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JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van.* By the Rev.
Prof. A. H. SAYCE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

THE publication of my memoir on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van in the pages of this Journal (Vol. XIV. pp. 377–732) gave an impetus to the study of these interesting texts which was not long in bearing fruit. M. Stanislas Guyard, who had already contributed so much to their decipherment, and whose untimely death is still deplored by science, soon afterwards published a detailed criticism of my work (in his *Mélanges d'Assyriologie*, Paris, 1883), and followed it by papers in the *Journal Asiatique* (8th series, vol. i. pp. 261, 517; vol. ii. p. 306; vol. iii. p. 499). M. Stanislas Guyard was succeeded by the eminent Semitic scholar of Vienna, Prof. D. H. Müller, who had been independently studying the Vannic inscriptions, and papers upon them from his pen have appeared in the *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* (Jan. 1885, and Aug. 1886), and in the 36th volume of the Imperial Academy of Vienna (1886, "Die Keil-Inschrift von Aschrut-Darga"). Prof. Patkanoff has, moreover, been kind enough to send me copies of Vannic inscriptions found in the Russian province of Georgia, which I have published with translations and notes in the *Muséon*, vol. ii. pt. 1 (1883); vol. ii. pt. 3 (1883); vol. iii. pt. 2 (1884); vol. v. pt. 3 (1884).

Apart, therefore, from the improved translations of words and passages, due to the penetration of M. Stanislas Guyard and Prof. D. H. Müller, our stock of materials has been

considerably increased since the publication of my memoir. M. Guyard was fortunate enough to find in the Louvre squeezes of the great inscription of Argistis on the rock of Van, made some years ago by M. Deyrolle, as well as squeezes of other inscriptions, and a copy of the text of Meher Kapussi. The squeezes and copy include my inscriptions V., VII., XIV., XIX., XX., XXXVIII., XXXIX., XL., XLI., XLII., XLIX. The corrections of the text furnished by them are of considerable importance. From Prof. Patkanoff I have received copies of four new inscriptions from Armavir, and of inscriptions found at Ordanlu, Ihaulijan, and Salahaneh, as well as a photograph of the inscription of Menuas engraved at Tsolakert (No. XXXIV. of my Memoir). These fresh spoils not only add to our knowledge of the Vannic vocabulary, but enable us to amend our old readings. Lastly, Prof. Müller has published one of the four inscriptions from Armavir, mentioned above, from a squeeze and photograph of Prof. Wünsch, together with an interesting text of Sarduris II. from Astwadzashen, and a copy of the first seven lines of the inscription of Palu (No. XXXIII.) from a squeeze of Prof. Wünsch. It will be seen, accordingly, that during the five years which have elapsed since the publication of my Memoir, important advances have been made in our knowledge of the Vannic texts.

I shall, first of all, pass in review those portions of my Memoir in which, as I believe, my readings and translations have been successfully corrected by Guyard and Müller, or in some instances by myself, noting the emendations the texts themselves have received from the squeezes of M. Deyrolle and the photograph of M. Patkanoff; and I will then give the new inscriptions that have been brought to light, with translations and a commentary. At the end a vocabulary will be added, containing the new words from the recently-found inscriptions, as well as the words the reading or translation of which requires correction.

Certain corrections must be introduced into the list of characters (pp. 419-422). The character 𐎧𐎥𐎠 is not a form of 𐎧𐎥𐎠 *da*, as I had supposed, but of 𐎧𐎥𐎠 *li*. This was

proved by Guyard, and explains the mode in which the name of the city of Malatiyeh is written (*Me-li-dha-a-ni*). The new form of *li* first appears in the inscriptions of Menuas, after the death of his father Ispuinis. I believe, however, that it was at times confounded with *da*, though at present we have no means of certifying the fact. The result of Guyard's discovery is to change the reading of all the words in which the syllable *da* occurs, except, of course, those in which the syllable is represented by the proper character for *da*. Consequently the "local case" of the noun will end like the "perfective" in *li*.

The character *um*, to which I have prefixed a query, must be removed from the list. M. Deyrolle's squeezes show that in the three cases where I have read *um-nu-li* the word is really *tanuli*, the first character being *ta*.

The character *bad* should be *be*, since in the 7th line of the inscription of Palu Prof. Wünsch's squeeze gives it instead of *bi*, unless, indeed, the character had both values. As \times was *be*, it is possible that $\equiv\|\|$ was *ge* rather than *kid*.

I have already stated in my Memoir (p. 681, note 1) that the character *kab* should be read *qar*.

The ideograph which I have rendered by 'language' or 'tribe' has been shown by Guyard to represent the Assyrian ideograph of *pukhru* 'totality,' which has the same form in Assur-natsir-pal's standard inscription (W.A.I. i. 20, 28). M. Deyrolle's copy gives it in v. 24 in place of $\times\text{-}\text{[w]}$.

The word for 'camel' should probably be *didhuni*, since in xl. 6 Deyrolle's squeeze has $\langle\text{[}\text{-}\text{]}^{\text{c}}$, which is more probably intended for *di* than for *ul*.

\times 'twice' must be struck out; the squeezes prove that in every case \times 'in all' has to be read. We must also excise $\|\|$ 'son.'

On the other hand, we must add to the list of ideographs $\equiv\text{[}\text{-}\text{]}^{\text{c}}$ 'a vine,' which an examination of Schulz's original copy shows to exist in li. col. i. 3. As Guyard has pointed out, the phonetic reading of the ideograph *uduli(s)* is furnished by line 7.

We must further add $\text{c[}\text{-}\text{]}^{\text{c}}$ (*ardinis*) 'day,' which I have

misread *tume* (l. 10, 12, 16), as well as the eight other additional ideographs given at the end of this paper.

It may be added that the squeezes seem to make it clear that the word signifying 'to give' must be read *tequ* and not *laqu*, and that consequently it is probable that Sandwith is right in li. col. iii. 10, where he has *khuteve* 'of kings' instead of *khulave*.

Some more examples can be added of cases in which the line does not end with a word (*e.g.* No. lxi.).

In the declension of the noun (p. 429) the suffix *da* must be changed into *li*, as already noted. Guyard maintained that the suffix was used in three senses: (1) as an expletive, (2) in order to join a word to its suffix, and (3) in order to form substantives, gerunds, and participles, when it denotes 'the thing of' something or some one. But the first two senses must be rejected, and in place of them my two senses of 'locality' and 'perfection' should be substituted. In xx. 3 (see p. 431) we must read *ini-li pili armanli at-khud-li sidis-tud-li* 'after having restored this memorial-tablet which had been destroyed.' Müller has shown that *pi-li*—which I believe him to be right in supposing to be the origin of the Assyrian '*pilu*-stone'—is the reading of the ideograph 𐎶𐎶𐎶 'a tablet,' so that *armanli* must be the translation of the ideograph 𐎶𐎶 'foundation,' which is substituted for it in parallel passages. Consequently *at* in *at-khud-li* is a prefix of some sort, like *ap* in *ap-tini*, and *ini-li* (which I read *ini-da*) is not an adverb, but a case of *ini* 'this.' The suffix of the pronoun could be omitted, *e.g.* we find *alus ini pili armanli tuli* in xx. 10. The form *nu-lilê-di-ni* (xxx. 24) still remains unexplained.

The suffix *tsi* has been shown by Guyard to signify 'belonging to.'

In the numerals 𐎶 'twice' should be struck out, and Müller has made it clear that *atibi* means 'myriads' and never 'thousands,' that *tarani* (xlix. 13, as restored from Deyrolle's squeeze) signifies 'second' or 'for the second time,' and that *sistini* (xlix. 22) is 'third' or 'for the third time.' Guyard had already observed that *susini* must be

'first,' corresponding as it does to the numeral in 𐎠𐎡 'one year,' where 𐎠𐎡 is the ideograph of year and not a word *mu* 'his,' as I had imagined.

The local case of the 3rd personal pronoun should be *meiali* or *meli*. As just remarked, a pronoun *mu* must be struck out of the list. So also should be a possessive *meiesis*.

Guyard, by his brilliant discovery of the meaning of the phrase in the execratory formula, *alus ulis tiu-lie ies sadubi* 'whoever else pretends: I have done (this),' revealed the existence of the first personal pronoun *ies* 'I.' As the final *s* is a suffix, the stem is *ie*, which seems to be the same as the stem of the demonstrative, *i-ni*. The relative, which I had seen in *ies*, will therefore have to be removed from the list of Vannic pronouns.

Ulis or *ulies* (instead of my old reading *udas*) has been shown by Guyard's discovery to signify 'other,' 'another.' The stem would be *u*, as in *ui* 'and' or 'with.'

Müller is probably right in holding that *sukhe* is not a pronoun, as Guyard and myself have believed; *eha* may be 'and' rather than 'this'; and *ikukas* 'the same' must be added to the list of the pronouns. *Iku-kas* is literally 'of the same kind,' being formed from a stem *iku* by the help of the suffix *-kas*.

For *ada*, *ali* or *alie* must be read. The word properly means 'to add'; hence 'the sum,' 'moreover,' 'in part' (*ale-ki*), and possibly 'along with.'

The adverb *sada* (for which read *sali* or *salie*) must be omitted. As Guyard has proved, it is the phonetic reading of the ideograph 𐎠𐎡 'a year.'

To the form *ap-timi* (p. 442) we may add *at-khuali* 'which had been destroyed.' These prefixes remind us of the prefixes of Georgian.

For *-da* or *-dae* the termination of the present tense *-li* and *-lie* should be substituted. The forms literally mean 'is for' the doing of a thing, *alus tu-lie*, for example, being 'whoever is for taking away.'¹

¹ The form is really the dative of the gerund in *-lis*.

Kharkhar-sa-bi-ies (p. 444) is not an example of the present participle, as it is simply the first person of the verb followed by the personal pronoun *ies*.

We should probably add a precativè in *-me* to the forms of the verb, as in *askhu-me* 'may they occupy' (xxiv. 6).

A causative is formed by the addition of *su* 'to make' to the verbal root, and the difference of meaning must be noticed between *ti* 'to name,' and *tiu* 'to name falsely.'

The adverb *sada* (p. 445) should be omitted; the word is *sali* 'a year.'

CORRECTIONS IN THE READING AND TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

I. 7. For *an-ni-hu* read *annisam* 'here.'

II. 7, 8. 'These' for 'there' and *annisam* for *annihu*.

III. 2. *Us-gi-ni* is probably a compound of *us* 'near,' like *us-ma-sis* 'gracious,' and *us-tâ-bi* 'I approached,' *us-tu-ni* 'he dedicated.' Read *gi-e-i si-da* (not *li*). *Sida* is 'restoration.'

V. 2. The meaning of the words 'during each month' is obviously 'during the several months of the year,' the sacrifices extending over the whole length of the year.

3. Delete note 5 on this line. The ideograph means 'totality.'

4, 36. Deyrolle's copy gives *urpue* for *ippue*. In any case the epithet must apply to *Khaldis*, and not, as I had supposed, to *Teisbas*.

7, 40. A comparison with *ardinis* 'the sun' or 'day,' shows that *ardis* must mean 'light' or 'enlightener'; hence the compound *sielardis* will be 'the enlightener of darkness,' and *siehi* will be 'darkness' and not 'dawn' as I had imagined.

9. Deyrolle's copy reads *uruli-li-ve*. The translation of the god's name should be 'who carries away all that belongs to seed.' The god of death is meant.

11. Deyrolle's copy verifies my conjecture that we should read 'Zuzumarus.' It also reads *Zi-kid* (or *ge*)-*qu-ni-e* instead of *Zi-hu-qu-ni-e*.
12. Here it has *i* instead of 𐎢 and *ri* instead of 𐎢𐎢𐎢 , like Layard. But this cannot be correct. We must read *Khaldi-ni ini asie* 'to the Khaldises of this house.'
14. 'The city of Ardinis' was the city of the Sun-god.
15. Deyrolle gives *Ar-tsu-ni-kid-i-ni-ni* for *Ar-tsu-hu-i-ni-ni*. We should evidently read *Artsunivini-ni*, as in xi. 1. The reading *Khaldini dasi* must be preserved, *da* being expressed throughout this inscription by the character which has that value. *Dasie* will be an adjective agreeing with *Khaldi-ni* from a root *da*.
17. *Šusi-ni* is shown by the inscription of Ashrut-Darga to signify 'the niche' or consecrated ground in which the inscription was engraved. It is a derivative from *šuis* 'property.'
19. My reading *Tsu-i-ni-na-hu-e* is confirmed by Deyrolle. Guyard has shown that *atqanas* signifies 'consecrated'; we must therefore translate 'to the gods of the holy city.' *Niribi* must be 'bodies,' see l. 20.
20. Deyrolle's copy has *Ni-si-~~*~~bi-ru-ni* for *Ni-si-a(?)du(?)ru-ni*. Perhaps we should read *Nisiebiruni* or *Nisieduru-ni*. *Babas*, I believe, means 'distant'; hence translate 'to the god of the distant land.'
22. Deyrolle has *A-di-pa-a* for *A-di-i-a*.
24. Deyrolle has the ideograph of 'totality,' 'nation,' instead of the ideograph of 'food.' But Layard's copy is clearly the more correct.
25. Read *qabqari-li-ni*. This is the only place in the inscription where the later form of *li* is found.
26. Deyrolle has *khu-ru-na-i* for *khu-ru-la-i*. *Alukid ardini* is, I now think, 'at whatsoever time of the day,' and since *selis* is 'darkness,' *sili guli tisul-du-li-ni* must be rendered 'during the evening, the morning and the noon.' *Tisul-du-li-ni* is a compound of *du*, and the root that we find in *Teis-bas* 'the Air-god,' and the whole expression is regarded as a sort of com-



pound, the suffix *-ni* being attached only to its last member.

27. *Uldis*, I believe, signifies 'a conduit.' The word occurs only at Meher-Kapussi and Artamit (xxiii.), besides lxiv. 1, in both which places are the remains of an ancient aqueduct. The determinative shows that it was made of wood. Müller may be right in seeing in *sukhe* a derivative from *su* 'to make.'
28. Read 𐎠 *za-a-ri*, a derivative from *za* (as in *za-duni*). The word means 'a door,' whence *zainis* 'a gate.' Deyrolle has *ti* instead of 𐎠 , and Guyard consequently seems right in reading *gi-e-i is-ti-[ni ka-]u-ri* in place of my text. Guyard suggests that *giets* means 'brickwork.' I should prefer 'wall,' and translate 'Ispuinis and Menuas have constructed an artificial aqueduct for Khaldis; they have constructed a cistern (?) and an artificial door along with a wall belonging to it.'
29. Deyrolle's copy reads *mu-ru-ni* for *te-ru-ni*. But Layard's copy is preferable. Deyrolle has *gu-du-hu-li* for *sal-du-hu-li* and *ta-nu-li* in line 30, like Schulz and Layard. A fresh examination of the squeeze of vii. 6 proves that here also the reading is *ta-nu-li*. *Gudu-li* must be compared with *gudi* in vii. 3. The construction is, 'A house (not gods) of wood and stone having been *gud-uli*, 3 sheep are sacrificed to Khaldis (and) 3 sheep to the gods of the nations; the house of the conduit having been *tan-uh*, 3 sheep are sacrificed to Khaldis and 3 sheep to the gods of the nations; the house of the conduit having been *mes-uh*, 3 sheep are sacrificed to Khaldis and 3 sheep to the gods of the nations.'
31. Instead of *du-si-si-i-hu-li-ni* Deyrolle has 𐎠 *me-si-i hu-li-ni*, where a derivative from the same root as *mesu-li* is preceded by the ideograph of 'wine.' Consequently *meiesi* will have no connection with the pronominal *mesini*, but will signify 'libations.' One of the recently-discovered inscriptions of Armavir

(No. lix.) gives us the correct reading of the latter part of the line, namely, *me-tsi el-mu-us*. The whole phrase must mean, 'they have prescribed for the season the other libations of wine (and) the libations of mead (?).' It is hardly possible that *me-tsi* can be formed from the pronoun *me*, the sense being 'the libations of wine for the other (gods) and the libations that belong to him (i.e. Khaldi) for the season.'

- VII. 3. The ideograph in this line is that which denotes 'the left hand.'
4. Guyard has pointed out that *Kamna* in xxx. 19 interchanges with the ideographs $\text{𐎧} \text{𐎠} \llcorner$ in xlii. 79, and consequently must signify 'edifices.'
6. A re-examination of the squeeze proves the reading to be *ta-nu-li* (for *um-nu-li*). Perhaps the word means 'purifying.'
- X. 2, 5. *Askhas* can hardly be 'food.' It is a formation like *sidis* or *amas* from *askha*, which is probably a compound of *as* 'settle' and *kha* 'take.' *Askhu-me* must mean 'occupy' in xxvi. 6. Moreover, *ti* is 'to call,' so that *askhas-tes* will be 'declaring occupation' (a participial form like *sies*).
4. *Sui-ni-ni* is probably a derivative from *su* 'to make.'
- XII. 2, 3. Translate 'declaring occupation,' and read *tanu-li-ni*.
- XIII. 2. Translate 'and their wall to restoration (he has given).' *Sida* is genitive or dative of *sidas* 'restoration,' connected with *sidu-bi* 'I restored' (xl. 72) and *sidu-li* (vii. 5, 6), as well as with *sidi-s*.
- XIV. *Khû-sie* is probably 'ruinous,' since *at-khûa-li* means 'which had been destroyed.'
- XVI. 4. *Zanani-ni* is 'that which belongs to the gateway of the gate.'
- XVII. 3. *Sûsi* is 'the consecrated domain of a god.'
- XIX. 5. By means of a squeeze Guyard has been enabled to restore this line as follows: $\text{𐎧} \text{𐎠} \llcorner$ *Khal-di-i ku-ru-(ni -)𐎧* $\text{𐎠} \llcorner$ *-na ku-ru-ni* 'for Khaldi the giver (and) for the gods the givers (for each among them are the regulations of Menuas).' The restoration is important



- as it seems to show that the Vannic word for 'God' terminated in *-na*.
12. *Askhu-li-ni* will rather signify 'who occupy.'
18. Guyard has shown that *turi-ni-ni* must mean 'as for this person.'
- XX. 3. As already noticed, Müller has pointed out that *armani-li* corresponds to the ideograph 𐎠𐎢 'a foundation-stone.' We must read *at-khua-li* 'which had been destroyed.'
5. *Alsui-sini* is 'great' according to lxv. 10. The root *alsu* means 'to increase' from *al* 'increase' and *su* 'to have,' and hence the derivative signifies at once 'multitudinous' and 'great.'
12. Rather to be rendered 'whoever sets it (*inili*) in the dust.'
13. Translate 'Whoever else pretends: I have done (it).'
17. Read *arkhi-uruli-a-ni*. *Urulis* is 'seed.'
- XXI. 12. Translate 'whoever assigns it to another.'
- XXIII. 1. The original copy of Schulz has 𐎠𐎢 *si-la-a-i-e*.
- XXIV. 6—8. *Ase* means 'house,' not 'gods.' I can now suggest a better translation of these lines: 'May Šaris the queen occupy the house daily and monthly for Khaldi.' The suffix *-me* will denote the precative, the verb being literally 'take possession of' (*as-khu*). The inscription of Meher-Kapussi shows that the year was reckoned by its months, which were probably lunar.
- XXVIII. 9. If *armusi* is connected with *armani-li* 'a foundation-stone,' it would signify 'utterly.'
- XXX. 19. *Kamná* means 'edifices,' not 'possessions'; see xliii. 79.
26. Read 'the (king) of the city of Khaldi-ris.' He is called Saski . . . in xlv. 15.
28. *Ebani-a-tsi-edini* should be rendered 'the people of the (two) countries.'
- XXXI. 4. As *arnuyali* is replaced by *asili* in line 12, my translation of the word by 'castles' is assured.
- 6, 7. The suffix *-di* here seems to have the meaning 'because of.'

XXXII. 2. Perhaps *tusukhani* signifies 'in the spring.'

- 3, 4. *Ikukâni* should be rendered 'the same,' and (*sali*)*e* supplied at the beginning of line 4, the sense being 'in the same year.' Guyard is right in rendering *kiddanuli* 'gathering,'—'after gathering (my) soldiers together.'
5. Read 'Surisilis.' With the name of Tarkhi-gamas compare the Hittite names Tarkhu-lara, Tarkhu-nazi, Gamgamâ, and Gar-gamis (Carchemish).
6. Read *Sada-hadae-khi-ni-li-a-ni*. Comp. the name of Sady-attês.
7. *Asta* in *Khâti-na-asta-ni* probably stands for *asda*, like *Biainaste*, from *as-du* 'to make a settlement.' Compare *asdu*, xxxix. 1, 25.

XXXIII.¹ 1, 6. Wünsch's squeeze gives \succ for *bi*.

4. The squeeze seems to have a misformed *tsu* rather than *gu*.
15. The name of the king is probably *Šu-li-e-za-a-v-a-li*, corresponding to the Šulupal or Šuluval of the Assyrian inscriptions, which make him a king of Malatiyeh in B.C. 738.

XXXIV. Thanks to a photograph which Prof. Patkanoff was kind enough to send me, the text of the inscription of Tsolagerd can now be corrected in many places, though unfortunately the left side of the stone being covered with moss is partly illegible. (See the *Muséon*, ii. 3, pp. 358-364.) I reproduce it in full.

1. \rightarrow Υ Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi ma-si-ni gis-su-ri-e
To the Khaldises I prayed, the powers mighty (or
multitudinous),
2. ka-ru-ni Υ E-ri-du-a-khi 𐎶 -ni-e
who have given of the son of Eriduas the lands,
ka-(ru-ni)
who have given

¹ A squeeze of the first seven lines of this inscription has been taken by Prof. Wünsch and published by Prof. D. H. Müller in his Memoir on "Die Keilinschrift von Achrut-Darga" in the 36th volume of the *Monuments of the Imperial Academy of Vienna* (1866).

3. 𐎠𐎢𐎡 Lu-(nu-)hu-ni-ni la¹-qu-ni 𐎠 Me-nu-a-ka-i
the city of Lununis as a present to the race of Menuas;
4. (𐎠𐎢𐎡 Khal)-di ku-(ru-)ni 𐎠𐎢𐎡 Khal-di-ni gis-su-ri-i
to Khaldis the giver, to the Khaldises the mighty
5. ku-ru-ni 𐎠𐎢𐎡 Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-si-ni
the givers, to the children of Khaldis the gracious
us-ta-bi
I prayed,
6. (𐎠 Me-nu-)a-ni 𐎠 Is-pu-hu-i-ni-e-khi
belonging to Menuas the son of Ispuinis.
7. (hu-)lu-(us-)ta-bi 𐎠𐎢𐎡 Khal-di-ni 𐎠 Me-nu-a-s
I approached with gifts the Khaldises. Menuas
8. a-li-e (nu-na-)bi 𐎠 E-ri-(du-)a-khi 𐎠𐎠 -ni
says: I attacked of the son of Eriduas the land.
9. 𐎠𐎢𐎡 Lu-(nu-)ni-ni 𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎠𐎠 -si a-li-hu-i-e
The city of Lununis, the royal city, entirely,
10. a-i-se ? ? al-khe qa-ab-qa-su(?)-la-du(?)-ni
the country(?) . . the inhabitants, the neighbourhood,
11. a-ru-ni 𐎠𐎢𐎡 Khal-di-i-s 𐎠 Me-nu-hu-a
brought Khaldis to Menuas .
12. 𐎠 Is-pu-hu-(i-)ni-khi-ni-e kha-hu-bi
the son of Ispuinis. I conquered
13. 𐎠𐎢𐎡 Lu-nu-hu-ni-(ni) ha-al-du-bi
the city of Lununis. I changed
14. 𐎠𐎢𐎡 Lu-nu-hu-ni-ni me-e-si-ni pi-i
belonging to Lununis its name (into)
15. 𐎠 Me-nu-(hu)-a-li-e-a-tsi-li-ni
the place of the people of Menuas.
16. a-lu-s tu-li-e a-lu-s pi-(tu-li)e
Whoever carries away, whoever removes the name,
17. a-lu-s (pi-)i 𐎠𐎢𐎡 i-ni-li du-(li)e
Whoever the name of this stone destroys,

¹ So in the photograph.

18. a-lu-s u-li-s ti-hu-li-i-e
whoever else pretends:
19. i-e-s >𐎶 Lu-nu-hu-ni-ni kha-hu-bi
'I the city of Lununis have conquered,'
20. tu-ri-(ni-)ni (→𐎶) Khal-di-s, →𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶-s →𐎶 𐎠𐎶-s
as for (that) person, may Khaldis, Teisbas (and) Ardinis,
21. →𐎶 𐎶<<<-e ma-(a-ni) ardini pi-i-ni
the gods, him publicly, the name
22. me-i ar-khi-(hu-)ru-li-a-ni me-i
of him, the family of him,
23. i-(na-)a-i-ni me-i na-a-ra-a
the city of him to fire
24. a-hu-i-e hu-lu-li-e
(and) water consign!

XXXV.A. *Obv.* 7. Guyard is certainly right in regarding *buras-tubi* as a compound like *amas-tubi*, and in rendering it by 'I appointed governor.'

Rev. 3. Read (*tu-hu-*)*li-i-e*.

XXXVII. 3-5. The analogy of the Assyrian inscriptions seems to make it clear that *khuti-a-di* must mean 'by the command.' It will consequently be a compound of *khuti* 'command,' as in *khute-s* 'commander' or 'prince,' and *a* 'to speak.' The construction is probably the same as in xxxi. 6, being literally 'because of Khaldis the lord, Teisbas and Ardinis, givers of the command.' *Alt-a-ba-di* is from *ali(s)* 'multitude,' with the same suffix that we find in *Teis-bas*. Guyard has shown that *veli-dubi* must mean 'I collected.' Consequently the whole sentence runs: 'By the command of Khaldis the lord, Teisbas and Ardinis, in the assembly of the great (gods) of the inhabitants, the same year I collected (my) baggage¹ (and) soldiers.'






¹ Müller would render *sisukhani* by 'chariots,' but this word seems rather to be represented by *hakkau*, while in describing his preparations for a campaign the king would more naturally refer to his baggage generally than to his chariots in particular.

10. Babas cannot be the name of a country, as in that case there would be half a dozen of the name. It obviously corresponds to the Assyrian expression *matu ruquti* 'distant country.'
16. The interpretation of the formula *Khaldi-a istinie inani-li arniusini-li susini salie zadubi* must be corrected on the lines indicated by Guyard and Müller, though I cannot agree with the precise explanation of the phrase given by either. In xlix. 29 the phrase is parallel to another in line 26, *ali tukhi sistini ebana susini salie zadubi* 'the sum of the captives of three countries for one year I made.' Hence I believe we must translate 'for the people of Khaldis this spoil of the cities for one year I made.'
17. Read *A-bi-li-i-a-ni-e-khi*. Abilyanis perhaps received his name from *abilis* 'fire.'
22. Guyard erroneously supposes $\hat{\text{t}}-$ EEE AY to be a compound ideograph representing the Assyrian word for spoil. This, however, was *sallat*, not *sallut*, while in the Vannic texts $\hat{\text{t}}-$ is the determinative of women. Moreover, the combination with *hase* 'men' shows that 'women' are meant. *Lutu* enters into the composition of the proper name *Lut-ipris*.
24. We should probably read 'the same (year).'
- XXXVIII. 5. Deyrolle's squeeze confirms Layard's reading, *Kha-a-te*.
6. The reading is *Khila-ruadas* or *Khite-ruadas* with *da*.
- 8-10. The phrase appears to signify 'By the command of Khaldis the lord, Teisbas and Ardinis, the gods of Biainas, in the assembly of the great (gods) of the inhabitants, may the gods prosper (me).' In *khasi-aime*, the root *al* (as in *al-buis*) means 'to increase,' while *khasi* may be connected with *kha-su* 'cause to take.' I may observe here that the verbs *khu* or *khua* 'to destroy,' and *kha* or *khau* 'to take,' must not be confounded together.
14. Retain *a-da-ni*.
17. Supply (*haldubi mesi*)*ni pini* 'on leaving the city of

Pilas I changed its name.' Read *me-li-a-i-ni*. The word occurs in lv. 10, 12, where it is written *melâni*. Perhaps it means 'the ford of the river.'

18. Render 'I deported the men and women of the lands of Marmuas and Qa . . .'
21. Correct ✚ into ✛ 'in all.' Instead of 'its men' read 'men of the year,' the word for 'men' being *tarsuani* which, as Müller has shown, interchanges with the ideograph in xxxvii. 14. The word is derived from the compound *tar-su* 'to make strong.' The expression 'men of the year' denotes the men who were slain or captured during 'the year's campaign.'
40. Before *ustadi* we must supply *iku(kâni sale)* 'the same year.' The *da* of *Uburdas* is to be retained.
46. Read 'men of the year.'
57. Translate 'the citizens of Assyria.'
- XXXIX. 1. Translate 'soldiers who occupied part of the country I assembled' (*veli-dubi*).
5. The squeeze seems to have ε - [𒌶] *tab-zi* or *gi* or *ri*, which, however, cannot be correct. Retain the *da* of *Da-di-ka-i*. *Babani* is 'distant.'
8. Read *i(kukani sale)* 'the same year.'
11. The squeeze has *kh*u followed by what is rather *bi* than *du*.
12. The squeeze reads *(Ba-)ru-a-ta-i-di* instead of . . *hu-a-tsi-i-di*.
14. Read *sa-a-li-e* 'of the year.'
- 24, 25. Perhaps Guyard is right in translating "After restoring (*sidûli*) the palaces of the country of Surisilis I settled (in them) the soldiers of Assyria who occupied part of the land." In this case the name of Ispuinis would signify 'the settler.' Surisilis was a Hittite city according to xxxii. 5.
30. *Kidanu-bi* ought to mean 'I gathered together.'
31. The squeeze reads *sa* clearly. We should doubtless supply *sûi (du-u-)bi*. Müller connects *sui* with *sûsis* 'a chapel,' and would render the phrase 'I set in a (secret) place.' But this is unlikely. *Sûi*

is probably the second element in *al-tuis* 'great' or 'multitudinous,' where the first element is *al* 'to increase.' I believe it means 'possession,' so that the compound *tui-dubi* will be 'I appropriated.'

36. Instead of my restoration *Sa-ti*, the squeeze has  possibly *Zi-kha*.
- 48, 49. Translate "As a present to the race of Argistis (and) the mighty children of Khaldis. Argistis says: after I had gathered together the war-material (and) the horsemen." *Sur-khani* is a synonyme of *sisu-khani*, and like it is compounded with the verb *kha* 'to take.'
- 54, 55. The construction seems to be 'after approaching Khaldis, etc., (and) the country of the Iyaiana.'
58. Read *E-ra-dha-li-e-hu-li*.
60. Read *i(ku-ka-ni sale)* 'the same year.'
- XL. 2. Read *sale*; 'the men of the year.'
6. The squeeze has , which may be intended for *di*, rather than for *ul*.
7. The squeeze has *xxm*.
13. Read *susini sâli* 'one year.'
44. The squeeze has *te-qu-hu-a-li*.
54. The squeeze has *Sa-ti-ra-ra-ga-ni*.
57. The squeeze has *A-la-dha-i-e*. *Babas* is 'distant.'
72. *Sidubi* is 'I restored.' Compare liv. 1.
74. The squeeze has  *Ma-na*   *si-ra-a-ni*, where the second word (which occurs again in line 80) seems a compound of *siras* 'a corn-pit.'
79. Render: 'belonging to the horsemen (and) belonging to the whole army' (*veli-binis* from *velis* 'a gathering').
- XLII. 4. Read *abi veli-dubi* 'the cavalry I collected.'
13. Here, as elsewhere in the inscription, the readings of Layard are confirmed by the squeeze.
15. *Mumûiya-bi* must signify 'I laid tribute upon' according to xlv. 23.
18. I think that the meaning is 'the city of Bikhuras which is dependent on the country of Bam,' *asuni-ni* being a compound of *su* 'to possess.'

19. Perhaps *murumuri-a-khi-ni* is 'rebels.' The squeeze has *na-a-ni*. I should translate: 'the rebels of the city removing out the sunlight.'
20. Read *khar-khar-sa-bi ies* 'I caused to dig up,' *ies* being the first personal pronoun, and *sa* a modified form of the causative *su*.

XLIII. 2. *Sui-dubi* 'I appropriated.'

3. The squeeze has *sa* instead of *ir*.
4. Read *abili-dubi* 'I gave to conflagration.'
13. The squeeze has *pa-ri*. Translate 'who have given portions out of the land of Gurqus, consisting of the people of Dhuaras.'
15. The squeeze has *is-me* at the end of the line. Consequently we must read, 'As the lot (*isme*) of Khaldis, I selected a sixtieth of the spoil, both a portion of the captives and of the plunder.'
17. Probably *pa-ri* must be supplied at the beginning of the line. The squeeze has \blacktriangledown 'hostile' instead of \blacktriangledown . Retain *da* in the name of Dailatinis.
39. The squeeze reads *Si-me-ri-kha-di-ri-ni*.
41. *Kha-su-bi* 'I captured,' from *kha* 'to take' and *su* 'to make.' Translate, 'I captured the war-magazines and *sirbilani* of the city of Ardinis in the land of Etius. The same year I gathered together the baggage and the cavalry.'

78. Delete \blacktriangledown -e.

79. The reading $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$ is correct.

XLIV. 8. Read *tinlie ull turi* '(whoever) pretends (it is the work) of another person.'

XLV. 10. Read *Qa-li-i-(ni)*.

16. Correct 'Ardarakis.' *Saski* . . . is called 'the Khaldirian' in xxx. 26.
- 17, 18. Translate 'I appointed as governor the king, the son of Diaves.'
33. Read *a-li-e-li* 'the whole.'
- 15, 39. Perhaps Müller is right in omitting \blacktriangle at the beginning of the last line, and regarding *vedia-dubi* as a compound. But his translation, 'I captured' must

be wrong. The phrase would rather mean 'I received as a subject.' Guyard is also wrong in supposing that ḫ-vedia is a synonyme of ḫ-lutu . If my old view in regard to it is incorrect, the word can only mean 'female slaves.' Translate, 'I appointed (him) . . . governor of the land of Igas.'

XLVI. 16. Perhaps we should read *veli-dubi* 'I collected.' *Ulis* 'the other' follows.

XLVIII. So to be corrected for XLVII. p. 632.

15. Restore (*e-bi-i-ni*) 'inscription.'

26. Read: *Khaldi isme xx tukhi aruni* 'as the lot of Khaldis 20 prisoners he has brought.'

27. Guyard has shown that we must read *atqaniest* instead of *dhaniest* and render 'priests.' The translation of the line will accordingly be: 'On carrying away the 20 prisoners to be priests.' The class of priests meant would be that of consecrated temple-slaves.

31. After *ikukani sale* 'the same year' *agubi* is impossible. We should expect some phrase like 'I assembled the baggage and horsemen.'

XLIX. 7. Translate: 'the plunder of each I have taken for a spoil.'

8. 𐎶 𐎶 is the Assyrian *yume* 'a day' used ideographically. Consequently we must render: 'Twenty-three cities in 60 days I captured.'

11. The squeeze has *i-na-ni-hu-e* 'belonging to the city.'

12. The squeeze reads *as-hu-la-a-bi*, which must, however, be an error for *as-galá-bi*.

13. The squeeze gives *ta-ra-ni*. Translate: 'The same year for the second time on approaching the land of Etius, the people of Liqis.'

16. Retain *da* in *Hu-e-ni-da-i-ni*.



17. Translate: 'the king of the inhabitants of Buis I appointed governor.'

19. Translate: 'belonging to the people of the country.'

22. Translate: 'The same year, for the third time.'

26. The squeeze reads *sa-du-bi*. Translate: 'The sum of

the captives of the three countries for the one year I made.'

27. Read *sale* for *mu*; 'slaves of the year's (campaign).'
- L. 2. Retain *da* in *Khila-ruadas* or *Khite-ruadas*.
- 10, 11, 12. Translate: 'After battling for four days with the cavalry of the tribe of *Dhumeskis*, after approaching the country during the same days.'
14. Translate 'a distant land' instead of 'land of *Babas*.'
16. Read *susini ardinie* 'in one day.'
36. Müller sees in *seri* a derivative from *se* 'life' and renders the phrase 'whoever exposes to a wild beast.' The root *du* certainly means in the first instance 'to place,' but it also means 'to destroy' or 'overthrow' (see xxxvii. 6) like the slang use of 'do' in English.
- LI. I. 3. As Guyard perceived, we have here the ideograph of 'a vine,' written phonetically *udulis* in line 7.
- 4, 5. Read *a-li-i-si* 'every' and *nanuli*. The original copy of Schulz has *tu-ur-ta-a-ni*, which is probably a compound of *tur* (as in *turis* 'a person') and *ta* 'to come' (as in *us-tâ-bi*). It is possible that we should render this difficult passage, "For every king of the same people who belongs here the plant (? of himself (and his) house has (*Sar-duris*) created."
- 6, 7. In spite of the terminations of *khaidiani* and *terikhinie*, which look as if persons were referred to, I am tempted to render these lines: "the fruit of the tree planted by *Sarduris* he has called *Sarduris's* (fruit) of the vine."
8. Schulz's original copy shows that the reading is *a-(lu-)s kha-hu-li-e* "whoever takes away what has been given for the support of the shoot."
9. Schulz's copy begins the line with  =  (? a . . hu).
10. Schulz's copy shows that here again the reading is *a-(lu-)s kha-hu-li-e*.
- III. 3—5. Read: *Khakli isme xx tukhi aruni: nakhâdi D.P.*

atqaniéti az lukhini ikukani sale teru(ni), "As the lot of Khaldis (Sarduris) has brought 20 prisoners; after carrying away the 20 prisoners to be priests, he has planted (the vine) the same year."

LII. V. A fifth inscription on a bronze fragment from Van, which has now been cleaned, must be added to those given in my Memoir. It is on part of the frieze ornamented with rosettes and kneeling bulls in *respoussé* work and runs:—

. . . al-du-ni su-i-ni-ni-e i-qi-qi (or lu) . . .

It is possible that the first word may represent *haldu-ni* 'he has changed' or 'a change.' *Suini-ni* can hardly mean anything else than 'belonging to the construction.'

LIII. 6. The engraver of the inscription has probably omitted a second *tu*, so that we should read "the king, the men and the women I carried away" (*tu-bi*). At all events the verb *kudhubi* in the next line must mean 'I departed.'

LIV. 5. Read *gudu-li-a meli ulini*, where *ulini* is 'other,' and *gudu-li-a* is probably connected with *gudi* in vii. 3.

6. Read *ali-bi-di* and *nula-li*. The latter word may be 'kingdom.'

12. Read *Nu-nu-li-e* 'of Nunulis.'

I.V. 14. *Sali mâni* would mean 'that year.'

LVI. I. 2. *Mumuni-ni* would be 'tributaries.'

14. Read $\text{E}||\text{E}$ -ni-ni 'the support' or 'food.'

III. 2. We must render '(whoever) removes the gate of the land of Khaldis.'

3, 4. A re-examination of the cast shows me that *da* in each case must be corrected into *li*.

10. Read *su-hu-i-du-li-i-e* 'whoever appropriates this tablet.'

I will now give the supplementary inscriptions that have been discovered since the publication of my Memoir, continuing the numeration adopted in it.

INSCRIPTIONS OF ISPUINIS AND MENUAS.

LVIII.

The following inscription was discovered by Prof. Wünsch in 1883 on the slope of the hill of Ashrut-Darga, eastward of the village of Pagan and the town of Salakhana, above the valley of the Kaper-su. Prof. Wünsch took photographs and squeezes of the inscription, which is engraved on the upper part of a niche cut out of the rock in the form of a door. In front of the niche is a level space approached by a flight of steps, between thirty and forty feet in length. Below are the remains of a tunnel cut through the rock leading to a spring which flows into the Kaper-su. The height of the inscription is 2577 metres above the sea-level. The photographs and squeezes of the inscription have been studied by Prof. D. H. Müller, who has published it in a paper entitled *Die Keil-inschrift von Aschrut-Darga*, communicated to the 36th volume of the *Monuments of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Vienna* (1886). Prof. Patkanoff had already sent me a copy of the inscription (not, however, quite exact) which he had received from M. Garegin, the Armenian Vicar of Trebizond. The latter describes it as having been found in the Kurdish district of Hennari, nine hours distant from Van, and as consisting of ten lines, of which the five last are a repetition of the first. I have published the text with translation and notes in the *Muséon*, v. 3 (June, 1886).

1. →𐎧	Khal-di-i-e	e-hu-ri-i-e	𐎧	Is-pu-hu-i-ni-s
	For Khaldis	the lord		Ispuinis
	𐎧 →𐎧	RI-du-ri-e-khi-ni-s	𐎧	Me-nu-a-s
		the son of Sari-duris		(and) Menuas
	𐎧	Is-pu-hu-i-ni-khi-ni-s		
		the son of Ispuinis		

2. $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ Khal-di-e-i $\acute{s}u\text{-}\acute{s}i$ si-di-is-tu-ni
of Khaldis the chapel have restored.
 $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-si-ni
For the children of Khaldis, the gracious,
 Υ Is-pu-hu-i-ni-ni $\Upsilon \rightarrow\Upsilon$ RI-du-ri-e-khe
who belong to Ispuinis the son of Sari-duris,
3. $\ll \text{E} \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon$ Υ \ll al- $\acute{s}u$ -i-ni \ll
the powerful king, the king great the king
 \wedge Bi-i-a-i-na-hu-e a-lu- $\acute{s}i$ $\rightarrow\text{E} \Upsilon$ Dhu-us-pa-a
of Biainas, inhabiting the city of Tosp,
te-ru-hu-ni ar-di-se
they have established offerings
4. qu-du-la-a-ni su-khi-na-a-tsi-e
(and) sacrifices (?) belonging to the place of the workmen;
 $\text{E} \Upsilon$ $\rightarrow\Upsilon \Delta$ $\text{E} \Upsilon$ $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ Khal-di-e ni-ip- $\acute{s}i$ -du-li-ni
a lamb to Khaldis the maker of ,
 $\text{E} \Upsilon \wedge$ $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ Khal-di-e
an ox to Khaldis
5. ur-pu-hu-li-ni $\text{E} \Upsilon \wedge$ \ll $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ Hu-a-ru-ba-ni-e
of the shrine (?), a wild ox to Varubas,
 $\text{E} \Upsilon$ $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ Khal-di-na-hu-e
a sheep belonging to the land of Khaldis
 $\rightarrow\Upsilon \Upsilon$ $\text{E} \Upsilon$ $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ Khal-di-na-hu-e
to the gate, a sheep belonging to the land of Khaldis
be-li $\Upsilon \ll$
to the dead (?).

2. As Müller points out, *súsi* must be the niche, or rather the chapel to which the niche belongs. I regard it as formed from *suis* 'possession' by the adjectival suffix *si* like *núsi* 'royal' from *nus* 'a king,' and consequently as literally signifying 'the property' or *τέμενος* of the god.

3. Since in LXV. 10 the ideograph $\text{E} \Upsilon$ corresponds to *alsuini* in LI. iii. 9, it is evident that we must translate the latter word by 'great' and not by 'of multitudes' as I have done in my Memoir. *Alsuis* is a compound signifying























'much-possessing,' 'large,' 'multitudinous,' whence *alsuinis* 'he who is large' or 'great.'

4. Müller sees in *qudulani* an adjective, which he suggests may mean 'weekly.' Analogy, however, would lead us to infer that it is a second substantive of unknown signification, though as sheep and oxen are named subsequently, it ought to mean 'cattle' or 'sacrifices.' *Sukhi-natsie* is divided by Müller into two words, in the latter of which he sees the word *nas* 'a city.' Certainly *nani* occurs in xli. 19, apparently in the sense of a city or country, but in cases like *Khaldi-na-ve -na* can only be a suffix. The meaning, however, will be the same, whether *na* be regarded as a suffix or as an independent word. Müller is, I think, right in deriving *sukhi* from *su* 'to make.' It will mean 'an artificial product,' like *arkhi* 'produce,' from *ar* 'to bear,' or *tukhi* 'captives,' from *tu* 'to carry away.'

5. 'To the gate of the land (or city) of Khaldis,' not 'to Khaldis of the city-gate' as Müller would render. That the latter rendering is wrong is shown by expressions like $\rightarrow\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽}$ *Ardini-nave* $\rightarrow\text{𐎠}$ 'to the god of the city Ardinis' (v. 14), or that in lix. 11. The 'gate' is probably the pass close to which the inscription was engraved. Varubas was doubtless the local deity of the spot.

LIX.

This inscription was discovered by Bishop Sembatiantz on the hill of Armavir above the Araxes, engraved on a red stone, the rows of characters being divided by horizontal lines. A copy of it was sent to me by Prof. Patkanoff and published by me in the *Museón*, v. 3 (June, 1886). The stone is unfortunately only a fragment of the primitive tablet; the commencement and end of the text as well as of the lines themselves have been destroyed. What remains, however, shows that it is a companion text to that of Meher-Kapussi, and therefore presumably of the age of Ispuinis and Menuas. It must, however, be of rather later date than the inscription of Meher-Kapussi, since the character *ki* has the form which (except in one instance) first makes its appearance when Menuas had become sole king.

1. (P a-li-)bi-di sú-hu-i hu-li ta-nu-(li)
 for the property of another after
2. (me-i-e)si me-tsi el-mu-us ma-nu-hu-(s)
 libations of mead (P) season each
3. (a-nu-hu-)ni   Khal-di-e
 they have prescribed. An ox to Khaldis
   
 to be sacrificed; a wild ox to the god . . . ;
4. li-ni   Khal-di-e 
 after a sheep to Khaldis to be sacrificed;
 
 a sheep to the god
5. e     Khal-di-e-ni
 a lamb to the Khaldises
6. muk(P)¹-ti-ni **QI**
 (to the god) . . . muktis the messenger
 Hu-ra-a qu-ul-di
 of Uras the
7.  E-ra-a-si-ni-e hu hu-li
 a sheep for those of Eras along with another.
8. za-di-ni  -tsi
 for the builders belonging to the sacrifice
 sí-ri-kha-ni
 who occupy the house of the tomb.
9. (si)-du-li i-ni 
 after restoring this house
 sí-ri-kha-ni-ni
 of the possessors of the tomb,
10. ( Khal-)di-na-a   -ka-i
 belonging to the land of Khaldis for the race of the gate
 a-lu-sí me-ri-ip . .
 inhabiting the left (P)

¹ So in the copy sent to me.

11. (→)𐎧 Khal-)di-i-ni zi-el-di-e 𐎧𐎠𐎠𐎠 ti-is-nu
for the children of Khaldis of the shrine on the right.

1, 2. For *alibi-di* cf. liv. 6. The word may be derived from *alis* 'totality.' For the rest of the two lines cf. v. 30, 31.

6, 7. The ideograph of 'messenger' occurs here for the first time. It will be noticed that the determinative of divinity is omitted before the name of the god Uras who is mentioned in v. 11. This explains *Erasnie* 'those belonging to the god Eras.' It is possible that Eras is the Er of Plato, the Arios of Ktesias and the Ara of Armenian legend, who was the Sun-god of Hades and the winter. In this case 'those that belonged' to him would be 'the dead,' the *Aralez* of the legend of Ara. The conjunction *iu* 'and,' 'with,' is here written *u*.

11. The ideograph shows that *tisnu* must mean 'on the right hand.' This makes it probable that *merib(di?)* is the pronunciation of the ideograph of 'left hand' found in vii. 3.

INSCRIPTIONS OF ARGISTIS.

LX.

The following inscription was copied by Bishop Mesrop Sembatiantz, at Ordanlu, and sent by him to Prof. Patkanoff, who was kind enough to forward a revised text of it to myself. I published it with translation and notes in the *Muséon*, iii. 2 (April, 1884).

1. →)𐎧 Khal-di-ni (al-)śu-si-ni
To the Khaldises the great
2.)𐎧 Ar-gi-is-ti-s a-li
Argistis says:
3. kha-hu-bi →)𐎧 Qi(?)-e-khu-ni 𐎠𐎠 -ni.
I have conquered of the town Qiekhus the land.
4. khu-dhu-(bi) pa-ri →)𐎧 Is-ti-ma-ni-(e)
I departed out of the city of Istimas

5. 𐎗𐎗 sa-na ap-ti-ni
 (and) the country thereto belonging which was called
 Tsu-hu-ni-e.
 Tsuis.
6. li-me-i-e-li qi-i-hu

7. 𐎗 Ar-gi-is-ti-ni
 belonging to Argistis,
8. 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 Bi-a-na-hu-e
 the king powerful, king of Bianas,
9. a-lu-(sí) 𐎗𐎗 Dhu-us-pa 𐎗𐎗
 inhabiting the city of Tosp.

5. For this line cf. xia. 3. Müller points out that the town of Tsuis is named in v. 19.

6. This line is quite unintelligible, and is probably mis-copied. At all events the copyist must have overlooked a line, since before *Argistini* we require the words *Khaldi-ni-ni usta-bi*, 'to the children of Khaldi I prayed.'

LXI.

This inscription was also published by me in the *Muséon*, iii. 2 (April, 1884). A copy of it had been sent to me by Prof. Patkanoff. The original text was discovered at 'Ihaulidjan in Chirac' by a certain Narzes, who communicated his copy of it to Bishop Sembatiantz.

1. 𐎗𐎗𐎗 Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi
 To the Khaldiæes I prayed,
2. ma-sí-ni gis-su-ri-e ka-ru-
 to the powers mighty who have
3. ni 𐎗 Qu-u-li-a-i-ni
 given of Quliais
4. 𐎗𐎗 (-ni) te-qu-ni 𐎗 Ar-
 the land as a present to

5. gi-is-ti-ka-i
the race of Argistis ;
6. hu-lu-us-ta-bi
I have approached with offerings
7. 𐎧𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎡 𐎧𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎡 Ar-
the Khaldises. Ar-
8. gi-is-ti-s a-li
-gistis says :
9. kha-hu-bi 𐎧𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎡 Al(?) -ru-
I conquered the city of Alru-
10. ba-ni 𐎧𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎡 Qu-u-li-
-bas (and) of Quli-
11. a-i-ni 𐎧𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎡 -ni
-ais the country.

INSCRIPTIONS OF SARDURIS II.

LXII.

Prof. D. H. Müller has published the following inscription, with translation and notes, in his memoir on "Die Keilinschrift von Aschrot-Darga" already referred to, as well as in the *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*, Jan. 1885, p. 24. He received a squeeze of it from Dr. Polak, who had seen the original on a stone in the possession of an Armenian dealer in antiquities at Van named Dewganz. The stone had been brought from a ruin at Astwadzashen near Van.

1. (𐎧𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎡) Khal-di-ni-ni
To the children of Khaldis
2. al-sú-i-si-ni
the great
3. 𐎧𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎡 RI-du-ri-s
Sari-duris
4. 𐎧𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎡 Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s
the son of Argistis

5. i-ni ha-ri su-hu-ni
for this . . . has made
6. X M V M III C
fifteen thousand three hundred
7. ka-pi-is-ti-ni.
.

It is unfortunate that we do not know to what object the stone belonged, as this would have explained the unknown word *hari*. Müller suggests that *kapistini* denotes small coins or something equivalent.

LXIII., LXIV.

The two following inscriptions were copied by Bishop Sembatiantz on stones among the ruins of Armavir, and communicated by him to Prof. Patkanoff, after having been published in the Armenian journal *Ararat* for November, 1881, along with another which had been copied at the same time. Prof. Patkanoff published an account of them in the *Muséon*, i. 4 (1882), and had the kindness to forward his corrected copies of two of the three texts to me. I published them with translation and commentary in the following number of the *Muséon*, ii. 1 (1883). Prof. Patkanoff observes that the five inscriptions discovered at Armavir up to 1882 are all mutilated on the left side, from which he infers that they have been removed from their original position and recut, in order to serve for the building of some edifice in the city which succeeded the ancient Armavir. The commencement and end of the inscriptions have been lost, as well as the commencement of the lines, but a comparison of the two enables us to restore a certain portion of the text.

1. 1. ra-a-bi-di-i-ni
. the
2. (𐎶 𐎠𐎵 RI-du-ri 𐎶) Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-e
of Sariduris the son of Argistis

3. (ul-gu-si-ya)-i-ni-e
(and) the shield-bearers
4. (→Y Khal-di-ni al-) sú-i-se-e
of the Khaldises multitudinous (*or* great)
5. (→Y Khal-di-ni) ar-ni us-ma-se
and the Khaldises of the citadel (?), the gracious,
6. (pi 𐎧 ma-at-khi . . .)-hu-a-ni-se
the name of the girls (?)
7. (. ri-li) Y<<< 𐎧Y Y<<< <Y-𐎧 Y<<<
. the . . . , days prosperous,
8. (pi-) li sí-ip-ru-gi-ni
a memorial-stone enduring (?).
9. (Y →Y RI-du-ri-s XX) tu-khi-ni →Y 𐎧 -ni-ka-i
Sariduris 20 prisoners for the race of the Sun-god
10. (a-ru-ni tar-gi-)ni 𐎧𐎧 𐎧𐎧 Y<<< -di su-ya-i-di
has brought, the choicest (?) among countries hostile (?).
11. (→Y Khal-di-ni-ni al-) sú-i-si-ni
For the children of Khaldis the multitudinous (*or* great)
12. (Y →Y RI-du-ri-ni) Y Ar-gis-ti-khi
belonging to Sariduris the son of Argistis.
- II. 1. i 𐎧𐎧 𐎧Y ul-di
. the city, the aqueduct (?)
𐎧Y za-ri-(i) . . .
(and) the door . . .
2. Y<<< ar-ni-hu-si-ni-li is-(ti-ni-ni) . . .
. the booty belonging to them . . .
3. (ra)-bi-di-ni →Y Khal-di-na-ni
. the . . . belonging to the land of Khaldis,
(. . . ra-bi-di-ni)
the
4. (Y →Y RI-du-ri) Y Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-e ul-gu-(si-ya-i-ni-e)
of Sariduris the son of Argistis, the shield-bearers

5. (→𐎧 Khal-di-ni) ar-ni us-ma-a-se pi
of the Khaldises of the citadel(?), the gracious, the name
𐎧- ma-(at-khi)
of the girls
6. ri-li 𐎧𐎺 𐎧- 𐎧<< <𐎧-𐎧𐎺 𐎧<< pi-(li
. days prosperous, a memorial-stone
ši-ip-ru-gi-ni
enduring(?).
7. (𐎧→𐎧 RI)-du-ri-s xx tu-khi-ni (→𐎧 𐎧𐎺 -ni-ka-i)
Sariduris 20 prisoners for the race of the Sun-god
8. (a-ru-)ni tar-gi-ni 𐎧𐎺 𐎧𐎺 𐎧<< -di (su-ya-i-di)
has brought, the choicest(?) among countries hostile(?).

I. 6, II. 5. It is possible that we should not read *matkhi* here, since in the copy no division is made between the two characters 𐎧- and 𐎧𐎺. In this case we should have the new ideograph 𐎧-𐎧𐎺 'prince.'

I. 10, II. 8. *Tar-gi-ni* is compounded like *us-gi-ni* and the new word *šipru-gi-ni* with *gi*, which may be connected with the difficult word *gies*. However this may be, its first element *tar* shows that it must signify 'the strength' or 'best part' of a thing. *Suyai-di* seems to me to be either 'hostile' or 'all.' If it has the latter meaning, light would be thrown on *sui-ni-ni* in xix. 8, etc.

LXV.

This inscription has also been found at Armavir. A photograph of it was sent to Prof. Patkanoff, who forwarded it to me. I have published it with translation and notes in the *Muséon*, ii. 3 (1883).

It will be noticed that the inscriptions of Armavir, so far as they are known, all belong to Sarduris II. Menuas indeed engraved an inscription on the bank of the Araxes opposite Armavir (No. xxxiv.), but we learn from it that the whole district at the time formed the kingdom of a certain Eriduas, and Menuas boasts of his capture of the city of Lununis,

which may have occupied the site of Armavir. When Argistis appointed his son satrap of a portion of the territories of Hazas, the Mannian prince (xl. 73, liv. 1), Sarduris II., appears to have made Armavir the seat of his government, and to have retained his partiality for it after the death of his father. It is very possible that it was founded by him.

1. >>𐎧 Khal-di-e >𐎠 𐎧 i-ni 𐎧𐎶𐎶𐎶
For Khaldis the lord of multitudes this house
2. 𐎧 >>𐎧 RI-du-hu-ri-i-s
Sariduris
3. 𐎧 Ar-gi-is-ti-khi-ni-s
the son of Argistis
4. si-di-is-tu-ni e-ha
has restored; this
5. >>𐎧 Khal-di-ni-li >>𐎧 -li
place of Khaldis (viz.) the gate
6. ba-du-śi-e ku-su-hu-ni
which was ruined he has caused to be erected
7. at-qa-na-du-ni >>𐎧 Khal-di-e >𐎠 𐎧
(and) has consecrated to Khaldis the lord of multitudes
8. >>𐎧 Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-si-ni
(and) to the children of Khaldis, the great,
9. 𐎧 >>𐎧 RI-du-ri-ni << 𐎧𐎶𐎶𐎶
belonging to Sariduris the king powerful
10. << 𐎧𐎶 -ni << 𐎧𐎶 𐎧𐎶 𐎧<< -hu-e
the great king, the king of the world,
11. << 𐎧𐎶 Bi-a-i-na-a-hu-e
the king of Biainas,
12. << << 𐎧<< -hu-e a-lu-śi
the king of kings, inhabiting
13. >>𐎶𐎶 Dhu-us-pa-e >>𐎶𐎶
the city of Dhuspas.

1. This inscription is especially valuable on account of the large number of ideographs it contains. The ideograph of 'multitudes' goes to show, if lii. B. i. (p. 655) is compared, that *gissurie* signifies 'belonging to multitudes' rather than 'great.'

4. Perhaps Guyard is right in regarding *eha* as denoting 'at the same time' rather than the demonstrative pronoun.

6. *Ku-su-ni* is the causative of *ku*, a root which we probably have in *ku-gu-bi* 'I cut' or 'engraved.'

10. In xlvi. 6, and li. iii. 9, the place of $\Xi\bar{\text{I}}$ is taken by *alšuni*, and that of 𐎧 𐎧 𐎧 𐎧 by *sura-re*, showing that *alšuni* must signify 'great,' and that *suras* is not the name of a district in Van, but a word meaning 'provinces' or 'the world.'

13. It is possible that Müller may be right in considering the phonetic reading of the second 𐎧 𐎧 to be *na*. The word *nāni* in xli. 19 certainly seems to signify 'city,' and a comparison of the two forms *Dhuspa-ni-na-re* v. 14, and *Dhuspa-na-re* v. 53, makes it probable that *na-re* is here used as an independent word. *Inanis* will then be a derivative in *-nis*, like *eba-nis* from *ebas*, and we may either regard *ina* as the fuller form of which *na* is a contraction, or as a compound.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF NEW WORDS AND CORRECTED EXPLANATIONS.

Abili-dubi (for *abida-dubi*). 'I burnt,' literally 'I set on fire,' from *du* 'to place' and *abilis* 'fire.'

Abiliānie-khi. 'The son of Abilianis,' i.e. 'the fireman.'
xxxvii. 17.

Adubi to be read *zadubi*, xlix. 26.

Ali. 'And.' Literally 'moreover,' from *alis* 'totality.'
(For *a-da*.)

Ali. 'The whole,' 'totality.' (For *a-da*.)¹

Ali-ki. 'part of the whole,' 'partly.' (For *a-da-ki*.)

¹ It is possible that *al*, *ali* and *alu* are all related to one another, *alu* standing in the same relation to *al* as *tiu* to *ti*. *Al* means 'to increase,' hence *al-šuis* 'having increase,' or 'large,' *al-šui-nis* 'great,' and *al-khe* 'the increase' of a place or 'inhabitants.' The derivative *ali-s* is 'totality,' while *alu-s* 'who-soever' would literally signify 'every one,' and *alu-šis* would be, not 'inhabitant,' but 'nourisher.'

- Ali-a-bâ-di. 'Among the assemblage.' (For *adâ-badi*.)
 Ali-manu. 'All and each.' (For *ada-manu*.)
 Alî-ši. 'Every.' li. 1. 4. (For *adaîši*.)
 Alie-me. 'The sum total.' xli. 13.
 A-li-hu-i-e (ali-vie). 'Entire.' xxxiv. 9.
 (A-li-)bi-di. lix. 1.
 A-i-se. 'Countries' (?) xxxiv. 10.
 Al-khe. 'Inhabitants.' xxxiv. 10.
 Al(?) -ru-ba-ni. 'The city of Al(?)rubas.' lxi. 9, 10.
 Alsui-nis. 'Great,' 'large.' From *al* 'increase,' and *šui* or *šui* 'to possess.'
 A-nu-hu-ni. 'They prescribed.' v. 31, 83, lix. 3.
 Ap-ti-ni. 'Which was called.' lx. 5.
 Ardis. 'Light.' v.7. Hence *ardi-nis* 'the daylight,' 'the sun.'
 Ardisê. 'Offerings' (not 'regulations'). lviii. 3.
 Arkhie-uruli-a-ni. 'Family.' (For *arkhie-urudâni*.) Compounded with *uruli-a* 'men of the seed.'
 Armânie-li. 'Foundation-stone.' xx. 3. (For *armaniedad*.)
 Ar-ni. lxiii. 5.
 Arnusini-li. 'Spoil.' xliv. 2. (For *arnusini-da* 'citadel'.)
 Ar-tsu-ni-hu-i-ni-ni. v. 15. (For *Artsu-hu-i-ni-ni*.)
 A-ru-ni. xxxiv. 11, lxiii. 10.
 Ase does not signify 'gods.'
 Askhu-me. 'May she occupy.' (For 'let them eat.') From *as* 'habitation' and *khu* 'to take.'
 Askhu-li-ni. (For *askhu-da-ni*.)
 Askhas-tes, Askhas-ti. 'Declaring occupation.'
Âsi veli-duli. 'After collecting the cavalry.' (For *Âsi-hu-e-da-du-da*.)
 Ašuni. Probably 'dependent on.' Correct xxxiii. 14 for xxxiv. 14.
 A-ti-bi. 'Myriads,' not 'thousands.'
 At-khu-a-li. 'Which had been destroyed.' xx. 3.
 At-qa-na-hu-e. 'holy,' 'consecrated.' v. 19.
 At-qa-na-du-ni. 'He consecrated.' lxxv. 7.
 At-qa-ni-e-ši-i. 'Priests' (consecrated slaves of a temple). xlvi. 27, li. iii. 4. (Instead of *Dhanîši*.)

B.

Babas. 'Distant' (not a proper name).

Ba-du-ši-e. lxxv. 6.

(Ba)-ru-a-ta-i-di. 'In the land of Baruatais.' xxxix. 12.

Be-li Ꞁ<<. lviii. 5. Instead of BAD-li.

Buras-tu-bi. 'I appointed as governor.' From *buras* 'government' (instead of 'court') and *tu* for *du* 'to place.' Possibly *bura* or *pura* signifies 'head.'

D.

Da-si-e. 'To the . . .' v. 15. (Instead of *Khaldini-dasie*.)

Di-dhu-ni. Probably to be read instead of *uldhuni*. xl. 6.

Du-u to be excised. The character is the ideograph of 'a vine' (*udulis*).

Du-hu-bi means properly 'to place,' 'set.' The idea of 'destroying' is secondary. In many of the passages quoted the word should be translated 'set.'

Duris. Probably signifies 'appointed.'

Dusisi-hu-li-ni to be excised. The reading is *mesi u-li-ni* 'other libations.'

Du-tu. 'Things appointed.' The compound *sui-dutu* (xxx. 10) is 'property.'

DH.

Dhanišî to be excised. The word is *At-qa-ni-e-ši-i*.

E.

E-ba-ni-a-tsi-e-di-ni signifies 'inhabitants of the country'; literally 'those (*di*) belonging to (*tsie*) the people (*a*) of the country.'

Ebanie-lie-di-ni for *ebanie-da-e-di-ni*.

E-ha. Perhaps 'at the same time,' rather than 'this.'

Elipris. Müller compares the name of the city of Ispilipria in Biari (W.A.I. i. 20. 16), where *ispi* is probably connected with *ispu* 'to settle.'

El-mu-s. 'A season.' lix. 2.

Eradha-li-hu-ni. (For *Eradha-da-hu-ni*.)

E-ra-a-si-ni-e. 'For those of the god Eras' (? Ara), perhaps 'the dead.' lix. 7.

- E-ri-du-a-khi. 'The son of Eriduas.' xxxiv. 2, 8. (For *Eri-a-khi*.) This king is therefore different from the 'son of Erias' mentioned in the inscriptions of Argistis.
- E-hu-ri-i-e. 'To the lord.' lviii. 1.

G.

- Gieis is perhaps 'wall' rather than 'image.' Cf. *gi* in *tar-gi-ni*, perhaps meaning 'to stand.'
- Giei-si-da to be excised. Read *giei sida* 'the restoration of the wall.'
- Gislâie to be excised. The word is *sildâie*.
- Gissuri rather 'belonging to multitudes' than 'mighty.'
- Gu-di. 'Commencement' (?). vii. 3.
- Gu-du-hu-li. 'Having been begun (?).' (For *sal-du-hu-li*.) v. 29.
- Gu-du-li-a. (For *e-gu-du-da-a*.) liv. 5.
- Gu-li. 'In the morning.' v. 26.

H.

- (? Ha-)al-du-ni. lii. v.
- Ha-ri. lxii. 5. Perhaps 'altar'; cp. *ha-lis* 'sacrificial.'

I.

- Ies 'I' (for 'which'). So in xli. 20. The stem is *ie*, which is probably the same as that of the demonstrative *i-ni*.
- Ikûkâni. 'The same.' (For 'property.') The suffix *-kas* denotes 'of the kind.' The root *iku* may signify 'to be like.'
- I-qi-qi . . . (or *lu* . . .). lii. v.
- Inani-lie. (For *inani-das* and *inani-da*). 'Belonging to the city.'
- Inani-hu-e. 'Belonging to the city.' xlix. 11.
- Ippue to be excised in v. 4, 36. Read *urpue*.
- Is-me. 'A lot.' xlvi. 26, li. iii. 3. (Instead of *|-* 'one hundred.')'
- Is-pu-hu-i-bi. 'I installed,' 'settled.' xxxix. 24. Consequently Ispuinis means 'the settler' instead of 'the lordly.'
- Is-ti-ma-ni-e. 'The city of Istimas.' lx. 4.
- I-hu-li-i-e (for *i-hu-da-i-e*), not to be identified with *tiu-lie*.

K.

Kamnâ. 'Edifices.'

Ka-pi-is-ti-ni. lxii. 7.

Kid-da-nu-hu-li. 'After collecting.'

Ki-da-nu-bi. 'I collected.'

Ku-su-hu-ni. 'he has caused to be erected.' lxxv. 6. The causative of *ku*.

KH.

Khaidi-a-ni. Probably 'fruit.' li. i. 6.

Khaldi-ni dasie. 'to the Khaldises . . .' instead of *Khal-di-ni-da-si-i-e*.

Khal-di-ri-ul[?]-khi. 'The Khaldirian,' i.e. king Sasaki . . . of xlv. 15.

Kharkhar-sa-bi ies. 'I dug up.' The causative of *kharkhar* with the first personal pronoun, instead of *kharkharsabies*.

Khasi-almé. Probably 'they encouraged,' or 'prospered.'

Kha-su-bi. 'I conquered;' the causative of *kha* 'to possess,' which must be distinguished from *khau* 'to destroy.'

Khau-bi. 'I destroyed' (for 'I possessed').

Khatqana-ni 'the holy city' (like the Semitic Kadesh).

Khuradi-ni-li ueli (dubi). 'Of the soldiers a collection (I made),' instead of *Khuradini-da-hu-e-da*.

Khu-šie. Perhaps 'ruinous,' from *khu* 'to destroy' rather than 'holy.'

Khuti-a-di. 'By the command' probably, from *khuti* 'royal' and *a* 'to speak.'

Q.

Qa-ab-qa-su^(?)-la-du^(?)-ni. xxxiv. 10. Probably from the same root as *qab-qaru* 'to approach.'

Qa-li-i-ni. xlv. 10. For *Qa-da-i-ni*.

Qi^(?)-e-khu-ni. 'The city of Qiekhus.' lx. 3.

Qu-du-la-a-ni. lviii. 4. Perhaps 'sacrifices.'

Qu-ul-di. lix. 6.

Qu-hu-li-a-i-ni. 'The city of Quliais.' lxi. iii. 10.

L.

Lakuni, laquni. Probably to be read *tequni*. This will explain the vowel *e* in the form *te-e-qu-ni*.

M.

Ma to be excised. The word seems to be a misreading.

Ma-*ši-nie*. Müller is possibly right in deriving the word from *ma* 'to be' (as in the compound *us-ma-sis*, and perhaps *ar-ma-ni-lis*).

Me-li-a-i-ni. Perhaps 'a ford'; for *me-da-a-i-ni*.

Me-nu-(hu)-a-li-e-a-tsi-li-ni. 'The place belonging to the people of Menuas.' xxxiv. 15.

Me-ri-ip . . . Perhaps 'on the left hand.' xli. 10,

Me-i-e-si, me-si-i. 'Libations.' lix. 2, v. 31. (Not 'his.')

Me-su-li. 'After pouring out libations.' (Not 'after the summer.')

Me-tsi. 'Mead.' v. 31, lix. 2.

Mu to be excised. The word is the ideograph of 'year.'

Mu-mu-ni. 'Tribute.'

Mu-hu-mu-ni-ni. 'Belonging to tribute.' lvi. i. 2.

Mu-mu-hu-i-ya-bi. 'I laid tribute upon.'

Muru-muri-a-khi-ni. 'Rebels.'

N.

Na-a-ni. 'A city.' Hence, perhaps, *na-ku-ri* is 'city-gifts' and *na-kha-di* 'city-destroying.'

Ni-ip-*ši-du-li-ni*. lviii. 4. A compound of *nipsis* and *du* 'to place.'

Nunu-li-e, for *nu-nu-da-e*.

R.

Ruqu. Possibly Müller is right in seeing in *ruqu* the Assyrian *ruqu* 'distant,' used ideographically.

S

Salie. 'A year.' (For *sadae* 'there.')

Saldu-hu-li should be read gu-du-hu-li.

Sa-na. lx. 5.

Satirara-ga-ni for Satirara-hu-ni.

Se-ri. Müller is probably right in translating 'wild beasts,' from *se* 'to live,' the root of *se-khi-ris*.

Sida. 'Restoration.' iii. 2, xiii. 2. For *sidahu*. The root occurs in *sidi-s* 'afresh.'

- Si-du-bi. 'I restored.'
- Si-i-du-li. 'After restoring.' vii. 5, 6, lix. 9.
- Sili. 'After dark,' as in Siel-ardis 'the darkness-enlightener' or 'moon.'
- Simeri-khadiri. xliii. 39. For Sisiri-khadiria.
- Sisti-ni. 'The third.' xlix. 22.
- Su-ya-i-di. 'Hostile' (?). lxiii. 10.
- Su-hu-ni. 'He has made.' lxii. 5.
- Su-i-ni-ni-e. lii. v. Perhaps 'what belongs to the construction.'
- Su-khe. Perhaps 'artificial' or 'workmen.'
- Su-khi-na-a-tsi-e. Perhaps 'belonging to the land of the workmen.' lviii. 4.
- Sura-s. 'The world.' See lxv. 10. Probably from *su*.
- Su-ri-si-li-ni. For *Surisi-da-ni*.
- Sur-kha-a-ni. 'War-material.' From *kha* 'to have' and *sur*, a derivative of *su*.
- Suśini. 'One' (not 'walls').

S.

- Ši-la-a-i-e. xxiii. 1. For *gis-la-a-i-e*. 'Mother.'
- Ši-ip-ru-gi-ni. lxiii. 8.
- Ši-ri to be excised in xliii. 13.
- Ši-ri-kha-ni. 'Possessors of the tomb.' lix. 8, 9. A compound of *širis* and *kha* 'to have.'
- Šui. 'For a possession.' lix. 1. Hence *šui-dubi* 'I appropriated.' lvi. iii. 10, etc.
- Šu-li-e-za-a-hu-a-li. xxxiii. 15. For Šu-da (?)-ni (?)-za-a-hu-a-da. Compare the Assyrian Šuluval. If we read Šulie-khaualis, the name will still more closely resemble the Assyrian form.
- Šu-ši. 'A chapel,' or 'piece of consecrated ground.' lviii. 2. From *šu* 'to possess.'

TS.

- Tsu-hu-ni-e. 'The city of Tsuis' (as in v. 19). lx. 5.

T.

- Ta-nu-li. v. 30; xii. 2; lix. 1; for *um-nu-ki*.

- Ta-ra-ni. 'Second.' xlix. 13; for *ta-li-ni*.
 Tar-gi-ni. 'The choicest' (?). lxiii. 10. A compound of *tar* 'strong' and *gi*.
 Tar-su-a-ni. 'Youths,' 'men.' From the causative *tar-su* 'to make strong.'
 Teri-khi-nie. 'The tree which has been planted.' li. i. 6.
 Ti-is-nu. 'On the right hand.' lix. 11.
 Tisul-du-li-ni. 'Afternoon.'
 Ti-u-lie. 'He pretends.' A derivative from *ti*; for *tiu-daie* 'he undoes.'
 Tu-khi-ni. 'Captives.' lxiii. 9.
Tumeni to be excised; we must read the ideograph of *ardinis* 'a day.'
 Turie. 'For a person' (not 'stone').
 Tu-ur-ta-a-ni. li. i. 5. For *pi-ur-ta-a-ni*.
 Tusukhani. 'In the spring' (?). xxxii. 2.

U, HU.

- Hu. 'Together with,' 'and.' lix. 7. Contracted from *ui*.
 Hu-a-ru-ba-ni-e. 'Of the god Varubas.' lviii. 5.
 Hu-du-li-e-i. 'Of a vine.' li. i. 7; for *hu-du-da-e-i*.
 Hu-e-di-a. 'Slaves.' *Vedi-a-du-bi* 'I received as subject.' xlv. 15, 39. The root *ue* or *ve* seems to signify 'to bind together.' Hence *ve-di-a* 'those who are in bondage,' *ve-li-s* 'a binding together,' or 'gathering,' *ui* 'together with,' 'and,' and *u-s* 'near.'
 Hu-e-li. 'A collection.' *Veli-dubi*, 'I gathered together.' xxxvii. 5, xxxix. 1, xli. 4, xlvi. 16.
 Hu-e-li-*si*-ni-e. xl. 79. For *hu-e-da-si-ni*.
 Hu-i-du-s to be excised.
 Uldis. Probably 'a conduit'; ul-di. lxiv. 1.
 Ul(?)dhu-ni. More probably Di-dhu-ni.
 Ul-gu-si-ya-i-ni-e. lxiii. 3.
 Hu-li-e-s. 'Another,' for hu-da-e-s 'that.'
 Hu-li. 'Of another.' lix. 1, 7.
 Um-nu-li to be excised. Read ta-nu-li.
 Hu-ra-a. 'Of the god Uras.' lix. 6.
 Ur-pu-hu-li-ni. lviii. 5.



Hu-ru-li-e. 'Seed.' For hu-ru-da-e.

Hu-ru-li-li-hu-e. 'Belonging to the seed.' v. 9.

Usmasis. 'Gracious.' From *us* 'near' and *ma* 'to be.'

Z.

Za-di-ni. 'Builders.' lix. 8.

Za-a-ri. 'A door.' For $\Xi\Upsilon\Upsilon$ -a-ri. v. 28.

Za-ri-(i). lxiv. 1.

Zi-el-di. 'Of the shrine.' lix. 11.

IDEOGRAPHS.

7. $\Upsilon\Upsilon$ to be excised.
12. The ideograph represents 'totality.'
13. Add. $\Upsilon\Upsilon\Upsilon\Upsilon$ $\Upsilon\lll$ -hu-e (*Sura-ve*). 'Of the world.' lxv. 10.
 $\Upsilon\Upsilon\Upsilon\Upsilon$ $\Upsilon\lll$ -di. lxiii. 10.
18. Add. $\Xi\Upsilon\Upsilon$ -ka-i. 'To the race of the gate.' lix. 10.
20. To be read *pilis*. See No. 63 *infra*.
26. Add. lvi. i. 14.
31. Add. lviii. 5, lix. 3.
32. Add. lviii. 4, lix. 5.
42. To be excised. Read Υ .
49. Add. $\Xi\Upsilon$ $\Upsilon\lll$ -na. 'To the gods.' xix. 5.
50. Add. $\Xi\Upsilon$ Υ -ni-ka-i. 'To the race of the Sun-god.'
lxiii. 7.
58. To be excised.
61. $\Xi\Upsilon$ - (*alsuinis*). 'Great.' lxv. 10.
62. Υ (*gissure*). 'Multitudes.' lxv. 1, 7.
63. Υ (*armanilis*). 'Foundation-stone.' See No. 20 *supra*.
64. Υ Υ -ni (*ardini*). 'Days.' l. 10, 12, 16.
 Υ Υ - $\Upsilon\lll$. lxiii. 7.
65. $\Upsilon\Upsilon\Upsilon$. 'A messenger.' lix. 6.
66. $\Upsilon\Upsilon\Upsilon$ (*tisnu*). 'On the right hand.' lix. 11.
67. $\Upsilon\Upsilon\Upsilon$ (*merip* . .). 'On the left hand.' vii. 3.
68. Υ Υ $\Upsilon\lll$. 'Fortunate.' lxiii. 7.
69. $\Upsilon\Upsilon$. 'Wine.' v. 31.
70. Υ $\Upsilon\Upsilon$ (*udulis*). 'A vine.' li. 1, 7.
- ? 71. Υ - Υ . 'Prince.' lxiii. 6, lxiv. 5.

POSTSCRIPTUM.

The progress that is being made by Vannic studies has received an unexpected illustration since the MS. of the above paper was placed in the hands of the printer. Prof. D. H. Müller has just published in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. i., an article on "Three New Inscriptions from Van," copies of which were communicated to him by Prof. Patkanoff. These he has edited in translations and notes. I reproduce them here with a few additional suggestions of my own.

LXVI.

This inscription of King Menuas has been discovered at Zolakert, on a hill named Dandlu, not far from the village of Tash Burun. According to Prof. Patkanoff, it seems to have been transported since its discovery to Eshmiazin. It is probably a companion to the other inscription of Menuas found at Zolakert (No. xxxiv.), though it is also possible, as Müller suggests, that it belongs to another Menuas, a son of Irkuainis. With the latter name Müller compares that of Irkuainis (as the newly-discovered text shows that the name should be read), King of Iruias in the time of Sarduris II. (No. xlix. 15). The beginning of the inscription has been lost, like the beginning and end of each line.

1. (→) Khal-)di-ni-ni us-ma-si-(ni a-li-e)
To the children of Khaldis the gracious he says
2. hu | Me-nu-a-s | Ir-ku-a-i-(ni)
thus: Menuas Irkuainis
3. ni(?)-i-hu >|| Lu-khi-hu-ni-ni ^-ni
. belonging to the city of Lukhiunis the land . . .
4. (?zi-)ir ma-ni-i-ni e-sí
. belonging to each the law
5. (| Me-)nu-a-s e-si-ni-ni du-ni
Menuas has set.
6. (si-)di-is-tu-a-li →| Khal-di-ni-li ⇨⇨|
After restoring of the Khaldises the gate . . .



7. (𐎶𐎶)𐎶 𐎶𐎶- ba-du-(śi)-i-e
 (and) the temple which was decayed

8. (𐎶) Me-i-nu-hu-(a)s a-li u
 Menuas says

9. e khal al a-ni

10. khi is a hu te-ru-bi
 I established

11. i . . bi
 I

3. Müller suggests that we should read the city of Lu-nu-inis, as in No. xxxiv.

6, 7. With this Müller compares No. xvii.

LXVII.

The following text runs round a circular stone discovered in the village of Ghazandi, in the district of Surmali, on the right bank of the Araxes opposite Armavir.

→𐎶 Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-hu-śi-ni 𐎶 Ar-gi-is-ti-s
 Forthechildren of Khaldis the mighty Argistis
 𐎶 Me-nu-a-khi-ni-s za-du-ni
 the son of Menuas has completed.

LXVIII.

The text which follows was discovered by Bishop Mesrop Sempadianz in Armavir. Prof. Müller has perceived that it forms a part of No. liv., which was also found at Armavir. He has further perceived that it represents the commencement of the lines of which No. liv. represents the conclusion, the intermediate portion having been lost. It is therefore evident that the original stone upon which the text was inscribed has been cut into three pieces, probably in order to form the lintel and two door-posts of a gate. Like Müller, I add the text of No. liv.

LIV.

1. \rightarrow Y Khal-di-ni-ni
To the children of Khaldis
as the satrapy of the
son of Argistis
al-sú-i-si-ni. Y Ha-za-ni 𐎠𐎡 -ni
the mighty. of Hazas the land
2. ki-ni 𐎠𐎡 Lu-lu-e
who have cut off(?) from the land
ma-nu i-hu a-ru-hu-ni su-ga-
of Lulus, to each as follows has brought a thank-
Y Ar-(gis-ti-s Y Me-nu-a- ba-ra-ni
Argistis (the son of offering(?)
khi-ni-s)
Menuas)
3. i-na-ni hu-se hu-su li-hu-a-ni bar-za-ni
Of the city the vicinity season the
ul-mu-us zi-el-di
by season (?) chapel
4. Y Ar-gis-ti-e Y Me-nu-a-khi-ni D.P. khu-su
of Argistis the son of Menuas (to offer) flesh be-
(ti-ni?) 𐎠𐎡𐎡𐎡 -ni-ni
(he has called it). longing to the tablet
e-ši-ni
according to the
prescription
5. XX ku-ur-ni 𐎠𐎡𐎡 Se-e-lu-i-ni (hu-)e gu-du-li-a
20 offerers of the Seluians (he with the beginners(?)
has appointed) me-li hu-li-ni
(and) of them others
6. a-lu-ki a-ma-ni su-ga- ali bi-di as-ta
In every case a part of the thank- all the sacrifice(?) for
ba-ri nu-la-li
offering(?) the royal palace(?)



7. a-li ta-a-se a-ma-ni i-ni te-ir-du-li-ni
and the visitors(?) a part this setting up
bi-di e-si-e
of the sacrifice of the law
8. hu-ni $\sum\gamma$ - Ur-bi-ka hu-e ta-ra-i-hu-khi
the dependents of the clan of along with the nobles
ni-ka-i ma-nu-li-e
Urbikas. each (of them)
9. $\sum\gamma$ -a-bi ip-dhu- u-e ta-ra-)khi-e
The burnt offerings has con- along with of the
hu-ni ma-a-(sa-ni hu-ni $\sum\gamma$ - Ur-
sumed(?) (that are on the left(?) nobles) the depen-
bi-ka-a-s
dents the Urbikas
(priest):
10. ma-sa-ni ti-is-ni a-ma-ni li a-li bi-di
those that are on the right a part . . the whole of the
h-(a-li). as-ta nu-la-
to be sacrificed. sacrifice for the
a-li-e
royal palace(?)
11. hu-ni $\sum\gamma$ - Pu-ru-nu- li a-li bi-di as-ta
the dependents among the Purun- . . all the sacrifice for
ur-da-di. nu-la-a-li-e
urda the royal palace(?)
12. $\sum\gamma$ -ni-ni i-ra-di-ni-ni ($\sum\gamma$ - Se-)lu-u-i-ni-e
belonging to an ox the Seluians the de-
III. a hu-ni γ Nu-nu-li-e
3 pendants of Nunu-
lis
13. a-la-e γ I-kha-i-du-s i si-ni ur-di-du $\sum\gamma$ -
. Ikhaidus of the
Se-lu-i-ni-e
Seluians

2. It is difficult to think of any other meaning which the root *ki* could have here, except that of 'cutting off' or 'separating'; "who have cut off from the country of Lulu the land of Hazas as the satrapy of the son of Argistis." The context shows that *sugabaras* or *sugabari* (as it is written in l. 6) must signify some kind of offering made to the gods. In l. 6, as compared with l. 10, it is in parallelism with *halis* 'a sacrifice.' The new text makes it clear that the second character of the word is *ga* and not *hu*.

3. *Use* is the substantive corresponding to *us* 'near.' It seems to enter into the composition of the word *usulmus*, the second element being *elmus* 'a season,' so that the literal meaning of the word would be 'next in season.' *U-sis* is a derivative from the root *u* (*ue*, *ui*) 'to join' or 'attach,' whence *ue* 'along with.'

5. As Müller has pointed out, *kur-ni* is related to *kuruni* 'he gave.' We find elsewhere (xlvi. 26, 27, li. iii. 3) that the number of prisoners set apart as religious slaves of Khaldis was twenty; the 20 *kurni* accordingly must be the 20 ministers who were appointed by the king to offer sacrifices to the gods.

6. *Alu-ki* is the adverb of *alus* 'every one' or 'any one,' like *alu-kid* or *aluke* in v. 56. *Ama-ni* is the accusative of *ama-s*, which we find in the compound *amas-tubi*. In the next line we have *amani bidi*, corresponding to *ali bidi* in l. 6, and since *ali* means 'all,' *ama-ni* must signify 'part' or perhaps 'half.' *Amas-tubi* consequently will literally be 'I partitioned.'

7. With this line Müller has already compared xxx. 17, *ali D.P. tas-mus bedi-mânu bidu-ni*. *Tase* may be derived from the root *ta* 'to come' (as in *us-tabi*), the second element in *tas-mus* being the root which occurs in a duplicated form in *mu-mu-ni* 'tribute.' *Bidi* is clearly akin to *bidu-ni*.




8. *U-ni* is contracted from *ue-ni*, from *ue* or *u* 'to be attached' (whence *ue* 'with,' *uelia* 'captives,' *uedi* 'a gathering'). The form *Urbika-ni-kai*, with inserted *-ni*, means literally 'the clan that belongs to Urbikas,' itself a derivative



in *-kas* from *Urbis*. *Taraiu-khi* is literally 'the offspring of the mighty.'

9. *Abi* may be the full word signifying 'victims,' of which we have the ideograph in xix. 14, but it may also represent only the final part of it. Its likeness, however, to *abilis* 'fire,' makes me believe that the three characters mean 'a sacrifice for fire,' i.e. a burnt-offering.

10. *Masa-ni* is probably derived from *ma* 'to be.' For *tisni* see *tisnu* in lix. 11. The restoration *hali* seems hardly doubtful.

12. Müller suggests that *iradi-ni-ni* corresponds to  (rimu 'a wild bull') in the ideographic expression  , and signifies 'wild.' But the suffix rather seems to show that it must be some part of an ox; 'three . . . belonging to the . . . of an ox.'

VOCABULARY.

A.

Abi. lxviii. 9. Perhaps 'burnt-(offering).' Compare *abilis* 'fire.'

Alae. lxviii. 13.

Ali. lxviii. 7. 'And,' 'the totality.'

Alu-ki. lxviii. 6. 'In every case.'

Ama-ni. lxviii. 6, 7, 10. 'Part' (or perhaps 'half'); acc. of *ama-s* n *amas-tubi*.

B.

Bi-di. lxviii. 6, 7. 'A sacrifice,' connected with *bidu-ni*.

E.

Esi-ni-ni. lxvi. 5.

Esi. lxvi. 4. 'The law.'

H.

Ha(li). lxviii. 10. 'To be sacrificed,' 'a sacrifice.'

I.

- Inani. lxviii. 3. 'Of the city.'
 Ipdhû-ni. lxviii. 9. 'He has consumed' (?).
 Y Ikhaidus. lxviii. 13.
 Iradi-ni-ni. lxviii. 12.
 Y Irkuai(ni). lxvi. 2.
 Iu. lxviii. 5. 'Thus.'

K.

- Ki-ni. lxviii. 2. 'Who have cut off' or 'separated.'
 Kur-ni. lxviii. 5. 'Offerers.'

L.

- Lukhiu-ni-ni. lxvi. 3. 'The city of Lukhiunis.'
 Lulue. lxviii. 2. 'The country of Lulus.'

M.

- Mani-i-ni. lxvi. 4. 'Belonging to each.'
 Manu. lxviii. 2. 'To each.'
 Masa-ni. lxviii. 10. 'Those that are'; probably from *ma*
 'to be.'

P.

- Purunurda-di. lxviii. 11. 'Among the class of Purunurda.'
 Cf. *urdi-du*, l. 13.

S.

- Sêlui-ni. lxviii. 5. 'The class of Seluians.' Possibly they
 were priests appointed to look after the temple at night,
 the name being derived from *selis* 'darkness.'
 Sugabara-ni. lxviii. 2. 'A thank-offering' (?).
 Sugabari. lxviii. 6.

T.

- Tâse. lxviii. 7. 'Visitors' (?). Perhaps a derivative from
ta 'to come.'

Tisni. lxviii. 10. 'On the right.'

U.

Hu. lxvi. 3. 'Thus.' Contracted from *iu*.

Hu-ni. lxviii. 8, 11. 'Dependents.' For *ue-ni*.

Urbika-ni-kai. lxviii. 8. 'Of the class of the Urbikas.'

Use. lxviii. 3. 'Vicinity.' Hence *us* 'near.'

Usulmus. lxviii. 3. 'Season after season' (?). Perhaps a compound of *us* and *elmus*.

Z.

Za-du-ni. lxvii. 'He has completed.'



ART. II.—*Some Suggestions of Origin in Indian Architecture.*

By WILLIAM SIMPSON, M.R.A.S.

WHEN Mr. Fergusson commenced the study of Indian Architecture, nothing was really known on the subject. He had first to collect the materials, and after years of work he was able at last to leave the Architecture of India in a classified form. This was in itself a great achievement for one man to do. But he did more than this. He traced back the developments of form and construction in many cases to their early beginnings, and thus gave us their origin. It is only when this has been accomplished that we can truly say "we know" any particular style of architecture. We have still some very interesting problems of this kind to work out in regard to India; and suggestions regarding them, even although they should ultimately be found to have pointed in the wrong direction, may yet be useful in many ways; such speculations may call the attention of men in India to the information that is required, and by this means we have the chance of receiving knowledge. I have often discussed some of these questions of origin with Mr. Fergusson, and he used to refer to some of the unexplored parts of India, where he thought some remains of the older forms of Architecture might yet be found, which would throw light on what we wanted. His mode of expressing himself was, "If some man, with the necessary knowledge, and with an eye in his head, could be sent," he felt certain that there are old temples in many parts not yet discovered that would clear up most of the doubtful points.

Besides what may be classed as Architectural remains, Mr. Fergusson attached great importance to the primitive forms of constructing dwellings such as are known to exist

in out-of-the-way parts, and more particularly among the non-Aryan races of India. Many of these forms have continued from the earliest times to the present day. I can refer to an instance in my own experience. In this case I found in the Himalayas the main features of the style of construction, and still with wood as the material, which we know was commonly followed two thousand years ago on the plains of India.¹ Things have remained very much unchanged in the Himalayas, and if they were properly explored, that is, with "the necessary knowledge," and with the equally necessary "eye" in the head of the explorer, a good deal might be expected that would help us in our search for some of the starting-points of Indian Architecture.

The first suggestion I propose dealing with is that of a peculiar form of construction which seems to have prevailed over a large portion of India at the time of Asoka. We may assume that it had a long existence before his date—250 B.C.—and it may have been in use for some centuries afterwards. By looking over the sculptures of the Sanchi Tope, given in Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, it will be seen that the upper parts of the houses are formed of wood, and that the roofs are not flat, as is the case with most of the houses in India at present, but they are barrel-shaped, they are round externally and internally, producing a gable which is circular in shape. We have every reason to suppose that the Buddhists erected large wooden halls of assembly with roofs of this kind. In the Chaitya Caves it is assumed that we have exact copies of these halls, and in them we can see the interior details most faithfully preserved to us. The roof is formed with ribs covered with planking, and the whole has very much the appearance as if the hull of a ship were inverted. The end externally where the entrance was, is also represented in the caves; and here we have the circular form of the gable which resulted from the shape of the roof. It is this round arch which is referred to in my paper on the *Caves of the Jellalabad Valley*, and led me to suppose that the

¹ See *Architecture of the Himalayas*, by Wm. Simpson, Transactions of the Roy. Inst. of Brit. Architects, 1862-63.

Afghanistan caves were copied from those of India. In the Indian caves we find that this form began to be used as a decoration; the same as that which took place in Europe with the Greek pediment, which was also a gable, and has been largely applied for merely ornamental purposes. The Hindus adopted the circular gable as an ornament: in their hands it became decorative, and was made more ornamental, and you will scarcely find a temple in India where this form cannot be traced somewhere in its ornamentation. In the Dravidian, or Southern Indian, style it is to this day the predominating characteristic of the decoration, and it even yet affects some of the constructive details. I sketched this easily-recognized shape on the old topes of the Jelalabad Valley, where it had been carried and there applied as an architectural ornamentation. This form can be traced from Ceylon to the Hindu Kush—a wide space—over which it has spread, and to the inquiring mind, it calls for some explanation of its first origin. The oft-recurring question was, why did the early people of India construct this peculiar kind of roof? We know that all architectural forms had at first a reason for their existence, but in seeking for the source in this case no answer has yet been found.

While in Persia and the Afghan Frontier lately, I took much interest in the facility with which roofs, where wood is scarce, were there produced by means of sun-dried bricks. The dome is the usual method, but it was very common to find oblong houses covered with barrel roofs. Some of these had a semi-dome at one end, with the circular arch as the gable at the other. Now we know that the Chaitya halls had this semi-dome at the further end;—this, I confess, struck me very forcibly, for the one form is an exact repetition of the other; and I speculated on the possibility that I had found the origin of the Chaitya circular roof. There are certainly probabilities in favour of the theory: we know that there are forms common to both Indian and the Ancient Persian Architecture; mud-bricks were as common on the one side of the Indus as on the other, and barrel-roofs may have been the same. If such were the case, it might be possible

that this form had been copied in wood, where that material may have chanced to be more easily procured than bricks.

The suggestion produced by this Persian roof, although it is a very remarkable coincidence, I have entirely rejected, my reason being that I have what I consider to be now a better theory to offer.

Not long ago I chanced to pick up a book at a stall, called *A Phrenologist among the Todas*.¹ To me the Phrenology of the Todas was the least important part of the book, but it is all interesting as an account of personal experience among these strange people, and parts are given with much humour. The illustrations are in Photography—the frontispiece caught my eye while buying the book—in it is a representation of a house, and the more I have looked at this peculiar structure, the more I am inclined to think that it gives the true origin of the early round roof of India. In a case of this kind there is no direct, or what might be called demonstrative, evidence; all that can be offered in favour of the idea is coincidence in form, with the highly possible chance that the peculiar manner of construction, belonging to what is supposed to be one of the Aboriginal races, dates back to an early period.

I turned up Fergusson,² to see if he had chanced to light upon these houses, and I was delighted to find that he had, and his notice appears in a note which I had at the moment forgotten. He refers to the work of Mr. Breeks,³ and I find that his conclusions coincide exactly with my own. Of these structures he states that,—“Their roofs have precisely the same elliptical forms as the Chaitya with the ridge, giving the ogee form externally, and altogether, whether by accident or design, they are miniature Chaitya halls. Externally they are covered with short thatch, neatly laid on. Such forms may have existed in India two thousand years ago,

¹ By William E. Marshall, Lieut.-Colonel of H.M. Bengal Staff Corps, 1873.

² *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 105.

³ *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*, by the late James Wilkinson Breeks, of the Madras Civil Service, 1873. A work full of most valuable information; but so far as the Todas are concerned, I prefer Col. Marshall's book, as it deals with them alone, and its information regarding the one tribe is much more complete.



*The TODA MAND or HUT.
From Colonel W. E. Marshall's "A Phrenologist amongst the Todas," frontispiece.*



*The TIERERI. The HOLY PLACE, or TODA SANCTUM.
From Colonel W. E. Marshall's "A Phrenologist amongst the Todas," p. 146.*

and may have given rise to the Chaitya halls, but it is, of course, impossible to prove it."

I give a pen and ink sketch of one of these Toda huts—which I trust Colonel Marshall will forgive me doing without his permission. The sketch also contains a hut with a straight-lined roof—which is not the common form with the Todas: here it will show that the curved roof is the simpler in construction, and consequently we may suppose for that reason the most primitive. It is easy to understand how simple it would be to bend the flexible bamboo, and thus produce a covering from the sun and the weather; it is still further possible to suppose that in the very earliest condition of man, when trees were utilized for shelter, he would bend the growing bamboo, and spread over them branches or long grass, and thus produce a *pansala*, or primitive habitation; and this would be the first germ of the Chaitya hall. The additions which it would receive in its transition from the bamboo to a more solid wooden mode of construction, which we know the Chaitya hall reached, presents no difficulty. The one difficulty previously was to explain why, at some early time, the builders of India had produced a round roof, like an arch, with wood as their material. The Toda hut is sufficient to supply the explanation. That is all that can be said; we cannot affirm positively that this is the source, but it is, so far as I know, the best suggestion that has yet appeared, and when a better does turn up, I shall be most willing, as in the case of the Persian barrel-roof, to give it up.

According to Colonel Marshall, the Todas are very conservative in everything. No tribe remains perfectly stationary, however secluded it may be; but the Todas seem to have preserved everything about them in a very archaic state, and their huts are evidently not an exception to this condition of things.

I add, also from Colonel Marshall's book, a sketch of what he terms "The Tiriëri: The Holy Place, or Toda Sanctum." I cannot give all the details of the author; it will be enough to say that this is a temple. Constructively, it does not seem to differ from the Toda house, or hut. I do not think it helps the conclusion I have come to, but to some it may

appear as an additional confirmation that temples were also built in this peculiar manner in India. The Tiriêri contains a sacred bell—the bell of a cow—and some other relics, but it is in reality a dairy, and the only person who enters the place is the *Pâlâl*, a very sacred kind of priest, a sort of god—it is believed that the Deity is in him—who is cow-keeper and cow-milker for the community—evidently a most primitive ecclesiastical arrangement.¹

The well-known Hindu temple, with its Sikhara, or spire, presents us with more than one problem for solution. India is covered with these places of worship, and up to the present day the origin of this temple is unknown; some few attempts at solving the difficulties have been made, but no certainty has as yet been reached, and I am willing to confess that the suggestions I am about to offer are here given rather as tentative, than as settled, convictions on my part.

The Hindu temple is formed of a cell, square in plan, with a door on one side. The sikhara rises from the walls of the cell, preserving the square form to the top: the line curves slightly inwards. In the oldest examples the curve is very small below, whilst the greatest amount of bend is at the summit, the line produced being what would be seen if you were to bend a tapered wand. The early sikharas are more like towers than spires. The sikhara is surmounted by a member called the *amalaka*, which is circular in plan, and might be likened to a cushion, or a compressed melon: the outer surface is ribbed. A *kalasa*, or jar, surmounts this as a pinnacle: emblems belonging to the deity of the temple are common on sikharas, but these do not belong to the problems before us.

The magnificent group of temples at Bhuvaneswar, in Orissa, brings before us the earliest known examples of these monuments. They date back, roughly speaking, to the sixth and seventh centuries, and whoever is familiar with Mr. Fergusson's works, will know that we have not in these

¹ Since this was written, I have learned through the Rev. John MacKenzie, that the Gariépine people, or Yellow Race, of South Africa, have religious ideas about cows, milk, and milking, very like those of the Todas. A woman's presence would make the cattle pen impure; chiefs are buried in the pen, and the ground is trodden down by the cattle to obliterate all trace of the interment.

temples the first starting-point of the style; instead of rude beginnings, we have here the highest development of it. It must be taken for granted that there were earlier efforts, and a long course of them too, to account for the perfected art which we see has been realized. As yet, these earlier efforts have not been found; if any should be discovered, we may yet come upon some indications of the origin. In the case of the temples of ancient Greece, the wooden origin had only to be suggested, when the truth became apparent in every detail. But the Orissan temples are very different in this respect; the parts offer no clue as to what they were derived from. Some have explained the destruction of previous temples as the work of the Muhammadans; others have supposed that they were perhaps wooden, and ended in decay, or were burnt. Whatever may have been the cause, what I have here said will explain why we know so little about the Hindu temple, and why there are problems relating to it, which yet require to be solved.

I should like to say something, to begin with, regarding the origin of the worship in the Saiva temple, more particularly as it has some slight bearing on other points to be dealt with. It must be confessed that I do this with considerable diffidence, because I am but very slightly acquainted with the sacred books of the Hindus, and I may have the Pundits quoting the Sutras, the Brahmanas, and the Puranas, and overwhelming me with texts—a fate that often befalls those who venture beyond the limits of what they know.

In studying the symbolism of temples, I have been much struck with what appears to have been a common origin with many. I have found that temples have often been, in some way or another, a development from a tomb, or from some structure raised in connection with the rites of burial: "Worship of Ancestors" would be the usual term to describe this idea, but I do not like the phrase, for often there is no ancestor. I would prefer "Tomb Worship," as wider in its meaning; but I use the words "Worship of Death," as being wider still. I am aware that there are temples in which this tomb connection cannot be traced, and among the

number I have, up to a few years ago, always classed the Saiva Temple of India.

It was when in Jelalabad with our troops in 1878-79, that the first starting-point of a change in my ideas in this matter should be placed. There is a Hindu temple in the south-west corner of the town, and I made friends with the Hindu who has charge of it. There is a rude temple with a sikhara, and I was rather surprised when my friend told me that it was the tomb of a Gooroo, whose ashes were in it. No theory could be based on this, but I then remembered having seen the tombs of Jogis on the ridge of Delhi—little round heaps of plastered mud, about two or three feet in diameter, but I could not recall whether they had a stone placed in the centre or not. Since then, Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's work on Buddha Gaya has appeared, and in his description of the locality, he says, "Towards the south-west corner of the outer wall of the monastery there is a cemetery, also attached to the monastery. The dead bodies of the monks, unlike those of other Hindus, are buried, and the cemetery contains the graves of about two hundred persons. The body is buried in a sitting posture; and in the case of mere neophytes a small circular mound of solid brickwork, from three to four feet high, is all that is deemed necessary for a covering for the grave. For men of greater consequence a temple is held essential, and in it, immediately over the corpse, a lingam is invariably consecrated. For Mahants the temple is large and elaborately ornamented. It would seem that even for neophytes a lingam was held essential." . . . "In the way from Gaya to Buddha Gaya there are several monasteries of Hindu Sannyasis, and everywhere the graves are alike."¹

Here we have a temple identical with those of Siva, and yet it is a tomb. To what extent such temples exist in India, I have no exact information, but there is no reason to suppose that they are limited to Buddha Gaya. From Mr. Rivett-Carnac I learn, through a paper of his in which he describes a temple in Kumaon with a burial-ground attached:

¹ p. 4.

“ In the centre of the yard is a monolith Mahadeo of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height above ground. The priest in charge of the temple held that most of the shrines were very old, and accounted for their large number by saying that the yard was the burial-place of men of great sanctity, some of whom had been brought from great distances for interment there, and that Mahadeos of an elaborate or poor class were placed over the tomb according to the means of the deceased’s friends. I have at this moment no means of verifying whether any particular class of Hindus are buried in the hills, or whether my informant intended to convey that ashes only were deposited beneath the shrines, but on this point there will be no difficulty in obtaining information.”¹ We have no temple in this case, but there is a recognized Mahadeo, or Siva, placed over the tomb. I am able to add another example from Southern India; it is from an account of the Jangams, by the late C. P. Brown, the well-known Telugu scholar: “ Over the grave, the Jangams place an image of the lingam, to which they offer worship for ten days. They then remove it, or leave it established, at pleasure.”² The author had not seen any of the Jangam tombs, but he quotes a description given him by Lieut. Newbold, which I insert here, as it contains a point of importance: “ The tombs of the Lingavants of rank are generally massive quadrangular structures, raised on terraces built of stone, and simply but handsomely carved. The interior consists generally of a square chamber, beneath which is a vault containing the real tomb, which is also usually square. Over the head of the corpse is sometimes placed a phallus, often ornamented daily with sweet flowers” (p. 176). I may have to refer to the square form of these tombs further on. Another important point is that we have in this case burial of the body, and not the ashes after burning. This particular sect are to be found “ among the Canarese, the Telugus, and the Tamils,” from which we may conclude that they are Dravidian; hence there may be

¹ “ Rough Notes on some Ancient Sculpturings on Rocks in Kumaon,” *Journ. of the As. Soc. of Bengal*, 1879.

² “ On the Creed, Customs, and Literature of the Jangams,” by C. P. Brown, *Asiatic Journ.* 1845, vol. iv. 3rd series, p. 176.

a certain value belonging to this practice of a non-Aryan race, because the worship of Siva is now generally accepted as not Aryan in its origin.

The Salgram stone is, in the worship of Vishnu, the counterpart of the Linga, and I have a quotation referring to it which may be worth giving, as it shows still farther the connection of this peculiar form of symbolism with death: "The Salgram Stone.—One should always be placed near the bed of a dying person, and the marks shown to him. This is believed to secure his soul an introduction to the heaven of Vishnu."¹

Here it may be worth noticing how common in almost all parts of the world it is to find a stone placed as a mark to a grave; and I believe that most of the rites connected with the old stone worship will be found to have had some relation to death. When Jacob erected the stone at Bethel, and poured oil on it, he declared that then the spot was the "Gate of Heaven." Death only can lead us to the portals of the next world.

The attributes of Siva, I submit, point also to the conclusions I am supporting. He is the personification of Destruction and Death. In virtue of these attributes he wears a necklace of skulls. In the Mahabharata, Dakṣa says of Siva, "He roams about in dreadful cemeteries, attended by hosts of ghosts and sprites, like a madman, naked, with dishevelled hair, laughing, weeping, bathed in the ashes of funeral piles, wearing a garland of dead men's skulls, and ornaments of human bones."² The following, from General Cunningham, is worth quoting, as it is very strongly expressive of this connection with death: "The name Kâlanjârâdri, or the Hill of Kâlanjara, is said to have been derived from Siva himself, who, as Kâla, 'Time,' causes all things to decay (jar), and who is therefore the destroyer of all things, and the God of Death."³ The General also describes a temple at Nand-Chand, between Saugor and Rewa, dedicated to

¹ Stocqueler's *Oriental Interpreter*, p. 200, Art. Salagrama.

² Quoted in Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. iv. p. 379.

³ Bengal *Archæological Reports*, vol. xxi. p. 22.

Siva, as Martangesar or Mritangeswara "The Lord of Death."¹

I think there is good evidence that the worship of Siva was formerly, in some way or another, connected with funeral rites, from the story in the Ramayana, which recounts the origin of the Ganges. I have no doubt but that it is known to you all, but it is necessary here to give the leading points of the legend.

The sixty thousand sons of Sagara, while seeking for the horse their father had consecrated, in order to perform the Aswamedha or Horse-sacrifice, were all consumed to ashes by a glance from Kapila. These ashes remained, because there was no sacred water with which to perform the necessary lustrations. Bhagiratha became an ascetic, and by a long course of devotion accompanied by the severest mortifications, the boon he desired was granted, and the sacred Gunga was sent from heaven. Had it fallen direct, the earth would have been destroyed, but Siva placed his head under it, and thus broke the fall. When the water reached the ashes of the sons of Sagara, they became purified, and were thus by its means translated to the heaven of Indra. We have here undoubtedly a legend which we may suppose had some connection with a funeral rite; and so important is it in relation to Siva that he is generally represented with the Gunga flowing from his head. It is still more to our purpose to find that the Linga Pujah, at least as it is practised on the banks of the Ganges, reflects this story of the Gunga. I think we can see the legend in the rite. The Linga Pujah is the worship of Siva, and the Linga is Mahadeo or Siva himself. At times the head of Siva is represented on the symbol, with the Gunga flowing from it; the principal part of the ceremony attached to this worship is the pouring of Ganges water on the head of the linga, thus repeating the prominent part of the legend told in the Ramayana; and represents Siva, I submit, as receiving from heaven the sacred water for the purification of the dead.²

¹ *Ibid.* p. 161.

² For the benefit of those not familiar with the Linga-pujah, it may be added

I may now put the question, is the Hindu temple a development from a tomb, or is it not? My own impression is that the evidence just given is highly in favour of an affirmative answer.

Wishing to know Mr. Fergusson's ideas on this, about two years ago I wrote and gave him some of the statements which have just been laid before you. I may mention that my information has been accumulating since then. I received a note which first stated that "the linga in its present form . . . is derived from the Buddhist emblem of a dagoba"; and that he was sending me a pamphlet where, he said, "you will find my *last* ideas of the origin of the Sikhara. They are not very definite, but are the best I can form."

The pamphlet is entitled *Archæology in India*, and is perhaps the last work of Fergusson's which has appeared. I will give a quotation which bears on the subject now in hand: "For the last fifty years the question of the Hindu Sikhara has been constantly before my mind, and hundreds of solutions have from time to time suggested themselves, but all have been in turn rejected as insufficient to account for the phenomena. Though the one I am now about to propose looks more like a solution than any other that has occurred to me, it is far from being free from difficulties, and must at best be considered as a mere hypothesis till some new facts are discovered which may either confirm or demolish it. The conclusion I have now arrived at is, that the Hindu Sikhara is derived from the Buddhist dagoba, or, in other words, it is only a development of the style of architecture which was practised, both by Hindus and Buddhists, during the early ages in which stone architecture was practised, subsequent to the Mauryan epoch."

The Sikhara I shall deal with immediately, but here it

that the Linga is simply a stone pillar; the worshippers pour Ganges water on the top of it, and make offerings of rice and flowers. I have seen lingas with a jar of water suspended above, and by means of a small hole the water continued to drop on the emblem so as to keep it constantly moist. The celebrated temple of Somnath, in Kathiawar, had jaghires attached, the rents of which were devoted to pay men who continually travelled to and from the Ganges, bearing "Gunga pani" to keep the Mahadeo always in a wet state. This is the Gunga falling on the head of Siva.

may be pointed out that in identifying it with the Dagoba, Fergusson does not reject the idea of a tomb development, for that is the origin of the Dagoba; in fact, the admission implies this very tomb origin I am at the moment contending for. Previously to this pamphlet, Mr. Fergusson had always rejected the theory of the sikhara and the dagoba being the same in origin. In this I felt he was right, and I cannot yet, even with such a high authority as a guide, accept the idea. Fergusson certainly does not insist that it is the only solution which may yet be possible; and he speaks in rather a diffident and doubtful manner in its favour. I do not reject it as impossible, for I know that through the mutations of development, architecture presents us with results as strange and unexpected as we find in other walks of science, where time produces changes. In this case—at present I refer not to the sikhara, but to the body of the temple on which it stands—we have to account for such a great change as that of a solid mass, which the dagoba is, and often a very large mass, to a small hollow cell, and from what seems to have been an established round form, to a square. The changes necessary to account for the sikhara are equally difficult. I will assume, for the moment, that the Hindu temple is derived from a tomb. If such was the case, the original, I think, was not a mound or a cairn, which implies solidity, and it must, at some early period at least, have been square in form. India, with its many races and forms of religion, would no doubt have many forms of burial: various customs and rites exist still. It would have been a very remarkable phenomenon if all the places of sepulchre were similar, over such an extent of country. There is a curious passage in the *Satapatha Brahmana*, which gives colour to what I say; at the same time, it has, I think, an important bearing on the subject. It is as follows: "Four-cornered. The Gods and Asuras, both the offspring of Prajapati, contended in the regions" [conceived, apparently, as square, or angular]. "They, being regionless, were overcome. Hence, the people who are divine construct their graves four-cornered, whilst the Eastern people, who are akin to the

Asuras, construct them round. For the Gods drove the Asuras from the Regions." ¹ This passage leaves much that one would desire to know as to the exact meaning of the words; it is in Muir's Sanskrit Texts, and with no explanation.

The round graves here alluded to were in all probability the stupas, or dagobas. So far as can be judged at present, the stupa is a very old form of structure. In the Book of the Great Decease, ² Buddha himself, when directing how his remains were to be treated, refers to stupas such as were erected to contain the ashes of Chakravarta Rajas: he mentions these monuments as if they were well known. The ceremonies performed at Buddha's death seem also to have been akin to those of the Asuras, which were probably Turanian, rather than Aryan. A passage in the Khandogya-Upanishad will illustrate this point. The Asuras,—“They deck out the body of the dead with perfumes, flowers, and fine raiment, by way of ornament, and think they will thus conquer the world.” ³ The account of the ceremonies at Buddha's death were even more decorative and festal than is indicated by the above passage. The funeral ceremonies of the Todas and other tribes of the Nilgiris, who are Dravidian, and consequently allied to the old Asuras, are also of a festal character.

As to the divine people who made their graves four-cornered, we may suppose in this case that the Aryans are understood. This could scarcely have been the form of their graves at an early period, for we know that they buried in mounds. There is a hymn in the 8th book of the Rig Veda which is very distinct on this matter; from it we learn that the body was buried, and the earth heaped up over it. Dr. Rajendralala Mitra has published a paper entitled *Funeral Ceremony in Ancient India*, which deals principally with this hymn. He thinks that burial of the body was the rule till about the fourteenth or thirteenth century B.C.; this was followed by cremation, and burial of the ashes in an urn,

¹ *Satap. Brahm.* xiii. 8, 1, 5; quoted in *Muir's Sanskrit Texts*, vol. ii. p. 485.

² *The Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sūta*, trans. by T. W. Rhys Davids, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi. p. 93.

³ *Khandogya-Upanishad*, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. i. p. 137.

which lasted till the beginning of the Christian era, when the throwing of the ashes into a river began. This would perhaps indicate the time when the worship of Siva had assumed predominance, and the belief in the purifying power of the Ganges water, as well as the legends connected with it, were accepted. The modern Siva, or Rudra, is so very different from the Vedic Rudra, that he may be classed as a non-Aryan deity, and the last change in the funeral ceremony may indicate pretty nearly the date when the Vedic Rudra had become the non-Aryan Siva; and this would agree with the conclusion which Fergusson came to, that the Hindu Temple was originated and developed during the first five centuries of our era. Whether the four-cornered grave of the divine people was the primitive germ which afterwards became the Hindu temple, or whether some structure connected with the worship of the non-Aryan Siva, was the source, I think we have not as yet the necessary information on which to found an opinion. I am still hopeful that something will turn up to give us light on the subject. If I have shown that the Hindu temple is a development from a tomb, or from some structure connected with the rites of the dead, the point may be of some value as indicating the direction in which to seek for evidence, not only among architectural remains, but also in the old ceremonies, whether given in books of the present or of the past.

Fergusson's identification of the linga with the Buddhist dagoba is rather startling; it may be so, but I regret that we have not his reasons for coming to that conclusion. I know of dagobas which the Brahmins have adopted as lingas; but I should suppose he had more solid reasons than a practice of this kind on which to base his statement.¹

The theory which Fergusson gives of the origin of the Sikhara in his pamphlet² is, as already stated, that it

¹ The Brahmins have utilized the Great Cave at Karli, at least I found them in possession in 1862 when I visited it, and the dagoba was represented by them to be a linga. Rajendralala Mitra mentions that some of the graves of the Mahants, already referred to in this paper, were surmounted by small votive chaityas or dagobas, which did duty as lingas.

² *Archæology in India*, p. 72.



was derived from the dagoba, with its surmounting umbrellas. He frankly enough acknowledges the difficulties of the case, and how hard it is to believe that the horizontal lines of the dagoba should have entirely vanished in the transmutation, and left no trace behind them. He states clearly enough that he only gives it as the best out of a multitude of suggestions which had occurred to him during the long space of fifty years back. That Fergusson, with all his vast knowledge of detail in Indian architecture, had spent such a length of time considering the subject, and failed to find a satisfactory explanation, is, I think, sufficient evidence that under the peculiar circumstances of the case it must be a very hard nut to crack. I am perfectly aware of the obscurity and consequent difficulties of the question, to venture upon being rash, where Fergusson has been so fearful to venture. As I am dealing in suggestions, I will give you one on this subject, but I confess at once that the evidence in its favour is but small; still it must be remembered that theories, even although not satisfactory, often lead others to think; and in this way even blunders may help towards the true explanation.

It is now three or four years ago, when looking over a popular history of India, full of illustrations,¹ that my eye fell on a picture called the "Car of Juggernaut"—not the one at Puri;—it was evidently from a photograph, and hence I assume was not a fancy picture. No explanation appears, but the car is elaborate, and seems not to have been dismantled after the yearly ceremony, which is the usual practice, but has been kept as a permanent temple; and for this purpose there is what looks like a permanent mantapa or porch built, and the car has been placed alongside, so that the whole produces a complete Hindu temple. No one could look at this without a suggestion of origin coming to the mind. If this combination has taken place in late years, it might also have taken place during the first five centuries. At that time, so far as I can judge, the use of cars at cere-

¹ Cassell's Illustrated History of India, by James Grant, vol. i. p. 372.

monies was far more common than they are now. They do not seem to have been confined to Jagannatha. The Buddhists had car festivals, and Fah-Hian mentions them as taking place at Khoten and Patna; that was in the fourth century. If the cars of the gods were more common in the ceremonies at that date, the chances of one, particularly if it were elaborate and costly, becoming a permanent temple, would be all the greater; indeed, it appears to me that it would be one of the most likely things to happen.¹ I am perfectly well aware, in making this suggestion, that my theory of the sepulchral origin of the Hindu temple would be in great jeopardy; but then, it must be remembered, that I am not laying down theories which have been established, but only suggestions which may lead others to think and to use their eyes. Should any of the suggestions chance to be confirmed as correct, it will then be time for the mental scizzors to act and do the necessary trimming.

It will be perceived that so far the peculiar form of the Sikhara has not been accounted for. Whether we suppose a car or a temple, how did it come into existence? I have a small photograph of one of these raths or cars, in a dismantled condition, and most people who have been in India may have seen either the cars themselves or similar representations. In this one of mine, the framework of the tower is left standing, and that part is made of bamboos, and the bamboos give in the most simple way the form of the Sikhara. I shall ask you here not to limit your thoughts to a car; you may suppose a fixed temple, and most probably a wooden one, sepulchral or otherwise, for I am not dealing now with the whole Hindu temple, but only trying to account for the peculiar form of the sikhara which is a part of it. It would not be asking you much to grant that a temple in India any time about two thousand years ago may have had a roof in which bamboo was employed. Nothing could be more likely.

¹ At Mahavallipur, near Madras, there are nine rock-cut temples; huge boulders of granite have been shaped into temples, and they are called "raths." I cannot tell why temples should be called "cars," for that is the meaning of "rath." If cars had the intimate connection with temples which is here suggested, it might help to give an explanation.

We have what is known as the "thatched roof" of the Bengal temple; as an example of which I may mention the well-known temple of Kali at Kali-ghat, near Calcutta. Now it is accepted that this roof owes its form to the bamboo framework on which the thatch was placed. This form, or derivation from it, beginning in bamboo, went in the course of time through the usual transmutations so common in architecture, and can be now traced nearly all over India, reproduced in brick, stone, and marble. I submit the suggestion, that in the thatched roof of the Bengal temple we have the nearest approximation to the sikhara that has yet been found in India. The curved perpendicular lines in both are suggestive. You have only to get rid of the curved line of the drip, a mere trifle, and elongate the height, and a perfect sikhara will be produced. There would be a natural tendency to elevate the roof of a temple, to distinguish it from other buildings, and in order that it might be seen from a distance.¹ A form like the sikhara could be thatched, but the tendency would be, and particularly where there was wealth, to use another means of covering. Cloth and tinsel ornaments may have been used, as we see in the raths. When the style became established, the bamboo would give place to wood, which admits of more solidity and precision of structure. Metal may have been used as a covering;—such changes as these might suggest an explanation of the peculiar ornamentation of the sikhara, which was ultimately reproduced in stone. The strong point of this theory is the thatched roof of the Bengal temple, acknowledged to be bamboo in its origin; and if the curved Chaitya roof should be found to have been derived from the Toda cottage, or some similar construction, this, by showing that bamboo has had its influence on architectural forms in India, will add to the probability that the curved form in the Sikhara was in all likelihood a result evolved from the use of the same material.

I wrote at the time a short note to Mr. Fergusson,² con-

¹ It is very common in India to see a long bamboo with a bit of cloth at the end, which can be seen at a distance, to mark the site of a temple or holy place.

² This was in 1882.

taining the suggestion ; in reply he said that the idea was "certainly very ingenious, and I was at first immensely taken with it," but on reflection he rejected it. His principal objection was that Fa-Hian describes one of the Patna cars as having been in five stories, this implies the horizontal lines of Dravidian architecture. This I admit is strong evidence against that particular car, and so far it tells against the theory generally. I understand that Mr. Burgess made a similar criticism. The reply to this, of course, would be that the Dravidian style, which is derived from one story standing on another, the one above being smaller than the one below, was not the only style in India ; the Bengal thatch roof being one example, proving so far that there were others. In this paper I have been careful to separate the question of the curved line of the sikhara from that of the car, which I had not done in my note to Fergusson, and his remarks apply more particularly to the conjunction of the two. At the end of his letter, however, he says : "But putting Fa-Hian aside, the bent bamboo theory seems to me to come as near to an explanation of the form as any theory that has yet been suggested, but it must stand or fall on its own intrinsic merits alone. There is not, so far as I know, any authority to support it ; I wish there were any !" This is very much my own view of the case ; when I wrote to Fergusson to tell him of the theory, I remarked that I thought it myself a very good notion, and that all it wanted was evidence. This is the thing which is so difficult to find ; and until some old remains turn up to supply the necessary links, the matter must remain a question of probabilities.

Colonel Marshall gives a slight sketch of a very peculiar temple form which he found among the Todas.¹ This is quite a different structure from the Tiriêri temple already mentioned. I have copied it for this paper, as it may possibly have some connection with the sikhara. There is a photograph of this spire in Mr. Breeks's work ;² there it is called a "boa," while Colonel Marshall gives "boath" as

¹ p. 164.

² pl. xiii.

the name. Neither describe the construction of the spire; hence, very little can be said about it. The plan of the temple is circular, formed of wood about six feet high; this is surmounted by a conical roof, like an extinguisher, about twenty-two feet in height. It would have been interesting to know how the framework was constructed, whether of bamboo or wood: both authors describe it as being covered with thatch. The probability is that we have here a very primitive kind of temple, and what is, perhaps, of some importance, we have what may be called a round sikhara.

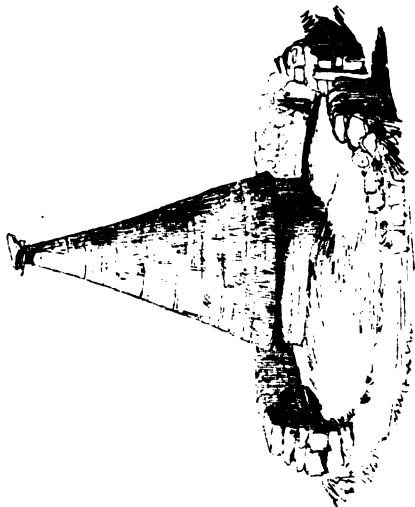
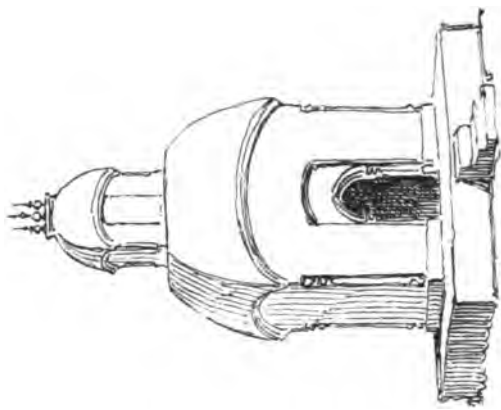
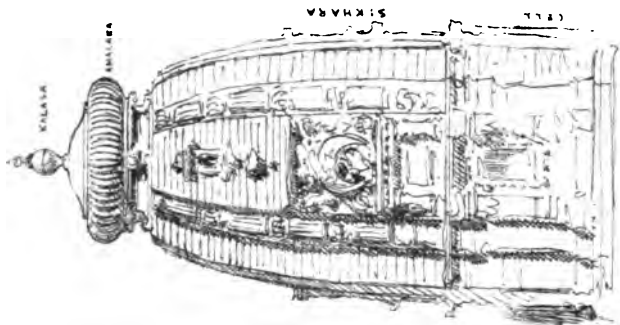
The framework of the cone must have some strength, for it is surmounted by a pretty large stone, and this is the feature that I wish more particularly to call attention to, as it may turn out to be an important link. The sikhara of the Hindu temple is surmounted by a member not unlike a cushion; although the sikhara is square to the top, this is circular, and is raised slightly, to give it more prominence. It is called the *Amalaka*. Rajendralala Mitra says it is also called "the *Amra*, or *Amrasila*, so called from its resemblance to the emblemic Myrobalan. In the *Agni Purana*, and in the *Manasara*, it is named *Udumbara*, and likened to the fruit of the *Ficus Glomerata*." ¹ This may have been merely an ornament, to give a sort of finish to the top of the spire, but it is such a marked feature and stands out so distinct, that the archæologist naturally inquires if it is not a survival of something that once served a purpose. We have a similar example in the Tee of the dagoba. It, like the amalaka, surmounts the monument, and might have been supposed to be only an ornamental appendage, but Fergusson long ago suspected that it "either was or simulated a relic casket." ² Now Mr. Burgess, in describing the Chaitya cave at Bhaja, states that the tee, or box, had the upper stone hewn out, and thus "indicates very distinctly that it was the receptacle of some relic." ³ Assuming that Mr. Burgess is correct in his conclusion, the Toda boath, with the stone on the top,

¹ *Indo-Aryans*, by Rajendralala Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E., vol. i. p. 57.

