern Europe, and a very large proportion of the names in use have been founded on such relations. In the West, a

¹ Since the above was in type I have met with another Koort, the proper name of the person—a Mamluk Bey, who withstood Selim I. on his invasion of Egypt, was so called. The account of his interview with the conqueror, and his death, are graphically described in Von Hammer's history.

substantive is usually employed, with or without the "of" or "de," which marked the connexion with the place of birth or residence, or the definite article is prefixed to the trade or office. There, are, however, a large number of exceptions to this rule, which are analogous to the adjective of the Arabs. Not to speak of names of honour like the Coriolanus and Africanus of the Romans, we have Adrianus, Atticus, Cyprianus, Sidonius, Lydia, Helvetius, etc.¹ Barbarus was once employed as a proper name, and Barbara still holds its ground. In the British Isles we have Inglis and Scott, French and Fleming, Cornish and Welsh (in Scotch Wallace, derived from Wallensis). Among the Mahomedans, as in Europe, the name of relation very often superseded the other appellations; and thus the historian *Tabari* and also *Albiruni* are chiefly known in later times by adjectives implying that the first named was a native of Tabaristan, and the latter of Birun. It is strange that so eminent an historian as *Tabari* should be chiefly known by a name expressive of local connexion, for *At Tabaris* recur again and again in *Ibn Khalikan*. But the frequency with which the same name of relation recurs, whether connected with place or family, has led, for the purpose of distinction, to the application of more than one name of this class to the same individual, which was one of the peculiarities of the system derived from the Arabs. These characteristics will appear more clearly as we proceed.

Hammer-Purgstall arranges them under ten heads:—1. Tribes or Families; 2. Ancestors; 3. Companionship; 4. Lords or Patrons; 5. Slaves called after their masters; 6. Country or Place; 7. Religion or Sect; 8. Trade or Profession; 9. Peculiarity of bodily members; 10. Dress or other accidental peculiarities. The two last are nicknames of a very common order, and are only brought under this arrangement owing to the employment of an adjective of relation. Indeed, the examples are limited to two. A man with a large head received the soubriquet of *Rewasi*, from

¹ For examples of names derived from places, whether in the form of an adjective or of a substantive, and drawn from all parts of Europe, I refer the reader to Pott's *Die personennamen*.

Ras, رأس, the head. A celebrated reader of the Koran and grammarian received the name of *Al Kisayt*, from the following incident, which is related by Ibn Khallikan. On entering a room, his pupil, who had forgotten his name, addressed him, O you with the dress *Kisa*; hence *Kisayt*.

Names derived from a master or patron are not numerous, and need only to be referred to in illustration of the manners of the day. Slaves, on receiving their freedom, sometimes took a pride in bearing a name showing their relation to a former master; and when that freedman rose to eminence the name appears to have been retained. Some of the examples are of distinguished persons. Thus, a freedman, who ranks among the eleven above-mentioned grammarians who took the nickname of *Akhfesh*, اخفش, the weaksighted, is distinguished from the rest by the further name of *Al Modshashi*, after his former master.

The remainder of Hammer-Purgstall's subdivisions naturally arrange themselves under the following heads: 1. Tribes or Families; 2. Place; 3. Religion or Sect; 4. Trade or Profession. The first is the most interesting, and perhaps the most important. In it we find occasionally the nearest approach to the family name of Europe. Names of this class have been always common among the Arabs, as might be expected from the pride of descent, which runs so high among them; and in histories like those of Abulfeda or Tabari, describing the events of the first centuries of the Hejra, when the Arabs were in the ascendancy, public men were usually distinguished by their family connexion either in the form of a genealogy or by an adjective of relation. These appellations served, however, very imperfectly to distinguish one public character from another, as the same personal as well as tribal name recurred so often, and it became necessary for distinction to note the particular branch or branches to which the person belonged, and other names of relation were often added besides.

I find a curious illustration of the multiplication of tribal names in a modern history of the Imams of Muscat. It is the object of the author to do special honour to these

rulers, and their tribal and other affinities are duly set forth. For example, one of these princes, who played an important part in the tenth century of the Hejra, Násir Bin Murshid Bin Sultán, has his genealogy traced through eighteen generations, and it concludes with the following enumeration of his tribal or other relations: *El-Ya'aruby*, *El-'Araby*, *El-Himyary*, *El-Asdy*, *El Yeminy*; the upright *Ibádhy*. *Ya'arub*, the descendant of Yoktan, is said to have reigned over the whole of Yemen, and branches of the great stock of *Asd* were numerous and long settled in Yemen. One of the later rulers, who took the title of *Syud*, and died so recently as in the year 1856, has his name set forth as follows: The exalted *Seyyid Sa'id*, son of *Sultan*, son of the renowned Imám Ahmed-bin-Sa'id, *Al Bú Sa'idy*, *el-Yemeny*, *el-Omany El-Asdy*. The tribe of Sa'id was a branch of the *Azd*.¹

This form of name seems to have been particularly affected by men of letters, and examples abound in Ibn Khallikan's work, the tribal as well as the other designations being particularly set forth. Thus I find a grammarian and philosopher described as *Al Koraiishi*, from his tribe, as *Zahri*, from *Zahra*, a place near Cordova, and commonly known as *Al Ishli*, from a place in Syria to which his family belonged. In some cases they take their names from celebrated ancestors. *Al Hashimi* from Hashim, Mahomet's grandfather, occurs frequently. In other cases they are named from less remote members. Thus, the celebrated vizier of Harun arrashid received the name of *Al Barmaki* from his great-grandfather. His name and descent are set out as follows: Abu 'l Fadl Jaafar ibn Yakya ibn Khálid ibn Barmak ibn Jármas ibn Yashtáf al Barmaki. The progenitor of the family is said by Ibn Khallikan to have been a celebrated Magian of Balk.

The following curious combination will illustrate the use of these names of relation. The author is a celebrated master of tradition, and he is thus described: *Abulhasan*

¹ History of the Imáms and Seyyids of 'Omán, translated by the Rev. G. P. Badger.

Ali Ibn Mahommed, ibn Khalif, *al Ma'afri al Kairawáni*, that is, of the tribe of *Ma'afar*, a native of *Kairawan*; and as if this double designation were insufficient for purposes of distinction, he is said to have been generally known by the appellation *Ibn al Kabiri*, the son of a native of Kabir, a city in Africa. Tribal or family designations came into prominent use under Turki or Affghan rulers, when dynasties came to be named after a tribe or founder. They occur again and again in Indian history. I may, in passing, allude to the use of the word *Osmani*, an adjective of relation, applied originally to the descendants of the founder of the dynasty of Constantinople, and applied in a loose and extended way to all Mohammadan subjects of the empire, who claim to be of Turkish descent.

Names derived from places of birth or residence yield the largest crop of these names of relation. They also abound in Ibn Khallikan's work. A few examples will probably suffice. I take the following three from M. de Tassy's essay. *Fargáni*, فرغانى, was the celebrated astronomer, who is known in Europe under the name of *Alfragan*. Mary, the Coptic maid, who was sent as a present to Mahomet by the Governor of Egypt, always bore the designation, *Miriam Kubtiyat*, مريم قبطيه. The master of the celebrated Avicenna, also a great philosopher in his day, passed by the name of *Fárábi*, فارابى (Alfarabius). Long or double names are sometimes abridged. Thus I find among De Tassy's examples *Mucaddasi* applied to a native of Jerusalem, from the expression, *Al Bait al Mucaddas*, البيت المقدس, the holy city. From Hadramaut, a town in Yemen, are derived the names *Hadri* and *Hadramí*; and from *Dárassalám*,¹ دار السلام, the abode of peace, applied to Baghdad, comes the name *Salámi*, سلامى, applied to natives of that city.

Some of the names in Ibn Khallikan are not easily recognizable under the transformations which they have undergone. A native of Herat is *Il Herawi*. A native of Spain is

¹ *Medinat essalám*, مدينه السلام, is the name under which this city is described on coins.

Andalusí, that name being applied to the whole country. A native of Salobrenna, near Grenada, is *Al Shalanbini*. It may be added that *Al Magrebi*, مغربي, the western, is commonly applied to a native of Africa, and *Al Sherki*, الشرقي, the eastern, is used in that sense in Ferishta. I have not fallen in with any terms corresponding with northerner or southerner. Persons sometimes bear more than one local name, derived from place of birth or of residence; but it is more common to combine them with those denoting the sect to which the person belonged or other circumstances. Names of religion or sect occur frequently: Il *Maliki*, from the founder of one of the orthodox sects; Il *Motazili*, from the founder of the principal heretical sects; and *Al Karmati*, from the insurgent sectary; and so on through the whole group.

Some examples have been given of the way in which these different names are combined in one and the same person. I will add one more. The historian of the Mahomedan dynasties of Spain, translated by M. Gayangos, had no less than four. His usual designation was Ahmed *Al-Makhari Al-Telemsani*. His genealogy is traced, in the notice of his life prefixed to the work, through twelve generations to an ancestor of the tribe of Koreish. He was known generally in the East by the honourable title of *Al-Hafedh Al-Magrebi*, the western traditionist, and *Shehab eddin*, the bright star of religion. He derived the name *Al Makhari* from a town in Africa (مقرّة), near Telemsan. He was called *Al-Maliki*, from the celebrated founder of a sect, and he also bore the name of *Al-Ashari*, الأشعري, but we are left in doubt whether this applies to a tribe or religious sect.

De Tassy gives a curious instance of one of these names of relation originally taken from a place, becoming the distinguishing name of a religious order. The founder of it received the name of *Chishtí*, from a place in Sejestan, and the members of it called themselves *Baráderi Cheshtiya*, برادری چشتیه, the Cheshtian brotherhood. Each member assumed the name, and thus became, as the case might be, Salim Chishtí, or Said Shah Zuhúr Chishtí, etc.

With regard to trades and professions, the last head under which I proposed to treat this group, it is pointed out in the German essay that whereas it is usual, in speaking of traders or professional persons, to describe them simply as the tailor, the goldsmith, the teacher, as also the wazir, the Imam, and the scheich; in the case of men of learning they are sometimes described by the adjective of relation, as *Al Lagwi*, the lexicographer (the English language does not supply the equivalent adjective); *Al Ossuli*, the dogmatical, etc., and occasionally by a substantive, as *Al Motakellim*, the advocate; *Al Mofessir*, the commentator, etc.

These distinctions, however, are not very closely observed. I find in Ibn Khallikan, a writer distinguished by the name of *Al Sarrāj*, السراج, the saddler; while a jurisconsult of the Hanbali sect is described in the adjective form as *Al Khirák*t, the seller of rags; and a celebrated philologer has the name of *Al Simsimani*, the seller of sesame. This, the author of the biography takes pains to inform his readers, is a vulgarism, the proper adjective of relation being *Simsimi*. Names derived from trades and professions are not, however, numerous in a work like Ibn Khallikan's, which deals chiefly with authors of eminence or public men. A convenient illustration of this kind of name is afforded by the history of the *Saffaris*, a family which rose to power in the third century of the Hejra, and became the masters of a great part of Khorassan. The founder of it, *Yakub bin Laith*, was called *As Saffar*, the coppersmith, from the trade of his family, and the designation was extended to other members as an adjective, *Es Saffari*. The narrative of their long struggle against the power of the Khalifs is given at length in the above work, and is full of romantic incidents. It concludes with the remark, "Thus ended the power of the *Saffaris*."

THE ALÁMET AND ONWAN.

These constitute the fifth and sixth classes of Hammer-Purgstall's arrangement, and are not easily distinguished

from the *Lacab*. The *Alamet* is a title of honour applied to princes only, and set at the head of state documents and diplomas, in the same way as the *Thogra* or cypher of the Sultans of Constantinople. Two examples only are given of its use. In an historical work by Imad Eddin, who was in the service of Saladin, the account of Mostadhhir billah, twenty-eighth Khalif of the Abbasside line, commences with the words, "His *Alamet* was *Al kahir billah*, القاهر بالله, the victorious by God," and then follows his full designation: Al Imam al Mostadhhir billah Abu 'l Abbas Ahmed Amir al Múmenín Ibn al Muktadi. The different names and titles of honour are here easily distinguished. So, also, with regard to this Khalif's son and successor, Al Mostarshid billah. The account of him begins, as in the preceding case, by giving his *Alamet*, *Annasir allah*, الناصر الله, the helper of God.

The *Onwan* is a title of honour applied to private individuals in token of esteem, and distinguished from the other names and titles, as in the following example, which is quoted from an Arabian author. The full name runs as follows: Abul Hamad Mohammad Zain Eddin Ghazzali, and to these four, which complete the usual string of Arabian names, is added the *Onwan*, *Hujjat al islam*, حجة الاسلام, the testimony of Islam.

It will be obvious that neither the *Alamet* nor the *Onwan* can be regarded as a proper name, according to European usage; but it has been already remarked that names and titles are very much confused together in Musulman usage, and the study of names almost of necessity carries with it that of titles and genealogies. The resort to these exceptional forms appears to be a natural sequel to the system which excited the ridicule of Albiruni. As the old forms became common, and ceased to be a matter of distinction, these new titles came to be employed. This I should infer to be the history of this anomaly. The complimentary titles applied to private persons have their analogy in the fanciful names in use in the middle ages, such as the angelic or irrefragable doctors, etc.

THE TAKHALLUS OR MAKHLAS.

This is a fancy name assumed by poets, and by which they are sometimes known to fame. It is supposed by M. de Tassy that the practice arose from another custom of introducing at the close of certain poems the poet's own name, and, the *Alams* or *Lacabs* not being always fitted for the particular metre, it became convenient to adopt something new and suitable. A more elaborate explanation is given by Hammer-Purgstall. The word itself does not tell its own story, and the explanation which is given in Freytag's Dictionary, quoted in the German essay, does not clear it up: "Accessio, quæ in carmine a priore parte, introductione scilicet ad propositum thema fit, ut una pars alteri consentanea sit." A passage from an Arab writer, the translation of which is given in full, throws more light on the origin of the term, and the mode of introducing the name of fancy. A poem may commence with some phrase or sentiment, and this must be carried out so as to turn gracefully to the subject of the poem so that the sentiment and compliment may harmonize together. The examples which are given of these 'deliverances'¹ are epigrammatic, and it would be impossible, in such brief utterances, to render in a foreign language the terms of expression which constitute the beauty of the original. The idea which has given a name to this figure, if it can be so called, is sufficiently illustrated in the German translation. In the case which I am considering, the assumption of names of fancy, the figure is used in a different way. There is a *change* from the dominant idea which pervades the poem, the praise of a beloved object, or of a patron; and when the author comes to the concluding distich, he recommends himself under an assumed name to the object of his affection or interest.

Neither of these essays assists us much in tracing the history of this custom. M. de Tassy says it is especially

¹ In the Lexicon of Golius the word *خلص* is rendered liber et salvus fuit evasitve *مخلص* becomes a place of safety or asylum, and *تخلص*, deliverance.

affected by modern poets, though, he adds, there are instances of its use in the older times. Of this he gives a single example in the name of a poet in the fourth century of the Hejra, who bore the *Takhallus* of *hujjat*, حجة, proof. All the other examples of these forms of 'deliverances,' both in this essay and that of Hammer-Purgstall, are mere strings of fancy names, without informing the reader to whom they were applied.

This fantastic custom does not seem in keeping with the poetry of a primitive age, and, from the absence of any special reference to it in the lives of poets in Ibn Khallikan's work that I have consulted, I should suppose that it had not established itself in the early centuries of Islam, when the art was much cultivated, and poets sprang up in all the countries conquered and occupied by the Arabs. That author says, that among the poets of Islamic times there were three that were unequalled, Jarir, Al-Farasdák, and Al-Akhtal. The biographies of the two former are very full, and there are frequent notices of Al-Akhtal scattered through this work. These authors were contemporaries and rivals, constantly engaged in a war of wit and satire, according to the fashion of the day, and although they occasionally frequented the court, and received presents at the hands of Khalifs of the house of Ommeiah, I find no allusion to any *Takhallus*. The name of the first of the three was his *Alam*, and was borne by him through life, without his receiving any other appellation except the tribal name of *Al-Tamimi*. *Al-Farasdak* was a nickname, and interpreted by Ibn Khallikan in two senses—either a lump of dough, on account of the plainness of his features, or a piece of crust, on account of his dumpy stature. *Al-Akhtal* was also a nickname, and there is the same uncertainty as to its meaning, as in the last instance. Caussin de Perceval, in his sketch of his life, says, that, according to Demíri, it was applied to him on account of the conformation of his ears, which resembled those of some animals. According to others the word means fool,¹ and was originally applied to him by his father, who

¹ De Sacy (Anthologie Grammaticale Arabe, p. 189) says that the name was borne by several poets, and that it means buffoon, referring to several authorities

wished to disarm the anger of a rival poet with whom he had engaged in some lively contest, according to the fashion of the time.¹ In none of these instances do we recognize any of the characteristics of the *Takhallus*, nor do I find any trace of it in the translations of ancient Arabic poetry recently published by Mr. Lyall, nor in the life of Lebíd, by the same author, which appeared in the Journal of the Asiatic Society for Bengal, 1877. I may add that, in several of the twelve examples of *Takhallus* borne by Arab poets, which are given by Hammer-Purgstall, and which I have been able to trace in Ibn Khallikan, the names are interpreted in a very different sense from that which appears in the German essay. Thus the name of *As-Sámi*, السامى, applied to a celebrated poet, is said by his biographer to have been derived from an ancestor of the tribe of Koreish; *Es-sahi*, الزاهى, rendered in German *der fröhlich Grünende*, is, according to an authority quoted by Ibn Khallikan, a relative adjective from the village *Záh*, which has given a name to other men of eminence. Whether he derives his name from it, adds the author, is a matter of uncertainty, "all that I know of him is, that he was a native of Baghdad, and a good poet." *Es-Salámi*, السلامى, in German rendered *der Grüssende*, means, according to Ibn Khallikan, a native of Baghdad, i.e. *Dar-as-Salám*, the abode of peace or

in support of his view. In the Lexicon of Golius it is interpreted in the two senses referred to by Causin de Perceval, and it is also said to be applied to the Hyæna.

¹ Very full biographical notices of these three poets by Causin de Perceval appeared in the thirteenth and fourteenth volumes of the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*. These authors were, during the first two centuries of Islam, esteemed as the writers who had made the nearest approach to the simple nervous style which distinguished the ancient poetry of the Arabs. These biographies give an interesting account of the position which poets enjoyed at the courts of the Khalifs, and in Arab society. They also describe the ferment which was caused by their pungent satire, and the conflicts in which they engaged. On the question of their names the information is precise and minute, and agrees with that of Ibn Khallikan. Farasak, whose proper name was *Hammam*, همام, also bore the *Kumyat*, *Abu Ferds*, أبو فراس, father of the tearer, one of those applied to the lion; the poet had no son of that name. Causin de Perceval suggests that it was applied to him in allusion to the force of his genius. Jerir, besides a name of family, had his name of relation from Bussora, where he resided, *El Basri*.

salvation, applied to that city. *En Nashi*, another of these fancy names, bears various meanings, and the biographer does not attempt to give any interpretation. In one instance the interpretations agree. *Al-Bari*, البارِع, the excellent, or pre-eminent, is applied to a poet who lived in the sixth century of the Hejra, and bore no less than four surnames. The others were derived from his trade, his place of abode, and lastly, from his social qualities, *Al Nadim al Baghdâdi*, the boon companion from Baghdad. These examples will show how much uncertainty surrounds the interpretation of some of these fancy names, and, indeed, I have experienced the same difficulty in regard to old proper names generally. Poets, in the work of Ibn Khallikan, have their *Kunyats* and *Lacabs*, like the philologists, etc., whose lives are recorded, and they have more than their share of soubriquets, some of them not being very complimentary. Thus a celebrated poet of the second century of the Hejra was popularly known as *Dik al Jinn*, ديك الجن, Cock of the Genii, because, says Abu 'l Faraj al Isfahani, he was very ugly, and had green eyes. Another, who flourished in the fourth century, was surnamed *Al Babbagha*, parrot, for the fluency of his language, or, according to others, from an impediment in his speech. The name *Al Akhawwak*, applied to a poet of the third century, is thus interpreted by Ibn Khallikan. The word *Akhawwak* means a fat and short man, but stout. Another poet, observing a great commotion among the people, asked them what had brought them to such a *Hais-Bais*, a term employed by the Arabs of the Desert in the sense of trouble or calamity. The expression being an odd one, it was applied to himself, and became a nickname.

The use of a *Takhallus* seems more in unison with the tone of sentiment which prevailed in Persia than with that of the Arabs, and whatever may have been the origin of the custom, it took root there, as in a congenial soil, and from thence spread to India. It seems also to have been very freely employed by Turkish writers; but with the latter the practice was not confined to poets. Hammer-Purgstall gives a list of

upwards of sixty, employed by various authors, two of them being Sultans of the Ottoman line. *Awni*, عوني, the assister, was the poetical name of Mahomet II., the conqueror of Constantinople, and *Selimi* of Selim I. Both these sovereigns cultivated the art with success. The former is said by Von Hammer to have merited the name which he assumed, by his munificent patronage of men of letters. His son, Jerir, was also an accomplished poet. Selim, the conqueror of Egypt, is said to have composed poetry in Persian, Turkish, and Arabic, but his favourite studies were in the former, and he left a diwan of odes composed in that language. The word *Selim* is, of course, a play on the meaning of his own name, lit. the perfect or sincere. This cultivated savage better deserved the name of *Yâwuz* (ياوز), a Turkish word meaning cruel or inflexible, applied to him by his subjects.

In Sir Gore Ouseley's Biographical Notices of Persian Poets, comprising about twenty-five authors, from the time of Ferdusi down to the seventeenth century, there is an occasional reference to these poetical names, as if it were an established custom to assume them. With regard to that of Saadi, there is no question that this name was a *Takhallus*, but it seems uncertain whether it was conferred on him by his patron the Atabeg Saad bin Zangi, who reigned over Fars, or whether it was assumed by the poet in his honour. It has been alleged that the name, which means literally happiness, and suited his character, was intended to convey that idea without reference to the name of his patron, and Hammer-Purgstall enters it in his list with this interpretation. He had his *Lacab* besides, derived from his place of birth. His usual designation was *Sheikh Saadi Shirazi*.

The name of *Hafiz*, literally keeper or preserver, was applied by the Arabs to persons who have qualified themselves as teachers of theology, by learning the Koran by heart, and many of the learned persons in Ibn Khallikan's work are denoted by this especial title. Hafiz, who was a theological student in early life, is supposed to have derived his name from this accomplishment, and, when he took to poetry, he made a free use of it by bringing in this name in

the way the *Takhallus* is usually employed, at the end of his odes.

It is a question among the biographers of Ferdusi whether his name was derived from an ornamental garden named *Ferdús*, paradise, which his father had charge of in the neighbourhood of Tús, or from a compliment paid to him by Sultan Mahmúd. The former is the account of Dowlat Shah, in his biography of poets. The incident which connects it with Mahmúd is related by Sir G. Ouseley, without naming his authority, as follows: Shortly after his presentation at the Court of Ghuzni, Mahmúd's admiration of the poet's wonderful genius was excited by a beautiful tetrastich, composed extempore, in praise of the monarch's favourite slave, Ayaz. He exclaimed, "By your presence here, you have made my court a paradise (*ferdús*)."

Jámi, one of the most celebrated of modern poets, assumed the name from his birthplace *Jám*, a small town near Herat, but the word also signifies a cup, and is reckoned as a *Takhallus*. The word *kási*, كاسی, also a cup, is employed by the Persians to note his age when he died; the several letters denote the numerals which make up the sum. Afzaladdin Ibrahim, who lived in the sixth century of the Hejra, derived his *Takhallus*, like Saadi, from his patron, the Khakan Manusheher, who ruled over Shirwan; hence the name of *Khakani*, which he took in exchange for that of *Hakaiki*, his first poetical name.

His contemporary, Zehiruddin *Fariábi*, derived the latter name from *Fariáb*, a place where he resided for some time. It is reckoned by Sir G. Ouseley as his *Takhallus*. I should have classed it as a name of relation.

Other poetical names mentioned by Sir G. Ouseley are *Hátif*, a poet of Khorasan, who lived in the tenth century of the Hejra; ¹ *Nowi*, who wrote during the youth of

¹ *Hátif*, literally, crying; *Hátif-alghaib* (هَاتِفُ الْغَيْبِ), voice of the invisible. Professor Ethé informs me that *Hátif* by itself has in Persian poetry the technical meaning of *heavenly voice* (inspiration from above). Persian poets therefore appeal usually in the introductory chapters of their *Mathnawis* to the *Hátif* to suggest an appropriate title.

Aurungzeb; *Wassáf* (panegyrist), the honorary title of the author of a *History of Persia*, written in the seventh century.

Attar is the poetical name of Feriduddin, who lived in the sixth century, and was, according to Dowlat Shah, the most perfect Sufi philosopher of the age in which he lived. He took the name from his trade, a druggist, عطار. Here, again, I feel some hesitation in accepting this as a *Takhallus*.

With the exception of Ferdusi, all the preceding examples refer to comparatively modern times, and do not assist us in tracing the history of the custom. I am fortunately able to supplement them with some illustrations of the usage among the older poets of Persia, which have been obligingly communicated to me by Professor Ethé of University College, Aberystwith, in reply to my inquiries, and I have received his permission to insert them in this paper. He writes: "As far as my knowledge of Arabic poetry goes, I am inclined to agree with you that the practice of the *Takhallus* is a more modern and probably imitated one; but as to *Persian* poets, I can show ample evidence that the usage existed already in the very beginning of that literature, and that by no means was such a title always conferred by patrons. There appear to me to have been three principal sources from which they got their 'noms de plume'; either they took the nisbah of their native place, or they assumed a sort of nickname referring to their original trade, profession, special accomplishments or habits; or finally they used as *takhallus* an honorary title which was bestowed on them by their patron, sheikh, etc., or which they adopted themselves in honour of such a patron, sheik, etc. Rûdagî, the father of Persian poetry (A.H. 330 or 343), derived his *takhallus*, according to 'Aufî, the oldest biographer of Persian poets, who flourished about A.H. 617 (see Sprenger, *Cat. of the Libraries of the King of Oudh*, p. 1, and my edition of Rûdagî's *Poems*, in the 'Nachrichten' of the Göttingen Academy, 1873), from his native place, Rûdag in Transoxania. Later writers only, like Daulat Shah, say he assumed it on account of his proficiency in playing the lute (Rûd). Kisâi, a younger contemporary of Rûdagî,

and, like him, a poet of the Sāmânide dynasty (about A.H. 390 or 391), is said by 'Aufî to have gained this takhallus because he, as a stern and ascetic man, used always to draw his garment (*kisâ*, كسا) over his face. A still older Persian poet (flourishing before Rûdagî), Hakim *Khabbâz* (the baker), took his takhallus from the trade he carried on; another old poet of the Sāmânides, who is quoted by Firdausî, as *Khusrawânt* (Royal), adopted this fancy name, either because he reckoned himself among the kings of poets or because he was court-poet. Dakîkî (دقیقی), another Sāmânide poet, the first who was entrusted with the poetical redaction of the Shâhnâma, was honoured by this takhallus on account of his subtle (دقیق) thoughts. The first great didactic poet of Persia, Nâsir Khusrau, who flourished about A.H. 440, author of the Rûshanâi-nâma, used the Takhallus Hujjat (argument, proof), on account of the mystic doctrines he professed. The origin of Firdausî is still dubious, but Sa'dî took on his own account, according to the best authorities, his Takhallus in honour of his patron, Atabeg Sa'd-uddîn bin Zangî. The great lyrical poet, Mas'ud bin Sa'd bin Salmân (A.H. 525) uses generally as Takhallus *Bandah*, servant. Fariduddin 'Attâr styles himself 'Attâr, because he followed in the beginning of his career the profession of a druggist. *Anwart*, the great panegyrist (A.H. 586), had first as Takhallus *Khâwart*, but changed that into *Anwart*, at the suggestion of his friend 'Umârah. *Falakt*, a great Kasîdah writer (A.H. 577), chose his Takhallus on account of his predilection for astronomical and mathematical sciences. *Hâfiz* called himself so, because he knew the whole Koran by heart. Let me add as another instance, one of the contemporaries of Firdausî, and one of the court poets of Sultân Mahmûd, was Abu Najm (or Najm-uddîn) Ahmad bin Ya'kûb, with the Takhallus *Manûchihrî*, which he assumed because he had been, in the beginning of his literary career, panegyrist of the Amîr Manuchihr, son of Amîr Kâbûs. As to the Arabs, there is, I think, one example of a Takhallus, or at least of something very similar to it, in the name of the old ante-Muhammedan poet *Nâbigha*,

that is, Abû Amâma Ziâd bin Moâwia adhdhubyânî, who, like many other Arabic poets, called himself, or was called by others, *Nâbigha*, because, not being born with a natural talent, he had commenced writing poetry only in advanced years and yet obtained great success (see De Sacy's *Chrestomathie Arabe*, tome iii. p. 48, *et seq.*, where this matter is dealt with in detail). But I admit that this custom appears after all to be very rare among old poets of Arabia."

The development of the system in modern times is well illustrated in M. de Tassy's examples. They belong, with two exceptions, to unnamed authors. But, on comparing them with the names of poets in Sprenger's Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the King of Oudh's Libraries, I have traced a considerable number of them to recent writers, some of them being Hindustani poets. There is an extravagant tone in the names of fancy in M. de Tassy's essay that is not in keeping with that which prevailed during the best age of Persian poetry, the natural consequence of the decline of taste. The poet is supposed to assume a name expressive of a dominant idea which absorbs his whole being. Take, for example, the following: *Sauda* (سودا), literally, black bile, but used in the sense of desire, greediness; *Ishc* (عشق), love; *Afsûs* (افسوس), grief; *Arâm* (ارام), tranquility; *Kurbân* (قربان), sacrifice; *Dâg* (داغ), wound or stigma; *Asi* (عاصی), rebel; *Bedâr* (بیدار), the sleepless; *Bemâr* (بیمار) the sick; *Farruch* (فرخ), the happy, and *Hazîn* (حزین), the sad. Occasionally the *takhallus* expresses the humility of the writer's aspirations, as *Asgar* (اصغر), little; *Abjadi* (ابجدی), ignorant; *Ahkar* (احقر), humble; *Bechara* (بیچاره), unfortunate; *Betâb* (بیتاب), impotent. Or the assumed name is of a more pretentious character, as *Afsah* (افسح), eloquent; *Ala* (علی), elevated; *Dána* (دانا), learned; *Darakshân* (درخشان), brilliant, like lightning. Sometimes the poet boasts of a title expressing freedom of thought, as *Becaid* (بیقید), unfettered; *Rind* (رند), dissolute; *Diwâna* (دیوانه), mad; *Dilsoz* (دلسوز), inflamed; *Farig* (فارغ), careless. We have also names derived from natural objects, as *Aftab*

(آفتاب), sun; *Chand* (چند), moon; *Akhtar* (اختر), star; *Gul* (گل), rose; *Lála* (لاله), tulip; or from any quaint idea, as *Ashk* (اشک), tear; *Figan* (فغان), lamentation; *Hairat* (حیرت), astonishment (or stupor, the sixth station on the mystic road).

Some of the fancy names affected by poets of the court of Dehli were very popular, and borne by various authors. In the index to the biographies of Urdú poets in Sprenger's Catalogue, I find fourteen *Bétábs* (impotent), twelve *Ridhas* (content), nine *Fidas* (redemption), six *Gharibs* (poor), eight *Ishks* (desire), nine *Dils* (heart), and two *Bedils*, literally heartless, but used in the sense of lovesick.

The importance which attached to these fancy names may be judged of by an incident which is related in Sprenger's work. A poet who claimed the royal name of Sultan, assumed the fancy title of *Khán-zamán*, khan of the age. Another poet assumed the *Takhallus* of Sultan; whereupon *Khán-zámán* offered him one thousand rupees if he would change it, and when he refused to do so, he threatened to put him to death. The poet withstood both promises and threats, and kept his *Takhallus*.

M. De Tassy informs us that it has become a rule when a poet writes in more than one language, he should assume a separate *Takhallus* for each. Thus Hafiz Calandar Baksh of Paniput, a writer of the present day, takes the name of *Bedam* (بیدم), breathless, for his Hindustani poems, *Zirak* (زیرک), ingenious, for those in Persian, and when he composes in Arabic he becomes *Alim* (عالم), the learned. The late Mr. Bland, in a letter on the life of Masaud, which appeared in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1853, also mentions the custom of bilingual or trilingual poets assuming a distinctive name in their compositions in different languages, and gives as an instance the case of an author who assumed the name of *Fénai* in his Persian Gazals, and of *Néwái* when he wrote in the Jagatai Turki.

It remains only to add a word or two on the fancy names of poetesses. Literary ladies have never been very numerous

in the East, and very few of those whose names and works have come down to us are distinguished by poetical names, perhaps because the proper names usually conferred on them in later times were so fanciful that they could not be improved. There is in Sprenger's Catalogue a biographical notice of ladies who have risen to fame, twenty in number, most of them being of Tatar origin, and some have written poetry in their native language. The *Takhallus* of only one of them is specified, and her poetical name, *Nisai*, is taken from her own proper name, *Fahkr anniassa*, فخر النساء, glory of women. But the name *Bedili*, بيدلی, that of another of these ladies, is a known *Takhallus*, and given above. *Atún*, آتون, furnace or oven, reads very like one, and so do the names *Hijabi*, حجابی, *Iffati*, عفتی, and *Ismati*, عصمتی, expressive of modesty or seclusion. The names *Bibi Hayat*, بی بی حیات, life, or *Mihri*, مهری, sunny, were probably the proper names of the ladies. Mention is made in Sir G. Ouseley's work of a beautiful and learned lady, the wife of the Sultan of the Arabian Irak, in the eighth century of the Hejra, who studied the art of poetry with her husband under Selman of Sáva. Her name, *Dilshad Khatun*, betokening joy or hilarity, might pass for a *Takhallus*, but there is no reason to suppose that it was one. I have only met with two other specimens of these poetical names assumed by ladies in Sprenger's lists: one lady bears the name *Jan*, جان, life; and another that of *Kákuli*, کاکلی, from a Persian word meaning a curl or lock of hair.

I propose to continue the subject in another paper, and deal with the proper names of Musselman women. I shall endeavour to trace the changes which the system of nomenclature, as developed by the Arabs, has undergone in other countries, and in later times, adding some general remarks on points of resemblance or contrast which Eastern names present to those of Europe.

ART. X.—*Principles of Composition in Chinese, as deduced from the Written Characters.* By the Rev. Dr. LEGGE, Professor of Chinese at Oxford.

It has often been said that there is no Grammar in Chinese; and the statement is true. When we speak of "grammar," with reference to the written characters, or even to the spoken language, of the people of China, the term must be understood in a peculiar sense. Grammar, as the Greek derivation shows, has to do with words, and is applicable only to languages that have an alphabet; whereas the Chinese written characters were at first pictures and ideagrams, and they have continued to be so substantially during all the millenniums of their use, down to the present day.

It may be asked, "Are there no words then in Chinese?" and I reply, To be sure there are. The fathers of the Chinese people spoke before they wrote, just as the fathers of every other people did. When they felt the necessity or impulse to make a permanent record of events in the past, or of contracts between individuals and communities, they tried to do so by means of knotted cords. No details of this device have been preserved. We only know that it existed as a fact in the mental and social development of the people. It proved inadequate for the purpose intended; and about 5000 years ago there began the formation of written characters.

These were in the first place pictures of objects. To pictures there succeeded demonstrative figures or symbols, designed to awaken by their form the idea in the mind of the writer, or the phenomenon before it. A third class of characters followed, in which two or more of those already existing were put together, so that their meanings should

blend in the compound ; which thus became the symbol of a fresh concept.

On these three principles of formation about 1500 characters came into existence. Slight changes were made in the figures of some of them, to form new characters with new names ; and others of them were employed, without alteration of name, to represent different ideas. Two additional classes of characters were thus constituted ; but they are hardly entitled to special consideration. The figures comprehended under them, added to those in the three earlier classes, do not carry the whole number up to 2500.

But at this point the Chinese makers hit on what we must call a phonetical principle ; they combined two of their existing characters, so that one of them should indicate in a general way the signification of the compound, and the other its name. This method of making characters admitted of indefinite application ; and as a matter of fact, more than nine-tenths of all the characters contained in the K'ang-hsi Dictionary were formed by it. I suppose that you have some knowledge of the principles of formation in these six classes of the Chinese characters. It will be sufficient for my purpose, in referring to them to-day, to show that there is nothing in the forms of the first five classes to indicate the pronunciation of them, and nothing in those of the sixth class to indicate their pronunciation after the fashion of words in an alphabetic language.

Let us take, as a specimen of the pictorial characters, that which represents the *sun*, and has the derivative signification of *day*. It is now written 日 ; but originally it was a picture of the sun—☉, or some nearer approximation to the appearance of the great luminary. They now call it *sh* ; anciently they called it *nit*, or something like that, as it appears in Nippon, the name of Japan. It was the name in their common speech of *the sun*. If it had been called *sun*, or *sol*, or *ἥλιος*, it would, as a picture, have answered its purpose equally well.

Let us take as a specimen of the demonstrative characters that which represents the number *three*. It is written 三,

and was called *sam*, or, as it is now called in Mandarin, *san*. But it would have equally served its purpose if it had been called *three*, or *tres*, or *tiga*.

Let us take two examples of the third class of characters, —compounds formed on the principle of suggestive combination. There is the character 明, *ming*, made by combining the pictures of the *sun* and *moon*, 日, and 月, called *sāh* and *yüeh*. It means *bright, brightness, to brighten, brightly*; but its name—*ming*—has nothing to do with the names of its component parts, *sāh* and *yüeh*. There is again the character 書, *shú*, made by combining the pictures of a *style* or *pencil* and *breath issuing from the mouth*, to give the idea of *speech*, 聿 and 日, called *yü* and *yüeh*. Its earliest meaning was a *written character*, and it came to signify a *book* or *books*. It tells its meaning to the mind through the eye—‘the pencil speaking;’ but its name *shú* is in no way formed from the names *yü* and *yüeh* of its component parts.

We may pass over the fourth and fifth classes of characters, as they have no peculiarity calling for remark in connexion with the subject before us; but the first three classes of which I have adduced illustrations are really *Origines Scripturæ Sinicæ*, and we see clearly that their meaning is quite independent of the names by which they are called. To use the words employed by Father F. Lenormant, of them and of other primitive ideographic symbols: “Representing directly and exclusively ideas, their signs were absolutely independent of the words by which the spoken idioms of the peoples who made use of them expressed the same ideas. They had their own existence and signification apart from all pronunciation of them; nothing in them figured their pronunciation, and the written language was in fact so distinct from the spoken, that either of them might be very well understood without any knowledge of the other.”¹

Let us now take two examples of the sixth and last, and very much the largest class of characters,—those in which

¹ See the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, d'après les Textes et les Monuments*; under the direction of M. Ch. Daremberg et Edm. Saglio, Article *Alphabetum*.

there is an element of phonetical formation. There is 河, *ho*, denoting *a river*, and specially *the Yellow River*. It is made up of the constituents 水, or 𠂔, *shui*, meaning *water*, and 可, *kho*, the symbol for permissibility or potentiality, to be translated *may* or *can*. 水, *shui*, gives a general idea of the meaning of the compound, as coming under the category of *water*, and by 可, *kho*, we approximate to its sound. But you cannot spell, so to speak, *ho* by combining *shui* and *kho*; and there are, moreover, more than eighty other characters, with different significative constituents, but all containing the same phonetical symbol, and called variously *kho*, *ko*, *ho*, *o*, and other variations, perhaps, of *kho*. Again, there is 粮, *liang*, denoting 'dried grain,' 'rations.' The category of its meaning is given by the pictorial constituent, 米, *mt*, denoting *rice uncooked*, while its sound is indicated by the other constituent, 良, *liang*, meaning *good* or *honest*. But you cannot spell the sound *liang* by means of *mt* and *liang*, nor can you get the meaning of *dried grain* out of *rice uncooked* and *good*. Moreover, there are nearly seventy other characters, with the same phonetical element in them, and all pronounced *liang*, *lang*, or *niang*.

In these phonetical characters we have the rudiments of syllabic writing, but there was no disentangling in them of the consonant from the vowel, and no approach to the formation of an alphabet. So far as their names are concerned, they are only conventional symbols. And with this step Chinese invention in the representation of the words of the spoken language stopped. As Lenormant says, "It has not taken a single step in advance since, more than forty centuries ago, it surmounted, in the manner we have described, the first stage in the painting of sounds." Whether he be correct in accounting for this cessation of the inventive faculty on the ground of the monosyllabic character of the Chinese language, while the spoken idiom of the Egyptians, out of whose hieroglyphs sprang the Phœnician letters, was polysyllabic, I will not stay to inquire. It has simply been my object, by the details into which I have entered, to set forth as clearly

as I could the difference between the Chinese writing and that of alphabetic languages.

Dr. Edkins has hazarded the opinion that possibly Chinese researches may throw light on the origin of words, for the intellectual task of forming the characters was in several respects a renewal of the original task of forming words themselves. "Throat letters," he adds, "naturally represent throat action, labial letters labial action, and dental letters dental action."¹ We may expect, according to his reasoning, characters indicative of such actions to be pictures of the throat, the lips, the teeth, or having those pictures enter into them as their significant constituents. There may be some ground for this speculation, but the regions into which it would conduct us are for the present shadowy and undefined. We may, in the meantime, rest in the view that the Chinese characters have their meaning apart from all pronunciation of them. They are thus incapable of growth and development, and very different from words. When an alphabet has been formed, and a root-word, wrapt up in its letters, has been deposited in the soil of the human mind, it becomes there a seed. It strikes downwards, and shoots upwards, and extends laterally. We may be able to trace and explain the method of its increase; but the while it has the appearance of a living thing, acted on and nourished indeed from without, but, as by a power within itself, altering its form in adaptation to its varying relations with other words surrounding it. It has its name, and can bear no other. That name may change somewhat in course of time in any one language, and the variations of it in cognate languages may be considerable; but the changes and differences will, for the most part, be capable of being explained and brought under law.

Pictorial and symbolic figures do not admit of development in the same way. As the appliances and occasions for writing them are multiplied or alter, indeed, they may be so abbreviated and changed that hardly a trace of their

¹ Introduction to the Study of the Chinese Characters, p. 42.

original form shall remain; but not the less they continue symbols, and do not grow as the root-word does. Thus it is that what we call grammar is unknown in Chinese, and the methods of composition in it, simple enough in themselves, are different from what we have been accustomed to in alphabetic languages. You have all heard, no doubt, of the peculiarity of Chinese characters, that one of them may perform the part of several of our Parts of Speech, according to its position and relation to other characters in the same sentence. One of the first things, therefore, to be done in learning to read and write Chinese, is to avoid looking at it through the spectacles of Aryan or Semitic grammar. I well remember how perplexed I often was, through not doing so, forty years ago, when I was beginning to work my way into an understanding of Chinese books. I would say to myself, "This character is a substantive and can be nothing else, or an adverb and can be nothing else," and so on; and then I would soon come, in my reading, on those very characters used in such a way as to upset all my hasty conclusions about them. Let me give you an instance or two:—

There are the characters 金, *chin*, signifying *metal*, and specially *gold*; 玉, *yü*, signifying *jade*, and generally any *precious stone*; and 然, *san*, corresponding to our adverb *so*, and constantly added to other characters with the force of our terminations *like* and *ly*. I thought that *chin* and *yü* were certainly substantives, and would never be found but as such. Expressions which I soon encountered, like *chin t'ái*, 'the golden terrace,' and *yü yen*, 'precious words,' did not much disturb me, for we speak in English of 'a gold watch' and 'a jade sceptre'; but when I met in the Book of Ancient Poetry, with the sentence, 毋金玉爾音, 'Do not gold and jade your messages,'¹ that is, 'Do not make the news from you as rare as gold or jade,' I saw how easily the nouns might pass into verbs. Again, with regard to the character 然, which I had thought must always appear as an adverb and nothing else. I came

¹ The Shih, II. iv. ode 2.

on the remark of Confucius about one of his disciples,¹ 容之言然, 'Yung's words are correct,' where the adverb was transformed into an adjective, carrying also in it the copula. Later on, I found in an ancient ode these lines: 人之爲言, 苟亦無然, 胡得焉, 'When men tell their stories, if you do not assent to them, how will they have course?' 'If you do not assent to them,' is, literally, 'if you do not *so* them.' 然 is used as synonymous with, or an advance on, 信, 'to credit,' 'to believe,' in another line. The adverb has assumed the function of an active verb.

Such being the nature of the Chinese characters, it was impossible that anything of the same kind as our Grammar should have a place in the literature of the nation. Much has been written, indeed, about the six principles of formation, and tracing the different characters to one or other of them, and this may be represented as akin to that part of Etymology which treats of the derivation of words; but it is on a different plane of thought. The changes which have taken place in the forms of the characters have been noticed and described, constituting in the same way a kind of Orthography. The tones and rhymes under which the characters are arranged may be called, more correctly, Chinese Prosody. Of Syntax, properly so called, there is none; for though the rules for elegant compositions, on which success at the competitive examinations mainly depends, are elaborately laid down, their parallels must be sought for in western treatises on Rhetoric, rather than on Syntax. One important branch of western Etymology, the modifications that words undergo by declension and conjugation, has nothing at all corresponding to it; for the characters, as we have seen, are indeclinable and inconjugable. There remains that branch of Etymology which treats of the different sorts of words,—what we call the Parts of Speech. There would hardly seem to be room even for this, for, according to the characteristic of which I have just

¹ Analects, VI. i.

spoken, the same character may play the part of several Parts of Speech. But it may be said that if the characters themselves cannot be classified grammatically, their different usages might be so; and we find in fact that something like this has been done, though in a vague and imperfect manner. One scholar and another have been brought to the verge of the gulf that must for ever separate *symbols* from *words*,—the representing of thought by means of the former, and the expressing or giving utterance to it by the latter.

The characters are divided by Chinese thinkers into two classes, the 實 (*shih*) and the 虛 (*hsü*); which names literally mean the *solid* and the *void*, that is, the *full* or *substantial* and the *empty*. And subordinate to this is another binary division of them into 死 (*sze*) and 活 (*hwo*), the *dead* and the *living*, equivalent really to the *fixed* and the *moving*.

Among the 'substantial' characters are, as we should expect, all that are used substantively, which represent, as Mr. Pi Hwa-chän (畢華珍), a writer of the present century, says, "Whatever can be pointed at, things that have form, material, substance, breath, and sound, heaven, earth, numbers, facts, and principles."¹ But are characters that are used verbally to be ranked also among the *substantial*? Father Premare, whose authority is great, and of course Rémusat after him, and I might also say Endlicher after them both, think so.² Premare says: "The Chinese subdivide the *shih tsze* into *hwo tsze* and *sze tsze*, *living* characters and *dead*, by the *living* meaning verbs, and by the *dead* nouns." But I cannot call to mind any statement to that effect by a Chinese writer. Certainly Mr. Pi Hwa-chän knows no *shih tsze*, but such as we should say were used as substantives. He shows a clear apprehension of the nature of adjectives and verbs; but the adjectival and verbal characters, with all others, except the substantival, he classes among the *hsü tsze* or *empty* cha-

¹ The title of Pi's work is 衍緒草堂筆記. See some account of it in Edkins's Grammar of the Shang-hai Dialect, pp. 62, 63, *et al.*

² Premare's Notitia Linguae Sinicae, p. 47; Rémusat's Elemens de la Grammaire Chinoise, p. 35.

acters. So he does with pronominal, adverbial, and conjunctive, with interrogative and exclamatory, characters, but without the same clear discrimination of their nature. This writer, it appears to me, must have gained some indistinct acquaintance with our Western grammar, which set him on the track of investigation that he pursued. Where he succeeded and where he failed equally show how unsusceptible the Chinese characters are of grammatical treatment in any proper signification of the phrase.

I would only say further, before going on to the next step in my paper, that the division of the characters into the two great classes of *shih* and *hsü* is correct and has its foundation in their structure. That the first class of characters—the pictorial—are substantival, needs no demonstration. They have their meaning in themselves. They were originally pictures of external objects. They are *shih*.

The second class—the indicative—were symbols, and not full pictures of external objects. They stimulated the mind to refer them variously according to the subject occupying it. This is the case the with numerals, 一, 二, 三, 四; but 1, 2, 3, 4 what? They are, in themselves, *hsü*, but the mind uses them adjectively, and applies them to whatever it is thinking of. It uses them also as verbs and adverbs, as in the Confucian sentence 人一能之, 己百之, 'Another ones or onces, and succeeds; he will hundred it,' that is, 'what another can do by one effort, he will do by a hundred efforts.' It gets from them also the abstract ideas of unity, duality, and so forth. Another instance of this class is 旦 (*tan*), the dawn. It presents to the eye simply the *sun* appearing above a *line*. The mind conceives of this line that it represents the horizon, and so has the idea of the *dawn* conveyed to it.

The third class—the suggestive—are made up, we have seen, of different pictures. So far they are *shih*; but in regard to their actual meaning in use they are *hsü*. 明 (*ming*), for instance, of which I spoke, presents to us the *sun* and *moon* shining together; but from that the mind receives the idea of *brightness*, and all our other Parts of Speech in which

there is that concept as their root. Another example of this class is 婦 (*fū*), the character for a *wife*. We have in it two pictures:— 女 (*nü*), the figure for a *female*, and 帚 (*châu*), the symbol for a *broom*. *A woman and a broom*; what idea does the combination of these figures awaken in the mind? A woman riding through the air on a broomstick suggests to us the idea of a *witch*; but a *woman and a broom* suggested to the Chinese makers the idea of a *wife*,— the woman whose function it was to use the broom, and keep all clean and neat about the house.

The sixth class—containing, as I said, more than nine-tenths of the characters—is different from these, but still we must pronounce them *hsü*, in regard to the signification which they convey. Take, as an example, 姑 (*kú*). On the left is the same 女 (*nü*), ‘a female,’ as the significant element in the compound; on the right is 古, pronounced *kú*, and meaning ‘ancient,’ ‘old.’ The whole character must say something about *females*, but as to what that something is, it is *hsü*, *empty*, or void of indication. If it were of the suggestive class, *female* and *ancient* would give us the idea of an *ancient lady* or *duenna*; but the *kú* is merely phonetical, indicating the name. The whole is ‘a polite term for females, especially the young and unmarried.’ 姑娘 (*kú niang*) is the common equivalent of our ‘Miss,’ and denotes the young ladies of a family. Another common phrase, 村姑 (*ts’un kú*), means ‘village girls.’ This 姑 (*kú*) is simply the symbol of the vocable *kú*. It is the memory of the phonetical *kú*, and of its application, and not anything in itself, which gives its significance to the character. There is reason therefore for the Chinese division of the characters into *shih* and *hsü*, those having a full meaning in themselves, and those in themselves having no such meaning, but significant only when their structural or merely conventional meaning is put into them from without by the mind. The division has to do with their structure more than with their use, and cannot be used legitimately in the service of grammar.

The principal results at which we have arrived in the

preceding discussions about the Chinese characters are these:—They are not words, but symbols. In their first origin, and while they were few, they were pictures of objects and symbols suggestive of ideas; and might have been called by any other names as well as by those which their makers gave to them from their ordinary speech. Even after their number was multiplied by the introduction of a phonetical element into the structure of most of them, and their meaning could not be dissociated from their colloquial names, they were only half words. Their symbolic character still remained. They retained the versatility through which any one of them could discharge the functions of several of our parts of speech. They retained also their immobility, and, however they were used, were incapable of any inflection.

It follows from all this that composition in them, or rather with them, was and must still be, a different thing from composition in an alphabetical language, where the writing is a transcript of what would be intelligible if spoken, varied only by the command of language and special gifts that go to constitute the peculiar style of every author. It is true that the character of Chinese compositions has gradually departed more and more from the most ancient models, and approximated to the communications of thought in the vernacular speech; but where that approximation is the closest, there remains on it the ancient stamp of symbolism. Let me try, from the standpoint of their differing styles, to lay before you a brief account of the chief portions of Chinese literature.

The most ancient are what we denominate the 經 (King) or classical works. Three of them, the Shû (書), the Shih (詩), and the Yî (易), or the Books of History, Poetry, and Philosophy, are the best specimens of what is called the kû wăn (古文), or *ancient style*; though the Tào Teh King (道德經), or Book of Tào and Virtue by Lâu-tsze (老子), the Father of Tàoism, is hardly less so. The authors of these, as Rémusat has said with tolerable correctness, “expressed their ideas with the fewest

words"—*i.e.* characters—"possible; they wrote separately every proposition without connecting it either with those which preceded or followed it; and from this there resulted the Ancient Style,—sententious, vague, concise, and disconnected." There is no reason to doubt that portions of the Shû were written as early as the twenty-third century B.C., or more than 4000 years ago. The other Classical Books are not so concise in their composition as these. There is more connexion between the parts of a sentence, and between adjoining sentences. It is easier to make out their meaning. Some of them were written between the fifth and first centuries B.C.; others appeared, in the form in which we now have them, later than that. The art of composition had improved during the time between the production of them and that of the older monuments.

From the classical works we pass into the field of general literature, commencing with the Han dynasty, B.C. 202 to A.D. 220. Sze-mâ Ch'ien, who has been called the Herodotus of China, produced his Historical Records towards the beginning of the second century B.C., and was the precursor of hundreds of historians in successive dynasties down to the present day. Their works are not only chronicles of reigns, but contain also thousands of Biographies, with treatises on Chronology, Astronomy, Topography and Geography, Political Economy and many other subjects. Then we have thousands of critics and commentators, who have subjected the old Classics to the most thorough examination, and expounded them with an untiring minuteness. The religions in China, the sciences and arts, the principles of morality and philosophy, poetry, and the *belles lettres*, come all before us with endless iteration. Encyclopædic compilations claim our attention. The style of the multitudinous writers is exceedingly diversified, and yet it has several general characteristics. I call it the Literary Style of Chinese Composition. It is fuller and clearer than that of the Classics. The period of the Sung dynasty, commencing A.D. 960, and extending over about three centuries, was the

golden age of Chinese literature. There were in it deep thinkers and great writers, and the literary style received in it the highest finish of which it seems to be capable. The versatile but uninflexional characters become in the hands of Chù Hsî, the Chinese Cicero, and others, hardly less deft and precise than the words of alphabetic languages. This style may be said to have culminated in the *wên-chang* (文章), the essays written at the Competitive Examinations, the merit of which, as at similar trials in other countries, depends on their style and sentiment together.

With the Yüan or Mongol dynasty, occupying about eighty years of our thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there began a new style of composition. The drama was then cultivated as it had not been before, and necessitated a nearer approach to the colloquial idiom. At the same time, tales and novels and romances came into vogue, written not so colloquially indeed as portions of the drama, but still in a style often elegant, while free and of easy comprehension. I have enjoyed many of them with as much zest as I have done Sir Walter Scott, and a Chinese of fair education understands them as readily as any of my hearers understand the Waverley Novels. The dramas are written in what is called the *Kwan hwa*, the Mandarin dialect, that spoken at the Court, and by the officials generally throughout the empire. Rémusat says: ¹ "To assist the understanding of it when spoken, words of the same meaning were joined together, and substituted for the simple terms which, through the number of homophonous names, tended to produce ambiguity; the more frequent employment of pronouns allowed an easier determination of characters, as used substantively or verbally; the use of particles, new or employed in a new way, marked distinctly the relations between the characters; and divers processes of phraseology enabled the writers to vary the division and connexion of propositions."

I must state, however, that neither dramas nor works of fiction are acknowledged to be legitimate portions of the

¹ Grammaire, p. 36.

national literature. You will look in vain for the titles of any of them in the catalogue of the Imperial Library. Much more would the canons of Chinese criticism resent any attempt to give such a place to purely colloquial writings, in which, by means of the characters in the dictionaries, and others not in them, it is endeavoured to represent the spoken language exactly. The most remarkable specimen of these is the paraphrase of the amplification of the Sixteen Precepts that constitute the Sacred Edict of the second emperor of the present dynasty. This is in the best style of colloquial Mandarin, and can be understood by the hearers as well as English people understand a very colloquial discourse from the platform or pulpit. It requires, indeed, considerable scholarship to read it, but no scholarship at all to comprehend it when read correctly.

But, in addition to this, there is in every great centre of each of the many dialects of the empire a colloquial literature of its peculiar dialect. This is the street literature of China. Everywhere you see stalls covered with it; abundance of ballads, songs, satirical pieces, stories, many of them verging on the obscene, jest books, and whatever else you might expect to find amid such surroundings. This literature—if we can call it so—is despised by scholars, as much for its want of all style, as for its matter; but it is worthy of our attention. It seems to me in fact to be the *chef-d'œuvre* of Chinese ingenuity exerted to make the symbolic characters perform the same part as words in alphabetic languages, and to speak to the ear as well as to the eye. There is in it an exaggeration of the characteristics by which the Mandarin literature differs from the polished composition in which books began to be written from about the commencement of our era, as much as that differs from the style of the ancient classics.

It will be my business, in my paper next month, to discuss the nature of composition in the polished or literary style of Chinese writings, and to describe the more important of the processes of phraseology in the Mandarin and street literatures, if I may use that term in such an application,—the

processes by which the characters are made to convey the meaning of their authors. I will devote the time that remains to me to-day to some elucidation of the Ancient Style.

That style, in the description of it which I quoted from Rémusat, is 'sententious, vague, concise, and disconnected.' At first it must have been more of the nature of telegraphy, than of anything approaching to grammatical writing. Of course I mean telegraphy by signals, and not by the electric wire. On my first voyage to the East, in 1839, after we had passed the Cape of Good Hope, we met a vessel on her homeward passage. Our captain having signalled his wish to communicate with her, the two vessels were brought sufficiently near to each other. The flags and Marryat's Book of Signals were produced, and soon the flags were waving in the air. Question and answer were exchanged for about a quarter of an hour with rapidity and precision. There were two fellow-passengers, students of Chinese like myself. We had left the books in which we were groping in the cabin, to see what went on upon the poop; and when we descended to our work again, I made the observation that composition in Chinese was a good deal like telegraphing by flags or other signals. A lesson had been given to me, and the seed of it remained in my mind. Amidst subsequent absorption in practical work, learning to read, learning to speak, and making use of what I learned, without thinking of going back to first principles, the incident which I have described would recur to my memory. Out of it, in some measure, have grown these papers, in which I am endeavouring to expound my mature views of the written characters of China.

The Ancient Style is concise and disconnected. Even telegrams by the electric wire are generally so. They may, indeed, be made as full as an oral communication, but they cost money; and to lessen the charge for them, they are sent in the most condensed form possible. To one not assisted by knowledge of the subject outside what the words themselves say, they are often enigmatic. And signal-telegrams would

be wholly unintelligible without the book or code explaining them, while a reference to that makes them full and precise. The part of this book is performed for the Chinese symbols by the meaning belonging to each of them indicated by their structure or by conventional agreement, preserved by uninterrupted tradition, and codified in dictionaries. We have every reason to accept with confidence the meaning of the characters as thus handed down. Their forms and names, as we learn from the Classical Works, were under the charge of an important official department at the royal court during the dynasty of Châu, extending nearly nine hundred years back from 256 B.C. One of the classical works is a Rudimentary Dictionary, the authorship of which cannot be later than the fifth century B.C., and a complete dictionary of a high order has come down to us from the year 100 A.D. This help to the interpretation of the most ancient writing of China could only give us, however, the meaning of the separate symbols; it would still remain for the reader to determine the representation intended by them when combined together.

The first attempts to convey thought by the characters must have been enigmatic indeed; but of these we have no specimens. The oldest records in the Shû, on which we can rely as contemporaneous with the events which they relate, go back, I have said, to the twenty-third century B.C.; but between that and the invention of characters there intervened a space, on the shortest estimate, of nearly a thousand years. Much had doubtless been done during that long period to make the versatile characters blend their individual significations in such a way that their combined report could be more readily understood.

For instance, in the *Shû* and the *Shih* we find many *hsü tsse*, or empty characters, that assist the mind to catch the import of the whole sentence where they occur. We call them particles. Some are particles of exclamation; some serve the purpose of interrogation, placed some of them at the beginning of the sentence, some at the end of it; others again are finals, and close what is said in the clause or

sentence to which they belong, with more or less indication of its scope and character. These occur in the ancient style, though they are less numerous and less frequent than in the literary style that succeeded to it. And often they are wanting, and we must do the best that we can to make out the meaning without their help. We must believe that these characters had originally a full and substantial meaning; but what it was, and by what processes they were transferred to their actual usage as indicatory particles, has hitherto hardly engaged the attention of Sinologists.

Again, we find pronominal characters, though less frequently than in later writings, and that must often be taken as plural, though without the auxiliary characters that serve to denote that number. They are, perhaps, all phonetical, which shows that they were of later origin than the three classes of primitive characters. The words which children learn to use last are pronouns; and, similarly, pronominal characters were among the latest formed by the Chinese makers. The pronoun of the third person, indeed, which is now, or some dialectic correspondency of it, heard over all the empire, had not yet received that usage. It is 他 (*t'á*), and is found in the *Shú* and the *Shih*, but with the meaning of *other*, *another*. We can see how easily this would slide into the sign of the third person. There are *you* and *I*, and *the other*. Who is the other? It is *he*.

Further again, we find in the ancient style characters performing the part of our prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbs. The conjunctions are used sparingly; but they are there. As I said of the particles, the original signification of most of these auxiliaries in a sentence, and the disentangling of them from that to act as pins and nails and all connecting appliances in giving visibility and form to the workings of the mind in thought:—these things have yet to be detected and shown.

Once more, we find certain rules of position established, determining the relation in which characters stand to one another, and guiding us in ascertaining what are the subject, the predicate, the object, and the adjuncts in a sentence.

The illustration of these points will be given to more advantage when I pass on in my next paper from the ancient to the literary style. What I have now adduced serves to show that in the ancient style of Chinese composition we have the primitive telegraphy by written characters struggling into what I may call the definiteness of grammatical writing without grammar.

I am afraid you may think that the monuments which remain to us of the Ancient Style must be very enigmatic and difficult of interpretation. I dare not say that they are easily understood; but I am confident of this, that they have all been, or may be, fairly made out. Myriads of authors, many of them having minds subtle, strong, and well-disciplined, have been intently engaged on them for nearly two thousand years, and the consent at which they have arrived in the interpretation of them is, on the whole, wonderful. Even without the assistance of their criticisms and commentaries, a foreigner, with patience and application, may attain to no little success in getting hold of the meaning. The great thing is to get behind and beyond the characters, till one comes into *rapport* and sympathy with the original speakers or relaters. This was the method pursued by the philosopher Mencius, himself included among the examples of the Ancient Style. Speaking of the ancient *Shih*, or Book of Poetry, he says: "Those who explain the odes should not insist on any one character so as to do violence to the whole sentence where it occurs, nor on a sentence so as to do violence to the scope of the paragraph. They must try to meet that scope with their thoughts, and then they will apprehend it." "Meet the scope with your thoughts,"—that is Mencius' direction for the interpretation of old Chinese, and there is constant occasion for practising it even in the study of the literary as well as of the ancient style. I have sometimes thought that I have attained to it in brooding over the most difficult passages, and then they have glowed—not to say blazed—before my eyes with light. Horace said:

*"Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus."*

And Tennyson has condensed the sentiment of his lines into :

“Things seen are weightier than things heard.”