² *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 64.

³ *The Cave Temples of India*, p. 226.





Rough Sketch of the HINDU TEMPLE, with Sikhara, &c. The BENGAL THATCH ROOF

*The BOATH.
From Col. W. E. Marshall's
"A Phrenologist amongst the Todas," p. 164.*

supplies a very striking counterpart to this, and justifies my reference to it, even if it should turn out to have no relation to the amalaka of the sikhara.¹

Here is what Col. Marshall discovered regarding this stone, he first learned that there were relics in the boath. He and his friend tried to get in to see them, but the Toda in authority would on no account allow this; the place was far too sacred. So they determined on a midnight expedition to the temple, with the intention of getting the desired knowledge in a burglarious manner. A very humorous account of the adventure is given. The two gentlemen got in all right, but, to their sad disappointment, found nothing that they expected; only some ordinary articles were in the place,—“no bell, no hatchet, neither ring nor relic of any kind, no niche for lights, no altar, no stone, no phallus or lingam. No snakes! Every one has been telling us lies, and the world is full of sawdust.”² As the old Toda on whose information they depended had always given correct information before, he was cross-questioned a day or two later. After some preliminary inquiries, he was asked where the relics were placed, and, “with his hand to the side of his mouth, he said in a low voice, ‘Under the stone on the top of the roof.’”³ In the case of the Todas, these, whatever they were, are not necessarily human relics. The point is that they were relics—something sacred to be preserved—and that is motive enough when we are seeking for origins in architecture. Now it must be evident, if this, which we may easily believe is a very primitive sort of temple, had a relic on the summit of its spire, and the dagoba had a relic-holder on its top, it adds considerably to the probability that the amalaka is a form derived from something of the same kind. Here, again, we have no direct proof: it may have been so, or it may not. The suggestion may be useful as a hint to others, but it must remain a suggestion only, till further knowledge has been obtained.

The Todas cremate their dead, and they have two burn-

¹ Note also the upper half of roof of Bengal temple. Here this particular feature is very strongly marked.

² p. 166.

³ p. 167.



ings. Colonel Marshall and Mr. Breeks seem to me to differ slightly in their accounts, but I shall follow the latter. After death the body is burnt, but the skull is preserved ; also a portion of a finger-nail, cut off, I suppose, before the burning. These are kept for about a twelvemonth, and then they are burned with a number of articles. The burning is done at a stone circle,¹ and at the entrance a hole is made in the earth, into which the ashes are placed ; a stone is laid over them, and a man breaks a chatty over the stone. This part of breaking the chatty is a custom followed more or less by all the primitive tribes of the Nilgiris. I give this account because if this stone with the ashes under it has any connection with the origin of the stone, similarly with relics under it, on the summit of the boath, we have here what might be the explanation of the *Kalasa*, or vase, which surmounts the amalaka on the Hindu sikhara. This is, of course, assuming the suggestion given above regarding the amalaka is correct.²

I cannot help suspecting that the Toda customs represent at the present day a very primitive condition of the Hindu rites, or perhaps I ought rather to repeat Mr. Fergusson's expression of "Dasya rites." I am not sure whether the bell figures in the old Vedic ceremonies, but we know that it does so very largely in the worship of Siva now. All his temples have a bell, which is sounded by the worshippers, and Nandi has always one hanging from his neck. With the Todas a bell is the most sacred relic in the temple. It is supposed to be old, and has no tongue ; a bell is always placed round the necks of the buffalos sacrificed at the cremation ; the relics which are preserved from the first burning

¹ Mr. Breeks states that the Toda burning-place is called "*Methgudi*, lit. *Marriage Temple*," p. 20. This suggests an explanation of the Asura festal rites in relation to the dead.

² In many Himalayan sikharas, instead of the amalaka there is a small roof formed of wood ; it is square, and a pyramid in shape, standing on four small wooden posts. This very marked variation is, I think, a point in favour of the theory that the amalaka is derived from an umbrella, which would be like the wooden structure and canopy. I believe some of the Himalayan temples have more than one of these roofs, one above the other, in this again still more suggesting the umbrellas of the Buddhist dagoba, which Mr. Fergusson believes to be the source of the sikhara.

are placed in a hut, and a bell is hung over them, which the relatives ring night and morning, generally for nearly a year, when the second cremation takes place. When the votary of Siva at the present day rings a bell at a shrine, which he supposes is to waken or to call the attention of the god, he may be only repeating part of an old rite connected with the dead, of which we have a marked example in the "dead bell" of the Roman Catholic Church.¹ The Hindu of our own time will not kill a cow, in later times he has adopted a more humane ritual; but his Nandi may yet represent the old funereal sacrifice which accompanied the spirit of his proprietor, and was thus a sort of Vahan, to the regions of Yama.²

¹ I can refer to a noted bell of this kind which existed in Glasgow, and was said to have belonged to St. Mungo, the patron saint of the town; it was known as the "Deid Bell," and was used at funerals; it "was also rung through the streets for the repose of the souls of the departed." This bell even survived the destruction of many things at the Reformation, as the following record of a Presbytery meeting in 1594 will show: "The Presbyterie declairis the office of the ringing of the bell to the buriall of the deid to be ecclesiasticall, and that the electioun of the persone to the ringing of the said bell belongs to the ancient canonis and discipline of the reformat kirk." This bell still survives, but only in the armorial bearings of the city.

² The Vahan of Yama is curiously enough a buffalo, the animal sacrificed at the Toda cremations.

ART. III.—*The Chaghatāi Mughals.* By E. E. OLIVER,
M.I.C.E., M.R.A.S.

WITHOUT attempting to go back to the obscure traditions concerning the great nomad confederacy or confederacies that ranged the country north of the desert of Gobi, or to the genealogies of the tribes of Turks, Tārtārs, and Mughals, descendants of Yāfiṣ (Japhat) son of Nūh, who, after coming out of the Ark with his father, is said to have fixed his *yūrat* or encampment in the Farther East, and who have furnished subjects for the most copious traditions for native chroniclers, and materials for the most intricate controversies ever since; it may perhaps safely be assumed that *Mughal* was probably in the first instance the name of one tribe among many, a clan among clans, and extended to the whole as its chief acquired an ascendancy over the rest. The name is most likely locally much older than the time of Chengiz, but it was hardly known to more distant nations before the tenth century, and became only widely famous in connection with him.

It is also perhaps unnecessary to enter upon the vexed question as to how the name is to be most properly spelt. Writers who have drawn considerably from Chinese sources, and most of the standard authors, like d'Ohsson, Yule, Howorth, and others, have adopted and familiarized us with "Mongols." On the other hand, to the Persian writers who have much to tell concerning them, and in so far as they are associated with India and the countries adjoining, they are *Mughals* or *Mughūls*. To Timur, Báber, and Akbar, their ancestors were *Mughals*, and the first "Irruptions of

the Infidels into Islām" were *Mughal* incursions. It might be urged that the name, as well as the people, became Muhammadanised, and both in their proper place may be equally correct, but it is certainly more convenient to use one throughout, and, from an Indian point of view, the latter.

THE EMPIRE AND DESCENDANTS OF CHENGIZ.

If he did not actually establish the supremacy of his tribe, Yassukai, the father of Chengiz, had done much towards it. He had enforced obedience on many of the surrounding clans, had asserted his entire independence of Chinese rule, and though, when he died in 1175 (571 H.), the people over whom he directly ruled are said to have only numbered some 40,000 tents, it is probable he had laid the foundations for a rapid increase to the power of his state, disproportionate as those foundations might be to the extraordinary development that followed. When his father died, Tamurchīn, as he was then called, was but thirteen years old, and for the next thirty years was occupied in establishing his authority, first over his own, and then the neighbouring clans, facing powerful conspiracies, and consolidating his power. In 1205 (602 H.) he summoned a *Kuriltai*, or general assembly of all chiefs of the tribes in subjection to him, announced that Heaven had decreed he should thenceforth be known as "The Chengiz Khān,"—a title something equal to the Great Chief of the Khāns, the Shāh-in Shāh, or the King of Kings—and that the "Almighty had bestowed upon him and his posterity the greater part of the Universe." Whatever effect the announcement may have had on his hearers, he fully believed in himself, and henceforth devoted the remainder of his life to a wider and more comprehensive scheme of conquest, and in twenty years succeeded in building up what, as regards area, was probably the widest Empire the world has ever seen—an Empire that the conquests of himself and his sons finally extended from the Yellow Sea to the Crimea, and from what is now called the *Ķirghiz Steppes* to *Khurāsān*,



and which included lands and peoples taken from the Chinese, Russians, Afghans, Persians, and Turks.

Not a little of this was accomplished during his own lifetime. He had incorporated the neighbouring Kerāits, Naimāns, Uirāts, and other scattered Turkish tribes round about Lake Baikal and what is now Southern Siberia, received the submission of the Uighūrs, borrowing from them a creed and an alphabet, and established a residence at Qarāqorum. He had begun the invasion of China, and subjugated the northern provinces, the ancient kingdom of Liau Tung, and the Tangut kingdom of Hia, though it was reserved for his grandson Kubilai to complete the subjugation of the Celestial Empire. He had absorbed the great Turkish kingdom of the Kara Khaṭāi, formerly ruled over by a line of Gurkhāns, a territory which included Imil, Ālmālik, Khotān, Kāshghār, and Yarkand. He had marched with three of his sons, Chaghatai, Oktāi, and Jūji, accompanied by immense armies, estimated at 600,000 men, into the territory of the Khwārazm Shāh, whose rule then extended from the Caspian Sea to near the Ili river; and under a discipline of Draconian severity, had harried the fairest plains and spoiled the richest cities of Transoxania and Khurāsān, unfortunate countries which suffered a combination of atrocities hardly to be equalled in history. Lastly, he had driven Jalāl-ud-dīn, the last of the Khwārazm Shāhs, a fugitive into Persia. These vast Mughal hordes were subsequently divided into separate armies under his descendants. One swept over Khwārazm, Khurāsān, and Afghānistān; another over Azārbāijān, Georgia, and Southern Russia; while a third devoted its attention to China.

In the midst of this career of conquest, Chengiz died in 1226 (624 H.) at the age of 64,¹ leaving behind him traces of fire and sword throughout Asia. He had previously, in 1221 (621 H.), according to the Mughal custom, divided his gigantic empire, or, as the distribution was tribal rather than territorial, it is more correct to say, had partitioned out as

¹ Some writers make out his age to have been 72.

appanages the tribes over whom he ruled. These tribes were in many, if not most cases, nomads, occupying somewhat loosely defined camping grounds, which in the natural order of things were occasionally unavoidably changed. A due appreciation of the fact that a chief not unfrequently ruled over a moveable inheritance will assist to a better understanding of the difficulties of fixing the boundary of a Khanate, and of the complications likely to occur, when, as was frequently the case, it became subdivided.

Of consorts, "*Khatūns*," and wives of sorts, Chengiz had many, and possibly a goodly number who came under the denomination of "ladies" rather than wives. Among these wives of the highest rank, the chief was Būrtah Kūchīn,¹ of whom was born, first Jūjī, "the unexpected"—there was a doubt about his paternity—and subsequently Chaghatai, Oktai, Tulūi, and some five daughters. Between these four sons the inheritance was divided, the other children probably being given tribal rank below them. To Oktai, a somewhat hard-drinking warrior, was given the appanage of the tribes of Zungāria, and in addition he was nominated successor to the Supreme Khānate, to which in due course he succeeded, assuming the title of Khakan. The seat of the Khakan's empire eventually became Khānbalik or Pekin, and included China, Corea, Mongolia, Manchuria, and Thibet, with claims even towards Turaking and Ava. Before this, however, the supreme throne had passed to the line of Tulūi, which it did after one generation in 1248 (646 н.).

To Tulūi was assigned the home clans, the care of the Imperial family and archives, and, as fell out, the flower of the Mughal army proper; to which last circumstance it was in a great measure due that his eldest son Mangū, a general of renown, became afterwards chosen as supreme Qān; who was again succeeded by a still more famous brother, Kubilai, the "Great Khan" of Marco Polo, and the "Kubla Khan" of Coleridge. A third brother, Hulākū, founded the Persian dynasty of the Ilkhāns, and an Empire that besides

¹ Really the Chinese title Fuchin.—Ed.



all Persia came finally to include Georgia, Armenia, Azarbāijān, part of Asia Minor, the Arabian Irāk, and Khurāsān, with a capital at Tabriz.

Jūjī, the eldest, died before his father Chengiz, but to his family was assigned the Empire of Kipchāk, or the northern Tartārs, founded on the conquest of Bātū, his eldest son. Its chief seat was at Sarai, on the Volga, and it finally covered a large part of Russia, the country north of the Caucasus, Khwārazm, and part of modern Siberia; the whole being known under the generic name of the "Golden Horde," from the chief's "Sīr Orda" or golden camp. Bātū ruled the Blue Horde or Western Kipchāk, extending east and west from the Ural to the Dnieper, and north and south from the Black and Caspian Seas to Ukak¹ on the Volga, and carried the Mughal armies over a great part of Russia, Poland, and Hungary, scattering fear through Northern Europe. Ūrdah, his brother, ruled the White Horde or Eastern Kipchāk, from the Kizil Kūm, or red sands, to the Ūzbek country, where Shaibān, another brother, ruled the Kirghiz Kāzak steppes, while a fourth ruled to the north again in Great Bulgaria, and a fifth for a while was independent in Southern Russia.

From these descended the various lines known as the Khāns of Astrakhān, of Khiva, of Kazān, of the Krim, and of Bukhārā. Excepting the Īlkhāns of Persia, the whole of these, with their intricate ramifications, have been dealt with by Mr. Howorth, who, in his three volumes of "Mongol History," has devoted an amount of patient research that can perhaps only be fully appreciated by those who have consulted his learned work.

He promises in subsequent volumes to write the history of the Khānate of Chaghatai and his successors, of the Persian Īlkhāns,² and of the Empire founded by Timur, with its still more famous offshoot the Mughal Empire of India, and last but not least, an index. Considering the

¹ Near the modern Saratov.

² The volume dealing with the Īlkhāns is printed and will be very shortly issued.—Ed.

history of this Khānate of Chaghatai is the most obscure of all the branches of the family of Chengiz, and that in most histories the dynasty is barely mentioned, or is dismissed, as by d'Ohsson, with a bare list of rulers, professing to be neither complete nor accurate; and that the Persian chroniclers, who, though near neighbours, probably themselves not very trustworthy or consistent, are for the most part untranslated, and, to most residents in India, inaccessible; it would have been decidedly more judicious to wait for Mr. Howorth's promised volume before attempting any sketch, however brief or unpretending. However, while dismissing the "doubt that would make us lose the good we oft might win by fearing to attempt," it is as well to at once disarm criticism by confessing no one can be more sensible than the writer of the imperfections of the sketch.¹

THE APPANAGE OF CHAGHATAI.

The dominions assigned to Chaghatai, or held by his successors, included Māwarū-un-Nahr and parts of Khwārazm and Khurāsān, the Uighur country, Kāshghār, Badakhshān, Balkh, and the province of Ghazni to the banks of the Indus. A vast extent of territory, corresponding to the modern kingdom of independent Tartary, the western and northern portions of Chinese Turkistān, Transoxania, with at least a part of Afghanistan. It included countries differing from each other in every particular. North of the mountains of Mughalistan, the Thian Shan of the maps was a great pastoral country, interspersed with lakes and rivers, varied with hill and dale, rich plains and pleasant meadows; in the spring and summer covered with beautiful flowers and plants, and at those seasons

¹ The principal authorities used in the above are: *Histoire des Mongols*, par d'Ohsson, Amsterdam, 1835. *History of the Mongols*, by Howorth, first three vols., London, 1876-80. *Coins of the Mongols*, vol. vi. of the *British Museum Catalogue*, by R. S. Poole, London, 1881. *Tabakāt-i-Nāṣiri*, by Mīnhāj-ud-dīn, and Major Raverty's valuable notes, London, 1881.

possessing a climate particularly delightful, though the extreme cold of the winter drove the inhabitants to seek the more southern and sheltered districts. But it was also interspersed with and abutted on extensive deserts, while to the east a great townless waste separated the Khānate from the Empire of the Great Kaān. Kāshghār and Yarkand, or what was called the Middle Empire, lay between these mountains, and the wealth and population of the south, and though they too abounded in wild country, possessed many large and important towns, Bukhārā and Samrḳand, the "pearls of great price," and the country that went under the name of Mārwarā-un-Nahr. Farghāna, Balkh, and Badakhshān on the other hand were rich and civilized kingdoms, rejoicing in cultivated fields and flourishing cities, less prosperous perhaps than before the devastating visits of Chengiz, but gradually recovering themselves.

The inhabitants of a good deal of this western part of the Khānate, more especially Bukhārā and Samrḳand, had much more in common with their south-western neighbours, to whom they were more nearly allied by blood, culture, and religion, than with the more vigorous but less civilized Chaghataīdes; and though they remained subject to the family till the appearance of Timur, it was more generally as dependencies than as integral parts of the Empire. The first head-quarters of the Khāns is said to have been Bishbālik, but Chaghataī himself soon moved his summer residence to Almālik (or Almāligh), which place was certainly one of the capitals from a very early date, 1234 (652 H.), and continued to be, at least nominally so, until the end of the dynasty. The sovereign is reputed as residing there in the time of Hulākū, 1254 (652 H.), and Ibn Batuta in 1334 (735 H.) speaks of its being still recognized as the proper capital.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE KHĀNATE.

Information regarding the whilom famous towns and places in the north-eastern part of the Khānate is very scanty. Besides the wars, emigrations, and movements of a people, themselves mainly nomads, great physical changes have taken place during the six centuries that have elapsed since the death of Chengiz. What were once flourishing cities have in many cases been replaced by sandy deserts, and the very sites of others been lost to human ken for the latter half of that period. Scattered notices are to be found left by the early mediæval travellers, and to the Buddhists and Chinese we are more especially indebted for fragmentary notes regarding many.

Karaçorum, which still stands among the mountains of Mongolia, was the chief seat, first of the Khāns of Kerāit, and next the probable residence of the Great Kaāns until Ḳubilāi moved his capital to Khānbālik, the modern Pekin. Bishbālik (Pentapolis), the ancient chief seat of the Uighurs, the *Bie-sze-ma* and *Bie-shi-bāli* of Chinese writers, is supposed to be the modern Urumtsi. Almālik is mentioned by many. Ye-liu Tch'u-tsai, the Chinese statesman who accompanied in 1219 (616 H.) Chengiz Khān during his conquest of the West, after describing the Sairam Nor, the lake on the top of the mountain of Yin-shan, and the dense forest of apple trees to the south, "through which the sunbeams cannot penetrate," goes on to A-li-ma, the "city of apples," named after these apple orchards round it.¹ Grapes and pears, he says, also abounded, and the people cultivated five kinds of grain, and eight or nine cities were subject to them. Tch'ang Tch'un, a Taoist monk, on his way to and from the court of Chengiz in 1221 and 1224 (618 to 621 H.), describes the "lake of Heaven" or Sairam Nor, and after passing through the Talki defile, comes to the "apple city," A-li-ma, where he was entertained by the rulers of the

¹ *Alima* is the Turkish for 'apple.'

P'-u-su-man or Musalmans. Tch'ang Te, an envoy sent from Mangū Kaān to his brother Hulākū, who had just defeated the Khalif of Baghdād, describes the abundance of fruit at *A-li-ma-li*. "Melons, grapes, pomegranates, of excellent quality. The reservoirs in the market-places connected with running water." "The Muḥammadans lived," he says, "much with the Chinese, until gradually their customs had assimilated. On the mountains round grew, but poorly, many cypresses; but the dwelling-houses and bazaars stood interspersed amid gardens. In the winter the people used sledges drawn by horses, which carried heavy burdens very quickly. Gold, silver, and copper coins were in use, having inscriptions, but no square holes.

Bilāsāghūn, Col. Yule considers may have been the capital of the ancient empire of the Kāra Khitāi, and where, about 1125 (519 H.), the Gūr Khān fixed his residence and established the Buddhist faith, and where his successors were still reigning in 1208 (605 H.), when the Khān of the Naimāns sought shelter at his court, married his daughter, and eventually ousted him from a large part of his dominions. One of the Chinese travellers above mentioned calls it *Hu-sze-wo-lu-do*,¹ the capital of the Kāra Khitāi, or *Si-liao*, and says several "tens of cities" were subject to it. It was also associated with the semi-mythical Pope-King Prester John. After the kingdom had been overthrown by Chengiz, and this city passed to Chaghatai, little more is traceable regarding it. Its position can hardly be fixed. Colonel Yule puts it east of the Kizil Bāshi Lake; Mr. Howorth, more doubtfully, near the modern It-Kitchu, in the Chu valley. Several other authorities incline to place it somewhere in the valley of the Chu River. Imil was another rival capital of the Kāra Khitāis, and, as will be noticed hereafter, subsequently the capital of the Khāns of Mughalistan, when they made their yearly journeys from Kāshghār and Yarkand to the north of the Thian Shan Mountains. The "Omyl" of Carpirai, it was probably the "Aimol Guja"

¹ *Wo-lu-do*, probably meaning "Ordu" or camp.

of Timur, as he called the capital of the "Jettah" or Mughalistan monarchs, and their royal residence in 1389 (792 H.). The city stood on the banks of the river of the same name, near where the latter flows into the Alakul, and is represented by the present frontier town of Chuguchak, or Tarbogotai. Kabalik, or Kayalik, would appear to correspond to the *Cailac* of Rubruquis, who halted there for ten days in 1254 (652 H.), the *Khanlak* of Edrisi,¹ and the modern *Kainak* referred to by Valikhanoff.² It is placed by most writers in the vicinity of Lake Balkash, though some³ incline to identify it with the greater Yeldüz⁴ of Timur. Yeldüz, however, according to the *Rauzat-us-Safa*, was among the spurs of the Thian Shan, slightly to the left of the great caravan route. It was celebrated for its beautiful springs, luxuriant meadows, and fine breezes, and was the place where, after his campaign against the "Jettah nation," Timur camped for some time, devoted to feasting and recreation, in 1389 (792 H.).

Naturally the most important places lay along the principal land-routes between China and Europe. The chief of these differ but little from the post and caravan routes of the present day. In fact, in a country so intersected by lofty mountain ridges, with a limited number of passes, this could hardly be otherwise. From those followed by *Zemarchus*, who went on a mission for the Emperor *Justinian* about 569, or the Buddhist *Hiwen Tshang*, who travelled over a part of the ground in 629 (8 H.), the routes taken by mediæval travellers, and that of the Russians of to-day, varied but little. The main highway was the northern road which left China by its extreme north-western corner and crossed the desert of Gobi to *Kamil*, the *Hamil* or former *Igu* of the Chinese, from which town two routes diverged, one on either side of the Thian Shan mountains.

¹ *Vide* his *Geography*, written in 1153-54.

² *Vide* "The Russians in Asia."

³ *Ritter*, etc.

⁴ Timur refers to two, *Katchak Yeldüz* and *Olugh Yeldüz*, the latter about 45 leagues south of the former.

Polo describes the people of Kamil as all Buddhists in his day, but in 1419 (822 H.) Shah Rukh's envoys found a mosque and a temple side by side. An ancient city of the Uighurs, it is now a Chinese commissariat depôt. The southern route was through Turfan, a town bearing the same name when visited by Benedict Goës about 1615 (1024 H.), and when taken by Yaküb Khān, the Amir of Kāshghar, in 1870; Kādashahr, or "Black town," on the Kaidu River, the "*Yenki*" of the Chinese writers and the "*Cicalis*" of Benedict Goës; Kuchar, or "*Cucia*" as Goës calls it, a place still of some importance; Bai, the "*Pein*" of Polo, which is noticed by Ibn Muhalhal as "a great city where jade is found in the river, and a red stone good for the spleen"; but one now better known for its sheep farming and felt manufacture; and lastly Aksū ("white water"), a town appearing in the Chinese annals as early as the second century B.C., possibly the Auxacia of Ptolemy. Once the residence of the kings of Kāshghār and Yarkand, it is still a central point of Chinese trade. Here the main routes diverge, one going on to Kāshghār and Yarkand, thence over the Muzart Pass along both sides of the Isik Kul towards the valley of the Chū River. The Isik Kul, or "warm lake," may have been so named on account of the numerous warm springs on its southern shore, and from the fact that there is only the thinnest crust of ice along its edge in winter. Hiwen Tshang calls it "*Tshing tchi*," and has many stories of the dragons, fish, and extraordinary monsters that rose out of it. The Chinese spoke of it as "*Zhe hai*," or "*Yan hai*," which had much the same meaning. To the Kalmuks it was "*Temurtū Nor*," or the iron lake, on account of the black iron sand on its shores; and to the Khirghīz "*Tusgul*" or salt lake. The latter have many legends regarding it. The water is of a deep dark blue, shut in by mountains. At the eastern end the shore is thickly strewn with skulls and bones, where they say in ancient times a great battle was fought, and these are the remains of the slain. Others say, that here stood a city, submerged for its wickedness, and in connection with which Schuyler tells a

somewhat good story.¹ That in former times cities existed on its shores, that have since been submerged, both the legends and the old Chinese maps agree to render probable. Ruins are still visible under water, and the level may possibly have risen. It is now 5300 feet above mean sea-level.

To the north of the Thian Shan the route lay, if not through, at least near to Bishbālik; thence by the modern town of Ku-kara-usu; by the Sairam Nor, the Talki Pass, and Almālik, very nearly approximating to what till lately was one of the great Imperial Chinese post roads, joining the one from Kayalik and the modern route to Sempolatinsk at Altyn Imil, the "golden saddle." This road met the southern route at Almatu, a little town at the foot of the mountains, on a small stream called Almatin—both probably connected with abundance of apples—and corresponding to the present flourishing Siberian town of Vierny. A little further along, just over the Kastak Pass, Col. Yule suggests the probable site of Asparah, a place frequently mentioned in Timur's wars, and probably corresponding to the Equius of Rubruquis. A little further still is Tokmak, the old town now in almost undistinguishable ruin about fifteen miles from the present Russian station. It was formerly the capital of a principality. The Mughal writers spoke of the Sultān of Tokmak, meaning probably Khwārazm Shāh. Hiwen Thsang refers to it as a city six to seven *li* in circumference, the meeting-place of merchants from different kingdoms, and Tch'ang Te in 1259 (658 H.) as "having a numerous population, the surrounding country irrigated in all directions by canals." The route thence passed on to Talas, a well-known and ancient city of considerable importance. Zemarchus would seem to have met the Persian Ambassador here in 569. Hiwen Thsang in 629 (8 H.) calls it *Ta-lo-see*, and says it was eight or nine *li* in circumference, many merchants from many countries living there. Tch'ang T'chun in 1222 (619 H.), Tch'ang Te in 1259 (658 H.), and Hethum, the King of Armenia, in 1254 (652 H.), refer to

¹ Schuyler's *Turkistan*, vol. ii. p. 122.

passing through it, and many Muhammadan historians speak in praise of its rich meadows. It was probably at or near the modern Aulie-ātā, an insignificant country town. Some ruins ten miles away may possibly be the site. Either a little east or west of Talas was the "Valley of the thousand springs," the "Ming Bulāk," or "*Thsian Thsiouen*," where Hiwen Thsang makes the Gür Khān of the Turks pass his summers. It was very likely the identical place where Zemarchus met his predecessor sixty years before. Sairām, a little further on, may be the "*Sai-lan*" of the Chinese travellers, where was a "tower in which Muhammadans worship." Near this, Isfidjāb, to give its Muhammadan name, the "*Pi-shui*" or white water of Hiwen Thsang, who described it as six or seven *li* in circumference, and says he preferred the climate of *Ta-lo-see*. The modern Turkish name is Chimkent, possibly a corruption of "*Chaim*" and "*Kent*," Spring-town.

From here two great routes again diverge, the one passing by Yassi, now the town called Turkistan, where Timur in 1397 (800 H.), while waiting for his bride, Tuket Khanūn, built a mosque over the tomb of Hazrat Hodji Akhmad Yasaki, a celebrated Central Asian Saint. By Yangigand, also called Yannikent or new town, the "*Kong yu*" or "*Yangy*" of Hiwen Thsang, "a town five or six *li* in circumference, the plain round particularly rich and fertile, with magnificent gardens and forests," and which appears on modern maps as Yangi Kurgan. And thence north-westward, following the Sihūn between the Ḳizil Kūm (red sands) and the Ḳara-Tagh (black mountains¹), towards the Aral Sea and the Khānate of Kipchak. The other by Shāsh or Tash Kant (stone city) to Transoxania.

Another much less frequented route was the one via Kashghār over the Terek Pass into Farghānah. And a third still less used, though taken by Benedict Goës, and in former times by some of the Khāns of Turkistān, was by Yarkand, Yanghihissar, the Bām i Dunya (Roof of the

¹ *Viz.* not covered with perpetual snow.

world), into Badakhshān and the upper valley of the Oxus.

In the little compact kingdom of Farghānah, rich in fruits and grains, orchards and gardens, with a fertile soil and a temperate climate, shut in on three sides by snowcapped mountains, the flourishing cities are better known and would seem to have changed but little. Akshī, or Aksikat, was a mint town of the Samānis 919 (307 H.), of the Khalifs in 1004 (397 H.), and in 1494 (900 H.), the second town of importance in the valley and the residence of Omarshaiikh, Báber's father. Andigān was Báber's own capital. Ūzgand, Ūsh, and Marghilān are noticed as places of importance by many writers. Khujand, the modern Hodjent, is thought to correspond with Cyreschata or Cyropolis, the outmost city built by Cyrus; a strong place taken by Alexander. It was a mint town of Ilik Naṣr in 999 (390 H.), and was almost destroyed by Chengiz 1220 (617 H.). The fame of its fruit was described by Báber; the value of its trade was a constant apple of discord between Bukhārā and Khokand, and it cost many Russian lives to take it in 1866. From Khujand, all the way along the valley of the Sihūn, or Jaxartes, the whole country is studded with the remains of what were probably once large and flourishing towns. There is an old legend to the effect that the whole valley, from the source of the river to the Sea of Aral, was once so thickly settled, that a nightingale could fly from branch to branch of the fruit trees, and a cat walk from wall to wall and house-top to house-top. Many of the former cities are now represented by little beyond mounds, and of others known to history, the positions cannot be even approximated. To the Mughals, from Chengiz downwards, must undoubtedly be credited not a little of the ruin; and no part of Asia suffered so severely from the desert hordes as the countries bordering the Jaxartes and the Oxus. The accumulated wealth of a previous epoch of comparative civilization offered rich fields for plunder, which the inhabitants had become incapable of resisting. Of Bukhārā, Samrḳand, and many others, the history is well known. Shāsh, the old name not only of the city, but at one

time of a district and of part of the river Sihūn itself, had been a mint town of the Khalifs and of the Samānis. Yahya, the son of Asad Samānī, held the territory about 815 (200 H.), when the inhabitants were said to be of the tribes Ghūzz and Khalj. The "*Tche-shi*" of Hiwen Tshang, it was variously spoken of by others as "*Chāj*," "*Tchatch*," and "*Jāj*," and was as Tāshkand captured by an army of Chengiz. So also was Banaket, a town not far distant, subsequently known as Shahrukhīa. It is shown on Mr. Howorth's map in the position assigned to it by Mr. Ravenstein,¹ but Báber, who visited his uncle Sultān Maḥmūd Khān there, says it was on the river between Shāsh and Khujuand, which is more probable.² Utrār, the Fārāb of the Arabs, a city and fortress of considerable note, which gave its name to a district famous in connection with the Khwārazm Shāhs. It stood a five months' siege against an army under Chaghatai and Oktai in 1218-19 (615-6 H.). The story goes that its gallant defender, Aīmāl Juḡ, with 20,000 men, held out in the citadel for two months longer, and finally, in company with two survivors only, fought on from his own house-roof with bricks handed to him by his wife; the siege costing the lives of 100,000 men. The Mughals levelled the citadel to the dust, but the city long survived as a place of importance, and was one of the principal Chaghatai mint towns as late as the time of Buyan Kuli.

The situation of towns like Sairan, Jand, and Sighnak, are all more doubtful. Both the latter were said to have been taken by Sanjar the Seljūk in 1152 (547 H.), and Jand was one of the strong cities taken by the Mughal army under Jūjī. Its most probable position is suggested by Schuyler as on the Sihūn near what is now known as the Russian Fort No. 2. The only others of the half-dozen Transoxanian mint towns of the successors of Chaghatai needing any notice, as far as the numismatic record is concerned, are well-known places. Tarmaz, which would

¹ See map in Howorth's *Mongols*.

² It may be that the "Old Tāshkend" of the maps is the site. The two places are sometimes spoken of as identical.

seem to have been one of importance, at any rate from the time of Burāk Khān to the close of the dynasty, was a place of note in the time of the Khwārazm Shāhs. In 1220 (617 H.), Chengiz, after the capture of Samrḳand, and a summer spent at Kash, moved through the "Iron gate" in the Karatagh range, and captured it after a siege of nine days. While there he organized a hunt on a grand scale that lasted for four months, after which he sent an army into Badakhshān. On the coinage it is described as "Madinat ul rijal" (the city of the people), Tarmaḳ; and on modern maps appears on the north bank of the Oxus as Tirmid. Kash, the modern "Shehr-i-Sabz," or green town, on the river Koshka, is famous as the birthplace of Timur. It, or a fortress near, between Kash and Naksheb, was also associated with a character whom Moore has made almost more famous, or infamous, in Lalla Rookh—Al Mukanna, the veiled impostor of Khurāsān, who finally shut himself up there in 780 (164 H.), and from whence, according to the poet, alone came out again the ill-fated Zulika, who perished by rushing on Azīm's spear.¹ It was taken by the Mughals under Chengiz himself, and was a mint town of his successors as late as Buyān Kuli. Bald-i Badakhshān was probably the capital of the province of the same name. Col. Yule places it in the plain of Baharāk, where the Vardoj and other branches join the Kokchar river. It was also termed *Jaūzgān*, and the site may probably not have been far from the present capital of Faizābād, which, according to Manphul, was founded by Yarbak Mir of the present dynasty. Polo says the rulers in his time called themselves "*Zulcarnian*," the two-horned, and claimed descent from Alexander; and Báber, whose brother, Nasir Mirza, was in 1506 (912 H.) made king for a brief while, notices the same thing. The city must have passed out of Chaghatāi hands not very many years after a coin of Kuzān in my possession was struck. Timur in his early years assisted Amir Hussain "to chastise his rebellious vassals" in the province, and in 1369 (771 H.)

¹ Narshaki's story is less romantic. He says the surviving wife gave up the citadel for 10,000 *akichs*.

Shah Sheik Muhammad, its prince, joined the standard of Timur himself against Hussain. In 1416 (819 H.) the prince submitted to Shah Rukh, who sent his son Suyurghatmish with "Yengui Shah," a deposed Badakhshān prince, to take possession.¹

CHAGHATAI AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

His great expeditions over, Chaghatai settled down and lived chiefly at Almālik, though he maintained a regular service of couriers between his court and Māwarā-un-Nahr, to keep him informed of the affairs of that portion of his Khānate, and in spite of the drunken habits to which he, in common with most of the descendants of Chengiz, was addicted, he is said to have attended personally to all the details of administration, and, if strictly, to have ruled justly. He appointed Mughal governors, Buka Boshā at Bukhārā, and Jongsan Taifu at Samrḳand; but the government of the Transoxanian appanages as a whole was entrusted to a Muhamadan, Mas'ūd Bak, who held the title of "*Jumilat-ul-Mulk*," Minister of State, and enjoyed the entire confidence of the Khān. Under the minister, Bukhārā rose, phoenix-like, from its ruins; the people who had remained in hiding ever since the terrible times of the invasion by the hordes of Chengiz were gradually coaxed back to their former employments; new buildings began to replace those that had been destroyed, and colleges founded by Mas'ūd Bak and others were filled with students.

For many years the rigour of Chengiz continued to inspire the rule of his sons, and there appears every probability that under Chaghatai the western part of the Khānate enjoyed fairly good and decidedly strong government. The peace was only once temporarily interrupted by the outbreak of a

¹ The principal authorities for the above, in addition to those previously mentioned, are: Cathay, and the Way Thither, by Col. Yule, 2 vols. London, 1866. Book of Ser Marco Polo, by Col. Yule, 2 vols. London, 1874. Erskine's History of India, 2 vols. London, 1854. Turkistan, by Eugene Schuyler, 2 vols. London, 1876. Mongolia, by Prejevalsky (translated), London, 1876. The Russians in Central Asia, by Valikhanof, etc. (translated), London, 1865.

religious enthusiast, a sieve-maker named Mahmūd Tārānī, who in 1232 (630 H.) appeared at an obscure village near Bukhārā, proclaiming himself inspired by spirits and possessing supernatural attributes. He succeeded in getting together a considerable following, was received with honour by the people of the city, caused the public prayers to be read in his name, confiscated the property of the rich, and spent his time and his unlawful gains in orgies with the captured ladies with whom he filled his house. His supremacy in Bukhārā was short-lived, though it came near to again bringing ruin on the place, for he was killed in a fight between his fanatical followers and a force under Chaghatāi's officers, who quickly disposed of the business, but were with difficulty restrained by Mas'ūd from giving over the city to vengeance.

Chaghatāi died in 1241 (639 H.),¹ but there are few particulars regarding his death, save that it occurred among his own people, and great mourning was made for him. He was reputed a man of great dignity, pomp, and magnificence, but open-hearted, brave, and hospitable, passionately fond of the chase, "good was he deemed at trumpet sound, and good"—especially so—"where wassail bowl passed freely round," the two pursuits taking up much of his time, while his chief counsellor and minister, Karachar, carried on the government. But whether personally or by deputy, his State was well administered. He instituted a code of laws, known as *Yāssā*,² directed especially against lying, lust, and embezzlement. Communication to all parts of his Khānate became fairly safe, and it was a boast that neither guards nor escort were required on any route. He was not much inclined towards the faith of Islām, nor so tolerant as his brother Oktāi. In fact, by some Muhammadan writers he is credited with the most sanguinary laws against the Faith, but this seems hardly borne out by history.

His immediate successors continued to reside mainly in the eastern part of the Khānate, their wild and wandering nature preferring the free life of the mountain and desert, to

¹ Some say in Zi Ka'dah, 638 H.

² Rather he adopted the Yasa or Code of Chenghiz.—Ed.

which they were enthusiastically attached, and which they considered as the only one worthy of free and generous men. But the discord so characteristic of Asiatic dynasties was not long in appearing. Wars succeeded to wars, and when not engaged with other and more distant tribes, the rival claimants to the throne fought among themselves. Altogether the dynasty lasted about 140 years, and within that time some thirty of the descendants or kinsmen of Chaghatai ruled over the whole or part of the Khānate, their entire history for this period being one of revolutions, depositions, murders, and usurpations, more frequent than usual even in Oriental story.

Sometimes the seat of government was removed entirely to Bukhārā on the west, sometimes the Khānate was divided for a while, to be reunited by more fighting, and ultimately partitioned altogether into two, if not into three States. Within a century after Chaghatai's death the Khāns had entirely forsaken the desert tribes, to visit and linger in the more luxuriant plains of Māwarā-un-Nahr. It was, according to Ibn Batuta, one of the charges brought against Tamāshirīn, that he always remained there, and for four years had not visited Almālīk, or the eastern dominions of his family. In the end the Khāns became mere puppets in the hands of powerful Amīrs, who set them up and deposed or murdered them at pleasure; until finally came the famous Timur, who permitted them no actual authority whatever, save the use of their names at the head of state papers, or coupled with his own on the coinage of the realm. Over Khurāsān and the territories beyond the Hazāra range all influence may be said to have ceased with Chaghatai.

ḲARA-HULĀKŪ, YASSŪ, ORGANAH, AND ALGHŪ, AT
ALMĀLĪK.

Six months after Chaghatai's death his brother, the mighty Oktai, having caroused more deeply than usual, died at Ḳarā-ḳorum, the 11th December, 1241 (639 H.), and his death set almost the whole of the successors of Chengiz squabbling for his throne, among the most violent as regards party spirit and

warlike temper being some of the representatives of Chaghatai. For the time being it ended in Tūrākīnah, Oktāi's widow, being appointed regent; but there were set up lasting disputes among the rival claimants, and the seeds of much future mischief were sown. For long after, the disputes regarding the succession to the throne of the Great Ḳaān became inextricably mixed with the affairs, more especially of the eastern part, of Chaghatai's Khānate, and it is impossible to give an intelligible account of the latter without occasional references to the former.

Chaghatai left a numerous family, but as a successor he nominated, or Ḳaraḡhar, the minister, set up, a grandson and a minor—Ḳara Hulākū; a widow of the late Khān, by name Ebūskūn, assuming the regency. Her first step was to order the execution of Madjīd-ud-dīn, the physician, and Hadjir, the favourite wazir, of her late husband, accusing them of having been concerned in his death; the more probable reason being to get rid of possible obstacles in the way of her ambition.¹ She, however, was only able to maintain her position as long as the interregnum which followed Oktāi's death lasted. Oktāi's son, Kuyūk, was no sooner elected supreme Ḳaān, than he removed all his adversaries, including Ebūskūn herself, nominated Yassū Mangah as chief in 1247 (645 H.), and spread disunion and disorder, not only in Almālik, but throughout the Khānate, even Mas'ūd Bak having to fly from Bukhārā before him, and take refuge with Bātū, the Khān of the Western Kipchak. Yassū was an exceptional drunkard and a debauchee, but, fortunately for his Muhammadan subjects, took for his Vazir and adviser a pious and learned man, Khwājah Bahā-ud-dīn of Marghaniān, who seems to have endeavoured, unfortunately ineffectually, to disarm his enemies by showing them every kindness.

At the end of a three years' reign, Kuyūk by dying gave place to Mangū as supreme Ḳaān, and in 1252 (650 H.) Ḳara Hulākū, with Ebūskūn, were reinstated in their former

¹ I have here followed in places almost literally the excellent narrative of Vambery, which appears both succinct and accurate.

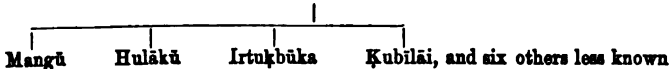
dignities. Habesh Amid, a creature of Ebūskūn's, was appointed Wazir, whose first step was to imprison Bahā-ud-dīn, and, in spite of the eloquent verses addressed by the latter to the princess, he caused him to be sewn up in a felt bag and kicked and trampled to a shapeless mass. Yassū lost his throne for refusing to acknowledge Mangū's authority, and in restoring Kara Hulākū, one of the conditions was, that the latter should put his rival out of the way, which Hulākū no doubt would have done, but died himself before he could carry out the order.

The government of the Khānate then fell into the hands of his widow, Organah *Khātūn*, who, in 1252 (650 H.), had Yassū promptly executed, and reigned happily in Almālik for ten years after. Organah was one of the three Mughal graces, of whom Vassaf says: "Three such forms of beauty, loveliness, grace and dignity had never been produced by all the painters"—at any rate the Mughal painters—"of creation, aided by the brushes of the liveliest imagination." They were the sisters, and at the same time the wives of the Mughal Princes of Kipchak, Persia, and the Chaghatai Khānate. If not a convert to Islām, Organah had a decided leaning in that direction, and showed much kindness to the Muhammadans on many occasions. She must, moreover, have had great tact as well as beauty, for not only as the wife of Hulākū, and then for ten years of independent rule, but subsequently as the wife of Ālghu, she was one of the most influential persons in the state.

So long as Mangū lived, this "wise and energetic" lady was allowed to govern in peace; but in 1259 (658 H.), he died, and a war of succession broke out between Irtuḳbūka,¹ the third son of Tūlūi,² and his brother Ḳubilāi, for the Imperial throne. The former nominated in supersession of Organah, Alghū, the son of Baider, and grandson of Chengiz; and the latter, Apis-ga, the son of Būrī, and great-grandson of Chengiz. Alghū, anticipating his rival, drove out

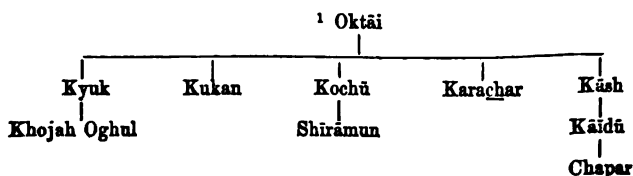
¹ Really Arikbuka.—Ed.

² Tūlūi



Organah and established himself at Almālik in 1261 (659 H.). Apisga, with his brother Kadami, were meanwhile taken prisoners by Irtuḡbūka, who shortly after had both executed. Alghū repaid his patron with the blackest ingratitude, for no sooner did the latter, driven into a corner by Ḳubilāi, invite his aid, than Alghū, who is said to have had at his disposal 150,000 men, flatly refused it, arrested the commissioners sent by Irtuḡbūka to collect taxes, murdered them, and openly espoused the cause of Ḳubilāi. Irtuḡbūka, furious at this treachery, at once faced about, and leaving his city of Ḳarākorum at the mercy of Ḳubilāi, who as promptly seized the opportunity to take it, advanced against Alghū, and after a considerable struggle occupied a large part of his dominions, Alghū having to fly from Almālik to Kāshghar, thence to Khoten, and finally to Samrḡand. Irtuḡbūka spent the winter of 1263 (662 H.) at Almālik, where he treated the followers of Alghū with extreme severity, and devastated the neighbourhood. To such an extent did he carry this, that a famine ensued, and many thousand people perished.

His cruelties finally disgusted even his own soldiers, many of whom went over to Ḳubilāi, and his troops and resources became so weakened, that he offered to submit to his brother, and make peace with Alghū, stipulating to retain for himself a portion of the eastern part of the Khānate. The Princess Organah and Mas'ūd Bak were appointed negotiators. Alghū agreed, and to make matters smoother, married the dispossessed and whilom beautiful Organah, residing apparently in Māwarā-un-Nahr. Peace was now restored there, the administrative abilities of Mas'ūd Bak were called in to fill the exhausted treasury, the industrious population of Bukhārā and Samrḡand as usual having to contribute the lion's share. Alghū had one more rival in Prince Kāidū,¹ a grandson of



Oktāi, who was also a powerful rival of Kubilāi's for the supreme Kaānate. This prince, with the assistance of Bātū of the Western Kipchak, endeavoured to assert his claim to the northern part of Māwarā-un-Nahr, known as the province of Turkistān, but unsuccessfully it would seem during Alghū's reign. Alghū died in 1263 (662 H.), a short time after his beloved wife, the "protector of Muhammadans and the cherisher of Islām." Irtuqbūka had meanwhile prostrated himself at the door of Kubilāi's tent, done homage, and been forgiven, but died himself shortly after.

Fræhn describes in the Recensio a dirhem of Kara Hulākū, son of Mutukan, and another of Alghū, son of Baider, but struck at Bukhārā, the former 651 H. (1253), and the latter in 660 H. (1261).

1266 TO 1270. MUBĀRAK SHĀH AND BORĀK'S FOUR YEARS OF WAR.

Kubilāi in the first instance nominated Mubārak Shāh, the son of Kara Hulākū, whose name would seem to imply that he had adopted the creed patronized by his mother, Organah, and was a Musalman. He is represented as a gentle and just prince; but the selection does not seem to have inspired the great Kaān with much confidence, for in the same year 1264 (662 H.)¹ he named secretly as his viceregent Prince Borāk, another great-grandson of Chaghatai, whom he seems to have thought more capable of resisting his rival, Kāidū. If this was the reason, he mistook his man. Borāk drove Mubārak Shāh from the throne, but so far from taking active measures against Kāidū, proceeded soon afterwards to make terms with him, and the two not only exercised joint sovereignty, but divided the inhabitants of cities like Bukhārā

¹ The date given in most tables is 664 H. (1266), but this seems to require modification, and may be read as 662 H., the year of Alghū's death. According to Yule, the elder Polo reached Bukhārā before 1264, and Borāk was then reigning there. "After they had passed the desert (from the Caspian) they arrived at a great city called *Bocara*, the territory of which belonged to a king whose name was *Barao*." They stayed three years, ultimately going forward with the envoys, returning from *Alau* (viz. Hulākū), Lord of the Levant (viz. the Ilkhān of Persia), to the great Kaān the Lord of all the Tartars (Kubilāi). Yule thinks this was 1265, which would make Borāk as reigning in 1262 (661 H.).

like sheep; sharing the cleverest armourers between them, so many being portioned out to each master. A short time after, however, war broke out between Kāidū and Mangū Timur, the fourth Khān of the Blue Horde, when Borāk, reluctant to lose so good an opportunity, at once took up arms and prepared to attack his friend in the rear. Kāidū, alive to the danger, equally promptly patched up a peace with the Blue Horde, and gave his faithless ally so thorough a beating that the latter had to abandon the Turkistān province, and retire to Bukhārā and Samrḳand.¹ His troops, disappointed of promised loot, Borāk, with the most heartless tyranny, proposed to deliberately sacrifice his own people, and ordered the inhabitants of these unfortunate cities to abandon their property and escape for their lives, as both must be given up to his troops for plunder. The tears and entreaties of the citizens saved them on this occasion, and the brutal order was modified into a heavy contribution, and an order for more armourers to work day and night preparing fresh armaments. In a short time Borāk was again able to take the field, but at this stage Kāidū, who was anxious for peace with him, sent proposals through his cousin, Khojah Ogul, who was also a friend of Borāk's. The two princes met, and in the spring of 1269 (667 H.) held a grand fête in the open country north of the Sihūn. The festival lasted seven days; peace was established, and confirmed by rinsing gold in the cup in which they pledged their mutual vows. In the *Kuriltai* of the tribes, it was decided that Borāk should hold two-thirds of Māwarā-un-Nahr, the remaining third² to belong jointly to Kāidū and Mangū Timūr. Borāk was not satisfied with the arrangement, complaining that he had come worse off than any of the house of Chengiz, and as he insisted more particularly on the absence of pasture for his flocks, it was decided that he should recoup himself by invading Khurāsān, and that meanwhile

¹ According to Howorth (vol. i. p. 174), Kāidū was first surprised in an ambuscade and beaten, upon which Mangū Timūr supplied him with a contingent of 50,000 troops, the battle was renewed and Borāk beaten.

² Some authorities add, "with Khujand and its neighbourhood as far as Samrḳand," but this part of the treaty could not have lasted long.

all three princes should refrain from ravaging the ruined territories of *Māwarā-un-Nahr*, impose no taxes on the impoverished inhabitants, and pasture their flocks at a distance from the cultivated ground, *Mas'ūd Bak* being commissioned to persuade the terrified peasantry to return once more to their occupations. To *Kāidū*, however, the most important feature of the treaty was the implied recognition of him as the rightful *Khakān* of the *Mughals*, which from this time was extended by the *Chaghatai Khāns* both to him and his son *Chapar*.

In spite of the miserable state of things *Borāk* was impatient to begin his attack on *Abaka*, the son of *Hulākū*, the second of the *Ilkhāns* of *Persia*. A remonstrance on the part of the faithful *Mas'ūd* was punished by seven lashes, an outburst of anger which the tyrannical *Borāk* repented of, but it did not prevent him carrying out his intention. He began by sending *Mas'ūd* to *Abaka's* court,¹ then at *Mazendrān*, with an ostensible excuse about money, the nature of which *Abaka* soon discovered, and *Mas'ūd* barely escaped with his life. A second mission to gain over the *Chaghatai* prince *Nighudar*, then at the *Persian* court, equally failed, *Abaka* being too vigilant. Meanwhile, *Borāk's* army, accompanied by several princes of the house of *Oktāi*, had crossed the *Oxus* at *Amūi*, and encamped at *Merv*. The first attack was directed against *Abaka's* brother and general *Tushīn*, who, associated with *Abaka's* son *Arghun*, commanded in *Eastern Khūrāsān* at *Hīrat*, but who retreated on ascertaining the superiority of his opponents. *Borāk* pursued him, and subdued a large part of *Khūrāsān*, but dissensions broke out in his army, he lost half his force by desertion, was finally drawn into a trap by an ingenious trick of *Abaka's*, and found himself marching in pursuit of an enemy he believed to be retreating, straight into an ambush by which he was surrounded, and his remaining army cut to pieces. Himself much hurt by a bad fall from his horse, he had great difficulty in escaping across the *Oxus*, and re-entered *Bukhārā*

¹ Of this invasion Mr. Howorth promises a full account in his forthcoming volume.



broken in mind and paralysed in body. Having turned Muhammadan, and taken the title of Sultān Ghīās-ud-dīn, he spent the winter in useless efforts to revenge himself on an ally to whom he attributed all his misfortunes, and finally died in the spring of 1270 (669 H.), said by many to have been poisoned.

His reign had extended only to some four years, but they were years of misery and destruction to some of the fairest lands and most prosperous cities on the Zarāfshān. His death delivered them from at least one cowardly tyrant and persecutor, though they still continued to suffer from the fratricidal wars that constantly raged between the rival chiefs of the lines of Oktāi and Chaghatai, and the unhappy citizens had even more reason than Venice of old for invoking "a plague on both their houses."

KĀIDU, DUA, AND THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR WITH THE GREAT KĀĀN.

Borāk's death left Kāidū sole master of the western portion of the Khānate. The dispossessed Mubārak Shāh and other chiefs took the oath of allegiance to him, thus rendering him a still more dangerous rival of Kubilāi. In 1270 (668 H.), much to the indignation of the sons of Borāk, he nominated Nikpai, a grandson of Chaghatai, chief of the tribe, but in less than two years Nikpai seems to have revolted, been killed, and succeeded by Tuka Timur, another scion of the house (*circa* 1271 or 670 H.), who in less than two years more was ousted by Dua, the son of Borāk (*circa* 1273, or 672 H.). Dua had made up his quarrel with Kāidū, his claims having been constantly urged by the latter's son Chapar. His reign was the longest ever enjoyed by a descendant of Chaghatai, and the Khānate might have hoped for some peace from an alliance between the rival houses, but unfortunately a third firebrand appeared on the

scene. Abaka, the Ilkhān of Persia, who had always acknowledged Kūbīlāi as the rightful Khākān in opposition to Kāidū, and who had never forgiven Borāk's invasion of Khurāsān, was only watching his opportunity, and his Vazir, Shams-ud-dīn Juwainī,¹ had only to draw his attention to a favourable omen, to start him for Bukhāra, which he entered about 1274 (672 H.), plundering, burning, and murdering right and left. He is credited with making 50,000 prisoners, and, among other acts of barbarism, with having laid the celebrated college of Mas'ūdī in ashes. He was pursued by the Chaghatai generals, and some of the prisoners recovered; but those generals themselves treated the unhappy country nearly as hardly, leaving a fresh desert for Mas'ūd Bak to try his restoring hand upon once again.

Dua's long reign was a succession of constant wars, which brought fresh calamities not only upon Māwarā-un-Nahr, but more or less over the entire Khānate. His ambition carried him on at least one occasion to India, and for some years he commanded expeditions in the Punjab in person. Zia-ud-dīn Barni says he was defeated by the army of Āla-ud-dīn at Jalandhar in 1296 (696 H.), but he must have continued to ravage the Punjab for years, and we read of his returning from a raid on Lahore in 1301 (701 H.). His son, Prince Katlagh Khwāja, at the head of a large army, advanced as far as Delhi in 1297-8 (697-8 H.), and was only beaten off with great difficulty, by the famous general Zafar Khān. The head-quarters of the horde were for many years apparently at Ghaznī, and their continued raids are referred to by almost every native historian. The "infidel host" is usually described as "utterly routed" by the Muhammadan forces, but in Sind, Trans-Indus, and a good part of the northern Punjab, they raided almost unchecked; Peshawur, Lahore, and Multān, were periodically sacked, and even Delhi was the subject of constant attacks. At Ghaznī, and probably elsewhere, they issued money, of which two

¹ Brother of 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Ata Mulk Juwaini, the historian and author of Tarikh-i-Jahan Kusha, etc.

examples are given in Thomas's *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*.¹

Hostilities between Kāidū and Kubilāi from first to last extended over a period of twenty years. Marco Polo devotes many chapters to an account of them. "From year's end to year's end the great Kaān had to keep an army watching Caidu's frontier, lest he should make forays." His aggressions are described as unceasing, and he as able to take the field with 100,000 horse, "all stout soldiers and inured to war." While with him were many "famous Barons of the imperial lineage of Chengiz," who supported his claims against Kubilāi, and in spite of the desert of forty days extent that divided the states, engagements between bodies of troops posted at intervals on either side were constant. Polo describes some of the battles at length; one as taking place about 1276 (675 H.),² in which Kāidū and his cousin Yesudar assembled a force of 60,000 horse, and attacked two of the "barons," who held lands under the great Kaān, and who brought into the field a similar force. In the end the "barons" were beaten, but thanks to their good horses escaped, and Kāidū returned home, "swelling the more with pride," and for the next two years remained at peace. But at the end of this time or less he renewed the attack with a larger force, put at 100,000 horse, and more allies than ever. Kubilāi's army was under the command of his son Nurmughān, who had been appointed to command his north-west frontier, and somewhat defiantly assumed the title of Com-

¹ An account of Dua's invasion is given by d'Ohsson, who goes on to say: "Quelques années après, en 1303, Tourghai, prince tchagatayen, s'avança jusqu'à Delhi, et après avoir campé pendant deux mois devant cette ville, que était défendue par Alaï-ud-din, il jugea à propos de faire sa retraite. L'année suivante, un autre prince tchinguizien, nommé Ali fit avec Khodjatasch une invasion dans l'Inde, à la tête de quarante mille chevaux. Ils passèrent au nord de Lahore, franchirent les monts Sioualik, et pénétrèrent sans opposition jusqu'à Amroha, où ils furent battus par Toulouç général d'Alaï-ud-din. Ali et Khodjatasch faits prisonniers avec neuf mille hommes, furent envoyés au Sultan, qui les fit jeter sans les pieds des éléphants. Pour venger leur morts, Guebek, général de Doua, entra dans l'Inde en 706 H. (1306), ravager le Moultan et s'avança jusqu'à Sioualik." D'Ohsson iv. 561. Guebek, viz. Kabāk, is said to have been also crushed under the feet of elephants, but in 709 H. he succeeded to the Khānate. D'Ohsson goes on to speak of the invasion of India by Tamarshirin, son of Dua, at the head of a large army in 727 H. (1327).

² The text has 1266, but is corrected by Pauthier to 1276.

mander-in-Chief of Almālik, the Chaghatai capital. The battle, which is graphically described at length by Polo, may serve as a specimen of Mughal tactics. Kāidū's army is called a vast force of horsemen, that had advanced very rapidly. The Prince's force amounted to 60,000 well-appointed cavalry, that "all undismayed made themselves ready for battle like valiant men. When they heard Caidu was so near, they went forth valiantly to meet him. When they got within some ten miles of him they pitched their tents and got ready for battle, and the enemy, who were about equal in numbers, did the same; each side forming in six columns of 10,000 men with good captains. Both sides were well equipped with swords and maces and shields, with bows and arrows and other arms after their fashion. The practice of the Tartars going to battle is to take each a bow and sixty arrows. Of these thirty are light with small sharp points, for long shots and following up an enemy; whilst the other thirty are heavy, with large broad heads, which they shoot at close quarters, and with which they inflict great gashes on face and arms, and cut the enemy's bowstrings, and commit great havoc. This every one is ordered to attend to, and when they have shot away their arrows, they take to their swords and maces and lances, which also they ply stoutly.

"So when both sides were ready for action the *Naccaras*¹ (kettle-drums) began to sound loudly, one on either side. For it is their custom never to join battle till the Great Naccara is beaten. And when the Naccaras sounded, then the battle began in fierce and deadly style, and furiously the one host dashed to meet the other. So many fell on either side that in an evil hour for both the battle was begun! The earth was thickly strewn with the wounded and the slain, men and horses, whilst the uproar and din of battle was so loud you would not have heard God's thunder! Truly King Caidu himself did many a deed of prowess that strengthened the hearts of his people. Nor less on the other side did the great Kān's son and Prester John's grandson, for well

¹ A great kettle-drum formed like a brazen cauldron tapering to the bottom, covered with buffalo hide; often three or four feet in diameter.

they proved their valour in the medley, and did astonishing feats of arms, leading their troops with right good judgment.

“The battle lasted so long that it was one of the hardest the Tartars ever fought. Either side strove hard to bring the matter to a point and rout the enemy, but to no avail. And so the battle went on till vespertide, and without victory on either side. Many a man fell there; many a child was made an orphan there; many a lady widowed; and many another woman plunged in grief and tears for the rest of her days. I mean the mothers and the *araines* (harūns) of those who fell.

“So when they had fought till the sun was low they left off, and retired each side to its tents. . . . And when morning approached, King Caidu, who had news from his scouts that the Great *Ḳaān* was sending a great army to reinforce his son, judged it was time to be off: so he called his host to saddle and mounted his horse at dawn, and away they set out on their return to their own country. And the Great *Ḳaān*'s son let them go unpursued, for his forces were themselves sorely fatigued and needed rest.”¹ This battle by several authorities is described as taking place near *Almālik*, the Great *Ḳaān*'s army as being defeated, both generals taken prisoner by *Kāidū*, who advanced on *Ḳarā-korum*; the state of things ultimately becoming so threatening, that *Ḳubilāi* had to withdraw his most trusted general, *Bayan*, from China, by whom *Kāidū* was either defeated or fell back on *Māwarā-un-Nahr*.

Another ten years seem to have passed with no decisive action between the two great rivals, but *Kāidū* continued to grow in power, and became the head of a powerful league. Subsequently he defeated and captured another son of *Ḳubilāi*, *Kamāla*, who was only rescued by the exceptional bravery of a *Kipchak* general, and so great was *Kāidū*'s advantage, that the Great *Ḳaān*, in spite of his advanced age, took the field in person, and *Kāidū* again had to fall back. This could not have been very long before *Ḳubilāi*'s death,

¹ Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii. p. 458.



which occurred in 1294 (693 H.), his grandson Uljaitū succeeding as Great Kaān.

Kāidū would seem to have found a staunch ally in Dua. In 1301 (701 H.) the latter had just returned from one of his Indian expeditions, and in conjunction with him, Kāidū resolved on carrying the war into the heart of the country of the Great Kaān. With forty princes belonging to the now united houses of Oktāi and Chaghatai, the pair planned an invasion of the North of China. They were met, however, by the Imperial army under a nephew of Uljaitū, between Karākorum and the river Timir, and, according to the Chinese account, were defeated. The defeat, as far as Kāidū is concerned, seems to have been final. He is credited with having during his career gained forty-one battles and was beaten in this the forty-second, shortly after which he sickened and died. He is also said to have had forty sons and at least one remarkable daughter, Aijārūk, "the Bright Moon," of whom Marco Polo tells a quaint story. She was very beautiful, and still more renowned for her powers of wrestling. "She was so strong and brave that in all her father's realm was no man who could outdo her in feats of strength." Her father, whom she accompanied in the field, had often spoken of marriage, but she would none of it, she would marry no man unless he could vanquish her in every trial. Somewhat of exceptional stature, tall and muscular, but withal stout and shapely, she had distributed her challenges over all the kingdoms, inviting the youth to try a fall with her, the loser to pay forfeit of one hundred horses, the vanquisher to win her for wife. Many a youth had tried his strength and lost his horses, and she had won in this way more than ten thousand horses, and must, in fact, have been more valuable to her father than some modern remount agencies. As Colonel Yule suggests, she recalls Brunhild in the Nibelungen Lied :

"A royal maiden who reigned beyond the sea :
From sunrise to the sundown no paragon had she.
All boundless as her beauty was, her strength was peerless too,
And evil plight hung o'er the knight who dared her love to woo."

Polo goes on to describe how a prince in 1280 (679 H.) came from a distant land, where he was renowned for strength and skill, and brought with him 1000 horses to be forfeited if she should vanquish him. Young, handsome and strong, the son of a great king, both Kāidū and his wife tried to persuade their daughter to allow herself to be beaten, but she refused, saying she would only be his wife according to the terms of the wager, not otherwise. The match came off before the King and Queen and a great gathering, she in a jerkin of "sammet" and the bachelor in one of "sendal," "a winsome sight to see." After a long struggle she threw him on his back on the palace pavement, and great was his shame and discomfiture to have thus been worsted by a girl. He lost his horses, and his wife, for she would not have him, much to the annoyance of Kāidū and his wife. After this she is said to have taken an active part in her father's campaigns, and according to some accounts to have been even ambitious enough to aspire to the succession after his death.¹

It is not very clear what were the limits of Kāidū's territory, and how much of the Chaghatāi Khānate, in addition to his own appanage as originally constituted, acknowledged his sway. The joint sovereignty he at one time held with Borāk in the cities of Bukhārā and Samrḳand has been referred to. His authority appears to have extended over Kāshghār, Yarkand, and all the cities bordering the south of the Thian Shan as far east as Karakhoja or the valley of the Talas River; and the country north of the Thian Shan from Lake Balkash, eastwards to the Chagan Nor, or practically the whole of the middle and eastern part of the Khānate.² Khotan, Polo says, belonged to the Great Kaān, though Borāk got possession of it at the beginning of his reign.

Upon Kāidū's death, Dua did not forget the obligations he had once been under to his son Chapar. He urged upon the Princes the latter's claims to the succession, and it was

¹ Yule Marco Polo, vol. i. p. 461.

² Col. Yule would add the Upper Yenissei and the Irtysh in the further north.

mainly by Dua's influence Chapar obtained it. As soon as the installation was over, they together agreed to put an end to the thirty years' struggle with the Great Ḳaān, and sent envoys to Uljaitū offering submission, a submission possibly feigned on the part of Chapar. Before a year elapsed however they fell out, Dua probably asserting his independence, and in 1303 (703 H.) fought a battle between Samrḳand and Khujand, in which Chapar was defeated. In a second struggle, with his brother Shāh Ogul as general, the result was reversed, while a third engagement resulted once more in favour of Dua. Almost at the same time the army of the Khākān Uljaitū, 100,000 strong, encamped on the river Irtish and the Arlās mountains, came through the Altai to attack Chapar, who found himself deserted by the greater part of his army, and with nothing left to do but escape and make his submission to Dua. Dua cordially received him, seeing in his submission the possible fulfilment of his ambition, and the reuniting of the Chaghatai provinces, but shortly after in 1306 (706 H.) he died.

Notwithstanding his long reign, no coin of Dua's would appear to have been noticed, excepting one described by M. Tiesenhausen in the Stroganoff collection, and this, struck at Badakhshān 694 H., bears no name. Of Kāidū, there does not so far seem to be any numismatic record.

1306 TO 1320. KABĀK AND ISSENBUKA.

The immediate successor of Dua was his son Kunjuk, who did not live long, and in 1308 (708 H.) was succeeded by Taliku, descended from Chaghatai's son Mutukan, said to have been the second Mughal prince converted to Islām; but within a year, possibly on the ground of his perversion, the officers of his court rose and murdered him at a banquet, putting up Kabāk, another son of Dua, in his place. Kabāk was hardly installed in 1309 (709 H.) when he was attacked by Chapar, with whom were several princes of the house of Oktai. Chapar was beaten in several fights, and eventually fled beyond the Ili to the territory of the Great Ḳaān, now

Kuluk, at whose court the Oktāi princes did homage and finally abandoned their claims to the supreme Qaānship, their domains being appropriated by the house of Chaghatāi, the clans partly becoming its subjects and partly joining the Kipchāks. With Chapar the house of Oktāi disappears, though representatives came to the front for a brief period again in the persons of 'Ali, and of Danishmandjeh, while Timur, after displacing the family of Chaghatāi, selected his puppet khāns from the Oktāi stock.

Kabāk, for some reason which does not appear, and apparently by his own consent, was displaced the same year 1309 (709 H.) in favour of an elder brother, who ascended the throne under the name of Essen- or Issen-buka; ¹ a prince, according to some histories, ² identical with Imil Khawāja. He is variously called by other authorities, ³ and it may be worth considering if he be not the same as the Katlagh (lucky?) Khawāja, who made the raid on Delhi in 1289 (698 H.). As Issenbuka he disappears from the scene in 1318 (721 H.), and it is in that year, Abul Ghāzi says the people of Kāshghār and Yarkand, or what had then become the eastern branch of the Khānate, "called to be their Khan Imil Khawāja, the son of Dua Khan." Khondamir, on the other hand, says Issenbuka reigned over the western branch till his death. Whichever may be correct, Issenbuka for the most part of his reign was engaged in hostilities with one or other. He began a quarrel with the VIIIth Supreme Qaān, Buyantu, by whose general he was beaten in two engagements. He next undertook a war against the VIIth Ilkhān of Persia, Uljāitū, afterwards known as Khūdābandi, the "servant of God," and to idemnify himself for losses in the east, attempted to annex Khūrāsān. Accompanied by several princes, he crossed the Oxus in 1315 (715 H.), defeated Amir Yasaul, the governor of Khūrāsān, at Murghāb, and pursued him to the river of Herāt. For four months the country

¹ Vambery says Essen (strong, healthy) is a Turkish word.

² Viz. Abul Ghāzi.

³ "Aisubgha" in the Tarikh Rashīdī; "Il or Dil Khawāja" in the Khulāsat ul Akhbār; "Aimal" by Sherfuddin; and "Imil Khawāja, who reigned in Māwarā-un Nahr under the title of Issanbuka Khān" by Abul Ghāzi.



experienced all the horrors of a Mughal occupation, which only terminated by the advance of the Great Kaān with a large army on the Issik-kul, necessitating Issenbuka's moving to the eastern part of the Khānate. As usual the penalty had to be paid by the luckless Trans-Oxus country, for no sooner had Issenbuka retired, than Uljāitu prepared for a counter-invasion of Māwarā-un-Nahr. Yassaur, another brother of Issenbuka, who had turned Muhammadan and quarrelled with him, had sought and obtained refuge with the Persian court. He at once seized the opportunity, and having obtained from Uljāitū a large force, the two crossed the Oxus in 1316 (716 H.), and defeated Issenbuka, who took to flight. The Mughal ravages were returned with interest, and the inhabitants of Bukhārā, Samrḳand and Tarmaz were sent into exile in the depth of a very severe winter, thousands perishing by the way.

This is the last that is known about Issenbuka so far as Māwarā-un-Nahr is concerned; about 1318 (718 H.) Kabāk resumed the throne from which he had retired, and is said to have chastised the quarrelsome Issenbuka. Kabāk is shown on the lists of D'Ohsson, Howorth, and others, as having died in 1321 (721 H.), but this is contrary to the numismatic evidence. Among coins of his not hitherto described are those of Bukhārā struck in H. 71x, 722, 723, and 724, of Tarmaz in 71x, and of Samrḳand in 725, which may probably have been his last year, as there is a coin of Tarmāshirīn struck at Samrḳand in 726 H.

THE DIVISION OF THE KHĀNATE. THE EASTERN BRANCH.

About this time the star of the Chaghatāis began rapidly to decline in power, and the Khānate broke up into at least two divisions, with rival or separate Khāns, one of whom governed the eastern portion and Kāshghār, the other ruling in Māwarā-un-Nahr. The former kingdom was the one known to the Persian historians of Timur and his successors as Mughalistān; not to be confounded with Mongolia to the eastward again. Their winter capital was perhaps

originally at Kāshghār or Yarkand, and afterwards at Aksū; their summer quarters in Zungaria north of the Thian Shan.¹ As already noticed, the royal residence was called Aymul Guja, when Timur took it in 1389 (791 H.), and is represented by the present Chinese frontier town of Chuguchak or Tarbogatai on the Imīl, a river flowing into the Aka Kul. It is difficult, as Col. Yule points out, to understand any disposition of the frontier between the two branches that could permit the capital of the one ruling over Kāshghār and Uiguria to be as above indicated, whilst that ruling over Māwarā-un-Nahr had its capital at Almālik. It is possible that Imīl, or Aymul, did not become the head-quarters of the eastern branch till the western Chaghatāis had lost their hold of the valley of the Ili, but it must also be remembered that the limits to all such divisions were tribal rather than territorial.

To first briefly notice the eastern branch known as the Khāns of Mughalīstān and the Amirs of Kāshghār. Kāidū died in 1301 (701 H.), and probably it was some time subsequent to 1310 (710 H.) that Chapar his son had been driven to seek shelter with the great Kaān, and is heard of no more. In 1321 (721 H.), according to the authorities quoted by Erskine,² "The inhabitants of Kāshghār, Yarkand, Alātash, and the Uighūrs, found no one of the posterity of Chaghatāi (? Oktāi) who might fill the throne then vacant. They therefore called from Māwarā-un-Nahr Issenbuka Khān," who seems to have reigned till about 1330 (730 H.), though the chronology is somewhat uncertain. Issenbuka died as was supposed without issue, and none of the family appear to have been at the time available to succeed him in Mughalīstān. The eastern tribes, however, declined to be subject to the titular Khāns set up at the caprice of the Western Amirs, demanding a descendant of Chaghatāi to themselves, and for a while anarchy prevailed.

¹ Yule's Cathay, vol. ii. p. 524. See also The Russians in Central Asia, p. 69. "The Tchete Moguls are not to be confounded with the Mongols, as they were Mussalmans and spoke Turkish."

² A sketch of this branch is given in Erskine, taken from the Tarikh-i-Rashidi by Mirza Haider Dughlat, a descendant of the Amirs of Kāshghār, and by the female line from the Khāns of Mughalīstān. A portion is the history of his own father and uncle. This work more than deserves to be published.

The hereditary "Ulūs Begi"—or "Lord of the Tribe"—of Kāshghār was one Mīr Yūlaji Doghlat, who governed in his own right extensive dominions. The great influence which he enjoyed from the extent of his territory, extending from the Desert of Gobi to the border of Farghānah, was increased by considerable energy of character. He resolved that an heir to the vacant *masnad* should be found, and in due time produced a youth whom he announced as the son of Issenbuka, and consequently a lineal descendant of Chaghatai. The story of the discovery of the son is given at length in Erskine, and is fairly illustrative of Mughal manners.

Issenbuka's chief wife, S'atelmish *Khātūn*, had no children, but among his female slaves was a favourite named Mānselik, who was discovered as about to be more happy. According to Mughal custom, the entire management of the household, and the disposal of the female slaves as part of it, rested with the chief wife. Discovering Mānselik's condition, and envious of her good fortune, S'atelmish took the opportunity of her husband's absence on an expedition to get rid of the favourite, giving her in marriage to one Shirawal Dokhtui, conditionally on his taking her out of the country, an arrangement said to have greatly angered Issenbukā when he discovered it. When Issenbuka died, and the tribes fell into anarchy, Amir Yulaji remembered the incident, and despatched one of his most trusty adherents to seek out Shirawal and Mānselik, and if the latter's child proved to be a boy, to steal him away. To his envoy the Amir he gave 300 goats that he might live on their milk, or kill for his support during his wanderings. The quest carried him a dreary pilgrimage all over Mughalistān, and he was reduced to his last goat, when he found, in a sequestered district, Shirawal's encampment. The Khān's child had proved a boy, and Mānselik had had another by her new husband. He contrived to steal away the former, who had now reached his eighteenth year, and after many adventures, much toil, and great danger, carried him to Aksū, where he delivered him to Yūlaji. The "Ulūs Begi" lost no time in proclaiming the youth Khān,

who in 1347 (748 H.) was joyfully acknowledged throughout Mughalīstān as Tughlak Timur Khān.

Some years after, or about 1353 (754 H.), Tughlak Timur became a convert to Islām, and succeeded in extending considerably the Musalmān faith in his dominions. Twice, in 1360 (760 H.) and in 1362 (763 H.), he invaded and overran Māwarā-un-Nahr, on the second occasion leaving his son Iliās Khān as ruler there. On the death of Amir Yūlaji, who as Ulūs Begi had exercised much of the authority of government, Tughlak Timur, from gratitude or policy, bestowed the father's office on the son Amir Kho-dāidād, then only seven years old, a nomination strongly protested against by Yūlaji's younger brother, Kamr-ud-dīn, who, under Mughal usage, claimed the office, and though compelled for a while to conceal his indignation, bided his time for revenge.

When Tughlak Timur died in 1364 (765 H.), his son Iliās Khwāja Khān was in Māwarā-un-Nahr, fighting against the combined forces of Amir Hussain and the still more formidable Amir Timur. There, after varying successes,¹ he was finally defeated and driven to take refuge in the more desert parts of his father's possessions,² and after a short and nominal reign in Mughalīstān of less than two years, he was assassinated by Kamr-ud-dīn in 1365 (766 H.), who in one day put to death eighteen males of the family of the Khān, resolved if possible to exterminate the race, and, though not himself a descendant of Chaghatāi, usurped the title of Khān, and with it the government of the country.

The Mughal Amirs, strong in their hereditary reverence for the family of the conqueror, viewed this conduct with horror. Many of the tribes refused to acknowledge the usurper, others even joined the standard of Amir Timur, who, having reduced Māwarā-un-Nahr, made no less than six expeditions against Kamr-ud-dīn, overran both Mughalīstān and Kāshghār to their farthest limits, and in the last campaign, Kamr-ud-dīn, his armies routed, and himself pursued

¹ Noticed subsequently.

² "Deest Jettah."



like a beast of the forest, seems to have perished in a corner of the desert (1367 to 1393 or 768 to 794 H.).

When Kamr-ud-dīn put to death Iliās and the family of the Khāns, one other son of Tughlak Timur was still at the breast. Him the Amir Khodāidād, aided by his mother, concealed in Kāshghār, and subsequently in the hill-country of Badakhshān for some twelve years; thence, to elude Kamr-ud-dīn's persistent endeavours to ascertain his whereabouts, the boy was conveyed to Khutan, Sarigh Uighūr, and finally to Lob Kānik, in the far east, for some twelve years more; his story resembling in many ways the adventurous wanderings of his father. As soon as Kamr-ud-dīn's power began to wane, the boy, now grown to man's estate, was in 1389 (791 H.) brought back and raised to the Khānate by Amir Khodāidād, under the title of Khizr Khwāja Khān.

The Kāshghār Amir Khodāidād, like the other king-maker Timur, while affecting to restore the ancient line of Khāns, retained the real powers of government himself. He claimed under various grants to himself and ancestors privileges which transferred to him the entire direction of affairs. As hereditary Ulūs Begi he could nominate and dismiss Amirs, or commanders of 1000, without reference to the Khān. He was not to be liable to punishment till convicted of nine capital offences; and no order was to be valid without his seal under that of the Khān. The latter became therefore merely a cypher in the hands of a powerful minister, and Khodāidād boasted that in his long reign of ninety years he had made six Grand Khāns.

The history of the remainder of these Mughalistān Khāns, and of the Amirs of Kāshghār, with their dynastic changes, belongs to the period of Timur and his successors; but in the annexed table the list is carried down to the time of Bāber.

THE WESTERN BRANCH. TARMĀSHIRĪN, ETC.

To return to the Western division of the empire. The Khāns ruling in Māwarā-un-Nahr, strangely enough, maintained, and for some time occasionally resided at, their

second capital, Almālik. As regards most of them, there is little information; their reigns were so short, and their importance so rapidly declining, that but little history in connection with any particular one can be expected. The power was passing from the hands of the Khāns of the Imperial line to that of the more powerful Amirs, and what history has been preserved mainly concerns the latter. After Kabāk's death, Ilchikdai is shown in most lists as succeeding, and he in the same year was followed by a second "Dua Timur," who is occasionally omitted altogether; he again by Alā-uddin Tarmāshirīn. All these were sons of Dua, but it may perhaps be doubted if there was a Dua the Second, and if Ilchikdai reigned even for one year; Tarmāshirīn probably succeeding in 1325 (726 H.). The chronicles of the latter's reign are very meagre. D'Ohsson says he crossed the Oxus and invaded Khurāsān, advancing to Ghaznī, where he was beaten in the autumn of 1326 (727 H.) by the Amir Hussain, son of Chobān of Hirāt, after which Hussain's army sacked Ghaznī. According to Badami, he advanced in 1328¹ (729 H.) with a large army to the province of Delhi, captured several forts, and committed ravages and massacres from Lahore, Sāmāna, and Indri, to the confines of Badāūn, when he was attacked and defeated by the army of Muhammad Tughlak, who pursued him as far as Kalānor. He is also said to have attacked the fort of Mirat in the North-west Provinces, with a vast force, but unsuccessfully. The Arabian traveller, Ibn Batuta, describes a visit to his court paid not many months before the former entered India, about the end of 1333 (early in 735 H.). From the court of the Khān of the Kipchaks, Muhammad Usbak, Ibn Batuta proceeded across the desert to Khwārazm and Bukhārā, and from the last-named city, passing through Nakhsheb to the camp, "*Ordu*," of the Sultan, "King of Māwarā-un-Nahr," by whom he was well received and royally treated. Here he seems to have spent some two months as a guest of Tarmāshirīn, whom he describes as a powerful prince, having

¹ D'Ohsson says 1327.

at his command a large army, and remarkable for the justice of his laws. His territories occupying a middle station between the four great Kings of China, India, Irak (Persia), and the Kipchak Khān, all of whom sent presents to him, and greatly respected him. Tarmāshirīn succeeding his brother Jagatai (? presumably Ilchikdai), an infidel, who again succeeded the eldest brother Kabāk, also an infidel, but nevertheless a just king, much attached to the Muhammadans, to whom he paid great respect.

Tarmāshirīn was an extremely devout Muhammadan, and his religious zeal was so great that he allowed a Mullah, Baon-ud-dīn al Maidāni, to rebuke him in the strongest language in a public sermon, a sermon that moved the King to "tears and humility and repentance." Ibn Batuta goes on to relate the end of Tarmāshirīn as follows. He had broken some of the statutes of Chengiz Khān, as laid down in a book called "*Al Yasik*," or "the prohibition," which enacted that any one controverting them should be degraded. "Now one of the statutes was this, that the descendants of Chengiz, the governors of the several districts, the nobles, and the general officers of the army, should assemble upon a certain day in the year which they call '*Al Tawa*,' or 'the Feast,' and should the Emperor have altered any of these statutes, the nobles should stand up and say, 'Thou hast made alteration in the Statutes of *Al Yasik*, and therefore art deposed.' They should then take him by the hand, remove him from the throne, and place on it another of the descendants of Chengiz. Now Tarmāshirīn had entirely abolished the observance of this day, which gave great offence. Some time, therefore, after he had left the country, the Tartars, together with the nobles, assembled and deposed him, and to such an extent was the matter pressed that Tarmāshirīn took to flight and was put to death."¹ At the conclusion of his visit the King presented Ibn Batuta with 700 dinars, and the traveller resumed his journey *cid* Nasaf, Tarmaz, and Balkh, on his way to India.

¹ Vamberg says by order of his successor, Buzūn, in the neighbourhood of Samrḳand.

The coins noticed as described by Tiesenhausen are struck at Tarmaz without date, at Samrḳand in 726 H., and at Utrar in 733 and 734. Taking the date of Ibn Batuta's writing as towards the close of 734 H. (1334), this may very probably be the year of Tamārshirīn's death.

Of Sanjar, who is shown in Mr. Poole's list as possibly reigning jointly for a while, there would seem to be little beyond the evidence of the coin shown as No. 8, struck probably at Samrḳand in 731 H., while Tarmāshirīn was in India. Vambery says the latter sacrificed both his throne and his life for his Muhammadan faith, and that Buzūn, by whose order he was murdered, succeeded him; that the latter was only nominally a Musalman, and his tyranny weighed so heavily on the people of Māwarā-un-Nahr that they applied to the neighbouring Muhammadan princes for help; the result being the campaigns which commenced by the Tadjik Hussain Kert of Hirāt attempting to wrest Khurāsān from Arpa Khān, the tenth Ilkhān. Ibn Batuta subsequently relates the defeat of this Buzūn by Khalīl, the son of Yassaver, who put him to death. Khalīl is even said to have advanced as far as Almālik, and to have defeated the Mughal army at Taraz. After ascending the throne of Bukhārā, he rebelled against Sultan¹ Hussain Kert, who had assisted him in all his enterprises, but he was beaten and carried as prisoner to Herāt, where the Arabian traveller met him at the end of the year 747 H. (1346).²

THE MINOR KHĀNS. ILCHIKDAI TO KAZĀN.

The usual lists show Jinkshī as succeeding in 1333 (734 H.) and Buzūn Ogli in 1334 (735 H.), both grandsons of Dua. I either possess or have examined coins of the former, dated Utrār 736, 737, and 739 H., and if

¹ Usually called Amir.

² Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah, vol. iii. Paris, 1855.

the latter reigned at all, it was probably later, even subsequently to 'Ali Sultan. Three of my coins of Yasūn Timūr are struck at Tarmaz, but unfortunately without dates; the one of Samrḳand is dated 740 H. Of 'Ali Sultan, none so far appear to be known. Nor, save a very doubtful one in Fræhn, are there any of Muhammad. And as most histories are entirely silent regarding these Khāns, any list must at best be doubtful. I know of three coins of Khalil, Samrḳand of 74x and Bukhārā 744 H. (1343), which would agree with Ibn Batuta's account. On one of the latter he appears as Khalil Timūr. In connection with these Khāns from Ilchikdai to Kazān it may be interesting to note the letters of certain missionary Dominican and Franciscan Friars, from Cathay and India, written about 1292 to 1338 (692 to 739 H.), and extracts from the reminiscences of John de Marignolli between 1338 and 1353 (739 to 754 H.), collected and translated in Col. Yule's Cathay. Of these Friars, one Jordanus, a Dominican, speaks of Ilchikdai, or *Elchigaday*, as the reigning sovereign of the Tartar or Chaghatāi Empire, but he gives no certain date for him. He also refers to "*Dua*," "*Cayda*" (the Kāidū who so long disputed with Kubilāi), and "*Capai*" (Kabāk). Another Friar, Pascal, a young Spanish Franciscan, writing 10th August, 1338 (739 H.), from Almālik, tells of the Emperor himself having been recently slain by his natural brother, and of being himself detained on the road from Urghanj for fear of war and plunder. This may refer to the dethronement of Jinkshi by Yasūn Timur in 739 H. (1338). Up to the time of Pascal's letter the Friars seem to have been well, almost generously, treated both by the Great Ḳaāns and the Chaghatāis, and in a letter written in 1338 (739 H.) from Pope Benedict XII. to the Khān of Chaghatāi, whom he addresses as "*Chausi*," the Pope thanks him for his kindness to the Christians in his territory, and especially to Archbishop Nicholas, when on his way to "*Cambalec*" (Khanbālik or Peking). Colonel Yule inclines to identify "*Chausi*" with Jinkshi, and puts the date of

Nicholas' visit to Almālik as probably 1335 or 1336 (736 or 737 H.).

Within a year, however, after Pascal's letter, he, with several of his brethren, had suffered martyrdom. There are several accounts of this, but the narrative is given most fully by one of the Franciscan hagiologists, Bartholomew of Pisa, who wrote later in the same century. His account runs as follows: "In the Vicariat of Cathay or Tartary, in the city of Armalec, in the middle Empire of Tartary, in the year 1340 (or 1339 (?), 740-41 H.), the following Minorites suffered for the faith, viz. Friar Richard the Bishop of Armalec, Friar Francis of Alessandria, Friar Pascal of Spain, Friar Raymond of Provence; these four were priests: also Friar Lawrence of Alessandria and Friar Peter of Provence, both lay brethren, and Master John of India, a black man belonging to the third order of St. Francis, who had been converted by the Friars. All these had been very well treated in that empire by the Emperor on the throne. Indeed, he had been cured of a cancer by Friar Francis of Alessandria, more by prayer than by physic, and on this account the Emperor used to call Friar Francis his father and physician. And so it came to pass that he bestowed upon the brethren land and privileges, and full authority to preach, and even made over to them his own son, then seven years of age, to be baptised, and so he was accordingly by name of John." It may be incidentally noticed that according to the Friars nearly all the Emperors were, at one time or other, converted to the Christian faith. The Chaghatāi princes were eminently liberal, or indifferent in religious matters, and even after they became Muhammadans were rarely persecutors. Of the non-Muhammadans stories are told of most regarding their conversion to Christianity. Chengiz in the West was often spoken of as a Christian knight, as were Prester John, Chaghatāi, Hulākū, Mangū and Kubilāi, all probably falsely so. The Friar proceeds, "But by the permission of God the Emperor himself, on his way to a hunting match, was taken off by poison, and his four sons put to death. Then the empire was seized by a certain villain

of a falconer, a Saracen of the blood royal, whose name was Alisolda. And as the brethren by their preaching had made many converts to the faith, this new emperor ordered that all the Christians should be made Saracens, and that whosoever should disobey the third order to this effect should be put to death. And so when the brethren aforesaid would not obey this order, they were bound and all tied to one rope, which was dragged along by the infuriated mob, who smote and spat upon them, cutting off their noses and ears, and otherwise mutilating them, till at length they fell by the sword, and made a blessed migration to the Lord. But the aforesaid emperor before long was himself slain, and his house destroyed by fire."¹ The aforesaid emperor, Ali Solda, may not improbably have been 'Ali Sultan, whose revolt and success may have taken place 1338 or 1339 (739-740 H.), and who may have been slain soon afterwards as the ecclesiastical story tells.²

The circumstances of the martyrdom are likewise briefly told by John de Marignolli, who was at Almālik the year after they occurred. He went by way of the Black and Caspian Seas, and the court of Uzbek,³ the Khān of the Golden Horde, to whom and to Tinibak, his son, he took presents from the Pope, and the winter being over, and "having been well fed, clothed and lodged, with presents from Uzbek, proceeded to Armalec, the capital of the Middle Empire. There we built a church, bought a piece of ground, dug wells, sung masses, and baptized several: preaching freely and openly, notwithstanding the fact that only the year before the Bishop and six other Minor Friars had there undergone for Christ's sake a glorious martyrdom, illustrated by brilliant miracles." Marignolli's visit would seem to have been about 1341 (742 H.), and the king who was in power when he was so well treated may have been Buzūn or Khalil.⁴

¹ Cathay and the Way Thither.

² Is suggested by Col. Yule.

³ Uzbek, 712-741 H.; Tinibak, 741 H.

⁴ Col. Yule suggests Kazān.

Kazān, the son of Yassaver,¹ according to the lists, and it may be added, to almost all the authorities, including D'Ohsson, Vambéry, Erskine, etc., following Mirkhwand, succeeded in 1332 (733 H.), and reigned till 1347 (747 H.), or fourteen years. But such a date of accession, at least in Māwarā-un-Nahr, appears impossible, inasmuch as Jinkshī's coinage extends to 739 H. It would seem that Yassūn Timur succeeded him, and there is a probability the next Khān was Buzūn. Ibn Batuta says it was Buzūn who persecuted Islām, and allowed Jews and Christians to rebuild their temples, all of which would agree with the favourable treatment reported by Marignolli about 1341 (742 H.). Ibn Batuta also says Buzūn was defeated and killed by Khalil, the son of Yassaver, who succeeded him, and coins of the latter were struck at Bukhārā and Samrḳand in 744 H. Kazān therefore could hardly have established his authority in these cities before 745 H., while several authorities unite to fix Danishmandjeh's accession in 747 H., which year is also the date of his coin in the British Museum, struck at Bukhārā. It is, however, quite possible that Kazān may have exercised authority for some time in Khurāsān. Mirkhwand says he was a bloodthirsty tyrant, so much so that his principal officers all made their wills before attending his "*Kuriltai*."

THE PUPPET KHANS. DANISHMANDJEH TO KABUL SHAH.

More famous than Kazān the King was Kazaghān the Vazir, one of the most famous Amirs of the time, who rapidly became all-powerful in Transoxania, and was afterwards known as the "King-maker." Kazān, by his tyranny and constant executions of the leading chiefs, had made himself so odious that the survivors entered into a confederacy and invited the Vazir to depose him. The confederate troops, who were joined by a part of Kazān's own forces, assembled at Sauliseram, a town on the Oxus, above Tarmaz, and

¹ Said to have been slain by Kabūk in 720 H.

declared open rebellion. The first battle is described by Mirkhwand as taking place at Darrahzangni in 1345 (746 H.), in which Kazān was victorious, and Kazāghān lost an eye. The former was, on the other hand, unable to follow up his advantage, and had to retire on Karshi, where he spent the winter, which fell out a very severe one. The cold and exposure told fearfully on his horses and transport of every description. In the following spring Mir Kazaghān, at the head of the insurgent chiefs, hastened to take advantage of his distress, and in a second battle Kazān was completely defeated and killed. Amir Kazaghān is said to have used his victory with moderation, stayed his troops from plunder or unnecessary bloodshed, and treated Kazān's family with much consideration. He did not himself care to assume the government, preferring the pleasures of the chase, and therefore set up Danishmandjeh, a descendant of the line of Oktāi, presumably in the same year, 1346 (747 H.), only to make away with him some two years later, and put in his place Buyān Kuli, the son of Surgu Oghul, and grandson of Dua, of the Chaghatai line. After this the "King-maker" appears to have steadily applied himself with all his energies to secure for the country as good a government as the troublous times permitted, and to have shown to all classes bounty and liberality. He was nevertheless assassinated during a hunting party, by a brother-in-law named Kūtlak Timur, who had for some time entertained a spirit of revenge against him. The assassin fled towards Kundūz in Tokharistān, but was immediately pursued, there overtaken, and hacked to pieces by Kazaghān's relatives.¹ The Amir's son, Abdullah, succeeded to his father's dignity, but not to his influence, for he proved able neither to protect the nominal sovereign set up, nor to maintain his own position. He fixed his seat of government at Samrḳand, and one of his first acts was to put to death in 1358 (760 H.) the unfortunate Buyān Kuli, for whose wife he had conceived an adulterous passion.

¹ See Khondamir's *Khulāsatu-l-'Akkbar*.

As regards the nominal sovereign, Buyān Kuli, he seems to have occupied much the same position to Kazaghān and the Amirs as the puppet Khāns Suyurghatmish and Mahmūd subsequently did to Timur. There is nothing to show how far his rule extended eastward, probably not beyond Māwarā-un-Nahr. Between the Jaxartes and the Oxus his rule must have been pretty general. The six mints of those of his coins in my possession are so situated, viz. Utrar, 752 H.; Kash, 753; Samrḳand, 754 and 755; Soghd, without date; Bukhārā, 756. All are of a size and weight unusually large, and having an exceptional variety of design and inscription. Of some five-and-twenty compared hardly two are exactly alike, and the high-sounding titles which he affects are almost as various. "*Sullānu-l'-Azām*," The greatest Sultan; "*Al'-Adīl*," the just; "*Al-Khākān*," Chief of Khāns; "*Al-Ghāzi*," the hero; "*Nasir-ud-dīn*," the Defender of the Faith; "*Abū-l-muzaffar*," Father of Victory; "*Almuzaffar Al'ada-ul-Rahmān*," Victor over the enemies of the Merciful; "*Sullān ul bahr-u-barr*," Ruler of sea and land; "*Malik Ulrikāb-ul-amām*," Master of the necks of the nations; are among the superscriptions of this exceedingly local Cæsar. Two coins appear to be struck in the name of a son, who does not seem to have been mentioned in any of the chronicles.

After Buyān Kuli's murder, Abdullah set up in 1359 (760 H.) another puppet, Timur Shāh, the son of Yasūn Timur; but the Amirs, headed by Hadji Saif-ud-dīn Barlās and Bayān¹ Seldūz, determined to subvert this double system of government. Both Abdullah and the pageant of his selection fell in battle with the confederate Amirs, the whole of Māwarā-un-Nahr being taken possession of by Bayān Seldūz, who undertook the government, and signally failed. He is described as an Amir entirely devoted to pleasures of all kinds, more especially was it his pleasure to get drunk. As may be supposed, the country under him rapidly drifted into anarchy. Amir Barlās asserted his independence at Kash;

¹ ? Buāyān. See Note at end of paper.

Bayazid Jalair at Khujand; Ouljai Bugha Seldūz at Balkh; Muhammad Khwājah Aparidi at Shibirkhān; and for a while, 'Adil Khān, the son of Muhammad Pulād, in Badakhshān; while other Amirs, Khizr Yassauri, and Hussain, the grandson of Kazaghān, at the head of large bodies of followers, harassed the country in different directions.

It was about this time 1360 (761 H.) that Tughlak Timur Khān, the son of Imīl, and grandson of Dua, who, as before mentioned, was reigning in the Eastern Division of the Khānate, hurried from Almālik to Māwarā-un-Nahr with a considerable army, and compelled the turbulent amirs to acknowledge his authority. This done, and outward tranquillity restored, he returned eastward in triumph, but had barely recrossed the Sihūn, when the dissensions among the Amirs recommenced as violently as ever, the whole country becoming again a scene of anarchy. Two years afterwards, Tughlak returned with his armies, put to death the dissipated old Bayān Seldūz, Bayazid Jalair, with several of the leading Amirs, and finally invested his own son, Ilyas Khwāja, with the sovereignty of the Province, giving him a chief named Bakchak with a division of the Mughalistān army for his support. Among the most trusted adherents attached to his son's person and court was no less a man than the young Timur Bak, and Tughlak withdrew himself again to Almālik.

Ilyas Khwāja held a precarious government for a brief two years. He was in the first instance, 1363 (765 H.), attacked by Amir Hussain, the grandson of Kazaghān, with whom was joined Timur Bak, who had soon tired of being tutor to a Mughal prince, and was now fast rising to power. After an obstinate and sanguinary battle on the left bank of the Oxus near Kundūz, Ilyas was completely defeated, his force driven over the river and scattered in all directions. The following spring he attempted with a fresh army to avenge this defeat, and obtained a victory over the combined forces of Hussain and Timur on the river Badaun, a tributary of the Sihūn near Shāsh (Tashkend). But in spite of this

success, he found himself prevented from entering either Samrḳand or Bukhārā, which were respectively held against him by leaders named Maulāna Zādah and Maulāna Kardak. To crown his misfortunes, a murrain broke out among his horses, he lost his transport, and was compelled to retrace his steps, the troops carrying their own baggage across the Sihūn, and to make his way back to his father's dominions in Mughalistan. How meanwhile his father had died, and how he and his family were murdered there in 1365 (766 H.) by Kamr-ud-dīn, has already been related.

Adīl Sultan, the son of Muhammad Pulād, noticed as being for a while in Badakhshān, is then said to have been set up by Amir Hussain, but was drowned shortly after in the river Jaska, by order of the same chief, who replaced him by Kabul Shāh, the grandson of Ilchikdai. The great Timur, however, was now becoming irresistible. Hussain, with whom he had quarrelled, had established himself at Balkh, Timur remaining at Kash, but the majority of the Chaghatāi Amirs and their troops, disgusted with what they considered the sordid and intolerable disposition of the former, had forsaken him and joined the latter, an alliance promising to be so much more productive of present advantage and future hope. In 1369 (771 H.) Timur, determined to endure no second Richmond in the field, but to finally dispose of his rival Hussain, directed against that rival's capital his now formidable and ever-victorious army, destined eventually to crush out all-resistance and all rivals. It was at this period that he found it expedient to nominate his first puppet Khan. The fate of Kabul Shāh is uncertain. Mirkhwānd says he was put to death soon after Hussain was defeated at Balkh, and with him the line of the Chaghatāi Khāns may be said to have come to an end; Timur selecting as his nominee Suyurghatmish of the line of Oktāi, and who was permitted to retain the title after the former had been elevated by common consent to the reality of sovereign power.

Any account of the puppet Khāns, Suyurghatmish, his son Mahmūd, and the latter's son Tuman Kutlak Ughlan, belongs to the history of Timur, the world-famous conqueror

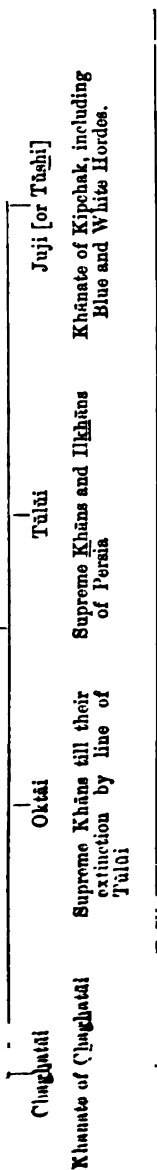
who not only pulled down the degenerate successors of Chaghatāi in Māwarā-un-Nahr, and carried a successful war to Almālik and the heart of the eastern branch of the Khānate in their mountain fastnesses of Mughalistān, but destroyed the whole edifice of Mughal rule in Asia, to reconstruct out of it an empire almost as extensive as that of Chengiz.¹

¹ In addition to the before-mentioned authorities, the following have been used: Voyages d'Ibn Batouta, 4 vols. (translation), Paris, 1855; Description des Hordes des Kirghiz Kaizaks, par Levchine, Paris, 1840; Recensio Numerum Muhammadanorum, Fræhn, Petropoli, 1826; Muhammadan History, Muhammad to Akbar, 4 vols., Price, London, 1811; Muhammadan Historians of India, by Elliot, 8 vols., London, 1867; and the History of Bokhara, by Vambéry, London, 1873, in many places largely quoted.



DYNASTIES SPRUNG FROM CHENGIZ KHAN.

Chengiz



Contemporary Rulers.

A. D.	Chaghatai Mughals.	Great or Supreme Khans.	Ilkhans of Persia.	Golden Horde.
608	I. Chengiz
621
653	II. Oktai
674	Turakish (Inter- regnum)
689	I. Chaghatai II. Kara Hulaka	I. Batü
696
706
727
742
756
766
786
806
826
846
866
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1866
1886
1906
1926
1946
1966
1986
2006

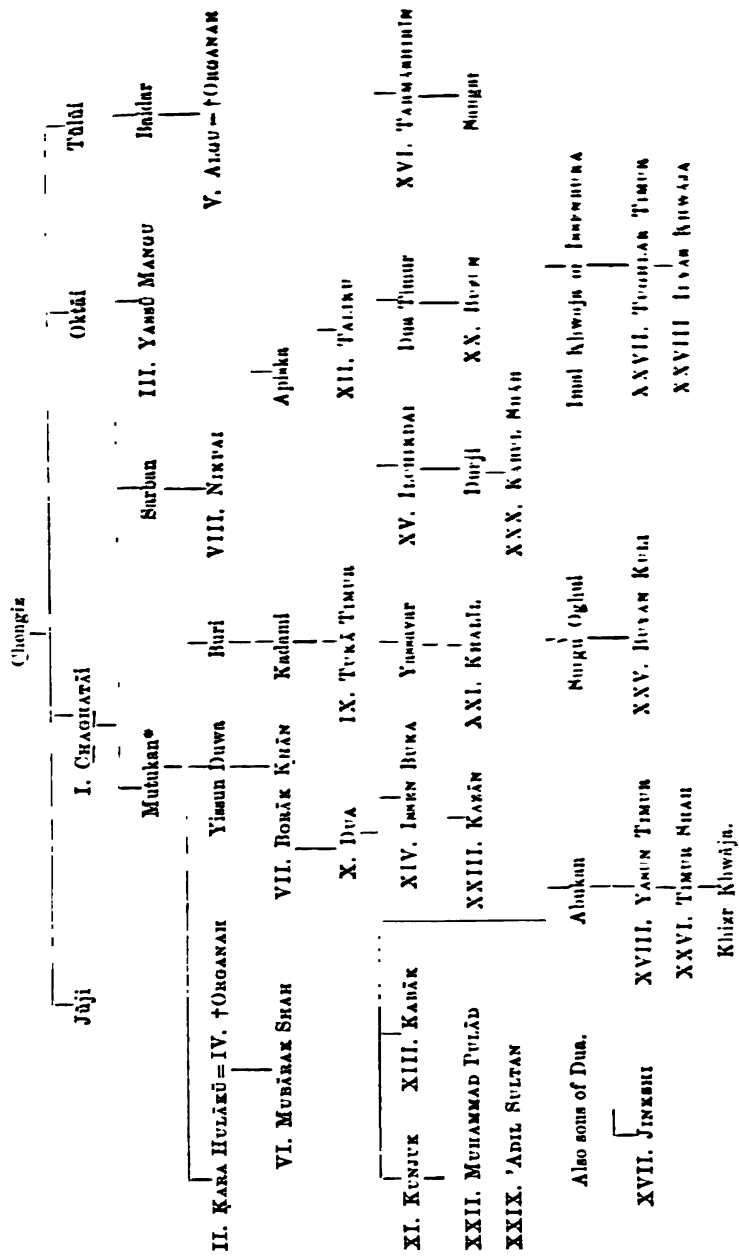
A. H.	A. D.	Chaghatai Mughals.	Great or Supreme Kasans.	Ilkhans of Persia.	Golden Horde.	
					Blue, Western Kipchak.	White, Eastern Kipchak.
645	1247	III. Yasu Mungah	IV. Mangū			
646	1248	Kara Hulākū (Restored)				
650	1252	IV. Organah (<i>Kāitāi</i>)				
654	1256		V. Kubilāi	I. Hulākū	II. Surtak	
654	1256	V. Alghū			III. Barka	
659	1261	VI. Muḥarak Shāh			IV. Mangu Timur	
c. 662-4	1264-6	VII. Borak Khān				
" 662-4	1264-6					
663	1265					
668	1270	VIII. Nilkpai		II. Abaka		
670	1272	IX. Tuka Timur				
c. 672	1274	X. Duā				
679	1280					
680	1281					II. Kuchi
683	1284					
686	1287			III. Ahmed	V. Tuda Mangu	
689	1290			IV. Arghun		
690	1291					
693	1294		VI. Uljaitu			
694	1295			V. Gaikhatū	(Tulabugha)	
694	1295			VI. Bairu	VI. Toktogu	
				VII. Ghasan Mah- mūd		
701	1301					III. Bayan
703	1304			VIII. Uljaitu		
706	1306	XI. Kuzuk	VII. Kuluk			
708	1308	XII. Taliku				

1309	XIII. Kabák	VIII. Buyantu	IX. Gegen	X. Yisun Timur	XI. Rachapika	XII. Kushala	XIII. Jiyaghatau	XIV. Rintshenpal	XV. Toghon Timur	X. Arpa	XI. Musá	XII. Muhammad	XIII. Togha Timur	XIV. Jehan Timur	XV. Saki Beg	XVI. Suliman	VIII. Tinibak	IX. Janibak	VII. Chimutai
1309	XIV. Issenbuka				XI. Kushala														
709					XVI. Tarmashirin														
711					Sanjar (? jointly)														
712																			
713																			
715																			
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		Golden Horde.	
		Blue, Western Kipchak.	White, Eastern Kipchak.
A.H.	A.D.	Chaghatai Mughals.	Ilkhans of Persia.
		Great or Supreme <i>Khans</i> .	
749	1346	XXV. Bayān Kuli	
758	1357	XXVI. Timur <i>Shāh</i>	X. Berdibak
760	1359	p <i>Buwayān</i>	XI. Kulna
761	1360	XXVII. Tughlak Timur (Nominal)	XII. Nurubak
762	1361		<i>Rival Families.</i>
765	1363	XXVIII. Ilyas <i>Khwāja</i>	Khizr, 760.
767	1365	XXIX. 'Adil <i>Khān</i>	Merdud, 762.
767	1365	XXX. Kābul <i>Shāh</i>	Kildibak, 762.
771	1369		Murid, 762.
			Kutluk, 764.
771	1369		Pulad, 764.
777	1375	•Suyurgatmish	Aziz Sheikh, 766.
			Abdallah, 764.
777	1375		Hassan, 768.
778	1376		Tulunbak, 772.
780	1378		Ilhan, 775.
			Khaghan, 777.
790	1388	•Mahmud	Md. Bulak, 771.
p		•Tuman Kutluk.	
			Blue and White hordes united in 780 H. under Toktamish.
			VIII. Urus
			IX. Toktakia
			X. Timur Malek
			X. Toktamish

• Nominal under Timur.

SKETCH TREE OF THE CHAGHATAI DYNASTY



* Said to have been killed at Hamoun.
 † Was mortally wounded at Hamoun.
 D'Ohsson calls No. II, Kara Houlagou; VII, Borac; XI, Goumdjouc; XII, Talicou; XIII, Goubak; XVI, Tarmachitilo; XXV, Ilou Gouli and Duwa Timur, Doure.
 De Guignes calls No. VII, Barak; VIII, Boghi; IX, Bougou Timur; X, Doudai, XI, Koungik; XVI, Bulou; XVII, Zoukchou, Vambory calls the sons of Chaghatai Bouboukai, Buri, Bous, and Haider.

KHANS OF MUGHALISTĀN.

ISANBUGHA, called from Māwāra-un-Nahr cir. 721, reigned till 730 H.

An interregnum.

TUGHLAK-TIMUR, son of Isanbugha, born 730, reigned circ. 748-764 H.

ILIAS KHWĀJA, son of Tughlak, murdered by Kamruddin 766 H.

KAMRUDDIN, usurped 768-794.

Expeditions of Amir Timur.

KHIZAR KHWĀJA, son of Tughlak, 791-821.

MUHAMMAD, son of Khizar.

SHĪR MUHAMMAD, son of Muhammad.

SULTĀN WAIS, son of Shir Kuli, the brother of Shir Muhammad, killed 832.

On Sultān Wais' death there was a division, some tribes adhering to Yūnis the eldest, others to Isanbugha, the younger son.

YŪNIS, in Western Mughalistan, 860 H. Hostilities between Eastern and Western, till Kapak's death.

ISANBUGHA, in Eastern Mughalistan, 832-866.

DOSTMUHAMMAD, his son, 866-873 H.

KAPAK-UĞHLAN, his son, for a time about Terfān.

YŪNIS.

YŪNIS died 892 H. MAHMUD, eldest son of Yūnis.

AHMAD, son of Yūnis, known as Iladir, or the "slaughtering Khān."

Both defeated by Shebani Khan 908 H.

AMIRS OF KASHGHAR.

AMIR TULUK. Ulūsbeği, contemporary with Isanbugha.

YŪLAJI or BOLAJI, brother of Tuluk, raised Tughlak to the throne.

KHODĀIDĀD, son of Yūlaji, cir. 748 to 8xx. His reign was of great length, but probably broken by the usurpation of Kamruddin.

MIRSTUD 'ALI, son of Amir Syud Ahmad, son of Khodāidād, 838-861.

His sons divided and fought

SĀNIZ MİRZA in Yārkand, and subsequently in Kashghar, 861,	MUHAMMAD HAIDER in Kashghar, for a short time. 868.
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MUHAMMAD HAIDER, in both 868, 885, when he was expelled by his nephew.

ABUBAKR MİRZA, son of Sāniz, a cruel and odious tyrant, 885 to 920.

After the death of Ahmad, the son of Yūnis, were many civil wars and much anarchy, numerous sons contending with one another. The whole tribes of Mughalistan were never again united under one head, though many new Khānships arose. The Kirghiz of the desert establishing one of their own, which in process of time formed a sort of union with the Kaizak Uzbegs, a federation that has in some degree lasted to the present time, under the title of the "Hordes of the Kirghiz."

ART. IV.—*Sachau's Albirūni*.¹ By Major-Gen. Sir F. J. GOLDSMID, C.B., K.C.S.I., M.R.A.S.

IN the Notes of the Quarter for October last it was stated that, owing to the exceptional character of two recent publications, a critical notice of them would be deferred to the January number of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal. These were Dr. Sachau's edition of Al Beruni's India in the Arabic original, and the Introduction and second fasciculus, Part I. of Howell's Arabic Grammar. Neither issue could be dismissed with a hasty line of approval, however unqualified, nor were the names of the authors, however distinguished, and abstract of title-pages, sufficient—in respect of the particular volumes under reference—to convey, to the world without, a clear notion of the long and continuous labour the result of which had been placed at the disposal of Orientalists in Europe. Further consideration led to the conclusion that a separate article might with propriety be devoted to the first of the two works named—both important additions to the library of Arabic scholars.

As regards the first-named work, a word or two recalling the personality of the writer of the original text may not be inappropriate, even if it be superfluous for many readers. Abú Raihān Muḥammad bin Aḥmadu'l Birūnī—commonly named Al-Birūnī—was a philosopher, astronomer, and writer of great repute in Central Asia and India, who flourished at the close of the tenth and in the first half of the eleventh

¹ Al Beruni's India: An account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Chronology, Astronomy, Customs, Laws and Astrology of India about A. D. 1030; edited in the Arabic original by Dr. Edward Sachau, Professor in the Royal University of Berlin. Published under the patronage of H. M. Secretary of State for India in Council (London, Trübner and Co., 1887).

century—about the period of the early French kings Hugh Capet and Robert the Wise, and before the Norman invasion of England. Born in A.D. 973 at Khwárizm, the modern Khiva, or (if we are to accept his name as the Perso-Arabic “outsider”)¹ more strictly in the suburbs of that town, he is supposed to have passed his early years in his native land and on the southern shores of the Caspian, and in A.D. 1017, on the conquest of Khwárizm by Mahmúd of Ghazni, to have been carried off by the conqueror to Afghanistán. He accompanied the Sultáns Mahmúd and Mas’úd on their Indian campaigns, and died at Ghazni in A.D. 1048, at the age of seventy-five, some twelve years after his contemporary, the famous Abu ‘Ali Ibn Sina, better known as Avicenna.

He was a most prolific writer, and the number of his works, according to his own statement, exceeded a hundred. Few are unfortunately now to be traced. In the British Museum are the following only :

I. *Aláthâr Albâkiya ‘an-il-Kúrún Alkhâliya*, the English version of which by Dr. Sachau was published for the Oriental Translation Fund in 1879, under the title of “The Chronology of Ancient Nations.” It professes in the Preface to describe the “religious institutes of various nations and sects, founded in more ancient times, and, more or less, still practised or adhered to by the Oriental world about A.D. 1000.” The dedication of the book to Kábús bin Washm-gír Shams-alma’áli, Prince of Hyrcania, seems to corroborate the fact of its appearance at the latter date. Two copies will be found registered in the catalogue of Arabic MSS., both comparatively modern.

II. *Kitáb Altafshim l’Awül Altanjim*, a Persian treatise on Astronomy, of which a notice of two copies is given in the Catalogue of Persian MSS. Dr. Rieu writes: “The author, after remarking that, before entering upon the

¹ Dr. Sachau writes of the Persian *dirún*: “The vowel of the first syllable is a *yái-majhûl*, which means that in more ancient times it was pronounced *dérún* (or *bayroon*)” But in vol. ii. of Dr. Rieu’s Catalogue of Persian MSS. at the British Museum, p. 451, the quotation from Sam’ání is *نسبة الى الجورنى بكسر اليا . . .* نسبة الى الجورنى بكسر اليا . . . *خوارزم*, which rules the application of the *Kaasr*, converting *bé* into *bi*.

investigation of astronomical problems, it was necessary to make one's self acquainted with the configuration of the heaven and earth, and the technical terms used by astronomers, states that he had written the present elementary treatise at the request of Raihánah, daughter of al-Ḥasn of Khwárizm, and had set forth in it, by questions and answers, the principles of geometry and arithmetic, the figure of the world, and judicial astrology, احكام الخوم." We learn from the same authority that the work contains many diagrams, astronomical tables and drawings of the constellations; that its date of composition, 25th Ramazan, A.H. 420 (A.D. 1028-29), is fixed by a passage in the chronological section; that there are two copies of an Arabic edition of the "Tafhím" in the Bodleian Library, the contents of which quite agree with the Persian, though neither edition purports to be a translation from the other; and that the title of the book above shown accords with that recorded by the author in the list of his own compositions, except that the word صناعة is omitted in the former before التاجيم.¹

III. *Al-Kánún Al Mas'údi*, a work on Astronomy in Arabic, of which we are told that a fine copy reached the British Museum too late for insertion in the Catalogue of Arabic MSS.—the collection noted in vol. iii. of the Persian Catalogue referring to extracts only. From its dedication to the Sultan Mas'úd it must have appeared after the accession of that monarch in A.D. 1031. Dr. Sachau considers it as the "greatest work" of Al-Birúni's life.

Independently of these three legacies of a distinguished Muslim author, to be found, as already stated, in our own National collection, Dr. Sachau refers to a fragment from the same hand which has come down to us "as the last part of the great chronicle of the royal house of Maḥmúd, composed by Albaihaḳi." This is an Extract from "the Chronicle of Khwárizm," in which the writer "had probably recorded all

¹ The reading would therefore be "Book of Instruction in the Principles of Astrology," instead of "Book of Instruction in the Principles of the Science of Astrology."

the traditions relating to the antiquity of his native country, and more especially the history of those events of which he had himself been a witness."¹

But we have now more particularly to notice the *Kitáb Abú Raihán Muḥammad bin Aḥmadu'l Birúni fi taḥkik má lil Hind min maḳúlah maḳbúlah f'il'aḳl wa marzúlah*—briefly, and literally, Al-Birúni's book certifying what, in Hindú teaching, is admissible according to reason, and what is to be rejected. The learned Editor has cleared all doubtful expressions from the title by rendering it as "an accurate description of all categories of Hindu thought, as well those which are admissible as those which must be rejected." Of the history of this work the instructive Preface supplies us with much interesting information. Referring to Prince Baldassare Boncompagni's treatise on the subject, published in 1869, for fuller details, it sets forth that the Paris MS. was received in the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1816, but for more than 20 years failed to attract the attention of scholars. In 1839 it fell under the observation of M. Rainaud, who made use of it a few years later in his contributions to the *Journal Asiatique*, and, notably in 1845-46, in papers read before the *Institut*, and subsequently published. The *Kosmos* of Alexander Von Humboldt noticed it in 1847; and in 1863 M. Woepcke gave to the world a *Mémoire sur la propagation des Chiffres Indiens*—being the first results of an examination of the book, undertaken in accordance with an appeal on its behalf by M. Jules Mohl to the *Société Asiatique*: but the said Orientalist died in the following year. M. Munk, too, who, so far back as 1843, had expressed his intention to edit and translate the whole of this particular work of Al Birúni, had become blind, and died in 1867. The task was then left in the hands of M. MacGuckin de Slane, who, eventually, recognising the special fitness of the present editor, and believing himself "too old to complete" it, proposed its transfer to Dr. Sachau. The proposal was formally put to

¹ See Preface to the translation of the Chronology of Ancient Nations (Allen, 1879).

the Société Asiatique by Mohl, and carried on the 12th July, 1872. But the *ipsissima verba* of the Preface to the volume before us should here be quoted :

“Mohl sent me the materials left by Woepcke, and at the same time M. Schefer entrusted to me his manuscript, a treasure quite unique in its way. Thus it has come to pass that the confidence and the kindness of M. G. de Slane, Jules Mohl and Ch. Schefer have laid on my shoulders a burden the whole weight of which I did not realize when I charged myself with it. And certainly if the work has been brought to a successful end, the learned world is before all indebted to the exceptional liberality of M. Chrétien Schefer . . . My edition is little more than a reproduction of his manuscript, and it would have been quite impossible for me to prepare it, if he had not, by leaving it entirely in my hands up to the present time, enabled me to refer to it over and over again in the long course of my labours.”

What, it may be asked, were the uses made of the manuscript which had been in the Paris Bibliothèque since 1816? It appears that, in calling the attention of scholars to the existence of the Indica, it had accomplished its objects: for a choicer prize came into possession of M. Schefer in the shape of a manuscript professing to be, and practically accepted as a copy “from a copy in the handwriting of the author.” This it is to which allusion is made in the above extract; a transcript also of certain portions having been found among Woepcke’s “materials.” On the other hand, the Paris MS. (as well as one other in the Library of the “Mehemet Köprülü Medrese in Stambul”) is shown to have been copied from that of M. Schefer, “agreeing with it in every the most minute detail, but in many cases corrupted by the mistakes of the copyists who did not understand what they wrote.” Dr. Sachau adds that he had written to various parts of India inquiring for other manuscripts, but had invariably received the answer, that the book was not known to exist there. He gives expression to the hope that it will one day “turn up in the libraries of Kábúl, Kandahár or Herát;” but these institutions, if they merit the name

accorded them, are insufficiently known to the outside world to warrant an opinion on the nature of their literature, save that it most probably includes a Kurán and such poets as Háfiz, Jalálu'd-din and S'adí.

Apart from analysis of the manuscript itself, the Preface to the *Indica* treats of the date and place of composition; the author's knowledge of Sanskrit; his acquaintance with Indian (and cognate) subjects; his mode of transliterating native words; and of the general style and character of the book now reproduced in print. The outcome of this interesting retrospect may be summarised as follows:

Albirúní must have composed his *Indica* immediately after the death of Sultán Mahmúd, and during the brief, disturbed reign of his son Muhammad—or between the 30th April and 30th September, 1030; a supposition which does not preclude the use of parts and passages already written, and the assistance of a skilful amanuensis. He was then 58 years of age, and had lived for thirteen consecutive years under the immediate protection of the son of Sabaktagin, a witness of his remarkable career. His autograph copy appears to have been completed in Ghazni, where possibly the whole task was accomplished step by step.

His linguistic powers are carefully tested by his Editor, who comes to the conclusion that he spent much time in the study of the Indian language, knew the phonetic system both of the classical and vernacular dialects, and was in some degree acquainted with the general features of the structure of Sanskrit; that he was, in short, "able to translate lists of proper names of the Puránás into Arabic by himself alone, though not without blunders. As a rule, however, he seems to have read Indian books with the aid of Paṇḍits and to have written his translation simply from their dictation." But the inference is that, while unable to read or translate, unaided, the ordinary Sanskrit text, he became competent, by dint of intelligent and persevering research, to check the sometimes erroneous interpretations of his Hindú teachers, and to detect proofs of negligence on the part of copyists. Well may Dr. Sachau comment upon the

facts adduced as exceptional. "Muhammadans, for instance born Turks," he justly remarks, "will learn, besides their mother-tongue, also Arabic and Persian, but that a Muslim should take up the study of a foreign language outside the range of Islam, simply for scientific purposes, seems next to incredible. I do not know of any Arab who learned literary Greek for the purpose of studying Greek literature, and it is perfectly certain that Averroes and Avicenna were totally ignorant of the language of Aristotle and Galenus. Although they made the most extensive use of Greek learning, they never thought of drawing from the fountain-head, but contented themselves with mediocre Arabic translations of Syriac translations of the Greek originals. In this respect Alberuni is phenomenal in the history of Eastern civilisation. In a spirit akin to that of modern times he tries to pull down the barrier-wall which in the shape of the difference of language has been erected between different nations, he endeavours to learn Sanskrit, and the difficulty of his enterprise will be appreciated by all those who undertake the same task in our time." It is related that the learned Abu'l Faḍhl, minister of Akbar—who lived more than five centuries later than our author—was called "a Hindú" by his opponents; but this appellation was rather due to his Sufism and free-thinking than to the many pages of the *Aiyin-i-Akbari* devoted by him to Hindustan and its inhabitants, or to any knowledge he may have possessed of a Non-Muhammadan tongue.

Albirúní not only sought to render Sanskrit lore intelligible to Arabs, but also to promote Arabic learning among Hindus. The *Sāmkhya* by Kapila; the book of Patañjali; *Paulisāsiddhānta*; *Brahmasiddhānta*; *Laghujātakam*;—these and many other works he translated, wholly or in part, into Arabic for his own countrymen and co-religionists; and at the same time he wrote treatises in Arabic and translations in the vernacular, for the instruction of natives of India. His *Kitāb-alkāshim* he edited both in Persian and Arabic: he had, besides, "an admirable knowledge of the Jewish Kalendar;" and he is mentioned as "the first of all the

scholars we know who has compiled a scientific system of the Jewish Chronology."

His method of transliteration, in respect of (the so-expressed) "Sanskrit and vernacular" forms of Indian words, is reviewed in detail, and numerous illustrations are supplied; but it is remarked that he calls the language of India "Hindí," and nowhere uses the terms Sanskrit and Prākrit. We may fairly infer that his main object was that of the more practical colloquial Orientalists of the present hour, i.e. to set forth the foreign tongue under his consideration, as heard from the lips of native Paṇḍits, in as nearly as possible equivalent Arabic letters. Discrepancy in spelling and confusion of classical and vernacular terms are accounted for by discrepancy in pronunciation and in the mode of imparting information, caused by employment of teachers of different nationalities and capabilities: nor is it to be doubted that in many cases the learned learner found independent reference to books his safest guide. Much the same thing is daily exemplified among ourselves. Each transliterates according to his own tastes or fancies: the more skilled on a principle they are quite prepared to defend: the more ignorant from dislike to unintelligible reform. Thus it is that Singapur is written *Singapore* or *poor*; Mathura, Muttra; Lakhnau, Lucknow; Kanhpur, Cawnpore; Fazl, Fuzzle—and so forth. Government lays down a rule; but does not enforce it with universal strictness. As to the *bonâ fide* vernacular words of the *Indica*, the Editor does not know any Indian dialect which completely agrees with them. "They probably belong," he writes, "to a dialect current about 1000 A.D. in the Kabul valley and the conterminous parts of India, a dialect of which we have, as I am aware, neither epigraphic nor literary remains." He believes the vernacular of Albirúní to be more nearly related to the Sindhi than to any other of the Neo-Aryan languages of Hindustan.

A few words remain to be said on the style and character of the publication reviewed. Those who would learn Dr. Sachau's opinion on his author's general mode of

writing, as well as the number and nature of his works, and details of his personal history, should read the introduction (*Vorwort*) to his edition of the *Chronologie Orientalischer Völker, Zweite Hälfte* (Leipzig, 1878), referred to in the briefer preface to the English version. This last, be it said, *en passant*, is a monument of the Berlin Professor's industry and ability. Like his hero, he himself writes his two languages with equal ease and freedom of expression: the Arabic and Persian of Albirúní are the German and English of Sachau. Unfortunately, it is only the very few for whom the volume bears special interest, who have studied and appreciated the "Chronology of Ancient Nations" in its English dress. Yet if it does not belong to the popular literature of the day, it has a value to scholars and theological or historical writers and students which is quite apart from the ordinary book of reference.

As to the Arabic used by Albirúní in his *Indica*, Dr. Sachau writes: "All his sentences are very precise and most of them very short, the connection of the sentences with each other is very strict and bears a close relation to the method of geometry, as each sentence is so constructed as to fit closely on to the preceding one. The nature of his style seems to betray the mathematician by profession . . . His language is so condensed and at the same time so artistically constructed that you could scarcely anywhere take away a single word without destroying the whole sentence." He goes on to explain the nature of the difficulties arising to the ready comprehension of the text, so that the student will be prepared to meet and overcome them. Among these may be noted the close dependence of one sentence on another; the frequent use of personal pronouns, intelligible only where strict attention has been given to antecedents; various grammatical liberties; peculiarity in the construction of numbers; and certain deviations from classical nicety which are characterised as "classical language *en négligé* used by most mediæval authors who did not pique themselves upon being very precise in matters of grammar." For these last the Editor admits the responsibility of Al Bírúní himself as

well as of the manuscript he has chosen for guidance. The following two paragraphs must be quoted *in extenso* :

“When Al Birúní used the Arabic language to depict Indian civilisation, he put it to such a test as no Arabian author has ever done before or after. He had, like Colebrooke, Wilson and Lassen, to grapple with the difficulty of rendering all the subtleties of Hindu thought by corresponding terms of another language, and I venture to say that he has done so with complete success. Every one who takes the trouble of following his train of thought, will find that throughout the whole book there reigns a classical perspicuity which proves that he handled not only the subject, but also the language with a perfect mastery. In order to express new notions foreign to the Arabian mind, he either borrows Indian words using them in their original or in an Arabized form, or secondly he translates them into Arabic, or in the third place, if he cannot find an appropriate Arabic translation, he uses Arabic words, but in new significations which he assigns to them. In this task he was greatly assisted by the enormous wealth of forms of Arabic inflexion and their capability of expressing the very finest and most intricate *nuances* of thought, by the inexhaustible treasures of the Arabic dictionary and the wonderful elasticity of Arabic syntax. Al Birúní directed the language into a new channel, where it might have undergone a new and peculiar development of its own, but this development has not taken place. The impulses given by Al Birúní, who rises like a solitary rock in the ocean of Arabic literature, have not been taken up by subsequent generations, and the result was that his work soon became unintelligible to Muslim readers and was utterly neglected. He was too far in advance of his countrymen, and they have never tried to follow in his wake.

The perusal of the *Indica* requires a certain familiarity with Arabic terminology as it occurs in books on theology, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and astrology. On considering the question whether a glossary of rare and unknown words was to be added to this edition, I came to the conclusion that it would be preferable to explain all the words which need an explanation, in the notes to my translation, as they are not sufficiently numerous to justify a special glossary being made of them.”

The character of the book is in every respect satisfactory, and its instructive tendency may be said to have



a direct bearing upon the not insignificant question which has lately occupied the attention of thinking men—that is, the moral influence on barbaric and idolatrous people of the religion of Islam. It is practically the vindication of Muhammadanism, in the person of the author, from the charge of illiberality and hostility to intellectual progress: it is a proof that the Muslim can rise above the prejudices of training and tradition to make mankind at large the subject of impartial study; it is a demonstration of what benefits might have been conferred on India by Islam so far back as the eleventh century, had the conqueror of that vast territory been guided by the counsels of one who lived under his shadow—"not engaged," as the Editor observes, "in fighting the Hindús, but in trying to learn from them, to study Sanskrit and Sanskrit literature, and to translate Sanskrit books into Arabic." That it happened otherwise, and that Albirúni was but one of a million of his age and creed who could attain such exceptional eminence, and of many millions who ever *did* attain it—are facts which if they do not greatly strengthen the position of Muhammadanism as a civilising Power apart from the example of one individual, yet serve to establish, in the instance of that individual, the proposition that a high-minded and intellectual Muhammadan was not a mere fallacy of expression.¹ But were this an occasion of seeking other exceptions, it might be shown that Albirúni's age was not the only period in which they were to be found: nay more, that he did not himself supply quite the sole illustration to this effect in his own particular age.

Within two or three months from the issue of the present number of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, the English translation of Dr. Sachau's Arabic text of Albirúni may be expected to appear. The work will then be subject to the

¹ A distinguished Italian critic holds that such sentiments as those expressed in Albirúni's "Indica," coming from a Musalman of Khiva in the eleventh century of our era, may, as a matter of wonder, be compared to the discovery of lions' and elephants' bones in the Northern regions of the earth. "A vedere spuntar così fatti pensieri, verso i principii dell' XI. secolo dell' era volgare, nella mente di un Musalmano di quello che oggidio chiamano il khanato di Khiva, si sente maraviglia non minore che allo scoprir ossa di leoni e d'elefanti nelle regioni settentrionali della Terra." [M. Amari.]

criticism of a larger number of readers than at present; for, unfortunately, the "serious" study of this grand Oriental tongue does not command the attention which its importance justifies. In the meanwhile, a word may be said on its particular contents, the table of which will be found in English as well as Arabic in the volume now before us.

Besides the Introduction the work is divided into eighty chapters varying in length, but averaging nearly four pages each. About half the number treat of Religion and Belief, Customs, Literature, and Laws; and half of Astronomy, Geography, and General Science. An example has already been given of the Editor's analysis of Albiruni's style: but this will scarcely be needed by those who have become familiar with the "Chronology of Ancient Nations"—a book which, whatever merit may be accorded to it in the original, is in the translation a marvellous record of industry and scholarship. Something of presumption might perhaps be attributed to a reviewer of the original text, were he to anticipate its Editor's promised translation and put forward a specimen by quotation in an English dress; but the charge could hardly be held to apply to the three or four opening lines of a chapter selected at random, which will suffice to show the train of the author's ideas and spirit in which he writes, and further, the tone in which a Muslim who lived some nine hundred years ago could adopt in reference to Christianity:

فى العقوبات و الكفارات—مثال الحال فيهم على شبيه بحال
النصرانية فانها مبنية على الخير وكف الشتر من ترك القتل اصلا
ورمى القمصان خلف غاصب الطيلسان و تمكين لاطم الخد من الخد
الاخرى و الدعاء للعدو بالخير و الصلوات عليه و هى لعمرى سيرة
فاضلة و لكن اهل الدنيا ليسوا بفلاسفة كلهم و اتما اكثرهم جهال ضلال
— لا يقومهم غير السيف و السوط و مذ تنصر قسطنطينوس المظفر لم
يسترح كلاهما من الحركة فبغيرهما لاتتم السياسة كذلك الهند.

which may be thus interpreted:—"Chapter 71, On Punish-
ments and Expiations.

"Their state (*i.e.* doctrinal position of the Indians) resembles that of Christianity; for it is based upon (the principle of) doing good and abstaining from evil; as (for instance) absolutely refraining from the infliction of death, throwing one's tunic to the snatcher of one's cloak,¹ turning the one cheek to the smiter of the other, and praying for and blessing one's enemies. Such, by my life, is a noble rule of conduct! But worldly people are not all philosophers, and, indeed, the greater part are ignorant and transgressors. The sword and scourge can alone restrain them, and since the conversion of the Conqueror² Constantine, these (two agencies) are in constant operation; for without them the regulation of society (administration of justice) cannot be accomplished. Thus it is with India . . ."

It need hardly be pointed out that Albirúní, in writing this, must have had in mind the verses in St. Matthew v., wherein are the words, "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also,"—and "If any man will . . . take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also." How little the existence of an Oriental author of this stamp has been taken into account by Western teachers until comparatively recent years, may be readily understood by reference to pamphlets and periodicals embodying the conceptions of the day, which have appeared at any time since the institution of printing up to the dawn of the nineteenth century. But an age has been reached, one of the main characteristics of which is a search after truth; and it is not impossible that among

¹ One meaning of many to be found in dictionaries. I had originally written "scarf." The word used is طيلسان *tidilasn*, evidently borrowed from the Persian تالشان or تالسان *talshán* or *ta'sán* "a kind of coil wrapped round the head, with a lappet or sash hanging down" (Johnson). Mr. H. C. Kay, who has kindly revised the whole translation of the above extract, calls attention to the fact that De Sacy renders it by *manteau*, the same interpretation given by Baron de Slane; and I find the following in Freytag: "طَيْلَسَانٌ et طَيْلَسَانٌ pl. طَيْلَسَةٌ (*plurimi ex Persico تالشان et تالشان, alii ex طرومان ortum esse dicunt vocem*). Amiculum, fere ex pilis caprinis vel camelinis contextum, quod humero iniectum dependet de dorso, vel etiam capiti impositum deorsum promittitur: quale philosophi et religiosi, imprimis apud Persas, usurpare velut pro insigni solent. Inde Arabes convicii causa dicunt مِظْفَرُ طَيْلَسَانٍ *i.e.* Persa et Barbare!"

² I have translated مِظْفَرُ طَيْلَسَانٍ *muzaffar* literally: it may simply imply an Arabic equivalent for the common designation of "the Great."



its salient features will be a re-action in favour of Muhammadanism generally. In such case the danger, at the outset, would seem to lie in the investment of the new cause with a robe of honour to which it has no just claim. When worthy Muslim thinkers *do* appear, we should be thankful that there arise Sachaus in after centuries to recall their appearances, lest indeed—to use the magnificent images of the Apocrypha—they pass away “like a shadow, and as a post that hasted by;” or as a ship whereof “the pathway of the keel in the waves” cannot be found; or “as when an arrow is shot at a mark, it parteth the air which immediately cometh together again, so that a man cannot know where it went through.”¹ But it must be remembered that Albirúnís are few and far between.

¹ Wisdom, chap. v. 9. 10. 12.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AFRICA.

December 5th, 1887.

SIR,—In the last issue of the Journal, I announced the forthcoming publication, by the Roman Catholic Missionaries of Senegambia, of a Dictionary of the Susu language. I was then unaware of the fact that this book had already been published two years ago, and I have only just found it out from a German Catalogue of second-hand books. The *Dictionnaire français-soso et soso-français*, to which are prefixed a grammatical sketch and a collection of common phrases, will prove a very valuable Handbook of this language, which is spoken along the coast between the Rio-Nuñez and Sierra-Leone. The author is the Rev. P. RAIMBAULT, and the work, though printed in Paris, has been issued by the *Mission du Rio-Pongo, Vicariat apostolique de Sierra-Leone*, 1885.

What the said Missionaries were going to publish was really a practical Grammar of the Bambara language, which has now been issued (*Eléments de la Grammaire Bambara*, etc. 1 vol. 16mo. vii. and 218 pp., *Saint-Joseph de Ngasobil*, 1887). It contains numerous exercises with lists of words, and it is followed by some texts with a Bambara-French Dictionary: this is the most complete and elaborate work ever published on that interesting language.

I must also quote here a little work, issued by the same Missionaries in 1880, which is not noticed in Cust's *Modern Languages of Africa*, and which would prove very useful to Englishmen, because it contains an English translation of all words and sentences; its title is (in French and in English) as follows: *Guide of the Con-*

versation in four languages, ENGLISH-WOLOF-FRENCH-SARAR, 1 vol. 32mo. 329 pp., Saint-Joseph de Ngasobil, 1880.

CAPT. T. G. DE GUIRAUDON.

The Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

2. NOTES ON AFRICAN PHILOLOGY.

December 20th, 1887.

SIR,—Amongst the Notes contributed by the Hon. Sec. to the last issue of the Journal, I read as follows :

“*Vocabularies of the Hadendoa and Beni Amír.*— . . . The Hadendoa is a Dialect of the Bishári language, of the Hamitic group (see page 126 of Cust’s *Modern Languages of Africa*, 1883). The Bani Amír are wrongly entered as a Dialect of the same language, but the Vocabulary shows that the language is Semitic, and akin to the Tigré of Abyssinia.”

So, if I understand rightly, we are told by Dr. Cust himself that he has been wrong in entering the Beni Amír as a Dialect of the Bishári language: we shall see hereafter that this statement should really be understood in a way quite different from that suggested by the phrase quoted above.

I must observe, in the first place, that *Bani Amír*, or, more correctly, *Beni Amer*, is a plural ethnic tribal name (Hebrew *Amrim*), meaning “Sons of Amer,” and I fail to understand how the “Sons of Amer” could be styled a Dialect. We could not say that the Dutchmen are a Dialect. With regard to these Beni Amer, as the Vocabulary alluded to has not yet been published, I must postpone my opinion on the question whether the language is Hamitic or Semitic. But both suppositions are possible: for some of the Beni Amer, who are of Tigréan descent, have preserved their original Semitic dialect, while the rest of them now speak a Hamitic dialect (see W. Munzinger’s *Ostafrikanische Studien* and *Vocabulaire de la langue Tigré*). Therefore, if Dr. Cust confesses himself wrong in entering the Beni Amer as a dialect of the Bishari language, he would have rightly corrected himself by entering their name as that of a tribe speaking partly a dialect of

the Tigré language (Semitic) and partly a dialect of the Bedawye language (Hamitic). In other words, his entry is right, though incomplete, as to the name of the tribe, but it is quite wrong as to the names of dialects and languages.

I come now to the so-called Hadendoa dialect of the so-called Bishári language.

The language, which these people who speak it call *to' Bedawye*, i.e. the Bedawye (see Munzinger, Reinisch and Almqvist), and to which we have, therefore, no ground at all for applying any other name, is spoken, according to the best authorities, by the Hadendoas, the Bisháris, the Halengas, the Amarars, the Ababdehs and a fraction of the Beni Amer. To call this language by the name of any of these tribes, is exactly as if we were to call the French language the *Auvergnat*, and we should only aggravate such a mistake by speaking further of the Britton or Picard dialects of the Auvergnat language. We can only speak of the dialect of the Bedawye language, as spoken by the Hadendoas or the Bisharis.

Both Hadendoa and Bishari are but the names of tribes speaking, together with the others mentioned above, one and the same language, and none of these appellatives can be applied to the common language, the right name of which we know perfectly well, as already stated. That all these tribes speak a common language with some dialectal differences (which, after all, are mostly mere differences of pronunciation), this fact is beyond any doubt. But that is the only difference we can trace. We cannot speak of dialects in the true sense of the word among uncultured tribes. Very often the language becomes modified from place to place. It is very difficult, not to say quite impossible, to state where a so-called dialect begins and where it ends, and we can only say where a language, in one or other of its dialectal forms, begins and where it ends. Therefore, when an author tries to separate such dialects one from the other, he runs the risk of becoming quite unintelligible and of heaping mistakes on mistakes. A few more quotations will more fully illustrate what I mean to say.

In his above mentioned work (p. 159-160), after having stated, though without any ground, that there are five—I could as well say fifteen or seventy—dialects of the Fulah language, Dr. Cust goes on quoting: "Faidherbe admits that his Grammar is of the dialect of the Toucouleur, or Futa Toro, . . . It presents several differences from pure Fulah, . . ." and further: "Baikie observes that the language was spoken in its purest form in Futa Toro . . ."



It seems to me that all this is so illogical and self-contradictory, that though it reads like statements of facts, it really conveys no meaning at all.

How can one speak of the purest form of a language which has no literary standard, the only available one: I mean no true indigenous literary standard, as I cannot consider the translations of the Bible made by some missionaries otherwise than as an artificial literary standard. But, if this language is spoken in its purest form in Futa-Toro, how can this purest form present several differences from pure Fulah? And in what part of Futa-Toro is this purest form to be found out? During more than three years I spoke myself exclusively the Pul language at many different places of Senegalian-Futa (Futa-Toro, Central-Futa and Futa-Damga), and everywhere I found some dialectal changes: but I have no term of comparison to say whether the purest form was spoken at Gourik (Futa-Damga) or at Podor (Futa-Toro); I can only say that the dialectal forms spoken by the Bosseyabes and other tribes of Central Futa are perhaps less mixed with foreign words than the others. In fact, there are two great dialectal forms of the Pul language, which are spoken in two separate countries, Senegalian-Futa and Futa-Dyallo: elsewhere, the Fulbe being more or less scattered amongst foreign populations, their language has become mixed and altered in various ways, and it is quite impossible to speak of any dialectal classification.

Returning eastwards overland, I come to what Dr. Cust calls "Nile sub-group," and here I find in his Bibliography:

<i>No. Languages.</i>	<i>Dialects.</i>
4. Bari.	1. Bari.
	2. Moru.
13. Nyangbára.	„

which I would restore as follows:

4. Bari.	„
13. Nyangbára.	1. Nyangbára.
	2. Moru.

For the so-called Moru dialect of the Bari language, as illustrated by Col. E. Long, is not at all a dialect of the Bari language, with which it has not even two words in common. On the other hand, the Moru dialect looks so very much the same as the Nyangbára language, as illustrated by Morlang, that it may be asserted with

all certainty that both Nyangbára and Moru are but dialectal forms of one and the same language.

I would not myself venture to give any new complete classification of African dialects and languages, as I consider it to be impossible for the present, and, in making the few preceding remarks, I had only in view to point out the difficulty of the subject in the present state of our knowledge.

CAPT. T. G. DE GUIRAUDON.

The Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Note to the above by the Hon. Secretary.—All contributions to our knowledge of these imperfectly studied African languages, made by specialists, who, like our correspondent, have actual personal acquaintance with the subject, are of extreme value, and we thank Capt. de Guiraudon for his interesting communications, and we hope to hear from him again.

3. THE MIGRATION OF BUDDHIST STORIES.

MONSIEUR,—Dans son important article sur la *Siṃhāsānavātrimsikā* (Ind. Stud. xv.), Mr. Weber ne croyait pouvoir rattacher de près les fragments d'une recension Mongole, connue sous le nom "Histoire d'Ardshi-Bordshi Khân," aux textes des recensions Samskr̥tes. Une traduction Persane, faite pour la première fois du temps d'Akbar sur un texte Indien et remaniée plusieurs fois après, nous fournit des données précieuses pour le rapprochement des textes en question. Il existe de cette version Persane une traduction française du baron Lescallier (*Le trône enchanté*, New York, 1817, 2 vols. 8vo.), aussi infidèle, que rare (ni Benfey, ni Weber n'ont vu cette traduction). L'Introduction nous donne et l'histoire du père de Vikramāditya-Gandharva-sena, transformé en âne par une malédiction d'Indra, et l'histoire du cadavre flottant. Le récit de la 7^{me} statue présente certaines analogies avec l'histoire du chasseur et des perroquets, pour laquelle nous trouvons une parallèle très rapprochée dans la littérature orale Indienne. Le récit de la 10^{me} statue nous donne une version de l'histoire de Naran Dâ Kini.

Cette petite notice a pour but de signaler l'étroite affinité entre la récitation Buddhiste Mongole et une des recensions Indiennes. Je compte, sous peu, donner une analyse détaillée de la version Persane d'après plusieurs MSS. de Londres et de Paris.

SERGE D'OLDENBURG.

4. KĀLIDĀSA IN CEYLON, 522.

SIR,—Whether a bee was ever enclosed in the petals of the lotus, into which it had entered in pursuit of honey, is very doubtful. But Mr. Grierson has quoted in the *Indian Antiquary* (xvi. 284) a very pretty couplet, in which the first line states that a bee was so caught, and the second that his wife, the female bee, ‘adored the lord of day’ to save him. For, as is well known, the lotus at dawn opens its petals.

It would be very interesting to know to whom this poetical idea first occurred, and whether the verse has any history on the continent of India. For in the island of Ceylon a similar one is connected with a very interesting story.

It is this. In 522 A.D. there was reigning in Ceylon an accomplished prince and poet, named Kumāra Dāsa, the author of a Sanskrit poem still extant in its Sanna, called the Janaki-harapa. He invited Kalidāsa to his court. Both king and guest were enamoured of a certain lady, and one day on the wall of her chamber the king wrote the following riddle, with a promise of great reward to him who should solve it:—

Wana tambarā mala no talā ronaṣa wanī
Mala dederā paṇa galawā giya sewanī.

That is: ‘The forest bee got to the honey without hurting the flower, but (being caught in the flower as it closed) he got away with his life to the cool shades of the jungle only when (in the morning) the lily unfolded its petals.’

The poet coming soon after, being on a like love’s errand bent, felt at once the allusion, and inscribed underneath the solution, which ran:—

Siyat ambarā siya tambarā siya sewanī
Siya sa purā nidi no labā un sewanī.

That is: ‘The relation of the sun (the king, of the solar race) seeking the society of the lotus-eyed (beauty) enjoyed indeed her company, but sleepless was caught in her toils.’

When the king saw that his riddle had been solved, he enquired for the anonymous author of the solution. But the covetous beauty concealed his name, and on his next visit had him murdered by her attendants, and claimed both solution and reward as her own. Something, however, aroused the king’s suspicion. He had her premises searched, and the murdered body was discovered

beneath the floor. The king ordered a pyre to be made as for the cremation of a king, and on the appointed day attended with all his court, and scarcely had the flames reached the body, when the king, overwhelmed with grief at the loss of his friend, to which he felt he had himself contributed, rushed into the burning mass, and was himself also first suffocated and then consumed.

As the story is only found in two very rare books (Alwis's *Sidat Sangarāwa*, p. cli, and Knighton's *History of Ceylon*, p. 106), I have given an abstract of the whole of it. Neither of these authors gives the name or date of the book in which they found the legend. But it is referred to in the *Pœrakum Bā Sirit* (*Parākrama Bāhu Caritra*), a work of the fourteenth century, as being then well known; and this at least is certain, that when it was first told, the common belief among Ceylon scholars was that Kalidāsa belonged to the beginning of the sixth century of our era.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.



NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(September, October, November.)

I. REPORTS OF MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, SESSION 1887-88.

First Meeting, 21st November, 1887.—Sir THOMAS WADE, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

There were elected as Resident Members: Macar David, Esq., Modan Gopal, Esq., Francis Hewitt, Esq., Sadder-uddin Khan, Rang Lal, Esq.; and as Non-Resident Members: the Very Rev. Dean Butcher, D.D., Syed Ali Bilgrami, E. G. W. Senathi Raja, Henry Cousins, Esq., Ernest A. Floyer, Esq., Spencer Pratt, Esq., Philip R. Valladares, Esq.

The Secretary, in the absence of the author, read an abstract of a paper by Dr. Eddins on "Foreign Elements in Early Japanese Mythology," in which it was argued that there were distinct traces of fire-worship and other Persian ideas in ancient Chinese history, and that the Japanese in borrowing from China had also adopted Persian ideas. Quotations were given from the legend of Izanagi and Izanami, and other myths, and the conclusion drawn that the Persian elements in Japanese religion were: 1. That the dual principle is made the basis of the universe; 2. That many powerful spirits were formed before the physical universe; 3. That things were created in the same order; 4. That the Japanese goddess Amaterasu is a form of the Persian Mith-ras; 5. That the great angels ruling the wind, fire, earth, water, wood, etc., resemble the Persian; 6. The purification ceremonies; 7. The dedication of white horses in their sun-temples.

Mr. SATOW said: I do not think any one who has carefully studied the early literature of Shintōism will deny that it contains

foreign elements, especially since the publication of Mr. Chamberlain's translation of the *Kojiki* in the tenth vol. of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan. He has pointed out the influence which Chinese ideas had in the composition of that book, and the *Nihon Shoki*, to which Dr. Edkins refers more than once, contains a much larger portion borrowed evidently from China. Since it is undoubted that the Japanese had no written language before the introduction of Chinese learning, it seems very natural that in committing to writing their legends, which to them were a part of history, they should, either wilfully or unconsciously, have copied their masters. Native Shintōists of the last two centuries have looked on the *Nihon Shoki* as corrupt, and they base their accounts of the primitive religion mainly upon the *Kojiki* and the rituals contained in the *Engishiki*. The last are almost entirely pure Japanese in style, and are probably among the oldest compositions in the language. They were used in religious services, but there seems to me to be no evidence that the myths of the *Kojiki* were ever chanted by priests as Dr. Edkins conjectures. In saying that the rituals are among the oldest specimens of the language, I must, however, add that the poems embedded in the text of the *Kojiki*, and some of those contained in the collection entitled *Manyō Shū*, are of equally great antiquity. Later on Shintō was greatly influenced by Buddhism and probably Tauism, but this is beside the present question. What Dr. Edkins has tried to do is to get at the earliest form of Shintō, and trace in it Persian elements. It is unfortunate, therefore, that he should have relied so much on the *Nihon Shoki*, which, as said before, is not so much Japanese as Chinese in tone.

One personal explanation I think myself entitled to make. Dr. Edkins asserts that I say the mirror is not found in Shintō temples unless they have been under the influence of Buddhism. He has slightly misunderstood me. What I did say was that the mirror *hanging in front* of Shintō temples was Buddhist, and it is evident, from my account of the emblem of the sun-goddess, that I never meant to assert that the mirror was Buddhist. As far as one can see, with the old Japanese the sword was the commonest emblem of the male sex, as the mirror was that of the female.

The identification of seven elements in the Persian religion and in that of the early Japanese is certainly ingenious; but I think it is erroneous to state that white horses are dedicated to the sun-goddess. They are or were to be found at the temples of many

other deities, *e.g.* at the temple of Hachiman at Kamakura. I think it would not be difficult to point out as many fortuitous resemblances between Shintō and Judaism.

I have elsewhere given reasons for thinking that the origin of Shintō was ancestor-worship, and that the worship of fire, wind, and other powers of nature dates from after the introduction of Buddhism. I would not however be understood to mean that these portions of the Shintō practice are borrowed from Buddhism.

Everything goes to show that the Japanese islands were peopled long before the neighbouring state of Corea became civilized; whether they be a homogeneous people descended from a section of the race to which the Coreans belong, or whether they come from an amalgamation of settlers from Corea with a later immigration of Malays or Polynesians, is an open question. But whatever they knew they brought with them from their home on the Continent, and probably developed during a long period of isolation into the civilization they possessed at the time of the introduction of Chinese letters. No date earlier than about 300 or 400 A.D. can be regarded as authentic, and to assume, as Dr. Edkins does, that the Japanese chronology is to be implicitly accepted when they make Jimmu ascend the throne in 660 B.C. seems to me somewhat extraordinary, seeing that a mere perusal of the tables of Japanese history from Jimmu downwards for about 1000 years, shows that the whole is incredible. That a person afterwards canonized as the Divine Warrior (Jimmu) did lay the foundations of the Japanese monarchy one can hardly doubt, since everything must have a beginning. But if anything is to be assumed, on the basis of the early history of the Japanese, it is that Jimmu reigned about the 1st century A.D. I will not say that it is much more trustworthy than the history of Britain before the Roman Conquest, but even if you accept the orthodox succession of sovereigns, at any rate you cannot swallow the chronology.

Mr. Dickins thought with Mr. Satow that the early history of Japan was quite unworthy of trust. The mythology, as we have it, was so mixed up with Buddhism and Taouism, that it was extremely difficult to eliminate the autochthonous elements from the mass, for even these had almost always been preserved with a foreign colouring. It struck him that the method lately applied by Mr. Chamberlain to the investigation of place-names might with profit be applied to that of the myth-names of primitive Japan. As an instance, simply by way of illustration, the case of

Nikko was cited, a Sinico-Japanese place-name, now written with two characters, signifying the glory of the sun, but anciently with characters of somewhat similar sound signifying in Japanese *futa ara*, two storms, from a myth that two storms yearly issued from a cave in Nantai. *Futa ara* might be a Japanese pronunciation of an Aino name, hence the last-mentioned myth, while the ceasing of the storms, when Kōbō changed *ni kō* (*futa ara*) into *nikkō*, sun's glory, was involved in the latter name. In Dr. Edkins's hypothesis Mr. Dickins could see no force whatever.

The discussion was continued by Mr. Bouverie-Pusey and Mr. Freeland, and was closed by the President.

II. PROCEEDINGS OF ASIATIC OR ORIENTAL SOCIETIES.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

1st June, 1887.—Five copper and one forged silver coin forwarded by the Deputy Commissioner of Rawal Pindi were submitted with a report by Mr. Rodgers.

It was announced that Mr. Smith's Index to General Cunningham's Archæological Report was nearly ready, and would be issued as vol. xxiv. of the series.

Papers by Dr. Führer on three grants of Govinda Chandra Deva (twelfth century), and by C. J. Rodgers, Esq., on the coinage of the kings of Ghazni, were read. They will be published in the Journal.

6th July, 1887.—Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra exhibited a copper plate received from Mr. Metcalfe, the Commissioner of Orissa.

Mr. Rodgers wrote concerning coins he had purchased and archæological discoveries he had made. Of the latter one was a group of rock-cut temples near Kangra, hitherto unknown.

Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra and the Bābu Sarat Chandra Dās, C.I.E., read papers on *Ēkoṭibhāva*, on which a discussion followed. The Bābu's paper is the same as appeared in the *Academy* of December the 3rd, with remarks by Professor Max Müller and Professor Rhys Davids.

Mr. Oliver read a paper on the Šafwī dynasty of Persia and their coins.

Mr. Smith read a paper on sixteen gold coins of Chandra Gupta II. and Kumāra Gupta Mahendra found in Gorakhpur.

3rd August, 1887.—Mr. Bruce Foote, of the Geological Survey, read a paper on prehistoric remains in South India.

Mr. Beveridge, C.S., read a paper on the era of Lakshmaṇa Sena.

Bābu Sarat Chandra Dās, C.I.E., read a paper on the sacred and ornamental characters of Tibet.

Pandit Mahesachandra Nyāyaratna read a paper on the authorship of the *Mṛicchakaṭikā*.

2. SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE.

24th June, 1887.—M. J. Darmesteter read a paper in which he argued that the legend as to the renunciation and ascension of Yudishthira in the 16th Book of the *Mahābhārata* was a reproduction of the Persian legend in the *Shāh Nāmāh* of the renunciation and ascension of Kai Khosru; and that it was brought to India by the Magi at an uncertain date, probably in the second or third centuries of our era.

III. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

1. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT.

Vol. xli. pt. 2. 1. Georg Ebers. On Gustav Seyffarth, the *Ægyptologist*.

2. Carl Lang. *Mu'taqid* as Prince and Regent (continuation).

3. F. Spiegel. On the Origin and Date of the *Avestā* (2nd article).

4. J. H. Mordtmann. The Topography of Northern Syria, from Greek inscriptions.

5. H. Hübschmann. On the Formation of Nouns in Ossetian.

6, 7. Felix Liebrecht. On a Madagascar sentiment, and on the *Jus primæ noctes*.

Reviews of Schwarzgose's 'Waffen der Alten Araber' and Payne Smith's 'Thesaurus Syriacus' (Fasc. vii.).

Vol. xli. pt. 3. 1. Karl Vollers. On Arabic as now spoken in *Ægypt*.

2. M. Klamroth. On the Extracts from Greek Writers found in *al-Ja'qūbi* (continuation).

3. Heinrich v. Wislocki. Four Folk-lore Tales from Transylvania derived from the Buddhist Siddhi Kūr.
4. K. Himly. Notes on Chess and allied Games. (Chiefly from the Chinese.)
5. Th. Aufrecht. Notes on Sanskrit Poets (Hevāka, Namaka, Rājanighantu, Ramagitagovinda, etc.
6. F. Bolleman. Contributions to the Criticism of the Veda.
7. H. Oldenberg. On the Arrangement of the Rig Veda (the *adhyaayas*).
8. O. Böhlingk. On *iti* and *ca* in the sense of *ādi*.
Review of Ascherson and Schweinfurth's 'Illustration de la flore d'Egypte.'

2. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE.

Huitième Série, tome x. No. 1.

1. Proceedings, etc.
2. J. Darmesteter. On Points of Contact between the Mahābhārata and the Shāh Nāmah (see above, p. 154).
3. Victor Loret. On the Kyphi, a sacred perfume used in ancient Egypt.
4. Clément Huart. Note on three books of the Bābi sect.
5. de Rochemonteix. On the Situation of Busīn and Phanizoit.
6. Nouvelles et Melanges.

3. VIENNA ORIENTAL JOURNAL.

(The first No. has also a German title, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, herausgegeben und redigirt von G. Bühler, J. Karabacek, D. H. Müller, F. Müller, L. Reinisch, leitern des Orientalischen Instituts der Universität.)

I. pp. 1-82. G. Bühler. Gleanings from Yādavaprakāsa's *Vaijayanti*.

J. Kielhorn. The Maurya Passage in the Mahābhāshya.

G. Bühler. A Disputed Meaning of the particles *iti* and *cha*.

D. H. Müller. Arabisch-aramäische Glossen.

J. Karabacek, F. Müller. Beiträge zur Erklärung der altperischen Keilinschriften.

Reviews. (3 books reviewed.)

Miscellaneous Notes. (3 by J. Hanusz, 1 by F. Müller.)

II. 83-164. D. H. Müller. Geographisches und epigraphisches.



- W. Cartellieri. Subandhu and Bâna.
 F. Müller. Beiträge zur Erklärung der altpersischen Keilschriften.
 E. Hultsch. Notes on Indian Inscriptions (No. 1).
 Reviews (4 books).
 Miscellaneous Notes (3).
 III. 165-250. G. Bühler. On the Authenticity of the Jaina Tradition.
 Dr. Johann Harnusz. Beiträge zur armenischen Dialectologie.
 P. Jensen. Noch einmal der Kakkabmîšrî.
 D. H. Müller. Eine alte hebräische Grabinschrift aus Riva (mit einer Lichtdrucktafel).
 D. H. Müller. Drei neue Inschriften von Van.
 F. Müller. Beiträge zur Erklärung der altpersischen Keilschriften.
 Dr. Ign. Goldziher. Das Princip des istishâb in der Muhammedanischen Gesetzwissenschaft.
 Reviews (2 books).
 Miscellaneous Notes (4).

IV. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE NOTES OF THE QUARTER BY THE
 HONORARY SECRETARY.

General Philology.—Dr. Frederick Müller of Vienna has published an appendix to his "Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft," containing materials which have come to hand betwixt the years 1877 and 1887 after his copy was made up for the Press. It comprises Grammatical Notes on twelve African languages, ten American languages, and five on Languages in Asia and Oceania.

India.—The Rev. Mr. Wade has published at the S.P.C.K. a Grammar of the Kashmîri language, the result of his own studies during a long residence in the Valley in daily contact with the people. He has also published Texts: nothing of the kind has previously existed.

Africa.—Antonio Cecchi, an Italian traveller, has published at Rome, at the expense of the Italian Geographical Society, Grammatical Notes and Vocabularies of six languages spoken in the Region South of Abyssinia, and collected by him in his Journey of exploration from Zeila on the Indian Ocean to Kaffa in the nearly unknown Regions of the Interior: their names are Galla, Kaffa,

Shangalla, Janger, Adiya, Gurague, and Afar or Danakil. This book is a valuable addition to existing knowledge.

“Review of African Philology.” Dr. Büttner, the Director of the newly-established German Missions in East Africa, and well known as a Scholar of South African Languages, has published the first part of his new Review, which will appear quarterly in the German language at Berlin: it promises exceedingly well, and contains contributions on the Swahili, Suto and Ashanti languages of importance, and a notice of all books published on the subject within the period.

Niger Languages.—Two Printing Presses are in full work in this Region, one at Bonny on the Lower Niger, a second at Lokoja on the Upper Niger: they advertise to dispose of every kind of secular work, advertisements, printed catalogues and visiting cards, but their serious work is to turn off Educational works in the languages of the Region. We have before us four little works in the Brass Dialect of the Idyo language; and four in that of the Ibo, in excellent style, written and printed by Negroes. Both languages belong to the Negro Group.

Bantu Family of African Languages.—The S.P.C.K. continues to put forth volumes of an Educational character for use of African Schools, and we have on our table two volumes in the Xosa or Kafir Language in South Africa, one volume in Swahili in East Equatorial Africa, and one in the Ganda language of Victoria Nyanza, printed in London; but there is a press in full work at Rabága, the capital of King Mwanga.

Oceania.—Melanesia.—The S.P.C.K. has published a careful translation of the Acts of the Apostles in the language of Florida Island in the Solomon Group, prepared on the spot.

V. EXCERPTA ORIENTALIA.

ARABIC.—*Howell's Grammar*, to which allusion was made in the October Notes, is really fasciculus 2, part i, of the work entitled *A Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language, translated and compiled from the most approved Native or Naturalized Authorities*. The fact of its publication, at Allahabad in 1886, under sanction of the Government of the North-West Provinces, calls forth from a writer in the *Saturday Review* (March 26) a comment on the liberality of the Indian Government in promoting the cause of Asiatic research, contrasted with the little aid so afforded by grants from the Imperial Treasury. An appreciative notice of this volume, with illustrative

quotations, is given by the same competent critic, who explains that it "is based upon the grammar of Az Zamakhshari, known by the name of *Al Mufaṣṣal fi'n Nahw*, an excellent edition of which was published some years ago by Professor J. P. Brock, of Christiania." He goes on to show that the said grammarian "divided his work into four books, of which the first three deal respectively with the noun, the verb, and the particle, the fourth chiefly with rules of pronunciation. Each is subdivided into chapters, and each chapter into distinct paragraphs or sections, in all 759 in number. These sections, *fusūl*, doubtless suggested the title of the work, *Al Mufaṣṣal fi'n Nahw*, which may be interpreted either as the book divided into sections, or the detailed exposition of the rules of grammar." We are told, moreover, that the arrangement here stated is strictly followed by Mr. Howell, whose work "might almost, though not with perfect accuracy, be described as a translation of the *Mufaṣṣal*, interwoven with large accretions and illustrations derived from the writings of numerous other authors." The writer adds: "Mr. Howell has endeavoured, in the words of his preface, to include every opinion of importance, and to exclude useless or irrelevant controversy. How difficult he has found it, even under these conditions, to confine his work to a moderate bulk, and how great and varied are his additions to the *Mufaṣṣal*, may be judged of by the fact that the matter which in Zamakhshari's Grammar is comprised in 124 pages, has in Mr. Howell's hands expanded to upwards of 1600 pages."

The number and variety of Arabic Grammars published in Europe may be readily accounted for by the exceptional importance of the language, both in respect of mathematical construction and fecundity of root. But the nature of the subject necessarily restricts the area of such literature to the precincts of certain colleges, or the studies and Societies of a few Orientalists; and it is perhaps as much by the literary skill displayed in exposition, as by real depth of scholarship, that world-wide reputations have been achieved by workers in this particular field.

De Sacy, in the Preface to the First Edition of his celebrated *Grammaire Arabe*, published in 1810, after going back for three and a half centuries to d'Alcala and Postel, divides the elementary works which had been more or less in use for the study of Arabic in subsequent years into two classes, viz. those prepared in conformity with the system of Arab Grammarians; and those of a less complex and more European character. In the former category are the names of Gabriel Sionita, Martellotto, Pierre Metoscita, Guadanogli, and Agapit; as also Raymond, Obicinus, and Erpenius, in their capacity of translators, editors, or commentators; while in the latter Erpenius again appears in the light of a Western grammarian, and with him is bracketed the comparatively modern M. J. Jahn, author of a German Arabic Grammar published in 1796.¹

¹ Writings of most if not all of the Orientalists here mentioned by De Sacy are still available for reference. Some, it need scarcely be said, are of European

De Sacy himself divided his grammar into four books, the first relating to the elements of speech and writing; the second to etymology; the third and fourth to syntax, taught both after his own method and that of the Arab writers. In England we have, among others, the grammars of Richardson, Lumsden, Stewart and, more recently, Palmer, all useful in their way, but open to criticism from those who, abandoning science, seek simplicity in rudiments, and colloquial as well as general book knowledge in results. Volumes, pretending to impart practical instruction, such as this, take rather the form of a conventional *vade mecum* or vocabulary—mostly local in its use of idiomatic and vulgar expressions—than of a scientific publication.

Less brilliant and original than De Sacy's, yet more intelligible than Lumsden's (on the lines of which it is to a great extent written), and more complex—perhaps profounder—than that of other English Arabists, is the Grammar of Mr. Mortimer Howell. It is a performance eminently creditable to his assiduity and scholarship; and though it may fail to attract any but critical scholars, it will remain a notable feather in the cap of the Bengal Civilian of the present day. In the words of the just conclusion pronounced by the *Saturday Review*, Mr. Howell has "brought to his task a mind thoroughly imbued with his subject. The work is obviously a labour of love. It combines, therefore, the conditions that could best insure the high degree of merit that unquestionably belongs to it." If instances were needed, the opening paragraph (187) of the section on "the Verbal Nouns and Ejaculations," and the remarks on *أَمْسَ—أَلَّانَ* and other adverbs of time in para. 206 (section "Uninflected Adverbs"), furnish a good example of the care bestowed upon the subject in its details. But these are mere drops in the sea of definitions contained in the remarkable contribu-

repute. During the first half of the sixteenth century Pedro de Alcalá published his *Vocabulista Aravigo en letra Castellana* in Granada, and Guillaume Postel his *Grammatica Arabica* in Paris. There are no less than 86 entries under the latter name in the Catalogue of the British Museum. A wild visionary as well as notable scholar, his "très merveilleuses victoires des Femmes du Nouveau Monde, et comment elles doivent à tout le monde par raison commander, et même à ceulx, qui hauront la monarchie du monde viel," published in 1553, was held worthy of reproduction in 1864, when one hundred copies were printed. The learned Maronite, Gabriel Sionita, is known for the assistance rendered to Le Jay in the Polyglott Bible, and his "Geographia Nubiensis." [See Preface to *Biblia Polyglotta* of Brianus Waltonus, A.D. 1657.] Martellotto in 1620, Metoscita in 1624, and Guadanogli in 1642, each published, at Rome, "Institutiones Linguae Arabicae"; but the last is perhaps better known for his Arabic and Latin Bible, and the "Apolozia pro Christiana Religione qua . . . respondetur ad objectiones Ahmed filii Zin Alabedin, Persae Asphahensis, contentas in Libro inscripto Politor Speculi": one edition printed at Rome in 1637 bears the Arabic inscription:

اجابة القسيس الحقة نيليس كوانانولوسى الى احمد الشريف بن زين العابدين الفارسى السمانى

Agapitus, Professor of Arabic in the University of Padua, published in 1687, *Flores Grammaticales Arabici idiomatis*; and the *Grammatica Arabica (Agrumiya)*, and *Thesaurus Arabicus (Syro-Latinus)*, are both works of Obicinus.

tion to Oriental book-lore of which the earlier divisions have now been placed before the public.

Persian.—The *Baháristán* of Jámi, literally rendered into English from the Persian, has been printed at Benáres by the Kama Shastra Society for private subscribers only; and were it not for the appearance of a story, here and there, which would in ordinary course have been expurgated by translators, might be recommended as a fitting book for all classes of civilized readers. Its eight divisions, or Gardens, are shown to be novelties in an English dress, with the exception of the sixth, published by Mr. C. E. Wilson, about five years ago, under the title of "Persian Wit and Humour." This gentleman had contemplated a translation of the whole work, should the specimen then given "prove of sufficient interest"; and his version of Garden VII., "Biographical Notices of the Persian Poets, with selections from their works"—entitled in the present literal rendering, "Account of the rhyming birds of rhetorical nightingales and parrots of the sugar plantation of poetry"—has long since been completed in MS.

INDIA.—The *Imperial Indian Peerage and Almanack*, 1887, Jubilee Year, printed at the "Pioneer" Press, Allahabad, is a very notable sign of the times. At foot of the outer cover are the words *taskirah-i-rúsdí Hindústán wa jantri*, which fairly represent the English title, the Sanskrit *jantri* (almanack) being doubly appropriate from its similarity in sound to the Anglo-Norman *gentry*, a social class now first formally acknowledged in India. The Preface, bearing the Political Agent's signature, sets forth the purport of the work, which is to appear annually at the commencement of the Sambat Bikramajit (March-April). It contains, besides an Almanack, a Diary, and a Peerage, Tables of Wages, Exchange, and Interest, Weights and Measures, Post Office and Telegraphic Information, with Tables and Lists of the Royal Family, the Ministry, the Indian Government, Foreign Sovereigns, the British Colonies, and many other matters of interest, including an account of the British Constitution. "The Indian Peerage and County Family reference" includes, we learn, "all hereditary and personal title-holders recognized by the Government, and is prepared by the Editor from materials furnished by the Government, though Government is not responsible for its contents, and is brought down to the latest date." It will, moreover, "enable the public in England to ascertain the families to which the Indian aristocracy visiting Europe belong." Salute Chiefs—that is, Chiefs entitled to a salute of guns from 9 to 21—of whom there are no less than 105, are mentioned by name. Those receiving the honour of 11 guns and upwards are called "Highness." Then follows a list of 27 chiefs entitled to "Personal Salutes." An "Introduction to the Indian Peerage" carries back the reader to the early ages when caste was unknown to the Indo-Aryans north of Kabul, and afterwards along the banks of the Indus; but the subject admits of much expansion, and would be invested with new interest if brought to bear upon

particular families at the present time. In other respects the following extract from a brief notice in the *Athenæum* may be added in conclusion: "What would the old official of the first quarter, nay, first half, of the present century have thought of a 'county family reference' for the numerous noblemen and gentlemen . . . to be found in every town and *Zil'a* throughout India (we quote the Preface to the book), when the allusion was to those whose caste, habits, and prejudices rendered them bugbears to him! But now such a work presents no astonishing features, and the information which it imparts on the hereditary and personal title-holders in 210 British districts is really of value to Anglo-Indians generally, and indispensable to the Indian political agent."

The *Athenæum* states that the Society known as the Lokananda Somaj, recently formed at Triplicane, Madras, will publish a monthly Sanskrit journal, under the title of *Lokananda*, with an English translation. The journal will deal with such subjects as are set forth in the ancient Sanskrit works of literary importance, "the science of medicine, the science of heavenly bodies, architecture, mathematics, music, dancing, morality, etc. Moreover, lectures comparing the customs and manners of the ancients with those of the moderns in India and elsewhere will be within the scope of the Journal. (Date 17th December.)

Professor Kielhorn, of Göttingen, sends an important communication to the *Academy* of the 10th December, 1887, on the initial point of the Chedi or Kulachuri Era. General Cunningham, in his *Indian Eras*, had fixed it at 250 A.D. By a comparison of the days of the week in all the published inscriptions fully dated in this era, Professor Kielhorn shows that the initial date is 248 A.D.

We may here call attention to a paper by H. H. Howorth, M.P., in the *Manchester Quarterly* for July, 1887, in which the remarkable coincidences between ideas ascribed to the Pythagoreans and ideas previously current in India are pointed out.

M. Emile Sénart, of the Institute of France, the well-known authority on Buddhist Sanskrit, and one of the Council of the Pali Text Society, is on a visit to India.

The Royal Geographical Society are about to publish a work on Tibet, in which the results of the journeys lately made by native scholars will be summarised in a form accessible to the public. And Lieut. Younghusband, of the 1st Dragoon Guards, has successfully accomplished an overland journey from China to Kashmîr across Mongolia.

The following extract from the *Ceylon Examiner* of the 12th October will interest those who have heard of the late accident to the Maha Sri Jaya Bodin Wahanse, 'His Excellency the great auspicious and illustrious Bo Tree':—

"*The Sacred Bo-Tree at Anuradhapura.*—In view of the accounts that have been published already anent the prostration of the biggest branch of the Sacred Bo, it will be enough to supply only what has been omitted. On the morning of the 4th, the very day

the tree was broken by the strong thunderstorm, which prevailed at the time, the townsfolk had heard the thumming of a tom-tom, inviting all the Buddhists to assemble on the 7th to join in the ceremony of *Kiri Uturawanawā* (pouring milk) at the shrine of the Bo for invoking rain. This branch was considered by the Buddhists to be the very stem which was brought to Ceylon from India by Mahindo. It had been covered with gold paper in some places, and the greatest reverence had been paid to it. During the "Wandanawā" days, hundreds of fancy handkerchiefs were hung on its branches. With regard to the leaves of this Sacred Bo, you might have heard it said in the low-country that they never fall to the ground, but are wafted by the wind into Tissa Wæwa! Two days after the branch broke, it was cut into several logs, which were removed to a place near Thūpārāma Dāgaba, and were cremated with all the funeral obsequies attendant on the death of a Buddhist priest. It is said that the devotees of Buddhism intend to raise a miniature dāgaba over the ashes of the tree, and that the high priest has kept one log with him, chips of which he means to sell to the Buddhists as sacred relics. Two branches of the Sacred Bo have already been broken, and there are only two other tiny branches of it now surviving and awaiting their terms of adoration. It will be welcome news to Mr. Fawcett, the English Buddhist, who intends visiting Anurādhapura on a lecturing tour."

The Indian Government have published Mr. Burgess's important report on Amarāvati, but we received it too late to do more now than notice the fact of its completion.

CHINA.—The principal literary event of the quarter as regards China has been the appearance of the new edition of Sir T. Wade's *Tsū erh chī*, a few copies of which have reached London. The original work has long been out of print, and the experience of twenty years had shown that a modification of certain points of arrangement might be made with advantage to students. In the new edition the colloquial dialogues are shorter than in the previous issue, and the English portions are brought into closer connexion with the Chinese text than formerly, while at the same time the text has been thoroughly revised and corrected. The new work was printed at the Printing Press of the Imperial Customs at Peking, and does great credit to that institution. (Messrs. W. H. Allen and Co.)

Prof. Dr. Terrien de Lacouperie has published in a separate form his highly suggestive paper on the Languages of China before the Chinese, which was lately read before the Philological Society. In this work the Professor traces out the history of the pre-Chinese races of China, and shows the influence which their tongues have exercised on the Chinese language. Its pages display the results of extensive research, which will be of inestimable value to future workers in the same field. (David Nutt.)

"A Chapter of the Chinese Penal Code," by Dr. A. Lind, jun., of Amsterdam, forms an interesting little volume. The translation

is in English, the notes are full and numerous, and in the appendix is given a useful list of Chinese law terms.

The current number of the *Journal of the Peking Oriental Society* consists of a paper by Dr. Edkins on the "Evolution of the Chinese Language as exemplifying the Origin and Growth of Human Speech."

Two general works on China have appeared during the quarter, one by General Wilson, an American, who visited the country for the purpose of urging on the Government the necessity of at once constructing railways, and of suggesting the propriety of employing American engineers for the undertaking. The other work is a translation of G. Eug. Simon's "La cité Chinoise," in which that author gives the results of his own experience among the celestials. (Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington.)

The July number of the *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* contains a valuable paper on Chinese Family Names by Mr. H. A. Giles. The materials for the paper are gathered from the well-known Chinese work *Po kia sing*, and for the convenience of European students, are arranged in alphabetical order, while the translation of the notes attached to the library edition of the original work adds much to the scientific value of the contribution. This paper is followed by one by Mr. Parker on the "Manchu Relations with Tibet." This also is a translation of a Chinese work, the author of which has no hesitation in pronouncing that the Yaru-tsangpu is an upper branch of the Irawaddy. Obituary notices of Alexander Wylie and Dr. Hance, Reviews of Books, and the Proceedings of the Branch bring the number to a close.

JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. V.—*The Dāgabas of Anurādhapura.* By JOHN CAPPER.

IN 1875 my son, the late George Capper, a Ceylon official surveyor, was employed during nearly two years in making measurements and drawings of the principal ruins at Anurādhapura. The results of his labours were shown in upwards of thirty large sheets of tracings, which have since been copied and forwarded to the Colonial Office in London.

During the spare hours of his residence amongst the ruins, my son made a considerable number of notes regarding the architectural objects on the site of the ancient city. These he did not live to complete, having met his death at the hands of a Kandyan whilst on Survey work in a remote district. From the rough memoranda found amongst his papers, I have edited those relating to relic shrines, in the hope that they may possess sufficient interest for perusal.

The oldest dāgaba at Anurādhapura is the Thupārāma built by King Devānam Piya Tissa, B.C. 307, supposed to have enshrined the left collar-bone of the Buddha. As it was invariably the practice to place all such relics in gold caskets studded with jewels of value, before they were deposited in the edifices erected for their reception, it is more than probable that no portion of this reputed relic now remains, as all

dāgabas were pillaged by Malabar invaders during the fourth and fifth centuries.

This dāgaba is said to have been partially restored during the early portion of the British period, when the "Tee" and spire surmounting the bell of the structure were renewed. The ornamental moulded base, the diameter of which is 59 feet, is of fine white sandstone, and forms a portion of the original structure, though much defaced by carelessly executed repairs.

The diameter of the bell is 33 feet, and the richly ornamented spire is tipped with a large crystal of a delicate pink hue, carved with a broad base terminating in a point. The crystal is about a foot in length and eight inches in diameter at its base. It was usually the practice in Ceylon in those early days to surmount lofty buildings with a spire terminating in a pointed crystal, which was believed to protect the structure from injury by lightning.

The Thupârâma Dāgaba, 62½ feet in height, stands on a circular platform, the brick walls supporting which being of great thickness, and on the outside embellished with fine mouldings and pilasters of similar materials, though there can be no doubt that the entire exterior, including the parapet which once encircled it, was originally covered with plaster and possibly decorated with paintings. This platform is paved with slabs of granite, but these were evidently taken from some other building, a number of them being morticed to receive door-posts, and variously carved for other purposes. On this platform are four concentric rows of graceful octagonal columns. The first of these are situated close to the base of the dāgaba, the second row about two feet from the first, the third about five feet from the second, and the fourth row, the columns and capitals of which were carved from a single stone, were arranged round the margin of the platform. The capitals of the first two rows of pillars are ornamented along their upper edges with grotesque squatting figures, with arms upraised as though supporting a weight resting on their heads. The third row are ornamented with the figures of eagles having outstretched wings, and the

fourth and outer row bear carvings of fringes and tassels of very graceful design. The height of the inner row of columns is twenty-four feet, of the second twenty-two feet, and of the outer rows fourteen feet. Between the third and fourth rows of columns there was evidently a wall, no longer in existence, but of which the stone foundations, slightly raised above the pavement, may very easily be traced. These columns were ranged round the dâgaba in quadrants, forming a rather broad passage to each of the cardinal points of the structure, where there was probably an altar-like slab (called a Malâsana, or flower-stand) close to the base, where those who came to mark their faith in Buddhism laid their offerings of flowers. No remains of these flower altars are now to be seen, except a bold moulding of stone above the level of the pavement, which no doubt received the frame of the altar; that such did originally exist is the more probable from the fact that the remains, more or less ruinous, of similar altars exist at the Lankârâma Dâgaba, which, though smaller, was evidently built after the model of the Thupârâma.

At the east and west ends of the building are flights of stone stairs reaching to the platform, fourteen feet above the surrounding ground, the steps having been ornamented with richly-carved stone wing-walls, now prostrate on the ground, but once surmounted by flat stone slabs elaborately carved with human figures, bearing vessels containing the sacred lotus-flower. Opposite the landing of these steps, and in a line with the foundation of the wall which once surrounded the dâgaba, may be seen a double step carved out of a single block of granite, morticed above to receive the stone door frame which once formed the entrance. The object of these beautifully-carved pillars and wall was beyond a doubt to sustain a magnificent conical roof, which would have covered the whole of the dâgaba. Columns, wall both inside and out, altars, and in short every portion of the building, were no doubt originally painted in rich and glowing colours. That it was so is proved by recent excavations very carefully made; thin coatings of very fine plaster being found

covering the stone and brickwork with traces of bright colours.

On the platform to the south-west may be seen the remains of a chapel, near which are three finely-ornamented stone doorways, evidently removed from the wall which once surrounded the dāgaba. At some distance to the east are the ruined walls of a keep or guard-house, such as are attached to all Buddhist edifices of any importance. Within the enclosure of this building, and near the north wall, are the remains of a tomb, originally constructed in the form of a dāgaba, standing on a square platform reached by four stone steps ornamented with carved stone wing-walls. All that is now to be seen of this structure are the stone steps, the wing-walls out of position, and a shapeless heap of bricks. This tomb is said to be that of the Queen Anulā, but some assert that it contained the remains of Sanghamittā, a nun, and sister of Mahinda, who introduced Buddhism into Ceylon.

Next in point of antiquity is the Miris-wattiya Dāgaba, built by King Dutu Gæmunu in the year 157 B.C., to commemorate the recovery of his kingdom from the Tamil usurper Elāla. Very little was known of this structure until about ten years ago, when some extensive excavations on its western side brought to light what may be considered the most beautiful specimen of ancient architecture in Anurādhapura. This consisted of one of the 'wings' of the dāgaba, that is of an elaborately-carved stone structure standing slightly in advance of the main building, and having three distinct faces, that in the centre projecting beyond those on the two sides, but united to them by continuity of carved ornamental work, as on the other faces. The wing is united to the dāgaba by a backing of brickwork running into the stonework of the lower rim of the structure or 'pāsāda,' a raised processional path along which Buddhist devotees proceeded during the performance of religious ceremonies. This dāgaba has two pāsādas or terraces, one above the other, of which only the upper one could have been used for processional purposes, as the backs of the wings extended into

the lower pásāda, blocking any passage through it at each of the cardinal points where the four wings are placed. In the other large dāgabas there are three pásādas in each, all of which could be used for processional purposes, as the wings ran only partially into the lower one. The ornamentation of these wings having been cleared from the débris of the superstructure, are found to be more perfect than in other dāgabas, showing the stonework to its full height, and sufficient of the brickwork to explain the method of its construction and the object of the building.

The base of the wing is a moulding consisting of a plain square surmounted by a quadrant of a circle, above which there is a fine moulded string, from which rises the plinth or plain face of the structure two feet in height, terminating with a finely-carved capping. On this is a row of elephants, remarkably well executed: the central elephant and those at the outer and inner angle of the projecting front have their trunks raised over their heads, the others have their trunks coiled on one side away from the centre. Between each pair of elephants on the recessed back-ground is a disc carved so as to represent a front view of an opening lotus-flower. Above the elephants and a few inches from the face of the recess is a bold moulding, then a plain band receding slightly from the front, about ten inches in width, surmounted by a projecting moulded beading, another plain band of the same width, a moulded beading above differing in pattern from the one below. Next comes a bracket line of heads of some nondescript animal, from the jaws of which protrude an upturned tongue reaching slightly above the level of the head. The breadth of this row of heads is the same as that of the elephants—eleven inches, and between each pair similar lotus-bud discs are to be seen. Another beaded string is found above this, then two more plain bands with strings above them, then a carved frieze, more quaint than beautiful, representing a procession of animals headed by men marching from left to right. This frieze is rather more than twelve inches broad, and the height of the animals varies from eight to eleven inches: amongst them may be

recognised the elephant, lion, tiger, horse and bull. A projected moulding caps the frieze, and on the face of the upper portion of this, four inches and a half in breadth, is carved a Buddha rail of horizontal bands crossed at intervals with vertical bars. Above this is a plain stone band, four inches broad, and placed eight inches back from the rail, which terminates the carved stonework of the wing. From this rises a structure in brick, forming three recesses or chambers open in front; but the upper portion of this brickwork being in ruins, it is impossible to determine the precise form of the roof. The front ends of the stonework, rising seventeen feet nine inches above the pavement, are finished off with square stone pillars similarly carved, and grooved on the inner sides, which fit with exactitude the bands and lines of beading: their outer faces and backs are without carving. These pillars are monoliths terminating in an oblong cap with a Buddhist rail round the upper edge, whilst on the caps are lions carved in the Greek style, having their faces to the front and seated on their hind quarters. The devices carved on the pillars represent on the upper portion the sacred umbrella, the horse-tail fans and the sacred wheel—all Buddhist emblems; whilst below may be seen figures of animals in pairs facing each other, having their front legs raised and leaning on a central stem with a protruding waving leaf, whilst between each pair of animals is an ornamented vase, supported on a plain tray by a squatting dwarf.

No portion of the upper part of the structure now remains, and until it was freed from dense jungle-growth and excavated to some extent, it was regarded as a mere heap of ruins; but it promises, if these excavations are carried on, to yield more important information than has been gathered from the examination of other dāgabas. The dome of this structure springs from a cylinder twenty-two feet higher than the upper pāsāda, and the total height now remaining is $82\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the raised pavement. The diameter of this dāgaba at the base is 164 feet, and of the cylinder above the upper pāsāda about 128 feet. The platform on which it



stands is reached by four flights of steps, one opposite each of the wings, the wing-walls and janitors being without ornament. The wall supporting the platform and the parapet with its coping, are composed of large blocks of stone tennoned and morticed together in a most workmanlike manner.

The approach to this dāgaba was from the east, and an avenue may still be traced for some distance, flanked on either side by ruins of stone walls. At the further end of this avenue may be seen in good condition a strangely carved stone pillar, which was supposed to have had the property of restoring the insane to reason.

The Ruanweli Dāgaba was built by King Dutu Gømunu, and was his greatest work, though he did not live to see the structure entirely completed. It was begun B.C. 158, and finished B.C. 137, a few years after the death of Dutu Gømunu, who had, however, so far completed the building as to have deposited the golden casket containing the relics in the upper chamber of the bell, which he placed there with his own hands amidst many imposing ceremonies.

The spot on which the dāgaba was built was considered by the Buddhists to be one of very great sanctity, and the Chinese traveller Fah Hian, who visited the city in about 60 A.D., says in his description of the place: "On Buddha's third visit to Ceylon he planted one foot to the north of the royal city and one on the top of a mountain, the distance between the two being fifteen yojanas" (the mountain refers to Adam's Peak, and the spot to the north of the city where the foot rested, the site of the present dāgaba). We find in the Mahāwansa that a stone pillar of very great magnitude stood on this spot, with an inscription on it commemorating this event, and that before commencing the building of the dāgaba King Dutu Gømunu had it carefully removed and put up a short distance to the north of the building, where it may now be seen, though much mutilated and without the slightest trace of an inscription.

The dāgaba is described in the Mahāwansa as having been

120 cubits in height. The superstructure above the crown of the bell has long disappeared, though a part of the original tee may still be seen. Above the ruined dome a piece of new masonry now supports a large copper ornament $18\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and to the top of this, from the paved platform upon which the dāgaba stands, is a little more than 198 feet. The diameter of the base of this dāgaba is 294 feet, and that of the bell 258 feet. This dāgaba, like the Miris-wattiya, has four wings, but on a smaller scale in proportion to the size of the dāgaba; they have all been cleared from the debris of the superstructure, as well as the chapels, altars, and a large number of interesting objects which surround its base. The base of the wings here have only the bold moulding at the bottom, a square and quadrant of the circle from which the plinth rises direct, and the capping to which is plainer than in the former case. The elephants are larger and more in number, but the discs are not so elaborately carved, the ornamental carvings of all the mouldings are much finer, the designs on some of the upper ones being very beautiful. In the wings of this dāgaba nothing above the first band and its beaded string beyond the bracket course can be traced, though a large quantity of mouldings and pieces of frieze lie scattered about. The carvings on the pillars at the ends of these wings have not been treated in the same way as those of the Miris-wattiya, and, being much broken and worn, are not of so much interest to the visitor. The carving of a seven-headed cobra on a smaller and outer pillar to the west wing is well treated, but the carvings on similar pillars of the three other wings, which represent different subjects, are not so interesting. The remains of paintings on these wings in bright colours, are very quaint, where human beings, monsters, and demons are treated, and the designs of floral work, especially on the plinths, where the lotus-flower and stems are conspicuous, are very pretty. Pictures of imaginary birds are only remarkable for their gorgeous colours, and the ornamental part of these wings were covered with brilliant paintings, and it is not improbable that all carved work about these religious buildings was more or less coloured,

especially the statues, of which there are now a few interesting examples.

The objects of interest on the platform of this dâgaba, independent of the building itself, are very numerous, abounding with carvings of various descriptions.

The building facing the steps to the east side of the platform is comparatively new, but the carved stonework round its base and the smaller steps to the doorways are very old: three figures of Buddha within are of stone, patched and painted. Passing onwards northerly, the remains of an ancient structure may be seen, which is well worthy of notice on account of its curious and elaborately carved pillars, one of which has fallen down. Closely adjoining the west wing is a very ancient altar having a projected front, evidently intended as a base for three sedent figures of Buddha. Some lion panels on the front of this altar are boldly carved, but being formed of soft sandstone, the entire work is much worn by time and defaced by bad usage.

The next dâgaba to be described is the structure known as the Abhayagiri, which was erected by King Walagam Bâhu about B.C. 89, in commemoration of his victories over the Malabars, who had during a number of years overrun the country. This dâgaba is described in the Mahâwansa as having been 180 cubits high. The present ruin measures 231 feet above the level of the platform: it is quite possible that this dâgaba, when its spire was complete, was at the very least 300 feet in height. To the king who constructed this dâgaba is ascribed the chief formation of those celebrated rock-temples at Dambulla, which are visited by every traveller on his way to the chief of all the ancient cities in Ceylon. Till within a very recent period the Jetawan Ârâma Dâgaba was considered to be the largest, but recent investigations have proved this not to be the case, as the Abhayagiri is found to have a larger diameter at the lower part of the hill of fifteen feet and at its base of twelve feet. The height of the dome and tee of the Abhayagiri are also greater than those of the Jetawan Ârâma, but as a far

greater portion of the spire of the latter remains standing, its total height at present is fourteen feet more than the Abhayagiri. The tee of this dāgaba as well as the spire is very carefully built with ornamental brickwork, the tee having indented bands round it at intervals, and the spire moulded at top and displaying the Buddhist rail on its four sides, giving the appearance at a little distance of Venetian blinds. The wings of this dāgaba, four in number, are pretty nearly the same as in the two dāgabas previously described; the bases of this, however, have the same extra moulding as in Miris-wattiya, and though now out of position, it is known that it had elephants at the angles above the plinth as in that dāgaba, while they were wanting in the Ruwanweli and Jetawan Ârâma, the corners of which finish off with the half disc. A great peculiarity in the construction of the stonework in the wings of this dāgaba is the arrangement of the large slabs of stones forming the plinth and in the plain bands above the elephants. Their faces, instead of being built of large brick-shaped blocks, and laid one over the other, are arranged alternately, presenting one end of a slab to the front and the next its broad surface, and are fitted closely together, and kept in position with mortices and tenons. The arrangement of the different courses is much the same as in the wings of the other dāgabas, the designs of the strings and the frieze being somewhat different: the carvings on the end pillars, which are divided into panels, are very beautiful, representing full-length figures displaying rich drapery studded with jewelled ornaments. Facing the west wing of the dāgaba, on the lowest panel on the right-hand pillar will be found a well-executed carving in high relief, representing a female figure holding a fruit not unlike an apple in the right hand, whilst over her left shoulder appears the head and part of the body of a large serpent, as though conversing with her; the whole being very suggestive of the temptation in Eden.

The platform of this dāgaba is supported by plain brick walls, and it had a brick parapet on all sides, with an opening in the centre of each opposite the wings, where a fine broad

flight of stone steps leads down to the procession path below. Opposite the stone steps on each side are the ruins of the four guard houses, all of which were built alike, and display a great amount of very fine carving in stone, the mouldings of the sides of the pavilion and the pedestal-like finish at the top of the steps being very perfect in design. All these guard houses are more or less in a very ruinous condition, but the one on the east is perhaps in the best state of preservation. The janitor stones on either side of the steps leading up to the platform of the dāgaba are very large, but quite plain.

In point of age the next dāgaba is the LanĀrāma, built on the same plan as the Thūpārāma, but on a considerably smaller scale. The main point of difference may be summed up in a few words. The dāgaba having been built some hundreds of years subsequent to its prototype, is in a far greater state of preservation, and we have the half of the original dāgaba facing the east in a very perfect state as far as the top of the tee; the stone foundation of the wall with a finely chiselled base; all the doorsteps fronting the altars, with mortices for their landings, for the stone door frames, all in their proper positions, only two rows of monolithic columus (in this case caps included) within the wall, but the same arrangement of octagonal columns outside, making three in all, instead of four as in the Thūpārāma. A further departure from the plan of the older dāgaba may be seen in the wall supporting the stone paved platform, which, as in the Thūpārāma, is circular. Here we have a very plain wall unadorned with any attempt at moulded decoration, but the presence of stone spouts proves that a parapet wall round it was an original part of the construction, and this possibly may have been more ornamental, though no trace of it at present exists. One of the stone spouts, now lying on the ground near the steps to the platform facing the east, is a very faithful copy of one already described as being now in position in the wall of the Thūpārāma Dāgaba; but as the carving is of more recent date, it is as may be expected in a far better state of preservation, and is altogether a very

curious work of art. The caps of the two inner rows of columns are alike, but the figures round their upper edge are, in this case, lions squatting on their hind legs being distended, and the fore legs firmly planted close together in front. The caps of the columns outside the wall are very much like those in a similar position in the Thûpârâma. The bell of the dâgaba has no pāsâda, but the mouldings, now plastered up in many places by way of repairs, must have been very good, and the square altars at the cardinal points of the dâgaba in place of the wings are well designed, and having been carved from good granite, are in a very tolerable state of preservation. Close round the dâgaba, and between the altars, are some smaller ones as well as the bases of statues, that once adorned the interior of the building which enshrined it. The steps leading from the platform, of which there is one opposite each of the altars in this dâgaba, as well as a doorway, while the thûpârâma has only two, are of stone, but the wing-walls were built of moulded brick. The landings to these steps must have been originally beautified with pedestals, but as no traces of them remain, they may have been constructed like the parapet and wing-walls of brick. That they did exist is proved from the fact of a pair of round vases, from the top of which issues the opening flower of the lotus and four buds depending from it, lying at the bottom of each. Instead of janitor stones on either side of the bottom of the steps, at three of them may be seen octagonal columns of different heights, exactly like those belonging to the outer row, but as many of these are wanting, it is more than probable that they have been placed there at a very recent period, and that they once belonged to the outer row of columns. The wall surrounding this dâgoba cannot be fully traced, though there are evident signs of its having existed, as well as a guard house, though of not very great pretensions, but the ruins of several buildings, of which the stone pillars, steps, and janitor stones, within what was evidently an enclosure, are still to be seen, point to the fact of a large monastery having been planted there, and at one time the place, from a Buddhistical point of view, was one of very

great importance. Amongst these ruins are to be found four or five seated stone figures of Buddha, all headless, and the projecting arm, as well as one standing figure with the head broken off. The remains of statues and carved stones scattered around point to this place having once been of some importance, and to having been profusely adorned by art. The diameter of this dâgaba is 44 feet, the height from the platform is 33 feet, and the height of the platform above the surrounding ground nearly 14 feet.

The next dâgaba to be described is the Jetawan Ârâma, commenced by King Mahâ Sew about A.D. 394, and completed by his son Kirti Sri Meghawarṇṇa about eight years afterwards. The height of this dâgaba is 245 feet, its diameter above the three pāsâdas is 310 feet, and the diameter of the base is about 355 feet. The spire, of which a very large portion still remains, was evidently a striking feature of the whole building, as also is the tee, though it is not apparent to the casual observer. A pair of binoculars or a small telescope will reveal a great deal which it is impossible to discern with the naked eye, and much that will interest the visitor. The upper part of the steeple is very much worn by time, but it can clearly be seen by the aid of a glass that there was an architectural design about it that would have made it very imposing, and the lower part still clearly shows three very bold projecting mouldings, under which are arches and large ornamented pilasters alternately. This, which was once a very grand steeple, rises from a tee with a somewhat sloping top, having on its upper edge an over-sloping cap, and a broad base below, the corners of the sides representing large plain pillars, between which, and filling up the whole of each side, is the Buddhist rail with the emblem of the sun. The whole of this was plastered, as traces are clearly visible everywhere, and it is not improbable that it was also painted, as all these ancient Buddhistical structures appear to have been. Tradition says that the large disc on each side of the tee was covered over with rich sparkling gems, so that when the light of the sun struck it, it was impossible to look upon the dazzling object. Of the

bell of the dâgaba very little can be seen on account of the thick foliage of the jungle which now covers it; but it is quite apparent that, like the Abhayagiri, it was in the form of a semicircle springing from the base, and not as the Ruwanwelle and Miris-wattiya, a dome rising from a slightly bevelled cylinder.

This dâgaba has its three pāsâdas or procession terraces rising one above the other, and its four wings at the cardinal points. The wings are here larger in proportion to the dâgaba than the others built on the same principle as this, whilst the mouldings appear to have been copied from those of the Ruwanweli Dâgaba from the base to the bracket course, above which nothing remains, though it may fairly be supposed that the remaining portions were identical with the others. In most instances the pillars at each termination of the wings have not been cleared from *débris*, or are in such a ruinous state as to render it difficult to examine them closely: those, however, which have been cleared and exposed to view show some beautiful carvings in various designs, some representing the human figure in rich drapery, others depicting birds amidst rich foliage, the whole very accurately treated. There are scattered about the platform of this structure several altars noticeable rather for their great size than from any peculiarity of construction. Leading up from this platform are a number of steps forty-two feet in width, reaching a procession-path nearly a hundred feet wide, and surrounded by a stone wall with a massive coping. This wall is built up of huge blocks of stone of almost every conceivable shape and size, yet all made to unite in one compact mass with the utmost precision, showing the existence of a considerable amount of skill in the workmen employed. Some of these blocks of stone measure ten to fourteen feet in length and from one and a half to four feet in width.

This dâgaba has but two guard houses, one on the west side, the other on the south, but both are splendid examples of ancient architecture. That on the south side is the most perfect, and presents a terraced pavilion with projecting

pedestals at its angles, and on either side of the fine flight of steps, ascending to it from the road, and from thence across the guard house, descending again to the procession-path, enclosed by the curiously constructed walls alluded to above, the pedestals were each surmounted by a fine vase, from the mouth of which issued a full-blown lotus-flower and four buds. The wing-walls to the steps, though carved, were somewhat plain; the janitor stones to the steps from the platform dâgaba and those of the guard-houses facing the dâgaba were dwakas, with the three-headed cobra. The janitor stones in front of the steps leading from the road of the south guard house are very curious, and different from any others to be seen in the place. They are not dwaka stones, but represent a grotesque figure of a man, different in each case, in a very peculiar posture, holding the stem of the lotus-plant in one hand while the other rests on his hip; these carvings, in very high relief, are quaint in their conception, and should be examined to be appreciated, as no description would convey a fair idea of them. That a similar pair of janitor stones existed in front of the west guard-house is quite possible, but nothing of them now remains.

The next dâgaba, and the last to be described, is the Sela Chaitiya, but it is so small, and is in so ruinous a condition, that very little can be said about it. The base of the dâgaba was a square pavilion-like structure, of beautifully moulded stone, most of which is now thrown down and covered with the débris of the structure. The small portion of the moulded stone now to be seen shows a plinth some three feet in height, and a bold elegant base moulding, with a very fine cap finishing off flat at the top, being slightly above the pavement, which is reached by flights of stone steps on the east and south sides. These steps, though not large, are interesting, having the usual wing-walls of stone, the top of which are surmounted by the curious nondescript animals previously described, a plain moonstone being at the foot of the steps, with two dwâraka stones or janitors very richly carved. The platform was originally six feet square, and

the base of the dāgaba thirty feet, but the latter is now so much destroyed that only a heap of bricks and rubbish remain. It is not known by whom or at what date this dāgaba was built, but it is probably older than the Lankārāma, which Sir E. Tennant ascribed to the year 276 A.D. According to tradition in the neighbourhood, it was constructed to enshrine some bones of two monks, disciples of Buddha, who travelled as missionaries in Ceylon for a number of years after his death.

TABULAR SUMMARY OF THE SEVEN DĀGABAS.¹

	Built.	Height of Platform from ground.	Height (from platform) of existing ruin.	Diameter of	
				bell.	dāgaba
1. Thūpārāma ...	307 B.C.	18 feet	62 feet	33ft.	59ft.
2. Miris Wattiya...	157 B.C.	4 flights of steps	82	128	164
3. Ruwan Wœli ...	158 B.C.		198	258	294
4. Abhaya Giri ...	89 B.C.	3 terraces	231 ²	322	370
5. Lankārāma.....	276 A.D.	14 feet	33	44	44
6. Jetawan Ārāma	394 A.D.		245	310	355
7. Sela Chaitya	30

¹ Dā-gaba is the Sinhalese contraction of the Pāli Dhātu-gabha 'Relic-casket'; but it is used exclusively of these solid bell-shaped domes.

² Original height from the ground to the top of spire, 405 feet (Tennant, vol. ii. p. 621), that is to say, about ten feet higher than the topmost point of St. Paul's; the latter being only 396 feet high.

ART. VI.—*Andamanese Music, with Notes on Oriental Music and Musical Instruments.* By M. V. PORTMAN, Esq.,
M.R.A.S.

THE subject of Oriental Music is one which offers a large field for research, in which very little work has, as yet, been done.

The music of Arabia was very thoroughly investigated by Villoteau. Short papers have been written on the music of Persia. Eichhorn has written on the music of Afghanistan. Willard, and later Sir Sourindro Mohun Tagore, have described the music of Hindostan at some length. Javanese music has had some attention paid to it; and Père Amiot, and later, Tradescant Lay, and Van Aalst, have described the musical system of China. Many small notes have been made on the music of most Eastern countries; but these, even when they are really accurate, are generally mixed with a mass of extraneous matter in some book of travel, scientific paper, or report, so that they are not easily procurable. In order to investigate Oriental Music, it is necessary that the inquirer should be a musician, somewhat above the ordinary amateur grade, and should also be acquainted with the language and customs of the people amongst whom he is inquiring. What is really wanted in England is a complete and exhaustive collection of all the musical instruments used throughout the world by Oriental and Extra-European nations, and this collection should be accompanied by such a mass of information, that the facts regarding the music of these nations may be laid before the student in a complete and intelligible form. The Questions drawn up by the late Mr. Carl Engel, for "The British Association for the Advancement of Science," and published in "Anthropo-

logical Notes and Queries," will greatly assist the investigator. Full scores of Oriental orchestral music we are entirely without, and these should be accompanied, where possible, by the words of the songs, or plays, etc.

The Sacred music of Oriental nations would be a most interesting field for research, and a collection should be made of the treatises which the more civilised Asiatic nations possess on music.

In making these researches the greatest care is of course necessary. Engel's admirable work, "Study of National Music," might be consulted with advantage, and I should myself be glad to assist any inquirer.

The music of Asia may be divided into distinct branches, which have little or no connection with each other.

1. The music of pure aboriginal, and savage tribes.
2. The music of the Chinese.
3. The music of Siam, Burma, the Malay Peninsula, and Java.
4. The music of Hindostan, which differs greatly in different parts, and of which the ancient classical music, about which much has been written, and many fanciful theories have been evolved, differs almost entirely from the music performed in the present day.
5. The music of Persia and Arabia.
6. The music of Thibet and Nepaul.

Without going over ground which has been already traversed by others, I will give what little information I have been able to collect regarding these systems of music.

With regard to the first class, I have made considerable researches into the music of the Andamanese, a race of whom I have been for some years in official charge.

The Andamanese are decidedly fond of their own music, but do not care much for that of other nations. Even among themselves the songs of more distant tribes, which differ in rhythm and intonation, are not much appreciated. Foreign music merely attracts their attention as a novelty. Their ear is not acute for discerning small musical intervals.

Experiments were made by me with several European and Oriental musical instruments of different "timbre." They have not good musical ears. The "Öngés" appear to have more highly developed musical capabilities than the other tribes. Those who are considered, amongst themselves, to be the best singers, can generally nearly hit any note given to them on a European instrument, but the majority of the Andamanese, on whom I experimented, were about a semitone out. They are very slow at picking any European, or Asiatic tune, which may be sung or played to them, though quick enough at learning the choruses of each other's songs. The reason of this probably is that the rhythm is different from that to which they are accustomed, and the tunes are not in their ordinary song-compass; nor are the notes in their accustomed sequence.

The voices of the men are of medium loudness, rather rough, and steady, growing deeper and fuller in tone with age, up to about 35 years. After this it becomes very rough, husky, and tuneless. [The Andamanese age very quickly.] The boys' voices are clear and not unpleasant. The women's voices are clear but of bad intonation. "Falsetto" is common among both sexes, though their general "timbre" is not as nasal as that of more civilised Oriental races. The notes of the "Öngé" tribes are quite smooth and round, and entirely free from nasal intonation. The usual compass of the voice in both sexes is about an octave. The man's is generally from C-c, though I have met men who can sing from B^b-e. Women generally sing from G-g. The prevailing male voice is barytone. The prevailing female voice is contralto. All the notes of the women are distinctly head and not chest notes.

With the exception of the "Pukuta Yemnga," about to be described, the Andamanese have no instrumental music; their music consisting only of songs in solo and chorus, which chorus is invariably sung by both sexes if available, and is accompanied by a dance. They have no professional singers. The following appears to be their system of song. The men sing in unison; some women, with the children in



falsetto, an octave above; the remainder of the women sing in what I believe is intended for a perfect fifth, but what is occasionally a minor sixth above the men. Difference of pitch in the voices introduces other notes, which can only be called "out of tune." Their singing is in regular duple time. This is more particularly marked in the choruses, when you have the rhythmical accompaniment. The continuance of one note, or of a sequence of notes, a little distance apart, which is an attribute of Oriental music, often leads persons who do not know the meaning of the word to call Andamanese solos "recitative," which term, as meaning "musical declamation," does not in the least apply. They have only one species of song, which may treat of all subjects. They have no religious, nursery, or love songs. The principal subjects on which songs are composed are pig-hunting, fish-shooting, turtle and dugong spearing, fighting, making boats, bows, etc. The music, rhythm, accent, and intonation is no clue to the sense of the song, and a person not knowing the language would be ignorant as to whether a fight, hunt, or the making of a boat, was being described. Every one composes songs. A man or woman would be thought very little of, who could not do so. Even the small children compose their own songs. Each person composes his own, and it is a great breach of etiquette to sing another person's song, particularly if the composer be dead.

The only notes in use in their songs are the following, and in this order:

The leading note, $\frac{1}{4}\sharp$. The Tonic. The Tonic, $\frac{1}{4}\sharp$.

The whole range of notes is therefore not equal to a superfluous second.

The general sequence, or progression of notes, used by the South Andaman tribes, is

Tonic. Tonic, $\frac{1}{4}\sharp$. Leading note, $\frac{1}{4}\sharp$.

I of course presume the Andamanese leading note to be a semi-tone below the tonic.

Of the northern tribes we have more to learn, but I doubt

if any great difference will appear. The "Öngé" tribes appear to have our diatonic intervals, but we know little of them. The songs conclude on what I assume to be the tonic, but which is in reality the second note of the scale.

In their solos, "Ritardando" and "Accelerando" are freely used, the chorus only being in strict time, which is invariably duple.

They have no traditions regarding music, except that the "Chāōga-tábanga" or "ancestors" (a great people, like the Greek Heroes, or Demi-gods), by their account, used to sing, and, as it is not etiquette to sing the song of a dead person, these are soon forgotten. As to their manner of composition, any person, wishing to compose a song for the evening's entertainment, *i.e.* dance, makes up the song to his satisfaction by continually trying it over, while engaged in anything which does not excite, or distract him.

I append some Andamanese songs, in score, which will illustrate my meaning.

As the Andamanese alter and clip at will the ordinary words of their language, to suit the rhythm of their songs, they may almost be said to possess a poetic dialect. This being the case, I have in the following instances translated the song into the vulgar tongue, and from that into English.

(The numbers refer to the songs in score.)

Song No. 1.—Composed by an Andamanese man named "Bulubulla," of the "Áka-Bálawa" tribe, resident in "Aila Juru." It relates how, when he was on a cruise in the local steamer, he sang a song, and another man learnt it.

Solo.

Guma Nyunga-lá díá chél lálót rámit lóto éno díá chél
lálót rámit-lá. Nyunga déra tó óro bói lá, Nyunga
déra óro, bói lá.

Chorus.

Nyunga déra óro bói lá.

In the ordinary Áka-Bía-da language,

Wai Guma Nyunga-la díá ót-éniré, bíрма chélewa-len
ót rámit lóto wai ádik eb ákan pódiré, á ídat óoré.

In English.

Master Nyunga-la sang with me on the steamer, and he learnt my song.

Chorus.

Nyunga-la learnt my song.

This will be repeated many times, and perhaps one or more verses made up.

Song No. 2.—A song by the same composer, describing how, when out with me in a small steamer, we passed up the coast of the North Andaman at night.

Solo.

Bír-a lót érema ógar lá ebngéra chál édo ké dók,
ebngéra chál lá. Bé chóke wáp lóm, dákar
tárai lót tá.

Chorus.

Bé chóke wáp lóm, dákar tárai lót tá.

In Áka-Bía-da.

Wái bíra lót érema ógar lá chálet kágre, eb árachál
dókré. Chóké íjí dákar tár lótiré.

In English.

From the country of the Yerewas the moon rose, it came near. It was very cold, I sat down.

Chorus.

It was very cold, I sat down.

Song No. 3.—Composed by an Andamanese man, named "Ríala," of the "Áka Jawa" tribe, resident at "Yéretíl." It relates how, while on a cruise in the local steamer, he sang to the North Andamanese, saying he was coming to meet them.

Solo.

Dó ngól áka-teggi leb, dákar jád ál ngáka yábngo,
d'ót ógar léra lóto cháli beo.

Chorus.

D'ót ógar léra lóto cháli beo.

In Áka-Bía-da.

Dó ngól áka-teggi leb, dáka jádia kágké, áka yábnga
lat. D'ót ógar lár lótiré.

In English.

I am coming to see you, the moon has gone down.

Chorus.

The moon has gone down.

Song No. 4.—By the same composer, saying that it was his fate, although one born in the interior jungle, to be always travelling about in the steamer.

Solo.

Bádinga yába chána ur chál yá leb dábétiRé, ára chélia
lat góno tét lóT gutoi dáB cháti tong lóT tár, lódo
chár béria óba ngíká.

Chorus.

Ár lódo chár béria óba ngíká.

In Áka Bia-da.

Bádinga yábada, chána d'ábétiRé ára chélia lát dáB
góno tet lóT gutoré, dáB cháti tong lá, dón ik ár
lódoké.

In English.

I did not see, but I know I was born from my mother,
for the work of the steamer, I was born in the jungle,
where the Góno¹ and Cháti¹ are, but I go often
in the steamer.

Song No. 5.—Composed by “Woichela,” an Andamanese man of the “Áka Jawai” tribe. It relates how he was cutting a bow, and did it all himself.

Solo.

Ykngat kópa lóko tétán, oitán, uchobá d'ón kíchal
uchubá dá kó dídá, oh! oh! oh!

Chorus.

Uchuba dá, kó dída, oh! oh! oh!

¹ Edible roots.



In Áka Bía-da.

Bá ngóda pórngata, íkngát kópa lóka tétán, uchuba
d'ón kichal dó, dóla uchuba, dóla dédalíré, oh!
oh! oh!

In English.

Solo.

You did not make this, I made it, I, I, I, made it.

Chorus.

I, I, I, made it.

Song No. 6.—Composed by “Bulubulla,” an Andamanese man of the “Bójigiáb” tribe, resident at “Pich láka chákan,” in “Báratán.” It relates how Máia Póro saw a big turtle in the water, from the composer’s boat, and laughed at it.

Solo.

Máia Póro béringa lá día yádi cháuma leb ngíji dál ló
páal láka en ngíji dála-da, Póro l’ót yéngo bía lí dá.

Chorus.

Póro l’ót yéngo bía lí dá.

In Áka Bía-da.

Máia Póro béringa día yádi cháuma lik ngíji édal lót
pâreka óbada. Póro ót yéngiké b’édal-da.

In English.

Solo.

Máia Póro from my boat saw a big turtle in the water,
and hit him in the eye. Póro laughed when he
hit him in the eye.

Chorus.

Póro laughed when he hit him in the eye.

Song No. 7.—Composed by “Bía Mulwa,” an Andamanese man of the “Áka Kól” tribe, resident at Long Island. It relates how at the close of the day they were returning through the jungle slowly, when they heard the noise of a canoe being cut. [Other verses describing the cutting of it,

would probably be added to this song.] The music of this song is not given.

Solo.

Bódo dá láta dá teggi ló tid lára dáka ké ába idáb chá
lómro.

Chorus.

Ké ába idab chá lómro.

In *Áka Bía-da*.

Bódo dá lát dó óyo díd lárada ké ó teggi ké yábada
mócho át lárada ké.

In English.

Solo.

At the end of the day we were going slowly, and heard
the noise of a canoe being cut.

Chorus.

We were going slowly.

Song No. 8.—Composed by “Chána Lucla,” an Andamanese woman of the “Áka Balawa” tribe, married to a man of the “Áka Kédé” tribe. She relates how putting the steering oar straight, she took the canoe out to sea, and then brought it back.

Solo.

Dó ngen ár geu dāngali dát kópa léra gólobáka, idát
kópa léra dó ngen ó déra élojró.

Chorus.

Dó ngen ó déra, élojró.

In *Áka Bía-da*.

Tun íkngát kópa léra lát góra wai dói ngen óyo
d'árlóm ké jurulen.

In English.

Solo.

I straightened the helm, and took the boat out into the
sea, and then brought it back.

Chorus.

I then brought it back.



Song No. 9.—Composed by “Bía Boi,” an Andamanese man of the “Bojigiab” tribe, resident at “Duratán.” It relates how he was cutting a canoe.

Solo.

Pus-é lóringá ló dudé pólé, pus-é lóring ó lá ; míaté ba lóringá lá.

Chorus.

Míaté ba lóringá lá.

In Áka Bía-da.

Bájé lóringa ló dudépól. Bájé lóringa-da Métat lóringa-da.

In English.

Solo.

I am cutting the under part of a canoe's prow, I am cutting a canoe.

Chorus.

I am cutting a canoe.

Song No. 10.—Composed by “Kála,” an Andamanese man of the “Áka Bía-da” tribe, resident at “Góp-láka-báng.” It relates how, when standing at the bows of a canoe, he saw some fish.

Solo.

Kápró, kápró dekan, kápró á, Bár lekó, tia á-bada.

Chorus.

Bár lekó, tia á-ba-da.

In Áka Bía-da.

Dól ába kápi, k'ól bedig, dól dekan kápiké, dól kápi. Wálak-lek ót yát, díá yába-da.

In English.

Solo.

I was standing, yes I was standing up. I was standing. In front of me are fish, but they are not mine.

Chorus.

In front of me are fish, but they are not mine.

The two following songs composed by "Tóké," an Andamanese of the "Áka Jawai" tribe, resident at "Péwiltaur," are given to show a two-line chorus of peculiar rhythm, used chiefly in the northern part of the Middle Andaman.

Solo.

Juruwin lá dik ératá pucha lá beat
Róko ló dig, kó tiá la
Bang abgádí, gá daií biá.

Chorus.

Biát.
Rókolǒ dīg || kó tiá lǎ
Bang abgádí, || gá daií biá.

Also

Solo.

Ebn wól lóko pail-í díji, bói dédat kópo lót yubró,
Kála dón wólo bé.
Nura lóij, rát kópa lót,
Yubró kála, dón wólo bé.

Chorus.

Nurǎlǒij || rát kópa lót
Yubrǒ kála, || dón wólǒ bé.

The following song composed by "Ílí," an Andamanese man of the "Áka Cháriár" tribe, resident at "Pait-terbuliu," North Andaman, will serve to show the rhythm and style of song in use among the tribes in the North Andaman.

Solo.

Bóruatá.	u u u -
Órumu.	- - -
Ó rábirá.	- u u -
Kétóá	- - -
Rábéu	- - -
Ké rebelé	- u u -
Rábé láá	u u - -



Rai ebeté	- u u -
Éyo ketó	- - u -
É rá belá	- - u -
Dála róé	- u - -
Éba béá	- u - -
Tá lá	- -
Óbe tará	u u u -
Ébe téu	- u - -
Rai ebeté	- u u -
Uwá	- -
Íyu u.	- u -

Chorus.

Rai ebeté	- u u -
Uwā	- -
Íyu u.	u u -

The following song, composed by myself whilst on an expedition against the "Járawa" tribes, shows how a song may have two choruses.

Solo.

Járawá la tinga ódó, páliát érá tinga ómá, lebatérá,
ting erák íómá leb.

Chorus.

Ting erák íómá leb.

or,

Solo.

Járawá la tinga ódót, páliát érá, tinga ómá leb-at-íse.

Chorus.

Járawá bóimá leb-at-íse.

I have not thought it necessary to copy out more songs because the above fully illustrate the music of the Andamanese and their poetry; and, as explained, none of the songs have the value of antiquity. The "Öngé" songs

I have as yet been unable to procure. The next point for notice in the singing of the Andamanese is a peculiar "finale," as follows :

Solo.

Óbé dáté ár éá.

or,

Óbaé bóyubé dáté,

answered by

Chorus

Té áré áré á.





all of which has absolutely no meaning.

This solo with the North, and North of the Middle Andaman tribes is

Solo.

E' ábé árá, é ábé tárá.

answered as before.

This finale closes the song, and a pause ensues, in which the only sound heard is the rhythmical time beat, which has a very weird effect, and which ends in the time being suddenly broken, when a confused rapid rattle of beats is heard, the time changing from  ||  continually repeated to  ||  which after a few bars ceases entirely.

I will now describe the "Pukuta Yemnga," the only musical, or rather rhythmical instrument of the Andamanese. It is an instrument of percussion, and is a shield-shaped piece of wood, which is placed with the narrow end in the ground, and struck with the foot. Any man can make one. It is almost invariably made of "Chálanga" wood [*Pterocarpus dalbergioides*, "Padouk"], and is ornamented on the concave side with patterns in coloured earth put on generally by the women.

Holes, called "Áka-tób-lánga-da," are cut in the broad end for a rope to be fastened to, which rope the performer holds in his hand. He has also, as a rule, an arrow in his hand, the pointed end of which he sticks into the instrument near

the holes. It is used as a rest, and, with the rope, may be shifted to either hand. Ornaments of tassels are also occasionally tied on to these holes, and hang down underneath. No acoustic reason is given for the holes, and many "Pukutas" are found without them. The "Wólo" or Adze, is the only tool used in making the "Pukuta," which is not smoothed or finished in any way. The convex side of it follows the shape of the tree from which it has been cut; this side being generally the outer edge of the tree, with the bark removed, and the knots cut off. A big "Pukuta" takes a man (and it is usually made by one person) about a week to make.

When in use, the convex side of the "Pukuta" is uppermost, the pointed end is stuck in the ground, and kept in position with one foot. A stone is then placed under it, to keep it steady, and give it support.

Though the Andamanese sing when engaged in any employment, yet the dance is their only real musical performance. This may take place on the meeting of friends, after a successful day's sport, during the various initiatory ceremonies, in short, any event is made the pretext for a dance, which constitutes one of the greatest enjoyments in Andamanese life. It is also performed with certain observances of etiquette at a ceremony about 70 days after the funeral of a man, when his bones are distributed amongst his relatives.


The dances of the Andamanese are "the ordinary dance, or Kóinga," "the Yádi-Gumul dance," which is only used at that ceremony, and "the Reg-jiri-gumul dance," which is peculiar to that ceremony. There also occur minor differences in these dances among the different tribes, which merely consist, on the men's part, of a different mode of swinging the hands, and on the women's part, of a greater or less accentuation of the curtesy. The principal dance of the Andamanese, which with a few variations prevails throughout all the tribes in the Great Andaman, is as follows, and though seen at its best when a large party meet together who have not seen each other for some time, and therefore

vie with each other in the energy of their steps, or the newness of their songs, yet may be observed in most encampments of any size every evening. Although men, or rather boys, do take the women's part in the "Orchestra," yet a dance is not considered to be correct in the absence of women.

The "Pukuta Yemnga" having been placed at one end of the dancing ground (called "bulum"), which has been swept clean, the leader takes his stand at it, facing the ground. A number of women sit in a row on his left, and a cluster of men are behind him and on his right. The men who are going to dance sit or stand about at the edge of the ground.

The leader then commences a Solo, and, arriving at the Chorus, the women and men take it up and repeat it many times. The former sit upright with their legs straight before them, crossed a little above the ankle, and slap the hollow between their thighs with one open hand which is held at the wrist by the other. The men who are not dancing clap their hands, all in exact time. The leader strikes the "Pukuta" with the inner part of one foot, principally with the heel.

After about one bar of the chorus has been sung, the dancers commence with great vehemence. They do not form any figure, but go where they choose, and stop when they are tired.

The step of the men's dance is, Strike the ground with the right heel, the toes not being raised off the ground; then with the left heel, the whole foot being raised off the ground, and then again with the right heel. $\frac{4}{4}$  This completes one step, and is repeated for some time till the right foot is tired, when they commence with the left foot. All this time the body is bent slightly forward from the hips, the back curved well inwards; and the arms being outstretched, the first fingers and thumbs of both hands are interlaced. [There are many ways, however, of holding the fingers, this being purely a matter for the dancer's taste.] As the leader becomes tired, he is relieved at the "Pukuta" by another, and joins in the dance. The leader continues to



sing for some time, and when tired is succeeded by the man who relieved him. This obtains always.

The step of the women's dance is, "Swinging their arms backwards and forwards, and alternately raising their heels from the ground. Then raising their hands they will cross their wrists, then go back, after a little while, to the first position." They also every minute or so advance a few steps.

The men when tired, but not wishing to cease dancing, have a step called, "Dénāōké," which is performed thus: "they simply stand and raise their heels alternately, keeping their toes on the ground." A great feature in this dance is that occasionally several men ceasing from their steps will cross the floor with a trotting motion, shouting the while. The time in all their motions is perfect, and very interesting to watch. As the Andamanese are always stark naked, with the exception of a leaf worn by the women, and their ornaments, the sight is a curious one.

The dances take place in the evening and at night in the dense jungle, often with no light but that of the flickering fires, and the effect is very weird. Sometimes they light a torch or throw a blazing mass of resin on the ground. They quite lose themselves in the excitement of the dance.

Special ornaments are worn by some, viz. a circular band of leaf round the head, with bunches of fibre stuck in it, and bunches of the same fibre are stuck in their waistbelt behind. The young men often dress and paint extensively for the dance, and are proud of their dancing.

A peculiar effect is produced when occasionally the music, *i.e.* the song, ceases, and nothing is heard but the rhythmical beat. Women occasionally relieve men at the "Pukuta," but do not often sing. A few differences may be noticed from the above, as, for instance, the Áka Yéri and Áka Cháriár tribes, when dancing, swing their hands from the hip to the chin in time with the dance. From what I have seen of the Járawa and Úngé dance, it would seem to be in imitation of the act of coition.

In the ceremonies of "Yádi-gumul-lé," or eating turtle, and "Reg-jíri-gumul-lé," or eating the breast of the pig,

under certain circumstances and conditions, a dance peculiar to each ceremony obtains. For a description of the ceremonies I must refer you to Mr. E. H. Man's work "On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands." The "Yádi-gumul-lé" dance is as follows: "Men, and occasionally women, taking bunches of leaves in both hands, jump in the air with both feet together, bending down, and striking the ground with the branches as they return to the earth, and then rising erect for a second jump."

The "Reg-jíri-gumul-lé" dance is similar, but one foot, the left, is kept permanently on the ground, while the right is alternately in the air, or beating the ground. The bunches of leaves are used in the same way.

No song or "Pukuta" is used in these two dances, and they are performed to merely the rhythmical clapping of hands and slapping of thighs. Only those who have gone through the ceremonies may assist the initiate at these dances.

The Nicobarese possess two musical instruments, one a seven-holed flageolet, which is evidently that of the Burmese, and the other a stringed instrument, called "Danang." It is made of the large bamboo, is about three feet long, and has three frets and one string of cane. Two holes are made in the bamboo for sound-holes. This instrument is laid across the knees when played, and produces a very good and powerful tone. It is in my opinion borrowed from the Indian "Sitár." The Nicobarese have many dances and songs, which have not yet been collected.

For information on the second class of music, I must refer you to the works of "Amiot," "Tradescant Lay" and "Van Aalst."

With regard to the third class, the music of Burma, Siam, and Java is more pleasing to European ears than that of any other Asiatic country. The instruments are of excellent quality of "timbre," and the scale is not so offensive to European ears.

The following remarks on Burmese music may be of interest; but in giving them I wish it to be understood that much more work remains to be done in this subject, and hereafter errors may be detected in what I now write.

The Burmese appear to be fond of music, but chiefly when in combination with dancing and acting. Their ear is good, and they can be taught European music. They have professional musicians, who attain considerable proficiency in their own music, which is taught entirely by ear. The quality of their voices is soft, but nasal in intonation, and not particularly pleasing. The compass is about one octave. The prevailing male voice is "barytone," B \flat -a or B-f. The prevailing female voice is "mezzo-soprano," B \flat -e. They possess books and collections of songs, but have no musical notation, nor have they any knowledge of Harmony, which is a purely European musical science. The Burmese scale requires to be determined by some experienced acoustician, the "temperament" differing from ours. I have heard a "Pátala" tuned to almost our diatonic scale of A Major.

This "Pátala" or Bamboo Harmonican, is the basis of all Burmese music, and to it all orchestral instruments are tuned. As it is tuned, diatonically, orchestral chromatics are forbidden. The music contains frequently repeated phrases, with different variations, and in different octaves. Duple time is generally used.

The following is a list of the instruments in use in Lower Burma. "Boung," a Drum. "Saeng," a circle of Drums. "Pam-ma," a Brass Drum. "Hné," an Oboe. "Boung-hsé," a long Drum. "Oo-hsé," an upright Drum. "Beh," a Tam-tam. "Wun-let-hkouk," a bamboo Clapper. "Hsaing-di," a circle of Gongs. "Maungi," a Gong. "Jeg-wainh," Cymbals. "Hsaing-aung," a crescent Gong. "Pá-lwé," a Flageolet. "Saung," a Harp. "Pátala," a Harmonican. "Mee-young," an alligator-shaped Guitar. "Theyau," a Fiddle.

I will now describe these in detail.

"Boung" is a conical wooden drum, with heads and braces of deer-hide. Only the larger end is played on, and

is covered with a cream-coloured paint, with a black centre. It is not tuned by the braces, but by placing in the centre of the black spot a lump of paste, consisting of boiled rice and soda lye earth, and the reason of painting the head of the drum is to prevent this composition, which is a strong alkali, eating into the hide.

The "Saeng" consists of a number (generally 21) of these drums, placed round the inside of a circular frame, being suspended from its upper rim by hide cords. A large bass drum is suspended to a bamboo pole attached to the outside of the frame. The performer sits in the centre of the framework, and plays on the drums with his hands, striking them with a peculiar flick of the first and second fingers. The tone is soft and dull. The "Pam-ma," being simply a large "Boung," requires no separate description.

"Hné" is an "Oboe," with a large detached metal bell, seven holes in front and two holes behind. It is an instrument of the orchestra. Its compass is three octaves, of which the middle one seems to be little used. The lower octave has a coarse rough tone, but the highest octave has a beautiful flute-like tone, which is very effective. Five oboes are generally used in a full orchestra. The reed is of coarse contrivance, being thick, and made of a number of folds of palm leaf, at folding which the players are very dexterous. A brass bodkin is usually attached to the "Hné" for keeping the centre of the reed clear. "Boung-hsé" and "Be-oh" are mere ordinary drums, of the shape of the Indian "Tam-tam." "Oo-hsé" is a peculiar kind of upright drum, in form being of the genus kettledrum, and somewhat resembles the "Darabukkeh" of the Egyptians. "Wun-let-hkouk" is an ingenious bamboo clapper. It consists of a piece of bamboo two joints long, which is split down to the second joint, and part of the second joint is cut away for the hand. It is used to mark the time, and is often played with the foot. Gongs the Burmese are famous for. They are of two shapes, crescent and circular, and are either used singly or in a circle. The edges of the single gongs are thin, and incline inwards; those which are used in circles

like the circle of drums, have their edges of the same thickness as the rest of the instrument, and at right angles to the face of the gong. They are tuned by adding solder, wax, etc., to the inside of the centre knob. Their tone is often exquisite, and the circle of gongs, which are played on by being struck with pieces of wood, are an excellent addition to the orchestra. The cymbals are equally fine, and are of all sizes.

"Pá-lwé," the flageolet, is made of bamboo, with seven holes in front, and a thumb hole. It has often another hole above the top finger hole, which is covered by paper or wax, and is similar to the same class of hole in the Chinese flute called "Ti-tzū." The instrument has no mouthpiece, the end being simply put to the mouth.

"Saung," the harp, is a most beautiful instrument. The body is canoe-shaped, and made of wood covered with deer-skin, and sometimes painted. A long curved neck projects upwards from the body, and the strings, made of silk and of different thicknesses, are fastened to thick tasseled cords on the neck, the other ends being tied to a bar on the centre of the body. The strings are thirteen in number, and are tuned in unison with the "Pátala." The tuning is effected by the cords being raised or lowered on the neck. The body acts as a sounding board, and has round holes cut in the belly covering. The tone of this instrument is very fine. Of its origin I can say nothing, but it should be compared with the harps of the ancient Assyrians and Egyptians, which it greatly resembles, and will probably solve many problems regarding them, as it appears to me to show decided traces of Assyrian origin.

"Pátala," the bamboo harmonican, is the basis of all Burmese music. On it beginners are taught before they learn any other instrument, and to it the other instruments are tuned. The number of its notes varies from 18 to 23. The notes are merely strips of the "Bambusa Gigantea," strung together by holes bored on the nodal points, and suspended over an ornamented trough which serves as a sounding board. The tone is remarkably liquid and beautiful.

It is played by one performer, who sits before it, having a hammer with a cloth or cork head in each hand, with which he strikes it. There is also a "Pátala," composed of metal bars instead of bamboo, which greatly resembles the glass harmonican used as a toy by English children. It is not a genuine Burmese instrument, but an adaptation from a European harmonican.

"Mee-gyoung," the alligator-shaped guitar, is considered to be one of the most ancient instruments in Burma, and on account of its ineffectiveness is going out of use. It is made of wood in the likeness of an alligator, is strung with three wire strings, and has frets. It is played with a plectrum.

"Theyau," the fiddle, bears a striking resemblance to the European viol family. It is strung with three silken or horsehair strings, and is played like a violoncello. It is difficult to say whether this is a genuine Burmese instrument or no. I am of opinion that, though the Burmese may, in common with other adjacent races, have had a stringed instrument played with a bow, yet that the shape of the present "Theyau" has been influenced by some member of the viol family, possibly introduced by the Portuguese. It may also be affected by the Hindu "Sarinda."

Burmese instruments may be divided into three classes.

1. The instruments of the lower classes.
2. The instruments for chamber music.
3. The instruments for orchestral music.

The instruments of the first class are: "Boung-hsé." "Be-oh." "Wun-let-hkoug." "Pá-lwé." "Pátala." "Théyau." These would generally be used singly or combined, as "Patala" and "Wun-let-hkoug," "Be-oh" and "Jeg-wainh," "Theyau" and "Wun-let-hkoug."

The instruments of the second class are: "Saung." "Patala," and "Mee-gyoung."

The instruments of the third class are: "Hné." "Hsaing-dí." "Saing." "Pam-ma." "Wun-let-hkoug." "Jeg-wainh." Of which a good orchestra would consist.

With regard to the conducting of an orchestra and matters

of combinations of instruments, information is much to be desired. Libretti, and scores of the Burmese Pooays, would be most valuable.

Similar instruments, though more highly finished, and of a better class of manufacture, are to be found in Siam and Java.

With regard to the fourth class I can only give the opinions of others. Lieut. Day, of the 43rd Regt., writes that he hopes shortly to publish a work on the music of Southern India, which differs from that of Bengal and Northern India, and I will not therefore attempt to anticipate this work by producing any of his remarks here.

Mr. C. B. Clarke writes with regard to Bengali music, "Bengali music is founded on the Seeta, the octave is divided into twelve semitones. In the middle octave the Seeta has ten frets, which can be set before commencing the tune. Thus seven frets can be set to the Major scale, while the two extra frets may be set to F \sharp and B \flat . When once set no occasional sharps or flats can be played, except the F \sharp and B \flat . By permuting the nine out of eleven semitones a large number of "modes" can be got. The Bengalis use thirty-six. The common major mode is one of the modes they use, but it is not a favourite one, as they consider it thin. They never use exactly our minor mode. The seventh is used both sharp and flat very freely, and in immediate juxtaposition, and the superfluous second frequently occurs. The intervals are nearly always small. You may hear many long tunes without sixths or octaves, and very few fifths. Another peculiarity is the persistent way in which the melody will remain for bars on B, C, and B \flat , or similar sequences of notes. A Bengal melody usually consists of two strains, each imperfectly divisible into two portions. It may fairly be compared to an English psalm tune, to common long metre, but each of the four "lines" is longer. A marked peculiarity of the Bengali melodies is, that they generally commence in the lower part of the octave and rise to the octave, and ninth in the third line, then gradually fall to the close of the fourth line. The

time is very generally common time. Two Bengali boat songs are appended.

Signor Remenyi, the eminent Hungarian violinist, remarks, "Hindu music is wedded to theories which are not generally known; it is overburdened with a complicated system of scales, and above all, it is held in the bondage of a traditional caste. Far from an absence of system in Hindu music, there is a morbid superabundance of it. Hindu music is in the same position as European music of the eleventh century."

It would appear that an ancient Sanskrit form of notation similar to our Tonic Sol Fa in construction existed. The only other Asiatic nation which, as far as I am aware, has a similar notation, is the Chinese. I am in hopes that this subject having been opened, others may be induced to communicate more valuable information regarding it.

I may remark, in conclusion, that all the instruments mentioned in this paper have been brought to England by me, and placed in the "Pitt-Rivers" Museum at the University of Oxford.

What few books and papers I have been able to collect, I have placed in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society.

[The following is a list of the works with which Mr. Portman's generosity has enriched our Library :

- "Chinese Music." By J. A. Aalst. Shanghai, 1884.
- "The National Music of the World." By the late H. F. Chorley, edited by Henry G. Hewlett. 2nd ed. London, 1882.
- "Notes on Siamese Musical Instruments." Lond. 1885.
- "An Introduction to the Study of National Music." By Carl Engel. Lond. 1866.
- "The Literature of National Music." By Carl Engel. Lond. 1879.
- "Short Notices of Hindu Musical Instruments." Calcutta, 1877.
- "Hindu Music from Various Authors." By Sourindro Mohun Tagore, Mus Doc., Founder and President of the Bengal Music School. 2nd ed. Calcutta, 1882.
- "Musical Scales of the Hindus." By S. M. Tagore. Calcutta, 1884.
- "Victoria Sámrajyan, or Sanskrit Stanzas." By S. M. Tagore. 2nd ed. Calcutta, 1882.
- "Fifty Tunes, composed and set to Music." By S. M. Tagore. Calcutta, 1878.
- "The Five Principal Musicians of the Hindus." By S. M. Tagore. Calcutta, 1881.
- "The Twenty Principal Kavyakaras of the Hindus; or, Extracts from the Works of Twenty of the most Renowned Literati of India." By S. M. Tagore. Calcutta, 1883.

R.H.D.]



ANDAMANESE MUSIC

Song No. I.

Met. ♩ = 132.

Children's Voices.

Women's Voices.

Men's Voices.

CHORUS.

SOLO.

Guma Nyunga-lá díá chél lá-lót rámit, lóto éno

Dance Step.

RHYTHM.

Beating of "Pukuta," and Clapping, etc.

díá chél lá-lót rámit-la. Nyunga déra t'óro bóí lá.

Nyunga déra t'óro, bóí lá.
 Nyunga déra t'óro, bóí lá.
 Nyunga déra t'óro, bóí lá.
 Nyunga déra t'óro, bóí lá.

The score consists of four vocal staves and two piano accompaniment staves. Each vocal staff has lyrics underneath. The piano accompaniment is in 2/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: "Nyunga déra t'óro, bóí lá." repeated four times.

Song No. II.

Met. ♩ = 138. (The Solo is not in strict time.)

Bír - á lóť ére má ógar - lá ebng érá,

The score features a solo line on a single staff and piano accompaniment on two staves. The solo line has lyrics underneath. The lyrics are: "Bír - á lóť ére má ógar - lá ebng érá,". The piano accompaniment is in 2/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#).

chál édo - ké dók ebng éra chála, Bé chóké wáp lóm

Bé chóké
Bé chóké
Bé chóké
dáka tár - ai lót tá Bé chóké

wáp lóm dáka tár - - ai lót tá.
 wáp lóm dáka tár - - ai lót tá.
 wáp lóm dáka tár - - ai lót tá.
 wáp lóm dáka tár - - ai lót tá.

The score consists of four vocal staves and two piano accompaniment staves. Each vocal staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The piano accompaniment is in the bass clef. The lyrics are repeated on each vocal staff.

Song No. III.

Dó ngól áka teggi leb dáka jád ála ngáka

The score for Song No. III features a vocal staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written below the staff. The piano accompaniment staves are present but contain no notes.

$\frac{2}{4}$ $\frac{2}{4}$ $\frac{2}{4}$ $\frac{2}{4}$
 yábng - ó. D'ót ógar léra, lóto cháli beo.

$\frac{2}{4}$ $\frac{2}{4}$ $\frac{2}{4}$ $\frac{2}{4}$
 D'ót ógar léra lóto cháli beo.

$\frac{2}{4}$ $\frac{2}{4}$ $\frac{2}{4}$ $\frac{2}{4}$
 D'ót ógar léra lóto cháli beo.

$\frac{2}{4}$ $\frac{2}{4}$ $\frac{2}{4}$ $\frac{2}{4}$
 D'ót ógar léra lóto cháli beo.

$\frac{2}{4}$ $\frac{2}{4}$ $\frac{2}{4}$ $\frac{2}{4}$
 D'ót ógar léra lóto cháli beo.

Song No. IV.

Bádin - ga yába chána ur chel ya leb d'áb - éti -

- ré, ára chélia lat gono tét lóť gu - toi d'áb cháti

yábn̄g - ó. D'ót ógar léra, lóto cháli beo.

D'ót ógar léra lóto cháli beo.
 D'ót ógar léra lóto cháli beo.
 D'ót ógar léra lóto cháli beo.
 D'ót ógar léra lóto cháli beo.

Song No. IV.

Bádin - ga yába chána ur chel ya leb d'áb - éti -

- ré, ára chélia lat gono tét lóť gu - toi d'áb cháti

tong ló t ár Lódo chár béria óba ngí - ká.

Lódo chár béria óba ngí - ká.
 Lódo chár béria óba ngí - ká.
 Lódo chár béria óba ngí - ká.
 Lódo chár béria óba ngí - ká.

Song No. V.

Ík ngát kópa lóka té - tán oi - tán uch - obá dón kichal dó,

uch óba - á Uch - óba - dá kó dódá oh ! oh ! oh !

Uch-óba - dá, kó dódá oh! oh! oh!

Uch-óba - dá, kó dódá oh! oh! oh!

Uch-óba - dá, kó dódá oh! oh! oh!

Uch-óba - dá, kó dódá oh! oh! oh!

Song No. VI.

Maia Pó - ro bér - ingá - lá díá yádi chá - uma leb ngiji dál

$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$

páál láka, eb ngiji dál lá - ka Poro lót yengo, beá lí dá.

$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$

Póro lót yengo, beá lí dá.

Póro lót yengo, beá lí dá.

Póro lót yengo, beá lí dá.

Póro lót yengo, beá lí dá.

Song No. VIII.

Do ngen ár geu dan - gali dát, kopa léra golo -

- baka í - dát kopa léra dó ngen ó déra éloj - rá.

Do ngen ó déra éloj - ró.

Do ngen ó déra éloj - ró.

Do ngen ó déra éloj - ró.

Do ngen ó déra éloj - ró.

Do ngen ó déra éloj - ró.

Song No. IX.

Pus - é, ló - ringá ló dudé pólé, pus - é ló -

- ringó - lá, Mía - té ba loring - á lá.

Mía - té ba loring - - á lá.
 Mía - té ba loring - - á lá.
 Mía - té ba loring - - á lá.
 Mía - té ba loring - - á lá.

Song No. X.

Káp - ró, Káp - ró dekan, Ká - pró - á, Bár - lek - ó, tía - á - bada.

Bár - lek - - ó, tía a - bada.

Bár - lek - - ó, tía á - bada.

Bár - lek - - ó, tía á - bada.

Bár - lek - - ó, tía á - bada.

EAST BENGAL BOAT SONGS.



No. I.

(The stroke of the oar on the first beat of each bar.)

Musical score for No. I, consisting of six staves of music in G major and common time. The first staff begins with a wavy line above the first beat. The second staff has "FINE" written above it. The sixth staff ends with a wavy line above the final bar.

No. II.

Musical score for No. II, consisting of three staves of music in G major and common time. The first staff is labeled "SOLO." and the second and third staves are labeled "TUTTI.....".

ART. VII.—卷要節子朱 *Tsieh-Yao-Tchuen de Tchou-hi*
(Extraits). Par C. DE HARLEZ, M.R.A.S.

NOTE.—Le *Tchou-tze tsieh-yao-tchuen* ou “ Livre des principes essentiels de Tchou-tze ” est un sommaire des enseignements philosophiques, politiques, moraux, etc., du célèbre philosophe Tchou-hi ou plutôt c'est une réunion de sentences, thèses, préceptes, etc., extraits en majeure partie des livres et lettres du philosophe ou de ses entretiens, et résumant sa doctrine. La préface donne des renseignements relativement à l'auteur de ce livre, son temps, son but, sa méthode ; il serait inutile de les répéter ici. Nous en avons extrait les chapitres que l'on va lire.

Le livre de K'ao pan long est peu, trop peu connu. Ni Mayers, ni Wylie, ni Bretschneider, pour n'en point citer d'autres, n'en font mention, bien qu'il soit authentique. Il en existe une édition avec traduction mandchoue, éditée par Tchou-tchi, lettré de Pe-King, en 1676. Elle se trouve à l'India Office et à la Bibl. Imp. de St.-Pétersbourg (No. 425). Le texte est un petit in-folio d'une exécution typographique assez satisfaisante. Il compte, outre les préfaces, 290 folios repartis entre 14 chapitres, comme on le voit plus bas.

Il n'a jamais été traduit ni en entier, ni en partie.

Nous avons dû réduire les notes au minimum extrême, pour ne point occuper trop de place dans le Journal. On reconnaîtra dans les noms cités, les disciples de Tchou-hi.

PRÉFACE.

LA sagesse des Saints est grande ; les gens d'études en s'y appliquant approchent de sa nature. Mais le destin assigné à chacun diffère, le perfectionnement de la vertu n'est pas égal

en tous. Les Saints des premiers âges s'accordent avec ceux des temps ultérieurs, comme les deux parties d'un sceau. On ne doit donc pas s'écarter d'eux ; car, si on le faisait tant soit peu, on s'en irait errant à mille lis de la vérité. Les saints qui ont scruté ce qui n'est pas comme ce qui est, ont élucidé ce point. Depuis Kong-tze, les philosophes Yen-tze, Tzeng-tze, Tze-sze¹ et Meng-tze ont reçu la doctrine par l'enseignement direct. Toutefois au temps de Meng-tze des enseignements mauvais se formèrent en même temps ;² l'humanité, la justice furent entravées dans leur développement. Si Meng-tze n'eût point vu le jour, la doctrine de Kong-tze se serait obscurcie.

Après Meng-tze, Tcheou-tze,³ Tcheng-tze, Tchang-tze⁴ et Tchou-tze ont reçu la science par tradition. Mais à l'époque de Tchou-tze les mauvaises doctrines se firent jour également ; l'humanité et la justice furent arrêtées et entravées. Si Tchou-tze ne fût venu au monde, la doctrine de Kong-tze se serait perdue dans l'ombre.

C'est pourquoi Han-Shi de Tchang-li disait que le mérite de Meng-tze n'était pas inférieur à celui de Yu. De là aussi le dire de Siue de Ho-fen, que le mérite de Tchou-tze n'était pas en dessous de celui de Meng-tze. Et l'on peut dire qu'ils parlaient en connaissance de cause. Quoiqu'il en soit la doctrine des Saints est écrite dans les Kings. Si l'on en comprend les paroles, si l'on en saisit les pensées on comprendra les enseignements des Saints. Si l'on n'en saisit pas les paroles, si l'on n'en pénètre pas les pensées ces enseignements resteront obscurs. Depuis que Tchou-tze parut, les sentences des Kings, tout ce qu'il y a en eux de brillant, ou de caché, a été élucidé et notre doctrine traverse le ciel comme le soleil et la lune et flotte sur la terre comme les rivières et les fleuves. Et non seulement les difficultés épuisées par l'étude, les secrets élucidés par la recherche, mais le suc et la sève, le souffle et la force intimes même, prenant

¹ Disciples de Kong-fu-tze.

² Principalement par les doctrines de Yang-tchu et Mih-tih.

³ Auteur du *Tung-chu*.

⁴ Disciple et ami de Tchou-hi. Tcheng-tze fut son maître.

leurs points d'appui¹ au sein du ciel et de la terre ont projeté des rayons qui brilleront² jusqu'aux âges les plus reculés. Tchou-tze était courageux et habile autant que saint et plein de sagesse. Son système, indépendamment du Tchuentchou³ a paru dans le Yu-lui⁴ et le Wen-tsih.⁵ Il est immense, il n'a pas de limite. Pour moi K'ao Pan-long sans tenir compte de mon insuffisance, après l'avoir lu plusieurs fois, j'ai pris et extrait l'essence de ses paroles et suivant la méthode de Tchou-tze je les ai partagées en 14 sections. On n'oserait certainement point égaler cette œuvre au Kin-sze-luh⁶ de Tchou-tze, c'est pourquoi je lui ai donné pour titre Tsieh-yao de Tchou-hi (principes essentiels). Certes si Tchou-tze n'eut point existé non seulement la doctrine de Kong-tze se fût obscurcie, mais on eut ignoré jusqu'à Kong-tze lui-même. Si la doctrine de Tchou-tze n'eut point répandu de lumière, en aurais-je eu, moi, quelque connaissance ?

J'estime, pour moi, que ce livre établit la distinction de la justice du ciel et des désirs des hommes sur une étendue comparable à mille lis ou peu s'en faut. Rien au monde n'est plus clair.

Les lettrés doivent savoir que les Saints les plus anciens et les plus récents sont entièrement d'accord. C'est pourquoi j'ai fait graver, et publié ces principes essentiels pour les présenter à ceux qui partagent mes sentiments.

L'année du tigre (寅 *in*) noir (壬 *jin*)⁷ du temps Wan-li, le jour du lièvre (卯 *mao*) jaunâtre (巳 *ki*) du 7^e mois, à l'automne, moi, K'ao-pan-long, lettré de Si-Shan, j'ai écrit cette préface (pénétré de respect pour le maître).

¹ Comme un pilier.—Ch. Litt. deux pierres.

² D'après le mandchou.

³ Grande collection des œuvres de l'école de Tchou-hi parue en 1713.

⁴ Exposé des principes de Tchou-hi, en 140 livres, écrit par Li-tsing-ti en 1270.

⁵ Livre de Wan-kong.

⁶ Le *Kin-sze-luh*, exposé des doctrines philosophiques, publié en 1175 et dont le commentaire seul est de Tchou-hi.

⁷ La 39^e année du cycle. Le temps Wan-li est celui du règne de Shing-song des Ming, 1573 à 1620; il commence avec l'an du cycle *Kwei-yen* ou la 10^e; c'est donc le 29^e année de cet empereur, l'an 1602.

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CHAPITRE I.—DE LA DOCTRINE.

Le docteur Hœi-Ong¹ disait : le premier principe s'exprime par un seul mot : *li*, la rectitude 理 (ou : le principe rationnel).