Even more than this. I have thought of the remarkable language of St. Paul. All intervening media, of words as well as symbols, have seemed to be removed. I have seen no longer “through a glass darkly, but face to face;” mind to mind.

I have thought that in the few minutes of time that remain, it might interest you to give you two specimens of the Ancient Style. The one shall be a short ode from the *Shih*;—‘Lament of a wife over the protracted absence of her husband on military service’:¹

爲	伯	邦	伯
For	Husband	Country	Husband
王	也	之	兮
king	(final part.)	's	!
前	執	桀	竭
van-	grasp	hero	martial
驅	戈	兮	兮
driver	halberd	!	!
誰	豈	首	自
Who	How	Head	From
適	無	如	伯
principal	no	as	husband
爲	膏	飛	之
make	anoint	flying	go to
容	沐	蓬	東
appearance	wash	pappus	East

¹ The reader will understand that the Chinese read down from top to bottom of the column, beginning on the right. The extract from the Confucian Analects, however, is made to conform to our English method of printing.

甘	願	杲	其
Surfeit	(init. part.)	Clear	Let
心	言	杲	雨
heart	(init. part.)	clear	rain!
首	思	出	其
head	think	come out	Let
疾	伯	日	雨
sick	husband	sun	rain!
使	願	言	焉
Make	(init. part.)	(init. part.)	How
我	言	樹	得
I	(init. part.)	tree	get
心	思	之	設
heart	think	it	forget
疾	伯	背	草
ill	husband	back	plant

Unconnected as these lines seem, they weave themselves into not inelegant nor inexpressive verses, as a metrical version of them will show :

“ How martial looks my noble man,
The hero of the land!
See him in chariot lead the van,
His halberd in his hand!

Since eastward on his course he sped,
My hair neglected flies.
I might anoint and wash my head,
But not to meet his eyes.

For rain, for rain, the people cry,
But brightly shines the sun;
So for my noble lord long I,
Head pained, and heart undone.

Where shall I Lethe's lily find,
 Behind my house to set?
 I think of him with aching mind,
 For how can I forget?"

The other example shall be taken from the Confucian Analects:

孔 子 曰， 君 子 有 三 戒
 K'ung Mr. say, Princely men have three beware.
 少 之 時 血 氣 未 定 戒
 Young 's time, blood breath not yet settle, beware
 之 在 色 及 其 壯 也 血 氣
 it in beauty; come to the strength —, blood breath
 方 剛 戒 之 在 鬪， 及 其 老
 then vigour, beware it in fight; come to the old
 也 血 氣 既 衰， 戒 之 在 得。
 —, blood breath have wither, beware it in get.

This, when translated into grammatical English, becomes: "Confucius said, 'There are three things which the superior man guards against. In youth, when the physical powers are not yet settled, he guards against the attractions of beauty. In maturity, when the physical powers are full of vigour, he guards against quarrelsomeness. In old age, when the physical powers are decayed, he guards against covetousness.'" It takes fifty-six English words to express the ideas in this version, which is not verbose; but forty-three Chinese characters convey them to the mind with more pith and vividness.

In my former paper I endeavoured to set forth the nature of the Chinese written characters as indicated by the original methods of their formation, my object being to show how different they are from the words of an alphabetic lan-

guage. Overlooking two minor and unimportant classes, I considered them as belonging to four divisions,—the pictorial, the indicative, the suggestive, and the phonetical. The three former, we saw, tell their meaning to the eye, and not to the ear, and were the *Origines Scripturæ Sinicæ*; the fourth, which comprehends more than nine-tenths of all the characters in the dictionary, contains a phonetical element, and tell their meaning to the eye and partly to the ear. Their phonetical element, however, is not at all akin to our writing of sound by means of letters; and the characters of all the classes are alike without inflexion, and do not admit either of declension or conjugation. As the pictorial structure of the first class has disappeared in course of time, we may consider all the characters as symbols, or ideagrams. This account of them is now accepted by all who have competently studied the subject, though many writers will still perversely speak of “the Chinese letters.” Thus in Webster’s Dictionary of the English language, the third definition of our word ‘symbol’ is: “A letter or character which is significant;” and it is added, “The Chinese *letters* are most of them symbols.” Composition in Chinese, therefore, is the writing down of thought by means of symbolic characters.

It followed that that composition must be different from any conducted with reference to the rules of our English grammar or that of any alphabetic language; and he who would study it to the best advantage must endeavour to dismiss the rules of Aryan and Semitic grammar from his mind. Grammar in fact is a subject not touched on in Chinese literature.

This led me to an examination of the native division of the characters into two great classes,—the *Shih* and the *Hsü*; the *full* or substantial and the *empty*, and the other subordinate division of them into *sze* and *hwo*, the *dead* and the *living*; which bears some analogy to that department of Etymology, which treats of the Parts of Speech. We found, however, that the Chinese terms had to do with the meaning of the characters inherent in their structure, and could not

be employed to exhibit what might be called their grammatical usage.

I went on to speak of the styles of composition as distinguished by native scholars. These really are only two; the *Kú Wán*, or 'Ancient Style,' and the *Wán Lǐ* (文理), the 'Literary or Polished Style.' But there is a third, though unacknowledged as worthy of the name,—the *Kwán Hwa*, which means 'Mandarin or Official Speech,' approximating to a representation by means of the uninflexible characters, of the colloquial idioms of the educated classes. And in connexion with this there is a writing of the language in the purely colloquial phraseology, which, if read correctly, may be understood by a hearer without the characters being seen. A street literature has grown up in every province. Every great dialectic centre has its written and printed specimens of its peculiar idiom and speech.

I addressed myself in conclusion to give some account of composition in the ancient style. There must have been a still more primitive method of conveying ideas by means of the characters; a telegraphy by those symbols, during the long time that elapsed between the invention of the characters and the production of the oldest specimens of composition that have come down to us. That period was about 700 years at the lowest estimate. I think it probable that it was very much more. However long or short it was, there had been time enough in it for composition to get out of the merely telegraphic stage. Special usages had been assigned to many of the characters, through which the ideas expressed by others in connexion with them were made more apprehensible and precise. Certain rules also had been established between the position of characters and their relation in meaning to one another, which had the same effect. The general result to which I came was that in the ancient style we have the primitive telegraphy struggling into the definiteness of grammatical writing without grammar.

My business to-day is to go on to the other styles;—the literary or polished, and then the Mandarin and colloquial.

Of course I can do no more than give their general characteristics. A grammar, or what would be equivalent for Chinese to the grammar of any Aryan language, is the place for their complete and detailed treatment; but I hope to be able to convey to you some correct idea of what those styles are.

First, then, let me speak of the polished or literary style. There is no great break between it and the ancient out of which it grew. There was in that, I said, a struggling out from the indefiniteness of telegraphy into the definiteness of grammatical writing; in this the struggle is at an end. The definiteness has been secured. The interpreter has not so much effort to make to get, behind the indications of the characters, into the mind of the writers. The characters are strung together so artistically, that for the most part they tell their tale to the mind through the intelligent eye with clearness and precision. The ancient style is sententious; so is the literary, though not to the same extent. The ancient style is concise; so is the literary, though again not to the same extent. As compared with composition in alphabetic languages, however, it must be pronounced very concise. For comparison with Greek and English, let us take the Lord's Prayer in the received text of Luke's Gospel. The Greek contains sixty words, and the English fifty-eight; whereas the Chinese version in the style which I am treating of requires only forty-four characters. If we take the Parable of the Prodigal Son as an example of a longer piece, the Greek has 393 words, and the English 504, while the Chinese version has but 332. The only language, so far as I know, in which a thing can be expressed in fewer words than the requisite number of Chinese characters, is Hebrew, and that arises in a great measure from its incorporation of the conjunction, the article, and prepositions, with the words which they precede, and its system of pronominal suffixes. Good Chinese composition is extraordinarily concise.

But it differs from the ancient style in the two other qualities of that, which I specified after Rémusat. The ancient style is vague, but the literary is not so. As I have

already said, it tells its import with clearness and precision. And this, without the aid of grammatical inflexions, is secured by means of various rhetorical contrivances, such as a nice adjustment of the particles, frequent antitheses in the use of terms and phrases, and a regular rhythmus, or measured march, in the progress of the sentences. The proper use of the particles is a most important element. Great chess-players say that the pawns, themselves the least important pieces, are yet the life of the game, and that success depends on the skilful management of them more than on the larger pieces of the board. I am sure that precision and elegance in Chinese composition cannot be obtained without very careful and discriminating manipulation of these "empty characters," that yet have power to compact and weld together the parts of the structure of thought in which they are employed, and give shape and beauty to the whole. Nor is the literary style of Chinese disconnected, like the ancient style. Characters used conjunctively, indeed, do not appear by any means so frequently as conjunctions do in English or any other Aryan language. The relative pronoun also, which plays so important a part in weaving simple sentences into complex ones, does not exist in Chinese; though there are two characters corresponding to our compound relative. But notwithstanding the infrequency of conjunctival characters, and the absence of the relative pronoun, the reader is not conscious of any great want of connexion in a paragraph of good literary composition.

I will show by-and-by how this is brought about. Meanwhile let me say here that as there is no great break between the literary style and the ancient, neither is there such a break between it and the best Mandarin style. As it grows out of the former, so it passes on into the latter. Portions of it can hardly be distinguished from the rugged conciseness of the one; other portions of it partake of the smooth verbosity of the other. There it is, midway between the two, distinct from both, yet related to each, the ideal of Chinese composition, exact while concise, graceful while

diffuse. There is nothing that pleases the taste more in Plato or Cicero, in Milton or Macaulay, in Addison or Johnson, than what is to be met with in masterpieces of Chinese writers; but the excellence of the composition in each of their languages is after its kind.

There are many varieties in the literary style. There is the style of business, the style of the memorial or state paper, the style of critical exposition, the style of the competitive essay, the style of philosophical disquisition, the style of historical narration, and many others. But the differences in them depend on the subjects. Each one has its nomenclature, and requires some special study from the learner, especially if he be a foreigner. But the style is substantially the same in all.

So much about the general characteristics of the literary style. I will now endeavour to be more particular.

Of composition in every language the simple sentence is the unit, and must contain at least one sentence and one assertion, so as to make complete sense. The structure of the simple sentence in Chinese is the same as in our own and most other languages. We say, *The sun shines*, and the Chinese say 日照, *sāh chāo*; we say, *The dog barks*, and the Chinese say 犬吠 *ch'üan fei*. Here the idioms are the same, but Chinese does not admit of the same inversion of the characters that may be made in the places of the verb and noun with us. We may write *Barks the dog*; but if we write in Chinese *fei ch'üan*, the meaning is *A barking dog*, or *Barking dogs*.

Especially must such inversion be guarded against in Chinese if the assertion is in the form of the substantive verb and an adjective. *A high hill* is the same in Chinese, *kao shan*; but where we say, *The hill is high*, the Chinese simply say, *shan káo*. The adjectival character in such a position carries the copula in it. The substantival verb might, indeed, be placed between the two characters, 山是高, but this would not be good style. We may invert our words, and say, *High is the hill*; but such an inversion is inadmissible in Chinese. Only by an adroit use of particles could it be

effected, and there would then be a shade of meaning different from that in the simple assertion.

But the assertion is very often made by us with an active verb, which then is called the predicate, and an object. Generally the subject comes first, then the predicate, and finally the object. We say, *Men felled the trees*, and so the Chinese say, 人伐木, *sān fā mù*. No inversion of the terms is permissible, such as *The trees men felled*, or *Men the trees felled*, which are hardly allowable indeed in English, though the difference between the nominative and objective cases in Latin would free them from all obscurity in that.

The Chinese call the subject 主, *chū*, *the host*, considering that it plays the principal part in the sentence; the object is *the guest* (賓); and the predicate 聯綴上下, or 寫出人事, *luan chui shang hsiá* or *hsieh ch'ú sán shih*, 'connects the upper and lower,' that is, the subject and the object, or 'describes man's affairs,' that is, 'describes actions.' The latter account of the predicate is applicable to active verbs; the former to passive. Mr. Pi Hwa-chān gives, as an instance of the active predicate, 我作文, *wo tso wán*, 'I make essays,' and as an instance of the passive, 文傳世, 'Essays are handed down in the world,' *wán chuan shi*. That the *chuan* performs the part of a passive verb is gathered from the nature of the sentence in which it is found, and that we must translate the one word *shi* that follows it, and is connected by it in some way with the subject, by *in the world* or *to mankind*, shows how concise the style is, and how much has to be supplied by the mind of the foreign reader to make the sense of the whole complete. The metaphorical names 'host' and 'guest' for our *subject* and *object* are also a proof of how foreign it is to the genius of Chinese composition to treat it grammatically.

But to advance another step. Each part of a simple sentence may have its adjuncts, consisting with us of other words or phrases added to the subject, predicate, or object, to give full expression to what is in the mind of the writer. And so it is in Chinese; but the management of the adjuncts is more simple and scientific—if I may use that term—than

with us. We confine the name adverbs to words joined to verbs and adjectives; but in studying Chinese it is advisable to consider all adjuncts adverbial, added as complements to the component parts of the sentence; and if any of them belong to the sentence as a whole, rather than to any one of its parts, these must be prefixed—first in the order of time and then of place.

I open a Chinese book at random, and at the beginning of the page come on the characters—唐敬宗寶歷三年, 京兆府, 有姑鞭婦至死者, equivalent to 'In the T'ang dynasty, in the third year of the period Pào-li of the reign of the emperor Chǎng Tsung, in the department of Ching-chào, there was a mother-in-law who scourged to death her daughter-in-law.' Of course in this sentence *mother-in-law* is the subject, and in the ten characters that precede we have two adjuncts, one of time and one of place, not belonging to the subject, predicate, or object, but to the fact that these narrate.' We might place these adjuncts in English after the narration of that fact: 'A mother-in-law scourged her daughter-in-law to death, in such a department, at such a time;' but such an inversion of the parts in Chinese, if not absolutely unintelligible, would be intolerably bad composition. The adjunct of time is made by three clauses, in apposition, while in subordination to their order in nature. They are written with seven characters, to translate which into English requires twenty-one, or three times as many, words. Standing as they do, so condensed, shows very clearly their adverbial nature, which is an important point. So important is it, indeed, that I may lay it down as a law of Chinese composition, that the parts of a simple sentence, however full, are the subject, the predicate, and the adverbial adjunct.

Wonderfully similar to the sentence which I have just dealt with is the structure of the first verse of the second chapter of Matthew's Gospel, in the literary version of our Scriptures:—"Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judæa in the days of Herod the king, there came wise men from the East to Jerusalem." For this we have: 希律王

時，耶穌既生於猶大，伯利恆，有博士數人，自東方至耶路撒冷。 Of course the adjunct of time comes first; "In the time of king Herod;" then our subordinate sentence, "When Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea," becomes an adjunct of circumstance, "Jesus having been born in Judea, Bethlehem." The rest follows very much as in English: "There were great scholars, several men, from Eastern regions came to Jerusalem." The twenty-six English words give place to twenty-four Chinese characters, but one-half of these are employed in the phonetic representation of the five proper names that the verse contains.

I have said enough—more than enough perhaps for my time—on the simple sentence. Let us proceed to deal with the complex sentence, which has been defined as "containing one leading affirmation, and one or more assertions dependent on it." The compound sentence in which the assertions are independent of one another need not detain us. It hardly exists indeed in Chinese. The Chinese mind is too logical for it. There are conjunctival characters, however, available to connect simple sentences. The genius of Chinese composition is unfavourable also to the complex sentence; and this is seldom found in it of such a length as it often is with us, where many statements may be given, more or less dependent on the leading affirmation and on one another, "in linked sweetness long drawn out." Chinese rejoices in short sentences, where one seems to succeed to another, with little apparent connexion. But they are by no means "at random strung." The more we have apprehended the genius of the composition, the more closely do we feel that they are knit together. The binding characters do not prominently appear, but they are there, employed with wonderful art, according to the maxim, "*Artis est celare artem.*" To speak in detail of the processes, rhetorical and not grammatical, by which this is effected, would extend the paper far beyond its legitimate limits. I will content myself with stating a practical rule, which occurred to me many

years ago, when I was teaching a class of more than ordinarily intelligent Chinese youths to translate from Chinese into English, and from English into Chinese. Our long complex sentences were a great puzzle to them. When they encountered such a sentence, I made them analyze it into its constituent simple sentences, and then turn these literally into Chinese in the order of their natural occurrence. By this method an intelligible version was always secured. It would be somewhat disconnected, but their familiarity with the use of their own characters soon enabled them to weave the disjointed parts together, and produce a complex Chinese sentence, which was at once clear and elegant. All foreigners who wish to acquire the art of composing in Chinese will find this the surest method for them to pursue. They will thus be able to write intelligibly from the first, and the study of good native models will in no very long time make them masters of the art in a degree to which they did not think it was possible for them to attain; while on the other hand the faculty of translating from Chinese into their own language will be acquired in much less time than it would take from their first commencing Latin and Greek to get through the schools with distinction in any European University.

There is only one more point in connexion with the literary style on which I will dwell before proceeding to treat of the Mandarin and Colloquial styles. That point is the importance of the relative position of the characters in Chinese composition. In his "Elements of Chinese Grammar," published in 1814, Dr. Marshman made the statement that "The whole of Chinese Grammar depends on position." "He was the first," wrote the late Stanislas Julien, "to give expression to that capital idea." Julien also tells us that at the commencement of his own Chinese studies, the principle enunciated by Marshman was to him as a beam of light, which opened his eyes, and enabled him at the end of three months to commence his Latin translation of the philosopher Mencius. To the end of his life Julien was of the same mind as to the importance of the relative position of the

Chinese characters. His last considerable labour, indeed, was the publication of his "Syntaxe Nouvelle de la Langue Chinoise, Fondée sur la position des mots," which he did me the honour to dedicate to myself. I was surprised that he did so, because in my long and frequent interchange of letters with him, I had always shrunk from admitting the principle of position as having all the extent and importance which Marshman and he claimed for it.

That the relative position of the characters is an important element in Chinese composition, I fully admit; but in what language is it not so? It is especially so in English, where the declensional and conjugational inflexions are so much fewer than in our classical languages. I have given instances of the change of meaning made by the altered position of Chinese characters in the sentence. A character having an adjectival meaning, when before another word used substantively, performs the part of an adjective; placed after it, it becomes a predicate carrying in it the copula. This is the most inflexible case of position in Chinese that I can think of. An adjectival character may, indeed, stand before a substantival one, and at the same time be predicative; but in such a case the peculiarity of the usage is sure to be indicated by some rhetorical device,—an idiomatic employment of particles or some other.

Another instance of this relative position is very generally known. Where two substantival characters are in juxtaposition, not being in apposition, the former is said to be under the government of the other; there is that relation between them which would be indicated by our preposition 'of,' or the sign of the possessive case. So far this is true that while 國君 (*kwo chün*) denotes the 'ruler of a state,' it can never denote 'the state of the ruler,' which would be 君國. This relation is often fully denoted by the use, between the two others, of the character 之 (*chih*) = 'of,' one of the earliest characters set apart from its primary meaning, even in the ancient style, to this particular usage.

But now this rule of position in regard to the relation of substantival characters in juxtaposition may be overruled by

other principles of Chinese composition, of which I will only specify one,—that of numerical categories, as it has been termed. These have occupied a prominent place in Chinese thought from the earliest times. To use the words of the late Mr. Mayers, “A doctrine of the hidden properties and harmonies of number imbues the earliest expressions of Chinese belief.” Two of those categories are 三綱, *san kang*, ‘the three bands or net ropes,’ and 五倫, *wú lun*, ‘the five relations.’ ‘The three net ropes’ are the three bands of society, which hold together ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife. ‘The five relations’ are the five constituents of society, those of ruler and subject (君臣), father and son (父子), elder brother and younger (兄弟), husband and wife (夫婦), friend and friend (朋友). These categories give us five pairs of substantival characters in juxtaposition, but they must be understood in one or other of the significations which they have in them. They are unintelligible if used in any other sense. Their juxtaposition has this meaning and no other.

This illustration serves to show that to lay down any universal rule of position for the usage of the Chinese characters is a mistake. And to employ their usages in illustrating grammatical composition is also a mistake. In studying Chinese composition, and in learning to compose in Chinese ourselves, we must study, as I have said repeatedly, to forget all the grammar we have learned. We have nothing to do with words, and therefore we have nothing to do with grammar. Composition in Chinese has its principles and rules; nor are they difficult to acquire. Starting with a knowledge of the structural and conventional nature of the characters, and carefully imitating the best models, I believe that here in London, a man will be able to write Chinese as Chû Hsí wrote it in less time than he will be able, with the help of all the Latin grammars in existence, to write Latin as Cicero wrote it.

I now go on to the third and last subject that I have in hand, some exhibition of the Mandarin and colloquial style. I described in my former lecture its chief pecu-

liarities, the object in it being to write the characters, so that, when read silently, though conformed to the idioms of colloquial speech, the composition shall be readily understood, and, when read audibly and correctly, what they say shall also be readily apprehended through the ear.

This style arose, I said, in our thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in a great measure through the cultivation of the drama during the period of the Yüan or Mongol dynasty. The wonder is that it did not arise earlier, for I cannot believe that the Chinese ever spoke after the manner of the ancient, or even of the literary style. From the earliest times there must have been a colloquial idiom, though if compositions in it were ever put in writing and print, they have perished. That they should do so need not surprise us, for colloquial writing, even to the present day, is not acknowledged as a part of the national literature. We have no record, however, of any writing in the colloquial idiom having been attempted before the Yüan dynasty. Two considerations will show you how unavailable, for the purposes of oral speech, the style of good Chinese composition must be. For the one thing, that style addresses itself to the eye and not to the ear. We say that 'Brevity is the soul of wit;' I am sure it is so of Chinese composition. I say this without any prejudice to its merits as a vehicle of thought. It has answered for thousands of years all the purposes of the human mind in narrating events, describing the scenes of nature, pursuing the current of philosophical speculation, and expounding the processes of art and the researches of science. Nor would I say that a good deal of conversation may not be carried on by scholars in the literary style; but they are not scholars only who talk. As a matter of fact, a chapter of our Scriptures in the literary style may be read distinctly and correctly in a congregation, and to a majority of the audience be hardly more intelligible than if it were read to them in Zend, or Sanskrit, or English.

For the other thing, the monosyllabic vocables of Chinese speech are very few. The highest number of distinct

vocables allowed by Sir Thomas Wade in Pekinese is 420. The different sounds in the southern dialects are more than this, but still few. Cantonese has 707, and the dialect of Fû-châu has 868. Here there is a language in which more than 40,000 characters, all different to the eye, and each having its own proper signification, are distributed among less than 1000 vocal sounds or names. Necessarily there are many homophonous terms having different meanings. The difficulty thus arising is somewhat diminished by the tonal system of the language. According to the modification of the utterance which we call *a tone*, the sound or vocable changes its meaning. It is not easy to say what the Chinese tones are. Dr. Williams remarks that "they are neither tones, accents, modulations, brogue, or emphasis, as these terms are used in European languages; but perhaps more nearly resemble musical notes, and are best illustrated by the variations of pitch and time in an instrument."¹ But however we describe a Chinese tone, it is an integral part of the word. The monosyllable being spoken with its proper tone, the right word is uttered, and the right meaning conveyed; if spoken with another tone, a different word is uttered, and a different meaning conveyed. I will try and illustrate this, after Williams, with the Cantonese vocable *Wán*. This dialect is rich in tones, having no fewer than eight, or, as some say, nine. You see the characters:

溫 (wǎn), ¹ mild,	穩 (wǎn), ² secure,	愠 (wǎn), ³ irritated,	屈 (wǎt), ⁴ bent,
雲 (wǎn), ⁵ clouds,	尹 (wǎn), ⁶ to rule,	混 (wǎn), ⁷ turbid,	核 (hät), ⁸ a kernel.

But the difficulty arising from the homophonous names with different meanings is only lessened, not removed, by the tones. There still remain many vocables that are both homophonous and homotonal. The devices by which the

¹ See the "Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language," Introduction, p. 27.

difficulty is further lightened, I may say altogether removed, constitute the peculiarities of the Mandarin and colloquial styles; and I will now endeavour to give you an idea of some of the most remarkable of them.

First, binary terms take the place of single. 意 (*i*) and 思 (*sze*) are of kindred meaning—*idea* and *thought*. They are joined together in *i-sze*, in the sense of ‘meaning,’ and the compound can hardly be misunderstood. So *nang-kan*, ‘ability,’ from *nang*, ‘being able,’ and *kan*, ‘capability.’ Such combinations are substantival, but there are others adjectival and verbal. 聰 and 明, *tsung-ming*, ‘quick-eared and clear-seeing,’ go together to form an unmistakable adjective, =our ‘intelligent’ or ‘clever.’ Similarly we have *k’an-chien*, ‘look, see,’ combined in what is equivalent to our verb ‘to see’; 歡喜, ‘rejoice-joy,’ =to rejoice; *ch’i-p’ien*, ‘cheat, delude,’ =to deceive. This device of bringing together synonymous words to express one idea—of expanding single terms into binary—is specially characteristic of the higher Mandarin, but is also found in the lower polished, or freer, specimens of the literary style.

Second, more colloquial, but still not altogether foreign to the higher style, are binary and often ternary terms formed by appending to single terms others which are not synonyms, but serve to individualize or to define them. Some of these single terms are appropriate to the formation of abstract nouns; others to mark off individuals as agents, or belonging to some particular profession, doing very much the same office as our terminations, *ist*, *or*, *er*, and others. Thus *fú* (夫), ‘fellow,’ added to *má* (馬), ‘horse,’ makes *má-fú*, ‘a groom;’ with *chiao*, ‘a sedan chair,’ it makes *chiao-fú*, ‘a chair-bearer;’ with *shui* (水) ‘water,’ *shui-fú*, ‘a water-bearer.’ *Sháu* (手), ‘the hand,’ is found in many binary terms. With *shui*, ‘water,’ it makes *shui-sháu*, ‘a sailor;’ with *kú* (鼓), ‘a drum,’ *kú-sháu*, ‘a drummer;’ with *p’áo*, ‘a cannon,’ *p’áo-sháu*, ‘a gunner.’ We have also, with it, such expressions as 惡手, *o-sháu*, ‘a bad hand’ = ‘a scamp;’ and 巧手, *ch’iao-sháu*, ‘a clever hand’ = ‘a smart workman.’ The number of terms with this usage is great.

Other appended characters again seem to lose their proper meaning. Such are 頭, *t'au*, 'the head,' 子, *tsze*, 'a son,' and 兒, *r*, also 'a son.' We have 日頭, *sáh t'au*, 'the sun;' 心頭, *hsin t'au*, 'the heart;' 口頭, *k'au t'au*, 'the mouth.' Chop-sticks are 快子, *k'wai tsze*, 'the nimble boys,' which may be a sort of joke; but we have *hsiang tsze*, 'a box;' *nü tsze*, 'a girl;' *chih tsze*, 'a nephew;' *chwang tsze*, 'an indictment;' *t'i tsze*, 'a ladder;' and so on. With 兒, we have *ch'iao r*, 'a bird;' *tieh r*, 'an invitation card;' *sán r*, 'a man;' *ming r*, 'a name,' and fifty similar expressions.

Third, the most remarkable expedient of this nature, and most characteristic of Chinese colloquial speech, is the class of terms which most foreigners denominate numeratives. Added to 一, *yt*, 'one,' they form the article; 一人, *yt sán*, is 'one man,' but 一個人, *yt ko sán*, is 'a man;' and most classes of substantival words have their own peculiar term, and between the specified number of anything and its name this peculiar term, allotted to it, must be inserted; *chü-tsze* is 'pig,' but 'a pig' is *yt wei chü-tsze*, 'one tail pig,' and 'twelve pigs' is *shih-r wei chü-tsze*, 'twelve tail pig.'

'Fowl' is *cht-tsze*, but 'a fowl' is *yt chih cht-tsze*. The same auxiliary has many other applications; e.g. *ch'wan tsze* is 'a boat,' but 'ten boats' is *shih chih ch'wan-tsze*.

These numeratives are sometimes significant. We can tell from the meaning proper to one from its structure why it is used in connexion with some things rather than with others; as in 一劑藥, *yt cht yo*, 'a dose,' the numerative having reference to the many different ingredients in a Chinese prescription. In other cases it is hard to trace the propriety of their application, and we are obliged to rest contented with the fact that such is their usage.

They are generally placed before the words with which they are connected, especially in the colloquial speech, but may also come after them. *T'au* 'head,' we have seen, is one of the numeratives. We use it in English in the same way, and say *so many head of cattle*. So do the Chinese; but they may also say,—'cattle so many head.' It would be

correct to say, —他養十頭牛, 十匹馬, 十尾豬子, 十隻鵝, 'He keeps ten head of ox, ten *p'* horse, ten tail pig, ten individual goose;' or 他養牛十頭, and so on, 'He keeps cow ten head, horse ten *p'*, pig ten tail, goose ten individual.'

Some numeratives have also a collective meaning, and speak of things in groups. Professor Müller quotes from the Book of St. Albans, its caution against using names of multitude promiscuously. We used to say, "a congregation of people, a host of men, a fellowship of yeomen, a bevy of ladies, a herd of harts, swans, cranes, or wrens, a muster of peacocks, a watch of nightingales, a flight of doves, a pride of lions, a slewthe of bears," and so on. All this might be paralleled from colloquial Chinese. Sir Thomas Wade gives a list of forty-five different numeratives. I believe it would not be difficult to get together one of a hundred.

You have most of you heard of what is called 'Pidgin English.' 'Pidgin' is a phonetic attempt to say our word *business*. Pidgin English is a sort of *lingua Franca* along the seaboard of China, and especially about Canton. It is colloquial Chinese literally, but badly, turned into English, and shows how poor was the inventive faculty of those who originated it. *Piecie*, the Chinese attempt at our *piece*, is made to do duty for almost all the different numeratives. I have never forgotten the first sentence or two of it that I heard, when I arrived in Hong-kong harbour, in 1843. The harbour-master came on board our vessel, as we were dropping anchor, and I told him I wanted to go to my friend Dr. Hobson's, on Morison Hill. Calling his principal boatman, he said to him, "Go catchee one piecie boat, four piecie man, takee this piecie gentleman, go Ma-li-sun hill down-side. He wantchee go he fleen Hop-sun doctor place."

It is time for me to leave the subject of these numeratives. Whatever else you may think of them, you must perceive how they get over the difficulty arising from the small vocabulary of the language, and the consequent abundance of homophonous and homotonal terms. In the various

devices which I have mentioned Chinese comes nearer to being grammatical than in either the ancient or the literary style; but those devices after all are of the nature of rhetoric, and not of grammar. Moreover, the characters by which the sounds are represented retain, as much as in either of the other styles, their inflexibility,—are still indeclinable and inconjugable.

I need not detain you long with other peculiarities of the colloquial speech. Gender and number are suggested only in the polished style. In this they are fully expressed by means of auxiliary terms that serve the purpose. The verb has many analogies to our English verb. Moods and tenses that in good composition are only suggested, though not obscurely, are in this also definitely expressed by auxiliary terms. The passive voice is for the most part eschewed, but when it cannot well be avoided, there are regular methods of expressing it.

From all this it results that instead of the conciseness and beauty of the polished style, we have in the Mandarin and colloquial a lumbering verbosity, which is only redeemed from being tedious by the rhetorical power of which it is capable in the lips of a master.

The 58 English words of our Lord's Prayer are given in 44 Chinese characters in literary Chinese. In Mandarin colloquial there are 86 characters, and in Cantonese 78. The 504 English words in the Parable of the Prodigal Son are given in 332 characters in literary Chinese. In Mandarin colloquial there are 573 characters, and in Cantonese 639.

My object in the two papers, of which this is the last, has been to give some idea of the nature of Composition in Chinese; to set forth as fully as can be done in a short space the character of its written style and of its colloquial speech. I hope I have not altogether failed of success. Let no one think that to understand Chinese books, or even to write in good Chinese style, is a very difficult task. It is not nearly so difficult as many other similar labours in which men have

succeeded; and the rewards of success in the study are great.

Still less let any one think that to acquire the spoken language of China is a Herculean task. I used to be ashamed of my own slowness in learning it when I heard Lascars and Negroes, and the class of lowest Portuguese, talking with great freedom in the market place. I used to be ashamed of that slowness also when I heard my own children chattering away in Chinese before they could frame a good sentence of English. The speech of China is really of easy acquisition, if one will go the right way about it. My Chinese students used to say to me, "You say that Chinese is difficult because it is not grammatical. That is its beauty. It is the grammar of your English, its orthography, its etymology, its syntax, that are continually bringing us up sharp, and nearly drive us mad."

A great Chinese scholar once put it on record that a parliament was impossible in China, because it was impossible to make speeches in the language. But I have witnessed triumphs of oratory in Chinese greater than ever I witnessed in England;—in the House of Commons, on the platform, or in the pulpit.

It is strange how perverse men are. I have heard some in China say that no good could be done with the Chinese till we had got them to give up their own language, and adopt an alphabetic one instead. I knew one missionary who devised an alphabet for the special purpose of writing Chinese. Mr. Graham Bell told me, in Oxford, the other day, that there was another missionary in the North of China who was writing Chinese by means of his father's scientific alphabet, and labouring to bring that into vogue. These are two cases of "go-a-head" men, full of notions; but there are many who contend for the introduction of a Romanized phonetic writing to supersede Chinese. But this also is, in my opinion, a vain dream.

Possibly the people of China may yet exchange their characters for words made up of letters. I hope they will, but they will not do so soon. Their characters and their

speech have served them for at least 5000 years. By the end of another 5000 years they may have changed them for something better, and be preserving the memory of them by means of chairs in their universities.

Then we—or rather our descendants—will see what they shall see. Meanwhile the more that we make ourselves masters both of the written characters and of the speech of China, the better shall we do our work in our day and generation, and prepare the way for the better future that is coming.

ART. XI.—*A Specimen of the Zoongee (or Zurngee) Dialect of a Tribe of Nagas, bordering on the Valley of Assam, between the Dikho and Desoi Rivers, embracing over Forty Villages.* By the Rev. Mr. CLARK, Missionary at Sibsagar.

IN romanizing this Naga language, *a* has the sound of *a* in 'far,' 'ah'; *ā* has the sound of *a* in 'fate,' 'rate'; *c* has only a soft sound, never that of *k*; *e* (single) has the sound of *e* in 'met,' 'net'; *g* has only a hard sound as in 'give'; *i* has the sound of *i* in 'pin,' 'sin'; *u* has only the sound of *u* in 'but,' 'nut.' One object of this style of romanizing is to reserve this mark (') for accent only. The accent mark is needed to distinguish some words spelt alike, but with different meanings, indicated by accentuation, as *ázu*, first syllable accented, means 'a dog,' but *azu*, without special accent, means 'blood.'

NUMERALS.

One	<i>ka</i> or <i>aka</i> .
Two	<i>ana</i> .
Three	<i>asum</i> .
Four	<i>pezú</i> .
Five	<i>poongo</i> .
Six	<i>terauk</i> or <i>trauk</i> .
Seven	<i>tenet</i> .
Eight	<i>tee</i> .
Nine	<i>tuko</i> .
Ten	<i>teer</i> or <i>teree</i> .
Thirteen	<i>teree asum</i> .
Fourteen	<i>teree pezú</i> .
Fifteen	<i>teree poongo</i> .

Sixteen	<i>metsa maben terauk.</i> ¹
Seventeen	<i>metsu maben tenet.</i>
Eighteen	„ „ <i>tee.</i>
Nineteen	„ „ <i>tuko.</i>
Twenty	<i>Metsu.</i>
Twenty-five	„ <i>poongoo.</i>
Twenty-six	<i>semur maben terauk.</i>
Twenty-seven	„ „ <i>tenet.</i>
Thirty	<i>semur.</i>
Forty	<i>leer.</i>
Fifty	<i>tenem.</i>
Sixty	<i>eokur.</i>
Seventy	<i>tenem ser metsu.</i>
Eighty	<i>leer anasu (or anesu).</i>
Ninety	<i>telang, tuko.</i>
One hundred	<i>telang ka, noklang ka.</i>
One thousand	<i>mäeersang ka.</i>
Thousands or myriads	<i>mäeersang, mäeersang.</i>

PRONOUNS.

I, <i>nee.</i>	We, <i>orga, orgoa, orgonok, asene, asenok.</i>
You (singular), <i>na, nai.</i>	You (plural), <i>nenok, nenook.</i>
He, <i>pa, pai.</i>	They, <i>pare, parenok, parenook.</i>
Him, <i>patak, badang.</i>	
In him, <i>panoong, panem, panum.</i>	
For him, <i>panäyong, payong, paasoshee.</i>	
From him, <i>pa ninge.</i>	
To him, <i>patonga, padonga, panoong, panem.</i>	
By him, <i>pa age.</i>	
With him, <i>paden.</i>	
His own, <i>päee, troboo.</i>	
Of me, of us, of you, of him, of them. No preposition in Naga corresponding to 'of' occurs.	
Mine, <i>ke, koo, ozo.</i>	

¹ *Metsu maben terauk* is literally 'twenty not brought six,' meaning the six before twenty, i.e. sixteen. The same principle of enumerating prevails between 25 and 30, between 45 and 50, etc., etc.,

- Our, *ozo, orgonok, asene, asen.*
 Your, *ne, nenok.*
 His, *pa.*
 Their, *pare, 'parenok, parenook.*
 Hand, *leka, ka.*
 Foot, *lemoopoo, moopoo, mooboo.*
 Nose, *lenee, nee.*
 Eye, *lenuk, nuk, nook.*
 Mouth, *tebang, bang.*
 Tooth, *topo, po.*
 Ear, *tenarung, narung.*
 Hair, *tezung, lezung, yung.*
 Hair (of human head), *koo.*
 Head, *tokolak, kolak.*
 Tongue, *temelee, meloe.*
 Belly, *tepok, pok.*
 Back, *terongtong, terungtong.*
 Back (small of), *teperem, perem.*
 Metal, *ren.*
 Iron, *rensang, rensang.*
 Steel, *sensu.*
 Lead (metal), *rangen.*
 Silver, *tareebae.*
 Man, *neesang.*
 Father, *tuboo, oba, ova, ovala.*
 Mother, *letsu, oxa, ovala.*
 Brother, *tenoo, odee.*
 Brethren, *odeeanootun.*
 Sister, *tenoo, tenu.*
 Wife, *tegeenoongtsu, keenoogtsu.*
 Husband, *tegeenoongpo, keenoongpo.*
 Child, *techeer, cheer, tanoer.*
 Son, *sabaso, zapacheer.*
 Daughter, *zalacheer.*
 Woman, *letsur.*
 Slave, *alar.*
 Cultivator, *aloo, imur.*
 Shepherd, *molo, nabong, amukur.*
 God, *Loongkeezungba, Tsoongram.*
 Devil, *mazing, mevutsing, leezaba.*
 Sun, *anu.*

- Moon, *rela zesta*.
 Star, *peteeno*.
 Fire, *mee*,
 Water, *tsu*.
 House, *kee*.
 Horse, *quor*.
 Cattle, *nashoe*.
 Dog, *dsu*.
 Cat, *tanu*.
 Hen, *an, en*.
 Cock, *an tubong*.
 Duck, *patak*.
 Ass (no name).
 Camel ,,
 Bird, *osu*.
 Blood, *asu*.
 Go (imperative), *wang* or *ouang*.
 Go (verb stem), *o, ou*.
 Eat (imperative), *cheeang, seeang* (verb stem); *chee, see*.
 Sit ,, *menang* (verb stem); *men*.
 Come ,, *arung, aroong, arooang* (verb stem), *aroo*.
 Beat ,, *sukang* (verb stem), *suk*.
 Stand ,, *noktakang* ,, *noktak*.
 Die ,, *suang* ,, *su*.
 Give ,, { *agusang* ,, { *agutsu*.
 ,, { *akusang* ,, { *akutsu*.
 Run ,, *asumang* ,, *asum*.
 Up, *tama, tamalen, tazuklen*.
 Downward, *letoonge*.
 Under, *letoong*.
 Near, *anasa*.
 Far, *talangka, talang, langa*.
 Before, *alumle, tamasa, modang, matsoongdang, tezaklen, zaknoong, zaktak*.
 Behind, *teselen, tesulen, sulen*.
 In, *noong, loong*.
 From, *noonge, ninge*.
 For, *lemayong, mayong, asoshee, noong*.
 To, *donga, tonga*.
 Yes, *ouh, ou*.
 No, *noonga, noong, masa*.

Who, *sheeree, sheeba, sheebai shee.*

What, *keches.*

Why, *kechesba, koatsu.*

When, *kodang.*

Whither, *kolene.*

Whence, *kong ninge.*

Where, *kong, kecheenoong.*

How, *keches koda, koda, kodasam.*

But, *soko, zokorla.*

If, *bangeela, abang, awang, serabangeela.*

And, *aser, ser.*

Alas, *ai-lai, azee.*

A father. No definite article *a*; as a prefix, *t* in some instances corresponds to the English article *the*.

The father, *tuboo.*

Of a father. No such preposition as 'of.'

To the father, *toobodang, tuboodonga, tuboonong.*

From the father, *tuboo minge.*

By the father, *tuboo age.*

For the father, *tuboo māyang, tuboo asoshee.*

Fathers, *tuboo noongur.*

Of fathers ,, ,,

To fathers, *tuboonoongur dang, donga.*

Daughter, *zala, zalacheer.*

Of daughter ,, ,,

To daughter, *saladang, donga, noong.*

From daughter, *salaninge.*

Daughters, *salatum, zalacheertum.*

Of daughters ,, ,,

To daughters, *salatundang, donga, noong.*

From daughters, *salatum, ninge.*

A good man, *neesong tamoong.*

To good man, *neesong taxoong dang, neesong taxoong donga, neesong taxoong noong.*

From good man, *neesong, taxoong ninge.*

Good man, *neesong taxoong, neesong taxoongtum.*

Of good man ,, ,,

To good man, *neesong taxoongtum noong, neesong taxoongtum dang, neesong taxoongtum donge.*

From good man, *neesong taxoongtum ninge.*

A (one) good woman, *letsur taxoong ka.*

Good women, *letsur tazoongtum*.

A (one) bad boy, *tanoor tamazoong ka*.

A (one) bad girl, *letsu zanoo tamazoong ka*.

Good, *tazoong, zoongur, letangshee*.

Better } Comparative and superlative degrees not indicated as
Best } in English, but as in Assamese.

Better than that, *aseedang tazoong, tazoongha*.

Best of all, *azakdang tazoong, tazoongka tazoongteeska*.

Very good, *kangazoongur, zoong zoongur*.

High, *talang, tenem*.

Higher than this, *yadang talang, yadang tenem*.

Highest of all, *amak dang talangku tenemba*.

Horse (general term for male or female, and one or many), *quor*.

Horse (male), *quor tubong*.

Horse (female), *quor letsu*.

Horses (male), *quor tabongtum, quor tubonglok*.

Horses (female), *quor letsutum, quor letsu rogo*.

General term for 'cattle,' male or female, one or more, *nashee*.

Bull, *nashee poongchee*.

Cow, ,, *tzella*.

Bulls ,, *poongcheestum, poongchee rogo*.

General term for 'dog,' one or many, male or female, *dsu*.

Dog (male), *dsu tubong*.

Bitch, *dsu letsu*.

Dogs (male), *dsu tubongtum, asutubong roga*.

Bitches, *letsutum, roga*.

General term for 'goat,' one or many, male or female, *nabong*.

Goat (male), *nabong tubong*.

Goat (female) ,, *letsu*.

Goats, *nabongtum, nabong rogo, nabong telok*.

The suffix *tum* is the more frequent designation for plural, but *noongur, tashee, telok, lok* and *rogo* are sometimes used. The primary meaning of *telok* or *lok* is, probably, 'multitude,' and the primary meaning of *rogo* is 'company,' 'gang,' 'squad.'

Deer, *theestzu, mesen*.

SINGULAR.

I am, *nee leer*.
 Thou art, *na leer*.
 He is, *pa leer*.
 I was, *nee lecasu*.
 Thou wast, *na lecasu*.
 He was, *pa lecasu*.

PLURAL.

We are, *azo aleer*.
 You are, *nenok aleer*.
 They are, *parenok aleer*.
 We were, *azo lecasu*.
 You were, *nenok lecasu*.
 They were, *parenok lecasu*.

Be, *leang* ; to be, *telequts*.
 Having been, *alee, allee dang*.
 I may be, *nee lecturer, leetetur*.
 I shall be, *nee aleetsu*.
 I should be, *nee leetsu laha*.
 Beat (verb stem), *tazuk, suk*.
 Beat (imperative), *sukang*.
 To beat, *tazuktsu*.
 Having beaten, *azuk, azukur*.
 I beat, *nee zukur, nee zuktee*.
 Thou beatest, *na zukur, na zuktee*.
 He beats, *pa zukur, pa zuktee*.
 We beat, *onoke zukur, onoke zuktee*.
 You beat, *nenoke zukur, nenoke zuktee*.
 They beat, *parenoke zukur, parenoke zuktee*.
 I am (now) beating, *nee sukdage, ne sukdorur*.
 I was beating; *nee suk alee*.
 I had beaten, *nee suk ago*.
 I may beat, *nee azuklet*.
 I shall beat, *nee azuktsu*.
 I should beat, *nee suklade, suklaba*.
 I am beaten, *ketak azuk, azuka*.
 I was beaten, *ketak zuk ogo*.
 I shall be beaten, *ketak azuktsusu, ketak azuktsusoda*.
 He did not beat me, *pa ketak masuk*.
 I go, *nee odee*.
 Thou goest, *na ondage*.
 He goes, *pa ondage, pa tour*.
 I went, *nee on*.
 You went, *nai on*.
 He went, *pai on*.

Go (imper.), *wang (oang)*.

Going, *ondang tour*.

Gone, *ogo, tou*.

What is your name? *menung shee ? menung sheeba ?*

How old is this horse? *quor yabo kam quaeegata ?*

How far is it from here to Kashmir? *yong ninge Kashmir donga kopeegota ?*

I have walked a long way to-day, *tanubo nes talangka sazago*.

How many sons are there in your father's house? *nooboo keedang zapaso cheer quāāga ale ?*

The son of my uncle is married to her sister, *ogola zapasocheer pa tenooden kies our*.

In the house is the saddle of the white horse, *quor temesung mendem keedang leer*.

Put the saddle upon his back, *pa torongtong noong mendenzee enlokzang*.

I have beaten his son with many stripes, *nee pa zubaso cheer dang aseeben zukogo*.

He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill, *pa tenem tukong noong nashee zeeong dazadage*.

He is sitting on a horse under that tree, *pa azu songdang tazung noong quor rongtong noong sangur ale* (or *menur ale*).

His brother is taller than his sister, *tenoo lenudang tare talangba*.

The price of that is two rupees and a half, *eoba tsuda tasuk ano ser adholee ka*.

My father lives in that small house, *kuboo wage kee teela noong lee*.

Give this rupee to him, *ya tasuk (ket) badang akuzang*.

Take those rupees from him, *ya sentum pa ninge beneea wang*.

Beat him well and bind him with ropes, *patak zoong zoonga azukur leezu age alenang*.

Walk before me, *ketang tamasa sazang*.

Whose boy comes before you? *nesulen cheer tanoor aroor ?*

From whom did you buy that? *nai azu sheer ninge alee ?*

From a shopkeeper in the village, *imtak aleeba dokan ninge alee*.

Is the dhan dry or not? *tsuk ara asu mara ?*

Is there rice (in it) or not? *zang ait asu mait ?*

Do not tell a lie, *teazu tezumbee*.

Speak the truth, *atangshee zumbesang*.

He will not tell a lie, *pa teaxu ma zumbeetsu*.

Come here, *yage aroong*.

Do not come here, *yages taroo*.

He will not come here, *pa yage marootsu*.

He did not come, *pa maroo*.

Go and bring wood, *soong beneeū wāng*.

Wood is brought, *toong aben*.

The translation of the above words and phrases was made by labourers among the Nagas connected with the American Baptist Mission.

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ART. XII. — *The Gaurian compared with the Romance Languages.* Part I. By MR. E. L. BRANDRETH.

By "Gaurian" are meant what Mr. Beames, in his comparative grammar, has called the "Modern Aryan Languages of India," but, as this last is too long a title for frequent use, and as the name, Gaurian, given by Professor Hoernle, has been adopted by Dr. Caldwell, I may venture to make use of it also. These languages, in order to mark their origin, may also sometimes be termed the Neo-Sanskrit languages, as the Romance are spoken of for the same purpose as the Neo-Latin or Novo-Latin languages. The object of this paper is to show that Sanskrit becomes Gaurian much in the same way that Latin becomes Romance. All the Aryan languages have undergone somewhat similar changes. The changes which have produced modern Persian and English are even more sweeping in a great part of their grammar. The interest of the comparison I have in view lies in this, that there is a very close resemblance, especially in the consonants, between Sanskrit and Latin, and that the resemblance is equally marked between their modern representatives, and this extends to points in which the modern languages differ most from the ancient, showing that the same phonetic laws have operated in both groups. This paper is not the result of any independent research. I have gone, for most of my information, to the best known works on the grammar of each group, such as those of Beames, Trumpp, and Hoernle, on the Gaurian, and of Diez, Littré, and Brachet, on the Romance languages.

The Gaurian languages, which form the subject of Beames's grammar, are the Hindī (H.),¹ Panjābī (P.), Sindhī (S.), Gujarātī (G.), Marāṭhī (M.), Oṛiya (O.), Bangālī (B.); while Diez's grammar of the Romance languages treats of the Italian (It.), Spanish (Sp.), Portuguese (Port.), Provençal (Prov.), French (Fr.), and Walachian. I shall take no account of the Walachian, because, in consequence of its earlier separation from the common stock, it differs, in some important respects, from the other languages:—the Latin letters, for instance, are not subject to change or syncope in Walachian, at all in the same degree that they are in the other languages; and this is one of the most important respects, as will be seen, in which the Gaurian and Romance languages resemble each other. With regard to the other languages, both Gaurian and Romance, while dealing generally with the resemblance between the two groups, I shall take my illustrations principally from the Sindhi and Hindi among the Gaurian languages, and from the Italian and French in the Romance group. These, besides being well-known languages in each group, have had the most attention bestowed on them by philologists, and will perhaps serve also to show some of the most divergent characteristics of each group. It would, moreover, quite exceed the limits of such a paper as this to adduce examples from every language. The Sindhi is, of course, the language of the province of Sindh. By the Hindi I mean generally what is also called High Hindi. It is a literary language, and is based upon the Braj, the popular language of the Upper Doab, of which Agra and Delhi are the principal towns, with some intermixture of words and forms traceable to other dialects; where these occur, it may sometimes be necessary to instance a Braj instead of a Hindi word. Almost all the early Hindi literature is in this dialect.

Besides the languages treated of by Beames, Northern Gaurian, including Garhwālī Kamaonī and Naipālī, Bhojpūrī, and even Mārwarī, and Asamese, have been claimed as

¹ The letters following the names show the abbreviations used for them.

separate languages. But those that form the subject of Beames's work are more than sufficient for my purpose. There are also the Kāshmirī and Sinhala (Sinhalese) languages belonging to the Neo-Sanskrit group. These languages have a greater abundance of grammatical forms than the languages which form the subject of Beames's work, besides which, in other respects also, they differ more, and especially the Sinhala, from Beames's languages, than any one of those languages does from the others. No doubt the study of Kāshmirī and Sinhala is of great importance for a comparative grammar of the Neo-Sanskrit languages, but they are of less use for my comparison than the other languages, on account of their more complicated grammar. The similarity in letter changes by which the Prakrit and Romance are distinguished has been remarked upon by Diez, and has also been treated of by Dr. Muir, in the second volume of his *Sanskrit Texts*; and in greater detail in a pamphlet published in 1869, entitled, "Vergleichung des Prakrit mit dem Romanischen Sprachen," von Friederich Haag. I hope, however, to show that the resemblance between Gaurian and its contemporary Romance is still more striking, and extends into more details even in phonology; while the resemblance is not confined to phonology only, as is the case with that between Prakrit and Romance, but extends to the rest of the grammar also.

The languages of both the Gaurian and Romance groups have become to a great extent analytical, that is, the relations of words expressed in Skr. and Pr., or Lat., by complex forms, are now, generally, signified by the addition of independent words. The losses as regards the original declensions are very great in both. Both groups still distinguish the singular and the plural by flexion. Most of the Gaurian languages have a nominative and an oblique form, which may be compared with the two cases preserved in Old Fr. and Prov. Other Gaurian languages, again, have no cases, and thus resemble all the Romance languages in their present state. The Gaurian languages, also, like the Romance, have discarded the neut., with the exception of

M. and G. The dual of the Skr. has also disappeared in Gaurian, as it had indeed already done in Pr. In regard to adjectives, the old suffixes of comparison have disappeared in both groups. Changes have also occurred to a great extent in the verbs of both groups. Compound tenses often take the place of the original complex structure. Both groups make new compounds for the future. In both a past tense is formed with the past participle and an auxiliary verb. In both, also, with the exception of S., the original passive voice has been lost, and its place supplied by a new compound. The present paper will treat principally of the phonology; in another paper, I propose to compare the other parts of the grammar of each group.

But it is not only in a general way that the two groups are to be compared; particular languages also may be compared. Thus S. may be compared with It. in regard to its words always ending in vowels, its extensive use of diminutives, its use of pronominal suffixes to express the object of the verb, and especially its assimilating one of two conjunct consonants to the other. H. again may be compared with Fr. in its greater curtailment of words, in its mute *a* required to complete the metre in poetry, like the mute *e* of the Fr., and in its rejecting, instead of assimilating, one of two conjunct consonants; such rejection, if of a preceding *n* or *m*, being accompanied with the nasalization of the preceding vowel.

The earliest Gaurian literature, the great poem of Chand Bardai, the Prithirājā Rāso, in Old H., belongs to the end of the twelfth century A.D. He was the court bard of Pirthirāj, the last Hindu King of Delhi. The first specimens of Romance, which are those of the French language, are of an earlier date. The celebrated Strasbourg Oaths belong to the middle of the ninth century, but in them the language is not yet disengaged from Latin influences. In the tenth century we have the legend of St. Eulalie in French verse, and one or two other documents; and after the middle of the eleventh century there sprang up an original poetical literature, the numerous *chansons de geste*.

We know but little of the popular language spoken throughout either of the domains now occupied by the Gaurian and Romance languages for a period of several centuries previous to our first specimens of these languages. During this period men wrote in one language, and thought and spoke in another; but when the genius of poetry could no longer be restrained by the fetters of a dead language, it burst forth in each domain at no great difference of time in its natural language, that of men's daily thought and speech. If modern Indian poetry is not equal to that of France, Italy, and Spain, at all events, for instance, a poem like the *Rāmāyan* of Tulsī Dās, written 300 years ago, has had quite as much effect in its way as the modern poetry of any other nation. Indeed, it is said to be better known to the great mass of the inhabitants of Hindustan than the Bible is to the mass of the English people.

From what evidence, however, we have on the subject, we cannot but conclude that the spoken dialects of each domain before the modern period must have diverged by degrees more and more from the original idioms, preserved to us, no doubt, to a great extent in the ancient literatures, until they attained their latest stage of change and development in the different modern languages. Sanskrit ceased to be the popular language, as is generally supposed, previous to the sixth century B.C. Nearest to the Skr. of all the derived languages, is the language of the Aśoka Inscriptions of the third century B.C. There are three dialects. That of the Shāhbāzgarhī Inscription and that of the Girnār Inscription are more nearly allied to the Mahārāshṭrī Prākṛit; while that of the Pillar Inscriptions is related to the Māgadhi Prākṛit. Next, we have the Pāli, the sacred language of the Southern Buddhists. Of a somewhat later stage is the Jaina-Prākṛit of the Bhagavatī, a sacred book of the Jains. Next, still further removed from the Skr., we have what is usually called Prākṛit, or sometimes High-Prākṛit, of which we have a grammar by Vararuchi in the first century B.C., and of which there are the two important dialects mentioned above, the Mahārāshṭrī, with which must be joined the

Sauraseni as a subdialect; and the Māgadhi. The former are more nearly allied to the western languages, S., P., H., and G., as the latter is to the eastern, B. and O.; Marāthi occupying an intermediate position, though nearer, on the whole, to East Gaurian.¹ The Śauraseni is the dialect principally used in the plays. Two important works for the study of Mahārāshṭrī are the *Saptaśataka* of Hāla, and the *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu. Of Māgadhi there are a few specimens in the plays.

The Prakrit is synthetic in structure, and is separated no doubt by some centuries from the Gaurian period. It has fewer cases and tenses, however, than the Skr., no dual, and there is properly only one conjugation. Also, in many words and forms Prakrit shows the state of a language intermediate between Skr. and the modern languages, but, notwithstanding this, we can hardly regard it as forming a perfect link between them. There are many words in the Gaurian languages, which, though they have undergone considerable phonetic changes, cannot be derived through High-Prakrit. Some of these words may be traced through forms similar to those preserved in Pali; others again cannot be so traced, to the detriment no doubt of their claim to any great antiquity as regards their form. There is, however, another kind of Prakrit called *Apabhraṃsa*, of which there appear to be varieties, and which is considered a low or popular form of speech. It is not mentioned by Vararuṅgi, but is treated of by later grammarians. The *Apabhraṃsa* contains less emasculated forms of words than the High-Prakrit, and is likely enough to be identical with the earlier stage of Gaurian. The *Apabhraṃsa* also in some respects is intermediate between High-Prakrit and Gaurian. Thus, nouns ending in *as* in Skr. have *o* in Mh. Pr., *u* in what appears to be Western Ap. Pr. The same nouns in S. also end in *u*, and in Old H. and in the Himalayan dialects. On the other hand, in Māgadhi the ending of these nouns was *e*, which has disappeared altogether in the Eastern languages. Our

¹ Hoernle, *Calcutta Review*, October, 1878.

information on the subject of the Apabhraṃsa dialects, however, is very scanty. I give a few examples of the stronger forms which occur in Gaurian, as compared with High-Prakrit:—Skr. *sākam* 'a pot herb,' Pali *sākaṃ*, Ap. Pr. *sāgaṃ*, H. *sāg*, but Mh. Pr. *sāo*; Skr. *akshi* 'an eye,' Pali *akkhi* and *ac̣chi*, Ap. Pr. *akkhi*, H. *ākḥ*, but Mh. Pr. *ac̣chi*; Skr. *śakatam* 'a cart,' Pali *sakatam*, Jaina-Pr. *sagaḍam*, H. *sagar*, but Mh. Pr. *saaḍho*. If again High-Prakrit has two forms, one nearer to, the other further from the Skr. form, it is the former that will be found in Gaurian; as Skr. *rātri* 'night,' Pali *ratti*, Mh. Pr. *ratti* and *rāi*, Ap. Pr. *ratti*, H. *rāt*; Skr. *tikshṇas* 'sharp,' Pali *tikkho* and *tiṅho*, Mh. Pr. *tikkham* and *tiṅham*, Ap. Pr. *tikkhā*, H. *tikhā*. In other cases, again, the strong forms of the Gaurian have not this evidence in their favour; as Skr. *prithivī* 'the earth,' H. *pirthi*, but Pali *puṭhavi*, Mh. Pr. *puhavi*; Skr. *sahasram* 'a thousand,' H. *sahasar* and *sahansar*, but Aśoka Ins. *sahasa*, Pali *sahassam*, Mh. Pr. *sahassa*, Ap. Pr. *sahasa*.¹

Latin, no doubt, continued to be the language of the people to a much later date than Sanskrit. Prakrit is rather the contemporary of Latin as a living language. Even in the golden age, however, of Latin literature, there were colloquialisms and vulgarisms, both of words and grammar, which were not admitted into the literary diction, but from which, rather than from the literary language, the Romance languages derived their material. We may infer something also, as to the nature of the colloquial dialect previous to the Romance period, from the later Latin literature. In this literature many words and forms of expression occur which are not Latin, but Romance; and in the inscriptions of this period some confusion or change in the use of cases, and also mutilated flexions, are manifest. In what is called Low Latin, in which the public documents were written in France after the German invasion, only two cases are found, the nominative and accusative, from which it may perhaps be inferred that this was a characteristic of the popular lan-

¹ Professor Hoernle's forthcoming comparative grammar will, I understand, give us a great deal of information about Ap. Pr.

guage throughout the whole Romance domain at this period, though the two cases only survived to later times in Fr. and Prov. Later still, even the Latin used in the literature appears in some documents to have arrived at its last stage of decomposition. Of a canto of the ninth century, for instance, it has been remarked, that "the Neo-Latinisms are frequent; the declensions have no longer any regularity; the pronoun is used as an article and as subject of the verb."¹

A list is given by Diez of Lat. words that have been lost in the Romance languages. A similar list might be formed of Skr. words that have not been preserved, at least in a popular form, so far as can be ascertained from the dictionaries, in Gaurian. Well-known Aryan words that have been lost in both groups might be compared; as, for instance, Skr. *āsvas*, Lat. *equus*, but S. *ghoro*, H. *ghorā*, from Skr. *ghotakas*, a word apparently of Non-Aryan origin, and It. *cavallo*, Fr. *cheval*, from Lat. *caballus* 'a sorry jade;' Skr. *avis*, Lat. *ovis*, but H. *bher*, from Skr. *bhedas*, also 'a sheep,' and Fr. *mouton*, probably of Keltic origin, also It. *pecora*; Skr. *atti* (root *ad*), Lat. *edit*, but S. *khāe*, H. *khāe*, from Skr. *khādati* 'chew,' and It. *mangia*, Fr. *mange*, from Lat. *manducate* 'chew, munch.' Or words lost in Gaurian, but retained in Romance, may be compared; as Skr. *svā*, acc. *svānam*, Lat. *canis*, It. *cane*, Fr. *chien*, but S. *kutto*, H. *kuttā*, from Skr. *kukkuras*, also 'a dog;' Skr. *apas*, Lat. *opus*, *opere*, Fr. *œuvre*; Skr. *sīdati*, Lat. *sedet*, It. *siede*, Fr. *sied*, but S. *vihe*, H. *baiṭhe*, from Skr. past part. *uparishṭa* 'seated.' Or, again, words lost in Romance, but retained in Gaurian: as Skr. *agnis*, Lat. *ignis*, S. *agi*, P. *aggin*, H. *āg*, but It. *fuoco*, Fr. *feu*, from Lat. *focus*; Skr. *hansas*, Lat. *anser*, S. *hanju*, P. *hans*, H. *hās*, but It. *oca*, Fr. *oie*, from Lat. *avica* 'the bird' *par excellence*; Skr. *vahati*, Lat. *vehit*, S. *vahe*, H. *bahe*.

It may be worth while also comparing a few of the Old Aryan words retained in both groups, in order to see the further changes they have undergone, especially as I shall not often be able to compare such words together in giving

¹ Bartoli, Letteratura Italiana (Firenze, 1878), p. 71.

instances of the similar letter changes that have occurred in each group, in consequence of the change that has already taken place in such words before they became Skr. and Lat.; as, for instance, Skr. *dhūmas*, S. *dūhō*, H. *dhū*; Lat. *fumus*, It. *fumo*, Old Fr. *fum*. Skr. *pādas*, S. *peru*, H. *pāo*; Lat. *pedem*, It. *piede*, Fr. *ped*. Skr. *naus*, acc. *nāvam*, S. *nauka* (dim.), H. *nai*; Lat. *navis*, It. *nave*, Port. *nao*, Fr. *nèf*. Skr. *hridayam*, S. *hīḍn*, H. *hiyā*; Lat. *corde*, It. *cuore*, Fr. *cœur*. Skr. *sarpas*, S. *sappu*, H. *sāp*; Lat. *serpens*, -*entem*, It. *serpe*, Fr. *serpent*. Skr. *śvasuras*, S. *sahuro*, H. *sasur*; Lat. *socer*, It. *suocero*. Skr. *māsas*, S. *māhu*, H. *mās*; Lat. *mensis*, It. *mese*, Fr. *mois*. Skr. *kushkas*, S. *sukko*, B. *sūkā*; Lat. *siccus*, It. *secco*, Sp. *seco*. Skr. *navas*, S. *nāō*, H. *nayā* and *nau*; Lat. *novus*, It. *nuovo*, Fr. *neuf*, *neuve*. Skr. *marati* for *mṛiyate*, S. *mare*, H. *mare*; Lat. *morit* for *moritur*, It. *more*, Fr. *meurt*. Skr. *pric̣chati*, S. *pućche*, H. *pūche*; Lat. *precat* for *precatur*, It. *prega*, Fr. *prie*.

In both groups many words have two forms; the one which has come down in the mouths of the people, and subject to the phonetic changes which will be discussed in some detail further on; the other very little altered from the original word. The former class of words in the Gaurian group is termed *tadbhava*, i.e. 'of the nature of it' (Sanskrit); the latter *tatsama*, i.e. 'the same as it.' These two classes in the Romance languages are spoken of respectively as popular and learned words. The learned words in both cases were no doubt introduced at a later date, by persons acquainted with the original languages after they had ceased to be known by the people in general. The two forms have frequently different meanings; as, for instance, H. *ṭhāo* 'a place in general,' *asthān* 'a shrine;' *āgyā* 'a command,' *ān* 'desire;' *mēh* 'rain,' *megh* 'a cloud;' or as in Fr. *employer* and *impliquer*, *frêle* and *fragile*, *acheter* and *accepter*. In the Gaurian languages, however, and especially in H., the two forms are given in the dictionaries of a great number of words which are absolutely synonymous; but the majority of the learned words thus given are used only by pundits and do not belong to the language of the mass of the people.

I now proceed to compare the principal phonetic changes by which the *tadbhava* or popular words of each group are distinguished. I begin with the vowels. The remarks which next follow have reference principally to the accented vowels, that is, which are accented in the modern languages; for, as regards Skr. at least, we do not find much resemblance between the accent in Skr. and the stress accent which is laid on one of the syllables in every Gaurian word. The original vowels are retained more frequently in the Gaurian than in the Romance languages. Both groups, however, agree in preserving, as the rule, all the long vowels. There is this difference, also, to be noted, that the long and short vowels are distinguished in writing in Gaurian as in Skr. In Romance, again, the original quantity is lost to a much greater extent than in Gaurian. The vowel *a*, both long and short, is generally retained both in Gaurian and Romance; the principal exceptions being, S., in which the change is often to *i*, as *khiṇ* from *kshaṇam* 'a moment,' and Fr., in which it is changed to *e* or *ai* before single consonants, as *mer* from *mare*. Short *i* is generally retained, but sometimes becomes *e* in Gaurian, generally changed into *e* in Romance, and often also into *oi* in Fr.; as H. *sem* from *simbā* 'a beam'; It. *seno* from *sinus*. Long *i* is generally unchanged in both groups. Short *u* is generally retained, but sometimes becomes *o* in Gaurian, frequently becomes *o* in Romance; except in Fr., where it is retained in sound but written *ou*; as S. *pothu* from *pustam* 'a book'; It. *dotta* from *dubito*, but Fr. *doute*. Long *u* generally remains in both, except that in Fr. it undergoes the partial change into *ü*.

The vowel *ṛi*, unknown to Lat., whatever its sound in Skr., is often both written and pronounced *ri* in Gaurian, or else its most frequent change is into *i*, as H. *gidh* from *gridhras* 'a vulture.' Short *e*, unknown in Skr., occurs occasionally in S. In Romance, before a single consonant, it is ordinarily changed to the diphthong *ie*, except in Port., where it remains. Long *e* is retained generally, both in Gaurian and Romance, with the exception of Fr., where it frequently becomes *oi*. Short *o*, unknown in Skr., occurs only exception-

ally in B. and O., in Gaurian; in Romance, before a single consonant, it is diphthongized with *u*, becoming It. *uo*, Sp. *ue*, Fr. *eu*. The diphthongs *ai* (*ae*) and *au* are very frequently contracted to *e* and *o* in both groups, and *ae* also goes into *ie* in It., Sp., and Fr.; as Skr. *tailum* 'oil,' S. *telu*, H. *tel*; Lat. *caelum*, It. *cielo*, Fr. *ciel*. Skr. *gauras* 'white,' S. *goro*, H. *gorā*; Lat. *causa*, It. *cosa*, Fr. *chose*.

Next, as regards the unaccented vowels, which are much less constant than the accented in both groups. There is a tendency in S. and P. to change unaccented vowels into *i*, and in B. and O. to change them into *u*. In Romance, as regards at least the first syllable, the vowel *a* is the favourite. Loss of initial vowels occurs in both groups, as Skr. *aranya*s 'a forest,' S. *riṇu*, H. *ran*; Lat. *aranea*, It. *ragno*; Lat. *adamantem*, Fr. *diamant*. The elision of unaccented medial vowels, which plays an important part in the formation of the Romance languages, occurs only occasionally in Gaurian, with the exception of H., in which it is pretty frequent. The following are a few instances in H.: *basti* from *vasatī*, *chamrī* from *chamarī*, *miré* from *miricās*; or before the accented vowel, as *unmān* from *anumānam*, *bipriṭ* from *viparītas*, *ṛijmān* from *yajamānas*. In H. a final vowel often becomes mute *a*. I have not written this mute *a* in the transliteration of H. words, because it is not usual to do so, and it is never pronounced in prose. In Fr. mute *e* generally replaces Lat. *a*, and sometimes other vowels also. In both H. and Fr. poetry the mute vowel counts as a syllable. In S., on the other hand, every word must end in a vowel, which is always pronounced. With this also agrees the It. to a great extent, though occasionally in It. a word also ends in *n*, *s*, or *r*.

There is seldom a hiatus of vowels in Skr., as in Lat., because the rules of *sandhi* in the former do not allow of its existence. By these rules, for instance, *i* or *u* preceding another vowel is changed into its corresponding consonant *y* or *v*. The contraction of such dissyllabic groups, however, as *ia*, *ie*, *ua*, *ue*, etc., into one syllable, already existed among the Latin poets, expressed also in such orthography as *abjete*, *fluvjorum*, *genva*, *tenvis*, etc. This description of *sandhi* is

carried out to a much greater extent in the Romance languages; as It. *famiglia*, Fr. *famille*, from *familia*, etc. But a hiatus arising from composition, or from the falling out of a consonant, is treated in the same way in both groups. Either it remains, as S. *sui*, H. *sūi*, from *sūchikā* 'a needle;' It. *reale* from *regalis*, Fr. *obeir* from *obedire*; or it is avoided by contraction, or elision of one of the vowels, as S. *bheṇu* from *bhagini* 'a sister,' H. *chauthā* from *chaturtha* 'a fourth'; It. *desti* from *dedisti*, Fr. *reine* from *regina*; or by insertion of a consonant, as H. *piyās* from *pipāsā* 'thirst,' Fr. *glaiive* from *gladius*. The hiatus, however, is much more common in Prakrit than in Gaurian; and by no means every kind of hiatus allowed in Prakrit would be tolerated either in Gaurian or Romance; Pr. *viraāāmi*, for instance. Transposition of vowels takes place occasionally in both groups, by the attraction of *i* or *u* to a preceding vowel, as H. *bail* from *baī* 'a bull,' Fr. *baiser* from *basiare*. The difference between the vowels of words in Romance having the same radical syllable, owing to difference of accent, is paralleled to some extent in Gaurian, as H. *jeth* 'husband's elder brother,' *jīthanī* 'husband's elder brother's wife,' *ghoṛā* 'a horse,' *ghurṅarhā* 'a rider'; It. *meno*, *minore*; *moglie*, *muliebre*. In Gaurian, however, it is the unaccented vowel which undergoes the change. Vowels are liable to nasalization both in Gaurian and in Fr. and Port., as H. *hāsī* from *hāsikā* 'laughter,' Fr. *langouste* from *locusta*. The nasalization which takes place as a substitute for the *m* and *n* sound will be referred to in treating of the consonants. The addition of a vowel to separate and facilitate the pronunciation of conjunct consonants, which is common, especially to It., with some of the Gaurian languages, will also be described in dealing with the changes of conjunct consonants.

The Romance languages do not make much account of the Latin quantity, but often make quantity dependent on accent. This is true also to some extent of the Gaurian languages compared with Sanskrit. The accent, both in Gaurian and Romance, is one of stress; whereas it has been held by some distinguished phonologists that accent in Skr., Lat., and

Greek had reference to the pitch of the voice. If this conclusion is correct, Gaurian and Romance have in this respect also made the same change. In Modern Greek, also, the ancient acute accent is pronounced as a stress accent. According to Diez, an accented vowel in Romance is long before a single consonant followed by a vowel, and thus placed, a vowel short in Latin becomes long in Romance, as It. *māno* from *manus*, *ūmile* from *humilis*. The same change occasionally occurs in Gaurian, where the short vowel preceded a single consonant in Skr., as H. *māsal* from *mushal* 'a pestle,' *dāhanā* from *dahanam* 'burning,' but more frequently the short vowel is retained. Where, however, there has been syncope of one of two conjunct consonants, it is a general rule, in Gaurian as well as in Romance, that an original short vowel is lengthened. Again, an original vowel, long by nature, becomes short before conjunct consonants both in Gaurian and Romance. The instances I shall shortly give of consonantal changes will illustrate these changes also. In Fr., however, these rules are not always adhered to, as in many words vowels are short before single consonants, long before double. Again, all unaccented vowels are short in Romance, and consequently an original long vowel becomes short under these circumstances, as It. *fecero* from *fecerunt*, *maraviglia* from *mirabilia*. The same takes place to some extent also in Gaurian, as H. *gahirā* from *gambhīras* 'deep,' *dewal* from *dewālaya* 'a temple.' Long vowels, however, are often retained in unaccented syllables in Gaurian, though they are certainly not as long as they are in accented syllables. The regular short vowels, that is, those which are written such, with the exception perhaps of *u*, in most, if not in all, the languages, are not pairs with the long. The long vowel differs from the written short in quality as well as in quantity. Thus, while long *ā* and *ī* have the same sound as in It., short *i* has the sound of short *i* in English; and short *a* in some languages has the sound of *u* in *but*, and in B. a sound which is something like our short *o*.

I next come to speak of the consonantal changes, and first with regard to single consonants, and among them to

the mutes. Initial mutes are comparatively seldom changed in either group. As medials, the mute surds are very frequently changed into their corresponding sonants in both group. Thus *k*, followed by any vowel, becomes sometimes *g* in all the Gaurian languages; and Lat. *c*, which corresponds to Skr. *k*, when followed by *a*, *o*, or *u*, becomes often *g*, and occasionally also as initial in the Romance; as Skr. *śokas* 'sorrow,' S. *soḡu*, H. *sog*; Lat. *lacus*, It. and Sp. *lago*. In Fr. *c*, followed by *a*, but not by *o* or *u*, as initial, is changed into the sibilant *ch*; as *chef* from *caput*; but in the dialect of Picardy this change into *ch* does not occur. In all the Gaurian languages syncope of medial *k* (*c*) is also tolerably frequent, and is the rule in Fr.; as Skr. *kokilā* 'a cuckoo,' S. *koila*, H. *koil*; Lat. *plicare*, Fr. *plier*. In regard to the Skr. surd palatal, the letter may have had the same sound that it has in the modern languages; but if, as seems generally to be supposed, the sound was not quite that of the Gaurian palatal, but something intermediate between it and the guttural *k*, this should be noted among the changes; as Skr. *śandras* 'the moon,' S. *śaṇḍu*, H. *śūd*; Lat. *candela*, Fr. *chandelle*. In M. *é* has the sound of *ts*. Lat. *ci*, *ce*, has lost its ancient pronunciation, and becomes a palatal in It., a sibilant in the other languages; as Lat. *cera*, It. *cera*, Fr. *cire*. Skr. *é* goes very seldom into its corresponding sonant; *é* as well as *j* is more frequently elided. The Skr. cerebral *ṭ* as medial goes generally into *ḍ* in P., G. and M., and still further into cerebral *ṛ* in the other languages, and also sometimes into *r* in B. and O. Either *ṛ* or *r* is a new sound unknown in Skr. *R* in Skr. is classed as a cerebral letter. The change of the dental *t* to its corresponding sonant does not often occur in Gaurian, except in S., where it takes place pretty frequently. In the Romance group also medial *t* becomes frequently *d*, except in Fr., where syncope is the rule. Thus Skr. *ghaṭikā* 'a water jar,' M. *ghaḍī*, S. and H. *ghaṛī*; Lat. *litus*, It. *lido*, Sp. *lodo*. Syncope of medial dental *t* also, but rarely of cerebral *t*, takes place in all the Gaurian languages; and, as before stated, syncope of medial *t* is the rule in Fr.; as

Skr. *ghatas* 'a wound,' S. *ghāu*, H. *ghāo*; Lat. *rota*, Fr. *roue*. *P* medial in Gaurian often goes into *v*, and still further into *u*; in It. it is generally retained; in Fr. it becomes *v*, and also *v* sometimes in It.; in the other languages *b*; as Skr. *tapas* 'heat,' S. *tāu*, H. *tāo*; Lat. *ripa*, It. *riva*, Fr. *rive*, Sp. *riba*. Syncope of *p* also occurs sometimes in Gaurian, but very rarely in Romance.

Next, as regards the sonants, instances of medial *g* being dropped occur in all the languages of both groups; as Skr. *dviguṇas* 'double,' S. *dūṇo*, H. *dūnā*; Lat. *triginta*, It. *trenta*, Fr. *trente*. To the change of *c* into *ch* before *a* in Fr. corresponds that of *g* before *a* into the sibilant *j*; as *joie* from *gaudium*. If *j* in Skr. had a different sound from *j* in the moderns, then here also, as in the case of *ś*, the change may be noted; as Skr. *jayas* 'victory,' S. *jāi*, H. *jai*. In M. *j* has the sound of *dz*. Like *ci*, *ce*, Lat. *gi*, *ge*, has lost its ancient pronunciation, and become palatal in It. and Prov., aspirate in Sp., and sibilant in Port. and Fr.; as Lat. *gigantem*, It. *gigante*, Fr. *géant*. Syncope of medial *d* (Skr. dental *d*) occurs frequently in all the languages of both groups, with the exception of It.; as Skr. *hṛidayam* 'the heart,' S. *hīāu*, H. *hiyā*; Lat. *medulla*, Sp. *meollo*, Fr. *moëlle*. *D* becomes exceptionally *l* in both groups; as Skr. *tadākas* 'a pond,' S. *talāu*; Lat. *hedera*, It. *ellera*. *D* which has become final is sometimes hardened in P.; frequently in Prov., sometimes in Fr.: P. *pat* from *padam* 'dignity'; Fr. *vert* from *viridis*. Unlike the other sonants, *b* as a rule is not subject to syncope. In Gaurian it is retained, and also in Sp.; in the other Romance languages it becomes *v*, and in Fr. and Prov., though it passes often into *v*, it also suffers syncope.

A peculiarity of Gaurian, not found in Romance, are the two series of the *t*, *d*, *n*, and *r* sounds, the cerebral and the dental. Of these the dental *t*, *d*, is said to be nearest in sound to the Romance *t*, *d*, and the cerebral to the English. Into the vexed question of the origin of the double series I do not propose to enter. There are instances of Skr. cerebrals becoming dentals in the moderns; but, on the whole, the tendency is decidedly the other way, and this tendency is

most conspicuous in S., least so in M. Also from the same root one derivative will be found with the cerebral and another with the dental letter.

Another very important characteristic of the Gaurian, which is not shared in by the Romance, are the aspirated letters. These letters, though they are often retained, are also subject to frequent changes. They are subject to the same changes as the corresponding unaspirated letters; that is, they are subject to syncope, or surds become sonants; or else one portion only of what appears to be their component parts (namely, the unaspirated portion and the rough breathing) may be retained; the former is retained in few cases; but *h* takes the place of the aspirated letter in a great many instances. Skr. *vadhukā* 'a wife,' S. *vahū*, H. *bahū*; Skr. *saubhāgyam* 'good fortune,' S. *suhāgu*, H. *suhāg*, and so on. The Gaurians also show a special fondness for aspirated consonants under certain circumstances. An aspirated consonant and *s* generally, and *r* sometimes, being conjuncts in Skr., when elided in the moderns, aspirate the remaining consonant. In this case even *r* and *l* become aspirates, sounds unknown to Skr. Further, aspirated consonants may be finals in Gaurian, and are distinctly heard as such, which could not be in Skr. The Gaurian languages also are very fond of the rough breathing, for not only is the Skr. *h* retained almost without exception, and pronounced as a rough breathing, but, as above remarked, *h* takes the place of the aspirated consonants in very many instances. In Romance, on the other hand, except occasionally in Fr., *h* is never heard at the present time, though it is frequently preserved in writing. *F* in Lat. corresponds to a Skr. *gh*, *th*, and *bh*. *F* is generally retained in the Romance languages, except Spanish, where it becomes *h*, as *humo* from *fumus*, Skr. *dhūmas*.

Next as regards the semi-vowels; *y* (*j*), init. and med., frequently becomes a palatal in the Gaurian languages, and a palatal or sibilant in the Romance; as Skr. *yogyas* 'fit,' S. *jogu*, H. *jog*; Lat. *jocus*, It. *gioco*, Fr. *jeu*. Skr. *sayā* 'a bed,' S. *seja*, H. *sej*; Lat. *majus*, It. *maggio*. The original sound of *y* (*j*) is more frequently retained in M. among the Gaurian

and in Sp. among the Romance than in the other languages. In Gaurian, and also in Fr. and Prov., *y* (*j*) med. is occasionally vocalized, and combines with the adjacent vowels, as Skr. *nayanam* 'an eye,' S. *neṇu*, H. *nain*; Lat. *major*, Fr. *maire*. *R* med. in Romance is sometimes changed to *l*, as Lat. *peregrinus*, It. *pellegrino*, Fr. *pelerin*; but rarely in Gaurian, as, for instance, H. *talvār* from *taravāris* 'a sword,' *daliddar* from *dāridram* 'poverty.' In It. a change also of *r* into *d* easily takes place, as *chiedere* from *querere*. In Gaurian, as before remarked, with regard to the cerebral *ḍ* the change is the other way, from *ḍ* to *ṛ*. *L* med., on the other hand, is very frequently changed into *r* in S., and occasionally in other Gaurians, and it also sometimes becomes *r* in Romance, as Skr. *palālas* 'straw,' S. *parāru*, H. *parāl*; Lat. *simulare*, It. *sembrare*; Lat. *capitulum*, Fr. *chapitre*. *L* also occasionally becomes *n* in both groups, as Skr. *lavanam* 'salt,' H. *nūm*; Lat. *libella*, Fr. *niveau*. The East Gaurian languages, however, constantly change *l* to *n*, in pronunciation at least, if not always in writing. The Romance softening of *l* has no parallel in Gaurian, nor has the change of *l* to *u*, when followed by a consonant, as in Fr. *L* is liable to syncope in Port. only. The remaining semivowel *v*, as init. especially, becomes *b* in H., and in P., B., and O., and also in It.; whilst it remains *v* generally in S., G., and M., and in the other Romance languages besides It., as Skr. *viras* (Lat. *vir*, lost in Romance), S. *viru*, H. *bīr*; Lat. *rotum*, It. *boto*, Fr. *vœu*. *V* also, as med., frequently undergoes syncope, or is vocalized in both groups, as Skr. *jīvas* 'life,' S. *jiu*, H. *jī*; Lat. *rivus*, It. *rio*; Lat. *pavor*, Fr. *peur*.

As regards the nasals, there are two kinds of *n*, the cerebral and dental, in most of the Gaurian languages. In H., except in some of the dialects, only the dental *n* is usually heard. In S. the four *n*'s of the Sanskrit are all preserved as single letters. *M*. initial becomes occasionally *n* in both groups; as H. *nāp* from *māpanam* 'measure,' Fr. *nappe* from *mappa*. In Romance and Gaurian *n* is sometimes changed into *l*; as S. *limmu* from Skr. *nimbās* 'a Neem-tree,' It. *veleno* from *venenum*. In Fr. and Port. final *n* loses its

sound as a nasal consonant, but nasalizes the preceding vowel. This is but rarely the case in Gaurian, as in H. *thāo* from *sthānam* 'a place.' On the other hand, final *m*, both in Gaurian generally and in Fr. and Port., produces nasalization of the preceding vowel; as S. *bhū* from *bhūmis* 'the earth, Fr. *parfum*; or, again, H. *sāī* from *svāmī* 'a lord,' Fr. *faim*, Port. *quem* (pronounced *kêi*). More commonly in Gaurian, however, *m* leaves not only *anunāsika* or nasalization, but also a labial after-sound. It also appears that in Port. nasalizations are not often purely such, but that some consonantal element remains. Cf. H. *gāo* from *grāmas* 'a village,' with Port. *sāo* from *sanus*. Final *m* does not often occur in Port., but from final *n* we have very frequent nasalizations, as *tāo*, *nāo*, *volcāo*, etc. The nasalizations in such cases are pronounced nearly, if not quite, in the same way in H. as in Port. In another respect also Gaurian agrees with Port. rather than with Fr., in that the quality of a vowel is not changed by nasalization as much as it is in Fr. But, further, in Gaurian *m* as medial often becomes *anunāsika*, whereas in Romance as medial *m* generally persists.

Of sibilants the Gaurian has *sh* and *s*, both surds; but all the languages have not both sounds. In B. and O. every *s* is changed into *sh*, while in the other languages *s* only is usually heard, but sometimes *sh* also. Gaurian has apparently lost the sound of the Skr. cerebral sibilant which is pronounced in the moderns as *sh*, or else becomes *kh*. Lat. *s*, initial and medial, becomes sometimes the palatal sibilant in It. and also Port. (It. *sci*, Port. *x*); in It. also occasionally the palatal *ć*. The Skr. sibilants become also palatals sometimes in Gaurian, and especially in S., as Skr. *śāvakas* 'a boy,' S. *śhokaro*, H. *śhokrā* (diminutive forms); Lat. *singularis*, It. *cinghiare*. In Gaurian also sometimes, and especially in S. and P., the sibilants become *h*; as Skr. *keśari*, 'a lion,' S. *kehari*. The nearest approach to this is the Spanish aspirate *x*, pronounced *h*, I believe, in Andalusia, as Lat. *passer*, Sp. *paxaro*.

I give on the opposite page, in a tabular form, to facilitate comparison, a few of the changes just described, namely, those

SANSKRIT.	SINDHI.	HINDI.	ENGLISH.	LATIN.	ITALIAN.	FRENCH.
k <i>locus</i>	g, † <i>logu</i>	g, † <i>log</i>	world	ca, co, cu <i>locus</i>	g <i>luogo</i>	† (Sp. <i>luego</i>)
<i>bukas</i>		<i>sūd</i>	parrot	<i>pica</i>		<i>pie</i>
(c) <i>étraka</i>	c <i>c'ito</i>	c <i>c'itā</i>	leopard	ci, ce <i>civitas</i>	c <i>cittā</i>	ç <i>citē</i>
‡ <i>caṭas</i>	d, *r <i>baṛu</i>	d, r <i>baṛ</i>	banyan- tree	t <i>strata</i>	d <i>strada</i>	(Sp. <i>estrada</i>)
t <i>ghṛitam</i>	† <i>gihu</i>	† <i>ghī</i>	butter	t <i>votum</i>		† <i>vœu</i>
p <i>gopālas</i>	v <i>gāvaru</i>	v <i>garāl</i>	cowherd	p <i>pauper</i>	v <i>povero</i>	v <i>pauvre</i>
g <i>bhaginī</i>	† <i>bheṇu</i>	† <i>bahin</i>	sister	g <i>regina</i>	† <i>reina</i>	† <i>reine</i>
d <i>badaras</i>	† <i>ḅeru</i>	† <i>ber</i>	jujube	d <i>cadere</i>	(Sp. <i>caer</i>)	† <i>choir</i>
y <i>yauva- nam</i>	j <i>jobhanu</i>	j <i>joban</i>	youth	j <i>juvenis</i>	g' <i>giovane</i>	j <i>jeune</i>
l <i>galanas</i>	r <i>garaṇu</i>		melting	l <i>vel unus</i>	r <i>veruno</i>	
v <i>vicāhas</i>	† <i>vihāu</i>	† <i>byāh</i>	marriage	v <i>pavonem</i>	† <i>paone</i>	† <i>paon</i>
m <i>nāma</i>	~ <i>nāū</i>	~ <i>nāo</i>	name	m <i>nomen</i>	~ (Port. <i>tão</i>)†	~ <i>nom</i>
ś, sh <i>kṛīśara</i>	ch <i>kič'hari</i>	c <i>khič'ari</i>	milk and rice	s <i>caseus</i>	sci, c' <i>cacio</i>	s

* M. and G. *vaç*.

† From *tam*; *nomen* from retaining final vowel would not be an instance.

which appear to be the most important, with additional examples. In this table † is for syncope, ~ for nasalization.

As regards final consonants, apocope is frequently had recourse to in both groups, and especially in Fr. among the Romance languages, and it is not only the consonant that disappears, but often the whole syllable. A few instances may be given, such as H. *ālā* from *ālayas*, *pir̥hi* from *pīthikā*, *tam* from *tamas*, *jag* from *jagat*, *vyot* from *vyotis*, and Fr. *ecu*, *cor*, *prince*, *ange*, *blâme*, *porche*, and so on. Changes in final sounds, to which the modern forms of the nouns, etc., are owing, will be more particularly described in my next part.

I now come to the conjunct consonants. Some of these do not occur as initial, but where they do, they will be mentioned. In regard to medial conjuncts, with the exception of some combinations which will be referred to hereafter, the general rule is, in S., P., and It., that the first consonant is assimilated to the second, and the preceding vowel, if long, is made short, and in the remaining languages, both Gaurian and Romance, syncope of the first consonant takes place, and the preceding vowel, if short, is lengthened. In Fr., however, as before stated, vowel quantity is very uncertain. S. and P. in this respect keep closer to Prakrit, which has also the double consonant and the short vowel, than the other Gaurians. It might at first sight appear doubtful, whether the long vowel and single consonant, which is the rule for the other Gaurians, could be derived from the short vowel and double consonant of the Prakrit; whether H. *māg* 'a road,' for instance, could be derived from Skr. *mārgas* through Mh. Pr. *maggo*; whether this would not be like deriving, in this respect, the other Romance languages from It. In the old H., however, of Chand, there are often found two forms of the same word, one with the double, the other with the single consonant; as, *kamma* and *kāma* from Skr. *karma* 'work,' *hattha* and *hātha* from Skr. *hastās* 'a hand;' from which it would appear that the language at that time was in a transition state in regard to such words. I should state that the double consonant,

though pronounced, is not generally expressed in writing in S.; still I have found most of the words, which I have instanced as having double consonants, so written. In P. the corresponding words, as well as all other words derived from Skr. conjuncts, are written with the mark which indicates a double consonant.

The following combinations are examples of the rule above referred to. Thus, Skr. and Lat. *kt* (*ct*) becomes *tt* in S., P., and It., *t* in the other Gaurian, and *it* in the other Romance languages, except Sp., where it is usually softened to *ch*; as Skr. *raktas* 'red,' S. *ratto*, H. *rātā*; Lat. *lacte*, It. *latte*, Fr. *lait*. Skr. *ksh* initial and medial becomes the palatal *śh* and *s* or else the aspirate *kh* in Gaurian, and to break the hardness of the combination in Lat. *cs*, recourse is had to different modes of assimilation, as in It. *ss*, *sc*, Fr. and Prov. *iss*, *ss*, Sp. and Port. *x*, *s*. Examples are, Skr. *lakṣhaṇam* 'a sign,' S. *lacchaṇu*, H. *laḥhan*, or again H. *lasit* from *lakṣhitas* 'evident;' Lat. *lazare*, It. *lasciare*, Fr. *laisser*. Skr. *ty* becomes the palatal *ćc* and *ć* in Gaurian, as Skr. *satyas* 'true,' S. *sacću*, Braj *sāch*, G. *sāc*. In It., *cti* and *pti* become palatal *ćc*, as *cacciare* from *captiare*; but *ti=tj* in Romance generally becomes sibilant; as, Lat. *titionem*, It. *tizzone*, Fr. *tison*. In none of these cases is it perhaps correct to say that the *t* has been dropped, but rather that *t* and *y* (*j*) have been modified into a new sound by their mutually assimilating influences. *Pt* again becomes *tt* and *t* in both groups, as Skr. *suptas* 'asleep,' S. *sutto*, H. *sotā*, Lat. *ruptus a*, It. *rotto*, Fr. *route*. Besides its change into *t*, in Sp., Port., and Prov., *pt* also becomes *ut* in those languages. *Ps* in Romance becomes *ss* and *s*, as Lat. *capsa*, It. *cassa*, Fr. *caisse*. But one instance of assimilation is given in Gaurian, that of Old H. *aḥhara* from *apsaras* 'a nymph.' The combination *gd* is but of rare occurrence, it becomes *dd* and *d* in Gaurian, and *g* is partially assimilated as *l* or *n*, or is dropped in Romance, as Skr. *dugdham* 'milk,' P. *duddh*, H. *dūdh*; Lat. *smaragdus*, It. *smeraldo*, Fr. *émeraude*. In *gn* the *n* is dropped in Gaurian, as Skr. *agnis* 'fire,' S. *agi*, H. *āg*; whereas in Romance we have the *gn* softened in sound. The change of *jn* to *n* in Gaurian comes nearer the

Romance change. Cf. Skr. *sanjñā* 'a sign,' H. *sān*, with Lat. *signum*, Fr. *signe*. In *gn*, however, the letters are sometimes transposed in both groups, as H. *nangā* from *nagnas* 'naked,' Fr. *etang* from *stagnum*.

Again, Skr. *dy* becomes the sonant palatal *jj* and *j*, and Lat *di=dj* init. and med. is, as a general rule, subject to a corresponding change. In both groups the *y* (*j*) is usually changed as it would have been had there been no preceding *d*; the principle of this change, therefore, differs somewhat from that of *ty* before mentioned. Thus we have Skr. *vidyut* 'lightning,' S. *viju*, M. *vij*; Lat. *sedes* (*aedia*), It. *seggia*, Fr. *siege*. In Skr. *dc* init. and med. the *d* is sometimes dropped, which may be compared with what occurs to medial *dc* in Romance; as, Skr. *udvartanam* 'an unguent,' S. *ubtaṇu*, H. *ubtan*; Lat. *advertere*, It. *avvertire*, Fr. *avertir*. If Skr. *bj* and Lat. *bj* are compared, they sometimes take the same sound in both the modern groups, though thus of rare occurrence in Gaurian; as Skr. *kubjas* 'humpbacked,' B. *kujā*, but H. *kubbā*; Lat. *subjectus*, It. *soggetto*, Fr. *sujet*. In *rs*, *r* disappears occasionally in Gaurian, more frequently in Romance; as Sanskrit *śirsham* 'the head,' S. *sisso*, H. *sis*; Lat. *persica*, It. *pesca*, Fr. *pêche*.

When a nasal is the first member of a combination of consonants, as the rule, it passes into *anundsika* or nasalization of the preceding vowel in most of the Gaurian languages, except S. and P., and also in Port. and Fr., and under such circumstances the vowel, if short in Skr., is lengthened in Gaurian as compensation for the loss of the consonant, as in other cases where one of two conjunct consonants has been dropped. One or two instances of such nasalization must suffice, as Skr. *kaṇṭakas* 'a thorn,' B. *kāṭā*, H. *kāṭā*; Lat. *montem*, Port. *monte*, Fr. *mont*; Skr. *kampanam* 'trembling,' B. *kāpan*, H. *kāp-nā*; Lat. *emplastrum*, Port. *emplastre*, Fr. *emplâtre*. On the other hand, in S. and P., a nasal before another consonant is in most cases retained, and also in Romance, with the exception of Port. and Fr.; as in S. *kando*, in It. *monte*. An initial *s* followed by *k* (*c*), *t*, or *p*, is not suffered willingly either in Gaurian or Romance, but a

vowel is prefixed; as Skr. *stri* 'a woman,' S. *istiri*, H. *istri*; Lat. *spiritus*, Fr. *esprit*; or in It. before such conjuncts *il* becomes *lo*, or *i* is prefixed in some cases, as *lo spirito*, *con ispirito*. More frequently, however, the sibilant in Gaurian, whether *ś*, *sh*, or *s*, and both initial and medial, is dropped, and occasionally also in Romance; as H. *phaṭnā* from root *sphaṭ* 'to burst;,' Fr. *pâmer* from *spasmus*. In Gaurian a following unaspirated consonant is almost always aspirated on the disappearance of the *s*; as H. *hāth* from *hastās* 'the hand.' In Romance, as medial, *st* and *sce*, *i* undergo other changes, as into *ś* in It., *ss* in Fr., etc. In *sn*, *sm*, in Gaurian initial and medial *s* often falls out, and in Fr. also after a vowel the *s* is elided; as Skr. *snehas* 'love,' S. *ṇāhu*, H. *neh*; Fr. *âne* from *asinus*. Or a vowel may be inserted; as, H. *sumaran* from *smaraṇam* 'remembrance;,' It. *spasimo* from *spasmus*. The insertion of a vowel in this and other combinations is much more common, however, in Gaurian than in Romance. Other combinations, again, which have no existence in Skr., owing to the rules of *sandhi*, are subject to the same law of assimilation in Romance as combinations common to both groups. Thus *bt* becomes often *tt* and *t* in Romance, and *bs* becomes *ss* and *s*.

In some cases, however, in both groups, it is the second of two conjunct consonants, which is dropped or assimilated, and this is especially the case when *v*, *y* (*j*), or *r* is the second member. Thus *kv*, when it occurs, which is rare, becomes *kk* and *k* in Gaurian, and in Lat. *qu*=*kv* init. and med. the *u*, though generally written, is frequently mute in Romance, as Skr. *paktas* 'cooked,' S. *pakko*, B. *pākā*; and derived from the same root Lat. *coquus*, It. *cuoco*; and Fr. *quatre*, *qualité*. Again Skr. *ṭv*, which also does not often occur, becomes *tt* and *t*, and if we compare this with Lat. *tu*, we have, for instance, Skr. *khatvā* 'a bed,' S. *khatta*, H. *khāt*; Lat. *mortuus*, It. *morto*, Fr. *mort*. In Skr. *sy* init. and med., *y* is dropped frequently in Gaurian, but *i* (*j*) after *s* only exceptionally in Romance, as Skr. *kāṃsyam* 'bell metal,' H. *kāsā*, G. *kāsū*; Lat. *tonsionem*, It. *tosone*, Fr. *toison*; more frequently in Romance either the *s* is dropped or there is attraction of *i* to

the vowel of the preceding syllable. Also in Skr. *ny* and Lat. *ni=ny*, the *y* is generally dropped in Gaurian, the *i* (*j*) rarely in Romance, as H. *sūnā* from *śunyas* 'empty,' It. *strano* from *extraneus*; the rule in Romance being that the *n* becomes *mouillé*, as it is called, in French. So also with Skr. *ly* and Lat. *li*, as S. *tullu* from *tulyas* 'equal,' It. *vangelo* from *evangelium*; the rule being in Romance as with *n mouillement*. In *ry*, *y* sometimes gives way in Gaurian, the same in Romance with *ri*; as Skr. *dhairyam* 'firmness,' S. *dhīra*, H. *dhīr*; Lat. *imperium*, It. *impero*, Fr. *empire*. In other cases, again, in Gaurian *r* gives way, and in Romance in other cases there is an attraction of *i* to the preceding syllable. When *r* follows another consonant, init. or med., it generally gives way in Gaurian and occasionally also in Romance, as Skr. *putras* 'a son,' S. *puttu*, H. *put*; Lat. *aratrum*, It. *arato*. More frequently, however, the *r* is retained in Romance, and often the other consonant also, as Lat. *patrem*, It. *padre*, Fr. *pere*. The *r* is also preserved by transposition in Gaurian, as H. *parsan* from *prasannas* 'pleased.' It is transposed also in Romance, but by attraction to the preceding syllable, as It. *strupo* from *stuprum*. In *m̄b* the *b* sometimes goes in both groups, especially in Sp., as Skr. *jambūs* 'the rose-apple,' S. *jammū*, B. *jām*; Lat. *lumbus*, Sp. *lomo*.

There are, however, some combinations of consonants, in the changes of which the two groups have nothing in common. The principal of these will now be referred to. The varied treatment to which such conjuncts with *l* as the last member, as *tl*, *cl*, *gl*, and *pl*, are subjected in Romance,—*tl* for instance becoming *chi* in It. and *il* in Fr. and so on,—has no parallel in Gaurian, where *l* is either dropped or separated from the preceding consonant by an inserted vowel. Again, *y* (Lat. *i=j*) has a more extended assimilating influence in Romance than in Gaurian, for besides *t* and *d*, which it assimilates equally in both groups, it also assimilates *p*, *b*, and *v* in Romance, as It. *piccione*, Fr. *pigeon* from *pipionem*, etc. In such cases in Gaurian the *y* generally gives way, as Skr. *rūpyam* 'silver,' S. *ruppo*, H. *rūpā*. Perhaps the greatest difference appears in the treatment of *r* as a preceding con-

conjunct. In most cases in Gaurian *r* gives way, often however leaving some trace of itself, when not assimilated either as *anundāsika*, or by aspirating the remaining or even preceding consonant; or in the case of the other conjunct being a dental, by changing it into a cerebral. In Romance, on the other hand, except in the combination *rs* before referred to, *r* generally stands. *R* also, in the position of a preceding conjunct, is frequently transposed in Romance, as Lat. *turbo*,

SANSKRIT.	SINDHI.	HINDI.	ENGLISH.	LATIN.	ITALIAN.	FRENCH.
kt <i>bhaktam</i>	tt <i>bhattu</i>	t <i>bhāt</i>	boiled rice.	ct <i>factum</i>	tt <i>fatto</i>	it <i>fait</i>
ksh <i>ṛiksha</i>	éçh <i>riççhu</i>	éçh <i>riçh</i>	bear	cs <i>coxa</i>	ss, sc <i>coscia</i>	iss, ss <i>cuisse</i>
ty <i>nṛitya</i>	écé <i>naçc-aṇu</i>	c' <i>nāc-nā</i>	dance	ti, te <i>platea</i>	zz <i>piazza</i>	ç <i>place</i>
pt <i>saptan</i>	tt <i>satta</i>	t <i>sāt</i>	seven	pt <i>septem</i>	tt <i>sette</i>	t <i>se(p)t</i>
jñ <i>rājñi</i>	n <i>rāñi</i>	n <i>rāñi</i>	queen	gn <i>magnus</i>	(nj) <i>magno</i>	(nj) <i>magne</i>
dy <i>adya</i>	jj <i>ajju</i>	j <i>āj</i>	to-day	di <i>hodie</i>	g'g, zz <i>oggi</i>	j <i>(jour)*</i>
rs <i>pārśce</i>	s <i>pāse</i>	s <i>pās</i>	beside	rs <i>sursum</i>	s <i>suso</i>	s <i>sus</i>
nt <i>dantas</i>	nd <i>dandū</i>	~t <i>dāt</i>	tooth	nt <i>dentem</i>	nt <i>dente</i>	~t <i>dent</i>
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
sy, shy, sy <i>pushya</i>	h=s <i>pohu</i>	s <i>pūs</i>	December	si <i>ecclesia</i>	s <i>chiesa</i>	s <i>eglise</i>

* *Jour* from *diurnum*. *It giorno*.

Fr. *trombe*; while in Gaurian a vowel is inserted, as Skr. *mūrkhās* 'a fool,' H. *mūrakh*.

I have repeated on the preceding page, in a tabular form, with additional examples, what appear to be the most important of the combinations just referred to.

Besides the second *r* and the additional aspirates, before referred to, common to all the Gaurians, but unknown to the Skr., there are also in S. three additional letters, namely, a second *g*, *d*, and *h*, which have no place in the Skr. alphabet. These are pronounced with greater energy than the ordinary *g*, *d* and *b*; "as if one tried," says Trumpp, "to double the sound at the beginning of a word." There is a difference somewhat similar to this in the pronunciation of an initial consonant in Italian according to the position of the word in a sentence. These letters, when medial, in S. often stand in place of the double consonant which would otherwise have arisen from the assimilation of a Skr. conjunct. There is also in S. a second *ḡ*, distinguished by a dot under it, said to be pronounced as *dy*, which has etymologically a similar origin to that of the before-mentioned letters. The old Vedic cerebral *ḷ*, again, which has been lost in later Skr., is preserved in P., G., and M.

In both groups there is an aversion to the combination of two mutes, and of a mute followed by a spirant. A nasal followed by a mute is admitted in both groups. Such combinations as are displeasing are destroyed in the same way in both groups, either by syncope, assimilation, the dissolution of a consonant into a vowel, transposition, or the prefixing or insertion of a vowel. As before remarked, however, the insertion of a vowel is much more common in Gaurian than in Romance, and in Gaurian there may be also a softening of the first consonant; as Skr. *bhaktas* 'a devotee,' H. *bhagat*. Consonants are also inserted in both groups, but more frequently in Romance; as S. *mundrī* from *mudrikā* 'a seal,' H. *mundrā*; It. *lanterna*, Fr. *lanterne*, from *laterna*; H. *bandar* from *vānaras* 'a monkey;' Fr. *nombre* from *numerus*.

As regards double consonants, these are not subject to

the changes of the single consonants. They generally remain in S., P., and in It., while one of them is generally dropped in all the other languages; as Skr. *pippalas* 'the holy fig-tree,' S. *pippiru*, H. *pīpal*; Lat. *puppis*, It. *poppa*, Fr. *poupe*; or where the Latin orthography is preserved, as is often the case in Port. and Fr., the pronunciation is seldom that of a double consonant. Consonants are often doubled in It. on other than etymological grounds, and also in some of the Gaurian languages, and this is especially the case in P.; as, for instance, P. *ikk*, S. *hikku* from Skr. *ekas* 'one;' It. *macchina* from *machina*.

I shall next proceed to compare a few of the principal nominal suffixes of derivation. Many of these in both groups have quite lost their original meaning, and the words formed by them are not felt by those who use them to be in any way different from primitive words. Other suffixes, again, are not only felt as such, but have often a much more extended application in the modern than in the ancient languages. Skr. *a*, with nom. case suffix *as*, which corresponds to Lat. *o*, nom. formerly *os*, later *us*, was the most used of all the simple vocalic suffixes. In S. the suffix becomes *u*, while it is elided in the other Gaurian languages. In Fr. and Prov. it is also elided, but retained in the other Romance languages. We may thus compare Skr. *tānas* 'a tone,' S. *tānu*, H. *tān*; Lat. *tonus*, It. *tuono*, Fr. *ton*. There are, however, other nouns which have in Skr. also the *a* suffix, but which end in Gaurian in *o* or *ā*—*o* in S. and G., *ā* in the other languages—but this is probably owing, as explained by Hoernle, to a greater extension of the Skr. *ka* suffix, which is referred to further on, as a pleonastic suffix, popularly or in later times, than appears recorded in literary Skr. The Skr. *ā*=Lat. *a* are generally suffixes of feminine nouns. In S. the vowel is shortened, in the other Gaurian languages it is elided. In the Romance languages it is retained, with the exception of Fr., where it becomes mute *e*. In this also, as in many other cases where a vowel has been lost, H. has properly mute *a*, which is counted as a syllable in poetry. Skr. *ūrṇā* 'wool,' S. *unna*, H. *ūn*; Lat. *luna*, It. *luna*, Fr. *lune*.

The general rule in regard to the *i* and *u* suffixes is, that they are retained in S. and in It., Sp., and Port.; elided in the other Gaurian languages, and in Prov. and Fr.; as Skr. *hānis* 'injury,' S. *hāni*, H. *hān*; Lat. *finis*, It. *fine*, Fr. *fin*; Skr. *tanus* 'the body,' S. *tanu*, H. *tan*; Lat. *manus*, It. *mano*, Fr. *main*.

Skr. *an*, *ān*=Lat. *on*. This suffix forms nouns of agency, as Skr. *takshā*, acc. *takshānam* or *takshaṇam* 'a carpenter,' S. *ḍakhaṇu*, H. *takhān*; Lat. *latronem*, It. *ladrone*, Fr. *larron*. The Skr. *ya*, which generally becomes *i* in the moderns, and Lat. *ia*, are both used to form abstract nouns; as Skr. *ḥoryam* 'theft,' S. and H. *ḥorī*; Lat. *gratia*, It. *grazia*, Fr. *grace*. The use of these suffixes in the same sense is very largely extended in both groups to new formations; as S. *bhalī* and *bhalāi* 'goodness,' from S. *bhalo* 'good,' H. *bhalāi* from H. *bhalā*; It. *signoria* from *signor*, Fr. *seigneurie* from *seigneur*. Skr. *tavya*=Lat. *tivo*. This suffix with syncope of *t* has passed into all the Gaurian languages except P. "It forms now in S. present participles passive, though its original use and signification has still been preserved in the formation of the future passive."¹ It appears in S. as *ibo*, in Braj, where it is one of the forms of the infinitive, as *abau* and *ibau*. This form of the infinitive has been lost in High H. We may thus compare Skr. *dātavyas* 'to be given,' S. *de-ibo*, Braj *de-ibau*; Lat. *nativus*, It. *nativo*, Fr. *naiſ*. Skr. *ala*=*ulo*, etc.; as Skr. *ḥanḥalas* 'fickle,' S. *ḥanḥalu*, H. *ḥanḥal*; Lat. *populus*, It. *popolo*, Fr. *peuple*.

The suffix *nt* forms the present participle in Skr. and Lat. The nasal in the Gaurian languages is retained only in S., in some verbs in P., in O., and in Garhwālī, and also in S. and P. the *t* becomes *d*. In the other languages the nasal is dropped. The former, therefore, corresponds to the strong, the latter to the weak, cases of the Skr. declension. In Romance the nasal is always retained,—Skr. *likhan*, acc. *likhantam*, inst. *likhatā* 'writing,' Garhwālī *likhanto*, S. *likhando*, H. *likhatā*, but in several dialects *likhat*; Lat.

¹ Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 54.

amantem, It. *amante*, Fr. *aimant*. Skr. and Lat. *ma*, *mo*, not much used in either group; as Skr. *gharmas* 'heat,' S. *garmo* H. *ghām*; Lat. *firmus*, It. *fermo*, Fr. *ferme*. Skr. *aka*, *ika*, *uka* = Lat. *aco*, *ico*, *uco*. In Gaurian, as the general rule, the *ka* disappears and the preceding vowel is lengthened; in Fr. the suffix is often dropped wholly or in part, but in the other Romance languages it is retained; as Skr. *mastakas* 'the head,' S. *mattho*, H. *māthā*; Lat. *ebriacus*, It. *briaco*. Skr. *mālikas* 'a gardener,' S. and H. *mālī*; Lat. *amicus*, It. *amico*, Fr. *ami*. Skr. *bālukā* 'sand,' S. *vāro*, H. *bālū*; Lat. *carruca*, It. *carruca*, Fr. *charrue*.

The suffix *ta* = *to* forms the past participle passive in Skr. and Lat. In Gaurian the *t* passes into *l* in M., B., and O. probably through Pr. *d*. In the other languages the *t* is elided, and in most of them *i* or *y* is inserted before the final vowel. In Fr. also the final *t* disappears, in the other Romance languages it is retained or softened to *d*. Skr. *likhitas* 'written,' M. *lihilā*, S. *likhyo*, H. *likhā*; Lat. *amatus*, It. *amato*, Sp. *amado*, Fr. *aimé*. Skr. *tar* = Lat. *tor*, forming nouns of agency; as Skr. *bhartā*, acc. *bhartāram* 'a husband,' S. *bhatāru*, H. *bhatār*; Lat. *imperatorem*, It. *imperadore*, Fr. *empereur*. The short suffix *tar* = Lat. *ter* denotes relationship. The accent in these formations is on the root-syllable; as Skr. *mātā* (acc. *mātaram*) 'a mother,' S. *māu*, and Skr. *mātrikā*, H. *māi*; Lat. *matrem*, It. *madre*, Fr. *mere*. A few other suffixes might be compared; but the foregoing will suffice to give a general notion of what takes place in the two groups in these respects, which is all that I contemplated giving in this or any other part of the paper. There are also, of course, a good many other suffixes, in both groups, that cannot be traced back to a common origin. There are other suffixes, again, which once had, and still have in many words, a diminutive signification, but which are now in other words merely pleonastic. In the popular language words with diminutive suffixes were evidently great favourites, and consequently the original words without the suffixes became in many instances obsolete. Thus, to take an example or two

from S. with the suffix *ro, ri* (*ro, ri*), we have, as non-diminutives, *tukiro* 'a piece,' *thokari* 'a girl,' etc., or, as diminutives, *jinduro* 'a short life,' *dhiari* 'a small daughter,' etc.; in It., with *olo*, as non-diminutives, *lenzuolo*, *figluolo*, etc., or, as diminutives, *bagnuolo*, *sassuolo*, etc. Such suffixes are thus used in all the languages of both groups. For its extensive use of diminutive suffixes S. is most conspicuous in the Gaurian group, as It. is in the Romance; nearly every substantive and adjective in these languages being capable of receiving a diminutive suffix.

(To be continued.)

ART. XIII.—*A Comparative Study of the Japanese and Korean Languages.* By W. G. ASTON, Assistant Japanese Secretary H.B.M.'s Legation, Yedo.

IN comparing Japanese and Korean with each other and with other languages, there are three things to be considered:—1st, their phonetic systems; 2nd, the functions of their grammar; and 3rd, the character of their grammatical procedures.

I.

PHONETIC SYSTEM.

The vowels are as follows:—

JAPANESE.	KOREAN.
<i>a</i> as in <i>father</i>	<i>a</i>)
<i>e</i> as <i>ay</i> in <i>say</i>	<i>é</i>)
<i>i</i> as in <i>machine</i>	<i>i</i>) as in Japanese
<i>o</i> as in <i>so</i>	<i>o</i>)
<i>u</i> as <i>oo</i> in <i>book</i>	<i>u</i>)
	<i>è</i>) as in French
	<i>ou</i>)
	<i>ü</i> as <i>u</i> in <i>but</i>
	<i>ä</i> as <i>a</i> in <i>Thomas</i>

The comparative poverty of the Japanese vowel system is incompatible with the action of the principle of the harmony of vowels, which is accordingly almost unknown in this language. Korean is much richer in vowel sounds, but in so far as I have been able to observe, it agrees with Japanese in rejecting that principle. Perhaps *é* and *è*, which, although simple sounds, are represented by the letters for *üi*, *ai*, should be excluded from the above enumeration of Korean vowels. They are no doubt of more recent development. There are indications that the Japanese *e* is also more recent than the other vowels.

CONSONANTS.

LABIALS.

Jap.	—,	—,	<i>b</i> ,	<i>f</i> or <i>h</i> ,	<i>w</i> ,	<i>m</i> .
Kor.	<i>p</i> ,	<i>ph</i> ,	—,	—,	<i>w</i> ,	<i>m</i> .

DENTALS.

Jap.	<i>t</i> ,	—,	<i>d</i> ,	<i>s</i> ,	<i>z</i> ,	<i>n</i> ,	<i>r</i> .
Kor.	<i>t</i> ,	<i>th</i> ,	—,	<i>s</i> ,	<i>z</i> ,	<i>n</i> ,	<i>r</i> or <i>l</i> .

PALATALS.

Jap.	<i>ch</i> or <i>ts</i> ,	—,	<i>j</i> or <i>dz</i> ,	<i>sh</i> ,	<i>y</i> .
Kor.	<i>ch</i> ,	<i>chh</i> ,	—,	<i>sh</i> ,	<i>y</i> .

GUTTURALS.

Jap.	<i>k</i> ,	—,	<i>g</i> ,	—,	—,	<i>ng</i> .
Kor.	<i>k</i> ,	<i>kh</i> ,	—,	<i>h</i> ,	'	<i>ng</i> .

The consonants *ph*, *th*, *chh*, and *kh* (pronounced as in Sanskrit), are wanting in Japanese. They are, however, comparatively little used in Korean, and the aspiration disappears at the end of a syllable. The difference made in some parts of Japan in pronouncing such homophonous words as *kaki* 'a persimmon,' and *kaki* 'an oyster,' is perhaps owing to an original distinction between aspirated and unaspirated consonants. One may have been *kaki*, the other *khaki*, though they are written alike, and even in speaking the difference is barely appreciable.

The consonants *b*, *d*, *j*, *z*, and *g* are wanting in the Korean alphabet. But this want is only apparent. To the ear, the soft consonants are unmistakably present. As in the Dravidian languages, there is no doubt some rule by which the letters for *p*, *t*, *ch*, *s*, *k*, are in certain circumstances pronounced *b*, *d*, *j*, *z*, *g*.¹ The Japanese alphabetical character originally neglected this distinction, and even in old printed books the *nigori*, or mark by which the soft consonants are distinguished, is usually omitted. There is some analogy between the Tamil and Japanese rule as to this distinction.

¹ "Le mandchou possède des consonnes fortes, et des consonnes demi-fortes figurées par des caractères distincts, mais dans le corps et à la fin des mots, ces dernières sont sujettes à dégénérer en douces sans que l'écriture manifeste cette dégénérescence."—Lucien Adam's *Manchu Grammar*, p. 13.

In Tamil a consonant is soft, except at the beginning of a word, or when doubled. In Japanese the initial consonant of the second element of a compound word is usually softened, and doubled consonants are always hard.

In classical Japanese there is no *p*. It is probable, however, that the Japanese language was not always without this letter, and that the present *h* or *f* represents an original *p*. *P* has re-appeared in the modern colloquial Japanese. *H* and *f* are written with the same letter in Japanese. It is read *f* before *u*, *h* before any other vowel. The Korean *h* belongs to the guttural series of consonants. In comparing the two languages, we are therefore prepared to find that a Japanese *f* or *h* corresponds to a Korean *p*, and a Korean *h* to a Japanese *k* or *g*.

Where European languages have two letters *r* and *l*, Japanese and Korean have only one. The Japanese *r* sometimes closely resembles the English sound. At other times, and especially before *i*, it approaches our *d*, except that in forming it, the tip of the tongue is directed more backward and upward, as in the so-called 'cerebral' sounds of Sanskrit. The Korean sound fluctuates between *r* and *l*. It has been written *l* throughout this paper, but it corresponds very closely in character to the Japanese *r*. The form given to it by the inventor of the Korean alphabet shows that he considered it to be related to *t*, and this view is corroborated by other evidence. As in several other Turanian and Dravidian languages, *r* (or *l*) cannot begin a word either in Japanese or Korean. Japanese tolerates it in this position in words derived from Chinese and other foreign languages, but Korean has a strong tendency to substitute an *n*. A vowel is occasionally prefixed for the same reason, as in the word 'Russia,' which is in Japanese *Oroshiya*, in Korean *Arasa*. In Dravidian derivatives from Sanskrit, the same means is taken to avoid an objectionable *r* at the beginning of a word.

In Japanese, it depends entirely on the vowel which follows whether a consonant of the Dental or Palatal series is used. *A*, *o*, *e* are preceded by *t*, *d* or *s*; *i* by *ch*, *j* or *sh*; *u*

by *ts*, *ds* or *s*. This rule does not hold good in Korean, but a similar tendency is indicated by the fact that before *i* and *y*, it is indifferent whether *t* or *ch*, *th* or *chh*, are written. The particle *chi* is often written *ti*; the word for 'good' is either *chyota* or *tyota*.

The Korean sibilant character probably represents both *s* and *sh*. The form shows that it is considered to be allied to *ch* and *chh*, and Mr. Ross,¹ who has a practical acquaintance with the language, represents it sometimes by *s*, sometimes by *sh*. At the end of a syllable it is frequently, like the Japanese ッ (*tsu*), only a sign that the following consonant is doubled.

The Japanese *ng* is not distinguished in writing from *g*, and indeed is only found in the Eastern dialect. It cannot begin a word. The Korean *ng* is only found at the end of a syllable. When the same alphabetical sign occurs at the beginning of a syllable, it represents a spiritus lenis ('), and is prefixed to every syllable which does not begin with a consonant. The use of a letter which is properly a guttural to represent a spiritus lenis, seems to indicate that the loss of a guttural at the beginning of a word is frequent in Korean, and there are other facts which suggest the same inference. The Korean *h* is closely related to *ng*, as appears from the circumstance that the Koreans have the same name for both, viz. *heng*, and that the form of the letters representing them is similar.

In Japanese, a syllable consists of a vowel, or of one consonant followed by a vowel. No syllable contains more than one consonant, or ends with a consonant. Two consonants can never come together.² This characteristic, together with the comparative poverty of its vowel system, lends Japanese a certain superficial resemblance to the languages of the Polynesian group, but there is no evidence that any real connexion exists. The mechanism of the syllable in Korean

¹ Author of a *Corean Primer*, Mission Press, Shanghai, 1877. It may be procured from Trübner & Co.

² The modern Japanese language presents exceptions to this statement and to others made in the course of this paper, but the old classical language is always meant, except when otherwise indicated.

differs very considerably. Combinations of two consonants in the same syllable, though exceptional, are not excluded, and a syllable may end with any of the consonants *p*, *m*, *t*, *n*, *l*, *s*, *k*, or *ng*. The following specimen illustrates this difference :—

Jap. *Ko-ko ni so-no i-mo I-xa-na-mi no mi-ko-to.*

Kor. *Keu-lun 'é-talp 'on 'il 'i 'úp-sa-wi.*

If we consider the effect of the rule of the Japanese language which has just been stated, it will be evident that monosyllabic roots must in this language be the exception. The number of syllables which can be formed by a vowel or a consonant followed by a vowel is very limited, and is reckoned by the Japanese themselves at forty-seven. *R* cannot begin a word, so that from this number must be deducted the five syllables which begin with this letter. It is probable that we ought not to add those syllables which begin with a soft consonant; but even if we do, the entire number of possible monosyllabic words in Japanese is only sixty-two, and it should be remembered that it does not, like Chinese, resort to accent in order to distinguish between words which are otherwise pronounced alike. Dissyllabic and polysyllabic words are therefore the rule in Japanese. In Korean, the admission of final consonants, and to a small extent of combinations of consonants, together with the larger number of vowels, renders possible a far greater variety of monosyllabic words, and they are consequently much more numerous than in Japanese. Dissyllabic and polysyllabic words are, however, by no means uncommon.

In comparing Korean with Japanese words, this difference in the genius of the two languages must be allowed for. If a Korean word ends in a consonant, the corresponding Japanese word will either reject the final consonant, or will add another vowel. Thus *kil* 'hair,' is in Japanese *ke*; *kas* 'a broad hat,' is in Japanese *kasa*. Again, if two consonants come together in a Korean word, Japanese will drop one or insert a vowel between.

Another peculiarity of the Korean phonetic system as com-

pared with Japanese is the existence of what may be termed 'latent aspirates.' An aspirated letter cannot stand at the end of a word; but if a termination is added, the aspiration of the final letter, if it originally possessed one, revives, and appears as a doubling of the consonant, as an *h*, *s*, or one of the aspirated consonants. Thus *pis* 'colour,' with the nominative suffix *i*, becomes *pis chi* and not *pis i*; *man* 'many,' with the adverbial termination *i*, is *manhi* not *mani*.

The older Japanese language does not allow a hiatus. Two vowels cannot come together in the same word, and whenever, in forming compounds, a hiatus occurs between the final vowel of the first part and the initial vowel of the second part, one of the two vowels must yield. Thus *aka-ishi* becomes *akashi*; *ara-iso ariso*; *midzu umi*, *midzumi*. It is not clear in how far this rule holds good in Korean. Such combinations as *eui*, *oa*, are very common, but in some at least of these cases, *eu* and *o* are pronounced *w*, so that no hiatus really occurs; and in words like *ma'am* 'heart,' the spiritus lenis may indicate the loss of a guttural.

Both Japanese and Korean have borrowed largely from Chinese, and much may be learnt respecting the phonetic character of these two languages by comparing the forms assumed in each by the same Chinese words. The more important of the letter-correspondences indicated by such a comparison are exhibited in the following table.

Table of corresponding consonants in the modern Chinese, the Korean, and the Japanese pronunciations of Chinese characters:—

INITIALS.		
CHINESE.	KOREAN.	JAPANESE.
LABIALS.		
<i>f</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>h</i> or <i>f</i> , (more seldom) <i>b</i>
<i>f</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>h</i> or <i>f</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>h</i> or <i>f</i> , <i>b</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>h</i> or <i>f</i> , <i>b</i>
<i>ph</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>h</i> or <i>f</i> , <i>b</i>
<i>w</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i> , (less often) <i>b</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i> , (less often) <i>b</i>

CHINESE.	KOREAN.	JAPANESE.
DENTALS.		
<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t, d, ch</i>
<i>th</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>t, (less often) d</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n, d, j</i>
<i>n</i>	'	<i>n</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>y</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>y</i>	'	<i>y</i>
<i>y</i>	'	<i>n</i>
<i>l</i>	<i>l, n</i>	<i>r</i>
PALATALS.		
<i>ch</i>	<i>t, ch, s</i>	<i>ch, sh, s</i>
<i>chh</i>	<i>ch, chh</i>	<i>ch, sh, s</i>
<i>ts</i>	<i>ch, s</i>	<i>ts, s, sh, z</i>
<i>ths</i>	<i>ch, chh</i>	<i>ch, s, sh</i>
<i>s</i>	<i>s, sy</i>	<i>s, sh, j</i>
<i>sh</i>	<i>s, sy</i>	<i>s, sh, j, z</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>ch</i>
GUTTURALS.		
<i>k, kh</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k, (less often) g</i>
<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>k, g</i>
<i>ng</i>	'	<i>g, omitted</i>
<i>w or u</i>	'	<i>g, omitted</i>
<i>y</i>	' <i>eu</i>	<i>g, omitted</i>
<i>n</i>	'	<i>g</i>
FINALS.		
—	<i>p</i>	vocalized, (less often) <i>tsu</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>n, m</i>	<i>n</i>
—	<i>l</i>	{ <i>tsu, chi, (less often) ki;</i> omitted
—	<i>k</i>	<i>ku, ki</i>
<i>ng</i>	<i>ng</i>	vocalized

VOWELS.