Le Yin et le Yang² constituent un même principe vital. L'affaiblissement du Yang forme le Yin ; ce n'est pas que quand le Yang se retire il y ait séparément un Yin. Le Yin prend la place,³ du Yang, de trente parties, une par jour. Ainsi cette opération étant complètement achevée, au bout d'un mois, il naît le *K'uan*.

Au degré six du *K'uan*,⁴ le *Yang* germe et chaque jour il pousse de trente, une partie. En sorte qu'au bout du mois un yang se produit. Ainsi au solstice de l'hiver survient le Fû.⁵ Quand on y est arrivé il ne se produit plus de Yang.⁶

¹ L'un des noms littéraires pris par Tchou-hi.

² On connaît suffisamment le Yang et le Yin, les deux principes des choses célestes et terrestres d'après la philosophie chinoise postérieure à Meng-tse.

³ L'un succédant à l'autre.

⁴ *K'uan* le 2^d Koua du Yih-king ; le premier marque l'origine des choses, le second, leur développement.

⁵ 24^e hexagramme désignant le renouvellement dans le nouveau système. Comp. C. de Harlez, Le texte originaire du *Yih-King* (Journal Asiatique, 1887, No. 3), Paris, E. Leroux.

⁶ L'auteur cherche à expliquer comment les principes actif et passif se combinent pour former les êtres. La succession de la vie et de la mort, de la croissance et décroissance dans la nature, donne l'idée du Yang s'affaiblissant en Yin, pour reprendre vigueur peu après. Mais ce sont des mots et non des choses. Le *Miroir* de Kang-hi dit de même (Vo. *Yang*) : "Quand la substance du Yin se dilate et disperse, c'est le Yang. Quand la substance du Yin se condense et coagule, c'est le Yin."

Bien que la forme extérieure du ciel entoure de partout l'extérieur de la terre, son élément se répand cependant dans l'intérieur du globe terrestre. Bien que la terre soit au milieu du ciel, ses parties solides et vides enserrent bien des éléments du ciel.

Le ciel et la terre n'ont rien qui soit, dans leurs fonctions, étranger de l'un à l'autre. Engendrer les êtres est leur seul propension.

Dans le *Koua Fû* on peut voir le cœur du ciel et de la terre. En quel lieu ce cœur n'est-il point? Mais lorsque les êtres se sont multipliés et ont germé comme ils sont alors mêlés et confondus, il est difficile de les connaître distinctement.

Avant que les êtres divers ne fussent nés, quand tout était dans le silence et le repos, le Yang se remuant et agissant enfin, le désir de produire les êtres se manifesta subitement. Bien qu'il fût au milieu du Yin entremêlé avec lui, il ne pouvait, tenant tout caché, ne produire quoique ce soit.¹

Le terme de "restaurer, renouveler,"² employé par Tcheou Lian-ki et Tcheng Y-Tchuen n'a pas le même sens chez tous deux. Pour Tcheou Lian-ki il se rapporte à ce qui revient et se répète. Tcheng Y-Tchuen l'applique au principe du mouvement. Prenons comme exemple les 4 principes des actes, commencement, progrès, affermissement, achèvement; Tcheou Lian-ki veut parler des deux derniers et Tcheng Y-Tchuen du principe initial.

La morale et le principe des êtres sont une même chose. Ce corps n'est qu'une enveloppe, une sorte d'écorce. Soit au-dedans soit au dehors il n'est rien où le Yin et le Yang ne soient pas. C'est comme le poisson au sein de l'eau. L'eau lui est extérieure et contenue dans son sein. L'eau qui est dans le sein de la perche ne diffère pas de celle qui se trouve dans la carpe.

Les esprits sont aussi formés du k'i.³ Ce qui se rétrécit⁴ ou

¹ C'est à peu près le même système que celui du Brahmanisme. (Cp. *Månava-dharmaçâstram*, i. 5 et ss.

² Le *Koua fû* V. plus haut.

³ Littéralement "souffle," principe vital.

⁴ Ou : Se courbe et se dresse.

s'étend, ce qui va ou vient est le k'i. Entre le ciel et le terre il n'est rien qu'il ne soit. L'élément vital (k'i) de l'homme et celui du ciel et de la terre se joignent et se succèdent¹ sans interruption, mais l'homme ne peut les voir. Comme le cœur de l'homme par ses mouvements, pénètre cet élément vital, ils s'excitent et se pénètrent mutuellement avec tout ce qui va, vient, se rétrécit, ou s'étend.

Relativement aux esprits et aux faits surnaturels, il a été dit : " Le cœur de l'homme quand il est calme et en paix, est bon ; s'il est mis en mouvement comme un jouet, c'est qu'un esprit ou un agent surnaturel se manifeste.

Le commencement et le progrès forment la pénétration véritable, c'est le mouvement ; l'affermissement, l'achèvement se rapportent au renouvellement, au repos.

Le commencement est le principe du mouvement. Il a pour point initial le repos. L'achèvement est la substance (matière) du repos ; il se manifeste par la mise en mouvement. Tantôt règne le mouvement et tantôt le repos ; et ces états s'échangent et se succèdent sans cesse. La cohésion (chân) parfait l'achèvement de toutes choses, ainsi que leur commencement. Conséquemment, bien que l'homme ne puisse être absolument sans mouvement aucun, cependant le repos est chose essentielle pour constituer l'état dernier de l'homme (sa plénitude de nature). Cela étant, ce qui se manifeste de son activité doit répondre entièrement à la juste mesure et règle, sans que le repos, qui est à la base de son existence, se perde pour cela. Ou ne peut produire en l'imitant, la nature qui vient d'un décret du ciel ; c'est en vain qu'on l'admire et la vante. C'est le décret céleste qui en a ordonné et produit la réalité, son essence et sa sève ;² en traitant ainsi de cette nature on le fera avantageusement. C'est pourquoi je ne traiterai que ces quatre termes ; humanité, justice, rite et sagesse.

Il est dit que le décret du ciel est ce qu'on appelle nature.³ Il en est ainsi en toutes choses. Mais en se mettant à

¹ Dans les actes.

² Traitant de ces

³ Commencement du Tchong-Yong.

l'étude il est mieux de commencer ses recherches par sa propre personne. C'est pourquoi l'on dit que la nature est la forme sensible et la modèle de la justice. Cette parole est très-sage.

Quand on disserte de la nature, la première chose à faire c'est de se rendre compte de ce qu'est cette nature. Or la nature c'est la justice, la règle des actes. Elle se compose de l'humanité, le droit, le rite et la sagesse. Mais dans ces quatre principes que se trouve-t-il de forme extérieure? Rien.

Ce n'est que quand cette justice existe que l'on est en état de faire toutes choses; c'est ainsi que l'on saura aimer, rougir, haïr, refuser, accorder, affirmer et nier. Il en sera, par exemple, comme d'une discussion sur la nature chaude ou froide d'un remède. On ne peut s'assurer de sa forme et constitution physique qu'en en buvant; c'est alors seulement qu'on sait si elle est froide ou chaude, ce qui constitue sa nature.

Les hommes de nos jours ont faussement désigné l'intelligence, la perspicacité comme étant la nature. Mais cela ne peut être appelé que volonté, intelligence (et non point nature). La nature n'est point connue par cette seule désignation de destin du ciel. Epuiser la notion de la rectitude, pénétrer les choses c'est en cela qu'elle se trouve. Il n'est pas besoin de beaucoup chercher. C'est pourquoi les saints n'ont que rarement disserté de la nature.

La nature est semblable à l'eau; l'eau est originairement claire, si on la met dans un vase propre elle est pure; si on la verse dans un vase sale, elle est trouble.

Lorsque, venue claire de sa source et sans changer de nature, elle est salie et troublée, il lui est bien difficile de redevenir claire en un instant. De la même manière pour devenir lucide quand on est peu intelligent, pour être fort quand on est faible par soi, il est besoin de beaucoup d'énergie. A cette question, "Comment le haut et le bas (le céleste et le terrestre) dans le monde naturel est-il traité comme forme matérielle?" Tchou-tze répondit: "Cette réflexion est extrêmement juste. Si ce qui a une forme est traité comme

n'en ayant point, il en résultera que l'on séparera les choses et leur règle (leur principe)."¹

Delà cette parole de Tchong Ming-tao: "c'est ce qui est divisé qui est clair et distinct." Mais ce n'est que par la distinction nette des points de limites existant entre le haut et le bas que l'on a la clarté et l'évidence.

Les substances et leurs principes de raison sont identiques et bien qu'on les sépare et les distingue, ils ne sont pas étrangers l'un à l'autre (séparés l'un de l'autre). Cherchant à montrer cela aux hommes on ne peut guère réussir. Si tu recherches, O maître, cette vérité qui est sans voix, et sans senteur, elle ne se montre pas à la vue, elle est sans accent pour l'ouïe.² Cependant si l'on ouvre bien les yeux, on pourra l'apercevoir; en ouvrant la bouche, on pourra la saisir. Bien que le principe originaire soit sans origine, cependant la vérité et la rectitude sont sous les yeux.³ S'il y a quelque chose de grand, de merveilleux, les saints s'ils le cachaient aux hommes, manqueraient à leur devoir et seraient indignes de confiance. Ce qui est sous les yeux et bien proche⁴ c'est se tenir debout ou assis, manger et boire (et la règle de ces actes); ce sont les conditions de prince et sujet, père et fils, frère aîné et cadet, époux et épouse, amis et compagnons. On doit d'abord s'appliquer à ces règles et devoirs qui nous sont proches; lorsqu'on y sera mûri on pourra atteindre les degrés supérieurs.⁵ Quelques uns disent que d'on doit seulement pratiquer ce qui est proche et devant soi. Négligents et légers ils restent petits et bas. D'autres soutiennent que si l'on ne s'en tient pas là, il n'y a plus par soi qu'une seule règle, un seul droit uniforme. Mais cela n'est point; une telle opinion tient l'homme finalement dans l'erreur. Les saints disent qu'en s'instruisant de ce qui est en bas, on pénètre le haut⁶ et ce n'est qu'après s'être bien

¹ Pour Tchou-hi le matériel des choses et la principe de raison qui est en elles ne sont pas des entités distinctes.

² Bien que se montrant on ne la voit pas, etc.

³ Il n'est pas pour cela invisible.

⁴ Ordinaire, fréquent, facile à pratiquer, etc.

⁵ Ce qui concerne l'état, l'humanité, etc.

⁶ Même idée qu'à No. 4, 5.

exercé à cela qu'on peut connaître par soi-même les choses cachées et secrètes (fines). Les saints se distinguent des autres hommes, mais c'est uniquement parcequ'ils sont mûris à la pratique de la vertu et les autres, pas."

Entre le ciel et la terre il est une rectitude parfaitement déterminée et que l'on ne peut changer. On ne doit point chercher à la pénétrer par ses réflexions, à la régler et l'établir à sa façon. Si les conceptions ne sont point faussement confondues,¹ les saints d'autrefois et ceux des temps ultérieurs seront par eux-mêmes tout à fait semblables comme deux moitiés d'un sceau.

Le ciel n'a que le printemps, l'été, l'automne et l'hiver. L'homme n'a que l'humanité, la justice, le rite, et la sagesse. Ce sont les quatre parties et espèces, d'un côté comme de l'autre. Le cœur doit s'exercer à les pratiquer réellement; mais chaque espèce a ses règles et qualités, il n'y a point autre chose en dehors d'elles. L'humanité, la justice, le rite, la sagesse correspondent, si on examine bien, au commencement, au progrès, à l'affermissement, et à l'achèvement, ainsi qu'au printemps, à l'été, à l'automne et à l'hiver.

Shang-tzai estime que l'intelligence est l'humanité, mais "savoir, comprendre" appartient à la sagesse. Les quatre vertus sont de l'affermissement, la sagesse est proche de l'humanité; ainsi l'on doit suivre la cercle des quatre principes des actes. Si l'on est dépourvu de la sagesse, on ne pourra pratiquer l'humanité.

Interrogé sur la nature de l'humanité, il répondit: il est difficile de faire apercevoir le principe rationnel;² connaître les éléments extérieurs est chose facile; il suffit de les prendre devant soi et de les examiner pour les connaître. Il en est de cela, par exemple, comme des quatre principes d'action; d'apercevoir le commencement, le progrès, l'affermissement et l'achèvement. Considérons les quatre saisons; le printemps n'a que l'élément d'une chaleur douce et agréable. C'est là aussi l'aspect et le modèle de l'humanité.

¹ Si les idées restent justes et conformes à la nature, elles seront les mêmes en tout temps.

² C'est encore le *li*, raison, règle, rectitude!

Quoique l'été, l'automne et l'hiver soient très-différents, cependant l'élément qui engendre le printemps opère et se montre également en eux. Si l'on comprend bien ce principe, après s'être vaincu soi-même par l'observation des rites, on pourra se purifier complètement de ses passions et l'on arrivera à n'avoir plus que l'élément de la douceur, de la paix, et la pureté exempte de tout élément étranger. Tel est le cœur du ciel et de la terre qui a engendré tous les êtres.

Pour bien envisager la notion de l'humanité, nous devons considérer en même temps la justice, les rites et la sagesse. Ainsi chaque espèce étant clairement distinguée on arrive à la connaissance d'une manière claire et évidente. Il est dit en outre : l'humanité ne comprend que les notions de douceur et de paix ; la justice, celle de la crainte, de la force, de la fermeté et de la décision. Les rites ne comprennent que le concept de la manifestation extérieure qui fait connaître et éclairer, de la production extérieure qui anime. La sagesse contient celui de l'acte qui recherche, rassemble, construit et forme sans laisser de trace, ni de forme extérieure.¹ Ces quatre agents opèrent au sein de la nature. À l'école des Saints on tient la recherche de l'humanité comme seule nécessaire, parce que l'humanité doit précéder les autres. Si l'on entretient avant tout, en soi, des pensées de douceur et de générosité, s'il arrive un moment de devoir manifester, expliquer, exciter, produire quelque chose, on saura le faire convenablement de soi-même. Lorsqu'il faudra être ferme et actif, on le sera ; quand on devra rassembler et recueillir les éléments, on sera capable de le faire.

Le maître dit de plus : l'humanité n'est que le premier des quatre principes d'action ; la sagesse soit mener à bon terme le commencement et la fin. La combinaison de la sagesse et de l'humanité est le pivot de mille changements et améliorations.² Le mouvement circulaire et combinatoire de ces

¹ L'humanité comprend la douceur et la bienveillance ; la justice implique force, fermeté, action : les rites règlent les actes extérieurs ; la sagesse engendre des actes intellectuels purs.

² De tous les actes et événements bons.

principes est sans limites ; tous leurs actes se touchent de très près et n'ont point d'intervalle.

Ainsi sans l'affermissement, le commencement ne peut subsister. La qualité spéciale de l'oreille est la clarté, celle de l'œil est la perspicacité, celle du cœur est la bonté. Sachez donc saisir cette pensée ; méditez, examinez-la ; conformez-vous y, reproduisez-la en vous.

Il est encore dit : Soyez agréable comme le soleil d'un printemps serein. Soyez généreux comme un vin doux et agréable au goût. C'est là ce qu'on appelle se conformer aux principes de l'humanité. Cette sentence de Meng-tze : "l'humanité est le cœur même de l'homme" est juste et frappante (frappe au but). Le cœur est naturellement bon et aimant. Si l'on peut seulement le maintenir tel, on n'aura point à craindre qu'il soit sans humanité.

La comparaison avec le grain de blé, de Tcheng-tze est très-juste. Quand ce grain se trouve en quelque endroit on est inquiet, se demandant s'il poussera.¹

Interrogé, le maître dans la réponse envoyée aux étudiants de Ho-Siang, à propos du mot "aimer" (*ngai*), traite de la nature de l'humanité et dit : "Sie Shang-tzai traitant du mot concevoir (*kioh*) présente la chose comme très-importante, car c'est autant que parler de la méthode de la méditation. Kui-shan, discutant devant nous et confondant toutes choses, parle d'une manière très-défectueuse."

A cette question : "Est-ce là l'essence de l'humanité ?" ² il répondit : "non ce ne l'est point." Voici sa vraie notion. "Si même les gens bienveillants sont intelligents on ne peut dire que l'intelligence éclairée, soit l'humanité. Bien que les gens pleins d'humanité soit en concorde avec tous les êtres, on ne peut dire que la concorde soit l'humanité."

On lui demanda aussi : l'intelligence, la conception claire est productrice de la pensée, n'est ce pas ? Oui, répondit il, il en est ainsi ; cependant si l'on n'envisage que l'intelligence et la conception claire, la notion sera defectueuse, car l'hu-

¹ De même des actes du cœur avant que celui ne les manifeste.

² De mettre toutes choses d'accord.

manité réunissant en elle tous les principes d'action, tout cela se manifeste par la pensée engendrée par eux.

A cette question : l'humanité a-t-elle l'intelligence claire et précise des sentiments qui renferment les quatre principes d'action ? Il répondit : Sie Shang-tzai rencontrant le docteur Tcheng Ming Tao, ils se mirent à lire entièrement les livres des annales. Tcheng Ming-Tao lui dit alors qu'il avait négligé les œuvres intellectuelles par amour des choses extérieures. A ces mots Sie-Shang-tzai sentit la sueur ruisseler de tout son corps, son visage se couvrit de rougeur et Tcheng Ming-Tao lui dit : c'est là certainement les sentiments d'une affection compatissante. Maître, parlons-en un instant. Shang-tzai entendant l'allusion à ce défaut, se sentit pris de honte. Il n'y a là, dit-il, que des sentiments de honte et de haine (du mal), comment pouvez-vous y voir un cœur aimant et compatissant ? Le docteur attendit quelque temps, puis il dit : quand on a en partage un cœur aimant profondément, il sait se mouvoir ; quand il sait d'abord se mouvoir, la honte et l'horreur du mal, le respect et la vigilance, la connaissance de la vérité et de l'erreur se produisent naturellement. S'ils ne résultent pas d'un mouvement du cœur alors la honte et la haine du mal, le respect et la vigilance, la distinction du bien et du mal, du vrai et du faux ne sont pas réels. Il en est de cela comme des quatre saisons : s'il n'y avait point d'élément générateur du printemps, lorsque l'été serait arrivé, que pourrait-il faire grandir ? pourrait on recueillir beaucoup au temps de l'automne ; amasserait-on beaucoup enfin en hiver ? Non, n'est-ce point.¹

Lin An king demanda : l'homme bienveillant considère le ciel, la terre et tous les êtres comme une unité et s'il considère le premier temps où l'homme et les autres êtres sont nés, il saura en comprendre la nature. L'homme et les choses ont reçu, pour leur naissance, l'élément du ciel et de la terre. Ainsi ils ont un même corps commun. Des frères, par exemple, ont des corps différents et proviennent cependant du corps de leur père et mère, c'est pourquoi ils doivent tous

¹ La conclusion de ceci est que Shang-tzai rougissant réellement, non par feinte a conséquemment les qualités du cœur qui produisent cette honte, la bonté.



s'entr'aimer. Le cœur de l'homme bienveillant seul a cet amour qui rend tout commun.

Connaissant à fond ce devoir il peut considérer, comme un seul corps, le ciel, la terre et toutes choses.

Il ne faut pas chercher à savoir l'origine de la chose, sachez seulement qu'ils forment maintenant comme un seul corps.

Il en est de cela comme de l'eau. Les fleuves et rivières, les lacs et étangs, ne forment qu'une seule eau. Toute l'eau que l'on voit, a une même substance. Qu'est il besoin d'examen et de recherches? Et quand même on les ferait, la connaissance (de ces choses) se ferait bien attendre. Ces choses étant ainsi, la nuit dernière, Tchouang-tchong disait : "l'homme et tous les êtres ont reçu cet élément substantiel d'une manière égale, ils ont ce principe également. Tous doivent être pleins d'affection pour tout." Mais cela n'est point ainsi. Les êtres doivent être aimés c'est vrai, mais ce n'est point seulement parcequ'ils n'ont qu'une seule substance matérielle. La substance de l'humanité est forte et ses manifestations faibles; la substance de la justice est au contraire faible et ses manifestations puissantes. L'aspect de la justice inspire la crainte et le respect, elle est la gardienne de l'humanité. La justice est semblable à un couteau aigu qui pénètre d'un coup profondément et fortement dans la poitrine et la coupe et taille.

Le rite est la manifestation de l'humanité; la sagesse est le fond caché de la justice. C'est d'après ces principes que l'on doit définir la nature et le destin de l'homme. Les hommes bons et bienveillants sont en général modestes et condescendants. Les hommes intelligents et perspicaces sont le plus souvent difficiles et durs, exigeants. Le rite est la règle de raison. Mais de la raison on ne peut que parler, elle n'a pas de forme qu'on puisse tracer. Le rite a différents actes et parties que l'on peut voir et qui constituent le décorum et l'élégance.

La nature est semblable au premier principe; le cœur est comme le Yin et le Yang. Le premier principe réside dans le Yin et le Yang et ne peut s'en séparer. De la sorte le premier principe est premier principe en ce qu'il a de par-

ticulier; le Yin et le Yang sont Yin et Yang dans leurs particularités.

Voilà ce que sont la nature et le cœur. Ils sont un, tout en formant deux; et deux, tout en formant un.

Il est dit dans le Tch'in-sin-sou: "la grandeur du ciel n'a rien qui lui soit extérieur et la nature en entretient toute l'entièreté. C'est pourquoi le fond du cœur de l'homme, dont il est le vaste modèle, est sans rives ni limites; il est seulement restreint par la nature particulière et les sentiments personnels de sa forme extérieure et de son moyen d'action. Resserré, comme emprisonné par l'étroitesse de ce qu'il entend et voit, il reçoit des limites et ne peut parvenir à sa perfection. L'homme, pénétrant jusqu'au fond, tous les êtres, toutes choses et les principes rationnels qui les dirigent, vient, à un jour donné, à les comprendre d'une manière claire et pénétrante et dès lors il n'est plus possible de les laisser de côté.

Lorsque le cœur de l'homme a atteint son type d'une manière complète, ce qui constitue notre nature, et ce qui fait que le ciel est ciel, ne s'en écartent plus ni l'un ni l'autre, mais le pénètrent également; ils y restent plongés.

Le cœur est la sève et la moëlle de la nature animée (*K'i*) et il n'a point de pareil.

L'intelligence dirige la compréhension et le discernement; la volonté dirige l'activité et le soin diligent. L'intelligence est proche de la nature, elle est proche de l'essence; la volonté est proche des passions, elle est proche des actes.

La nature qui n'a point encore été mise en mouvement, la pensée qui agit par soi-même, arrivent par le cœur au mouvement et au repos et n'ont plus de cause de cessation; ¹ c'est ce qu'on doit savoir.

Il est dit au Tchi Yan Shou: "La nature constitue ce qui est sous le ciel; la pensée imite, suit le mouvement de ce qui est sous le ciel. Le cœur donne des qualités merveilleuses aux vertus de la nature et de l'intelligence." Ces paroles sont vraiment profondes et lumineuses.

¹ Se tiennent à jamais dans cet état double.

Le maître devisant du juste milieu et de l'esprit de concorde dit d'abord à Tchang King fou : " L'homme depuis qu'il existe a été un être intelligent et doué de connaissance. Les affaires propres à chacun survenant, les êtres se présentant à lui, comme il ne peut toujours correspondre et céder,¹ la pensée et le cœur suivent et s'écartent et changent jusqu'à la mort et dans ces conditions il ne peut ni s'arrêter ni rester sans mouvement, un certain temps même très-court. Il en a été ainsi dans tous les âges. Aussi les saints et les sages l'ont dit : " Avant qu'on sorte du milieu, il y a silence et immobilité," c'est pourquoi ils ont rangé l'exercice journalier, l'action exercée çà et là, parmi le temps où l'on en est sorti et désigné le moment où l'on se livre au repos et ne s'applique point aux affaires comme le temps où l'on n'en sort point.² Si, dans le sein de l'obscurité, l'absence de perception, on scrute et examine avec soin, tout est erreur, ténèbres, obstacle, arrêt ; rien de vide,³ clair, d'une substance conforme à la réalité des êtres. Si dans ce secret, ce réduit obscur, une perception se produit, le cœur sortant ainsi d'une manière convenable, le repos silencieux cesse par cela même. Plus on cherche (dans l'obscurité silencieuse de l'esprit) moins on aperçoit ; qu'on abandonne alors la recherche et qu'on s'applique aux actes journaliers. En tout ce qu'on est porté à pénétrer, en tout ce qu'on examine spécialement il est une substance immense, continue qui se communique aux êtres sans pouvoir être épuisée. Tout cela est fait, tout cela se propage selon le décret du ciel ; la production, la multiplication des êtres n'a point de temps d'arrêt. En un seul et même jour le flot s'élève mille fois et s'abaisse mille fois ; mais le fond de la substance qui est toujours dans le repos silencieux, est reconnu tel avant qu'elle s'exteriorise dans les actes et est tout entier dans cela. Mais lorsqu'il se trouve en un objet spécial, en un temps défini, en un endroit déterminé, on ne peut plus l'appeler milieu."⁴

¹ Aux sollicitation des choses extérieures, des circonstances.

² Dans l'action le cœur sort de lui-même, les actes en sortent ; dans le repos tout y reste inclus.

³ Sans objet étranger qui s'y reflète.

⁴ Déterminé *ad unum*, il n'est plus le fond commun, le milieu universel.

Il n'y a que le seul être vivant (intelligent) qui soit influencé par le ciel et en reçoive son destin ; et dans l'exercice des actes qui proviennent de lui, il n'y a jamais d'interruption, de repos. Si l'on distingue ce qui sort de lui par les actes et ce qui n'en est point encore sorti de la sorte, ce qui en provient est le cœur, ce qui existe sans qu'il en sorte rien est la nature.¹ Dans l'action journalière, la substance complète et incessante se répand comme un fleuve, coulant sans cesse, roule sans jamais de repos, comme le ciel. Ainsi la substance et ses manifestations, dans ce qu'elles ont de subtil ou de grossier ; le mouvement et le repos, dans leur commencement et leur fin, ne comportent, dans leur profondeur, pas un intervalle d'un atome. Ainsi depuis l'oiseau qui vole et le poisson qui saute, dans toutes les particularités des êtres, brille un éclat de vérité.

Préserver, protéger c'est ce qu'on doit faire à leur égard ; si l'on entretient quelque chose, c'est cela qui doit s'entretenir.

Il dit en outre dans la réponse à Tchang King-fou : " Dans la réponse réitérée qui vous a été envoyée précédemment, il était énoncé ceci : " en faisant connaître, même d'une manière obscure, le grand principe fondamental, reflet et modèle de la loi de la raison profonde, on apprend ce qu'il est et à le tenir pour évident. Lorsqu'on comprend ce principe — source, élément vital et substance semblable au fleuve qui coule avec abondance, à la mer qui étend ses flots, — alors l'intelligence est poussée à une grande transformation et comme si elle se trouvait dans une terre inondée, dans une vague étendue, elle se répand aussitôt et ne s'arrête plus. Mais si l'on se met aux affaires, que l'on s'adonne aux choses extérieures on se montrera rude, inintelligent, ardent, arrêté, mais non généreux bienveillant, doux. Quoiqu'on s'en afflige en son cœur, on ne peut comprendre comment cela est survenu. Après cela par cette grande transformation, chaque famille peut avoir d'elle-même une demeure de paix et de repos.

C'est là le fondement suprême qui, dans chaque homme assure la sécurité à sa personne et fixe le destin. La connais-

¹ La nature est le fond, le cœur est le principe agissant.

sance, l'intelligence (de ces choses) affermit ce fondement premier ; suivre la règle de raison qui pénètre tout, c'est le pivot nécessaire.

Comme l'on dit, la substance et ses actes ont une même source ; évidents ou cachés, ils n'ont point d'intervalle, de lacunes. Ils existent de cette façon.

La loi de raison est proche, la chercher au loin est chose risible. La réponse à Tchang King-Fou portait encore : " Aussitôt que l'on s'applique à le reproduire dans ses actes, on comprend et saisit le vrai principe. Si l'on en disserte, en mettant au premier rang le cœur et la volonté, alors les vertus de la nature et du cœur, les effets merveilleux du juste milieu et de la bonté se montrent clairement et exempts du moindre désordre. La personnalité humaine, son intelligence, ses connaissances, ses actes faits en divers sens, tout cela est faculté du cœur. Le cœur est le roi de la personne ; (il y commande) sans lacune, dans le mouvement et le repos, dans les paroles et le silence. Dans le repos complet, quand aucun objet d'acte ne se présente encore, que la pensée, la réflexion ne germe point non plus, la nature forme un seul tout. Les lois naturelles et de raison s'accomplissent complètement, c'est alors le milieu. Alors la substance du cœur est dans le silence et l'immobilité. Dès qu'il se remue c'est que les objets viennent le troubler. La pensée, la réflexion s'élève et tous les genres de pensées sont mis, tour à tour, en action. Mais quand chacune a son chef qui la domine, alors règne la concorde et l'harmonie. C'est là la fonction du cœur ; excité, ému il pénètre tout. Le fond immobile de la nature ne peut plus être sans mouvement. Le mouvement de l'intelligence est alors règle et mesure. Conséquemment alors, le fond immobile du cœur devient, par l'excitation, pénétrant, se répandant par tout, éclairé, perspicace et la substance et les actes ne se séparent pas.

Le cœur de l'homme étant venu à cet état, s'il est dépourvu d'humanité, il n'aura point ces vertus merveilleuses. Bien que l'homme veuille être bon, s'il n'a point le respect et l'attention, il ne viendra pas à bout d'acquérir la vertu de bonté. Le cœur est le maître du corps ; il va sans interruption

du mouvement au repos, de la parole au silence et vice-versa, sans rien d'intermédiaire. C'est pourquoi les sages appliquent leur sollicitude et attention, à l'action et au repos, aux paroles et au silence. Avant de sortir du repos, il s'appliquent avant tout à entretenir et affermir cette attention, prenant la vérité comme objet principal. Lorsque les actes se produisent au dehors, ils agissent en cherchant toujours avec soin à observer ce respect, ces soins diligents.

Lorsque dans ce soin de maintenir leur cœur ferme, la pensée, la réflexion ne s'est point encore produite, l'intelligence, la connaissance ne sont point cependant obscurcies ; le mouvement se fait au sein de cette immobilité. On peut le voir dans le Koua *Fû*, c'est le cœur du ciel et de la terre. Quand on en est venu à l'examen des choses bien que les affaires et objets extérieurs viennent se mêler (à la réflexion) il n'y a point danger d'erreur quant à la mesure, la règle à observer ; la nature assure contre l'erreur. C'est le repos dans le mouvement.

Dans le Koua *Ken* on ne trouve point la substance,¹ on ne voit point l'homme tel. Comme il est une direction, un but à ce mouvement qui est au sein du principe immobile, même en repos il n'est pas sans excitation au mouvement. Si l'on examine ce repos au sein du mouvement on verra que bien qu'il subisse des excitations, il n'est pas sans repos. Si dans ce repos il vient à être constamment excité ; si bien qu'excité il reste encore en repos, bien que le cœur poussé ainsi d'une direction à l'autre, en soit pénétré profondément, il n'est pas un instant dépouillé de toute bonté."

Dans une autre lettre adressée à ses amis du Ho-Nan (le Maître) disait : " Avant que le Tchong-Yong eut paru, les règles qu'il publie existaient et avant tout cela on connaissait la substance du cœur qui agit et se répand dans les actes. En outre Tchong-Tze en parlant du cœur veut désigner tout cœur sortant de lui-même par les actes ; aussi, bien qu'on considère le cœur comme se produisant au dehors et la nature comme ne le faisant pas encore, les paroles de Tchong-

¹ 51° exprimant "fermeté dans les principes."

tze, si on les considère bien, sont peu convenables. Conséquemment si l'on y réfléchit à nouveau on verra que non seulement les dissertations antérieures ne sont point du tout convenables pour déterminer les vraies appellations du cœur et de la nature, mais que les efforts, la diligence, mise en œuvre tous les jours ne peuvent donner le point d'appui ni la direction suffisants à cela. On y voit l'insuccès de l'essai et pas seulement les principes du livre.

Si l'on examine toutes les sentences du Wen-tsih et de l'Y-shu¹ on y voit que le temps où les pensées et les réflexions ne se sont pas encore élevées, où les objets extérieurs ne sont pas encore venus impressionner, est, selon leur appréciation, celui où la satisfaction, la colère, la joie, la peine ne se sont pas encore manifestées. En ce moment la substance du cœur est encore en repos et sans mouvement; la nature donnée par le ciel est entière et parfaite; elle n'est point encore près de défaillir ni incapable d'atteindre son but; car elle est sans fausseté, sans déviation. C'est ce qu'on appelle le milieu. Excité il parvient à pénétrer la cause productrice du monde; la nature de la satisfaction et de la colère, de la joie et de la peine se manifeste et les opérations, l'emploi du cœur peuvent se voir; elles ne sont pas en désaccord avec la règle qui les gouverne et comme il n'y a pas de résistance, de disposition méchantes, on appelle cet état la paix, la concorde. C'est là la rectitude ferme du cœur humain.

C'est la vertu de l'intelligence et de la nature. Cela étant, avant que (les sentiments et les pensées) soient sortis (de leur fond productif), quand bien même on scruterait avec soin, on ne les saisirait pas. Quand même on en a acquis l'intelligence on ne peut chercher (et réussir) à les régler. C'est seulement quand la vertu entretenue, développée par la persévérante attention, a progressé et qu'elle n'a point été égarée par la fantaisie des passions humaines, que le cœur est, avant la manifestation des sentiments, un miroir pur, semblable à une eau stagnante et, qu'après leur production, il

¹ Livre de Tchu-tcheng de la dynastie des Song-Liu (vers 490).

reste en harmonie avec les règles qui doivent le diriger. Telle doit être l'attention, les soins de tous les jours, fermes et forts. Si l'on scrute et examine soigneusement les choses, qu'on les distingue et explique clairement, prenant cela pour fondement de ses recherches, on les connaîtra parfaitement, au moment où le cœur sort de lui-même et l'on pourra voir intérieurement avec certitude tout ce qui y a été fait avant cette manifestation. Aussi ce que Tchong-tze discute et explique, par un examen approfondi, dans sa réponse à Sou Kiming est très-clair et très-profond et de plus ne va pas en dehors de la considération du respect.

Il est dit en outre : "Quand on pratique le respect,¹ sans jamais faillir, c'est que le milieu subsiste certainement." Et ailleurs "s'appliquer aux règles de la raison n'égale pas la pratique du respect ; il n'est pas possible d'arriver à la perfection de la science et de manquer aux règles du respect." En outre "pour entretenir et développer (ses facultés) il faut pratiquer le respect." C'est en avançant pas à pas dans l'enseignement qu'on acquiert la science. C'est en pensant, réfléchissant, expliquant, dissertant d'une manière prolongée que l'on fait sortir le cœur de lui-même (de l'immobilité primitive). L'exercice, l'application, les efforts de chaque jour peuvent, seuls, poser le fondement, en faisant² commencer l'étude et la connaissance des principes fondamentaux.

Quand on néglige habituellement le soin, le zèle à entretenir et développer une certaine partie, l'intérieur de l'homme est dans le trouble et le désordre, il n'est plus ni profond ni pénétrant, ni simple, ni de goût uniforme, et s'il se répand au dehors en paroles ou actions, il est précipité, léger, négligent et il n'arrive point à la paix, au repos, à la gravité, à la sincérité exempte d'artifice. Si après avoir acquis la connaissance il vient à être entraîné dans l'erreur, son malheur en arrive à l'extrême. Certes on ne doit point y être indifférent. Tchong-tze en parlant de "tous cœurs" veut désigner ceux qui sont sortis d'eux-mêmes par les actes. Il parle donc des manifestations extérieures, par les actes, de la substance même

¹ Ou : la vigilance.

² Poser comme fondement de faire, etc.

du cœur mais nullement de l'application de la pensée et de la réflexion aux affaires et objets extérieurs. Toute fois il n'est pas d'accord avec les maximes fondamentales du Tchong Yong; aussi s'exprime-t-il d'une manière impropre et l'on doit réformer cette manière de parler; mais cela fait, on ne doit point douter de tout ce qu'il dit et discute sous prétexte qu'il s'est trompé; après avoir caractérisé ces expressions de "peu convenables" il ne faut pas négliger avec mépris ce qu'il dit d'autre. Tcheou-tze dit: "Le premier principe n'a pas de principe." Tchong-tze dit en outre: "On ne peut reproduire par la parole ce qui précède l'état de repos de la nature de l'homme. Au moment précis de parler, ce n'était point encore la nature.¹ Les saints et les sages, en dissertant de la nature, entendent en même temps parler du cœur. Si l'on veut parler exactement on doit dire que le premier principe sans principe est inexprimable; il n'a ni forme ni figure qui puisse servir à lui donner un nom. Yang Kui-Shan disait: "on ne doit jamais s'écarter de la voie de la droite raison. De tout ce qui contient ce qui est entre ciel et terre, qu'est-il qui n'ait point sa loi? Le cas où l'on peut s'en écarter doit être contenu dans la loi même. Il en est ainsi des quatre régions principales. Si l'on va vers l'est on s'écarte de l'ouest, si l'on va au midi ou s'éloigne du nord. C'est ainsi que l'on peut et doit s'écarter (de tel principe). Par conséquent il n'est point de place où la loi morale ne soit pas nécessaire. On ne peut donc jamais s'en éloigner. Ainsi, en toutes choses, depuis s'habiller quand il fait froid, se nourrir quand on a faim, se lever avec le soleil, se reposer au soir, regarder, écouter des yeux et des oreilles, soulever, fouler, de la main ou du pied, rien n'est sans loi. Le peuple la suit dans les actes journaliers, mais sans le savoir.

Le maître disait: "s'habiller, manger, se lever, se coucher, regarder, écouter, soulever, fouler, tout cela est acte extérieur. Tout ce qui est de cette manière, a son droit, son devoir, sa règle, sa mesure; en un mot sa loi. Si l'on fait de la

¹ Avant l'acte il manque le mouvement et les actes.

désignation des choses¹ leur loi de raison, non seulement on détruit la distinction de ce qui est supérieur et inférieur dans la substance, mais on tombe dans l'opinion des Bonzes qui confondent la nature et l'opération ; ce qui fait dire par erreur aux lettrés : "que la loi de raison ne peut pas ne pas être suivie et que voulût-on même s'en écarter on n'y parviendrait pas. Dès que nous en avons eu connaissance, quand même nous agirions contrairement à ces principes, méchamment, il ne peut se faire que ce ne soit pas selon la loi de raison." On ne saurait dire tous les maux qui résultent de pareil système.

Sou Tong-po² dit (en parlant de cette opinion que la loi est l'alternance du Yin et du Yang du Yi-King) : Qu'est ce donc que cet Yin et ce Yang ? Bien que les explications de Li-leou et Shi-Kouang soient brillantes, ils n'ont point su cependant les définir et trouver un point de comparaison. Voici ce qu'ils disent :

"Lorsque le Yin et le Yang s'unissent alors les êtres sont produits ; quand les êtres sont nés, alors leur substance visible se montre. Lorsque cette substance est constituée, le Yin et le Yang se dérobent et tout ce que l'on peut voir ce sont les choses produites, il n'y a plus de Yin et de Yang." Peut-on ainsi réduire ces deux principes au néant ? Quelque peu intelligent que l'on soit, on voit la fausseté de cette doctrine. D'où en effet, proviendraient les êtres ? Ainsi donc, dire pour faire connaître la nature des êtres, qu'ils sont le Yin et le Yang ; puis soutenir, parcequ'on ne peut montrer le Yin et le Yang ni les figurer, qu'ils sont rentrés dans le néant, c'est (soutenir) deux sottises. Le maître dit : "le Yin et le Yang remplissent l'entre-ciel-et-terre. Lorsque croissant ou décroissant, ouvrant ou fermant, ils produisent ou détruisent les êtres, ils se montrent aux yeux ; la substance visible et la substance non visible ne peuvent être niées. Aussi la maxime de Sou-shi qu' "après que la substance a été constituée, le Yin et le Yang se dérobant, tout

¹ Pour les Bouddhistes le nom est une partie de l'être accidentel et nullement une chose extérieure. Le nom contribue à déterminer l'être.

² Célèbre poète du xie siècle.

ce que l'on peut voir est uniquement chose extérieure et que le Yin et le Yang n'existent plus," cette maxime est contraire à la raison.

Les gens qui ont pénétré la nature fondamentale du Yin et du Yang ne disent pas, pour définir les êtres, que ce sont le Yin et le Yang; ils ne cherchent pas le Yin et le Yang, autrement que dans les choses et les formes, en dehors de ce qu'on voit et entend. Sou-tong-po dit: "le commencement du principe du ciel est vraiment grand, capital; on ne peut apercevoir les vertus de ce principe initial. Ce que l'on peut voir n'est que le principe des choses diverses."

Le maître disait: "Le principe initial des quatre vertus¹ est pour celles-ci semblable au printemps relativement aux quatre saisons. Parmi les cinq principes, la bonté bienveillante est le principe initial, qui engendre, perfectionne, fait germer et développe le ciel et la terre. C'est elle qui produit tous les êtres, c'est d'elle, conséquemment, que tout procède. C'est pourquoi il est dit que l'origine, le commencement des toutes choses en provient. Si l'on s'en occupe et y réfléchit on ne peut pas dire qu'il est impossible d'en apercevoir et connaître les formes, la substance, l'éclat, dans le cœur et les yeux. Les gens qui connaissent bien la loi suprême le comprennent parfaitement.

Liao-tze Hwei dit: "Le milan vole, le poisson nage et saute." Dans ces expressions il y a la même pensée que dans ceci: vous avez des affaires, c'est bien, mais n'ayez pas d'empressement excessif. Qu'on y réfléchisse; tous les êtres sont dans les parties de notre nature, comme une image dans un miroir. Si l'on contemple d'en bas le ciel élevé, on verra le milan, le traversant au vol; si l'on regarde à ses pieds une eau profonde, on y appercevra le poisson qui nage en sautant. Que l'on regarde en haut ou en bas, il n'est point de lieu où la manifestation extérieure de la loi suprême ne se trouve. Lorsqu'un acte doit se faire et qu'on n'a point de hâte exagérée, la chose est là devant soi sans qu'on ait à témoigner (éprouver) des préoccupations et corriger (elle se fait facilement).

¹ Voy. plus haut.

Le milan volant, le poisson nageant et sautant se trouvent tous deux là-dedans (servent à exprimer cette pensée).

Les sages connaissent intimement par eux-mêmes ce qui donne la joie et le contentement.

Le maître dit : “ En tout, depuis le milan qui vole et le poisson qui nage, en tout est la substance de la loi suprême.

L'action pénétrante de la loi du ciel n'a besoin ni d'avertissement contre l'oubli, ni de secours ; elle est ferme et constante comme cela. Si nous comparons toutes les choses qui existent en une partie de notre personne, au reflet d'un miroir et conséquemment distinguons les êtres et la nature comme choses différentes, par celle-ci se reflèteront ceux-là, par ceux-là ou pénétrera dans celle-ci.

Le docteur Tchang Heng-kiu dit : “ Si l'on prétend que toutes les substances visibles s'aperçoivent comme dans un vide immense, cependant les êtres et le vide sont sans aucun rapport. Autre chose est la substance déterminée, autre chose est la nature.”¹ Aussi blâme-t-on ces paroles.

Il est dit au livre Tsih-Yen : “ La loi du ciel et les désirs de l'homme n'ont qu'une même substance, mais leurs actes diffèrent ; quand leur opération est la même, la volonté diffère. Les gens élevés qui veulent progresser et se perfectionner, doivent distinguer et approfondir les choses convenablement.”

Le Maître disait : “ La substance primitive est la seule loi du ciel ; il n'y avait pas d'abord de désir humain qui en diffèrait. Le désir humain excité par les formes, attaché à la substance visible, reproduit par l'habitude, troublé par la passion prit alors naissance. Hô-tze dit que l'homme doit, dans la loi du ciel, distinguer les désirs de l'homme et, dans les désirs humains, reconnaître ce qui est la loi du ciel.

Bien que cette pensée soit très-juste cependant les Saints ont enseigné que si l'on s'écarte des désirs humains, se vainquant soi-même, faisant observer les rites, faisant tous ses efforts pour rendre les hommes justes, c'est là la loi du ciel.

Yang Kouï-Shan disait : “ On a dit que le décret du ciel est ce qu'on appelle la nature ; mais les passions humaines ne

¹ Sens douteux rendu d'après la version mandchoue ; *tsu = en cu.*

sont pas la nature." Cela est parfaitement vrai : Hô-tze en critiquant cette maxime a commis une erreur.

Il est dit dans le Tsih-Yen : "Quand on veut pratiquer l'humanité on doit connaître la nature de l'humanité." Une autre fois aux questions qu'on lui posait : "Quand l'homme n'a point la vertu d'humanité, c'est que le fond de son cœur est relâché et dans l'erreur. Est-ce avec un cœur plongé dans l'erreur que l'on peut scruter le cœur ?" Il répondit : "Une prince du royaume de Tchi ayant vu un bœuf ne voulut absolument pas le laisser tuer.¹ Voilà un exemple de la florescence du cœur. Il se montre dans ses actes au milieu des désirs du gain. Une fois qu'il s'est manifesté, si on l'arrête et le contient ; si, contenu, on l'entretient ; si entretenu, on le remplit, il s'élève au plus haut point. Si parvenu à ce fait il ne le quitte point, il est alors semblable au ciel. Tel est le cœur qui se trouve dans l'homme. L'origine de ses manifestations extérieures n'est point semblable (à sa perfection) ; en principe, il suffit de connaître cela."

Le maître disait : "Kong-tze interrogé par ses disciples sur la nature de l'humanité, fit une longue réponse ; s'ils prennent, sans plus, le moyen d'obtenir l'humanité et qu'ils fassent tous leur efforts, ils l'acquerront d'eux mêmes. Cela suffit et il n'est pas nécessaire de connaître d'abord la nature substantielle de l'humanité." En outre on lui demandait "Comment on peut avec un cœur dérégulé scruter le cœur ?" Cette observation étant d'une haute importance son appréciation a été d'autant plus répandue et propagée. (Il dit) donc : si l'on maintient et contient son cœur il subsistera, si on l'abandonne à lui-même il périra ; il n'y a pas d'intermédiaire ni d'arrêt. Si connaissant son erreur on la scrute, le cœur restera en une seule disposition² ; si l'on attend qu'on le voie, en un autre moment, se porter vers une autre direction et qu'on l'arrête avant qu'on ne l'y ait vu établi, ce cœur sera divisé, brisé.

Il est dit au Tsih-Yen³ : "le cœur n'a ni mort ni naissance."

¹ Tiré de Meng-tze I.

² La bonne.

³ Encyclopédie de l'époque des Songs.

Le maître dit à propos de ces paroles qu'elles s'approchent de la doctrine bouddhique de la rotation (transmigration des âmes). Lorsque le ciel et la terre ont produit les êtres, l'homme a obtenu ce qu'il y a de plus beau, il est aussi d'une habileté supérieure. Le cœur est vide de mal¹ et plein d'habileté; savoir, comprendre, c'est sa nature. Il en est ainsi comme de l'ouïe et de la vue dans l'oreille et l'œil. Dans le ciel et la terre il n'y a jusqu'à la fin, ni passé ni présent, ni achèvement, ni fin. Dans les hommes et les choses il y a au-contraire quant à la substance et à la forme, et commencement et fin. On doit seulement savoir que si leurs lois sont les mêmes, leurs fonctions sont différentes. Puis quand on dit que le cœur ne connaît ni la mort ni la naissance, n'a-t-on pas droit de s'étonner de ce langage des lettrés? Il est dit au Tsih-Yen: "Le cœur ne peut pas ne pas être. Posant comme fondement, les révolutions, les changements de la loi du ciel (les saisons) il agit en se conformant et satisfaisant à son temps."

Le maître disait: "Les saints en apprenant les choses inférieures pénètrent les connaissances supérieures; dans les actes de chaque jour, ils accomplissent le devoir de complaisance et de conformité. Les révolutions et transformations du ciel se manifestent en cela."²

Si l'on se met en l'esprit de poser comme fondement la loi du ciel et que l'on veut l'harmoniser avec les affaires humaines, une seule chose occupera la poitrine. Si quand on est à remplir une fonction, on s'occupe de recueillir et de ramasser, de ruser et jouer (et non de la justice), les lignes de jonction du ciel et de la terre seront, jusqu'à la fin, sans concorder. L'union ne règnera pas entre le ciel et la terre.

Ou-fang du Hô-nan³ répétait souvent qu'il était bon pour l'homme de connaître son cœur. A ce sujet la maître dit: "Le cœur doit connaître les choses mais comment connaîtra-t-on le cœur? L'œil de l'homme voit les objets, mais comment parviendra-t-il à voir les yeux?"

¹ Par sa nature.

² Elles sont l'image et le modèle des vicissitudes des êtres.

³ Auteur contemporain de Tchou-hi; a écrit un recueil historique et littéraire.

Aussi lorsque les lettrés parviennent à dévoiler le secret des choses et des désirs, alors le cœur est à découvert. La réponse à Lian Song-King portait : “la nature du ciel et de la terre est aussi la nôtre ; la loi est-elle donc de disparaître promptement par la mort ? On ne peut qualifier cette réflexion d’erronée. Mais celui qui l’a proférée a-t-il bien mis le ciel et la terre au-dessus et au fondement de toutes choses ? n’est ce pas plutôt nous autres hommes qu’il a considérés comme tels ? Si c’est le ciel et la terre alors cette nature est la loi, la règle commune pour le ciel et la terre ; les hommes et les choses ne diffèrent point (sous ce rapport), il n’y a point à distinguer ceci et cela, la mort et la vie, l’ancien et le nouveau. On meurt mais on n’est pas complètement détruit et il n’y a rien dont nous puissions nous attribuer la propriété spéciale. Si c’est nous qu’ils prennent comme fondement et maître, alors s’exaltant eux-mêmes ils prennent les idées, les manières de concevoir de leurs fluides vitaux et de leurs esprits comme la nature de leur substance et ne cessant jusqu’à la mort d’amasser et de retenir, ils croient par là ne faire que mourir et non périr à jamais. C’est là un excès de liberté de la pensée. S’il en était ainsi on ne pourrait dire que la mort et la naissance sont réglées par la nature et la destin céleste.”

CHAPITRE VI.—RÈGLES DOMESTIQUES.

Le Docteur Hoi-Ong dans sa réponse à Tchen Fou-tsong dit : “Je regrette infiniment que le grand nombre et la lourdeur du poids des affaires domestiques entravent l’instruction. Mais cela ne se pourrait autrement. En ces circonstances on doit faire sincèrement tous ses efforts et ne rien négliger. En toute chose ne considérez que la loi morale et les principes ; ne les transgressez pas comme peu importants. Connaissant parfaitement vos défauts et manquements journaliers, triomphez-en et, vous repentant, corrigez-les. Il n’y a rien au dessus des principes de la doctrine. S’il s’élève en vous le désir de ne pas les suivre, s’il y nait la pensée de s’en écarter,

alors les actes et les principes seront disjointes et toutes vos lectures passées perdront leur fruit."

La réponse à Ho Pe-fong portait : "l'homme et la femme forment la maison, c'est ce qu'il y a de plus intime dans les choses humaines. Ces affaires ont leur règle morale. Les principes des Sages sont étendus et profonds. Si, soit qu'il vive dans la retraite et la simplicité ou dans les jouissances, et le luxe,¹ l'homme traite ces affaires avec négligence et sans façon, le décret du ciel ne pourra s'exécuter.

Les règles des sages prennent leur point de départ dans les rapports les plus délicats et les plus intimes de l'homme et de la femme. Quant à leur point culminant il atteint ce qu'il y a de plus élevé et de plus profond au ciel et sur la terre. Cela étant, si les Sages n'en connaissent pas les secrets et ne prêtent pas la plus grande attention à chacun d'eux, qui pourrait les formuler et tracer des modèles ?

Le Yih-King, commençant par les Kouas *Khien* et *K'uen*, en a mis au milieu les Kouas Hien et Heng.² Le Li-Ki s'occupe du mariage comme chose principale. Au Shih-King les deux Nâns³ forment pour cette cause le commencement fixé et permanent.⁴ Au Tsih-Yen il est dit : "les règles concernent le manger et le boire, les fonctions de l'homme et de la femme. L'homme qui plonge dans un courant n'en connaît pas tous les filets d'eau."⁵ Il est dit en outre : "Ceux qui dans la fréquentation des hommes savent qu'il y a des rites à observer, qui dans les rapports entre amis savent qu'il y a des règles à suivre, les gens réfléchis et respectueux seuls, savent s'observer et ne point commettre de faute." Telle est la pensée de l'auteur.

Kong-ming avait choisi pour épouse une fille d'une grande laideur ; mais il l'employait et s'en faisait servir de façon que personne ne pouvait l'atteindre. Son caractère droit et élevé, sa vertu fortement trempée avaient bien été reçus du ciel, mais par des réflexions internes, son esprit et son cœur

¹ Litt. sur un tapis, etc.

² Ce sont les Kouas 31 et 32.

³ Les deux premiers livres du Shih-King.

⁴ Sont la loi de ce qui forme le commencement.

⁵ Tous les receptacles.

devenaient chaque jour plus purs et plus éclairés. Sa dignité, sa renommée devenait de jour en jour plus grande, plus élevée. Diminuant ses désirs, entretenant son cœur convenablement elle rendit de grands services.

Les anciens Sages, s'efforçant d'éclairer leur esprit et leur cœur n'avaient en vue que de s'affermir dans le bien et d'acquérir une juste renommée. Ils ne cherchaient point cela près des hommes mais en eux-mêmes ; ils ne se préoccupaient point du dehors mais de leur intérieur.

On demandait au Maître : " Quand un homme disgrâcié du sort, se trouve près d'une belle-mère, de frères nés d'une autre mère, et que l'accord ne règne pas entre eux, comment doit-il se conduire ? " Il répondit : " le modèle à suivre existe depuis les temps antiques. Considérez comment Shun s'est conduit. L'homme qui est dans la situation d'un fils ne doit penser qu'à rester ferme dans la pratique de la piété filiale."

On lui demandait encore : " des parents qui aiment leurs enfants au delà de toute expression, voudraient les voir se développer, se former très intelligents et habiles. Est-ce là un désir convenable ? " Le Maître répondit : " Qu'un père, une mère aime ses enfants, c'est très bien ; mais si les aimant au delà de toute limite ils veulent qu'ils soient tels que vous dites, cela ne peut être et n'est pas bien. Entre la loi du ciel et les désirs des hommes il y a une grande différence. Il faut les distinguer soigneusement, comme cela doit être. Lorsque les amis ne sont pas bons et fidèles, il faut s'en séparer. Congédiez-les, mais avec prudence. S'il n'y a pas de motif grave ne brisez pas subitement. Quand un ami est dévoué, ne manquez pas aux lois de l'amitié. Si c'est un ancien ami ne violez par les usages anciens."

Les gens éclairés et sages lorsqu'ils construisent une maison et ses appartements, commencent par élever le lieu des sacrifices à l'est de l'appartement du midi. Puis l'ayant partagé en quatre parties, ils offrent un sacrifice aux mânes des parents des âges antérieurs. Les parents collatéraux qui n'ont plus de descendants y seront adjoints et placés selon le rang des générations. Après cela qu'on détermine le lieu du sacrifice, que l'on en prépare les vases et instru-

ments. Lorsque le jour paraît, le maître de maison vient se montrer au milieu de la grande porte ; à qui entre ou sort il annonce (ce qui va se faire). Quand on est au premier jour de la lune ou à la pleine lune, il fait les cérémonies prescrites. Si le moment est propice, il offre les mets propres à la saison. S'il y a quelque chose à faire il le notifie.

Le pien,¹ le teou,² le fou³ et le kui⁴ étaient les ustensiles employés autrefois. On s'en servait pour tous les sacrifices et offrandes. Maintenant on a transformé les vases profanes en vase de sacrifice et les mets communs, en viande des offrandes. Les monnaies en papier⁵ sont employées au lieu des choses précieuses, parce qu'on les emploie dans la vie ordinaire. On dit qu'on suit les convenances. Dans les sacrifices on doit suivre le droit du fils aîné. Quand des frères partagent les biens de famille ils ne peuvent partager le temple des ancêtres. Quand l'aîné sacrifie, les cadets lui servent les différents objets et l'assistent dans des fonctions. S'ils sont éloignés les uns des autres, le frère aîné seul peut poser les tablettes des ancêtres, le cadet ne le peut pas. Ce n'est qu'au moment des offrandes que l'on pose le support (des tablettes) et l'on écrit les noms sur des écussons de papier. Quand le sacrifice est achevé on brûle le trône-support ; de cette manière on arrive à la fin des cérémonies.

Il est encore dit : " Les rites et usages et les détails du sacrifice peuvent subir de légers raccourcissements. Autrement, une fois l'offrande faite, on ne pourrait plus réciter de prières. Quand on sacrifie aux ancêtres, on doit y apporter une affection et un respect sincères ; c'est l'essentiel. Si l'on est pauvre, on peut tenir compte de ce qui manque dans la maison. Si l'on est malade on agit comme le permettent les forces physiques. Quand la santé et la fortune sont suffisantes, on suit exactement les règles.

¹ Plat à bord portant les offrandes.

² Chargeoir.

³ Plat carré extérieurement et à fond arrondi.

⁴ Plat d'osier tressé.

⁵ Papier-monnaie qu'on brûle dans les cérémonies en l'honneur des morts. C'était généralement du papier de métal, de différentes formes.

Au premier jour de la lunaison, on offre du vin et des fruits au temple domestique ; à la nouvelle lune on présente du thé. Le 5^e jour du mois, le 15^e du septième mois, le 9^e du 9^e mois, et autres encore sont déclarés jours fastes. Dans le grand sacrifice tous les supports des tablettes reçoivent les quatre espèces d'offrande de mets ; on expose les tablettes de bois. Si le temps est propice on ne présente au temple des ancêtres que deux espèces de mets.¹ Si le premier jour du mois est un jour faste on n'offre qu'une seule fois du vin ; on ne présente qu'un seul verre.

Toutes les cérémonies du deuil avant l'ensevelissement consistent en ce qu'on appelle "libations." Les rites en sont parfaitement réglés. Comme par suite de l'état d'affliction où l'on se trouve, on ne peut user du moindre luxe on doit témoigner son amour et son empressement pour le mort et ne point l'honorer comme on honore les esprits.²

Après que l'on a apaisé les mânes du défunt et à dater du sacrifice, le reste s'appelle *tst*.

Il est dit à ce sujet dans le Kia-li :³ " La libation est le sacrifice du temps de deuil. Le sacrifice offert après l'apaisement des mânes⁴ est une cérémonie de joie. Car on revient peu à peu alors aux sentiments de joie."

Chez les Anciens, pendant le temps de deuil, tout s'écartait des usages des temps ordinaires et devenait différent. Aussi bien qu'on laissât de côté le sacrifice au temple des ancêtres, on vivait dans un juste milieu entre la vie absolument retirée et la vie publique, sans impatience ni de l'une ni de l'autre. Les gens de nos jours, lorsqu'ils sont en deuil n'abandonnent point les usages de la vie ordinaire ; ils ne changent que ce qui a été dit. Ils ont peur de s'incommoder.

Dans la réponse à Tzeng Kouang-Tzou, il était dit : " Pendant le temps que l'on reste enfermé à la maison à cause du deuil, on ne peut se permettre d'omettre les sacrifices des quatre saisons. Si le jour du sacrifice est de bon augure,

¹ 味.

² C'est-à-dire par une cérémonie de joie.

³ Rites domestiques ; œuvre de Tchou-hi.

⁴ Ou le septième jour du deuil.

on y procède vêtu d'habits de deuil noirs. Dans les sacrifices fixés on présente et élève trois fois la viande rotie des offrandes, mais cela ne doit pas se faire quand on reste enfermé à la maison en temps de deuil. Si c'est un jour faste, on présente une seule fois les offrandes mêlées. On ne lit pas les prières cérémonielles, on n'offre pas les viandes rôties. On ne transporte pas les tablettes comme il est dit au Li-Ki. Il n'y a pas de règle ni d'étiquette absolument fixe.

Le jour avant le sacrifice Ta-Siang,¹ on offre un sacrifice et l'on annonce (ce que l'on va faire) à l'ancêtre dont on doit emporter la tablette (hors du temple). Lorsque celle-ci est transportée, le jour suivant, on enlève les nattes et la table; puis tenant élevée la nouvelle tablette on l'introduit dans le temple.²

Comme ces prescriptions satisfaisaient peu les sentiments humains, il ajouta : "Introduire et transporter sont deux choses bien différentes. On doit, en introduisant la tablette dans le temple et pour cela interrompant les sanglots, suivre les prescriptions indiquées par Sse-ma Wen Kong. On doit annoncer au père et au grand-père le transfert dans un autre sacrarium. Quand il survient un nouveau décès on doit introduire la tablette du dernier défunt dans le temple des ancêtres et le leur annoncer." Tel est le sens. Quand le sacrifice est achevé on introduit la tablette dans le recessus intérieur du temple.³

Lorsque la 3^e année de deuil est passée, on fait le sacrifice réglé. On emporte la tablette du premier ancêtre et on la dépose dans un autre temple, puis ayant vénéré la tablette du dernier défunt on l'introduit dans le temple des ancêtres. Quand l'enterrement est achevé, en interrompant les sanglots, on revêt un habit noir et l'on reprend les sacrifices habituels dans la salle des ancêtres.

¹ *Magnum omen* 大祥 à la fin de la 2^e année de deuil, alors qu'on change de vêtements de deuil.

² Un temple ne contient que 9 tablettes. Quand une dixième doit y être apportée, la plus ancienne doit être portée ailleurs. Le Li-Ki prescrit la même chose pour la sixième.

³ On les ôte du trône support 位 et on les porte dans le receptacle caché.

On lui demandait une autre fois : “ Comment un fils doit il se conduire quant aux sacrifices, quand il a offert le *Ta-siang* et le *Tan* pour sa mère (défunte) et qu’il n’est en deuil d’aucun homme.”

Le Maître répondit : “ D’après la coutume actuelle, après la 3^e année on enlève la natte et la table.¹ Au petit et au grand Siang tous les hommes prennent part au sacrifice. Mais après le petit Siang, ils ôtent leurs vêtements de deuil. Au grand Siang ils portent des vêtements simples et grossiers comme au jour de la mort, du commencement du deuil et de la douleur. Pendant le sacrifice, on fait face à l’ouest. Il doit en être de même pendant l’enterrement.

En ce qui concerne le deuil, pour tout deuil quelconque, si le père vit encore, c’est lui qui joue le rôle d’honneur. En ce cas les fils n’ont aucune cérémonie à faire. Si le père est mort et que les frères vivent ensemble ils se partagent les fonctions d’honneur. Tel est le texte des rites. Ceci est expliqué de la manière suivante. Chacun a le premier rôle dans le deuil de ses enfants et de ses épouses. S’il s’agit d’une épouse, c’est son mari qui préside au deuil, les fils n’ont point à prendre part au premier rôle.

Tzeng Y’e-tchi demanda : “ Si pendant un deuil de 3 ans il survient un autre deuil d’un an, on doit porter ce nouveau deuil et en prendre les habits. La chose faite on doit reprendre le premier deuil. Mais beaucoup disent que quand on porte les habits d’un grand deuil on ne peut en changer et revêtir ceux d’un deuil moindre ; nous ne savons pas comment il faut faire.”

Le Maître répondit : “ La décision de ces gens est erronée.” Voici les rites à observer quand on cesse les cris et les sanglots. Dans les derniers temps le terme était fixé à 100 jours. Au temps dit K’ai-Yuen² cela a été changé. Maintenant, suivant les rites de la dynastie Tcheou, aussitôt après l’enterrement les témoignages de la douleur prennent fin.

¹ Le *Siao-Siang*, le *Ta-siang* et le *Tan* sont respectivement les sacrifices qui se font après la 1^e, la 2^e et la 3^e année de deuil, alors que l’on change de vêtements.

² 713-742. Sous Huen-tsang des Tang.

Li Hœi-Han demanda : " Il est dit dans les règles du sacrifice tracées par Tchong-Shi : " Tout ce qu'on y associe ne peut être qu'une épouse légitime et une seule. Si celui qui préside au sacrifice est le fils d'une femme secondaire, il doit se faire aider de sa propre mère."

Le Maître répondit : " Le docteur Tchong s'est trompé, je pense." Cela est dit dans le livre Hœi-Yao de la dynastie Tang. Tant que la mère épouse principale vit, on ne tient pas compte de l'antériorité et de la postérité. Toutes doivent assister et aider au sacrifice en commun.

Teou Wen-King demanda : " Des fils, lorsque leur propre mère est morte, comment doivent ils faire l'inscription de la tablette ? où doivent-ils la mettre ? où doivent-ils sacrifier ?

Le maître répondit : " Il s'agit de mères de rang égal. A part l'épouse principale, on doit distinguer les autres en inscrivant seulement le nom de la mère morte. Les paroles de Tchong-y-Tchouen se rapportent au sacrifice domestique fait à volonté."

On lui demanda encore : " Quand (le père) le mari vit encore à qui doit-il écrire de venir au sacrifice offert à l'esprit de son épouse ?" Il répondit : " C'est à un homme honorable de l'entourage du mari, et à personne qui lui soit inférieur."

On l'interrogeait sur le transfert des tablettes. Il répondit : " Le fils du ciel et les vice-rois ont un second temple dans leur Tai-Miao. C'est là qu'on transporte et conserve les tablettes enlevées. Les particuliers d'aujourd'hui n'en ont plus ni de lieu spécial pour garder ces tablettes." Il est dit au Li-Ki, 'on les enterre entre deux marches.' Maintenant ce moyen n'est plus à employer ; on ne peut plus que les enterrer dans une tombe."

Interrogé sur les règles relatives au transport du cadavre, il répondit : " On le porte ainsi : après qu'on l'a annoncé au temple en sacrifiant, on vient ensuite l'annoncer au lieu de sépulture, on ouvre le tombeau et l'on enterre ; cela fait, on se retire après avoir fait une libation. On retourne au temple annoncer l'enterrement et le sacrifice ; on y sanglote après quoi les cérémonies sont terminées."

On demanda :

“La prescription de porter dès le transport du corps les vêtements du deuil de trois mois¹ est expliquée par Tcheng-siu² en ce sens qu'on les dépose après que l'on a laissé passer ces 3 mois. Wang-Suh³ de son côté dit qu'on les quitte après l'enterrement. Qu'en est-il en réalité?” Le maître répondit : “Quant aux rites il convient de se montrer toujours large et de suivre les exemples du chef de la famille Tcheng.

On ajouta : “D'après les principes de ce lettré, ce n'est qu'au cas d'un deuil de 3 ans que, pour l'enterrement d'un mort, on revêt les habits de coton grossier du deuil de 3 mois. Pour un autre deuil on ajoute l'étoffe de chanvre aux habillements du deuil. L'enterrement fini, doit-on ôter ces vêtements?” Le Maître répondit qu'il devait en être ainsi. Au sacrifice du jour de la mort d'un parent on n'expose à la vénération qu'une seule tablette. Tcheng Y-Tchouen⁴ dit que pendant le deuil d'un grand-père, d'un père chef de famille, il ne convient pas de se présenter aux examens. Bien que cela ne soit pas dit clairement par les lois et usages, si on considère bien la chose, on voit que les lettrés doivent agir de la sorte.

La coutume du pays est maintenant que pour la mort du père ou de la mère propre on porte le deuil de cœur pendant 3 ans;⁵ c'est là une pensée excellente. Au jour de l'enterrement on ne traite ses hôtes qu'au régime du jeûne avec des végétaux. Les viandes et les légumes offerts au sacrifice doivent être distribués entre les gens de service.

Le Maître lorsqu'il était sans fonction, se levait avant le jour, revêtait un vêtement de couleur sombre, le bonnet plié carré (Fou-Kin), les souliers de cuir, puis allait accomplir les cérémonies au temple domestique en l'honneur des défunts vénérés. Cela fait, il allait s'asseoir dans sa bibliothèque, posait et affermissait sa table, mettait en ordres ses livres,

¹ Coton grossier.

² Lettré du milieu du XII^e siècle (?).

³ Commentateur du Kia-Yu de Kong-fu-tze.

⁴ Collaborateur de Tchou-hi (?).

⁵ Le deuil extérieur de 3 ans a été diversement raccourci; celui du cœur ne peut l'être.

vases, instruments, etc. Ses aliments solides et liquides consistaient en soupe à la viande; le service avait une mesure fixe. Quand il était fatigué et se reposait, il se tenait assis, les yeux fermés et droit. Si tôt qu'il se levait, il marchait gravement et d'un pas mesuré. Il se couchait au milieu de la nuit; lorsqu'il se levait il repliait sa couche et s'asseyait jusqu'à ce que le jour fût venu; il avait l'air sérieux, sa parole était sage et vertueuse. Sa marche était grave et révérencieuse, assis il se tenait droit et fixe. Toujours réglé et mesuré dans ses actes et son maintien; depuis son enfance jusqu'à sa vieillesse, dans le froid le plus rigoureux, la chaleur la plus violente, en aucune circonstance pressante, en aucun trouble, il ne s'écartait jamais (de ces principes).

CHAPITRE IX.—MOYENS DE GOUVERNER.

Hoei-Ong dit: Le livre Tcheou-li règle toute l'administration des fonctionnaires du palais impérial depuis les eunuques des princesses et les cuisiniers. Il règle tout ce qui concerne le prince en ses volontés relativement au boire et au manger, aux hommes et aux femmes et cherche ainsi à développer ses vertus; c'est là son but suprême. Par la suite tous les vices des Eunuques ont pris le dessus.

Les fonctions des Ministres ont été (ce qu'elles sont) depuis l'antiquité. Les ministres choisissent les Mandarins supérieurs et ceux-ci nomment leurs inférieurs.

Le magistrat civil d'aujourd'hui nomme et dirige; mais les magistrats inférieurs étant importuns et turbulents, il ne parvient pas à choisir des gens sages. Toutes les régions étant confiées aux magistrats, inspecteurs des préfectures, s'ils sont établis avec choix, convenablement, c'est bien. Au temps où j'étais aux affaires, je choisissais avec soin les présidents du Li-pu¹ et je cherchais à avoir partout des hommes propres aux fonctions. Me fiant aux Mandarins supérieurs de toutes les cours, je leur laissais établir eux-mêmes les magistrats dépendant d'eux, puis je les faisais surveiller par le Tchong-

¹ Cour des offices, fonctions.

shou Yamen.¹ Quand parmi les Mandarins il venait à en manquer l'un ou l'autre, pour chaque poste je me faisais présenter l'un ou l'autre de ceux qui les suivaient et en dessous et cela fait, j'avais soin de ne point faire avancer un fonctionnaire doué de peu de vertus.

Le prince ne choisit que les Kien-sze 監司² et les Tai Sheou (préfets). Quant aux autres fonctionnaires administrateurs de districts (hien) lorsqu'on doit les mettre en œuvre, selon les connaissances de chacun, on doit exiger qu'ils remplissent bien leurs fonctions.

Quand on doit organiser et disposer convenablement l'empire, si même on a un grand espace libre, cela se fait aisément. Pour chaque district on établit un Tsze-Shi³ et en lui donnant ce titre on le fait An-tcha-shai⁴ le chargeant de faire louer ou blâmer les magistrats de Tcheous et Hiens. Sous eux on établit, on leur donne comme auxiliaires les Pan-Kouan. Les transports et les importations, l'instruction des affaires criminelles, le soin des champs et des récoltes sont confiés aux soins des Tsze-Shi. Comme ils ont un pouvoir un peu plus élevé que celui des Pan-Kouan, lorsque ceux-ci ont à signaler quelque chose, à faire un rapport c'est aux Tsze-Shi à le présenter. Si les Tsze-Shi négligent de le faire, les Pan-Kouan doivent en référer à la cour Shoue(shin)-Yu-Shi. Si l'on partage entre plusieurs les pouvoirs des Tsze-Shi les affaires se font promptement, régulièrement, facilement et les crimes d'oppression, de tyrannie ne se commettent plus.

L'administration des établissements d'instruction ne s'afflige pas de ce que les lois et les bonnes mœurs ne sont pas fermes et stables, mais elle déplore que les principes de justice et les lois ne puissent pas donner la joie aux cœurs. Quand ils en sont là, s'il cherchent à effrayer en menaçant en ce qu'il y a de moins important dans les lois et principes, ils sont semblables à ceux qui, voulant arrêter un courant d'eau, le font couler de mille canaux et amassent tout à l'aise des

¹ Patent-Office (Mayers).

² Surintendant de district indépendant du gouverneur, ayant affaire directement avec le gouvernement central et surveillant plusieurs préfectures ou Fous.

³ Ce titre appartient au temps des Songs.

⁴ Juge criminel de district.

herbes et des roseaux pour en arrêter le cours impétueux. Ils ne réussirent pas mieux que ces derniers.

Le système actuel des examens est souverainement vicieux. La coutume de choisir pour une localité celui qui est recommandé par le canton est la plus légitime. C'est là la règle principale. Si cela ne se peut, il est bon de disposer le mode d'examen d'une manière moyenne et réglée.

Pour moi j'ai essayé d'établir un système fixe d'examen. J'ai fait du Yih-King, du Shi-King et du Shu-King une matière spéciale; des trois Li une autre, du Tchun-Tsiou et des trois commentaires, une troisième. Après cela je le faisais annoncer et chaque fois que je devais examiner, je faisais savoir dans quel King, dans quel livre historique le thème du travail devait être pris. J'assignais ainsi une fin déterminée aux volontés de chacun et sous mon impulsion, on s'appliquait avec tous les efforts de son intelligence, à l'étude de tel King ou de telle histoire. Il ne fallut pas beaucoup d'examens pour que tous les livres canoniques ou historiques fussent étudiés d'une manière approfondie. Quant au sens des Kings on en corrigeait tout ce qui était défectueux et dépourvu de sens et l'on ne s'occupait que des pensées fondamentales, expliquées clairement.

Maintenant les travaux littéraires reçus dans les examens contiennent beaucoup de choses vagues, obscures, sans signification. Cela est vraiment déplorable. On ne peut pas dire cependant que les travaux écrits par les étudiants soient tout à fait mauvais. Tout cela est étroitement lié aux révolutions des temps.

Vers la fin de la dynastie des Tsin orientaux, les travaux littéraires étaient généralement faits avec négligence et confusément. Ou ne savait point y distinguer le vrai et le faux.¹ Meng-tze parlant des règles à observer par les souverains, mettait au dessus de tout le soin d'assurer la possession des biens du peuple. Bien qu'il ne pût expliquer, en un instant, les usages relatifs aux champs communs, il disait qu'il n'y avait rien de mieux que de noter et de publier combien le peuple

¹ Les discussions manquaient le sens.

de chaque tcheou, de chaque hien, retirait d'un acre de terrain ; combien on prélevait d'impôt, comme aussi combien on exigeait de prestation en dehors de ce qui était réglé par la coutume,¹ combien dans chaque tcheou ou hien on recevait annuellement, en tout, d'argent ou d'aliments, combien on employait et dépensait en toutes espèces de choses et en chaque espèce, ce que l'on faisait du surplus, comment on se procurait ce qui venait à manquer.

Quand tout cela est fait et résumé on choisit un certain nombre de lettrés de juste milieu, bons, sincères, intelligents, expérimentés. Ayant, après recherches soigneuses, réuni et disposé le tout, on le distribue également, prenant le surplus et le donnant à ceux auxquels il manque quelque chose. Si l'on distribue sans distinguer parfaitement les pauvres et les riches des Tcheous et des Hiens, ce qui épuise et restaure les forces du peuple n'arrivera pas à se séparer complètement. La loi et la règle du monde est qu'il n'y a point d'avantage absolu et sans mélange de dommage ; il n'y a à rechercher que la quantité, la part de biens et de maux. Le peuple maintenant s'épuise parceque, par suite des établissements de soldats colons, les dépenses sont énormes, mais par la culture des champs publics ils diminuent² le travail des peuples. Sous la dynastie Han on avait partagé les provinces entre les fils de l'Empereur seuls, en leur donnant le titre de Wang. Aux fils de l'Empereur un seul fils désigné comme héritier succédait à la principauté. Tous les autres fils recevaient le titre de *Heou*. Chaque *Heou* avait pour successeur un de ses fils qui portait le même titre. Les autres fils n'en avaient aucun, ni fief, et après quelques générations ils ne se distinguaient plus des gens du commun. N'ayant plus le moyen d'entretenir d'eux-mêmes leur dignité, sans ressources ils se mettaient eux-mêmes au travail et cultivaient les champs. En ces circonstances l'Empereur Kouang-ou,³ en sa jeunesse, vendit du blé. Lorsque le Maître était à la tête de l'ad-

¹ 泛科 = 泛常.

² Mandchou : ils donnent des repos aux efforts.

³ Le premier des Hans orientaux, 26-58 P.C.

ministration, il éleva une école ; il s'y occupait avant tout d'expliquer la doctrine et de corriger. Ayant pris le grade de docteur, il devint assesseur de district, secrétaire, archiviste de Tong-nan au Tchiouen-Tcheou.¹ S'appliquant à ses fonctions avec soin et grand zèle il s'occupait lui-même minutieusement des plus petites choses. Réunissant à ses fonctions la direction de l'enseignement il choisit les gens bien élevés de l'endroit et en fit ses disciples. Il recherchait et attirait à lui les sages renommés et les donnait comme exemples et modèles. Chaque jour il dissertait avec eux des règles des saints et des sages, relatives au triomphe sur soi-même et à la direction des hommes. Plus tard il fut envoyé à Nan-K'ang² pour y diriger l'administration militaire. Plein d'un zèle constant, il aimait le peuple et avait compassion de ses maux, comme s'il était lui-même souffrant. S'efforçant de favoriser ses intérêts et d'écartier ce qui lui causait du dommage, il n'était en peine que par la crainte de ne pouvoir y parvenir.

Lorsque des gens corrompus et violents opprimaient le peuple, violaient les lois, entravaient le pouvoir, il les faisait châtier sans indulgence. Aussi après que ces perturbateurs violents et forts eurent été arrêtés et leurs violences empêchées, une paix profonde régna dans le canton. Se rendant fréquemment à l'école du chef-lieu, il n'omettait jamais, il ne se fatiguait point d'enseigner aux lettrés, de les diriger, leur expliquant les passages douteux, discutant les points difficiles.

Au temps où il gouvernait Tchang-tcheou³ comme on y ignorait généralement les rites, il reprit la règle relative au deuil, aux enterrements, au mariage et publia à ce sujet un écrit dans lesquels il en relevait l'excellence. Il chargea les pères et les gens âgés d'enseigner, d'expliquer ces rites aux jeunes gens, il réprima la propagande bouddhique ; aussi les mœurs du peuple se transformèrent complètement.

Dans le district où le Maître avait sa résidence, chaque année, au printemps et en été, les riches fermaient les greniers

¹ Au Fo-kien.

² Arrondissement du Nan-ngan-fou, au Kian-si.

³ Au Fo-kien.

et vendaient le blé à gros profits, le petit peuple ouvrait de force les greniers et les pillaient. A chacune de ces occasions, des actes de violence et des meurtres se commettaient; les révoltes et les attaques violentes se multipliaient. Le Maître prit des gens du district et établit un magasin public où il distribuait et donnait du grain moyennant gage; et ainsi le prix ne monta plus, et les gens furent ainsi assurés dans leurs fortunes. Par la suite il fut fait un rapport au prince sur ces procédés; aussi les fit-on connaître et suivre dans toutes les provinces.

Le partie orientale du Tche-Kiang souffrait énormément de la famine. Le Maître fut chargé de l'administration et du débit du thé et du sel. Ayant obtenu un décret à cet effet, il le fit publier dans les autres cantons; il fit ensuite un accord avec les marchands de blé et fit remise des redevances.

Lorsque plus tard les bateaux de blé arrivèrent il alla tous les jours avec les magistrats compétents, s'informer des besoins du peuple. Il ne se donnait pas le temps de dormir et de manger. Lorsque tout fut réglé et remis distinctement en ordre, il parcourut tous les lieux soumis à son administration pour les inspecter. Montagnes escarpées, vallées profondes, il n'y avait point de lieu où il ne pénétrât. S'informant de tout avec bonté, calmant les inquiétudes, témoignant partout de la bienveillance, il rendit la vie à d'innombrables administrés. Dans ses courses il n'avait qu'un char pour tous et ne prenait pas de suite. Tout ce dont il avait besoin il le faisait préparer lui-même et l'emportait avec lui, en sorte qu'il ne prélevait rien dans les villes où il passait. De la sorte bien qu'il passât en beaucoup d'endroits, personne ne s'en apercevait. Les fonctionnaires des comtés et des cantons redoutant sa puissance, étaient constamment dans la crainte et comme pensant toujours que les envoyés impériaux allaient visiter leur territoire. Aussi dans tous les lieux de son ressort régnait le respect du devoir. Outre cela il s'efforça de mettre fin aux entreprises des voleurs, fit prendre les sauterelles et augmenter les produits des taxes maritimes.

CHAP. XIII.—DES FAUSSES DOCTRINES.

Le Docteur Hœi-Ong dit : “ Les doctrines de Bouddha et de Lao-tze n’ont pas besoin d’un profond examen pour être mises en lumière. Tout consiste à rejeter les trois relations¹ et les cinq vertus fondamentales.² C’est certainement là une faute des plus graves. Il ne vaut presque pas la peine de parler des autres erreurs. Telle est la doctrine de Bouddha : “ quand un homme meurt, il devient un esprit et cet esprit par la suite renaît homme.” S’il en était ainsi, si l’on soutient que tout ce qui vient et va entre le ciel et la terre ne naît point et ne se multiplie pas selon la force de production et de changement (les opérations de la nature, mais d’une manière surnaturelle), cela n’est certainement pas selon la raison.

Il est dit dans la réponse à Li Pe-Kian : “ C’est dans le corps seul qu’est la naissance et la mort, la nature vraie reste constamment intacte.” A mon avis la nature n’a ni tromperie, ni erreur, conséquemment on ne peut se servir du terme “ nature vraie.” Comme elle n’a jamais été inexistante on ne doit point employer le mot : “ reste, subsiste (*tsai*).” La nature c’est, en réalité, la loi du ciel et de la terre qui engendre toutes choses. Les ordres du ciel sont constants, permanents et sans fin. Que sa puissance est grande ! Tous les êtres en tirent leur origine. Oserait-on dire que cela n’existe point, que nous serions livrés à notre fantaisie égoïste ? Quant à ce que Bouddha dit de la nature vraie, non altérée, on ne sait pas si c’est conforme à cette doctrine ou non. S’il en est ainsi, alors, les anciens perfectionnant leur cœur savaient bien ce qu’est la nature, ce qu’est le ciel. Leur doctrine en était cause (de leurs actes). L’on ne peut vouloir mourir et subsister perpétuellement.³ Si pensant autrement on veut mettre en état de torpeur morale⁴ son cœur séduit par l’erreur et connaître cette nature vraie,⁵ si l’on craint seulement de

¹ Du prince, du père et de l’époux avec les sujets, les enfants, l’épouse.

² Humanité, droiture, convenance extérieure (rites), connaissance et foi.

³ Dans le nirvâna ?

⁴ Par la contemplation inerte du bouddhisme.

⁵ Pendant la vie et la condition d’homme.

mourir et ne point arriver à cela, on ne pourra point, en agissant ainsi selon ses idées et intérêts personnels, obtenir le bonheur; que leur arrivera-t-il donc ?” Dans la réponse envoyée à Ou Kong-ji, il était dit : “Kong-tze a expliqué convenablement toutes les affaires humaines et les lois de la vie. La doctrine de Bouddha traite de l’homme et des esprits, de la naissance et de la mort, en les confondant.” Selon moi il n’est pas clair s’il faut faire de ces deux ordres de choses—l’homme et l’esprit, la vie et la mort—une seule et même chose ou bien deux. Si l’on n’en fait qu’une, pour traiter avec exactitude de l’homme et des lois de la vie, il faut réunir la mort et la condition d’esprit, mais point tarder de les réunir¹ pour le faire après.² Si en les distinguant et faisant des catégories spéciales, on veut les approfondir, on doit établir une distinction entre le commencement³ et la fin, ce qui est obscur et ce qui est clair.

Les lettrés disent généralement que la doctrine de Bouddha est toute semblable à celles de nos livres. Si ce que je viens de dire est vrai, comment peut-on les assimiler ? On veut que l’on y ait confiance, mais ce n’est point la même doctrine. Zhoui Koue-Ki disait habituellement : “Le monde n’a point deux lois, le saint n’a point deux cœurs”; pourquoi donc chercher à accommoder la doctrine de Bouddha ? c’est là ce qu’il veut dire. En effet c’est parce que le monde n’a qu’une loi et le saint un seul cœur, que l’on ne peut retenir la doctrine de Bouddha.

Dans une autre lettre, à la question de savoir si la doctrine des Kings et le système de Bouddha étaient identiques ou non, il répondit, “Au pays où vous êtes né et où vous vous trouvez, la doctrine de Bouddha est-elle celle des lettrés ?”⁴ Le maître dit, “Dans la nature provenant du décret du ciel il n’y avait à l’origine ni doctrine des Kings ni système de Bouddha. Conséquemment le principe distinctif du vrai et du

¹ La vie et la mort.

² Après la mort dans l’état d’esprit; ou bien: après la mort on devient d’abord autre chose puis esprit.

³ Les états d’homme et d’esprit.

⁴ Il est certain que ce n’est point.

faux de ces deux doctrines y était compris et établi avant leur existence.

Si l'on parle ici de ce qui était alors inexistant, ce ne sera pas seulement la doctrine des Kings et le système Bouddhique, mais les rois Yao et Kie¹ qui n'existaient point.

Mais aussi l'on doit savoir discerner ce qu'a été Yao, ce qu'a été Kie." D'après ces paroles, si l'on ne considérait que ce qui n'a point existé d'abord, on devrait dire que les deux doctrines se mêlent et n'en forment qu'une.

On ne peut donc ne point blâmer le langage incertain, libre des gens qui vont jusqu'au dernier terme du système de la contemplation,² ni les lettrés de ce temps qui se tournent du côté du vent.³ Toutefois si tel personnage, qui dit vouloir suivre ce qui est la vraie doctrine, établit ses pensées dans cette direction, il est incapable de bien comprendre.

On se demande comment beaucoup de lettrés se sont adonnés à des doctrines fausses et étrangères. C'est que tous leurs efforts extérieurs faits sur eux-mêmes étaient incapables et insuffisants, et ils ne savaient plus dominer leur cœur et le corriger.

Selon le dire des partisans de la doctrine de la contemplation, il n'y a qu'une seule porte pour arriver à la comprendre. Si on en acquiert l'intelligence en un moment, un beau matin,⁴ et qu'on y entre et que rompant avec le présent pour l'avenir on juge pressant de⁵ se perfectionner à ces principes, pourquoi ne se met-on pas à les suivre? Ils ne savent pas que la loi, le droit unique est au-dedans de soi, qu'on les chercherait vainement à l'extérieur⁶ et qu'en chacun le cœur doit être établi en sa place et disposition particulière. Comme d'autres demandaient : " Comment s'est-il fait que tous les lettrés et les mandarins de cette époque, avancés en âge, se sont laissés entraîner à entrer dans le système de la contemplation? " Il répondit : " Se confiant en leurs études ordinaires

¹ Le dernier des Hia (1818) tyran détroné par le premier Shang, Yao et Kie le prince modèle et le tyran.

² Le bouddhisme.

³ Le bouddhisme était en faveur.

⁴ Comme Çâkyamouni subitement illuminé sous l'arbre.

⁵ Ou : pouvoir promptement.

⁶ La vraie loi est dans la conscience et non dans l'illumination extérieure.

et la composition de nombreux morceaux littéraires, ils ont compté recueillir des avantages et du profit, du renom, de la louange. Mais comme tous, malgré leurs espérances, n'ont pu y atteindre, ils se sont laissés décevoir par ces doctrines.¹ Les gens d'aujourd'hui se laissent facilement entraîner par des paroles adroites et artificieuses, mais comme ils ne savent pas bien comprendre, s'ils ne cherchent pas à pénétrer le sens profond des livres des Saints, ils seront incapables de les bien connaître.

Pour moi pensant à loisir, pendant bien des jours, à ce qui a été dit pour pénétrer et bien comprendre tout ce qui concerne les saints, j'y ai appliqué tous mes soins. Les gens de nos jours dépourvus de cette sollicitude sont lents et faibles à comprendre et à connaître ces choses. Dernièrement une doctrine de ce genre s'étant fait jour, on a abandonné les Kings et l'on s'est mis à étudier l'histoire ;² on a abandonné les règles des rois et l'on a tenu en haute estime les artifices des petits princes et chefs locaux.³ Cherchant à scruter à fond les bouleversements qui ont élevé et abattu les puissances jadis et de nos temps, on ne se préoccupe point de ce qui peut maintenir le cœur ou le pervertir. S'ils lisent seulement des livres de ce genre il en sera ainsi ; s'ils n'en lisent pas du tout ce sera beaucoup mieux.⁴

Depuis les dernières années en cherchant à les rapprocher du système de Bouddha,⁵ on a troublé et altéré les principes vrais de Kong-tze et Meng-tze. Cette secte a mis en premier lieu comme commandement principal d'étudier les livres et d'approfondir les principes. Ils disent que les lettrés, s'ils fixent leur cœur dans le vague et l'obscur⁶ ne peuvent en connaître les dispositions ; mais que se trouvant un beau matin, sans aucun effort, illuminés intérieurement et pleins de science en eux seuls, ils atteignent ainsi (l'intelligence de la

¹ Leur échec dans la carrière des lettrés, les a fait tourner vers le Bouddhisme.

² Les annales des dynasties depuis les Tcheous.

³ Les livres d'histoire, les annales postérieurs qui ne relatent que les faits et ne prêchent point les principes, comme le Shuh-King.

⁴ Ou bien : qu'ils les lisent ou ne lisent pas, ce sera d'autant plus grave.

⁵ En cherchant de fausses ressemblances.

⁶ Dans leurs réflexions propres. L'illumination leur vient du dehors.

doctrine, et le but de leurs efforts). Devenus, ainsi, pensent-ils, en possession ¹ d'eux-mêmes et bien qu'avec ce maintien extérieur et ces maximes ils s'efforcent d'arriver à se corriger eux-mêmes et améliorer les autres hommes, ils sont bien loin encore de la doctrine des saints.

L'enseignement, en ces temps, n'a pas été suffisamment clair et lucide, de fausses doctrines se sont élevées avec méthode, où tout en général appartient à la fantaisie particulière et aux passions humaines; elles ne pouvaient manquer de prendre le titre de loi morale, justice, enseignement. Aussi les lettrés en général, y ont adhéré. Le proverbe disait que si elles étaient vraies il serait difficile de les arrêter et que si elles étaient fausses on pourrait aisément les détruire. Mais si on pratique avec zèle notre doctrine et la rend par là de plus en plus brillante et illustre, leurs maximes funestes seront atteintes comme la neige par le soleil et il ne sera plus nécessaire de discuter avec eux par des études profondes.

L'enseignement de cette fausse doctrine transforme la nature à sa fantaisie. C'est en vérité une grande calamité. Elle est cause que l'on ne prend pas garde à la perversion des manières, du maintien, des pensées et des désirs; elle fait que penser et agir sans règle, à son gré, mal, n'est point considéré comme une faute grave. C'est une chose bien mauvaise. Les dissertations des lettrés de ce temps s'approchent de beaucoup de ces funestes enseignements. On ne peut être indifférent à ceci.

A cette question: "Est-il vrai ou non ce que l'on dit que la doctrine de Bouddha s'apprend et se comprend en un instant?" Il répondit: "D'après ce que j'ai ouï, on dit parmi les Bonzes que cette intelligence s'acquiert en un instant. Mais si l'on y regarde de plus près (on voit que) ces gens sont négligents et d'une vertu médiocre. Il en est d'eux comme des disciples de Lou-tze Tching; quand on les fréquente une première fois, on les dirait éclairés; mais ensuite leur conduite se montre mauvaise, contraire aux bons principes, fourbe, querelleuse; quand on voit cela, leur prétendue il-

¹ Se connaissant alors. Malgré tout cela ils sont bien loin des Saints de l'école des Lettrés.

lumination intérieure, acquise subitement, se montre comme une science bien médiocre. Après avoir été comme vraiment purs, éclairés, heureux, après quelque temps, ils déchoient peu à peu, ils finissent par être sans vertu. Pourrait-on avoir confiance en ces doctrines ? ”

La réponse à Kiang Te-Kong portait : “ Les lettrés de nos jours pervertis par la doctrine de Bouddha, traitent les maximes des saints et des sages comme peu profondes, parce qu’ils sont insatiables en leur esprit. Ne pouvant abattre ni détruire la loi du ciel et les coutumes des peuples, ils ne peuvent non plus se résoudre, après avoir renié nos doctrines, à y adhérer de nouveau. Ces deux sentiments se disputent dans leurs cœurs et ne sachant point comment obtenir la paix (et à quoi se résoudre) ils ont adopté des maximes rapprochées, semblables (à celles des saints). Y adhérant alors et parlant en conséquence, ils reprirent les maximes contenues dans notre doctrine, les firent leurs, les répétèrent comme à eux propres, les prenant pour règles de conduite, ils les firent entrer dans leur cœur. En tout ce qui, par hasard et sans efforts, s’y trouvait conforme, ils firent des deux un système de morale arbitraire. Prétendant se conformer à la pensée des saints et sachant bien qu’il n’en était pas ainsi, ils ne tinrent point compte de ce fait. Leurs intentions me sont bien connues comme eux-mêmes.

S’élevant au-dessus des saints et des sages, ils se permettent en tout et partout de les blâmer, critiquer, et de leur faire des remontrances. Puis de nouveau les exaltant, les étudiant pour les approfondir, ils ont développé encore davantage leurs idées propres, leurs règles quant à la manière d’agir, de se tenir. Je rends service au Saints et aux Sages,¹ disent-ils, ne dois je pas le faire ? et ils ignorent que ce qu’ils prétendent être élevé et profond est bas et insensé. Aussi il y a chez les lettrés de nos jours une manque total d’intelligence de ce qu’il y a de profond et de subtil dans l’esprit et le cœur. Et ils ne savent pas seulement distinguer ce qui est semblable et différent.”

¹ En faisant accorder leurs doctrines avec celles de Bouddha.

La réponse envoyée par le maître à Liao-tze Hœi portait : "Selon ce qui m'a été écrit, dans tous les actes journaliers il y a quelque chose qui a une nature différente.¹ L'éclat, la lumière, s'agite, brille, va çà et là et revient, est-il dit. C'est là la vraie nature de ce qui est sans principe, le système du vide qui ne périt point. Aussitôt que les lettrés l'ont compris et le savent et que se l'étant bien mis dans l'esprit, ils se forment les idées en conséquence, les scrutent et les maintiennent et se représentent ces choses comme si elles étaient sous leurs yeux, alors ils ont le vrai souci de la connaissance du premier principe. Si l'on enseigne et agit conformément à ce principe, en le prenant dans ses détails, on verra que tout ce qui est en dessous, tout ce qui est peu élevé et raisonnable lui est entièrement étranger."

Il est dit au commencement de Yen-tze,² "Quand on regarde en l'air, on voit haut ; quand on cloue on attache solidement, on affermit ; quand on regarde on voit ce qui est devant soi, mais aussitôt (on peut voir ce qui est) par derrière. Ce qu'on n'a point encore vu, on ne peut le savoir exactement." Cette pensée est très-juste. Cela étant, les Saints en fondant leur doctrine commençaient avant tout par mettre la logique dans leurs paroles et insister fortement sur leurs principes ; ils ont exposé ces choses avec beaucoup de justesse, puis instruisant les hommes, les formant avec soin, les amenant à voir la vérité, les conduisant par leur zèle et leur constance aux principes essentiels et évidents, ils ont ainsi, d'une manière claire et distincte formé le plan, les bases de la doctrine. Tous ne disent point cela mais seulement : en enseignant les hommes, pénétrez la nature des choses, perfectionnez votre science, vainquez vous vous-même, observez les rites. Mais s'occuper des détails infinis des branches et des feuilles,³ c'est tromper les hommes, dépenser inutilement ses jours et ainsi épuiser ses ressources.

Les paroles du Lun-Yu et de Meng-tze sont simples, faciles

¹ Un principe fondamental différent de l'acte lui-même.

² Lettré du VI. siècle P.C. écrivit sur les règles domestiques avec tendance au bouddhisme.

³ Des détails, des conséquences.

et claires, vraies ; elles n'ont rien de mystérieux ni de caché. Tze-sze et Tcheou-tze ont publié pour le bien de l'humanité les livres du Tchong Yong et du Tai-Kih ; et ont expliqué les principes les plus élevés de la substance de la vraie doctrine.

En parlant du zèle et de l'attention à les pratiquer ils disent de ne choisir que le bien et de le garder avec persévérance. Vous instruisant ou apprenant, réfléchissant, étudiant, faites-le avec une constante application. Il est dit seulement : "Disposez tout selon le juste milieu, l'intégrité ferme, la bienveillance, la justice et mettez au-dessus de tout la vraie paix ; que les sages règlent toutes choses et cela suffit" ; et non : qu'en employant les hommes dans les fonctions journalières et sachant par l'étude que la nature provenant du décret du ciel est le produit réel du principe sans principe, on ne doit veiller à la maintenir intacte. Si l'on examine bien la nature primitive de cette justice, bien qu'elle soit extrêmement merveilleuse et profondément cachée, on peut voir que sa réalité s'accomplit dans le droit et la justice qui doit diriger constamment les actes au sein du cœur humain. Si l'on en scrute les fondements, on saura qu'elle provient du cœur de l'homme et comme elle ne peut exercer son action par la seule force de l'homme, on dit qu'elle est décrétée par le ciel. Bien qu'il y ait dix mille actions, d'innombrables transformations, toutes en proviennent. Comme elle n'a ni forme ni apparence extérieure qu'on puisse montrer et remarquer réellement, on la dit sans principe. En ce qui concerne ce que l'on doit pratiquer avec zèle, c'est de choisir le bien, d'y tenir avec fermeté, c'est le milieu, l'humanité, la justice, ce sont les seules choses dont on doit se préoccuper.

Il n'y a aucun motif de veiller à pratiquer des choses d'une autre nature, hormis d'étudier la vraie doctrine et de satisfaire aux justes exigences de toutes choses. Cela étant, on doit scruter son cœur troublé et, dans les actes journaliers, on doit le recueillir, le corriger, le mettre en ordre et ne point laisser sa pensée et sa volonté se répandre au dehors. Il y a en effet dans tout cela des règles et un droit que l'on doit justement suivre. Tout y étant en ordre, clair, évident et pur, on doit s'efforcer de se modeler là-dessus. Car on ne doit point

accueillir ces principes, les cacher dans son cœur et puis partager ce cœur qui doit rester un et le laisser sortir de lui-même, s'accommodant aux circonstances et tenant compte des choses extérieures (de cette manière reprehensible).

Il est encore dit dans la lettre envoyée : En toutes choses, en toute affaire il y a vérité et règle morale. La nature de l'humanité, la justice, la convenance, la sagesse est la règle du regard, de l'ouïe, du parler et des actions. Tout cela est issu du décret du ciel. Donc quand des gens tels que Yen-tze, Tcheng-tze ont connu la substance totale des choses, ils n'y ont rien (vu) qui ne fût bon. Bien que ces paroles ne soient point défectueuses, si l'on en étudie le sens, si l'on pénètre les manifestations de la pensée, on voit qu'en ne faisant de tout le contenu du décret céleste qu'une masse confuse d'une seule et même chose, on fait ainsi de la justice, des convenances et de la sagesse, tout comme de la règle de l'ouïe, de la vue, du parler et des actes, une chose vile et digne de petites gens. Cela ne diffère nullement de ce qui a été noté précédemment. En outre dans ce qu'on dit ainsi de l'enseignement il n'y a rien qui soit conforme à la vraie nature, au principe régulateur des choses et des actions.

On a ainsi borné tous ses soins à savoir tout cela en globe, c'est l'ancien mal dans toute sa force. Si lorsqu'on a appris de la sorte, on prétend, qu'il n'y a rien en cela qui ne soit bien ; comme on ne sait pas encore bien ces choses et que l'on attend pas qu'on les ait comprises et pénétrées, en les étudiant à fond, une à une et épuisant les recherches, on se représente et détermine tout d'après ses propres pensées et son intelligence subjective. Les paroles de Tcheng-tze reprimandant ceux qui se tiennent devant les stoupas et parlent du service de la roue de la loi,¹ ne diffèrent nullement de ceci. Conséquemment ce qui dans les efforts de l'étude pénètre le haut et le bas est chose cachée, profonde, nécessaire, urgente. Certainement bien que la loi du décret céleste, de la nature, soit cachée, si l'on vient à considérer ses vrais principes qui développent la science et résument les rites, on

¹ Les bouddhistes "Tourner la roue de la loi," est "la prêcher."

les trouvera clairs et évidents. Mais comme ils sont sans forme ni figure on ne peut chercher à les saisir en tâtonnant à l'aventure et portant la main çà et là comme si on voulait saisir le vent ou lier l'ombre. Les actes de l'intelligence sont encore plus cachés, mais plus éloigné (obscur) est ce qui s'écarte de la loi morale.

La réponse à Tchen Wei-tao portait : " Si l'on compare ce que l'on sait du système du Bouddha à la doctrine de nos livres, on ne peut pas dire que ceux-ci ne sont pas aussi connus ; mais ce n'est qu'une ombre qu'on voit du dehors et l'on ne peut connaître tout ce qu'il y a à l'intérieur de vrai et réel, de réglé et de juste. Aussi, bien que ce que l'on connaît, soit tout à fait élevé, clair, mesuré, profond, quand on doit le mettre en pratique, se mettre à faire quelque chose, il n'en est plus de même. Quand on est lettré on sait que l'on ne doit pas s'écarter de ces dispositions du cœur, de ces principes de justice. Si dans les petites choses, dans les minces détails, il n'y a ni erreur, ni résistance aux principes, alors c'est bien. Si dans la conduite, on commet des fautes et des erreurs, c'est que la science (que l'on croit avoir acquise) est elle-même erronnée. On ne doit pas faire deux catégories de la connaissance et des actes, en les séparant violemment, comme dans le système de Bouddha.¹

Jadis Yang Kui-Shen citait de Pang Kui-Shi les paroles suivantes : " La conduite, l'intelligence perspicace, excellente, fait aller chercher l'eau et apporter le bois."² Tout en manifestant, rendant évidents les principes de conduite grave et sage de Meng-tze servant ses parents, cette doctrine contenait, selon moi, une grave erreur. D'après la doctrine du Bouddha c'est seulement de savoir transporter du bois et puiser de l'eau qui constitue la conduite sage, intelligente, admirable. Expliquant ces actes dont il a été fait mention, et si dignes de recommandation, elle dit qu'elle n'y a point en cette doctrine de sujet de discussion, ni rien à distinguer.³ Pour les lettrés quand on reste en arrière de ses parents, la

¹ Le Bouddhisme prescrit la méditation et condamne l'acte, le *Karma*.

² Allusion à la conduite de Meng-tze qui faisait cela pour ses parents.

³ Il suffit de faire cela tellement quellement et c'est tout. Les lettrés exigent quelque chose de plus.

conduite grave et modeste est excellente, mais si l'on agit avec empressement et se met au-dessus de ses parents alors cela n'est pas conforme à la vraie doctrine.¹ C'est pourquoi si l'on se met à étudier la nature des choses, à perfectionner sa science et à d'autres actes semblables et que dans les actes journaliers, scrutant, distinguant avec soin, on sache parfaitement agir de manière à manifester dans ses actes la loi du ciel, par cette conduite on verra certainement le vrai et le faux, le noir et le blanc ; ils se distingueront chacun clairement, on verra profondément en son intérieur que la vérité suit cette loi et que l'erreur la viole ; il n'y aura plus le moindre sujet de doute ou d'obscurité. Alors sachant aussitôt toute chose et capable de rendre sa science parfaite on pourra également assurer la vérité à son intelligence, la rectitude à son cœur et l'on sera en état de gouverner le monde, l'empire et les familles. Ce ne sont pas, en effet, deux choses différentes.

Tous les saints et sages du temps passé parlant de la nature-décret du ciel, l'ont tous reconnue conformément à la vérité ; conséquemment parler de perfectionner la nature c'est (dire d') accomplir les lois des trois relations et des cinq vertus des princes et sujets, des parents et enfants sans y manquer en rien. S'il s'agit de soutenir et développer la nature, c'est faire fleurir la loi morale et ne lui nuire en rien. Le droit est chose inapparente, les choses sont au contraire très-visibility ; si on les apprécie également bien, rien n'y manquera, et les paroles seront exemptes d'erreur. Il est encore dit : les erreurs du Bouddhisme, quand on se les rappelle sont telles ; elles sont innombrables et bien grandes. Si on les écrit on ne peut en épuiser le nombre, si on les énumère on ne peut les citer toutes. Si l'on continue longtemps à se les mettre bien dans l'esprit et qu'on s'y mûrisse, alors, de quelque côté qu'on veuille se tourner pour les fuir, on ne parvient point à les éviter.²

¹ Il ne suffit pas de servir ses parents il faut le faire avec gravité et respect, et c'est ce que Pang Kui-Shi ne distinguait pas.

² Les doctrines de Bouddha sont séduisantes par leur profondeur et beauté apparentes et trompeuses ; quand on s'y livre, elle se rendent maîtresses de l'intelligence.

Voici cependant ce que j'ai fait jadis. Ayant compris que le vrai essentiel n'était point en lui, je l'ai subitement et complètement abandonné; seul, je me suis appliqué à l'étude des livres, des règles et de la morale et j'ai lu tout comme si je commençais à aller à l'école des enfants. J'appris ainsi à connaître petit-à-petit le sens et les principes d'une ou deux sections et j'en ai reconnu les erreurs. Ayant à la longue approfondi cette doctrine je reconnus parfaitement que la vérité n'y était ni peu ni point, je n'eus pas besoin d'efforts pour m'en éloigner; par soi-même cela ne pouvait m'entrer dans l'esprit. Mais si prenant ce qu'elle a de mieux on cherche à le rapprocher de la vérité,¹ on ne saura plus l'abandonner, parcequ'on ne la connaîtra qu'imparfaitement.

¹ Négligeant tout ce qu'elle a de faux et d'irrationnel, on l'épure et ainsi la comprend mal. Alors elle séduit.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA.

*Camp, Rohe-Ashtami, Kolaba District,
Bombay Presidency, 18 Feb., 1888.*

SIR,—I have read with great interest Mr. Simpson's suggestions as to the origin of certain forms in Indian Architecture (JOURNAL, Vol. XX. Part I. pp. 49 *et seq.*), and hope that the following rough notes may be of some use in confirming his valuable conjectures.

The origin of the Chaitya form of roof may now be considered, I think, as proven by his deductions from the works of Col. Marshall and Mr. Breeks; and reduce Mr. Ferguson's remarks about the probable result of exploration by "a man with an eye in his head" to a prophecy.

It is worth noting that somewhat similar wooden forms appear to have been similarly adapted to rock-cut architecture in ancient Lycia; but there we have not, as in the Nilgiris, got the almost primitive hut still extant in striking resemblance to the rock-hewn monument.

As regards the connection of Hindu temples with tombs, it still exists over a great part of Western India. Throughout the Deccan and Konkan, when an ascetic of unusual sanctity is buried, instead of being burnt (as is common), a small monument is apt to be raised over his grave, and this will generally take the form of a model temple shrine, containing, if he was a Saiva, a lingam in a "*shalunkha*," or in

some cases the "padam" (two feet in low relief), more rarely other sacred emblems or even images.

The erection of such monuments over the site of a cremation is more rare, and is, I have been told, not strictly orthodox; but I have known several cases. One of the most famous is the so-called "tomb" of Raja Sivaji, on the hill-fortress of Raigarh in this district, which was surveyed and repaired under my own direction two years ago, by order and at the expense of Government.

I know another said to commemorate the cremation of one of the Angira sea-kings, and to have been erected by himself before his death, just as a Musalmán chief erects his own tomb. As often happens, the work remained unfinished by his successors, but he is said to have been burnt close to the spot, which is sacred; forming part of the "curtilage" of a group of temples. I should have said that Raja Sivaji's cenotaph is close to a temple erected by himself. Another similar cenotaph marks the place where a Brahmin lady became "sati" in 1818, near Brahman Wáde in Ahmadnagar; and at Chinchwad, in Poona, the founder of a still existing line of Avatars of Ganpati is said to have been interred *alive* inside the principal temple. This is a large building; and, indeed, wherever the survivors were wealthy and pious, such buildings are usually not distinguishable at a glance from ordinary temples of the smaller temples of any important group, and they go in conversation by the same name "dewal."

The above are modern instances, but throughout the same region we find old monolithic sepulchral monuments of small size, generally from 2ft. 6in. to 4ft. high. Their purpose is often indicated by their position in unmistakable cemeteries still in use, or where abandoned, still crowded with unmistakable grave mounds, and recorded to be ancient cemeteries. In many cases these have only been abandoned under pressure of authority, which in that country has of late years set its face against intramural burial, and appointed new cemeteries and burying-grounds at some distance from the dwellings of men, for sanitary reasons.



Further, their sculptures commonly represent the death of the deceased, his judgment before Yama, and his final appearance in heaven, where he worships the lingam or otherwise, according to his creed on earth.

Such sculptures are almost always enclosed in a sort of frame, representing a section of a temple, just as in Europe. A mural tablet or relief would perhaps be framed in a "pediment" borrowed from classic religious art. And very commonly the whole stone is itself a model of a temple, usually of Dravidian form. I have, I think, said enough to show the close connection between temples and the tombs and cenotaphs which often cluster around them in this region, both ancient and modern, and have only to add that it seems to be closest and commonest in Saiva remains. The whole of the facts correspond with Mr. Simpson's observations and quotations on pp. 56, 57 of his article. I am not prepared, however, to draw any positive deduction as to whether the tomb sprang from the temple or the temple from the tomb; though, looking at the almost universal ancestor-worship in one form or another, the latter appears the more likely hypothesis.

Again, taking Mr. Simpson's remarks about the cars or raths of the gods, I am able to say that several exist (or lately did) in Western India, which are by no means temporary structures, nor dismantled after each procession, though for it they may be "dressed" (like a ship in gala trim) with additional ornaments. And these are usually wooden representations of Sikra-spires. Mr. Fergusson mentions and figures one at Vijayanagar (Ind. and East. Architecture, p. 375), which is monolithic and fixed, but has moveable wheels. Very likely the turning of these was part of the performance on feast days.

In Khandesh and parts of Central India, when I served there a good many years ago, there were private bullock carriages, covered, not indeed with bamboo, but with a high roof of wooden lattice applied just as bamboo would be, and very probably derived from a bamboo original. This was supported on four corner posts, and if this structure had been

used in a god's car, or in a fixed shrine, it could easily be imagined to develop into a sort of sikra.

The "āmālaka," however, appears to have a somewhat different origin. As Mr. Fergusson justly observes, the fruit of *Phyllanthus emblica* is too insignificant a berry to be looked to as the origin of an important architectural form. Moreover, when fresh, it has not the least resemblance to the "āmālaka" of a temple, and though it is a little more like one in shape when dried, the comparison is still a strained one.

But there seems to be a pretty clear indication in the position of the āmalaka, which supports the Kalas. Now the kalas is professedly a pot, and to this day common earthen pots are used as finials of rude structures, such as scarecrows, or even of more solid erections, very often, for instance, on gate-posts. And the round-bottomed Indian pot, on a human head, or in any other position, is generally supported upon an annular cushion or wreath made of rags, grass, or any coarse fibre, "stoppered," as a sailor would say, with twine. The "stoppering" of course produces corrugations in the softer fibre of the wreath, and the whole of this 'rest' for the water-pot is, in the district where I write, called "chumbal."¹

Now if any one will build up a something to represent a sikhara, and try to cap it with a "kalas" or round-bottomed pot, he will find that he must either invert the pot or set it upon something that will act as a "chumbal," or it won't be secure. But using a 'grummet' or coil of rope, he will find the kalas sit steady, and harmonize artistically with his chumbal. And if, as Mr. Simpson shows good ground for supposing, a part of the spire was devoted to the custody of relics, they must be put in some suitable receptacle, and the first receptacle that a Hindu thinks of for any small article, fluid or solid, is a round-bottomed pot—the very kalas that we have been talking of.

I admit the full possibility of the āmalaka being an

¹ Pāli cumbaṭa.—Ed.

umbrella; but, looking at the fact that people do not put water-pots over umbrellas in any known country, while they do put them over "chumbals" throughout India (and in other countries wherever the pots are round-bottomed), I think that the explanation suggested above has more chance of being the right one.

In a matter so unsusceptible of proof, however, I cannot put it forward as more than a likely suggestion.

W. F. SINCLAIR, Bomb.C.S.

The Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(December, January, February.)

I. REPORTS OF MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, SESSION 1887-88.

23rd January, 1888.—Sir THOMAS WADE, K.C.B., in the Chair.

There were elected as Resident Members: H. P. Boswell, P. de Lacy Johnstone, and E. J. Rapson; and as Non-Resident Members: T. W. Arnold, S. C. Mukerji, and Syed Ali Belgrāmi.

Professor Sir MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS, K.C.I.E., said: On looking closely into the letters I have received from Jain Pandits now in India, I find them so deficient in clearness, and so full of inaccuracies, that I have decided, with your permission, to lay them—as they are—before the Society, and to make a few remarks of my own on the Jains, founded on the contents of the letters and on my own inquiries in India, as well as on the researches of other European scholars.

Most scholars in the present day are of opinion that the Jain Teacher Vardhamāna Mahāvira Nātaputta and Gautama Buddha were contemporaries, and that Jainas were an independent sceptical sect, probably a little antecedent to the Bauddhas. At any rate it seems certain that Niganṭhas or Digambara Jains, that is, a sect of naked ascetics, existed before the Buddha's time, and that the Tripitaka (besides the inscriptions) alludes to them.

It is well known, too, to Oriental scholars that Gautama Buddha, in the fifth century B.C., came to the conclusion that bodily austerities were useless as a means of obtaining liberation. His main idea seems to have been that liberation from the painful cycle of continued rebirths, that is, from Samsāra, was to be obtained by means of (Bodhi) Knowledge, evolved out of the inner consciousness

through meditation (*dhyāna*) and intuition; whereas, in contradistinction to this Buddhist idea, the main idea of the Jaina teacher Mahāvīra seems to have been that liberation was to be obtained through subjugation of the passions and through mortification of the body. The term Jina, 'conqueror,' is used in both systems, but Gautama Buddha was a Jina or conqueror through meditation, whereas Vardhamāna Mahāvīra was a Jina through Tapas or bodily austerity.

In fact, the Jainas, like many other ascetics, were impressed with the idea that it was necessary to maintain a defensive warfare against the assault of evil passions, by keeping under the body and subduing it. They had a notion that a sense of shame implied sin, so that if there were no sin in the world there would be no shame. Hence they argued rather illogically that to get rid of clothes was to get rid of sin; and every ascetic who aimed at sinlessness was enjoined to walk about with the air or sky (*Dig*) as his sole covering.

In the *Kalpa-sūtra* of the Jains we read that Mahāvīra himself began his career by wearing clothes for one year and one month, and after that he walked about naked. Now Gautama Buddha was an opponent of Jain asceticism, and it seems to me probable that one of the chief points on which he laid stress was that of decent clothing. In the *Dhammapada* (141) occurs the sentiment that "Nakedness cannot purify a mortal who has not overcome desires." And again, in the *Sekhiyā Dhammā* we have 'properly clad' 'must a monk itinerate.'

It is recorded in the *Vinaya* (*Mahavagga*) that Upaka, a man of the *Ajīvaka* sect of naked ascetics, founded by Gosāla, said to have been a pupil of Mahāvīra, met the Buddha just after his enlightenment, and noticing his bright countenance, asked him who had been his teacher? He replied, "Having gained all knowledge, I am myself the highest teacher." Thereupon the naked ascetic shook his head and went another road. Clearly these naked *Nigaṇṭhas*, disciples of the Jaina Teacher Mahāvīra, were no friends of the Buddha. It seems to me even possible that Gautama's great rival, Devadatta, may have belonged to a *Digambara* sect who opposed the Buddha on questions of stricter asceticism, especially in the matter of clothing, for in ancient sculptures Devadatta is generally represented naked or nearly so, and is generally in close proximity to his cousin Gautama Buddha, who is always clothed in marked contrast to the other. Evidently the question of dress was



a crucial one, and in process of time a party seems to have arisen, even among the Digambara Jains, opposed to strict asceticism in this particular.

This party ultimately formed themselves into a separate sect, calling themselves Svetāmbaras, that is, 'clothed in white garments.' It is well known that in early Buddhism two similar parties arose, the strict and the lax. But the two Buddhist parties were ultimately reunited. The second council is supposed to have settled the controversy. But this point I leave to our Secretary. Dr. Jacobi has shown that the separation of the two Jain sects must have taken place (according to the traditions of both parties) some time or other before the first century of our era.

It appears probable that the strict Digambaras preceded the more lax Svetāmbaras, though each sect claims to be the oldest. The two Jain sects have remained separate to the present day, and do not intermarry or I believe eat together, though in all essential points of doctrine and discipline they agree.

When I was last in India, in 1884, I ascended the two hills, Pārasnath and Āboo (both of them most sacred places in the estimation of the Jains, and covered with their temples). I also visited Delhi, Jaypur, Ājmīr, and some other chief Jain stations in India. Jaypur is the stronghold of the Digambara Jains, and when I was staying there two intelligent Digambara Pandits, named Phaṭe Lāl and Gyojī Lāl, visited me. We conversed for a long time in Sanskrit, and I asked them many questions about their religion, and the points in which they differed from the Svetāmbara sect.

Three chief differences were stated to be: First, the Svetāmbaras object to entirely nude images of any of the twenty-four Jinas or Tirthankaras accepted by both sects. Hence all Svetāmbara statues ought to have some appearance of a line round the middle of the body, representing a narrow strip of cloth.

Secondly, the Svetāmbaras admit women into their order of ascetics just as Buddhists have their Bhikkhunīs or nuns. The Digambaras, for obvious reasons, do not admit women.

Thirdly, the Svetāmbaras have distinct sacred books of their own, which they call *Angas*, 'limbs of the Law,' eleven in number, besides many others, making 45 *Āgamas*, 11 *Angas*, 12 *Upāngas*, 10 *Painnas*, 4 *Mūlas*, 6 *Chedas*, 1 *Anuyogadvāra*, and 1 *Nandi*. Dr. Bühler places the composition of the *Angas* in the third century B.C. Jacobi places them at the end of the fourth or be-

ginning of the third century. They are written in Jain Prākṛit, a later form of Pāli, with Sanskrit commentaries. The Digambaras, on the other hand, substitute for the Angas later works, also written in more modern Prākṛit (probably in the fifth or sixth century after Christ), and maintain that the Svetāmbara Canon is spurious. Both sects have many valuable Sanskrit works in their sacred literature.

I now add a few characteristics of both sects of Jains as distinguishing them from Buddhists.

I pass over the fact that the Jains of the present day keep up Caste. The two Jain Pandits who came to me at Jaypur were Brāhmins, and wore the Brahminical thread. This is of little importance, however, because I believe this to be a mere modern innovation.

More important are the following points: The Jain saints, or prophets, are called by a peculiar name Tīrthānkara, 'fordmakers,' i.e. making a ford across the troubled river of constant births or transmigrations (Saṃsāra) to the Elysium of Nirvāna; whereas the name Tīrthānkara with the Buddhists means a 'heretical teacher.' Then there are twenty-four Jaina Tīrthānkaras, whereas there are twenty-five Buddhas.

Next the Jains have no Stūpas or Dāgobas for preserving the relics of their saints.

Still more important is the point that the Jains believe in separate individual souls (Jīva), whereas the Buddhists deny the existence of souls. Souls, according to the Jains, may exist in stocks, stones, lumps of earth, drops of water, particles of fire. Hence metempsychosis with the Jains extends to inorganic matter, whereas with the Buddhists it stops at animals.

With regard to the moral code two or three points may be noticed. The Jaina *three jewels* are Right-belief, Right-knowledge, and Right-conduct, whereas the Buddhist Tri-ratna consists in the well-known Triad, Buddha, the Law, and the Monkhood. Then as to the five chief Moral Prohibitions, the fifth with Jains is, Have no worldly attachments, whereas with Buddhists it is, Drink no strong drink. The Jains, too, lay even more stress on the first prohibition, Kill no living creature, than the Buddhists do.

Another interesting difference is that Jainism makes Dharma and Adharma, good and evil, or rather merit and demerit, two out of its six real substances—its fundamental and eternal principles—(Astikāya), the other four being matter (puḍgala), soul (jīva),

space and time. Lastly, the prayer formula of the Jains differs from the well-known 'three-refuge' formula of the Buddhists ('I go for refuge to the Buddha, the Law, and the order of Monks') thus: Reverence to the Arhats, to the Siddhas, to the Acāryas, to the Upādhyāyas, to all the Sādhus (name Arihantānam, name Siddhānam name Ayariyānam name Uvajjhāyānam, Namo we sabba-sahunam). Minor differences, such as the Jain rule that the hair should be painfully torn off, instead of cut off, scarcely deserve mention on the present occasion. I will merely now lay the letters before the Secretary.

Mr. RANG LĀL said: Though I am a Jain by birth and training, yet I have not had the advantage of much education in that ancient religion, being too much occupied with my College studies. I do not presume, therefore, to place before you more than an outline of their social customs, and of the general forms of worship observed by that sect.

The Jains are very conservative and very tenacious in all that concerns their primitive practice and notions. Most of them are opposed to their religious books being translated or even printed. They keep what they consider a mine of precious stones to themselves, so that no one else may be able to share it. Often have I seen, when I went to the temples, the scribes sitting in a corner, copying from the same manuscript day after day, month after month; this is their settled occupation. I dare say you know how tedious this work of copying is. You can see then that even Jains, who do not know Sanskrit, have but a poor chance of getting much reliable information about their faith, except by second-hand through other people. This will partly explain what makes this ancient religion so mysterious and little known. It is supposed to be a disgrace to a Jain to sell a religious book to any one but a Jain, hence these books are so very difficult to get by any outside the religious circle. So, the disputed and critical point of the religion I will leave alone, and confine myself to general religious customs and the forms of worship.

I commence by giving you some idea of the number who profess this religion. By the latest computation they are 1,222,000, comprising 640,000 males and 582,000 females. I believe this number is pretty accurate. My idea of the Jain population is based on a large gathering we had at Dehli, I think in 1882. It was on the occasion of a new temple being consecrated. Invitations were sent far and wide, and hence we had a concourse of between seventy or

eighty thousand, besides two or three thousand belonging to Dehli itself. An open space of ground outside the city walls was chosen for that purpose. Many came in bullock carriages, with their tents and every domestic article for use during the stay of some days. Perhaps you know that natives of India have no hotels where they can get food cooked strictly according to religion; and even if we had any hotels, it would have been impossible to put up such a large number. It was like a great market day, but on a much larger scale, and lasted about ten days. Roads were made, and places allotted to every town represented, and finger-posts put up to that effect, so that one could easily find the place wanted. It seemed as though a new suburb had sprung up; there were thousands and thousands of private tents, shops, and places of amusement, such as always accompany any native gathering whether religious or not. All these centered round a large tent used temporarily as a kind of church or temple, with a huge pavilion in the front where religious books were read and expounded for the benefit of the assembled public. The first ceremony was that of conveying round the town the image of the Tirthankara in a golden chariot, preceded by a procession which comprised a large number of banners inscribed with religious mottoes, the most important being "*Ahimsa paramo dharmo*," = 'To preserve a living creature is the first principle of this faith.' All the male community of the Jains followed barefooted. Our idea of doing honour is by going barefooted, as in Europe by going bareheaded. We cannot go into the temples with shoes on, nor even with socks on; and further, we have to wash our feet before entering the most sacred part of the temples. On that cold morning the procession having started at 7-30, we all had to walk barefooted on the stony pavements, but religious faith gives such a zeal that one does not feel any suffering or inconvenience.

It is a well-known fact that the Jains are friendly and always render help to each other. I may confidently say that no poor Jain will be found asking for help from any one outside the caste circle. In fact many compare us with Freemasons, meaning that we have such a close social union, and are in so much sympathy with each other, that every one does his utmost with his money and influence to help all in need and to maintain the honour and credit of the whole community. I may add that in Dehli we are not called Jains as a rule, but *Saragis*. I think this word is a corruption of the Sanskrit word '*Shrāvaka*.'