In respect to vowels, it need only be noted that the Japanese *e* corresponds to the Korean *ü*.

The preceding table confirms the inference already drawn from an examination of the alphabets that a Japanese *f* or *h* corresponds to a Korean *p*.

In the Dental and Palatal classes of consonants, it will be observed that there is considerable freedom of interchange. *T, th, ch, chh,* and *s* in Korean correspond without much distinction to *t, d, ts, ch, s, sh, j, z,* in Japanese; a Korean *n* may be in Japanese *n, y, d,* or *j,* while a Japanese *n* may be either omitted in Korean, or represented by *y.*

Amongst the gutturals, the Korean *h* corresponds to the Japanese *k* or *g,* and Japanese often preserves an initial *g,* which has disappeared in Korean, and even in Chinese itself.

The above observations apply to initial consonants. In regard to final letters, it is to be noted that a Korean *m* is represented in Japanese by *n,* and that *ng* is vocalized. Thus the word for 'same,' which is in Chinese *tung,* and in Korean *tong,* is in Japanese *dō.*

A most important peculiarity of the Korean and Japanese pronunciations of Chinese is that words which have the short or entering accent in that language, have in Korean an *l* final, and in Japanese end in *chi, tsu,* or, more rarely, in *ki* or *ku.* Dr. Hoffmann, in pointing out this peculiarity, notes that in the Hokien dialect of Chinese, these words end in *t.* Japanese occasionally follows modern Chinese in dropping the final consonant. *Pu* (不) 'not,' is in Korean *peul,* in Japanese *fu.*

In applying to a comparison of native Japanese and Korean words the principles of letter-change suggested by the above table, it is necessary to use caution. It should be remembered that some features of the letter-changes indicated may be due, not to a difference in the phonetic character of Japanese and Korean themselves, but to the fact that the Chinese dialects borrowed from have not been in each case identical.¹ Nor can it be at once assumed that the tendencies manifested by these languages at a com-

¹ It is impossible to restore, with any degree of certainty, the dialects of Chinese from which the Chinese words in Japanese and Korean were borrowed. Indeed, one of the principal evidences of their character is these very Japanese and Korean derivatives. The modern official language has, therefore, been taken as a term of comparison. In so far as Chinese and Korean are concerned, a table in Dr. Pizmaier's "Darlegungen aus der Geschichte und Geographie Corea's" has been made use of.

paratively recent stage of their history, and in the case of words of foreign derivation, must necessarily have been equally active in the much earlier period when the differences which now characterize them were first developed, or that they affected words of native origin as well as those borrowed from abroad.

It is also necessary to avoid confounding original Japanese and Korean words with those which owe their resemblance to a common Chinese derivation. In the great majority of cases this presents no difficulty. In Japanese, and to a less degree in Korean, most Chinese words have an easily recognizable physiognomy of their own, but there exists in both languages an older stratum of words of Chinese origin which have become so thoroughly assimilated that their derivation is no longer obvious. So entirely has it become forgotten in some instances that the same word has been borrowed a second time in a slightly altered form by a process familiar to the student of modern European languages. Take, for example, the Japanese word *fude* 'a pen,' which is stated by native grammarians to be compounded of the Japanese words *fumi* 'letter,' and *te* 'hand,' The corresponding Korean root is *pus* (or *put*), which has all the appearance of a native Korean word. There can be little doubt, however, that both *fude* and *pus* are merely the Chinese *phi* (筆) 'a pen,' the modern Japanese pronunciation of which is *hitsu*, and the Korean *phil*, both in actual use. The word for 'cash' (small copper coin) is another example. In Japanese it is *zeni*, and in Korean *ton* or *toni*, both derived from the Chinese *tsien* 錢. The same word has been borrowed a second time under the somewhat altered forms *sen* and *chyün*, the newer Japanese form *sen* being used in compounds, or to indicate a particular kind of *zeni*, viz. the cent of the new currency. Both 'pen' and 'money' are precisely words which would naturally be borrowed by the Japanese and Koreans in the earliest stage of their intercourse with their more civilized neighbours. The history of the English words 'pen' and 'money' presents analogies which need not be dwelt on here.

Any original affinity which may exist between Japanese and Korean on the one hand, and Chinese on the other, is so remote that it need hardly be taken into account. Such appearances of a common origin as they present are almost as faint and questionable as those which have been thought to indicate a remote connexion between Japanese and Aryan languages.

Considering the frequency of the intercourse, both of a peaceful and warlike character, which has taken place between Japan and Korea in historical times, it is natural to suppose that some interchange in the vocabulary of their respective languages must have occurred. It is difficult, however, to point to many undoubted instances. Buddhism was first introduced into Japan from Korea, and the Korean word *chül* 'a Buddhist temple,' must be the original of the Japanese *tera*,¹ which has the same meaning. The deprecatory expression *messô* or *messôna*, so often heard in the dialect of Ôsaka and Kiôto, seems taken from the Korean *muûs hayü*, lit. 'having done what,' and one or two other examples might be adduced.

The question now presents itself,—In how far do the principles of letter-correspondence above indicated apply to native words which are common to the Japanese and Korean languages? The following table shows that, upon the whole, the same principles are applicable in their case also.

Japanese *f* or *h*, or sometimes *w*, corresponds to *p* or *ph* in Korean.

EXAMPLES.

JAPANESE.	KOREAN.
hato, a pigeon	pital <i>ki</i> , ² a pigeon
haru, to paste	pall <i>i</i> , to paste
haji, shame	peus, shame
harafu, to clear away, to sell off	pha <i>l</i> , to sell

¹ *Chül* and *tera* have not a single letter in common. But Korean *ü* is Japanese *e*; Korean *l* Japanese *r*; *e* in Japanese must be preceded by *t* not *ch*; and as no Japanese word can end in a consonant, an *a* is added in order to satisfy the laws of euphony.

² The non-radical part of a word is put, as far as can be ascertained, in italics.

JAPANESE.	KOREAN.
ha, distinctive particle	pa, particle meaning 'that which' 'the thing which'
heso, navel } hara, belly }	pè, belly
ifu, to speak	ip, mouth
wara, straw	pheul, grass, straw
wata, sea	pata, patang, sea

Other examples will be found below.

M in Japanese, especially when initial, corresponds to *m* in Korean.

EXAMPLES.

mi, body	mom, body
moto, origin, bottom	mis, origin, bottom
umeru, to fill up	myè, to fill up
mure, a flock	} muri, an assemblage
mura, a village	
muragaru, to assemble	
moroki, easily crumbled	meuleul, soft
shima, an island	syũm, an island
sameshiki or } sabishiki } lonely	sim-sim han, lonely
damaru, to be silent } tamaru, to endure }	chhãm, to endure, to be silent
kuma, border, limit	kum, limit
kuma, a bear	kom, a bear
kama, a pot	kama, kamè, a pot
kumo, a spider	kũmo, a spider
toma, a mat	stum, a mat

In the last example the initial *s* is merely a diacritic mark indicating a sharp pronunciation of the consonant.

A Japanese *m* corresponds to a Korean *p* in

JAPANESE.	KOREAN.
tsume, a finger or toe-nail, a hoof	thop, a finger or toe-nail, a hoof

A Japanese *b* is in Korean *p* in the following :—

tsubame } tsubakura } a swallow	chũpi, a swallow
tsubone, a chamber	chip, a house, a room
tsubusu { to slaughter cattle { to break to pieces	chap, to take, to slaughter cattle

A Japanese *b* corresponds to a Korean *m* in *tsuba, chhum*, 'spittle.'

The observations already made on the Dental and Palatal series of consonants have prepared us to find a considerable freedom of interchange in their case.

EXAMPLES.

JAPANESE.	KOREAN.
tataku, to beat	tentäl, to beat
take, a bamboo	tè, a bamboo
tamaru, to endure	chhäm, to endure
koto, thing	küs, thing
moto, bottom	mis, bottom
tadzuneru, to search	chhächäl, to search
toki, time	cheuk, chük, time
shita-taru, to drip	steus-steus, drip
taru, to be enough	chäl, to be enough
tsureru, to accompany	talyä, to accompany
tsuru, a stork	tulumi, a kind of stork
kutsuro, a fireplace	keuteul, a fireplace
katsugu, to carry in the hand	kachul, to take in the hand
tsukiru { to come to an end to become exhausted }	cheukeul, to die
chichi, milk	chüs, milk
uchi, to strike	chhił, to strike
sosogu, to sprinkle, to wash	sisal, to wash
soko, bottom <i>or perhaps</i> }	sok, interior
suki, interval }	
suu, sour	sui, sour
ushi, ox	sho, ox
shishi, deer (local only)	säsäm, deer
asaki, shallow	yüs, shallow
sukasu, to deceive	sokił, to deceive
suji, thread, sinew	chul, thread, sinew
sukoshi, little }	
sukunaki, few }	cheuk, few

The Korean word *saläm* 'man,' may be compared with *tari*, the termination of the Japanese numerals for men, as exemplified in *yot-tari* 'four men,' *iku-tari* 'how many men.' The root of the Korean word is a verb *sal* 'to live,' the termi-

nation *ain* forming a verbal noun. A form *sali* 'man,' also occurs. This root has been displaced in Japanese, except when used with numerals, by *hito*, which is probably nothing more than the numeral *hito* 'one.'

JAPANESE.	KOREAN.
<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="font-size: 4em; margin-right: 10px;">}</div> <div> <p><i>masani</i>, exactly</p> <p><i>mas-sugu</i>, quite straight</p> <p><i>mak-kuroki</i>, quite black</p> <p><i>mat-taki</i>, complete, perfect</p> <p><i>man-naka</i>, the exact middle</p> </div> </div>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="font-size: 4em; margin-right: 10px;">{</div> <div> <p><i>macchhil</i>, to hit</p> <p><i>machheul</i>, to meet</p> <p><i>mas-chhi</i>, pronounced <i>machchi</i>, exactly</p> <p><i>mattaek</i>, in good health</p> <p><i>man-naŭ</i>, to meet</p> <p><i>mak-kiŭ</i>, quite long</p> </div> </div>

The Korean root is probably *machh*. But *chh*, being an aspirated consonant, cannot stand at the end of a word. It becomes *s*, a letter which has the property of combining with the initial consonant of the following syllable, so as to make a double consonant. This peculiarity is shared by the Japanese *tsu*, with which the corresponding Japanese root *matsu* ends.

N remains unchanged.

<i>niwoi</i> , smell	<i>nè</i> , smell
<i>nuru</i> { to be in bed	<i>nu</i> , to be lying down
<i>neru</i> { to be lying down	
<i>na</i> , you	<i>nŭ</i> , you
<i>ina</i> , no	<i>ani</i> , not

In the table of corresponding letters in words derived from Chinese, it has been seen that an initial *n* sometimes disappears in Korean while it is retained in Japanese. An *n* has perhaps disappeared from the beginning of the words *heulil* 'to be cloudy, turbid;' *heul* 'to flow,' which would in that case correspond to the Japanese *nigoru*, *nagaru*, which have the same meaning.

R or *l* is not found at the beginning of a Japanese or Korean word. In the middle, and less frequently at the end of a word, a Japanese *r* is a Korean *l*.

<i>sarafu</i> , to clear out	<i>seulu</i> , to clear away
<i>harafu</i> , to clear away	<i>pheulu</i> , to clear away.
<i>wara</i> , straw	<i>pheul</i> , straw, grass

JAPANESE.	KOREAN.
kiru, to cut) katana, sword)	kal, a sword
noru, to speak	niläl, to speak
doro, mud) darake, bespattered)	tälü, dirty
kari, a wild goose	kalaki, a wild goose
tori, bird	talk, common fowl
mura, a village) mure, an assemblage, a flock)	muri, an assemblage

A Korean *l*, especially when final, is usually represented in Japanese by *chi*, *tsu*, *dzu*, *shi*, *ji* or *s*, as in the following examples.

hachi, a bee	pül, a bee
kachi, on foot	küläm, walking
kuchi, mouth, entrance	{ kul, hole, cave ku, to speak

It may be noted that while the Korean *ip* 'mouth,' corresponds to the Japanese *ifu* 'speak,' the Japanese *kuchi* 'mouth,' corresponds to the Korean *ku* 'speak.'

natsu, summer ¹	{ nal, sun, day, weather nyülüm, summer
mitsuru, to be full	mil, to be full
madzu, previously	mili, previously
hoshi, a star	pyül, a star
hoshiki, desirous) horu or hosuru, to wish) hoshigaru, to wish)	{ pil, to pray pälä, to request
hashi, beak (as in kuchi-bashi)	püli, beak
koshi, loins	hüli, loins
majiki, neg. termination	mal, negative verb
saji, a spoon	sul, a spoon
hiji, elbow	phal, arm
hiza, knee	pal, foot
hajimete, for the first time	piloso, for the first time
masu, a measure of capacity	mal, a measure of capacity
midzu, water	meul, water, river, lake

¹ Summer is in Hungarian *nyar* and in Turkish *yas*; the corresponding word in Mongol is *naraw* 'sun.'

The Korean *l* final is sometimes lost in Japanese. The example last quoted is an instance where the same word illustrates this tendency as well as the interchange of letters just described. *Midsu* in composition frequently loses the final syllable, as in *mi-to* 'water-gate' (the name of a place), *idsu-mi* 'water which comes out,' i.e. 'a spring,' *umi* 'the sea,' probably for *oho-mi* 'great water.' The Aino form of this word is *betsu* 'a river,' the Manchu *bir* 'a river,' and I venture the suggestion that in the Latin *mare*, the German *meer*, and the English *mere*, the same word may be recognized.

JAPANESE.

mūma, a horse

KOREAN.

mal, a horse

The *l* final in this word is sometimes dropped even in Korean. *Mūma* is pronounced almost as one syllable, the *ū* being nearly inaudible.

hi, fire, sun

peul, fire

At first sight there is a temptation to identify *hi* with the Korean *hè* 'sun.' This is, however, impossible, the Japanese *h* being a labial, the Korean *h* belonging to the gutturals. A more probable equivalent of *hè* is the Japanese *ka* of *futsu-ka* 'two days,' *mik-ka* 'three days,' etc. It may be observed that *hi* is used in Japanese for 'scarlet' as well as for 'fire,' and that the root of the Korean *peulkeun* 'red' is plainly *peul* 'fire.'

K usually remains unchanged. To the numerous examples which may be found in the preceding pages, there may be added the following:—

kasa, a broad hat

kas, a broad hat

kataki, hard

kütŭn, hard

ko, place, as in *doko*, where, }
miya-ko, capital }

kos, place

koso, emphatic particle

kos, just, exactly

kafu, to buy

kap, price

gotoki, like (the *g* is for an }
 original *k*) }

kättän, like

A Korean *h* is usually in Japanese *k* at the beginning of a word, *g* in any other position.

EXAMPLES.

JAPANESE.	KOREAN.
kimo, liver, courage	him, strength
koshi, loins	huli, loins
hagu, to strip off	pahil, to pluck out
nigoru, to be turbid	heulil, to be cloudy, turbid
nagaru, to flow	heul, to flow

It has been observed above, that in a few words derived from the Chinese, a Korean *l* final corresponds to *ku* or *ki* in Japanese,—an instance in point being the Chinese *phi* (ㄆㄢ), which is in Korean *phil*, in Japanese *hiki*. This is not in itself a very probable interchange, and I hesitate to apply it to native Japanese and Korean words. If its possibility were admitted, we might compare the Japanese words *fuku* 'to blow,' *tsuki* 'the moon,' *kaku* 'to scratch, to write,' *kage* 'a shadow,' with the Korean *pu*, *tal*, *keul*, *keulim*, which have respectively the same meanings.

The above table no doubt contains a number of mere casual coincidences, and very likely some errors, unavoidable in dealing with a language so little known as Korean. In estimating its value as establishing the fact of an affinity between Japanese and Korean, it should be remembered that the Korean part has been supplied from materials which would afford a vocabulary of not more than 2000 words. Further research would no doubt enable it to be greatly extended.

II.

THE FUNCTIONS OF GRAMMAR.

The examination of the functions of grammar covers only a part of a much wider field of inquiry. Grammatical forms are after all a more or less arbitrary selection from the entire vocabulary, and the habits of thought which characterize the language of a nation may also be traced in their religion, their art, and their political and social development. It is impossible in a paper like the present to do justice to so vast a subject, but it may be convenient to advert briefly to a

mental feature of the Japanese and Korean races which distinguishes them from nations of the Aryan and Semitic families, and which may be recognized not only in their grammar, but in every other product of their national genius. It may be described as an impersonality of conception. These races have a comparatively feeble grasp of the distinction between the living being and the inanimate object, between God and the material universe, between mind and matter, between the individual and the multitude, between the 'I' and the 'not I.' This feature is not confined to the Japanese and Koreans among Turanian races, and it characterizes still more strongly the Chinese language, literature, and philosophy. It may be traced in the comparative weakness of their religious beliefs. All the great religions of the world have had their origin with Aryan or Semitic races. The educated Chinese or Japanese is a downright materialist, and even the lower classes are but little influenced by the foreign religion which most of them profess. The Confucian system of morals is their real guide through life, and the philosophy most congenial to them may be summed up in the dictum 'No can see, no can sabey.' They have, it is true, their native mythologies, in which figure personified natural objects and deified human beings; but all these creations are characterized by a marked poverty of imagination as compared with the ancient myths of Greece or India. Their religion is but feebly reflected in their language. Such everyday phrases as 'Adieu,' 'Good-bye,' 'God bless you,' *τί γάρ ὁ Ζεὺς ποιεῖ*, for 'what is the weather,' have no counterpart in their languages, and are foreign to the spirit of them. On the other hand, there is for the same reason a notable absence of profanity and of intolerance in matters of religion. In regard to Korea our information is more scanty. We may, however, quote the testimony of some Dutchmen who were shipwrecked on Quelpart in the seventeenth century, and who remained in Korea for thirteen years. "As for religion, the Coresians have scarce any. The common sort make some odd grimaces before the idols, but pay them little respect. They know nothing of preaching or of mysteries, and there-

fore they have no disputes of religion, all believing and practising the same thing throughout the Empire."

The same tendency is manifested in the comparatively sparing use of personification, allegory, or metaphor in their literatures. Slow to distinguish mind from matter, there is less room for the play of imagination by which inanimate objects are feigned to possess life, or a personal existence lent to mere attributes. To the European who is accustomed to associate with the word "Oriental" gorgeous imagery and profuse and extravagant metaphors, it is not a little surprising to discover in the far East perhaps the most unimaginative matter-of-fact languages and literatures in the world. Max Havelaar has said that in all languages a certain interval separates the word from the thought, but that in Dutch the distance is less than in any other language. Dutch must, however, yield the palm to Chinese in this respect, and Japanese and Korean have an essentially similar character. In all, the personification of natural objects and the use of metaphor is confined within the narrowest limits, not only in the common speech, but even in poetry, the best of which is of a descriptive nature. Such a variety of metaphor and personification as is exhibited in one short poem of Shelley, "The Cloud," might be sought for in vain in whole volumes of Chinese or Japanese. Lines such as—

"From my wings are shaken the dews that waken
The sweet buds every one,
When rocked to rest on their mother's breast
As she dances about the sun."

would appear to them in the highest degree grotesque, if not altogether unintelligible. He was a true Chinaman, who, when his love-sick English master tried to elicit his ideas about

"That orb'd maiden, with white fire laden,
Whom mortals call the moon,"

promptly replied, "My thinker all same lamp pigeon." Their history, which savours more of the style of Whitaker's Almanac than of Macaulay; their art, which has no school

of portrait painting or monumental sculpture worth mentioning; and their national character, with its passiveness and want of initiative, betray a similar tendency. Other illustrations of this habit of mind will occur to those who are acquainted with their social and political development, but enough has been said to show the fundamental nature of the difference which thus separates these races from nations of the Aryan or Semitic group.

It is impossible not to regard this impersonal habit of thought with the poverty of imagination which it involves as a defect in the mental development of these races,¹ but it need hardly be said that it has proved in their case compatible with the possession of capacities of a high order. The language, literature, and political and social development of China, Japan, and Korea afford proof of powers superior to those of some races whose languages and folk-lore indicate higher imaginative faculties.

The grammar of the Japanese and Korean languages bears strong marks of this impersonal habit of mind. There are no grammatical forms by which living beings are distinguished from inanimate objects. Much less do they mark the subdivision of the former into masculine and feminine. There is, in short, no grammatical gender; and indeed very little recognition of sex in any form. The adjective has no gender, and the only modes of indicating sex in the noun are by little-used compounds, similar to the English 'cock-sparrow,' 'hen-sparrow,' and by a few pairs of words like the English man woman, father mother, etc. The latter mode of distinguishing sex is confined to a narrow circle of ideas relating to man and family ties. The sex even of the domestic animals is left unnoticed, and the same word stands

¹ "Mr. Tylor has justly observed that the true lesson of the new science of Comparative Mythology is the barrenness in primitive times of the faculty which we most associate with mental fertility, the imagination. Comparative Jurisprudence . . . yet more strongly suggests the same inference. . . . Among these multitudes (the millions of men who fill what we vaguely call the East), Literature, Religion, and Art—or what correspond to them—move always within a distinctly drawn circle of unchanging notions. . . . This condition of thought is rather the infancy of the human mind prolonged than a different maturity from that most familiar to us."—Maine, *Early History of Institutions*, pp. 225-226.

for both horse and mare, cow and bull, cock and hen. A still more significant fact is that the personal pronouns have no gender. He, she, it, are expressed by the same word. In the compound expressions, in Japanese *ano hito*, in Korean *chū salām*, viz. 'that man or woman,' they have just got so far as to distinguish men from other beings, but these phrases are not really pronouns.

The verb has no person. *Aru* in Japanese, *itta* in Korean, mean 'I am,' 'thou art,' 'he, she, or it is,' without any distinction. It may, perhaps, be thought that this vagueness is remedied, as in analogous circumstances in some Aryan languages, by the use of personal pronouns to indicate the person. But this is not so. It is only to a very limited extent, and in an incidental way, that this is done. Pronouns are only introduced when there is an emphasis on them, and never merely for the sake of marking the person of the verb, as is so often wrongly done by Europeans in speaking Japanese. The honorific and humble forms and particles are a more common means of distinguishing person, but the former are frequently found in both languages with the third person as well as with the second, to which they more usually belong, and there is a tendency in the humble forms, which ought to mark the first person, to become mere polite suffixes which are used indiscriminately with all persons. The difficulty of determining the person of the verb is increased by the circumstance that the rigid connexion which in Aryan languages unites the verb with its subject does not hold in Japanese and Korean. In many cases a verb has no nominative at all, and when it has, a logical relation between them is to the Japanese and Korean mind by no means imperative. There is no form or termination which is distinctive of the nominative case. The Japanese *ha* is merely a distinctive particle, and *i*, the particle in Korean which most resembles a nominative ending, is in reality an adverbial ending like the English *ly*. The very position of the subject at the beginning of the sentence, while the verb is relegated to the end, may be due to the same cause.

Another consequence which flows from the impersonality of the verb is the absence of a true passive. In Korean it is altogether wanting, and in Japanese its development is imperfect, the same form being also used as a potential and a honorific mood. It is also much less used than in Aryan languages.

The same imperfect development and haziness of conception as regards person is equally characteristic of their pronominal system. The personal pronouns are frequently replaced by substitutes which do not really indicate person, as, for example, 'a certain person' for 'I,' 'master' for 'you,' 'that man' for 'he.' Even inclusive of words of this kind, the proportion of pronouns in a sentence is very small. In three pages of specimens of pure Japanese which are given in my grammar of the Japanese written language, there are only six personal pronouns, while in the English translation there are nearly one hundred. The Korean language is in complete harmony with Japanese in the sparing use which it makes of pronouns.

The late development of pronouns in these languages is shown by the plain indications of their derivation from verbs such as be, go, come, and it is still more plainly visible in the way in which the same word is used for pronouns of different persons. *Ware*, the Japanese pronoun of the first person, is used in the plural *ware-ra* for 'you,' and *waga* which is *wa*, the root of *ware*, with *ga*, the genitive particle, may mean his own, one's own, as well as 'my own.' *Anata*, the common Japanese word for 'you,' contains *a*, the root of *are*, which is the personal pronoun of the third person. Indeed, it is sometimes used in its proper meaning, viz. 'he.' The Korean *chü*, 'he, she, or it,' is also used in the second person.

The use of the verb 'to be' instead of 'to have' is a typical instance of the habit of mind in question. For the English 'I have a horse,' a Japanese would say, *müma ga aru*, lit. 'a horse's being,' and a Korean, *mal i itta*, lit. 'horse-ly is,' the idea of horse being regarded as qualifying that of existence. Both languages have words expressive

of possession, but they prefer to use the substantive verb instead.

The verb has (at least in Japanese) no derivatives indicating the person who performs the action. Instead of 'the baker,' they prefer to say the 'bread-house,' for the bookseller the 'book-house,' etc. They even use such phrases as the book-house's son, etc.

The comparative neglect of the distinction of number which characterizes Japanese and Korean, as compared with Aryan languages, belongs to the same order of facts. There is no trace of a dual number, and there are no plural forms for verbs or adjectives, a circumstance which excludes another mode of indicating the connexion of verb and subject. Nor are plural forms much in use even in the case of nouns. Japanese and Korean nouns are, like such English words as money, wheat, etc., not distinctively either singular or plural. The plural suffixes are chiefly used with words which indicate living creatures, and are the exception even in their case. It is only with pronouns that it is usual to distinguish number. Again, it is only a very small proportion of Japanese or Korean nouns which allow a numeral to be immediately prefixed to them. Nearly all are like the English words just mentioned. Just as we must say, not 'six wheats,' but 'six grains' or 'six bushels of wheat,' not 'six moneys,' but 'six pounds' or 'six coins,' a Japanese or Korean cannot say 'two merchants,' but must use an expression equivalent to 'merchant—two man' or 'merchant—two piece.'

Neither Japanese nor Korean have diminutive nouns or grammatical forms to distinguish the degrees of comparison in adjectives, but these are features which have no special significance.

Let us now turn from the negative to the positive aspect of the question. We have seen that Japanese and Korean are comparatively indifferent to distinctions of person, gender and number. What are the objects which these languages do seek to attain by their grammar?

One of its most distinguishing characteristics is the regu-

larity with which roots, which we should call verbal or adjectival, can be made to assume successively the character of nouns, adjectives, adverbs or verbs, according to the inflexion or termination employed. This feature distinguishes these languages in a marked way from Chinese, where the same root is used without change or addition in all these varied capacities, and from Aryan languages, where it is less fully developed and without the same regularity. In Latin, for instance, the root *fac* becomes a verb in *facit*, a noun in *facere*, and in *factus*, *faciens*, adjectives. The English *lend* is a verb in *lends*, and in the participle *lending* is a noun or an adjective according to circumstances. Now, in Japanese and Korean, not only have all verbal and adjectival roots forms in which they appear successively as nouns, adverbs, adjectives, and verbs, but most of the suffixes indicating mood and tense are susceptible of similar modifications. Of these last, there is a tolerably copious supply. There are grammatical means of distinguishing the past and future from the present, there are a perfect state, an imperative mood, forms for the potential, conditional, and optative moods, negative and interrogative forms and particles, and forms indicating distinctions of rank between the speaker and the person addressed or spoken of. There are also suffixes forming moods to which there is no equivalent in European languages, and which can only be translated, if at all, by the addition of adverbs, or by the use of particles or prefixes like the German *her*, *hin*, *zer*, etc. A circumstance which adds greatly to the capacity for varied expression possessed by these languages is the facility with which combinations are made of the elements which have just been enumerated,—one word with its suffixes sometimes conveying a meaning which in English a whole sentence would be required to express. Take, for instance, the following, which is by no means an extreme example. *Kuwadate-oyobu-bek'-ara-s'-ara-n-ya*. This is literally 'Eudeavour-reach-should-be-not-be—fut. particle—interrog. part.,' the meaning being, 'Why should (we) not be successful in (our) endeavours?'

Nouns have suffixes indicative of case and of such relations

as are expressed in Aryan languages by prepositions. The article does not exist as distinguished from the demonstrative pronoun 'this' or 'that;' but both Japanese and Korean have one case, viz. the distinctive or separative, for which Aryan languages possess no equivalent.

III.

CHARACTER OF THE GRAMMATICAL PROCEDURES.

Almost the sole grammatical procedures employed by Japanese and Korean are the addition of suffixes, and the position of words in the sentence. Augment, *ablaut*, vowel-changes as in the conjugations of Semitic verbs, and reduplication, are not employed for purposes of grammar, and with some unimportant exceptions there are no prefixes. There is no direct alteration of the root, and although the addition of a suffix is sometimes the occasion of a phonetic change in itself, or in the root, or in both, this is a fact of a different order from the German *ablaut*, or the vowel-changes in the Semitic verbs.

In a very few Japanese words, we have what are, to all appearance, direct changes of the vowel of the root. *Ani* 'elder brother,' and *ane* 'elder sister,' *mitsu* 'three,' and *mutsu* 'six,' *yotsu* 'four,' and *yatsu* 'eight,' seem to be the same words with the divergence of meaning indicated by a change of vowel, and there are a few other cases in which there is reason to suspect the influence of the same principle. These are, however, little more than exceptional freaks in this language, and such changes of vowel have never attained the development of a regular grammatical procedure. They are not met with within the historical period. I have not found any instances in Korean. Manchu affords more numerous examples, and in this language an effort has been made to evolve from these changes a means of indicating gender, as may be seen by comparing *ama* 'father' with *eme* 'mother,' *amha* 'father-in-law' with *emhe* 'mother-in-law,' *haha* 'man,' with *hehe* 'woman.'

Reduplication is little used either in Japanese or in Korean. A number of onomatopoeic adverbs, as, for instance, the Japanese *bara-bara* (in Korean *pheul-pheul*), *gata-gata* (Jap.) 'with a rattling noise,' and a few verbs, as *shitataru* 'to drip' (in Korean *steus-steus*), *tataku* 'to beat' (in Korean *teudál*), contain reduplications. A few nouns, both in Japanese and in Korean, are reduplicated in order to form a sort of plural, as *toki-doki* 'some times' (Jap.), *tokoro-dokoro* 'various places' (Jap.). In one case, viz. the Japanese *ware-ware* 'we,' a true plural has been formed in this way.

To the rule excluding prefixes, the Japanese honorific particle *o*, as in *o cha* 'the honorable tea,' might seem an exception. It is, however, merely an abbreviated form of the adjective *oho* 'great,' and is, therefore, in its proper place before the noun. It is curious to observe that our own honorific prefix 'Mr.' is derived through 'master' and 'magister' from a root *mag* of the same meaning as the Japanese *oho*. The fact that our honorifics distinguish between persons and things, and between males and females, while Japanese honorifics do not, is entirely in accordance with the principle already stated. The Korean language, in so far as I have observed, has no honorific prefix for nouns, except one derived from the Chinese and only found along with Chinese words.

Another exception to the rule against prefixes is the negative particles. In Korean, both negative particles, viz. *mos* or *mot* and *ani*, are prefixed to the verb to which they belong. *Ani* is, however, a verb with a complete conjugation, like any other verb, and a verb with *ani* prefixed may be regarded as a compound formed according to the usual rule. *Mos* is an adverb, and like other adverbs precedes the verb to which it belongs. In Japanese, both words exist in the forms *maji* and *ani*, which are, however, suffixes and not prefixes. There is one single case in which a negative particle is prefixed in Japanese. This is the old negative imperative, which prefixed *na*, as *na yuki so* 'do not go.' The modern language, however, has converted it into a suffix, as *yuku na* 'do not go.'

In regard to the degree to which the suffixes are consolidated with the root, by means of phonetic changes, Japanese and Korean have been properly described as agglutinative languages. The suffixes adhere much more loosely to the root in them than in languages of the Aryan family, and their origin and character is more easily recognizable. Let us take as an example the Japanese word *hito* 'a man.' If the accusative particle *wo*, or the separative particle *ha*, is added, we have *hito wo* or *hito ha*, without change; but if *ha* is added after *wo*, the combination is not *hito wo ha*, but *hito wo ba*. Here, as in most cases, the separate elements are easily distinguishable; but it would be a mistake to suppose that this can always be done. In such an instance as *yuke*, the imperative of the Japanese verb *yuku* 'to go,' the separate elements can only be conjectured. In *itta* 'he went,' which is the past tense of the same verb in modern colloquial Japanese, the original elements are transformed beyond all recognition, were it not that a knowledge of the history of the word enables us to resolve it into *iki* (for *yuki*)-*te-ari*, i.e. 'go-pass-is.' Take again the Korean *ani* 'knowing,' *an-ta* 'knows,' *a-ap-nè* 'knows,' *al-ko* 'having known,' *ala-si-ko* 'having known.' Here it is tolerably obvious that *ni*, *ta*, *ap*, *nè*, *si*, and *ko*, are suffixes distinct from the root. There is no difficulty in ascertaining their meaning, and a probable guess may be made as to their derivation, but it is far from clear what we ought to think of *a*, *an*, *al*, and *ala*, and we can at present form no decided opinion as to whether these variations are due merely to phonetic causes, to the introduction of an additional element between the root and the termination, or to some other disturbing circumstance.

The degree to which the root and the suffix are consolidated is less in Japanese than in Korean, partly owing to the greater simplicity of the phonetic system of the former language, and partly because the Japanese has for a thousand years possessed a written literature, than which there is no more effectual obstacle to phonetic change. The modern colloquial Japanese has made considerable progress in the

direction of incorporation of suffixes with the root, a process which has been accompanied by the gradual disuse of many of the particles employed in the old language. Japanese has comparatively little accent, the stress on all the syllables of a word being much more uniform than in European languages, and it is probably to this circumstance, that the greater looseness of cohesion of the suffix with the root is attributable in that language. As far as I have had opportunities of observing, Korean has also comparatively little accent.

It is precisely in the case of the forms most characteristic of Japanese and Korean grammar, viz. those by which the same root is made successively a noun, adjective, adverb,¹ or verb, that the formative element is most firmly welded to the root. In this respect there may be associated with them the forms for the imperative mood and the perfect state. The more characteristic forms of the Japanese conjugation are exhibited in the following table.

	VERBS.		ADJECTIVES.
	1st Conjug.	2nd Conjug.	
Root	<i>kashi</i> lend	<i>tabe</i> eat	<i>shiro</i> white
Adverb	<i>kashi</i> lend or by lending	<i>tabe</i> eating or by eating	<i>shiro-ku</i> white- (ly), white (as predicate)
Conclusive form, <i>i.e.</i> verb in indic. mood or adj. with verb 'is'	<i>kasu</i> lends	<i>tabu</i> eats	<i>shiro-shi</i> is white
Attributive form or adj.—also used as a sub- stantive.	<i>kasu</i> lending or which lends	<i>taburu</i> eating or which eats	{ <i>shiro-ki</i> white (with noun) <i>shirosa</i> white- ness
Perfect	<i>kase</i> has lent	<i>tabure</i> has eaten	<i>shiro-kere</i> has been white.
Imperative	<i>kase</i> lend	<i>tabe-go</i> or <i>tabe-ro</i> eat	————

¹ It is this form which some writers have called the 'copulative' form. I prefer the term 'adverb,' because it has usually the force of an adverb in the case of adjectival roots and sometimes in that of verbs also. Besides, looking to the derivation of the word 'adverb,' it is not inappropriate as applied to the copulative form.

The succession *kashi*, *kasu*, *kase*, looks a little like a strong conjugation in a Germanic language, but the origin of these forms is really different. Along with *kase* we have a form *kaseri*, which is for *kashi*+*ari*, i.e. 'lend-is,' and although an equally satisfactory analysis of the others cannot be offered, there is good reason to believe that *i* and *u* are not variations of, but additions to, the same theme. In the first or normal Japanese conjugation, there is also a form in *a*, viz. *kasa*, but it is not a word by itself, and is only used as a base to which certain particles are added. Whether the *a* represents a separate element added to the root, or is the result of a phonetic change in one of the other forms, is doubtful.

No complete analysis of the Korean conjugation having yet been made, it is impossible in comparing it with the Japanese system of conjugation to arrive at such satisfactory results as we would wish. The following examples will, however, show that they proceed on similar principles. In both languages, both verbal and adjectival roots are capable of becoming nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs, and in both the terminations used for this purpose in the case of verbal roots differ to some extent from those used with adjectival roots, although the principle of conjugation is in each case the same. The Korean verb 'to do' is in the root form *hã* 'do;' as an adverb, it is *hãni* 'doing' or 'by doing;' as a verb, *hawi* 'does;' as an adjective, *hãn* 'doing,' 'which actually does,' or *hãl* 'doing,' 'which possibly does' or 'may do.' As a noun, it is *hãm*, *hom* or *ha-ki* 'the doing.' The perfect is *hayü* or *haya*, and the imperative *hãla*, *hayüla*, or *hao*.¹ The conjugation of the Korean verb *pu* 'to blow,' reminds one more of the Japanese second conjugation. The root is *pu*, adverbial form *puni*, verb *puiri*, adjective *punan* or *pulil*, perfect *putü*, imperative *putüla*. As an example of a Korean adjective may be given *manheun* 'many.' The root is *man* (probably for *manh*), adverbial form *manhi* or *mankho* 'numerously,' verb *mansawi* 'are many,' adjective *manheun* or

¹ In some of these examples the ending characteristic of the part of speech is added, not to the root, but to a conjugable suffix. The principle illustrated is, however, the same.

manheul 'many' (before noun), perfect *manha* 'having been many.' The noun I have not met with, but from analogy it would probably be *manheui* 'multitude.'

In Japanese, *i* or *e* are the characteristic endings of the adverbial form in the case of verbal roots, *ku* in the case of adjectival roots. In Korean *i* and *ko* are adverbial endings for both verbs and adjectives, and also for nouns. In Japanese adverbs are formed from nouns by adding *ni*.

In Japanese, the conclusive or indicative ending is for verbs *u*, and for adjectives *shi*. The Korean conclusive form which ends in *i* or *ta* is closely allied to, and is often identical with the adverbial form; the Japanese often coincides with the attributive or adjectival form. A significant exception is the Japanese verb *aru* 'to be,' the adverbial form of which, viz. *ari*, is identical with the conclusive.

The characteristic ending of the attributive form is in Japanese for verbs *u* or *uru*, for adjectives *ki*. The Korean termination is in both cases usually *n*. It should be remembered that a Japanese *n* in this position would, and in one case has, become vocalized into *u*.

The Japanese forms ending in *u*, *uru*, *ki*, are also used as nouns. Korean has a special ending for this purpose, viz. *m*, but verbal and adjectival nouns may also be formed by the addition of the suffix *ki*, which reminds us of the Japanese attributive termination of the same form.

The perfect ends in Japanese in *e* or *ure*, in Korean in *ü*, *yü* or *lü*, and sometimes in *a*. As has been already observed, *e* in Japanese corresponds to *ü* or *yü* in Korean. In this termination we may perhaps recognize the root of the verb 'to get,' which is in Japanese *eru*, in Korean *üt*. The *t* final revives as *s* when some terminations are added to the perfect, as, for instance, in *hayüssapnè* 'has done.'

In both languages, the perfect is closely associated with the imperative. In the first Japanese conjugation the same form stands for both, and in the second, the perfect is *tabure*, while the imperative is *tabero* or *tabeyo*. In Korean, there are two imperatives in common use, one formed by adding *la* to the root, a second by adding the same particle to the

perfect. Thus we have both *hāla* 'do,' and *hāyūla* 'do.' In the English 'go' and 'begone,' we have a somewhat analogous pair of imperatives. The perfect form *syū* of the honorific suffix is also found as an imperative termination. The following examples enable us to compare the various forms of the Imperative in the two languages :

Jap. *kase* lend *tabe-i tabe-yo* or *tabe-ro* eat.

Kor. *hāyūla* or *hā-ap-syo-syū* do, *hā-chi* do, *ma-o* or *ma-so* do not, *mala* do not.

We come now to a class of terminations which adhere less closely to the root than those which have just been described. They are of the nature of verbs or adjectives, and are capable of conjugation in a somewhat similar way to principal verbs or adjectives, from which, indeed, their derivation is usually obvious. Familiar examples are the terminations derived from the verbs 'go' and 'come.' In Manchu, the process by which these verbs have become converted into grammatical forms is seen in its earliest stage. I quote from M. Lucien Adam's admirable little grammar of the Manchu language :—

"§ 145. Le verbe devient élatif (c'est-à-dire exprime l'idée accessoire que l'agent quitte le lieu dans lequel il se trouve, pour aller accomplir l'action dans un autre lieu) par la suffixation de—*na*, *no*, *ne*. Ex. : *uji-na-me*, *uji-ne-me* aller mourir; *abala-na-me* aller chasser; *omi-na-me* aller boire.

"§ 146. Le verbe devient illatif (c'est-à-dire exprime l'idée accessoire que l'agent vient vers le lieu où l'on se trouve, pour accomplir l'action) par la suffixation de—*nji*. Ex. : *a-fa-nji-mbi* je viens combattre; *omi-nji-bi* je viens boire."

Now in Japanese and Korean there also exist terminations derived from the corresponding verbs in these languages, but here their original physical meaning has become obliterated. In the Japanese word *chiri-nuru*, for instance, it is certain that *nuru* is a form of *inuru* 'to go away,' and *chiri* means 'scatter,' but the whole word denotes rather the gradual completion of the process of scattering than any physical change of place. The English adverb 'away' has

a similar secondary application, as in the phrase 'to burn away,' which corresponds accurately to the Japanese *yake-nuru*. The word *naru* 'to be,' and the termination *nu* 'to be,' probably contain the same root. In Korean, the corresponding word is *nal* 'to go or come out,' which as a termination added to verbs has a short *a*, and has lost all specific meaning.

Take, again, the Japanese *ihi-keri* 'has spoken.' Here *keri* is the perfect of the verb *kuru* 'to come,' and the literal meaning would therefore be 'speak-come-has.' But *keri* as an auxiliary does not retain its proper physical signification. It has in classical Japanese acquired somewhat the same force as the English word 'come' in 'becomes,' viz. 'comes to be' or 'at length is.' But in modern usage, it has lost even this attenuated signification, and the verb with *keri* added is used merely as a substitute for the naked verb. *Ieri* and *ihi-keri* can hardly be said to differ at all. The same is the case with the Korean auxiliary *ol*, which also has the original meaning of 'to come.' Indeed, both these words may be added to the principal verb 'come' itself, and we may say *ki-keri* 'has come come,' i.e. 'has at length come' or 'has come,' *o'-oli* 'will come come,' i.e. 'will at length come,' or simply 'will come.' In most of the words used as auxiliaries, the modification of meaning stops short at the second stage of the process just described. Most of the terminations indicative of mood and tense can be shown to have had their origin in this way. The words used for this purpose are to a great extent the same in both languages. They are the verbs, be, do, become, come, go, go away, pass, dwell, see, and a few others.

'Be' (in Japanese *aru*, in Korean *isil*) is used in Japanese to form derivative verbs with a passive (as *korosaruru* 'to be killed'), potential or honorific force (as *yukaruru* 'to be able to go,' 'to (honourably) go'). The honorific termination in Korean is *sil*, which is no doubt *isil* 'to be' with the initial *i* elided. *L* is in both cases no part of the root.

The word for 'see' (in Japanese *miru*, in Korean *pol*) may be traced in the terminations *meru* (Jap.), *peu-oi* or *po-oi*

(Kor.), both of which have the force of a probable mood. The English word 'seem' has the same secondary meaning. The Japanese future suffix *mu* perhaps contains the root of *miru* 'to see,' and there are future forms in Korean which have also *m* as the characteristic consonant.

The Japanese auxiliary *tsuru*, the original meaning of which was 'to pass,' has given us *te*, the sign of the past participle, and *ta*, the sign of the past tense in the modern colloquial language. The Korean preterite termination is *tū*.

There remain the indeclinable particles attached to verbs and adjectives, which are probably of the nature of nouns. They are interrogative, concessive, conditional, and some others. The interrogative particles have in both languages the peculiarity that they are suffixed (at least some of them), not, as might have been expected, to the part of the verb or adjective which corresponds to our indicative mood, but to the attributive form. The interrogative particles are in Japanese *ka* and *ya*, in Korean *ka*, *ya*, *ko* and *o*.

The concessive particles are in Japanese *do* and *domo* 'though,' in Korean *to* and *na*. They are in both languages commonly associated with the perfect.

The suffix added to verbs to form a conditional mood, or where in English such conjunctions as 'whereas,' 'since,' 'as,' would be used, is in Japanese *ba*, in Korean *myün* or *küteun*. There is no reason to suppose that these particles are identical, but they are in both cases derived from the distinctive suffix added to nouns. *Ba* is a form of the distinctive suffix *ha*, and *myün*, *küteun*, contain *eun*, which is the distinctive suffix in the Korean language.

There is a close analogy in the mode in which transitive are formed from intransitive verbs, and *vice versa*, in Japanese and Korean, as may be seen by comparing the Japanese *tatsu* 'to stand,' *tatsuru* 'to set up,' *aru* 'to be,' *eru* 'to get,' with the Korean *nal* 'to go out,' *nail* (pron. *nəl*) 'to put out,' the Japanese *sadamaru* 'to be fixed,' *sadameru*, 'to fix,' with the Korean *tahal* 'to reach,' (intrans.), *tahil* 'to reach' (trans.).

THE NOUN.

In Japanese, the case, plural and other suffixes are simply added to the noun, which suffers no change whatever, and the suffixes themselves rarely suffer any modification. In Korean, the case is somewhat different. The changes, however, are purely phonetic, and are due to the peculiarities already pointed out which distinguish the Korean phonetic system from that of Japanese, viz. that a Korean syllable may end with a consonant, while a Japanese syllable cannot, and that the final letter of a Korean root often contains what may be called a latent aspirate, which revives when some terminations are added. There are, therefore, in Korean, several declensions according as the noun ends in a consonant or a vowel, an aspirated or an unaspirated letter. The accusative particle, for example, is in Japanese invariably *wo*, while in Korean it is *eul* or *läl*, according as the noun ends in a consonant or a vowel. Take again the Korean word *nip* 'leaf,' where the final *p* has a latent aspirate. If we add to this the locative particle *eui*, we get, not *nipeui*, but *nipheui* or *nippheui*. There is nothing in the Japanese declension analogous to these changes. If, however, we eliminate differences which have their origin in the different phonetic character of Japanese and Korean, some resemblances are discoverable.

CASE AND PLURAL SUFFIXES.

	JAPANESE.	KOREAN.
Nom.	—	<i>i, ka</i>
Gen.	<i>tau, no, ga</i>	<i>eui</i>
Dat.	<i>ni</i>	<i>eui-ke</i>
Locat.	<i>ni, ni-te</i>	<i>eui, eui-syü</i>
Instrument.	<i>ni, ni-te</i>	<i>eu-lo</i>
Accus.	<i>wo</i>	<i>läl, eul</i>
Ablative.	<i>yorì, kara</i>	<i>puthü, tülü</i>
Distinctive.	<i>ha</i>	<i>nän, oun</i>
Plural.	<i>ra, tachi</i>	<i>toul, kil</i>

In Japanese there is no proper nominative suffix. *Ga* takes the place of one in the modern spoken language, but it was originally a possessive particle. The Korean *i* (used

after consonants) is really an adverbial termination; *ka* (used after vowels) may possibly have had a similar history to the Japanese *ga*. Both in Japanese and Korean, the genitive relation may be indicated by position only without the use of a particle. In Japanese, however, it is customary to express it by one of the particles *tsu*, *no*, *ga*, while in Korean the particle is oftener omitted.

Korean uses the same particle *eui* for both the genitive and the locative, and *eui-syū*, the alternative locative particle, is only the perfect of the same verb of which *eui* is the adverbial or copulative form. Both are probably forms of the verb *i'isyu* 'be,' 'having been,' just as the Japanese *no*, *ni*, are, as I have endeavoured to show elsewhere, parts of a verb *nu* 'to be.' If this view be correct, there is a striking analogy between the Japanese locative suffix *ni-te*, which would then mean 'having been,' and the Korean *eui-syū* which would have the same meaning.

Ni-te is also used as an instrumental suffix. The corresponding Korean particle is *eulo*, where if we compare *ila*, *ilosoi*, *ilota* 'is,' it would seem that we have again a part of a verb 'to be.'

Both languages have a distinctive or separative particle, in Japanese *ha*, in Korean *eun* (after a consonant) or *nān* (after a vowel). The Japanese *ha*, to judge from its use after verbs in the attributive form, and from the fact that it is written with the Chinese character 者, meant originally 'thing.' The Japanese *ha* corresponds phonetically to the Korean *pa*, a word which also means 'thing.' The close resemblance between the two words may be seen by comparing the Japanese phrase *ihi-keru-ha* with the Korean *nil-on-pa*. Both are literally 'say-come-thing,' i.e. 'the thing which (he) has said.' We can hardly be wrong in identifying the Korean *nān* with the Japanese emphatic particle *nan*, now obsolete, but common in the old classical literature.

The plural particles *tachi* and *teul* are probably connected. See below under the numerals.

The Japanese suffix *to* 'and' is the Korean *to* 'even' 'also.'

PRONOUNS.

JAPANESE PRONOUNS.

PERSONAL.

I	a or wa, are or ware
We	ware-ware or ware-domo
Thou	na or nare
He, she, or it	a or are, ka or kare
He or she	ano hito, lit. 'that man'

DEMONSTRATIVE.

Root. Adj. Noun.

This (Italian <i>questo</i>)	ko, kono, kore,	'this place,' 'here,'	ko ^{to}
That (Italian <i>cotesto</i>)	so, sono, sore,	'that place,' 'there,'	so ^{ko}
That (Italian <i>quello</i>)	a, ano, are,	'that place,'	as ^{oko}

INTERROGATIVE.

Root. Adj. Noun.

Who	ta	—	tare
What	na	—	nani 'why,' naze
Which	—	idzuno	idzure 'where,' idzuko 'when,' itsu or dono or dore or do ^{ko}

REFLEXIVE.

Self	shi or onore
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RELATIVE.

None.

KOREAN PRONOUNS.

PERSONAL.

I	na
We	uli or uli- <i>teul</i>
Thou	nũ, chũ, tyũ, chan ^e
He, she, or it	chũ or tyũ
He or she	chũ salam, chũ sha, lit. 'that man,' 'that person'

DEMONSTRATIVE.

This (<i>questo</i>)	i or o, here, y ^e or y ^e <i>keui</i> , now, ich ^e
That (<i>cotesto</i>)	keu
That (<i>quello</i>)	chũ

INTERROGATIVE.

Who	nu or nu ^{ko}
What	mu ^{ũs} , meuseum, amo, ũ, how, ũ ⁱ or ũ ^{chi} where, ũ ^{te} how many, myũ

REFLEXIVE.

Self seu seu, mutually *sūlo*

RELATIVE.

None.

Obvious points of comparison in the preceding tables are *na* and *nū* 'thou,' *nani* 'what' and *nu* 'who,' *i* the interrogative element in *idzure* 'which,' *itsu* 'when,' and *ū* the interrogative element of *ūi* 'how,' etc., *shi* 'self,' and *seuseu* 'self,' the absence of relative pronouns, the fact that in both languages the same word stands for 'he,' 'she,' and 'it,' and that a compound expression for 'he' or 'she' is formed from two words signifying 'that man.'

There is the same haziness in both languages in the use of the demonstrative pronouns of the 2nd and 3rd persons.¹ It is, therefore, possible that the Japanese *ka* 'that' (3rd person) may be identical with the Korean *keu* 'that' (2nd person), and that *so* or *sa* 'that' (2nd person) may in like manner correspond to *chū* or *syū* 'that' (3rd person).

It may be noted that in *ware* 'I,' *kore* 'this thing,' we have an instance rare in these languages of a formative element (which looks like a fragment of the verb *aru* 'to be') intervening between the root and the case termination. A similar phenomenon is observable in the numerals of both Japanese and Korean.

An examination of the pronouns in Japanese and Korean suggests the conclusion that in some cases at least they had their origin in roots the primary signification of which was some form of rest or motion, as 'dwell,' 'go,' 'come,' etc. It has already been shown that some grammatical endings of verbs are traceable to words of this kind, and there is reason to believe that the cases quoted are not the only ones in which particles have been formed in this way. The German philologist Geiger, in a passage too long for quotation,² has

¹ The English 'that' includes both the nearer, or 2nd person, and more remote, or 3rd person, but the distinction is preserved in the vulgar phrase 'this, that, and the other.' The Latin *iste, ille*, and the Italian *costo, quello*, mark the same distinction.

² Geiger. *Ursprung und Entwicklung der menschlichen Sprache und Vernunft*, vol. i. pp. 201-204.

given an instructive example of this principle of derivation. He has pointed out that one of the commonest pronouns in the Chinese language, viz. *chi* (之), 'this,' or 'he,' 'she,' 'it,' had originally the meaning of 'to go through,' 'to cross' (also 'to go'), and that from a pronoun it eventually became a mere genitive particle, or even the sign of the attributive form of adjectives.

The following table presents a number of facts which suggest that in Japanese and Korean pronouns and grammatical terminations were in some cases formed by a similar process of development. Nouns with a general meaning, such as 'place,' 'time,' 'thing,' 'action,' appear in a few instances to have formed one step of the process :

JAPANESE.

VERB.	AUXIL. VERB.	NOUN.	PRONOUN.	PARTICLE.
<i>kuru</i> (root <i>ki</i>) come	<i>keri</i> sign of perfect	<i>ko</i> place	<i>ko, kore</i> this <i>kochi</i> hither, I.	<i>ku</i> adv. ter- mination of adjectives <i>koso</i> emphatic particle
<i>kaheru</i> (root <i>kaheri</i>) 'to go away,' 'to re- turn'	—	—	<i>ka, kare</i> he	<i>ka</i> interrog. particle <i>ga</i> , genitive particle
<i>saru</i> (root <i>sari</i>) 'to depart'	—	—	<i>so, sore</i> that <i>sa</i> thus	—
<i>toworu</i> (root <i>towori</i>) 'to pass'	<i>tsuru</i> , termin. signifying 'previously'	—	<i>chi</i> quarter, as in <i>achi</i> there	<i>tsu</i> gen. par- ticle <i>to</i> 'that' con- junction
<i>idsuru</i> or <i>deru</i> , root <i>ide</i> or <i>de</i> 'to go out'	—	<i>itsu</i> , when	<i>idsure</i> or <i>dore</i> which	—
<i>inuru</i> , root <i>ini</i> 'to go away'	<i>nuru</i> term. signifying gradual completion <i>nu</i> 'is'	—	<i>nani</i> what <i>na</i> you	<i>no</i> genit. part. <i>ni</i> dat. and loc. particle

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VERB.	AUXIL. VERB.	NOUN.	PRONOUN.	PARTICLE.
<i>aru</i> , root <i>ari</i> 'to be'	<i>eri</i> term. of perf.	—	<i>a</i> , <i>are</i> I, or <i>he</i>	<i>ru</i> , <i>ruru</i> term. of passive verbs
<i>woru</i> or <i>oru</i> , root <i>wori</i> or <i>ori</i> , 'to dwell,' 'to be'	—	—	<i>woro</i> , <i>ore</i> I, you <i>ware</i> I	<i>wo</i> accus. particle
<i>wiru</i> , or <i>iru</i> , root <i>wiori</i> , 'to dwell,' 'to be'	—	—	<i>i</i> this in <i>ima</i> 'this space' 'now'	—
<i>horu</i> or <i>furu</i> , root <i>he</i> , 'to pass'	—	—	<i>he</i> , quarter, direction	<i>he</i> case sign of motion towards
<i>miru</i> , root <i>mi</i> , 'to see'	—	<i>meru</i> term. signifying probability	<i>me</i> eye, event	<i>mu</i> sign of future or probability
<i>yoru</i> , root <i>yori</i> , 'to approach'	—	—	—	<i>yori</i> or <i>yu</i> ablat. particle
KOREAN.				
<i>kol</i> (?), root <i>ko</i> , 'come'	—	<i>kos</i> place	—	<i>kos</i> emphatic particle 'just,' <i>koa</i> and, <i>ko</i> adv. termination
<i>ol</i> root <i>o</i> 'come'	<i>ol</i> 'be'	—	<i>ol</i> , <i>o</i> 'this'	<i>oa</i> 'and'
<i>kal</i> root <i>ka</i> 'to go away'	<i>kal</i> (uncertain)	—	<i>kou</i> 'that'	<i>ka</i> interrogative
<i>nal</i> root <i>na</i> 'to go or come out'	<i>nān</i> ('be')	—	<i>nu</i> who <i>na</i> I	—
<i>isil</i> , <i>ila</i> , <i>in</i> root <i>i</i> , <i>isi</i> 'to be'	—	—	<i>i</i> this	<i>i</i> adverbial termination
Compare with the above the Manchu				
<i>Bi</i> 'to be'	—	—	<i>bi</i> or <i>mi</i> I	<i>be</i> accusative particle.

This table is intended merely to suggest a line of investigation. It must be admitted that the connexion between the words and particles placed together is in many

cases exceedingly doubtful, but there are some in which there can, I think, be little hesitation in affirming that a real relation exists. There is nothing contrary to reason in a root which means 'come' being applied with a modification of the vowel¹ sound to the 'thing which has come,' or 'is here,' and consequently 'this,' 'I.' This derivation is confirmed when we observe that the word for 'that,' 'he,' is similarly related to the verb for 'go,' 'depart,' and is further corroborated by the circumstance that there is a strong resemblance in the phenomena presented by both Japanese and Korean in respect to these derivations.

The Korean verb *kol* 'to come,' I have only met with as an auxiliary in the perfect attributive form *koan*. *Koa* 'and' is the perfect adverbial form, and means originally 'having come,' as may be seen by comparing the alternative word for 'and,' viz. *oa*, which is also the ordinary perfect adverbial form of the verb *ol* 'to come.' It is therefore probable that *ol* had at one time an initial *k* which is preserved in the forms just quoted. Both *ol*, the attributive form, and *o*, the root, occur in the sense of 'this,' as in *ol pom* 'this spring,' *ondl* 'to-day.' In the Japanese *ko* 'this,' which is probably the same word, the initial *k* has been retained. The Japanese adverbial termination *ku* and the Korean *ko* are perhaps more immediately derived from the nouns *ko*, *kos* 'place,' from which the emphatic particles *koso*, *kos*, may also have proceeded.

NUMERALS.

JAPANESE.

Root.	SUBSTANTIVES.	NUMERAL FOR MEN.	NUMERAL FOR DAYS.
1 hito	<i>hito-tsu</i>	<i>hito-ri</i>	—
2 futa	<i>futa-tsu</i>	<i>futa-ri</i>	<i>futsu-ka</i>
3 mi	<i>mi-tsu</i>	—	<i>mi-ka</i> , later form <i>mik-ka</i>
4 yo	<i>yo-tsu</i>	<i>yottari</i> (for <i>yo-tari</i>)	<i>yok-ka</i> (for <i>yo-ka</i>)

¹ It has already been observed that there are indications that in Japanese and Manchu there was at one time a tendency to mark a variation in the power of the same root by varying its vowel.

ROOT.	SUBSTANTIVES.	NUMERAL FOR MEN.	NUMERAL FOR DAYS.
5 itsu	<i>itsu-tsu</i>	—	<i>itsu-ka</i>
6 mu	<i>mu-tsu</i>	—	<i>mui-ka</i>
7 nana	<i>nana-tsu</i>	—	<i>nanu-ka</i>
8 ya	<i>ya-tsu</i>	—	<i>yô-ka</i> (for <i>ya-ka</i>)
9 kokono	<i>kokono-tsu</i>	—	<i>kokono-ka</i>
10 tsu or to	<i>towo, old form</i> <i>tsu-dzu</i>	—	<i>towo-ka</i>
11 —	<i>towo'mari hito-</i> <i>tsu</i>	—	—
20 hata	<i>hata-chi</i>	—	<i>hatsu-ka</i>
30 mi-so	<i>mi-so-dji</i>	—	<i>mi-so-ka</i>
40 yo-so	<i>yo-so-dji</i>	—	—
50 i-so	<i>i-so-dji</i>	—	—
60 mu-so	<i>mu-so-dji</i>	—	—
70 nana-so	<i>nana-so-dji</i>	—	—
80 ya-so	<i>ya-so-dji</i>	—	—
90 kokono-	<i>kokono-so-dji</i>	—	—
so			
100 momo	<i>momo-chi</i>	—	—
1,000 chi	<i>chidji</i>	—	—
10,000 yoro	<i>yoro-dzu</i>	—	—

NUMERALS.

KOREAN.¹

ROOT.	SUBSTANTIVE.	NUMERAL FOR DAYS.
1 hăn	<i>hanna</i> or <i>hăna</i>	<i>hălăn nal</i>
2 tu	<i>tuł, tu-ol, tu-oul</i>	<i>istheun nal</i>
3 sũ, sé	<i>sũ-is</i>	<i>saheun nal</i>
4 nũ	<i>nũ-is</i>	<i>naheun nal</i>
5 tasă, té	<i>taseun</i> or <i>tasăs</i>	<i>tasên nal</i>
6 yusă	<i>yuseun</i> or <i>yusăs</i>	<i>yussên nal</i>
7 —	<i>nilkop</i> or <i>ilkop</i>	<i>ilês nal</i>
8 yo	<i>yateul, yatalp, yatap</i>	<i>yütêlên nal</i>
9 a	<i>a'up, aheup, aheul</i>	<i>aheulên nal</i>

¹ For want of sufficient and trustworthy materials, this list of Korean numerals is incomplete, and I fear to some extent inaccurate. Native words for 'hundred' and 'thousand' probably exist, but I have not been able to find them. It is well known that both Koreans and Japanese are fond of using the Chinese numerals instead of their own, especially in the case of the higher numbers.

Root.	SUBSTANTIVE.	NUMERAL FOR DAYS.
10 yül	yül	yülheul nal
11 —	yül hanna	—
20 seumeu	seumeul	seumeu nal
30 —	syüleun, or chülheun	—
40 —	ma'eun or maheun	—
50 —	sui'eun	—
60 —	ésun	—
70 —	nileun	—
80 —	yateun	—
90 —	aheun	—

The Japanese numerals are used in the root form in combination with nouns, as in *futa-hiro* 'two fathoms,' *mi-iro* 'three colours,' or with the addition of a formative suffix *tsu*, *dsu*, *chi*, or *dji* (for all these are really identical), in which case the numeral stands by itself, or is followed by a noun without being compounded with it. Thus we may have *futatsu ari* 'there are two,' *sara futatsu* 'plates two in number,' *futatsu mono* 'two things.' This ending *tsu* is probably identical with the old genitive particle *tsu*.

Attention has been drawn to the fact that *mi* 'three,' and *mu* 'six,' differ only in the vowels, the consonants being the same, and that *yo* 'four' and *ya* 'eight,' are related in the same way. When it is remembered that in Japanese it is the same letter which is *f* before *u* and *h* before other vowels, it will be seen that a similar relation exists between *hito* 'one,' and *futa* 'two.' It seems also plain that *tsu*, the root of the old word for 'ten,' is not unconnected with *itsu* 'five.' *Hata-chi* 'twenty,' is doubtless for *futa-tsu-chi* (cf. *hatsu-ka* 'twenty days'), a syllable containing a *t* sound having been dropped owing to the dislike which the Japanese language entertains for a series of similar consonants. Another example of the tendency to drop one of two or more similar syllables, when they succeed each other, may be seen in the numeral for 'two men' given in the above table. *Futa-ri*, as may be gathered from a comparison with *iku-tari* 'how many men,' is for *futa-tari*.

In the words for thirty, forty, etc., up to ninety, the

element representing 'ten' is *so*, which is obviously only another form of the radical part of *towo* or *tsudzū*. It may be conjectured that this word *tsu*, *to*, or *so*, as well as the *tsu* of *itsu* 'five,' is to be identified with the word for 'hand,' which is in Japanese *te*, and in Korean *son*. It has been already seen that a final consonant in Korean often disappears in Japanese, and even in Korean itself the tendency of a final *n* to disappear is frequently exemplified in words derived from the Chinese. It may also be noted that the simplest form of the Korean word for 'five' is *tè*, which is identical with the Japanese word for 'hand.'

Turning now to the Korean numerals, we find that, just as in Japanese, the root form is used in combination with nouns, while a formative suffix is added when the numeral stands by itself, and also sometimes when it comes before a noun. Thus we have *han-tu-hè* 'one or two years,' but *tul ilosoi* 'there are two,' *tasds pun* 'five men.' In Korean, however, there is a greater variety in the form of suffix. One is *l*, which, as already noted, corresponds at the end of a word with *tsu* or *chi* in Japanese. It may be remembered that a termination *l* marks one of the attributive forms of the Korean verb and adjective, and that *tsu* is in Japanese a genitive termination. Another is *n*, which is also an attributive termination of verbs and adjectives, and may be compared with the Japanese genitive termination *no*. Other formative suffixes attached to numerals are *s* and *p*.

In both languages, the numerals for days present some peculiarities which distinguish them from the ordinary series of numerals, but do not in themselves call for remark.

The curious relation which exists in Japanese between *hito* 'one,' *mi* 'three,' *yo* 'four,' on the one hand, and *futa* 'two,' *mi* 'six,' and *ya* 'eight,' on the other, has no counterpart in Korean. Again, it is remarkable that in Korean no trace of the word for 'ten,' viz. *yül*, is to be found in the multiples for ten from twenty to ninety.¹ In several of them, even the former component is almost wholly obliterated.

¹ In Manchu, there is a similar obscurity as to the derivation of the words for twenty, thirty, forty, and fifty.

It is not easy to recognize *tu* 'two' in *seumu* 'twenty,' *sū* 'three' in *syūleun* 'thirty,' and the corresponding element in the words for forty, fifty, and sixty is also much obscured. In Japanese it is only in the case of the word 'twenty' that there is any difficulty, all the others being formed with perfect regularity.

To the question, 'What affinity is there between the words used as numerals by the Japanese and Koreans respectively?' the answer must be, that far fewer traces of such an affinity can be discovered than the close analogies presented by the two languages in other respects might have led us to expect. The numbers for one, three, four, five, six, seven, and nine, present no appearance of a common origin, and may be passed over altogether.

Tu-l 'two' may be compared with the Japanese *futa-tsu*. The syllable *fu* is in the Japanese word unaccented, and therefore liable to fall away, and the Korean word had once an initial *i*, as may be seen by *istheun nal* (pronounced *itheun nal*) 'two days.' The Korean plural suffix *teul* or *iteul* is perhaps the same word. It may be compared with the Japanese plural termination *tachi*.

There can be less hesitation in identifying the Korean *ya* or *yo* 'eight' with the Japanese *ya* 'eight.' The proper meaning of *ya* in Japanese is 'very,' 'numerous,' and the Korean *ya* is perhaps connected with *yŭlü*, the Korean word for 'numerous.' *Yŭlü* is, however, more directly related to *yŭl* 'ten,' and the same root may be recognized in the Japanese *yoro-dzu*, which, like the Greek *μυριος*, oscillates in meaning between the indefinite 'multitudinous' and the more definite 'ten thousand.'

It would thus appear, that out of the three cases in which an agreement is traceable between Japanese and Korean numerals, in one the connexion is not free from doubt, while in all there is reason to believe that they agree not so much in their capacity as numerals, but as words belonging to the general vocabulary. This leads us to the somewhat startling conclusion, that at the time when Japanese and Korean entered upon independent careers of development, they had

no system of numerals. This inference it would be hard to accept in the case of two languages of the Aryan type, but it is in entire harmony with the character of languages which, as already pointed out, are marked by a comparative incapacity for grasping distinctions of person and number. In spite of the absence of common numerals, it seems probable that the distance which separates Japanese from Korean, whether as measured by lapse of time, or by differences in their fundamental character, is not greater than that which lies between English and Sanskrit, although in their case the numbers from two to ten are identical.

POSITION.

It would seem to be a rule in languages that the poorer they are in other grammatical appliances, the greater is the use which they make of position as a means of fixing the grammatical value of words. In Chinese, and especially in the ancient form of that language, position is almost the sole grammatical instrument employed, and in Japanese and Korean the grammar of a word may be inferred from its position in the sentence, although with less absolute certainty than in Chinese. But while Japanese and Korean agree with Chinese in the prominence given to position as a grammatical procedure, the same position does not indicate the same grammatical value, and the order of a Chinese sentence must be considerably altered in translation into one of these languages.

The following rules of position are common to Japanese and Korean, and most of them, as I need hardly add, to other Turanian languages as well.

1. Qualifying words or phrases precede the word which they qualify. Thus the adjective precedes the noun; the adverb precedes the verb or adjective which it qualifies; the noun followed by the genitive particle precedes the noun to which it is joined.

2. The subject of a sentence stands at the beginning.

3. The verb or adjective in the indicative mood stands at

the end. Interrogative particles are, however, placed after the verb.

4. Plural terminations, case signs, and prepositions are placed after the noun. Plural terminations precede other suffixes.

5. The direct object of a verb is placed immediately before it.

6. A noun governed by a preposition precedes the direct object of the verb.

7. Conjunctions are placed after the word or clause to which they belong.

8. Dependent clauses precede principal clauses.

These rules are in reality deducible from the principle placed at the head of Rule 1, viz. that qualifying words or phrases precede the word or phrase which they qualify. Their effect is to make the order of a sentence precisely the same in both Japanese and Korean, so that in translating from one language into the other, no inversion of the construction is required, except in the case of an occasional divergence of idiom. The following sentence will serve as an illustration.

JAP. Ushinahi-te	kara	oshimi-te	nani	se-n ka
KOR. Ilheu-n	hu-é	askyü	muŕs	hal-ya
Losing	after	regretting	what	do-will?

The usual English order is, 'What good will come of regretting a thing after losing it?' but it can be varied, which is impossible in the Japanese or Korean versions. In some cases, however, a limited degree of freedom is allowed.

SUMMARY.

It may be convenient to give a brief summary of the conclusions arrived at in this paper.

I.

The phonetic systems of Japanese and Korean differ considerably. Japanese has five vowel sounds, Korean nine. Korean has a class of aspirated consonants which do not exist in Japanese. A syllable may end with a consonant

in Korean, but not in Japanese. On the other hand, neither language is monosyllabic, and in neither have we the rule of the harmony of vowels. Both languages have only one consonant for *r* and *l*, and this letter cannot begin a word. The forms of the same Chinese words in Japanese and Korean afford a means of discovering their letter-correspondences. The most noticeable are, that a Japanese *h* or *f* is in Korean *p*, a Korean *h* in Japanese *g*, a Korean *l* final in Japanese *tsu*, *chi*, *shi*, or *su*. A considerable number of roots are identical in the two languages.

II.

The Japanese and Korean nations are characterized by an impersonality of conception which may be traced in every production of their national genius. In the grammar it is shown by their neglect of person, gender and number, the want of a verb 'to have,' the imperfect development of pronouns and numerals, and of a passive voice. The strong points of their grammar are the regularity with which the distinction of noun, adverb, adjective, and adverb is marked in the same word, and the copiousness of what may be called modal terminations added to verbs.

III.

Japanese and Korean depend almost exclusively on suffixes and position as grammatical appliances, to the exclusion of prefixes, augment, ablaut, and reduplication. The suffixes are usually easily distinguishable from the root and from each other, but sometimes are so closely welded as to defy grammatical analysis. Resemblances are traceable in the terminations used to distinguish the same word when used as different parts of speech.

The grammar of the noun agrees in character in Japanese and Korean, the chief differences being due to the differences in the phonetic systems, already pointed out.

In the pronouns less similarity is noticeable than might have been expected. In both languages the pronouns seem connected with such verbs as 'come,' 'go,' 'dwell,' 'be,' etc.

The numerals have some resemblance in the character of their development, but almost none in form. Only one or two agree, and these not as numerals but as words belonging to the general vocabulary. This feature is of less importance here than it would have been in the case of languages of the Aryan type.

The rules which govern the position of words in a sentence are identical in Japanese and Korean. These rules are less rigid than in Chinese, and more so than in Aryan languages.

There can be no doubt that a genuine relationship exists between Japanese and Korean, but it is by no means easy to estimate its degree. The principles applicable in the case of Aryan languages are of little use to us here. According to our experience of them, two languages with no common numerals could hardly be classed together at all, while on the other hand, the agreement of Japanese and Korean in the elaborate rules for the position of words in a sentence suggests a very close affinity indeed. Everything considered, we may perhaps regard them as equally closely allied with the most remotely connected members of the Aryan family.

It should not be too hastily inferred that because the Japanese and Korean languages differ so widely, an equal distance separates the Japanese and Koreans as nations. The questions of linguistic and ethnological affinity are distinct, though they have no doubt a bearing on each other. And with the instability of vocabulary and weakness of grammatical development which characterizes nations in the earlier stages of their progress, a considerable degree of divergence in their languages is compatible with a much closer affinity of race than would be possible with more civilized races. That the Japanese and Koreans are a case in point is rendered probable by geographical, historical, and physiological considerations.

In preparing this paper, my principal source of information respecting the Korean language has been some manuscript manuals prepared by the Japanese Interpreters resident at Fusankai, the Japanese settlement in Korea. For the

grammar, the only authority is a sketch in Dallet's "Histoire de l'Eglise de Corée," but it is unfortunately in many respects incomplete, and I have been compelled to depend upon such a knowledge of it as could be extracted from the Japanese manuals just mentioned. This may be some excuse for errors which future inquirers will doubtless discover. The late Mr. W. F. Mayers, Chinese Secretary of our Legation at Peking, was for some time before his death engaged on a Korean Grammar, of which much was expected; but it is to be feared that it was not in a sufficiently advanced state to admit of publication. Some of his manuscripts, which I have had an opportunity of inspecting, show that he had acquired a knowledge of Korean far superior to that possessed by any other European scholar, and it is deeply to be regretted that an untimely death prevented him from giving to the world the fruits of his researches.

ART. XIV.—*Dialects of Colloquial Arabic.*—By E. T.
ROGERS.

THE Arabic language is commonly spoken throughout a very large area of the old hemisphere. It is the language of the whole of North Africa, which includes Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and Egypt. It is also spoken down the Eastern coast, and in a not inconsiderable portion of the interior of that vast continent. Its home is the peninsula of Arabia, whence it spread also to Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia.

Arabic is also known as a written language wherever the religion of Islâm exists, namely, in Turkey, Asia Minor, Circassia, Persia, India, Tatory, etc. In these latter countries, where it is only the language of the religious books, and co-existent with colloquial languages, it has retained its original purity, whilst much of it has been incorporated into the local languages spoken by Muslims,—such as Turkish, Persian, Hindustâni, etc.

But where Arabic is the language of every-day life, spoken both by the learned and the vulgar, it has naturally been influenced by a variety of local circumstances which have gradually divided it into a number of separate dialects.

The language is so rich in itself, that it can well afford to be broken up and to supply the foundation of several dialects, each correct in itself. Thus words in common use in Morocco which are unintelligible to the uneducated in Syria, and *vice versâ*, may each have an equally pure origin. But, on the other hand, it must be admitted that we often meet with words whose meanings have been quite distorted, and with others whose origin it is impossible to trace to a classical Arabic source.

The large spread of the Arabic language is certainly due to the religion of Islâm, and to the Muslims must still be awarded the palm for the correct and appreciative use of it; the native Christians and Jews all acknowledge the superiority of the Muhammedan diction.

In childhood the Muslims are made to study and to learn by heart, parts, or even the whole, of their sacred book; of which the mispronunciation of a single vowel is condemned and regarded as an act of infidelity. This practice necessarily gives them an enormous linguistic advantage over people of other religions in the same country, even though holding a similar social position.

I was one day surprised by seeing a tall, elderly black man making extracts from a theological work in the Khedivial library at Cairo. He was scrupulously clean in his person, and wore a white turban, one end of which was allowed to hang down, and was thrown across his mouth as the Bedawi Arabs sometimes use their Kuyfihs (this fashion is called *كمام* *lethâm*), and he kept his mouth and even his nose covered whilst in conversation. He told me he came from Şakoto (on the Kwora river), and that, although his people had a distinct language, they were all taught Arabic in their boyhood. He certainly spoke the purest and most perfect Arabic that I ever heard spoken, using all the vowels and inflexions with the utmost precision.

Without pretending to write an exhaustive treatise on the subject of colloquial dialects of Arabic, my long experience in the East enables me to make a few observations on the varieties of dialect and of pronunciation. This notice may be enlarged upon at a future time either by myself or by some more competent student.

The first part to be considered is the pronunciation of the letters of the alphabet, which differs considerably in various districts, and even amongst different classes in the same district.

The *l* has as many varieties of sound as the English vowel *a*, following its gradations from *hall* to *cat*. In Aleppo and Damascus it has the latter, whilst in the south of Palestine it

has the former broad sound. In Egypt its pronunciation is a medium between the two, and in Beirût it is almost like *a* in *late*.

The **ث** is in some parts of Palestine, by the Bedawin and by some Egyptians, pronounced like the English *th* in *thin* or the Greek *θ*; but by others it is not distinguished from the **ت**, and, like it, has the value of an ordinary *t*. In some words, however, it almost invariably has the sound of **س** *s*, as, for example, in the word **حديث**, pronounced *hadîs*.

The **ج** in Syria is pronounced like *g* in *George* or *j* in *just*, but in some parts of Mount Lebanon it is made as soft as the French *g* or *j*. In Egypt it is like *g* in *good*. Some Damascenes give it the sound of soft *s*.

The **ح** and **خ** are generally confounded, both by the Jews and by the Maltese, the former pronouncing both like the **خ**, and the latter giving to both the sound of **ح**.

The **د** in Palestine is like *th* in *this*, or the modern Greek *δ*. In parts of Syria it is like *s*. In Egypt it is seldom distinguished from **ذ**, and, like it, has the sound of an ordinary *d*.

ش. Some people in Damascus, and elsewhere in Syria, pronounce this letter like the **س**, thus reminding us of the test-word *Shibboleth*, which the Ephraimites pronounced *Sibboleth* (Judges xii. 6).

ض. In southern Palestine this letter has the value of hard *th*, but elsewhere that of hard *d*.

The **ظ** is in Palestine like hard *th*, in Egypt and elsewhere like hard *d*; in the one case differing little from the **ذ**, and in the other nearly resembling the **ض**. It is also often pronounced like *s*. It is always like **ظ** in **ظهر** *Duhr noon*, and like *s* in **ظفر** and **مظفر**, *zafar* and *Muzaffar*.

The **ق** in Palestine, and generally in Egypt, has only the value of a slight aspirate or the Arabic **ق**, so as to be hardly audible. In Nazareth and parts of Galilee it is like the **ك**. By the Arabs of the desert it is in some words like *g* in *good*, and in others like *j* in *joy*.

The **ك** amongst the peasantry in Palestine has the sound of *ch* in *child*, or the Italian *c* as in *celeste*. But some of the

villagers of Mount Lebanon, and some classes of people in Beirut, give it the simple aspirate ^h above alluded to as the rendering elsewhere of the letter ق. But the Arabs of the desert pronounce it differently in different words, giving it sometimes the sound of an ordinary *k*, and in some words that of the English *ch*.

The ی in such a word as بيت, *beit house* is generally pronounced like *ai* in *bait*, but in the neighbourhood of Beirut it sounds more like the *i* of *bite*.

In all spoken dialects the conjugation of verbs is simplified, some tenses and forms are ignored, the dual person is suppressed, as are also the feminine second and third persons plural.

The future tense has almost invariably the letter ب prefixed to it by Syrians and Egyptians. The people of Morocco prefix the letter ك. The one may probably stand for the preposition ب *in*, as though the person were *in the act of*, whilst the other may represent the preposition ك *like*. In the first person plural this ب is changed into م, probably for the sake of euphony. To distinguish the present from the future the word عمال *doing* is often introduced as an auxiliary; thus عمال بكتب 'Ammâl bektob, *I am in the act of writing*. As an auxiliary to the future tense the word رايح *going* is often used, thus, رايح يضربك raïh yedrobak, *he is going to beat you*. The letter ت of the word حتى *hatta until*, is often used in a similar sense, thus تنشوف *tanshûf for حتى نشوف hatta nashûf, we shall see*.

The negative is always expressed by ما or لا before the verb, and the letter ش after it, like *ne* and *pas* in French; thus, ما بركبش *ma berkabsh, I will not ride*. With an adjective or a participle, the ما and ش are united, and form the word مش *mush*, and they say واكب *mush râkib, not riding*, مش طيب *mush tayyib, not good*.

The Egyptians use the verb ادى ادى *Adda yeddi* where the Syrians use يعطى عطى *'Aṭa y'atī*, or انطى *anṭa*, يطفى *yantī*, *to give*, and شبع *to send*, where the Syrians would use بعث *bâ'th*.

The peculiarities of local dialects are probably more diverse and distinct in their particles and short familiar expressions than in verbs and nouns.

In Egypt a word in very common use is *أمّال* *ummâl*, which means *of course, certainly*; and with another word added, *أمّال أي* *ummâl ay*, it means *why not? how could it be otherwise?*

Yes is in Egypt expressed by *أيوة* *aiwah*, an abbreviation of *أي والله* *ay wallah*, an oath,¹ *Yes, by God*. In Syria this affirmation is expressed by *نعم* *na'm*, or *بلى* *bela*, often pronounced *mbela*.

The question *what is this?* is in Palestine expressed by *شو هذا* *shû hâtha*, in Syria by *أيش هذا* *aish hâza*, and in Egypt by *دي أي دي* *deh ey dey*.

The preposition *في* *fi* *in* is sometimes made to serve for a verb, meaning *there is*, and with the negative, *ما فيش* *ma fish*, *there is not*. This is used both in Syria and in Egypt; but in Baghdâd the word *أكو* *aku*, with its negative *ماكو* *mâkû*, has the same signification, doubtless corrupted from *يكون* *yakûn*.

In Egypt the genitive or possessive case is often represented by a preposition *بتاع*, with its plural *بتوع* *betâ', betû'*.

In Syria the word *متاع* *metâ'* or *تبع* *taba'* is used in the same sense, whilst in Baghdâd it is conveyed by the word *مال* *mâl*, and in Algiers, etc., by the word *ديال* *dyâl*.

The preposition *for* is translated in Syria by the composite word *منشان* *minshan*, and in Egypt by *على شان* *'ala shân*, and in Baghdâd by *لخاطر* *likhâter*.

The word *what* is in Egypt represented by *أي* *ay*, in Northern Syria by *أيش* *aish*, and in Palestine by *شو* *shû*.

For *look* the Egyptians say *بص* *buṣ*, whilst the Syrians say *شوف* *shûf*.

A few more dialectic differences may be compared in the following table:—

¹ It seems probable that the familiar expression "*dear me*," so often used by ladies in England who have no intention of swearing, may be derived from the Italian "*Dio mio*."

EGYPTIAN.	SYRIAN.	ENGLISH.
اين ain	{ فين fain	} where
	وين wain	
هني hiny	هون hôn	here
هناك honâk	هنيك honik	there
دى di	هذا hatha	this
frequently curtailed by the Syrians, who say هالبيت halbeit , instead of هذا البيت hatha-l-beit , <i>this house</i> .		
دكها dik-hâ	هذاك hathâk	that
دكهما dik-hummâ	هذلاك hatholâk	those
كدى kidy	هيك heik	thus, so
اى ay	ايش aish	what
	شو shû	
اهو ahû	شحو shahû	there it is
وفتى dilwakti	هلق hallak	now
	الكيت alkait	
بكام bkâm	قدايش kadaish	how much
بدري bedri	بكير bekir	early
برده barduh	بعده ba'duh	he is still
بردها bardhâ	بعدها ba'dhâ	she is still, etc.
تملى temelli	دايما daiman	always
معليش ma'laish	{ بلاش belâsh	} It does not matter ; never mind
	ما بسايل mâ bisail	
انا مالى anâ mâli	ما بخصنى mâ bikhoṣni	What have I to do with it ?
		It does not concern me.
عازو اى 'awaz ay	شو بدك shû biddak	What do you want ?
	شو بتريد shû betrid	
لى lay	لش laish	why ?
زى zay	مثل mithel	like
زيتك zayyak	كيف حالك kaif hâlak	how do you do ?
In Aleppo, شلون كيفك shlôn keifak .		
حاجه hâgeh	شى shey	a thing
This word حاجه hâjeh is used in Syria for <i>enough</i> , thus		

they say *حاجه تضحك hâjeh tidhak, you have laughed enough.*

In Syria the word *توا tawâ* means *just now*, and is declined with the personal pronouns, thus :

توانى جيت tawâni jît, I have just come.

تواك قلته tawâk kultuh, thou hast just said it.

تواه راح tawâh râh, he has just gone.

Some words in Arabic are of a common gender, and may be correctly used to represent either masculine or feminine, but in some dialects the genders of these nouns have been definitely fixed, and another word formed or adopted to express the opposite gender. Thus the word *عروس 'arûs* may mean either *bride* or *bridegroom*, and *عجوز 'ajûz* may mean either *old man* or *old woman*. But in Egypt *عروس 'arûs* means *bridegroom*, and *عروسة 'arûseh* *bride*, whilst in Syria *عروس 'arûs* means *bride*, and *عريس 'aris*, *bridegroom*. So likewise in Egypt *عجوز* means *old man*, and *عجوزه 'ajûzeh*, *old woman*, whilst in Syria *عجوز 'ajûz* means *old woman*, and *اختيار ikhtiâr*, *old man*.

I will now proceed to give a miscellaneous vocabulary of words that occur in the dialects of Egypt and Syria :

EGYPTIAN.	SYRIAN.	ENGLISH.
قله kulleh	شربه sherbeh	water bottle
بالصه ballâseh	جره jerrah	jar
زير zir	خابيه khâbieh	large jar
جبال gebal	شول shól	desert
ريف rif	قرية kirieh	village
ارياف ariâf	قرايه karâyah	villages
بندر bendar	بلد belad	town
ولعه wela'a	بصه نار baṣṣat nâr	coal of fire
منديل mandîl	محرمه maḥrameh	handkerchief
حزام heẓâm	زار zinnâr	girdle
طاقيه tâkiyeh	عرقيه arakiyeh	whiteskull cap
عمه 'immeh	لعه leffeh	turban
سبكه sibḥah	مسبكه masbaḥa	rosary
ياقه yaqah	قته kabbeh	collar

EGYPTIAN.	SYRIAN.	ENGLISH.
زكيه zekibeh	شوال shwâl	sack
طماطم tamâtim	بندوره banadora	tomatoes
خوخ khôkh	دراكن durâkin	peaches
ملايه melâyeh	شرفش sharshaf	sheet
مرتبه martabeh	فرشه farsheh	bed
مسند masned	مخده mukhaddeh	cushion or pillow
دوباره dubârah	خيٲ kheit	twine
غفير ghafir	ناتور nâtur	guard
سيال shayyâl	عتال 'attâl	} porter
	حمال hammâl	
حزمه hizmeh	ربطه rabtah	bundle, parcel
فرخ ورق farkh warak	طرحيه tarhiyeh	sheet of paper
رده رداده raddeh, radâdeh	مخاله nkhalèh	} bran
	طحين t-hîn	
دقيق dakik	مصيبه masibeh	flour
داهيه dâhieh	حبل المركب habl el markab	misfortune
لبان lebân		} hawser
	موس mûs	
مطوه maṭwah		pocket knife, penknife
مزين mzeyyin	حلاق hallâk	barber
جرن gurn	بيدر beidar	threshing floor
فرخه farkhah	جاجة jâjeh	fowl
كتاكت katâkit	صيان siṣân	chickens
تعبان ta'bân	حيه hayyeh	smoke
لبن leban	حليب halîb	milk
مرزوب mrowab	لبن leban	curdled milk
لب libb	بزر bizr	seeds
تقاوى takâwy	بدار bedâr	seed for sowing
غله ghalleh	قمح kamḥ	wheat
طاويه ṭawâyeh	مقله maqlah	frying pan
ماشك mâshik	ملقط malqaṭ	tongs
واهى wâhy	صغير saghîr	little

This word *واهى* is often used in Syria in quite the opposite sense, meaning large or numerous. The word *صغير* is in Egypt used in its diminutive form *صغير saghayyir*, *little*.

EGYPTIAN.	SYRIAN.	ENGLISH.
هدوم <i>hedûm</i>	حوايج <i>hawâij</i>	clothes
خشب <i>khashab</i>	حطب <i>ḥaṭab</i>	fire wood
مقشه <i>mkasheh</i>	مكنسه <i>maknaseh</i>	broom
بفتا <i>baftah</i>	مدام <i>madâm</i>	calico
In Baghdad باز <i>bâz</i> .		
جدائل <i>gedail</i>	ضفاير <i>ḍafaïr</i>	curls
نوطى <i>nûṭy</i>	بحرى <i>baḥari</i>	sailor
بتا <i>bannâ</i>	معمارى <i>mu'mâri</i>	builder
طوبه <i>tûbeh</i>	لبنه <i>labneh</i>	brick
جير <i>gîr</i>	كلس <i>kils</i>	lime
كرنوب <i>karnûb</i>		
قرب <i>ḵruneb</i>	ملفوف <i>malfûf</i>	cabbage
عيش <i>'aish</i>	خبز <i>ḵhubz</i>	bread
حته <i>hetteh</i>	شقفه <i>shaḵfeh</i>	a piece
جندى <i>gindey</i>	عسكرى <i>askary</i>	soldier
جهادى <i>gehâdy</i>		
فلوس <i>flûs</i>	قروش <i>ḵrûsh</i>	money
نظر <i>naṭar</i>	مطر <i>maṭar</i>	rain
عالمه <i>'âlmah</i>	مغنيه <i>mghannîyeh</i>	singing girl
طار <i>târ</i>	دق <i>daff</i>	tambourine
دكه <i>dikkeh</i>	مسطبه <i>masṭabeh</i>	bench or fixed seat
سكه <i>sikkeh</i>	طريق <i>ṭarîḵ</i>	road
عفار <i>'afâr</i>	غبار <i>ghabâr</i>	dust
الاوز <i>alaûz</i>	برغى <i>burghy</i>	screw
قميترى <i>ḵumeitri</i>	محاص <i>njâṣ</i>	pear
قربه <i>kirbeh</i>	ضرف <i>ḍarf</i>	water-skin
عيان <i>'ayân</i>	مرىض <i>marîḍ</i>	ill
راجل <i>râgal</i>	متشوش <i>metshawish</i>	
	زلمى <i>zelamy</i>	man

EGYPTIAN.	SYRIAN.	ENGLISH.
عيال 'ayal	ولاد owlâd	children
بلانه bellâneh	غساله ghassâleh	laundress
طبق tabak	صحن sahn	plate
حاصل hâsil	حبس habe	prison
حاصل haasil	قبو kabû	vault
نور nûr	ضو dow	light
فرح farah	عرس 'urs	wedding
بندقيه bundukiyyeh	باروده bârûdeh	musket
كهنه kuhnah	شراطيط sharâtîṭ	rags
خرقه khirkah	شرطوطه shartûṭah	a rag
اسطه usta	معلم muallim	master
صفيح safiḥ	تنك tanek	tin
مطانيه sultaniyyeh	كاسه kâseh	small basin
دولاب dulâb	خزانه khazâneh	cupboard
دود dûd	علق 'alak	leech
مسلي mesley	سمن samen	butter (clarified)
صهريج sahrîg	بئر bir	well
بهيم behim	دابه dâbbeh	animal
غويط ghawîṭ	غميق ghamîḳ	deep
جواب gawâb	مكتوب maktûb	letter
رديد رن radîd, radd	جواب jawâb	answer
وكاله wakâleh	خان khân	caravanserai
شتيمه shetîmeh	مسته musabbeh	abusive language

The Egyptians in their colloquial dialect say الرخر errakhr instead of الآخر elukhar, *the other*, and make this word serve as also; thus they say الرخر وانا wânâ errakhr, *and I also*.

In Jerusalem the verb سوي sawa is used for *to make to do*, and thence the participle مستوي mestwy, *done*, applied to *well-cooked food* and to fruit when *ripe*.

In Egypt the word كويتييس kuweyyis is used for *pretty*, and the expression حجه كويتييسه hægeh kuweyyiseh, *a pretty thing*, is equivalent to شى لطيف shey laṭîf or شى ظريف shey zaṛîf in Syria.

The Egyptians and the Syrians abbreviate the word الذى illadhi, the relative pronoun *which* or *that*, into illa.

The word غرش ghursh *piastre* and its plural غروش ghrûsh, although spelt with a غ ghain, are pronounced as though written with a ق kâf, kûrsh, kûrshain, krûsh.

Besides the ordinary colloquial language, there exists another which deserves attention, namely, that in which children are first spoken to, and in which they express their early wants and limited ideas.

I made the following vocabulary of this baby language many years ago in Damascus, and have had most of the words confirmed as being in use both in Baghdâd and in Egypt. The words are very expressive, but what is their origin? Captain Burton has given some of them in the appendix to one of his works on Syria.

Animal	دودو dûdû
Bad, dirty	كخ kikh
Beating	دده diddeh
Be quiet	همّ hamm; اوسّ ûss
Bird	كوكو kûkû
Brother	دادا dâdâ
Come	تاع tâ'a
Cooking, hot food	بف buff
Drink	مبوا mbûâ
Dog	شوشو shûshû
Donkey	ده deh
Fall	دو dû
Food	نمّم namnam; ممّ mam
Frightful, ghost, bad	بعبع bu'bu'
Good, pretty	داح dâh
Hot	اه ah

Kill, cat	بَخ bakh
Little child	بُوْبُو bûbû
Little	نُونُو nûnû
Look	بَقَا bakâ
Money	تِس tis
Nuts, almonds	تَقَا takâ
Out for a walk	تِش tish
Pain	وَاوَا wâwâ
Sheep	مَاع mâ'a
Shooting, sound of a gun	دِيَه dih
Sitting	تِشْتُو tishtû
Sleep	تَاكَا kâkâ; نِنَا ninnâ
Sound	تَن tann
Sweet	نَح nah
There is none, all gone	بَح bah

A facetious gentleman composed the following verse in this baby language, which, although not perfect in metre, is an ingenious adaptation of many of the words used by children :

طَمَيْتَكَ التَّم وَنَحَّ النَّحَّ
 اسْقَيْتَكَ نَبُو وَلْبَسْتَكَ حَرِيرِ الدَّاحِ
 فَتَطْلُبُ مِنِّي تِسَ مَا اَقْدَرَشَ اَقْلَكَ بَخَّ
 فَالْيَوْمَ يَا مَنِيَّتِي غَيْرِي الْبُعْبُعُ وَاَنَا الدَّاحِ

Tameitak en nam wa nah en nah.

Asqeitak nbu wa labastak herir ed dah.

Fateṭlob minni tis ma akdarsh aḳullak bah.

Falyôm ya miniati gheiri al bu'bu' wa ana ed dah.

Which, being translated, means

I gave you food to eat and the sweet of sweets.

I gave you to drink, and dressed you in pretty silk.

You ask for money, and I cannot tell you there is none.

So to-day, my dear, another is the ugly one, and I am good.

Now that European civilization is making such continual advance in the East, many of the ancient customs are necessarily doomed to disappear. Probably before long the complicated system of accounts kept by the Copts in the different departments of the Egyptian Government will soon be superseded by a system more simple and intelligible. Doubtless some of my readers will answer, "the sooner the better." I am not, however, proposing to defend either old Oriental accountants nor their accounts; but I wish to put on record, before they become quite obsolete, a table of the conventional signs used by them; and I think the subject not entirely irrelevant at the end of a paper on native colloquial dialects.

The signs I refer to are those used to represent the fractions of money and of land; and I must begin by explaining some of the terms.

The basis of the money calculation is the piastre, which is divided into forty parâs, and the parâ is subdivided into ten guzus or gedids. This latter denomination is not represented by any coin; it is simply a fractional part used in calculation.

The feddân, which is about equal to an acre, was formerly divided by the peasantry into *kaşabehs* or *rods*, but the authorities divide it into *kirâts*. A *kirât* is the 24th part of a whole. The *kirât* is again divided into 24 *sehms* or *shares*. Some other intermediate fractions have also been introduced. The *dâniḳ* was originally, in the monetary system of the Eastern Khalifate, equal to the sixth part of a dirham; the term is now used to represent the sixth part of a *kirât*. The *ḥabbeh* or *grain* is the third part of a *kirât*, thus:

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 4 \text{ Sehms} & = & 1 \text{ Dâniḳ} \\
 8 \text{ ,,} & = & 2 \text{ ,,} = 1 \text{ Ḥabbeh} \\
 24 \text{ ,,} & = & 6 \text{ ,,} = 3 \text{ ,,} = 1 \text{ Kîrât} \\
 & & 24 \text{ ,,} = 1 \text{ Feddân.}
 \end{array}$$

In making calculations about the price or the taxation or the hire of land, the piastre is divided into *kirâts*, *ḥabbehs*, and *dâniḳs*, and then converted into *parâs* and *guzus*, and expressed by the conventional signs in the right-hand column.

FRACTIONS OF A FEDDAN.		FRACTION REPRESENTED.	FRACTIONS OF A PIASTRE.		
SEHMS	CONVEN- TIONAL SIGN.		PIASTRES. PARAS. QUSUS.		
4	د	Dâniq	دقح
8	ح	Ḥabbeh	.	..	حححححح
12	ك	Half Kīrât	ككك
16	س	Two Ḥabbehs	..	٠١	سس
20	د	Half Kīrât and a Ḥabbeh	..	٠١	دححححح
24	ر	One Kīrât	..	٠١	ررر
36	س	Half an eighth	..	٠٢	سس
44	د	Half an eighth and a Ḥabbeh	..	٠٢	دسحححح
KIRÂTS			..	٠٢	كك
2	و	Two Kīrâts	..	٠٥	ووو
3	ز	Eighth	..	٠٦	زز
4	ح	Sixth	..	٠٧	حححححح
5	د	Five Kīrâts	..	٠٨	دككككك
6	س	Quarter	..	١٠	سسسس
7	و	Sixth and an eighth	..	١١	ووو
8	ز	Third	..	١٢	زززز
9	د	Quarter and an eighth	..	١٥	دسس
10	س	Quarter and a sixth	..	١٦	سس
11	و	Third and an eighth	..	١٨	ووو
12	ح	Half	..	٢٠	حححححح
13	د	Quarter, a sixth and an eighth	..	٢١	دسح
14	س	Third and a quarter	..	٢٢	سس
15	و	Half and an eighth	..	٢٥	ووو
16	ز	Two thirds	..	٢٦	زززز
17	د	Third, a quarter and an eighth	..	٢٨	دكس
18	س	Half and a quarter	..	٣٠	سس
19	و	Two thirds and an eighth	..	٣١	ووو
20	ز	Half and a third	..	٣٢	زززز
21	د	Half, a quarter and an eighth	..	٣٥	دسس
22	س	Two thirds and a quarter	..	٣٦	سس
23	و	Half, a third and an eighth	..	٣٨	ووو
24	ح	One Piastre or Feddân	٠١	٠٠	..

When we find that by the subdivision of the piastre into 400 parts, *i.e.* into 40 parâs and the parâ into 20 guzus or gedîds, and by that of the feddân into 24 kirâts, and the kirât into 24 sehms, the Arabs have a perfectly simple means of registering any possible fraction of either money or land, such as I have represented in the left-hand column; it is difficult to understand why they have adopted these conventional and arbitrary signs, unless it be, either that they are the remnant of some very ancient system, or else that the accountants have invented them in order to mystify the uninitiated, and thus to keep their business or profession in their own hands.

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE FIFTY-SIXTH

ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,

Held on the 19th of May, 1879,

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR H. C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B.,

D.C.L., F.R.S., PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR, IN THE CHAIR.

Members.—The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society have to report to the Members of the Society, that, since the last Anniversary Meeting, held in the Society's Rooms on Monday, May 20, 1878, there has been the following change in, and addition to the Members of the Society.

They have to announce with regret their loss by *Death*, of their *Resident* Members—

W. R. Cooper, Esq.,
Sebastian S. Dickinson, Esq.,
The Rev. William Linwood, M.A.;

of their *Non-Resident* Members,

Mr. Alwis,
Dr. Blochmann,
Sir Mutu Coomara Swamy;

of their *Honorary* Members,

The Baron McGuckin de Slane,
Professor N. L. Westergaard,
M. N. de Khanikoff;

and of their *Foreign* Member,

M. Garçin de Tassy.

On the other hand, they have much pleasure in announcing that they have elected : as *Resident Members*,

Dr. Macartney, M.D., Secretary to the Chinese Embassy,
 J. Wilson, Esq.,
 G. Mackinnon, Esq.,
 Sir Alfred Slade, Bart.,
 S. Takatsgu Ioung, Esq.,
 E. A. Budge, Esq.,
 R. B. Joyner, Esq.,
 Malcolm Low, Esq.,
 Alex. Faulkner, Esq.,
 Israel Abrahams, Esq.,
 The Rev. E. T. Gibson,
 Miss Clendinning,
 Abu Fazl Abd-ur-Rahman, Esq.,
 Paul Cababé, Esq.,
 J. C. Addyes Scott, Esq.,
 A. C. Macrae, Esq., M.D.,
 The Rev. James Ormiston,
 Miss Manning,
 Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Norman, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.
 Major-General J. G. R. Forlong,
 Coutts Trotter, Esq. ;

and as *Non-Residents*,

W. H. Bellew, Esq., M.D., C.S.I.,
 G. C. Stent, Esq., M.D.,
 Patrick Doyle, Esq., C.E.,
 John Jardine, Esq.,
 C. H. Lepper, Esq.,
 Charles Bruce, Esq.,
 W. G. Aston, Esq.,
 A. S. Faulkner, Esq., M.D.,
 J. Nisbet, Esq.,
 H. Adamson, Esq.,
 J. Mitchell, Esq.,
 M. Poncelet Terrien, Memb. de la Soc. Asiat. de Paris ;

and as an *Honorary Foreign Member*,

Il Professore Michele Amari, of Florence.

The Society has, therefore, elected twenty-one *Resident Members*, against a loss of one paying *Resident Member*, and twelve *Non-Resident*, against a loss of two paying members ; in other words, there is a clear gain to the Society of thirty members, since the last Anniversary, May 20, 1878.

Of the personal history of some of those whom we have lost, a few words will now be said.

By the comparatively sudden death of Prof. *H. Blochmann*, the Principal of the Muhammadan College at Calcutta, Oriental literature has lost one of its most diligent and devoted students. Cut off at the early age of forty and five years, like Rosen, ere he had had time to attain to the full maturity of his powers, Dr. Blochmann has also, like that great scholar, left behind him a reputation, second, we believe, to that of no one else of the same age. Mr. Blochmann's remarkable acquirements in Arabic and Persian, and the accuracy and soundness of his knowledge, fitted him in an especial manner to be the head of a body of teachers, many of them of eminence in their own departments, and, at the same time, to fulfil as he did for several years with great benefit to it, the post of Philological Secretary to the Bengal Asiatic Society. Here his services were invaluable—indeed, from the first, he showed himself a worthy successor of its first secretary, James Prinsep.

In early life, Mr. Blochmann held a subordinate place in the college of which he died the honoured Principal; but in this position, he had many and peculiar opportunities of increasing his knowledge from day to day—chances which, it may be added, he was indefatigable in turning to the best account. Thus, he was able to enjoy the society of learned Muhammadans, and thus to benefit by the stores of private as well as of public libraries at all times freely opened to him. In this way, besides his necessary literary researches (and in a thorough acquaintance with Arabic and Persian MSS. he has, perhaps, been scarcely surpassed) he became familiar with the inner life of the people, and knew the Muhammadans of the East as well as did Mr. Lane those of Egypt. Of his untiring zeal, and of the activity he displayed in following out his many and diverse lines of research, the pages of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal afford ample proof. Literature and lexicography, coins and inscriptions, each in their turn engaged his atten-

tion; and, from the light his genius shed on every subject he successively took up, it might have been said of him as of another scholar of a wholly different calibre—"Nullum quod tetigit non ornavit."

Two branches of inquiry he made peculiarly his own: the one, Persian prosody, the intricacies of which he has done much to unravel; and the second, his translation of the first volume of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, by Abul Fazl 'Allami, which was published in the series of the "*Bibliotheca Indica*," by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, at Calcutta, in 1873. The *Ain-i-Akbari* is, as is well known, the third volume of the *Akbar-Námah*, and contains a mine of information which, though not strictly historical, is, in fact, the Administration Report and Statistical Return of the Government of the Emperor Akbar as it was about A.D. 1590.

There can, indeed, be no doubt that, however able may have been Prof. Blochmann's contributions to other branches of Oriental research, his labour for the *Ain-i-Akbari* is unquestionably that on which his reputation will, hereafter, mainly rest. The *Ain-i-Akbari* was translated by Mr. Gladwin, more than eighty years ago, but, necessarily, at that period, in a very imperfect manner, as but little attention had then been given to the Persian language; while the mass of various subjects comprehended in the returns, made in reply to the Emperor's queries (even now, a great hindrance to its accurate interpretation), had not been studied at all. What Professor Blochmann lived to accomplish for the *Ain-i-Akbari* has been the publication of a recension of the whole of the Persian text, and one volume of a translation of it into English. Hopes were at one time entertained, on the strength of communications made to his friends some time before his death, that Mr. Blochmann, who, it is known, had been working at his translations while still engaged on the later "*Fasciculi*" of his text, had left results behind him in the form of MSS. or notes, such as would admit of

their being prepared for publication by a careful editor. The Council, however, regret to observe that the President of the Bengal Asiatic Society, in his late address, has declared his conviction that all such hopes must now be abandoned, no success having attended a prolonged search for such papers. The real value of Mr. Blochmann's work will be best appreciated by those, who know how difficult it is to render into good English a Persian work dealing with specialities, for which purpose an ordinarily good knowledge of the language is not sufficient. It is necessary to have a good knowledge of technical details, which Dr. Blochmann possessed in a pre-eminent degree; the style of Abu-Fazl being not only intricate (indeed admitted to be so by native students), but, also, abounding in individual sentences, not always to be interpreted by the best native learning. Indeed, with all his varied knowledge, there are many passages Mr. Blochmann had the frankness to admit he could not translate. In one respect, however, his memoir of Akbar is of the highest value, in that he has inserted in it a notice, in some cases very full, of the leading men of Akbar's reign—a peerage we may call it of the Moghul Empire—comprising as it does more than four hundred names. This compilation was, we believe, entirely his own idea, and it forms an interesting and instructive series of pictures of the life and manners of those times. The literary friends of Mr. Blochmann mourn the loss of one who was ever ready to give himself trouble if he could assist them, to point out errors with kindness, and to give hearty and ungrudging commendation to whatever he considered to be good work.

The Rev. William Linwood, who died in last October, was remarkable in early life for a career of unusual Academical brilliance. Thus, in the first term he resided in Oxford, 1836, he carried off the three University Scholarships—the Hertford, the Ireland, and the Craven—a success never before or since achieved by any one else; and, in 1839, obtained a

first class in classics, and, a few months later, the Boden Sanskrit Scholarship. He was also made a student of Christ Church by the then Dean, Dr. Gaisford. It may be doubted whether the works Mr. Linwood subsequently published, adequately represent his remarkable knowledge of the Greek language. Indeed, he seemed hardly to have cared to do more than to produce from time to time editions, unquestionably well and thoroughly done, scholarly in their form, and of real use to the higher class of schools; but, at the same time, such as might easily have been compiled by a scholar of far less eminence. The chief works he gave to the world were in 1843, a "Lexicon to *Æschylus*," a clearly arranged and serviceable book, with some emendations of his own very modestly proposed. In 1855, appeared his "Greek Tragic Metres"; and, in 1860, "Remarks and Emendations on some passages of *Thucydides*." His "*Sophocles*," which reached the fifth edition in 1877, has been long in use in schools, characterized by his usual sensible notes. Lastly, in 1878, but a few weeks before his death, he published, "The Theban Trilogy of *Sophocles*, with copious explanatory Notes, for the use of elementary students."

Sir Mutu Coomara Swamy, who had been, for nearly twenty years, the Tamil representative in the Legislative Council of Ceylon, died on May 4, at the age of forty-five years. He was born and educated at Colombo, and, after a short connexion with the Civil Service, joined the Ceylon Bar in 1856, and, in 1863, was, also, called to the English Bar. In the following year he published the Tamil drama, *Arichandra* or the "Martyr of Truth." In 1874 *Sir Mutu Coomara Swamy* paid a second visit to England, and took an active part in the proceedings of the Oriental Congress held in London in the September of that year. He, also, published, at the same time the Pali texts and translations of *Dathavansa* or the History of the Tooth-Relic of Buddha; and of *Sutta Nipata*, or the Dialogues and Discourses of *Gautama Buddha*: these

works gave him, and justly, a recognized position among Oriental scholars.

Mr. J. Alwis—the foremost scholar in Ceylon—died, after a long and protracted illness, on the 3rd of July of last year, in his 55th year. Mr. Alwis was born in Ceylon, and lived there the whole of his life, having been educated, in his youth, at the Colombo Academy. As a general Oriental scholar he was as well known in Europe and America as in Ceylon. Mr. Alwis was a student of the most laborious habits, as is fully testified by the numerous papers and works he was able to issue, and from the mass of unpublished MSS. he has left behind him. Of these, the history of his native island, brought down to quite recent times, is undoubtedly the most important. Mr. Alwis was also a voluminous contributor to the chief local journals, as shown by the following list, which has been kindly supplied by the Editor of the *Ceylon Observer*:—

Colombo Academy Miscellany; *Tyro's Repertory*; *Ceylon Magazine* (Capper's), (1) Marriage Customs; (2) Trip to Mathura. To *Tennent's History of Ceylon*; to the *Ceylon Herald*; to the *Ceylon Asiatic Society's Journal*: (1) On the Elu Language, its poetry and poets, No. of 1850; (2) Remarks on the supposed identity of Nagarguna and Nagasena, 1856-8; (3) Terms of address and modes of salutation amongst the Sinhalese (*ib.*); (4) Mythological Legends of the Sinhalese, 1858-9; (5) Sinhalese Rhetoric (*ib.*); (6) Remarks on Nagarguna and Nagasena (*ib.*); (7) On Cinnamon, 1860; (8) The difference between the Pali and Prakrit of Vararuchi (*ib.*); (9) On the Origin of the Sinhalese Language, 1865; (10) Ditto; (11) On the Brand Marks of Cattle; (12) On the Stature of Gotama Buddha, 1874; (13) On Miracles. To the *Observer*; to the *Examiner*; to the Supplement to the *Examiner*: to the Literary Supplement to the *Examiner*; to *Young Ceylon*; to the *Kirana*; to the "Oriental Literature, or the Leisure

Hours," two volumes (matter remaining for two more volumes unpublished). *Reviews*: On the Sacred Books of the Buddhists compared with History and Modern Science, by the Rev. Spence Hardy, Hon. M.R.A.S., published in the Literary Supplement to the *Examiner*; On Professor Max Müller's Dhammapada; a Review of Childers' Translation of 1st Corinthians, 13th Chapter, in Pali Verse; Mr. Ludovici's work on Rice Cultivation (published in the *Observer*); Review of Arichandra, by Sir Coomara Swamy (published in the *Examiner*); Review of Rev. Mr. Alwis' Namawaliya (published in the *Examiner*); Review of Macready's Sela-lihinisandesa (published in the *Examiner*). *Lectures*: On Agriculture; On Buddhism; On Buddhistical Literature; On Ceylon in 1864; Ditto in 1877; On the Arts and Sciences of the East; On Buddhist Governments and their Contributions. *Translations*: Sidatwasangara, the Text with Translation; Attanagalu vansa, the Text with Translation; Kachchayana's Pali Grammar, Text—Sixth Chapter on Verbs, and Translation, with a dissertation on his age as compared with Panini.

Original Works: Introduction to a Sinhalese Grammar; Yattayalabasangara (edited); Descriptive Catalogue of Pali, Sanskrit, and Sinhalese books, published under orders of Government; vol. i. printed, vol. ii. partly printed and partly in MS. *Unpublished and ready for Press*: History of Ceylon, from the Accession of Sri Rajadi Raja Sinha to the end of Sir Edward Barnes's Government, two volumes, dedicated to the Prince of Wales; History of the Rebellion of 1848, ditto; Second Edition of Sidatsangarawa; Correspondence between myself and a Buddhist Priest, which will be useful as a 4th or 5th book in Vernacular Schools; My desultory Poetry and Prose, exceeding 2,500 pieces; My Diary (in the press); On the Affinity between the Maldivian and Sinhalese languages, showing the exact relation which the people of the former bear to those of the latter; Vinaya Pitaka, two and a

half books, translated and transcribed into English, with faithful representation of the comments in the gloss (a laborious work), in MS.; Translation of *Kavathasulthara*, read and approved at a public meeting of the Asiatic Society, but mislaid. To these more purely literary works should be added Mr. Alwis's speeches in the Sinhalese Council, distinguished as these were for their ability and for the complete mastery he invariably showed of the subject discussed.

In *Mr. W. R. Cooper*, who died, November 15, at the age of 35, Oriental and Biblical researches have lost an enthusiastic worker.

In early life, he was an active man among mission labours of London, with a view ultimately of taking Holy Orders; but was led by his friendship with Mr. Bonomi and Dr. Birch to modify his plans, and to seriously take up the study of Egyptian Hieroglyphics, in the drawing of which he soon became a proficient: few better specimens of his skill in this art can be seen than his copy of the Mummy brought from Egypt by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, and published with a memoir by Dr. Birch in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. x. (1874). With Mr. Bonomi, too, he was for some years associated at the Soane Museum, where he assisted in drawing up the catalogue of its literary contents. While thus engaged, he conceived the idea of reviving more than one nearly extinct Society, as, for instance, the Syro-Egyptian, the result of which was the formation of the Biblical Archæology, of which he may fairly be considered the founder; he was also its life and soul, as well as Secretary, for the first four years, when his health permitted him to give it his undivided attention.

To Mr. Cooper is, also chiefly, due the establishment of the classes for Egyptian and Assyrian studies, in connexion with the new Society, for two years gratuitously superintended by scholars already sufficiently engaged in other duties, and which have already borne good fruit

and placed these recondite languages within the reach of many students, who would not probably but for this have taken the trouble to work them out for themselves. Nor is this all. The publication of that useful series of works (now amounting to eleven vols.), under the title of "Records of the Past," was entirely, we believe, his suggestion; his influence with Messrs. Bagster having mainly led to this result, and to the readiness also with which the most distinguished scholars of each class joined heartily in the undertaking. Mr. Cooper himself contributed several papers, and two books, to literature, among which the following may be specified:—"The Resurrection of Assyria;" "The Heroines of the Past;" and "Egypt and the Pentateuch" (1875); "Serpent Worship," and "The Myth of Horus," read before the Victoria Institute; "An Archaic Dictionary" (1876), the object of which was excellent, and on the whole, considering the range it embraced, well carried out; and "Notes on Egyptian Obelisks."

During the Oriental Congress of 1874, Mr. Cooper acted as Secretary jointly with Professor Douglas.

By the death of the Baron *McGuckin de Slane*, at Passy, on the 4th of August, Arabic scholarship has lost one of its most distinguished Professors. Mr. de Slane was born at Belfast in 1801, and went to Paris in 1830, with the purpose of perfecting his knowledge of Arabic under the personal superintendence of the Baron Silvestre de Sacy. Working energetically at the study of his favourite language, he made himself first known by the publication of the *Diwan of Amr-úl-kais*, with a Latin translation, in 1837; in the same year, joining with M. Reinaud in the publication of *Abu'l feda*.

His edition of Ibn Khallikan's "Biographical Dictionary" (the English translation of which appeared in 1842), and of Ibn Khaldan's "History of the Berbers," together with the historical prolegomena he added to this work, entitled him justly to the first rank of Arabic scholars. In 1862, the

Académie des Inscriptions, in recognition of his merits in this respect, enrolled him as a member of the Institute, by which body he was immediately entrusted with the task of editing the "Historiens Orientaux des Croisades." From 1843 to 1845 he was engaged by the French Government on a mission to Constantinople and Algeria, his reports, on his return from the latter duty, being found so comprehensive that he was at once appointed chief interpreter to the army of Africa. For several years past the Baron de Slane was Professor of Modern Arabic at the *École des Langues Orientales vivantes*, and in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, he was one of the chief organizers of the Catalogue, now nearly ready for the press. To the *Journal Asiatique*, he contributed also many valuable papers.

M. Garçin de Tassy, who died on the 3rd of September, 1878, occupied a prominent rank among French Oriental scholars; and, during a long life, laboured at studies, naturally less common in France than elsewhere. *M. de Tassy* belonged to that school of modern French scholars of which *De Sacy* was the founder and the late *Jules Mohl* one of the most brilliant disciples. Of the noble band *De Sacy* drew around him, no man has done more to uphold the reputation of his chief, and to show the appreciation he justly felt for him.

De Tassy was born at *Marseilles*, January 25, 1794, and it is worthy of note how many distinguished men of letters owe their origin to this famous Republican city. Persian, Arabic, and Hindustani were the languages to which he at first devoted his attention—and, in each, it may be truly said that he produced much and enduring work. To the last of these three, however, he gave his most serious energies,—energies, it may be added, which only ceased with his death. Only one year, indeed, before this, he had published his annual report of all that had been done in India, and elsewhere, in illustration of his favourite languages:—we were awaiting his

report for 1878, when we learned, to our sorrow, that his facile pen could no longer perform this task. It was natural that he should for so long have given so much of his time to Hindustani, as it was chiefly by the influence of M. De Sacy that the chair he so long occupied for that language was founded for him, in the *École Spéciale des Langues Orientales vivantes*. It was as Professor of Hindustani that he drew up, from year to year, the Reports which were so highly valued by all who cared to know of the progress of Indian literature—the principle of these Reports being, that while the whole of Indian work was surveyed, he did not restrict himself to the more narrow field of Hindustani. The object of his life was the obtaining for the spoken languages of India the recognition he considered due to their unquestionable importance.

The list of works we are able to mention here will show, better than anything else, how zealously he laboured to carry out his favourite studies. But it was not on Indian subjects alone that M. de Tassy wrote with success. The Arabic language received its full share of his attention—the more so, that, from his earliest years, he took a great interest in the History of Muhammad, and devoted more than one of his younger works to an inquiry into it. Thus one of his first works (originally published in 1826, with a reprint in 1840) dealt with the “*Doctrines et devoirs de la Religion Musulmane*,” and was printed, yet again, a third time in 1874, in an enlarged form, with the title “*Islam d’après le Coran*”—indeed, so early even, as 1822, he had translated Er-Rumi’s “*Exposition de la foi Musulmane*” from the Turkish. In the year 1831, he also gave to the world, a “*Mémoire sur les particularités de la Religion Musulmane*,” a work he had mainly compiled from Hindustani writers.

In Persian, he has left his mark by an edition, in 1845, of Sir W. Jones’s Grammar, and by his translation and edition of El-Attar’s “*Langage des Oiseaux*,” 1857–1863. Among other of his more especial works may be mentioned his

“ Histoire de la littérature Hindouie et Hindustani,” printed by the Oriental Translation Fund, 1839–1847, with a second edition in 1870–71; and “ Les Auteurs Hindoustanies et leurs Ouvrages,” 1855—a second edition of which latter work appeared in 1868; his “ Chrestomathie Hindouie et Hindoustani,” 1849; his “ Rudiments de la langue Hindoustanie,” 1829, et Hindouie, 1847; “ Rhetorique et Prosodie des langues de l’Orient Musulmanes,” founded on the “ Hadaikzeb Bulaghat,” of which a second edition was published in 1873; “ Allegories recits poetiques et chants populaires de l’Arabe, Persan, Hindoustani et Turc,” the second edition of which appeared so recently as last year. Other works by De Tassy which may be noted are, “ Conciles aux mauvaises Poètes—poème de Mir Taki, trad. de l’Hindoustani,” 1826; “ Relation de la prise de Constantinople par Mohammed II., trad. du Turc,” 1826; “ Tableau du Kaliyug ou de l’age de fer par Vishna Dâs, trad. de l’Hindouie,” s.a.; “ Les aventures de Kamrup,” Or. Transl. Fund, 1834; “ Les femmes poètes de l’Inde,” 1854; “ Abregé du Hindustani Roman intitulé Bakawali,” 1835 and 1858; “ Œuvres de Wailly pub. en Hindustanie,” 1834; and “ Memoires sur les noms propres et les titres Musulmans,” second edition, 1878.

Besides these more important labours, M. de Tassy was a large contributor to the Journal of the French Asiatic Society, of which he was the last but one living founder, and of which he was, at his death, the President. Need we add that he was also an honorary member of a large number of European Societies, including, naturally, this Society, while he had been for more than forty years a member of the French Institute, having been elected in 1838 to the seat vacated by the death of Talleyrand? There can be no doubt that, at the Institute, at the Société Asiatique, and, scarcely less, in the salons of Paris, M. de Tassy will be greatly regretted, not more for his learning than for the peculiar sweetness of his character and the courtesy of his manners.

In *Professor Neil Ludwig Westergaard*, Sanskrit scholarship has lost one of its earliest and most devoted workers, though, perhaps, to the present generation, his name is not so well known as to the last—failing health, and increased political duties at Copenhagen, having for many years taken him away from that great field of Oriental research in which, while yet a very young man, he had won his spurs. In fact, when not quite twenty-six years of age, in 1841, Westergaard had published his “*Radices linguæ Sanskritæ*,” a work Professor Max Müller has justly described as marvellous; considering how little external help there was, in those days, for the young Danish scholar. Indeed, to accomplish it at all, he must have read all the principal Sanskrit works then accessible, extracting, for the first time, every passage he found illustrative of the Sanskrit verbs. He must, also, have completely mastered the system of the native Sanskrit grammarians, at the same time, extending his researches far and wide, into Vedic literature. It is clear that Westergaard had not only studied the *Dhatuvritti*, *Sayana’s* voluminous commentary on the *Dathapatha*, or collection of Sanskrit roots. He was, also, the first who, after Rosen, devoted himself to the study of *Sayana’s* Commentary on the *Rigveda*. Indeed, with the help of *Sayana*, Westergaard was able to go far beyond the first book of the *Rigveda*, published by Rosen in 1838; and to copy and study the seventh *Mandala*, and the hymns of *Vashishta*; he also gave much time to the *Vajasaneyi-Sanhita* of the *Yajur-Veda*, which then existed in MS. only. Since then, two editions of it have been published, one, the *Editio Princeps* of Professor *Weber*, the other brought out in India under the auspices of the *Raja* of *Besmah*. From these works Professor Westergaard culled all the passages most likely to throw light on the history of Sanskrit verbs. The whole of the work he thus accomplished shows the highest type of scholar-like treatment, the more deserving of praise, that he must for a long time have worked

almost in darkness, creating, indeed, for himself, as he went on, the light which was to illumine the results at which he had arrived. We have now, doubtless, far more exhaustive materials for the exhaustive study of Sanskrit, in the great dictionary of Boehtlingk and Roth; but, for all that, it is certain that the "Radices Linguæ Sanskritæ" will ever remain a noble monument of Danish scholarship, and, considering the period of life, during which it was accomplished, may be fairly pronounced to be the most striking feature of Westergaard's literary career.

In the same year in which the "Radices" issued from the press, Westergaard set out (at the expense of the Danish Government) on his three years' journey to the East, including in his travels Persia and India—his object being chiefly to search for additional Zend MSS., and to copy and study the then comparatively new literature of the Cuneiform Inscriptions. In both these objects he was successful. Thus he procured fresh MSS. of the sacred writings of the Parsis, and made an accurate copy of the Nakhsh-i-Rustam and other Cuneiform Inscriptions at Persepolis—which, on his return, he published in the Journal of the Northern Society of Antiquaries at Copenhagen, making, at the same time, a first attempt to read and translate the so-called Median versions.

Of gentlemen, not members of the Society, we may mention *Captain Felix Jones*, late officer in the Naval Service of the East India Company, who died 3rd of September, 1878, at Norwood, having entered that service in 1828; and, for twenty-five years, having been uninterruptedly employed in almost every survey of importance. At the age of seventeen he commenced work under Commander Moresby, on a Survey of the Red Sea, which lasted from 1829 to 1834; then on a Survey of the Maldivé Islands; and subsequently, in 1837, on similar duties between Ceylon and the mainland of India. When, somewhat later (1840), it was thought advisable to make a scientific investigation of

the Euphrates and Tigris, Lieutenant Jones, in command of the *Nitocris*, ascended the Euphrates for about 1100 miles in twenty days, thence crossing the Syrian Desert to the shores of the Mediterranean, just at the time when Sir R. Stopford and the English fleet were before Acre—at the same time connecting the Euphrates and Mediterranean by chronometric measurements for longitude. From this period, till 1843, he was employed under Commander Lynch with the Tigris flotilla, remaining, subsequently, at Baghdad till 1855, in command, successively, of the *Nitocris* and *Comet* steamers, and also, discharging the duties of Surveyor in Mesopotamia. The details of much he was able to accomplish during this period will be found in “Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. XLIII. New Series,” Bombay, 1857, and the following six Memoirs from his pen are there printed, viz: 1. Steam-trip to the North of Baghdad in April, 1846, with notes on various objects of interest *en route*; 2. Journey for the purpose of determining the Track of the ancient Nahrwan Canal, undertaken in April, 1848, with a glance at the past history of the territory of the Nahrwan. 3. Journey to the Frontier of Turkey and Persia, through a part of Kurdistan. 4. Researches in the vicinity of the Median Wall of Xenophon, and along the old course of the River Tigris; and discovery of the site of the ancient Opis. 5. Memoir on the Province of Baghdad. These Memoirs are illustrated by maps and drawings. 6. Notes on the Topography of Nineveh and the other Cities of Assyria, and on the general Geography of the country between the Tigris and the Upper Záb, founded on a Trigonometrical Survey made in the year 1852. These “Notes,” are reprinted from a paper read before this Society in July, 1853, and printed in the Society’s Journal, Vol. XV. p. 297. For this paper, Captain Jones supplied three excellent Maps: 1. The Iconography of Ancient Nineveh. 2. Nimrud and Selamiyeh. 3. The Rivers Tigris and the Upper Záb.