One of our great dogmas, which is taught to every child as soon as he can speak—it is taught in Sanskrit without translation,—is called "*Naukār Manter*," and I found it translated in Professor Jacobson's '*Jain Sutras*' (of the Sacred Books of the East series). It is as follows: "Obeisance to the Arhants. Obeisance to the Liberated ones. Obeisance to the Religious Teachers. Obeisance to the Religious Guides. Obeisance to all the Saints of the world. This five-fold obeisance, destroying all sins, is of all benedictions the principal benediction."

We have Pandits in the literal meaning, viz. learned men in religion and masters of the sacred language, and they are our priests. Ours are not like Brahmins, who are called Pandits because they are born of Brahman parents, though they may not know a single word of Sanskrit. We do not employ Brahmins as our priests in worship, they are simply a class of servants, who prepare the offerings, dust the temples, and do things of that sort.

Every Jain is entitled to share in the religious worship. We have two kinds of worship in the temples, one may be called a regular and precise ritual, and the other an ordinary service. In the former two persons are generally employed, one presents the offerings, while the other reads the necessary prayers. The former must bathe in the temple, after which he wraps himself in a linen sheet only, applies a mark with powdered saffron to his forehead, and remains standing during the worship. He must be barefooted of course. This worship takes up about two hours on ordinary days, and longer on special days, which are generally the 5th, the 8th, and the 14th of every fortnight. Perhaps you know that in India every lunar month is divided into two fortnights, one called the light and the other the dark, depending on the course and the motion of the moon. Besides these days, Bhadon, the whole third month of the rainy season, is supposed to be sacred, and the last fortnight especially so.

The offerings generally consist of (1) uncooked rice, (2) cocoanut cut in small pieces, (3) cloves, (4) almonds, (5) saffron, (6) sweet-meats, and (7) flowers. All these things are well washed before they are offered. All men have no time to perform this kind of worship daily, so every one says his prayers at his house after bathing—it is essential for every Jain to bathe every day; then he goes to the temples, and says his prayers, which does not occupy more than ten minutes, but he must do this before breakfast. He must come out of a temple with his face towards the image, thus

necessitating his walking backwards, that he may show proper respect to the gods.

In temples we have religious teaching every morning, which lasts about two hours. The practice is that a Pandit reads from a book aloud in Sanskrit to the people, then he translates it and explains it, drawing any suitable lessons from it. Every one is allowed to ask any questions he wishes, and he can get his doubts met; but the questions must pertain to what has been read at that time. Very often the selections read consist of a history of some pious man, in which the reader comes across good actions as well as bad. This is a main source of information for those who cannot go to the fountain-head owing to their ignorance of Sanskrit and Jain Prakrit.

Now as to fasting, of which we have several kinds. The simplest is when one takes a single meal in thirty-six hours. I must explain why it is thirty-six, and not twenty-four. Remember that we are not allowed to eat after sunset, nor to drink even. This, by the way, inflicts so much suffering upon some that not many can follow it strictly, but it is religious obligation still, having its origin in the rule of self-mortification, which is greatly taught in our religion. On a fast-day then, we must have one meal only during two nights and one day, which comprises thirty-six hours. The next kind of fast is of thirty-six hours in which no food is allowed, nor even drink during this long interval. Not even the use of scent or smelling a flower is allowed, because that would be a kind of refreshment, and would break the fast. The third kind is when one keeps fasting longer than in the two cases previously mentioned according to his capacity, for which there is no limit (as there is more than one case of some men keeping fast for three weeks); only the longer one keeps it, the more meritorious it is. The fast-days are the same specific days as mentioned before, viz. the fifth, eighth, and fourteenth of every fortnight.

Now as to the places of pilgrimage which are held important for the reason that some of the religious ascetics, called "*Arhants*," have passed their time at those places, in meditation and worship of God, not caring for their bodily comfort, having given themselves up to this purpose. These places are amidst the most beautiful natural scenery, generally on the top of hills, and there temples have been built in modern times to mark the spots where renowned ascetics of past times passed their time in meditation on the Creator, and there passed into the happy bliss of "*Nirvana*,"

i. e. annihilation. As we believe in the transmigration of the soul, it is the desire of every one to attain that perfection when the soul gets rid of the bond or necessity of getting born again, and passes into a peaceful state where there is no new birth. In some of these places are kept the stones on which these religious teachers stood for years without moving, and the impressions of their feet are hence marked thereon. The places most popular and most visited by pilgrims are Sikharji Mount near Calcutta, the Girnár in Junagarh, and Palitana in the Bombay Presidency. In my opinion, when these pilgrimages were first incorporated with the observance of religion, they were to some extent so instituted from a sanatory point of view. As Indians are not fond of moving about from one place to another, so this fixedness of locality is sure to be prejudicial to health. To remedy this evil, a religious sanction was thus given which necessitated change of climate, from which no one returns without being better in health and spirits, the latter by having the satisfaction of doing something meritorious, and the former owing to the fresh air and the roaming about amidst the natural scenery which is generally the centre of these places.

Passing from these religious practices, I must mention a very curious fact, that though we do not employ a Brahman in our worship, we must have one in our marriage ceremonies, which are not perfect without such intervention. It is the same ceremony as the Vaishnavas have, except that before the marriage rites are performed, we have to take some offerings to a temple, and after the rites are over, and the bridegroom brings his bride home, he must go with his bride to a temple and say his prayers, and then come home.

In our funerals, however, we do not employ a Brahman. We have no "shrâdh" either, which is the anniversary of the death of a person, when Brahmans are feasted under the impression that all which is given in this way reaches the soul of the dead man. We have adopted funeral reform ages ago; and the ceremony is very simple, costing but little.

The one fact remaining which I should like to mention is, that any one can become a Jain by religion, but he cannot by caste; that is to say, Jainism is a religion as well as a caste at the present time. One not born a Jain can therefore adopt that religion, can go to a temple, take part in the religious practices, but he cannot eat, drink, or intermarry with born Jains. A Jain, however, can marry with a Vaishnava, on the authority of which some people say

that Jains were originally descended from the same ancestor as Vaishnavas, but they have adopted a reformed religion. This is a point that I cannot discuss now; but I have no doubt that there are many instances of such intermarriage, though lately some ill-feeling arose which stopped these marriages in some parts of India, but it is still continued in other parts.

I must finish now with one more remark, and it is about a sect of Jains called "Dhundye," but more commonly "Munh-bandhe," owing to their habit of keeping their mouth covered with a piece of cloth—something very much like a respirator in this country—because the first principle of Jainism is not to destroy *life*, however insignificant. As there are animalculæ in the air, they say that when they breathe the hot breath kills them, so they use this cloth to keep away these animalculæ. They have no temples, but simply a place of meeting, where they sit, meditate, say their prayers, and study religious books. A great number of those who belong to this sect are a sort of monks, who have given up the world, but there are very few laity. This sect, as well as all the Jains, are prohibited from drinking water without first filtering it, because they say that in unfiltered water one is liable to swallow small insects, which idea is intolerable considering their love of living creatures. In a similar way some religious ascetics carry a small broom, so to clear the place to sit down perchance they might happen to crush any insect. The difference on which so much stress has been laid between Śwetāmbara and Digambara Jains no doubt exists. But it is of no practical importance in Dehli. I cannot recollect hearing the point discussed among my people, and cannot say to which they belong.

Colonel Sir WILLIAM DAVIES, K.C.S.I., said: I have been invited by the Council of this Society, through its Secretary, to say what I know of the relations between the Jains and the Vaishnavas of Dehli. This request was probably made because I was for some years Commissioner of Dehli, and while there was the means of doing what was in my opinion an act of simple justice to the former community. This was to restore to them the exercise of one of their most cherished annual ceremonial observances, the "Rath-jātra" or procession of the car of their god Parsunnāth through the streets, a ceremonial of which the observance had been suspended by the orders of the Government for many years.

The cause of this suspension was the fierce feeling of religious antagonism between these sects which had more or less always

ailed, and which had on several occasions led to disturbances
ring the progress of the procession.

Not long after the transfer of the Dehli territory to the Panjāb,
which many of you doubtless remember took place in the year
following the mutinies, the leading men of the Vaishnavas, a sect
far more numerous and powerful than the Jains, or, as they are
here called, Sāraogīs, succeeded in convincing the then Commis-
sioner, Col. Hamilton, that it would be dangerous to the public
peace to allow the Sāraogīs to have their procession, and he refused
to allow it to take place, and on appeal his action was supported by
the local government. This was, I think, in 1863. The Sāraogīs
naturally felt themselves greatly aggrieved at this decision, and left
no stone unturned to have the order set aside. They memorialized
the Government of India and the Secretary of State, but all in
vain. This state of things continued till I went to Dehli as Com-
missioner in 1876. They of course appealed to me, as they had
done to all my predecessors, to obtain a reconsideration of the order
prohibiting the procession. On thinking over the matter it seemed
to me to be only fair that if the Vaishnavas were allowed to cele-
brate their Rām Līlā, the Sāraogīs should be permitted to have
their Rath-jātra. Her Majesty the Queen, in her well-known
Proclamation of 1st November, 1858, issued on assuming the
Government of India, had distinctly assured to every sect and
religious community inhabiting that country, the unrestricted
exercise of its religious observances. It appeared to me to be
directly at variance with that policy to forbid the Sāraogīs to hold
their procession, simply because they were numerically weaker than
the Vaishnavas, and that we were bound to secure to them the exercise
of this, to them most cherished ceremonial observance. Moreover, it
seemed to me that it was the duty of a strong and civilized Govern-
ment like ours to insist upon toleration being displayed by the
Vaishnavas towards the Sāraogīs. I accordingly addressed the
Local Government, adducing these arguments in favour of a recon-
sideration of the adverse decision referred to. My appeal on behalf
of the Sāraogīs was strongly supported by the then Secretary to
the Government, Mr. (now Sir Lepel) Griffin, and he succeeded in
obtaining the consent of the Lieut.-Governor, Sir Robert Egerton,
to the rescission of the order prohibiting the procession. Soon
after, on the 20th July, 1877, the procession, after an interval of
fourteen years, took place; and as very complete precautions had
been taken against the occurrence of disturbance on the part of the

Vaishnavas, everything passed off quietly, and since then the Sāraogīs have had their "Rath-jātra" regularly every year.

The relations between the members of these two sects had never been very cordial, but the stoppage of the Sāraogī procession for so long a period naturally intensified the ill-feeling, and all social intercourse between them had gradually ceased. When, however, this bone of contention was removed, their differences were gradually reconciled, and I succeeded in inducing the Sāraogīs once more to forego their objections to giving their daughters in marriage to the sons of Vaishnavas, and on ceremonial occasions even to partake of food prepared by the latter sect. By degrees the old social intercourse between them was completely resumed, and very few of the traces of the former bitter feeling I hear now remain.

20th February, 1888.—Major-General Sir FREDERIC GOLDSMID, K.C.S.I., in the Chair.

There were elected as resident members Ralph Heap and T. H. Master, Esqs.; and as non-resident members B. D. Mukharji and W. E. Coleman, Esqs., and MM. E. Drouin and Arthur Rouffignac.

Prof. BENDALL exhibited some leaves of a MS. on palm leaf of the Larikāvatāra, and explained the palæographical importance of the MS. He took the opportunity of again pointing out the importance of searching for and rescuing such MSS., as, from the decline of interest in them among the general mass of natives of India, they were in danger of being lost or destroyed.

Mr. REGINALD STUART POOLE delivered an address on two recently-discovered coins of Sultan Muhammad Babar, and on the light which they threw on his relations with Shah Ismail. (This paper will be printed in full in our next issue.)

19th March, 1888.—Col. YULE, R.E., C.B., in the Chair.

The Rev. C. C. Brown was elected a resident and the Rev. James Doyle a non-resident member.

Mr. DELMAR MORGAN, M.R.A.S., read a paper on the Ossetes, a tribe of about 120,000 persons occupying the eastern slopes of the Caucasus range. They were a remnant of the ancient Iranian race, and had preserved many of the old Iranian customs and beliefs which had died out in Persia under the influence of Muhammadanism. The paper will be published in full in the next issue of the Journal.

Mr. DOUGLAS FRESHFIELD, who had pointed out on a large map,

andly lent by the Royal Geographical Society, the places referred to in the lecture, added some remarks drawn from his personal experiences among the Ossetes.

Mr. Howorth, M.P., confirmed what had been said as to the historic importance of this interesting people, and the Chairman pointed out the references to them in the Travels of Marco Polo.

II. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

1. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT.

Vol. xli. Heft 4.

H. Hübschmann. Sage und Glaube der Osseten. (A most interesting summary, chiefly from Wsewelod Müller's Ossetic Texts, with Russian translation (Moscow, 1881), of the hero legends and religion of the Ossetes. See further above, p. 288.)

Schlechta-Wssehrd. Translation into German verse of episodes from Firdusi's long-neglected poem on the legend of Joseph.

G. H. Schils. Notice of the French translation of the Japanese poem Man yo sin, lately published in the 'Memoires de la Société des Études Japonaises, etc.'

J. Barth. Studies in Semitic Comparative Philology.

M. Grünbaum. On the various stages of Drunkenness in Semitic Legends.

O. Böhtlingk. On the Kātantra Grammar. (Short Comparison of Eggeling's edition with Pāṇini.)

O. Böhtlingk. Miscellanies. (Chiefly restorations of corrupt passages.)

R. Roth. On Blood-money in the Veda. (Proof of the existence, both in the Veda and in the later law-books, of the old custom of payment for manslaughter.)

Reviews and Indices.

2. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE.

Huitième Série, tome x. No. 2.

Monsignor David (Syrian Archbishop of Damas). Étude sur le dialecte arabe de Damas.

H. Sauvare. Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et la métrologie musulmanes.

A. Barthelemy. Histoire du Roi Naaman. (Arabic text in the dialect of Syria and French translation of this legend.)

Urbain Bouriant. *Fragmens d'un roman d'Alexandre.* (Text in Coptic from Thebes, and in part also in Greek, with translation into French.)

Nouvelles et Mélanges.

Huitième Série, tome x. No. 3.

Réné Basset. *Berber Vocabularies.*

A. Barthelemy. Notes, principally on Grammar, on the story as edited in the previous number.

Abel Bergaigne. On the division of the Rig Veda into Adhyāyas. (Rejects the claims put forward by Mr. Pincott in the J.R.A.S. Vols. XVI. and XIX., and replies to the criticism of Prof. Oldenburg in the Z.D.M.G. vol. xli. pp. 508-515.)

Clermont-Ganneau. Critique of M. Gildemeister's article on the Bāniās Inscription (*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-vereins*, vol. x. pp. 168 and foll.), and note on the bridge constructed at Lydda by Sultan Beibars.

Nouvelles et Mélanges.

III. LECTURES ON ORIENTAL SUBJECTS NOW BEING DELIVERED IN EUROPE.

1. FRANCE.

By the kind assistance of Prof. S. Levi and of Mr. Serge d'Oldenburg, we are enabled to give the following complete list of the lectures on Oriental subjects which are being delivered this term in Paris.

At the Sorbonne M. Bergaigne lectures on Sanskrit Literature and on Sanskrit, one lecture on each per week.

At the École des langues orientales vivantes (4, Rue des Saints Pères) there is the following list.

Barbier de Meynard. On Turkish, 3 times a week.

A. Carrière. Armenian, 3 times a week.

H. Derenbourg. Literary Arabic, 4 times a week.

O. Houdas. Spoken Arabic, 3 times a week.

M. Jametel. Chinese, 3 times a week.

A. Marre. Malay and Japanese, 3 times a week.

A. des Michels. Annamite, 3 times a week.

L. de Rosny. Japanese, 3 times a week.

Ch. Schefer. Persian, 3 times a week.

Jul. Vinson. Hindustāni twice and Tamil twice a week.

Henri Cordier. Hist. and Geog. of the Far East, twice a week.

Besides which there are conversation lectures three times a week on each subject, for Arabic, Japanese, Turkish and Chinese, presided over by natives of the respective countries.

Then at the 'École des Hautes Etudes' there are the following advanced lectures, each course being of one lecture a week :

Amiaud. Philol. et antiq. assyr. : Explic. des textes de l'Épopée de Nimrod. Explic. de l'inscription d'Assoubânâbil (cylindre A).

A. Carrière. Langue hébraïque : 1ère année, Elém. de la gramm. hébraïque ; 2ème et 3ème année, Exégèse du liv. de Daniel. Langue syriaque : Explic. de textes difficiles et lect. de manus. Langue chaldaïque : Elém. de la gramm. Chald. et explic. du Targoum d'Onkelos.

Clermont-Ganneau. Archéol. orient. : Antiq. orient. : Palestine, Phénicie, Syrie. Archéol. hébraïque.

J. Darmesteter. Lang. Zende : Explic. de textes zends ; Explic. de textes pehlvis.

H. Derenbourg. Lang. Arabe : Explic. des Séances de Hariri, avec le Comment. choisi par S. de Sacy. Explic. du Livre de Sibawaihi, et gramm. sémit. comparée.

T. Derenbourg. Hébreu rabbinique : Explic. du Talmud de Jérusalem (traité Hôrâïh).

Guieysse. Philol. et antiq. égypt. : Textes funéraires : Etude sur le Rituel Thébain (3ème année). Traduct. de text. hiéroglyph. et hiératiques (seconde année).

Halévy. Lang. éthiop., himyar. et touranien : Gramm. éthiop. Explic. de morceaux choisis dans la Chrestomat. éthiop. de Dillmann. Explic. des inscript. himyarites. Gramm. comp. des lang. touraniennes.

S. Levi. Lang. sanscr. : Explic. de la Chrestom. de M. Bergaigne (2e partie). Explic. du Hanuman-nâṭaka.

Maspero. Philologie et antiq. égypt. : Paléogr. égypt. : papyrus de Londres et de Leyde. Archéol. égypt. : planches des Denkmäler (t. v.) qui se rapp. aux règn. d'Aménophis III. et des rois hérétiques.

Besides which the following lectures are delivered in the 'Section des sciences religieuses' :

Amélineau. Relig. de l'Égypte.

Derenbourg. Islam. et relig. de l'Arabie (Locaux de la sect. des Sc. histor. et philol.).

E. Havet. Hist. des orig. du christianisme.

S. Lévi. Religions de l'Inde (Locaux de la sect. des Sciences histor. et philolog.).

De Rosny. Relig. de l'Extrême Orient.

M. Vernes. Relig. des peuples sémitiques.

And finally at the Collège de France there is the following list :

Barbier de Meynard. Lang. et Littér. arabes. Anc. poésie arabe dans le Moallakats et Divan des six poètes. Explic. des Séances de Hamadani.

J. Darmesteter. Lang. et Littér. de la Perse : Gramm. comp. des lang. iraniennes. Explic. du Chah-Nameh. Epopée persane.

Foucaux. Lang. et Littér. sanscr. : Explic. du chap. vii. du Lalitavistara (Hist. du Bouddha Cäkya Mouni).

D'Hervey de Saint-Denys. Lang. et Littér. chin. et tart-mandch. Anc. monum. de la Litt. chin. Nouvelles en style moderne.

Maspero. Philol. et archéol. égypt. : Textes des Pyram. relat. à l'anc. relig. d'Égypte.

Oppert. Philol. et archéol. assyr. : Inscrip. de Nabuchodonosor et de Nabonid. Docum. jurid. et textes biling. en sumérien et assyrien ou accadien.

Pavet de Courteille. Lang. et Littér. turques. Expliq. Abou-Ali-Sina (tartare de Kazan), Tariki Katarina (turc ottoman), Hikem d'Ahmed Yecevi et morc. des chants sibériens (turc oriental).

E. Renan. Lang. et Littér. chald. et syr. : Légendes patriarcales. Fragm. des Prophètes ant. à Isaïe.

Réville. Hist. des religions : Relig. de l'Égypte et des peupl. sémit.

2. RUSSIA.

The following is an account of the lectures to be delivered in St. Petersburg this term, which we owe to the kindness of Mr. Serge d'Oldenbourg.

Enseignement des langues, littératures et histoire de l'Orient à St. Petersburg.

I. Université. Faculté des Langues Orientales.

La Faculté compte 5 sections : 1. Aryenne. 2. Sémitique. 3. Arabo-Perso-Turque. 4. Chinoise-Mongole-Mandschoue. 5. Arméno-Georgienne. La durée des études est de 4 ans.

1887-8.

1. *Section Aryenne.*

Sanskrit. Prof. I. Minayef. Four times a week.

Avesta. Priv. Doc. C. Salemann. Once a week.

Inscriptions Cunéiformes de la Perse. Priv. Doc. C. Salemann.
Once a week.

Pahlavi. Priv. Doc. C. Salemann. Once a week.

Persan. Priv. Doc. S. Tchernjajef, Priv. Doc. V. Jonkofsky,
Répétiteur Indigène Mirza Djafar. Eleven times a week.Histoire de la littérature Persane. Priv. Doc. Tchernjajef.
Once a week.

Arménien. Prof. K. Patkanof. Four times a week.

Histoire de la littérature Arménienne. Prof. K. Patkanof.
Once a week.

Histoire de la Perse. Prof. K. Patkanof. Once a week.

Histoire de l'Orient. Prof. N. Wesselofsky. Three times a week.

2. *Section Sémitique.*Introduction à l'étude de l'Hébreu. Prof. D. Chwolson. Once
a week.

Hébreu. Prof. D. Chwolson. Four times a week.

Syriaque. Prof. D. Chwolson. Once a week.

Arabe. Prof. Baron Rosen, Répétiteur Indigène M. Sarrouf.
Fourteen times a week.Histoire de l'Orient. Prof. N. Wesselofsky. Three times a
week.3. *Section Arabo-Perso-Turque.*Arabe. Prof. Baron Rosen, Répétiteur Indigène M. Sarrouf.
Fourteen times a week.Persan. Priv. Docs. S. Tchernjajef, W. Jonkofsky, Répétiteur
Indigène Mirza Djafar. Eleven times a week.Hist. de la litt. Persane. Priv. Doc. S. Tchernjajef. Once
a week.Djagatay et grammaire comparée des dialectes Turcs. Prof.
T. Bérésin. Five times a week.Turc. Prof. W. Smirnof, Répétiteur Indigène M. Abdurrahman.
Twelve times a week.

Numismatique. Prof. T. Bérésine. Once a week.

Musulmane histoire de la Perse. Prof. K. Patkanof. Once
a week.

Histoire de l'Orient. Prof. N. Wesselofsky. Three times a week.
 Histoire de l'Orient (Cours spécial: Conquêtes des Arabes en Asie Centrale, histoire des Sassanides, Gaznévides, Saldjoukes Iléques et Khorezm-Shāhs.) Prof. N. Wesselofsky. Once a week.

4. Section Chinoise-Mongole-Mandschoue.

Chinois. Prof. W. Wassiljef, Priv. Doc. D. Pestchourof, S. Georgiefsky, Répétiteur Indigène M. Soudjoun. Twenty-one times a week.

Histoire de la Chine. Prof. W. Wassiljef. Twice a week.

Géographie et organisation politique actuelle de la Chine. Priv. Doc. S. Georgiefsky. Once a week.

Mandschou. Priv. Doc. A. Iwanofsky. Seven times a week.

Mongol. Proff. C. Golstounsky, A. Pozdnejef. Eleven times a week.

Histoire de la littérature Mongole. Prof. A. Pozdnejef. Once a week.

Kalmouk. Prof. C. Golstounsky, Répétiteur Indigène D. Kou-touzof. Five times a week.

Histoire de l'Orient. Prof. N. Wesselofsky. Three times a week.

Histoire de l'Empire Mongol (cours spécial). Prof. N. Wesselofsky. Once a week.

5. Section Arméno-Georgienne.

Arménien. Prof. K. Patkanof. Five times a week.

Hist. de la litt. Arménienne. Prof. K. Patkanof. Once a week.

Georgien. Prof. A. Tsagareli. Four times a week.

Hist. de la litt. Georgienne. Prof. A. Tsagareli. Once a week.

Numismatique Georgienne. Prof. A. Tsagareli. Once a week.

Histoire de la Perse. Prof. K. Patkanof. Once a week.

Egyptologie. Priv. Doc. O. de Lemm. Twice a week.

II. Institut des Langues Orientales.

Au Département Asiatique du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.

Les cours de l'Institut sont suivis par des jeunes gens qui, ayant fait leurs études à la faculté des Langues Orientales ou à l'Institut Lazaref (Moscou), se destinent au service diplomatique.

Arabe. M. Salim Naufal. Eleven times.

Persan. Mirza Kasim Abedinof. Sixteen times.

Turc. Fardis Effendi. Twenty-one times.

Droit Musulman. M. Salim Naufal. Three times.

Les étudiants suivent aussi des cours de Grec Moderne (2).

3. ENGLAND.

London.—There are scarcely any regular lectures of a scientific kind in London on Oriental subjects. There are, indeed, Professors of Sanskrit, Pali, and Persian at University College, but only one student in Persian and two in Sanskrit.¹ The papers read before the Royal Asiatic Society, however valuable, are not intended to take the place of regular instruction in Oriental subjects. This is no credit to us, especially when we notice the great activity in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and even St. Petersburg. Some reparation for this is afforded by the lectures at our old University towns, which are as follows, according to lists which we owe to the kindness of Professors Macdonell and Cowell:

OXFORD.

Oriental Lecture List for Easter and Trinity Terms, 1888.

Assyrian.—The Assyrian Syllabary and Grammar. Deputy Professor of Comparative Philology, A. H. Sayce, M.A.

Chinese.—Elementary Instruction: San Tze King. The Four Books: the Sixteen Khang-hsi Precepts; the Hsi Yü Chî, and the History of the Han Dynasty. Professor of Chinese, J. Legge, M.A. The Nestorian Tablet of Hsi-ngan Fu. Professor of Chinese, J. Legge, M.A.

Hebrew.—Psalms (continued). Regius Professor of Hebrew, S. R. Driver, D.D. Three hours each week.

Talmud and Rabbinical Texts. Reader in Rabbinical Literature, A. Neubauer, M.A. Two hours each week.

Genesis (Hebrew Text, continued). G. J. Spurrell, M.A. (for Professor Driver). Three hours each week.

Elementary Hebrew: Pointing and Composition (Fee, £2 2s.). G. J. Spurrell, M.A. (for Professor Driver). Three hours each week.

Elementary Hebrew: for Beginners (Fee, £2 2s.). G. J. Spurrell, M.A. (for Professor Driver).

Hebrew (First Course, Fee, £2 2s.) F. H. Woods, B.D. Three hours each week.

Hebrew (Second Course, Fee, £2 2s.). F. H. Woods, B.D. Three hours each week.

¹ There are also two students in Hebrew, two in Hindustani, and two in Marathi.

Indian.—Bengali.—Subjects of the Oriental Honour School. F. Nicholl, M.A.

Petitions, Composition, Papers, and extra (prize) work (Seniors). G. F. Nicholl, M.A.

Nabanâri (Sîtâ) (Juniors). G. F. Nicholl, M.A.

Hindi.—Subjects of the Oriental Honour School. G. F. Nicholl, M.A.
Petitions, Composition, Papers, and extra (prize) work (Seniors). G. F. Nicholl, M.A.

(Juniors) The Sakuntalâ, and the Hindî Reader (Fee, £3 10s.). J. T. Platts, M.A. Three hours each week.

Hindûstâni.—Urdû Petitions: Urdû Selections: Taubatu-n-naşûh (Fee, £3). Teacher of Hindûstâni, R. St. John, M.A. Three hours each work.

Marathi and Gujarathi.—H. S. K. Bellairs, M.A. Twelve hours each week.

Sanskrit.—Hitopadesa, Books I. and II. Deputy Professor of Sanskrit, A. A. Macdonell, M.A. Three hours each week.

Meghadûta with Mallinâtha's Commentary (Bombay Edition, 1886). Deputy Professor of Sanskrit, A. A. Macdonell, M.A. Three hours each week.

Rigveda, with the Commentary of Sâyana, Mandala X. (Prof. Max Müller's edition). Deputy Professor of Sanskrit, A. A. Macdonell, M.A. Three hours each week.

Vedântasâra (with commentaries); Portion of Siddhântakau-mudi (with Târânâtha's critical notes); Portion of Manu I. (with Jolly's Manutikâ-sangraha) (continued). G. F. Nicholl, M.A.

Tamil.—Pope's Grammar. Pope's Reader to p. 64. (Juniors: Fee, £3.) Teacher of Tamil and Telugu, G. U. Pope, M.A. Three hours each week.

Pope's Reader to p. 122: Official Documents: Hitôpadêçam. (Seniors: Fee, £3.) Teacher of Tamil and Telugu, G. U. Pope, M.A. Three hours each week.

Kurral: for the Oriental Honour School. (Fee, £3.) Teacher of Tamil and Telugu, G. U. Pope, M.A. Five hours each week.

Telugu.—Arden's Grammar to end of Part II. : Brown's Reader, pp. 5-46. (Juniors: Fee, £3.) Teacher of Tamil and Telugu, G. U. Pope, M.A. Six hours each week.

Arden's Grammar and Composition: Brown's Reader to p. 105: Official Documents. (Seniors: Fee, £3.) Teacher of Tamil and Telugu, G. U. Pope, M.A. Six hours each week.

Vêmana: for the Oriental Honour School. Six hours a week.

Persian.—The Būstān of Sa'di. (Seniors: Fee, £3.) Teacher of Persian, J. T. Platts, M.A. Three hours each week.

The Gulistān of Sa'di. (Juniors: Fee, £3.) Teacher of Persian, J. T. Platts, M.A. Three hours each week.

Honour School—The Masnavi of Jalālu'd dīn Rūmī, Bombay Ed. pp. 12–37. Teacher of Persian, J. T. Platts, M.A. Three hours each week.

Burmese.—Subjects prescribed by the Civil Commissioners. (Seniors and Juniors: Fee, £3 3s.) R. F. St. A. St. John. Two hours each week.

Subjects of the Oriental Honour School. R. F. St. A. St. John. Two hours each week.

CAMBRIDGE.

List of Lectures proposed by the Board of Oriental Studies, 1887-8.

Michaelmas Term, 1887.—Prof. Kirkpatrick. *D.S.* Introduction to Psalms, Book II. M. F. 12. Oct. 17. Psalms, Books III. IV. Hebrew Composition. T. Th. 12. Oct. 18.

Prof. Wright. *Qu.* The Kor'ān, sūr. 4, with Commentary. M. Th. 10. Oct. 17. The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite. T. F. 10. Oct. 18. Comparative Grammar. T. F. 11. Oct. 18.

Prof. Bensly. *Cai.* Elementary Hebrew. M. W. F. 1.

Dr. Schiller-Szinessy. *L.L.R.* T. B. Chagigah. M. 3. Oct. 17. Maimonides. Mishneh Torah, Book I. T. 3. Pirqe Aboth (ed. Taylor). W. 3. Elementary Talmud, and the New Testament illustrated by the Talmuds and Midraahim (alternately). Th. 3. Targum Shēni on Esther. F. 3.

Mr. Chapman. *Emm.*

Prof. Cowell. *L.L.R.* Rig-Veda (Delbrück). T. Th. 10. Oct. 18. 10, *Scroops Terr.* Pāli Jātakas. F. 4.30. Oct. 14. Zend-avesta. Rig-Veda, B. 3. Vikramorvaçī. Hāfiz.

Dr. Peile. *L.L.R.* Principles of Language. W. F. 11. Oct. 14.

Mr. Neil. *Pemb.* Sanskrit Grammar and Nala. T. S. 12. Oct. 15.

Lent Term, 1888.—Prof. Kirkpatrick. Introduction to Jeremiah, M. F. 12. Joel, Amos, Obadiah. Hebrew Composition. T. Th. 12.

Prof. Wright. Al-Hariri, Maḳāmāh 9, with Commentary. M. Th. 10. Aphraates, Homilies 11, 12. T. F. 10. Reading of Phœnician and Hebrew Inscriptions. M. Th. 11. Comparative Grammar (*continued*). T. E. 11.

Prof. Bensly. Elementary Syriac. W. F. 1.

Dr. Schiller-Szinessy. T. B. Chagigah. M. 3. Targum or 2 Kings. T. 3. Siphre (ed. Friedmann). W. 3. Elementary Talmud, and the New Testament illustrated by the Talmud and Midrashim (alternately). Th. 3. Qimchi on Psalms (ed. Schiller-Szinessy). F. 3.

Mr. Chapman. Hebrew Syntax. T. Th. 11.

Prof. Cowell. Rig-Veda (Delbrück). T. Th. 10. Páli Játakas. F. 4.30. Zend-avesta. Rig-Veda, B. 4. Vikramorvaçí. Háfiz.

Mr. Neil. Hitopadeça. W. F. 12.

Easter Term, 1888. Prof. Wright. The Mo'allakah of 'Amr ibn Kulthūm, with Commentary. M. Th. 10. Zingerle, Monumenta Syriaca, pp. 4—32. T. F. 10. The Moabite Stone or Inscription of King Mēsha'. M. Th. 11. Comparative Grammar (*continued*). T. F. 11.

Prof. Bensly. Arabic subject to be fixed later.

Dr. Schiller-Szinessy. T. B. Chagigah. M. 3. Maimonides. Mishneh Torah, Book I. T. 3. History of Jewish Literature. W. F. 3. Elementary Talmud, and the New Testament illustrated by the Talmuds and Midrashim (alternately). Th. 3.

Prof. Cowell. Páli Játakas. F. 4.30. Zend-avesta. Rig-Veda, B. 4. Háfiz. Comparative Syntax (End.-Eur.). T. Th. S. 12. Hitopadeça. W. F. 12.

4. BERLIN.

We owe to the kindness of Professor Dr. Eduard Sachau the following information as to Oriental Lectures to be delivered this Session in connection with the University of Berlin:

2. Prof. J. Schmidt. Sanskrit Comparative Grammar. Four hours a week.

3. Professor Oldenberg. Elementary Sanskrit. Four hours a week.

4. Prof. Oldenberg. Pali and Buddhism. Two hours a week.

5. Prof. Weber. The Vedas. Three hours a week.

6. Prof. Weber. Yaska's Nirukta. Three hours a week.

7. Prof. Weber. Kālidāsa. One hour a week.

8. Prof. Weber. Zend. One hour a week.

1. Prof. Schrader. Babylonian and Assyrian History. One hour a week.

9. Prof. Schrader. Assyrian Inscriptions. Two hours a week.

10. Prof. Sachau. History of Syriac Literature. Two hours a week.

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emen' 11. Prof. Barth. Syriac. Two hours a week.
nud- 12. Prof. Sachau. Arabic Syntax according to the Mufassal.
S two hours a week.
13. Prof. Dieterici. Arabic Syntax with interpretation of the
Koran. Two hours a week.
14. Prof. Sachau. Ibn Hischam's Life of Muhammad. Two
hours a week.
15. Prof. Sachau. Arabian Nights. Two hours a week.
16. Prof. Dieterici. Arabian Poetry. One hour a week.
17. Prof. Dieterici. Arabian Philosophy. One hour a week.
18. Prof. Barth. Mubarrad's Kāmil. One hour a week.
19. Prof. Schrader. Ethiopian. Two hours a week.
20. Dr. Grube. Chinese Grammar. Three hours a week.
21. Dr. Grube. Mongolian. Two hours a week.
22. Prof. Brugsch. Egyptian Mythology. One hour a week.
23. Prof. Erman. Egyptian History. One hour a week.
24. Prof. Erman. Egyptian Grammar. Two hours a week.
25. Prof. Erman. Explanation of more difficult Hieratic
Papyrus. Two hours a week.
26. Prof. Brugsch. Demotic Inscriptions. Two hours a week.
And at the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen :—
1. Mr. Arendt. Chinese Conversation and Business Style. Two
hours a week.
2. Mr. Arendt. History of China. One hour a week.
3. Mr. Kuei Lin. Chinese, Northern Dialect. Eight hours a
week.
4. Mr. Pantei Sching. Chinese, Southern Dialect. Eight hours
a week.
5. Dr. Lange. Japanese. Five hours a week.
6. Dr. Inouyé. History of Japan. Two hours a week.
7. Dr. Inouyé. Japanese Conversation, etc. Eight hours a week.
8. Mr. Rosen. Hindustāni. Six hours a week.
9. Mr. Rosen. Modern History and Geography of India. Two
hours a week.
10. Dr. Hartmann. Modern Arabic. Six hours a week.
11. Mr. Hasan Taufik. Modern Conversation, etc. (Egyptian
Dialect). Five hours a week.
12. Mr. Maarbes. Modern Conversation, etc. (Syrian dialect).
Five hours a week.
13. Dr. Hartmann. Geography, etc., of the Countries where
Arabic is now spoken. Two hours a week.

14. Dr. Andreas. Persian. Eight hours a week.
15. Mr. Rosen. Persian Conversation, etc. Two hours a week.
16. Dr. Andreas. Turkish. Eight hours a week.
17. Dr. Moritz. Geography, etc., of Asiatic Turkey. Two hours a week.
18. Mr. Büttner. Suhaili. Eight hours a week.
19. Mr. Büttner. Geography, etc., of South Africa. Two hours a week.

Besides the regular courses similar to the above, there have been delivered, in connection with the Seminar, the following public lectures on popular subjects in the three months January to March on Saturday evenings:—

1. Wechselbeziehungen der Dichtkunst und des Kunstgewerbes der Japaner, von Herrn Dr. J. Brinckmann, Director des Museums für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg, den 21. Januar 1888.

2. Ueber die nationale Religion der Japaner, genannt Sintô, von Herrn Dr. Tetsusirô Inouyé, Lector des Japanischen am Seminar, den 28. Januar.

3. Zur Beurtheilung des Confucius und seiner Lehre, von Herrn Dr. G. von der Gabelentz, Professor an der Universität in Leipzig, den 4. Februar.

4. Ueber Orientalische Teppichweberei, von Herrn Professor Dr. J. Lessing, Director des Gewerbe-Museums, den 11. Februar.

5. Das häusliche und Familien-Leben der Chinesen, von Herrn Professor C. Arendt, Lehrer des Chinesischen am Seminar, den 18. Februar.

6. Zur wirthschaftlichen Lage Indiens, von Herrn Consul W. Annecke, General-Secretär des Deutschen Handelstages, den 25. Februar.

7. Ueber den Umgang und Verkehr mit den Orientalen, von Herrn Legationsrath Professor Dr. Brugsch, den 3. März.

8. Einige Thatfachen zur Charakteristik des Auffassungsvermögens der Afrikanischen Eingeborenen, von Herrn Missions-Inspector Büttner, Lehrer des Suaheli am Seminar, den 10. März.

The above lists will give an accurate idea of what is being done in the centres referred to for the official encouragement of Oriental study. But as the lists are made up in April and October, we have not been able for this issue to obtain later intelligence from other places than is contained in their October lists. We hope in a future number to give a complete list of a similar kind for the whole of Europe. It is intended also to add a statement as to the

at in each place of the lectures to the students frequenting them.
 a we In the latter point we are only now in a position to state that the
 lectures at the Berlin Seminary are not merely entirely free, but
 that grants are provided for necessitous students.

IV. NOTES AND NEWS.

In the *Times* of the 9th March there appeared a report of the death of Baron Ferdinand von Richthofen, Professor of Geography in the University of Berlin, and for the second time President of the Geographical Society of that city. Up to the 23rd March no correction of the report has appeared in the *Times*, or, so far as we know, in any other English newspaper. But we are happy to know that it is not correct. The Baron F. von Richthofen, one of the most eminent of travellers and geographers, the author of the great work *China*, and much else, and still in his prime, is still in the land of the living, and will be so we trust doing good work for many a year. The mistake arose from the death of a kinsman, also a Professor at Berlin we believe, but of Law.

Prof. Aufrecht of Bonn has nearly completed his long-expected and urgently wanted list of Sanskrit books and authors. It will probably appear in the course of next year.

Professor Bhandarkar, of the Dekkan College, Prof. Bühler, Prof. Kielhorn, Shankar Pāndurang Pandit, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Prof. Sachau, and Col. Yule have been elected Honorary Members of the American Oriental Society.

Shankar Pāndurang Pandit has published with an elaborate historical and critical introduction his edition of the *Gāuḍvano*, a Prakrit poem by Vākpati (circa 800 A.D.) on King Yaşovarman, of Kanauj. He is now engaged on an edition of the *Atharva Veda*.

Prof. Adolf Holtzmann of Freiburg in Baden is at work on an 'Introduction to the study of the *Mahābhārata*. Such a book from so well known a master of the subject will be most welcome to all students of the history of ideas in India.

Prof. Lindner of Leipzig proposes to write a new manual of the history of religions.

The senate of Glasgow University have elected Professor Max Müller to be the first Gifford Lecturer on Natural Theology. The tenure is for two years, which may be renewed once only. The emoluments consist of the interest of the late Lord Gifford's

bequest of £25,000. The lecturer is required to give at least two public lectures annually.

Dr. A. A. Macdonell, at present Taylorian Teacher of German at Oxford, has been appointed Deputy to the Boden Professor of Sanskrit. Mr. Macdonell won the Taylorian Scholarship in German in 1876, the Davis Scholarship in Chinese in 1877, and the Boden Scholarship in Sanskrit in 1878. A few years ago he obtained the degree of Ph.D. at Leipzig, with a thesis in philology. In 1886 he edited an unabridged edition of Prof. Max Müller's Sanskrit Grammar; and still more recently he has, we believe, been lecturing for Sir M. Monier-Williams, whose deputy he has now become.

Sir M. Monier-Williams has been appointed Duff Lecturer at Edinburgh, where he will deliver a course of lectures on "Buddhism."

Mr. J. Capper, who was one of the founders and for a long time Hon. Sec. of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, has been elected an Honorary Member of that branch.

Portugal.—The distinguished Portuguese Scholar Don G. de Vasconcellos Abreu, Professor of Sanskrit at Lisbon, and the author of other esteemed works, has published at Lisbon two works in the Portuguese language. (1) Progress of the study of Sanskrit. (2) An essay on the study of Languages generally. We hail the wakening up of the study of Orientals in the only kingdom in Europe which has never sent a representative to the International Congresses of Oriental Scholars.

Complete Translation of the Mahāwansa into English.—Late advices from Ceylon state that the Mahāwansa has now been fully translated into English by Louis Wijesinha Modliar, who is now engaged in seeing his translation of chapters 39 to 101 through the press. It is understood that the same scholar may very shortly be entrusted with the editing of a second edition of chapters 1 to 38, translated by the late George Turnour about fifty years ago, and long since out of print.

Ceylon Archæology.—The Government Agent of the northern province of Ceylon has addressed the Governor of that island on the subject of the ruins at Tiruke-siram (Mantotte), where excavations have brought to light many highly interesting remains. Government aid is sought to carry on the exploration on the site of the ancient city in question.

Pregnant Women.—A Bangalore correspondent of the *Homeward Mail* of Jan. 23, writes:—In the Chitaldroog district, a class of natives, called Gollams, practise the barbarous custom of leaving

women near their confinement exposed to the rain and sun in an open plain; never approaching them while in labour. Sometimes women are left thus for twenty-one days, often dying from neglect and exposure. After confinement the women are made to proceed on foot with their infants to the temple of their particular goddess, where they perform certain ceremonies. The Wesleyan Missionaries have brought these facts to the attention of the Dewan of Mysore, proving the existence of this custom by the testimony of respectable Hindoos, and the matter is being inquired into.

Spellicans.—In the *Digha Nikāya* we find a list of games to which certain Samanas and Brahmans are said to be addicted. The phrase is put into the mouth of the Buddha: and the list occurring in one of the very oldest fragments imbedded in the Buddhist Scriptures (in the Silas) dates back very probably to the time when Gotama was living. Of each word in this list we have the traditional interpretation preserved to us in the great commentary by Buddhaghosa, who wrote about A.D. 430. One of the games is called *Santikam*, and Buddhaghosa explains it:—"Little pieces [or men of the kind used in games] or bits of crockery are put all in a heap together. Then these they remove or replace with the nail, and, if any object in the heap shakes, he [the player] is beaten." See the *Sumangala Vilāsinī*, just edited for the Pali Text Society by Prof. Rhys Davids and Prof. Carpenter, p. 85.

Santikam may be rendered "Neighbourhoods," but the game is clearly what is now called Spellicans. As now played, each piece has a number on it, and each player continues to withdraw (with a hook) one or other of the various pieces until in so doing he shakes the rest. Then the other player has his turn; and, when all the pieces are removed, the numbers on those taken by each player are added up, and the player with the highest number wins.

Is anything known of the history of this game in Europe? The name for it is evidently old, and connected (not with *spielen* 'to play'), but with our words *spill* (a bit of paper or wood) and *splinter*. That it should have existed 500 B.C. in India need not surprise us. A study of the migration of games might be expected to yield results as interesting as that of the migration of stories.

Opening of an Oriental Institute at Ajmere.—A very crowded meeting of the members and representatives of the Paropkareni Sabha and all Arya Samajas throughout India was held at Ajmere under the presidency of Thakore Bahadursingh of Masuda, on Dec. 29, to lay the foundation-stone of the Dayanand Ashram, or Daya-

nand Institute, containing an Anglo-Varidic College, a library, an asylum, a museum, a book depot, and a lecture-room, in honour of the great Indian reformer, the late Swami Dayanand Saraswati. The well-known scholar and pundit, Mohanlal Vishunlal Pandia, one of the Swamy executors, laid the ashes and foundation-stone on behalf of all the followers and executors at 12 p.m. in a garden on the bank of the Anasagar Lake, bestowed by the Rajadhiraj of Shahpura for the purpose. Sermons, speeches, and lectures were given in the Sanskrit, Hindi and English languages to an attentive congregation of the Arya Samajists and others with great earnestness and fluency by such profound scholars as Professor Gurdutt, M.A., Shyamji Krishna Varma, M.A., Hunsraj, B.A., Lajapatirai and others. The ceremonies ended satisfactorily, and the institution is expected to be a great boon to the country at large, inasmuch as it will diffuse Eastern and Western culture side by side. — (*Homeward Mail*, Jan. 23.)

A literary event of national importance has taken place in Japan. One of the Legation Officers, now with the Minister to Germany, recently discovered in the Ashikaga College (Tsuhi Hieh) a copy of Hwang K'an's Confucian Analects (the Lun Yü), over 1200 years old, with all the Ancient Commentators' notes. This work has disappeared in China ever since the Southern Sung dynasty, i.e. for some 700 or 800 years; and as the whole history of the present copy is known, the Chinese Government has directed the Minister in Japan to borrow it, in order that a carefully corrected copy may be taken. It may be added that, should there be any Kana inscriptions upon this copy, valuable light will also be thrown upon the Japanese Alphabet question. — (*Homeward Mail*, 9th Jan. 1888.)

The Resident in Tibet incidentally mentions that the old Almanac of the Tangut kingdom, derived from the Ouigours, is still in use there, which statement corresponds with the assertion in the Ming History that, from the Tang dynasty up to the arrival of Schaal and Verbiest, the Ouigour calculations were also used by the Chinese. — (*Homeward Mail*, 9th Jan. 1888.)

There have been published at native presses in Ceylon during the last three months the Saddharmaratnāvalī and Mūla Sikkhā, and a new edition of the Kāvyaśekara, by the well-known scholar Baṭuwan Tuḍāwa.

The "Babylonian and Oriental Record" now appears in a more handy shape, and with improved type. Among the articles for

February M. de Harlez continues the introduction to his intended translation of the Pentaglott Buddhist Vocabulary.

We very deeply regret to hear, just as we are going to press, the death of Bhagvanlāl Indrajī.

Mr. M. V. Portman, M.R.A.S., the author of the article on music in our present number, has published a very admirable title "Manual of the Andamanese Languages" (pp. 229. small vo. Allen's, London, 1887), consisting of a short grammar, vocabularies, and dialogues.

The Journal for 1887 of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society contains articles by Mr. Satow on the Bibliography of Siam (in continuation of the valuable paper commenced in the previous number); English Sulu and Malay Vocabulary, by Mr. T. H. Haynes; the Malay text and English translation of a fairy tale entitled Raja Donan, by W. E. Maxwell; and a very useful Index to the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, by Mr. N. B. Denny.

New arrangements have been made under which Mr. Vincent Treuckner's edition of the Majjhima Nikāya will be published by the Pāli Text Society. The first volume is printed and will be issued to subscribers in a few weeks.

The second volumes of Dr. Morris's Anguttara and of M. Léon Feer's Saṃyutta, in course of publication for the Pāli Text Society, are now in the printer's hands, and will be issued to the subscribers for this year.

We would call the especial attention of those interested in the history of Indian religions and literature to the 'Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1883-4,' just published at the Government Press by Prof. Bhandarkar. It contains a most complete and valuable account of the whole of the Jain literature.

Mische Sindbad, by Dr. Paulus Cassel (Berlin Schæffer).—Under this title Dr. Cassel has published the Hebrew text of the Mische Sindbad and the corresponding Greek text of Syntipas, with introduction, translation into German, and notes on each, and an essay on the general history of the collection of stories known as the Seven Sages. He considers the Hebrew version to be the oldest extant, and to be itself derived from a Manichæan Syrian original of perhaps the fourth century of our era. That, in its turn he holds to be the reproduction of an Indian Buddhist work of unknown title and date, and in support of these quotes many analogous Buddhist stories. It is a pity that his authorities for

these are not the latest or best. He seems to know nothing of the most complete and oldest collection of Buddhist folklore—we mean the Jātaka book. But his volume (420 pp. small 8vo.) is a valuable contribution to the increasingly interesting question of the migration of Buddhist stories to the West.

We have on the African languages many valuable works,—Grammars, Dictionaries, Grammatical Notes and Lists of Words,—compiled chiefly by Missionaries, but also by travellers; and it may be added that the materials collected by travellers not trained in philology are often of great value when carefully examined, as, f. i., Commander Cameron's unpretending Kirua Vocabulary, and others which I cannot quote here. But, if we except the ancient Egyptian and the Arabic languages, it must be confessed that the other African languages have been till now very little investigated on the spot by professional scholars. The name of Prof. Leo Reinisch, of Vienna, who has so extensively studied the languages of the Nile basin, is of course an exception, and another is that of Prof. René Basset, of Algiers. He is already well known by his remarkable publications on the various dialects of the Berber language, and has now been entrusted by the "Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres" with a scientific mission to Senegambia. He started in the beginning of January, and, while waiting at Lisbon for the monthly steamer, he discovered in the various libraries of that capital many Arabic manuscripts and important documents of the 16th and 17th centuries on the tribes and languages of Senegambia; all these documents had been hitherto unknown to scholars, but he hopes to have some of them copied and published. At St. Louis (Sénégal), he has collected an extensive Vocabulary of the purest Zenaga (Berber) dialect, as spoken by the Ouled-Dahman, a Trarza tribe, as well as many Arabic texts translated into Zenaga and even an historical fragment concerning the origin of the Ouled-Dahman. He intends to go to Podor, in order to get, if possible, some ancient manuscripts from the Braknas: all these documents will undoubtedly throw some light on the linguistics and history of that fraction of the Berber race. He has also collected some linguistic data on the Khassonkhe, a dialect of the Mandingo-Bambara group, which has preserved many more complete and consequently older forms: he intends to do the same with regard to the Soninkhe, which has been till now provisionally classified in the above-named group. But this is not all.

Prof. René Basset informs me that, as soon as he comes back on Podor, he will go among the Serers, in order to ascertain what is the so-called None dialect, which could well be language quite different from the Sine, belonging perhaps to the great family of prefix-languages: there is there a highly interesting linguistic problem, which, I hope, will be solved once for all, and I will not anticipate on the results of that inquiry, which should extend to the neighbouring Diobas. Then, the untiring explorer intends to proceed to Boke, on the Rio-Nuñez, where he will complete Dr. Corre's rather rudimental study of the Baga, Nalu, Landuman, and other important languages, and where also he hopes to find some Mandingos, in order to make some advance on Macbrair's work.

It will be seen that, on Prof. René Basset coming home, we may expect to be supplied with large and valuable materials, very interesting even for Englishmen, as some of the languages referred to are spoken on or near the British Gambia and at Sierra-Leone.—CAPT. T. G. DE G.

P.S.—I think it will be useful to add here a short list of Prof. R. Basset's works, which seem to be little known in England:

Relation de Sidi Brahim de Massat, traduite du chelh'a en français et annotée. Paris, 1883.

Notes de Lexicographie berbère, Paris, 1st series, 1883; 2nd series, 1885; 3rd series, 1886; 4th series, just out. Four more series of these important comparative Vocabularies of the Berber dialects are ready for publication.

Contes des Beni-Menacer, Alger, 1885.

Recueil de textes et documents relatifs à la philologie berbère, Alger, 1885-86.

Manuel de langue Kabyle (Grammaire, Bibliographie, Chrestomathie et Lexique), Paris, 1887. This little work, a masterpiece of concision and clearness, is rather an outline of comparative Grammar of the Berber language.

Histoire de Tombouktou d'après les auteurs arabes, in course of publication in the *Museon*, Louvain.

In the Preface of Prof. Newman's recent Kabail Vocabulary, it is stated that Father Olivier's *Dictionnaire francais-kabyle* had been printed, but never published. This statement is quite incorrect: that Dictionary was published in 1878 at Le Puy (18mo. pp. vi. and 316), and it is to be had everywhere in France and Algeria

for five francs, also at Trübner's for twelve shillings. In Catalogue Trübner quotes it as published in 1882 at Paris. I add that there is, in the "Bibliothèque nationale" of Paris (berbère, No. 16 or 18), an unpublished *Vocabulaire français* bearing the name of the late Father Rivière.

Lieut. G. Binger, of the French Marines, who was engaged in travelling from Bakel down to the Guinea coast, has been murdered on the other side of the Ouassoulonké; he had been welcomed by King Samory, and his death is a great loss to science.—CAPT. T. G. DE G.

V. REVIEWS.

Prof. Ch. de Harlez, Iranist and Sinologist, has published in a separate form his important memoir on the Tartar religion, which appeared last year in vol. xi. of the *Mémoires couronnés, etc., de l'Académie de Belgique*. The full title of the work explains its purpose: *La Religion nationale des Tartares Orientaux, Mandchous et Mongols, comparée à la religion des Anciens Chinois, d'après les textes indigènes, avec le Rituel tartare de l'Empereur K'ien-long, traduit pour la première fois* (Bruxelles, 1887, 216 pp. and plate, semi-8vo.). The distinguished author is one of the few scholars acquainted with the Mandshu language and literature; we are indebted to him for a *Manuel de la langue Mandchoue* in 1884 (Paris, Maisonneuve) and for the *Histoire de l'Empire de Kin* (Jutchih or Niutchih) *ou Empire d'Or, Aisin gurun-i induri bithe*, translated for the first time (Louvain, 1887, 8vo. xvi. 288 pp.). The latter work, which refers to the domination of the ancestors of the present Mandshu, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries over the North of China, has furnished Dr. de Harlez the evidence adduced in the first part, second section, of his new work, while the first section is an exposé of the Mandshu religion of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as exhibited in the Ritual framed by order of the Mandshu Emperor of the Chinese Empire. The translation of this Ritual, which forms the second part of the work, pp. 61-174, is followed by a tableau of the Mongol religion, as described by the Tartar historians and European travellers and writers. A description of the religion of the ancient Chinese, and its comparison with that of the Tartars, composes the shortest and last part of the work. The author has left aside altogether all that has been imported by the Buddhists, and has in many cases

dified so deeply the former standard. We are afraid that not a few of the views put forth by several writers of fame on comparative religions will prove inexact with reference to the hitherto the known national religion of the Tartars when compared with the faithful exposé we have just described.—T. de L.

Africa.—Don Antonio da Silva Leitao e Castro has published in the Portuguese Language at the National Press of Loanda, 1866, the Grammar of the Kongo Language and Vocabulary compiled by Brusciottus, a Capuchin Monk, in the Latin language 200 years ago. Our readers will recollect that this book is no longer rare, as a new edition was published some years back in London, and it has been translated and published in English by Mr. Grattan Guinness, of Harley House, Bow. It is a Bantu language.

Joaquin Almeida Da Cunha has published at the National Press of Loanda, 1886, a Grammar and Vocabulary of the Maiza language spoken in the district of Cape Delgado in the Province of Mozambik in East Africa. It is a Bantu language.

The same author has published at the National Press of Mozambik, 1885, a Study on the Manners and Customs of the Banian, Báthia, Parsi, Moor, Gentile and Native inhabitants of the Province. It would be an interesting study to examine this volume, as so many of the races alluded to are natives of India, Hindu and Mahometan who have settled on the east coast of Africa, south of the equator, in fact all the coast trade is in the hands of Indians.

Susu, West Africa.—The Rev. P. H. Donglin, Missionary to the Rio Pongo, has published through the S.P.C.K. a Reading Book in the Susu language, a most important form of speech in West Africa. This belongs to the Negro group.

Kabail, North Africa.—Emeritus Professor F. W. Newman has published (Trübner) a new and enlarged edition of his Numidian, or Kabail, Vocabulary. It includes all the words contained in a Vocabulary prepared by Father Olivier, which Dr. Cust, the Hon. Secretary, picked up during his tour in Algeria, as it was previously unknown in England.

Oceania.—Mr. Sydney H. Ray has contributed to the Journal of the Anthropological Institute a Grammatical Notice of the Nguna language, spoken in one of the islands of the New Hebrides.

Grammatica Oromana.—A Grammar of the language spoken in Abyssinia, and by the Galla tribe. By Lucie Scobart. Published at Naples, 1885, in the Italian language. In the Preface we learn that the Roman Catholic Bishop Massaia gave the first impetus to the

study of this language as far back as 1854, by opening a school in which the native children were taught the language and the use of the Roman character. The author followed this lead, and has compiled a very creditable Grammar. The author appears to be a young Italian Professor.

African Philology.—A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Fan Language was published at New York, 1881, by the Rev. R. H. Nassau, M.D., of the American Presbyterian Board of Missions in the Gabun, the west coast south of the equator. It was the work of the Rev. H. M. Adams, of the same mission, who died as far back as 1856. It is of great importance. The language is of the Bantu family.—R. N. C.

Prof. Chamberlain, of Tokyo, who has already earned the gratitude of many little people (and of some big folk too) by his renderings of Japanese fairy-tales, has begun a series of little stories gathered from Ainu lips, of which the two which have just appeared, the Punter in Fairyland and the Birds' Party, will be found no less interesting, and even more novel, than those of more Southern origin. These little brochures are daintily printed and got up, and very quaintly illustrated in colours by a Japanese artist, the very covers being pictured all over with representations of Ainu men and women, weapons, houses, and utensils, and with scenes from the stories. The tales show how like are the workings of the fancy in primitive peoples all over the world, and how universal the yearning after some happier existence than that which we have had from day to day.—F. V. DICKINS (*Academy*, 2nd Feb. 1888.)

Comparative Vocabularies of the Languages spoken at Suakin: Arabic, Hadendoa, Beni-Amer, compiled by direction of Major C. M. WATSON, C.M.G., R.E. (S.P.C.K.).

The Arabic is the common Soudanese Arabic; the Hadendoa, as I have shown in the last issue of the JOURNAL, p. 144, is the dialectal form of the Bedawye language spoken by the Hadendoas; as to the dialect used by the Beni-Amer, it is an Arabic-Tigre-Bedawye 'gibberish,' something like the French-Spanish-Arabic-Kabayl 'sibir' used by the French colony in Algeria, or the 'bich-la-mar' used by the coasting sailors in Oceania.

Major Watson has done his best to supply us with what he was asked for, and his little work will be welcomed by those who are already acquainted with the Arabic and Bedawye languages; but,

I am sorry to say, this work will be quite useless for others, the form of vocabulary imposed upon the compiler having prevented him from exhibiting these languages in their true grammatical form.

That form of Vocabulary, prepared in India for the Aryan languages, though doubtlessly appropriate to them, is quite inadequate for African languages. The *Zeitschrift für Afrikanische Sprachen* has already, in its number of October, 1887, called attention to the very grave inconvenience of this, and the present work ought never to have gone to the press without being carefully revised and annotated by some competent scholar. Thus, it does not even notice the existence of the article, either in Arabic or in Hadendoa; in some instances, I find the masculine or feminine article unconsciously incorporated with the Hadendoa nouns, as: *wankuil* means 'the ear,' not 'ear,' which is *ankuil*, better *angkwil*; *wahtáy*, *tahtáy* mean 'the horse, the mare,' not 'a horse, a mare'; *shab* 'a cow,' is an indefinite form meaning 'cow' (masc. in Hadendoa). None of the grammatical forms is correctly noticed, and the Arabic translator has been led into many mistakes, as when he translates 'of a father' by *أب لي'اب*, which means really '(belonging) to father.' The formation of the feminine and of the plural in Hadendoa, by means of the article or otherwise, is totally omitted. It should have been easily illustrated by the following scheme:—

- Masc. *ú-besa* (the he-cat), pl. *á-besa* *tak* (man).
 Fem. *tú-besa* (the she-cat), pl. *tá-besa* *tákat* (woman).
 Masc. *ú-mek ani-b-u* (the he-ass [is] mine) *kam era-b* (white he-camel).
 Fem. *tú-mek ani-t-u* (the she-ass [is] mine) *kam era-t* (white she-camel).

Instead of this I find the fem. *anit* with the meaning 'of me,' which should be *ani*, and the masc. *anibo* with the meaning 'mine,' without any distinction of gender. Many substantives are given in the nominative with the characteristic *-i* of the genitive case, and so on.

Moreover, the form of vocabulary adopted gives no evidence of the respective position of the words in the affirmative sentence. We are told how one can say "How old is this horse?" or "From whom did you buy that?"; but we do not know how to say "The horse I bought from my neighbour is very old," or simply, "I love my wife; I am eating bananas."

Some more appropriate form of vocabulary and a thorough revision would have enabled the compiler to avoid the mistakes I have pointed out.—CAPT. T. G. DE G.

This is not the proper place to comment upon the geographical and descriptive part of ANTONIO CECCHI'S work; *Di Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa*, already noticed in the last issue of the Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.; but the linguistic part, which forms nearly the third volume (502 pages out of 636) of this publication, seems to me to deserve some further consideration. It contains some very valuable grammatical notes and more or less extensive vocabularies of six East African languages—(1) *Kaffa*; (2) *Shuro* (?); (3) *Yanjero* (Yangara or Yömma); (4) *Adiya* (Kambat?); (5) *Shaha* (Gurague); (6) *Afar* (Dankali). The first five languages are not well, or not at all, known, and, though the last one has been fully illustrated by Reinisch and Colizza, this new volume is a very welcome contribution to our linguistic knowledge on that part of Africa.

But by far the most important part of Cecchi's work is the elaborate Grammar and extensive Vocabulary of the Galla language, this part covering not less than 398 pages. Among the ten or twelve existing publications on this language, there is no sufficiently reliable work; the most complete of them, Tutschek's Grammar and Vocabulary, though a marvellous 'tour de force,' was compiled in Munich only from the mouth of a released slave, and could not be, therefore, quite satisfactory. Massaja's Grammar is very difficult to use, being intermixed, paragraph by paragraph, with the Amharic Grammar; but, nevertheless, it has proved of great assistance to the compiler of the present Grammar, Prof. Ettore Viterbo, having been written on the spot by one who had become fully acquainted with the language during a stay of more than twenty years. The other works were incomplete notices or vocabularies, so that the present is intended to meet a real want, being complete in every part. The Grammar has been carefully compiled from the notes, phrases, and instances collected by three personal observers, and, at a first glance, it looks quite satisfactory. The Galla-Italian and Italian-Galla Vocabularies, compiled in the same way, are the most elaborate we have, and they will certainly prove very useful, not only to those who wish to acquire especially the Galla language, for whatever purpose it may be, but also to all students of languages. The Italian transliteration will cause, perhaps, some uneasiness to those not well acquainted with this language; but, after all, it is neither

bet, nor worse than transliteration in accordance with any other of our living languages, and the same difficulty will be experienced till we adopt some scientific and uniform mode of transliteration. Thus, the words *Sciankallâ* and *Sciurd*, given as ethnical names equivalent to each other, though the first one really means "negro" in the Galla language, ought to be written *Shangala* and *Shuro* for an English reader. Lepsius' system is, I think, very imperfect, and the best of those hitherto employed is Bishop Steere's, at least for African languages and English readers. I have myself adopted, especially for the sake of comparison, a new scientific system, which I hope I shall soon be able to present to the English reader.—CAPT. T. G. DE G.

P.S.—I may add that the third volume of Cecchi's work (linguistic part) can be had from the publisher (Ermanno Loescher, in Rome), and indeed at a very cheap rate, viz. ten shillings; also from Messrs. Sampson Low and Co., in London.

The following letters came too late for insertion among the Correspondence.

2. THE BABYLONIAN ORIGIN OF THE CHINESE CHARACTERS.

(*Suum cuique.*)

SIR,—My attention has been called to several inexact statements concerning me, and conceived in anything but a lenient spirit, by Mr. G. Bertin, in his article on the *Origin and Development of the Cuneiform Syllabary*, published in this JOURNAL, October, 1887, Vol. XIX. pp. 625-654.

I shall only put to right a few of them.

In answer to the variously-repeated accusation that I have taken up views of other scholars, such as our lamented François Lenormant and Dr. Hyde Clarke, I must say that I have as yet never heard of, or seen, any paper or book in which has been forestalled in any way my discovery, put forth in 1880, that the Chinese writing was derived about 2500 B.C. from that in use at Babylon, through the intermediate country of Elam. The views entertained were—either as François Lenormant thought at one time, without any attempt at proving it, that the Akkadian and Chinese

writings had a common origin east of the Aral Sea—or, as I have learned recently, Dr. Hyde Clarke's opinion in 198, amidst the flights of fancy which have made famous the meetings of the British Association—that the Chinese, Egyptian, and Akkadian writings were related in pre-historic times. Both these views are altogether different from that to which I was led by my studies. My discovery was made public in *The Times*, 20th April, in a lecture before the Royal Asiatic Society, 10th May, and in a lecture published in the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 16th July, 1880, vol. xxviii. pp. 725-734. Writing several months afterwards in the same Journal, p. 791, Dr. Hyde Clarke, in an amiable note which I have only seen lately, accepted my discovery and mentioned his communication, not yet seen by me, at Dublin two years before, on the pre-historic relations of the three writings. On the 20th of June, the late François Lenormant had written to me from Bossieu some congratulations on "mes découvertes de premier ordre." My lecture from the Journal of the Society of Arts was reprinted separately, with the addition of a plate of Akkadian and early Chinese characters; the plate was bad, and Mr. G. Bertin was right in criticising it (p. 654), though, if I judge from the opinion of many scholars of eminence, his criticism goes beyond the mark, when he infers from that imperfect plate that my discovery had not as yet been scientifically established at the time of his paper (October, 1887). To be able to say so, he ought to have refuted the large amount of circumstantial evidence, including the most conclusive proof given by the shifted cardinal points, which I have piled up in several of my works, and which have received a wide circulation. A resumé, entitled *Babylonia and China*, had appeared in *The Babylonian and Oriental Record* for June, 1887. Since then I have published on the subject: §§ 197-208 of my book on *The Languages of China Before the Chinese* (1887, D. Nutt), *The Shifted Cardinal Points, from Elam to Early China* (1st art.), and *The Old Babylonian Characters and their Chinese Derivates*, in *The Babylonian and Oriental Record* of January, pp. 25-32, and of March, 1888, pp. 73-99.

Mr. G. Bertin finds fault with several of my statements about the writing from which the Chinese characters were derived, as seen through an examination of these characters, which were published in this JOURNAL in 1883, Vol. XV. pp. 278-280. I have had occasion lately to revise them carefully, and I must say that I shall be obliged to maintain nearly every one of them. The cause of this difference arises from the fact that the Babylonian writing had undergone several changes before the oldest state that we know of it. I shall discuss the matter in my paper "On the Kushite Origin of the Babylonian Characters," which I shall give out as soon as leisure and health permit.

With reference to the latter hypothesis, which I put forth for the first time in my paper *The Kushites, who were they?* published pp. 25-31 of *The Babylonian and Oriental Record* for December, 1886, which Mr. G. Bertin criticises unmercifully without quoting it, and where I gave as my opinion that the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Hittite writings may have sprung from a former system still unknown, and brought into Babylonia and Hittite lands by the Kushites, I must say that I had never known the theory to have been started by any one before, and that I am still in the same state of ignorance. The above-quoted paper of Dr. Hyde Clarke, of which I have only heard through Mr. G. Bertin's article, would bear out a part only of the theory. I am indebted to Mr. G. Bertin for having put right a wrongly-applied quotation from Pritchard, which I had cited from Professor G. Maspero without rectifying it; but the matter is of little importance, as I have advocated that the Kushites had been a mixed population in very remote times. As to a list of ten or twelve Egyptian and Babylonian characters, which Mr. G. Bertin criticises from me, *I have never published such a thing.*

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

The Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

3. THE ORIGIN OF THE BABYLONIAN CHARACTERS FROM THE PERSIAN GULF.

SIR,—The Chaldean Berosus has related the distinct and well-known tradition which makes plainly the civilization of his country originary from the Persian Gulf. The Assyriologists, discarding this local and time-honoured report, have enthroned in its stead a theoretical origin from the mountainous country of Elam. They have stated as an hypothesis verging on certainty, that a Turanian or Mongoloid population came down from the north-east to Babylon, bringing with them along with their religion, their legends and traditions, their laws, their art, their building knowledge, and the art of writing. This hasty conclusion, which will cause astonishment to later scholars, was brought about, however, on what seem to me and will seem to many others quite an insufficient ground. The most of the oldest sounds attached to the characters are Uralo-Altaic, the writing does not contain any special symbol for the palm, which is the chief tree of the South, and the sign for "mountain," pictorial in appearance, is also that for country. Whence the north-east origin of the writing, etc., contrariwise to the local tradition.

The descent of a Turano-Scythian population in the region north of the Persian Gulf much more than 4000 years before the Christian era, carrying with it their language, religious beliefs, legends and traditions, appears to be a historical fact, and the Turano-Scythian character of their language is now well ascertained, but it does not imply that they brought with them such an art as that of writing, which implies for its possessors some serious contingencies out of probability with the case. Either they ought to have invented it before their migration south, seeing that from common opinion this writing was not invented in Chaldeo-Babylonia, or they had received it from others. The first contingency is against anything we know from experience in history about the mental capacities of the Turano-Scythians. I have studied their history with great care, and I have found that they

have no creative genius whatever; they preserve or destroy, but they do not invent; the supposed instances of the reverse are not genuine. The other would be the existence of an older form of civilization, from which this writing might have been borrowed; but even admitting that, we would not find as we do proofs in the writing itself that it was not derived from Central Asia; we know enough of the traditions and history of these countries to be sure that no centre of civilization of the kind has ever existed. The oldest form of culture of Eastern Asia was that of the Chinese; but it was *in toto* a borrowed one, as I have repeatedly shown, and it did not begin till two thousand years or more after the descent of the Sumero-Akkadians in Babylonia.

This arrival of Northmen can very well be reconciled with the tradition reported by Berosus, for which I shall adduce some proofs below. There is nothing improbable in their finding in their new country the writing already in use, though still a recent importation, and which tradition and practice had not yet given a sufficient phonetic development and force of resistance to new-comers. They must have adapted it entirely to their requirements of sounds and words, preserving only very few of those previously in existence, and which they could not dislodge. This might be the explanation of the survivals of a former state, which are visible in the oldest documents. Some characters appear in the columns of inscriptions discovered at Tello, placed in positions objectionable to their pictorial primitive value, and this shows that the column arrangement was not their original one. Several arguments might be added here from a paper, *The Pre-Akkadian Semites*, written eighteen months ago by Mr. G. Bertin, in the *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, vol. xviii. pp. 409-436; the ingenious Assyriologist wanted to show that the writing was in the land, and made use of by the Semites before the Akkadian invasion, and his paper certainly deserved a better fate than it received from the hands of Prof. A. H. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures* for 1887, p. 436. I do not think he has really shown that the Semites

knew the art of writing previously to the Akkadians, & he has given good reasons against the theory of a Sumo-Akkadian origin of this writing. For my own part, I have already expressed as my opinion (*The Kushites, who were they?* in *The Babylonian and Oriental Record*, December, 1886), that the writing in question was brought in by the Kushites, speaking a language having an indirect ideology, whatever they may have been as a race apparently much mixed; and as this importation would have been done from the Persian Gulf, the tradition preserved by Berosus would thus be explained. I am well aware of the pitfalls and dangers of all sorts which the inquirer has to avoid in researches concerning ideographic characters. A writing so composed is never steady. With the increase of knowledge new meanings are engrafted by analogy either on the sounds or on the characters; new pictographs are made either anew altogether or by the adaptation of their shape to some purpose and object foreign to their original value. Such, for instance, when the Chinese scribes applied to the representation of *swan* or counting-rods, two old characters *she* "reveal," simply because of their suitable shape. Similar instances cannot always be discriminated, and may cause mistakes in a question so intricate and bristling with difficulties as the beginnings of the Babylonian characters. The language of the inventors of these characters can be ascertained only when a sifting of the oldest sounds attached to the characters has been made in order to find the residuum of words and sounds older than the Sumerian introduction. The matter is the more difficult if I am right in my inferences concerning the language and dialects spoken by the Kushite mixed race of seafarers and traders, which were not very distant offshoots of the Turano-Scythian stock. Further researches will explain away the difficulty and throw light on this obscure problem.

In the mean time we may be satisfied with the proof that this writing was not originated in a highland country. The great argument in favour of this view cuts both ways. It rests on the fact that the symbol for 'mountain' means also

'land' and 'country,' but for islanders or seafarers land always looks mountainous! and could not be represented by them otherwise. And what is highly significant is that the symbol for 'mountain' imparts a contemptuous meaning to the compounds in which it occurs; for instance *gin* 'servant,' lit. 'woman of the mountains,' *uru* 'servant,' lit. 'man of the mountains,' *am* 'wild bull,' lit. 'bull of the mountains.' Should the writing have been invented in the highlands, the reverse would be the case. There are no primitive characters for 'river' nor for 'bear' (it is a compound). On the other hand, the primitive character for 'fish' is important in the writing; the sign for 'water' means also 'father,' and there are primitive symbols for 'boat,' for 'wind' (represented by an inflated sail), etc. I hope my readers will agree with me that all this constitutes a pretty strong argument in favour of the genuineness of the tradition reported by Berossus, that letters were introduced into Chaldea from the Persian Gulf.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

The Secretary Royal Asiatic Society.

JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. VIII.—*Notes on the Early History of Northern India.*
By J. F. HEWITT, late Commissioner of Chota Nāgpur.

THE most noteworthy part of the history of India must always be that which tells how the people known as Hindoos, speaking languages derived from the Sanskrit, and living in the country between the Himalayas and the Vindhyan Mountains, and in the Valley of the Indus, were formed from originally heterogeneous elements into a nation, and which further describes the origin and development of their system of government and their early religious history. The written materials available for these purposes are unusually abundant, but vary greatly in value. The earliest documents at all deserving the name of authentic history are the Pali writings of the early Buddhists. These give us a very good idea of North-eastern India, the institutions, government, and customs of the people in the fifth and sixth centuries before Christ. But the people had then reached a comparatively late stage in their progress, and as to events occurring before that time, we have to look for information primarily to the very voluminous early Sanskrit literature, and chiefly to the legends and traditions therein contained; and secondarily to facts ascertained from foreign countries and languages, and to deductions from the earliest subsequent historical documents, and from coins, monuments, and remains of early buildings, all dating from a much later period. The Sanskrit writings consist of religious and war-

like odes, ritualistic manuals, metaphysical and ethical treatises, books of sacred law, and epic poems; but the historical value of the contents of these works is greatly lessened by the circumstances under which most of them were composed.

Of these books the most valuable for historical purposes are the Hymns of the Rigveda, as the authors of these poems write naturally, without any bias beyond that arising from pride in Aryan prowess, the conviction of Aryan infallibility, trust in Aryan gods, and depreciation and contempt of their opponents who possessed the land they wished to call their own. Though less legendary than the Homeric or later Sanskrit epics, they are in no sense narrative poems, being for the most part war-songs and religious odes addressed to the gods and the god-like Soma, the inspirer alike of gods and men, and they deal only incidentally with actual facts. They nevertheless give us most valuable information as to the social polity and beliefs of the Aryan tribes before they had been much altered by contact with other races. And though they tell us little directly about their predecessors in the country who opposed their advance into it, they enable us to judge of the change effected by the subsequent influence of other races, by comparing Aryan institutions, as set forth in the Veda, with those current in the country in later times.

Many of the later Sanskrit works would be much more trustworthy guides than they are, when not carefully tested, if it were not for the one-sidedness and inaccuracy of the writers, who, whether as priests or bards, systematically ignored and frequently falsified facts, to serve their special ends. The priests, who wrote for the most part after the caste system resulting from the amalgamation of the different races had become an article of the Brahmin faith, made it their object to secure its general recognition, and thereby to make the Brahmins, as priests of the gods and guardians of the national morality, supreme in Church and State. In doing this it was their interest to ignore and suppress all that tended to prove that those who were accepted as

belonging to the three higher castes were not pure Aryans, and that their scheme of society and religious beliefs were not part of the national creed of all people in the country.

In a similar way the royal bards, who were the earliest authors of the great epic poems, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana, used their imagination freely in distorting, inventing, and concealing facts so as to establish the fame of their patron kings and the ancestors who had preceded them on the throne.

This very summary and incomplete examination of possible causes of error shows how necessary it is, before accepting statements derived from these writings as correct, to test them by comparison with the secondary sources of information above described. But though much has been done in this direction by Muir, Lassen, Zimmer, Max Müller, and very many other honoured authorities, who will be referred to frequently in this paper, much still remains to be done to show the great share taken by other races besides the Aryans in the formation of the Hindoo religion, Hindoo government, and Hindoo social customs. What I hope especially to prove is, that the knowledge of early times gained from the sources of information described above may be very greatly increased by examining not only the methods by which Hindooism is now extending its influences over tribes which it has not yet absorbed, but also the present customs of the un-Hindooised sections of those races; as it is from them that the present mixed population has been in a great measure formed, and they have occupied a very important and permanent place in its history, but have left no independent literature to record their achievements. Large and comparatively self-governing confederacies and states of these races still remain in Central India undisturbed by the changes caused by foreign conquest, immigration, and eager competition with other tribes. They are naturally and persistently conservative, like all people who are so contented with their lot as to think the trouble of trying to improve it unnecessary labour, or who have either not excited the cupidity of their neighbours, or have proved that they cannot be interfered with without

risks to those who attack them greater than can be compensated by the advantages of conquest. The unaltered customs of these people, who still worship the gods, retain the system of government, and speak the speech of their remote forefathers, are no less valuable to the historian than undisturbed strata to the geologist. And as the latter is greatly aided in describing accurately former phases of existence by materials supplied by these untainted records, so may the historical inquirer receive trustworthy help in his efforts to resuscitate the past from tribes like those described above, who may in a scientific point of view be called still living fossils.

What I would venture to submit to the judgment of scholars is that the traditional history to be deduced from Hindoo writings and popular legends is totally at variance with the actual facts. According to this account the priestly, ruling, and trading classes of North India belong to the Aryan race, which entered India from the Northwest, led by their kings, who were assisted by their family priests of the Brahmin caste. They succeeded without much difficulty in overrunning the whole country watered by the Indus, Ganges and their tributaries, together with a considerable area of the Eastern and Western coasts south of these river-systems. In their progress they made Aryan institutions and beliefs the accepted laws of the land, and according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,¹ the land they traversed was only cultivated and civilized when it was burnt over by Agni Vaiṣvānara, the sacred household fire of the Aryans; or in other words, when the people submitted to Aryan influence and guidance. The aboriginal inhabitants were either driven into the mountains or reduced to semi-slavery as Sudras, while the Aryans, divided into the three classes of (1) Brahmins, (2) Warriors, and (3) traders and agriculturists, exercised supreme authority through the first two classes. They based firstly their religious organization on the rules said to have been laid down from the earliest times

¹ Prof. Eggeing's version, in the Sacred Books of the East, vol. xii. p. 105.

for the worship of the Aryan gods, the maintenance in each household of the sacred fire and the prescribed sacrifices; secondly, their system of government on that set forth in the early treatises of the sacred law, which allowed a great latitude as to "the laws of countries, castes, and families which were not opposed to the sacred law,"¹ these in cases of dispute being ascertained from the evidence of experts. Now that the Aryans spread themselves over the country, that they secured within its limits a very large share of power as religious, military, and political leaders, that dialects formed from their language became at a very early period the spoken language of the great body of the people, is true enough. But that they exterminated and drove out their predecessors, and forcibly assumed the government of the country, or that those now living there are people of pure Aryan descent, who have received Aryan religious beliefs from their forefathers, and have based their social polity on Aryan precedents, seems to me to be entirely untrue. If we look at the popular religion, we find the Aryan gods of the Veda, Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and Agni, with the other heavenly givers of light and life, almost entirely thrown aside, and Śiva, Durga, Viṣṇu, and village and local deities, with the totally non-Aryan Nāga or Snake gods installed in their place. None of these can be legitimately evolved from the Aryan conceptions of the heavenly powers, who were alone the objects of their worship. It would require a book to trace the divergences in each separate case; but two special instances, which might be multiplied over and over again, will suffice to show the essential difference between the Vedic and popular theology. These are the worship of Śiva and that of snakes, the latter still subsisting among the Hindoos in the universally observed Nāga-pañchami festival.² The worship of Śiva may be traced back to the very earliest times succeeding the Vedic period, and in some of his aspects he resembles the Vedic Rudra, the Storm-god, who is represented in the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhita under the incongruous

¹ Gautama, chap. xi. 21.

² Monier-Williams, *Religious Life in India*, pp. 323, 430.

aspects of a fierce terrible destroyer and as a saviour and deliverer. These apparent incongruities are, however, legitimate deductions from the varying influences of storms; but when Rudra disappears from the list of popular gods, and Siva the auspicious one takes his place, he is no longer one of the heavenly powers, but the god represented by the linga or phallus, an earthly emblem ascribing the creative and generative power, not to the gods of heaven, but to the earth, and this proposition could never have been evolved from Aryan premisses, or enounced as true by a pure Aryan people. As to the worship of snakes, modern authors who have written on the subject, I believe, either treat the snake worship, which prevailed so extensively in Asia, Africa, and Europe in the most ancient times, as part of the zoolatry originating in totemism, or ascribe its prevalence to the fear inspired by snakes, whose attacks were so stealthy and insidious, and whose bite was so immediately fatal. The totemistic explanation, though no doubt sufficient to explain animal worship in its other aspects, is, as I hope to show in the sequel of this paper, quite incapable of explaining its universality and persistent prevalence in India from the earliest periods. The second explanation ascribing the reverence paid to snakes is quite inconsistent with its extension to countries such as Italy and Lithuania,¹ where snakes were at all events much rarer than in more tropical countries. The present question, however, is whether snake worship would be derived from Vedic theology or not, and this I would submit must be unreservedly answered in the negative; it is impossible that the Aryans would worship the snakes, who are said in the Rigveda to be the special foes of Indra and the heavenly powers.

The early prevalence of this worship in India, and the importance ascribed to the Nāga gods, is shown by the protecting snake watching over the Buddha being continually depicted in all early Buddhist bas-reliefs, and also by the high place assigned to them in early Buddhist literature. If

¹ Monier-Williams, *Religious Life in India*, p. 313.

the Nāga gods were merely objects of animal worship, and adored chiefly from fear, they would not be placed before all other gods and heavenly beings, as they are throughout all early Buddhist writings. A special instance of this is the great hymn of triumph celebrating the victory of the Buddha over Māra the tempter, where the Nāga gods are placed first in the sacred hierarchy, above the Supannas or winged creatures, the Devas or angels, and lastly the Brāhma gods.¹

As to social institutions, the text quoted above from Gautama as to the maintenance of the laws of countries, castes, and families, which were not opposed to the sacred law, shows conclusively that Aryans when supreme did not try to subvert local customs and systems of government unless they were objectionable on religious grounds. That this maxim was regarded as possessing special authority, is shown by its being reproduced in Manu,² Āpastamba,³ and Yājñavalkya,⁴ which are all later manuals of the sacred law. This being the case, it is not surprising to find modes of government and political and social customs totally different from those described in the Vedas. To take one instance, the strongly organised village communities found everywhere throughout India, the origin of which will be explained later on, could never have been derived from the democratic Aryan Sabhā or Samiti, which chose their chiefs by popular election, and did not pay them revenue, but only gave them free gifts.⁵

In unravelling the enigma arising from the radical difference between the origin of the language spoken by the people and that of their religious beliefs and social institutions, the task set before the historian is to find out first the several races which united to make the Hindoo nation; secondly, the history of the process of amalgamation; and, thirdly, the several shares contributed by each race towards the final result. In doing this I have only space here to give a rough sketch, omitting very many of the

¹ Fausboll's Jātaka, vol. i. p. 75. These were not the Brahmin gods, but the gods of the Brāhma heavens, a division of the Buddhist world of devas or angels.

² Manu, viii. 46.

³ Āpastamba, ii. 6. 15. 1.

⁴ Yājñavalkya, i. 342.

⁵ Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 166.

proofs available, of what I think we have fair reason to believe to be a true outline of the early history of Northern India. But in so doing I shall incidentally be able to call attention to and explain certain points of the evidence which seem to me to acquire new meaning from the point of view I have been led, by a long study of the problem, to adopt.

Of the races which have, since national life in the country began, formed the most politically and socially active part of the people, three can be traced back to the very earliest times, and though others have since exercised great and abiding influence, to these alone can the earliest forms of the social institutions which formed the framework of the government of the country be assigned. These are, first, the Mongoloid tribes of Malayan affinities, speaking languages belonging to the Kolarian family, who entered India from the East;¹ secondly, the Australioids, speaking Dravidian languages, and lastly, the Aryans. The Dravidians came from the West, from whence they may be traced across India, and probably like the Aryans from the North-west. The order in which these races entered the country can be seen most clearly in Central India in the tract watered by the Tapti, Nerbudda, Godaveri, Mahanuddi, Subonrikha, Damooda² and their tributaries. Within this area we find Kolarian tribes, some of which retain their primitive customs unmixed with foreign elements. In other cases we find the Dravidians the ruling body, either mixed with or apart from the Kolarians; and in the more fertile and accessible tracts we find the chief power in the hands of Aryan immigrants, who, while leaving Dravidian and Kolarian institutions unchanged as far as they affected only members of these tribes who did not amalgamate with the invaders, have altered them so as to fit in with Aryan ideas of the sanctity and continuity of the family, and the equal rights of all who held land in the villages and submitted to the Brahman supremacy.

¹ Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 151.

² Properly *Dā-munda*, *i.e.* 'water of the Mundas' (the chief Kolarian tribe on its banks).

From the evidence given by inquiries as to the order in which these races came into the country, it is clear that wherever these three races have formed part of the now amalgamated population, the Kolarian tribes were the earliest settlers, as we always find them driven into the worst lands in districts where they live together with the other races. That they came from the East is shown by the following facts; first they themselves always say that they did so, secondly all the most powerful and purest Kolarian tribes are found in the East, and thirdly their languages (as has been shown by General Dalton) are allied to those used by the Kasia on the Brāhmaputra, the Palaung and the Mon or Peguans on the Irāwaddy, the Kambojans on the Mekong, and the Assamese on the Tonquin. It was the Kolarians who cleared the forests and tilled the lands, though in doing this they did not use draught cattle, which were at first unknown to them except as wild buffaloes and the wild cattle called Gaur (Anglice Bison). They learnt the use of iron very early, and with the weapons so acquired they formed the clearings,¹ which were united into the first primitive unions of petty hamlets, each inhabited by families having the same totem, and all finding their centre of union in the tribal priest, now called Byga, who was elected by the community to propitiate the local deities supposed to reside in the very extensive section of the forests over which the associated hamlets were scattered. These hamlets, as the population increased, became village communities, each with its dependent hamlets as newer clearances by fresh groups of settlers were made. Each parent village was governed by its headman, now called Munda, chosen from among the first settlers, and frequently, though by no means always, the office was continued from father to son. Over the villages united under the same priest a common chief (now called Manki) was chosen. He presided at the assemblies of the representatives of the union, formed generally of the village headmen and the leading cultivators, though all had

¹ They probably, as is shown by the stone celts found in various localities, did some clearance with stone implements before they found out the use of iron.

a right to attend. These unions of villages must have been called by some name like Pirs or Parhas, the present name, and it was in this way in the districts first organised under Kolarian rule that the divisions now called Pergannahs were formed. The Aryan Sabhā or village council, and the Samiti or council of united villages, might produce similar results in parts of the country where they were the first settlers, and in that case it would be difficult to say who were the originators of the divisions now found; but I would submit that a nearly certain test for the solution of the question, should it arise, may be found in the prevalence of the worship of local spirits and the sacredness ascribed to trees. It is now and must have always been (with so conservative a people) customary to leave a certain part of the primitive forest untouched in a Kolarian village; this is now called the Sarna,¹ and was held sacred to the forest deities, who were the principal objects of worship among the tribes, though they regarded the sun as their chief deity. The Sarna has now over the greater part of India dwindled down to the one tree under which offerings are made to the village god, though perhaps it may have arisen again under another form in the village grove to which no such sanctity is now attached as to the tree of sacrifice, but which forms, as the Sarna once did, the common meeting-place for village recreation, and the place where all travellers put up. Both the Kolarians and the Dravidians worshipped their ancestors, apparently from fear of their ghosts. The Kolarian people may generally be described as gregarious, excitable, turbulent when roused, but generally peaceable and good-humoured. They are brave and adventurous, witty, and very fond of amusement, not given to work more than is necessary, and as a rule very careless of the future.²

¹ Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 186.

² The whole of the above account of the Kolarian, and the following description of the Dravidian tribes, is given from my own personal knowledge of the people, acquired during a residence of about thirteen years in the Chota Nagpore country, in Western Bengal, and that of Chuttiegurh in the Central Provinces adjoining it, as District and Settlement Officer and Commissioner, in which capacities I had every possible opportunity of gaining the most intimate knowledge of the characteristics of the people and of their social customs and tribal

The Kolarians were followed by the Dravidian tribes. The people who are so celebrated in Indian legend and poetry, as the Snake race and as the Takshak¹ or builders I would identify not with the Kolarian hill tribes, as has been so often done, but with the Dravidians. They were from their first entry into the country from the west and north-west a much more strongly organized people than the Kolarian tribes. They, like the latter, are totemistic, but differ from them in being an eminently practical race, believing firmly in the necessity of a strong central government to maintain law and order, and in the duty of every member of the community to bear his and her share in contributing to the efficiency of the government, either by their labour or by paying a part of their produce to provide for those who work directly for the state. They are patient and laborious, indomitably obstinate in all they undertake, and very careful to see they get all possible profit out of what they do. They are keen traders, and are so described in the Rigveda, though the word paṇi 'a trader,' is also used to mean 'avaricious,' and this reproach the worse specimens of the race fully deserve. They are silent and undemonstrative, except when strongly moved, and are somewhat slow of apprehension; but this arises not from want of intellect, but from a determination to see all round a subject and know it thoroughly in all its phases. While not even in early times fond of war and adventure in itself, they were ready to engage in it as a means to an end, and while stubborn in defence of their rights and possessions, their object in attacking others has not been booty and temporary glory, but permanent enlargement of their boundaries and

laws. I think I may say that everything I have said on these points will be found to be corroborated by Col. Dalton in his *Ethnology of Bengal*, and it was under him that I first was led, now more than twenty years ago, to take an interest in the questions discussed in this paper. With reference to the proofs given in the text as to the advent of the Kolarians from the East, I may here add another which has been kindly furnished me by Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie, who tells me that the same peculiar form of shouldered stone celts found in Chota Nagpore is also found in Burmah.

¹ H. H. Wilson, *Glossary of Indian Terms*, gives carpenters, masons, as a meaning of Takshak. The term is frequently applied to the snake-worshipping people in Indian legend.

facilities for trade. They live, it may be said, in public, not in their families, as the young men and women leave their parents at an early age, and are brought up in separate lodgings, the young men in the village bachelors' hall, and the girls in a similar institution for young women under the care of a village matron, or are distributed among widows, and the women as efficient members of the community are always an important factor in a Dravidian state. Unlike the Kolarians, they possessed large herds of cattle, and did not like them abstain from the use of milk. They were good farmers and great builders, as is shown above by the name Takshak.

¹In their advance through India they did not, like the Kolarians, proceed in small parties, scattering themselves through the forests in extensive and widely separated clearings, but they moved in large masses like an army, accompanied by their wives, children, and property. They sought out comparatively cleared and settled districts, where large numbers could subsist, and formed their government on the model of their camps, generally placing the central provinces under the king, and settling there his more immediate followers. The outlying districts were assigned to the subordinate chiefs, who with their respective forces were appointed to guard the frontiers. They took the best lands for themselves, but in other respects treated the Kolarians as equals, leaving them undisturbed in lands they did not themselves want, and in many parts of the country, especially in those which were once border tracts, the two races have completely blended together and formed new tribes. They used the Kolarian "parhas" as their local divisions, massing them together when they formed an area too small for the provinces into which they divided their territory. They strengthened the village organization by making the office

¹ Nothing corresponding to this and the following paragraphs about Dravidian customs can be found in Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, nor as far as I know in any other work. The whole has been worked out by me from a careful examination of the internal constitution of Dravidian states still existing in Chota Nagpore, and of the great Haihaibunai kingdom of Chattisghur, conquered by the Mahrattas in the last century.

of headman non-elective, and obliging the tenants, as part of their duty to the state, to cultivate a portion of the village soil set apart for the king as the head of the government. This produce was in the provinces directly under the king conveyed to the royal granaries, and in the border and outlying districts to those of the provincial chief. A separate village accountant was appointed to look after these royal lands, and to collect all government dues; and wherever Putwaris, or whatever be the local name of village accountants, and large estates belonging to single owners, such as Talookdari tenures, are found, we may be certain that the government was originally organized by Dravidian kings and chiefs, or that it has been under Dravidian rule. In short, as all revenue officers will recognize, it was the Dravidians who founded and consolidated the present land revenue system of India, which in its more republican aspects has been either altered by Aryan immigration or left in much the same state as that in which it came out of Kolarian hands.¹

Another distinctive feature of the Dravidian government was the high position assigned to the Senapati or commander-in-chief, the head of the frontier forces. He always got the largest and most important of the provinces.

But besides the special characteristics above noticed, the religious belief of the Dravidian races showed a great advance on the worship of local spirits and ghosts general among the Kolarian tribes. The worship of the earth, symbolised under the emblem of the snake and phallus, seems to me to point to a generalising power in its authors far superior to that shown in totemistic animal worship. They must, it appears to me, have reasoned back from their own deep sense of the necessity of kingly rule, and an ultimate central authority, to the impossibility of conceiving how the earth, and all that lived, moved and had their being on it,

¹ A fuller account than is here given of the Dravidian state, and the Kolarian and Dravidian village communities, will be found in two articles of mine, one in the Asiatic Quarterly Review for April, 1887, on Chota Nagpur, its People and Resources, and another in the Journal of the Society of Arts of May 6, 1887, on Village Communities in India.

could have begun or be maintained in orderly succession without a preserving and maintaining cause. However this may have been, they found in the earth itself an object of worship, and adopted the snake, adored under the name of Ses-nag, and the "phallus" as the visible sign of the great generative power they revered as the father and mother of all things. They did not, however, while venerating the earth, cease to fear the local spirits, the chief dread of the Kolarian tribes, and probably of their forefathers in early times. The tree, with its resident deity, was to them a more constantly familiar object of daily worship than the great earth spirit to whom they offered periodical sacrifices, when the seed was sown, when the young grain appeared, and when it was threshed out. But at the seasonal festivals the earth god was generally adored under a less holy name than that of the great Ses-nag, whose worship now, at least among the Gonds of Central India, only takes place once a year, and is celebrated in secret only by initiated males.

The Aryans, who were the last of the three races to settle in the country, were originally a pastoral people, whose wealth consisted chiefly in cattle, and who were by no means such good farmers as the Dravidians. They were no less brave and adventurous than the Kolarians, and quite as witty and vivacious, but were much more thoughtful and thoroughgoing than that careless people. They built no cities like the Dravidians, at least we hear of none in the Veda, and while the Dravidians were superior to them in their practical elaboration of details and their love of order and organisation, the Aryans much excelled the other two races in their breadth of view and the other qualities required to build up a great nation. Their leading characteristics were richness of imagination, fertility of resource, earnestness in the pursuit of the objects they wished to obtain, coupled with a strong tendency not to be too scrupulous as to the means used to reach their ends; love of knowledge for its own sake, shown in the extension of their inquiries far beyond the limits of the visible world and the requirements of every-day

life; pride in their families and kindred, and a determination to preserve them from contamination with inferior races; and above all, a vivid sense of their own superiority and right to rule. In the higher minds of the race, the force of their imagination was tempered by a ripe judgment, their eagerness for success by a strong tenacity of purpose, and their audacity of speculation by religious reverence and moral earnestness. They looked to heaven, the sun, and the great natural forces as the powers which gave life to and sustained all that was on the earth, and regarded the doctrine of the Dravidians that the earth was in itself and by its own inherent force the father and mother of all things as a deadly and debasing heresy. The duty of every Aryan was to maintain the sacred household fire when the daily sacrifices were to be performed, but the god who was invoked as the most powerful helper and protector was Indra, the leader of the light- and life-giving powers, of the rain and winds. His name became changed to Sakra in Prakrit and Sakko in Pali, and he appears to be the special god of the warrior-tribes as opposed to the Brahmins.

We cannot estimate with any approach to exactness the progress made by the Kolarians and Dravidians in clearing and peopling the country and forming settled governments before the Aryans came into it; but there can be no doubt a great deal had been done. The hymns of the Rigveda show the stubborn resistance the Aryans encountered, and dwell upon the power and wealth of their adversaries. That these formidable enemies were snake-worshippers and consequently Dravidians or tribes who accepted their teaching and guidance, is, it seems to me, clear not only from later evidence, but also from the Rigveda itself.¹ The writers call the people *Dasyas*, and apply various epithets to them, they call them black (*krshṇa*), short-nosed (*anāso*), unintelligent (*akratu*) intriguing, abusive (*mṛdhra vac*), avaricious (*paṇi*), unbelieving (*açraddha*), and irreligious (*avrata*). They say they are a people who neither give offerings nor spend their

¹ Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 109-118 *passim*.

substance in the service of the gods; but the most significant epithet is that of "çignadeva," used in two passages in the Rigveda.¹ There has been some controversy about its meaning, but I would add to the arguments adduced by Zimmer in the *Altindisches Leben* to prove that it means phallus-worshippers, the great similarity between the syllable çic and ses, the name of the great snake-god. I have not been able to find the latter word in Sanskrit, and my knowledge of the language is too limited to enable me to speak at all authoritatively on the matter, and I leave this philological question to better Sanskrit scholars than myself. I would also urge the significance of passages in the Rigveda² where Indra is praised for having taken the waters from the care of the snakes and Dasyas and made them "Aryapatni" instead of "Dasyapatni," belonging to the Aryans instead of to the Dasyas. It seems to me that the reference in these and similar passages is to the god of their enemies the Dasyas, and not, as has hitherto usually been taken for granted, to a mere abstract mythological being.

Neither the stages of the process of welding the three races into one people, nor the date when it was begun, can now be accurately ascertained. All that we can say for certain is that the chief agent was the adoption of a common language, and that the Aryans, whose language was made the tongue of the people, were accepted as the popular leaders. There seems to have been but little actual conquest, and that the Aryans secured their ascendancy by abating, in some degree, their pride of race and submitting to intermarriages with the natives of the country, and tolerating, if not accepting, as their own their religion in the North-West and the Punjab. The use of Sanskrit dialects as the language of the country must have begun at a very early period. Dr. Sayce,³ in the Hibbert Lectures for 1887, on the origin and growth of religion among the

¹ Rigveda, vii. 21. 5, x. 99. 3.

² See especially Rigveda, i. 32. 11, and ii. 12. 3, for the epithet Dasyapatni applied to the waters, also Rigveda, v. 30. 6; viii. 96. 18; iii. 12. 6. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 117, 214.

³ Sayce, Hibbert Lectures for 1887, pp. 18, 136-7.

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Babylonians, shows that commerce with India by sea must have been carried on as early as about 3000 B.C., when Ur Bagas, the first king of united Babylonia, ruled in Ur of the Chaldees. This is proved by the finding of Indian teak in the ruins of Ur. This must have been brought by sea from some port on the Malabar coast, for it is only there that teak grew near enough to the sea to be exported with profit in those early times, and there is none north of the Vindhya. The clearest proof that there was trade between Babylonia and people who spoke an Aryan dialect, and lived in the country watered by the Indus, is the use of the word Sindhu for muslin in an old Babylonian list of clothes. Dr. Sayce does not state the age of this list, he merely says it is very old. The name does not merely make it probable that the Babylonian name for muslin was derived from the Sanskrit, but proves a much more important and significant fact, that the merchants who dealt in the muslin called it by the vernacular name of the country whence they brought it, and that if the country was called by a Sanskrit name, the people living in it must have spoken Sanskrit dialects, as Sindhu is and always has been the Sanskrit name of the Indus and the country forming its delta. The muslin must have been brought by sea; for if Zend-speaking traders had brought it by land, they would have called the country by the Zend name Hindhu, altering the *s* into an *h*. There is also the well-known instance of the names used in the Book of Kings for apes, peacocks, ivory, and algum, or sandal-wood, brought by Solomon's ships from Ophir. These names, as shown by Max Müller,¹ must have been Hebraised from a dialectical form of Sanskrit in use on the Malabar coast, where the sandal-wood grows.² The port whence the muslin

¹ Max Müller, *Science of Language*, vol. i. p. 204, ed. 1862.

² I find that Dr. Caldwell, in the Introduction to his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, maintains that these names are really Dravidian words introduced into Sanskrit. If this is the case, it only strengthens my argument as to the advance in civilization of the Dravidians before they were brought in contact with the Sanskrit-speaking people. That the Dravidians of Patāla were congeners of the Accads of Ur and the earlier Eridu is probable, as Dr. Sayce shows (*Hibbert Lectures for 1887*, pp. 134-5) that the distinguishing symbol of the great Accad god Ea was a snake, and that it was from Eridu that the culture and civilization of Babylonia made its way.

was brought, and that from which the Sanskrit-speaking traders reached the Malabar coast, was probably Patāla, meaning the port,¹ which has been identified by Gen. Cunningham² with the modern Hyderabad, in Scinde. It is mentioned by Arrian as the only place of note in the delta of the Indus, and was the capital of the king of the Snake race, who ruled the country.³ It was thence that the sons of Ikshvāku, from whom all the modern Rajputs of the Solar race claim to be descended, spread their power over the greater part of Northern India. But though there is strong proof that Sanskrit was spoken at the mouths of the Indus long before the Rigveda was put together, there is great difficulty in showing that the tribes to which its authors belonged were the people who first made their language that of the nations living south of the northern Punjab.⁴ The authors of the Rigveda do not seem to have travelled down the Indus as far as the sea. They do not speak of the many mouths of the river, of the phenomena of the ebb and flow of the tide, which must have struck an observant people as very strange. Though they had ships or boats, neither masts, sails, cables, rudders, and such-like appurtenances of a sea-going vessel are named, nor do they talk of the sea as the authors of the Homeric Poems, or maritime people do. Judging from their poems it seems likely that they knew nothing practically of the sea, except that derived from the wide-spreading waters of the Indus, a little below where it is joined by the five rivers of the Punjab.

But though the Aryans of the Rigveda did not directly supply goods for a sea-going trade, they apparently dealt with those who did, for, except on this supposition, it is hard to explain how the Semitic word *Manâ*, denoting a definite quantity of gold (*manâ hiranyayâ*), found its way into the Rigveda.⁵

¹ H. H. Wilson, *Antiquities of Afghanistan*, p. 211.

² *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 279-287.

³ Lassen, vol. i. p. 544.

⁴ Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 21-26, 256.

⁵ *Rigveda*, viii. 78. 2; Grassmann, viii. 67. 2; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 50-51.

The whole evidence seems to point to a gradual immigration resulting in an intermixture between the Aryan and native races. While the earlier immigrants were coalescing with the natives, substituting their language for the numerous native dialects, a change readily accepted by people with strong commercial instincts, who found these differences of language great hindrances to trade and easy intercourse between neighbours, those they left behind in the North were completing their training as a nation, consolidating their power, and preparing that great literary and religious organization which was to make the Brahmin caste all-powerful in India.

That the Sanskrit-speaking people of Patāla were not Aryans is shown by the Mahābhārata,¹ where Vasooki, king of Patāla, and Takshak, ancestor of the Adityas, are represented as the only representatives of the Snake race saved from the massacre made by King Janamejaya's orders, and they were only saved by the intercession of Astik, a holy Brahmin whose mother was Takshak's sister.

The evidence as to an early and continual intermixture of races is overwhelming. The Aryans of the Rigveda, except the authors of some of the very latest hymns, such as the Purusha Sūkta,² where alone in the Veda the four castes are mentioned, knew nothing of the doctrine of castes, and those who left the parent tribes and went south probably soon lost their prejudices, if indeed any existed in those days, against advantageous marriages with high-placed and wealthy foreigners. We can form a very good idea of their progress from what we see going on now, and this knowledge, tested by an examination of ancient history and traditions, will enable us to understand the process by which the country was transformed from one under a number of comparatively isolated Dravidian rulers to one divided into a number of contiguous states united by alliances and directed chiefly by Aryan intelligence. By this means the originally alien races were formed into one people capable of

¹ Mahābhārata, i. 1647-2197.

² Rigveda, x. 90.

acting together as a nation, a union which enabled the different kingdoms to become parts of the great empires of the best period of Indian history.

The chief agents in the union of races which preceded this transformation were, as we may gather from a comparison of ancient traditional history with modern practice, the hermit pilgrims, the numerous young Aryan warriors who were willing to give their services to foreign rulers, and who proved so useful an addition to the forces of the kings by whom they were employed, and above all the inter-marriages between the two races and the requirements of trade.

The ardent desire for self-culture, and the love of dreamy meditation, followed when conclusions were formed by energetic action, which were the ruling passions of so many imaginative Aryan minds, and led numbers of persons from a very early period to isolate themselves in the wilderness, either alone or accompanied by bands of disciples; but these pilgrimages, like similar movements among other nations, led often to results very different from those aimed at by the devotees, who were at first at all events inspired merely by religious enthusiasm. Every one who has lived long among aboriginal tribes in India knows the excitement that is caused by the presence of a devotee, who is believed to be both a holy man and a worker of miracles, a power which all these men persuaded themselves and their followers that they possessed. Such a man soon became a popular saint and an important political personage. I remember especially a case which occurred a few years ago, when a helpless cripple, carried about on a wooden board, gained a large following, and excited so great a commotion over the country of Chota Nagpore, that Government was obliged to take notice of it. This man, Dubya Gosain, began to interfere in politics, and to excite the Sonthals, who were then somewhat unsettled in their minds, and it was therefore found necessary to remove him to Oude.

But in the early times of which I am now speaking the ruling authorities doubtless regarded a man who had great

influence with the supernatural powers as one to be conciliated, and as far as possible made use of to support the Government, and in this way the devotees and their disciples became an important power in the state. If they had not brought disciples with them, they attracted them, as well as their own relatives, who heard of their good fortune and desired to partake of it. The success of the first devotees proved an incentive to others, so that schools of religious teaching and colonies of Brahmins were gradually spread over the country. In many early legends we read of the influence of men of this class, who, whether they were really intent on the moral and religious education of themselves and their hearers, or whether they looked chiefly to their own social advancement, spread the fame of Aryan excellence and Aryan ability, and the knowledge of the Aryan language, far and wide through the land.

Again, the early Dravidian kings and their later successors were always looking out for promising recruits for their armies, to act as frontier soldiers or to be useful additions to their personal body-guard. I have often been struck in Chota Nagpore and in Chattisghur, in Central India, with the difference of races in the frontier and central provinces of several tributary states and of districts which were comparatively recently independent kingdoms. I have found on inquiry in several instances that these foreigners had been brought into the country from a distance on account of their fighting reputation, and this was doubtless often done formerly, even in very early times. The more ambitious a king was, and the more careful he was to guard his own kingdom from attack, the more anxious he would be to get good fighting men, and he could not get better soldiers than the Aryan warriors.

The social, no less than the military qualities of these men, led to their being much sought after, and to their rapid advancement and permanent employment, when once they had been attracted to the country. I have mentioned above the important position occupied by the commander-in-chief in a Dravidian state, and these posts and others of great authority

were no doubt frequently filled by Aryan leaders. But the influence thus acquired by pilgrim Brahmins and military chiefs implied a number of strong governments over the country, but though these were the rule, almost all states suffered from periodical anarchy arising from misgovernment; and then the leaders of warrior bands, somewhat in the same way as the Pindâris of later times and the Free Companies of mediæval Europe, took advantage of the disorder and conquered either permanently or temporarily districts for themselves. Instances of this kind can be brought forward by any one who has studied the history of Rajput tribes.¹

All these immigrations led to frequent marriages between the two races, the leaders marrying into the royal and noble families, and their subordinates into those of less note, and these combined causes, together with the great commercial and political advantages of a common dialect, led to the substitution of Sanskrit for the various tongues of the native tribes.

The frequent intermarriages recorded without any token of disapproval in the Epic poems, and the long list of powerful base-born castes in the law-books, show that there was little if any restraint on these unions. Dritarashtra, king of the Kurus, married a Gandhâri princess, and the Pandavas in their marriages evidently united themselves with the Krishna or black semi-Hindooised aboriginal tribes. Thus they married Krishna, the daughter of Draupadi, king of the Panchâlas, and Arjuna carried off Subhadra, the sister of the black demi-god Krishna. The list of base-born castes in Manu² and Baudhâyana includes races who exercised such an important influence on Indian history as the Magadhas living in a country which gave India its first imperial rulers in the Mauriya kings, the Avantiyas of Malwa, where the Andhra dynasty arose; the Vaidehas of Tirhoot, whose king Janaka was the learned expounder of philosophy in the Upanishads; and the Licchavis of Vaisâli, also in Tirhoot.

¹ Thus the Dors in Aligarh in the N.W.P. were turned out by the Birgoojars and also by the Powars from their lands in Moradabad. See Elliot's Supplementary Glossary N.W.P., s.v. Dor.

² Manu, chap. x. 17. 21. 22; Baudhâyana, 1. 2. 13.

This shows that, according to the confession of the Brahmin expounders of the sacred law, the most influential people of India were of mixed Aryan blood. But the political influence of the Aryans as a separate race could not have been sustained unless the people had a well-defined national existence, and this was supplied by the Aryan conquests and permanent settlements in the north-west. Their wars of conquest as a separate people seem to have been confined to the country of the seven rivers, the modern Punjab and the northern valley of the Indus, but even here their annexations seem to have been small. The Gandhâri to the west of the Indus became Aryanised, for the great Sanskrit grammarian Panini was, according to Hiouen Tsiang, a Gandhâri; but they remained a separate tribe till a late period, while the powerful tribe of the Takkis, the founders of the great city of Takkasilâ¹ or Taxila, mentioned by Arrian as the most important city of the northern Punjab, held their own against Aryan attacks, and probably, like the Gandhâri, submitted to their influence, allied themselves with them, and became to a certain extent imbued with Aryan ideas. The Aryans seem to have passed through these districts, and to have finally made only the small territory watered by the Sarasvatî and Drishadvatî rivers, called by Manu² Brahmâvarta, and by Buddhist writers³ the Brahmin district of Thûna, the modern Thaneswar, a distinctly Aryan country. The wars which inspired the battle-songs of the Rigveda were not only with the Dasyas or people of the country, but also like the great battle of the ten kings recorded in the triumphant song of Vasishṭha,⁴ with other Aryan tribes. As in other countries in the world where pure Aryans have failed to form permanent governments, they seemed to want a cohesive force to enable them to act as a nation, and it was this they found in their union with the strongly organised tribes of

¹ Cunningham, Geography of India, p. 110, gives the Sanskrit spelling of Takhasilâ, and interprets it 'The cut rock.' I have no doubt that the meaning is 'rock of the Takkas,' which is confirmed by the Pali spelling Takkaasilâ.

² Manu, ii. 17.

³ Mahavagga, v. 13, 14; Sacred Books of the East, vol. xvii.

⁴ Rigveda, vii. 18.

the country, and also in the organisation of the Brahmin caste.

It was the Brahmins who most conspicuously displayed the great industry and unwearied tenacity of the race. It was they who performed the greatest of recorded miraculous achievements in committing to memory and handing down from generation to generation the vast mass of Sanskrit literature composed centuries before the Phœnician alphabet and writing were known in the country, and it was the Brahmins who, in spite of what appeared to be total defeat, quietly waited for their chance during the many centuries of Buddhist rule, who again led the revival of eclectic Hindooism, and the final development of the caste system, which culminated in the eighth and ninth centuries in the absorption of Buddhism as Vishnuism into the Hindoo religion, the final triumph of the Brahmin hierarchy, and the destruction of Hindoo national life, the interest of the caste being substituted for that of the nation.

In the Rigveda we find the most influential Aryans to be the heads of families who had first sprung into notice as bards and poets. They then became the priests, without whose aid the help of the gods could not be secured, and thence they quickly advanced to be hereditary advisers of both kings and people. This position was acquired and maintained by the careful system of education by which they taught their sons to think and act with the same combined energy, activity, studied policy and perseverance that their fathers did, to remember and preserve carefully and exactly every word their fathers and those who had preceded them as teachers had composed, and to emulate these literary successes by their own. These astute thinkers soon discovered the value of the Dravidian system of government, and saw that the best way of acquiring influence in the country was not by conquering the people, but by allying themselves with the ruling powers. Once their intellectual supremacy and their practical usefulness was accepted, Brahmin counsellors became a necessary element in every native court,

and the first duty of kings, as stated by Manu,¹ was to follow the example of the Aryan chiefs and people by attaching to themselves a Brahmin "purohit" or family priest, who soon became practically prime minister and the real ruler of the country.

But the question of the principles on which the government was to be conducted, the adjustment of religious differences, and the distribution of power, soon led to serious disputes, which are best set forth in the legendary contest between Vasishṭha and Viṣvāmitra, and that between the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas, or warrior caste. As is well known, Vasishṭha and Viṣvāmitra are both Vedic bards, one the author of the 7th and the other of the 3rd Mandala of the Rigveda. Vasishṭha was the bard of the Tṛtsus, and Viṣvāmitra of the Bharatas, the great enemies of the Tṛtsus.² Viṣvāmitra had once been the bard of the Tṛtsus,³ and, as Zimmer⁴ shows, he probably joined the Bharatas to revenge himself against his former friends, and he was the leading spirit in the confederacy of the north-western tribes against the Tṛtsus, which led to the battle of the ten kings. In the legendary story⁵ Viṣvāmitra tried to steal from Vasishṭha, the purohit of the Ikshvāku king of Ayodya, the sacred cow. Vasishṭha recovered it by force, and when Viṣvāmitra went to the Himalayas, and returned with the weapons of Śiva, Vasishṭha burnt them up. Trisankhya, the Ikshvāku king, asked Vasishṭha to procure his ascent to heaven, though he was not of Aryan blood; Vasishṭha refused, and Trisankhya applied to Viṣvāmitra, who consented to offer the necessary sacrifice, though he himself was not a Brahmin. The Brahmins, including Vasishṭha and his sons, refused to attend, as they would lose their caste by eating in heaven with a Kandāla, or outcaste. Viṣvāmitra drove them out and forced the gods to receive Trisankhya as a true-born Aryan. The whole story shows the opposition between two

¹ Manu, vii. 78.

² Rigveda, vii. 33. 6.

³ Rigveda, iii. 53. 24.

⁴ Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 127.

⁵ Lassen, vol. i. pp. 721-725.

parties, one strictly Brahminical, represented by Vasishṭha, who wished to bring the people completely under Brahminical rule, to enforce the caste distinctions between Aryans and non-Aryans, to restrict the right of offering sacrifices and acquiring learning, with the advantages thence resulting, to those who were of pure Aryan birth, and received as Brahmins into the sacred caste. The other was the party of compromise, who wished to give Aryan privileges to the ruling classes of the native races, and to take their gods into the Aryan pantheon. The party of compromise, who were, as Viçvāmītra describes the Bharata in the Rigveda,¹ the far-seeing people, won the day. The advantages of securing the alliance of the ruling classes of the native races were too great to be neglected by those who looked at the question in its widest aspects, and they were formally received into the higher castes; while as for the common people, and those who preferred not to give up entirely their ancient creed, the religious difficulty was settled by the acceptance of the worship of Śiva as not dishonouring to Aryans. Śiva-worship meant that of the lingam or phallus, which was his distinguishing emblem, and the adoption of the earth gods of the Dravidians. In considering this question it must be remembered that the part of the country whence the Bharatas under Viçvāmītra came to fight the Aryan Tṛtsus, was on the upper waters of the Indus and Asekni, or Chinab, near the point where they issue from the mountains. This is proved by the enumeration of two tribes called the Vaikarna,² or the people of two races, among the confederation. These people are the Kura-Krivi,³ subsequently

¹ Rigveda, iii. 53, 24.

² Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 102-104.

³ I must say that it appears to me likely that the Vaikarna people of two races were Aryanised Dravidians, formed by union between Aryan and Dravidian tribes. Grassmann thinks the Anu mentioned among their allies to be non-Aryans. It would be consonant with Viçvāmītra's policy to unite the Bharatas with native tribes desiring an alliance with the Aryans. The Turvaça and Yadus were perhaps non-Aryan members of the confederacy. Grassmann calls them non-Aryans, and in Rigveda, iv. 80. 17, 18, they are said to have conquered the Aryan Arna and Tschitaratra by the help of Indra, who also claims to be their special protector in Rigveda, x. 49. 8. If they were non-Aryans, they had certainly taken the Aryan gods for their own, and had allied themselves with that people, taking the Aryan warrior god as their patron deity. At any rate they

so celebrated as the Kuru Pancāla, who once lived in the district called Vikarna, said by Hemachandra to mean Kashmir, and as the Krivi are also mentioned in the Rig-veda as living on the Indus and Asikni below the mountains, this must be the country close to their settlements. This was the country of the Takkas, and of their capital Takkasila; and the weapons of Śiva which Viçvāmitra brought was doubtless the worship of the Snake gods, the ancestral gods of the Takkas and people of Kashmir. The Krivis, who became later, as we are told in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,¹ the Panchālas,² brought this worship south, and the reverence for Śiva was common both to them and to the Kusikas, the tribe to which Viçvāmitra belonged, who were founders of Kausambi.³ And Benares, the sacred city of the Hindoos, is now and always has been the principal seat of Śiva worship. In the Mahābhārata, before the Pandavas could enter on the contest for the hand of the daughter of Draupadi, the Panchāla king, they were obliged to worship Śiva, and Jarasandha,⁴ the powerful king of Magadha, who is apparently a real historical character and the greatest conqueror of early times, introduced the worship of Śiva into his kingdom, as far south as the Vaiturni on the borders of Orissa. Strict Brahmins held aloof from it in its grosser forms, but to the mass of the

were at feud with other Aryan tribes, and when they joined the Viçvāmitra faction probably became more estranged from the orthodox body under Vasishṭha and his school. The present Jadon or Yadabunsis trace their descent from Krishna, who is claimed as ancestor by all Rajputs of the Lunar race. Many of these tribes, like the Haihaibunsi and Nāgbunsi, are undoubtedly descended from the snake races.

¹ Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 13, 5, 4, 7.

² There seems to be a strong probability that the name Panchāla marks a special connection with Śiva and Snake-worship. Böthlingk-Roth quote Mahābhārata xii. 10377, where Panchāla is used as an epithet of Śiva. They think Panch means five, but cannot explain the end of the word (āla). I would suggest that the name means the five-fingered claw or five-headed snake (āla means a claw in Pali, and the spittle of a venomous serpent in Sanskrit). Śiva has five heads, and Sir M. Monier-Williams in his work, Religious Life in India, p. 321, says: "The great majority of serpent images are five-headed. I have often seen images of serpents coiled round the Liṅga, and five-headed snakes forming a canopy over it." The extended five fingers of the claw (āla) would be very like the canopy formed by the expanded hood of the snake. If this connection between the word Panchāla and the five-headed snake be accepted as correct, the national name would mean the people of the five-headed snakes or the serpent people.

³ Lassen, vol. i. p. 645. Monier-Williams, Religious Life in India, p. 434.

⁴ Lassen, vol. i. p. 610.

people Siva was only another name for the great Sesnâg, the chief of their gods.

In considering the question whether non-Aryans were avowedly absorbed into the Aryan community in early times, it must be recollected that this absorption is still going on in the present day, and this among a people so conservative as the Hindoos is strong evidence of the antiquity of the practice. The process by which non-Hindoos belonging to the ruling classes of aboriginal tribes are now received into the warrior caste is one with which all who have lived much among the un-Hindooised people of India are familiar. The change is not, as I believe it was in early ages, openly avowed, but it is so little concealed as to be a perfectly open secret. The chief or leading man, who wants to become a good Hindoo, takes a Brahmin as family priest into his service, to perform the prescribed sacrifices and teach him to live in an orthodox way. The next step is to arrange for marriages between the members of his family and the daughters of families of good repute among the Rajput clans, these marriages being paid for according to the necessities of the bride's parents and the rank of their family. There are of course difficulties as to the first marriages, but with money, patience, and perseverance these can be overcome, and each succeeding alliance becomes more easy.

That a similar process has been going on for very many centuries there can, I would submit, be no doubt, if the conclusions advocated in the previous pages of this essay be accepted as correct. But in comparing the present with the past, we must recollect the great change that has taken place in the conditions of the problem. When the amalgamation of races began, the legal fiction that the very great majority of the people of the country were of Aryan birth had not been invented. All the races stood separate and apart, nor was the very great superiority of the Aryan race an universally recognised axiom. Brahmins were not like their present successors, persons who could confer social distinction on those whom they made into Aryans, but rather

missionaries who sought out converts from religious and personal or from political motives. The first class were represented by the teachers of the Brahmin schools, and the second by the political Brahmins, of whom the legendary Viçvāmītra was the type. The object of the last class was to help on the Brahmin conquest, and their own personal advancement as family and ceremonial priests in the courts of kings and the houses of great men, in much the same way as the present representatives of the class continue to do.

In those days, when a pupil was accepted as an Aryan student by a Brahmin teacher, or when a member of the leading families was admitted to the rights and duties of an adult Aryan, a ceremony of initiation was performed, and without this the initiation was not complete. This was distinctly called a second birth,¹ which transformed the recipient from one "who was on a level with a Sudra before his new birth in the Veda,"² into a twice-born (*dvi-ja*) Aryan. In the elaborate ceremony of the *Dikshañiyā* or initiation sacrifice, prescribed by the political Brahmins in the *Brāhmaṇas*, we find the process of physical birth actually imitated. The person initiated is said to be again made an embryo, and in doing this he is first cleansed from the impurities of his former birth by being sprinkled with water and anointed with fresh butter; he then goes into the hall of sacrifice as into the womb; there he sits like a fœtus with closed hands, covered with a cloth to represent the caul, over this is the *jarāyu* of the skin of the black antelope, to represent his mother's body. After sitting for a short time, he takes off the *jarāyu*, still retaining the caul-cloth, and descends into the bath, and on his coming out of it the sacrifice is complete as far as he is concerned, though there are many ritualistic observances and much recitation to be gone through both before and after by the officiating priests. The sacrifice is said to be offered to all the gods, beginning with *Agni* and ending with *Vishṇu*, the first and last of the

¹ *Gautama*, i. 8. *Max Müller*, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 395-8. Account from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* of the *Dikshañiyā* sacrifice.

² *Manu*, ii. 172. *Vasiṣṭha*, ii. 6.



gods. The principal part belongs to Agni, because the Gâyatri or Sâvitri verse is Agni's metre. The significance of this will be shown in the examination of the initiation ceremony of a pupil by his teacher.

Though the Brâhmanas are probably quite as old as if not older than the treatise of Gautâma, the earliest of the extant law books, the latter and the earliest sections of the laws of Manu evidently represent earlier stages of progress than the sacrifices set forth in the Brâhmanas, which only represent the latest process reached by ritualistic evolution before they were written. The law books include both the past and the present, and look back to a time when the Brahmin missionaries and teachers were not influential priests and trusted advisers of powerful persons, holding distinguished positions in royal courts, and desirous of accenting their superiority and effectually securing the allegiance of their royal patrons by an imposing ceremony, showing that they, the non-Aryan kings, had finally broken with the past, and made the Aryan people their people and the Aryan gods their gods. The teacher in the law books is a sojourner in the wilderness, or in strange lands, with a more or less numerous following of pupils, hence the initiation ceremony they adopted was very different from and much simpler than the complicated rite above described. The Brâhmanas and law books both agree in calling the ceremony a second birth, but the philosophical teachers had by the time their treatises were written learnt to treat the birth not as a physical birth in the materialistic sense of the Brahmanas, but as a spiritual birth from the darkness of ignorance into the light of Vedic knowledge.