On March 1, 1855, he was appointed Acting Political Agent and Consul-General in Turkish Arabia, on Sir H. Rawlinson's departure for England, and succeeded Captain (now General Sir Arnold) Kemball as Political Resident at Bushire, in October of the same year, where his valuable services were fully recognized by Sir James Outram. During the Indian Mutiny he was not less useful in checking the warlike impatience of the Persian and maritime tribes of Arabia. It may be added, that to the exertions of Captain Jones, the British Museum owes the rescue of one of the largest and most perfect of the sculptures (a man-headed lion) which had been swept away into the plains of Mesopotamia during a flood that occurred, while it was on the raft conveying it to Bussora. During the latter years of his life, Captain Jones was engaged on a very beautifully executed Map (completed in November, 1875) of Mesopotamia and of the adjacent Rock Regions, culminating in the watershed of Western Asia between the Mediterranean, Caspian, Red Sea, and Persian Gulf. This map, which was constructed by the command of the Secretary of State for India in Council, is in four sheets, each 28 by 40 inches, and has not been as yet engraved.

The *Rev. W. Taylor*, who recently died at Madras at the age of eighty-six, originally went to India in the service of the East India Company. After some time, however, he gave up this appointment, and taking Holy Orders, returned in 1826 to Madras as the agent of the London Missionary Society. Having become thoroughly acquainted with the principal languages of India, both written and spoken, he was appointed by Government, in 1834, to examine and report upon "the Oriental MSS. of the late College of Fort George," the result being the publication by him in three volumes of a "Catalogue Raisonné" of the collections preserved there and known as the "Mackenzie," the "East India House," and "Brown's"—and embracing MSS. in

Sanskrit, Telugu, Canarese, Uriya, and Malaya languages. This work has been long regarded as one of great value for reference in matters connected with the Religions, Antiquities, and Literature of Southern India.

In the *Archimandrite Palladius*, who had but recently returned to Europe after a long life in Peking, the world has lost one of the most eminent of modern Chinese scholars. Well known for many years, as the head of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission, the Archimandrite devoted much of his spare time, not, indeed, to writing any one or more books, but to the composition of a vast number of papers, on the literature, history, philosophy and geography of China, chiefly in the pages of the periodical of his mission, published in four volumes, between 1852 and 1866. In the first volume he gave his "Life of Buddha," in the second his "Historical Studies of Ancient Buddhism," in the third "The Navigation between Tientsin and Shanghai," and in the fourth "An Ancient Mongol Account of the Life of Jenghiz Khan;" "Si-you-ki, the description of a Journey to Western Countries;" and "The Muhammadans in China." To the *Recueil Oriental* he contributed two important articles entitled "Ancient Traces of Christianity in China," and "An Ancient Chinese Account of the Life of Jenghiz Khan." To the Proceedings of the Geographical Society of St. Petersburg he gave, in 1871, an account of a "Journey from Peking to Blagoveskitchensk through Manchuria," and to those of the Geographical Society of Siberia he contributed, in 1867, "The Translation of the Journal of Ching Chin, A.D. 1248," and in 1874, "The Journey of Chang Te-hui from Peking to the Summer Residence of Khubilai Khan in Western Mongolia in A.D. 1248." We may hope that a Chinese-Russian Dictionary, at which he had been long working, has been left by him in a state sufficiently forward to admit of its completion and publication.

Papers.—The following Papers have been read at different Meetings of the Society since the last anniversary :—

1. On the present State of Linguistic Researches in India, and on the chief living Anglo-Indian Scholars. By Robert N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Libr. R.A.S. Read June 17, 1878.

2. Note on Manrique's Mission and the Catholics of the time of Sháh Jehán. By H. G. Keene, Esq. Read July 1, 1878.

3. On the Position of Women in the East in olden times. By Edward Thomas, F.R.S., Treas. R.A.S. Read November 18, 1878.

4. On Coins, etc., discovered by him in Midian. By Captain R. F. Burton. Read December 16, 1878.

5. On Composition in Chinese, as deduced from the written characters. Part I. By the Rev. Dr. Legge, D.D., Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford. Read January 20, 1879.

6. On the Identification of a Portrait of Chosroes II., King of Persia, in the Caves of Ajanta. By James Fergusson, Esq., F.R.S., D.C.L., V.P.R.A.S. Read February 3, 1879.

7. On a Map of the Central Provinces of India. By Robert N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Libr. R.A.S. Read Feb. 3, 1879.

8. On the Principles of Composition in Chinese as deduced from the written characters. Part II. By the Rev. Dr. Legge, Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford. Read February 17, 1879.

9. Historical and Archæological Notes of a Journey through South Western Persia in 1877-78. By A. H. Schindler, Esq. Read March 17, 1879.

10. On the Gaurian or Modern Sanskritic languages of India compared with the Romance languages of Europe. Read April 21, 1879. By E. L. Brandreth, Esq.

11. At a Special Evening Meeting, April 24, 1879, Dr. W. W. Hunter, LL.D., C.I.E., read a Paper "On the Rude Races of India and their fusion into the present population."

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS.

The Auditors observe with pleasure that the financial condition of the Society is satisfactory; and, as the cost of the Journal will be less than in former years, with no unusual outlay for repairs or other expenses, they anticipate a good balance to the credit of the Society at the end of the present year.

Proceedings of Asiatic Societies.—Royal Asiatic Society.—Since the last Anniversary, three Numbers of the Journal of the Society, viz. Vol. X. Part III., Vol. XI. Parts I. and II., have been issued agreeably with the rule laid down by the Council last year.

The Parts contain the following articles:—

In Vol. X. Part III.—On the Hill Tribes of Salar—the most easterly settlement of the Turk Race. By Robert B. Shaw, Esq.

————— Geological Notes on the River Indus. By Griffin W. Vyse, B.A., M.R.A.S., Executive Engineer, P.W.D., Panjab.

————— Educational Literature for Japanese Women. By Basil Hall Chamberlain, Esq., M.R.A.S.

————— On the Natural Phenomenon known in the East by the names Sub-ḥi-Kāzib, etc. By J. W. Redhouse, Esq., M.R.A.S., Hon. Memb. R.S.L.

————— On the Chinese Version of the Sankhya Karikā, etc., found among the Buddhist Books comprising the Tripitaka, and two other works. By the Rev. S. Beal, M.A., M.R.A.S.

————— On the Rock-Cut Phrygian Inscriptions at Doganlu. By Edward Thomas, Esq., F.R.S.

In Vol. XI. Part I.—On the Position of Women in the East in Olden Time. By Edward Thomas, Esq., F.R.S.

————— A Notice of the Scholars who have contributed

to the extension of our knowledge of the languages of British India during the last Thirty Years. By Robert N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Libr. R.A.S.

———— Ancient Arabic Poetry, its genuineness and authenticity. By Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., LL.D.

———— Note on Manrique's Mission, and the Catholics in the time of Shah Jehan. By H. G. Keene, Esq.

———— On Sandhi in Pali. By the late R. C. Childers.

———— Arabic Amulets and Mottoes. By E. T. Rogers, M.R.A.S.

In Vol. XI. Part II.—On the Identification of Places on the Makrán Coast, mentioned by Arrian, Ptolemy and Marcian. By Major E. Mockler, M.R.A.S.

———— On the Identification of the Portrait of Chosroes II. among the Paintings of the Caves of Ajanta. By James Fergusson, Esq., F.R.S., D.L.C., V.P.R.A.S.

———— On the Proper Names of Muhammadans. By Sir T. Edward Colebrooke, Bart., M.P., V.P.R.A.S.

———— On the Principles of Composition in Chinese as deduced from the Written Characters. By the Rev. Dr. Legge, Professor of Chinese at Oxford.

———— A Specimen of the Zoongee (or Zurngee) Dialect of a Tribe of Nagas, bordering on the Valley of Assam between the Dikh and Dusoi Rivers, embracing over forty villages. By the Rev. Mr. Clark, Missionary at Sibsagar.

Vol. X. Part III.—In his paper "On the Hill Canton of Salar," Mr. Shaw gives an interesting account of this small place, which appears to have formed the nucleus of the recent Musulman Rebellion and the chief stronghold of Islám in Western China; having derived his information about it from some Salar men, who were living in Yarkand during his last stay there. The Salaris form the most Easterly settlement of the Turk race, and, though now isolated among the Chinese and Mongolians, retain the tradition that their ancestors came from Rúm or Asiatic Turkey. In appearance, they would

certainly seem to be a people of Turki race, with little hair on their faces, and with ruddy and comparatively fair countenances; their language differs but little from the Turki of Kashghar. The country they inhabit is a moist Alpine region covered with forest, projecting out into the middle of the most barren wildernesses in the world. Previously to the Rebellion, the Chinese administration was similar to that of their other foreign possessions, that is, was left entirely in the hands of native chiefs as to details, while a general supervision was exercised by an *Ambán* or Resident supported by troops. The *Sáláris* know themselves by the name of *Mumin* or "The Faithful."

In his "Geological Notes on the River Indus," Mr. Griffin Vyse has described, from long previous experience, the extraordinary character of this celebrated stream, and the strangely erratic and eccentric changes in various parts of its course, which have defied alike native and British engineering skill to keep it within its restricted limits. As it lies almost wholly beyond the influence of the monsoon or equinoctial currents, its great floods are due to the melting of the snows in the far-off Himalayas, a fact clearly shown by the nature of the debris deposited all over the country on the drying up of the floods. The State Railway engineers have in some cases carried their wells as deep as 107 ft. below the lowest part of the existing bed, and at 68 ft. below this have come across branches of trees and logs of wood of the Himalayan pine.

Mr. Basil Hall Chamberlain, in a paper "On the Educational Literature of Japanese Women," has given a curious account of the state of Education, as applied to women in that country, based as this is mainly on Chinese authorities. This education would seem to be comprised under two heads, called, respectively, the "Greater and the Lesser Learning for Women," the most important bearing the name of the "Hundred Odes," a work, which, next to the

Chinese Classics, has had the most lasting influence on the national taste. Mr. Chamberlain then gave details of these two systems, the main principle inculcated being that "the great life-long duty of a woman is obedience," and, further, that if she satisfactorily performs her duties as a human being, she may let prayer alone without ceasing to enjoy the Divine protection. Mr. Chamberlain then adds some Japanese stories bearing upon the main subject of his paper.

In his notice of the "Natural Phenomenon known in the East by the names *Sub-ḥi-Kázib*, etc.," Mr. Redhouse mentioned the various names which it has borne in Eastern literature, of which, "The False Dawn" and "The Wolf's Tail" are the most remarkable; showing, as these do, that the two phenomena, the "False Dawn" and the "True Dawn," are in antithesis, and contrasted the one with the other. The "False Dawn" Mr. Redhouse argued preceded the "True Dawn," and is probably what is termed "Zodiacal Light." The importance of distinguishing between these two is due to the fact, that the first obligatory service of the Moslems commences at the approach of day, on the appearance of the "Second Dawn," "the brightness which gradually spreads over the horizon," until the actual moment of sunrise. Mr. Redhouse illustrates his views from a large number of passages derived from the Persian poets, with a reference to Palgrave, who, in his notice of the Zodiacal Lights, when travelling in Central and Eastern Arabia, supports this theory, though without using the phrase "False Dawn."

The Rev. Mr. Beal, in his paper "On a Chinese Version of the *Sankhya Kariká*," points out the value of the collection of books lately presented by the Japanese Government to the Library of the India Office, as bearing on the history of the early life of Buddha. Of these he specified three: first, an early life of Buddha, translated during the later Han Dynasty (A.D. 25—190); secondly, a Chinese copy of the *Dhammapada*; and thirdly, a Chinese translation of the

Sankhya Kariká of Kapila Rishi. The last book is called the "Golden Seventy Shaster," and appears to have been translated into Chinese during the Ch'en Dynasty, A.D. 557—583, and, therefore, proves that this work was known in China so early as the sixth century A.D. Mr. Beal adds, that the aphorisms of the Chinese version agree, in a remarkable manner, with the translation from the Sanskrit given by Mr. Colebrooke.

Vol. XI. Pt. I. commences with an elaborate paper by Mr. E. Thomas, "On the Position of Women in the East in Olden Time," in which he carries out, by an examination of the monumental remains of many nations, the fundamental theory, that, in the remoter ages, as still in some parts of India, the women had a recognized ascendancy over the men; and, further, that this principle can be traced back to the Scythic period, before the advance of Aryanism, whether Greek or Persian. In working out this view, Mr. Thomas examined the customs of ancient Chaldæa, Egypt, Etruria, Lycia, and Caria, in each of which, especially in the latter, he found much confirmatory evidence; in conclusion, dealing with the Scythians and the legend of the Amazons. From thence he passed on to Persia, with an incidental notice of the famous Queen Turkhan Khatan, an unique gold coin of whom is preserved in the Guthrie collection at Berlin; and thence to India, the customs of which, and, specially, the existence of Polyandry, he noticed at considerable length—at the same time referring to the Puranic recognition of Hetairism, and to various statements in the Mahabharata, the Laws of Manu, and the Vishnu Purana. From India he traced the prevalence of the similar customs in Ceylon and Australia, concluding his paper with an account of an interesting collection of coins recently found at Kolhápur.

Mr. Cust, in his paper entitled "Notice of the Scholars who have contributed to our knowledge of the Languages of British India during the last thirty years," gave a survey,

commencing at Bombay and proceeding throughout the length and breadth of India, of the chief languages which have been studied and annotated on, mainly by English scholars, during this period, thus showing, that if we have not, as in France and Russia, special schools for the living Oriental languages, we have no reason for undervaluing the unselfish and volunteer work done by the missionaries and civil servants, who have laboured so usefully in India;—and Mr. H. G. Keene contributed a “Note on Maurique’s Mission and the Catholics in the time of Shah Jehan,” which is interesting, as showing the influence of Christianity 240 years ago at the Court of the Great Moghul. Mr. Keene added, that tombs and inscribed tombstones of some of the early missionaries are still to be seen in the old mortuary chapel, which bears the name of “Padré Santo.”

In *Vol. XI. Pt. II.* Major Mockler gave an account of the extent to which the names of existing places on the coast of Makran may be identified with the Greek names preserved in the geographical treatises of Arrian, Ptolemy, and Marcian, his memoir being accompanied by an excellent sketch-map, reduced for this purpose by Mr. Griggs.

Mr. Fergusson, in his paper, “On the Identification of the Portrait of Chosroes in the Caves at Ajanta,” described from drawings made by Mr. Griffiths of Bombay, and now in the India Museum, scenes painted on the ceiling or in fresco on the walls of one of the caves; in the former of these he believed he could recognize the Persian King and his celebrated wife Sherin, and in the latter, an Indian King (perhaps Pulakesi) on his throne, receiving an embassy of persons, Persians in character, who bear a letter, and receive from the King in return various presents. The evidences in favour of this view are the dresses of the Persian King and Queen, and of some of the figures in the Embassy scene, together with many notices, which Mr. Fergusson quoted, from Oriental writers, showing a close connection and intercourse between

the rulers of Persia and India, during the latter part of the reign of Chosroes, A.D. 610-628.

In his paper on "Muhammadan Proper Names," Sir Edward Colebrooke has given a full account of the principles generally adopted in the East for the giving of names, basing his views, to a considerable extent, on the *Essays of Kosegarten* (1837), of *Von Hammer-Purgstall* (1852), and of *Garçin de Tassy* (1854, and a second edition published just before his death, in 1878). To these earlier authorities, Sir Edward Colebrooke has been able to make considerable addition.

Of papers read, but not yet printed, are three, by Mr. Robert N. Cust: "On a Language Map of the Central Provinces of India;" by Mr. Brandreth, "On the Gaurian or Modern Sanskritic Languages of India as compared with the Romance;" and by Dr. W. W. Hunter, "On the Rude Races of India, and their fusion into the present Population."

Mr. Cust, in his paper, stated that the map he exhibited had been prepared, at his request, by Mr. Morris, the Chief Commissioner, with the aid of Mr. John Browning, the Inspector-General of Education. From this map, it is clear that the Kolarian family were either the original occupants of Central India, or the earliest immigrants from the East, but that, in the struggle for existence, two languages only have survived; the Kur or Kurku spoken between Batúl and Nimár, and the Kol. After the Kolarians came the Dravidians from the south, comprehending Telugu, Gond, and Khond, many of the tribes being, as a matter of fact, bilingual, with, in many instances, considerable degradation of both languages. The Telugu and the Khond are spoken by a limited number of people; but the Gond is the language of numerous and powerful tribes. After the Dravidians from the south came the hardy and energetic Aryans from the north-east and west, who, by main force, got possession of the richest lands, driving their predecessors to their hill

fortresses. This family is represented in the north and central districts by the Hindi, in the east by the Uriya, and in the west by Maráthi, and to some extent by Gujaráti; the general result being four principal dialects, the Marwári, Chatargarhi, Nimári and Bingwáli. Thus, it appears that, within the limits of one administration, are nine languages spoken by as many millions, over an area of 114,000 square miles, these languages, again, being partitioned into seventeen dialects, a very difficult administrative problem is, therefore, presented by a province so circumstanced, it being, also, a matter of fact, that, though one million and a half people speak Gond, not a single school for that language appears in the Education Report for 1877-8.

Mr. E. L. Brandreth, in his paper, "On the Gaurian or Modern Sanskritic Languages of India as compared with the Romance," showed that, as there was a close resemblance, especially in the consonants, between Sanskrit and Latin, so, too, was there, also, between their modern representatives; and this, even where the modern languages differed the most from the ancient, the same phonetic laws having clearly prevailed in both groups. The principal letter-changes were then described, and the resemblances were proved to apply not only to the phonology, but to other parts of the grammar of each group. In both, alike, the losses in the declensional and conjugational systems were similar, as were, too, the repairs effected. Mr. Brandreth, further, showed how individual languages in each main class may be profitably compared together, as, *e.g.* Sindhi with Italian, in both of which the words always end in vowels, and diminutives are largely used. So, again, Hindi might be well compared with French in its greater curtailment of words, its preference for single consonants, and its nasalization of the medial vowels.

Dr. W. W. Hunter, in his paper "On the Rude Races of India and their fusion into the present Population," read at a special evening meeting, on April 24, commenced by

giving a brief sketch of the flint and bronze age in India, and of the period when sepulture under stone monuments was practised. He then described the primitive races as they are depicted in the Vedic hymns and in the epic poems, giving, at the same time, many details of the actual condition of these peoples at the present period, and passing under review the most important of them, from the southern extremity of Madras northwards to the Himalayas. In this part of his lecture he called especial attention to the fact, that burials under Kistvaens are still not uncommon, thus showing that the period of the flint age and the rude stone monuments have existed, almost to our own times, among the hill races of India. Dr. Hunter then described the incoming of the Aryan civilization among the Non-Aryan people of India—and the result produced by the contact of these two opposing forces. In conclusion, he cited many remarkable survivals of Non-Aryan customs and rites among this mixed population, and showed that the Hindu low castes still rest on a Non-Aryan basis, as regards their religions, their social organization, and their ethnical descent.

Asiatic Society of Bengal.—In the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (vol. xlvii. pt. 1) are papers by Messrs. C. J. Lyell, R. B. Shaw, Rajendralala Mitra, Colonel Walker, V. A. Smith, and H. Beveridge, which will be noticed elsewhere under the special subjects to which they refer. Part 2 is entirely occupied by one by Mr. Growse, on Mathura Notes. Part 3 comprises papers by Mr. G. A. Grierson, on the Song of Manik Chandra; and by Lieut. R. C. Temple, the Lokanati, translated from the Burmese paraphrase. In the former of these, Mr. Grierson fulfils a promise given by him when writing his “Notes on the Rangpur Dialect” (B.A.S.I. xlv. pt. 2), and gives many interesting details of Manik Chandra, the ruler of a city of which Buchanan has long since given a plate, now bearing the name of his wife, *Mayana Matir Kota*.

Lieut. Temple describes the Lokanati, a book which, as its title implies, is a collection of proverbs or maxims, on subjects of every-day life, and apparently belonging to similar Burmese works, known by the names of Danmanidi Gazanidi, and Lakanadi,—i.e. Books of Proverbs concerning the Religion and the Law, and having much the same meaning to a Buddhist as they had to the Jews of the Bible. In part 4 are two papers, the one, a long and comprehensive account of "The Bangush Nawábs of Farrukhábád," by W. Irvine,—the second, by Rajendralala Mitra, "On the Pala and Sena Rajahs of Bengal."

Asiatic Society of Bombay.—In vol. xiv. No. 36, are papers by M. Gerson da Cunha, Contributions to the Study of Avestaic and Vedic Analogies :—E. Rehatsek, Early Moslem Accounts of the Hindu Religion; A few analogies in the Thousand and One Nights and in Latin authors; and Some parallel Proverbs in English, Arabic, and Persian.—Other papers, on special subjects, are noticed under their respective heads.

The Madras Journal—which has recently revived under the new title of *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*—has printed several papers of high interest and value. Among these may be mentioned those "On the Classification of Languages" by Dr. Gustav Oppert;—the Ganga Kings by Mr. Lewis Rice;—Druidical and other Antiquities by Col. Congreve;—and Index to MS. vols. of Local Records in the Sanskrit and Vernacular Languages by Dr. G. Oppert.

Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.—The first two Nos. of the Journal of this recently formed Society—viz. those for July and Dec. 1878—by the general character of the articles printed in them afford good promise of success. The chief papers in No. 1 are M. de Miklucho-Maclay,

Dialects of the Melanesian Tribes of the Malay Peninsula; Report of the Government Committee on Malay Spelling in English;—A. M. Skinner, Geography of the Malay Peninsula, pt. 1;—W. A. Pickering, Chinese Secret Societies;—and W. E. Maxwell, Malay Proverbs, pt. 1. In No. 2 are papers by Rev. J. Perham, The Song of the Dyak-Head-feast; W. E. Maxwell, Malay Proverbs, part 2; and by the same writer Notes on two Perak MSS.; and by the Hon. C. J. Irving, Suggestions for a new Malay Dictionary.

Asiatic Society of Japan.—Vol. vi. parts 1 and 2, contain papers for the most part connected with the local history of Japan, with its natural history, or the productions of this and the adjoining islands. In part 1, however, may be noticed, as of general interest, a “Review of the Introduction of Christianity into China and Japan,” by J. H. Gubbins—an able and temperate account of many matters about which there has been much controversy,—as, for instance, the true value of the words Tien and Shangto for the name of “God”; and “The Castle of Yedo,” by Thomas R. H. McClatchie, an excellent record of a monument of the bygone history of Japan, which has hardly ceased to be used for more than ten years. In vol. vi. part 2, are many papers of value, of which may be specially noted, one by Mr. E. Satow on “The Corean Potters of Satsuma,” which throws new light not only on the mechanical arts for which the islands of the N.W. Pacific have been long renowned, but, also, as affording strong evidence that these even now comparatively little known Coreans probably enjoyed during a period of remote antiquity a far higher civilization than has been hitherto supposed, and, further, that to them the Japanese in former ages owed much of their instruction. Another paper, by W. G. Aston, Esq., entitled “Hideyoshi’s Invasion of Korea,” confirms the views of Mr. Satow that at a very early period Korea was the instructor of Japan, in Chinese learning, and in the arts of

civilization, and gives also a clear account of the campaigns of Hideyoshi. The remaining articles being all devoted to natural science and manufactural art, though in themselves very interesting, are foreign to the objects of this Journal. In vol. vi. part 3, are papers by Basil Hall Chamberlain, Esq., On the Mediæval Colloquial Dialect of the Comedies;—by W. G. Dixon, Esq., On some scenes between the Ancient and the Modern Capitals of Japan;—by E. V. Dixon, Esq., and Ernest Satow, Esq., Notes of a visit to Hachijō in 1878;—with two appendices—the first containing extracts from Captain Beechey's narrative—The Bonim Islands—the second, Extracts from *Nichi Nichi Shimbun*, an Account of Hachijō.—Mr. Chamberlain's paper is a very clear account of the difficulties of acquiring a complete knowledge of the Japanese language, owing to the remarkable differences existing between the ordinary spoken and written tongue. In illustration of this, as occurring, though not to so great an extent in other languages, he points out that a student who knew no colloquial English, but was, at the same time, thoroughly well versed in Shakespere or Spenser, would find himself greatly at a loss, if he had suddenly to address the officials of a railway station. Vol. vii. part 1, is entirely occupied with the "Narrative of a Journey across Europe and Asia," by John Milne, Esq. This journey, which is one of the highest interest, was, also, remarkably adventurous: the traveller having passed through Russia and Siberia to Kiachta—then through Mongolia to Peking—and then from Peking to Tientsin and, overland, to Shanghai. In vol. vii. part 2, are papers by Dr. Veeder, On Japanese Musical Intervals;—by T. R. H. McClatchie, On a recent discovery of human remains in the Ibaraki Ken;—by M. Satow, Extracts from Ancient Japanese Rituals;—and, On the Vicissitudes of the Church at Yanaguchi from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1586.

Journal Asiatique.—Vol. xii. part 1, is entirely occupied with the long able report annually given by M. Renan, which is a clear and full notice of all that has been done in French Journals and by French writers. We miss, however, that mass of general information on what has been done by Oriental scholars in other parts of the world, which was one chief feature of the Reports drawn up during so many successive years by M. Mohl. In No. 2, M. Maspero gives a curious account of the Taking of Joppa by Thoutii, translated from one of the Harris Papyri of the British Museum;—and M. de Harlez a second paper, “Les Origines du Zoroastrisme.” M. Feer has also given a review of Mr. Daniel Wright’s History of Nipal, the publication of which by the University of Cambridge was noted in a previous report. There are, also, notices by M. Pavet de Courteille, of M. Vambery’s Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Turko-Tatarischen Sprachen;—by C. de Harlez, of W. Geiger’s Aogemadaécá;—and by M. Pierret, of the Papyrus Funeraire de Soutimés, published by MM. Guiesse and Lefébure. Part 3 contains the continuation by M. Zotenberg of his “Memoire sur la Chronique Byzantine de Jean, Evêque de Nikiou;”—a paper by M. Imbault-Huart, Sur la conquête du Nepal par les Chinois sous le regne de Tc’ie Leng (1792);—by M. Lenormant, Hymne au Soleil;—and by M. Stanislas Guyard, Notes de Lexicographie Assyrienne.” There is, also, a brief notice by M. Regnier of the late M. Garçin de Tassy, and the commencement of some interesting Antiquarian Notes made by M. Huart during a recent journey in Egypt. Volume xiii. part 1, is almost wholly occupied by the concluding portion of M. Lenormant’s article “Hymne au Soleil.” There is, however, also, the concluding part of M. Huart’s Notes from Egypt; and a notice, by C. de Harlez, of Dr. Spiegel’s Eranische Alterthumskunde. In vol. xiii. No. 2 are papers by M. Huart, Sur les Tribes Arabes de la Mesopotamie; by C. de Harlez, Les Origines de Zoroastrisme (3^{me} Notice); and

by M. Zotenberg, Sur la Chronique Byzantine de Jean Evêque de Nikiou (suite et fin.)—Other papers will be noticed under their special subjects.

German Oriental Society.—Since the last Report, vol. xxxii. parts 2, 3, 4, and vol. xxxiii. parts 1, 2, have been issued, and are as usual full of valuable matter. Among these the following papers are perhaps worthy of more especial notice. In vol. xxxii. part 2, Fleischer zu Ruckert's Grammatic Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser ;—W. Deecke, On the origin of the Old-Persian Cuneiform writings ;—A. Holtzmann, Indra nach den Vorstellungen des Mahabharata. In vol. xxxii. part 3, Reinisch, Die Saho-sprache ;—Jacobi, Die Çobhana Stutayas des Çobhana Muni ;—A. H. Schindler, Ueber den Ssemnanischen Dialect ;—O. Loth, Ueber eine Tabari-Handschrift. In vol. xxxii. 4, A. Graeter, Die Lieder der Kurg volkes ;—G. von Gabelenz, Beitrag zu Geschichte der Chinesischen Grammatiken und zur lehre von der Grammatischen behandlung der Chinesischen Sprache. In vol. xxxiii. parts 1 and 2, are papers by A. F. Pott, Das Indo-Germanische Pronomien ;—by Th. Noldeke, Ueber Iranische Orts-namen auf *Kert* und andere endungen ;—and, by the same, Zwei Völker Vorder-Asiens ;—two papers on parts of the Rig-Veda, by MM. Ehni and Hillebrandt, respectively ;—by M. Schroeder, Ueber die Maitrâyani Samhita ;—and a second paper by M. Sandreczki, Ueber die Maltesische Mundart.

Archæology.—It will be remembered that in the report of last year (1878), the first portion of General Cunningham's statement of what he had done and was preparing to do, was given from the manuscript report sent by him to the India Office, and dated from his camp at Goonoor, February 2, 1878. It has since been thought advisable to print the rest of this report in a separate form, and, as this has not been circulated among all the members of the Society, it is given here verbatim, as follows :—

WORK DONE BY GENERAL CUNNINGHAM.

“The Report of my tour for the season 1871–72 has already been published as Vol. III. of the Archæological Survey of India.

“The Report of my tour in the Punjab in 1872–73 has also been made public in Vol. V. of the Archæological Survey.

“During the cold season of 1873–74, while my camp was proceeding to Jubbulpore, I made a flying visit to Bharhut, where I discovered the sculptured railing of the great stûpa, a short notice of which has already been published. I then examined the remains in the neighbourhood of Jubbulpore, including Bilahri, Tewar and Bhera Ghât. At the last place I made a plan of the curious circular colonnade, with its sixty-four female statues, which Mr. Beglar has further illustrated by several excellent photographs. Many interesting inscriptions of the powerful *Kulâchuri* dynasty of *Chedi* were also obtained in these places. I may note here that other inscriptions subsequently discovered by Mr. Beglar show that the era used by the *Kulâchuri* Rajas of *Chedi* was sometimes styled the *Chedi* and also the *Kulâchuri* Samvat. Whilst in this neighbourhood, I also obtained two important inscriptions of the Gupta period—1st, a copper plate of Raja Jagannâth, dated in Samvat 174 [of the Gupta era] both in words and figures; and 2nd, a stone pillar of his son Sarvvanâth, whose name is joined with that of Raja Hastina, of whom other records exist on copper plates dated in S. 156 and S. 191 of the Gupta era.

“From Jubbulpore, while my camp was proceeding direct to Nagpur, I made a circuit to visit Khandwâ, Burhânpur and Asirgarh, where I obtained several inscriptions. Amongst them there is one of the Fârûki kings of Khândes, one of Prince Daniâl, the son of Akbar, and one of Akbar himself recording the capture of Asirgarh. From Nagpur I marched to Bhândak, where I explored and measured the Buddhist caves

and rock-houses, and several Brahmanical temples. I then proceeded *viâ* Chânda to Mârkandi on the Warda River, where I made plans of the fine group of temples and copied all the inscriptions. From thence I returned to Bharhut, where I spent a considerable time in excavating the buried railing which once surrounded the great stûpa. I closed the season's work by a visit to Kosani [the ancient Kausâmbi], where I obtained a considerable number of terra-cotta figures with Buddhist symbols, including also several children's toy-carts in terra-cotta of the Gupta period.

“During the recess of 1874 I prepared an account of the Bharhut stûpa illustrated by about forty plates for an 8vo. volume, but the important discoveries of the next season rendered it necessary that this account should be entirely recast, and the whole work enlarged. At the same time I was employed in reducing some of the great inscriptions of Asoka, and in writing out the texts which have now appeared in Vol. I. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.

“In 1874-5 I returned to Bharhut to complete the excavation of the sculptured railing in company with Mr. Beglar, who was chiefly employed in making photographs of the sculptures. These pictures now form the principal illustrations of my report on the Bharhut stûpa, which has lately been submitted to Government. From Bharhut I proceeded *viâ* Khajurâho to Mâlwa, where I explored the ruins of Eran, Pathâri, Bhilsa, Udaygiri, Sânci and Besnagar. I then found several valuable inscriptions, amongst which were one of Samudra Gupta, one of Chundra Gupta, and one of Kumâra Gupta. On my return I explored the great Fortress of Singorgarh, and the temples at Majholi and Bahuriband.

“During the recess of 1875 I re-wrote the whole account of the Bharhut stûpa, which was very considerably enlarged, and illustrated by fifty-seven folio plates. At the same time I continued the preparation of Asoka's Inscriptions for Volume I. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.

“In 1875–76 I began my tour under the Chunar hills, and explored all the caves and other remains down to Sahasarâm, where I copied the new inscription of Asoka, in which I had discovered the date of 256 of Nirvân era. I then proceeded to Bodh Gaya, where I made a survey of the country round the great temple, and discovered the small village of *Urel*, which still preserves the name of the famous *Uruvihoa* or *Uruwel*. During a visit to Calcutta on duty, my camp proceeded to Northern Oudh. I rejoined it at Tauda, and, crossing the Ghaghra River, I visited Bhuila Tâl, which my assistant, Mr. Carlleyle, was then exploring, and continued my route to Srâvasti and Tandwa. At Srâvasti I made numerous excavations, and after cutting the jungul I made a fresh survey of the site. My excavations brought to light a large building at the northern end, which I believe to be the famous *Gandha-kuti*. A stûpa also yielded a great seal with eighteen lines of inscription.

“At Tandwa I laid bare the exterior of the great brick stûpa, which I have identified with the mausoleum of Kâsyapa Muni, the third of the last four Buddhas. From thence I proceeded to Pakhna-Bihâr, near Sankisa, where I obtained a considerable number of old inscribed seals, including one with a representation of the three famous ladders by which Buddha descended from the Trayastrinsas heavens, accompanied by Brahma and Indra. I got also several terra-cotta figures of the Buddhist period, and an imperfect inscription of one of the Indo-Scythian Kings. This last is important as proving that their rule extended as far eastward as Sankisa—between Farukhabad and Manipuri. At Sankisa itself I was fortunate enough to find the basement on which the great Asoka pillar with the elephant capital had originally stood, but I could not find any traces of the shaft of the pillar.

“During the recess of 1876 I re-wrote the whole of my account of the Bharhut stûpa, which was very considerably enlarged by the late discoveries. The whole of the illustra-

tions were also re-drawn or re-arranged in fifty-seven folio plates. At the same time I completed the collection of Asoka's inscriptions forming Volume I. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. I also prepared several plates for the illustration of the tour which I had just made.

"In 1876-77, after exploring the ruins of Sūa-Bihār in Southern Oudh, I paid a flying visit to Bharhut to see if any fresh discoveries had been made during the rainy season. On my way I examined Bhīta, Deorīya, and Garhwā, all in the neighbourhood of Allahabad. At Bhīta a fine statue of Buddha was discovered, bearing an inscription with the name of Kumāra Gupta, and dated in Samvat 126. At Garhwā three more inscriptions of the Guptas were found on pulling down an old wall. All were imperfect, two being of Kumāra Gupta, and one of Skanda Gupta; the last dated in Samvat 140.

"I then proceeded to Tigowa to examine a very old temple which I had discovered two years before. The temple proved to belong to the Gupta period, and is a very fine specimen of that early style of Indian architecture. From thence I visited the ruined city of Besnagar, situated in the fork of the rivers Betwa and Bes. I made a complete survey of the place, and discovered numerous remains of a very early date. Amongst these is a colossal female figure of the time of Asoka, and several pillar capitals of the same period. Two are surmounted by lions, one by an elephant with rider, one by a crocodile, and one by the famous *kalpa-briksh*, or tree of plenty, which yielded to the fortunate possessor whatever he desired. The tree itself is represented as a banyan with pendent roots, from which hang skins filled with wine, and vessels of various shapes overflowing with coins.

"I then visited Udaygiri and Sānchi, where I found more early capitals—the Sānchi example bearing the *Dharmma-chakra* supported by four lions.

"From thence I turned northwards, to visit the old sites of

Dudai, Chandpur, and Deogurh, in Southern Bundelkhund. At the last place I found a fine temple of the late Gupta period, ornamented with some large sculptures of unusual merit and beauty. I then proceeded *viâ* Chanderi, Ranod, and Gwalior, to Bilsar, or Bilsand, in the Duâb, near Furrkhabad, where two inscribed Gupta pillars had lately been discovered. I made a survey of the ruins, and copied the pillar inscriptions, which belong to the reign of Kumâra Gupta, with the date in words of 96 Samvat.

“During the recess of 1877 I was employed in correcting the proofs of the first volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* containing Asoka's inscriptions, which has now been completed. Some further illustrations of the Buddhist legends represented in the Bharhut sculptures were obtained from Ceylon through the kindness of the learned priest Subhîti, and some new illustrations added to the plates. The work thus finally completed was then submitted to Government.

WORK DONE BY MR. J. D. BEGLAR.

“In 1871–72 Mr. Beglar explored Bundelkhund and a portion of Eastern Malwa. His report, illustrated by plates, has been submitted to Government. In addition to plans and sections of all the finer temples, he took a large number of photographs, which are of great interest, as many of them are of places little known and seldom visited.

“In 1872–73 he explored some of the districts of Bengal, beginning at Patna. During this tour he discovered a number of fine temples, many of them of considerable antiquity, and some of special interest, being built of carved and moulded bricks. All these temples are illustrated by plans, sections and photographs. The report for this season has also been submitted to Government.¹

¹ This Report forms vol. viii. of the Archaeological Survey of India, since published, and is the last that has as yet appeared.

“ In 1873-74 Mr. Beglar explored the Eastern portion of the Central Provinces. He visited the ruins of Tewar, Karanbel and Bhera Ghât in my company, and made some very good photographs of the curious sculptures at the last place. From thence he proceeded *viâ* Mandla, Seoni and Râmtek to Nagpur, where he again met me to consult as to our further routes. I took the South and West, and he took the East, proceeding first to Deotek to make a copy of the Asoka inscription. From thence he marched *viâ* Pauni to Wairagarh, and the little known and almost inaccessible fort of Tipagarh. He next went to Râjam, where the remains are old and interesting; but his work was much obstructed by the Brahmans. At Balod and Dhamtari he found other ancient temples, and two inscriptions of the powerful Chalukya family. Further discoveries were made at Sirpur, Narayanpur, Arang and Khâlari; and also at Seonârâyan, Kharod and Janjgir. After examining Ratanpur and Lâphâ he proceeded to Amarkantak, and thence returned through Sohâgpur to Bharhut, to continue the excavations which I had begun. The report of this season's work has also been submitted to Government.¹

“ In 1874-75 Mr. Beglar spent the early part of the season at the stûpa of Bharhut in making photographs of all the principal sculptures on the uniform scale of one-twelfth for the larger figures, and of one-sixth for all the bas-reliefs. These photographs now form the illustrations of my report on the Bharhut stûpa. When this work was done, he proceeded into the Rewa territory to examine the ruins at Amarpâtan, Tâla, Mukundpur, and others near the junction of the Son and Banâs Rivers, including the unique solitary temple at Chandrebe. From thence he visited the ruins at Kakarsiba, the caves and ruins of Mâra, and remains at Udaypur, or Kahkop, the capital of the small State Udaypur in the South-East Provinces. The caves near Sirguja were then explored,

¹ The Report incorporated with that of the operations during 1871-2 forms vol. vii. of the Archæological Survey.

and copies taken of the inscription known as *Sita likhni*, or 'Sita's writing.' He then examined the ruins near Sambhalpur, and marching through the Saura-Malia States he reached Gumsar and Ganjam, where he made photographs and impressions of the great inscription of Asoka engraved on the rock of the Jaugada Fort. From thence he visited the antiquities at Bhanpur, Chandeswar, and many other places near the Chilka Lake, finally closing work at Katak (Cuttack).

"His report of this season's work has been written, but the plates are not yet complete. The report has been kept back for the purpose of adding the information obtained during the next year's tour, when a different route was followed through the South-East Provinces, but which necessarily in that wild and almost roadless country touched many of the places already visited.

"In 1875-6 Mr. Beglar began work at Bhitari, between Benares and Ghazipur, where he made photographs of the pillar of Skanda Gupta, and its long inscription. From thence he proceeded to Sahasâram, where he made photographs and impressions of the dated inscription of Asoka in the rock-cell of Chandan Shahed. Here also he made photographs and plans of the great tombs of Sher Shah and his family. From thence, taking copies of numerous inscriptions at Târachandi, the Putrahi falls, and Phulmariya, he reached the famous fort of Rohtâs, which was thoroughly explored. Here he was fortunate enough to discover a large seal of Rajah Sasangka, the great opponent of Buddhism, shortly before A.D. 600. The letters are sunk in the rock in reverse. He next visited the ruins of Joha, Tâptapani and Pipraul, and examined the caves in the Rângarh Hill near Sirguja, where he made photographs and impressions of the two inscriptions in Asoka characters. The ruins on the Kosgain Hill, some caves near Bhelai, and the old Forts of Ramgarh, Malhar, Manikpur, and Mastodi were explored, and the fine old temples at Kharod and Seonârâyan were re-visited. A large group of

old temples and ruins at a natural spring named Turturia, near Kesdol, in Raypur, were then explored. Some of these are Buddhist, dating as high as the Gupta period. Some very fine old pillars were also found by excavating in the vicinity.

“ Mr. Beglar next examined the antiquities in the Phuljer Rāj, and the place of pilgrimage called Pāpa Narain, and the Gandhamādan Hills. He then explored the remains in the Patnā Rāj, the famous ruins at Rānipur Jurāl, where an interesting inscription was found, and other ruins at Ghorāl, Udaypur, Sinni, and Kamrā, where both temples and caves were discovered. The fine remains at Rajapodor and other places on the Tel River were examined, and the beautiful temples in Bod were drawn and photographed. The caves at Udaygiri and Khandagiri were then examined, and both impressions and photographs were made of the great Asoka inscription at Dhauri. The season's work closed with the exploration of the remains at Udaypur, Keonjhar, Kichang, Benusagār and Kesnagarh.

“ The report of this season's work is not yet finished, but it is well advanced, and will be incorporated with that of last year.

“ In 1876-77 Mr. Beglar accompanied me for some time for the purpose of taking photographs of sculptures and architectural remains, chiefly of the Gupta period, some of which I had already seen. He thus visited an old Buddhist site named *Sua-Bihar*, thirty miles to the North-West of Allahabad, and some remains to the Eastward at Sakardāh. From thence he proceeded to Bhita and Garhwa to the South of the Jumna. At the former place several Buddhist sculptures were photographed, amongst which is a fine figure of Buddha of the Gupta period, with the head-dress of a Tibetan Grand Lama. At Garhwa some very beautiful pillars and sculptures, also of the Gupta period, were discovered and photographed.

“ From thence Mr. Beglar visited the ruins of Gonda, the forts of Rasin and Marphā, and the ruined temples at Kurbān,

all in North Bundelkhund. He then re-visited Bharhut, and made photographs of two complete pillars of the great stûpa, as well as of two mutilated pillars discovered at Batanmâra. At Gulbâ, or Gulwâra, he found the remains of three old temples with sculptures of the Gupta period. He then rejoined me at Tigowâ (near Bilahri), where he photographed the old Gupta temple; and afterwards he proceeded to photograph the numerous architectural remains and sculptures [chiefly new discoveries] at Gyaraspur, Besnagar, Udaygiri and Sanchi. He also took several photographs of the fine Gupta temple at Deogarh near Chânderi, with its beautiful sculptures, of which I had previously made plans. He then turned Westwards into Rajputana, and visited the curious old temple at Mokunddwâra, which he thinks may be as old as the Asoka period.¹ The original temple is built with *polished* stones, but the subsequent additions are of smoothed stones without any polish, and on one of the later pillars there is an inscription in Gupta characters. The original temple must therefore be older than the Guptas. In Mr. Beglar's opinion it is the oldest structural temple yet found.

“After examining some remains at Darri, Mr. Beglar visited the famous temples at Barolli, which have been described by Tod and Fergusson. Plans and other drawings were made as well as photographs, and the whole site was thoroughly examined. At Thâlma, or Talsûa, he found a large group of temples, with a ruined palace and a stone bridge. At Jadoli also there are many temples and palaces buried nearly up to their roofs in the debris of the village. At Mahinâl [the Mynâl of Tod] the ruins were carefully explored. They belong chiefly to the time of Somaswara and his son Prithvi Raja. He next visited Bijolli, where he made impressions of

¹ A view of this temple forms the frontispiece of the 2nd vol. of Tod's Annals of Rajasthan. It was also published as pl. v. of Fergusson's Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindostan. The last-named authority considers all of one age and as early as the 5th or 6th century (p. 32).

the two great rock-inscriptions. At all these places he took photographs of the principal temples, as well as of the palace of Prithvi Raja at Mahinál. Thence Mr. Beglar proceeded to Ajmere, where he took photographs of the grand old masjid of Ilitimish. After visiting other places which yielded little or nothing of any interest, he left Rajputana, and closed the season's work by taking photographs of the fine Asoka capital at Sankisa, of the inscribed pillars of Kumâra Gupta's temple at Bilsar, and of the curious brick temple at Bhitargaon, with its carved and moulded ornaments, and its *terra-cotta alto relievos* 2½ feet in height.

WORK DONE BY MR. A. C. L. CARLLEYLE.

“ In the cold season of 1871-72 my assistant Mr. Carlleyle started from Agra to make a tour in Râjputâna. He first visited several old sites in the Fatehpur Sikri range of hills to the West of Agra, where he discovered some stone cairns and other early remains at Khera and Sutmâs, and an aboriginal fort and tomb at Tontpur. He next visited Baiâna and the neighbouring hill-fort of Bijaymandargarh, where he found an inscribed pillar dated in the Samvat year 428 both in words and figures. This inscription, which is quite perfect, is of special value, as we have hitherto found but very few dated records of so early a period. Here also he discovered a curious Minar of the time of Muhammad Sayid, of Delhi. He then proceeded to the ancient town of Mâchâri, where he discovered another aboriginal fort, and some dated inscriptions. Here also he found an ancient temple of some interest. He next proceeded to Bairat, where he was fortunate enough to discover a rock-inscription of Asoka. It is imperfect, but after some time I found out that it was a third copy of the dated inscription of Asoka, of which two nearly perfect texts had been found at Rûpnâth and Sahasarâm.

“ At Dessa Mr. Carlleyle discovered several monoliths. He

next visited the old Mina Fort of Nai, or Nain, and the neighbouring old city of Chatsu, at which place, as well as at Bâghera and Thoda, he discovered some curious stone circles of the aboriginal inhabitants. At Thoda he made plans and other drawings of two fine temples; and at Visalpur he found a dated inscription of Prithvi Raja in the temple of Visala Deva. He made drawings of this temple, as well as of the cave-temple of Gokarna.

“Mr. Carlleyle remained in camp during the whole of the hot weather and rains of 1872, when he was engaged in exploring all the ancient sites in the neighbourhood of Chitor. One of these, which he discovered twelve miles to the North-East of Chitor, is of special interest, as it is undoubtedly one of the oldest cities in Northern India. It is now called Karkot-nâgar, or simply Nâgar. Here he obtained some coins with an inscription in Asoka characters which I read as

Majhamikaya Sibi Janapadasa.

‘[Coin] of the Majhamikayas of the country of Sibi.’

“Adopting this reading as correct, the city of Nâgar may be looked upon as the old capital of the district of Sibi.

“After visiting several minor places, Mr. Carlleyle reached another old city called Tambanati Nâgari, or simply Nâgari. It lies thirty miles nearly due North from Bûndi and twelve miles to the West of Uniâra. In the maps it is named simply ‘Nugger.’ At this place Mr. Carlleyle obtained upwards of five thousand copper coins, nearly the whole of which bear the name of *mâlavâna*, which I take to refer to the Mâlavânas of the Hindu Purânas. As this name occurs in characters of all ages from the time of Asoka, 250 B.C., down to A.D. 500 or 600, I conclude that the city must have flourished through the whole of this long period. Mr. Carlleyle also visited Bijolli, where he made plans of the temples. After examining some other minor places, he returned to Agra, having spent

the greater part of the two cold seasons of 1871-72 and 1872-73, with the whole of the intervening hot season and rains of 1872, in this prolonged tour through Rājputāna. His report, illustrated by twenty-four plates, is now being printed as Volume VI. of the Archæological Survey of India. It will be out very soon.

“ During the cold season of 1873-74 Mr. Carlleyle explored a number of ancient sites in the districts of Agra, Aligarh, Etah, and Bulandshahr, in the Gangetic Duâb, as well as many of the principal sites in Rohilkhund. Amongst the latter the most remarkable was the old city of Sambhal, where the musjid of Bâber was found to be an old Hindu temple altered and adapted to Muhammadan worship. In the Duâb the old places were of comparatively little interest, with the single exception of the great mound of Indorkhera, which is situated about seven miles from Anupshahr, near the road leading to Aligarh, and five miles to the North-West of the railway station of Dubhai. Here Mr. Carlleyle spent the whole of the hot weather and rains of 1874, and the greater part of the cold season of 1874-75, in making a thorough exploration of the mound, in which he was fortunate enough to find an inscribed copper plate bearing the name of Skanda Gupta, with the written date of 146 Samvat. This discovery at once disposed of the accepted reading of the Kakaon pillar inscription, which was made to fix the death of Skanda Gupta in the year 141. In this record the name of the place is given as Indrapura, which is of course the Sanskrit original of Indor.

“ Mr. Carlleyle’s report of this tour is complete and ready for the printer; but a few of the plates still remain to be reduced. These will be finished during the course of the next hot season.

“ Towards the end of the cold season of 1874-75 Mr. Carlleyle proceeded, under my instructions, to North-Eastern Oudh and the district of Gorakhpur, to search for the site of Kapilavastu,

the birthplace of Buddha. I especially directed his attention to the neighbourhood of Nagar, near Basti, where there exists a large lake. After a careful search he discovered the true site at Bhuila Tâl, twenty-five miles to the North-East of Fyzabad, and fifteen miles to the West-North-West from Basti, and about ten miles to the North of Nagar.¹ Here he fixed his headquarters for the year, during which time he thoroughly explored the whole neighbourhood, while excavations were being made in the mound of Bhuila, at the West end of the lake. I visited the place myself early in 1876, and I am quite satisfied of the correctness of this identification.² Having fixed this important place, Mr. Carlleyle followed up his discovery by identifying the sites of a great number of other places in its vicinity, such as the *Sarâ-Kupa*, or 'Arrow-well,' where Buddha's arrow on striking the ground gave birth to a spring. The place still retains the name of *Sar-Kûa*. All these discoveries are detailed in Mr. Carlleyle's report on Bhuila Tâl, which is ready for the printer, and which I propose should be published along with his report on Indorkhera. The two reports will make a goodly volume of about 250 pages, and will form Volume IX. of the Archæological Survey of India.

"In the cold season of 1876-77 Mr. Carlleyle moved to the Eastward, in the direction of Kasia, which I had already identified with Kusinagara, the scene of Buddha's death, or Nirvâna. This identification has now been settled beyond all doubt by Mr. Carlleyle's discovery of the colossal statue of Buddha [upwards of twenty feet in length] lying dead, with his face turned to the Westward, and immediately to the West of a brick stûpa, exactly as described by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang in the seventh century. Here also he discovered

¹ This Report has since been published and a copy is in the Library of the Society.

² As these places cannot be identified on the Sheet of the Great Indian Atlas, we must await the publication of Mr. Carlleyle's Report before the value of these identifications can be tested.

a long inscription on a stone slab with the opening invocation to Buddha. The mound about the stûpa was excavated, which revealed the fact that the great Nirvâna statue had been enshrined in an arched chamber or temple as recorded by the Chinese pilgrim. This important site being thus fixed with certainty, Mr. Carlleyle proceeded to explore the whole neighbourhood. He has thus been able to identify many other sites, such as the 'charcoal stûpa,' which was built over some ashes from the funeral pile of Buddha, the spot where Buddha cut off his hair, the spot where he leaped his horse across the Ananma River, etc. The colossal Nirvâna statue of Buddha bears an inscription on its pedestal in characters of the Gupta period. There can be no doubt, therefore, that this is the identical statue which was seen and worshipped by both of the Chinese pilgrims, by Fa-Hian in the beginning of the fifth century, and by Hweng Thsang in the first half of the seventh century. I have not yet received Mr. Carlleyle's report of this interesting discovery, but I expect to get it during the ensuing hot season. Mr. Carlleyle is now engaged in exploring the great mounds near the Asoka pillar at Lauriya, to the north of Bettiah."

Although General Cunningham has not himself published anything connected with the Archæological Survey, since his fifth volume, in 1875, which gives an account of his operations in 1872-3—three more volumes, the sixth, seventh, and eighth, have since been published, and have reached this country. The contents of these volumes are given at sufficient length in the previous report.

Mr. Burgess, who passed the winter of the last year in England, has issued the third of his excellent memoirs, "On the Archæological Survey of Western India," comprising his "Report on the Antiquities of the Bidar and Aurungabad Districts, in the territories of H.H. the Nizam of Haiderabad, being the result of the Third Season's

Operations of the Archæological Survey of Western India for 1875-6." The principal objects treated by Mr. Burgess are, the caves and rock temples at Dharasinva;—the double-storied and other caves at Karusa;—the Hemadpanti temple at Nilangâ, with an interesting essay on Kalyâna and the Chalukyas;—the Hemadpanti temple at Nayâranpur;—various monuments at Bidar, and Togai Amba;—the curious carvings in wood at Paithan;—the temples at Sankvkhed;—the rock-temples and caves of Aurungabad;—and the temple of Akalybai at Elura. The volume is illustrated by nineteen plates from photographs, and by forty-seven other plates, all of which do great credit to the skill of Mr. W. Griggs, who prepared and printed off many of them during Mr. Burgess's absence in India.

A report has also been printed in India (? date), pp. lvii, entitled, "Archæological Returns;" being "A Return of Architectural and Archæological Remains, Rock Temples, Dagobas, Statues, Carvings, Inscriptions, Carved or Moulded Stones, whether single or grouped, Tanks, Mounds, Ancient Jewellery, Coins, Ancient Pottery, and all other Antiquities in the Western Provinces,"—and a Report has been issued by the India Office, "On the Antiquities in the Districts of Huzareebagh, Lohardugga and Manbhoom," being a list and description by Mr. Peppe of the photographs taken by him.

A paper has just arrived, issued by the Government of Bombay, entitled "Archæological Survey of Western India, No. 8," and containing "Reports regarding the Archæological remains in the Kurrachee, Hyderabad and Shikârpur Collectorates in Sindh, with plans of Tombs." It may be stated of these and of the other monuments noticed in this report, that they are all (with one exception, the date of which has not been ascertained) comparatively modern, that is, not more than three centuries old—though they are not for this reason devoid of interest. Of those near Kurrachee, the most important would seem to be the *Jamma Masjid* at Tatta,

an edifice 305 feet long and 170 broad, and said to have cost nine lakhs of rupis. Its date is A.D. 1657.

At about 80 miles off Hyderabad, 8 south-east from Daulatpur, is a brick monument called the "Thal Mir Rukan" (or K'ukan as Mr. Burgess writes the name), a cylindrical tower about 50 feet high, surrounded by a low mound, but without any remains of dwelling-places near it. Many uncertain legends are current in the neighbourhood with respect to its origin. There is, no doubt, however, that it is a Buddhist *Stupa* of nearly the same age as the Manikyala Tope near Taxila on the Upper Indus. In the Larkána division of the Shikárpur Collectorate are some *kubas* or tombs, the chief of which, of Shah Baharo (about 100 years old), is in fair preservation. The inside walls have white glazed tiles covered with Persian inscriptions. The minaret of Mir Masum Shah at Sakar is of interest, as a monument of a man who was *vazir* to the Emperor Akber,—and, also, for its nearly perfect preservation. It was commenced in A.D. 1587, and is 84 feet high and 84 feet in circumference. Many inscriptions are attached to its walls, but these give little information about the monument. Near it is the tomb of Mir Masum's father, with an inscription recording his death in A.H. 981—*i.e.* A.D. 1583. The report concludes with an "Amended list of Architectural Buildings in the Hála Division" and with one of "Ancient Buildings in the Thár and Parkar District." An interesting letter is subjoined from James Gibbs, Esq., to H. B. E. Frere, Esq. (dated April 18, 1855), on the then state of the *Jamma Masjid at Tatta*.

The *Government of Bengal* has just issued "A List of the Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, compiled at the Bengal Secretariat, Calcutta, 8vo. 1879," and arranged in the order of the Divisions and Districts, as officially recognized. The Districts are Burdwan,

Presidency, Rajshahye and Cooch Behar, Dacca, Chittagong, Patna, Bhagulpore, Orissa, and Chota Nagpore. This last will be found very useful for travellers, and (we hope) for much fuller subsequent investigation.

To the *Government of Madras* we owe the publication of a paper by R. Sewell, Esq., giving the results of his explorations at Amaravati, in the Kistna District, including a notice of the Buddhist Antiquities at Bezwada and on the rock-cut temple at Undavilla, together with a catalogue of Stones, Sculptures, etc., in the Library at Bezwada.

The *Government of Ceylon* has issued a valuable report containing "Papers on the Subject of the Literary and Scientific Work carried on by the Government of Ceylon," together with an interesting correspondence, extending from 1870 to 1878, relating to the preparation of Catalogues of Pali MSS. and the preservation of the ancient remains in the island; and including letters from Prof. Max Müller, the late R. C. Childers, the Right Hon. Sir William Gregory, Mudelyar L. De Zoysa, and others, bearing upon this subject.

With reference to *Ceylon*, it may be stated that Dr. E. Müller, who succeeded the late Dr. Goldschmidt as Archæological Commissioner in that island, in a Report on the Inscriptions in the Hanbantota District, states that he has found grants and proclamations of fifteen kings of various dates between the first and the twelfth century. Historically they confirm, and, in some respects, add to the details preserved in the valuable chronicles of that island; and, philologically, they are of the utmost importance, as Sinhalese is the only Prakrit dialect, the history of which can be traced in contemporaneous specimens, throughout its whole development.

In the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. xlvii. part i. 1, are papers by Rajendralala Mitra, "On Repre-

sentation of Foreigners in the Ajunta Frescoes"; by Colonel J. T. Walker, "On Recent Trans-Frontier Explorations," being the Report of the Mullâ attached to the Great Trigonometrical Survey, with a sketch map of the mountain districts N.E. of Peshawar, and to the N. of the Indus; by H. Beveridge, Esq., "On the Antiquities of Bagura (Bogra)": and in vol. xlvii. pt. i. 2, "Mathura Notes," by F. S. Growse.

In his paper, Rajendralala Mitra gives the first account of the curious frescoes in the caves of Ajunta, which, though long known to exist, had not been copied sufficiently for critical study till Mr. Griffiths, of Bombay, was ordered to replace the first copies by Captain Gill, which had been destroyed by the fire at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham. Rajendralala noticed, as had done others before him, that races different from the native Indians are here introduced; and Mr. Fergusson, in a recent article (*Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. N.S. Vol. XI. p. 155*), has given reasons for his belief that the two most important personages are portrait-representations of Khosru Parviz, King of Persia, and of his celebrated queen, Shirin.

The brief paper contributed by Colonel Walker is valuable as the commencement of new light for the hitherto little-known country occupied by the Dards and other tribes beyond the Indus. Mr. F. S. Growse has also contributed a paper entitled, "Mathura Notes," which occupies the whole of vol. xlvii. pt. i. 2, and is illustrated by eleven plates of architectural designs and one of inscriptions. Some of these plates are very well executed, and are of considerable archæological interest; it is, consequently, to be regretted that the text which accompanies them seems to have been written hurriedly under pressure of circumstances and without due consideration. Mr. Growse's chief object would seem to have been the illustration of the life and doctrines of various Vaishnava Reformers of the xvi th and xvii th centuries, who

all made Brindaban their chief centre, as he has given copious extracts from many of their writings, both text and translations; with a full description, also, of the plates which illustrate his article. In the *Proceedings* of the same Society Mr. Rivett-Carnac has given a paper on Pre-historic remains in Central India in burrows near Junapani, five miles from Nagpur.

In the *Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society*, vol. xiv. is a paper by Prof. Bhandarkar entitled "Memorandum on some Antiquarian Remains found in a Mound, and in the Brahmपुरi Hill near Kolhapur."

It is much to be regretted that no steps were taken in India to provide that some persons of scientific or artistic attainment should be attached to the expeditionary columns invading Afghanistan last autumn. Nothing of the sort seems, however, to have been thought of, and the consequence is, that, but for private enterprise, the advance would have been wholly without result, in so far as Archæology is concerned.

Fortunately, however, Mr. W. Simpson, the artist of the *Illustrated London News*, attached himself to Sir Samuel Browne's column, and, during the winter, occupied himself, with both zeal and intelligence, in measuring and drawing the various caves and Topes in the neighbourhood of Jelalabad. He has, also, been most successful in some explorations he has made into some of the Topes, which had not been before opened. In the Ahin Posh Tope, for instance, he hit upon the central deposit, after mining through 45 feet of rubble masonry. It contained, *inter alia*, eighteen gold coins, some Roman, as one of Domitian, one of Trajan, and a third of Salonina, the wife of Hadrian. There was, also, a relic-holder, in which were two more Bactrian gold coins, with a small object supposed to be a relic. All these were sent to Calcutta, as there was no one with the force who could read the legends, and it was not till afterwards that a copy of

Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua* reached the camp. It, consequently, may be some time before the result is known in this country. Meanwhile Mr. Simpson has drawn the profiles of the *Tope* and its pilasters, and they are so purely classical that the whole promises to be one of the most interesting contributions to our knowledge of the archæology of these countries, since the publication, in 1841, of Mr. Masson's *Explorations in Wilson's Ariana*.

Indian Antiquary.—The *Indian Antiquary*, under the careful editing of Mr. Burgess, has continued its useful work, and has given to the world, during the last year, many papers of value and interest. Among these, may be noticed three by that excellent antiquary, Mr. Walhouse, "On passing through fire," "On Trojan and Prehistoric Pottery and the Swastika Symbol," with an additional note, and "On the Old Tanjor Armoury." In the first, he gives an account of one of the most ancient and universal of superstitious customs (as prevalent everywhere in the Madras Presidency—and, doubtless, elsewhere in India), that of treading on fire or leaping through flames, in honour of the Deity. In his second paper, he gives an interesting notice of the clay-toys used by children, and of the large quantity of miniature pottery which has been found by Dr. Schliemann at Troy, as well as in the historic graves in Coorg. He also points out the occurrence, in great numbers, of the Swastika symbol, hitherto supposed peculiar to India, but recently recognized also in some of the low mounds at St. Louis, North America, as well as in Mexico. His third paper, "On the Old Tanjor Armoury," is important as showing to what an extent European weapons had passed into native hands by commerce or otherwise, many of the blades still retaining letters and symbols of Christian meaning, though attached to hilts and handles distinctively Hindu, and adorned with figures of gods and other idolatrous emblems. Many were certainly

Pharangts or Portuguese, just as Raja Sivaji's famous sword Bhavani (now in the collection of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales) is of Genoese origin. Mr. Walhouse gives copies of several of these inscriptions, one of which is ANDREA FERARA (sic).