It is declared to be the duty of all Aryan young men to place themselves under a teacher and learn the Vedas. The reception of the pupil by the teacher is called the Sâvitri,¹ and should ordinarily take place from the eighth to the twelfth year, according to the caste of the student, but may be delayed by a Brahmin to the sixteenth and by a Kshatriya and Vaisya to the twentieth and twenty-second year accord-

¹ Gautama, i. 11-14. Manu, ii. 38.

ing to Gautama, and to the twenty-second and twenty-fourth according to Manu.

The teacher from whom the sacrament must be received becomes to the accepted pupil a father, more venerable than his natural father,¹ and the Sāvitrī verse his mother.² The sacramental rite consists almost entirely in the petition of the would-be student to the teacher to recite the Sāvitrī verse,³ and its recitation by the pupil after hearing it from the teacher.

When we turn to the Rigveda, to see what is the Sāvitrī verse, which was evidently from the first the most important part of the ritual, we find it to be a verse of the last hymn of the third Mandala of the Rigveda,⁴ supposed to be written by Viçvāmītra. It says: "We desire the longed-for light of the god Savitar (an epithet of the sun), who answers our prayers." All that the reciter of this verse undertakes to do is to worship the Sun-god.

From the above analysis of the initiation ceremonies we find that a solemn and public declaration of the determination to worship the Sun-god was held to be equivalent to the new birth of the person making it. The explanation of this conclusion must be found in the Aryan sense of the sanctity of family life. It would in their eyes be impossible to give an alien the unrestricted and avowed right of marrying the daughters of Aryans and consorting with Aryans as one of themselves unless he joined the Aryan family. Consequently the recipient of the sacrament was adopted as an Aryan, and the "patria potestas" was metaphorically transferred from his alien parents to his new father, the teacher, and his mother, the Aryan gods. It was impossible that the rite with its attendant consequences could ever have originated among pure Aryan tribes. Every Aryan young man must have been considered by his fellow-tribesmen from his birth to be entitled to all Aryan rights, and to owe reverence to

¹ Manu, ii. 146.

² Manu, ii. 170.

³ Gautama, i. 46-55. Gobhila Gṛihya Sūtra, ii. 10. 38.

⁴ Rigveda, iii. 62. 10.



his natural father and mother, and it was only necessary for those who had not already got Aryan parents to acquire them before they could rank as Aryans. When the leading Aryans first grasped the idea that it would be easier to conquer the powerful non-Aryan tribes by admitting them to the Aryan community than by fighting them, there was not the same objection to the change that there would have been in the minds of people so saturated with the ideas engendered by the caste system as the present Hindoos, and even the most ancient expounders of the law. To people who knew nothing of caste divisions, it appeared quite natural to receive into the circles of Aryan tribes non-Aryans who left their tribal gods and tribal relations, and became Aryans in their religion and customs, especially when, by allowing this, formidable enemies might be converted into friends.

It has been shown above that this movement was probably begun by Viçvâmitra and the reformers of his school, and the selection of a verse of his Mandala of the Rigveda for the declaration of adherence to the Aryan gods, tends to confirm the substantial truth of the legend connecting him with the transfer of non-Aryan kings into the ranks of twice-born Aryans.

The result of this resolution to accept non-Aryans as Aryans was that the royal races among the Dravidians, with the conquering race of Ikshvâku at their head, were accepted as Rajanya, or of royal blood, this being the first name of the caste afterwards called Kshatriya. They took their theology from the Brahmins, acknowledged the Brahmin supremacy, though in many cases they asserted their equal rights to all Brahmin privileges, and claimed to be equally learned with them. This is shown by the discussions of Pravâhana Gaivali, king of the Panchâlas, with the Brahmin Aruṇa Gauṭama;¹ of Janaka,² king of Videha, with Yâjñavalkya; and

¹ Chandogya Upanishad, v. 3.

² Brihadâranyika Upanishad, iv. 1. 4.

of Ajātaśatru,¹ king of Kāsi or Benares, with Gārgya Bālāki, recorded in the Upanishads.

As for the Brahmin caste system as a rule of society, it had in the countries of Kosala and Magadha, where Buddhist history begins, obtained very faint influence, and was probably little known outside the immediate neighbourhood of the land of Brahmavarta, and perhaps those parts of the country of the Kuru-Panchālas, Matsyas and Surasenas, between the Jumna and Ganges, called by Manu Aryavarta, and there certainly Aryan blood has for many ages predominated among the upper and upper-middle classes.

After the alliance between the two races, there was little alteration in the organisation, but much enlargement of the kingdoms into which the country was divided, and a great deal of authority was placed in the hands of Brahmins as prime ministers. Thus we find that the chief ministers of Bimbisāro, king of Magadha, and Prasenajit, king of Kosala, the two most powerful kings of India in Buddha's lifetime, were Brahmins. As for the Brahmins as a class, they, especially in the eastern part of the country, seem to have given up ritualism, substituting metaphysical and ethical speculation for the elaborate ceremonies and sacrificial forms set forth in the Brāhmaṇas. The Upanishads, with their great prototype, the Bhagavadgītā, were the outcome of the movement. The chief Upanishads, as well as the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, were, to judge from internal evidence, written in the land of Kosala Videha, where the intellectual activity of the nation seems to have been concentrated from the eighth and seventh centuries before Christ, culminating in the two great religious systems of Buddhism and Jainism.

The country of Kosala-Videha, including the territory of Kāsi or Benares, lay east and north-east of the Kuru-Panchālas, and extended from the Himalayas to the Ganges eastward from the western boundary of Benares. Sāketa, the ancient capital of Rama, the hero of the Ramayana, and of the Ikshvākus, was in this country on the river Ghogra,

¹ Brihadāranyika Upanishad, ii.

about forty miles from Kapilavastu, where Buddha was born.

Prasenajit, who was its king, was nearly related to Bimbisâro, king of Magadha, and both were of the Snake race, the latter being the fifth of the ten Nâga kings who, according to the tradition and the hereditary list of kings of Magadha preserved in the Vishnu Purâna,¹ reigned in Rajagriha after Sisunâga, the first king, had left Benares to his son. It was probably from this son that Prasenajit was descended, as Benares was in the time of the Buddha under his government. They both probably belonged to the powerful tribe of the Chirus, whom tradition and history alike agree in showing to have been the ancient rulers of Magadha. Buchanan, in his *Eastern India*, states their pretensions at considerable length,² but identifies them with the Kolarian tribes, and thinks the Suars or Sauris succeeded them. Sir H. Elliot, in his article on the Chirus, in his *Supplementary Glossary*, shows Buchanan's error, as he points out that the Chirus claim descent from the Great Serpent, which clearly proves them to be Dravidians and snake worshippers. That they ruled Behar to a late period is proved by Sir H. Elliot,³ who mentions the great joy expressed by the emperor Sher Shah at the conquest, by his general Khawas Khan, of Muhurta the Chiru Zemindar of Behar. Their Raja still lives, or did so when I was in charge of the district in 1862, at Chainpur, in the Sasseram subdivision of the Shahabad district, at the foot of the northern encampment of the Rohtas hills, and the Rajas of the adjoining district of Palamow, up to and after the time of our conquest, were Chirus. Sir H. Elliot states that they were the aborigines of Ghazipur, part of Gorakpur, the southern portion of Benares and Mirzapur and of Behar; but if they are, as he, I think, rightly says, the same tribe as the Sivira or Seorees (the

¹ The general accuracy of this list is shown by its agreement with authentic history, as given in Buddhist authors.

² Montgomery Martin's *Eastern India*, vol. i. pp. 406, 462, 494; vol. ii. pp. 345, 348, 372, 460.

³ Elliot's *Supplementary Glossary*, s.v. Cheroo.

Sabaræ of Ptolemy and the Sauvîrâs of Baudhâyana¹), they were anciently a much more widely extended tribe, as is shown by General Cunningham,² who identifies them with the Suari of Pliny, who places them next to the Monedes. The latter are evidently the Kolarian Mundas, while the Suars are not, as General Cunningham states, of the same race, but a Dravidian tribe who lived in close proximity to the Kolarian tribes. General Cunningham shows that this tribe extended through Central India to Rajputana, where there is a tribe of Surrias mentioned by Tod, who are probably the same as the Central Indian Suars or Sauras and the Behar Chirus, and Buchanan, or rather Montgomery Martin, who used Buchanan's papers, shows in the quotations above cited that the Sauri and Chirus once ruled the whole of Behar, and that their dominion extended as far north as Gorakpore.

Prasenajit and Bimbisâro between them ruled, with the exception of the territory of the Vaggians, the southern districts of Oude, those in the south-east of the north-western Provinces, with Behar and Western Bengal down to Orissa. Their neighbours to the west were in the north the Kuru Panchâlas, and in the south Haihaibunsis, who as their name imports were also sons of the Snake. They ruled in Mandla, and according to family tradition in Ujain,³ Bimbisâro of Magadha was in alliance with the kings of Kausambi and Ujain.

The Sakyas, the tribe to which the Buddha belonged, were an outlying tribe in the east of Kosala, on the Kohâna river. Prasenajit seems to have exercised a sort of control over them and their allies and neighbours, the Koliyas; but

¹ Baudhayâna, i. 2. 13. Bühler, in his note, calls them the inhabitants of the South-Western Panjab, but they certainly were among the early inhabitants of Chota Nagpur and Orissa. The tribe of Sauras is still found there, and the name of the Chota Nagpur country in Hiouen Tsiang is Karna Suvarna or that of the Suvarnas of mixed race. This shows that they were in his time and earlier powerful in that country.

² Ancient Geography of India, pp. 50, 109.

³ According to an account of the Haihaibunsi kings and their dominions, prepared in 1579 A.D. by the Dewan of Raja Luchmon Sen, given to Mr. Chisholm, Settlement Officer of Belaspore by the Dewan's descendants, the rule of the Haihaibunsi kings formerly extended as far west as Guzerat.



the great Vajjian or Vrijjian confederacy, consisting of nine tribes of Licchavis and nine tribes of Mallis,¹ whose capitals were the celebrated city of Vaisâli in the Licchavi and Kusinâgara in the Mallian country, were apparently independent of both the kings of Kosala and Magadha, though it seems to have been a chief object with them both to annex the territories lying nearest to their respective states, Prasenajit that of the Sakhyas and Mallians, and Bimbisâro that of the Licchavis. In pursuance of this policy, which was ultimately successful, Prasenajit married Vâsabha,² the daughter of Mahânâmo, a Sakhyan chief, and Mallikâ,³ a Mallian maiden, while Bimbisâro married Chellanâ,⁴ the daughter of Chetuka, chief of Vaisali, and the first cousin of Vardhamâna, the great Jain teacher.

Both kingdoms and the Vajjian republic were populous, the people thriving and well-to-do, and the traders were very prosperous and influential. Their importance is shown by the powerful support given to the Buddha by the great banker Anathâpiṇḍa, of Sravasti, the capital of Kosala, and the constant references made in the Jâtaka and other works to the rich merchants of Benares who traded with Orissa on the one side and the Western Sea on the other. We gain from Buddhist writings a much more intimate insight into the ethnology of the country than can be acquired from Sanskrit works with reference to the rest of India.⁵ There are, as I shall proceed to show, very strong indications that the Vajjians, who were certainly the earliest settlers in the country, were of Kolarian race, who had lived there long before the arrival of the Dravidians and Aryans. We find in the advice given to the Vajjians⁶ at the Sarandada

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxii. p. 266.

² Fausböll, Jataka, vol. iv. pp. 143-153.

³ Fausböll, Jataka, vol. iii. p. 105. In this last account Mallikâ is derived from Malakâro, and she is said to be the daughter of a gardener, but the true derivation is given in the Bhaddasala Jâtaks, vol. iv. pp. 143-153, in speaking of Mallika, the wife of Bhandulo, Prasenajit's commander-in-chief.

⁴ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxii. p. xv.

⁵ Very probably a great deal more information than has been hitherto extracted on this subject might be gained from a critical and careful examination of the epics.

⁶ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi. p. 4.

temple by the Buddha when they were talking of the designs of Prasenajit and Bimbisāro on their country, that he told them among other things "to honour, esteem, and revere the Vajjian shrines in town and country, and not to allow the proper offerings and rites as formerly given and performed to fall into desuetude." What these shrines were is clear from many places; thus it was in the "Makuta bandhana," the shrine of the Malli, that the Buddha was buried. It was in the sacred grove common to the Sakhyas and Kolyans that he is said to have been born, and the sacred grove of the Malli at Kusinagara in which he died. That these groves were the Kolarian Surnas or parts of the ancient forest left untouched for the residence of the forest deities there can be, I think, no doubt. In the account of the birth of the Buddha given in the Jātaka,¹ which is the simplest and seemingly the oldest account, the grove is said to be "the grove of sāl-trees called Lumbini, between the two cities (of Kapila and Koli or Devadaha) used by the people of both towns on festive occasions," and in the story of his death,² when he felt his end approaching, he left Pāvā for Kusinagara, the neighbouring capital of the Malli, saying to Ananda his beloved disciple, "Let us go to the Sāla grove of the Mallis, the Upavattana of Kusināra," and directed on his arrival that the bench or slab which was apparently used by the chief of the Malli on great occasions should be placed for him between two sāl-trees so that his head might lie to the north (Uttara-sisakam), as dead bodies among the Kolarian tribes are laid out. Mr. Rhys Davids has kindly pointed out to me that Upavattana is interpreted by Böthlingk, on the authority of Hemachandra and Amarasinha, the first a Jain, and the second a Buddhist author, to mean "wrestling-place." The sāl-trees were the indigenous trees of the forest, and the fact of their being mentioned distinctively as the trees of these groves, is additional proof that they were the Sarnas of two towns to which they were attached, left by the Kolyans and Mallians who had first

¹ Fausböll, Jātaka, vol. i. p. 52.

² Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi. p. 85.



cleared the forest, and like Sarnas they were close to the Akra or open space where ceremonial and festive dances and popular games were held. The Buddha's mother, who was a native of Koliya, if she really visited the Sarna at the time of his birth, did so no doubt from a wish to place herself and child under the special protection of the local deities, and even if, as is most probable, she never went there at that time, the story was circulated to show that he was specially dedicated to the gods of his mother's race. As for the Sarna at Kusināra, it was evidently chosen by the Buddha and his followers for the dramatic scene of his death, because of its importance among the Mallians, and well illustrates his advice to the Vajjians as to their native shrines.

Besides these two sacred groves, a third is mentioned, the Mahāvana at Vaisali.¹

Another proof of the hold that the worship of local deities living in special trees had obtained among all classes of people is shown by the sacred trees attached to the two great religious teachers, the Buddha and the Mahavira, the Jain. The Buddha or his followers took the Bo or Pipal tree, under which he had attained absolute knowledge of the truth, as his tree, and those of Mahavira the Asoka (*Asoka Jonesii*)² tree, a tree indigenous to Eastern Bengal, where the earliest Kolarian settlements were, as that under which he entered on the ascetic life. Emphasis is laid on the fact that the Buddha's pipal tree at Budh Gaya was an especially sacred tree by the story in the Jātakas³ of the offering Sujata's maid Punṇā was taking to present to the god living in this especial tree when she found the Buddha sitting under it.

The Vajjian constitution is also essentially Kolarian. They chose their chiefs for life, and the Licchavis, at least, apparently frequently chose foreigners,⁴ while foreign tribes like the Videhas were received as members of the com-

¹ Mahavagga, vi. 30. 5; Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi. p. 59.

² Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxii. p. 259.

³ Buddhist Birth Stories, translated by Rhys Davids, pp. 91-94.

⁴ Rockhill's Life of Buddha.

munity. They managed their affairs by a council of elders,¹ and it was apparently as the chosen chief of the Licchavi tribes that Janaka of the Upanishads came to be called king of Videha.

A further very important question to be considered with reference to the population of the country is the position of the two Aryan tribes of the Sākhyas or Sakkos and the Vaidehas or Videhas. The legendary story of the Sakkos² states that they were descended from the King of Patāla on the Indus and belonged to the Ikshvāku race. The four elder sons of the king had to leave the kingdom because he had promised the succession to the son of a younger wife. They left accompanied by their five sisters and settled in Kapila, which was made over to them by the celebrated Rishi or sage of that name. As they could find no wives of their own race in this remote country, they married their sisters, and continued ever afterwards to marry in their own clan, the only exception being as to marriages with the Koliyas. This was justified by the story that the eldest of the five sisters became a leper, and was shut up in a hut in the neighbouring forest. Here she was found by Rāma, a prince of Benares, who had also been driven out as a leper, but had cured himself with forest herbs. He cured her too, married her and became the father of a numerous progeny. This story clearly points to the intermarriage between the first Sakkos and the chiefs of the tribes they found in possession of the country, and this seems to have been repeated so often that the two tribes became practically one, though they both retained the memory of their native origin. There is no further information as to the early history of the Sakkos, but they probably were Aryan or semi-Aryan remnants of the great Ikshvāku invasion, and their name, as well as that of the neighbouring city of Sāketa, seems to have had some reference to the god Sakko, the name under which the Aryan god Indra was worshipped by the Pali-

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi. p. 3.

² Sumāṅgala-Vilāsinī, Pali Text Society's edition, pp. 251-262.

speaking tribes. Perhaps the Sakkos may have been called by that name, as they, as a distinctively warrior tribe, worshipped Sakko, the warrior god, in contradistinction to the aboriginal tribes who worshipped the local deities. Certainly Sakko is continually named as the chief of the devas, in contradistinction to the Brâhma or incorporeal angels, in the early Buddhist writings, and he is also placed quite apart from the Nâga gods.

They probably belonged to a much earlier immigration than that of the Vaidehas, as they kept themselves as a race quite apart from the Brahmins; though there were many Brahmins living in their country,¹ they do not seem to have mixed with them as the Videhas did with their Brahmin neighbours, or in any way to have acknowledged their authority. The Buddha, in the Brâhmanadhammika Sutta,² criticised the Brahmins very freely, speaking as a complete outsider, and giving an account of their history very similar to that I have now attempted to prove; there is no trace in any of the stories of his life of his having been brought up among ritualistic Brahmins, though he must have studied their philosophy very deeply, as well as the solutions proposed, on the moral and religious questions that were agitating the thoughtful minds of the country, by the numerous Brahmin teachers, who, with their disciples, are mentioned as having been scattered through Kosala and Magadha.

The Sakkos seem to have lived in a sort of proud isolation, regarding themselves as something very much superior to all about them, and did not join themselves with other tribes except the Koliyans, or enter the Vajjian confederacy.³ They were apparently looked upon by their neighbours as decayed nobility, with whom alliances were to be sought on account of the greatness of their ancestors. I do not

¹ See long list of wealthy Brahmins living in the Sakya country in the Vâsettha Sutta, Sacred Books of the East, vol. x.; Sutta Nipata, p. 108.

² Sutta Nipata, pp. 47-52, sections 19-24.

³ They are not mentioned among the Vajjians in the Kalpa Sutra, where the Vajjian tribes are said to be nine Licchavis and nine Mallikis (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxii. p. 266).

see how¹ the story of the marriage of Vāsabha, Mahānāmo's daughter, with Prasenajit, can be otherwise explained. It was evidently exceedingly disliked by the Sakkos, though they were afraid to refuse, and the subsequent contempt shown by them to Vidadabha or Virudhaka, her son, led to their destruction by him when he came to the throne. The Buddha himself was obliged to admit that they deserved all they got. The other Aryan colony in the Vajjian country was that of the Jñātrikas or Nātikas,² known as the Videhas or Vaidehas, the latter name probably meaning the foreigners,³ who were received into the Vajjian confederacy as one of the Licchavi tribes. They appear to have been the descendants of Mathava, the Videha, and his followers, who is said in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa⁴ to have civilized the country east of the Sudanira or Gunduk with the help of his family priest, Gotama Rāhūgama, and the sacred fire (Agni Vaisvānara) of the Aryans. They came into the country when the ritualistic system was fully developed, and always, as is shown by the relations between them and the Brahmins in the Upanishads, and between the Brahmins and the Jains, remained subject to Brahmin influence. This is further shown by the strange story of the birth of Vardhamāna, afterwards the Mahavira, the Jain, who was the son of Siddharta, a Videhan chief, but is represented as the son of a Brahmin.⁵ They joined cordially with their neighbours, and became very powerful in the union. They apparently did not object

¹ Fausboll, *Jātaka*, vol. iv. Introduction to Bhaddasala Jātaka, *passim*. I must say I do not believe that Vāsabha was, as the story makes out, illegitimate. If she had been, Vidadabha would not, when the discovery was made, have succeeded to the throne. The story of the illegitimacy is evidently introduced to show the influence of the Buddha, who advised the king to acknowledge his son.

² Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxii. Introduction.

³ Or, like the name Vaikarna, meaning of two races, it may mean the people of two countries, and may imply an alliance between the immigrant Aryans and the aboriginal inhabitants. The account of Vaisāli, given in the *Dulva*, quoted in Rockhill's *Life of Buddha*, p. 62, seems to favour the latter view. The people living in the three districts of the town could intermarry, but the people of the first district could marry only in their own district, those of the second in the first and second, and those of the third in all three.

⁴ Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xii. p. 105.

⁵ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxii. ; Kalpa Sutra, pp. 218-229.

to marriages with other tribes, as the Sakkos did, and it is probably for this reason they are said by Manu¹ to have lost their caste. The marriage of Bimbisâro with Chellanâ, Vardhamâna's first cousin, seems to have been approved by her parents. But early Buddhist history, besides giving us information as to the land of the Kosalas and Videhas, throws great light on the early history of Magadha. The rule of the Nâga race seems to have been thoroughly consolidated in that kingdom, for Sesunâga, the first king who retired from Benares, and came to Rajagriha in Magadha, was the great-great-grandfather of Bimbisâro, and judging from the great prominence given to the Snake gods in all early Buddhist writing and sculptures, Brahmin influence seems to have been far less strong than in the neighbouring country of Kosala Videha, where the Brahmins seem to have found a more congenial home among the easy-going Kolarian tribes than among the sterner Dravidians. The protection of so powerful a monarch as Bimbisâro seems to have been one of the chief causes of the success of the religious revolution caused by the Buddha's teaching. Bimbisâro seems after a little while to have somewhat relaxed his zeal for these doctrines, and to have inclined to his relation, Mahavira, who lived for some years in Rajagriha, apparently while the Buddha was absent at Sravasti, Prasenajit's capital, and Bimbisâro's son, Ajâtasattu, first favoured the Jains and Buddhist heretics under Devadatta, but afterwards extended his protection to the Buddha and his disciples, who from henceforth seem to have been protected by the successive kings of Magadha, and from their monastery of Nalanda, near the capital, to have gone forth to convert India.

Everything was favourable to their progress, the public mind was everywhere stirred by anxiety on religious questions. The one question every one was anxious to solve was, where are we going in the future, and what will be our future fate after death? Every one accepted the immortality

¹ Manu, x 17.

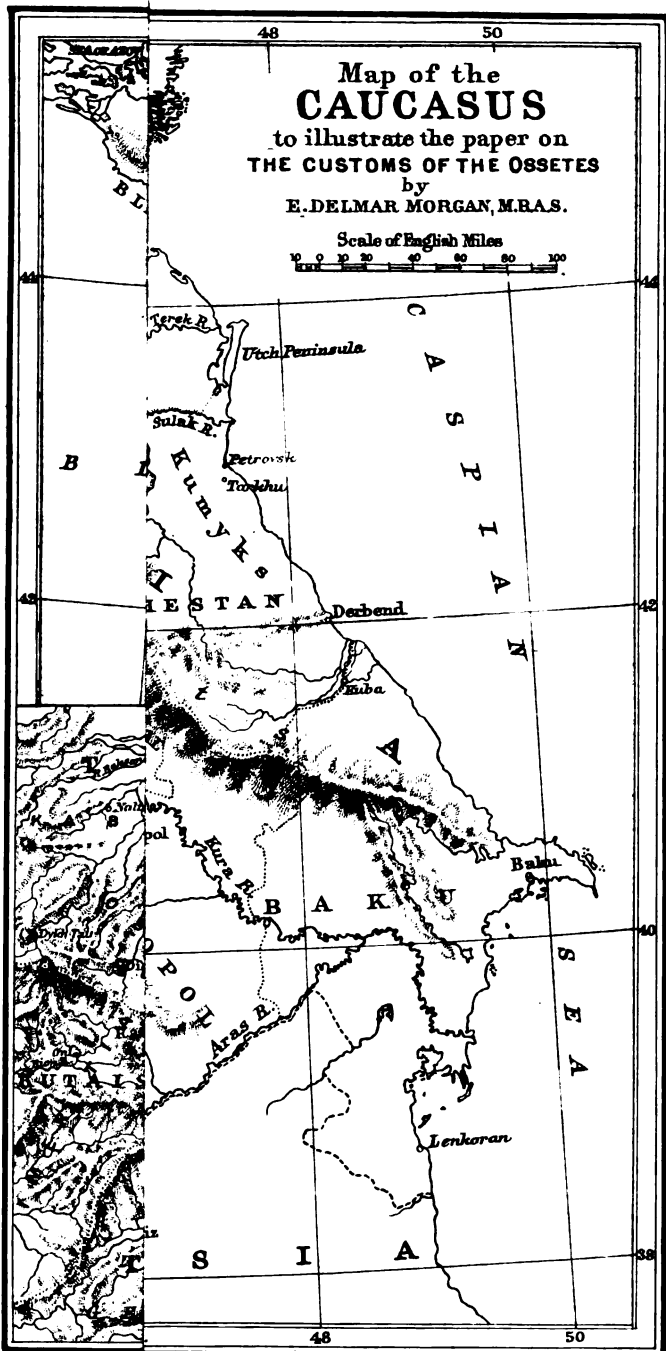
of the soul as an axiom, and also believed that men must be reborn after death. How to escape from rebirth in a lower state, or to reach a higher stage of existence in the next world, was the problem. The Brahmins prescribed sacrifices to save the souls of ancestors, and both Brahmin, Jain, and other ascetics said that by penances and austerities men could raise themselves to a level with the gods, and be freed from the danger of rebirth in a lower state. The Buddha, on the other hand, in a spirit of stern common sense, which must have been very attractive to the practical minds of his Dravidian hearers, said: The only way for a man to release himself from the chain of existence with its fatal consequences is by his own efforts. He, and he alone, can subdue the desires which are the causes of changes of existence, and transform himself from a sinful to a sinless being, and when once that end is attained and his nature is absolutely purified and denuded of all desire for changes, the law of rebirth and compensation in a future life for evil deeds and mistakes in the past ceases to affect him. This manly creed evidently gained largely increasing numbers of followers, and its progress was watched no doubt carefully by the politicians. They finally in the time of Asoka, found Buddhism so popular as to make it a wise political step to proclaim it as the state religion of the vast Mauriyan empire. That empire, as I have endeavoured to show, had been built up by the gradual assimilation of the different people inhabiting the country, by using the best of the national laws and customs of the component races to perfect the methods of government, and by adapting such laws and customs to gradually increasing areas.



ART. IX.—*The Customs of the Ossetes, and the Light they throw on the Evolution of Law. Compiled from Professor Maxim Kovalefsky's Russian Work on "Contemporary Custom and Ancient Law," and translated with Notes, by E. DELMAR MORGAN, M.R.A.S.*

THE following paper, of which a part only was read before the Asiatic Society on March 19th, is founded on a book published in Russian by Prof. Maxim Kovalefsky. In it the author gives the results of his investigations into the manners and customs of the Ossetes, with special reference to the light thrown by them on the evolution of law. The late Sir Henry Maine, who may be justly regarded as our authority on ancient law and early customs, has well said in a passage quoted by Prof. Kovalefsky on his title-page, "In order to understand the most ancient condition of society all distances must be reduced, and we must look on mankind, so to speak, at the wrong end of the historical telescope."¹ But this would be impossible in most parts where the waves of invading hosts and migrating nationalities have effaced almost every trace of early customs, and the historian may look in vain for materials to assist him in his inquiry. Fortunately there are tracts of the earth's surface removed beyond the influence of the destructive power of mankind, where primitive customs and beliefs have been handed down from father to son in almost unbroken continuity. Among these tracts are the higher valleys of mountain chains where the inhabitants of the plains have found safety in their struggles for self-preservation. In the highlands of the Caucasus, as in other mountainous regions, remnants of Aryan tribes have found it possible to subsist, though not in large numbers, preserving their independence and per-

¹ *Dissertations on Early Law and Custom*, but I have not found the passage in this work.





petuating customs and traditions in the highest degree interesting to the historian and philosopher. To these reference must be made if we would supply the missing link in the history of civilization, to these we should turn in order to trace the earliest dawn of juridical notions—the embryology of law. Such a people, living under circumstances precisely analogous to those we have sketched, are the Ossetes, inhabiting the central Caucasus on both sides of the main chain. Towards the end of the last century and the beginning of the present, when Russia had seriously taken in hand the conquest of the mountaineers, scientific travellers made their way into their midst and published the first reliable accounts of these people. In this way the world was indebted to the works of Gùldenstedt, Reineggs, Dubois de Montpéroux and Klapproth. The last of these devotes several chapters of his “Voyage au Caucase” to the Ossetes and their country, and many of his observations are confirmed by more recent writers. But at the period we are speaking of the Caucasus was not readily accessible to men of science, and but few ventured to stray far from the high roads by which the Russian armies entered that region. Neither was the demand for scientific facts anything like what it has now become, and even for many years after the subjugation of the Caucasus had been accomplished little attention was bestowed even by ethnologists on the various tribes and nationalities comprised in that remote borderland of the Russian empire. It is only within the last decade or two, since the complete subjugation of the tribes¹ and the establishment of settled authority in their midst, that travellers have been able to penetrate into all parts, armed with the requisite stock of knowledge and gifted with that thirst for learning more that is so marked a characteristic of the age in which we live. Among the most recent of these travellers we must mention M. Vsevolod Miller, to whom Prof. Kovalefsky dedicates his work, and to whose “Ossete Studies” reference will be made in the following pages.

¹ Schamyl, the last independent chieftain, only surrendered in 1859.



Before entering on a description of their customs it may be well to state who these Ossetes were, and how they came to occupy their present country. There are at least two opinions concerning their origin. Some maintain, arguing from the Semitic character of certain of their customs, that they are of Jewish descent, much in the same way as the Afghans are said to be for similar reasons descended from the lost ten tribes of Israel. But analogies in customs and juridical types, as Prof. Kovalefsky remarks, may have been caused by an identity of economical conditions, necessitating certain habits of life common to nationalities, however widely these may be separated. For instance, the patriarchal family and the custom by which the brother-in-law marries the widow of his deceased brother are not only common to the Jews, but to all nations at an early stage of development. We find the semi-nomadic inhabitants of Central Asia at the present day leading a patriarchal existence with their flocks and herds. The brother-in-law's marriage marks the period in the life of nations when they are emerging from a state of polyandry into individual marriage. It was known to the Hindus and Greeks, and may be observed among the Kirghiz and other Turko-Tartar tribes to this day. Concubinage, again, said to be peculiar to the Ossetes, was an institution of the Hindus and Greeks, as well as of the Romans and Celts, and the position of children born of such ties answered very nearly to that of the Ossete "Kavdasards."

The Ossetes have also been classed with people of Germanic origin, chiefly because certain words in their language had a German ring about them. For instance, their word "Khokh," a high mountain, has a close resemblance to the German "hoch," high. But here again we may be easily led to form erroneous conclusions on imperfect data.¹ M.

¹ The Ossete word for river is 'don,' occurring in Ardon, Sandon, Fiagdon, Ghizeldon, etc. But we find the same word for river in England, Scotland, and Russia. It is supposed that the Russian Don owes its name to the Ossetes, whose territory ran up to this river formerly dividing Europe and Asia. Possibly, too, the name of the latter continent itself originated with this people—As or Asi as they were called.

Sjögren, who made a careful study of the Ossete language, has taught us that such analogies are misleading; he came to no positive conclusions about it. The more recent contributions to the philology of the Ossetes by M. Miller, supported by his archæological and historical discoveries, have apparently established the Iranian origin of this people, and this opinion now generally prevails.¹

M. Kovalefsky adduces additional evidence bearing on the Iranianism of the Ossetes in their curious funeral rites, observing that some of their graves are above the ground, the bodies not being allowed to touch the earth, a form of burial in close sympathy with the religious sentiments of the Iranians as expressed in the Vendidad;² and otherwise inexplicable as opposed to sanitary considerations. But among the most important facts brought to light are those resulting from M. Miller's examination of the Greek inscriptions found in Southern Russia, and comprised in M. Latyshef's collections, proving that Iranian colonies were distributed throughout the plains at the northern foot of the Caucasus at a very early period, probably at the time of the great migrations of nations.³

The Ossetes speak of themselves as "Iron," and their country as "Ironistan." By their neighbours, the Georgians, they are called Ossi, and their territory Ossetia. As far back as 300 B.C. they are mentioned in the Georgian Chronicle as powerful allies, and from their mythical ancestor Wovos, son of the King of the Khazars,⁴ the Ossetes of the present day claim descent. The classical

¹ Professor Max Müller in his *Lectures on the Science of Language* classes the Ossete as an independent member of the Aryan family of languages; cf. Telfer's *Crimea and Transcaucasia*, vol. ii. p. 2, note.

² The Vendidad, forming part of the Zend Avesta, the religious writings of the Parsees, contains the most explicit rules for the disposal of dead bodies. They were to be laid on the highest places where they could be best seen by birds of prey and dogs. The bodies were to be fastened in such a way that the bones could not be taken by birds and beasts of prey to trees or water, and they were to be laid on stone or some metal, so that the rain should not dissolve any part of them into the earth. See Bleeck's *Avesta*, from Prof. Spiegel's German Translation, Fargards v. and vi.

³ Among the inscriptions in Greek characters referred to in the text were some in an unknown language. These M. Miller discovered to be Ossete.

⁴ Klaproth, *Voyage au Caucase*, ii. 438.

authors Gelonius Apollinarius, Josephus Flavius and Pliny all agree in placing the Alani, with whom the Ossetes have been identified,¹ in the plains north of the Caucasus, whence they were driven by Turko-Tartar and Cherkess tribes into the mountains. In earlier times the Ossetes were so numerous that they could bring into the field armies of tens of thousands of men in their wars with Armenians, Georgians, Persians, Arabs, and later with the Russian Slavs under Sviatoslaf.² Their tzars or princes are mentioned by Byzantine writers probably with reference to such of their leaders as had raised themselves to eminence among them, and the excavations that have been made prove that an active trade was once carried on between the Ossetes and the Byzantines.

Admitting then, as I think must be admitted, that the Ossetes are an Aryan race of high antiquity, their customs and institutions will afford excellent data for the student of archaic jurisprudence, supplying important evidence to solve problems connected with the beginnings of human society, and serving as an additional link between the East and the West, between India and Ireland. By contrasting Ossete customs with types of ancient law prevailing among Hindus, Germans, Celts and Slavs, to say nothing of Greeks and Romans, we shall obtain the necessary materials for assigning

¹ Cf. *Travels of Josafa Barbaro* (Hakl. Soc.), p. 5. Dr. Smith, the learned editor of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, expresses doubt upon this point, chiefly upon the testimony of Lucian and Ammianus, who describe the Alani as resembling the Huns, and inhabiting a country too far to the north, namely, that occupied in modern times by the Nogai Tartars. But these facts are by no means inconsistent with the identity of the Alans and Ossetes from all we know of the latter people now, and their accepted Iranianism agrees with the remark of Firdusi, who says that the Alans originally came from the Paropamisus, and were the people mentioned in Chinese annals as Yen-thsai (cf. Gibbon, 1872, ed. by Smith, vol. iii. p. 315; Yule's *Marco Polo*, ii. 164). With regard to the doubt expressed by Col. Yule as to whether the Ossethi or Ossetes are the same as the Aas or Aasi, we may mention that this people are invariably called Aasi or Asethi by the Russians, through whom we have in recent years become acquainted with them, though in writing the name it is spelt Ossi, Ossethi, the *O* being pronounced *A*. Some interesting particulars of these Alans or Aas, and of their service in China under the Tartar Khans, will be found in Yule's *Cathay*, pp. 316-318. Prof. de Lacouperie obligingly informs me that there are several interesting statements in Chinese documents about A-lan, A-lan-na, formerly Yen-thsai, Sukteh, Uen-na-pha, etc.

² About 966 A.D. Cf. *Kaframsine, Histoire de la Russie*, Paris, 1816, tome i. p. 216.

the period of their origin, and convince ourselves of the probability of recognizing any of their customs as the general heritage of the Aryan race, or the product of specific conditions such as locality, vicinity of Kabardinians, Tartars, and Georgians, for it must be remembered that many of the Ossete customs are not primitive, but have been grafted on the original stock by successive influences from without, while the main body owing to the isolated position of this people have remained intact.

The Ossetes of the present day inhabit part of the plain on which the town of Vladikavkaz¹ is built, but their settlement here is of recent date, their older habitations are in the higher valleys of the Terek and its tributaries, and on the southern slope of the range along the defiles of the Great and Lesser Liakhva and Ksan. Their territory borders on the north with Lesser Kabarda, on the east with Chechenia, on the south with Georgia and Imeritia, and on the west with the lands of the Tartar mountaineers and Great Kabarda. In numbers the Ossetes are roughly 100,000 of both sexes.² They are divided into several communities occupying the several defiles of the tributaries of the Terek. Thus proceeding from west to east: along the Uruk and its affluents are the Digorians; along the Ardon and its tributary streams are the Alaghirs (*i.e.* Eastern Ossetes); the defiles of the Sandon and Fiagdon give shelter to the Kurtatians, those of the Ghizeldon and its feeders are inhabited by the Taghaurians, who are also met with on the left bank of the Terek itself. The Ossetes of the southern slopes of the main chain of the Caucasus, having come under the influences of Georgia, belong to the district of Dushet in the government of Tiflis, and that of Rachinsk in the government of Kutais. These Southern Ossetes are known locally as Tualtsi or Tualta. Their language is divided into two principal dialects—

¹ I shall follow Mr. Kovalefsky's work closely. The immediate environs of Vladikavkaz are inhabited by Ingash, a thievish tribe, and other people; the first Ossete settlements are two or three stations from the town.

² According to an article on the Ethnology of the Caucasus, in Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, vol. xxvi. 1880, the Ossetes north and south of the range number 110,914 altogether.

Digorian and Ironian, while that spoken by the Tualtsi is a subdialect of the Ironian; and according as they speak one or other of these dialects, they are called Digorians, Ironians, and Tualtsi. They have no general name.

The main fact of their history that has come down to us is their conversion to Christianity by St. Nina,¹ assisted by Bishop John at the beginning of the fourth century. But this only affected a few of the Southern Ossetes. The spread of Christianity north of the range is of much later date, and is usually associated with the name of the Georgian Queen Tamar,² to whom is also attributed the erection of numerous churches and chapels, all more or less in a ruined state, in the valleys of the Terek and its tributaries. Historians, however, consider it more probable that Christianity was not established in Ossetia before the end of the twelfth century under Georgian auspices. The first germs of feudalism also came from Georgia, though there are no materials for assigning the precise date when the Tualtsi fell under feudal

¹ The story of the blessed St. Nina and her conversion of the Georgians to Christianity in the reign of King Mirian (A.D. 265-342) is given at some length by the late M. Brosset, a distinguished scholar and Orientalist, in his history of Georgia, founded chiefly on the chronicle of Wakhushst and unpublished MSS. This is very briefly what he says: "St. Nina, who was on her father's side of Cappadocian origin, was brought up at Jerusalem under the care of a religious Armenian woman, Niafor, by whom she was instructed in all the mysteries of the Christian faith. Having learned that the seamless robe of our Saviour had been taken to Mzkhetha, then the capital of Georgia, she determined on setting out in search of it. But before doing so she visited some part of Greece, where she made a convert of the beautiful princess Riphainé of the Imperial Court, afterwards martyred together with her thirty-three companions in Armenia, whither she had fled for refuge from the lust of the Emperor. St. Nina, having escaped from her persecutors, had a vision, inspiring her to undertake the conversion of the Georgians. After long wanderings and many sufferings she reached Mzkhetha, where the people were revelling in Magian superstitions and sacrificing to their gods Armaz and Zaden. Her prayers for this misguided people were answered by a sudden tornado of frightful violence. Great hailstones fell and destroyed the idols, shattering them into thousands of pieces. In the midst of this destruction St. Nina alone remained unhurt. Assisted by a converted Jew, Abiathar, who like a second St. Paul had become an ardent disciple of the faith, she began preaching Christianity openly, and when King Mirian returned from an unsuccessful expedition into Greece, where his army had been defeated by the Christian emperor Constantine, she was summoned to his presence and explained the doctrines of her religion. But it was not till some time after his Queen Nana had embraced Christianity that the king abandoned his gods and became a convert, when he and all his people were baptized."—Brosset, *Histoire de la Georgie*, pp. 90-132.

² According to Brosset, Tamar reigned twenty-seven years from 1134 to 1211 or 1212 A.D.

influences. One thing only is certain, viz. that at the time of the subjugation of Ossetia by Russia, the Tualtsi were under two princely Georgian families—the Eristavs¹ and Machabele. Their power appears to have been derived in the first instance from their appointment as satraps over certain districts. In course of time their office became hereditary or the privilege of the same family or tribe, they were gradually transformed from government officials into feudal seigneurs possessed of extensive rights, just as the hereditary earls of the Carlovingian empire became feudal owners. Assuming plenary rights of jurisdiction, police, and taxation, the Eristavs took advantage of their extensive functions to make the peasants personally dependent upon their families, while the large grants of land they received for their services gave them further power. Their vast landed possessions partook of the character of feudal fiefs, the inhabitants submitting to rank as vassals holding their land on condition of discharging military and other services, and paying taxes to their lords. In course of time the Eristavs extended this system to all their lands, and became lords of the greater part of Southern Ossetia. Only the inhabitants of the more inaccessible defiles were able to resist these encroachments, and even their liberties were trenched upon by the Eristavs, who blocked the entrances to their glens, and compelled them to pay toll for the right of egress. Occasionally there were attempts at risings against this despotic power, but these only gave the Georgian tzars the pretext of interfering and depriving the Eristavs of their power, and even confiscating their estates, which they would then re-grant to others.

In the same degree as Georgia and its culture exercised a preponderating influence over Southern Ossetia, Kabarda with its comparatively recent Muhammadanism and feudalism affected Northern Ossetia and the Tartar mountaineers.²

¹ From *eri* 'people' and *tava* 'head' or 'chief.'

² The Tartar mountaineers occupied country previously inhabited by Ossetes, so that their language and customs retained much that is peculiar to this people. This fact may be observed in their numeration and topographical names.

The Karbardinians, who had professed Christianity as late as the campaign of Peter the Great against Azof, adopted Muhammadanism towards the middle of the eighteenth century, and became in a few years zealous proselytes under the influence of the princes of the Kumyks,¹ particularly the Shamkhals of Tarkhu,² who intermarried with the Kabardinian princes. By preventing the Ossetes, and particularly the Digorians, from having access to the plain country to the north of the Caucasus, the Kabardinians gained a great ascendancy over them, for it had been the practice of the Ossetes to pasture their herds on these plains at certain seasons of the year, and in times of scarcity of provisions they obtained supplies here of such necessaries as millet and salt. The Kabardinians, too, on their side, were in the habit of driving their cattle to the Ossete highlands in summer when everything was parched and consumed in the plains. A mutual interdependence of the two people was the natural result of these relations, so that when the Kabardinians, who were the stronger and more warlike, became Muhammadans, they lost no time in bringing pressure to bear on their neighbours the Ossetes in order to extend the teaching of the Koran.

Of all the inhabitants of Northern Caucasia, the Kabardinians are probably the most remarkable for their individual prowess and gallant bearing, which have earned for them the title of 'the gentlemen' of the Caucasus. Their aristocratic institutions have some points of resemblance with the mediæval knight brotherhoods of Western Europe. To their influence is attributable the introduction of feudalism into Ossetia. Feudalism, remarks our author, was never a legalized expropriation of the soil by a handful of nobles ;

¹ On the Caspian littoral.

² Tarkhu or Tarki, a small place on the Caspian, 4 days' march north of Derbend, is still the residence of the Shamkhals. Not many years ago the writer saw the last of this royal race on board the Caspian steamer—an imposing-looking individual in a long white coat and high white sheepskin hat (papakha). He is now a pensioner of Russia. Tarkhu is said to occupy the site of the ancient Semender, a town of the Bulgars, destroyed by the Russians under Sviatoslaf in A.D. 968. Cf. Dorn, Ueber die Einfälle der Alten Russen in Tabaristan, pp. vi. 122, 309.

during its continuance the peasantry were the legal owners of the soil by the tenure of perpetual hereditary leaseholders, not, however, as individuals, but in communities. It is only by bearing this fact in mind that we can conceive how it was that feudalism was not a phenomenon peculiar to the Germanic-Roman world, but an indispensable stage in the development of society, coincident with the transformation of separate nationalities from a military-aggressive to a military-defensive system, and common alike to the East as well as to the West. In Muhammadan India feudalism was as well known as in Christian Europe, but nowhere did it break up or obliterate the village communes and the beginnings of communal land tenure.¹

The foundation of the Kabardinian organization was laid by the conquest in the thirteenth century of the north-western Caucasian plain by invaders from the Crimea, who derived their descent from an almost mythical personage of the Arab race, named Inal, who, according to tradition, once ruled over Egypt, and who, after having been defeated by the Sultan Mahomet II., removed to the Khanat of the Crimea. From four of the immediate descendants of Inal sprang the four princely families of Kabarda—the so-called ‘psheh’—the Atajukhins, Kaitukhins, Misostofs and Bekmurzins. The Kabardinians found the plain country on the banks of the Kuba occupied by the Cherkesses, a people of Adighei descent, who had only recently freed themselves from the yoke of the Tartars and were ruled by their own princes. These princes, according to their estate, were included by the Kabardinians in one of the two following classes, ‘tlatokoltlesh’ (i.e. men of good birth) and ‘dejnugo.’ The former in the person of their elected representative ‘kodza’ alone shared with the Kabardinian ‘psheh’ in the government of the country. All the land in Karbada came under one or other of the above-mentioned three classes, without, however, interfering

¹ For a full statement of M. Kovalefsky's views on this interesting subject, he refers the reader to his work on Communal Land Tenure and his address to the Archaeological Congress at Odessa.

with communal rights. The rest of the population fell more or less into subjection, and were split up into eight sub-classes, the lowest of whom were the slaves and 'kholops' or villeins, and the highest the men of good estate, 'worki' or 'uzdens,' these last named being in a position of vassalage to the princes. In return for their land the uzdens did military or court service, accompanying their lords on their journeys and attending upon them at home. The above slight sketch of the Kabardinian social organization will assist us in understanding that of the Ossetes, modelled upon it. From the information collected by the Russian government in 1844 on Ossete 'adati' or customs, it appears that there were four classes of Ossetes: the highest or nobility, called by them 'wozdanlag'; the middle, 'farsaglag'; the lowest, 'kavdasard'; lastly, the slaves, 'gurziak.' The origin of these two last-named classes is easily explained, in the one case by the early wars with Georgia, which supplied the Ossetes with slaves, 'gurziak' (lit. Georgians), and in the other by the custom prevailing till now of keeping concubines, 'numuluss,' the children begotten of these 'kavdasards'¹ becoming, together with the rest of the chattels, the property of the house, or were divided among its inhabitants. It is far more difficult to explain the causes which led to the formation of the class known to the Ossetes as farsaglaks (farsag, collateral, and lag, a man), who had special privileges, and it is only by studying the traditions both family and popular of this people that M. Kovalefsky has been able to throw light on this subject.

The oldest of the Ossete communities, the Alaghirs,² had no social distinctions. All equally claimed descent from

¹ The Kavdasards, as Prof. Kovalefsky informs me, were not only the sons of the owner of the concubine, but also children begotten of her by other persons to whom she had been lent, a custom closely analogous to the Niyoga marriage of India. Similar relations also existed in Ireland at the time of the Brehon law.

² On the wall of a very ancient church in the Alaghir defile are frescoes representing five armed men, with an inscription in Greek letters. According to tradition these figures represent Osa Bagatar and his four brothers: Kartlos, chief of the Georgian people, from whom they take their name Karthli; Lesgos, from whom the Lesghians are descended; Imeritos, the ancestor of the Imeritians; and Mingrelas, chief of the Mingrelians. See Vestnik Imp. Russ. Geogr. Soc. 1855, ii. s.v. pp. 4-5.

Osa Bagatar,¹ their mythical tribal chieftain, who, upon the invasion of the Persians and Georgians, retired to the Alaghir defile, where his sons built a stone wall as a defence against their neighbours, the remains of which may be seen at the present day. For a long while the Alaghirs lived at peace among themselves, till the Kabardinians settled on the neighbouring table-land. Then individual families in the hope of plunder formed alliances with the Kabardinians, helped them in their cattle raids, and were in consequence proscribed by the Alaghir community. The outlaws, so-called "Abreks," settled in the Kurtat defile, where they at first lived peaceably, preserving their democratic organization. But tribal feuds soon sprang up, resulting in the migration of part of the population from the Kurtat to the Taghaur defile, which had hitherto been unoccupied. The Taghaur² colonists became the pioneers of Kabardinian civilization, and were the first to adopt that class organization peculiar to Kabarda. From the ranks of the free men or farsaglags are dissociated not only the domestics or 'kavdasards,' born of concubines, and the 'gurziaks' captured in war, but a privileged class whose members bear a title similar to that borne by the Kabardinian uzdens—'wozdanlags,' the 'aldars' of the present day. New comers from Alaghir, Kurtatia and Southern Ossetia swell the ranks of this ready-made organization, whether as kavdasards, farsaglags, or as members of the privileged class. In this way, while the Kurtatian community continues its democratic organization, Taghauria adopts feudalism. In Kurtatia, as well as in Alaghir, the communal system is

¹ According to the Georgian Chronicle already quoted, Osa Bagatar was slain by Wakhtang, king of Georgia (466-499), in single combat. Upon his death the hostile armies engaged, and the Ossetes were completely routed. The engagement is said to have taken place in the Dariel Pass. Cf. Brosset, *l.c.* p. 158.

² The Taghaurians are settled on the left bank of the Terek, and in the defiles of the Saniban and Ghizel, parallel with it, included in the Vladikavkaz territory. Their traditions preserved in songs and tales make frequent allusion to their bloody feuds with the Kabardinians. According to Tolstoi, for whose accuracy however I cannot vouch, the Taghaurians derive their name from a chief whose ruined fortress stood at the source of the Ghizel. They are mostly Muhammadans, and continued to hold to this faith after the other Ossetes had adopted Christianity. Cf. an article by Tolstoi in the *Vestnik of the Imp. Russ. Geogr. Soc.* 1854, part ii. s.v. pp. 3-6.



maintained at first by tribes and afterwards by villages; in Taghauria, on the other hand, this joint tenure exists side by side with the individual ownership of the uzden or aldar families. These colonize their lands with new emigrants from Alaghir, Kurtatia and Southern Ossetia, who begin by establishing themselves on the communal principle, but soon become dependent upon the uzdens, whose lands they are occupying, and by virtue of this fact they become liable to them for personal service, rent and taxes.

The relations of the classes in Taghauria to one another down to 1867, when serfdom was abolished, stood thus:—The highest in the social scale are the wozdanlags or aldars; their position is derived, not by purchase or service, but is the peculiar inherent right of eleven families, dating from very early times. Their privileges are very extensive. They alone may have dominion over the bondsmen and kavdasards, dispose of them at their will and pleasure, and punish them without the interference of any court of law. They receive from the farsaglagns tribute and services, into the details of which it is unnecessary to enter, but which were analogous to the incidents of vassalage in mediæval times. The freemen (farsaglagns) had certainly the right of removing at will from one uzden or aldar to another, as the Russian peasant had before Boris Godunof attached him to the soil by his celebrated enactment of Yurief (St. George's) day. But on removal the farsaglagn could take nothing with him; his house and chattels remaining the property of the lord. On the other hand, the aldar was bound to protect his vassal from injury, and obtain redress for him should his cattle be stolen. One of the modes by which in Western Europe the middle class emancipated itself from the power of the aristocracy was by the acquisition of lands from bankrupt noblemen. The same process in Ossetia gradually gave the farsaglagn proprietary rights, and freed him from his obligations and duties to the aldar. In this way eight of the eleven wozdanlags or aldars lost their rights over their farsaglagns, and surrendered their



W. G. O'NEAL. COLLECTOR, PESHKAM, S. E.

DECHY, PHOTO, 1884.

OSSETS AT DIGOR.

lands to them. The farsaglaks now became landlords, and might own slaves, but the children of these latter were regarded as freemen. The kavdasards might not be owned by the farsaglak, as this privilege was restricted to the highest class. The gurziaks or slaves had no rights, and were merely regarded as chattels, with whom their owners might do whatever they pleased. They might sell or give them away in whole families, and even kill them if they pleased.

What the 'wozdanlags' or 'aldars' were in Taghauria the 'badiliats' were in Digoria. Here the Kabardinian influence is even more marked than in Taghauria. The upper class is said by the Digorians to be derived from the comparatively recent settlement in their midst of a stranger from Madjar,¹ a town the ruins of which may still be seen on the Kuma near the stanitsa of Praskovia. His name was Badil, and he became the founder of the mighty tribe of Badiliat. From a humble emigrant earning a living as a shepherd, Badil raised himself to an honourable position among the Digorians, owing to the important part he took in their wars against a neighbouring village, Donifars. Tradition says that the Digorians were at that time ignorant of firearms, and Badil was the first to instruct them in their use. As a Mussulman he was supported by his co-religionists the Kabardinians, and helped them to proselytize the Christians

¹ The ruins of Madjar or Madjari are situated in the district of Vladikavkaz, at the confluence of the Buival and Kuma, on the left bank of this last-named river near the stanitsa or Cossack village of Praskovia. Klaproth, who visited these ruins in 1810, says, that the foundation of Madjar has been erroneously attributed to the Hungarians. He derives the name from a Tartar word meaning 'stone building,' and says that the first to inhabit this place were the Kipchaks. In support of this view he adduces the similarity in the style of building and monuments, the inscriptions and coins of Sarai their chief city found here, and lastly the information concerning it given by Eastern writers. Thus in the Derbend Nameh, it is stated that in the second century of the Hejrah (*i.e.* eighth of the Christian era), Great and Lesser Madjar were two important towns. They are mentioned by Abulghazi in A.D. 1282, and by Abulfeda in his geography (A.D. 1321). Finally Madjar was known to the Russians as late as the year A.D. 1319, when it was a large trading town, and it was to this place that the body of Mikhail, prince of Tver, was brought after he had been tortured to death by the horde. Madjar probably ceased to exist in the fourteenth century during the civil wars of the Kipchaks. The ruins have been well described by Gildensstädt, cf. Klaproth, *Voyage au Caucase*, vol. ii. pp. 165, 180; Reineggs, vol. i. p. 66; Karamzine, *Histoire de Russie*, ed. cit. vol. iv. pp. 234-5.

of Digoria. By degrees the Digorians grew accustomed to look upon the Badiliats as Kabardinian agents, and to submit to them however unwillingly. Under Kabardinian influence the Badiliats established the same social organization as we have already spoken of in Taghauria. The kavdasards were represented by 'tuma,' the freemen by 'adamikhat,' while the slaves were divided into two classes: those who had the right to marry and found families, and those who were denied this right, precisely as in Kabarda; and the archives of Naltchik¹ are full of the petitions of slaves against their masters for degrading them from one category to the other, the effect of such degradation being to place them at the mercy of the lord, who might separate man and wife either by selling one or both, or by giving away the female slave. The only distinction between the laws of Kabarda and those of Digoria was, that the latter were rather more humane in prohibiting the separation of man and wife if the parents of the latter paid the lord the indemnity or price he claimed.

Historians of feudalism usually characterize it by saying that during its prevalence the owner of the land was the representative of the governmental power, and the peasantry formed groups subject to a hierarchy. The same traits are met with in the class-organization we have described. The aldar and the badiliat are not merely landlords receiving customary rent from the perpetual-hereditary leaseholders, they are also the political chiefs both in peace and war. At their summons the farsaglag and kavdasard must arm and follow them to battle, at their bidding they must in time of peace receive and entertain their guests. The Osseti adàti are explicit as to the obedience required of these vassals. Moreover, without personally exercising judicial functions, the aldars and badiliats made their authority felt in juridical affairs by levying a tax for their own benefit on all who might choose to settle their disputes in their courts of appeal payable by the party in the wrong. With all its similarity,

¹ Fort Naltchik in the district of Kabarda, territory of Terek, on a river of the same name, was founded in 1817-20 in order to strengthen the Russian advance into Trans-Caucasia.

however, to feudal institutions, the Ossete social organization differed from that prevalent in Europe at the epoch when feudalization was accomplished in the greater liberty enjoyed by the Ossete vassal as compared with his mediæval prototype. The farsaglag may rather be likened to the *hospes* mentioned in charters of the eleventh century in France, i.e. before feudalism was an established institution. They were both freemen settling on the lands of others by agreement with the owner, and undertaking to discharge certain duties personal as well as proprietary. The position too of the slaves assimilates closely with the earliest mediæval period, when according to Bracton a distinction was drawn in England between *Villenagium purum* and *Villenagium privilegium*, with this difference, however, that Christianity prohibited the dissolution of the marriage-tie of slaves. The peculiarity of the Ossete organization is the existence in their midst of a special hereditary class derived from the extra-matrimonial ties of the privileged class. The analogy drawn by some writers between the Ossete kavdasards and the *boiarskiye detii* (children of boyards) in Great Russia in Prof. Kovalefsky's opinion fails.

The subjection of the Ossetes to the Russian empire was accompanied by great changes in their social state. Their former dependence on Georgia in the South and on Kabarda in the North came to an end. Hostile encounters between neighbouring tribes were stopped, and peace began to reign. The country was divided into magistracies, and was included in course of time in the government of Tiflis and territory of Terek. At the same time blood reprisals, so frequently the cause of these internecine feuds, were replaced by indemnities payable in kind and money. Disorders were suppressed by armed force, the princely families were deposed, and the land was re-distributed.

Like other kindred races the Ossetes settled not in great masses, but in families or households, the members of which related to one another through the males numbered as many as 40 and upwards. More recent family divisions led to the establishment of new households derived from the same

stock. Settlements formed in this way took the name of the locality in which they were situated, or the tribe which founded them, while a few took patronymic names, a sure indication of their tribal origin.

Klaproth says that the Ossete settlements ('kau' or 'gau') are usually small and placed so close together as to be easily mistaken for a continuous village.¹ Every family, says Reineggs, forms a separate settlement of a few households, living contentedly together till increase of numbers and scarcity of food oblige some to migrate, who then take a new name.² But these observations relate to a bygone time, for the modern traveller meets with continuous settlements comprising a few dozen households not related to one another, though frequently bearing the name of one of the families composing them. With the exception of those communities³ which were started not very long ago by the Russian Government, when they transferred the inhabitants of the highlands to the plains, the large majority of Ossete settlements may be included in one or other of the following categories: (1) auls (*i.e.* villages) occupied by families related to one another, bearing the same family name, owning land on the communal system, and not unfrequently having a community of goods, these however are the exception; (2) auls in which the lands are apportioned among the several families composing them; and (3) auls inhabited by a few families who, according as there are many or few living together, have either lost or retained their system of common holdings. These last are the most numerous in Ossetia.

The Ossete 'dvor' or enclosure, an indispensable part of every aul, has been fully described by M. Kokief, himself an Ossete by origin. He says there are two types of these buildings; the first are the so-called 'galuans,' probably many centuries old, mentioned in the oldest heroic legends,⁴ a proof of their antiquity. Their very appearance carries

¹ *Voyage au Caucase*, vol. ii, p. 262, note.

² Cf. *Description of Mount Caucasus*, translated by Wilkinson, i. 248.

³ New Christian, New Muhammadan or Ardon communities.

⁴ *e.g.* in the Nart legends.

you back to the mediæval age. Everything in them is adapted to defensive warfare; the wide court enclosed by high stone walls, the tower standing in the centre or at one of the corners like a stunted pyramid several stories high, built of enormous blocks of stone cemented together (the mode of making this cement is now forgotten). Connected with the tower are the other buildings; the 'khadzar' or general dining-room and kitchen, the apartments occupied by the several families, and apart from the rest, but also within the enclosure, the 'kunatskaia' standing open all day long for strangers. These 'galuans' were common enough in the time of Reineggs,¹ who says that on the upper part of the wall are fixed long projecting pointed poles, on which hang horses' heads and other bones, and there are nooks in the stone one above the other to serve as a retreat in case of sudden attack, while access from without was impeded by heaps of stones and bones, leaving room only for a narrow footway. Recent travellers only occasionally light upon these singular edifices on the northern and southern side of the range. By far the most general type of Ossete building, however, is that made of small unhewn stones, not cemented together, and having the interstices filled with dry earth to keep out the external air. These houses have no towers attached to them, and are sometimes built of wood in parts where the country has not been disafforested. The galuans were situated in the mountains, where, like the feudal baron, the Ossete built his castle on some inaccessible crag of great natural strength for defensive purposes. The second type of building lie close together, frequently at the foot of the mountains, in valleys on the banks of rivers. Hence the early travellers were led to suppose that the Ossetes formerly inhabited the mountains, and only afterwards began inhabiting the valleys and defiles.

The internal arrangements of the Ossete settlement are as follows: The principal position in the house is taken by the so-called 'khadzar' so frequently mentioned in the Nart

¹ Cf. *l.c.* vol. i. p. 243.

traditions; it is here that the persons composing the household pass the greater part of the day, its size, therefore, must be adapted to the number it has to contain. The khadzar serves both as kitchen and dining-room. Nearly the whole of the day the cook presides in it, except during the hours devoted to meals, breakfast, dinner, and supper, when the older men first, next the younger, the older women, and lastly the girls, take it in turns to occupy the khadzar. In the centre of this room is the hearth, *i.e.* a square hole in the roof for the smoke to escape; beneath it, attached to a cross-beam, is suspended an iron chain, the so-called 'rakhis,' to which is fastened a copper caldron for cooking the food. To the right of the hearth stands a long wooden bench, only occupied by the men, never by the women, for whom there is another bench to the left of the hearth. The food is served on a low three-legged round table known to Ossetes as 'fing.' These details are necessary in order to understand the part played by the 'khadzar' in the family cult of this people. Adjoining the khadzar is a range of buildings for the separate families, called 'uat,' *i.e.* sleeping-rooms. Before marrying the bachelor must see about a habitation, or he will not find a bride. In a few days, with the help of his friends, this is ready. It is usually placed in a corner of the enclosure, for custom obliges the man to enter his wife's apartments secretly, unobserved by the members of the household.¹ There are as many of these separate apartments as there are married couples, including the parents if they continue living together. The bachelors have no sleeping-rooms, but usually pass the night at their work or on the road in the courtyard or the 'kunatskaia.' This last-named usually stands near the entrance to the yard, apart from the

¹ This is still the case in Ossetia, and also among the Pshaves and Khevsurs, as Prof. K. informs me. In a Khevsur house the hall where the fire is burning is occupied by women and the upper storey by the men, and there is a small secret staircase by which the men descend to the women's apartments in the night by the aid of an old woman, the mother of the bridegroom. The idea prevailing is that the woman is an impure being, and this appears from their exclusion from any place consecrated by religion. There is evidently a connexion between the views taken by Christianity on the one hand, and specially by the Greek church, and the Avesta. The whole history of Georgia points to a close connexion between the Shahs of Persia and the rulers of Georgia.

other buildings. If the stranger should not happen to be a relative, there is no place for him in the khadzar or the specially-reserved apartments; he may only be received in the kunatskaia, the doors of which are never closed, but stand open day and night for the admission of any one claiming hospitality and whatever his relations with the family may be.

Having gained some acquaintance with the Ossete house, let us now see what its importance may be, first as a religious and secondly as a proprietary bond. It is well known how important a part was played by the hearth in the domestic cult of the Hindus, Greeks, and Romans, what its significance was in the marriage rite, in sacrifices performed by the head of the family in honour of departed ancestors, and generally on all ceremonial occasions, *e.g.* on the adoption of a son into the family, at the administration of oaths, or in sheltering from justice the runaway felon. The same cult of the family hearth is met with in Ossetia, and to this day it is their sacred place. Fire is always burning on it, this duty devolving on the women, and a common saying among Ossetes if they wish ill to a person is, "May your fire be extinguished!" this being tantamount to saying, "May your family be removed!" Not only is the hearth an object of veneration, but the chain suspended over it to support the caldron is intimately associated with the most important acts of their lives. The sacred character of this chain is shown by the prohibition strictly enforced by custom not to touch it without special cause, and also by the fact that touching the chain is a usual mode of enforcing an oath or validifying the marriage rite. If an Ossete desire to place his evidence beyond doubt, he takes hold of the chain, saying at the same time, "I swear by this pure gold of Safa," Safa apparently holding in their religious observances the place of Vulcan, a kind of celestial smith who forges the family chains.¹ In precisely similar way on marriage the bride loosens the tie

¹ Perhaps answering to Vishnu, the god of the hearth in the Rig-Veda, *cf.* Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. Vol. XIX. Pt. 4, p. 609.

which binds her to her own family and unites herself to that of her husband by certain formalities, in which the groomsmen strikes the chain with his dagger, having first wound it three times round the bride. The same triple ceremony is observed in the husband's house on the third or fourth day after the wedding, usually called the "bridal night." In his turn the fugitive criminal seeking shelter from the law finds security if he succeeds in winding round his neck the family chain, for by doing this he identifies himself with the family cult and, as it were, places himself under the protection of those ancestors, reverence to whom is connected with the worship of the hearth chain. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the stealing of the chain or the mere throwing it aside by a stranger should be regarded in the light of a sacrilege requiring blood idemnity. The veneration of the chain does not, however, entirely replace that of the hearth itself, and to this day the Ossete when sacrificing throws on the fire the first morsel or the first drops of blood, every sacrifice requiring according to his notions fire to be made acceptable to God.

We know that the cult of the family hearth wherever it is met with is closely connected with ancestral worship, a fact doubtless attributable to the views held by primitive man on the supernatural life. He believed that the dead had the same wants as the living, that they needed food and drink, and he saw in offerings of this food a means of constant intercourse between past and present generations, while an apparent acceptance of the food offered to them is supplied by its destruction by fire.¹ This is why the burning of the sacrificial animal, or a part of it, and the libation on the fire of wine, is so frequently met with in the Hindu, Greek and Roman ritual. All those more or less fragmentary facts on which we found our conclusions of the close connection between the hearth and ancestral worship are fully represented by analogies in the contemporary life

¹ The laws of Manu, however, prescribe the eating of the sacrificial food as the duty of the higher caste of officiating priests who might alone do this. Cf. Sir W. Muir.



DECHY, PHOTO, 1984.

NEAR MESTIA IN THE INGUR VALLEY.

W. Origen, Colliery, Peshkam, S. M.

of the Ossetes. The funeral oration by a relative of the deceased, in which the All-merciful Barastyr (a kind of Pluto) is invoked to take him under his care, that he may for ever partake of the bliss of Paradise, where his horse may pasture near him, and he may taste of joys such as no earthly lord had, and become the object of envy of those who had no such pleasures, either because of their sins or the poverty of their relatives preventing them from celebrating the sacrifices, and therefore leaving their departed to charity or stolen crusts. All this evidently indicates their belief that the future well-being of the dead depends on the quantity of food and drink supplied them by their descendants; this is why the relatives provide the departed with a bottle of arrack and some cakes, lest he should hunger and thirst on his way to the other world; breaking the bottle, and pouring the contents over his grave, and throwing the cakes on one side of it, pronouncing the words, "May this food and this drink last thee till thou reachest paradise (dzeneta)!" Fear lest the deceased should have nothing to eat in the next world haunts the Ossete for a whole year after the death of a near relative. Weekly on Fridays at sunset the widow visits her husband's grave, taking with her meat and drink. The first week of the new year a special service is held in his honour, and a gigantic loaf, large enough to last a man a whole month, is baked. Two sticks are crossed, and upon these are set the clothes of the departed, his weapons being also attached. This dummy figure is set upon a bench specially constructed for the purpose, and around it are scattered the favourite objects of the dead person; in front of the bench are placed a bowl of porridge and a bottle of arrack, specially designed for the departed. For a few minutes the assembled family retire from the spot to give him time to taste the food, in accordance with the custom according to which the elders partake of food apart from the younger members of the family. Among Muhammadans these ceremonies are observed on the first week of the New Year, while Christians celebrate them on Good Friday (sixth week in Lent). The only difference is that in the latter case the food offered to

the dummy figure is of a Lenten kind. One of the old men or one of the old women proclaiming a toast, either in arrack or beer, says as follows: "May he (the deceased) be serene, and may his tomb be serene; may he be famous among the dead, that none may have command over his food, and that it may reach him intact, and be his for ever; that increasing it may multiply as long as the rocks roll down our hills, and the wheels roll over the plains, neither growing mouldy in summer, nor freezing in winter; and that he may divide it according to his good will among such of the dead as have no food!"

The same idea of the necessity of feeding the dead explains those frequent memorial ceremonies which have been estimated to cost each family at least 2000 rubles a year, and lead sometimes to their complete ruin. Christians celebrate no less than ten of them, Muhammadans seven, some lasting several days. On these occasions, says V. Miller, the food eaten is said not to benefit him who eats, but the dead in whose honour the feast is held, so that a person after a substantial meal at one of these feasts, on returning home has the right to demand that his usual dinner be served to him. There is no greater insult for an Ossete than to tell him that his dead are hungry. The dead too require firing besides food and drink, and it is for this reason that at the New Year, or strictly speaking on the last Friday in December, the house-owner stacks bundles of straw in his yard and sets them alight, with the words, "May our dead be serene, may their fire not be extinguished!" and he believes that in this way he supplies the dead with new fire for the coming year. From all that precedes we cannot but come to the conclusion that, like the ancient Hindus, Greeks and Romans, the Ossetes liken the life beyond the grave to that on earth. This appears not only from the practice of feeding the dead by the living, but from the care taken by Ossetes to supply the dead on burial with all the requisites for the future life. They bury him in his best clothes, in order that he may present a respectable appearance in the next world, however poorly he has been obliged to live in

this. And though at present under Muhammadan and Christian influences they only place with the corpse the food already mentioned, there was a time when, judging from the excavations made by Miller and Kovalefsky, it was customary to bury with the deceased his arms and ornaments, his horse-trappings, his domestic utensils, his three-legged table, or 'fing,' and a variety of other articles. We know that the fear of leaving the deceased without a wife in the future life gave rise to the Indian custom of burning widows (Suttee), fire which, as we have seen, is the means of transmitting food to the departed, being made in this case to render him a further service. In Ossetia, though there is no trace of widow-burning, it is to this day customary for the widow to cut off her tress of hair and lay it upon the deceased, signifying by this act her sincere wish to belong to her husband in the life to come. The slaughter of the horse over the grave of the deceased is, we know, not unusual in the funeral rites of Aryan nations. Of this custom all that survives in Ossetia is the participation of the horse in the funeral ceremony; the eldest relative of the dead person leading it, being called 'bakh-faldisag,' literally 'horse dedicator'; and the allusion in the funeral oration to the belief that the departed will gallop his horse safely across the bridge separating Paradise from Hell. These, however, are sure indications of an earlier transmission of the horse to the deceased, probably by slaughtering it over his grave. The custom now is to strike the horse three times with the tress of hair which the widow takes from her husband's breast, where she had previously laid it, and handing it to the 'bakh-faldisag,' or horse dedicator, says, "Here is a whip for the deceased." In striking the horse the relative says, "May you both, horse and whip, be dedicated to the deceased!"¹

This identification of the future life with the present induces the conviction that the dead in the life beyond the

¹ Some interesting particulars of the sacrificial horse in the Hindu funeral rites will be found in the article already referred to. Cf. *The first Mandala of the Rig Veda*, Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. Vol. XIX. Pt. 4, pp. 621 *seqq.*

grave continue to exert themselves for the welfare of their families. The popular tales frequently speak of this or that dead person asking and obtaining leave of Barastyr, the king of the dead, to visit his relations on earth. Having met them, he assists in their raids, and before taking his departure gives up his share of the spoil, at the same time disclosing his identity. From these tales it appears that the souls of the departed may only remain on earth till sunrise, when they must return to their abode beyond the grave. The Ossetes hold communion with them in the evening with lighted candles. For a whole year the widow continues to expect the nightly visits of her husband; every evening she prepares the couch, placing beneath it a copper basin and ewer of water, lights a whole candle and sits patiently waiting his arrival till cock-crow. In the morning she rises from her bed and taking the ewer and basin with soap and other appurtenances of toilet, proceeds to the spot where he usually performed his ablutions, and stands several minutes in an expectant attitude as though waiting on him. Departed ancestors are supposed to participate in all the family ceremonies and festivals, whether at births, marriages, or attestation of oaths, the Lares and Penates being always invoked on these occasions, and the force of the oath depends in a great measure on the fulfilment by the witnessing parties of those funeral obsequies in honour of their departed whose names are invoked at such ceremonies. While the souls of the dead are supposed to leave their bodies by night and visit their friends, the living are in like manner believed to be capable during sleep of riding off on horseback or on benches to a field dedicated to the departed, and known by the name of 'Kuris.'¹ Here it is said grow all kinds of seeds, including those of happiness and misfortune. This field is jealously guarded by the dead, and may only be visited with impunity by the souls of the worthy, who may take the seeds they require, a sure pledge of a good harvest and

¹ There is a strange similarity between this name and that given by the natives in some districts of India to the prehistoric graves. Cf. Mr. Bidie's account of his visit to the graves near Pallavaram in *Notes of the Quarter*, Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. Vol. XIX. Pt. 4, p. 693.

happiness during the ensuing year. Others return covered with wounds like plague spots caused by the arrows shot at them by the dead. These wounds are incurable, and though they sometimes heal of themselves, it occasionally happens that the sufferer is waked from sleep by grievous bodily pains, and after long torments dies. These popular superstitions relating to the 'Kuris' are in later times mixed up with the struggles of the Ossetes and their Kabardinian neighbours; the victor in these fights joyfully seizing a sheaf of corn and beating out a handful of the grain scatters it in the direction of his country, signifying that he has won from his enemy a good harvest for the ensuing year. But this latter form of tradition loses the close connexion with the family cult which characterizes the earlier form, and a comparison of the two shows how popular legends of a purely religious character receive in course of time an historical colouring, their original source becoming obscure in the popular imagination.¹

Like other peoples worshipping the family cult the Ossetes venerate family and tribal burial-places, 'zapatsy,' and regard them as holy. Every Ossete desires to be buried near his family in order that he may watch over his posterity; and, therefore, the expression, "May you not be buried in your own grave!" is regarded in the light of a deep affront. On the other hand, descendants attach great importance to their dead lying near them in family burial-places, and this explains the fact that the Tualsi or Southern Ossetes, when removing from Georgia, brought their dead with them. It is no vain wish that causes the Ossetes to desire hourly intercommunion with the departed, for they believe that all that is good in life comes from the dead, and accordingly offer up prayers to them, complaining of their misfortunes, and inviting them to participate in their merry-making. In some parts of Ossetia the dead are said to select one of their number more famous than the rest for his brave deeds during life as the special object of veneration. Of these

¹ Cf. Shanaief in *Sbornik Svedenii Kavkazkikh gortsef*, vol. iii. p. 27, and vol. iv. p. 26.

defunct heroes may be mentioned Nogdzuar (*i.e.* new saint) in Kani, the so-called Khetadjidzuar in the Alaghir defile, and in all the Nart traditions. In the mountains near Kakodura the most esteemed of these divinities is Tbauatsilla, the god of plenty and contentment. There can be no doubt that some of these gods were historical personages, such as Khetag, the chief of the Khetagurof family in Nar, and the author of the belief in Khetadjidzuar. According to tradition he came from the Kuban, having abandoned his ancient house owing to disputes with his brothers. Many miracles are attributed to him, and he is usually impersonated not as a warrior-hero, but as a righteous God-fearing man. Thus on one occasion he is represented to have been miraculously protected from falling into the hands of his brethren by the intervention of a god through the instrumentality of a forest which surrounded him on every side, and the legend affirms that this forest has remained ever since exactly as it was when it covered him, an impenetrable thicket. It is still said to belong to Khetag, and every bird or animal killed in it as well as all fruits gathered there must be eaten on the spot and never carried home, for, like the funeral feasts already spoken of, good is in this way done to his soul. Khetag is the patron of the inhabitants of the Nar and Alaghir defiles, and intercedes for them before the good and evil spirits, etc. In the same way Nogdzuar is the patron and protector of the inhabitants of Kani, Tbauatsilla of those of Kakodur,¹ Dziri, and Dzivshei in the Kurtatian defile, and Farnidjidanet in Gualdon. And while every family and village has its own god and ancestral tutelary spirits, they have also collectively good genii who under the name of 'Bunatikheidsai' may be compared with the 'domovoi'² or house-spirit of the Russians, and the Banshee of the Irish. The Ossete domovoi usually haunts the store-closet, taking the form of a sprite or a hag with tusks, or a white sheep, and so on. But it can only be seen by the sorceress on New Year's eve. The bride before leaving the parental

¹ Cf. Shanaief's collection of the legends and tales of the Ossetes.

² Cf. Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, London, 1872, pp. 129 seq.

roof asks the domovoi to intercede with the patron of the house and appease his wrath at her removing to the care of the domovoi of her husband. These 'brownies' are the familiar spirits of the weaker sex, who may pronounce their name, which they are forbidden to do in the case of other spirits. In the week after Christmas the Ossetes keep a festival in honour of the domovoi, when they take a cake and prepare their best meat and wine, beer and brandy, placing these in an empty room and esteeming it a singular piece of good fortune if any of the food and wine is eaten and drunk, of course secretly, by one of the household. In the same way Safa, the god of the hearth-chain, is honoured as a familiar spirit, and his assistance invoked for the family.

The domestic cult, common as we have said to all people of Indo-Germanic race, is closely analogous with that of Iranian people, and particularly with the Persian 'fravashi.' The second part of the Zend Avesta is the best commentary on the Ossete worship of the dead. The intercommunion between the dead and the living kept up by sacrificial offerings on the one hand, and protection and assistance on the other, is a remarkable characteristic of the Avesta writings. These represent the souls of the dead continually intent upon the thought—Who will honour us and perpetuate our fame? Who will sacrifice in our memory? Who will provide the food we stand in need of? The fravashi bestows his blessing on the person sacrificing in the following words: "May there ever be in his dwelling-place herds of cattle and men, may he have a good horse and a strong chariot, may there always be in his family a God-fearing man respected by the people and worthy to sacrifice, etc.!" Pleased with his descendants, who have not left him without food, the fravashi hastens to their assistance, fights on their side in the battle, brings them a plentiful harvest, abundant water, strength and riches. Their malevolence, says the Zend Avesta, against those who offend them is terrible. They are likened to winged birds gifted with every imaginable attribute of excellence. They are generous

manly, merciful, mighty, strong, and yet light as air. Such also are the conceptions of the Ossetes with regard to their dead souls, which are frequently likened to shooting-stars. In Little Russia they say of a falling star, 'a man is dead, his soul has flown away,' and in Ossetia, referring to the same phenomenon, 'the dzuar,' their guardian spirit, 'has flown past.'

The Ossete household, or, what is the same thing, the family community, is not merely a religious bond of union, it is also a proprietary tie, a community of ownership, differing in this important distinction from every other kind of community in that its members are related to one another, working together with joint means for a common object, and jointly sharing the property so acquired. The Ossete 'dvor,' or household, is a group comprising in various parts of Ossetia 20, 40, 60, and even as many as 100 members or thereabouts. These persons have a head or chief,¹ usually the oldest in age, who, when incapacitated through illness or infirmity, appoints his successor or is succeeded by the next in age. They rarely elect a chief, as is the custom among the Southern Slavs. The name given to this head man is 'khitsau,' i.e. chief, or 'unafaganag,' governor. He represents the household in all its relations with neighbouring villages or the authorities, and he manages all the family affairs, both economical as well as religious and moral. To his keeping are entrusted the family honour in the sense of avenging insults and offences committed against any of its members, he must provide all that is necessary for its support, increase its property either by purchase or exchange, and add to its capital; he, too, may, if necessary, alienate its possessions. But the 'khitsau' is controlled by individual members of the family, and his acts are closely watched by these latter. His acts of alienation or borrowing only become binding when the assent of all the full-grown men has been tacitly given. For if there be a protest on the part of

¹ Cf. Sir H. Maine's *Early Law and Custom*, chap. viii., on East European House Communities, p. 246.

any one of the relatives, the act of the headman becomes null and void and the contract of no effect.

As in the Servian and generally in the Southern Slav 'family,' as well as in that of Great Russia, together with the headman or chief, the so-called 'domachin' or 'glovar,' there is also a 'domachikha' or 'stareshikha,' so also in Ossetia, besides the 'khitsau,' we find the so-called 'avsin' literally 'aunt.' This woman is the head of the female half of the household; in her hands is centred the management of the store-closet or kitchen, the laying in of provisions for the family and the care of the keys. She is usually the oldest of the women, wife or mother of the 'khitsau,' sometimes his widow. The leading position occupied by these two, the 'khitsau' and 'avsin,' frees them from field and domestic work. Washing the linen, mending the clothes, and the preparation of the food fall to the lot of the younger women, who divide this work among themselves.

The family property includes both immovables as well as movables. Unlike the customs of the Great Russians and Southern Slavs, Ossete law obliges every member of the family to divide his earnings with the rest, and makes no distinction between property acquired *with* and that acquired *without* the assistance of the family capital. While in India this is the first question put by the judge who recognizes individual rights over booty obtained in war or the produce of the chase, but in such earnings as those of a dancer takes into account the fact of her having been educated at the family expense, the Ossete customs transfer all private earnings to the common fund. If a priest, for instance, or an officer in the Russian service, does not divide his wages with his relatives, that is because he does not live under one roof with them. Were they all living together, they would be bound to contribute, and this is proved in the case of Ossetes serving in local garrisons who have not severed the family tie. This trait in Ossete customs shows their archaic character and the strength of the consanguinity which till lately prevailed among them. Before, however, there had been any serious interference with their institutions on the

part of the Russians, a tendency towards individualization had begun to be developed among them, and their language, that true indicator of the current of popular ideas, had formulated the inception of an era of individualization in Ossetia by the following proverbs: "Those who do not suit one another had better divide," and "Sisters-in-law (*i.e.* husband's sisters) are apt to be quarrelsome."

In considering the proprietary relations of the Ossetes, we are reminded that ownership by communities of persons related by consanguinity preceded individual ownership, but simultaneously with this joint ownership, we meet with the beginnings of ownership by the individual, corresponding with the *peculium* of Roman law. The objects of this separate property in the earliest times may have been a suit of armour, an article of dress, extending afterwards to immovables, acquired by the expenditure of personal labour whether in the form of occupation or first tillage of land. These various classes of ownership are to this day to be observed in Ossete life, since the period of Russian dominion in a more or less expiring form, previous to it, according to the accounts of travellers, in full force.

Movables as well as immovables are alike the objects of family ownership in Ossetia; arable lands, enclosed meadows, forest but rarely, and lastly pasturage, might be owned by the family, the individual, or by the tribe. Pasture, however, invariably bore the impress of communal-village property. Among movables were: the products of industry, cattle and horses used in ploughing, domestic and cooking utensils, the hearth chain, the copper caldron for cooking the food, etc., also articles of luxury such as valuable presents made to the family, silver and gilt vases, and amassed capital usually lying idle in the form of silver coin stowed away in chests. Flour mills, cheese presses, stores, stables, cattle sheds, and other buildings used for economical purposes are by custom regarded as the general property of the family, and in this category must be placed irrigating dykes and beehives. But land and its usufruct generally retain their primitive tribal character, for though separate

families may have the temporary use of it, upon the extinction of the family and the lapse of ownership, land always reverts to the tribe. This is a characteristic of the *lex Gentilis* in ancient Roman law, and the Allemannic *Vrund*, or the right of all the cousins to share the possessions of an extinct family. In the Irish 'orba,' or the reversion of property upon the failure of heirs to the source whence it was originally derived, *i.e.* to the tribe, we have the same thing. Another characteristic of contemporary Ossete life may best be expressed by the German term *Flurswang*.¹

This is not merely an obligatory and perpetual rotation of crops, but a rigid observance of stated seasons for the various works of husbandry, rendering it possible to pasture private allotments at the same time as the communal land after the annual crops have been harvested. This custom offers points of analogy to the 'lammas lands' in England, and recalls to mind the Suevi of Cæsar's Commentaries, half of whom tilled the land, while the other half fought, taking it in turns to be warriors and agriculturists. "No Ossete," remarks a writer on Ossete customs, "ventures to begin mowing his grass before the month of July, when a general assembly of all the inhabitants of a village takes place for the holiday called 'atenek,' at which the elders after long consultations decide whether the time has come to begin mowing." The ploughing is regulated in the same way, four distinct periods being assigned for this kind of field-work.

Not only are there traces of a simultaneous carrying on of agricultural work in Ossetia, but actual evidence of such a state of things at the present day in the practice of neighbouring farms to unite to form mutual loan associations to supply one another with farming implements or labour, *e.g.* in Southern Ossetia, where large teams are yoked to heavy ploughs. But let it suffice to mention one result of this Ossetian *flurswang* in the facilities it affords for making

¹ This system prevails in all parts of the Caucasus, both in the east as well as in the west, and gives rise to some curious rules in the grape country, where a day is fixed for beginning cutting the grapes.

a simultaneous use of corn-fields and meadows after harvesting operations are concluded. We find this custom developed in Europe in mediæval times still maintained in France, where it is known as *vaine-pâture*. We notice a survival of it in English common law, which prosecutes private persons for enclosing lands over which there had existed rights of pasture for the benefit of the community. We also see it in Russia, where the village community is in full force, occurring on lands held in severalty, and clearly proving that these lands were formerly subject to tenure in common. In Ossetia the only exceptions to the right of free pasture are met with in mountainous districts, where strips of cultivated land are jealously fenced in or surrounded by stones by their first occupiers, and even these are not always reserved for private use unless pastured by the owner's cattle, whose farm must necessarily be in close proximity. All other lands, after the corn and hay have been harvested, are subject to free pasture, and remain so till the time of spring ploughing comes round. This system of joint property extends even to the use of the produce, for we find it stated no further back than 1850 that every Ossete requiring hay for his cattle might take it from any stack. But this right had to be carefully watched to prevent its abuse by wealthy proprietors, *i.e.* owners of large herds. It was, in fact, supplementary to free pasture, and was designed for the benefit of the cattle in spring, when the allotments again passed under cultivation and the meadows were bare of grass. As soon as the first note of the cuckoo was heard, the Ossete might supply his needs with his neighbour's hay, but if he took it before that time he had to pay thrice its value.

Agrarian communism, which formerly characterized the tribal communities of the Ossetes, is to this day a distinguishing feature of their family relations. In some farms where everything is held in common harvesting operations are performed by the commune and supplies of food are dealt out to all the members of the house, each one receiving a share of the weft and yarn. In other households, again, individual ownership has taken the place of corporate pro-

erty, the land being annually distributed among the families, each one cultivating its own distinct allotment and taking entire possession of the crops. Whereas land, as we have seen, still bears the character of tribal property, the plantation or garden belong to the household considered as a whole and to the separate families composing it. From the earliest historical period the manor-house was not reckoned among immovables, but had the character of movable property, and the process of individualization beginning with the latter affected the manor long before land could be appropriated by individuals. This was the view taken by German law of the seventeenth century, which defined movable property as everything that could be destroyed by fire,¹ and ancient Irish law gave the plaintiff the right of seizing everything removable belonging to his debtor which might provide him "a proper house." While the 'khadzar,' or dining-hall, and the 'kunatskaia,' or strangers' room, form part of the corporate property, separate buildings added afterwards for newly-married couples are regarded as the subjects of individual ownership and may even be alienated. In the same way, separate stories of one house occupied by different owners were divisible according to ancient German law, differing from the Roman law, which required a partition-wall between the different parts of the house.

The buildings connected with husbandry are as a rule the property of the whole house, but there is nothing to forbid one of its inmates from erecting a shed or warehouse on his own land or on that belonging to the household, in the latter case, of course, with its consent.

With reference to movables certain distinctions must be drawn. In a former work Prof. Kovalefsky² has pointed out that there are exceptions to the general theory that all kinds of movables ceased simultaneously to be the objects of proprietary right by the community, whether of the tribe or its offshoot the joint household. Even such things as food and dress might be the objects of joint ownership by small

¹ Cf. Maine, *Early Law and Custom*, p. 336.

² See his *Obeshinoye Zemliya*, ch. 1.

families living together. The principle appears to have been that anything obtained by combined effort, *e.g.* the wild animal killed in the chase, became the property of all the families taking part in it. War or the chase of men evidently demanded more than any other pursuit combined efforts on the part of those engaged in it, and the spoils obtained, whether cattle or slaves, became the objects of joint ownership. In the same way cattle stolen from a neighbouring tribe were the property of the household, and in earlier times of the tribe. Of this we have convincing proof in the popular traditions of the Ossetes, preserved in their heroic or Nart *buiinas*.¹ Their heroes Khamits, Sosryko, Urysmag, and others over and over again divide the captured herds with their tribe. Thus Urysmag returning from a foray on a neighbouring clan orders all the cattle to be apportioned among the households, and when this has been done, he distributes his own share among the Narts, reserving for himself only an equal portion with the rest and the best bull. A similar division takes place when the spoils are women. In the legend of Kauerbek, while this hero is absent on a foray, interminable quarrels and dissension reign in his father's house as to who will have the girls. At length Kauerbek returns miraculously cured of the wounds dealt him by his brothers, and his first act is to distribute the maidens among his uncles and brethren according to the desire of every one. There being none left for his father,

¹ The Nart tales are the sagas of Ossete national life corresponding to the Icelandic sagas. Klaproth was the first to mention them in his *Voyage au Caucase*. It was not till fifty years later in 1862, that Schiefner acquainted us more fully with these myths (see his *Ossetische Sprüchwörter*, etc.). According to this writer the Narts are half men and half angels or heroes, whose deeds are celebrated in the songs of the Ossetes, sung by them to the accompaniment of a musical instrument like a violin. These lays prevail among other inhabitants of the Caucasus, viz. the Ingush, Kumyks, Avars, and Kabardinians, by whom the Narts are represented as giants frequently contending with beings of a higher order, the Dzuar or gods, and sometimes vanquishing these. The names of these Nart heroes, of whom there are not many, are: Khamits, Urysmag, and his son Batyradz, Sosryko, Bétéko, Soslen, etc., and the same names occur with variations in the Kabardinian legends and songs. The Narts are said to dwell in one village in the mountains on the river Sequola, crossed by a bridge leading to the village. The best collection of these sagas is by V. Miller, who committed them to writing in 1880 from the lips of the Ossetes in Vladikavkaz, Alaghir, and Sadon. Cf. an article by Hübschmann, *Sage und Glaube der Osseten*, in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Band 21, Heft iv.

the hero again departs on a new foray, and returns this time bringing a most beautiful damsel whom he presents to his father to wed.

We regret that time will not allow us to follow Prof. Kovalefsky in his remarks on the growth of individualization and partition of family property, illustrated as these are by references to the customs of Hindus and Celts, as well as the Southern Slavs and inhabitants of Great Russia. Ossete law knew no exceptions to the rule that all the earnings of a family went into the common purse till the period of the alienation of land. The captive of war became the slave of the whole household, the acquisitions whether of men or women were treated as common property, and even the spoils of war followed the same rule, though these last together with the produce of the chase were among the earliest forms of self-acquisition. The sword, the dagger, the gun of an enemy, the horns and skin of deer and mountain goat came to be recognized as the first objects of individual ownership. With regard to land, personal labour had less to do with proprietary rights than consent. It was the consent of the tribe or family that gave a title to outlying lands occupied by one of its members. An illustration of this is afforded by contemporary Russian law when the *mir* or commune consents to the settlement of separate families and the erection of huts in remote parts of their possessions.¹ And this throws light on the origin of ancient 'seizin.' It took place not on waste but on tribal lands, not by the choice of the individual, but with the consent of the tribe. That this is no mere theory is evident from the fact that where there is no consent of the tribe or commune, even though tacitly expressed, there is no real ownership. Under this form private ownership in

¹ Prof. Kovalefsky tells me, there are lands in the Ukraine (S.W. Russia), known as *Starais Zaimotchnaia*, i.e. anciently occupied by colonists, corresponding with the German 'bifang.' These are at present claimed by the Crown and taxed accordingly. Some six or seven years ago, however, lawsuits were brought before the courts of Kharkof and Sumy to test the validity of these claims, and resulted in the acknowledgment of the proprietary rights of the peasants. The government upon this prohibited any further suits of this nature upon the pretence that the historical and judicial character of these lands have not been sufficiently investigated. The question is one of great importance.

land is first met with among the Ossetes. If there be no consent and huts have been erected on land belonging to the aul or village, the community proceed to level the buildings and seize upon the property of the occupier, treating him precisely as one who had possessed himself illegally of the property of others.

Contract law, fettered as it has been in Ossetia by the joint family and the almost entire absence of personally acquired property, is in the growing stage. But the fact of its being so backward makes it all the more interesting to the student, for it supplies precisely that material which is wanting in Roman and German jurisprudence, having regard to the comparatively more modern epoch of these systems of law and the Aryan source of Ossete customs. Who were the persons capable of contracting is the question which lies at the root of this branch of archaic law, and the answer we receive in Ossetia is very remarkable. Now it is the head of the family, now his grown-up sons, who may exercise control over the family property; though the head of the family has full powers to dispose of its possessions, his contracts are voidable if the full-grown males of the household are opposed to them. He may sell the property only in the event of the interests of the family requiring such sale; but none may gainsay him if his object be to provide funeral feasts and sacrifices. When there are two buyers of a property, and one be a relative, it is the latter who must have the preference. One lot of land may be sold while another may not. For instance, the enclosure may not be alienated, but the recently constructed hut may. A cow, an ox, a horse, every kind of movable may be sold, but the caldron in which the food is cooked and the chain by which it is suspended may not. These contradictions are difficult of explanation, but a key to their solution is afforded by a comparison of Ossete customs with the laws of the Hindus and the Celts, whose institutions were likewise based on consanguinity and the indivisibility of the family property.¹

¹ Cf. Mayne, *op. cit.*, chap. viii.



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The principle both in India and in Ireland was that the joint family alone could bind itself by contracts, but that these were only valid if every one of its members assented to the transaction. The head of the family was, in fact, the trusted representative of the others, and was bound by the assent of all and every one of its members; as a father and husband he had uncontrolled authority over their fortunes. This union in one person of dual functions led in practice to this, that his rights of disposing of the whole property were only disputed in the event of his acts being prejudicial to the family interests. According to the commentators of Hindu law, alienation by the head of the family was valid, provided that it was occasioned by necessity. This necessity might be construed in various ways. It was advantageous in a year of famine to sell the joint property in order to provide for the wants of the family; but it was also profitable to arrange ancestral feasts and sacrifices and give presents to the clergy who attended them. Hence endowments for the benefit of the clergy were recognized as a valid ground for alienating the family property by Hindu and ancient Celtic laws. Another cause of free gift arose when the father of a family transferred his rights to one of his near relatives, with the stipulation that he should have maintenance during life, and be sacrificed to after death. In Hindu law it was always understood that the aged were to be supported by the family, but in Irish law this is one of the four express modes of alienating the family property.

Commentators have explained that the origin of this kind of transaction lay in personal insecurity and the impossibility of finding room for the amassed supplies. If a man did not prefer transferring his property to the church on the same conditions, he had no other course open to him except to renounce in favour of one of his near relatives. If he had sons, one of them would undertake the management of the family; but if childless, he might have recourse to more distant relatives. As soon as the transferee accepted, the

property passed into his hands as manager and the transferor was entitled to maintenance. This gift was conditional, and the non-performance by the son or relative of the obligation he had taken upon himself voided the contract. The father would then return to the former position of master and manager, or would enter into a similar agreement with another relative.

All the above is applicable to one of the more usual kinds of gifts in Ossetia. It is done in favour of a son or a brother, or, when both are wanting, a more distant relative takes it. The causes which give rise to it are not merely old age, but incapacity on the part of the elder to manage the household. Instead of a formal resignation, the co-parceners usually inform him of their wish, and indicate the person who should replace him. This latter in accepting the duties is bound to maintain the donor till his death, supplying him with clothing and everything he may require. If this condition be not complied with, the father has the right to displace the manager and resume his functions as master of the household. The same thing would occur when the donee or transferee has a house of his own and the donor temporarily lives with him. On returning to his own dwelling-place he takes back from his relative all the property which he had previously delivered. When this transaction took place between father and son-in-law, the latter removed to the house of the donor and was called "midgama" (*i.e.* inner, domestic man). But this only happened if the father had no sons and did not wish to give the property to a more distant relative. The assent of all the family was frequently asked before concluding this kind of agreement. The custom we have described is common not only in Russia, but in Styria and other countries. Wherever it is met with there is never a formal election by a family assembly of the elder, as frequently happens in Servia and generally among the Southern Slavs. It may therefore be regarded as one of those measures taken with the object of retaining the patriarchal character which at first distinguished the joint family, and to prevent its transformation into the 'artel' or the

association founded on common labour with an elective head.¹

The starting-point in the history of the joint family is when all the property, both movables as well as immovables, forms a common stock, and all the personal earnings, however acquired, belong to its members collectively. In this position of affairs the chief alone could make contracts, or, to be more accurate, no transaction affecting either the personal or real property could take place without his authority and consent. "What belongs to many," says the author of the *Vivada Chintamani*, "may be given with their assent."² The beginnings of a joint property with reference to private acquisitions become in course of time considerably modified; the dowry of the wife passes under the absolute control of her husband; everything acquired at odd times ceases to go into the general fund. At a later period the principle is adopted that only what is acquired with the assistance of the family capital belongs rightly to the family, the remainder becoming the property of the individual. The individualization of rights over property leads to the formation of a distinct class of possessions. Yarn over and above what is required for the family remains in the hands of the spinner and her husband, spoils of war in the hands of the captor, wages belong to him who serves, rent to the lessor, etc. The wage earner, who has returned from foreign parts, does not consider himself bound to divide his earnings with the family, but expends them in the purchase of what he requires, sometimes settling on occupied land, which he is the first to cultivate, and thus becomes its owner.³ In this way immovables as well as movables become the objects of self-acquisition, and we see the earliest form of individual

¹ The 'artel' is a well-known institution in St. Petersburg, Moscow, and other large cities of Russia. All the work of the foreign houses of business except merely clerical work is performed by artels. The members of these bodies are responsible one for the other, and all losses arising from the dishonesty or negligence of one of the members is payable out of the common funds. See an able pamphlet by M. Luginin, "Les Artels," written for the Cercle St. Simon in Paris.

² Cf. *Hindu Law and Usage*, etc., p. 290.

³ Cf. *Early Law and Custom*, p. 388.

landed property. For the alienation of this 'allodial' land, as we may call it, there would be none of the difficulties incident to the transfer of family land, because the owner having full dominion over it may sell or give it to whomsoever he pleases, may pledge it on loan or borrow upon it without mortgaging, the mere fact of his recognized ownership being sufficient security to the creditor. The ancient codes are all in favour of the free disposition of self-acquired property by the owner, and mediæval charters and customs take the same view. Ossete law, like that of other Aryan races, draws a distinction between ancestral and self-acquired property as regards its alienation; the first is called 'afidiban' (paternal estate), the second particularly articles valued by the family, such as old swords, guns, copper kettles, are known as 'khazna,' and excluded from the number of things which may be freely alienated. Separate property is derived from personal earnings and *occupatio* as well as from family partition. The owner of a divided share has an unlimited power over it, and may make any kind of obligation and agreement concerning it. Proofs of this are numerous in any of the sources of ancient and mediæval law, as well as in those customs which regulate transactions of this nature among the Russian peasantry and the Balkhan and Austrian Slavs. Among the Ossetes we of course meet with the same phenomenon. The more frequent partitions which have taken place in recent years are the cause of a growing tendency to barter property in Ossetia, whether movables or immovables; at the same time, contracts multiply and become more diversified. Certain kinds of property, however, remain outside the influence of civil law, and these are not land, but movables, the caldron and hearth chain. This seems strange at first sight, but if we remember that these articles had the same relationship to the family cult as the graves had in ancient Greece and Rome, and that these latter might not be alienated, it will at once be evident why the stamp of infamy was fixed on the man in Ossetia who infringed this prohibition.

Summarizing then the peculiarities of Ossete contract law,

we may say that, like other cognate systems of jurisprudence, it starts from the assumption that the father is chief of the family, and that its property is inalienable. From this the following conclusions may be made: (1) the father as representative of the family may alone contract; (2) his contracts are only valid provided the other members assent; (3) no alienation without consideration may take place except in case of necessity; (4) such necessity arises when funeral ceremonies have to be arranged, and all gifts by way of charitable endowments; (5) as well as when the donee is a relative of the same or another household; (6) with reference to self-acquired property, contracts may be made by individual members of the joint family; and (7) upon the partition of the family property all the members are at liberty to make any contracts they like.

The questions discussed in the foregoing pages are the keystones in the history of the law of contracts. If the assent of all the full-grown members of a family be necessary to make the contract binding, their presence at its conclusion is easily explained. We can now understand whom the Swedish law had in view when it spoke of the 'fastars,' usually twelve in number, whose presence was necessary in every transaction relating to property, whether in the sale or exchange, in the payment of the dowry of a bride, etc.; and we can also understand who were the twelve witnesses referred to by the Russian 'pravda' or law in the presence of whom the creditor declared his claims, as persons immediately interested in the proceedings. In course of time the memory of the causes which called forth this interesting institution passes away; the meaning of the 'fastars' and the twelve witnesses as representatives of the joint family is forgotten. If the institution continues, it is to satisfy another want, public consent; but how different are these witnesses to their early prototypes, how far from taking that immediate part in the deed which was expressed when the fastars held the lance, that symbol of dominion over the thing ceded! The Ossetes only knew the later form of the representation of the family at the completion of the contracts; their customs

require the presence of witnesses, and recognize their right to prove the act before arbitrators

Formalities, such as were required in ancient German and Roman law, find no place in the Ossete transfer of property. Except striking together the palms of the hands and the publicity given by the presence of witnesses, no ceremony was required. This mode of concluding the contract is mentioned in the Zend-Avesta, and is therefore interesting with reference to the Iranianism of the Ossetes.

With regard to real contracts, some of these were accompanied by the delivery of a kind of *vadium*, or pledge. Like the Russian peasant, the Ossete, in selling his horse, delivered the bridle to the buyer. In the betrothal the kinsman who had arranged the match places in the hand of the eldest relative of the bride a pistol, a gun, and sometimes gives him an ox, such payments being completely analogous with the ancient German handmoney, or *arrha*, which passed at the betrothal. But in transactions relating to immovables we find none of that ceremony known in the old German law under the name of 'gleba,' and in that of ancient Russia as 'diern' (*i.e.* turf). The custom observed in beating the bounds in cases of disputed boundaries, in Digoria with a stone in the hand, and in Taghauria with a lump of earth, finds nothing analogous in the sale of immovable property. The only ceremony in the case of the latter was the funeral feast in commemoration of the ancestors of the seller. These commemorative banquets remind us of ancient Greece, where neither house nor land could be bought without sacrificial offerings, and prove an identity of origin for Greek and Ossete customs. Like the ancient Greeks the Ossetes buried their dead in their fields; every family had its own burial place, consisting of a great square building with a narrow entrance. Their desire is to have their dead near them in order that they may intercede for them. When he sells his land the Ossete parts with the family graves, which become the property of the purchaser. The latter, therefore, might be regarded as a wicked person forcibly taking the dead away from their descendants, and might be haunted by evil

spirits, did he not propitiate them by feasts and sacrifices. In the same way on marriage the household gods might resent the carrying away of the bride, and become evil genii to the husband; accordingly a naked sword is carried above the bride's head and brandished on all sides to protect her from the invisible spirits.

The want of a written character has prevented the Ossetes from independently having recourse to the most ancient and most simple of all forms of concluding a contract, viz. by a deed in writing. The modern documents occasionally found among them are partly in the Arabic and partly in Russian character, and merely prove the direct influence of Muhammadan law on the one side and Russian jurisdiction on the other. The very term they employ for a book, *ji-nig*, is a corrupted form of the Russian word *kniga*, and is used by them to designate written documents. But their endeavour to change every kind of symbolism for a written document long before the Russians entered their country is evident from the mention made of their use of wooden tablets like the *birki* or scoring sticks of the Russian peasant, and the various marks they employed for denoting every article in the agreement.

Before concluding this article, we must allude to that part of M. Kovalefsky's work dealing with the criminal law of the Ossetes, and as time will not allow of a full and critical examination of this branch of the subject, I avail myself of a paper in the *Journal des Savants* (1887) by M. Dareste, Judge of the Cour de Cassation at Paris, who is, I believe, an authority of good standing on primitive law.

Ossete criminal law still recognizes blood indemnity. In the last century its application was unrestricted. Every murder committed involved, as a necessary consequence, the two families—that of the murdered man and his murderer's—in an indefinitely prolonged war of extermination. Vengeance was a religious duty. The body of the victim was brought into the house with every ceremony, and all the relations rubbed some of the blood on their foreheads, eyes, cheeks, and chin, and took a solemn oath to do their duty. Having accomplished this act of vengeance,

the avenger repaired to the grave of his relative, and there made a solemn declaration of the act he had committed in obedience to custom and religion. No compensation was admissible except for light wounds, slight injuries and thefts. At the present day manners have undergone a change. The right of vengeance is limited as regards persons. It can only be exercised by the children and nearest relatives of the dead person. It is forbidden during the first two weeks of the fast and whenever it conflicts with the laws of hospitality. Lastly, and this is the greatest step in advance, it may always be stopped by compensation, the amount of which is fixed by arbitration, taking into account certain customary rights arising out of the rank and status of the parties. The highest compensation awarded is eighteen times eighteen cows for murder; thrice eighteen cows for mutilation and wounding. The Ossetes only counted as far as eighteen. In the case of a woman the compensation was half that payable for a man, but double if the woman were pregnant. In the case of a slave there was no blood indemnity, the murder was only regarded as a simple tort, and the indemnity calculated according to the loss sustained. In the same way, if a freeman were killed by accident, and if the act were done in self-defence, it was justifiable homicide. The primitive union of members of one family has not, however, entirely disappeared, and some traces of it yet remain. Thus, independently of the compensation payable by the murderer personally, his paternal relatives owe a feast of reconciliation to the victim's relatives, and they may have to entertain in this way a hundred persons. If the murderer takes refuge in flight, the avenger seizes his goods, and then it is customary for the brothers of the fugitive to pay the indemnity. The criminal suit is always between two families. He who has no family has no avenger, and, if killed, the murderer goes unpunished.

We have now to deal with the first reform which takes place in the criminal law of barbarous people by the substitution of restricted for unlimited vengeance. The penalty is proportioned only to the measure of the crime, and may

be satisfied by a monetary payment, by which peace is restored. The monuments which have survived for us of the primitive law of ancient people show us everywhere this second system in analogous if not identical circumstances. Prof. Kovalefsky approaches these monuments, gives reasons for resemblances and differences, and finds at every step in the customs of the Ossetés explanations which have the undeniable advantage of being founded on facts. This is one of the most interesting and newest parts of his book. The results of his researches are formulated by him in the following propositions: 1. Under the family system, crime consists not in the attempt against moral and social order, but in material damage caused to the person; whence vengeance and compensation; 2. The violation of what we call a civil right constitutes a crime, admitting the same right of vengeance which is exercised by the seizure of the goods or of the person; 3. No distinction is therefore drawn between civil and criminal wrongs; 4. And consequently there is no difference between civil and criminal procedure; 5. Lastly, an intentional wrong is not distinguished from mere negligence, the accidental and the premeditated act are regarded in the same light.

We have seen that every criminal cause is a quarrel between two families. It follows, therefore, that crimes committed in the bosom of the family do not admit the right of vengeance, but it does not therefore follow that they should remain unpunished. The elder or head of the family exercises a right of internal police. He may expel the person who has disturbed the peace of the house, and oblige him to exile himself by the destruction of his house; in some cases his goods only may be seized, and he may be placed under an interdict or kind of excommunication which puts a stop to all relations with other members of the family. The guilty person may avoid confiscation by paying a ransom; this is not merely an indemnity for the damage caused, as it may amount to twenty-seven times its value; it is rather the equivalent of the punishment incurred. All this side of primitive law has hitherto remained obscure.

The practice of the Ossetes reveals its importance, and explains certain characteristics of ancient legislation. For instance, Solon or rather Draco, the editor of Athenian criminal law, did not speak of the parricide, and seems hardly to have thought a crime of such enormity possible. This reason may have satisfied moralists like Plutarch, but edifying histories cannot explain ancient laws. The true reason is that parricide was committed in the bosom of the family, and therefore did not admit of vengeance. Excommunication and exile were the only penalties in such cases. Most of the laws of the barbarians preserve the same silence on this head as Athenian law, and evidently for the same reason. The parricide could not be brought under the criminal law till the system of blood vengeance had given place to another, that of a penalty inflicted in the name of society. Primitive criminal law only knew a small number of crimes. Crimes against the state or against religion considered as a political institution, and most of the torts or wrongs against private property, are creations of a later date. To speak accurately theft is no crime; among the Ossetes at all events it gave rise only to a civil process, and the restitution of the thing stolen; their customs did not distinguish between manifest theft and that which is not manifest, or, to illustrate our meaning by contemporary English law, between robbery and burglary; it was indifferent as to whether the robbery were committed by day or night. The robber caught in the act may be beaten, but may in no case be killed, as his family would exact the price of blood. The only distinction made by custom was that a robbery committed in an inhabited house is considered more serious than one in the fields, the former being an attempt not only against property, but also against domicile. But robbery committed within the family or rather the *gens* was a different thing. The restitution imposed in this case by the head of the family might be triple or even seven times the value of the thing stolen. In this way the repression of robbery began to assume a penal character.

Among wrongs against the person three are suggestive of interesting remark. First, blows and wounds are regulated by a tariff less complicated than those of the Germanic codes. The size of the wound is measured by grains of barley placed end to end, a singular arrangement, probably borrowed from the code of Vakhtang.¹ Next are the injuries or attempts against the honour of the individual. The greatest outrage which a man can do to another is to kill a dog on the tomb of his ancestors. In former times this outrage could only have been washed out with blood. An attempt upon the chain suspended above the domestic hearth was also considered as an unpardonable injury (cf. ante, p. 384). At the present day these matters are more easily settled. It is the same with the adulterer. His was also in former times an inextinguishable crime. The outraged husband might kill the seducer found *in flagrante delicto*, and was not liable to pay the price of blood. Modern manners have modified these affairs. But the position of the adulterous wife is very different. Her crime is committed within the family, and is therefore subject to domestic jurisdiction. Mounted on an ass she is promenaded in shame through the streets, exposed to the insults of all, and at length is put to death by her husband and his relatives. This is the common law of all Indo-European nations. For instance, the Brahmanical codes describe the same practice with the only difference that a monkey is substituted for the donkey.

This part of the Ossete criminal law throws a great light on the history of criminal law in general. It shows whence were derived the first penalties inflicted in the name of society, and how the State came to take the place of the *gens*. Domestic jurisdiction served criminal legislation with its earliest types, while the law of vengeance has gradually been abolished in international relations.

The customs of the Ossetes have been officially proved

¹ The code of Vakhtang, Prince of Georgia, was revised in 1723, according to M. Dareste, who, in an earlier number of the same volume of the *Journal des Savants*, reviews both the Armenian and Georgian systems of jurisprudence and their close connexion with Ossete customs. Cf. *l.c.* p. 169.

and classified at various epochs, notably in 1836, 1844 and 1866. They vary in the several cantons, presenting matter well worthy of study in detail. M. Dareste has only lightly touched on the subject. We will conclude, he remarks, in emphasizing Prof. Kovalefsky's remark that the criminal law of the Ossetes offers a perfect analogy with ancient Indo-European codes, and particularly with the ancient laws of Ireland recently published. All these monuments of the past illustrate and explain each other, and the points of comparison met with among the people of the Caucasus are all the more precious because they show us living institutions.

I need only say a few more words in conclusion. I am indebted to the present article for an acquaintance with its author, Prof. Kovalefsky, who has kindly read over my MS., and suggested two or three notes by way of elucidation. His knowledge of jurisprudence, of which he was for many years Professor at the University of Moscow, enables him to speak with great authority on all the customs of the semi-civilized inhabitants of the Caucasus, among whom he has made several journeys. The results of his last year's travels are published in some pamphlets on the Pshaves and Khevsurs, and he has also communicated some results of his earlier observation in two articles published in the *Vestnik Evropii*.

ART. X.—*The Languages spoken in the Zarafshan Valley in Russian Turkistan.* By R. N. CUST, LL.D., M.R.A.S.

IN the course of my reading preparatory to my proposed trip in September next to Orenberg and the Steppes of Central Asia, I came upon the valuable book by Dr. Radloff, "*Aus Siberien*," Leipzig, 1884. His account of the languages spoken in the Zarafshan Valley, of which the famous city of Samarkand is the capital, seems so important, that I have had it translated from the German for publication in the *Journal*. In Vol. XVIII. of the *Journal*, 1886, pp. 177–195, I communicated a paper on the Geographical Distribution of the Túrki Languages, but some points required elucidation, which are cleared up by Dr. Radloff's remarks. His statements with regard to the Tájik or Persian portion of the population of the Valley is very important, as being fresh, and no doubt accurate.

ROBERT N. CUST, Hon. Secretary.

May 10th, 1888.

The population of the Zarafshan Valley may be divided into two groups, according to its languages: 1stly, races speaking Túrki languages, and 2ndly, races speaking Persian. The former constitute the largest portion of the population, while the latter are scattered about in various parts. The Persian-speaking inhabitants as a rule go by the name of Tájik; even the uncultured country people and nomad tribes call the Persian language Tájik-til (Tájik language).

The Tájik generally only inhabit the towns, and only busy themselves with commerce and handicraft. They have

their origin partly from very old Persian emigrants or freed Persian slaves, who were sold in great numbers every year, by the Turkomans in the Khanates. The newer Persian inhabitants are generally called Iran, and are partly, although perhaps secretly, Shiah.

The chief seats of the Tájik (by which general name I here comprise all the Persians) are the cities of Khojend on the Syr Daria (which separates the Tájik town from the Uzbek town, inhabited nearly wholly by Tájik) and Samarkand. The inner town of Samarkand is almost solely inhabited by Tájik, and Persian is the prevailing language there. The Tájik fill the western gardens and the neighbourhood of Samarkand almost exclusively as well; however there are a few Iran villages, which make the silk-worm their chief industry. I have in vain endeavoured to find from the Tájik their tribal names, neither do they know anything about their early history.

As a remnant of the former population, I may mention the so-called Mountain-Tájik or Galcha, who inhabit districts more or less extensive. It seems as if these ancient inhabitants had saved themselves from the stream of new-comers by keeping to these high-lying districts. As far as I could tell, these great Tájik settlements are situated as follows: 1) one day's journey from Kokand on the way to Dauan, the following villages were pointed out to me, Schaidan, Babadurchan, and Yangas; 2) in the south-west mountains of Tashkend; 3) on the north border of the Kara-Tag; 4) along the upper course of the Zarafshan, east of Pentshikend, where the population was called Galcha and Kara Tegin. Unfortunately I could not visit any of these Persian settlements, so I cannot give any further details about them. However, as far as I can know, these people differ very little from the other inhabitants in their customs and ways of living.

The Túrki inhabitants of the Zarafshan Valley consist for the most part of Uzbek, with the exception of a few places on the Nurpai, where there are several important Arab settlements, but which have long succumbed to Túrki influence, and even speak their language.

The chief Uzbek tribes are by no means strictly separate from one another, but are considerably intermixed, always keeping together as a race. A fact of this is, that a great number of the Kiptchak names, which often, as one clearly sees, have been given after the names of small tribal fractions. However, I consider it superfluous to discuss this fictitious genealogy further; one thing I will yet mention. The Khan of Bokhara, who came from the Mangyt tribe, is said to sit on a felt cloth every time he ascends his throne, the four corners of which are held by delegates from the four branch tribes.

From what I have said, two languages, the Persian and Túrki, are spoken in the Zarafshan Valley, and in Transoxiana generally. I do not venture to give any decided opinion about the Persian; however it seems that the Persian spoken here differs very little from the written Persian. As to the Túrki languages, there are four here: the Kirghíz, the Kara-Kalpak, the Turkoman, and the Jagatai or Uzbek. The three former are closely related, while the Uzbek differs considerably from them; the latter alone is a literary language. Of course, throughout the large area which the Uzbek inhabit, there must be some variety in the dialects; however, generally speaking, this language may be taken as a whole; at any rate, the inhabitants of Bokhara and the Sarts of Turkistan understand each other well enough, which is not to be surprised at, when one considers the long and constant intercourse between the towns of Central Asia.

As to the purity of the Túrki language, it is in the steppes that it is the most purely spoken, where it has not yet been permeated by the civilization of Islam, the destroyer of language and of national spirit. The language of the Kirghíz is the least poisoned with Arabic and Persian words, and whatever foreign elements they may have taken up, they have completely assimilated. However, they have been invaded in many parts by foreigners, which fact is proved by the fact of the Kirghíz living in close proximity to the Sart.

As regards purity of language, next to the language of

the Kirghíz stands that of the Kara-Kalpak, and the Turkoman in the Nurata mountains, although the tribes have succumbed considerably to the Uzbek in all their social intercourse, and have therefore incorporated many loan-words.

The language of the Uzbek residents of the Zarafshan Valley is not nearly as pure as those which I have just mentioned. Arabic and Persian expressions are used a great deal, even by the non-educated. In the towns this language is the most disfigured, as it is considered good style to borrow foreign expressions. The higher the society, the more does the language get debased, so that to an outsider it sounds like a different language. Not only are an innumerable amount of foreign expressions used here, but the grammatical structure is changed. The harmony of names has been quite destroyed, and changed to please the foreigners. It seems as if learning itself had required this unnatural course, for the Mulla forces upon the reading scholars pronunciation contrary to that of Túrki, and severely denounces the correct intonation. Thus it comes about that the less learned people read according to the Mulla's instruction.

It seems as if learning had the object of eradicating the language of the people. The ordinary man, who reads and writes without being learned, does so in Túrki. However, as soon as he knows more, he turns his back in disgust on these reputed signs of ignorance, and gives himself up to the study of Persian. This half-educated man still writes in Túrki, as he is not yet sufficient master of the Persian. He only reads the Korán in Arabic, learns prayers, and works through a few Arabic books, provided with a translation. However, if he gets as far as the Arabic Grammar, and gets to know a little of Arabic, he then neglects the Persian, and gives all his time to Arabic, the aim of every learned man. The greater scholars generally only write in Persian, troubling themselves very little if the receiver of the epistle understands Persian or not. Very often this unfortunate man is obliged to find a Mulla first to translate the writing of his correspondent. All the official business

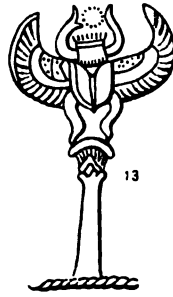
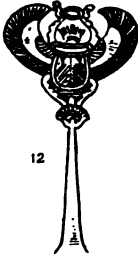
in documents, decrees, etc., of the government are transacted in Persian, even in Kokand. The reason of this is that every official always has a Mulla, who of course writes Persian. I have often had occasion to see these official documents written. The official just gives the Mulla the substance of the writing, and only seals it, while the other does all the rest.

Under these circumstances, the continual inroad of foreigners is not to be surprised at. But what helps to break up the language more is, that the foreign words continue their independent existence, as was the case with the interlarding of French phrases among the German aristocrats of the last century. Only here the confusion increases, because there is no reaction by which the language should be purified.

Although, generally speaking, people are not slow to see that such occupations as investigating and learning are good for the mind and strengthen the judgment, it is unfortunately just the opposite here. Only the uneducated seem to have a sound judgment and a certain acuteness.

The language of the Kirghíz is pleasing and eloquent; they are witty and sarcastic in questioning and answering, and often even very sharp, and even the least educated Kirghíz is complete master of his language. A Kirghíz story-teller has a fresh and fascinating way of relating. The Kara-Kalpak, the Turkoman, and the Uzbek resident of the Zarafshan Valley is even more helpless than the uneducated nomad, but the educated classes among the townspeople are very heavy in their conversation, devoid of expression, and exceptionally wearisome in their talk. How could it be different? They occupy themselves mostly with what they cannot understand from a linguistic point of view. The Kirghíz hears his fairy tales, myths, and songs in his own language, and so he gets impressions which remain, and incite to imitate. The Uzbek, on the contrary, listens to the simplest stories in a language the greater part of which he only half understands, and the more he studies, the thicker becomes the mist around him. They get used to guessing

the sense of what they have read or heard, and learn the jingle of words by heart, like a parrot. Through this only one function of the mind, the memory, is practised, while the other functions are not called upon at all. The scholar requires from fifteen to twenty years to master the difficulties of the language, a victory which is the aim of every student. There are very few who have been fortunate enough to carry off the victory.



BUDDHIST SYMBOLS.
J. R. A. S. 1868

ART. XI.—*Further Notes on Early Buddhist Symbolism.* By
R. SEWELL, Esq., Madras Civil Service, M.R.A.S.

IN an article on *Early Buddhist Symbolism*, in Vol. XVIII. Part 3, of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal (1886), I expressed my belief that the three objects of worship and ornament so commonly seen on Buddhist sculptures in India, the *svastika*, the *chakra*, and the *trishûla*, were not indigenous Indian emblems, but symbols of Western Asian origin—whether Semitic or Aryan matters little—adopted of old by the Hindus, and accepted, originally by Buddhists, not as being in themselves Buddhist symbols, but as being symbols of religious signification in general use among the people. I stated my conviction that they were in their inception sun-symbols, the *svastika* representing probably sun-motion; the *chakra* a fiery circle or orb emblematic of sun-power, the sun, for instance, in an Asiatic noon-day, as well as the giver of light, the vivifier; and the doubtful *trishûla* (and this was the point of my story) in all probability derived from the Egyptian scarab. The paper was enriched with several illustrations, showing the transition of the scarab into various forms in Assyria, Phœnicia, Persia, and, thence, in Buddhist India. To prove that this novel theory was not lacking in common sense, I gave a concise resumé of the historical aspects of the case, pointing out that Northern India had been, for perhaps a thousand years prior to the teaching of the Buddha, and for quite a thousand years prior to the construction of such Buddhist buildings as now remain to us, in much closer communication with the countries of Western Asia than has been commonly supposed. I am not alone in my belief that several Indian forms have been derived from forms in religious use further west. Mr. Fergusson, for

instance, thought that the well-known *Vaiṣṇava garuḍa* was nothing more than the hawk-headed divinity of the Assyrians. So far no apology is needed. When, however, my *scarab* theory for the origin of the *trīśūla* is considered, the standpoint is different; for there I am alone, and on ground that is exceedingly slippery. It is because subsequent discussion appears to me to strengthen rather than to weaken the force of my arguments, that I venture again into the arena. At present I desire to put on record a few remarks on Mr. F. Pincott's paper, "*The Tri-Ratna*," in Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. Vol. XIX. Part 2, p. 238, and, with their kind permission, to publish some criticisms by Dr. E. W. West of Munich, and Prof. J. Darmesteter of Paris.

It is perfectly true, as noted by Mr. Pincott, that Buddha set his face against metaphysical speculation, that his object was to draw his countrymen away from idle dreaming and to teach them to concentrate their efforts on the practical duties of life,¹ and also that he discouraged the use of all images and representations; but we are concerned, not with Buddha himself, but with Buddha's followers some centuries after his death, when they had begun to sculpture the buildings, the ruins of which now exist. And all Buddha's teaching did not cause them to refrain from a lavish use of symbols. The question at issue is, what was the origin of those symbols? They may have been deliberately invented by the Buddhists from simple ideas,² or they may, equally I think, have been adopted from symbols then in common use among the people. Mr. Pincott seems to think that I have accused Buddha himself of dabbling in solar myths, but I must protest against such an interpretation of my arguments. Buddha himself had nothing to do with the symbols sculptured by his devotees.

Mr. Pincott states that the *trīśūla* is merely the three-pronged object on the top of the illustrations in my paper, and that that term is never applied to the circular object found underneath it, and he continues: "The two objects

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 238.