Sir Walter Elliot has given a description of "The Edifice formerly known as the Chinese or Jaina Pagoda at Negapatam," recently pulled down (indeed, so lately as 1867) at the request of certain Jesuit fathers, who had squatted in the neighbourhood, and coveted alike the bricks of which it was built and the land on which it stood; and Prof. Monier Williams, two papers "On Parsi funeral Rites," and "On a case of Samadj in India," the latter important as showing that the increased facilities for locomotion, supplied since the British occupation of India, has, in some degree, increased the evils Government has been most desirous of suppressing. Mr. Rivett-Carnac has contributed an important notice of "Masons' Marks from Old Buildings in the N.W. Provinces of India," with two plates, showing more than one hundred and fifty of the various devices he met with. The same writer has, also, commenced a further paper, which promises to be of great interest, entitled "Archæological Notes on a March between Cawnpore and Nagapuli during the Camping Season of 1879." Mr. Rivett-Carnac has also (we understand) addressed two Memorials to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, urging an appeal by the Society to Government for the issue of some simple administrative rules for the better preservation of antiquarian remains, with especial reference to their constant destruction by tourists, the guides of the tourist, and the action of railway contractors. In illustration, he mentions the injury done in the excavations for ballast for the Futegarh and Kāñhpur Railway, and by the Peskar of Ajanta, who has been for years cutting pieces out of the wall paintings there, in the hope of rewards from dilettanti travellers and others.

Other papers, more or less connected with Indian Archæology, are those by C. E. Gordon Crawford on "Personal Names in the Southern Part of the Ahmadâbâd Collectorate and Neighbouring Country;"—by "W.," "On an ancient Burial-ground at Mungapettâ and Crosses;"—by J. S. F. Mackenzie, "On Halle Makkalu" and "On the Customs of the Komti Caste;"—by the Rev. Thomas Foulkes, on "The Civilization of the Dakhan down to to the Sixth Century B.C."

Dr. A. C. Burnell has contributed an important paper "On some early references to the Vedas by European writers," in which he points out that the oldest writer on Southern India (and in some respects still the best) Rogerius is the first who has given an explicit account of the Vedas. The work referred to is entitled "De Open Deure," and was published, after his death, at Leyden in 1651.

Mr. Edward Thomas has, also, contributed a paper on "Jainism," which was originally drawn up for the Lyons Congress of last August, but, by some accident, did not reach its destination.

To Sarabji Ravasji Khambâtâ we owe a paper "On Parsi Funeral and Initiatory Rites," and to Mr. E. W. West, one "On Saka and Samvat Dates."

A note has, also, been inserted by the Editor in the No. for November, entitled "Hiwan-Tsang's Account of Pulikesi II. and Mahabashtra."

Mr. McCrindle is, we see, following up his earlier work, the translation of Megasthenes and Arrian, by a translation of "The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea," often, though erroneously, attributed to Arrian, but more probably the notes of some Græco-Indian merchant and navigator of the second century A.D. It is to be hoped that, for this work, at least, Mr. McCrindle will see the necessity of providing a sufficient Index.

It may, also, be mentioned here, incidentally, that an Archæological Society, bearing the name Kobatzu-Kai

(Society of Old Things), exists in Japan, and numbers about 200 of the wealthiest gentlemen, learned men and priests; and that Herr von Siebold, Attaché to the Austrian Legation at Yedo, has recently discovered, in a prehistoric mound at Omuri, over 5000 different articles of stone, bronze, etc., of many of which he has given a description in the "Anthropologische Gesellschaft" of Berlin.

To the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* (vol. vi. pt. 1), Mr. Thomas A. H. MacClatchie contributes a notice of "The Castle of Yedo," now greatly shorn of its original grandeur, but still a remarkable relic of the past of a remarkable people; and in vol. vi. pt. 2 of the *Transactions* of the same Society, are some good "Remarks on Construction in Brick and Wood, and their Relative Suitability for Japan," by G. Cawley, Esq.

In the recently revived *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, No. 3, for 1878, is an important paper by Colonel Congreve, B.A., "On Druidical and other Antiquities between Mettapoliam in Coimbatore and Karnal on the Tungabhadra."

It may, also, be added that a valuable paper by Mr. V. Ball, M.A., of the Geological Survey of India, has been just printed by the *Royal Irish Academy*, before whom it was read on November 30, 1878, "On the Forms and Geographical Distribution of Ancient Stone Implements in India," accompanied by a very clear map and two plates.

In the *Journal Asiatique*, tome xi. pt. 3, is the second part of a very interesting paper, by M. Clermont-Ganneau, entitled "La coupe Phenicienne de Palestrina et l'une des Sources de l'Art et de la Mythologie Helleniques—Notes d'Archéologie Orientale."

Imperial Gazetteer and Statistical Survey of India.—The

Imperial Gazetteer endeavours for the first time to furnish an account of India based on a statistical survey of the whole country and upon an actual enumeration of the people. It represents, to use the words of the Governor-General in Council, "a series of local inquiries and comparative statistics spread over an area but little less than the whole of Europe excepting Russia." No other Government, in the history of the world, has undertaken a statistical enterprise of so vast a magnitude. It forms, moreover, the only instance of a great statistical account of a country being carried out from the initial stage of the systematic local investigations, district by district, to the final alphabetical arrangement of the results in a Gazetteer, continuously as regards time, and under the uninterrupted direction of one hand. This survey was commenced in 1871, and will make one hundred printed volumes; their alphabetical arrangement, commenced in 1877, forms the eight volumes of the *Imperial Gazetteer*. Both will be completed by 1881.

Of the *Statistical Survey*, eighty-four volumes have now been printed, making in all about 28,000 pages. For the *Imperial Gazetteer*, 3,800 articles have been sent to the press. About 1,750 pages have been set up in type; and the whole of volume i., exceeding 550 pages, has been printed off. Vols. ii. and iii. are passing in various stages through the press. Of all the articles to be dealt with in this Gazetteer, more than one-half is now in the printer's hands.

General Progress of Oriental Studies.—*Aryan Languages of India.*—*Sanskrit.*—In the *Journal Asiatique* (Avril-Juin, 1878), M. Leon Feer has given a very full and comprehensive paper on a subject to which he has paid great attention, "Études Bouddhiques," and entitled "Maitrakanyaka Mittavindaka—La Piété Filiale," the only article which has appeared in this journal during the last year bearing

on Sanskrit studies. In the Journ. of the Germ. Or. Society (xxxii. pt. 2) are papers by A. Holtzmann, Indra, nach den verstellungen des Mahabharata;—in xxxii. 3, by M. Jacobi, Die Çobhana Stutayas des Çobhana Muni, and Kalpa-Sutra of Bhastrabasa, with introduction and Sanskrit and Prakrit glossary (Abhandl. vii. 1);—T. Aufrecht has, also, given Nachträgliche bemerkungen zu der zweites auflage der Rig Veda; and A. F. Stenzler, Indische-Regeln 11 Paraskara 11 heft (Abhandl. Band. vi.).—In the Abhandlungen, too, is a paper by H. Weber, entitled “Ein Märches von König Vikramaditya,” Sanskrit text in Roman characters, with translation into German.—In xxxiii. i. 2, J. Ehni contributes a paper, Die vermählung des Soma unter der Sarga Rigveda x. 85;—L. Schroeder, Ueber die Maitrāyani Sanhita;—and A. Hillebrandt, Zu Rigveda 5, 2, 1—6.—To the Berlin Monatsbericht, Professor Kuhn contributes a paper, Ueber Brihad devata.—In the Calcutta Review are two essays “On the Philosophy of the Upanishads.”—In the Proc. B. A. S., November, 1878, Mr. Grierson gives “Some further notes on Kalidasa;”—and in the Ind. Ant., February, 1879, is a paper by Nilkantha Janardan Kirtana on “The Hammira Mahakavya of Nayachandra Suhi.”—Of other essays or papers relating to Sanskrit may be noticed Professor Max Müller’s review of Boehtlingk’s Sanskrit Chrestomathy (Acad., June, 1878); and one by E. W. West, of Dr. Hillebrandt’s Varuna und Mitra (Acad. Ibid.).

The following books may be noticed, as having been published quite recently, if not, perhaps, exactly since the printing of the last report in June, 1878:

By Professor F. Max Müller, The Hymns of the Rig-Veda in the Sanhita and Pada texts, reprinted from the Editio Princeps, 2 vols: and as a “Beilage” to the Programme der Kanton-schule in Zurich, 1878;—Prof. Adolph Kaegi has issued the first portion of an elaborate and critical notice of “Der Rig-Veda die älteste Literatur der Inder,” with versions

of several of the hymns and poems. The second part will be published shortly, and will complete the work. Dr. R. Garbe has printed "Vaitána Sûtra," the ritual of the Atharva Veda.

Professor Weber has brought out vol. xv. of his "Indische Studien," dedicated, appropriately, to Professor Benfey, the anniversary of whose fiftieth year of professorial duties was celebrated on October 24, 1878, at Gottingen. This portion of Weber's valuable series contains the Cāñkháyana grihyam, by H. Oldenberg—the Yogayátsá of Varáha mihira, by G. H. Kern—and the Sinpásanad vátrincika, by Professor Weber himself. And his History of Indian Literature, a work of the highest value, and one which ought long since to have been accessible to students not acquainted with the German language, has been at length translated by Messrs. Mann and Zachariæ. Other works are those of Griffith, R. T. H., the Birth of the War-God, translated from the Sanskrit of Kalidasa;—Muir, J., D.C.L., Passages Religious, Moral, Prudential, and Narrative, transl. from the Mahabharata and other Sanskrit works;—F. Kielhorn, the Vyakarana-Mahabhashya of Patanjali, 2nd part of vol. 1 to the end of Adhyáya 1:—G. Thibaut, Contributions to the Explanation of Jyotisha-Vedánga, a small metrical treatise which has attracted the attention of Sanskrit scholars ever since the days of Sir W. Jones and Mr. Colebrooke;—by Sangharakkhita Thera, Vuttodaya (exposition of metre). In the collection of papers published in honour of Professor Benfey (under the title "Benfey Jubilee, Festschrift zur Feier seines funfzig jahrigen Doctor-Jubiláums," with contributions from MM. Meyer, Noldeke, Bühler, Ficke, Budens, Wackernagel, Bezenburger), is one by Th. Zachariæ, Die 16^{te} erzählung der Vétalapañcavinçati. In the Bibliotheca Indica, Rajendralala has printed Lalita Vistara, fasc. vi., with an interesting introduction in English, and the Agni Purana, fasc. xii.-xiii.;—Satyavrata Samaswami, the Sama Veda Sanhita, with the commentary of Sayana Acharya, vol. v. fasc. 6;—and Pandit Baba Sastri, Bhamati,

a Gloss on Sankara Acharya, with the Commentary on the Brahma Sutras, fasc. 6;—and, in the New Series, Prof. Cowell has published the Aphorisms of Sandilya. Besides the above, may be, also, noted, Boyd, Rev. D. C., Translation of Prof. Weber's paper On the Ramayana, from the *Indian Antiquary*;—Prof. Boehtlingk, *Mrkkhakatika—das ist das irdene Wägelchen*—the Translation into German of a Comedy of King Çudraka;—Meyer, R., *Rajvidhānam. A. de Gubernatis* has also edited for the Oriental Congress at Florence, a translation of part of the Ramayana (1758–1770), by Marco de la Tomba (but apparently without being aware that much of it had already appeared in the “*Fundgruben des Orients*”). Soupé, Phil., has given *Études sur la littérature Sanscrite*;—and Pandit Bankay, *Vedanta tatta wasara* of Ramanajacharya and the *Mahamadgara* of Sancharacharya, with translation into English. It is understood that the late Prof. Goldstücker's Grammar will shortly be published, a former pupil of his having collected very full notes of his various lectures; and it may be added, that Prof. Cowell and other scholars have completed for the Sanskrit Text Society the books begun or planned by Prof. Goldstücker. Prof. Kerbaker, the Professor of Sanskrit at Naples, has produced an excellent translation in *ottava rima* of the Story of Nala from the Mahabharata, for the first time, in Italian. Dr. A. C. Burnell has printed for private distribution, fifty copies of “A Legend from the Talavakāra or Jaiminiya Brahmana of the Sama Veda,” which he had intended offering to the Congress of Florence, when a sudden attack of illness prevented his leaving India. This work was long considered to have been lost, but Dr. Burnell was fortunate enough to recover it. Prof. Vasconcellos has recently published a Sanskrit Grammar; as has also M. Oppert; and M. Bergaigne an interesting work entitled “*La Religion Vedique d'après les Hymnes du Rig-Veda.*” M. Holtzmann has also published, “*Agni nach der vorstel-*

lungen des Mahabharata ;” — Mr. Rajendralala has issued the ninth fasciculus of his Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. ;— and the Government of the North-West Provinces has printed the second part of a catalogue of similar MSS. existing in private libraries in that part of India. It may be added that Prof. Gough has just printed, by order of the Government of India, a very valuable contribution to Indian literature, under the title “ Papers relating to the collection and preservation of the Records of ancient Sanskrit literature in India ” ;—that the Miscellaneous Essays of the late Prof. Goldstücker are in the press ;—that the Sakuntala has been recently acted by native scholars at Madras, and will be followed by other Sanskrit dramas ;—that Prof. Fausböll has been appointed to the Professorship of Sanskrit, vacant by the death of Prof. Westergaard ;—and that the University of Cambridge has granted to Indian students permission to take up Sanskrit for examination in the place of Greek.

For *Prakrit* we have a notice in the Proc. Beng. Asiatic Soc. (Jan. 1879), by Dr. A. F. Hoernle, of a new grammar of this language by Chunda Pandit.

Pali.—The Pali College established in Kandy, by the learned chief priest Sumangala Unnanse, has proved a great success ; the number of students having amounted to eighty at the last year’s anniversary. These students go through a five years’ course of Sanskrit, Pali and Elu, and the aim of the institution, which is altogether unsectarian, is to revive and perpetuate among the natives a knowledge of the ancient literature of this island. The first of “ The Buddhist Scriptures in Pali,” viz. the Viniyapitikam, edited with Pali text in Roman characters, by Dr. H. Oldenberg, is just published, and contains the Mahavagga, with an introduction ;—another Pali work, also edited by Dr. Oldenberg, the Dipavamsa, will shortly be published, with a translation in

English. To the Beng. As. Soc. Proceed. (Jan. 1879), Mr. H. L. St. Barbe has contributed a paper "On Pali derivations in Burmese," and a paper has been printed in the Journal of this Society (Jan. 1879), "On Sandhi in Pali," by the late R. C. Childers; there is, also, a review in the Journ. d. Savans, by B. de St.-Hilaire on M. Grimblot's work, "Les Sept Suttâs Palis tirées du Dighâ Nikâya," with an interesting account of M. Grimblot. We may add that Dr. Forchhammer has been appointed Professor of Pali in the High School at Rangoon.

Among the more modern languages of India we may note, in *Hindustani*, the continued progress of Mr. Fallon's valuable Dictionary, which has now reached its twentieth part;—in Dakhni (or Hindustani of the Dekkan) a brief Essay, treating chiefly of the Rules of the Plural;—Major H. G. Raverty's "Thesaurus of English and Hindustani Technical terms used in building and other useful Arts;"—some Tracts on Theism issued by the Brahma Somaj;—and a newspaper printed at Constantinople. The advocates of the adoption of the Roman character for the writing of Hindustani and other Eastern languages have not been idle; and a Journal has been started at Lahore, as their organ and for this purpose—and a warm controversy has been carried on by Mr. F. Pincott and other writers in the pages of Allen's *Indian Mail*. We may add that this question has been very carefully, though briefly, discussed by Mr. Syed Ali in a review of Mr. Tolbort's "Râbinsan Krúso," in the Journal of the National Indian Association (May, 1879). In this paper, Mr. Syed Ali points out, also, the value of the Persico-Arabic alphabet worked out by Prince Mirza Khan, the Persian Ambassador in London.

In *Bengali*, may be noticed the issue of the second volume of D. C. Gupta's translation of the Arabian Nights, and

the publication by native scholars of several works in this language, such as an essay by Syamacharan Gangali, on Bengali spoken and written;—*Ekadhaka Sahasra Ragani*, Illustr. pts. 1 and 2, translated by Satya Charan Gupta;—*The Bharata*, a Monthly Review by Dijandra Náth Thakur;—and Prize Essays on the *Agarvedic System of preserving health*, published by the Hon. Sec. of the Barabuzar Family Literary Club;—*Nishfala Taru*, by Srimati Tarangini Dasi;—*Mrinmayi*, or brief exposition of *Bhugal-vidya*, in accordance with the *Sanskrit Siddhanta Shashtra*, by Govind Mohan Rai Vidyabinod;—*Suralokeh Bangar Parichaya*, part 2;—*Nagvan-Sávali*, or an account of the Royal Family of *Chutia Nágpur*;—*Kasum-Kauan*, a Poem by Adharbal Sen;—*Rajamala*, or *Annals and Chronicles of Tripura*, by Kailaschandra Sinha;—*Adisura and Ballaba Sen*, an Historical Investigation on the *Ambastha Kings of Bengal*, by Parvati Sankar Raichandhuri;—*Kavita-Pustika*, by Bankin Chandra Chattopadhaya;—and a lecture “*On the Bengáli Language and Literature*,” by Raj Narain Bose.

In *Hindi*, the first instalment of Mr. Growse’s *Tulsi Das* has been published.

For *Sinhalese*, it may be stated, the well-known scholar Sumangala Unnanse has published in this language “*Itihasa*,” or a Collection of useful information concerning the natives of Ceylon as recorded in ancient history. This work comprises an *Essay on the Aryan origin of his countrymen*, with an edition of the Sixth Chapter of the *Mahawanso*, and a learned discussion of the various passages in the different *Puranas*, *Ramayana*, and *Harivansa*, that relate to Ceylon. A useful little book has also been issued, with the title of “*Sinhalese made easy*,” by the Wesleyan Press of Colombo. Rajendralala Mitra has issued the *Drista-kuta of Sur Dás*, and, at a recent meeting of the *Beng. As. Soc.*, the same

scholar exhibited a collection of Hindi MSS. obtained from Babu Brajanath of Jaipur.

For *Western India* we may notice the new edition of Forbes's *Ras Mala*, or *Hindu Annals of the Province of Guzerat*; and the publication of a translation of Mr. Smiles's "Self-Help" into Gujarati, Marathi, Hindustani and Canarese.

Afghanistan and Western India.—In connexion with this part of India, it should be mentioned that the new *Geographical Magazine and Monthly Record of Geography* has given, in Part I. for the present year, a valuable map and Memoir by Mr. Clements Markham of the Mountain Frontier of Afghanistan; and, as bearing on the district somewhat further to the south, that the first printed book in the Brahui dialect has been recently issued from the office of the Commissioner of Sindh, with the title "Handbook of the Birruhi (sic) Language, comprising Grammar, Sentences, translations from Forbes's Manual, etc., by Manly Alla Bees, Persian Teacher of the High School of Karáchi, 1877." It is understood that Capt. Nicholson, of the Staff Corps, is the chief promoter of this work; the character used is the adapted Arabic. Copies have been sent to Prof. Aufrecht at Bonn, and to Prof. Trumpp at Munich, for their opinion as to the classification of this language—which has been assigned by different authorities to the Aryan, Dravidian, and Kolarian families, from imperfect data. We may add that M. Wilhelm has printed a short work "De Verbis denominativis linguæ Bactricæ;" and that among the MSS. of the late Sir H. M. Elliot, recently purchased by the British Museum, are several which relate to Afghanistan and the neighbouring territories—especial reference may be made to the Persian MS. No. 1861, which contains a good account of the various tribes, formerly and now, constituting the Afghan nationality.

Nipal.—In a recent number of the *Journal Asiatique* (Oct.–Dec. 1878), M. Camille Imbault-Huart has printed an interesting article, entitled “*Histoire de la Conquête du Nepal par les Chinois*,” with notes by M. Feer.

Non-Aryan Languages of India.—Among these we may record a valuable paper in the *Germ. Or. Soc.* (xxxii. 4) by Dr. Graeter, “*On the Songs of the People of Coorg*,” which has the more interest that so little, comparatively, is known of the race-dialects of this part of India, in spite of the labours of Messrs. Mögling, Weitbrecht, Richter, Gover and A. C. Burnell.

In *Canarese*, we understand that Dr. Kittel has proposed the compilation of a new dictionary—the same scholar having already shown his competency for this task, in some remarks he has printed in the *Indian Antiquary* for February, 1879, on Dr. Pope’s Notes on the South Indian or Dravidian Family of Languages. There can be no doubt that the publication of such a dictionary would be of great value, and it may be hoped that the replies of the Bombay and Madras Governments to the letter addressed to them by the Secretary of State for India (for further information), may be such as to encourage Mr. Kittel and the Bäle Missionary Society, in the scheme they have advocated. Attention may, also, be called to a brief note by Mr. J. F. Fleet, on “*A Chronicle of Toragal*,” a Canarese document, evidently taken from a copper plate grant or stone inscription.

For *Telugu*, it may be stated that the Madras Vernacular Literature Society have in preparation a dictionary of this language. Already, *Robinson Crusoe* and *Lamb’s Tales from Shakespeare* have been translated and published. The Rev. J. Sharp has also been appointed to lecture in this language at Cambridge.

Malayalam.—Sir Walter Elliot has printed in the *Indian Antiquary* a valuable dissertation on this language, from the MS. memoranda of the late Rev. W. Ellis, being a portion of a more extensive study, under the title of “Essays on South Indian Languages,” by the same scholar. It should be added, that Dr. A. C. Burnell, the most competent living authority on these matters, does not, altogether, accept Mr. Ellis’s views.

For *Tamil*, there is a paper by the Rev. Dr. G. U. Pope, in the *Ind. Ant.*, Sept. 1878, entitled, “Notes on the Kural of the Tamil poet Tusuvallavar.” In connexion with this branch, reference may be, also, made to a paper in the *Ind. Antiquary*, Feb. 1879, by the Rev. John Cain, “On the Bhadrachellam and Rekapalli Talingas,” in which he gives a vocabulary and some notes on the language of the Kois, who are noticed under the name of Ku by Bp. Caldwell in his Grammar of the Dravidian Languages. And Mr. A. M. Ferguson has published the Suina Durai’s Pocket Tamil Guide. As any Tamil books of this description are scarce, Mr. Ferguson’s little book will, no doubt, have its value.

Tibetan.—In 1875, a paper was read at the Royal Geographical Society, on the subject of Mr. George Bogle’s Travels in Tibet; and a letter was produced in the Tibetan cursive character, which no scholar in England, certainly, and in Europe, probably, could decipher. Deeming it a discredit that a letter should exist, which could not be made out, and this, too, in one of the languages connected, by vicinity of the country in which it was still the living speech, to the modern languages of British India, Mr. Cust addressed a letter to the Secretary for India, requesting that it might be forwarded to the Resident in Nipal for translation, and for any information on the subject of the cursive forms of the otherwise well-known Tibetan character.

This was done, and, in the course of 1877, a reply was received from the Resident in Nipal, through the usual channels. The letter was translated, and an interesting note was annexed by Mr. Charles Girdlestone, the Resident, on the different characters of letters used by the Tibetans, and on the present state and circumstances of the Tibetan language. His memorandum is to the following effect :

“There are four sets of letters in ordinary use among the Tibetans, which are distinguished as Ujen, Umed, D’peyig and H’khyugyig. The first is chiefly used for religious books, and is the character adopted by Ksoma de Kőrös in his Grammar and Dictionary (1834), and by Jaeschke in his Grammar (1836). The second (Umed) is employed for secular purposes, such as official and private correspondence, public records, commercial documents and the like. It greatly resembles the Bámyik character, lithographed on pages 31–35 of the Appendix to Kőrös’s Grammar; indeed, the differences are so few, that, with one or two exceptions, the Bámyik and Umed may be considered to be identical.

“The third (*D’peyig*) is a form of MS. letters for books; and the fourth (*H’khyugyig*) is the ordinary running Tibetan hand. Both characters are well depicted by De Kőrös in the appendix, already referred to, and that eminent scholar gives so fully the combinations of letters in each of the systems, that the peculiarity Tibetan shares with Sanskrit need not be dwelt on here. There are besides these exceptional characters, such as the *Bruts’ha* and *Lants’ha*; but these are variations for the sake of ornamental writing, rather than different systems. The former is modelled partly on the Ujen and partly on the Umed style: the latter is simply decorated Devanagari. Both will be found at the end of De Kőrös’s appendix. The Buddhists of India, as stated by De Kőrös, use the *Lants’ha* occasionally.

“Throughout Tibet, with one exception, one and the same language prevails, and forms the basis of many dialects differ-

ing alike in pronunciation and vocabulary, though not, indeed, so much as not to be comprehended by a person accustomed to another; indeed, the grammatical system of Tibet appears to be everywhere the same, — a common frame-work existing, which materially contributes to the intelligibility of the parent stock and of its branches.

“The best known of the Tibetan dialects are those of Ladakh (including Lohoul), Ngari Khorsun, Dokthol, Hor, Tsang, U Kombo, Kham and Chhona. That of Kham is said to be the most divergent from the original. The exception above mentioned relates to the Shokpoo or Sokpas, who inhabit the little-known country to the N.N.E. of Lhasa, and who are, also, said to have an alphabet and language of their own. It will be understood from what has been already stated that there is no distinct religious language in Tibet, and that that of the Court and of the Durbar is the same as that spoken by the people, the variations being only those of different localities. The sacred books, as might be naturally expected, contain a considerable admixture of Sanskrit words and phrases, and the priests, in their ritual, occasionally repeat entire Sanskrit *mantras* or prayers. With this exception, however, the spoken language of Tibet borrows nothing from India. With regard to the religious writings, Mr. B. H. Hodgson, a former Resident in Nipal, has given much information which has been recently made more available by the publication of his ‘Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religions of Nipal and Tibet,’ in 1874. Apart from this branch of literature, there is, indeed, but little of interest. A few books exist on Astrology, Medicine, and History, the last-named subject being usually limited to genealogical details. The art of printing, as it is rudely practised in the country, is mainly restricted to the reproduction of old and familiar tracts, and modern original compositions appear to be rare.

“It may be added that the Bhotans apparently call their form of written character of the same language, *Peu*, as stated

in a letter from the Commissioner of Cooch Behar, dated July 19, 1873. In this letter it is stated that the above character is the one used by the educated classes of Bhotans, and that it is very desirable that the frontier officers of the Government of India should become familiar with it."

The Council desire to express their best thanks to Mr. Girdlestone, for the valuable information he has been so good as to furnish to them.

Andaman Islands.—So little has been, hitherto, done to ascertain anything about these islands, that we gladly welcome an interesting essay on them by Mr. Birch, in the *Calcutta Review* for January, 1878, and a more important work, the Translation into the Bôjgingjila or South Andaman language of the Lord's Prayer, by E. H. Man, with a preface, introduction, and notes, by Lieut. R. C. Temple. It is a matter for regret that the funds of the Bengal Asiatic Society have not as yet proved sufficient for the printing of the grammar of this dialect, which Mr. Temple is understood to have prepared and offered to the Council of that Society (Beng. As. Soc. Proc. Febr. 1879).

Among *Miscellaneous Indian*, the following books or papers may be mentioned:—The second edition, much enlarged, of Dr. A. C. Burnell's *Palæography of Southern India*—a very important contribution to Science. The late Dr. Goldschmidt, in his palæographical researches in Ceylon, testified to the value of the facts adduced by Dr. Burnell, and to the importance of the plates given by him in support of his theories. Dr. Burnell still adheres to his opinion that the germs of the South Asoka alphabet, as well as the old Vattelutto, were imported from Western Asia, and were not the original creation of Indian ingenuity. The first volume of Mr. E. B. Eastwick's *Kaiser-Namah-i-Hind*, to be ultimately completed in three similar volumes. This work is intended to contain

the history, biography, and genealogy of the ruling families of India, and is based on local histories and family records. The first volume comprises the History of the Nizâms, chiefly from the Hadikat Alam, both in Persian and English. It is a masterpiece of English and Oriental typography, and is sumptuously illustrated. To Mr. Robert N. Cust we owe "A Sketch of the Modern Languages of the East Indies," illustrated by two Language Maps, a work comprising, within the small compass of less than 160 pages, a mass of miscellaneous and useful information on this subject, never attempted before, and capable of indefinite expansion hereafter. In this small work, the value of which is enhanced by the addition of several valuable appendices, will be found all that can be possibly required by students desirous of knowing the number of the great leading languages of India, with the sub-classification or arrangement of the dialects, accepted by existing scholars, as rightly belonging to them. Among other matters relating to the East, we may notice an article in the *Revista Europea* by Bertolotti, on the Oriental Typography of the xvith century;—that, in the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, founded only so recently as three years, the subjects taught include Sanskrit, Zend, Arabic and Syriac, the object of this institution being the encouragement of advanced study among both professors and students;—the publication by Mr. Samuel Johnson of a useful and comprehensive work in two vols. entitled, "Oriental Religions and their Relation to Universal Religion";—by Mr. J. H. Nelson (District Judge at Cud-dapah), A View of Hindu Law as administered by the High Court of Judicature at Madras;—the third volume of Mr. Beames's valuable work, A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India;—a translation of Prof. Pezzi's work *Glottologia Arya recentissima*, with the title of "Aryan Philology according to the most recent Researches";—two works published by the Society for Promoting Christian

Knowledge, the Coran, by Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., and Sinai, by Prof. E. H. Palmer;—Van der Berg, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*;—the publication of the *Brahmo Year-book* for 1878, edited by Sophia D. Collett;—a paper in the *Bull. de la Soc. Géographique* by Ujfalvy, *Voyage du Zarafschane au Ferghanah et à Kouldja*, forming a very interesting report on a district which has been little visited;—and Clermont-Ganneau, *Mythologie Lexicographique*. It is understood that the admirable reports given for many years in succession by the late M. Jules Mohl, are about to be re-printed, under the editing of his widow. The Palæographical Society, which has already issued so many valuable facsimiles, has now completed the third part of its Oriental series. *De Indische Gids*—a new monthly periodical edited by C. E. van Kesteven at Amsterdam—contains an interesting essay on the irrigation of British India in its February number.

Further Indian and Malayo-Polynesian.—The valuable publication which was commenced last year, chiefly, we believe, at the cost and by the energy of Count Meyners d'Estrey—the “*Annales de l'Extrême Orient: Revue illustré Asiatique et Oceanienne*,”—has been continued and issued with great regularity once a month. It contains a large number of essays and papers relating to Further India, Borneo, Sumatra, the Philippine Islands, etc. Among these may be specified here: *Voyage de Bidar Alam à Djambi*, par Schouw-Sant-Woort;—an interesting notice of the New Hebrides;—*L'Empire de Bouton*, par A. Ligtoet;—*Les Temples de Kedou et de Djoejo-Karta*, par R. Friederich;—*Le Japon de Sud*, and other papers relating to that island, by Dr. Maget;—*Indo-Chine, Etudes d'après les voyages de M. Bastian*, par le Marquis de Crozier;—*Aitchin, Les Gaious et la Mer Intérieure*, par A. Wallon;—*Nouvelle Guinée, La Grande Baie du Geel-vink et Les Hattams*, par H.

von Rosenberg ;—Halmahera (Djilolo), Excursion dans le Nord de l'île, par J. E. Teysmann—avec une introduction de M. Robide van de Aa ;—a paper on the Archipelago of Samoa ;—Archeologie-Iconographique, par R. Friederich ;—La Corée, par un Japonais de Fousun, traduit du Choya Chimboum ;—Les Iles Schouten, par H. von Rosenberg ;—Alahan Pandjang, par M. de Hasselt ;—Cochin-Chine, Litterature concernant ce pays, par le Chevalier J. R. W. Quarles Jufford.

Among books relating to this part of the world, we may notice for *Java* ;—Dabad Tanah Dyawi, a history of Java from the year 1647 of the Java era, by J. J. Meisma ;—Contes Javanais by Dr. Palmer van de Broek ;—Abiasa Wajang, ou pieces de Théâtre Javanais by H. C. Humme ;—and we learn from the Indische Letterbode, pt. ix. that the printing of the late C. F. Winter's Kawi-Javanese Dictionary, edited and annotated by Dr. H. R. van der Tuuk, is nearly finished ;—the great Javanese-Dutch Dictionary by Mr. J. A. Wilkins is progressing.

For the *Malay* language—Makota Radja Radja, ou la couronne des Rois, par Bokhari de Djohore, transl. from the Malay by M. Aristide Marré ;—by Prof. Veth, Das Malayische Archipel ;—History of Ternate in the vernacular and in Malay, by Naidoh—a native of the island—edited by M. van Crab ;—the second volume of M. van de Wall's Malay-Dutch Dictionary is in the press ;—Mr. N. B. Dennys has published a handbook of Malay Colloquial. For *Bali*, we have Bagous Houmbara or Mantri Koripan, a Balinese poem edited with translation by R. van Eck ; and, by the same, Schetsen van het Eiland Bali. Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk has submitted to the Director of Public Instruction at Batavia a specimen of his forthcoming Kawi-Balinese Dictionary, and has sent to the press his Balinese Reader.

For *Amboyna*, Bahasa Tanah—the five principal dialects spoken there—by the Baron de Hoevelt;—and a Sundanese Dictionary by H. J. Oosting is in the press. Colonel Veerstag, in his “Mission Scientifique Neerlandaise à Sumatra,” has given an interesting account of work done since June, 1874. In “*Bibliotheca Americana*,” a work recently published in Paris, M. Leclerc gives an account of the archæology and linguistics of the Philippine Islands.

On the subject of Kambodia we may state that M. Aymonier, the representative of the French Government at the Court of the King of Kambodia, has presented to this Society a copy of his lithographed Khmer-French Dictionary. In the preface is an interesting account of a language little known, chiefly because Kambodia has long had to struggle for independent existence against its neighbours of Siam and Annam. Under the French protectorate the language and literature of Kambodia have become accessible to Europe. M. Aymonier has also published “*Texts Khmers*” with translations in a 4to. volume. The Marquis de la Crozier, to whom we already owe so much in connexion with Kambodia, is about to publish a French-Siamese Dictionary, together with a “*Corpus*” of ancient inscriptions of Siam and Kambodia.

For *Birma* we may notice Captain J. C. F. S. Forbes’s excellent work “*British Birmah and its People*.” Bishop Bigandet has also published “*La Vie et Legende de Gaudema, le Boudha des Birmans*.” *Lettres sur la Birmanie*, par M. Louis Vossion;—and A. W. Lonsdale, *First Steps in Birman*. Mr. W. A. Giles has, also, printed at Amoy a short history of Koolanyu, for circulation among the residents in that locality. We may add that the Transactions of the Bataviaasche Genootschap are as full as usual of valuable papers relating to different parts of the Dutch East Indies, by Messrs. Friederich, T. H. van Kinderken (the President of the Society), Groenevelt, Humme, Palmer van der Broek, etc.

For *Polynesia*, it may be noted that Mr. Whitmee read a paper before the Anthropological Society on Jan. 7 of this year, "On a revised Nomenclature of the Inter-Oceanic Races of Men;" and that his Samoan Dictionary, containing 11,000 words, is now ready. M. Jouan has also published at Caen *La Polynesie, ces productions, habitants, etc.*

China Review.—This publication, as usual, presents during the past year a varied selection of papers—some of them in completion of those begun in earlier numbers—and many of them of considerable value, for their philological or historical views. Thus, in vol. vi. pt. 5, may be noticed Dr. Legge's lectures at Oxford "On Imperial Confucianism;"—the "Bibliography of the Chinese Imperial Collections," by the late Mr. W. F. Mayers;—"Geographical Notes on the Province of Kiang-si," and "Translations of Chinese School Books. 1. Children's Primer;"—"Chinese Moral Sayings Compared with those of the Greek Tragedians," by R. H. Graves;—and a curious account of an ancient Portuguese tombstone, bearing the date A.D. 1624, and still existing outside the walls of Peking. This may be compared with the paper on the tombstones at Goa, by G. Da Cunha, in the *Bombay As. Journ.* vol. xx.

In vol. vi. pt. 6 is a further continuation and the conclusion of Prof. Legge's lectures "On Imperial Confucianism;"—a useful "Titular View of the Officials composing the Chinese Provincial Governments," by F. S. A. Bourne, based principally on official records kept since the beginning of 1874;—a notice by Mr. E. H. Parker of Mr. Chalmers's "Concise Dictionary of Chinese," with a translation of its Preface. Mr. Parker says of the book itself:—"We treat reverently this work as the wonderful result of extraordinary and conscientious labour; as a distinct step to the scientific knowledge of the Chinese language; and as unmistakeably the most scientific of all dictionaries, vocabularies and hand-books yet

produced by foreigners." There is also a paper by Mr. John Ross "On the Corean Language," which will repay perusal. Mr. Ross holds that it is a mistake to class it among monosyllabic languages—and states that "if it once had this feature, it lost this long ago, and it is now no more so than English, perhaps less so than pure Anglo-Saxon." Indeed, Chinese itself is beginning to give up syllabicism.

In vol. vii. pt. 1, is the commencement of an interesting account of "The Chinese in Borneo;"—a continuation of M. Kopsch's "Geographical Notes on the Province of Kiangsi;"—and of "Translations from Chinese School-books;"—"Jottings from the Book of Rites," by J. McIntyre, containing, 1. Death and Burial;—"On the use of the character *Fan*," by X.Y.Z. and Herbert A. Giles;—and "The Critical Disquisitions of Wang-Ch'ung," by A. B. Hutchinson. There is also a paper by Dr. Edkins, "On the Syllabic Spelling," in which he maintains that the Hindoo Buddhists taught the Chinese to spell.

In vol. vii. pt. 2, in like manner, are continuations of many of the articles in the previous number; such as those on "The Critical Disquisitions of Wang Ch'ung," the "Geographical Notes on the Province of Kiangsi," etc. etc. There is, also, a valuable paper by Mr. J. J. De Groot, "On the Idol Kwhoh Shing Wang;"—some "Stray Notes on Subjects in connexion with the late W. F. Mayers's "Chinese Readers' Manual," by Mr. Arendt; and the usual and useful list of new books and other literary matter with reference to China. Mr. Kingsmill, also, contributes the first portion of an article entitled "Ethnological Sketches from the Dawn of History—the Decay of the Djows and their Struggles with the Turks."

In vol. vii. pt. 3, are papers, "On Tonic and Vocal Modification of the Foochow Dialect;"—Mr. McIntyre (in continuation), "Jottings from the Book of Rites;"—by V. W. X.; "Ballads of the Shi-King" (continued);—also, a

continuation of translations from Chinese School Books ;—by Mr. Kingsmill, “Ethnological Sketches from the Dawn of History” ;—with notices of Legends on Chinese Porcelain.

In vol. vii. pt. 4.—A continuation of many previously commenced papers, with a curious essay “On Alchemy in China.”

Besides the papers, etc., in the *China Review*, above noticed, there are a considerable number of others, including letters or essays, in different journals or transactions, together with independently printed books. To each of these classes we shall call attention, taking

1. *Papers*.—Among the miscellaneous papers, attention may be called to Mr. Rhys Davids’ review in *Academy*, Aug. 31, of Prof. Beal’s “Texts from the Buddhist Canon, etc.,” in which he points out the value of the four works discovered among the great collection of Buddhist writings, munificently given by the Japanese Government to the Library of the India Office. The names of these four books he enumerates. See, also, on the same subject, *Athenæum*, August 17. Another very interesting paper is the “Peking Letter,” by Dr. Edkins, in which he gives many details of the scientific life and labours of that distinguished Sinologue, Mr. W. F. Meyers, of whom a brief notice was given in our last Report. Dr. Edkins points out that Mr. Meyers had paid especial attention to the writers of the Han, Sung and Ming Dynasties,—two important results of his studies being, his determination of the early use of gunpowder by the Chinese, and of the loadstone in navigation. Mr. Meyers was, throughout his career, an earnest pleader in behalf of the priority of Chinese discovery over that of Western nations. In the *Bulletin Géographique*, are papers by M. Detreuil de Rhins, La Côté d’Annam et le province de Hue ;—by M. Leon Rousset, Voyage au bassin supérieure du fleuve Jaune et dans la Région de Loess ;—by Dr. J. Harmand, De Barsac à Hué, with an excellent map ;—and in the *Trans. Germ. Or. Soc.*,

H. v. Gabelenz, *Beitrage z. Gesch. d. Chines. Grammatiken u. z. lehre v. d. Gramm. behandlung d. Chinesische Sprache*. In the *Lond. and China Telegr.* for Oct. 14, M. Cordier gives some valuable details of the Chinese MSS. in the Royal Library at Stockholm, and shows that Count Martigny's use of the word "discoveries" is scarcely correct, as they had been described, though but partially, some months since, by the amanuensis to the library, M. A. Strindberg. Besides these MSS., M. Cordier notices one of Marco Polo, in French, of the fourteenth century, 4to. on vellum. In the *Göttingen Gelehrte Anz.* is an able review, by Prof. Pott, of Dr. Eitel's Dictionary of the Canton Dialect;—and in the *Academy*, Nov. 9, one by Dr. Legge, of Dr. Chalmers's Dictionary, in which he expresses the opinion that this work is the nearest approach to a complete lexical exhibition of the Chinese characters which has yet been made.

2. *Books*.—Of these may be noted, Acheson, J., *A Pekinese Index to Williams's Syllabic Dictionary*;—Beal, Rev. J., *Buddhistic Records of the World*;—and, by the same, *Scriptural Texts from the Buddhist Canon, and Buddhist Records of the Western World*, in two vols.;—Dabry de Thiersaut, a reprint of his excellent article, *Sur l'Introduction de l'Islamisme en Chine*;—Edkins, Dr. J., *On Chinese Buddhism*;—A. W. Franks, F.R.S., *Catalogue of the Chinese Porcelain exhibited at Bethnal Green Museum*, 2nd ed.;—Gabelenz, H. von der, *History of the Great Liao*, translated into German from Mantchu;—Giles, H. A., *Glossary of reference on subjects connected with the Far East*;—A.M.H. (Amelin), *Dialogues Français-Chinois traduits du Portugais de Gonçalves*;—Plänckner, R. von, *Translation in German of Confucius's Tchong Yóng*, the second of his four principal works;—Hutchinson, Rev. A. B., *Harmony of the Four Gospels*;—Edkins, Dr., *Religion in China*, 2nd ed.;—Herr Geheimer-Rath Victor von Strauss and Torney (whose labours, as noticed in last year's Report, have formed the

subject of an article, by G. von Gabelenz, in the D. M. G. xxxii. 1), has, after a constant study of seven years, completed his translation into German of the Shi King, or third Canonical Book of the Chinese, and the entire MS. is ready for the press. The work consists of 309 poems in rhyme, and is divided into 1. The manners and customs of the various feudal dependencies; 2. Odes for the greater and lesser festivals; 3. Songs of Praise;—H. von Gabelenz has already pleaded strongly for this work and the printing of it—see D. M. G. xxxii. 1;—*Hwan you ti chieu Sin lu* (New account of Travels round the Globe)—a very interesting view by the Chinese Envoy on his visit to the Philadelphia Exhibition, Japan, England and France—in 4 vols.;—lastly, what may probably be considered the most important work of the year, M. Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica*—a complete *Catalogue raisonnée*, of the highest order. This great work will ultimately embrace five principal divisions. 1. China Proper. 2. Foreigners in China. 3. Relations of the Chinese with Foreigners. 4. Chinese in Foreign Countries. 5. Countries tributary to China.—Other books worthy of note are, M. Imhault-Huart, *Conquête de la Birmanie par les Chinois sous le regne de Tchien Ling*;—De Rosny, *Les peuples Orientaux connues des anciens Chinois*;—and M. Callery, *Correspondance Diplomatique Chinoise*.—Among miscellaneous or incidental matters relating to China, we may note that to Dr. E. Bretschneider has been adjudged the Stanislas-Julien Prize;—that Mr. Ho is engaged in translating Shakespere and Blackstone into Chinese;—that Captain Gill has recently presented to the British Museum, a small MS. (apparently Buddhist prayers) and in hieroglyphic characters;—and that the translation of the Peking Gazette has been continued and has now reached vol. vii.

The Rev. S. Beal delivered two Lectures at University College, in connexion with his Chinese Professorship in March.

In the first he dwelt on the evidence afforded by chance

works, principally the Buddha tcharita, recently brought to his notice, respecting the genuineness of the records handed down concerning Kâlâsoka and the so-called second Buddhist Council. Asvaghosha, the author of the *Buddha tcharita*, states distinctly that there was only *one* Asoka, and that his name was at first "the fierce," but after his conversion he was called "the religious" (dharma). Asvaghosha was the twelfth Buddhist Patriarch, contemporary with Parsvika and Kanishka; his evidence therefore on this vexed point is of considerable importance. In his second Lecture Mr. Beal referred to an interesting work, written by the same eminent Buddhist priest (Asvaghosha), called *Ta chuong yen king lun* (Mahâlamkara Sutra Shastra), and which is known in its Prakrit form to Rajendralala Mitra. Mr. Beal translated a number of sermons from this work (the Chinese version was made by Kumârajiva, *circ.* 400 A.D.), which relate to questions of *caste* and the true character of a religious life. This work, as yet, has not been known to exist in China.

Japan.—Among papers connected with Japan, may be mentioned, in the Geogr. Magazine for August, one entitled "Saghalin from a Japanese Source";—in the Westminster Review for the same month, one "On the Mythology and Religious Worship of the Ancient Japanese," gathered apparently from original and native works, and, therefore, so far reliable;—a paper by the Rev. W. E. Griffis, read before the American Geographical Society, in which he concludes that the real aborigines of the Japanese Archipelago are the present population of Yedo, and of the adjacent islands, about 20,000 in number, and most correctly named, the Ainos—a race, short and thick-set, with bushy beards and red hair. The conquerors of the aboriginal population, he considers, made their way to Japan from Mantchuria through Corea. The paper, which is given nearly if not quite in full, in the London and China Telegraph for Sept. 2, p. 748, is well

worthy of perusal.—M. Pfizmaier has completed his two former essays in the *Abh. d. Kais. Acad. de Wien*, on “Die Geschichte einer Lulu wanderung in Japan”—and “Die Nebel der Klage.”

Among books more or less referring to Japan, may be noted Mr. C. Ayrton’s “Child-life in Japan,” one peculiarity of which is, that the illustrations are drawn and engraved by Japanese artists;—Sir Rutherford Alcock, “Art and Art Industries in Japan”—an excellent subject, admirably treated;—Brown, Rev. J., *Revelation of St. John*, translated into Japanese;—the translation into Japanese of that part of the late Sir Edward Creasy’s *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*, which relates to that of Marathon, by Idowa rudo Kureshi;—an appendix, published at New York, to the third edition of “*Mikado’s Empire*,” comprising, in a simple form, a record of the events of the years 1876, 1877 and 1878, with a history of the Christian missions and an excellent account of the ceramic art of Japan.

Among miscellanea, we may notice that M. Leon de Rosny has read before the Acad. des Inscr. a memoir, “*Sur les Dialogues populaires du Nippon*”;—that, in the “*Osaka Nippo*,” a native Japanese newspaper, will be found an interesting account of *Fusan*, on the southern coast of Corea, where the Japanese have had a fishing establishment for nearly two centuries;—that Mr. C. J. Tarring, an English Barrister, has been appointed Professor of English Law in the University of Tokio, where he is to lecture in English, this having been now adopted as the learned language of the University;—and that the Imperial Engineering College at Tokio, opened by the Mikado in person in July, 1877, and said to be the handsomest modern building in Japan, appears to be extremely well managed, all its catalogues being printed in Japanese and English. Connected with this college is a printing office. The ordinary training of the youths in it extends over six years; and to be eligible for the matriculation

examination, a knowledge of English is indispensable; hence it has not unfrequently occurred that candidates have presented themselves, who had altogether neglected the study of their native language. Lastly, from the *Bollettino Italiano*, we learn, that M. Valeriano is progressing with his catalogue of Japanese books.

Korean Language.—Our knowledge of this language was very imperfect, indeed was only through Chinese and Japanese channels, until last year Mr. Aston, already favourably known as a Japanese scholar, published a brief description of it in the *Japan Mail* (newspaper). The late Mr. Mayers (as stated in last year's Report) was, at the period of his untimely death, preparing a grammar of Korean, but did not live to complete it. The Koreans have the advantage of a very complete alphabet, and are so far in advance of their two neighbours. In the Report of the Philological Society for the present year, all that is known about this language of the extreme East has been collected and put together by Mr. R. N. Cust.

Turkish.—For Turkish, it may be noted that M. Vambéry has published "*Etymologische Wörterbuch d. Turko-Tatarischen Sprache*";—M. De Courdemanche, "*Mille et un proverbes de Turcs*" translated by him;—Dr. H. Ethé, of the University College, Aberystwith, the text of the well-known novel *Siret-Sayyed Battul*, from the Constantinople edition, collated with various MSS., of which one of the best is in the Bodleian Library, with a Turkish-English Glossary;—and Capt. C. F. Mackenzie, a *Manual of the Turkish Language*;—Mr. Redhouse has, also, read before the Royal Society of Literature a paper, "*On Turkish Poetry, with a View of the Islamic Doctrine with respect to the Souls of Women.*"

Semitic Literature.—Hebrew.—The work done during the

last year has not been less satisfactory than in former years. Thus, in *Hebrew*, we have to record a valuable work by Dr. Schiller Sziinessy, already favourably known by his previous labours at Cambridge, entitled "Occasional Notices of Hebrew MSS.," which contains a detailed description of the famous and unique MS. of the Talmud of Jerusalem preserved at Leyden; at the same time bringing into prominent notice the hitherto unknown fact that Jacob ibn Adoniyah, who was one of the first editors of the Massorah, assisted, also, largely in the *Editio Princeps* of the Talmud of Jerusalem. Mr. Sziinessy has also given a valuable account of the Mishnah in the University Library at Cambridge, extracted from the second part of his as yet unedited Catalogue of Hebrew MSS.

To Sign. Frederico Sacchi we owe a work, important in the history of printing, "I Tipografi Hebrei di Soncino," and interesting as showing how soon after the invention of printing that art was applied to the reproduction of Hebrew MSS. The press for this purpose was established at Soncino in 1483, before which time about twenty-five works only are known to have been printed. To the founders, therefore, of the Soncino printing establishment, great credit is due for the perfecting of the art. In his list of books issued from the press between 1483 and 1547 Signor Sacchi has given, in chronological order, not only the Hebrew works, but those in other languages, thus greatly enhancing the value of his essay. This family of printers, of whom Gerson was the most eminent, had been driven from Spiers by religious persecution.—A second volume has been published of M. Moise Schwab's work, "Le Talmud du Jerusalem," and Dr. Rabbinoicz has issued a translation of the "Tractatus Baba Kamâ" of the Babylonian Talmud, which forms the second volume of the series called "La Legislation civile du Talmud."—An important work on Biblical chronology has been published by Prof. Johann Raska, with the title of "Die Chronologie der Bibel in Einklangs mit der Zeitrechnung der Egypter.

und der Assyrier": the book is divided into five parts: 1. Chronology of the Old Testament. 2. Egyptian Chronology. 3. Chronology of Greece. 4. Assyrian Chronology. 5. Israel's Chronology after the Exodus, with two appendices. The author is a warm supporter of the existing Bible-chronology, and where he deals with the Assyrian Canon, appears to agree for the most part with Dr. Oppert. Prof. Raska is evidently well acquainted with the latest researches, in all countries, with reference to Egypt and Assyria. The synchronical table of the kings of Judah, Israel, Assyria and Egypt, according to Ptolemy's Canon, at the end of the work, will be found very useful.—The Baron David de Gunzburg has written an essay on the poetical book "*Tharshish*" by Moses bin Ezra of Grenada (12th century), and is now engaged on the preparation of an edition of the book itself, according to MSS. he has discovered in various libraries. The Ginsburg family possess themselves a very fine collection of Hebrew MSS., about 900 in number. They are kept in Paris, and it was from them that Dr. Neubauer procured much of the material he made use of in his "*Histoire des Rabbins Français du Troisième Siècle*" (vol. xxvii. of the "*Histoire Littéraire de la France*"), to which reference was made in last year's Report. The Hungarian Rabbinical Seminary, which was established about a year since, has already made a valuable contribution to Rabbinical Literature by the publication of a *Jahresbericht*, in German and Hungarian, preceded by a learned essay on the history of the *Agada*, by Prof. W. Bacher, bearing the title of "*Die Agada der Babylonisch Amoräer.*" This essay is of much importance for the history of the compilation of the Babylonian Talmud. Dr. Delitsch has issued, as an University Programme, an examination of the variants of the Hebrew Complutensian Polyglot, based on MSS. previously uncollected. He is of opinion, that he has found the manuscript sources of the text in two *Codices* preserved at Madrid. It may be added, that a second edition

has been published of the Hebrew translation of the New Testament by the same scholar, which was originally published by the British and Foreign Bible Society. This work has been in such demand on the Continent that it was almost impossible for English students to procure it. It has now been thoroughly revised and stereotyped. Although much work has been done for it by many and various hands,—scholars, clergymen, missionaries, and others,—it bears now the final stamp not of a committee of scholars but of one single mind. It is now more than forty years since Dr. Delitsch published his first contribution to Hebrew-Christian scholarship,—a translation of the passage in favour of charity, 1 Cor. xiii., at the end of a sketch of Jewish Christian Hebrew literature.

Jewish scholarship in America is beginning to make its mark, and has found in Dr. Kohler, of Chicago, an able expositor, his translation of the "Song of Solomon" being very well done. In this work, Dr. Kohler adopts the view, that it is a semi-dramatic poem, of a popular character, with interlocutors and chorus; and assigns it to a period subsequent to Hezekiah, thus following, in his textual criticism, the previously pronounced views of Grätz and Brüll. He has also communicated a new explanation of the meaning of the name of the month of Ethanim (1 Kings viii. 2), and connects it with the Tower of Babel, on the ground, that Tisri or Ethanim is called in Accadian "the month of the holy mound," in allusion to the Babylonian legend of the mythical structure, the erection of which was undertaken by the rebellious spirits under Etanna (see Sayce's *Babyl. Literature*, p. 32). The meaning of Ethanim in Hebrew or Phœnician is "the strong ones." Be this suggestion wise or not, the connexion of the Hebrew Calendar with that of Babylon is now very generally accepted. The title of Dr. Kohler's work on the "Song of Songs," which has been published at New York, is "Das Hohelied übersetzt und kritisch neubearbeitet."

Dr. David Kaufmann has published a useful work, entitled "Geschichte der Attributenlehre in der Judische Religion's philosophie des Mittel Alters von Saadja bis Maimuni," a lucid and scholarly work on the Divine attributes as set forth and expounded by the Jewish theologians of the Middle Ages, especially by such writers as Saadja Gaon, Salomon ibn Gabirol, Jehuda Halewi, Abraham ibn Daud, and Maimonides. In this work, Dr. Kaufmann has opened up the way to a recondite and neglected field of research, and has, at the same time, filled up a defective page in the general history of human thought.—Mr. Matthews has added a fresh contribution to Hebrew literature in his "Notes from various authors on the Psalms, Job, the Megilloth (except Ruth) and Ezra," edited from MSS. in the Bodleian and British Museum, and reprinted from the *Israelitische Letter Bode*. These "Notes," consist chiefly of extracts from David Kimchi, Jounah ibn Gannah, and another writer, who, Mr. Matthews thinks, he can identify with Benjamin ben Judah of Rome.

Dr. Bickell, of Innsbruck, who is already well known for many valuable papers, etc., on Hebrew subjects, has just brought out an interesting essay on Biblical metres, with the title of "Metricæ Biblicæ regulæ exemplis illustratæ," one result of his work being, the possible identification of the Biblical Metre with that used by Ephrem Syrus. How far this theory can be maintained remains as yet *sub judice*; but it seems to be generally admitted, that the Psalms and other poetical portions of the Bible are metrical compositions; there is, indeed, no adequate reason for supposing that the Hebrews, in this respect, formed an exception to all other nations.—Mr. James Kennedy has done good work by his translation of Ewald's Syntax of the Hebrew Language of the Old Testament, and has shown himself well acquainted with his subject, in that he has not reproduced the whole of it, thinking no doubt that in some parts, especially the earlier portions, this great and philosophic scholar has been surpassed by more recent writers.

Mr. Kennedy has been careful to refer to the grammars of other Semitic languages, as to Mr. Driver's treatise "On the use of the Tenses in Hebrew," and to add to his work two very complete *indices*.—The Rabbinical School at Paris is following the example of those at Breslau, Berlin, and Buda-Pesth, by bringing out programmes of further and proposed work. Thus, one of the pupils of the Paris School is preparing an edition of the Arabic text of Maimonides's Book of Commandments, of which work only two MSS. of the Arabic original, one at Paris and the other at Oxford, are known to exist.—From Paris, also, we have to record the publication in that city by the veteran scholar B. Goldberg, assisted by M. Adelman, of a monthly periodical under the title of *Chayye 'Olam*, in which only extracts from old and valuable Hebrew MSS. are to be given. The first *fasciculus* contains three important articles: 1. The letter by the Rabbi Eliyyah of Paris, describing his voyage from Venice to Famagusta in Cyprus. 2. The Responsa Rashi. 3. Responsum Gershom. The first has naturally much interest for Englishmen at the present time. A portion of this letter, dated Oct. 18, 1563, it may be added, was translated into German by the late Dr. Jost (see Jahrb. f. d. Gesch. d. Juden u. d. Judenthums, 2 Bd., Leipzig, 1861), and a considerable extract given from it in the *Athenæum* of Sept. 7, 1878, in a carefully drawn-up essay, entitled "Cyprus in Jewish Works." Many of the details given by this Jewish eye-witness, especially as regards the natural features, productions, etc., of the island, will be found to agree remarkably with what we now know from recent experience.—Another Hebrew periodical, the *Hammelitz*, which was published at Odessa between 1861 and 1870, under the editorship of Herr Zederbaum, has now been transferred to St. Petersburg and placed in the hands of M. Harkavy.

Among other books or papers connected with Hebrew either recently published, or just about to appear, may be mentioned—

Castelli, D., Studij Della Poesia Biblica;—Black, F., Einleitung in das Alte Testament, 4 auflage, bearbeitet von J. Wellhausen;—Ball, O., Hebrew Gradual for Merchant Taylors' School;—Wright, C. H. H., Critical Edition of the Talmud;—Ginsburg, Dr., Text of the Massorah, the MS. of which, filling nine folio volumes, has been recently forwarded to Vienna, in charge of a Queen's Messenger, by order of Lord Salisbury, no English house having been found willing to undertake the expense of the printing; the Government has, we are glad to hear, granted the sum of £200 towards this outlay;—Nutt, J. W., Commentary on Isaiah;—Cheyne, T. K., New Translation of Isaiah:—Schlossberg, M., The Habakkoth from the MS. in the Bodleian;—M. Luzzatto, the completion of the publication of his father's letters;—Hershon and Wolkenberg, The Pentateuch according to the Talmud;—Karle, J. A., Joel-ben-Bethuel, Propheta;—Nathan, Fil. Jechielis, Plenus Aruch Targum-Talmudico-Midrash Verbale et reale Lexicon;—Roller, E., Account of the Franco-German War of 1870–1, in Hebrew;—Müller, Dr. A., Schul-Grammatik;—Israelitische Letterbode; or, Notes from various writers. In the Trans. Germ. Orient. Society, xxxii. 4, are two papers by MM. Wolf and Hommel respectively—the first entitled, “ Bemerkungen zu dem Wortlaute der Amunot we-Deot,” and the second, **אשר** Ursprungliche substantiv zu, trennen von **אשר** (**אשר**) ursprünglichem pronominalstamm.

Arabic.—Many excellent papers have been published during the last year on matters appertaining to the Arabic language or literature in the transactions of English and other societies, or in the scientific journals. Among these are, in the J. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. Pt. 1, Ancient Arabic Poetry, its genuineness and authenticity, by Sir W. Muir, K.C.S.I.;—Arabic Amulets and Mottoes, by E. T. Rogers, Ibid.;—by Sir Edward Colebrooke, On the proper names of

Mohammadans, *Ibid.*—In the *Journ. Asiatique*, M. Devic, *Quelques mots à ajouter aux Lexiques Arabes*, Aug.-Sept., 1878;—Guyard, S., *Note sur une particularité de la Métrique Arabe Moderne*, *Ibid.* Oct.-Dec.—In the *Trans. Germ. Or. Soc.* vol. xxxii. 2, are papers by J. Goldziher, *Ueber Muhammedanische Polemik gegen Ahl-el-kitâb*, with interesting letters by Profs. A. Müller and Steinschneider “*Zur Polemische und apologetische Literatur in Arabische Sprache* ;”—in pt. 3, by Weidemann, *Zur Chemie der Araber*;—by Dr. Loth, *On a MS. of Tabari*, lately procured in Egypt by Hof von Kremer;—and in pt. 4, also, by M. Steinschneider, the third part of his “*Arabische Aerzte und deren Schrift.*” M. Steinschneider has also, continued, in the *Bollettino Italiano*, his useful notes on “*Manoscritti Arabici in caratteri Ebraici.*” In the same *Transactions*, xxxiii. 1, 2, M. Spitta has given an article entitled, “*Die Lücken in Gewaliki’s Mu’arrab.*” In the *Bull. Geograph.* are papers by MM. Rey and Duveyrier—the first, *On the Tribe of the Ansayries*; the second, *Notice sur la schisme Ibadhite à propos d’une lettre de Masqueray*. M. Masqueray, we understand, has been recently making an archaeological tour in the southern part of Algeria.

The most important work of the year has been the bringing out of the first half volume of *Tabari*, under the title of “*Annales auctore Abu Djafar Muhammed ibn Djarir At-Tabari*,” and edited by Drs. Barth, Noldeke, Loth, and nine other eminent scholars of Sweden, Germany, Italy and France. M. de Goeje expresses the hope that, henceforward, the work of printing will go on steadily, so that, in 1880, not only the second part of the first volume, but, also, the first half volume of the second and third series, will be published.

Other works of importance are, Buhl, F., *Linguistic and Historical Contributions towards Arabic Grammar*, with texts from *Ibn-al-Hagib’s As-safya*;—Lane, E. W., *Selections from the Kur-an*, a new ed., by S. L. Poole, M.R.A.S.;—Kosut,

Funf Streitfragen der Basrenser und Kufenser über die Abwandlung des Nomen aus Ibn-el-Anbari's Kitâb el Insâl;—Dozy's Supplement aux Dict. Arabés, pts. 3 and 4;—Müller, Prof. M. G. (the late), the second part of his History of the Arabs;—Socin, A., Arabische Sprich-wörter und Redens-artin gesammelt und erklärt (with a good note thereon by C. Ganneau, Journ. Asiat., Oct.-Dec., 1878);—Trumpp, E., Beiträge zur erklärung der Mufassil;—Weil, Historisch-kritische einleitung in den Koran, 2nd ed.;—Wherry, E. M. (of Lodiána), A Comprehensive Commentary to the Qoran. The late M. Garçin de Tassy, but a short time before his death, issued a second and considerably enlarged edition of his "Mémoire sur les noms propres et les titres Musulmanes";—E. Fagnan has published, in the Journ. Asiat., Note sur Naçir ibn Khosrou, Jan.-Feb., 1879;—and M. S. V. Carletti, Idh-har-ul-Haqq, ou manifestation de la Vérité de El-Hage Rahmat-Ullah Effendi de Delhi—traduit de l'Arabe.

In the "Bibliotheca Indica" are Akbar Nameh of Abu Fazl, edited by Maulawi Abd-ur-Rahman, vol. i. fasc. vi.-vii.;—Ibn Hajar, A Biographical Dict. of the persons who had seen Muhammad, ed. by Maulawi Abd-ul-Hal, fasc. xvi.-xvii.;—Perron, Dr., has printed, L'Islamisme, son institution, son influence et son avenir;—J. la Beaume, Le Koran analysé;—M. Dugat, Histoire des Philosophes et des Theologians Musulmans;—Rodet, L., L'Algebre d'Al-Kharizm;—Lanzona, R. V., The Arabic Text of the Diary of Kaid Ba (Kait-Bey), with the title of "Viaggio in Palestino, 1477;" the Italian preface contains the Sultan's Biography;—Lüttke, M., Der Islam und seine Völker;—Fell, W., Indices in Beidhawii Commentarium in Coranum;—Le Clerc, Traité des Simples d'Ibn Baithar. It may be added here, that M. Sachau's translation of Albiruni's Athur-ul-Bakiyeh will be out in a few days, and several other works are in progress by Professors E. H. Palmer and W. Wright of Cambridge, J. Payne, and others.

Dr. J. Euting has completed his "Katalog d. k. Universitäts Bibliothek in Strassburg : Arabische Literatur" — an excellent work, as all that comes from M. Euting's pen is sure to be ; at the same time, such a catalogue is somewhat premature, as there are few, if any books in the library, which it would be worth while to visit Strasburg to see. Dr. Th. Houtsma has edited and translated Akhtal's Praise of the Umayyads, of some value for its political bearing on the times of the Khalifah Abd-al-Malik ;—and M. Sauvaire has published a translation of El-Fatawa-l-Khayryah, a work of much interest to those who devote themselves to the study of Muhammadan Law.

Syriac, etc.—The second part of the late Dr. G. Mosinger's "Monumenta Syriaca ex Romanis codicibus collecta" has been edited by Dr. Bickell, and published at Innsbruck ; and M. Paul de la Garde has contributed to No. 10 of the *Nachrichten* of the Society of Science at Gottingen, a review of Dr. Schlottman's interpretation of the well-known Aramaic inscription of Carpentias, published forty years ago by Gesenius. M. Klamroth has published "Gregorii Abulpharagii Bar Ebraya in Actus Apostolorum et Epistolas Catholicas annotationes Syriace."—To the Académie des Inscriptions, June 7, 1878, M. Renan has communicated a new Interpretation, by M. Clermont-Ganneau, of an Aramæan Papyrus, on which occurs the name of a Persian, Mithrawahishtas — the Greek *Μιθραύστης*. The date of this would seem to fall naturally between the times of Cambyses and of Alexander the Great. In the *Trans.* of the Germ. Oriental Society, vol. xxxii. part 3, is a paper by E. Nesle, entitled Jakob von Edessa über den Schem hamme-phorash und anderer Gottesnamen, and a few remarks on the same, by Dr. Hoffmann, in part 4.

Æthiopic.—M. Zotenberg has completed a catalogue of the Æthiopic MSS. in the National Library at Paris ; and M.

Antoine d'Abbadie has read before the Académie des Inscriptions a paper "On the Æthiopic Inscriptions at Axum." Prof. Prætorius has brought out part 1 of his *Amharische Sprache—Laut und Formen-lehre.*—In the *Journ. Asiatique*, Oct.-Dec., 1878, M. Zotenberg has given the 3rd part of his *Mémoire sur la Chronique Byzantine de Jean Evêque de Nikios.*—In the *Trans. Germ. Or. Soc.* xxxii. 3, is a paper by D. H. Müller, "Ueber die Nuration und die Mimation," as occurring in Himyaritic.—In the *Esploratore* for Jan. 1879, No. 7, is a brief notice of the Languages spoken in Abyssinia.

Assyriaca.—There has been no falling off in the work done during the last year for the promotion of Cuneiform research both at home and abroad; while a considerable amount of new material has been made available for the further and more comprehensive study of scholars. Thus the Society of Biblical Archæology has printed in vol. vi. part 2, of their *Transactions*, papers by F. Lenormant, "Les noms de l'airain et du cuivre dans les deux langues des Inscriptions Cunéiformes de la Chaldée et de l'Assyrie." [This paper was noticed as *read*, in the Report of 1878.]—By the Rev. W. Houghton, "On the Hieroglyphic or picture origin of the Assyrian Syllabary."—By T. G. Pinches, "Note upon Babylonian dated Tablets and the Canon of Ptolemy."—By E. A. Budge, "On Assyrian Incantations to Fire and Water."

At various meetings of the Society, the following papers have also been read:—By Mr. T. G. Pinches, "On the bronze gates of Shalmanezar II., discovered by Mr. Rassam at Balawat," and bearing an Inscription, which treats of the first nine years of the reign of that monarch, from B.C. 859 to B.C. 851;—and also, "On a new fragment of the history of Nebuchadnezzar III.;"—by J. Oppert, "On Babylonian Contract Tablets, showing their difference from the Assyrian," with the translation of two Tablets;—by E. A. Budge, "On a recently discovered Text of Assur-nazir-pal, with translation

and Notes," put together from tablets found by Mr. Rassam at Balawat, in an alabaster coffer, near the temple dedicated to the god Makhir. It has not been found possible (though not from any lack of students) to continue during the past year the Archaic classes for instruction in the Assyrian and Egyptian languages, which have been a marked feature in the administration of this Society. It is hoped, however, that successful arrangements may be carried out for this purpose during the next year.

In "Records of the Past," vol. xi. are several papers of interest, of which we may specify those by the Rev. A. H. Sayce, "On an Inscription of Nimmon-Nirari I."—"Texts relating to the fall of the Assyrian Empire"—"Ancient Babylonian Legend of the Creation"—"The Overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah"—"Two Accadian Hymns"—"Assyrian Tribute Lists"—"An Assyrian fragment of Geography"—and "Accadian Proverbs and Songs";—by Jules Oppert, "On the Bull Inscription from Khorsabad"—"Inscriptions of the Harem of Khorsabad"—"Texts of the foundation stone of Khorsabad"—"Babylonian Legends found at Khorsabad"—and "The latest Assyrian Inscription";—by the Rev. W. Houghton, "Record of a Hunting Expedition";—by the Rev. W. B. Finlay, "Inscription of Assur-izir-pal";—by E. A. Budge, "On the Nebbi Yunus Inscription of Sennacherib"—and "Assyrian Incantations to Fire and Water";—by T. G. Pinches, "Oracle of Istar of Arbela"—"Report-Tablets"—and "The Egibi Tablets";—by F. Lenormant, "Chaldean Legends to the Sun";—and by J. Halevy, "On Assyrian Fragments."—Most of these papers, it will be remembered, have appeared before elsewhere, and sometimes more than once. The editors of this series have, however, consulted public convenience in bringing them together into one handy volume.—This volume completes (we understand) the Assyrian series; vol. xii. being, at present, at all events, intended for miscellaneous contributions.

The Trustees of the British Museum have, through the exertions of Sir A. H. Layard, been able to obtain for Mr. Rassam a much more complete *firman* than has ever been granted before. Hitherto, the limited range of these grants has proved an endless source of trouble and worry. The one now secured permits Mr. Rassam's new expedition to assume a much more extensive character, and to embrace the whole of the Pashaliks of Mosul and Baghdad as far as the Hye. A good beginning has, also, been made by Mr. Henderson at *Yerabolus* (Hierapolis or Carchemish), whence many slabs covered with Hama-thite inscriptions have been excavated and removed to Alexandretta for eventual transmission to England. The excavations on this interesting site are still in progress.

The arrival in England of the remarkable bronze plated gates discovered by Mr. Rassam at Balawat was noticed in the Report of last year. These gates have now been carefully cleaned and put together by Mr. Ready, of the British Museum, and are found to possess even higher interest than was at first supposed; while, at the same time, the general subject of the reliefs can now be determined. It is probable that they were made from sketches taken during the march through Northern Syria of the Assyrian King in his well-known invasion of that country in B.C. 885, the whole work being part of a trophy dedicated to Nerghal and Venus Victrix, at Balawat (the Belabad of the Arab geographers), and, perhaps, referring to the well-known monument above the Lycus (or Nahr-el-Kelb). A secluded glen among the mountains, perhaps that of Aphaka, is also represented, and the King performing a sacrifice; and three caverns cut in the face of the rock, in which men are bathing in water flowing from a waterfall. It has been repeatedly stated that remains of a Cuneiform Inscription are still to be seen at Aphaka; but up to this time no copy of them has been made. Near this scene, a soldier and a scribe are cutting a memorial tablet and a sculpture of the King, similar (presumably) to that at the

Nahr-el-Kelb. Behind this pair two other soldiers approach, leading a ram and a bull for the sacrifice; and, above the whole, is inscribed, "Victims I offered, an image of my royalty I caused to be fixed." The character of country exactly resembles the description by Dr. Robinson of the glen of Afka, who thought that the caverns were partially artificial. The pools may have been those in which the devotees of Astaroth or Astarte purified themselves. The temple is placed on the slope of the hill—on rock levelled for the purpose. Before it stands a priest, conversing with an Assyrian scribe, and near the priest are four conical stones, the *Bætulin*, perhaps, of Ishtar. The King is approaching this group, and, in the distance, three soldiers are slaying the bull for the sacrifice. Besides the above curious scene, there are, also, on these bronze reliefs, pictures of a large number of places in Western Asia, which may be of some use in elucidating Assyrian topography. The discovery of this temple in the glen of Aphaka adds a link to the long list of temples dedicated to Ishtar, and now recognized as having existed at Babylon, Assur, Kalakh, Nineveh, Carchemish, Aphaka, and Byblus, and thence on to Cyprus and Greece.

It may be further remarked that this Assyrian (probably the original) art of plating wood with metal was evidently in early (perhaps in contemporary) use in Greece: thus Homer praises the bright copper walls of the palaces of Alcinoüs and Menelaüs; Pausanias speaks of the bronze chambers of the treasury of the Sicyonians at Delphi, and of the bronze temple of Athene Chalkioikoz at Sparta: moreover, the ornamental patterns on some of the stones of the so-called treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ are evidently derived from metal works. A portion of the Balawat gates, which has found its way to Paris, has been described, with text and photographs, by F. Lenormant, in the *Gazette Archéologique*, livr. 4, 1878.

Of miscellaneous matters connected with Assyria it may be,

also, mentioned that the British Museum has also obtained, through the agency of Mr. Rassam, a number of Babylonian inscriptions of the time of Nebuchadnezzar, and of the later Babylonian and Persian kings; and, also, by purchase, many interesting inscriptions, of the kind known as contract-tablets, and dated in the reigns, respectively, of Mithradates II. and Artabanus II. These tablets are the more important, in that they are dated with the dual system of both the Seleucidan and Arsacidan eras, first clearly pointed out by the late G. Smith, and thus fix by indisputable authority the starting points of both these epochs. The revolt of the Seleucidæ is thus shown to have taken place in B.C. 312, and that of the Arsacidæ (84 years subsequently) in B.C. 228. These tablets, with the exception of one dated in the reign of Pakorus, and now in the Museum at Zurich, are the latest examples of Cuneiform writing as yet discovered. Of other monuments of special interest may be noticed (as also procured by Mr. Rassam) a 12-sided cylinder of Ashur-banipal, in good preservation, and, in its 1200 lines of writing, rivalling the well-known "Taylor" cylinder of Sennacherib, and dated during the Archonship of Shamas-danin-ani at Nineveh B.C. 640; and some beautiful carvings in ivory, superior to any previously preserved in the British Museum. A new cylinder of Sennacherib has, also, been found at Koyunjik, containing the King's annals for the first twelve years of his reign, and an inscribed stone of Budel, King of Assyria, about B.C. 1350. It may be added, here, that on one of the collection, known as the Egibi Tablets, Mr. Boscawen has made the discovery "of two neatly drawn and figured plans of the estates" referred to on it. The first of these relates to an estate on the banks of "the Royal River" near Babylon, the dimensions of which are given in cubits; the names of the owners of the adjacent lands are also recorded. On its eastern side, where the bounding line is a curve, both radius and circumference are carefully measured. The

second document, which bears the date of Darius the son of Hystaspes, gives a computation from which the square measures in use at Babylon can be readily determined. Another tablet, in the 24th year of the same monarch, B.C. 516, contains a long inventory of arms, stores, and other war material, deposited in the temple of the war god Nerghal at Babylon. It is worthy of remembrance that this was about the period of Darius's invasion of Greece.

It may be further interesting to Semitic scholars to know that there is a prospect of Cuneiform discovery in the island of Bahrein, near the entrance of the Persian Gulf, which, according to the local traditions repeated by the Greeks, was the original seat whence the colonists came who founded Tyre, Sidon, and other Phœnician ports in the Mediterranean.

Major E. Durand, the eldest son of the late Sir Henry Durand, now Assistant to the Resident in the Persian Gulf, having been deputed recently on political duty to the island of Bahrein, has discovered a very extensive series of ancient sepulchral tumuli, which will, probably, yield important results. Already, Major Durand has found a small fragment of basalt, detached from one of these mounds, which commemorates, in the Hieratic Cuneiform character, the palace of a certain King Rimugas, the servant of the God Inzak, of whom nothing was before known; and slabs of masonry, projecting at many points through the soil of the mound, seemed to invite excavation. The attention of the Trustees of the British Museum having been drawn to this new field of research, they have authorized a limited expenditure on experimental excavations at Bahrein, and whenever Major Durand's services can be spared from his official duties at Bushire, to superintend the work, an attempt will be made to open the most promising mounds.

The following important papers have been published in different journals, with reference to Cuneiform researches. Thus, in the *Academy*, by M. F. Lenormant, "On the Ocean

of Chaldean Traditions," July 6, 1878, and "On the Penitential Psalms of the Chaldeans," July 20;—by T. G. Pinches, "On Rassam's Assyrian Art Treasures," Aug. 24 and Sept. 7; and "On Assyrian Names," Oct. 26;—by W. St. Chad Boscawen, "Babylonian Creation Legends—the Lunar Phases and their Legends," July 27; "Reply to M. Lenormant," Sept. 14; and in the *Athenæum*, Sept. 28, "Syrian Topography, as delineated on Mr. Rassam's bronzes from Balawat."

Mr. Sayce has contributed a paper, entitled "La position de l'Article défini," to the *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, iv. 1, 1879, with the object of showing that the Assyrian demonstrative begins to pass into a definite article in the inscriptions of the Achæmenian period.

Abroad, M. Halevy continues his controversy on the subject of the earliest Assyrian, and has denied, in a series of papers read before the Académie des Inscriptions, the existence of the so-called Accadian characters;—and M. Joachim Menant has given, before the same body, an account of some cylinders examined by him at the British Museum. Prof. Tiele, in the Oct. No. of "Theologisch Tijdschrift," in an article entitled "Premature Comparisons," has expressed grave doubt as to the soundness of some of M. Lenormant's recent Accadian researches, especially with reference to his idea that the Accadian Triad of Ana, Hea, and Mulge, correspond with the Finnish Triad of Ukko, Wainamoinen, and Ilmarinen; believing, as he does, that the myths of these Finnish heroes (or gods) are really of Germanic origin.

In the *Journal Asiatique* (April–May–June, 1878), M. Lenormant has printed a paper entitled, "Incantation Magique Chaldéenne Bilingue—texte primitive Accadien, avec version Assyrienne";—M. Stanislas Guyard, "Remarque sur le mot Assyrien *sabai*, et sur l'expression Biblique *Bet Zabou!*" (Aug.–Sept.);—M. Lenormant, *Hymne au Soleil, Texte Primitive Accadien, etc.* (Oct.–Dec.);—M. Stanislas Guyard, *Notes de Lexicographie Assyrienne* (Ibid.);—Lenormant, *Hymne au*

Soleil—conclusion (Jan.-Feb., 1879);—M. Jules Oppert, Note sur les mesures Assyriennes (Ibid.)—The Transactions of the German Oriental Society have not, this year, contributed anything to this branch of Semitic studies.—In the “Beilage zur Zeitschr. für Ägypt. Sprache,” for 1878, Mr. Schrader has also published an article entitled, “Ueber Theilgewichte der Babylonischen Mine und deren bezeichnung,” in which he discusses certain fractional numbers found on the Tablet from Senkereh, and refers to Dr. Lepsius’s recent paper in the Trans. Germ. Or. Soc., and to the views of Sir Henry Rawlinson, Delitsch, and other scholars.—In the Revue Critique are interesting reviews by MM. Guyard and Maspero—the first, of the History of Sennacherib, by the late G. Smith, edited by the Rev. A. H. Sayce; the second, of M. Schrader’s Keil-Inschriften. In the Gaz. Archéol. Jan. is an article by M. Lenormant entitled, “Le Dieu Lune délivré de l’attaque des Mauvais esprits. Cylindre Assyrien.”

The following would seem to be the most important books issued recently in connexion with Assyrian studies: Schrader, E., Keil-Inschriften und geschichtsforschung, ein beitrage zur monumentalen geographie, geschichte, und chronologie der Assyrier. Prof. Schrader first tells us that he was led to the investigations in this work by an article in the Literar-Central Blatt of Oct. 15, 1870, by Prof. A. von Gutschmid, on the chronological value of the Assyrian Eponym Canon, with especial reference to an Assyrian publication by Dr. J. Oppert, Die vielen berührungen der Keil-Inschriften (wie sie nämlich enziffert seien) mit der rein historischen inhalte der (Biblichen) Königsbücher. Then follows a long discussion of the geography of the lands mentioned in the inscriptions, a study which has scarcely hitherto claimed the attention it deserves. He then treats of the Eponym list in a very conclusive manner, especially those portions relating to Ahab of Israel, Ben hadad of Damascus, Azariah of Judah. The second part treats of

King Pul, whom he considers not to have been King of Assyria, but an Assyrian usurper. He next discusses Berosus and the monuments, and then the comparative trustworthiness of Ctesias and Herodotus. The book is the more valuable for the excellent index and map attached to it.—Sillem, C. H. W., *Das Alte Testament, in lichte der Assyrische Forschungen und ihrer ergebnisse*;—Smith, G. (the late), *History of Sennacherib*, edited by the Revd. A. H. Sayce;—Schmidt, V., *Assyriens og Egyptiens gamle historie*;—Lenormant, *Etudes Cuneiformes*, fasc. 3me.;—M. Nowack, *Die Assyrisch-Babylonischen Keil-Inschriften und das alte Testament*;—M. Delitsch, a second edition of his “*Assyrische Lesestücke*”;—A. Delathe, *Les Inscriptions historiques de Ninive et de Babylone*, 1879;—Lenormant, F., *Lettres Assyriologiques*, 2de Serie, *Etudes Accadiennes*, tome 3me.;—and Jules Oppert, *Le peuple et la langage des Mèdes*, dedicated to M. Menant. It may be remarked that, in this volume, M. Oppert reverts to the original name of Median, for the 3rd column of the Inscription at Behistun.

In the Department of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum much progress has been made in the better arrangement and the fuller labelling of the Assyrian antiquities in the exhibition cases; and a chronological arrangement of the Egibi Tablets (about 3000 in number) has been commenced, in preparation for a complete catalogue of them. The plates for the fifth volume of the Cuneiform Inscriptions are progressing; nine have been printed off, and twelve more are in hand. It may be added that it is proposed to publish facsimile plates of the bronze ornaments of the palace gates from Balawat by the autotype process, with letterpress descriptions by T. G. Pinches, Esq.; the entire publication to amount to ninety plates in five parts, similar in size to the publications of the Palæographical Society.

Egyptology.—This year, as last year, we have to record

much satisfactory work, and the publication of a considerable number of important papers, essays, reviews, or books. Among the first three classes the Society of Biblical Archæology takes, as usual, the lead. Thus, in vol. vi. pt. 1 are the following important papers:—By the late Mr. Drach, “Viceroy Joseph’s Official Despatches—Is Bible Poetry Acrostic?”;—by M. Revillout, *Un Contrat de Mariage*;—by Miss Gertrude Austin, *A fragmentary Inscription of Psametik I. in the Museum at Palermo*;—by the late H. F. Talbot, F.R.S., *The defence of a Magistrate falsely accused.*

In vol. vi. pt. 2 are papers by E. Revillout, entitled, “*Procès plaide devant les Laocrates sous la règne de Ptolémée Soter, v.c. 305–285,*” from a papyrus in the Louvre;—by the same, *Le Testament du Moine Paham*, from a Coptic papyrus at Boulaq, a deed, executed in A.D. 640;—by Le Page Renouf, “*On the true sense of an important Egyptian word (Ka)*”;—and by Eugene E. Roy, “*On an Egyptian Funereal Tablet in the Soane Museum.*”

At meetings of the Society papers have been read, but not yet published;—by E. L. Lushington, “*On the historical inscriptions of Seti I., in the Temple at Karnak*”;—and by J. B. Jackson, “*Notes on Vegetable Remains from the Egyptian Tombs.*”

In “*Records of the Past,*” vol. x., are papers by Dr. Birch, “*On an Inscription of Harenhebi*”;—by G. Maspero, “*On the Stele of Iritesen*”;—and “*On an Inscription of King Nastosenen*”;—by M. Chabas, “*On the Stele of Beka*”—“*On the Obelisk of Alexandria*”—and “*On the Magic Papyrus*”;—by M. Dümichen, “*On Inscriptions of Queen Hatesu*”;—by M. Stern, “*On ancient festivals of the Nile*”;—by P. Le Page Renouf, “*On the Pastophorus of the Vatican*”;—by M. Edouard Naville, “*On the addresses of Horus to Osiris*”;—by M. Revillout, “*On a Contract of Marriage*”;—by M. Lefebure, “*On the Book of Hades*”;—and by the late M. Drach, “*On a Tablet of Alexander Ogus II.*”

In the *Journal Asiatique*, tom. xi. part 3, is the conclusion of M. Maspero's paper, "Le Conte du Prince Prédestiné";—and, in vol. xii. part 2, by the same writer, is a paper entitled, "Comment Thouth prit la ville de Joppé," from the Harris Papyrus in the British Museum.—In the *Transactions of the German Oriental Society*, vol. xxxii. 3, is a notice by M. Leblois of the Papyrus Funeraire de Soutimes, published recently by MM. Guiesse and Lefebure; and in vol. xxxii. 4, by M. Erman, of the two works issued, last year, by M. C. Abel—the *Koptische Untersuchungen*, and *Ægyptische Etymologie*. In the *Sitz. Ber. of Munich* is a paper by Dr. Lauth, entitled "Aramaische Ægyptische Inscription," with a Plate; and in "*Esploratore*," No. 6, one by Dr. Schweinfurth, "La Terra Incognita dell' Egitto propriamente detto," which is well worthy of perusal.

Among miscellaneous papers or essays relating to Egyptian matters, we may note in the Academy an elaborate review by Mr. Le Page Renouf, of M. Abel's *Koptische Untersuchungen*, in which he points out the great value of the researches recorded in it (July);—one by Mr. Sayce, of Mr. Bonwick's "Pyramid Facts and Fancies," a book full of interest, pleasantly put together, if not altogether learned (August);—a notice by Mr. Greville Chester, himself an experienced Egyptian Archæologist (Sept.), of Mr. Gatty's catalogue of Mr. Mayers' collection at Liverpool;—an account by Miss Edwards of the first part of M. Rhone's *Egypte à petites Journées*, treating of Alexandria, the Nile, and the Pyramids as far as Sakkarah; and also a review by the same on an "Egyptian Calendar for the Year A.H. 1295," one of the most amusing works of the kind that have ever been published;—a paper by Canon Fabiani, read before the Congress at Florence, on certain Egyptian monuments discovered at Rome, in a tomb beneath the wall of Servius Tullius, and said to bear a great resemblance to some monuments found in Sardinia;—and two papers by M. Maspero,

in the *Revue Critique*, one on the *Egyptische Etymologie* of M. Abel, and the other on M. Leo Reinisch's *Ursprung und entwickelungs-geschichte des Ägyptischen Priesterthums und ausbildung der lehre von Einheit-Gottes*.

The following books may also be noted as of more or less interest to Egyptian students: Brugsch Bey, *Dictionnaire Geographique de l'ancienne Egypte*, 10me livraison;—Lauth, *Busiris und Osymandyas*;—Rawlinson, the Rev. Canon, *History of Ancient Egypt*;—Wrey, the Rev. W. H., *A few pages on the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh*;—Brugsch Bey, *History of Egypt under the Pharaohs*, trans. by the late H. Danby Seymour and Philip Smith;—and by the same, *Reise nach den grossen Oase El Khargeh in dem Libysche Wuste*;—Pestle, *Das Chronologische System Manetho's*;—Rossi, F., *Grammatica Copto-geroglyphica*;—M. Maspero, *Conte de deux Frères* (from the *Revue Archéologique*);—and *Quelques Navigations des Egyptiens sur les côtes de la mer Erythrée* (from the *Revue Historique*);—and, by the same author, *Les Peintures des Textes Egyptiens et la Mosaïque de Palestre*;—M. Revillout, *Nouvelle Chrestomathie Démotique* (Mission de 1878);—and, by the same author, *Contrats de Berlin, Vienne, et Leyde*. H. v. Bergmann, the Keeper of the Coins at Vienna, already favourably known for more than one Egyptian work, has brought out the first of three parts of a series of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, many of which are unedited.

Persian and Pahlavi.—There have been, perhaps, fewer distinct works referring to Persian, issued from the press during the last year than usual; but, on the other hand, there have been several papers and reviews, of which some notice must be given. Thus, in the *Journ. Asiat.* for August, is a second paper by M. De Harlez, "*Des Origines du Zoroastrisme*," and in vol. xiii. pt. 1, a review by the same writer of Prof. Spiegel's *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, the publication

of which was noticed in last year's Report;—M. Ganneau has also given in the number for Oct.-Dec. 1878, an account of the inscribed papyri recently found in the tombs of the Fayoum. In the *Trans. Germ. Or. Soc.*, also, are papers by A. H. Schindler, *Bericht über den Ssemnanischen Dialect* (in xxxii. 3), and by Th. Noldeke (in the same number) *Kajanier im Avesta*;—in xxxii. 4, by Prof. Spiegel, *On the word Varena in the Avesta*;—in xxxiii. 1, 2, by Th. Noldeke, *Zur Iranische Orts-namen auf Kert und andere endungen*—together with a review by Prof. Spiegel of C. de Harlez's *Avesta, livre sacré des Sectateurs de Zoroastre*. There is, also, a notice in Allen's *Ind. Mail* for July 1, of Capt. Clarke's useful "*Persian Manual*."

Among miscellaneous essays and reviews may be noticed an account in the *Athenæum*, of August 17, of M. Barbier de Meynard's "*Poesie en Perse—leçon d'ouverture au College de France*"—one of the pleasant "*Elzevir*" series of Oriental works for European readers, with a brief but clear account of the chief Persian poets, Firdusi, Anvari, Khakani, Nizami, Maulana Jeleleddin Rumi, Saadi and Hafiz;—a paper by Prof. Ethé, in the second number of the *Magazine of the University College of Wales*, with an interesting sketch of Persian literature, founded on the rich MS. collections of the India Office and Bodleian Libraries, amounting in all to so many as 4500 individual MSS.;—and, also, by the same writer, a notice, in the *Sitz. Ber. of Munich*, entitled *Die Rubais des Abu-Said bin Abu Khair*;—an excellent paper by Sir Frederic Goldsmid (*Acad.*, July 27), which refers *inter alia* to that curious "*Iter Persicum*," of Kabash de Zaloukemeny, which has recently been made more generally known by the labours of M. Schéfer.

For *Zend or Pahlavi*, reference may be made to the paper on M. Geiger's "*Die Pehlevi version des erstes Capitels des Vendidad*," in the *Athenæum* of August 17, and

to one by Mr. E. W. West, in the Academy, August 24,—the writers of both these articles agreeing, generally, in the value of M. Geiger's work;—to Acad., July 27, for a succinct notice of M. de Harlez's third and last volume of his Translation of the Zend-Avesta, in which M. de Harlez strongly maintains the claim of the Kayanides to, at least, historical reality, and rightly enough, in all probability, so far as regards Vastispa, the friend of Zarathustra;—and to a long and able paper by Dr. Jolly, Acad. Oct. 5, on M. Darmesteter's "Ormazd et Ahriman";—[Mr. Darmesteter has, we understand, been recently in England with the object of consulting Zend MSS.];—in the Journal des Savants, M. Barthelemy de St.-Hilaire has given no less than five papers to the examination of the several works of Westergaard, Spiegel, and Harlez, with especial reference to the Religion of the Zend-Avesta. Among books, either just out, or shortly coming, may be mentioned, F. Bodenstedt's Omar Khayyam;—the issue of the 7th and last volume of the smaller edition of the late J. Mohl's Firdusi;—the 2nd fasc. of the 2nd vol. of Vullers' Firdusi;—M. Wilhelm, A Grammatical Treatise on the Zend Language;—Prof. E. H. Palmer, Poems of Hafiz;—M. Hovelacque, L'Avesta, Zoroastre et le Mazdeisme, pt. 1;—Mr. FitzGerald's Translation of Omer Khayyam's Rubaiyâh;—and, by M. de Harlez, a "Manuel de la langue de l'Avesta," consisting of a Zend Grammar and Anthology, printed half in Zend, and half in Roman type (according to the advice of Prof. Weber), with a good vocabulary. Mr. R. Brown has also printed at Berlin a work bearing the title of "The Religion of Zoroaster considered in connexion with Archaic Monotheism."

Numismatics.—For Numismatics, the following papers may be mentioned: F. W. Madden, Rare or Unpublished Jewish Coins, Numism. Chron. N.S. No. 73;—J. P. Six, Monnaies de Hierapolis en Syrie, Ibid. No. 70;—B. V. Head, On

Himyaritic and other Arabian imitations of Coins of Athens, *Ibid.* No. 72 ; a paper on nearly the same subject by Captain Burton, read to this Society in December last ;—and S. L. Poole, Unpublished Arabic Coins from the Collection of the Rev. T. Calvert.—In the *Trans. Germ. Or. Society* are papers by A. D. Mordtmann, *Zur Pehlewi Munzkunde, die älteste Muhamedanische Munzen*, xxxiii. 1, 2, and by K. Himly, “Eine munze d. Malaischen Halb-Insel” ;—in the *China Review*, vol. vi., Kirkwood, Appendix to Wylie’s Coins of the Tá ching Dynasty ;—Dr. Erman, also, has contributed an article on the Seljuk Coins of Kirman to the *Numismatic Journal of Vienna* ;—in the *Bombay Journal*, vol. xiii., Bhagavanlal Indrajī has published Coins of the Andhrabitya Kings of Southern India ;—in *Acad. Sept. 1878*, is a notice by Mr. S. L. Poole of the late Dr. Blau’s Account of the Oriental Coins in the Museum at Odessa ;—and in the *Vienna Zeitschrift* is a paper by M. Sallet, entitled “Nachfolger Alexanders d. Grossen in Baktrien.”—At one of the meetings of this Society, Mr. E. Thomas exhibited two coins struck at Bokhara, of the class described by the late Prof. Lerch at the Meeting of the Oriental Congress at St. Petersburg, and expressed his conviction that he had detected on them the word “Sunnee” or “Orthodox,” which had not been previously noticed by any other Numismatist. At two meetings of the Bengal Asiatic Society, coins have been exhibited by Rajendralala Mitra, and H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq., respectively ;—and in the *Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society*, vol. xiv. are some “Notes on the Zodiacal Rupees and Mohars of Jehanghir Shah,” by Mr. James Gibbs, C.S.I. Of books on Numismatics, may be noticed M. Tiesenhausen’s Survey of all works on Oriental Numismatics composed in Russia. This long list commences with the name of Kehr in 1774, and Tychsen in 1781, and includes the whole of the works of Frähn 1816–1840, of Dorn, Grigorieff and others. Mr. Schlumberger has published *La Numismatique de l’Orient Latin*.

Inscriptions.—The study of inscribed monuments has not flagged at all during the last year, in India, England, France, or Germany, and much valuable work has been done, especially in the two former countries, in the illustration of ancient Oriental Epigraphy. The most important individual work is that recently issued by the India Office, entitled, “Pali, Sanskrit, and Old Canarese Inscriptions in the Bombay Presidency, and parts of the Madras Presidency, arranged and explained by J. F. Fleet, M.R.A.S., Bo.C.S.” This work, which contains 286 plates, either from photographs or reproductions by lithography, has been printed by order of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Unfortunately, as very few copies were printed off, it is unattainable by ordinary students. To the *Indian Antiquary* Mr. Fleet has contributed texts and translations of many additional “Old Sanskrit and Canarese Inscriptions” (Nos. xl.—liii.);—Mr. Lewis Rice, a paper “On Chera or Ganga grants of A.D. 350 and A.D. 481”—and three other papers on Chalukya Inscriptions, on one of which Mr. Fleet has published some remarks;—by E. Thomas, “On the Phrygian Inscriptions of Döganlu”;—by Prof. H. Kern, “On the Kuda Inscriptions”;—by Bhagavanlal Indraji and Dr. Bühler, “On the Inscription of Rudra Daman at Junagaḍh”;—by G. Bühler, “On an Inscription of Govana III. of the Nikumbhavamsa”; and by R. Sewell, “On two Eastern Chalukya copper-plate grants.”

In vol. vi. part 1, of the *Trans. of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch.*, are papers on various Inscriptions, such as that by Dr. Paul Schroeder, “On a Cypriote Inscription now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople”;—by Dr. D. H. Müller, “Notes and Observations on the Sabæan Inscriptions at Bombay”;—and by Isaac H. Hall, “Notes on certain Cypriote Inscriptions”: Prof. W. Wright, of Cambridge, has also contributed to the *Journal of the same Society*, “Notes on a Bilingual Inscription in Latin and Aramaic recently found at South Shields.”

In the *Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Soc.*, vol. xiv. Prof. Bhandarkar has published a revised transcript and translation of a Chalukya copper-plate grant, first published in the same *Journal*, vol. ii. part 4. There are also notes by the Hon. Saheb Rao V. N. Mandlik, C.S.I., on some Inscriptions in Kachh.

The Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Inscriptions have been noticed under the heads respectively of Assyriaca and Egyptology.—From the *Comptes Rendus* of the *Académie des Inscriptions* we learn that the Archbishop of Algiers has sent to that body rubbings of some new Phœnician Inscriptions, and a new plan of Carthage;—that M. Noguier has published a Jewish Inscription from Beziers (extr. du *Bull. de la Soc. Arch. de Beziers*);—and M. J. Lieb, a Hebrew inscription of A.D. 1144, also from Beziers;—that a seal in rock crystal has been found in Mesopotamia, bearing two inscriptions, the one in Hebrew, and the other in Cufic, the latter of which has not yet been deciphered (*Rev. Crit.* No. 40, p. 124);—and that the *Prix Volney* has been given to M. Halevy, in recognition of the value of his interpretation of the inscriptions from Safa. M. Renan, we may add, holds out the hope that the printing of the *Corpus Inscript. Semiticarum* will be soon commenced, and proposes himself to continue the *Annual Report* for the *Journal Asiatique*, which he has supplied since the death of M. Mohl.

It may be here convenient to note that inscriptions have been recently discovered in two places, which are likely to prove of much interest to Indian Archæologists.

Major Biddulph, who visited the Chief of Chitral during last autumn, and who is believed to be the first European that ever penetrated into that almost inaccessible region, reports that, 20 miles above Chitral, he found a rock Inscription, in an unknown character—but said to be extremely ancient. We may hope (though it is not so stated in his Report) that he secured a copy or rubbing of the Inscription, which will,

probably, be found to belong either to the Asoka or Kanishka class, and which, in either case, can scarcely fail to be of high interest, as this Chitral country is beyond the limits where Buddhistic monuments are usually found.

It will be remembered, that the late Mr. Trebeck obtained information of a gigantic figure of a man, cut out of the rock, near the capital of Upper Chitral (Mastúj), and that Prof. Wilson ventured to compare this figure with the colossal statue of *Mi-le-phu-sa*, the future Buddha Maitreya, noticed by the famous pilgrim Fa-Hian A.D. 400, at *Tho-li*, on his passage through the mountains to the Indus (J.R.A.S. 1839, Vol. V. p. 144); though other authorities, including General Cunningham (Ancient India, p. 83), prefer to identify *Tho-li* (or *Tho-li-li* according to Hwen Tsang) with Darel, a valley to the south of Gilgit. Perhaps, Major Biddulph may have an opportunity of verifying Mr. Trebeck's important notice as to the rock-cut figure near Mastúj, and may, also, during his sojourn in the mountains, be able to ascertain whether any traces of the Buddha-Maitreya-statue exist, either at Darel or at Dir, which, according to the geographical indications of Fa-Hian's route, is a more probable representative of *Tho-li*, situated mid-way between Kieshe (Kashghar) and Udyana (or Swat), on the high road running south from the Oxus Valley to Pesháwár.

The other notice of a new Inscription occurs in the Report of Dr. Javorsky, a Russian medical officer, who was sent from Tashkend, in November last, to attend Shere Ali Khan during his last illness. Being unable to cross the Oxus at the Chushka Ferry, which is on the right road from Shirabad to Balkh, he proceeded forty versts (about 27 miles) higher up the river to the Patta Ferry, where "there are very extensive ruins of an ancient town, fragments of brick lie scattered over seventy square versts of ground—a solitary tower is the only erect building in this scene of desolation; it is built of small burnt bricks, and is about thirty-five feet high. Three rows of

Inscriptions, formed of pebbles, are still in preservation, on the tower, the characters appearing to me to be Chinese. Neither my interpreter, nor any of the educated Bokharians, who were with me, could make anything of the Inscription, telling me that it was not in Musulman, *i.e.* Arabic characters. There is no tradition relative to these ruins among the natives."

Judging from the geographical position, it may be assumed, almost with certainty, that these ruins mark the site of *Termid*, a city held by the Hiyátheleh at the time of the Arab conquest, and long, subsequently, the most important place on the Upper Oxus.

The Inscription on the tower, if not Cufic, as is by far most probable, may turn out to be Sogdian, being of the same class of writing as the slab at the Samarkand Gate, destroyed A.D. 925, and of which writing we have specimens on the Sogdian coins—on the Samarkand patera in the British Museum—and, further, in the rough Sogdian alphabet preserved in the Fihrist. Such an Inscription would be well worthy of careful study, but it is to be feared that the Russian Doctor neglected to secure a copy, and it may be long before another opportunity occurs for a European to visit this spot.

Africa.—The importance of Africa from a linguistic point of view was fully recognized in the Report of last year; and how enthusiastically African studies had been taken up by Miss Lloyd, the sister-in-law of Dr. Bleek, aided by the counsel of Sir Bartle Frere. Since then, the Library of this Society has been enriched by many books on African languages, scarce in England, and some of them not readily to be obtained, even in Africa, which have been procured for it by that lady and Mrs. Bleek. A complete list of these will be found at the end of this Report. A society has also been constituted at Cape Town, under the name of the Folk-lore Society, which promises to be of use in preserving many interesting native stories and legends, and has already issued the first two

parts of its Journal for January and March of the present year. At the last meeting of the Philological Society, Mr. Cust delivered a lecture on the languages of this Continent, and illustrated his remarks by a large map and a table of classification into families. The method of Dr. Friedrich Müller of Vienna, as set forth in his "Allgemeine Ethnographie," was followed, with certain additions, supplied by the store of grammars and dictionaries published by the Church Missionary Society for the languages of the East and West Coast, together with the valuable collections for South Africa forwarded by Miss Lloyd. Everything at this stage of the inquiry is, no doubt, provisional; but Mr. Cust expressed the hope that he would be able to prepare for the Fifth Oriental Congress (at Berlin, in 1881), a volume on the languages of Africa, with a language-map, and full bibliography. The six following families are represented: the Semitic and Hamitic in Northern Africa; the Fulah-Nuba and Negro in Central Africa; the Southern portion of the Continent is occupied by a separate family, known as the Bántu; the two languages of the family described as Hottentot-Bushman are spoken by about fifty thousand who have survived extermination by the Bántus and the European colonists. These languages are totally distinct from each other, the one being agglutinative and possessing genders; the other, monosyllabic and destitute of gender; but both possess that linguistic feature known as *Clicks*. Strange to say, affinities with these languages, the *débris* of races who once occupied the Western side of the Continent, are found in the Nile basin, and attest their existence previously to the arrival of the strong races who poured down from the North in pre-historic times.

Philological Society.—This Society, in its annual Report for 1879, among other interesting matters, has supplied two papers of value, one by Professor Schiefner of St. Petersburg, giving a brief but complete *résumé* of our knowledge of the

remarkable languages spoken by the inhabitants of the Caucasus; with notice of all the books bearing on the subject, and the Professor's own views with regard to each language: the other by Mr. Cust, on the Korean language, concerning which so little is known. Mr. Cust had received from Mr. W. G. Aston, who has recently paid a short visit to England, certain materials which he had been able thus to utilize for the benefit of future students. Confessedly, much has yet to be done before the Korean language is fully understood.

Congresses of Florence and Lyons.—The two most interesting events of the last year in connexion with Oriental matters were the meetings of the General Congress at Florence, and of the local one at Lyons.

The first was formally opened in the name of the King of Italy, by his brother H. R. H. the Duke of Aosta, and the Minister of Public Instruction, M. De Sanctis, on Sept. 11, 1878, the general President being Prof. Amari, and the Presidents of the seven sections into which its business was subdivided, MM. Maspero, Renan, Benfey, Schéfer, Roth, Weliaminoff, and Legge respectively. The sections were those of—1. Egyptology and the Languages of Africa. 2. Ancient Semitic Languages and Assyriology. 3. Arabic. 4. Indo-European and Iranian studies. 5. Indian. 6. Altaic. 7. Chinese and Yamatology.

It would be impossible within our available space to do more here than note the principal subjects that engaged the attention of these sections at their several meetings; indeed, it is the less necessary to do so, as the "Acta" of the Congress will, no doubt, sooner or later be made public. Thus in Section I. M. Beltram read a portion of a memoir "On the African Races of the White Nile," the section, at the same time, expressing a hope that his Osaka Dictionary would soon be published. M. Letouroux, "On Bubu Inscriptions;" M.

Lieblein, "On the god Jahveh and the Egyptian Deity Chefra;" and M. Sapeto "On the Kushite Abyssinians and the Gheez and Amharic Languages." An important discussion, also, took place with reference to Egypto-Phœnician monuments found in Sardinia and Italy.—In Section II. M. Lenormant read a paper "On the Myth of Adonis-Tammuz" (Ezek. viii.) and "On a Knife bearing an Assyrian Inscription":—M. Oppert, "On the Chronology of Genesis," and "On the Assyrian Creation-Texts":—and M. Renan on a collection of "Graffiti" in Aramæan and Phœnician, found by M. Mariette at Abydus in Egypt. The cities of Florence and of Pisa presented, also, important lists of Oriental documents relating chiefly to trade, from their archives; and M. Lasinio, in presenting copies of several catalogues of Oriental books, in Italian libraries, was able to show how energetically Italian scholars have recently worked in this department. He added that the Government proposed to make a complete revision of all the old catalogues.—To Section III. Dr. Weil contributed a paper on the question "Whether Muhammad knew how to Read or Write?" which led to a good deal of discussion;—Prof. Mehren, a notice of the correspondence between the Arab Philosopher Ibn-Sabin and the Emperor Frederick II. (Hohenstaufen);—M. Cusa, "An Account of the City of Fez";—M. Lagus, "The Latin Data used by the Geographer Al-Edrisi;" and M. Buonazia, "A notice of Arabic Metres."

In Section IV. M. Ascoli gave an account of some Sassanian Coins, preserved in the Museum at Naples;—M. Oppert described an inscription in Persian Cuneiform, which proved, he thought, how this alphabet was created; all phonetic alphabets having, in his opinion, a similar origin, though with a great diversity in the formation of the characters. Each one, he said, commenced with a rough imitation of the object or fact expressed in the word, and then the figure was used to represent, not the object but its initial sound. Thus the sign

for the letter *p* was the same as that used for *pand'a* (*five*), and so on for the *t*, *m*, and *s*. M. Schiefner read a paper on certain characteristics of the Caucasian Languages, especially with regard to their internal flexion; and communications were made with reference to the Roumanian and English Gypsies, by Dr. Costantiniscu and Mr. Leland, respectively. Prof. Pizzi read a paper, "On the Zend Radical *Karet*, occurring in the names for knife in Europe and Asia," arguing that, with the exception of the Assyrians, swords were not used in early times by the most famous Oriental nations;—and Mr. Brandreth, one "On the Gaurian compared with the Romance languages," which he has since more fully treated at the last meeting of this Society.

In Section V. Prof. Roth gave an important paper, "On a MS. of the *Atharva Veda* from Kashmir," written on birch bark, in a character hitherto unknown in Europe, and called *Saradâ*; the MS. itself, also, was a wholly new recension, and, therefore, of great value for Vedic studies;—and Mr. Cust, "An account of the Non-Aryan Languages of India," which he divided into the leading families of the Dravidian, Kolarian, Tibeto-Burman, Khasi and Mon-Anam, at the same time noticing their chief peculiarities, the range of country they were spread over, and the number of people speaking them. Other papers were also contributed by MM. Da Cunha, Brofferio, and Flechia.

In Section VI. M. Vambéry read a paper, "On the primitive culture of the Turko-Tatars";—and Dr. Donner, "On the connexion between the spoken Samoiede and the Finn language."

In Section VII. Professor Legge read a paper, "On the present state of Chinese studies, and on what is still wanted for a complete analytic study of the language," with a sketch of the progress of Chinese studies since Matteo Ricci, the first Sinologue, went to China 300 years ago. Writing, he added, began in China about 5000 years ago, and the characters

might, he thought, be divided into four principal groups—the Pictorial, Indicative, Suggestive, and Phonetical classes. Prof. A. von Gabelenz read a paper, “On the possibility of proving the existence of a Yamatological affinity between the so-called Indo-Chinese languages—non-syllabic characters being common to them all—and their distinction from Ural-Altaic, Japanese, Corean-Aino, and Malayo-Polynesian.” He urged that they all possessed in common many of those words which are rarely borrowed, and many homophones or words of the same sound, but different meaning. These homophones, he thought, could not be the result of chance. Other papers of more or less interest were read by Prof. Andreozzi, “On the Translation of the names of Products of Natural History from the *Pen-tsaokang-mon*,” which led to a discussion, in which M. de Rosny and Mr. Wylie took part;—by Mr. Wylie, “On the subjugation of *Chaou sun* (ancient Corea)”;—and by M. Nocentini, “On the first Sinalogue, M. Ricci.”

During the progress of the Congress there was an exhibition of a number of objects, bearing more or less directly upon it, details of which have been since published in the “*Bollettino*” of it, p. 4, with a catalogue sufficiently full for identification. The objects comprehend: 1. Codices in various languages. 2. The Indian reliefs, sculptures, etc., brought by Dr. Leitner from the Punjab. 3. Inscribed monuments. 4. A collection of musical instruments ancient and modern, belonging to the Kraus Museum at Florence. 5. A miscellaneous collection, consisting of Chinese and Japanese objects, Persian and Indian fruits—with models procured by M. da Cunha, and given by him as the commencement of an Oriental Museum. 6. Drawings, impressions and photographs, chiefly Indian. 7. A large collection of books, including translations of the Bible and parts of it, exhibited by the Bible Society of London, with many other volumes exhibited by different members of the Congress, or from libraries and societies in Italy. It should be added that, at the conclusion of the

printed "Bollettino" of the Congress, a list has been given of the various works or papers published by the members who were present at it; a list of much present interest, and likely, hereafter, to be of great value. It is a pity that this has not been made more complete, and that the writings of some well-known scholars have been, no doubt accidentally, altogether omitted. It should be added that, in an oral account of the proceedings of the Congress given to this Society by its delegate Mr. Brandreth, the highest testimony was borne by him to the kindness and consideration shown by all the Italian scholars to the strangers who had flocked from all parts of Europe to Florence, and especially to the unwearied activity and zeal of the Secretary, M. de Gubernatis, on whom most of the details of arrangement necessarily fell.

The Lyons Congress took place in August, and was the third of the series, held in this great provincial town. It proved to be a complete success. There were six meetings, of which the *first* was devoted to the commercial side of the subject; the *second* to Eastern Fine Arts and Philology. The *remaining four* were occupied, severally, with the religions of Egypt and Assyria, of India, China and Japan. On the last day, an Oriental Museum was opened, and given to the public with great liberality by M. Guimet, President of the Congress, himself a distinguished traveller, and, from his energy and amiability of manners, the life and soul of the meeting.

The principal documents read were, "Three papers, by M. Chabas, accompanying the rubbing and the translation of an Egyptian Inscription at Florence;"—by M. Maspero, "On the Funereal Style of the 12th Dynasty";—by MM. Gruesse and Lefebure, "On the Funereal Papyrus of Soutimes;" "On the Ancient Religions of Persia and Assyria;" "On the Ancient Religions of India," with special notices on the same subject, by MM. Guimet, Coomaraswamy, Gerson da Cunha, and Da Silva; and by the learned Jurist, M. Caillemet,

“On the Laws of Manu.”—“The Religions of China” were illustrated by papers by M. E. Milson, “On Feng-shui;—by Mr. Imaizumi, “On Lao Tsai.”—M. Jourdan contributed, also, a paper “On the Religions of Japan”;—M. Metchnikoff, “On the Ancient Japanese writings entitled *Shin dai ji*”; and M. Hasada, “A Notice of a Goddess called Bendzaiten.” It should be added, that the Oriental Museum, prepared at the cost of M. Guimet, comprehends a library of works in Sanskrit, Tamil, Japanese, Singhalese, and Chinese; a school where natives of the East can learn French, and Frenchmen the languages of the Far East; and a collection of the Gods of India, China, Japan, together with the classical types of Egypt, Greece, and Rome. It was determined that the next local Oriental Meeting should take place at Nancy.

Indian Institute.—The Council are glad to learn that the progress of the Indian Institute at Oxford has been quite satisfactory during the last year. Her Majesty the Queen has been graciously pleased to become the Patron of it, and has sent a donation of £200; their R.H.H. the Prince of Wales and the Prince Leopold have also granted their patronage. A strong committee has been formed in London and Oxford, comprising the names of Lords Lawrence and Northbrook, Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., Sir Edward Colebrooke, Bart., the Deans of Westminster and Christ Church, the Heads of many Colleges in Oxford, Mr. Brassey and others. More than fourteen thousand pounds have been subscribed in England and India, considerably more than half of which was munificently contributed by Mr. Brassey. The India Office has recently granted a large number of Oriental books, and the nucleus of a library and museum is now forming in temporary rooms.

At the conclusion of the Report, Sir HENRY RAWLINSON, (the President) said,—“Gentlemen, in the first place, I should like to call your attention to the valuable Council that has

been selected on this occasion. We have always endeavoured, so far as in our power lay, to avail ourselves of the benefit of new blood from India, in order to obtain the latest and most reliable information with reference to Indian literature; and we have been able to find several gentlemen willing to serve us in that capacity. For my own part, though you have done me the honour of selecting me again as your President, I wish you could have selected some younger man—a more active member of your body, because, so far as I am concerned, I feel that it is only length of service which gives me any claim to fulfil the duties of the office for which you have selected me. In this active, go-a-head age, great and unceasing energy and exertion are needed to support the cause and protect the interests of a Society like this. Real active exertions are indispensably necessary, and, consequently, I feel that a more active President could do more for the benefit of this Society than I can (“No, no!”). What I shall do, however, is to call upon the services of the Council, to assist me in every possible way; and I know they will give me excellent advice and information. What we, as a Society, want very much, are strenuous efforts in regard to canvassing—a sort of Asiatic literary propagandism. I should like you all to interest your friends and acquaintances in the study of Oriental literature, and endeavour to induce them to become members of the Society. I hear that officers, when they return from India, often complain that, in coming to England for a holiday, it is rather hard on them, after grinding, so to say, in India, to have to devote themselves to Oriental subjects in this country. While I admit the justice of the complaint, I may remark that there are many officers who retire from the service comparatively young men, who might be induced to join the Society, and be of great service to us. These are the members I should like to see enrolled on our list. Already great progress has been recently made in every department (hear, hear). We have had this year a clear gain of thirty-three new members,

including those elected this day,—or, omitting those who have compounded, we have thirty more paying members. Well, such members supply not only our ‘Intelligence Department’ with information, but they form the thews and sinews, so to say, of the Society. We exist by our subscriptions, the more of which we have the better for the Society, as we shall thus be the more able to extend the knowledge of Oriental literature. I would also like to refer to Mr. Cust’s services during the past year. He is one of our most active and energetic members. He is always at work for us, and he executes that work *con amore*; the more and the harder he works, the better he looks, and the higher, also, are his spirits. These are the sort of men we want for our Council. Nor can I omit mentioning Mr. Fergusson, who, for the last forty years, has been an active member, and is, to-day, as ready and able to take up any subject and treat thereon, as he was when he first joined the Society. To bring forward such people, to induce them to join the Society, ought to be one of the chief aims and efforts of each member; a benefit would thus be not only conferred on it, but also on the public generally. I hope, too, as we go on, we shall have further opportunities of publishing papers from many members of our body. Colonel Yule, also, I should add, takes a lively interest in us, and gives us a great deal of valuable information; and, in fact, I see around me, on all sides, Oriental scholars whose ability and intelligence are such as to warrant me in asserting that if we pull together, we shall raise the position of the Society to the place it occupied in the days of Messrs. H. T. Colebrooke and H. H. Wilson. In furthering this object, I shall be most happy to give any assistance I can.”

It having been proposed by Sir Edward Bayley, K.C.S.I., and seconded by Sir Arthur Phayre, that the Report be adopted,

Sir HENRY RAWLINSON announced the following Members as the Council and Officers of the ensuing year.

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Donations to the Library.—The Council have to report donations to the Library from

- The Royal Society of London.
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- The Royal Irish Academy.
- The Royal Institution.
- The Royal Geographical Society of London.
- The Royal Horticultural Society.
- The Royal Society of Literature.
- The Royal Agricultural Society of England.
- The Royal Dublin Society.
- The Royal Geological Society of Ireland.
- The Royal Society of Victoria (Australia).
- The Royal Society of Tasmania (Van Dieman's Land).
- The Trustees of the British Museum.
- The Council of the British Association.
- The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- The Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society.
- The North China Branch of the Asiatic Society.
- The Japan Asiatic Society.
- The East India Association.
- The Society of Biblical Archæology.

The Society of Antiquaries of London.
 The Zoological Society of London.
 The Linnæan Society of London.
 The Numismatic Society of London.
 The Statistical Society of London.
 The Geological Society of London.
 The Astronomical Society of London.
 The London Institution.
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 The Society of Arts.
 The Cambridge Philosophical Society.
 The Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.
 The Liverpool Literary and Scientific Institution.
 The Philosophical Society of Manchester.
 The Proprietors of the Canadian Journal of Science.
 The Proprietors of the United Service Journal.
 The Société Asiatique de Paris.
 The Société Ethnologique de Paris.
 The Société Géographique de Paris.
 The Société de la Géographie de Bourdeaux.
 The Académie des Sciences de Montpellier.
 The Royal Academy of Lombardy.
 The Royal Academy of Belgium.
 The Royal Academy of Turin.
 The Royal Academy "dei Lincei" at Rome.
 The Royal Academy of Vienna.
 The German Oriental Society.
 The Royal Academy of Berlin.
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 The University of Bonn.
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 Hungarian Academy of Pesth.
 The Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg.
 The Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen.
 The Academy of Natural Science, Philadelphia.
 The American Ethnological Society.
 The American Philosophical Society.
 The Institute of New Zealand.

The Society also takes in the following papers :

The Indian Antiquary.
 The Revue Critique.
 The Oriental Publications of the Palæographical Society.

The Journal of the Society is sent to

The Royal Library at Windsor.
 The Secretary of State for India.

The India Office Library.
 Royal Society of London.
 Royal Institution.
 Society of Arts.
 Society of Antiquaries of London.
 The Linnæan Society of London.
 Royal Horticultural Society.
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 The Library of the House of Commons.
 The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
 The Numismatic Society of London.
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 Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.
 Trinity College, Dublin.
 British Museum.
 Bodleian Library.

The Society has also received the following papers :—

The Athenæum. The Academy. The Pundit. Indu-Prakash. Japan Mail.
 Allen's Indian Mail. The Homeward Mail. London and China Telegraph.
 Mission Field. Journal of the Indian Association.

The Society has also received the following individual donations :—

From the Secretary of State for India. The Third Report, by Mr. Burgess, of
 the Archæological Surveys of Western India, Bidar, and Aurungabad.—
 Sanskrit and old Canarese Inscriptions, by Messrs. Burgess and Fleet.—
 The Flora of British India, parts v. and vi., by Sir J. D. Hooker.—Snake
 poisoning in India, and Australia.—Baron Meyendorff's Journey to Bokhara,

June, 1826, translated by Capt. Chapman, Calcutta, 1870.—Travels in Central Asia, by Meer Izzet-oollah, 1812-3, translated by Capt. Henderson, Calcutta, 1872.—Major Lumsden, Mission to Kandahar, Calcutta. 8vo. 1860.—J. Anderson, M.D., Expedition to Western Yunan and Bhamo. Calcutta, 1871.—Papers of the Thomason Civil Engineering College, Roorkee.—Professional Papers of Indian Engineering, 2nd Series, Parts 1—32, Roorkee, 1871-9.—Catalogue of the MS. and Printed Reports and Maps of the Indian Surveys, 1878.—A. E. Gough, Papers relating to the Preservation of the Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.—Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to the East Indies, and The Hawkins Voyages during the reigns of Henry VIII., Queen Elizabeth, and James I., edited by C. Markham, F.R.S., M.R.A.S., both published by the Hakluyt Society.—Missions of G. Boyle and T. Manning to Tibet and Lassa, also edited by C. Markham.

From the Government of Bengal. Manual of the South Arcot District, 1878 by J. H. Garstin.—Report on the Meteorology of India, 2nd year, 1876, by H. F. Blandford.—Report on the Indian Meteorological Memoirs, vol. i. pt. 2, 1878.—Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, etc.

— French Government. H. Zotenberg, Catalogue des MSS. Œthiopiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale; and, also, the seventh vol. folio of the Livre des Rois of Firduse, edited by the late Jules Mohl.

— Government of Berlin. Steinschneider, Cat. of the Hebrew MSS. and Dillmann, Cat. Abyssinian MSS., pt. 3.

— Kenchio Suyematsu, Esq., M.R.A.S. 1. Catalogue des objets envoyés à la Exposition Universelle de Paris. 2. Outline History of Japanese Education for Philadelphia, 1876, and Paris, 1878.—3. Le Japon à l'Exposition Universelle, 2 parts, 1878.

— A. M. Ferguson, Esq., M.R.A.S. Inge Vâ or Suina Durai's Pocket Tamil Guide.

— Rev. T. P. Hughes, M.R.A.S. The Quran translated into the Urdu Language. Lodiiana, 1876.

— John C. Bowring, Esq. Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala, by Hermann Fray Domingo de los Santos, 1794.

— J. R. Nelson, Esq., M.R.A.S., District Judge, Cuddapah. A View of the Hindu Law as administered in the High Court of Madras.

— F. W. Madden, Esq., M.R.A.S. Jewish Numismatics, being a Supplement to the History of Jewish Coinage and Money in the Old and New Testaments.

— Rev. Tien Bey. Selections from the Fathers, an Arabic MS. formerly in the Convent of St. Elias, Ghazer, Mount Lebanon.

— Aymonier, M. Dictionnaire Khmer-Français. Saigon, 1878.

— Mr. Fallon. Continuation of New Hindustani-English Dictionary.

— T. W. Tolbort, Esq., M.R.A.S. Rabinsan Kruso. Translated from Urdu into Persian.

— Messrs. Thacker and Co. Tagore Law Lecture for 1877. The Law Relating to Minors in the Presidency of Bengal, by E. T. Trevalyen, Esq.

— Mrs. Damant. Gaur, its Ruins and Inscriptions, by the late J. H. Ravenshaw, Esq.

— Capt. Edwd. Palliser. United States Artillery. From the Author.

— late Mr. Alwis. Sinhalese made Easy.

- From M. Leopold Hugo. *La Théorie Hugo Decimale.*—*Astronomie Géométrique.*
- John Muir, Esq., D.C.L., C.I.E., M.R.A.S. *Fourth Set of Metrical Translations from the Sanskrit.*
- Miss Lloyd. *A Collection of Grammars, etc., of South African Languages, viz., 1. Tindale, the Revd. H., Nama Hottentot Grammar and Vocabulary. Cape Town, 1857.—Boyce, W. B., Kafir Grammar. 2nd ed. Lond. 1844.—3. Do. 3rd. ed. Lond. 1863.—4. Davis, M. J., Kafir Grammar. Lond. 1872.—5. Appleyard, J. W., Do. King William's Town, 1850.—6. Davis, W. J., Kafir-English Dictionary. Lond. 1872.—7. Ayliff, J., Kafir Vocabulary. 2nd ed.—8. Colenso, Bishop, Zulu Elementary Grammar. 2nd ed. Pieter-Maritzburg, 1871.—9. Grout, L., Zulu Grammar. Umsunduzi, Natal, 1859.—10. Roberts, Revd. C., Zulu-Kafir Language Simplified. Mount Coke, South Africa, 1874.—11. Perrin, James, English-Zulu Dictionary. 2nd ed. Pieter-Maritzburg, 1865.—12. Döhne, J. L., Zulu-English Dictionary. Cape Town, 1857.—13. Colenso, Bishop, Zulu-English Dictionary. 2nd ed. Pieter-Maritzburg, 1861.—14. Archbell, J., Sechuana Grammar. Grahams Town, 1837-8.—15. Frédoux, J., Sechuana Grammar. Cape Town, 1864.—16. Brown, J., Sechuana-English and English-Sechuana Vocabulary. 1876.—17. Wilson, J. L., Mpongwe Grammar and Vocabularies. New York, 1847.—18. Moffat, R., Standard Alphabet Problem for South African Languages. London, 1864.*
- Robert N. Cust, Esq. *The Modern Languages of the East Indies, by himself.—Haug's Essays on the Parsis. 2nd ed. Edited by E. W. West, Esq.—Mr. Sweet's Address to the Philological Society, 1877.—British Burmah and its People, by Capt. C. J. F. S. Forbes.*

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1879.

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