² *Id.* p. 239.

are totally distinct, and are often represented separately in different places and for different purposes. This could never be the case if they formed part of one object; for there is no sense in depicting the front claws of a scarab on one building, and his headless trunk on another." He also adds that sometimes the circle is seen over the *trīśūla*. I am afraid that I must have expressed myself very badly. I never had it in contemplation to assert that the term *trīśūla* was ever applied to the circle minus the head. My belief was, and is, that the original *trīśūla* was the whole object depicted on the Amarāvati sculptures, but that constantly that object came to be mutilated, so that often the symbol was represented merely as the three-pronged top plus the circle, with or without the side-members, and in later times the three-pronged top alone. In modern India, of course, the *trīśūla* is understood to be simply the trident portion. Personally I have never seen the lower portion of the emblem—circle, wings, and (may I say?) hind-legs—without the trident top, nor have I ever seen the circle depicted above the trident.

Mr. Pincott believes that the trident standing alone represents the old Indian letter \downarrow , the first letter of the celebrated formula *Ye Dharmā*, while the whole symbol represented in my illustrations represents this letter \downarrow , the *chakra* (*Buddha*), and a supporting stem or stand, symbolizing the *Sangha*. This may be so, but it is dangerous to argue from mere similarity, and it would be easy to show that there are other prominent portions of the symbol—for instance, the lower members—unaccounted for by this theory. At any rate I do not think that the scarab theory is yet quite "annihilated," as will be seen below. Meanwhile, I am personally indebted to Mr. Pincott, not only for his article, but for his courtesousness in handling my, to him probably absurd, theory.



On March 7th, 1887, Dr. E. W. West wrote to me the following letter from Munich :

"Will you allow me to suggest that Fig. 14 on p. 399 of J.R.A.S. n.s. Vol. XVIII. (in your article on Early Buddhist

Symbolism, see Plate, Fig. 1) may be merely a rude skeleton outline of a sitting figure of Buddha, with the arms upraised in an unusual attitude. At any rate it must be symbolical of Buddha, because the Pahlavi legend can hardly be intended for anything else than 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *Bûđ devô*, 'the demon Bûđ,' a term applied to Buddha by the Zoroastrians, as seems evident from *Bundahish* xxviii. 34 (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. v. p. 111), which can be otherwise translated thus: 'The demon Bûđ is he whom they worship among the Hindûs, and his spirit-breath is lodging in idols such as Bûđâsp worships.'


I pause to note references. The translation of the *Bundahish* referred to is Dr. West's own. There the passage is rendered: "34. The demon Bûđ is he whom they worship amongst the Hindûs, and his growth is lodged in idols, as one worships the horse as an idol." A footnote says: "Av. *Bûiti* of Vend. xix. 4. 6. 140, who must be identified with Pers. *but* 'an idol,' Sans. *bhûta* 'a goblin,' and not with Buddha." The letter continues:

"I was doubtful about this identification of Bûđ with Buddha, because there is a demon Bûiti (Pahl. *Bûđ*) mentioned in the Avesta (*Vendidad*, xix. 1, 2, 43) [Spiegel 4, 6, 140] as a special enemy of Zarathushtra, but without any other details. Whether the demon Bûidhi of Vend. xi. 9 [Spiegel 28] is the same is quite uncertain, as no information about him is given. The passages mentioning these demons may very possibly be interpolations made in early Sassanian times, when Buddhism had become a rival of Zoroastrianism in the east of Irân; but this is only a guess. However, Prof. J. Darmesteter was clearly of opinion that the demon Bûđ of *Bund.* xxviii. 34 was intended for Buddha, and he pointed out that Bûđâsp is mentioned as the creator of Sabeism by Hamzah. Supposing that the legend 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 correctly represents the original, the most obvious reading is *Bûđtô*, which might be mistaken as an adjective 'of or pertaining to Buddha,' similar to 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 , 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 , 'wooden, golden, silvery;' but I am not aware that the adjective suffix *-fn* can be appended to a name; at any rate, in Pahlavi the proper suffix for forming an adjective from a proper name is *-dn*, as in *pušt-i Vishtâspdn*, 'the ridge of Vishtâsp' (a mountain name). If therefore the word

be an adjective, meaning 'belonging to Buddha,' it ought to be written  *Bādānō* (the last stroke being optional). My reading *Bād dēvō* requires , which can also be read *Bād dēnō* 'religion of Buddha,' but the application of the word *dēnō* to any religion, except Zoroastrianism and its sects and heresies, is rare, unless it be intended for their religious books or Scriptures. The characters in this Pahlavi legend seem to be of the sixth or seventh century A.D."

In reply I informed Dr. West that my illustration had been taken from Layard's work, and suggested the advisability of consulting the original seal, which was believed to be in Paris, that alone being a safe guide, when the question of a rendering of the legend was at issue. And I remarked further on the unlikelihood of an unusual attitude being adopted for a figure of Buddha intended to be identified as Buddha by the people of the day at first sight. For such a purpose, probably, one of the most common attitudes would have been chosen—either that depicting the sage as standing and preaching, or the seated contemplative position, legs crossed and hands in lap. I shall reserve other arguments for the present. Dr. West replied in the following very interesting letter, written on June 15th :

"Your letter of April 3rd arrived when I was away from home, and, since my return, I have waited till I could ask Prof. J. Darmesteter . . . to inspect the seal with the Pahlavi inscription, which was formerly in the Imperial Cabinet in Paris, and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. I have had to await his convenience, but he has now sent me sealing-wax impressions of this seal and two others of analogous devices, but without inscriptions. As these impressions would be spoiled by the slightest pressure in a hot climate, I retain them here at your disposal, merely sending you three paper impressions from each in the enclosed envelope, which, though not quite so clear as those in sealing-wax, will be more permanent in hot weather. As M. Darmesteter's remarks are interesting, I quote them verbatim, as follows :

"Je vous envoie, ci-inclus, l'empreinte de la pierre en question. Il est difficile, comme vous voyez, de lire autre chose que 

Bātin, et impossible de lire *Bāt-dév*. D'ailleurs je ne vois pas comment un Mazdéen pourrait se faire faire une gemme avec le nom d'un *dév*. Quand au passage du Bundelesh xxviii. 34, je lirais volontiers *Bātasp* au lieu de *Bāt asp*, et j'y verrais une allusion à l'introduction du culte des idoles par *Būdasp*. Le culte des idoles inventé, selon Hamza et Mirkhond, sous Tahmuras, dont le premier ministre et directeur de conscience est nommé *جوداسب* dans Hamza, *شیداسف* dans Firdausi, *بوداسف* dans Masoudi. *Būdasp* a été reconnu, depuis longtemps, par M. Reinaud comme une corruption de *Bodhisatva*. Je crois donc que le passage du Bundelesh a identifié le *Bāiti* de l'Avesta, à tort ou à raison, avec le *but* بُت dérivé de Buddha. L'emploi systématique de بت avec شمن (= *çramana*) dans les textes anciens ne permet guère de douter qu'en effet بت est, comme on le croyait, la corruption de Buddha. Les empreintes de deux autres gemmes que je vous envoie en même temps sont peu favorables à l'hypothèse du Buddha assis, et parleraient plutôt en faveur du Scarabée.¹ . . . *Bādtn*, pour en revenir à notre point de départ, ne peut guère être que le nom du propriétaire; on peut prononcer aussi *Bōdtn*, ce qui en ferait un dérivé de *baodhō*; cf. le nom de la dynastie des Boyides *بویه*. Le suffixe *-tn* ne semble pas inconnu dans les noms propres: cf. *Barstin*, etc.¹


"This last sentence does not meet my remark that the suffix *-tn* does not appear to be added to proper names (already existing) to form possessive adjectives; so that it was doubtful if *Bādtn* could mean 'belonging to Buddha,' 'Buddhical,' which might be applied to the symbol. Of course any adjectival epithet, formed from an ordinary noun, can be taken as a proper name. This is a very probable explanation of the inscription, but it does not explain the symbol. The Avesta *baodhō* becomes *𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀* *bōd* in Pahlavi, and seems to mean 'consciousness,' as it is said to be absent in sleep. In certain compounds, however, *baodhō* becomes *𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬀* *bōdōk* in Pahlavi, so that *𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀* is a possible form for *bōdtnō* with the meaning 'conscious,' 'sensible,' an epithet that might easily be adopted as a proper name. On a seal the name

¹ The three seals alluded to are engraved gems, and are to be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. They are figured in the Plate as Nos. 1319, 1320, and 1321. The lines are cut into the seals. That they must be intended to be used as seals is shown by the Pahlavi legend in No. 1321, which is reversed on the stone, so as to be right for reading on wax.

of the proprietor is appropriate, but so is any word that expresses assent to, or correctness of, any document to which the seal is attached. The remarks of Hamza, etc., refer probably to some modern Tahmuras, whom the Arab and Persian writers have confounded with the ancient Pêshdâdian predecessor of Yim (Jamshêd).

"There is no doubt that the two seals without inscriptions very much strengthen the scarab hypothesis; the addition of the rattlesnake tails (or whatever they are) is curious. Your Fig. 14 very correctly represents the sealing-wax impression from the seal No. 1321. You will see the extreme difficulty of deciding between the various explanations that may be advanced as regards these seals. The Pahlavi characters do not differ sensibly from the modern Pahlavi of the MSS., and can hardly be older than A.D. 600, but may be a good deal later. Some time about A.D. 600, Khurô Parvîz had possession of part of Egypt for a few years, when there must have been much intercourse between Persia and Egypt. But it is quite as probable that the symbol on the seals may have come from the Buddhists of Afghânistân, which you would regard as a reflection of an Egyptian form from an Indian mirror.








"I have never seen a sitting figure of Buddha with the arms raised above the head. . . .


"The old idea about the *tristula* in its skeleton form being a monogram (which Cunningham mentions in J.R.A.S. Vol. XIII. o.s. p. 114, but which I think I have met with at an earlier date) has just enough plausibility about it to make it a guess worth consideration, but I do not see how it can be really proved, although Cunningham's details may be slightly extended. Thus, if  be a monogram, it not only contains the letters \downarrow *ya*, | *ra*, \circ *va*, \downarrow *la*, and y *ma*, which Cunningham identifies with the Sans. *ya* 'air,' *ra* 'fire,' *va* 'water,' *la* for *îla* 'earth,' and *ma* for *manasa* 'mind,' but it also contains \downarrow *ha* 'sky,' 'heaven,' which may stand for the fifth element 'infinite space,' and also the whole of *manasa* 'mind.' But the whole idea is a mere guess, showing that there are more ways than one of imagining the origin of a thing, when we begin to exercise our imaginations."

The letters of the supposed monogram are formed thus :



Dr. West, in a subsequent letter, writes :

“There are also other so-called monograms which have a strong resemblance to these, that require to be kept in view, such as the  or  on the Indo-Scythic coins, many of which have figures of Zoroastrian divinities whose names have been lately deciphered in their Greek inscriptions by Dr. A. Stein (see *Babylonian and Oriental Record* for August, pp. 155-166). On many of the early Sassanian coins we have the *crux ansata* on one side of the sacred fire, and the  or  on the other. The latter figure makes one think of the *māh-rāt* ‘moon-faced,’ the technical term for each of the two stands upon which the Parsi priests lay the *barsom*, or bundle of sacred twigs or wires, during their ceremonies. The twigs lie in the crescent tops of two somewhat similar stands placed a little way apart, but the stands are usually tripods. In the later coins this  degenerates into  and , the plain crescent like that of the Turks; and the *crux ansata* is replaced by a star. The Parsi Rivāyats, or books of traditional religious memoranda, also give a figure like a star for a *khurshéd-rāt* (‘sun-faced’). . . . It is very possible that the star (sun?) and crescent of the Sassanian coins have some connection with the star and crescent of the Paris seal. . . .”

Several arguments may be used against the theory that the Buddhist *trīśūla* is a monogram formed of a number of the letters used in old Pali, one of the strongest of which is that the symbol, or something exceedingly like it, was in general use, as I have shown in my former article, in Western Asia and Eastern Europe, and that, so far as is yet known, the ancient Indian alphabet of Aśoka was confined to India. It can hardly be imagined that a symbol in use in Phœnicia would have been derived from a combination of letters in an obscure Indian alphabet. It might, indeed, be argued, *vice versa*, that the Indian alphabet was an ingenious combination of strokes and curves derived from the form of the sacred symbol in common use; for if the form  be examined, and pulled to pieces, hardly a letter of that alphabet can be pointed to that is not contained therein.

It will be noticed that Professor Darmesteter and Dr. West have set aside, at least for the present, the theory that either the figure on the gem or the legend to the side of it

have anything to do with Buddha, while the discovery of the two new gems with similar figures, hitherto unpublished, does much to strengthen the scarab hypothesis. It does so for the reason that the members opposite to those enclosing the circle or ball have additions to them, wanting in the seal with the legend. I venture to submit for consideration the following explanation of the "rattlesnake tails," as they are called by Dr. West. The usual figure of the scarab, as depicted in Egyptian hieroglyphs (J.R.A.S. Vol. XVIII. p. 398, Fig. 11), shows on the upper pair of legs certain side marks, intended doubtless to represent the claws on the legs. The ball of dung rolled up by the animal should be between the hind legs if anywhere, *i.e.* the lower limbs in the sculptures. In engraved examples from Phœnicia and Cyprus, for some reason, the ball is depicted as between the upper pair of legs (*id.* Figs. 12, 13), and it is so in the seal at present under discussion (*id.* p. 399, Fig. 14). Hence the lower limbs here take the place of the upper limbs in the hieroglyphic scarab, *i.e.* the limbs that bear at the sides the imitation of claws. It appears to me, therefore, that the "rattlesnakes' tails" on the ends of the lower members in the two new Paris seals may be nothing more nor less than survivals of the claw-marks on the upper limbs of the scarab of Egyptian monuments, though these limbs in the seals are grotesquely twisted upwards in a manner quite inconsistent with the original design. This inconsistency is not, I venture to think, fatal to the theory, since symbols are constantly found altered and conventionalized in unforeseen and curious ways.

If an analogy to these claw-marks is wanted, the fingers of the hands of the seated and standing sovereigns on Ceylon and Chola coins, as depicted in debased coinage, may be cited in comparison. I annex examples taken from illustrations appended to Mr. Rhys Davids's "Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon."

The representation of fingers in these coins is not much less grotesque than those of the claw-marks on the Paris seals.

ART. XII.—*The Metallic Cowries of Ancient China* (600 B.C.).

By Prof. TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE, Ph. & Litt.D.

SUMMARY.

- I. 1. Curious coins variously named in Chinese numismatic collections.
2. Great taste for numismatics in China.
3. Lack of criticism and knowledge.
4. Effects of this ignorance even in Europe.
- II. 5. The Ants' nose money!
6. It is their oldest name in numismatics.
7. Native explanation that they were buried with their dead.
8. Sham implements used to be buried.
9. The Ghosts' head money!
10. They were really cowries made of metal.
11. Places where they were found.
- III. 12. Figures, description and legends.
13. Wrong hypothesis of their having been issued by the great Yü.
14. Issued really in B.C. 613-590 in Ts'u.
15. Circumstances of their issue.
16. Reason why there are so few data about them.
17. Geographical and historical proofs.
- IV. 18. They were a combination of cowries and metallic money.
19. Great extension and age of this currency.
20. Reason why these pieces were issued in Ts'u, a non-Chinese land.

I.

1. Several of the collections of coins made in their own country by intelligent and enthusiastic Chinese Numismatists contain specimens of a curiously-shaped scarab-like copper currency. They are variously called *Y-pi tsien* or 'Ant's nose metallic currency;' *Kuei-tou* or 'Ghosts' heads,' and finally *Ho-pei tsien* or 'Cowries Metallic currency.' The first two of these names, quaint and queer as they are, do not in the least suggest what the things so designated were intended to be. But when we consider that such denominations were applied by numismatists, who were unaware of

the circumstances which had led to the issue of this peculiar currency, we cannot be astonished that the uncritical Chinese scholars of former ages, being at their wit's end, should have adopted a sensational appellative to arouse the mind of their readers to the peculiarity of the case.

2. The taste for numismatics is old in China, though for want of opportunity, not so old as the love of antiquities. Collections of ancient objects and souvenirs among the rich families (not to mention those in the royal museum and library) were already in fashion at the time of Confucius. But metallic currency was then hardly in existence, and could not at that time therefore afford a field for the antiquarian taste for collecting ancient specimens.

It was a common habit among Chinese collectors to compile and publish catalogues of their collections; and this habit having been continued down to the present day, we are enabled to understand how the Chinese are in possession of nearly five score of numismatical works.¹ Many more were not preserved to modern times, and have left no traces of their existence. The oldest of those mentioned in the later books, but which have perished in the meantime, would be nearly fourteen centuries old.²

3. The knowledge of historical minor events, and of palæography, combined with a spirit of criticism, which is required for numismatics, has almost always been defective among the Chinese collectors of ancient specimens of currency. Two or three recent works excepted, their numismatical books are indeed of a low standard. The natural tendency to imitation which has caused so large a part of their literature to be mere patchwork and mosaic, was necessarily fatal to the progress of that part of knowledge.

¹ A list of them is given in the introduction to my *Historical Catalogue of Chinese Money*, from the collections of the British Museum and other sources (4to. numerously illustrated), vol. i.

² The 錢譜 *Tsien Pu*, by 雇烜 *Ku yuen*, who lived during the Liang dynasty (A. D. 502-557), often quotes in the description of curious and rare specimens an older work, the 錢志 *Tsien tche*, by 劉氏 *Liu-she*, a work now lost and of unknown date. Vid. 李佐賢 *Li Tso-hien*, 古泉匯 *Ku tsuen Auei*, K. iii. f. 1.

Any statement acquires in that conservative country authority and respect in proportion to its age, however false or fanciful the basis on which it rests. And this characteristic was coupled with the tendency to attribute to the great men of antiquity any valuable deed or improvement of later times. The result was a falsification of the sound notions which otherwise could have been obtained from an unbiassed inquiry made by the collectors themselves, had they taken that trouble.

4. And as they did not do so, they give us figures of genuine specimens of money once current as that of the primitive times. The much-respected names of Fuh-hi and Huang-ti of the fabulous period, as well as those of Kao-yang and Yao belonging to the dawn of Chinese history, are indicated by them as having issued specimens of currency, which a better knowledge now proves to date only from the fifth, fourth, and third centuries B.C. These erroneous statements have both crept into Western literature and scientific books, of course with misleading results. For instance, a well-known German naturalist and traveller gives as a proof of an antiquity of twenty-two centuries B.C. for strata of the loess,¹ the finding of the copper knife-money of Yao at Ping-yang fu.² Now it turns out on investigation that there is no knife-money from that place, and that the *pu*-money found there, and formerly attributed to Yao's time, was issued, as a matter of fact, as late as the middle of the third century before the Christian era. It is obvious from this, that, so far as numismatic chronology, and the inferences derived from it, go, the loess theory of the German scholar must be amended.

II.

5. The *Y-pi tsien* are mentioned by several works on numismatics without any other indication than their name.

¹ F. v. Richthofen, in his *China*, vol. i. p. 150.

² Their attribution to Yao rests on this simple-minded Chinese reasoning, that as Ping-yang was the capital of Yao, all the antiquities found there are remnants of his time.

So, for instance, in the great catalogue of the Antiquarian Museum of the Emperor Kien-lung, published in 1751 (forty-two vols. in folio¹). The complete ignorance as to their authenticity is shown by the fact that the author of a small treatise on the current money of foreign countries, *Wai Kwoh Tsien Wen*, has reproduced a figure of the *Y-pi tsien*, without any indication or reference as to their origin. The mere fact of his including them in his work shows that he thought himself justified in considering them non-Chinese.

It is needless to dwell further on the ignorance of those of the native numismatists, who know nothing about the real nature of these coins, and indulge in the wildest speculations about them. It will be sufficient to indicate only their most important suggestions, and then to give the probable solution of this little problem.

6. As to the various names these monies bear, we may remark that 'Ant's nose current money,' or *Y-pi tsien* 螻蟻錢, is the oldest known. We find it quoted as the common appellation by Hung Tsun in the twelfth century A.D., the most important of the ancient numismatists. Besides the name, he does not give any other information, except a short description of the specimens.

7. An explanation of this quaint name has been put forward by the learned author of the *Ku kin so kien luh*, another numismatical work of some importance. He says that in ancient times people used to bury with the dead, and in the coffin, some *tchin-y* 螻蟻, i.e. valuable ants,² meaning by that, metallic figures of ants, and hence these little scarab-shaped objects dug out of the ground received their queer appellation. The suggestion of the learned author receives some sort of confirmation, so far as the custom of burying objects is concerned.

¹ Vid. the reprint of the numismatical part, *Kin ting tsien luh*, K. xv. f. 14v.

² This statement has perhaps some relation to the following § 23, bk. ii. sec. i. pt. ii. of the *Li-ki, Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxvii. p. 140: "At the mourning of Tze-chang Kung-ming, I made the ornaments of commemoration. There was a tent-like pall, made of plain silk of a carnation colour, with clusters of ants at the four corners, (as if he had been) an officer of Yin."

8. Yet we hear more about sham implements or objects than of anything of intrinsic value. For instance, an interesting statement is attributed to Confucius, in the *Book of Rites*, that "in the time of the Hia, the earliest dynasty, they did not sacrifice to the dead, but simply made for them incomplete implements of bamboo, earthenware without polish, harps unstrung, organs untuned, and bells unhung, which they called 'Bright implements,' implying that the dead are spirits (*shen*) and bright."¹ So much for the supposed Confucian statement. On the other hand, the use of images as charms is still current in modern times. To images or drawings of tigers, lizards, snakes, centipedes, etc.—the list is almost inexhaustible—is ascribed the virtue of attracting to themselves the diseases which would otherwise attack the inmates of the house.²

We cannot say that this justification of the popular appellative of the Ant's nose currency is satisfactory, and we should not be surprised if our readers pronounced the whole business unseemly. However, in Chinese matters of popular feelings and notions, hypercritics would never have any rest.³

9. Another name—and a more popular one—of the same scarab-shaped specimens of ancient currency was *Kwei-tou*,⁴ i.e. 'Ghost's head' or *Kwei-lien*, i.e. 'Ghost's face.'⁵ No reason is given by the native scholars for such a soubriquet, and therefore we are at liberty to suggest that it may have arisen from the fact that some of them were found in graves.

10. It is only with the third name, *Ho-pei tsien*,⁶ or cowries metallic-currency, which we find in a recent work, the *Ho pu*

¹ *Li-ki, Than Kung*, sect. i. pt. iii. § 3, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxvii. p. 148. This passage is not to be found in the *Liki* as published and translated by J. M. Callery, *Li-ki ou Mémoires des rites* traduit. . . . Turin, 1853, 4to. The text is the abridgment made by Fan, a renowned Chinese scholar. Sham objects, like carriages of clay and human figures of straw (substitute of living people), were not always that which was put in tombs. For instance, the following case (*Li-ki, Than Kung*, sect. i. pt. iii. § 19): "At the burial of his wife, Duke Siang of Sung (d. B.C. 637) placed in the grave a hundred jars of vinegar and pickles."

² N. B. Denny, *The Folk-lore of China* (Hong-Kong, 1876, 8vo.), pp. 72, 61.

³ Sham objects have been buried with the dead also in the West at the time of the stone period. Cf. below, §§ 11, 17.

⁴ 鬼頭, name given to them in the *Topography of Ku-shé hien* 固始縣志, where many were found.

⁵ 鬼臉.

⁶ 貨貝錢.

wen-tze kao,¹ published in 1833, that we reach the real explanation of their peculiar shape and of the purpose of their issue as substitutes for the ancient currency of cowries.

11. A numismatist of the twelfth century² reports³ that many specimens were found in the sand and pebbles of *Hu-sze*,⁴ a village of the Ku-shé district, in the prefecture of Kuang-tchou, in the S.E. of the province of Honan. In the last century enormous quantities were discovered,⁵ during excavations on the banks of the *Wah*⁶ river, in the prefecture of Kiang-ning (commonly Nanking), in the province of Kiang-su.



III.

12. The pieces of this curious money are of copper; their sizes are about 75 mm. to one centimetre in width and two in length, and their shape that of an oval, convex at the obverse and flat at the reverse.⁷ They were generally

¹ 貨布文字考, bk. iv. fol. 16-18.

² 朱楓近漪 *Tchu-fung kin-y* in his 古金待問續錄 *Ku kin tai wen suh luh*. They were described by 洪遵 *Hung toun* in his 泉志 *Tsuen tche* published in 1149.

³ Quoting the 固始縣志 *Ku-shé hien tche*, or 'Topography of the Ku-shé district.'

⁴ 期思里 in *Ku-shé hien*. The latter is situated by lat. 32° 18' and long. 115° 37', according to G. Playfair, *The Cities and Towns of China*, No. 3632.

⁵ According to the *Ki's kin so kien luh* 吉金所見錄 in 18 books; *Ho pu wen tze kao*, bk. iv. f. 17v.

⁶ 挖河.

⁷ Besides the *Ku tsuiuen hwei*, tcheng iii. f. 16, the *Ho pu wen-tze kao*, bk. iv. ff. 16-18, already quoted, cf. also the 錢式圖 *Tsien shoh t'u*, bk. xxiv. f. 2, in the *Tchun tsao tang tsih* collection, 1842; the 泉史 *Tsuiuen sho*, 1834, bk. i. f. 19.

pierced with a small round hole at the one end rather narrower than the other, as if to be strung in sets, in the usual fashion of Chinese money.¹ On the obverse they bear stamped on the surface an inscription showing their value. There are two kinds of inscription, according to size :

1) 各六銖 *Koh luh tchu* 'each six tchus,' written in an abridged form of the ancient characters of the time. This for the smaller ones. The larger ones bear :

2) 半兩 *Pan liang* 'half ounce,' therefore worth twelve tchus, or the double of the smaller ones. The two symbols are written as in the other case, in an abridged and peculiar form ; but their reading, as well as that of the other legend, is not open to doubt.

13. The shape and size of these pieces justify plainly the appellative of 'Metallic Cowries-money' given to them. But where, when, and on what occasion were they issued ?

An ingenious Chinese writer, Wu Tchang-king, has said that they were issued by the Great Yü, while he was engaged in his engineering works to quell the great inundations caused by the overflowing of several rivers. The suggestion has been eagerly adopted by the author of the *Tsien sheh t'u* (1842), who ought to have known better than to accept such a preposterous hypothesis. The fact that some of the finds of metallic cowries took place in the Wah river is the sole possible excuse for this wild theory, which has not a particle of evidence in its favour. The Great Yü's (2000 B.C.) dominion did not embrace that part of China

¹ The 欽定錢錄 *Kin ting tsien luh* (1787), bk. xv. f. 14v, simply refers to the description in the *Tsien tche* by *Hung tsun*. This work, which is not good, is a reprint of the numismatical part of the great Catalogue of the Museum of the Emperor Kien lung, *Kin ting see tsing ku kien*, in 42 vols. gr. fol. published in 1751. The illustrations of the *Kin ting tsien luh* are imaginary and very bad, as they were not made from rubbings of the coins, but simply from the descriptions. In the 錢志新編 *Tsien tche sin pien*, by Tchang Ts'ung-y, published in 1826, bk. xx. f. 7, the description of the *Y-pi tsien* only is given, accompanied with four illustrations. An abridged translation of this work, which is rather uncritical and inexact, has been published under the title of *Chinese Coinage*, by Mr. C. B. Hillier, in the *Transactions of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, part ii. 1848-50 (Hong Kong, 1852), pp. 1-162, with 329 woodcuts similar to those of the original. See p. 156. Dr. S. W. Bushell says that it is one of the smaller and less trustworthy works, cf. his article *Chinese Authors on Numismatics*, pp. 62-64 of *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, vol. iv. Foochow, August, 1871.

where these curious pieces of money have been found. He did start an expedition across the modern Anhui province, towards the mouths of the Yang-tze Kiang, against some aboriginal and independent populations, but he never was able to come back, and his host was annihilated there.¹ So that there is no possibility of his having established there a regular metallic currency—and that at a time, too, when none existed in his own dominion, and was not to exist, even as far as regulation goes, for nearly a thousand years. It was only about 1032 B.C. that rules were enacted, fixing that copper for currency should be weighed by *tchus*; and therefore the metallic cowries, which bear their weight inscribed in *tchus*, cannot have been issued till after, and, as we shall see, long after, the latter date.

The opinion of Wu Tchang-king, shared by the author of the *Tsien sheh t'u*, was not in accordance with popular tradition, but it is a good instance of the complete lack of criticism which, with two or three exceptions, is so conspicuous in the works of native numismatists.

14. It is in the *Siao Erh ya* that we find expressed what the common opinion was.² This work has the merit of being a very ancient one; it is a dictionary similar to the *Erh ya*, and compiled by K'ung fu,³ a descendant of Confucius, known also under the name of K'ung ts'ung tze, who died about 210 B.C. The author alludes to a practice of putting some such pieces of money into tombs, and records that they were issued by Sun shuh-ngao.⁴ The latter was prime minister to *Tchwang*, King of Tsu, between the years 613 and 590 B.C., and his name is connected with the monetary

¹ The unsuccessful issue of his expedition (reported in a few words only in the *Tchuh shu ki nien* or Annals of the Bamboo Books, part iii. 1, and Sze-ma Tsien *She ki*, bk. ii. f. 14), was so complete that the body of Yü could not be brought back, and a century and a half elapsed before the possibility for a descendant of Yü to penetrate in disguise into the country, in order to pay the required honour to the tomb of the great engineer (*She ki*, bk. 41. f. 1).

² 小爾雅, quoted in the *Tsien sheh t'u*, bk. xxiv. f. 2x.

³ 孔鮒 also 孔叢子. His work was commented upon by Li kuy, of the Han dynasty. It is noticed in Dr. E. Bretschneider's bibliography, *Botanicum Sincicum*, No. 784. And a short biography of him is found in W. F. Mayers' *Chinese Readers' Manual*, vol. i. p. 322.

⁴ 孫叔敖. His biography was written by Sze-ma Tsien, *She ki*, bk. cxix.



history of the country by his objection to a whim of his ruler, who wanted to assimilate to one and the same value all pieces of money small and large.¹

15. We have no regular records of the ancient history of Chinese money, and we are therefore compelled to build it up from scraps of information scattered in the literature and from the evidence derived from the monetary specimens themselves. In the present case there are no geographical names on the pieces, and the indications of weight are our sole information. These, of course, show that their issue was subsequent to the regulations as to the weights of metallic currency, enacted for the first time in 1032 B.C., and in a more precise and definite manner during the years 681-643 B.C. This was the time when Hwan kung, Prince of Ts'i, became leader of the princes,² under the nominal suzerainty of the King of Tchou, whose former authority had come to be a mere shadow. The time of Sun shuh-ngao and his ruler Prince of Ts'u, is sufficiently posterior to the rule of Hwan kung for the historical probabilities to be in accord with the above reported tradition, which attributes the issue to their government. The tradition, as we have seen, is very old, as we noticed it in existence in the third century B.C., three hundred years therefore after the event.

¹ The story is told at length in his biography, *O.C.* ff. 1-2; it has been reproduced in a shortened form by Ma Twanlin, in his *Wen hien t'ung k'ao*, and inexactly reported by him. The king wanted to make the money light 莊王以爲幣輕; but Ma Twanlin has erroneously substituted 重 *chung* 'heavy' for the character 輕 *king* 'light,' therefore implying the reverse of the King's intention. Besides, the passage appears in Dr. W. Vissering's *Chinese Currency*, p. 23, who has blindly followed Ma Twanlin, as relating to a King of the Ts'i in principality in the third century B.C., while it referred to a King of Ts'u 350 years previously. As a rule the monetary and the geographical sections in Ma Twanlin are very defective.

² In 771 the King of the Tchou dynasty, then ruling over the whole of the Chinese dominion, had been killed by the non-Chinese and independent Jung tribes (cf. *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, § 206). His successor removed the capital from Tchchang-ngan (mod. Singanfu in Shensi) to Loh (near Honanfu, Honan), but the power of the dynasty never recovered its former greatness and prestige. The various rulers of the principalities over which the suzerainty of the Tchou had hitherto been effective, made themselves more and more independent; but it happened that by *le droit du plus fort*, the most powerful of these principalities assumed the leadership 霸 *pa* for the time being. The princes of Ts'i, Sung, Ts'in, and Ts'u were successively leaders of the princes between the years B.C. 681 and 591; and these years are sometimes called the period of the five *pa*.

16. And if we are not able to put forth any other statement, we must not forget that the border states and separate principalities of the Chinese agglomeration before the Han period have left no minute records, and scarcely any at all. Besides this, some old works in which information might have been found have most probably disappeared, as no less than five great bibliothecal catastrophes between the years 213 B.C. and 501 A.D. have reduced the earlier literature of China to a mere wreck.

17. Another argument of considerable value is that the great finds of the *ho-pei tsien* took place within the territorial limits of the state of Ts'u, and not elsewhere. The district of *Ku-shé*, above quoted, was formerly the independent small principality of *Liao*,¹ which was conquered and absorbed by the state of Tsu in B.C. 622.² The region of the Wah river, where the other finds were made, did not belong to the state of Ts'u at the time of Sun shuh-ngao, but it became so later on, and the currency of the conqueror must have followed the extension of his dominion. There is nothing to show that the issue of the *ho-pei tsien* was limited to the time of the ruler who had first issued them, and their great convenience must have maintained the existence of so convenient a medium of exchange until they were ousted by the uniform metallic currency established by the Han dynasty.³ The aforesaid region was included in the state of Wu, which was frequently at war with that of Ts'u; the latter had even directed in 548 B.C. a naval attack (by the Yangtze Kiang) on the Wu state, which however succumbed under the attacks of its southern neighbour, the principality of Yueh, in 472 B.C.;⁴ but conquered and conqueror were finally absorbed by the great state of Ts'u in 334 B.C.⁵

¹ G. Playfair, *The Cities and Towns of China*, No. 3632.

² 齊 Cf. *Tso tschuen*, Duke Wen, year vi. § 6.

³ Some sort of reorganization of the taxes, etc., took place in the state of Ts'u in 547 B.C. Cf. *Tso tschuen*, Duke Siang, year xxv. 9; in J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. v. p. 517.

⁴ *Tso tschuen*, Duke Siang, year xxiv. 3.

⁵ Sze-ma Tsien, *She ki*, *Ts'u she kia*, bk. 40. Cf. Terrien de Lacouperie, *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, § 192.

IV.

18. The causes which brought the metallic cowries into use need no great penetration to be understood. Their curious shape was an attempt at combining the time-honoured appearance of the currency with the metallic, the material advantage of which had been made obvious by the metal coinage in use in the neighbouring Chinese states towards the north.

19. Cowrie-shells as a medium of exchange in the Far East were known before historical times. They were employed in that way by some of the Pre-Chinese populations of the Flowery Land, as early as the time of the entrance of the Chinese into the country by the N.W., i.e. in the twenty-third century before the Christian era. And it is in Chinese literature that we find the most ancient allusions to them,¹ but we do not know how such a curious custom began. It is only by inferring their having been used as ornaments on headdresses and on embroidered cloth, that we may suppose that this is the reason why they came to be valued, and asked for. Their use extended later on from Australasia and Southern China to India,² to Tibet and to Africa. The Chinese, which means for many centuries a small portion only of the present China proper, regulated their circulation as well as that of the tortoise, and other shells. The introduction of metallic currency caused the circulation of cowries to disappear gradually in the Chinese states. And history has preserved us the date of 338 B.C. as that of the final interdiction of the cowrie-currency (under the rule of the Prince of Ts'in in N.W. China) because of the irregular

¹ Some more information has been given in my notice on Chinese and Japanese money, pp. 190-197-235 of *Coins and Medals, their Place in History and Art*, by the authors of the British Museum Official Catalogue (London, Elliot Stock, 1885).

² They were not known in N. India in ancient times, at least they are not mentioned in the Code of Manu, nor in that of Yājñavalkya (about the Christian era). Cf. Edward Thomas, *Ancient Indian Weights (Marsden's Numismata Orientalia, new edit. part i.)*, p. 20. When the Muhammadans conquered Bengal early in the thirteenth century, they found the ordinary currency composed exclusively of cowries. Cf. the references in Colonel H. Yule's *Glossary*, p. 209.

and insufficient supply of these and other shells.¹ For centuries their circulation had been contemporaneous with that of the metallic money in the various Chinese States, and it lasted not a few centuries afterwards in some out-of-the-way corners, as, for instance, it is still doing in Bástar (N. India),² and some parts of Indo-China.

20. The State of Ts'u, where the issue of the metallic cowries took place, was a non-Chinese one; while in the north it was conterminous, north of the Yang-tze Kiang, with the Chinese dominion, and was gradually falling more and more under the influence of Chinese civilization. In the east and south it was in relationship with independent populations belonging to the Indo-Pacific races. Among them the cowries formed the chief currency, with so much more facility that the supply was at hand, as it was derived chiefly from the Pescadores Islands,³ between Formosa Sea and the mainland.

¹ Sin Wang Mang, usurper (A.D. 9-22), at the end of the First Han dynasty, endeavoured, without success, to revive the circulation of cowries and shells. Cf. his enactments in my *Historical Catalogue of Chinese Money*, vol. i. pp. 381-383.

² Dr. W. W. Hunter, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Col. H. Yule. A. C. Burnell, *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words*, pp. 208-209.

³ Some also were found formerly on the shores of the Shantung peninsula. Cf. A. Fauvel, *Trip of a Naturalist to the Chinese Far East*, in *China Review*, 1876, vol. iv. p. 353. At the International Fisheries Exhibition, London, 1883, the Pescadores and Lambay Island sent 44 species of cowries. Cf. *Chinese Catalogue*, pp. 29, 63-65. They are found in abundance on the shores of the Laccadives and Maldivé Islands, African coast of Zanzibar, etc., the Sulu Islands, etc. Cf. Ed. Balfour, *The Encyclopedia of India*, s. v.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON, *May*, 1888.

CORRESPONDENCE.

KĀLIDĀSA IN CEYLON.

*British Museum, London,
23rd May, 1888.*

SIR,—Referring to your note in our January issue on Kālidāsa, I wish to call attention to two recent publications, copies of which I have before me, both clearly founded on the same curious legend.

(1) The Historical Tragedy entitled Kālidās by Simon De Silva Seneviratna, Muhandrum, [Sinhalese title:] Kālidās nṛitya pota (pp. 22, F. Cooray, Colombo, 1887, 8vo.).

(2) Kālidās Charitaya, Hevat Kālidāsa kavīndugē hā Kumarādāsa nirindugē da jīvita-kāvya (pp. 17, "Lakmini-pahana" Press, Colombo, 1887, 8vo.).

This last is a poem in 255 stanzas by an author bearing a name worth giving in full, if only to draw attention to the curious mixture of Western and Eastern elements prevailing in Ceylon, Heṭṭiyākandagē Joseph Andrew Fernando [Jōçap Eṇḍri Pranāndu].

It will be of some service if readers of this Journal resident in Ceylon can institute inquiries from the authors of these works as to the exact historical or legendary material (MS. or printed) used by these authors in preparing their respective works.

Yours truly,
CECIL BENDALL.

The Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(March, April, May.)

I. REPORTS OF MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

16th April, 1888.—Sir THOMAS WADE, K.C.B., in the Chair.

There were elected as Resident Members the Rev. Richard Morris, M.A., LL.D., and Col. Sir William Davies, K.C.S.I.

Mr. J. F. Hewitt, late Commissioner of Chota Nāgpur, read the paper which appears in full in this Number, on the Early History of Northern India.

4th June, 1888.—ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

Sir THOMAS WADE, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

THE PRESIDENT had first to express his regret at the loss of two valuable Orientalists, Professor Fleischer, the distinguished Professor of Arabic at Leipzig; and Bhagvan Lāl Indrajī, the famous native Indian scholar and archæologist. He had, on the other part, to congratulate the Society upon the great addition it had received to its strength in the past twelve months. The Secretary would read to the Meeting a short memorandum showing the changes in its condition during several years, from which it would appear that the number of its members had never been so large as at the present moment. This increase of course was the more gratifying as advantaging the finances of the Society, whose position in this respect had been further benefited by revision of the arrangements affecting the printing and publication of the Society's Journal. The thanks of the Society were specially due to the Secretary, whose conver-

sance with details of the kind had enabled him to effect a large saving in the expenditure under the head of printing, and a considerable gain under the head of advertisements. As regarded the progress of the Society towards attainment of the great object of its institution, the investigation and encouragement of Oriental Art, Science, and Literature, the President had no option but to repeat the observation which, within his hearing, had fallen from both of his distinguished predecessors, Sir William Muir and Colonel Yule, namely, that the achievements of the Society fall far short of what should be expected of it, regard being had to what is done by the Orientalists of other nationalities, and to the fact that, politically and commercially, England is more interested in the East than any of her competitors in Orientalism. A step towards improvement had been made in a proposition which the Council had had under consideration, the proposition to appoint two or more Committees which should respectively interest themselves in history, literature, etc., as Aryan or non-Aryan. The Council had further been considering the possibility of reviving the Translation Fund, a branch or affiliated department, by which in earlier days there were published, under the general superintendence of the Society, both Oriental texts and translations. The formulation of this scheme was also due to the Secretary, to whose activity and industry the Council could not exaggerate its obligations.

Lastly, the Council had been engaged in preparing a revised edition of the Rules and Regulations of the Society, which was now laid upon the table. The principal changes were four. In the first place it was considered advisable to place the election of new members in the hands of the Council, as is the case with most other Societies, and secondly it is proposed to create a new class of members to be called Extraordinary Members, and to be chosen from such of the Oriental diplomatists accredited to the English Government as would be likely to take an enlightened interest in the work of the Society. In the third place it was desirable, for the reason set out in the report, to raise the subscriptions of



non-resident members (who receive the Journal post free) to a sum sufficient to pay for the production and postage of the Journal. And lastly to modify the rule under which at present those members living in England, but too far from London to take advantage of the library and of the meetings of the Society, were required to pay a higher subscription on the ground that these advantages were open to them. The proposed new draft embodying these improvements had been very carefully considered by a Special Committee appointed for the purpose, and he trusted it would meet with the approval of the Society.

The report of the Council, which was taken as read, was as follows :

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society have to report that since the last Anniversary Meeting the Society has lost by death or retirement eight Resident and twelve non-Resident Members, and has admitted as new Members fourteen Resident and twenty non-Resident, showing a total increase in the membership of the Society of fourteen. Including the thirty Honorary Members, the number on the list is now 411.

In connection with this, it should be pointed out that the Society is now in a better condition, both as to membership and as to income from subscriptions, than it has been at any other time during the last half century. This will be apparent from the following table, extending over the years 1834-87. It was not possible to include in the return any earlier years, as the balance-sheets and accounts of the Society previous to 1834 can no longer be found. It will be noticed that for the thirty years 1834-64, the membership and income were almost constant (not to say stagnant), and that there then ensued a period of decline, till, in 1876, the Society had reached its lowest ebb. In that year Mr. Vaux became the Society's Secretary, and an improvement at once set in, and has gone on almost uninterruptedly till the last year, 1887, which shows better figures than any of those

which precede it in the table. The Council feel themselves fully justified in expressing their belief that this improvement will be at least fully maintained in the future.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.¹

STATISTICS OF MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS, 1834—1887.

Average of the 10 years.	Subs. in £ sterling.			No. of paying Members.		
	Res.	N.Res.	Total.	Res.	Non-Res.	Total.
1834—1843	£355	£150	£505	113	72	185
1844—1853	400	93	493	125	89	214
1854—1863	430	63	493	137	60	197
1864—1873	400	69	469	127	66	193
1874, 1875, and 1876	321	47	368	102	45	147
1877—1886	441	96	537	140	92	232
The year 1887	409	143	552	130	137	267
[15th July, 1888]	125	161	286

There follows the abstract of the receipts and expenditure for the year. There is a slight increase from subscriptions, and in that from the sale of the Journal to non-members; and an increase also in the expenditure for printing and for repairs. The latter item represents the repainting, etc., of the Society's rooms, and the former represents the great increase of work done by committees, with the hope of improving the position of the Society. As the payment for the printing of Part IV. of the Journal does not appear in the account, about £80 must be added to the total expenditure to give a complete view of the Society's financial position. When that is done, it will be seen that the receipts exceeded the expenditure by about £150, of which £100 was added to the reserve fund invested in Consols.

The Council are glad to report that it has been found possible to continue the issue of the Journal in four quarterly parts, and they hope that this most important new departure may be now looked upon as having become an established and permanent custom. The stock of printed copies of our Rules having become exhausted, the Council, before reprint-

¹ This table is based on the fuller table (giving the results for each year) now exhibited in the Library of the Society.

ing, have revised the existing rules, and beg to recommend the revised set of rules for adoption by the Society. The principal change is in the amount of the non-resident subscriptions; and the reasons which have led the Council to propose this change are set out in the enclosed circular letter to non-Resident Members. As only one of the 231 non-Resident Members has disapproved of the change, the Society will be able to judge whether it meets or not with their wishes.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

22, Albemarle Street, London, W.

SIR,—The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society beg to invite your attention to the following facts.

For many years the Journal of the Society was issued at irregular intervals, and in parts of varying size. Thus for ten years (1824 to 1833) there were published three volumes of "Transactions." For the following four years yearly volumes of the "Journal" were issued, but only three volumes appeared in the subsequent six years, and at last the issue declined to only *one* volume for the *three* years, 1844-46. The next six years are represented by six volumes of about 400 pages each, and then there was only *one* volume again for the three years, 1851-55, and one for the four years, 1857-60. After that the members received one volume each year. But this only continued for three years; the twelve years, 1864 to 1875, being represented by seven volumes only. From that date each year has had its own volume, in increasing size and divided into a gradually increasing number of issues in the year, until there has now been firmly established the custom of issuing punctually to date a *quarterly illustrated* journal containing, not only original articles, but very full news of all that is being done throughout the world in the subjects in which the members of our Society are interested.

The Council have every reason to believe that their action in this respect has met with the approval of the Society. They have been glad to notice a steady increase in the number

of non-resident members, and they desire still further to improve the Journal, and to add, in other ways, to the advantages the Society is able to offer to their members in the East. But the experience they have now gained has proved to them that this cannot be done at the present rate of subscription. Last year's "Journal," for instance, cost a good deal more to produce—and that without reckoning postage, which, in the case of members residing in the East is especially heavy—than the guinea which the non-resident members paid.

The non-resident members used to pay two guineas a year. This was the rule till 1851. In that year (which, you will notice, was the date when the Journal was most reduced) the subscription of new non-resident members was, very properly, also reduced to one guinea, but members already admitted continued to pay two guineas down to the year 1874. Resident members have paid three guineas throughout the existence of the Society.

Under these circumstances, the Council invite the co-operation of the non-resident members in the improvements they are endeavouring to carry out. The Journal in its present shape cannot be produced for one guinea. It would be a very great pity to reduce either its size, or the number, or the regularity of its issues. But one or other of these courses must be adopted unless the non-resident members are willing to increase their annual subscription. Now, on the contrary, it is very desirable to increase the number of the illustrations, and to improve both news and articles by paying special correspondents in the East, and writers of special articles both at home and abroad. The Council are therefore considering the question of raising the non-resident subscription to 30s. (It is deserving of notice, that, since the quarterly issue, the price of the Journal to non-members has been fixed at £2 a year, and that at this price the number of purchasers has steadily increased.)

The proposed change would enable the Council to relieve non-resident members from one effect of the existing rules. Under those rules, when they return home they become

resident members and have to pay three guineas a year, so that just when their income has declined their subscription has been increased. The Council propose that non-resident members should, in future, continue to pay only the non-resident subscription, unless they come to live actually in or near London.

If you approve the proposed changes, and desire *no decrease* in the expenditure on the Journal, no reply to this circular will be necessary. If you should be of the contrary opinion, will you kindly let me know before the 4th June, when the matter will have to be finally decided upon.

I am Sir, Yours obediently,

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, *Secretary*.

The following list of Council and Officers for the ensuing year is submitted for approval :

President.—Sir Thomas F. Wade, M.A., K.C.B., Professor of Chinese in the University of Cambridge.

Director.—Major-General Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.

Vice-Presidents.—Sir Thomas Edward Colebrooke, Bart. ; Major-General A. Cunningham, R.E., C.S.I., K.C.I.F. ; the Rev. Professor A. H. Sayce, M.A. ; Colonel Henry Yule, R.E., C.B., LL.D.

Council.—F. F. Arbuthnot, Esq. ; Professor R. K. Douglas ; Theodore Duka, Esq., M.D. ; J. F. Fleet, Esq., C.I.E. ; Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I. ; J. F. Hewitt, Esq. ; H. H. Howorth, Esq., M.P., F.S.A. ; Sir William Hunter, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D. ; Henry C. Kay, Esq. ; Professor Terrien de Lacouperie, Ph.D., Litt.D. ; General Robert Maclagan, R.E., F.R.S.E. ; Professor Sir Monier Monier-Williams, K.C.I.E., M.A., D.C.L. ; E. Delmar Morgan, Esq. ; The Rev. Richard Morris, M.A., LL.D. ; Professor W. Robertson Smith, M.A.

Treasurer.—E. L. Brandreth, Esq.

Secretary.—Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, Ph.D., LL.D.

Honorary Secretary.—Robert N. Cust, Esq., LL.D.

Trustees.—Sir T. Edward Colebrooke, Bart. ; Robert N.

Cust, Esq., LL.D.; Sir Richard Temple, G.C.S.I., C.I.E., D.C.L., M.P.

Honorary Solicitor.—Alexander H. Wilson, Esq.

It was moved by Mr. MORRIS, and seconded by Dr. DUKA, that the new rules, as recommended by the Council, be adopted as the Rules of the Society.

Mr. SINCLAIR moved as an amendment that to the new rule No. 46 there should be added the words: "Provided that nothing in this rule be held to prohibit the association with the honorary auditors of a professional auditor."

Mr. STRACHEY seconded this amendment.

Mr. KAY pointed out that there was nothing in the proposed addition inconsistent with the rule as drafted.

Mr. SINCLAIR consented to his amendment being put as a rider, and on a division it was decided by 18 to 3 to adopt his suggestion.

Mr. MORRIS's motion was then carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN, again referring to the two vacancies which had occurred in the list of Honorary Members, informed the meeting that the Council recommended the election of Professor Wright, of Cambridge, and Professor Sachau, of Berlin. This was unanimously agreed to.

Sir Charles Bernard, K.C.S.I., and Pandit Visvanātha Nārāyana Inderjī were elected Resident Members; and Dvijadas Datta, R. S. Ayangar, C. F. Oldham, A. M. T. Jackson, and R. A. Weil, Esquires, were elected Non-resident Members of the Society.

Mr. H. H. HOWORTH, M.P., proposed a vote of thanks to the President for the distinguished services he had rendered to the Society during the past year, and on his putting this to the vote it was carried by acclamation.

18th June, 1888.—Sir THOMAS WADE, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

Prof. Bendall exhibited a unique palm-leaf MS. of the Tantrākhyāna, which he had discovered in Nepal, and gave an account of the MS. and its contents. A full report of his paper will appear in the October number of the Journal.

II. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

1. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT.

Vol. xlii. Part I. (Received 22nd May, 1888).

1. M. Klamroth. On extracts from Greek writers found in ad-Yaḡūbi.
2. M. Grünbaum. Semitic Notes.
3. Franz Prætorius. The Perfect Tense in Sabæan.
4. Franz Prætorius. Tigriña Proverbs.
5. Th. Nöldeke. Ægyptian Folklore.
6. Houtum-Schindler. Kurdish Lexicography.
7. August Müller. On Korān ii. 261.
8. Eugen Wilhelm. Avesta Lexicography.
9. Rudolf Dvöřak. Should Turkish Poetry be Vocalised.
10. Wislocki. Contributions to the History of the Migration of Fables.

2. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE.

8th Series. Vol. xi. Part II. (Received 23rd May).

1. Léon Feer. Pāli and Buddhist Studies.
2. L'Abbé Martin. On the Hexameron of James of Edessa.
3. M. de Harlez. On the relations between the Niu-chis and the Manchus.
4. Maspero. On a Manual of Egyptian Hierarchy.

3. JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Vol. lvi. (Received 9th April, 1888).

1. E. E. Oliver. The Ṣafwā Dynasty in Persia.
2. Shyamāl Dās. Antiquities at Nagari.
3. C. E. Yate. Notes on the City of Hirāt.
4. A. Führer. Three New Copper Plate Grants of Govinda Chandra Deva of Kanauj.
5. J. H. Knowles. Kashmīri Riddles.
6. R. Mitra. On an Inscription of Vidyādhara Bhañja.
7. J. F. Garwood. Ancient Mounds in the Quetta District.
8. H. Beveridge. The Mother of Jahangir.
9. C. J. Rodgers. Notes on the Coins of the Ṭabāqat-i-Nāṣiri.

4. MADRAS JOURNAL OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

Vol. for 1887-1888 (Received 18th June).

1. E. Stradiot. Hindu Music.
2. G. Oppert. The Original Inhabitants of India.
3. J. E. Tracy. Pāṇḍyan Coins.
4. J. R. Hutchinson. Chikakol Antiquities.
5. R. H. C. Tufnell. Hints to Coin Collectors.

III. OBITUARY NOTICES.

Badger.—The death is announced of Dr. Percy Badger, author of the English-Arabic Lexicon, 1881. Dr. Badger was well acquainted with the Syrian Arabic of the present day, having laboured for many years as a missionary in the East, in connection with which he wrote a valuable book on the history of "The Nestorians and their Literature."

Pandit Bhagvanlāl Indrajī.—The following interesting letter appears in the 'Academy.'—*Bombay, March 23, 1888.*—Many readers of the *Academy* will be grieved to hear of the death of Pandit Bhagvanlāl Indrajī. He died on Friday last, March 16, at his house in Walkeshwar.

I have seen him from time to time during his last illness; and two days before his death I had the sad pleasure of paying him a visit along with M. Senart, to whom he was well known, and who, like every one else who knew Bhagvanlāl, held him in great regard and affection. We had previously taken steps to learn if our visit would be agreeable, and were met on the way by a note, dictated by the Pandit, pressing us to come. His bodily state, he said, was getting worse and worse, and we must come quickly. I was told afterwards that he hoped each step on the stair might be that of the distinguished scholar who was coming to him with news about the recent discovery of an Asoka inscription. M. Senart will, I know, be glad that we did not yield to the fear we had that a visit at such a time might be out of place.

Bhagvanlāl rallied to greet his friend in a way none of those who were present will forget. It was too painfully obvious to all that the end was a matter of hours. But his eye kindled as he listened to all M. Senart had to tell him, the only murmur of impatience which escaped him was when he heard that his friend had been to Junaghar—"my native place"—and he not able to accompany him

there. "I am so sorry, so sorry." He pressed my hand warmly when he took leave of me, and I was glad to feel sure that we had given him a moment's pleasure. His death was to himself a relief. "I am quite happy to go to God," were his words some days before. But more than one of your readers will feel with his friends here that the world is poorer to them now that so simple, so true, and so pure a soul has gone from it. A man greatly beloved, in whom was no guile. His body was burned the same evening in the Walkeshwar burning ground close to his house. In a will written shortly before his death he had left directions which were for the most part faithfully carried out. All the ceremonies for the dying had been performed by himself in anticipation of death. They were not to be repeated now. When the end came near, earth, brought by himself from a holy place, was to be spread on the ground, and he was to be lifted from his bed and laid on it. His body was to be covered up to the mouth with the sacred sheet he had provided. The name of God was to be repeated in his ear as he lay dying. When the breath was seen to be departing, the holy water he had brought from the Ganges was to be sprinkled upon him, and a few drops put into his mouth. At the moment of death the sheet was to be drawn over his face and not again to be removed. Four friends were to carry him to the funeral pyre, and no weeping was to be made for him. Only the name of God was to be ever repeated. The women were not to come. When all was over, his friends were to return to his house and disperse, first sitting together for a little time, if they so chose. He had no son or heir to take objection to the absence of the usual rites. Let his friends bethink them of the great sin they would commit if in any of these things they disregarded "the wishes of the previous owner of what would be then a worthless corpse." His caste people must not be allowed to interfere. The friends who should do his will were his true caste people.

Bhagvanlāl left the history of Gujerat he was writing for Mr. Campbell's Gazetteer unfinished, but he worked hard up to the last day or two to perfect the fragment he had commenced. He finished his account of the Kshatrap coins in his possession in the draft of a paper dictated by him in Gujerathi, in which he has also given a full account of the lion pillar capital, with its inscriptions in Bactrian Pali, which he brought from Muttra. This paper will, in accordance with his wish, after it has been put in the form he would himself have given to it, be offered to the Royal Asiatic

Society. His coins and inscriptions, including the Muttra one, are to be offered to the British Museum, on terms which I do not doubt the authorities there will gladly agree to. His MSS. he has left to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, asking only that they may be placed near the MSS. of the late Dr. Bhao Daji. I cannot yet say in what state his papers, other than that to which I have referred, have been left, but his friend and executor, Mr. Karsundas Valubhdas, has asked me to look over them; and I undertake that nothing which can be published shall be lost. I hope at all events that we shall be able to bring together in a volume all the published papers of the Pandit, alongside of those of his revered master and friend Bhao Daji. Bhagvanlāl, I know, would have wished for just such a memorial. I hope I have not written at too great length for your columns. I have myself lost a dear friend in Bhagvanlāl, and I know that the details I have given will have a melancholy interest for a wide circle of scholars. They will join me in bidding him a last farewell—nay, rather, in the words with which we parted, Punar darsanāya (“Auf wiederseh’n!”)—PETER PETERSON.

Fleischer.—Professor Doctor Heinrich L. Fleischer, who died on the 16th of February last, was born in Schandau in Saxony on the 21st of February, 1801. He commenced his University studies as a theologian at Leipzig in 1819, but soon devoted himself to Oriental languages, which he afterwards studied under De Sacy and Caussin de Perceval in Paris. On his return home to Dresden, he was appointed to the staff of the Kreuzschule, and whilst here he was invited in 1835 to take a Professorship of Persian in St. Petersburg; but Professor Rosenmüller dying at this juncture, his own University at Leipzig was able to offer him the Professorship of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, which he retained up to the year 1887, when he retired from University work. He either edited or assisted in editing the following: “Abulfeda’s *Historia Ante-Islamitica*,” Arabic and Latin, 1831; “Ali’s One Hundred Proverbs,” Arabic and Persian, 1837; “Baidhawi’s *Sāyana* of the Koran,” 1844–48; “Samakhshari’s *Golden Necklaces*,” German translation; “Mirza Mohammed Ibrahim’s *Persian Grammar*,” German translation; “Habicht’s *Arabian Nights*,” Arabic text, left unfinished by the editor. He also contributed matter to Levy’s *Talmudic Dictionary* and Muhlau and Volck’s *Gesenius’s Hebrew Lexicon*.

Gopalakrishnama Chetty.—The death is announced, in Madras, of Mr. N. Gopalakrishnama Chetty. The greatest portion of

his public service—more than fifteen years as Deputy Collector—was spent in the Kirnool District, where his name is cherished to this day with fond affection by the rural population as their good old friend. he was entrusted with the compilation of a Manual of that district—a task which he accomplished with credit so far as the meagre District Records permitted him. He was also a good Telugu scholar, and was the author of a popular tale entitled, “Sriranga Raja Charitra,” illustrative of native manners and customs.

IV. NOTES AND NEWS.

Among the honours conferred on the occasion of the Queen's birthday, two have been bestowed on Members of our Society. Mr. Redhouse, C.M.G., who was Secretary of the Society from 1861 to 1863, and is now an Honorary Member, has become a K.C.M.G., and Mr. Cookson, C.B., of the Consular Service in Egypt, has been made a K.C.B.

There has been published in Colombo a new edition of Gurulugomi's Amā-watura (The water of Arahatsip), probably the oldest work written in Ceylon in the native Prākṛit, with a complete glossary.

The Chinese Professorship at Cambridge.—Sir Thomas Wade, who has been recently elected to the newly-established Professorship of Chinese at Cambridge, delivered his inaugural lecture on the 13th inst. in the Senate House before a large and appreciative audience. The Vice-Chancellor presided. The Professor commenced by stating that, as he had not originally approached the study of the Chinese language as a trained philosopher or philologist, he deprecated too high an estimate of his qualifications as a lecturer. He assumed that his pupils, should he have any, would be intending missionaries or interpreters, to both of whom the oral language would be indispensable. His advice to applicants in either category would be that they should make their way to China with all speed. As a consulting practitioner, however, he could no doubt give them hints which they would find useful. With the aid of a map, the Professor defined the vast area over which—the languages of the aborigines and other races being excluded—Chinese of one sort or another is spoken, and, referring to the history of the central State, the cradle of Chinese civilization, and its gradual development during thirty centuries into a mighty Empire, he urged that the

multiplicity of its dialects, which he put at some 1400, had in it nothing extraordinary, the magnitude of the Empire and the process of its consolidation considered. He dwelt at some length upon the embarrassment occasioned to the foreigner by the paucity of sounds, those too monosyllabic, allotted to the thousands of words contained in the language, and upon the addition to this consequent upon the law of intonation. But he pointed out that, both as regards the syllabic sound and the tone, by the collocation of words so as to produce a quasi-polysyllabic effect, both difficulties are greatly diminished. Lastly, he explained the origin of the written character in its simpler form as ideographic, and having demonstrated the process of combination by which the more complicated characters have been produced, he brought his lecture to a close. In the next lecture the Professor promised that he would attempt a notice of the literature of China; and meanwhile, without the formal institution of classes, he announced himself ready to give counsel to any student of the written or spoken language who might be disposed to seek it.

Pending a reconstitution of the Laudian chair of Arabic at Oxford, Mr. D. S. Margoliouth has been appointed to give instruction in Arabic during next term. Mr. Margoliouth has been spending some time lately at Cairo.

The honorary degree of M.A. has been conferred at Oxford upon Dr. Hermann Ethé, Professor of Oriental Languages at Aberystwyth, who has long been engaged in cataloguing some of the Oriental collections in the Bodleian, and who is now examining in the Oriental schools.

A report recently issued in India on the progress of education in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh affords evidence of the growing demand for University education, there having been a considerable increase in the number of students attending the Arts course in the College, and an improvement in the percentage of candidates successful at the various examinations of the course. The report states that considerable progress has been made during the year on the lines laid down by the Education Commission, especially in the establishment of revised standards of instruction and a code of rules for village schools.

At a recent meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, M. Émile Senart, the French archæologist, who has recently been travelling in India, delivered a lecture on the various inscriptions which bear the name of Piyadasi, the Asoka of Southern

Buddhists, grandson of Chandragupta. The chief object of M. Senart's visit to India was to supplement by direct inspection the patient study of years which he has devoted to these inscriptions, in his opinion the most ancient dated monuments of India, the most ancient dated witnesses of its religious life and the progress of Buddhism. The result is that he has been able to settle the text of many passages hitherto doubtful. He read an interesting translation of the famous Edict of Toleration, and gave an account of the discovery by Capt. Deane, Assistant Commissioner at Hoti Murdan, of the new inscription at Shahbaz Garhi, which furnishes material for a perfect text of the Edict.—*Athenæum*, 5th May, 1888, p. 569.

The first volume of the Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the India Office, by Professor Eggeling, of Edinburgh, has just been published. It contains the description of all the Vedic works in the collection comprised in 566 MSS. These are derived from various sources, but by far the larger number came from the library of H. T. Colebrooke.

Mr. M. Dhammaratna, the editor of the native paper called "Lak Mini Pahana," has commenced the publication of an edition, in Sinhalese characters, of the Pāli Text of Buddhaghosa's celebrated work the *Wisuddhi Magga*. It is to appear in weekly parts of two sheets each, and is to contain also the full commentary in Sinhalese of the learned King Parākrama Bāhu the Third (called Paṇḍita Parākrama Bāhu, to distinguish him from the more famous King, the first of that name). To these two works are added a new commentary by the Editor, also in Sinhalese. The first part has already appeared, and the undertaking reflects the greatest credit on the public spirit and scholarship of the Sinhalese journalist.

Anurādhapura, Ceylon.—There seems to be very great want of tact in the way in which the excavations at the ancient and sacred seven Dāgabas at this place are being carried out.

The following correspondence is taken from the Sinhalese newspaper *Sarasaviāndorasa* of the 1st instant:

"Colonial Secretary's Office, 23rd May.—Rev. Sir,—I am directed to send you the accompanying Memorial addressed to the Officer Administering the Government by certain Buddhists, and I am to invite you to offer any observations that you may desire to make thereon. 2. I am to remind you that, at your interview with His Honour the Officer Administering the Government, you asked only for the suspension during the pilgrimage of the excavation work,

and that no reference was made by you to any discovery or removal of 'hidden treasures,' of which His Honour has not himself heard.—I am, &c., H. W. GREEN, for Colonial Secretary.—H. Sumangala Terunanse."

"Widyodaya College, Colombo, May 31st.—Sir,—I am in receipt of your letter of the 23rd instant, enclosing a petition from a so-called Abhayagiri Defence Committee, and asking me to offer any observations upon it that I may wish. In reply I have to say: 1. That although I have no connection with the above-mentioned Committee, and cannot accept any responsibility for its actions or statements, I am distinctly of opinion that the excavation of the Sacred Dagabas, on any pretence whatever, is an act of desecration, and cannot but be extremely painful to the feelings of all true Buddhists. 2. That as to the statement made in the petition that the Government Agent has despoiled the Dagaba of its hidden treasures, I have no reliable evidence before me of the discovery of any valuables whatever, and for that reason I made no reference to the general rumour of such discovery during my interview with His Honour the Officer Administering the Government; but I am decidedly of opinion that, *if* any such treasures *have been removed*, they should at once be replaced. 3. That at my recent interview with His Honour the Officer Administering the Government, what I asked for was *not*, as represented, the mere suspension of the work of excavation *during* the time of the pilgrimage, but the *stoppage* of such work altogether and the filling up of all excavations before the pilgrimage.—I am, sir, &c., H. SUMANGALA, High Priest of Adam's Peak, and Principal of Widyodaya College.—The Hon. the Colonial Secretary, Colombo."

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held on March 14; Prof. J. Milne in the chair. Mr. C. S. Meik read an interesting paper, "Around the Hokkaido." The tour round Yesso was made in company of Mr. Fukushi, of the Survey Department of the Hokkaido Government.—*London and China Telegraph*, May 7, 1888, p. 418.

Count Auret-Elmpt, a Russian, is at present on a voyage up the Meikong, in company with M. Dupuis. His object is to study the Muongs, Moïs, and other tribes in an earnest manner, and trace their origin. He is likewise particularly interested in the Laotians, whom he believes to be descendants of the ancient Khmers.—*Ibid.*, p. 427.

A French mission, composed of several members, and at the head

of which is M. Fonnereau, is now exploring Cambodia and visiting Angkor. An artist accompanies the expedition.—*Ibid.*, p. 427.

Mr. A. Dalgleish, the well-known Central Asian traveller, has been shot by a Pathan near the Karakoram Pass, while on his way to Yarkand. His body was to be taken to Let for burial.—*Homeward Mail*, May 7, 1888, p. 578.

African Philology.—"A Language-study based on Bantu," by the Rev. F. W. Kolbe, formerly of the Rhenish Mission in Hereroland, South Africa (Trübner, 1888). The author, following Dr. Bleek, considers that a study of the Bantu Languages of South Africa is most important to every Comparative Philologist. For instance, the origin of the grammatical form of gender and number, the etymology of pronoun, and many other deep grammatical questions will find their solution in the study of the languages of this family. To this subject he has dedicated a treatise of 98 pages.

The "Book of Common Prayer" in the Chuána Language of South Africa, belonging to the Bantu Family, has been published by the S.P.C.K.

An educational book in the form of exercises to facilitate the study of Umbundu, the language of Benguella in West Africa, has been published by the Mission Press at Benguella. This also is a Bantu language, the very existence of which is only known to us from the works of the American Missionaries.

Note on the Riff Language of the Berber Branch of the Hamitic Family spoken in the Northern portion of Morocco by a large population, who are quite distinct from the Arabic invaders, and only Mahometans on the surface. A Gospel has been translated into this language, with the help of Natives, and I witnessed the process during my visit to Morocco last October. It is an entire addition to our existing knowledge.—R.N.C.

The Berber language of North Africa embraces several branches, the chief of which are the Sts, or *Shluh*, spoken in the country of Sidi Hashim, south of Morocco proper, the RIFF, in the mountains of North Morocco, and the KABAIL, of Algeria. Between these widely separated countries there are all along the intervening Atlas mountains, and also in some parts of the Sahâra, more or less varying shades of the same tongue. In short, these sub-dialects, with a few exceptions, may be said to cover the whole Atlas range from Tunis to Agadêr, and are more or less intelligible to the people speaking one or other of the three above-mentioned languages.

The branches mentioned of the Berber language, although analogous, are yet quite distinct; somewhat resembling, in their relation to each other, a group of Keltic languages, such as Gaelic, Irish and Welsh, or perhaps more nearly, Neo-Latin group, say Italian, French, and Spanish. The term **SHLŪḤ** is given in Morocco by people of Arab extraction to the Berber people, and their language is also called **SHILḤA**. And doubtless *ShilḤa* was the prevailing language of the whole of Mauretania before the indigenous inhabitants of the plains and the coast were driven into the mountains at the time of the Arab invasion. Riff, the north-western branch of Berber, has hitherto been an unwritten language.

Linguistic Exploration of the Senegambia.—Prof. René Basset, of Algiers, has now completed his linguistic exploration of the Senegambia, the results of which will appear in three volumes, as soon as possible.

I do not wish to anticipate more than necessary the work of the French explorer, and shall only give, from a few explanatory notes supplied by him, the probable contents of his work, as follows:—

1. *Zenaga*.—History of the Moors and of the country, from the times of Hanno's Periplon.—Morphology and Phonetics.—*Zenaga* Texts.—French-*Zenaga* Vocabulary.—Comparative *Zenaga*-French Dictionary, in order of roots.—Vocabulary of the Berberized Arabic words, in order of roots.

2. *Hassanya Arabic*, spoken on the river Senegal.—Poetry and Letters.—*Hassanya* Vocabulary, in order of Arabic roots.—Influence of the Arabic over the Senegalian languages, viz.: Wolof, Pul, Mandingo, Susu, Serer, etc.—Arabic Letters written by these populations.

3. *Sangarā*, of the Mandingo group.—Vocabulary.

4. *Khassonke*, of the Mandingo group.—Grammar.—French-*Khassonke* and *Khassonke*-French Vocabularies; comparisons with the Susu, Soninke, Mandingo, Bambara, etc.

5. Comparison of the Wolof and Serer-Sin roots.

6. *Serer-Nón*, isolated language (at least provisionally); not to be ranged with Dr. Fr. Müller's so-called Felup languages; at any rate, quite distinct from the Serer-Sin, or Kegem, as illustrated by Gen. L. Faidherbe. Therefore the name "Serer" can no more be used as that of a language having two dialects, Sin and Nón, as these two so-called dialects are, in fact, two different languages; the few particulars given by Faidherbe about the so-called Nón dialect refer to the dialect of the Parors, or Falors, spoken at Nput

and distinct from the Nón proper, as understood by the Dyobas.—Vocabulary.

7. *Landuma*, neither isolated, nor to be classed with Dr. Fr. Müller's so-called Felup languages; but very closely related to the Bullom, Baga, and Timne.—Morphology.—French-Landuma Vocabulary.

8. *Baga*.—Morphology.—French-Baga Vocabulary.

9. Comparative Vocabulary of the Baga, Landuma, Bullom, and Timne.

10. *Dyola (Byafade)*, of the Rio-Grande, isolated.—Morphology and Vocabulary.

11. *Bram* and *Mandyago* as spoken at Bulam, Bissagos islands; these two dialects are closely related.—Morphology and Vocabulary.

12. *Nalu*, isolated.—Morphology and Vocabulary.

13. *Bidyogo*, as spoken at Bulam, Bissagos islands.—Morphology and Vocabulary.

14. Additions and Corrections.

15. Appendices; chiefly unpublished documents of Portuguese origin.

So considerable an amount of linguistic information, collected by so careful a scholar, will certainly prove very welcome; but, as remarked by Prof. R. Basset himself, much work will yet remain to be done in the same region. Perhaps some other scholar will soon have the opportunity of studying the languages of the high Niger, of the Bissagos archipelago, of the Cazamansa (Felup, Papel, Balanta), not to speak of the Pul, which I intend to illustrate myself, as I would have done already, had I not lost many precious documents collected by me some years ago.—CAPT. T. G. DE GUIRAUDON.

V. REVIEW.

Die Kafa-Sprache in Nordost Afrika, von Leo Reinisch.—I. Grammar of the Kafa language. Vienna, 1888.

Prof. Leo Reinisch's recent work brings to light a language of North-Eastern Africa which was till now almost unknown to us. It forms a new link in the chain of the linguistic series begun some years ago by this distinguished scholar. Unfortunately the materials collected by him on the spot are now very nearly exhausted, and it is highly probable that he will have no further opportunity of returning to the Egyptian Soudan, which seems to be closed to Europeans for a long while to come. The time has

therefore come to review at some length the whole linguistic work of that scholar, and I hope soon to do so.

But just now I must content myself with pointing out that, in the classification of African languages, progress must as yet be made with great caution. The plan of running more or less hastily through the grammars and dictionaries of many African languages is not likely to enable even the most clever scholar, however well trained in other branches of linguistics, to build up a permanent scientific theory. I venture to say that without a complete study of all these languages nothing can be done in the way of classification. And I insist especially on these considerations, because every scholar who, leaving Asia for a moment, deigns to come over into Africa in order to provide us with some new classification, does it too often from a peculiar and exclusive point of view. Ideology, for instance, may be very helpful in comparing languages. But ideology alone can lead only to inaccurate and delusive conclusions, as languages endowed with similar ideologies do not belong necessarily to the same linguistic or ethnological families. It is too bold to put on the same line the Mandingo, Bornu, Bedawye, Nuba, Brahui, Kalinga and other African or Asiatic (why no American?) languages, on the mere ground that their ideologies are very similar, and to conclude triumphantly from such an inference that the people who speak these languages belong to a race, of which we know scarcely more than its name.

Prof. Leo Reinisch's linguistic series will be concluded with the following works:

1. Kafa Vocabulary (in the press).
2. Saho Vocabulary and Texts (ready).
3. Kunama Vocabulary and Texts (ready).
4. Saho Grammar (in preparation).
5. Afar Grammar (in preparation).
6. General suggestions on the Numerals, the Pronouns, and the verbal flexion.—CAPT. T. G. DE GUIRAUDON.

VI. PALI TEXT SOCIETY.

The issues of the Pali Text Society for 1887 have just appeared. They include the first volume of Mr. Trenckner's long-expected edition of the Majjhima Nikāya. This work is a collection of the shorter ones among those Socratic dialogues in which Gotama's views of life and of religion have been preserved

to us. The completion of this work, and of the corresponding collection of longer dialogues—the *Dīgha*—will give us the most complete and important statement of what Buddhism was, as originally held by the early converts. The Society has now published twenty-six texts in nineteen volumes, which are already quoted in the market at higher prices than the subscribers paid.

VII. CORRIGENDA.

The corrected proof-sheets of Sir M. Monier-Williams's address on the Jains (printed under the *Notes of the Quarter* in the last Number of the Journal) were unfortunately lost in transmission by post. It was intended to give an errata-list in the present number, but, on examination, most of the misprints appeared too obvious to need pointing out. The only serious errata occur in the Jain prayer-formula at p. 281. They should be corrected as follows :

Namo Arihantāṇaṃ namo Siddhāṇaṃ namo Āyariyāṇaṃ namo Uvajjhāyāṇaṃ namo loe Sabba-sāhūṇaṃ. The name of one of the Digambara Pandits mentioned at p. 279 should be Syoji Lāl (not Gyoji Lāl).

So also in Mr. Sinclair's letter, which he had not the opportunity of correcting, 'Angira' was printed on p. 273 for 'Angria,' and at the end of the same paragraph 'of' for 'or' ('or the smaller temples'). The full stop at the end of line 6 on the following page should also be struck out.

The following publications have been presented to the Society :

- From the Secretary of State for India in Council.*—Archæological Survey of Southern India: Amravati and Jaggayyapeta. By Burgess and Bühler. 4th. London, 1887.—Archæological Survey of India Reports, Index vols. i.-xxiii. Edited by V. A. Smith. 1887.—Vol. xxiii. Panjab and Rājputāna. 1887. Edited by H. B. Garrick.—Manual of the Andamanese Languages. By M. V. Portman. 8vo. London, 1887.—Alberuni's India. Edited by Dr. Edward Sachau. 4to. London, 1887.—Hunter's Gazetteer. 14 vols. 2nd edit.—Records of the Geological Survey of India.
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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XIII.—*The Tantrākhyāna, a Collection of Indian Folklore, from a unique Sanskrit MS. discovered in Nepal.* By
 Prof. CECIL BENDALL.

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I. INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.

THE first notice of the work that forms the subject of the present paper was given in Dr. Daniel Wright's "History of Nepal," where, at p. 322, the title of the book occurs in the list of Sanskrit MSS. procured for the University of Cambridge. In examining this collection in the years 1880–3, I noted the work as related to the Pañca-tantra. As, however, this MS. was (with the exception of some verses as to which I shall speak presently) entirely in Newari, and as I decided to issue at first only the catalogue of the *Buddhist Sanskrit MSS.*, I have hitherto never published any further details, but only gave a passing mention of my discovery in my paper read at the Berlin Congress of Orientalists in 1881

(*Verhandlungen*, Theil II. Hälfte ii. p. 204). When, however, I visited Nepal in 1884, I obtained the small palm-leaf MS., which I now exhibit, containing the work entirely in Sanskrit. The MS.¹ is dated Nepal Samvat 604, or A.D. 1484, and was copied by one 'Jasavarman' *svārthahetunā*, by which, I suppose, is meant that his real name was Yaçovarman, and that he copied it for his own use. Perhaps this last intimation may account for the bad spelling, poor *sandhi*, and general corruptness of text that prevail throughout. There are also several perplexing *lacunæ*. For this reason I do not propose at present to publish the text in full, but, pending at all events the possible acquisition of another MS., I now offer such an account of the tales as may prove serviceable to the student of Indian, and of general, folklore, and subjoin (Pt. V. VI.) selections from the text.

Like most other Indian story-books, from the oldest known collection, the Pali Jātakas, downwards, each tale begins with a moral or text in verse. These texts are preserved in Sanskrit even in the Newari version; and this being so, I have collated for the present essay the MS. at Cambridge already cited (which I call 'A' below), as well as another ('B') in the same collection (Add. 1594 and 1613). Through the kind negotiations of my friend Professor Minaev, I have also been favoured with the loan of a third Newari MS. (which I call 'C'), belonging to the Imperial Academy of S. Petersburg, a body which I have found on a previous occasion most liberal in lending, and to which I desire to record my hearty thanks.

The general literary character of the stories is somewhat bald, mostly lacking the racy sense of humour that makes the Jātakas so delightful and exceptional in Oriental literature. Indeed many of the stories here seem to me to be mere *notes* for the *viva voce* telling of a story already more or less familiar to the speaker at least, if not also to the hearers. This theory seems confirmed by the very abrupt way in which many of the stories terminate; not by a leisurely *ato*

¹ Called S in the critical notes to § IV. below.

ham brāmi,¹ as in the Hitopadeça, followed by a repetition of part of the verse text, but a curt phrase like *evam buddhi-rīnasya doṣaḥ*, 'so the fault lay with the witless wight,' where the story has been told in illustration of the advantage of *buddhi* or *voûs*. Conversely in one or two cases the *positive* moral is pointed out by a compound ending in *guṇa*. The separate stories, moreover, are styled not *ākhyāna*, but *ākhyānaka*, a diminutive form.

Having thus explained the general character of the work, I may now approach what is in fact the most important question of the present paper: namely, what is the exact position of this collection in the general chain of Indian folklore, to which the poetry and fiction of our own middle ages are so largely indebted?

I am pleased to be able to exemplify this indebtedness by a small contribution to Chaucer-literature.²

The book is, as I have already stated, closely allied to the Pañca-tantra. Of its 47 stories, about 25 may be regarded as founded on tales in that collection. And what is important to note is, that several of them were put into their present shape from a recension of that work differing from any of those now extant. Thus, for example, Tale 38 in the present collection, that of the mouse and the cat, corresponds to chapter 5 of the Old Syriac version, which was made about 570 A.D.,³ but does not occur in the Sanskrit Pañca-tantra. Another tale, No. 16, the well-known story of the elephant freed by the mice, occurs only in the 'schmuckreichere Recension,' represented by the Berlin MS. used by Kosegarten in his unfinished text of the 'editio ornatior,' and likewise in the Tamil Pañca-tantra accessible to European readers in the translation by the Abbé Dubois. It is, however, quite an old story, familiar to all in the Æsopic fable of the lion and the mouse. On the other hand, Tale 24, the bird and the ape, belongs to the latest stage of stories in the Pañca-tantra, as it is not included in the Arabic nor even

¹ The expression *Tenāham* in the introductory verse to Tale 21 cited below points to a very similar usage. Tale 28 ends "evam 'anyathā cintitam' iti." See the full verse below.

² See Tale 42.

³ Keith Falconer, *Bidpai*, Intr. pp. xiv, xlvi.



in the Tamil. Again, Tale 22, the story of the sage who changes a dog into a beast of prey, and then changes it back when attacked himself, is far closer to the Indian tale preserved in the Mahābhārata and even the Hitopadeṣa (IV. vi.) than to the Pañca-tantra version.

So much for the general relation of our book to the Pañca-tantra-cycle of story, which to the historian of European literature at all events constitutes the most important branch of Eastern folk-lore.

There are also a few ancient stories of Indian origin, but not included in the Pañca-tantra.

An example of these is Tale 25, where even the 'text' or introductory verse was evidently the same as that of an Indian story included in the Bkah-hgyur, the Tibetan Buddhist canon, translated in the ninth century A.D, if the reference in the note to Mr. Ralston's version denotes the *fourth* great section of the canon.

In subject, the tales present quite as much variety as the contents of most Indian story-books. Some are beast-fables, others turn on the relations of the sexes, others again look like mere incidents taken from historical legends or from romances.

The style is on the whole decidedly poor. Passive Past participles in *-ta*, for example, are used in an active sense. Cf. Tale 30, note 2, Tale 32, note 1. There are, however, some curious lexical forms, which seem to show that the book is of independent origin. Examples are: $\sqrt{kūt}$ 'strike' (Tale 31), hitherto only found in the Dhātupāṭha, and consequently ignored by Professor Whitney in his "Sanskrit Roots." In Tale 43 (the Cat and the Mouse, lost in the Indian Pañca-tantra), in the introductory cloka, occurs the noun *anupraveṣaka* side by side with the verb *anupraviṣ*; also the form *'vyayagat*, for which I would read *avyayayat*, a causal form which is given in the Dhātupāṭha in the sense of 'motion' (*gatau*): here clearly of the *wheeling* of the hawk. In Tale 15 (not printed) occurs the form *çakyāmi* (= *çaknomi*) parallel to the Pali *sakkāmi*.¹

¹ In Tale 10 (not printed) we find the forms *āgrahārika* for a brahman who has received an *agrahāra* or royal donative: and just below, the form *kulaputrīkā*

In spite of the odd forms that occur, I am not now inclined to the idea, which at first struck me, that the book is a mere local Nepalese production. This seems clear from several points in the tales. It is hardly likely, for example, that a Kathmāṇḍu pandit would take for the hero of an anecdote a king of so distant a people as the Kalingas, who appear to have lived between South Orissa and Madras. In the very next tale, the story of the Brahman and his wooden image (see abstract), we find that sums of money are mentioned as paid in *darmmāḥ* (δραχμαί) 'dirhams.' In another tale *dinārāḥ* (denarii) are mentioned. Such coins would suggest that the stories in their present form originated not in Nepal, but rather in some part of India, such as the Panjab, in communication with Persia and other Muhammadan countries. The word *darmma* or *dramma* is of rare occurrence in Sanskrit literature. To the passages given in the lexicons may be added the X—XIth century inscription, which I discovered in Rajputāna, and published in the account of my journey.

I conclude, then, on the whole, that the Tantrākhyāna is one of the numerous independent workings-up of the tale-material current in India from an early date. It is parallel both to the Hitopadeṣa and to the portion of the Kathā-sarit-sāgara (chapters lx. etc., Tawney's translation, vol. ii. pp. 27, sqq.), which corresponds to the Pañcatantra, though it is not necessary to assume for it so late a date (eleventh century) as the latter of these books. I may here mention a compilation probably very similar to the present collection, as to which I have been kindly and most unexpectedly favoured with some private information by Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk, an eminent Dutch Orientalist, residing in the remote island of Bali, in which discoveries so important for Sanskrit literature have been made. This is a collection of tales called the Tantri, of which Dr. van der Tuuk gave some account in our Journal for 1881 (New Series, Vol. XIII. pp. 44, 45).

(ironically?) for a low-caste woman, analogous to the sense of *kuloputra* cited from Vaijayanti by Kavindra Sarasvati on Daçakumāra-c° (p. 136, l. 20, ed. Bombay, 1883). See also Pt. III., notes on Tale 42 A.

II. (a) GENERAL INDEX TO THE TALES.

Abbreviations.—Pañca-t. = Pañca-tantra. Bfy. = Benfey's Translation of the Pañca-tantra. Tales numbered as in this translation. Arabic figures refer to pages of Vol. I. (Einleitung). Hit. = Hitopadeça. Jät. = Jätakas, ed. Fausböll, some few translated by Rh. D. (= Rhys Davids). Tawney = C. H. Tawney's translation of the Kathä-sarit-sägara. Arabic figures refer to pages, Roman to volume.

<i>Tale.</i>	<i>Stories to be compared.</i> ¹
1. The tortoise and the two geese. [Text printed.]	Pañca-t. I. xiii.; Bfy. 239-40; Hit. IV. ii.; Jätaka, No. 215, ² Rh. D. (p. viii).
2. The monkey and the sleeping prince. [Text printed.]	Pañca-t. Bk. I. 'Nachtrag,' Tale xii.; Bfy. vol. i. p. 292 and vol. ii. p. 154; Jät. No. 44, Javanese 'Tantri.'
3. Louse and flea.	Pañca-t. I. ix.; Tawney, ii. 34.
4. The bird Bhairuṇḍa with two heads.	Pañca-t. V. xiv.
5. The greedy jackal.	Pañca-t. II. iii.
6. Garland-maker and tiger.	Similar incidents in Totā-Kahāni, No. 11.
7. Crow, snake, and gold bracelet. [Text printed at p. 486 below.]	Pañca-t. I. vi.; Hit. II. viii.
8. The hare who made the lion jump into a well.	Pañca-t. I. viii.; Hit. I. ix.

¹ For several of these comparisons I am indebted to the help of friends to whom I have showed proofs of my paper, especially to Mr. Tawney, Dr. Morris, Mr. J. F. Blumhardt, Dr. Fausböll, Mr. Ward, and Mr. H. T. Francis. Professor Cowell and Professor Bühler gave me help in this and in other parts of the paper.

² Cited by Fausböll's running numbers. It is much to be regretted, as Prof. Fausböll has at present published no index, that his running numbers differ somewhat from those of the only accessible index, that of Westergaard (Codd. Havn. i. 37).

9. The Brahman, his son, and the snake-king. Pañca-t. III. v.
[Text at p. 487 below.]
10. The Brahman and his two wives of different castes.
11. Serpent, tree, and locusts. Pañca-t. III. iv.
12. Buffalo, rolling stone, and tiger. [Text printed, Somewhat similar to the concluding part of Pañca-t. I. Introduction (Bfy. vol. ii. p. 8); Tawney, ii. 27.]
13. Ape and wedge. Pañca-t. I. i.
14. Geese and tiger-cub. [Text printed p. 499.]
15. The tortoise and ape. Pañca-t. IV. Introd. ; comp. Arab. and Syr. versions.
16. Elephant freed by mice. [Text and translation, pp. 489, 497 below.] Pañca-t. II. 'Nachtrag' i. ; Bfy. ii. 208.
17. Brahman, cattle-stealer, and Piçāca. Somewhat enlarged from Pañca-t. III. ix.
18. Brahman and golden peacock. Jāt. I. No. 136; somewhat similar to Pañca-t. III. xiii.; but see abstract below.
19. Serpent and two frogs. Cf. Pañca-t. III. xv.
20. Jackal imprisoned in carcase and freed by Nārada. Jāt. No. 148.
21. Merchant's wife and thief (fragment). Cf. Tōtā-Kahāni, No. 10?
- 21A. Nun and laywoman (fragment).
22. A Rishi metamorphoses his son's dog. Hit. IV. vi.
23. Fragment of another metamorphosis-tale.
24. Pippalī-bird and monkey. Pañca-t. I. xviii. ; Hit. II. iii.
25. Monkeys jump into a well after the moon. See Ralston's Tibetan Tales, No. 45.

26. Karuṇṭhaka is made to leap into a chasm. [Text below, p. 491, translation in § IV., p. 481.] Roman tale of Mettus Curtius; Southern Pañca-t., Bk. I. See Bfy. I., pp. 108, 109.
27. The Brahman, his image of Gaṇeṣa and the merchant.
28. Rūpavatī, her *guru* Prabhākara and Prince Kandarपालिता. Tale in Kathā-sarit-sāgara, Tawney, vol. i. p. 103; Kath-ārṇava, Tale 2; Bhāra-ṭaka-kathā, Tale 3 (see Aufrecht, Cat. Bodl.).
29. Merchant finds his wife's skull.
30. Nupta quaedam, a marito potō deserta, prima nocte simio se praebet. [Text printed, p. 491.]
31. Prince and two parrots.
32. The hunter and his two sons. [Text printed, p. 492.]
33. Brahman, crab, snake, and crows. [Text and translation below, pp. 493, 498.] Pañca-t. V. xv.; Bfy. I. 538; Suvanna-kakkata-jātaka, Vol. III. No. 389.
34. A king detects his barber's murderous designs by the use of a magic verse. Cf. Jātakas, Nos. 338, 373.
35. Hare, partridge, and lion. Allied to Tale 47 *infra*.
36. The singing ass. Pañca-t. V. vii; Bfy. I. 494.
37. Crane, fish, and crab. [Translation below, p. 499.] Pañca-t. I. vii.; Jātaka, No. 38 (Transl. Rh. D.).
38. The old cat and the mice. Somewhat similar to part of Hit. I. iv.
39. The jackal mistaking fruit for meat.
40. The Brahman and his goat. [Text printed.] Pañca-t. III. iii.

41. The wheelwright, his wife, and her lover. Pañca-t. III. xi.; Hit. III. xxiv., with variations.
- 41A. Fowler, birds, and mouse. Pañca-t. II., 'Frame'-story, and Hit. I. (Introductory Tale); Jāt. 33.
42. Husband, wife, lover, and mango-tree. [Text and translation, see pp. 494, 500.] 'Forty Viziers' (tr. Gibb, p. 303); Chaucer, *Marchaundes Tale*.
- [43.¹] The mouse pursued by owls, and the cat. [Text printed.] Pañca-t., Arab. and Syriac versions; see Bfy. I. 543 sqq.; Keith-Falconer, *Bidpai*, p. 172 sqq.
- [44.] Lion, jackal, and deer. [Text partly printed.]
- [45.] Owls and crows. } Pañca-t. III. (Introductory Tale).
- [46.] Birds choosing a king. } Pañca-t. III. (Introductory Tale).
- [47.] The hare, the partridge, and the cat 'Dadhikarna.' Pañca-t. III. ii. (Hare, sparrow, and cat).
- [Verses, see p. 478 below.]

II. (b) INDEX TO THE PAÑCA-TANTRA TALES
of which parallels appear in this collection.

<i>Pañca-t.</i>	<i>Tantrākhyāna.</i>
Book I. Introduction	= Tale 12.
Tale 1	= 13.
6	= 7.
7	= 37.
8	= 8.
9	= 3.
13	= 1.
18	= 24.
Appendix [i.e. tales only extant in 'recensio ornator,' or in versions]	= { 2. 26.

¹ This and the rest of the tales are not numbered in the Sanskrit MS. (S).

Book II. Introduction	=	41A.
	3 =	5.
Appendix	=	16.
Book III. Introduction	=	{ 45.
		{ 46.
Tale 2	=	47.
	3 =	40.
	4 =	11.
	5 =	9.
	9 =	17.
	11 =	41.
	13 =	18.
Book IV. Introduction	=	15.
Book V. Tale 7	=	36.
	14 =	4.
	15 =	33.

III. NOTES ON THE TALES FOUND IN THE PAÑCA-TANTRA.

Tale 1 (Pañca-tantra I. xiii.) is a well-known story found in the *Hitopadeça* (IV. ii) and the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*. The *Jātaka*-version of the tale (Fausböll, No. 215) has been translated with some excellent notes by Prof. Rhys Davids at p. viii of the Introduction to his still unfinished translation of the *Jātakas*. I give the text of the story in full below.

Tale 2 corresponds to a tale in Pañca-t. Book I., but given in some MSS. only. The Pañca-tantra text is to be found in Weber, *Indische Studien*, Bd. III. p. 370. See also *Jātaka* No. 44 and Bfy. I. 292, II. 154.

From the text, which I print in full below, it will be seen that the story follows most nearly the Pañca-tantra tale, where, as here, an ape guards the sleeper, and not, as in the *Jātaka*, the hunter's son. But I think it will be felt that, for once, the form of the tale in this collection gives a better story, as it is far more natural and probable that the monkey should aim a stone at the fly, than that, as in all the other tales, he should use a sword for the purpose.

Tale 3. Çloka :

Ajñātakulaçilānām na deyaḥ syād apāçrayaḥ |
 Diṇḍikasya hi doṣheṇa hatā Mandavisarpiṇī ||

With the first line of this compare Hitop. çl. 42 (ed. Peterson, cf. eudem, Introd. p. xii). The tale follows the Pañca-tantra fairly closely.

Tale 4. This is a mere *précis* of the Pañca-t. tale. The form Bhairuṇḍa confirms Benfey's conjecture in his 'Anmerkungen' (vol. ii. p. 525).

Tale 5 calls for no remark.

Tale 7. The text, as given below, shows that this tale is far more 'ornate' than the *editio ornatior* of the Pañca-t. Kosegarten, Pars. II., Partic. i. p. 39, or the Hitop. II. viii.

Tale 8. Benfey in his 'Nachträge' assigns a Buddhist origin to this tale on the authority of Mr. Hodgson (see Hodgson's Essays, p. 83, § 5, new ed.). I have not however been able to verify the story from the work (the Bhadrakalpāvadāna) cited.

Tale 9. It will be seen from the text that the form of the tale is here more characteristically Indian than even that of the Pañca-tantra on which Benfey dwells at such length (vol. i. p. 359), for snake-worship assumes a far more pronounced form. Instead of a mere snake *conjectured* to be a *genius loci*, we find a regular *nāgarāja* assuming the form of an ordinary serpent, but still, with the 'wisdom of the serpent' so prominent in Indian serpent-mythology, delighting in the hearing of sacred lore, and not merely propitiated by food as in the Pañca-tantra.

In Tale 11 the introduction of a tree forms a new feature, and as in the tales just compared snake-worship appears in a more developed form, so here we find traces of the kindred tree-cult in the circumstance that the snake is made to attack the ants in defence of the tree in which he lived, on being appealed to by the tree. This gives some slight point to a tale which in the Pañca-tantra is rather flat and spiritless.

Tale 13 calls for no remark, but in the second line of its introductory çloka we find traces of both the readings noticed by Peterson in his notes (p. 49) to Hitop. II. çloka

26 in the readings *tatraiva nidhanam yāti* of my Sanskrit MS. corresponding to Peterson's MS. C., while two Newari MS. read *sa tathā nihate svate* and *'nirute sete*, respectively, corruptions pointing to the reading *sa tathā nihataḥ ṣete* of Peterson's MS. "N" (=my own Nepalese MS. of the Hitopadeṣa lent to him).

Tale 15. Our collection follows the older recension of the Pañca-tantra, as preserved in the Arabic and Syriac versions, in representing the ape's friend as a tortoise, not a *makara*.

Tale 16. I print the text, as well as a translation, because the Pañca-tantra text (Weber, Ind. Studien, vol. iii.) is not very accessible, as it does not appear in the ordinary editions; and I also give a translation on account of the importance of the story in comparative folk-lore, as pointed out by Benfey (vol. i. pp. 324 sqq.). The rather humorous council of mice is peculiar to, and somewhat characteristic of, the present work. Compare the council of fish in Tale 37.

Tale 17. This is an 'editio ornatior' of the corresponding Pañca-t. tale. The Brahman's wife, who counsels her husband to part with his last pair of oxen, and the king who finally idemnifies him for his losses, are new and rather unnecessary personages.

Tale 24. The tale follows the Pañca-t. closely, but with a slight difference in the end of the story; as here, the ape kills the bird, not merely destroying her nest.

Tale 33. It will be seen from the text and translation that this is a less ornate story than the corresponding episode in the Pañca-tantra. At the same time a comparison with the Jātaka cited will show that our tale is more truly Buddhistic in tone than that professedly Buddhist story. This I say not only because the real moral of the tale is kindness to animals, but because the crab in his turn is not murderously inclined, but lets the crow and snake both 'go to their own place.' The introductory verse is somewhat corrupt, as may be seen from the various readings in the text. It appears to refer to a lost commencement of the story, similar to that in the Pañca-t., where the Brahman is charged by his mother not to journey alone.

Tale 36, the well-known story of the singing ass, agrees with the Pañca-tantra closely. The introductory verse, which is somewhat corrupt, is from the same source :

Sādhu mātula gītena varyāmāno 'pi nityaṣaḥ |

Apūrvō 'yam anirbandhaḥ prāptagītasya yat phalam ||

Tale 37. The translation of the tale may be compared with the Jātaka. In style our story is little, if at all, inferior to the older Pali version. The discussion of the fishes is peculiar, and may be compared to that of the mice in Tale 16, of the monkeys in Tale 25. Davids' translation of this Jātaka has been reprinted in the introduction to Mr. J. Jacobs's new edition of Doni's "Moral Philosophy."

Tale 40. This tale forms another example of the curt style of the present collection, suggesting, as above conjectured, notes for recitation. The text is printed as a sample of this style.

Tale 41. This tale differs from the versions of the Pañca-t. and Hitop., in that the husband's pacification is effected by a speech not of the wife (there is no "raffinirte Ausspinnung," as Benfey calls it, about avoiding the curse of a goddess), but of the lover. "What would you do," says the wife, "if my husband came now?" To which the lover answers: "Sādhu pūjyāmi." This is probably the remains of a longer and more conciliatory speech.

Tale 42A. This story, familiar through the Hitopadeṣa to every tiro in Sanskrit, calls for little remark.

The introductory ṣloka reads :

ekakāryārthināu bhūtvā yātāv etau yugadrutam |

yadā viditasamprāptaḥ sa tadā vaṣam eshyati ||

In line 1 the unfamiliar form *yugadrutam* seems equivalent to *yugapad*. With line 2 compare the phrase of the corresponding Jātaka-verse (Fausböll, vol. i. p. 209) *tadā ehinti me vasan*. The story is omitted in MS. C. (S. Petersburg vernacular MS.) and wrongly numbered in my Sanskrit MS. (S), so that I have called it 41A, to preserve the general numbering of that MS.

Tale 43. I print the text of this tale because I take it that we have here a fairly good reproduction of the original

Indian tale, not so terribly 'ausgesponnen' (as Benfey puts it) as is the Mahābhārata form of the tale, and likewise devoid of the sermonizing excrescences (clearly the work of a misguided Christian) that spoil the Syriac form of the tale (Keith-Falconer, *Bidpai*, pp. 172-177). The present collection seems again somewhat fragmentary here, as the next story, 44, is supposed to be told by the mouse, but yet, at its conclusion, the thread of the story is not resumed. In the Syriac the mouse does not tell a regular tale, but only enforces his desire to dissolve his temporary alliance with the cat by two similes (*op. cit.* p. 177).

Tales 45, 46, 47 (if indeed 46 can be reckoned a separate tale), follow the Pañca-tantra, except that the dull disquisitions of the five crows which made the tale, even in the opinion of the enthusiastic Keith-Falconer, 'long and not very interesting,' are mercifully omitted. In Tale 47 the Berlin MS. of the Pañca-t. agrees with our story in substituting a partridge (*tittiraka*) for a sparrow (*caṭaka*).

The work concludes with a series of verses, mostly very corrupt.

The first two couplets may be quoted here, as they refer to tales included in the Pañca-tantra.

Çatrūṇām krandamānānām çriṇuyān naiva yo vacaḥ |
Sa parājayam āpnoti samudrash ṭiṭṭibhād iva ||

(For the sandpiper tale see Pañca-t. I. xii.)

Çator balavataç cāgre bhītenāpi vipaçcitā |
nādena bhadrām āpnoti Sañjivaka-vṛiṣho yathā ||

See Pañca-t. Bk. I. Introductory Tale.

IV. ABSTRACT OF THE STORIES NOT FOUND IN THE PAÑCA-TANTRA.

Tale 6, f. 4a-b. *Garland-maker, tiger, jaokal and crow.*

[Introductory śloka:]

Kākā yasya kumitrāṇi Sphuṭakarnaçca jambukaḥ |
tenāham vṛiksham ārūḍhaḥ, parivāro na çobhate |¹

¹ Cf. Raghuv. VI. 10, *yānam parivāra-çobhī*.

A garland-maker (mālākāra), searching for flowers, falls in with a tiger, and in fright gets up a tree, and accidentally lets fall his garland on to the neck of the tiger, who had fallen asleep. The tiger is pleased, and invites the man to descend, promising safety. . . . [apparent lacuna]. A crow and a jackal, here abruptly introduced, persuade the tiger to kill the man; but on the tiger's again inviting him to approach, the man once more retires to the tree, observing from a safe distance what manner of associates the tiger has.

[*Moral*.—"A man is known by his friends."]

Similar incidents occur in Totā-Kahāni, Tale XI.

10. *The Brahman and his two wives.*

[*Introductory śloka* :]

Saṅgrahaḥ khalu kartavyaḥ kāle caiva pratishṭhitaḥ |
ghaṭasarpa-prayogeṇa brāhmaṇo 'pi vaçikṛitaḥ ||

A Brahman has two wives, one a Brahmanī, the other a low-caste woman. The latter, being the favourite, has the household property entrusted to her. The Brahmanī takes counsel with a Bhikshuṇī, who advises her to make a collection of miscellaneous effects [as if rival household stuff]. Among these is an old pot, into which a serpent had got. The wives compare and review one another's stock; and the low-caste woman is bitten by the serpent and dies.

12. [fol. 9a-b.] *Buffalo, rolling-stone, and tiger.*

Pracchannaṃ kila bhoktavyaṃ dāridreṇa viçeshataḥ |
paçya cāhāradoshēṇa vyāghreṇa gavayo hataḥ ||

A buffalo, grazing, dislodges a rock on a mountain-side. This runs down with a reverberation and frightens even a tiger, who thinks it must be the roar of some mighty beast, but discovering only the grass-eating buffalo, devours him.

14. [fol. 10b.] *Geese and tiger-cub.*

Aparikshita-çilānāṃ yaḥ karoti parigrahaṃ |
tatraiva nidhanaṃ yāti cakrānkā vyāghrato yathā ||

Some geese save the life of a tiger-cub, who is being swept away in a flood, and are eventually devoured by him.

Yūki no yūki...
 Yūki no yūki...
 Yūki no yūki...

26. *Sackal and Yūki*

Yūki kōshōshi, arakawa...
 sakhal...
 kōshōshi...

A sackal, trying in vain to rise through the hole in the...
 aliphant, at last enters the course from behind. The rain...
 however contract and he is imprisoned. The rain...
 happens to be punning; and the sackal, calling to his
 human voice, of course, persuades him that he is a reverend
 personage. (In this Nūrua gains rain from the gods, and
 the body opens. Whosoever the gods deride the sage for is
 magnified protégé.

See *datakan* I, p. 501 (Sigfida Jūtaka), translated by Dr.
 Morris, in *Folklore Society's Journal*, vol. iv. p. 168. The
 rains and dawns may be a later addition, though they form a
 decided gain to the humour of the story.

21. *Merchant's wife and the thief.*

Açāçvatena mitreṇa mitram tyajati çāçvatam |
tenāham "bhayabhītena mayā tyaktāsi sundari." ||

[Fragmentary tale.]

A thief robs a merchant's house, binds him, and violates his wife. Carrying her off, he deserts her asleep. [Lacuna.] On awaking she finds a nun, and consults her. . . .

23. Neither this tale nor even its first introductory çloka can be made out satisfactorily. It is apparently a fragment of another metamorphosis tale.

25. *Some monkeys jump into a well after the reflected moon.*
(A 'neben-form' of tale 8.)

Mūrkhamañḍalamadhyastho mūrkho bhavatu nāyakaḥ
tatraiva nidhanam yāti candradraśṭeva vānaraḥ |

This is a rather drily told version of a tale of Indian origin, also existing in the Tibetan Bkah-gyur (iv. 249), whence it appears in Schiefner and Ralston's *Tibetan Tales* (No. xlv.). See also Weber's notes there cited.

26. *An Indian Curtius.*

Fable translated *in extenso*. Introductory verse corrupt.

"A king of the Kalingas named Kurunṭhaka went a hunting. He was on horse-back. Near a certain village a steep chasm had been formed. There, while it was being filled up by them, the king arrived and spoke some words to them. The subjects replied: 'This steep rift is not to be filled by any means.' 'It is to be filled,' said the king, 'by the offering of some notable man.' Then said his subjects, 'He only is the truly notable man,' and acting on their words then and there cast him into the chasm and flung him down."

Moral.—Do not always give good advice gratis.

Compare the Southern Pañca-t., and other parallels, in Benfey, *l.* pp. 108, 109.

27. *The Brahman, the image of Gaṇeṣa, and the merchant.*

Piṅuṇam naiva grihṇiyāt karma cājñātam ātmanā |
vināyakaprasaṅgena vānijo nishphalo 'bhavat |

The first part of this tale corresponds to Babrius, Fab. cxix., where the wooden image of a god, Hermes in the one case, Vināyaka or Gaṇeṣa in the other, is assaulted by his former worshipper, and bribes him off by a present of gold. The Sanskrit tale has, however, the curious and somewhat inconsequent conclusion that a neighbouring merchant, trying to imitate the Brahman, is caught by the image and is made to pay a fine to him. This '*Karma ajñātam ātmanā*' is moreover a necessary part of the tale from the point of view of the Indian fabulist.

28. *Prabhākara, Rūpavatī, and Kandarpalālita.*

Anyathā cintitam kāryam daivena kṛitam anyathā |
sā ca kanyā na samprāptā punar ātma vidambitāḥ ||

A Brahman *guru* is enamoured of his pupil's daughter Rūpavatī. To gain his end he persuades the king (her father?) that, like 'La Mascotte,' if once married, she will bring ill luck on the kingdom. She is put into a box and thrown into the Ganges. Prabhākara and his pupils wait for the box; but it is intercepted by a prince Kandarpalālita, hunting at the time, who opens the box and weds the maiden in the summary fashion common in Indian romances. He puts into the box a bear that he had caught in the chase. Prabhākara's pupil brings the box to his house, where the old man was awaiting his prey in a room alone. The bear springs out, and the *guru* has to call for assistance, which at last comes, and the bear makes off through the window.

This story occurs in the Kathā-sarīt-sāgara (Tawney, I. 103); also in the Kathārṇava (Tale 2) and the Bhārataka-dvātriṃśikā (3), as described by Aufrecht, *Cat. Bodl.* pp. 153 *sqq.*

29. *A merchant finds his wife's skull on a desert shore.*

Jātimātro daridrasya daṣavarshaṃ ca bandhanam |
samudramadhye maraṇam, punaḥ kiṃ kim bhaviṣhyati? ||

This a mere fragment of a few lines. Dr. Sergius d'Oldenburg has called my attention to the South Indian Tale published by Paṇḍit Naṭeśa, in Ind. Antiquary for Sept. 1884, where the verse is nearly the same.

30. Çucitā dhīratā lajjā mairī vā kulalakṣaṇam |
dharmaçīlam ca cāritram yoshitām naiva vidyate ||

Nupta, a marito ebrio deserta in silvis, simio se praebet. Vir autem re non comperta sed eam invitam captam esse ratus, belluam sagitta transfigit, [ambosque (ut videtur) occidit]. Tum mulierem voce compellat; illa autem nihil respondet, simium autem etiamnum amplexa de rupe cadit.

The text is printed, as the story appears to be new, and the style is more polished than is the case with most of these tales.

31. *Prince and two parrots.*

Mātā caikā pitā caika āvayor api pakṣiṇoḥ |
aḥam nīto munivaraiḥ sa ca nīto gavāçanaiḥ ||

Two parrots, bred of same parent-birds, are adopted, one by low-caste people, the other by sages in a hermitage. A prince visiting the dwellings successively, contrasts the language used to him by each.

32. *Hunter and his two sons.*

Lubdhako madhulobhena dvau ca putrau vilambitau |
sarvanāçe samutpanna, ardham tyajati paṇḍitaḥ ||¹

A hunter, accompanied by his two sons, sees some honey in a tree overhanging a precipice. He sends one of them up to get the honey, the second follows; but the branch will not bear both, and cracks loudly. Hearing this, the father shoots one dead, and thus saves the other.

34. *Brahman, king, and barber.*

Ghasasi² ghasasi kshuram, sambhramasi nirikshase |
jñāto 'si mayā, dhūrta! māṃ tu chalitum icchasi ||

This is a fragment of a tale, which appears to tell of a

¹ Cf. Pañca-t. V. xlii.

² Mistaken or Prakritised for *gharshasi*.

Brahman, who had taught a king certain valuable verses, the use of one of which enabled him to disarm the attempt of his barber, who had been commissioned by the ministers to assassinate him.

Other forms of this tale occur both in the Jātaka-book (III. Nos. 338, 373) and, as I am informed by several friends, in Western literature.

38. *The old cat and the mice.*

Yasya dharmadhvajo nityam cakradhvaja ivocchritaḥ |
pracchannāni ca pāpāni, vaiḍālaṃ nāma tadvrataṃ ||

A cat ensnares mice by professions of old age and harmlessness. The cat quotes various scriptures, like the vulture in Hitop. I. iv. The tale is told in illustration of the proverbial expression *vaiḍāla-vrata* (cf. Manu, iv. 195).

39. *A jackal mistakes dry çālmali fruit for meat.*

Çālmali pushpitaṃ dṛiṣṭvā çrigālo māmsaçaṅkayā |
upāsya suciram kālaṃ nirāço 'nyatra gacchati ||

42. *The adulteress who gains her lover in presence of her husband by ascending a mango-tree.*

Pratyakṣam vañcitavati bhartāram kācid aṅganā |
āliṅgya ca, tayā jāro bhartā ca paritoshitaḥ ||

See below, pp. 494, 500, for text, translation and notes on this tale.

44. [fol. 32.] *Lion, jackal, and deer.*

Kṛtvā balavatāṃ sandhim atmānaṃ yo na rakshati |
sarvaṃ¹ nidhanam āpnoti simhāddharaṅikā yathā ||

Moral.—'Do not make an alliance with the powerful without ensuring your personal safety.'

A herd of deer employ a jackal to make a compact between themselves and a lion. The jackal, who gets the remains of the lion's dinners, plays them false, and they are all slain. The excuse of the jackal as to the fate of the first deer who was eaten, was that he had visited the king at an unfitting season (*anavasare*).

¹ Sarve MS.

V. EXTRACTS FROM THE SANSKRIT TEXT.

In the introductory verses of the tales only the chief var. lectt. of the three vernacular MSS. are given, mere barbarisms, which occur throughout, not being noted.

S = Sanskrit MS.

A = Camb. Univ. Libr. Add. 1594.

B = *Ibid.* Add. 1613.

C = Imperial Acad. S. Petersburg, 130c.

श्री नमो वामीश्वराय ॥

तन्नास्त्रानकक्षां चैव बुद्धिपद्मप्रबोधिनीं ।

आदित्यदोधितिमेवं तान्निधास्त्रामि यत्नतः ॥

रक्षितव्यं सदा वाक्यं वाक्यं भवति नाश्रमं ।

इंसाभ्यान्नीयमानस्य कूर्मस्य पतनं यथा ॥

अथास्त्रानकं ।

कश्चिंश्चिद्वनप्रदेशे यामस्य नातिदूरे फुल्लोत्पन्नं नाम सरः ॥ तत्र कूर्मः प्रववसत् । तत्र कदाचिद् ब्रह्मसोकात्, इंसयूषाः समानताः ते इंसाः कूबन्तः सरसि निवसन्ति । ताग्दृष्ट्वा कूर्मः प्रावदत् । कुत आनता यूयमिति । ते-पि तमाहुः । ब्रह्मसोकादिति । सो-वदत् । पुनः कीदृग्ब्रह्मसोकः इति । त ऊचुः । तत्र गुणा वर्धयितुं न शक्यंते -स्त्राभिर्वाभुक्किनापि¹ । तेज्वेवं वदत्सु कीतुकाविष्टइदयो ब्रह्मसोक-ममनीत्सुकः स कूर्मः इंसान् प्रार्थितवान् । ब्रह्मसोके मां नयतेति । ते परस्परमासोश्च तमूचुः । यदि वाक्यं रक्षसि² नेष्यामी वयमिति । तथा च धारय दन्तीर्दण्डमिति । ततो दशनीर्दण्डं संदश्र तदुभयपार्श्वे चोटिभ्यां गुहीत्वा ते खमुत्पतन्ति³ । तं नीयमानं गास्वारयन्तो याम्याः पाप्मा अपश्रन् । दृष्ट्वा चावदन् । अहो दृशतां दृशतां कूर्मः स्वर्गं

¹ Probably an allusion to the snake-king's two thousand tongues (*Harivaṃṣa*, 6326).

² So, too, in the *Jātaka* (No. 215, Fausböll): *Sace tvam mukham rakkhitum rakkhissasi.*

³ *patanta*, MS.

इसैर्नीयत इति । ततो विश्वयदर्पाभिभूतः¹ कूर्मः स्वकृतपुष्पकर्मवि-
पाकेन गच्छामीत्यवदत् पतितश्च ॥

तस्माद्वाक्यं रचितव्यमिति ॥ १ ॥

Tale 2.

वरं पश्चित्तशत्रूणां मूर्खमिषं न कारयेत् ।

पद्म² वागरमूर्खेण राजपुत्रो निपातितः ॥

अथाख्यानकं ॥

कश्चिंश्चिदधिष्ठाने राजपुत्रस्य वागरो जीववह्मभः । भोजनादि च
दत्तं । तेन सहैकस्मिन्दिवसे³ मृगयामगमत्⁴ । दूरमन्वेन हतश्च वि-
आन्तश्च शिखातले निद्रामगमत्⁴ । तत्पार्श्वे वागरः स्थितः । ततो
निद्रितस्य मुखे मञ्जिकाः पतिताः । वागरेण निवारिताश्च । अपि पुनः
पुनर्निपातितो वागरः क्रुधा महतीं शिखामादाय तस्य मुखे प्राचिपत् ।
तेन प्रहारेण राजपुत्रो मृत इति । मूर्खमिषस्य दोष इति ॥ २ ॥

Tale 7.

उपायेन तु यच्छक्यं न तच्छक्यं वक्षीरपि ।

काक्या ज्ञनकसूत्रेण छण्डसर्पो निपातितः ॥

अथाख्यानकं ॥

कश्चिंश्चिन्तीर्थायतनगदीसमीपे महती शाखासी । वृषे काको
-वसत् । एकस्मिन् पर्वदिवसे राजकुहिता ज्ञातुमागता । अन्तःपुरा-
मात्सर्वीकावृत्तिभिश्चानुगता । ततो गदीकूले वस्त्राभरणादिकं ज्ञा-
पयित्वा जलक्रीडां कर्तुमारब्धा । तस्मात्काका मनस्वेतद्भूत्⁵ । काको
-यमुपस्थितो वैरनिर्घातनस्य, तथा हि दुरात्मा छण्डसर्पः प्रतिवर्ष-

¹ 'pāvibhūtaḥ, MS.

² 'yasya, MS. For paçya, cf. çloka to Tale 16 infra. It also occurs in Tale 11 (not printed).

³ 'saha Kasmin, MS.

⁴ 'mrigayāgamat . . . nidrāgamat, MS.

⁵ Dr. Bühler suggests: 'tasyām dhvānkṣa-man'. 'With respect to her the crow thought.' Perhaps we should read 'ākānkṣhamānasya manasy'.

मानस्य च्छातपचान् नैकान् मत्पुत्रान् प्रस्थादति । इदानीञ्च प्रसव-
कासः संप्राप्तः । पुनरपि भवयिष्यति । ततः सन्ता[न]हिदः । हिन्ने च
सन्ताने सुनतिर्नास्ति । नैव स्वर्गः ।† तद्या च शक्रं च मया निवेधसोभेन
तपोधिकरत्नमच्छपे†¹ भारताख्यायने² ॥

न अपुत्रस्य नतिर्नास्ति स्वर्गे नैव चेति तस्माद्विरजिर्घातनेन संतानं
रचयिष्यामि । सो-यं कृष्णसर्पः सामादिचातुर्थेन³ साधो, दृष्टानु
साधयेय⁴ । दृष्टं तु स्वयं पा[त]यितुं न शक्नोमि । तस्मादुपायदृष्टः
कर्तव्यः । दैवबलं चोपस्थितं । तस्याः कनकसूचं गृहीत्वा कृष्णसर्पस्य
वासवृषे प्राक्षन्मयिष्यामि । ततो राजपुत्रवाचं गृहीतुमुद्यता भवि-
ष्यति । उद्यमे च कृते विकृतफणाटोपस्यसम्पिङ्गु उत्तानीकृतार्द्धाङ्गी
राजपुत्रवान् दर्शयितुकामः कृष्णसर्पः प्रादुर्भविष्यति । वृद्धा च ते मार-
यिष्यति । इति विचिन्व तद्या कृत्वा हत इति ॥ उपायबलमिति ॥ ७ ॥

Tale 9.

मृतम्यञ्च स्वपुत्रस्य⁵ पुच्छम्यञ्जामि चात्मानः ।

भिन्नचेष्टा कुतः प्रीतिर्न खेहो-पि कदाचन ॥

अथाख्यानकं ।

कस्मिंश्चिदधिष्ठाने नाधर्षजातिरागविद्विष्टो-स्त्राद्राक्षयः । किन्तु
सीभाग्यरहितो खोकेर्विद्विष्टो-रखं गत्वा नामखाने पुस्तकं पठितवान्
याम्यरानविशेषैः । तेन च पुस्तकपाठेन गुष्टो नागराजा सर्पो भूत्वा
कुच्छसाकारं कृत्वायं खित्वा श्रुतवान् । समाप्ती दीनारमेकं च
ददाति । एवं प्रतिदिनं दीनारेण ब्राह्मण्यः समृद्धिमुपगतः । एकस्मि-
न्दिवसे-यतया पुषः प्रेषितः । एवं करोति⁶ । पुषे च तद्या कृतं ।

¹ Something appears to be wanting here.

² I have not verified this citation from the Mbh. (?).

³ caturthena sādhyena. Compare Manu, viii. 106-109.

⁴ Sādhyeyam (?), MS.

⁵ paçyasi putrasya, S. Dr. Bühler proposes: Mṛitam paçyasi putram tvam.

⁶ Dr. Bühler has suggested to me that karoti may be a Prakritic corruption for kurv iti or karotv iti.

बह्वि दिवसाणि गतः । चिन्तितं च तेन । दिवसप्रतिगन्तुकेनोपार्थते¹ ।
एकेन चक्षेण सर्वं गृहीष्यामि । चिन्तयित्वा नतः । पुस्तकमपठत् । नाग-
राजो-प्यागतः, दीनारं च दत्त्वा गच्छतो² महता शस्त्रेण सीबाया-
मिति मत्वा पुच्छं चिच्छेद् । तेन पुच्छप्रहारेण वेदान्तेन जानुनि दृष्टो
मृतः । दृष्ट्वा च कश्चिच्छ्लोकं पठितवान् ।

यः कृष्णसर्पस्य पुच्छं छिनन्ति छित्त्वा च पुच्छं शिरस्छिनन्ति ।
स पुच्छदाहेण³ विचार्यमाणश्छेतारमाहन्ति स दुष्टसर्प इति । ततो
-तिवैलायां गतायां ब्राह्मणो-चागतः । पुचमस्य मृतं जानुनि सर्पदृष्ट-
प्रहारश्च दृष्ट्वा च नाग उपसब्धः । भो नाग महान् प्रत्नुपकारो-चं
कृत इति । ततो नागो विस्रान्निष्क्रम्य । भो ब्राह्मण न मया ह्यपकृतं
मम पुच्छं पञ्चेति । ततस्तत्पुच्छं दृष्ट्वा पुचस्त्रीवाविनयं मत्वा ब्राह्मणेन
नागो-भिमतः भो नागराज स्वस्त्रीवाविनयेन पुचो मृतः । न भवतो
दोषः । न तुभ्यमहं कुप्यामि । यथा पूर्वं तथा करोमि । स्वमपि तथा
कुप्येति । ततो नागराजा भिन्नचेष्टा च या प्रीतिर्न सा क्षेहेन वर्धते
चेत्सुक्ता विसं प्रविष्टः ॥ ९ ॥

Tale 12.

प्रच्छन्नं किल भीतबन्धं दारिद्रेण विशेषतः ।
पञ्च चाहारदोषेण व्याघ्रिण गवयो⁴ हतः ।
अथास्त्रानकं ॥

कश्चिद्वनप्रदेशे गवयः प्रत्यवसत् । स च शृंगप्रहारेण शिखायां
अममकरोत् । तेन प्रहारवेगेन पर्वतः कम्पितः । शब्दस्य महान् जातः ।
ततो व्याघ्रः भीतचिन्तितवान् । को-यं महासत्स्य इति । कीदृशस्त्वावत्
पञ्चामि प्रच्छन्न इति च गत्वा दृष्टः अमावसाने तुषारं भयचिन्तित ।

¹ Divasam prati gantu kenopārjyate, Dr. Bühler.

² gacchata, MS.

³ Qu. read °echāhāreṇa.

⁴ Āhārabhavadosheṇa vyāghreṇa gavayo jathā, C.

ततस् तृणाहारोति मत्वा व्याघ्रस्य व्यापादितस्य इति प्रकटाकारेण
दोष इति ॥ १२ ॥

Tale 14.

अपरीक्षितशीखानां यः करोति परिग्रहं ।

तथैव निधनं याति चक्रांका¹ व्याघ्रतो यथा ॥

अथाख्यानकं ॥

कश्चिंश्चिद्वनदीतीरे चक्रवाका नदीवेगेनोद्यमानं व्याघ्रपोतम-
पश्यन् । वृद्धा च चिन्तितं² । मत्स्यमांसं च दत्त्वा पोषितः । पुष्टस्य
व्याघ्रो-षिकायत् । मत्स्यस्य भक्षिताहं । पश्चिमांसं च पुनर्भक्षयामि ।
एकैकं भक्षितमेव सर्वं एवं भक्षिता इति ॥ अज्ञातशीखपरिग्रहदोष
इति ॥ १४ ॥

Tale 16.

कर्तव्यानि च निषाद्यि दुर्बलेन³ बलीयसा ।

पश्य नामो वने बद्धो मूषिकैस्तु विमोषितः ॥

अथाख्यानकं ॥

कश्चिंश्चिद्वनप्रदेशे मूषिकाणामनेककोटीनियुतशतसहस्राणि प्रत्य-
वसन् । एकस्मिन् दिवसे यूषपतिर्महायूषेण पथागतः । दूरादेव तं
वृद्धा संभूय तैर्मन्त्रितं । तेषाम् प्रधानं उवाच । भो विनाशकाक्षः
सम्प्राप्तः, यद्विदं हस्तियूथम् अनेन पथागमिष्यति । किं कर्तव्यमिति ।
अन्वेनोक्तं । अपरस्मिन्विश्वे गच्छामः । अपरेण गदितं । कथमपरस्मि-
न्विश्वे यतो-भिनवजातबाहकानां धेन्वामनेककोटीशतानि सन्ति ।

¹ Cakrāṅkaḥ seems not to occur elsewhere ; cakrāṅki is quoted by Böhlingk-
Both as = cakrāṅga ; MSS. B and C omit the verse.

² There would seem to be a small lacuna here, although the *tauḥ* (*cakravākaiḥ*)
to be supplied with *cintitam* may, of course, be carried on to *poṣhitāḥ*.

³ Durvareṇa (*si*) C: Dr. Bühler emends *durbalāni*.



अथ च तेषां मन्त्रमिति । तेनोक्तं सर्वे विषं प्रविशन् खास्त्राम इति ॥
 सर्वैर्हंसितं । भद्रमुक्तं भवता । तेषां पादाङ्गान्तवेनेन भूमिमवनाम्य
 युनपत्ताश्रमिष्यामः । अपरसु बुद्धिमच्छनो नाम मूषिकखेषां प्रधानः
 सर्वाणवचोक्त स्वर् च संस्तुत्व प्राह । भो मूषिकाः श्रूयतां । युष्माभि-
 र्महत्स्वायातेषु प्रकृतिः श्रेयसः सा नच्छन्तु वाचासाक्षादुकारा आशी-
 र्वाद्वादिन एव उचितज्ञाः प्रमदभाः । अहीनसत्त्वाः कुक्षीनाः प्रियवा-
 दिनो दूता इति तेषु गत्वा मरुत्कारिणो वयमिति विज्ञाप्ताः सुतिभिश्च
 तोषिताः । तेषु मध्ये ते मूषिका यूषपतिमूषुः । स्वस्ति भो महानजेच्छ
 ऐरावतनुष्णच्छाद्युष्मश्रेण वयं विभेमस्तव पादवेनेन च । अस्माकं¹
 विश्वप्रवेशेन गन्तुं न कुर्वेति एतत्प्रसादमस्माकं देहीति । यूषपति-
 नोक्तं । साधु भो मूषिका मा भीता भवतेति यथेष्टं चरतेति² ।
 मूषिकाः प्रत्वेषुः साधु यूषपत इत्युक्त्वा विषं प्रविष्टाः । तस्मिन्नागव-
 शाने तृषपर्यसर्वं भवत्यति तदाहारो जासीति । तेनोष्वातास्मिन्मन्त्रि ।
 उषानक्षिकदेशे वर्धकेन पाशं खित्वा तस्मिन् गते यूषपतिः पाशवचो
 भवति तदा यूषपतिना विश्वपितं³ । अहो कष्टं मन्त्रभायो-हं को
 मिषायां⁴ चाता भविष्यतीति बहूनि दिवसानि उपवासेन गतः ।
 तदा यूषपतिः कृषाङ्गो भवति । मूषिकेषाहारान्वेविष्या तं वृष्टं ।
 तेनोपवाससंक्रान्तयूषपतिमुक्तं । भो यूषपते केनिकाकस्मिन्मन्त्र इति
 तेन च गन्नदयोक्तं मूषिक किं न दर्शयसि पाशवचो-हमिति । तेन
 सत्वरया बह्निर्भूषिककोटिनियुतशतसहस्रीः सार्धमागत्य महापाशं
 दशभिः खित्वेति तेर्भूषिकैर्यूषपतिर्भोषितः⁵ । भो यूषपते निर्मच्छ स्वयुषं
 प्रविशसीति ॥

मिषपरिग्रहगुण इति ॥ १६ ॥

¹ asmān, MS.

² bhavatām iti . . . caratām MS.

³ yūthapatir, MS.

⁴ ko mi trātā, MS.

⁵ MS. tim . . . mocitam cf. tap dṛiṣṭam above.

Tale 26.

हितं न वाक्यं त्वहितं न वाक्यं हिताहितं यद्युभयं न वाक्यं ।
 कुण्डको नाम कलिङ्गराजा हितोपदेशो विवरं प्रविष्टः ।
 अथाख्यानकं ।

कुण्डको नाम कलिङ्ग-राजा मृगयां गतः । स चाश्वेन हतः ।
 कश्चिंश्चिद्द्वामसमीपे उत्पातविवरं जातं । तत्र प्रजाभिरापूर्थमाद्ये राजा
 संप्राप्तं तेन किंचिदुक्तं च । प्रजाभिस्तं । उत्पातस्तातो -यं कश्चिन्न
 पूर्यत इति । राजाब्रवीत् । सुलक्षणीयपुरुषबलिना पूर्यत इति ततः
 प्रजाभिरेकाकी सुलक्षणीयः सो -यमिति कृत्वा तत्र विवरे निपात्य
 प्रचिन्न इति ॥ २६ ॥

Tale 30.

शुचिता धीरता सज्जा भैषी वा कुलसचर्यं ।
 धर्मशीलं च चारिचं योषितासैव विद्यते¹ ॥

अथाख्यानकं ॥ कश्चिंश्चिन्नगरे मणिपिङ्गलो नाम कायस्त आसीत् ।
 स च बहूपरिजनो नृपवल्गवः । तस्य भार्या सुलोचना नाम । तयोः
 सुखेन ज्ञातो गतः । पुत्रश्च जातः । रत्नपिङ्गल इति कृतनामः । स च
 अश्वेन वर्धते यदा संप्राप्तयौवनसदा मातरपितरौ चिन्तामगच्छतां ।
 कुलसुशीलचारिचवती कस्त कन्या गृहीयति । ततो भृत्यान् दूतिक्रया
 सह प्रेषयित्वा कन्योपसन्वा । ततो -न्योन्वद्दर्शनमागप्रतिमानवाक्य-
 सम्मीक्षणं कृत्वा बह्मभिर्जैरविधवाभिः स्त्रीभिश्चातुर्यरावप्रपूरितं
 दिवकारं । गृहीतगानाभरणवस्त्रतम्बूसादिविशेषो गणितगृहीते बल-
 देवमुहूर्ते स मणिपिङ्गल विवाहयाचामगमत् । क्रमेण संप्राप्तः । पूर्वक-
 लप्रदीपादिभिर्मान्दुर्गयित्वा अपवारणस्य वस्त्रयुगेन कृत्वा गृहं
 प्राविशत् । तत्र महानुकूलेन वैवाहिकेन योगेन विवाहः कृतः । इहैव

¹ manyato, C.

खितं दिवसद्वादशं । भोजनाच्छादनेन मानिताः सर्वे जनास्ततो
 वधूमादाय¹ स्वगृहागमनं कुर्वन्तः अटव्यां प्रविष्टाः । तत्र च विश्रा-
 न्तेषु पुषक् पुषक् पुञ्जीकृतेषु अशुरे च आत्मसंवाहितपदे आमातरि च
 विश्रामजातसुखनिद्रायाः सा वधूः प्रवर्चिता नाम वनप्रदेशमवलो-
 क्यितुं बधामिकाकिनी । तत्र वानरं महापुरुषाकारं स्वेच्छिद्यमुत्पाया-
 तिष्ठन्तमद्राधीत् सा च तं वृद्धा मदनपरवशा तथैवोपनिषसाद्² ।
 स बोधभुत्³ कोटरशिखाभवनं जनाम । त एव जनास्त्रामन्वेषमाद्याः ।
 अदृष्टाः स्वनगरं गताः । स रत्नपिङ्गलः पञ्चाशत्पञ्चान्परिजनागान्द्रव्य
 च धनुर्गृहीत्वा तथैव यद्यौ सर्वमटवीमन्वेषमाद्यः सुप्तवानरं स्नाङ्ग-
 मारोष्य उपरिष्टां भार्यामपञ्चच्छिस्तातसे । ततः शरेण हृदि अघान ।
 उपसृत्य मया हतो दुष्ट⁴-वानरः । उत्तिष्ठ भद्रे, विवाहितपुरुषो -हमि-
 त्युक्त्वा न किञ्चिदुत्तरं जनाद् । तथैव भृगुप्रपाताद्⁵ वानरमाशिङ्ग्य
 पतिता । एवं शुचितादिगुणा न सन्ति ॥ ३० ॥

Tale 32.

कुम्भको मधुलोभेन द्वी च पुत्री विवर्जिता ।

सर्वनाशे समुत्पन्ने अर्धे त्वजति पण्डितः ॥

कश्चिच्चिद्वनप्रदेशे कुम्भको मृगादीन् व्यापादितुं द्वाभ्यां पुत्राभ्यां
 सहाचरत् । स गदीतटभृगुप्रपातोपरिच्छिन्नस्तस्यवृषस्त्राये मधुकुम्भमप-
 ङ्कत् । स पुत्रमवदत् । आनीयतां मध्विति । ततः पुत्रोवृषमारोह [ति] ।
 द्वितीयो -पि । पिता वृषमूले -तिष्ठत् । एकश्याखाद्यपी तद्गद्गदस्वरं
 संग्राह्यौ । स चाचिन्तयत् । द्वी पुत्री विनाशं नमिच्छतः । शास्त्रामङ्गो

¹ vadhūm āmāya, MS.

² paravasā tta (F) ntraivopa°.

³ I venture on this form, as the text which reads °bhuja is clearly corrupt. The very use of sa for Manipingala seems to point to a lacuna. In the following clause adṛiṣṭā is improperly used, on the analogy of spaçyantah, for na dṛiṣṭa-vantah.

⁴ dṛiṣṭha MS.

⁵ °tān, MS.

सधुत्वाच्छाखायां धियते चैक इति श्रेण हतः¹ । एकसु जीवित
इति ॥ ३२ ॥

Tale 33.

एकाकिना न गन्तव्यं² यदि कार्यशतैरपि ।
कर्कटस्य प्रसादेन³ ब्राह्मणो जीवितः पुनः ॥
अथाख्यानकं ।

कश्चिच्चिद्वाभे दरिद्रो ब्राह्मणः केनचित्कार्येण यामं गतः । भ्रम-
यित्वा गतेन मार्गे कर्कटो दृष्टः । दृष्ट्वा च भूमितापेन मरिष्यतीति
मत्वा प्रभूतोदके सरसि चिप्ला जीवयामीति गत्वा वस्त्राञ्चले गृहीतः ।
भगवति सवितरि गगनतले उपगते विश्रान्तो वृचमूले स्वप्नं कृतवान्
ब्राह्मणः । तदा च काकऋष्यसर्पौ मिचभूतौ । ब्राह्मणं दृष्ट्वा काकः
ऋष्यसर्पमवादीत् । हे मिच ब्राह्मणस्य नेत्रतारकौ मे देहीति । ततः
ऋष्यसर्पेण दष्टो मृतस्य । भुज्यताम् इत्युक्तः स काकश्चोपसृत्य भर्चयि-
तुमारब्धः । [कर्कटो] वस्त्राञ्चले वेष्टितः । [काकः] पोटकं दृष्ट्वा
चकर्ष । ऋष्ये च निष्कम्य तेन काको दृष्टः । गदितस्य⁴ मम स्वामी
ब्राह्मणो मारितः । अहं त्वां मारयिष्यामि । ततः काकेन ऋष्यसर्पो
-भिहितः । जीवय ब्राह्मणमिति । एवमेवाहं जीवामि । ततो विषं
संहत्य ब्राह्मणः पुनर्जीवितः । काकश्च तेन मुक्तः । ते सर्वे स्वस्थानं गता
इति ॥ सदा य गुण इति ॥ ३३ ॥

Tale 40.

बहुभिस्सहितैर्धूर्त्तैर्नरः स मतिमानपि ।
शक्यो⁵ वियोक्तमर्थेन ब्राह्मणमच्छागत यथा ॥

¹ hataḥ for hatavān, like adriṣṭā, in Tale 30 above. There is possibly some-
thing to be supplied, from the extreme abruptness of the concluding sentences.

² ekāki naiva gantavyo, S.

³ ekakarkṣamātreṇa, B.C.

⁴ Understand actively (as p. partic. above) or correct to gaditam.

⁵ Saṃkhyo, S. Çakto vacayitukāryaḥ brā° C.

अथास्त्राणकं ॥ अस्त्रिंस्त्रिंशद्भागसमीपे वटवृक्षः । तत्र [धूर्ताः वेपिद्] मध्याह्ने-र्कसंतप्ताः शीतच्छायात्प्रथेन सरतः स्निग्धाः कषाय अथास्त्राण-मकुर्वन् । तथैकेनोक्तं । ज्ञानमांसं खादितुमिच्छामीति । अन्वेनोक्तं । ज्ञानः स्वान्धे निवेश्य मार्गं ब्राह्मणो-यमागच्छतीति । तं भक्षयाम इति । एकेनोक्तं । कषय्यरच्छागमिति । तेनैवोक्तं चेति प्रत्येकेनोक्तं । भाषति^१ । ततः पृथक्पृथक् गत्वा तथा विहितः । क्रमात् सर्वे । ज्ञानं स्वत्वा ब्राह्मणो गतः ॥ इति बह्वनामेकवाक्यफलमिति ॥ ४० ॥

Tale 42.

प्रत्यक्षवक्षितवती भर्तारं चापिदृष्ट्वा ।

आसिद्धं च तथा आरो भर्ता च परितोषितः ॥

अथास्त्राणकं ।

अस्त्रिंस्त्रिंशद्वृक्षवृक्ष भार्या रूपवती विदग्धा चास्त्रशक्ता । एकस्त्रि-न्द्विषसे संकेतस्त्राण आस्रवृक्षवनमगमत् । तत्र आरोह शक्ता । तत्र भर्ताप्यगमत् । तमागच्छन् दृष्ट्वा ससम्भ्रमेद्योत्वाद्योपक्रम्य विनयेन संहस्रः स्निग्धः । ततो भर्तारं सा^२ दृष्ट्वा अत्रवीत् । किं आसं भक्षयामीति । स चोक्तवान् । अहं तन्^३ गयामोति । सा चोक्तवती अभिषायो मे स्वयमादह्य आसं भक्षयामीति । भर्ता चोक्तवान् । तथा कुद्वेति । ततो वृषमाह्वा दृष्ट्वा भर्तारमत्रवीत् । कान्त किमर्थमन्वा^४ कामयसे मम प्रत्यक्षं । भर्ता चोक्तवान् । किमेवं वदसि नान्वासीति । तथोक्तं । किमेवंस्वभाववृषो-यं । स्वमागच्छ मां भूमिस्त्रितां पश्येति । तथा कृते जारमाह्वय यद्येष्ट कामवती । ततो भर्तात्रवीत् । तथैवेति वृषस्वभावो-यमिति ततो आरो-पक्रान्तः । ताभ्यामेवंस्वभावो वृष इति । प्रत्यक्ष-वक्षितो भर्तेति ॥ ४२ ॥

^१ Query read भोक्षति "Will he eat it?"

^२ Bhartā tām, MS.

^३ Sū, MS.

^४ Anye MS.; but the dual spoils the sense. One rival is enough.

Tale 43, leading on to Tale 44.

शुचोर्षणावचं ज्ञात्वा कर्तव्यो-नुप्रवेशकः¹ ।

अनुप्रविशन् मार्जारं मूषिको-वक्ष्यद्विपुं ॥

अथाख्यानकम् ।

कश्चिच्चिद्वनप्रदेशे विश्वामित्रोऽन्वाहारार्थं चरन् मूषिको नकुली-
र्भञ्जितुमन्वसरत्² । उपरि कुरुरसमेव नृहीतुकामो-वक्ष्यत्³ स च
मूषिक इतिकर्तव्यतामूढः पाशावचं द्रोक्षाद्यमानं मार्जारमपश्यत् ।
प्रेष्य च प्रत्युत्पन्नास्त्राणोश्च स्वरितमननेन मार्जारो-पि पाशावचो-भूत् ।
मार्जारभयान्नकुलकुरुरावविज्ञातवृत्तान्ती नती । मार्जारो-पि पाशा
वचो-पि तदुत्पन्नस्य भञ्जितुं न शक्तः । ततो मार्जारो मूषिकमचो-
चत् । हे भानिनेय पाशाच्छेदकं कुश चावज्ञानमिच्छति श्वरः । तवापि
श्वरं करिष्यामि । आशुरचोचत् । भो मानुष युक्तमेवं कर्तुं न विश्वासः
भयमचकमावात् । विडाखो-वदत् । श्वपचेन आवयाज्ञानं । आशु-
राह । येन न्यते श्वपचः तदा किं करोमि । मार्जारो-चोचत् । सत्वेन
सुकृतेन श्वपचेन आवितो-हं न भञ्जयिष्यामि⁴ त्वां मिथमसि वन्पुरसि
प्राक्प्रसाहो-सि वच्छ विश्वासमिति ततो मूषिको विधिष्योवाच आ-
चवं प्रतिपाक्यतां करिष्यामीति । ततश्चारोपितधनुः श्वरेण संकुञ्च्य श्वर
आनच्छति । तं दृष्ट्वा विडाखो विचक्षद्वदथो मूषिकमचोचत् । भानिनेय
चाहि मां चाहि आनच्छति श्वर इति । ततो मूषिको निवृत्तीभूतं श्वरं
दृष्ट्वा पाशाच्छेदकमकार्षीत् । द्वित्वे च पाशे स्वरितमनच्छद् विडाखः ।
तदनुवतश्च मूषिकः स्वविवरं प्रविष्टः । ततो-वद्विषसे प्रत्युत्कारार्थं
माश्वपिच्छमादाय विडाखारे-ञ्जात् आनच्छ भानिनेय मासमुपमुञ्जी-

¹ Anupraveśakam, S. The substantive is new, not being found in the dictionaries.

² Anusmarat, MS. In the next sentence, grihitum as in early Skt.; cf. grihīshyati in Tale 30.

³ 'Vyayagat or (?) 'vyapagat. See § I. p. 468 above.

⁴ Bhaksha ishyāmi MS.

लुक्का । ततो मूषिकश्च विजस्य एषोवाच । नाहं निष्कामचामीति ।
विद्याखेनोक्तं किमर्थमिति । आसुरवोचत् । श्रूयतां श्लोकः

कृत्वा बलवता सन्धिमात्मानं यो न रक्षसि ।
सर्वो निधनमाप्नोति सिंहाक्षरखिका यथा ॥
अथाख्यानकम् ॥

कश्चिंश्चिदने बहवो हरिखका अवसन् । तथास्मादनादानस्य सिंहः
पीडामकरोत् । ततो हरिखकाः किं कूर्म इति चिन्तामापन्नाः । महती
प्रयतिः श्रेयसीत्यामन्त्र्य जम्बूकं द्वारीकृत्य संधिः कृतः । इति प्रभृति-
भिर्निर्भयो-त्थाकं । इत्यात्मानं न रक्षतं न धावन्ति न पश्यायन्ति न
नोपायन्ति¹ । [४४ ॥]

[The remainder of the tale presents nothing remarkable.]

The MS. (S.) concludes :

अक्षीर्षोऽख्यानसाङ्गिः सुललितसल्लगनाख्यलिता यो-चसासु ॥ इति
तन्त्राख्यानं समाप्तं ॥ शुभं ॥ श्रेयो-सु संवत् ६०४² आषाढमासे । अस
वर्मेन स्वार्थहेतुना लिखितं ॥ शुभमसु ॥

MS. A contains 50 stories, and ends :

Iti Hitopadesa [tantrākhyāna-pancatantra]³ kathā
ākhyāna caturtha samāpta sam. 949.

B samv. 968, partly rubbed out.

C ends :

-iti nīti (sic) -sāra tantrākshāna (sic) -kathā samepta |

¹ The string of nearly synonymous verbs recalls the style of the Divyāvadāna.

² A.D. 1484.

³ Secunda manu.

VI. TRANSLATIONS OF SELECTED TALES.

Tale 16.

THE ELEPHANT AND THE MICE.

At a certain spot in a wood there lived thousands and thousands of mice. One day an elephant, the lord of the herd, came along the path, with his mighty herd. The mice saw and recognized him from afar, and took counsel. The chief of them said: "The time of our destruction has arrived, as yonder herd of elephants will be coming along by this path. What must we do?" One said, "Let us go into another hole." Another cried, "How can we go into another hole, for thousands of our does are with young, and their pace is but slow." The first said, "We will all go into our holes and stay there." They all laughed at him. "That's a pretty notion of yours, Sir! They will tread down the ground with their feet as they rush along, and we shall all go at once to destruction." But another mouse, *Buddhimandana* by name, their leader, looked round upon them all, and putting into polished Sanskrit¹ his speech—I mean his squeak—spake as follows: "Listen, ye mice! When great persons arrive, you had best bow down before them. Let us send ready-tongued flattering speakers, uttering only words of benediction, who know what is fit and can speak it right well. 'Ambassadors,' 'tis said, 'should be of firm character, of good family, and pleasant speakers.' So let us make our approach and sue for life."² So they were instructed and were satisfied with his recommendations. Through them the mice spoke to the lord of the herd: "Hail, mighty leader of elephants, tall as *Airāvata*, we are afraid through fear of you and the swiftness of your feet. Do not direct your march by way of our holes. Grant us this favour." The elephant said, "Good, O mice. Be not afraid. It

¹ *Svaraj samskṛitya* cf. *Samskṛitam abhīcṛitya* in the dramas. Possibly however the phrase may refer to some rhetorical intonation.

² Lit. "sue against death."

shall be as you wish." The mice replied, "Well said, elephant!" and went back to their holes. The elephants ate the whole of the grass and leaves in their park, and there was no food left. So they proceeded to go out of the park. In one part of it a carpenter had laid a snare; when he left the elephant was caught in it. Then he lamented, "Unlucky that I am! what friend shall I have to help me?" So he passed many days in fasting and became thin. A mouse in search of food saw him and addressed the starving elephant, "Oh elephant, how is it that you are left alone in that place?" He replied with a groan, "Don't you see? I am trapped." So the mice came all together in their thousands, gnawed the mighty snares, and set the elephant free. "Oh elephant, go forth," said they. And he rejoined his herd.

Moral—make a friend wherever you can.

[Tale 26 ('An Indian Curtius') translated at p. 481 above].

Tale 33.

THE BRAHMAN AND THE CRAB.

In a certain village lived a poor Brahman. He started on some business to another village. When he had started and was gone on his way, he saw a crab in the road. On seeing it, he said to himself, "The heat of the ground will kill it, I will throw it into a pond with plenty of water, and so revive it." So he went and took it up in the fold of his dress. Now when the Sun, the revered Giver of life, had ascended to the expanse of the heavens, the Brahman was wearied, and fell asleep at the tree's root. At that time came up a crow and a black snake who were friends. The crow saw the Brahman, and said to the snake, "Ho, my friend! give me the pupils of his eyes." So the snake bit and killed him. "Enjoy your food," said he. So that crow hopped up and set about feeding. The crab was all the time rolled up in the dress-fold. The crow saw the bundle that he made and dragged it along, when out came the crab, and

saw the snake, and cried, "My lord, the Brahman, has been put to death: I'll do the same to you" (and clutched him). Then the crow called on the snake, "Bring the Brahman back to life: that is the only chance of life for me." So he sucked back his venom and brought the Brahman back to life: and accordingly the crab let the crow go: and they all departed each to his own place.

[The 'moral,' *sadā ya gunā* [sic],¹ refers to a lost verse differing from that in the text.]

Tale 37.

THE CRANE, THE FISH, AND THE CRAB.

In a certain woodland was a lake with much water, fathomless. There the fish disported themselves pleasantly: and because of the abundance of water, they could not be caught even by birds; and the place was untenanted by man. There came a crane, who beheld and thought: "How this lake abounds in fish! What am I to do by way of catching them?" So there he stood, first on one leg, and then on the other, subduing all his senses, and every moment giving forth a short and tender cry.² He did this every day. So then the fish held a meeting and took mutual counsel. Said one, "See, brother fishes, this our foe has subdued his senses, and stands there wailing in short but tender tones! What is the reason, and what mean his standing and his gentle wailing?" On this the crane grew joyous in his inmost heart, and spoke tenderly, saying: "Ha, my children, you have questioned me with discernment. Listen. I heard on my travels what a company of fishermen said, that they meant to drain off the water, and join their nets, and so catch the fish. At this I was confounded, and you too, I see, have lost courage. But, I heard also what a certain Brahman read, that 'Harmlessness is the chief fulfilling of the law,' and from that time forth I have been void of offence, and mean to give help to my fellow-creatures as far as in me lies." Then the fish took

¹ Dr. Bühler suggests: *sahāyagu°*.

² *Karuṇāksharam ākrandayitvā*.

counsel. One who was leader said to them : "Ye fish, from what the worthy crane has reported to us, we see that an untimely fate is impending. Let us make a scheme." "What manner of scheme?" said one. "We must ask this same merciful crane." Then they asked him : "Merciful protector, what scheme is to be set forth? Thou alone hast power for our deliverance." Then the evil-hearted crane gazing tearfully, and looking at them all, said, with speech broken by emotion : "Alas, by an evil fate has such a disaster been prepared. Though wandering at pleasure in the water, and doing harm to none, you are beset by evil men. Yet, while I am here, let them not affright you. Listen. Not far from here is a great lake, from which the water cannot be drawn off. Owing to its size, and to the rocks that have been there as long as the pond itself, there are no marauders to slay the fish. There I will take you one by one : such is my scheme." "So be it!" cried the fishes. So he took them away one by one, and devoured one every day. One day a crab stepped out, and said to the crane : "Ho, my good sir ! Take me too." The crane said to himself, "I will have a taste of you as well." So he replied, "Yes, I will get you over." Then he caught one fish with his bill, and lodged the crab on his neck, and went along. At another spot he stood on the surface of the rock, and swallowed down a fish. The crab saw this, and thought he : "Halloa ! an evil-minded ruffian he is !" So he clutched him on the neck with his pair of nippers, and killed him. Then he returned to the same place, and narrated the matter to the surviving fish. "This is the case of the cat in the adage who vowed [to eat no mice]," said he.

Tale 42.

HUSBAND, WIFE, LOVER, AND MANGO TREE.

In a certain village lived an honest man who had a wife both beautiful and clever, but devoted to another man. One day she went by assignation to a grove of mango-trees, and there dallied with her lover. But the husband also

came. So the lover, seeing him approaching, jumped up hastily, and stepping aside, stood modestly concealed. Then the woman, seeing her lord, said to him, "Can I have a mango to eat?" He replied, "I will fetch you one." Quoth she: "My longing is to climb up myself and eat a mango." "Do so for yourself then," said he. So when she had climbed up the tree, she looked at her husband and said: "My dear, what do you mean by making love to another woman before my very eyes?" "What are you talking about?" said he. "There is no other woman." "Can this be the nature of the tree [so that one sees double]?" said she. "You come up and look at me standing on the ground." When so it was done, she called her paramour, and took her fill of love. Then said the husband: "Yes, indeed, it is the nature of the tree." Whereon the lover made off.

In "Originals and Analogues of the Canterbury Tales" (pt. ii. pp. 77, fol.), published by the Chaucer Society, several interesting parallels from Boccaccio and other western storytellers are given. Reference is also given to the Bahāri Dānish, not however to the Turkish "Forty Viziers," (cited in my index above), an illustration for which I am indebted to my friend Dr. Rieu, of the British Museum.

ART. XIV.—*A Jātaka-Tale from the Tibetan.* By H.
WENZEL, PH.D.

IN the History of Tibet called *Rgyal-rabs-gsal-cai-me-loñ* ('The mirror illustrating the lineage of the kings') we find, as sixth chapter, the tale translated here, which corresponds to the Valāhassa Jātaka (Fausböll, ii. 127 ff., also in E. Müller's Pali Grammar, p. 128 ff.). As will be seen, the tale appears here in a richer, and quasi-dramatic, garb, with the addition of some characteristic traits, as e.g. the marvellous food that makes men forget their bygone troubles (cp. *Odyssey*, ix. 94 f.), etc., etc.

The *Rgyal-rabs* itself is a work of the 17th century A.D. It begins with the evolution of the universe (in chapter 1, cp. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 1 ff.), gives, in ch. 2, a short survey of the Lord's life, and, in ch. 3 and 4, of the beginnings of Buddhism, relates, in ch. 5, the merits of Avalokiteçvara in spreading the Law in Tibet, and goes then, ch. 6, on to our tale. Follows the origin of the Tibetan race from an ape and a rākshasī (ch. 7), the beginning of the royal line (ch. 8), finally, the chief contents and purpose of the book, life and doings of King *Sron-btsan sgam-po* (ch. 9–17), whereon the book closes with a sort of appendix containing the further history of the country to the time of the writer.

The work has been partially known for a long time by the extracts from the Mongolian translation thereof, called *Bodhimör*, given in the notes to I. J. Schmidt's edition of the Mongolian historian *Ssanang Seetzen*. For my copy of the work I had the use of two blockprints, one belonging formerly to Mr. Jäschke, now in the British Museum; the other of the University Library of St. Petersburg,

25181 (569), for which latter I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Saleman. The first is pretty correct, the other gives a few different readings, and has a peculiar, not to say faulty, spelling.

Sixth chapter, (relating) how (Avalokiteṣvara), by transforming himself into the horse king, worked the good of living beings.

When the noble Avalokiteṣvara had (thus) in many ways profited living beings, he assumed, in order to give an example of how to choose virtue and to reject sin (according to the Sūtra Za-ma-tog), the form of the horse king *Bhalaha*¹ to work (further) for the good of the living beings. At this time many merchants from the South of India, whose merits were but small, had departed to the outer ocean to search for jewels. With the many implements each one wanted they had gone on board a large vessel, (but) after the expiration of seven days they were brought into danger by an unwelcome wind, thus:² "At midday a dark cloud like a dense fog obscures the light of the sun and spreads darkness (everywhere); a fearful red wind seems to shake the foundations of the earth, (so that) the mighty trees of the forest fall. The waves of the sea spring like lions, and the breakers lash sky and earth. The merchants take hold of each other, and calling (loud) on the names of their relatives, they cry; howling in terrified lamentation, they weep, helpless and exhausted, bloody tears, nevertheless the vessel goes to wreck." Then the merchants take firm hold of some beam³ of the wrecked ship, and, driven in one direction by an unwelcome wind, they were carried to the island of *Siṅghala* (*sic!*), which was (a dwelling-place) of *Rākshasīs*. There the merchants, calling each other by name, came on shore (lit. the dry, *viz.* land). When the *Rākshasīs* became aware of this, they changed themselves into young and exceedingly pretty women, and,

¹ *sic!* in *Divyāvadāna* his name is spelt *Bāṭāha*, p. 120, 4 ff.; there it is a metamorphosis of *Maitrāya* (122, 29).

² Verses; cp. *Rom. Leg.* p. 333 (see appendix).

³ Perhaps 'of the hull.'

laden with much food and drink, they came before the merchants and greeted them, 'Are you tired? Have you suffered pain?' Having beguiled them by these greetings, they filled them with food and drink. The merchants, not knowing that they were Rākshasis, but only seeing in them exceedingly pretty women, were very glad, and conversed with them. Then the Rākshasis said with one voice: "You merchants must not go into the upper part of the valley."¹ Each of the women led a merchant away into her house, where they became man and wife, and sported together.

Then a voice was heard (from the sky): "The merchants suffering from (the consequences of) evil deeds of (former) kalpas, have, carried by a contrary wind, run into the hand of those who have power to kill them, like a snared animal into a game-net, and have no means of salvation. Infatuated by the thought of marrying them they mistake the Rākshasis for goddesses, and, filled with the delusive food, they forget former pains like a dream, and their soul is contented." From this the great captain understood that this was the island of the Rākshasis, and, lamenting despondingly, he thought: "Now they are happy, but what will the end be like?" and was very unhappy. Then reflecting: "What may signify their prohibition to go into the upper valley?" the captain started in the night when his own wife had fallen asleep, and reaching the upper end of the valley he heard, within an iron house² without doors, laments and complaining. Reflecting what it might be, he listened and knew by the language that they were merchants from India. So he climbed up the trunk of a tree³ standing near and asked, "Who is in there?" The men within answered: "Within here are we merchants who have lost our way." On the question: "How long have you been shut up here?" they answered: "Like you, our ship being driven by a contrary wind, we arrived here, and led on

¹ Rom. Leg. 334, "south of the city."

² Rom. Leg. p. 336 has 'an iron city.'

³ Rom. Leg. the tree *kaḥ-āḥom* (united joy).

by these women, not recognizing that they were Rākshasīs, we became man and wife. While we thus played together, you came to this island and we were put into this iron house without doors; now we are to be eaten up one by one. You, taking to heart our misery and the fear of death, fly now at once, for now there is a possibility of flying; when (once) you are confined in this iron house, there is neither flight nor means of salvation." The captain saying again: "In truth there is no means of escape," they said, "There is a means of escape. We also thought we must fly, but, clinging to lust, we were taken (again); you (now) cling to nothing and nobody and fly. And the means to fly is this: if you cross from here a small pass there is on the north side in an expanse of golden sand a turkois (gṛū) well, whose rim is surrounded by a vaiḍūrya¹ meadow. On the evening of the fifteenth² (day of the month) the horse-king *Bha-la-ha*, on whose croup a hundred men have room, very beautiful, accompanying (or perhaps merely: like) a moon-beam, will come there. After having drunk from the turkois well, having eaten from the vaiḍūrya meadow,³ having rolled three times in the golden sand, and having shaken himself once, he says, sending forth his horse-voice like a human voice: 'O Indian merchants, whoever has come to (this) rākshasī-island, all get on my back, I will bring you to your country.'⁴ When this marvellous horse speaks thus, mount him, and, not clinging to whatever enjoyments or sons (you have here), but close your eyes, and flee." The captain thought, 'Thus (we) must act,' and went back. When he came to the bed of his wife, the rākshasī, she knew it, and spoke these words:⁵ "Perverted merchant, you will destroy your own life; if you direct your thoughts to aught else (than me), you will perish; where have you been to, lord of merchants?" The merchant lied, "I went mūtram uterashṭum." Thereon the captain

¹ In Tibetan transliteration mostly spelt negligently *vai-du-rya*.

² Rom. Leg. p. 336; Divyāv. 120, 3.

³ Rom. Leg.: having partaken of the pure food.

⁴ Cp. Divyāv. 120, 5. Rom. Leg. p. 337.

⁵ In Rom. Leg. 338 he finds all the Rākshasīs asleep.

assembled the young merchants, told them exactly what had happened, and all unanimously agreed to fly. Then, on the evening of the fifteenth day, they gave a narcotic to the rākshasī, and when they had fallen asleep, the captain led forth the young merchants, and, having crossed the small pass, they reached on (its) north side, the golden sand, before the turkoi well, near the vaiḍūrya meadow (the place where) the horse-king *Ba-la-ha* would appear. And after a short while came the horse-king from the sky on a moon-beam, with the light of the rainbow. When now this excellent horse had drunk from the turkoi well, had eaten from the vaiḍūrya meadow, had rolled three times on the golden sand, and had given himself a shake, he said in a human voice: "Merchants! let all whosoever is shut up in the rākshasī-island, mount on my back; not clinging to the love of the rākshasī, of (your) little children, or of any enjoyment whatever. Close (your) eyes,¹ I will bring you to your own country." Thereon the captain said: "Thou leader, excellent magic horse, we merchants had started together to the islands of the ocean to fetch jewels, but, because our merits failed, our great ship was wrecked on the ocean, by a contrary wind we were driven to the rākshasī-island. There we entered the houses of the evil-doing rākshasīs, who wanted to kill us. Now there is for us no other means of escape, we implore the help of the merciful horse-lord." Having spoken thus, the captain mounted on the horse's neck and took hold of his ear,² the young merchants mounted on his back. Saying: "(Now) do not desire the rākshasī houses, their sons, and whatever enjoyment (you have had there), do not even think of it, but, till we have reached the end of the sea, close your eyes," the horse-lord carried (them) along the sky. When the rākshasīs perceived this, they came forth (from their houses) leading their children, and spoke thus: "Can you (indeed)

¹ See Divyāv. 120, 21; also Don Quixote, Part II. ch. 41.

² Jäschke would translate, 'leapt into the ear,' but I do not know how to justify this. Is it meant as a precaution against hearing the rākshasīs' allurements? Compare *Odyssey*, xii. 178 f.



forsake the high castles, forsake the harmonious community of husband and wife, forsake the sons begotten from your body, forsake (our) savoury food and drink, O ye bad, shameless men!" Speaking thus, some (of them) lifted up their children to the sky, some waved their garments. When the young merchants heard this, they were as if hit in their inmost hearts by an arrow, and thinking, '(This) is indeed very true,' they turned their eyes back, and, except the captain, all, seized by desire, looked and fell. The fallen (men) were seized by the rākshasīs, who, throwing off their former beautiful body, appeared in (true) rākshasī-shape, with shaggy heads, carrying their breasts on the shoulders, and showing their teeth (fangs); and began to eat them up, without waiting a moment. When now the horse-lord had come to the end of the sea, he said to the merchant, "Look with your eyes and alight." When he now opened his eyes and saw that none of the young merchants was on the horse's back, he was deeply grieved, and saying: "O noble horse-king, where are my young merchants?" he wept. The noble horse, beating the earth with his fore-foot and shedding tears, said: "(Those) young merchants, being void of your (high) merits, not remembering their own country Jambudvīpa, but clinging to the island of the evil rākshasīs, perished; not remembering their parents and dear friends, but clinging to the faces of the young rākshasīs, they perished; not remembering their legitimate (*lit.* useful¹) children, but clinging to the deceitful rākshasī-children, they perished. Alas, you miserable beings! when these slain pupils of the diamond-teacher have entered the abode of the hell Avīci, what could even a highly merciful priest (*blama*) do (for them)? If they, looking after their children, are perverted (in mind) and carried away by a contrary wind, what can their parents do, even with great affection?² If, not listening to the word of useful doctrine, the young merchants cast their eyes back and fall, what can even the flying horse-king do? O merchant, do not

¹ This may possibly mean 'natural' as opposed to 'magical.'

² This sentence seems confused.

weep, but hear me: 'The joy and sorrow of this life is like the illusion of a dream, like a cataract, like a lightning-cloud in the sky, therefore do not desire the joy of the orb (saṃsāra).'" Thus the horse-lord explained the doctrine of the four truths, and carried the chief merchant, when he had dried his tears, to a place whence he (could) see his own house. There this horse-lord went off in the sky like a dissolving rainbow. When now the chief merchant came to his house, his parents and relatives all assembled, and embracing him they wept; then they saluted him. Afterwards the parents and relatives of the young merchants came forth, and shouting, "Where is my father? Where is my elder brother? Where is my uncle? Where is my grandson?" they wept. Then the chief merchant assembled the parents and relatives of the young merchants, and told them explicitly how they first had entered the sea, how the pernicious red wind had wrecked their ship; how they had been carried by a contrary wind to the rākshasī island, had married them, and begotten children; how they had then found out that they were rākshasis, and had sought means of escape; how the men of the iron house had taught them this means; how the young merchants had not listened to the admonitions of the horse-king and fell and so forth. Then he instructed them in the true faith, that, as (all) things within the orb were changeable, they must believe in the fruits born from deeds (karman). Whosoever, clinging to this life, commits sin, will, like the young merchants, who, looking back, fell, err about within the orb, without finding an opportunity of saving himself from the rebirth into evil states (durgati). But those who, not clinging to this life, have received the true law in their minds, will, like the chief merchant, after having obtained the happiness of heaven and salvation, become a buddha.

Our version of the story is nearly identical with that forming ch. 49 of the "Romantic Legend of the Life of Buddha," translated by Beal, p. 332 ff., and some significant points have been noted above. It is also mentioned by



Hiuen Thsang in the Si-yu-ki, transl. Beal, ii. 240 ff. That the Rākshasīs (the Yakkhinīs of the Pāli) are the same as the Sirens of Homer, has been pointed out by Mr. Axon and Mr. Morris (Ind. Ant. x. 291), the first giving also a parallel from Malay mythology.

It is quite clear, I think, from our version, that by the airy horse the moon is understood (*candūpamā kira buddhā*, Dh. 244). He comes on, or with, a moonbeam on the 15th day of the month. It becomes more evident still by the version in the Rom. Leg., where, besides, he bears the significant name of Keçin 'hairy,' which as early as in the Rig Veda is an epithet of flames and heavenly bodies (S. Pet. Dict.). But, again, it is an epithet of Viṣṇu, who rides on the Garuḍa, as is known from the Pañcatantra, Book I. tale 5. For all these divine magic animals are of the same race. Besides those noticed in Benfey's remarks on the tale, Pañc. vol. i. 159 ff., the wooden bird is found in a tale of the Transilvanian Gipsies, see ZDMG. xlii. 117 ff., and again in the second tale of the Siddhi Kür (ed. Jülg), p. 63 of the translation, where the son of gods *Çuklaketu* descends on it to the princess; *çukla* 'bright,' is, with or without *paksha*, the light half of the month, and also an epithet of Viṣṇu. He afterwards appears himself in the shape of a bird, a lark (*ibid.* p. 64), and, having been hurt maliciously, agrees with the princess to visit her on the 15th of every month (p. 65).

Viṣṇu, of course, is the *sun*, but the difference of origin of those magic animals, from sun and moon respectively, is obliterated in these later tales.

In the Buddhist tale, naturally, the divine horse is a birth of the Lord (as in the Jātaka and in the Rom. Leg.), or of Maitreya (as in the Divyāvadāna); while to the Tibetan he is an incarnation of the country's patron saint, Avalokiteçvara.

But I cannot go farther here into this absorbing question of the divine bird or horse, which lies at the very root of comparative mythology, as already shadowed forth in A. Kuhn's "Herabkunft des Feuers." I would only call attention, in conclusion, to the latest shape the divine horse has

taken in the West, in Andersen's "Flying Trunk"; for I think we can discern something of the same moral tendency in both this and the Tibetan tale—the flight from Samsāra!

NOTE.—To *valāha*, of which *Bālāha* is only a wrong Sanskritisation, cp. *Divyāv.* 127, 17. 19, *vātavalāhakā devaputrāḥ* and *varshaval. dev.* 'the angels of the wind-clouds and of the rain-clouds,' and *Jāt.* I. 330, *vassavalāhakadevarājā. Muñja-keṣa* (*Jāt.* II. 129, 9, cf. also the wonderful horse *Muñjakesi* of king *Udena*, *Dh.* 160) 'having hair like reed,' *i.e.* 'having beams,' is also an epithet of *Vishṇu*. The 'black-headed' of the *Jātaka* points most likely to a cloud—so we would have the moon emerging from the black clouds.

ART. XV.—*Moksha, or the Vedantic Release.* By DVIJADAS DATTA.

1. BANDHA, OR THE BONDAGE.

NOTHING could be more important for a student of Indian thought than to have a correct notion of the Moksha of the Vedānta, which is so curiously allied to the Buddhistic Nirvāna. And as there are some methods of translation which seem to me to give an inaccurate tone to some of the most scholarly treatises in Europe on the subject, I venture to submit a few remarks on one or two points of importance. Is it quite correct to treat Moksha as more a matter of metaphysical knowledge than the reward of moral improvement, as Dr. Deussen does in the following passage? "Hierauf beruht es, dass die Erlösung durch keine Art von Werk, auch nicht durch moralische Besserung, sondern allein durch die Erkenntniss (wie die christliche Erlösung allein durch den Glauben, *sola fide*, welcher die hier in Rede stehende, metaphysische Erkenntniss sehr nahe kommt) vollbracht wird."¹ The name Moksha, or release, suggests its counterpart, 'Bandha,' or bondage, which is said to arise from Avidyā. It is usual to translate Avidyā by ignorance, thus apparently giving a metaphysical colour to both the bondage and the release. But Avidyā really means very much more than mere metaphysical ignorance. Arjuna, in the Gīta, does not deplore mere metaphysical bondage when he so pathetically describes it in the words, "I know the (moral) law, but am not inclined thereto; I know what is immoral, but am not disinclined therefrom;"²

¹ Dr. Deussen's "Das System des Vedānta," p. 433.

² "Jānāmi dharmaṃ na śa me pravrittir
Jānāmi adharmaṃ na śa me nivrittih ||

and, again, "Under what influence does a man commit sin, as if against his own liking, as if under compulsion?" (Gīta, chap. III. verse 36). Yama in the Kātha instructing Nachiketá, whom he considers a seeker after Vidyá (Vidyá-bhīpsinan), on the difference between the 'good' (Śreyah) and the 'pleasurable' (Preyah), does not show much reference to metaphysical knowledge: "The good is one and the pleasurable another,—each leads to a contrary result according as the one or the other predominates in a man. Of these, one who follows the good, finds good; he misses the highest good of life who pursues the pleasurable. The good and the pleasurable are placed before man. The wise (man) thoroughly examines both, and separates the one from the other. The wise prefer the good to the pleasurable, but the foolish, from worldly desire, prefer the pleasurable."¹ Prayers for a deep feeling of love of Brahma, rather than a clear metaphysical understanding, are not wanting in Vedāntic writings. Take this, for example: "May such unchanging love as foolish people feel for earthly pleasures, never cease, in my heart, when I call upon Thee."² Or this other prayer in the Brihadāraṇyaka (chap. I. sec. ii. verse 28): "Lead me from the illusory to the real, from darkness to light, from death to immortality," on which Śaṅkara remarks, "'from the illusory,' that is, from vain pursuits and from ignorance, 'lead me to the real,' that is, the knowledge of sacred duties, i.e., bring out the (true nature of the) Self for which (the exercise of) *divine qualities* is the only preparation."³ Such passages do not support the idea that the *summum bonum* aimed at by the Vedānta, Moksha, has no reference to moral improvement. The

¹ Anyaś ōhreyo(a)nyad ut aiva preya ste ubhe nānārthe puruṣaṅ sinstah | Tayoh Śreya śdadānāyā sadhu bhavati, hīyate ṛthāt ya u Preyo brinthe || etc. (Kātha, Adhyāya I. Vallī II. verses 1 and 2, p. 93, of Jivānanda Vidyāśagara's edition).

² Yā prīti ravivekānān viśayeshvanapāyini |
Tvā manusmaratah śā me hridayān mā pasarpata ||
(Pañcadaśī, chap. VII. p. 202).

³ "Asatomā sad gamaya, tamaso mā Jyotir gamaya, mṛityor mā mṛitaṅ gamaya"; on this Śaṅkara remarks: Asato(a)sat karmaṇo (a)jñānāt ōa mā mān śaś ōhāstrīya-karma-vijñāne gamaya, *devabhāva-sudhan-ātma-bhāvampādaya*" (p. 119, Jivānanda Vidyāśagara's edition).

bondage deplored in such terms cannot be other than moral—the bondage to 'Preya' (pleasure) in preference to Śreyas (the good); nor can the release be otherwise.

2. WORKS.

"All Werke, die guten sowohl wie die bösen, erfordern ihre Vergeltung in einem nächst folgenden Dasein. Daher alle Werkthätigkeit, welcher Art sie auch sei, nie zur Erlösung, sondern immer nur zum Saṃsāra Zurückführt" (Deussen's Vedānta, p. 434). Here, again, is felt the inadequacy of a foreign language to express the technical Vedantic idea of 'Karma' and 'Dharma' in the sense in which they are discarded as means to Moksha. Passages such as the following: "The wise seer, when he sees the Bright, the Creator, the Person, the source of the visible universe, washes off his *good and evil works*, and freed from sin, attains one-ness with the Supreme"¹ (Muṇḍaka, chap. III. sec. 1, verses 2 and 3), and such passages are numerous, would at first sight seem to indicate that good and evil works stand alike under condemnation as regards Moksha, both being declared 'sins' that one has to be 'free' from. Yet the very next verse declares: "He who loves the soul, delights in the soul, and *is full of works*, is the best of those who know Brahma" (Muṇḍaka, chap. III. sec. 1, verse 4).² Again, in Isā, it is said, "Verily, *doing works* in this world, wish to live a hundred years" (Isā, verse 2).³ That Moksha is really a state of freedom from sin, could not be better expressed than in the following: "*Like a horse the dust on his hair, I shake off my sin*; like the moon from the maw of Rāhu (*i.e.* from eclipse), I am released; I shake off the body, and with all duties finished, I am born in the uncreated world of Brahma, I am born indeed" (Āhāndogya, ch. VIII. sec. 1, verse 13).⁴ Wherever 'good works' is

¹ Yadā paśyah paśyate rukma-varṇaṃ karttāra mīśaṃ puruṣhaṃ, brahma-yoniṃ ||
Tadā vidvān puṇya-pāpe vidhūya nirañjanaḥ paramaṃ sāmyam upaiti ||

² Atma-kriḍā ātmaratiḥ kriyāvān eṣha Brahma-vidāṇ varishṭhaḥ.

³ Kurvaṇ nev eṣa karmāpi Jijīviṣheḥ śhataṇ samāh |

⁴ Aśva iva romāni vidhūya pāpaṇ āndra iva Rāhor mukhāt pramuḍya, dhātva śarīram akritaṇ kritātma, Brahma-lokaṃ abhisamṃbhavāmi tyabhisamṃbhavāmi ||

condemned in the Vedānta, it is only as a technical term for certain rites and sacrifices (Anushthána) supposed to bring large returns of outward good in the other world; it condemns *other-worldliness*. It is in the later writings, such as those of Śaṅkara, the feud between *Karma*¹ and *Jñána* takes a prominent place, and there Karma and Dharma invariably mean ritualism. Let the reader compare the distinction drawn by Śaṅkara between Dharma-jijñásá and Brahma-jijñásá at the commencement of the Brahma Sūtra Commentary (ch. I. sec. 1, sūtra 1), "The Vedah itself shows the perishable nature of rewards won by 'fire-sacrifice' and other *good works*—'as in this world property acquired by works comes to an end, so also in the other, worlds acquired by good works come to an end.'" Here are also given as essential conditions of fitness for inquiry after Brahma (1) a discrimination of the Everlasting from the fleeting (*nity-ánitya-vastu-vivekah*), (2) a freedom from desire of rewards in this or the next world (*ihá mutra phala-bhoga-virágh*), (3) calmness of mind (*Śamah*), and (4) self-control (*damah*)—all of which involve the highest moral self-exertion. The kind of 'good works' so called, that are no help in the way of attaining release, Śaṅkara states thus in his *Viveka-śúđamani*: "By reflection, and by the instruction of teachers, the truth is known, but not by *ablutions*, making *donations*, or by performing hundreds of *Pránáyama* (controlling the breath)" (verse 13).²

There is nothing in the Upanishads to justify the assertion that metaphysical keenness is a better qualification for Moksha than moral purity; it is rather the reverse—moral purity is the first condition for attaining it. "He who has not *ceased from wickedness*, nor has calmness of mind, nor is given to meditation, and is without control over his mind, cannot find him by keenness of understand-

¹ Even in the Bengali, 'kriyá' and 'kriyákarma' are technical names for rites and ceremonies, like the *Śrāddha*, etc.

² Arthasya niśchayo dṛisto vicāreṇa hito ktītah |
Na śnānena, na dānena prānáyama-śatena vá ||

ing"¹ (Kāṭha, II. vallī, verse 24). Again, "This knowledge is not to be attained by reasoning"² (II. vallī, verse 9). Even in the later writings, such as the Pañcādaśī, works really good and disinterested are held in high estimation, and enjoined as the greatest duty of the 'awakened' sage: "A father conducts himself after the wishes of his infant child, so should the 'awakened' adapt his course of life to the happiness of the ignorant. Insulted or beaten by the infant, the father does not feel hurt, nor is angry, rather nurses his child. The 'awakened,' whether praised or reviled by the ignorant, does not praise or revile in return, but so conducts himself as would lead them to wisdom. If by acting any part in this (drama of life), they may be awakened, it should certainly be done. The 'wise' man has no duty in this life, other than 'awakening' the ignorant"³ (Pañcādaśī, chap. VII. v. 286 to 289). The whole doctrine of 'works' and the true meaning of 'renunciation of works' is best explained in the Gīta: "Work is your province, over results you have no control. Let not the desire of rewards for works be your motive; do not desire the absence of work"⁴ (chapter II. verse 47). "Not by non-performance of works does one attain 'renunciation of works'"⁵ (III. 4). "Do thou work always; work is better than absence of work"⁶ (8). "All work not performed for the sake of worship is a bondage to people; but, O son of Kunti, with that object perform works, and without desire of reward"⁷ (verse 9). Indeed the whole

¹ "Nā virato dusācāritān nā śānto nā samābhītaḥ |
Nā śānta-mānaso vā pi prajñānen ainam āpnuyāt" ||

² "Nai śhā tarkena matir āpaneyā" ||

³ Avidvad anusāreṇa vrittir buddhasya yujyate |
Stanandhaya-anusāreṇa vartate tat-pitā yataḥ ||
Adhikāshipta stādīto vā bālena sva-pitā tadā
Na klišhyati na kupyet ēa bālan pratyuta lālayet ||
Ninditah stūyamāno vā vidvān ajñair na nindati |
Na stauti kintu teshāṅ syād yathā bodha stathā cāret ||
Yenāyan natanenā tra budhyate kāryam eva tat |
Ajña-prabodhān naivā nyat kāryam asty atra tadvidah ||

⁴ Karmaṇy evā dhikāra ste mā phaleshu kadācāna || etc.
Mā karma-phala-hetur bhūr mā te saṅgo =stv akarmaṇi ||

⁵ Na karmaṇā manārambhān naişkarmaṇy puruṣo =śnute ||

⁶ Niyataṅ kuru karma tvaṅ karma Jyāyo hy akarmaṇah ||

⁷ Yajñā-rthāt karmaṇo nyatra loko =yaṅ karma-bandhanah |
Tadarthaṅ karma kaunteya mukta-saṅgah samācāra ||

of the third and fourth chapters throw considerable light on this subject—showing that by the renunciation of works is not meant the renunciation of good works at all, but the renunciation of the desire of rewards for good works—the investment of moral capital, as it were, to bring a large profit of sensual happiness in the other world.

3. KARMA *versus* JÑĀNA.

I cannot, however, dismiss the subject of *works* without noticing one of those typical passages in the Brahma Sūtra which would at first sight seem to show that Moksha does not depend upon works, good or bad, in any sense whatever :

“Śāstra has for its object to induce men to do, or not to do, certain things: the rest (in Śāstra) is merely added as required for this end (*vidhi-sésa*). This being common (to all Śāstra), the Vedānta too fulfils its object in the same way. If laying down rules for practice be the object, then it follows that as the performance of fire-sacrifice is laid down for one who desires heaven, in the same way the knowledge of Brahma is laid down for one who desires immortality.

“But the objects of inquiry in the two cases are stated to be different. In the Karma káṇḍa (ceremonial parts) the object of inquiry is Dharma, which deals with the future (rewards and punishments), while here the object of inquiry is what exists already—Brahma, always perfect; the fruits of the knowledge of Brahma should, likewise, be different from the fruits of the knowledge of Dharma dependent upon ceremonies.

“It cannot be so, for Brahma—their object—is taught as connected with rules for action, *e.g.* ‘The Soul is *indeed to be seen,*’ etc. . . , and from His worship is said to come the unseen fruit—Moksha—seen only through the Śāstra. If unconnected with any rules of duty, and only as a statement of a certain fact, since it has no use as regards anything to be sought-for, or to be avoided, the teachings

of the Vedānta, like saying 'the earth has seven islands,' would have no purpose.

"But even in merely describing a thing, as 'this is a rope and no snake,' etc., there is seen to be a purpose, for it dispels the fear which arose from a mistake; so also in this case, by describing the soul as above the world, it fulfils the purpose of correcting the mistake of thinking the soul as subject to the world. . . .

"The revered Śānatkumāra, seeing that his (*i.e.* Nārada's) mind *was purified from lusts* (mṛidita-kashāya), showed him the limit of darkness.' These and other teachings indicate that the fruits of the knowledge of Self follow *as soon as the obstacles to Moksha* are removed (Moksha-pratibandhanivritti-mātra mevātma-Jñānasya phalan-darshayanti). . . .

"The knowledge of one-ness of soul with Brahma is not like a happy accident (na sampadādi-rupaṅ), and therefore Brahma-vidyā does not depend (for its fruits) upon the performance of works by the individual, but rather, like the knowledge of things by direct perception, etc., depends upon the object itself. Brahma, and the knowledge of Brahma, being such, by no arguments can they be supposed to be reached by works. Nor because Brahma stands as the object of the act of 'knowing' does He become attainable by works: 'He is different from the known, yea different from the unknown,' denies His being the *object* of knowing, and also 'That by which all this is known, by what to know Him?' So also His being the object of worship is denied, 'Know That to be Brahma, not this that is worshipped.' 'But if Brahma cannot be an *object*, He cannot be taught by the Śāstras.'

"Not so. The use of Śāstra is to do away with (the notion of) different beings, due to ignorance. The Śāstra does not mean to speak of Brahma as a distinct object, but by showing Him as All-pervading, and not an object, does away with the differences of *knower*, *known*, and *knowing*, derived from ignorance.

"Therefore leaving aside 'knowing,' *works*, in no sense whatever, can here be considered admissible. 'But knowing

is a mental act.' No, there is a difference. *A work is that which is prescribed (by Śāstra) irrespective of the nature of the object itself (to which it refers), and depends upon the mental act of the person*¹ (working): e.g. 'For whichever cult the butter is taken, meditate upon him, saying vashaṭ,' etc. Though (like knowing) meditating and thinking are mental (acts), yet a man may do or not do them, or do them differently, since it depends upon the man himself. But knowledge depends upon evidence, and evidence deals with the object as it is, so that a knowing cannot be made, unmade, or made differently, being dependent on the object alone. It is independent of teaching and of the person (taught); so that though a mental act, there is great difference in the case of knowledge. For example, 'The man, O Gautama, is the fire, the woman, O Gautama, is the fire:' Here to imagine fire in man or woman is mental, and inasmuch as it is due to the teaching alone, it is a *work*, and subject to the person. But to think the ordinary fire to be fire, does not depend upon teaching, nor is subject to the person. What then? It is dependent upon the thing itself, which is the object of perception; it is *knowledge* and not *work* (Jñāna meva tan na kriyá). This is to be understood for all objects of evidence whatsoever. This being so, the knowledge of Brahma as the Soul, having for its object the thing as it always is, does not depend upon the teaching. . . . 'Why then are these teachings "the Soul is to be seen and heard," etc., which look like laying down rules?' Their object is, we say, to draw (the mind) away from the objects of natural inclination. They attract a man—who is outwardly inclined, wishing 'may it be as I desire, may no harm come upon me,' nor yet finding in it *the highest good of life* (Na éa tatrá tyantikaṇ purushārthan labhate), though still he longs for the highest good,—from the objects of desire of this bundle of outward acts and organs, and lead him with the current of his thoughts into the all-

¹ Kriyá hi náma yatra vastu-svarúpa-nirapekshyai va śodyate, purusha-
 éitta-vyápár-ádhiná éa | yathá "yasmai devatáyai havir grihitān syát tán dhyáyed
 vashaṭ karishyan" |

pervading Spirit, saying, 'The Soul is to be seen.'—(Brahma Sūtra, chap. I. 1. 4.

Here we notice what Śaṅkara means by *Karma*. It is something *prescribed* in the sacred books; it is "due to the teaching alone" (Kevala-śodanā-janyatvāt tu kriyaiva sā), and beyond the range of human experience. The 'highest good of life' is not to be found in it. Karma, which Śaṅkara thus distinguishes from Jñāna, has nothing to do with good and evil works as we understand,—it does not include moral improvement at all, which, according to Śaṅkara's definition, falls under Jñāna,—being the *perception* of moral *facts* by a moral *sense*. Virtue in the sense in which it is its own reward, and vice its own punishment, are not matters of the 'future' but present facts, whose fruits do not depend upon the Śāstra, nor their nature upon the caprices of the individual. *Karma* in the sense of seeing 'fire in place of a man,' and such other puerilities "prescribed irrespective of the nature of the object," we cannot in any way include among good works, which we find reserved by Śaṅkara under the name of Jñāna so as to include 'purification from lust,' and 'the highest good of life.' What we call 'good' and 'moral' is not calling a thing what we know it is not,—like thinking 'a man to be fire,' but calling it what it is, like calling "fire to be fire"; it is not Karma, but Jñāna; and Moksha, in dispensing with *Karma*, puerile as that is, lays all the more stress upon Jñāna, which includes all true moral improvement.

"Daher alle Werkthätigkeit, welcher Art sie auch sei, nie zur Erlösung,"—far from this being so with respect to works really good and moral, Śaṅkara does not consider it to be altogether the case even with respect to purely ritualistic works.

"*Agnihotra* and other (works) however have the same object as this (*i.e.*, wisdom), for this is taught."—Brahma Sūtra, chap. IV. 1. 16.

On this aphorism Śaṅkara remarks: "Good works, like evil works, are taught as falling off, and dying out,—and

this teaching might be supposed to refer to all good works, —to answer this it is added, ‘Agnihotra and others however,’ etc. Work that is essential, for example *Agnihotra* and others taught in the Vedas, has the same object as this (*i.e.*, wisdom); in other words, that which is the object of wisdom is also its object, for we meet with ‘The Bráhmaṇas seek to know Him by the teachings of the Vedas, by ritualistic worship (Yajña), and by charity.’ ‘But the effect of wisdom and of works, being different, they cannot have the same object.’ This objection does not exist. Though curd (eating) causes fever, and poison causes death, yet the one mixed with treacle, and the other by power of charms, are found to be refreshing and nutritious; so also works in connection with wisdom may have Moksha for their object . . . , works being indirectly beneficial.”—Śaṅkara Bháshya to above, chap. IV. 1. 16.

The attainment of Moksha depends upon certain preparations (*sádhana*)—among the most important of which is the performance of really good works without the desire of any outward rewards. It comes by a process of natural growth. In this respect Moksha differs from other schemes of Salvation; it does not come from without, as an extraneous reward for certain acts of merit, but grows endogenous, as it were, from the principle of our common humanity,—acts of merit only favouring this growth. It is a case of *becoming*, not of getting something.

“A man is made up of self-exertions (*kratu*); as a man exerts himself in this life, so *becomes* he in the next.”—*O’hándogya*, chap. III. xiv. 1.

“According as he acts, according as he behaves, so *becomes* he; doing good he becomes good, doing evil he becomes evil; becomes pure by pure works, evil by evil works. Therefore is it said, ‘a man is made up of desires;’ as are his desires so does he exert himself, as he exerts himself so are his works, as are his works so does he *become*.”—*Bṛihadárayaka*, IV. x. 5 (p. 852, J. Vidyáságara’s edition).

A good work done without a selfish end is never lost, but

brings the doer a step nearer to Moksha. It may not come in one life, but the cumulative results of a succession of lives of good works, will put the individual in the way to Moksha. The good works of each life improves the prospects of attainment in the next :

“By saying that Bámadeva attained the state of Brahma in his mother’s womb, it is shown that preparations (sádhaná) made in one life may cause wisdom in a succeeding life, for, as being in the mother’s womb, no preparations could be possible in that life. In the Smṛiti also : ‘Having attained the fulness of yoga, what fate attends him, O Kṛishná ?’ Being thus questioned by Arjuna, the revered Vásudeva replies : ‘My child, *no evil can befall any one that does good*’ (Na hi *kalyánakṛit* kaścít durgatín táta gačhati), and adds, that he attains glorious worlds, is born again in the family of the good, and is there united with the understanding he had in the previous life, and so on, ending with ‘having attained perfection by many lives, he then reaches the Highest Goal,’ which shows the same.”—Brahma Sútra, III. iv. 51.

4. ONE-NESS WITH THE WORLD.

Moksha is not the reward of so-called acts of merit, not a sort of ticket of admission—secured by rites and penances, the so-called ‘good works’ and the Massacre of Innocents of the human reason—to a seat in a heavenly theatre, nor is the individual who has attained it sent back to this world as soon as the term of that season-ticket has expired (kshíne punye martya-lokan visánti).¹ To show what Moksha is, I cannot do better than take a few extracts from the Upanishads and the Brahma Sútra, where the state of Moksha is more directly treated of, and from their general tenor try to draw as correct an idea as it is possible to get.

¹ Tasmát lokát punar aity asmai lokáya karmaṇah : i.e. “Returns from that world to this world of works” (Bṛihadárányaka, chap. VI. Bráhmaṇa IV. verse 6).

“O friend, whoever knows that Indestructible, on whom depend the human soul, all the gods, the senses, and the elements, knows all, and is entered into all.”—Praśna, IV. 11.

The next is the concluding part of Yājñavalkya's instructions to Janaka in the Bṛihadāraṇyaka: “Now for him that has no desires: *He that has no desires, from whom all desires are gone out, whose desires are all fulfilled, whose only desire is the Soul,*¹—his vital spirits do not pass away (in death); being Brahma (in lifetime) he goes into Brahma.² To this end is the verse: ‘*When all the desires of the heart are loosened,*’³ the mortal becomes immortal, then he obtains Brahma. Even as the slough of a snake lies on an ant-hill, so lies this body; *but he, the bodiless, the immortal spirit, is indeed Brahma,*⁴ *is light. . . . The man who knows the Soul,* as (I) am This, with what wish or desire should he pine after the body? He who has known (the truth), whose soul is awakened, though entered into this troublous dark place (this body), he is the Creator of the universe, the creator of all, his is the world, *he indeed is the world.*⁵ Being here we may know this, or, if we do not, being ignorant, there is great destruction. Whoever know this become immortal, the rest enter into misery. When one sees clearly this Soul as God, the Lord of all that is and to be, one does not wish to hide himself (in fear) any longer. Let the wise Brāhmaṇa, having heard Him (from books and teachers), acquire the knowledge (in himself). Let him not study too many words (*i.e.* books), that is mere weariness of the tongue. . . . In the space of the heart lies the Controller, the Lord of all; He is not *greater by good works,*⁶ *nor smaller by evil works.* He is the God over all, the King of creatures, their preserver, the bridge upholding these worlds that they may

¹ “Vijñān-ātmā saha devaiḥ ca sarvaiḥ prāṇā bhūtāni sampratishṭhanti yatra | Tad akṣharaṇ vedayate yas tu saumya sa sarvajñāḥ sarva meḥ āviveśa” || Cf. also “Te sarvagan sarvataḥ prāpya dhīra yuktā-tmānaḥ sarva meḥ viśanti” (Mundāka, III. II. 5).

² Yo =kāmo nishkāma āptakāma ātmakāmah ||

³ Yada sarve pramuçyante kāmā ye *sya hṛidi sthitāḥ ||

⁴ Athā yaṃ aśarīro *mrītaḥ prāṇo Brahm aiva ||

⁵ Sa tu loka eva ||

⁶ Sa na sādhunā karmaṇā bhūyān no ev āsādhunā kanīyaṇ.



not be wrecked.”—Brihadárányaka, chap. VI. verses 6 to 21 (pp. 855 to 895, J. Vidyáságara’s edition).

The next is also a passage from the Brihadárányaka, which was evidently meant as a reply to objections brought forward by some opposite school :

“But some say : ‘If by knowing Brahma as (these) men think *they would become all things*, what did that Brahma know whereby He became all this?’ This was Brahma at first. He indeed knew Himself, as ‘I am Brahma.’ Thereby He became all this. Likewise those of the gods who found the true knowledge became That. So of the sages, so of men. The sage Bámadeva seeing this, knew ‘*I became Manu and the sun*’: even now he who knows this, ‘I am Brahma,’ *becomes all this*. Even the gods cannot hurt him, for he becomes the soul of these (gods).”¹—Brihadárányaka, chap. I. Bráhmāna v. verse 10 (pp. 192 to 216, J. Vidyáságara’s edition).

In the passages quoted above, is to be noticed something unique about the Vedantic conception of Moksha: the individual by attaining it, whether in this life or another, is said to ‘enter into all things,’ to ‘be indeed the world,’ to ‘become all this,’ and this is said to be the case without any reference to death. Surely it cannot mean that such an individual, living or dying, becomes materialised and dissipated in the immensity of the physical universe. He retains his own being, for it is said, ‘Even the gods cannot hurt *him*’ (“*tasya ha na devá śca ná bhútyá ísata iti*”). Nor is the meaning far to seek. “He who sees all things in himself, and in all things sees himself, has nothing to fear” (Isá, 6).² It is the very perfection of moral self-sacrifice, for the individual to enter into and become all things in spirit. Without entering into its merits, I must say, the idea is grand, if true, to imagine that the individuals of the human family may, in course of time, find themselves

¹ “Sarvaṇ bhaviṣyānto manuṣyá manyānte.” “État paśyan nṛṣhir Bámadevaḥ pratipede haṇ Manur abhavaṇ sūryaśca | Tad idam apy etar hi ya evaṇ vedá haṇ Brahm ásmi ti sa idaṇ sarvaṇ bhavati.”

² “Yastu sarváni bhútan yátman yevá nupashyati | Sarvabhúteshu é átmānaṇ tato na vijugupsate ||”

identified in the common good of the whole human family. It is also said to be possible in this life; we cannot but add, though it may seem Utopian, should such a state of things come to pass, and every individual of the human race attain this state, the earth would be heaven, and the miseries of life, due in the greatest part to individual and national selfishness, would be at an end.

“This is to be perceived by the mind, that *there is nothing whatever different* (náná). They enter from death to death, who see (things) as if different.”¹—Brihadárányaka.

Unlike other schemes of salvation, Moksha is a state attainable in this life, and is thus brought within the test of present human experience. Death or life makes no difference,—the body, like the cast-off slough of a snake lying on an ant-hill, is “shuffled off,” but the soul ‘being Brahma, goes into Brahma.’ Nor does the soul by Moksha become anything that it was not before, or is not already, but only knows and feels what it always is: “The non-difference being the nature, and the difference imputed by ignorance, shaking off the ignorance by true knowledge, the human soul attains oneness with the infinite and supreme Wise Spirit.”—Brahma Sútra, III. II. 26. By Moksha the individual becomes, or rather finds, his true Self (svena rúpená bhinishpadyate):

“His (*i.e.* the human soul’s) own true form is that of Brahma—‘free from sin,’ up to ‘whose desires are true,’ etc., and also ‘All-knowing and Lord of all.’ To this his own true form, he is perfected, so thinks the teacher Jaimini.”²—Brahma Sútra, IV. iv. 5.

Lastly, though Moksha is spoken of as a state of having ‘no desires,’ it is also in the same sentence spoken of as a state in which ‘all desires are fulfilled,’ and ‘the only desire is for the Soul.’ It is then a state without desire, only in reference to carnal desires, as against higher aspira-

¹ “Ne ha náná sti kinána mṛityoh sa mṛityum ápnoti ya iha nana va paśyati” (p. 887, J. Vidyásagara’s edition).

² “Svam asya rúpaṃ Bráhmaṃ apahata-pápmatvá-di-satya-saikalpatvá-va-sánaṃ, tathá sarvajñatvaṃ sarve-śvaratva ná, tena svena rúpeṇá bhinishpadyate.”

tions, the only desire being for the Soul. In this lies the real difference between Avidyá and Vidyá :

“To regard the body and others, which are not the self, as the self, is Avidyá: thence arise desire for its glorification, then anger when it is subjected to insult, then fear and delusion at sight of its destruction,—in this way arise those endless contentions and miseries which we see around us. Those who, by reversing it, have freed themselves from Avidyá, desire, anger, and other evils, approach Him.”—Brahma Sútra, I. III. 2.

When Moksha is called a ‘loosening of the desires of the heart,’ the very expression ‘*loosening*’ (pramuçyante) would suggest that it is a loosening of desires that bind and enslave the soul,—the carnal desires as against the higher desires for the Soul, which set the individual free from that bondage :

“Indra, this body is mortal, it is grasped by death; it is the abode of the Immortal, the bodiless Soul. The embodied (one who thinks the body to be the self) is grasped by pleasure and pain. There is no release from pleasure and pain for one who lives as bodied. But he who lives as bodiless is untouched by pleasure and pain.”—C’hândogya, VIII. XII. 1. If all this is not “moralische Besserung,” it is difficult to tell what is.

The Pañcadaśí gives the following description of a soul after Moksha (which is variously called in various places as ‘awakening,’ ‘knowledge,’ ‘enlightenment,’ or ‘oneness’):

“Bharata and other sages never lived without using their senses, like a block of stone or wood, but only retired from society for fear of losing themselves in worldliness” (VI. 273). “In the exercise or in the controlling of the body, the organs, the mind, or the intellect, there is no difference whatever between the ignorant and the awakened” (VI. 267). In another place in the same book: “Even as one and the same eye of the crow, comes and goes into both sockets, the right and the left, even so is the mind of the true knower, with respect to both these enjoyments; partaking of the pleasures of sense, as well as the bliss in Brahma, the true knower is like one that knows two

languages,—that of the world as well as that of sacred books.”¹

5. AIŚVARYA.

There are a class of passages in the Upanishads and the Brahma Sūtra, which attribute certain transcendental psychic phenomena to the individual upon attaining Moksha. The universal tradition among all sects of Hindus, learned or unlearned, would seem to show that there never was a time in which the people did not believe in them. These phenomena could hardly be called miracles in the sense of departures from the laws of Nature, inasmuch as they are said to take place as a matter of course, whenever that stage of psychic development has been reached :

“His heart thus purified, whatever worlds he wishes (‘whether for himself or for others,’ adds Śāṅkara), or whatever objects he desires, he obtains those worlds and those desires.”—Muṇḍaka, III. 1. 10.

“Some Yogī, who has attained perfection, might, by entering into all things, be the controller (over all).”—Brahma Sūtra, I. 11. 18.

“Functions, such as the creation of worlds, excepted, god-like powers (Aiśvarya), as that of rendering one’s self invisible, are possible for those who have attained Moksha. *But functions in respect of the management of worlds* belong to God alone, who is ever-perfect.”—Brahma Sūtra, IV. 17.

This reservation as to functions in respect of the creation and preservation of worlds (Jagad-Vyāpāravarjan) is very peculiar; and as the term ‘world’ merely expresses a summing up in thought of particular items of phenomena, the reservation leaves no god-like power for the individual

¹ Pravrittāu vā nivrittāu vā dehe-ndriya-mano-dhīyān |
Na kiñcid api vaiśhāmyam asty ajñāni-vibuddhayoh ||
Na hyāhārādi santajya Bharatā dyah sthitāh kvaçit | 267
Kāshṭha-pāshāṇavat kintu sanga-bhītā udāsate || 2731.

And again : Ek aiva dṛiṣṭih kākasya bāma-dakshina-netrayoh | Yāty āyāty
evam ānanda-dvaye tattvavido matih || Bhūñjāno viśhayā nandan Brahmā-
nandanāi ca tattvavit | Dvi-bhāṣhā bhijñavat Vidyād ubhau laukika-vaidikau ||

to exercise independently. Besides, it is a strong assertion of duality.

Most of these passages are so entangled in mysterious and figurative language, that it is next to impossible to unravel their real meaning. As a type of this class of passages, I take the following from the *C'hândogya* :

“In this city of the Supreme (*i.e.* in the human being) is the house (of the Supreme), the lotus of the heart. In it is the sky of the heart; what is contained within that is indeed to be inquired and sought after. . . . As vast as is this sky, so is the sky in the heart, in it are placed both heaven and earth, fire and air, sun and moon, lightning and stars;—all whatever here exists for them, or does not (here) exist, is placed within this. . . . This is the true city of the Supreme, in this are placed all desires. . . . Those who depart knowing the Soul and these true desires, for them all the worlds are open at pleasure. . . . Whatever place he desires, whatever thing he desires, comes (to him) at will; he rejoices in possessing it. These are the true desires, hidden under cover of the untrue. The true desires exist, but the untrue hides them; (so that) whatever (beloved object) of his is departed hence (though it exists in the sky of the heart), he cannot know. Whatever (beloved object) of his, whether living or dead, or what else he longs for, but does not find, all this he finds, on going there (*i.e.* into the heart), for all these true desires of his exist there, hidden under cover of the untrue. Even as a treasure-trove hidden underground in a field is trodden over and over by those ignorant of the field, yet never known, even so all these creatures going every day into this world of Brahma do not know it, it is veiled by the untrue.”—*C'hândogya*, VIII. I. to III. 2.

Śāṅkara, however, insists upon a technical distinction between Moksha, as acquired by the knowledge of *Saguṇa Brahma*, and that by the knowledge of *Brahma Nirguṇa*, looking upon the latter as a higher form of Moksha. Miraculous powers he considers as confined to the lower form, which is highly significant as to the moral value

that was attached to the gift of miracles: "Wherever these god-like powers are spoken of, they are however the fruit of *Saguṇa-Vidyá*—a mere change of state, like heaven," etc.—*Brahma Sūtra*, IV. iv. 16.

6. INDIVIDUALITY IN MOKSHA.

Nothing, however, puzzles the reader so much as those passages in the Upanishads which seem to speak of Moksha as a state of disintegration of individual consciousness, almost verging upon annihilation. The difficulty is not only that a class of poet-philosophers of such high order as the authors of the Upanishads must have been, could ever look upon it as the highest good of life, but also that these passages apparently contradict the sense of others, and even parts of the same passage are seemingly contradictory. Yet by placing ourselves in the point of view of the writers themselves, we might be able to reconcile these discrepancies:

"Even as these rivers flowing towards the sea disappear upon reaching the sea, their names and forms being broken down, it is called the sea; even so these sixteen parts in the knower approach the Person, and *reaching the Person disappear*, their names and forms are broken down; it is called the Person; he becomes without parts and immortal."—*Praśna*, VI. 5.

"Like running streams disappearing in the sea, losing name and form, even so the wise, freed from name and form, attains the Divine Person, the greater than the great. He that knows the Supreme Brahma, verily becomes Brahma."—*Muṇḍaka*, III. ii. 8 and 9.

"It is like pure water dropping into pure water. The soul of the sage who knows (the truth) is like this."—*Kāṭha*, II. iv. 15 (p. 132, J. Vidyāsagara's edition).

Yājñavalkya instructs his wife Maitreyī, saying: "As a lump of salt thrown into water disappears, becoming water, and one cannot take it up in a lump,¹ but the water

¹ "Sa yathā saindhava-khilya udake prāsta udakam evā nuvilyate nā hā syo dagrahanāya eva syāt."

from whatever part taken is salt, even so, my dear, is this Great Being, Infinite, Unbounded, all consciousness and nothing but consciousness (*vijñāna-ghana*). Rising (into individual life) from these things, (the individual) disappears, becoming these (*i.e.*, like the salt in water). When passed away (*i.e.*, by oneness with the Soul), the consciousness (of individuality) ceases. This I say, my dear.' This said Yājñavalkya.

"Maitreyī said: 'Even here, my lord, you bewilder me, saying, when passed away the consciousness ceases.'

"Yājñavalkya said: 'My dear, I say nothing bewildering. This Great Being has perfect consciousness. Where it is as if two, there one sees or smells another, hears or bows to another, thinks or knows another. But when all is become his very soul, by what and whom to see or smell, by what and whom to hear or bow to, by what and whom to think or know? (The Soul) by whom all this is known, by what is He to be known? By what, my dear, is the Knower to be known?'"—*Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, IV. iv. 12-14 (p. 460, J. Vidyāsagara's edition).

Maitreyī seems to have been puzzled by the apparent contradiction in her husband's words, calling the Great Being, "all consciousness," and then adding "the consciousness ceases." No wonder, poor girl! One might well doubt if her husband's explanation did not bewilder her the more—though in logical acuteness that explanation is unsurpassed. Indeed, that one sentence, "By what, my dear, is the Knower to be known?" holds, as in a nutshell, the whole agnostic philosophy with the reply to it.

"Their names and forms are broken down," "freed from name and form, attain the Divine Person," "when passed away the consciousness ceases:" all this, if understood in the light of the analogy of the salt in water, the river in the sea, or pure water dropping into pure water, fall in very well with the idea of a perfect moral self-sacrifice. Following the analogy, neither the salt in water, the river in the sea, nor the water in water, is lost in any true sense. Not an atom of the salt, the river, or the water, ceases to



exist, or to perform some function peculiar to itself. If the state of Moksha is anything like it, the individual *released* neither ceases to exist nor to act. The change in the salt and the river is, that they cease to act separately from the water and the sea,—that ‘one can no longer take up the salt in a lump’ (*saindhavakhilya*) as before. But “the water, from whatever part taken, is salt,” in other words, all things become as part and parcel of his self, which is thus said to “disappear, *becoming these*.” The salt has its own peculiar action of saltiness, but under a different form, and in oneness with the water; it imparts its character to the water. This, if transferred to the ‘Released’ individual, could only mean that he loses his feeling of separateness from all things and from Brahma, but retains his being and his peculiar acts and attributes,—he is lost in Brahma “like the arrow in the target” (“*śaravat tan-mayo bhuvet*”). In this way by Moksha, the individual would become, or rather feel himself to be always but as a factor in the Divine economy of the universe. The individual who, before Moksha, lived and acted as an isolated agent, for a private end, after Moksha lives and acts in oneness with God, for ends determined by God, and feeling the interest of all as being his own, and in this sense he may be said “to enter into all things”—“the wise, who have control over their passions, find the All-pervading (Spirit) everywhere, and enter into all things,”—or even “to disappear becoming these.”

In all Vedāntic writings, especially those of Śaṅkara, a very important distinction is drawn between “self” (*Ahaṅkāra*) and Soul (*Ātmā*), which we are used to identify. ‘Self,’ or *Ahaṅkāra*, is the imaginary bundling together of mental states and acts in separate groups called ‘individuals.’ It presupposes the Soul for a basis of its existence. This ‘self’ is ever-shifting, even in the so-called ‘same’ individual; like the cloud appearing to be, but never really is, permanent. It is also among the *objects* of thought. But the ‘Soul’ of the Vedānta is the *subject*, the unchanging and unchangeable essence, the underlying basis of consciousness for the world, in which acts and states

appear and vanish like the images in a magic lantern. From its nature of being the subject, the Soul cannot at the same time be an object of thought, and therefore cannot be characterized or differenced by objective characters and differences. The 'self,' or Ahankára, is popularly spoken of as 'I,' and it is this that is 'broken down,' this that "rising from these things, disappears becoming these." When this idea of separateness of 'selves' is gone, nothing but the sense of isolation is gone. The ideas and impressions may appear and disappear as they do now, without any hindrance to practical life; only, after Moksha, the 'me' or 'mine' of the individual could not oppose itself to the 'his' and 'yours' of the world around him. This interpretation of Moksha might have been enough, were it not that the light supplied by Yájñavalkya, on his own meaning, in the words, "When all is become his very soul, by what and whom to think and know?" seems rather to throw darkness on the interpretation.

Yájñavalkya seems to indicate that not only does Ahankára cease, but also that the whole course of ideas and impressions—for the Vedánta is purely idealistic—that make up practical life, may cease. Here I have to anticipate what I hope to discuss more fully in a separate article—the Vedántic conception of Máyá. Máyá, or Illusion, in the Vedánta, if rightly understood, is but another name for what has been termed 'the Relativity of knowledge.' The distinction of the absolute from the relative is the very hinge on which the whole scheme of the Vedántic theology turns. Once admit that things as we know them exist only in relation to our powers of cognition, it necessarily follows that God, who has not cognitive powers, eyes and ears, like ourselves, does not know things as we know them. We should have no reason to assert that they have any existence at all in relation to Brahma. Brahma being above wants, is a reason to the Vedántist in favour of the *absolute* non-existence of things. At any rate it follows from Relativity, the fundamental principle of the Vedánta, that our knowledge of things is an illusion as compared with the absolute

truth known to Brahma. If Moksha should make the individual one with God, perfect as He is perfect, knowing things even as we are known by God, it necessarily follows that the relative should cease in presence of the absolute, and the illusions which make up practical life so called should be no more.

7. KAIVALYA.

At first sight this separation from phenomena would seem to be painful, but it is painful for those who have a strong desire for them, who cannot resign their phenomenal being without "a longing lingering look behind." When the desire for the course of ideas and impressions that constitutes our individuality is gone, it may cease, and the individual pass away into oneness with Brahma Nirguṇa—the Soul-substratum of all being, and live above the illusions of phenomenal life. For the Vedāntist, with his distinction of the absolute Being of Brahma Nirguṇa, and the phenomenal life of relativity, what can there be painful or shocking in passing into the Absolute, to know the Reality as it is? How could he consider it otherwise than as the highest imaginable bliss, the very state of Brahma as He is in His perfection! The rapturous joy of this union of the human soul with Brahma, in Moksha, is compared with nothing less than the ecstatic union of a newly-wedded couple locked in each other's embraces:

"Even as one embraced by his beloved wife knows nothing outside, nor within, even so this person embraced by the Wise Spirit, knows nothing outside, nothing within. This, indeed, is his form in which all desires are found, wherein all desires are for the Soul, wherein one has no desires and no sorrow. Here the father and mother are no longer father or mother, the worlds and gods no longer worlds or gods, the sacred books no longer sacred books; . . . neither followed by good works, nor by bad works, then are passed away all the sorrows of the heart. But that he does not see, he sees indeed though he does not see (*i.e.*, he is still the *seer*, though the *objects* of sight are gone). Sight cannot

cease in the *seer*, being imperishable; but that second is no more, which he should see as distinct from himself. . . . That he does not know—he knows indeed though he does not know; knowing cannot cease in the *knower*, being imperishable; but that second is no more which he should know as distinct from himself. Where there is a second, there one sees, smells, tastes, speaks to, hears, thinks, feels, and knows another. (Pure) as water, the one Seer is without a second. He is housed in Brahma.”—Brihadáranyaka, VI. III. 21-32 (pp. 887 to 913, J. Vidyásagara’s edition).

It will be apparent from the above, that far from there being the slightest approach in Moksha towards annihilation, there is no change whatever in the individual himself, the change being entirely in the phenomena around him. The *subject* remains the same, while the object which is looked upon as illusory is altered, may be, even to the extent of annihilation relatively to the individual. The world-bubble (Jagad-vimba) may burst, as they express it, and “leave not a rack behind.” That this is the conception of the Vedántic Moksha is so apparent, that we meet with discussions in the Brahma Sútra as to whether the individual retains his body after attaining Moksha :

“‘At his desire his ancestors appear to him’; from this teaching it is apparent that the wise man, after attaining Godhood, retains his mind, which is made up of desires, but it might be asked whether or not he retains the body and the senses. As regards this, the teacher Vádari thinks that the wise (man) in his glory does not retain the body nor the senses. For this is taught in the Vedas: ‘Seeing these delights by the mind, he enjoys bliss in the world of Brahma.’ Were it that he went about with the mind as well as the body and the senses, the epithet ‘with the mind’ would not have been used (Brahma Sútra, IV. iv. 10). The teacher Vádaráyana, however, finding that the Vedas ascribe both kinds of characters, considers it reasonable that it should be both. When he desires to be embodied, he has a body, and when he desires to be bodiless, he is without it.”—Brahma Sútra, IV. iv. 12.

Even with respect to phenomenal life in this world, the Vedánta does not push its logical conclusion to its full length. Moksha, even in its highest form, that of attaining the Absolute Being of Brahma Nirguṇa, does not altogether cut off the thread of their individual phenomenal life. Vedántic sages who are supposed to have attained the highest form of Moksha—*Kaivalya* as it is called—appear and reappear in this world to live as man amongst men, in order to fulfil some high purpose of Brahma. Vyása and Nárada, Agastya and Bhṛigu, are said to make their appearance in this world whenever any especial occasion calls for their presence. In this way the idea of even the *Kaivalya* form of Moksha does not amount to anything more or less than an absolute surrender of private will to that of Brahma, to live amidst phenomena or above them, in Him alone, according as He should appoint. To this effect I quote the following from the Brahma Sútra, where we read: “Those that are appointed (for especial work) live (in phenomenal life) as long as the appointment lasts.”—III. III. 32.

Commenting on this aphorism, Śaṅkara takes the case of some of the greatest Vedántic sages—Apántaratamas, Vasishṭha, Bhṛigu, Sanatkumára, Daksha, and Nárada, who are said to have appeared and lived in this world at different occasions, after they had attained the highest form of Moksha, and remarks :

“Some of them (those above-named), after the first body has fallen away, take a new body; and others, by the miraculous power of yoga for occupying many bodies at once, do so during the lifetime of it. And all of them are said to have acquired the highest wisdom of the Vedas. . . . These, Apántaratamas and others, being appointed for transmitting the Vedas, or other work on which depends the preservation of the world, have an individual life subject to the work (to which they are appointed). These great ones, Apántaratamas and others, appointed by the Supreme Lord to their particular work, although they have the true knowledge, the cause of Moksha, remain there with undi-

minished activity, so long as their appointment lasts; but pass into God as soon as it is over. . . . In order to fulfil the objects of their appointment, they have the desire of work for a time, but held in check;—freely passing from body to body as from house to house, with memory (of previous life) undiminished,—since they are lords of their body and organs,—to fulfil the appointed work; and making (new) bodies, they occupy many bodies at once or in succession; . . . just as Sulabhá,¹ who knew Brahma, having the desire to hold a discussion with Janaka, left her own body, entered that of Janaka, and, having held the discussion, afterwards re-entered her own.”—Brahma Sūtra Bháshya, III. III. 32.

8. “NA KARMA LIPYATE NARE.”

Moksha being thus an absolute surrender of private will, it follows as a necessary consequence that after one has attained this state, there is no longer any merit or blame attached to what one does. He is above doing wrong, and claims no reward for doing right. This leads to a great change in the individual's relation to works, good or evil. “Work is the means (to be adopted) for the *Muni* who wishes to attain *Yoga*; for the same man, when he has attained *yoga*, calmness of mind is the means” (Gíta, VI. 3). For ignorant (*Ajñáni*) people, works are either good or evil, according as they bring a return, whether in this life or another, of happiness or misery. For the wise, this arithmetical distinction of *puṇya* and *pápa* has no weight, and in that sense he is said to be unaffected by good or evil works:

“Whom (*i.e.*, Brahma) speech and the mind recede from, without finding,—when one knows the bliss in Brahma, one fears nothing whatever. ‘What good thing I have not done, what evil I have done,’ one is not troubled with.”—Taittiríya, II. 9.

¹ Sulabhá is a lady-sage in the S'ánti-Parva of the Mahábhárata, who discomfited, in a very interesting controversy, the self-righteous king, Janaka Kusa-Dhvaja.

“Therefore, ‘I have done evil,’ or that ‘I have done good,’ he passes beyond both these. He is not troubled with what he has or has not done. This is taught in the verse: ‘Imperishable is the glory for him who knows Brahma, which works do not add to, nor take from. Let him know its nature; having known this, he is unaffected by (good or) evil works.’ Therefore one who knows thus, being calm, self-controlled, free from desire, patient, and meditative, sees the Soul in himself, and all things in the Soul. Sin cannot overcome him, he overcomes all sin; sin cannot trouble him, he destroys all sin.”—Brihadáranyaka, VI. iv. 22–23 (pp. 909 to 912, J. Vidyásagara’s edition). The same thought is often expressed in more exaggerated forms:

“Indra, the god-spirit, by seeing with the eye of wisdom (árshena darsánena) his own soul as the Supreme Spirit according to Śástra, as ‘I am indeed the Supreme Brahma,’ taught, saying, ‘Know Me.’ . . . He alludes to his cruelties of slaying Tváshṭra, and then concludes with glorifying wisdom: ‘Of such an one as I am, not a hair is destroyed. He who knows *Me*, by no work whatever can his world perish.’ This means that even though I have done such cruelties, yet, by becoming Brahma, not a hair of mine is destroyed; nor, likewise, for any one else who knows *Me*, can his world perish by any work whatever.”—Brahma Sútra, I. i. 30.

Moksha takes the sting out of all past sins; and for the future, sin is as impossible as for Brahma himself. “Puṇyánte kriyáh sarváh sushuptih sukritáyate” (Mahá-Nirvána-Tantra). “All that he does is good work, if he sleeps soundly, it is a sound good work,” is another, and a paradoxical form of stating the same idea.

9. MOKSHA BY DIVINE GRACE.

oneś;ith, or Śraddhá, is as essential to Moksha as it is to Lord to rtian salvation. “Ajñás cá śraddadhánaś cá saṁsá-knowledge, ‘śyati?”—“the foolish, the *unbelieving*, and the

doubting spirits go to ruin.”—Gítá. “When one has faith (Śraddhá), then one inquires, one does not inquire without faith; having faith, indeed, one inquires.”—C’hândogya, VII. xviii. 1. ‘Śraddhá’ here Śaṅkara explains as ‘Āstikya-buddhi’ (or the spirit of theism). Any good work, if it should bear good fruit, it is taught, should be done with faith: “Show bounty with faith” (Śraddhayá deyaṅ).—Taittiríya, XII. 3.

Nor is there any ground whatever to maintain that Moksha is less dependent, in any sense, upon Divine Grace, than the Christian salvation. “Through God’s mercy, by true knowledge (i.e., of God as the Self), the attainment of Release can be possible.”¹ “Grant that the human soul is part of the Supreme Spirit, like sparks of fire: in that case as both sparks and fire have a similar power of heat and light, so should both the human soul and God possess a similar power of wisdom and divinity. . . Though the human soul and God were as part and whole, their oppositeness of qualities is quite clear: is it then that there exists no similarity of attribute of the human soul with God? Not that it does not exist, but that though it exists, it is veiled by ignorance. Although it is veiled, however, it is revealed again by the clearing up of ignorance, by *Divine Grace* (Íśvara-prasádát)—even as by power of medicine, sight is restored in the blind though overpowered before by blindness; but it is not by nature manifest to all. . . The *Bandha* (bondage) proceeds from ignorance of Divine nature, and Moksha from knowledge of His nature.”—Brahma Súra, III. ii. 5.

¹ Íśvarát tad-anujñayá . . . saṁsárasya siddhiḥ; tad-anugraha-hetuken aiva vijñāna Moksha-siddhir bhavitu marhati ||—Brahma Súra, II. iii. 41.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. THE CROSS AND SOLOMON'S SEAL AS INDIAN EMBLEMS.

SIR,—In Captain Conder's very valuable work on "Heth and Moab" (London, 1883), I find it urged, as an argument against Mr. Fergusson's identification of certain rude stone crosses as Christian monuments, "that the cross in India is found as a sacred emblem amongst Buddhists and Brahmins alike from a very early period. Nothing," adds Captain Conder, "could be *primâ facie* more improbable than the erection of rude stone monuments by Christians in India" (p. 225). Is this argument founded on fact? In some years' study of Indian archæology I have not seen any instance of the use of a genuine cross as a sacred emblem by either Buddhists or Brahmins.

We have, indeed, the "Swastika" and its reverse form the "Varddhamana." But these might as well be called wheels or whirligigs as crosses; though they are certainly sacred emblems. Again we have several characters (especially one ancient numeral) in both ancient and modern Indian languages which might be called crosses. But these are by no means sacred; not even as the X which we use in 'Xmas' is with us.

Similar forms occur occasionally in decoration, not only with Hindus and (perhaps) Buddhists, but among the non-Brahmanical forest tribes. But I cannot find that they are a bit more sacred or symbolical than any other conventional ornament; say the Ionic Volute or the "Acanthus."

The crosses from which Mr. Fergusson argued (Rude Stone Monuments, p. 486 et seq.) are themselves monuments

as much as any in Ireland or Scotland, and as complete. To me they seem to be as clearly Christian crosses as these; and I think that there is one thing *primâ facie* more improbable than their erection by Christians, *videlicet*, their erection by any one else.

Again, in the same work (p. 56), I find Captain Conder stating that "Solomon's seal" and "David's shield" (the 5 and 6-pointed stars formed by combinations of triangles) are "Indian caste-marks." What evidence is there of this? Setting aside the common error of calling those devices "caste-marks," which are used by Hindus to indicate *sect*, and *not* caste, I think that there is a mistake in fact. I have never seen, nor heard of, the use of either of these patterns as a brow-mark or tattoo by any Hindus. And although they do occur as *mason's* marks in India, I think that they are confined to Musalman buildings, and are, in short, a comparatively modern imported luxury.

I should be glad if any member could give me any further light on either subject. Captain Conder, rather provokingly, quotes no authority, nor am I aware of his having any Indian experience such as would enable me to accept his own as conclusive.

In another passage he mentions the *swastika* as "a caste-mark amongst Vaishnavas." Setting apart, again, the incorrect term "caste-mark," and the more readily as the following term "Vaishnavas" implies some idea of the real use of the brow-marks, the thing seems likely enough. But where and who are those Vaishnavas who so use it?

W. F. SINCLAIR.

The Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

2.

London, 1888.

DEAR MR. RHYS DAVIDS,—Looking over your two little Buddhist books, the following notes occur; and, if new, may perhaps be worth putting on paper. In the animal-stories there are clearly two or three animals classed as "deer."

In the Banyan-Deer Jataka they are probably black antelopes, still called *Mriga*, though the word is not in common use. The only other deer likely to occur near Benares is the hog-deer (*Axis porcinus*).

The story of the impounding of the deer would be quite within the range of modern practice in several places, and especially in Sind, where I have myself shot hog-deer and gazelles in such enclosures as the "Deer Park." They are called "Muháris."

The deer that went to and from the mountains are marked by that habit as belonging to some other species. It is most characteristic of the Sambar (*Rusa Aristotelis*), but also, to some extent, of the Chital (spotted deer, *Axis major*) and Nilghai (*Portax pictus*).

There is no creature at all like a *roe* in India that has it; the small barking deer (*Cervulus aureus*), the four-horned antelope, and musk-deer, do not visit the open country.

I thought at first that the "roe" whom the stag loved must have been a *doe* misprinted, until I found the word repeated.

I do not think that the difference of *kind* affects the story; as in another Jataka the Hansa loves a Peacock, and in a very good modern child's story the king of the Cranes marries a Pelican.

In the folk-lore of the Gonds the Nilghai is *the* beast of legend, and gets into trouble in spite of counsel, by stealing standing crops. The Nilghai and Sambar would be quite in place near Rajagriha, though not at Benares.

The Hansa is, I suppose, the still sacred (and very handsome) "Brahminy Duck" (*Casarca rutila*), which does breed in the Himalaya, or rather in the uplands of Thibet. The Flamingo is called Raj-Hansa, but I cannot find that it is sacred. Good Rajputs will not eat *any* duck, because they are all akin to Hansas. I should have said above that the incident of the stag being caught while following the female is true to nature, and the same is the case even with *the fish*. The more wary hind's escaping is also true. I have often witnessed it.

The term Aswattha for a pipal-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) survives in the language of survivals, Maratha, in the form "Ashte." It is a species or variety of pipal peculiar to forest countries, and distinguishable by extremely bright red leaf buds.

I do not of course want to dethrone the common pipal from its "bo"-ship; although I doubt if any botanist will ever allow its claim to any more than a descent from the original plant.

I am glad that you identify "Gotami" with Yasodhara, she taking her husband's clan-name. I knew a Yasodhara (a princess too) who did so. The exception is when a man wants, in somewhat ambitious phrase, to refer to a lady of high birth, as a bard talking of the several queens of a Raja, then he will sometimes name her by her father's kingdom or clan; as "the Jodhpuri" or "the Solankin," pretty much as a man might to-day refer to the Empress Dowager Victoria as "a daughter of England," or "a Guelph princess"; though her proper style is taken from her husband's house. As for the other wives, I do not believe that Gautama, or any other Rajput, ever married a lady of his own tribal name. The Gautamas are good Rajput stock to this day. The surname Sakya is, I believe, extinct; I suppose it was that of a family amongst the Gautama clan, such as you might find a dozen of to-day with little looking for them.

The solar myth, as applied to Gautama, reminds one of that Irish parodist (in "Kottabos,"?) who proved *Max Müller* to be a solar myth, partly by the traditions that he had been known to get up in the morning, wash and brush himself, dress for dinner, and go to bed at night, after struggles with demons in the form of critics, and lighter and more transitory annoyances in the shape of undergraduates.

I remain, yours truly,

W. F. SINCLAIR.

The Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

3. ORIGIN OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURE.

SIR,—I must express my thanks to Mr. Sinclair for his valuable contribution, which adds to our knowledge of the localities in India where tombs have been erected in the form of Saiva temples. I mentioned one I had seen myself in Jellalabad, this is in Afghanistan; and I found references to them in Kumaon, in the Himalayas; they are also found among the Canarese, the Telugus, and the Tamils; and Mr. Sinclair now informs us that they are common in the Deccan and the Konkan. This is a wide extent of ground, and shows that they are not peculiar to any one locality. It is to be hoped that others will follow Mr. Sinclair's example, and give us details of such temples; this can be done best by men living in a place where they are familiar with the people, and their ideas regarding them. Since writing my paper I have come upon some references to temples which are sepulchral monuments in the *Râs Mâla*, by Alex. K. Forbes; these are in Guzerat. One is the temple of Devee Boucherâ,¹ which "grew up out of a rude stone placed to commemorate the death of a Chârun woman."² Another is in the Run of Kutch, on the road from Hulwud to Âreesur, and marks the place where Wurnâjee Purmâr, a Rajpoot, was slain; and the temple of "Devee Sudoobâ." Forbes does not indicate whether these are Saiva temples or not; in that of Devee Sudoobâ the details would point to its being Vaishnava. Forbes gives in his account of funeral ceremonies a description which agrees exactly with Mr. Sinclair's: "He who fires the pile collects seven pieces of bone, and enclosing them in a mould commits them to the earth in the place on which the head of the corpse rested. Over the spot the poor raise a simple mound, and place thereon a water vessel and a cake of bread, but wealthy persons erect upon the site of the funeral pile a temple, which is consecrated to Muhâ Dev."³ Here we

¹ Vol. ii. p. 90.

² Vol. ii. p. 436.

³ Vol. ii. p. 366.



have the Saiva temple as a tomb, and not exclusively for ascetics. The poorer people raise the simple grave mound over the relics, and "place thereon a water vessel." This "water vessel" evidently belongs to the primitive forms of burial, and the proper understanding of it would in all probability give us the solution of the *Kalasa* which surmounts the *Sikhara*. The funereal customs point to the conclusion that it is a water vessel; Mr. Sinclair suggests that it may have contained the relics, and he has undoubtedly native habits, which he refers to, in support of the idea. The question, so far as I know, is a new one, and as yet so entirely speculative that we must wait till further light turns up to guide us to the solution. Mr. Sinclair's suggestion that the *Amalaka* is a cushion or base for the *Kalasa*, seems at first blush to be a very happy one—so far it matters not whether the *Kalasa* may be a water jar or a relic holder—if it was looked upon as sacred, it would no doubt be entitled to something honourable to rest upon. As a cushion the *Amalaka* would realize this, as it would be a *Guddee*. We require more knowledge of the rites and ceremonies, of the details of old shrines, etc., which still exist in out-of-the-way places in India, and men like Mr. Sinclair, who have to visit their districts, are in a position to become acquainted with them. The most important point dealt with in my paper is that of the tomb-origin of the Saiva temple, because it is not merely architectural. If my view of the case should be ultimately made good, it will place Siva and his worship in a new light. It was with some hesitancy that I ventured on a suggestion that had this far-reaching result as a possibility, but I felt that I had grounds which were sufficient to justify me in so doing, and Mr. Sinclair's letter widens these grounds in more ways than one. As an instance he mentions that the sculptures on the sepulchral monuments often represent the deceased making his "appearance in heaven, where he worships the lingam or otherwise, according to his creed on earth." The idea under which this is done is not very definitive; still, to find the linga and its worship on a tombstone is at least suggestive. Among the sculptures on the

rock at Gwalior I found a Sutte monument, in which the man and the woman are shown performing the Linga-pujah. At the time the idea of the Saiva temple having been derived from a tomb had not occurred to me; but seeing the deceased persons represented as worshipping Siva in this form, struck me then as peculiar, and suggested that it had reference to a re-birth through death, a principle not out of keeping with Brahmanical teaching.

WILLIAM SIMPSON.

The Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

4.

Greens Norton, Towcester, Sept. 27, 1888.

DEAR SIR,—I should like to address a few words to you, for the consideration of the Members of your Society, as to the meaning of the emblems, found (in pl. xxxiv. *Tree and Serpent Worship*, 1st ed.) in the hand of the Prince there represented. Mr. Fergusson was quite at a loss to explain the meaning of these emblems (p. 133, *o.c.*).

I think the two figures on the plate named refer to the young Prince Siddârtha going out to the joust, of which we have such ample record in the Buddhist legends.

This appears to be proved by the figure of the *elephant* in the first group. We read that "when the young Prince was hardly grown up, the Licchavis of Vaisâli offered him an elephant of exceptional beauty . . . which they led to Kapilavastu, and covered it with jewels," etc. (*Rockhill*, "Life of the Buddha," p. 19).

This is the elephant that Devadatta killed, and Nanda pulled on one side, and the young Prince raised and hurled over the walls, into the *elephant-ditch*.

I think this and the whole *entourage* of the scene shows that the design of the sculptor, or donor of the gateway, was to represent the exit of the Prince from the Gate of Kapilavastu on his way to the games about to be held between the Śākya youths.

What then is the emblem in the hands of the Prince?

Mr. Fergusson compares it to the form of a dumb-bell, "two balls joined together like a dumb-bell."

But I think it has a curious meaning, viz. that of the *mappa*, "which was held in the right hand of a Consul, which he threw into the arena as a signal for the games to commence."

For a representation of the shape of the *mappa* I will refer you to plates xxiii. and xxiv. of Marriot's "Vestiarium Christianum."

The plates there shown are photographed from facsimiles in fictile ivory, published by the "Arundel Society."

It is almost certain that the Indian custom of Public games, or jousts, was an extension of the same custom prevalent from earliest date in the Western portions of Asia, as at Dindymus; and as the image of Cybele worshipped there was carried to Rome during the Punic wars, it is likely that the customs observed at those games were borrowed also by the Romans; and this is all the more likely as the word *mappa* is said to be a Punic word: so that the use of this folded towel as a signal to begin the games (something like the modern *sponge* in prize-fights) was probably borrowed by the Northern Tribes who passed into India, and especially by the Śākya, a chivalrous and exotic race.

Comparing then the *mappa*, as seen in the plates of Marriott's book, with the "*dumb-bell*" instrument in the hand of the Prince Siddārtha in "Tree and Serpent Worship" in the plates (referred to above), I think we may find an explanation of the emblems there represented.

I am, dear Sir, faithfully yours,

S. BEAL.

The Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(June, July, August.)

NOTES ON A COLLECTION OF MSS. *obtained by Dr. Gimlette, of the Bengal Medical Service, at Kathmandu, and now deposited in the Cambridge University Library, and in the British Museum.* By CECIL BENDALL, M.A., M.R.A.S.

Since I first proposed to the Society some years ago a scheme for publishing notes on uncatalogued MSS., little has been done to forward the scheme. I am now glad to be able to give a specimen of the notes that I should like to see made on uncatalogued MSS., and hope that other members will contribute information similar or more detailed.

The collection of MSS. now described was made in Nepal by my friend Dr. G. H. D. Gimlette, Residency Surgeon at Kathmandu. He brought them to me when he came home on furlough last autumn, in order that I might identify them and dispose of them for him to such libraries as might desire them. I found the chiefs of the two collections of MSS. that I am most interested in, those of Cambridge University and the British Museum, very willing to entertain Dr. Gimlette's offer, and I have therefore suggested an apportionment between these two institutions (which has been accepted), bearing in mind, when so suggesting, the needs and the specialities of each collection, in the same way that I had done in the case of the MSS. I had myself brought from Nepal some years ago.

As however it may be some time before either library gives an official printed account of these books, I send, for the information of scholars, a list of the books, their location, and a few notes on some

of the chief palæographical and other points of interest that I have observed.

MSS. at Cambridge.

I. *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa*. This is, as far as I can find, the only known copy of this book on palm-leaf. The MS. is dated in words Nepal Samvat (elapsed 'prayāte') 505 (A.D. 1386, Vaiçākha, sita, Umātithau Jīva dine (Thursday). The book is reckoned of importance in Nepal, being one of the "nine dharmas" of the Nepalese Buddhists. See Rājendralāla Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, pp. 241-249. The MS. was copied for a "Çākya-bhikshu" named Çīladhvaja, resident at Bhauṭa-mahānagarī (a Tibetan settlement?), by Virasiṃha of Yambu. This is the only Buddhist work in the present collection.

II. Jayadatta's *Açvavaidyaka*. Recently edited in the Bibliotheca Indica from four MSS., some of which were imperfect. This MS. was written N.S. 484 (A.D. 1364), on Thursday, 13th of Māgha, dark half, Çravaṇa nakshatra.

III. *Prāyaçcitta-samuccaya*, a Çaiva work on penance by Hṛidayaçiva. This is a book apparently unknown, founded on several Tantras, and possibly compiled for the use of the Tāntrik Çaivism of Nepal. Its author, Hṛidayaçiva, pupil of Īçvaraçiva, who was descended¹ (spiritually?) from a sage called Raṇipadra-lambakarna of the Mattamayūra Vaṃça, who resided in the Gokatikā maṭha. Owing to the early date of the MS. (see below) it may be of bibliographical value to give the names of some of the works cited. These are: Pushkara-pārameçvara-tantra, fol. 5b, 8a, 9b; Dhenu-maṇḍala-mantra-koça, 8b; Svāyāmbhuva-sūtra-saṅgraha, 22a; Kirīṇa-tantra, 29b, 31b; Çivadharmottara, 28b; Pratiṣṭhā-pārameçvara-tantra, 48b; Vidyāpurāṇa, 63a-66a; Raurava, 66a-b; Mṛigendra-tattva-saṃhitā, 66b-68b; Niḥçvāsa-kārikā, niḥçvāsottara, 68b-70a; Sāhasra-çivabheda, 72a; Siddhi-yogeçvarimata, 96; Sarvajñāna-mahodadhi, 101a; Pārameçvaratantra,² sāmanya prakaraṇa, 102-3; Vāthula-tantra, 127b.

Amongst the penances I note one for *mlecchādi-sparçana* (99a), which curiously shows how times have changed in India, when at present high-caste paṇḍits are so glad to extend to even 'mleccha'

¹ āsit tu santatau.

² A unique MS. of this book is interesting, as being the oldest dated Sanskrit MS. (Cambridge Univ. Library, Add. 1049; *Catalogue*, pp. 27, xxxix. sqq.).

Sanskritists "the right hand of fellowship." The book contains 2000 granthas (çlokas).

The MS. was written in Nepal Samvat 278 (A.D. 1158), in Anandadeva's reign, for Paṇḍit Udayasoma, by the 'Kulaputra,' Rājyapālaçīla, at Bhaktāpur (Bhatgāon).

The systems of akshara-counting and ordinary decimal numeration are curiously mixed by the scribe, who numbers leaves 23, 24

३३ but 124 २४. The *aksharas* used correspond with those नि, पु, २४.

given in the table in my Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. at Cambridge for MSS. of A.D. 1065 and 1165.

IV. Varāhamihira's Bṛihaj-jātaka. This makes the second palm-leaf copy of the work now at Cambridge; the other, marked Add. 1479, having been sent by Dr. D. Wright (Wright's Nepal, p. 321). The present MS. wants fol. 1. It is however the older, being dated by the chronogram "Graha-induçca bhūtābdā, prathamakārttika-suciḥ," i.e. in Kārttik, of 519 (N.S.), an intercalary year. The colophon is written in Sanskrit, so barbarous as to be unintelligible. It was written by an astrologer (daivajña) named Gajarāja (a name still not uncommon in Nepal) for his own use. With self-depreciation (not however unjustified) he calls himself *svaīpabudhi* (sic), and adds further on: parahastagataṃ ityeva rakshatavyā (sic) pustakaṃ |, a caution for which, I trust, that the excellent regulations for lending our MSS. at Cambridge (a model, I consider, for other similar libraries) may prove sufficient. He also gives the curious verse as to the triple-regency at Bhatgāon, found in Camb. Add. MS. 1664, dated A.D. 1400, and noted in the Introduction to my Catalogue (at p. ix). The MS. is followed by several fragments from Purāṇas and other works, one written in Nep. Samv. 554, in the reign of Yaksha-malla.

The remainder of this part of the collection are works of less literary merit, being either portions of Purāṇas, or compilations of *mantras*, and the like.

Thus we have (V.) a fine MS. of the Bhāgavata, Bk. X., with Çṛidhara's Comm., written in Bengal, and dated Lakshmaṇa Sena Samvat 424, Pausha-çudī dasamī, çukre (A.D. 1530).

VI. Contains a portion of the Bhavishya-purāṇa, and also a Çiva-dharma-çāstra, a class of literature not common, but represented by several MSS. from Nepal, already at Cambridge. This MS. was written A.D. 1396, during the triple-regency referred to above.

MSS. in the British Museum.

The rest of the collection has been offered, at my suggestion, by the original owner to the British Museum, which has accordingly purchased it.

In Paurānik literature, we have (VII. VIII.) two more MSS. of portions of the Bhāgavata. One, containing Ṣṛidhara's commentary on Bk. X., was written in Bengal, and dated in the 317th year of *Lakshmana* era, *caitra sudi pratipad gurau dine*.

IX. The Sārasvata Grammar. MS. probably of the fourteenth century, and perhaps written in the North-West Provinces, where the work appears to have been composed.

X. This is a collection of three grammatical works, written in a Bengali hand by the same scribe, Kāçri-vāgiçvara,¹ for the Buddhist monk and elder,² Vararatna, at a village apparently called Kapisia. I have given the three colophons in full, because they contain some curious incidental points, and because it is of itself a most important historical fact to find Buddhism existing in Bengal in the fifteenth century.³ I am also interested in noting one of the laudatory epithets given to the *mahasthāvira*, viz. *advayabodhicitta-cintamani-pratirūpaka*. This illustrates a numismatic conjecture which I offered some years ago to the consideration of the Society, and which has been since adopted in Prof. P. Gardner's Catalogue of Bactrian Coins in the British Museum, that the legend OΔYO BOY, on a well-known Indo-Scythic coin, must be interpreted Advaya Buddha. This was made on the authority of Hemacandra 234, where we find Advaya as a name of the Buddha, Böhrling and Roth explaining the word as "Keine Dualität kennend," in the light of the longer form *advayavādin*, which they cite from the Amaraçoça, and which actually occurs in the Divyāvadāna. But the present passage tends to show that this explanation is not

¹ Curiously enough, the writer of another early Bengali MS., described in my Cambridge Catalogue, and in the Oriental Series of the Palaeographical Society, begins with the same prefix Kāçri-. I know of no explanation of the form, unless it be some corruption of Kāçi, which the other name (Kāçriçayākara) rather suggests.

² It is interesting to note that in modern Ceylon these *μαρτυροί* are called *sthāvira*, not *thero*, the Pali form which one would rather have expected.

³ It is of course possible that the MS. may have been written in Nepal by a Bengali scribe, a Buddhist refugee; but the use of the Vikrama era makes this decidedly improbable. I called attention to the existence of Buddhism at a later date in Bengal than had often been supposed in my paper on the MSS. from Nepal, in the Verhandlungen of the Berlin Congress of Orientalists of 1881 (II. ii. p. 193).

necessary, and that probably *advaya* was applied both to the Buddha himself and to the *bodhi*, in virtue of which he was 'buddha,' just in the same way as it was to Brahma, viz. in the sense of "unique, having no second."

MS. begins : Namo Mañjukumārāya ||

Tract 1. [f. 69] Kṛit-pañjikā ends : Iti shashtaḥ pādaḥ sampūrṇa itī samāptaḥ || Çrī-Mahāsthavira-Çrī-Vararatna Mahātmabhāvānām pustīti | Vṛittitraya-vivaraṇa Trilocanadāsa-vibhañjitā likhitā Kāçrīvāgīçvareṇa yathādrīṣṭam itī parihaṛeṇātra sarvathā çodhanīyā sadbhir itī. | Jyeshṭhasudi 14 some dine likhitva sampūrṇita (!) cātra ||^o||

Tr. 2 begins : Namo Buddhāya bhagavate | Colophon : Iti Çrī Durgasiṃha-viracitāyām Uṇādivṛittau caturthaḥ pādaḥ samāptaḥ. Çrīmad-Vikramasenasyātīta-samvatsara saṃ 1479 āçvina sudi 2 soma dine Kapisiā-grāme pustakam alekhi Kāçrīvāgīçvareṇeti | Çrīman-mahātmabhāva-mahodāracarita-ÇrīmatTathāgatokta dikshārakṣhaṇa - vicakṣhaṇāçesha - dosha - kshayātiniḥkalankībhūta-candramā-prāyo hi bhagavān Çrīmat-sthavira-Çrī Vararatna mahāçayānām pustakam idaṃ nijapāṭha-hetau likhāpitam itī | svārtha-parārthasampādvṛiddhyarthaṃ | uṇādivṛitti e-karaṇasyeti : yathādrīṣṭam itī parihaṛaḥ.

Tr. 3 begins : Om Namaḥ Çrīmad-Vādirājāya.¹ Colophon : Iti Çrī Durgasiṃha-viracitā Liṅgākārikāvṛittih samāptā || Çrī-Vikramasenasyā tīta saṃ 1479 mārگاçīrsha badi 14 çukre, Kapisiā grāme likhitam i [dam?]. Çākya bhikshu-Mahāsthavira-çūnyatāsarvākāra-varopetā-mahākāruṇā-sarvālabhanavivarjītābhijñādayabodhicitta-çintāmaṇipratirūpaka-Çrī Vararatna-Mahātmabhāvānām pustakam idaṃ ||.

From this it will be seen that the tracts are all connected with the Kātantra school of grammar. Tracts 2 and 3, the *Uṇādi-vṛitti* and the *Liṅgākārika-vṛitti*, are by Durgasiṃha, the greatest exponent of the school; tract 1 being apparently the last portion of Trilocanadāsa's super-commentary, the Kātantra-vṛitti-panjikā, though it does not appear to correspond exactly with the MSS. at Calcutta or Oxford (*Rājendralāla Mitra*, Descr. Cat. of Sansk. MSS. As. Soc. Beng. pt. i. pp. 5, 6, and *Aufrecht*, Cat. Bodl. p. 169).

XI. This is chiefly a bundle of palm-leaves containing *mantras*, charms, etc., entitled *Shaḍaṅga*; but one leaf contains the beginning of a commentary, apparently on the rare grammatical work the

¹ i. e. Mañju-çrī.

Dhātupārāyana of Pūrṇacandra, of which I obtained a copy in Nepal. This commentary begins: Namaḥ Sarvajñāya | Dhātupārāyana samyag nirūpya vyavahāriṇām | Kosha ākhyāta-ratnānām svābhogāya kariṣyate ||

XII. Sumatā-mahātantra, a work on Jyotisha, not, I believe, known. ff. 123. It begins: Tvaṃ Brahmā tvañ ca Rudra tvaṃ Viṣṇuḥ tvaṃ ca Prajāpatiḥ | After more invocations it continues: Jñātum icchāmy ahaṃ deva-jyotiḥ castram suniṣṭayam | and refers to the Sūrya-siddhānta. Dated Nep. Samv. 476 or A.D. 1356, on Sunday, 10th of dark half of Pāuṣa.

XIII. is likewise astronomical, and of about the same date and size. The main work is a commentary on passages in the Bṛihaj-jātaka of Varāha Mihira. There are also a few fragments of works on similar subjects.

XIV. is a well-written MS., in the writing of Nepal or North Bengal, of the Amaru-ṣataka, perhaps of the fifteenth century. It contains a short commentary, which appears to be new, beginning: Pārvatyaḥ kaṭākaho vaktrāvalokanaṃ tvām pātu.

XV. Two ritual works referring to pilgrimages and the like.

(1) Gaṅgā-kṛitya-viveka. Written in the Bengali character, and ending with the colophon: iti mahārājādhirāja-Harinārāyaṇātmajamaḥārājādhirāja-ṣṛimad-Rāmabhadra-deva-pādānām kṛite ṣṛi Vardhamāna-kṛitau Gaṅgākṛityavivekaḥ samāptaḥ || La. Saṃ. 376 Pausa-badi 13 Budhe Belauni-grāme . . . likhitaishā pustiti. La. Saṃ stands for Lakshmana-Sena-Saṃvat, as I pointed out in my description of pl. lxxxii. of the Palæographical Society's Oriental Series. (2) is a similar but shorter work, referring to Gayā. We may compare the Gayākṛitya in Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra's "Notices," No. 1599, though this seems to be a different book.

XVI. *Yoga-yājñavalkya*. Probably the same work as that described by Burnell (Tanjore Cat. p. 112) and Hall (Index, p. 14). The MS. has lost its concluding leaves, but it may be important for the chronology of the Darṣana-literature to mention that I assign the MS. to the eleventh century, a conclusion with which I may say my friend Dr. Bühler, to whom I showed the MS., agrees.

CECIL BENDALL.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The *Field* announces that the Government of India is going to bring out a complete History of the Vertebrata of India, Ceylon, and the Transgangetic Provinces, under the general editorship of Mr. Blanford; Dr. Day taking the Ichthyology as his special province. Nothing could be more timely, in the face of the present movement amongst both Anglo-Indians and natives in favour of natural science, and no better men could have been chosen for the work, which will be welcome throughout India; and (if in a moderately cheap form) pay its own way.—W. F. SINCLAIR, Bombay C.S.

It is convenient to record the progress of Bible-translation from a linguistic point of view, as indicating the expansion of our knowledge of languages. R.N.C., Aug. 19, 1888.

ASIA.

Aryan Family.

1. A Gospel has been translated into the Multáni or Jatki language.
2. A Gospel has been translated into the Konkani, a dialect of the Maráthi language.
3. A Gospel has been translated into the Mághadi, a dialect of the Hindi.

Dravidian Family.

4. A Gospel has been translated into Bádága.
5. Two Gospels have been translated into the Rajmaháli (or Malto, or Maler, or Pahári) language, spoken by the hillmen near Rajmáhal.

Kolarian Group.

6. A portion of the New Testament has been translated into the Mandári or Kól language.

Extremes Orient.

7. The Bible has been entirely translated into the language of Japan.
8. A Gospel has been translated into the Pangasine, spoken in the Philippine Islands.

Russian Dominions.

9. A portion of the New Testament has been translated into the Kalmuk dialect of the Mongol language.

10. Two Gospels have been translated into the variety of the Turki languages spoken in Kazán on the Volga.
11. The New Testament has been revised in the variety of the Turki language spoken by the Kirghíz Nomads.
12. The four Gospels have been translated into the variety of the Turki languages known as Uzbek or Sart, spoken in Khiva.

AFRICA.

Negro Group.

1. A portion of the Bible has been translated into the Fanti dialect of the Ashanti language.
2. Two Gospels have been translated into the Dahómi or Popo dialect of the Ewé language.

Hamitic Group.

3. A Gospel has been translated into the southern dialect of the Galla language in Abyssinia.
4. A Gospel has been translated into the Rifi dialect of the Shilha language in Morocco.

Bantu Family.

5. A Gospel has been translated into Bondei, in the Eastern Equatorial region.
6. Four Gospels have been translated into the Gwamba, in the Transvaal.
7. A Gospel has been translated into the Kimbundu, a language spoken in the region eastward of the Portuguese colony of Angola.
8. The New Testament has been translated into the Pedi language, spoken in the Transvaal.
9. A Gospel has been translated into the Ganda language, spoken in the U-Ganda kingdom on Victoria Nyanza.

[The remainder of the Notes of the Quarter are postponed, owing to the great length of the Index, to the next number of the Journal (Part I. for 1889) which will appear in a few days].

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1887.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance at Bankers' January 1, 1887	193 14 6	Rents—House	300 0 0
126 Resident Members at £3 3s.	398 18 0	Insurance	5 0 0
137 Non-Resident Members at £1 1s.	143 18 11	Water	9 10 0
(Including one over remittance 3s. 2d., and two short remittances 1s. 3d.)	816 8 11	Gas	18 6 8
Arrears	12 12 0	Salaried—Secretary and Assistant	245 0 0
Compositions	63 0 0	Bedford (pension)	25 0 0
Donation from the India Office	210 0 0	Housekeeper	60 0 0
Donation from the Merchant Tailors	10 10 0	Journal—Printing Vol. XIX. 3 Parts	239 1 1
Dividend on Consols	33 8 6	Illustrations	56 14 0
Rents—		Map	5 7 0
British Association	117 0 0	Books purchased	16 13 4
Hellenic Society (3 half-years)	45 0 0	bound	23 6 0
Numismatic Society	20 0 0	Stationery	4 17 11
Aristotelian Society	15 15 0	Miscellaneous Printing	42 17 0
Sale of Journal	94 7 4	Postage and parcels	31 1 0
		Advertisements	4 3 0
		Reporter	3 2 0
		Repairs	34 3 11
		Household, Coals, etc.	6 19 0
		Errand Boy	10 0 0
		Illuminations, etc.	6 19 6
		Bank Charges	0 0 7
		Investment	103 0 0
		Total Expenditure	1237 1 9
		Balance at Bank	129 2 6
			£1366 4 3

Examined and found correct,
 May 28, 1888.
 J. F. HEWITT,
 H. C. KAY,
 M. J. WALHOUSE.

Amount of Society's Funds,
 Census £1200.

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INDEX.

As the second series of the JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY comes to an end with this number, it has been deemed advisable to add a complete Index to both the series, old and new, as well as to the TRANSACTIONS which preceded them. To prepare a new Index would have been impossible, so the plan adopted has been to rearrange in one alphabetical list all the separate indices which have been appended to each volume. The result has been to give a practically complete view of the subjects dealt with in the forty-three volumes hitherto published. In the list of Authors, which has been added, those who wrote in the 'ASIATIC RESEARCHES' are also included. Proper names are spelt in the Index, not according to the modern system, but according to the usage of the authors themselves.

The abbreviations used are :—

Trans. for the Transactions.

o.s. for the Old Series of the Journal.

n.s. " New " " "

and the numbers quoted are those of the pages.

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- Page 57, Colebrooke, life of, *for* I. v, *o.s.* read V. 1, *o.s.*
,, 61, Damant, notice of, *for* XIV. read XII.
,, 63, *for* Dauncey read Dauney.
,, 94, Inglis, Sir R. H., notice of, *for* XXI. II, *o.s.* read
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